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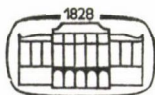
I. BORZSÁK, I. HAHN,
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J. HARMATTA

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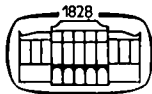
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ON KASPAPYROS AND THE SO-CALLED
'SHORE OF THE SCYTHIANS'

This paper has no claim for saying anything substantially new. Its aim is just to recall a few facts that strangely enough have been completely overlooked by recent writers on the subject.

It is well-known that Kaspapyros is mentioned in ancient literature only three times: once by Hecataeus of Miletus and twice by Herodotus. Later on, towards the end of the first century A. D., the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* mentions the *νάρος ἢ Καττοβοῦρην*.¹ As *Καττοβοῦρην* does not make any sense, Carl Müller proposed to correct it into **Κασπαπυρηνή*, while Herzfeld suggested the reading **Καπ(π)αβοῦρην*.² Both terms were understood as adjectival forms from **Kaspapura* or **Kappavur(a)*, the supposed Indian original of Greek *Kaspapyros*. This would then be a fourth mention of, or rather allusion to that city, but it only rests on conjectural emendations.

For their information about Kaspapyros both Hecataeus and Herodotus depended on the now lost *Periplus* of Skylax of Karyanda. According to Herodotus, Skylax and others were entrusted by King Darius with the task of exploring the Indus down to its mouth. They did it and «voyaging over the sea westwards, they came in the thirtieth month to that place whence the Egyptian king (i.e. Pharaoh Nekho, 610–595 B. C.) sent the Phoenicians aforementioned to sail round Libya. After this circumnavigation Darius subdued the Indians and made use of this Sea».³

Taking literally the words of Herodotus, scholars have generally separated the exploration from the conquest.⁴ But H. Schiwiek has conclusively demon-

¹ *Periplus*, § 48 (edited by H. FRISK: *Le Périples de la Mer Erythrée*. Göteborg 1927. 16). For the date of the *Periplus* see A. DITLE: *Umstrittene Daten*. Köln—Opladen 1965. 9–35; Idem: *Die entdeckungsgeschichtlichen Voraussetzungen des Indienhandels der römischen Kaiserzeit*, in H. TEMPORINI and W. HAASE: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. 11. 9,2. Berlin—New York 1978. 570 n. 74.

² C. MÜLLER: *Geographi Graeci Minores*. I. Paris 1855. 183; E. HERZFELD: *Early Historical Contacts between the Old-Iranian Empire and India*. *Fest. J. Ph. Vogel*. Leyden 1947. 183; Idem: *The Persian Empire*. Wiesbaden 1968. 340. See also H. G. RAWLINSON: *Intercourse between India and the Western World*. Cambridge 1926². 16–17 n.; J. I. MILLER: *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire*. Oxford 1969. 89.

³ Herodotus, IV. 44 (edited and translated by A. D. GODLEY, vol. II. London—New York 1921).

⁴ See, for instance, V. MARTIN: *La politique des Achéménides*. *Museum Helveticum* 23 (1965) 43, «Ici encore l'exploration précède et prépare la conquête». Also J. I. MILLER: *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire*. 248–252.

strated that it could not be so and that in this case exploration and conquest were only one thing.⁵

Hinduś, i.e. the basin of the Indus, first appears among the provinces of Darius' empire in the hieroglyphic portion of one of the inscriptions of Tell el-Maskhūta and, at the same time, in the hieroglyphic portion of the inscriptions engraved on the statue of Darius discovered at Susa in 1972.⁶ According to Hinz all this epigraphic material can be dated to 496 B. C., namely to a couple of years after the completion of the canal between Nile and Red Sea whose works were started about 510 B. C. and finished in 498 B. C.⁷ As it has always appeared reasonable to connect the expedition of Skylax with the building of the canal, that expedition, and therefore the conquest of Pañjāb and Sindh, can safely be dated around 510 B. C., or between 510 and 498 B. C.

According to Herodotus the starting-point of the expedition was the city of Kaspapyros in the *Πακτυκῆ γῆ*, or land of the *Πάκτυες*.⁸ In all the MSS. the actual reading is *Κασπάτυρος*, to be precise *Κασπατύρον* in the genitive case, with the variants *Κατύρον* and *Καστατύρον*.⁹ But confusion between *πι* (*κασπα-Πυρον*) and *ταυ* (*κασπα Τυρον*) is quite normal in the transmission of Greek texts and as *-πυρος/-πυρον* is almost certainly the Indian word *pura*, 'city', so the right spelling of the name must probably have been *Κασπάπυρος*, which is the form it has in Hecataeus as we shall presently see, and the one I will use here throughout. *Paktues* and *Paktuké* have been the subject of many speculations into whose details it is not material to go here.¹⁰ Probably, they are etymologically connected with Vedic *Paktaḥ*.¹¹ This, however, does not help too

⁵ H. SCHWEK: Der Persische Golf als Schifffahrts- und Seehandelsroute, *Bonner Jahrbücher*. 162 (1962) 8—19.

⁶ Cf. W. GOLÉNISCHEFF: Stèle de Darius aux environs de Tell el-Maskhoutah. *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*. XIII. 1890. 99—109; G. POSENER: *La première domination perse en Egypte*. Le Caire 1936. 184—185; A. T. OLMSTEAD: *History of the Persian Empire*. Chicago 1948. 145 n. 42; E. HERZFELD: *The Persian Empire*. 293—294; M. KERVRAN, D. STRONACH, F. VALLAT, J. YOYOTTE: Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse. *Journal Asiatique*. 260 (1972) 253—266; J. YOYOTTE: Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la statue de Darius à Suse. *Cahiers de la D.A.F.I.* 4 (1974) 181—183.

⁷ W. HINZ: Darius und der Suezkanal. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*. N.S. 8 (1975) 115—121.

⁸ Herodotus, IV. 44,2. See also III. 102,1.

⁹ See critical apparatus in C. HUDE's edition, Oxford 1927³, vol. I, *ad locum*; and in F. JACOBY: *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (henceforth *FGrHist*). III C. 587.

¹⁰ A few bibliographical references will suffice: J. MARKWART: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Ērān*. II. Leipzig 1905. 119; H. G. RAWLINSON: *Intercourse between India and the Western World*. 16 n. 2; G. MORGENSTIERNE: Pashto, Pathan and the Treatment of *r*+Sibilant in Pashto. *Acta Orientalia*. 18 (1940) 141—142; H. W. BAILEY: Kusanica. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14 (1952) 430—431; R. SHAFER: *Ethnography of Ancient India*. Wiesbaden 1954. 19 n. 3; O. CAROE: *The Pathans*. London 1964². 33—37; A. D. H. BIVAR: Indo-Bactrian Problems. *Numismatic Chronicle*. Seventh series 5 (1965) 95 n. 2; H. TREIDLER: Paktuké, in A. PAULY—G. WISSOWA—W. KROLL—K. WITTE: *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (hereafter *RE*), Supplementband X. Stuttgart 1965. Cols. 475—476.

¹¹ See M. MAYRHOFER: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*. II. Heidelberg 1963. 183.

much in locating them on the map. All we can say is that as Hecataeus puts Kaspapyros in Gandhāra, the *Paktuiké* must have been included in the Gandhāric satrapy, whatever may have been the extent of that satrapy in Darius' time.¹²

The position of Kaspapyros along the bank of a watercourse is beyond any doubt. Herodotus says that Skylax and his companions set out from the city «and sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise till they came to the sea».¹³ It is also certain that that river cannot be the Indus, but only one of its right-hand tributaries, most probably the Kābul-rūd. This led Markwart to identify Kaspapyros with Puṣkalāvati, the western capital of Gandhāra, to the north of the confluent of the Kābul and Svāt rivers. He also explained the Greek name of the city with the assumption that Puṣkalāvati was then called **Kusumapura*, 'city of flowers', which through the Middle-Indic forms **Kus(u)vapura* > **Kuspapura* would have originated the Greek *Kaspapyros*.¹⁴ Other scholars preferred, however, other identifications of the place and other explanations of the name. Sir Alexander Cunningham traced Kaspapyros back to Sanskrit *Kāśyapapura* through a Prakrit **Kassapapura*; and as *Kāśyapapura* is an ancient name of Multān in Utpala's commentary on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsamhitā*, he accordingly identified the city with Multān.¹⁵ His opinion was shared by Foucher and, at first, also by Herzfeld.¹⁶ However, Professor Petech pointed out that the identification of Kaspapyros with Multān does not tally to the description given by Herodotus, besides the fact that the mention of *Kāśyapapura* as another name of Multān is not to be found in the extant text of Utpala, but only in a passage of it as quoted by al-Bīrūnī in the XIth century A. D.¹⁷ Petech himself was of the opinion that Kaspapyros was to be looked for in the neighbourhood of Aṭak, or perhaps at Peśāvar itself.¹⁸ The identification of Kaspapyros with Aṭak was proposed by Herzfeld after he had given up the previously accepted identification with Multān.¹⁹ The equation of Kaspapyros with Puruṣapura/Peśāvar was due to Kramers and Olaf

¹² See *FGrHist*, Ia. 365,24—26.

¹³ IV. 44,2 (GODLEY's translation, see note 3 above).

¹⁴ See J. MARKWART: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Ērān*. II. 242, 246 n. 3.

¹⁵ See A. CUNNINGHAM: *Ancient Geography of India*. Oxford 1871. 234; new edition, Calcutta 1924. 267. Cf. also B. CH. LAW: *Historical Geography of Ancient India*. Paris, n. d. 112.

¹⁶ See E. HERZFELD: Zarathustra. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 1 (1929—30) 93—94; Idem: Die Magna Charta von Susa. *ibid.* 3 (1930—31) 101 n. 1; Idem: Sakastān. *ibid.* 4 (1931—32) 10 n. 3; A. FOUCHER: Les satrapies orientales de l'empire achéménide. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 1938. 347—348; Idem: *La vieille route de l'Inde*. II. Paris 1947. 194, 198, 215 n. 6, 252.

¹⁷ See L. PETECH: *Northern India according to the Shui-ching-chu*. Roma 1950. 67 and footnote 1.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹ E. HERZFELD: Early Historical Contacts between the Old-Iranian Empire and India. 182—183; Idem: *The Persian Empire*. 340.

Caroe.²⁰ But neither Aṭak nor Peśāvar suits Herodotus' words any better than Multān did, since Herodotus says that in the first part of their voyage Skylax and his companions «sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise», and this can only refer to a right-hand tributary of the Indus, most probably the Kābul-rūd.²¹

Writing a few decades earlier than Herodotus, but drawing from the same source, Hecataeus put Kaspapyros in Gandhāra (*Κασπάπυρος, πόλις Γανδαρική*) and glossed the statement with the words *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτῆ*. I purposely say *glossed* because quite certainly the words *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτῆ* do not go back to Skylax, but are Hecataeus' own words explaining the location Kaspapyros had on his map. For Hecataeus' *Periegesis* was nothing else but a description and explanation of a map and cannot be understood unless one constantly bears this fact in mind.²²

Hecataeus' Kaspapyros fragment has been handed down to us by Stephanus Byzantinus whose MSS. do not supply, in this case, any variant reading.²³ The term *akté* is not met with elsewhere in the extant fragments of the *Periegesis*, but a few examples of its use can be collected from Herodotus. In a number of cases (IV, 38 ; 39 ; 177) *akté* simply indicates a tongue of land projecting into the sea and in IV, 41 it is applied to Libya : *ἡ ἀκτὴ ἤτις Λιβύη κέκληται*. In other passages *akté* is, more in particular, a headland, a promontory (even a rocky one), a cape (VII, 33 ; 34 ; 183,3 ; 188,1 ; 191,2 ; IX, 120,4). Its second meaning is that of 'coast', 'shore' (VII, 45 ; VIII, 95 ; compare Latin *acta*) and in this sense *akté* is also found in proper names of seaside places, such as *Καλή ἀκτῆ* in Sicily (VI, 22,2 ; 23,2) and *Λευκὴ ἀκτῆ* in Thrace (VII, 25,2). Additional meanings, semasiologically related to those attested by Herodotus, as for instance 'river-bank' and 'edge', can be easily detected in passages of other authors and any good Greek dictionary will show them.

Now what is puzzling in the Kaspapyros fragment is the fact that there *akté* is seemingly referred to not as a tract of land running out into the sea nor as a river-bank, but as something related to a people : the Scythians. Of course, the oddity of this usage may be only apparent and due to our ignorance of the whole context to which this particular fragment belonged. At any rate that

²⁰ J. H. KRAMERS : Peshāwar. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*. XV. 1950. XVIII, XXI ; O. CAROE : *The Pathans*. 30—33 and 441 n. 15.

²¹ H. G. RAWLINSON : *Intercourse between India and the Western World*. 16—17 n. ; A. HERRMANN : Kaspapyros. *RE*, X, 2. Stuttgart 1919. Col. 2270, 52—56 ; *FGrHist*, Ia, 365,21—23 ; H. SCHIEWEK : *Der Persische Golf als Schiffahrts- und Seehandelsroute*. 12—13.

²² See F. JACOBY : Hekataios. *RE*, VII. Stuttgart 1912. cols. 2667—2750 ; L. PEARSON : *Early Ionian Historians*. Oxford 1939. 28 ; *FGrHist*, Ia. 328,47 ; H. BENTSON and V. MILOJČIĆ : in *Grosser Historischer Weltatlas*. I. *Erläuterungen*. München 1958³. Cols. 58—59.

²³ See Steph. Byz., *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, ed. A. MEINEKE. I. Berlin 1849. 364,8—9.

should have been a warning against any hasty solution of the problem. But it was not so.

Unembarrassed by the aforesaid difficulties, Markwart offered a quite plain and easy interpretation of Hecataeus' words. To him it was a matter of course that Kaspapyros being the starting-point of Skylax' voyage, *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτῆ* could only mean 'coast of the Scythians' or rather 'Sakas'. For 'Sakas' Markwart meant the Sakā Haumavargā whom he located between Gandhāra and Bactria. The conclusion which followed was obvious — «Der Ausdruck *ἀκτῆ* . . . hängt wohl damit zusammen, daß hier die Schifffahrt auf dem Indus begann und jene Stadt ein wichtiger Stapelplatz für den Handel zwischen Indien und den Ländern im Norden und Osten des Hindukuš und Pamir, den die Saken vermittelten, war».²⁴ In this way Kaspapyros was promoted to the rank of an important riverine port, without taking into account that since then it was never heard of again and completely vanished from the scene of history, which is indeed an unusual lot for a *wichtiger Stapelplatz*. Less than two centuries later, Alexander did not meet with Sakas or with traces of their past presence on his way from Bactria to India, nor he found in Gandhāra any such riverine trading-station as the one conceived of by Markwart. Nonetheless, the legend spread on Markwart's authority that in the VIth century B. C. Saka tribes were settled in North-West India and were facing Kaspapyros from the other side of the river. So Kaspapyros could be called by Rawlinson «a frontier city of Gandhāra, on the Scythian borderland».²⁵

Widely accepted as it was, this view, however, was not shared by all scholars. Those better acquainted with historical geography, as for instance Albert Herrmann, openly rejected it. According to Herrmann, the expression *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτῆ* could not be understood in the context of the fragment and therefore, he regarded the correction of *ἀκτῆ* into *ἀντίη* proposed by Wilhelm Sieglin, as the only possible solution.²⁶ Now the adjective *ἀντίος* (-η, -ον), with its adverbial form *ἀντίον*, has a well definite meaning in Greek geographical terminology. To use Wikén's words, «Durch *ἀντίον* und dergleichen wird in der geographischen Terminologie immer der Wohnort jenseits eines scheidenden Wassers bezeichnet».²⁷ This statement can be aptly illustrated by three examples also taken from Herodotus. In I, 202 the people of the Massagetæ, to the north of the Araxes, is said to be *ἀντίον*, that is to say opposite to the Issedones. In II, 34,1 Egypt is said to be approximately *ἀντίη* to mountainous Cilicia, while in

²⁴ J. MARKWART: *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Ērān*. II. 140, 242.

²⁵ H. G. RAWLINSON: *Intercourse between India and the Western World*. 17.

²⁶ A. HERRMANN: Kaspapyros «Unverständlich ist hier der Ausdruck: *Σκυθῶν ἀκτῆ* . . . Sinngemäß wird der Satz erst, wenn wir mit Sieglin das Wort *ἀκτῆ* in *ἀντίη* verbessern».

²⁷ E. WIKÉN: Die Ansichten der Hellenen über den Nordrand der Oikunene vor Pytheas. *Fest. M. P. Nilsson*. Lund 1939. 549.

II, 34,2 the city of Sinope is said to lie *ἀντίον* to the mouth of the Danube which according to Herodotus was to be found on the northern coast of the Black Sea. It is clear that in each of these three cases *ἀντίος* or *ἀντίον* serves to locate two geographical points along a north to south vertical or, as we would say, on the same meridian, without implying by that any close proximity between them. They are in fact far away from one another and separated moreover by a water which in the first example is the Caspian or Hyrcanian Gulf conceived as elongated towards the east, in the second one it is the Mediterranean, in the third one the Black Sea²⁸ In accepting Sieglin's correction Herrmann was well aware of this particular value of *ἀντίος* and accordingly he believed that the Scythians and Kaspapyros were facing one another in a north to south direction. Not even in this case, to be sure, was any close proximity implied, since for Herrmann the Scythians of the fragment were not the Sakas of Central Asia, but the regular Scythians of South Russia. According to him on Hecataeus' map Scythia stretched east till the point the Caspian Gulf joined the great outer sea, so that Gandhāra was actually to be found right to the south of Scythia. But let us quote Herrmann's own words — «nach der Hekataioskarte unter den gegenüberwohnenden Skythen nicht die Saken . . . , sondern tatsächlich die Skythen zu verstehen sind, da zwischen Gandhāra und den Skythenlande der Kaspische Meerbusen zu denken ist».²⁹ And again — «Wenn wir uns . . . vergegenwärtigen, daß Hekataios das Skythenland bis zu der Verbindung des Kaspischen Meeres mit dem Okeanos eingezeichnet hat, südlich von demselben Meer aber Gandhāra und Indien, so liegt für ihn Gandhāra den Skythen gegenüber. Mit den Sakai hat also das Zitat des Stephanos nicht das Geringste zu tun».³⁰

Strengthened by Herrmann's arguments, the correction proposed by Sieglin was accepted by Jacoby in his edition of the Hecataeus' fragments. In the critical apparatus he only suggested that the original reading might have been *ἀντίη κεῖται*, 'lies opposite'.³¹ In fact, Sieglin's reading is hardly satisfactory unless a verb is understood after it.

Surely, Sieglin and Herrmann had come near to, but not arrived at the proper solution of the problem. To find it out, it was indeed the merit of E. Herzfeld. Starting from the masterly reconstruction that Jacoby himself had given of Hecataeus' map, Herzfeld did not think it necessary to emend the text of the fragment and read it as it is. As Markwart had done before him, Herzfeld took *akté* in its usual sense of 'coast' or 'coast line', but at the same time pointed out that on Hecataeus' map this coast line served as a sort of parallel; therefore the expression *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτῆ* came to mean that Kaspapyros had, so to say, the same degree of latitude as the Scythians of South Russia. «Das

²⁸ On the Hyrcanian Gulf separating Massagetae and Issedones see E. WIKÉN : *loc. cit.*

²⁹ A. HERRMANN : Kaspapyros. Col. 2270,19—27.

³⁰ A. HERRMANN : Sakai. *RE*. zweite Reihe II. 1920. Col. 1772,20—42.

³¹ *FGrHist*, IA, 38,14—15; Ia, 365,39—41.

Bruchstück — Herzfeld concluded — besagt nicht etwa, daß die Skythen an einem Meer, noch daß Kaspapyros nahe dem Sitz der Skythen lag». ³²

Herzfeld's argument should have settled the question once for all, ruling out for ever any attempt to use the Hecataeus' fragment as a proof of the existence of Saka tribes in North-West India in the VIth century B. C. But long-cherished ideas are hard to die, more so when they suit so well one's preconceived theories about the ancient ethnography of this or that part of the world. So Julius Junge, though writing some years later than Herrmann and Herzfeld, practically reverted to the position of Markwart, only replacing the Sakā Haumavargā by the Sakā Tigrakhaudā. He did not take into account Herrmann's argument and only cursorily referred to that of Herzfeld. Significantly enough, he felt unable to decide between ἀκτὴ and ἀντίη, as if a reading actually handed down could be put on equal level with a conjectural one. ³³

In his posthumous work on the Persian empire, however, Herzfeld rightly confirmed his previous statement — «ἀκτὴ must not be 'corrected' . . . in ἀντίη, for it is in Hecataeus' idiom a kind of parallel running along a coast line. Σκυθῶν shows that Hecataeus' map put Scythia and Paktyiké under the same latitude». ³⁴ But once again Herzfeld's voice was that of one crying in the wilderness.

Just one year after the publication of Herzfeld's posthumous book, a study on the Sakā Haumavargā by Professor Litvinskij appeared in Franz Altheim's *Festschrift*. There can be read about Kaspapyros more or less the same things already said by Markwart and Junge. Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτὴ is rendered as 'harbour (*gavan*) of the Scythians', while the emended reading Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀντίη is indifferently interpreted either as 'opposite side (*storona protivopoložnaja*) of the Scythians', or else as *vorota v stranu skifov*, 'gateway to the country of the Scythians'. Hence the unavoidable conclusion that since the time of the first Achaemenids there were Saka tribes bordering on India. ³⁵

More recently the Hecataeus' fragment has been anew examined by Professor Tucci who also shares Markwart's and Junge's opinions, being apparently unaware of those of Herrmann and Herzfeld. Professor Tucci seems to be also unacquainted with the correction proposed by Sieglin and with the discussion it raised. According to him *akté* «is not a port, it is a shore with easy access, a bay»; it indicates a «bend of the Kābul river with ample and shallow waters». Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτὴ means, therefore, «shore of the Scythians»; to which fatally follows the usual conclusion that, since those times, «Scythian tribes were pressing on Gandhāra». ³⁶

³² E. HERZFELD: Sakastān. 10. Cf. F. JACOBY: Hekataios. Cols. 2725—2726.

³³ J. JUNGE: *Saka-Studien*. Leipzig 1939. 32 and n. 2, 50 and n. 5, 83 and n. 3.

³⁴ E. HERZFELD: *The Persian Empire*. 338 n. 5.

³⁵ B. A. LITVINSKIJ: Sakā Haumavargā. *Fest. F. Altheim*. I. Berlin 1969. 118—119.

³⁶ G. TUCCI: On Swāt. The Dards and Connected Problems. *East and West*. 27 (1977) 16—17.

Leaving it to professional Greek scholars to decide whether *akté* may be so forced as to have the meaning of 'bay' or of 'bend of river with ample and shallow waters', I would only remember that more than forty years ago Tarn had already ironically remarked that Asia was getting very full of Sakas.³⁷

The Kaspapyros case is an instructive one. It shows in a palpable way that many times problems subsist only because their solution has fallen into oblivion. It also shows that to reconstruct the story of a problem is, more often than not, to solve that problem.

Rome.

Postscript. — When this paper was read on the occasion of the Third Conference on the Historical Sources for Pre-Islamic Central Asia, Professor Helmut Humbach kindly pointed out that one more mention of Kaspapyros is provided by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* where between Alexandria Bucefalos and Palibotra a place is to be found by the name of *Spatura* (Segmentum XII, 3; cf. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, Stuttgart, 1916, col. 801). According to Professor Humbach (if I rightly understood his words) *Spatura* should be emended into *caSpatura*-Kaspatyros. This is in fact an old hypothesis and not the only one devised to explain the place-name *Spatura*. Wilhelm Tomaschek („Die Strassenzüge der Tabula Peutingeriana", *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 102, 1883, p. 260) was of the opinion that *Spatura* corresponded to *Simtura* in the *Cosmography* of the Ravennas Anonymus (II, 3, 2; cf. J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana*, II, Lipsiae, 1940, p. 17) and, therefore, should be identified with *Šalatura*. In any case Professor Humbach's *Caspatura, like Müller's *Κασπαπυρηνή and Herzfeld's *Καπ(π)α-βουρίνη, is not an actually handed down reading, but only a conjecturally reconstructed one.

On the same occasion Dr. A. D. H. Bivar suggested that in the Hecataeus' fragment the words *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτῆ* might be a gloss added by a later copyist who knew that North-West India had actually been, for some time, under the sway of Saka tribes (compare the 'Skythia' of *Periplus* §§38—39, and the 'Indoskythia' of Ptolemy, VII, 1, 55). Should Dr. Bivar's hypothesis prove right, it would strike a deadly blow to the belief in the existence of Saka tribes in North-West India at the time of Darius the Great. For being *Σκυθῶν δὲ ἀκτῆ* a later gloss, Hecataeus would be left with the only words *Κασπάπυρος, πόλις Γανδαρικῆ* and there would be no question at all of a 'shore of the Scythians' in the VIth century B. C. Quod erat demonstrandum.

³⁷ W. W. TARN: *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. Cambridge 1938 (1951²). 287.

H. W. HAUSSIG

DIE ÄLTESTEN NACHRICHTEN DER GRIECHISCHEN UND LATEINISCHEN QUELLEN ÜBER DIE ROUTEN DER SEIDENSTRASSE NACH ZENTRAL- UND OSTASIEN

Die in diesem Rahmen angesprochenen Berichte aus der römisch-griechischen Antike sind der Forschung seit langem bekannt. Trotzdem hat ihre bisherige Interpretation nicht die Beziehung ihrer Angaben auf die Routen der Seidenstraße nach Zentral- und Ostasien deutlich machen können. Der Grund liegt darin, daß hierfür die Erkenntnisse der Frühgeschichte nicht genügend und die Beziehung ihrer Nachrichten auf die drei verschiedenen Routen der Seidenstraße überhaupt nicht beachtet wurden.

Hinzu kommt, daß man bisher nur eine einzige Route der Seidenstraße kannte, deren Entstehung man in die Mitte des ersten Jahrhunderts v. Chr. setzte. Hierbei ging man von der Vorstellung aus, daß erst von jenem Zeitpunkt an, zu dem die chinesische Expansion im Westen mit dem Pamir- und Alai-Gebirge die Grenze zur griechisch-iranischen Welt erreicht hatte, eine Verbindung zwischen China und dem Westen möglich gewesen wäre. Es zeigt sich aber durch eine Neu-Interpretation des Quellenmaterials, daß eine Verbindung zwischen China und der westlichen Welt von dem Bestehen einer gemeinsamen vom Alai- und Pamir-Gebirge gebildeten Grenze unabhängig war.

Sie bediente sich in den Jahrhunderten, die vorangingen, jener Völker als Vermittler, die je nach der Route der Seidenstraße entweder als Issedonen oder Serer bezeichnet wurden. Die Chinesen, denen sie ebenso wie den Griechen und Iranern als Vermittler dienten, nannten sie *Yüe-chi* oder *Wu-sun*.

Die Nordroute und ihre Vorgeschichte

Sowohl die Bodenfunde wie die Nachrichten der schriftlichen Quellen machen deutlich, daß die älteste Verbindung zwischen diesen beiden Teilen der Welt, die die Bezeichnung «Seidenstraße» verdient, sich nicht der Wege über die Pässe des Alai- und Pamir-Gebirges bediente, sondern für ihren Weg nach China eine Route im Norden benutzt hat. Diese Route, die von Herodot um 430 v. Chr. beschrieben wurde, läßt sich auf Grund seiner Beschreibung bis in den Westen der späteren chinesischen Provinz Kan-su verfolgen. Nach ihr begann diese Straße an der Mündung des Don. Sie wandte sich zunächst nach Norden, ehe sie dann nach Osten abbog und das damals von den Parthern be-

wohnte Gebiet erreichte, von dort benutzte sie einen im Norden des Tien-chan entlang führenden Weg, der entweder über die Turfanoase oder über Hami in den Westen der späteren chinesischen Provinz Kan-su führte.

Das Auffällige an der Beschreibung dieser Straße schien bisher ihr Abbiegen nach Norden zu sein, in ein Gebiet, das Herodot als Waldzone bezeichnet.¹ Dieses Rätsel lösen die Bodenfunde. Seit der Aufdeckung der Begräbnisplätze von Seima und Turbino im Westen des mittleren Ural in der Nähe jenes Weges, der, der Kama folgend, über den Pass des Ural nach Sibirien führt, weiß man, daß es zwischen dem Ural und China in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit eine Handelsverbindung gegeben hat. Es sind Ringe aus Jade, die dort gefunden wurden, die in Form und Material mit jenen identisch sind, die aus China bekannt sind und hier auch bei der Verehrung des Himmelsgottes durch den König eine Rolle spielten.² Da Jade im Ural bisher nicht gefunden wurde, können die Ringe auch vom Material her gesehen, nur aus China stammen. Hinzukommt, daß die Gräber nicht nur diese Jaderinge, sondern auch Bronzeäxte und Messer des gleichen Typs enthielten, der im China der späten Shang-Zeit zu finden ist.³ Demnach scheint schon am Ende des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. ein Handelsverkehr mit China bestanden zu haben.

Jeder Handelsverkehr setzt eine Gegenseitigkeit voraus. Man wird also fragen, was China als Gegenleistung für seine Lieferungen an Jaderingen und Werkzeugen aus Bronze aus dem Westen erhielt. Für den Ural käme hier das bei der Bronzeherstellung wichtige Kupfer in Frage. Es wurde damals im Ural abgebaut. Aber auch kostbare Steine können von dort ausgeführt worden sein. Das war aber, wie vor allem die Rezeption aus dem Westen in China beweist, nicht alles. Es seien hier nur zwei Dinge genannt: die Erfindung des Wagens und der Kopf des Löwen.

Die Rezeption des griechischen Streitwagens durch China

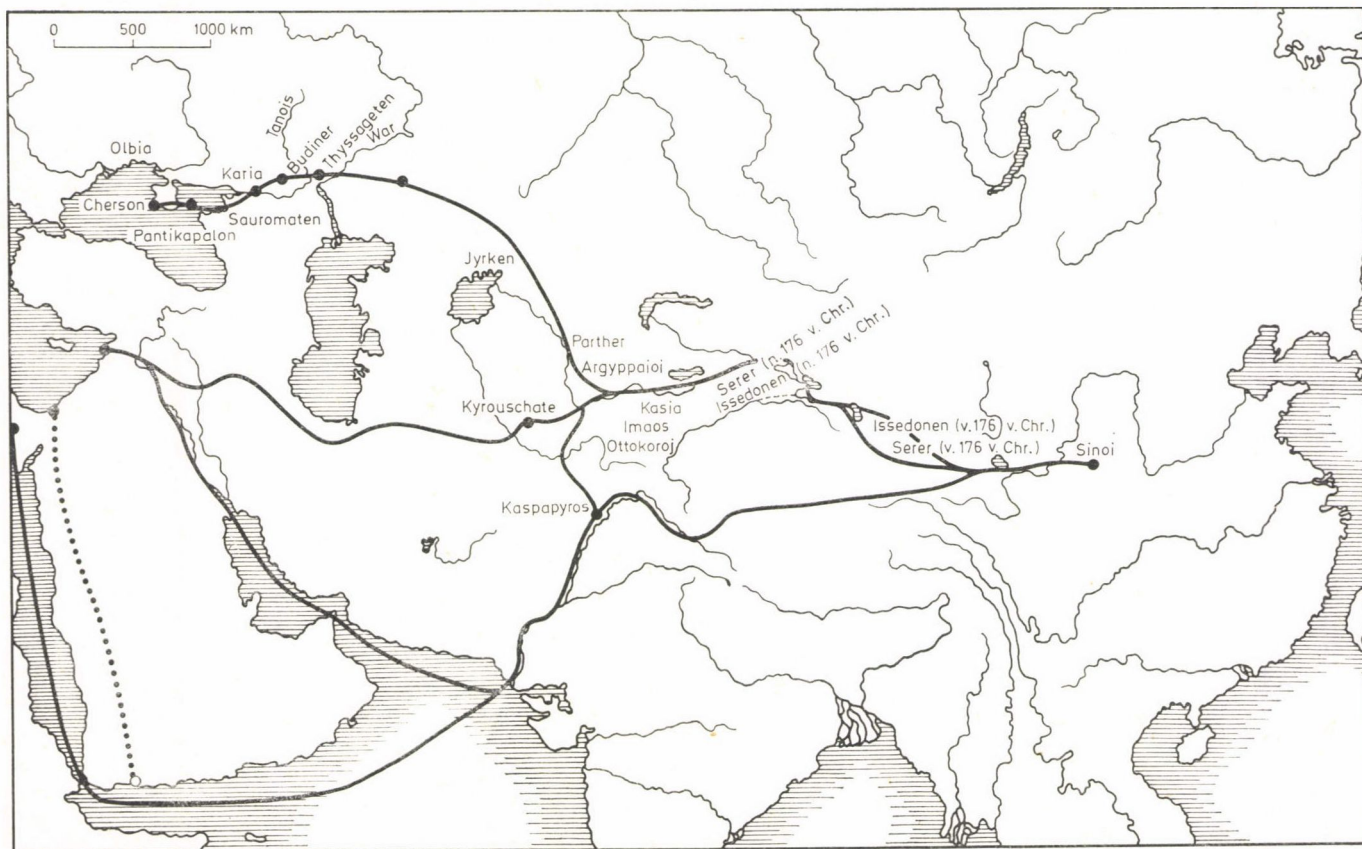
Der Zeitpunkt für die Rezeption des Wagens in China läßt sich aus den bilderschriftlichen Zeichen der Shang-Zeit nachweisen.⁴ Da das Zeichen zu Beginn der Shang-Zeit mit dem Aufkommen dieser Hieroglyphen vorkommt und in der älteren Chou-Zeit weiter ausgebildet wird, müssen die Anfänge der

¹ Herodot, Historien IV, 21—27. Den ersten Teil dieser Wegbeschreibung benutzt Herodot dazu, um die Ostgrenze des von skythischen Stämmen in Südrußland bewohnten Gebietes abzugrenzen.

² Vgl. hierzu W. WATSON: *Cultural Frontiers in Ancient Asia*. Edinburgh 1966. S. 59—60.

³ Es waren Bronzeäxte mit Tüllen aber vor allem Messer mit Tierdarstellungen, die bis in die Zeit um 1500 v. Chr., die beginnende Shang-Zeit, hinabreichen. Bronzeäxte des gleichen Typs fanden sich nach Watson auch im Tal des oberen Jenissei.

⁴ Das Zeichen für «Wagen» kommt schon unter den ältesten Zeichen der Hieroglyphen auf den Orakelknochen vor und besitzt dort die gleiche Gestalt wie auf den ältesten Felszeichnungen.



Die Routen der Seidenstraße

Rezeption in die zweite Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends gesetzt werden, also in die gleiche Zeit, in der die Jaderinge, die Bronzeäxte und die Messer nach dem Ural gekommen sind.

Den Weg, den der Wagen nach China benutzt hat, bezeichnen vor allem die Felszeichnungen.⁵ Hiernach muß die Vermittlung des Wagens ebenso wie der Export der Jaderinge über die nördliche Route der Seidenstraße erfolgt sein. Felszeichnungen begleiten vor allem das letzte Stück seines Weges nach China, jene Strecke durch das Gebirge, wo steile oder überhängende Steinwände Felszeichnungen möglich machten. Sie finden sich daher in Tannu Tuwa, an den Gebirgshängen des Altai und vor allem an den Felswänden im Changai-Gebirge und weiter im Süden, bis dort, wo die Grenzen des alten China begannen. Dargestellt wurden Wagen mit zwei Rädern, teils als Quadriga von vier Pferden, teils von zwei Pferden gezogen. Von diesen beiden Typen scheint man in China den mit zwei Pferden bespannten Wagen bevorzugt zu haben. Ihm begegnet man in chinesischen Gräbern wie z. B. in dem von Shang-ts'un-ling aus der Provinz Honan aus dem 8. bis 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.⁶ Die Herkunft der Quadriga, die in Ostasien vor allem durch die Felszeichnungen in der Mongolei nachweisbar ist,⁷ verleugnet nicht ihre Herkunft aus der griechisch-mykenischen Welt. Selbst in Einzelheiten, wie den acht Speichen der Räder, gleichen sie ihren europäischen Vorbildern, die als Darstellungen auf Bronzeblechen in Olympia und aus Schilderungen durch die Ilias bekannt sind. Die Übereinstimmung mit den griechischen Streitwagen gilt auch für die Form der Anschirrung der Pferde und für die Stütze des Lenkers auf dem Wagengestell, die ihm das Festhalten während des Fahrens ermöglichte.⁸

Die Rezeption des griechischen Löwenkopfes als T'ao-t'ieh durch China

Auf dem gleichen Wege wie der Streitwagen wurde auch der Löwenkopf nach China vermittelt. Die Übermittlung erfolgte hier wahrscheinlich durch die Epsemata, die meist aus Bronze gearbeiteten Schildzeichen. In China, wo es keine Löwen gibt, wurde er offenbar zur gleichen Zeit wie der Wagen rezipiert. Es findet sich dort das Bild des von oben gesehenen Löwenkopfes, wie ihn z. B.

⁵ Vgl. Hierzu E. NOWGORODOWA: Alte Kunst der Mongolei (deutsche Übersetzung 1980. Seite 79—99). Funde mit Wagendarstellungen vom Kaukasus, dem Pamir, dem Altai und dem Changai-Gebirge lassen den Weg erkennen, den der Wagen von Europa nach China genommen hat.

⁶ Vgl. das Foto von ausgegrabenen Wagengräbern des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus der Zeit der Chou-Dynastie bei WATSON: a. a. O. Tafel 40. Die hier aufgenommenen Wagen wurden bei Shang-ts'un-ling in der Provinz Honan gefunden.

⁷ Vgl. NOWGORODOWA: Tafel 59. Die Zeichnung zeigt den gleichen halbrunden Wagenkasten, wie er aus den griechischen Darstellungen bekannt ist.

⁸ Die Darstellung zeigt einen Krieger, der seinen Streitwagen besteigt. Es handelt sich um ein Bronzeblech aus der Zeit um 590 v. Chr. Vgl. Olympia von M. ANDRONIKOS: Athen 1975. Tafel 35.

eine Löwenmaske auf einer Tetradrachme von Rhegion aus der Zeit um 430 v. Chr. zeigt.⁹ Die Münze ahmt offensichtlich ältere Wiedergaben, wie sie auf Schilden üblich waren, nach. In China wurde das griechische Vorbild des von oben gesehenen Löwenkopfes zur T'ao-t'ieh Maske umstilisiert,¹⁰ sie taucht zuerst auf den Bronzen der Shang-Zeit auf. Auch in diesem Fall läßt sich der Weg nach Ostasien auf der Nordroute der Seidenstraße verfolgen. So begegnet man der Löwenmaske, wenn auch in einem Beispiel aus späterer Zeit, unter den Funden aus sibirischen Kurganen als holzgeschnitztes Medaillon in der gleichen Sicht von oben wie bei der Münze aus Rhegion und dem chinesischen T'ao-t'ieh.¹¹

Der Ural als Teilhaber am griechischen Chinahandel

Wagen und Löwenkopf kamen aus der mykenischen Kultur. Damit wird die Frage gestellt, von wo aus diese Vermittlung nach China erfolgte. Nach Herodot begann die Nordroute der Seidenstraße an der Mündung des Don.¹² Dort befand sich nach dem älteren Plinius in früher Zeit eine Niederlassung der Karer,¹³ jenes Volkes, das in der späteren griechischen Zeit z. B. von Thukydides mit den Trägern der mykenischen und minoischen Kultur gleichgesetzt wurde.¹⁴ Demnach hätte es schon in der mykenischen Zeit eine Verbindung mit China gegeben, die ihren Ausgangspunkt an der Mündung des Don besaß und ihre nächste Station an einem Handelsplatz, der auch von Händlern aus dem Ural, wo die chinesische Jade und die Bronzewerkzeuge aus China gefunden wurden, erreicht werden konnte. (Die Möglichkeit, daß die griechischen Kaufleute selbst nach dem Ural gekommen sind, wird für die mykenische Zeit schon dadurch ausgeschlossen, daß weder der Wagen noch der Löwenkopf, wie das Fehlen von entsprechenden Zeugnissen beweisen, auf diesem Weg China erreicht haben.) Eine Verbindung der griechischen Kaufleute mit dem Ural bestand auch in mykenischer Zeit nur durch den Zwischenhandel. Für die Zeit Herodots wird das indirekt durch seine Beschreibung der Nordroute der Seidenstraße bestätigt.

Sie begann bei ihm an der Mündung des Don und führte erst nach Norden durch das Gebiet der Sauromaten und dann in die Waldzone zur Stadt der Budi-

⁹ Vgl. L. u. M. LANCKORONSKI: *Mythen und Münzen*. München 1958. Tafel 29.

¹⁰ Vgl. K. SCHEFOLD: *Der skythische Tierstil in Südrußland*. *ESA* 12 (1938) Seite 59. SCH. verweist hier auch auf die Forschungen von Boroffka, der die Wanderung des Motivs anhand der sibirischen Funden verfolgt hat.

¹¹ Vgl. S. I. RUDENKO: *Frozen Tombs of Siberia, the Pazyryk Burial of Iron-Age Horsemen*. Übersetzt von M. W. THOMPSON. London 1970. Tafel 138. Es handelt sich um Holzschnitzerei von einem Sattelzeug aus der Sammlung Frolov.

¹² Herodot IV, 21. Er spricht hier von der «Spitze des Maetissees», mit dem das Asowsche Meer gemeint ist.

¹³ Plinius Nat. hist. IV. cap. 5 (7), § 20: *Oppidum in Tanais quoque ostio. Tenuere finitima primum Cares.*

¹⁴ Thukydides I, 3.

ner,¹⁵ von wo sie nach Osten abbog.¹⁶ Der Handelsverkehr nach China könnte sich auf diesem Wege in mykenischer Zeit so abgespielt haben, daß die griechischen Kaufleute von der Mündung des Don ihre Erzeugnisse, wie z. B. Goldschmiedearbeiten, nach der Stadt der Budiner oder einem anderen damals dort bestehenden Handelsplatz brachten und hierfür dort von den Händlern aus dem Ural Kupfer und kostbare Steine erhielten, mit denen sie dann von den Issedonen Bronzewerkzeuge und Jaderinge aus China kaufen konnten, die sie für den weiteren Warenaustausch mit den Kaufleuten aus dem Ural benötigten. Demnach würden also die mykenischen Händler, über die neben anderem der Wagen und der Löwenkopf nach China gekommen waren, auch den Transithandel für Waren von und nach dem Ural übernommen haben.

Erst mit dem 6. Jahrhundert scheint auf diesem Wege auch der Export von Seide aus China begonnen zu haben, mit dem dann auch die Ausfuhr von Arbeiten griechischer Gold- und Silberschmiede und skythischer Bronzegiebereien einsetzte. An diesem Handel war auch der Ural beteiligt.

Bei der Seide waren es nicht nur einfache Seidenstoffe wie die Fragmente aus dem Fürstengrab bei der Heuneburg¹⁷ und die Seidenreste vom Kerameikos in Athen,^{17a} sondern auch kostbare Gewebe wie die als «Goldenes Vlies» bekannte Seide, Ziel des von Jason geführten Zuges der Argonauten nach Kolchis. Sie besaß offenbar wie die chinesischen Seiden aus Kertsch und Lou-lan¹⁸ eine goldgelbe Fondfarbe. Das gab zu ihrer Bezeichnung «Goldenes Vlies» Anlaß. (Kolchis war damals Endpunkt einer aus dem Tal des Araxes von der Küste des Kaspischen Meeres kommenden Straße.^{18a} Von dort gab es offenbar schon damals eine Verbindung über dieses Meer, so daß auf diesem Weg eine der Stationen der Seidenstraße in Mittelasien erreicht werden konnte.)^{18b}

Für diese Hypothese der Einschaltung des Ural in den Handel mit China spricht, daß aus einer erheblich späteren Zeit z. B. östlich des Ural am Tobol eine große Zahl griechischer Goldschmiedearbeiten gefunden wurde.¹⁹ Es handelt sich um Psalien und Phalerae für das Geschirr der Pferde und Gürtelschnallen und Applikationen, die auf der Kleidung getragen wurden. Sie alle sind von griechischen Goldschmieden in einem Stil gestaltet, der sich ikonographisch eng an die Überlieferung der Nomadenvölker anlehnte. Das, was erhalten ist,

¹⁵ Herodot IV, 21.

¹⁶ Herodot IV, 22. Nach Herodot bog die Straße, nachdem sie sieben Tagereisen wüstes Land passiert hatte, dann nach Osten ab.

¹⁷ J. J. HUNDT: Vorgeschichtl. Seidenfunde, Jahrb. des Röm.-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz, Jahrg. 16, 1971, S. 59–71.

^{17a} Vergl. Anm. 17.

¹⁸ N. TOLL': Zаметки о китайском шелке на юге России. Seminarium Kondakovia-num I (1927) p. 85, 92.

^{18a} Herodot I, cap. 201. Vgl. Hierzu Herodot, Historien, ed. H. W. HAUSSIG, deutsche Übersetzung von A. HORNEFFER, Stuttgart, Kröner-Verlag, 4. Aufl. 1971, Anm. 160 des Kommentars zu Buch I.

^{18b} Vgl. Anm. 18a.

¹⁹ K. JETTMAR: Die frühen Steppenvölker. Baden-Baden 1964. S. 5–8.

stammt zum größten Teil erst aus dem 5.—4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.²⁰ Die Erhaltung der heute vorhandenen Stücke ist nur einem Zufall, dem Interesse des Zaren Peter des Großen zu verdanken. Durch ihn kamen sie in die Schatzkammer des Monarchen und später in die Ermitage, während der größere Teil, das was vorher gefunden worden war, eingeschmolzen wurde. Man darf vermuten, daß darunter auch Funde aus älterer Zeit waren. Von dem Handel in mykenischer Zeit unterschied sich jener, den Herodot beschreibt, nur in den Waren, nicht aber in dem von ihm benutzten Weg.

Herodots Bericht über die Stationen der Nordroute der Seidenstraße

Daß es auch in späterer Zeit ähnliche Handelsbeziehungen wie in mykenischer Zeit mit dem Ural gegeben hat, bestätigt indirekt Herodot, wenn er von der Hauptstadt der Budiner, die griechische Kaufleute nach einer Reise von 15 Tagen erreichten, berichtet.²¹ Sie lag hiernach schon in der Waldzone und war daher ganz aus Holz gebaut. Dort gab es eine eigene Niederlassung der griechischen Kaufleute mit Tempeln ihrer Götter.²² Offensichtlich waren über diese Hauptstadt der Budiner die griechischen Goldschmiedearbeiten in das Gebiet von Tobolsk gebracht worden, in dem sie im 17. Jahrhundert gefunden wurden. Herodot beschreibt den weiteren Verlauf dieses Handelsweges, der durch das Gebiet der Thyssageten führend den War erreichte, der mit der Wolga zu identifizieren ist. Von dort führte er dann nach Mittelasien.

Herodot hat die einzelnen Stationen dieser Route mit den Namen jener Völker bezeichnet, in deren Gebiet sie lagen. Diese Stationen entsprachen Rastplätzen, wo man nicht nur die Dolmetscher, sondern bei sechs von ihnen offen-

²⁰ Zur Datierung K. JETTMAR: a. a. O. S. 198.

²¹ Herodot IV, 22.

²² Herodot IV, 108. Nach Herodot bestand die 22 Stadien lange Mauer, die die Stadt der Budiner umgab ebenso aus Holz wie alle Gebäude der Stadt, darunter auch die griechischen Tempel. Sie war von Dareios bei seinem Feldzug gegen die Skythen im Jahre 510 v. Chr. zerstört und niedergebrannt worden (Herodot IV, 123). Dareios zog dann nach Nordosten zu den Thyssageten bis zum War (*Oaros*)-Fluß, wo er Befestigungen errichtete. Die Bezeichnung *Hwar* (= Wasser) ist als Name des Dnjepr und des Amudarya bekannt. Sie läßt sich ebensowenig identifizieren, wie die drei anderen Flüsse. Nach der Erwähnung der Thyssageten zu urteilen, könnte der Uralfluß gemeint sein. Dareios ist demnach bei der Verfolgung der Skythen einen Teil der Nordroute der Seidenstraße entlang gezogen. Man gewinnt aus den Angaben Herodots den Eindruck, daß der König nicht über den Kaukasus, sondern über die Sogdiana nach Persien zurückkehren wollte. Da sein Vater Hystaspes über Ostiran herrschte, waren ihm wahrscheinlich die sich dort am Syr darya vereinigenden Nord- und Südrouten der Seidenstraße bekannt und er hatte sie in seinen strategischen Plan einbezogen. Die acht von dem König errichteten Befestigungen sollten offenbar eine durch unwegsames Gebiet führende Straße blockieren, um den verfolgten Skythen die Rückkehr unmöglich zu machen. Bei diesem Feldzug konnte sich der König bis zur Donnmündung auf die Niederlassungen der ihm unterworfenen griechischen Städte stützen. Sie kannten auch den Weg nach Mittelasien, dem Gebiet der Parther. Der Grund für den Abbruch des Feldzuges war, daß offenbar einige dieser Städte schon damals vom König abfallen wollten.

bar auch die Karawanenführer wechseln mußte.²³ Das ergab sich aus den großen Entfernungen. Den gemieteten Karawanenführern war der Weg hier nur zum Teil vertraut. Die Dolmetscher mußten sogar siebenmal gewechselt werden. Brauchte man doch für die Issedonen, denen man auf einem Handelsplatz bei den Argypaioi begegnete, ebenfalls einen Dolmetscher.²⁴ Die Verwendung der Dolmetscher beweist, daß das Griechisch der Kaufleute bis hin zu den Issedonen wenigstens von einer kleinen Gruppe Sprachkundiger verstanden wurde. Man kann daher davon ausgehen, daß das Griechische für den von Herodot beschriebenen Teil der Straße allgemein die Verkehrssprache war. Daneben scheint die griechische Schrift in einzelnen Fällen auch zur Schreibung der Landessprachen verwendet worden zu sein. So sind in Europa kurze Texte in thrakischer Sprache erhalten, die mit griechischen Buchstaben geschrieben wurden.^{24a} In Mittelasien benutzte das sogenannte Baktrische, die Sprache der Kuschana, ebenfalls die griechische Schrift.^{24b} Daneben scheint man sich im Handelsverkehr außerdem noch einer bisher nicht gelesenen Schrift bedient zu haben, die mit den türkischen Runen vom Orchon Ähnlichkeit aufweist. Angaben in dieser Schrift finden sich auf einem großen Silberbarren aus Ai Khanum.^{24c} Fast alle bisher bekannten Beispiele für diese Schrift stammen aus Mittelasien.

In Mittelasien erreichte die von Herodot beschriebene Straße das Land der Parther.²⁵ Zwar werden sie von ihm nicht namentlich genannt, aber die Angaben über ihre Flucht von den königlichen Skythen nach Mittelasien, die für die Parther aus Pompeius Trogus bekannt ist, läßt an der Identität des hier erwähnten Volkes mit ihnen keinen Zweifel. Von den Parthern erreichte die Straße die Argypaioi. Sie bestritten nach Herodot ihren Lebensunterhalt aus den Erträgen der Jagd und dem Sammeln von Früchten.²⁶ Im Rahmen einer Schilderung ihrer Lebensweise beschreibt er das bei ihnen geübte Auspressen

²³ Herodot IV, 24.

²⁴ Herodot IV, 23.

^{24a} Goldschätze der Thraker, Thrakische Kultur und Kunst auf bulgarischem Boden, Katalog d. Ausstellung im Österreichischen Museum für angewandte Kunst 4.3. — 31. 5. 1975, Abb. 167. Ring mit Inschrift. Heute im Archäologischen Museum Sofia.

^{24b} Vgl. Foto bei J. AUBOYER: *L'Afghanistan et son Art*, 1968, Abb. 40.

^{24c} Vgl. hierzu A. A. MOTAMEDI: *Discovery of an Inscription in an Unknown Language at Ai-Khanum, Afghanistan*. Vol. 33, Nr. 1, S. 45—48. Aufzeichnungen in der in Ai Khanum gebrauchten Runenschrift finden sich in verwandten Formen in den beiden ersten Jahrhunderten v. Chr. überall in Mittelasien. Die Fundorte decken sich mit Stationen, die den mutmaßlichen Verlauf der Seidenstraße in diesem Gebiet bezeichnen. Nach den Gegenständen, auf denen sich die Aufzeichnungen in dieser Schrift befinden, gehen sie auf Händler zurück. Neben dem Silberbarren von Ai Khanum ist hier die Silberschale aus dem Kurgan von Issyk in der Kazakischen SSR zu nennen. Überwiegend finden sich die Aufzeichnungen in diesen Runen auf Ostraka und auf Keramik, die zum Verkauf bestimmt war.

²⁵ Justin. Trog. 41, 1,1. *Parthi . . . Scytharum exules fuere*. Schol. Berolinense in Lucani Bell. Civ. I, 553: *Scythico sermone Parthi exules dicuntur*. Weitere Erwähnungen bei Jordanes Get. u. Isidor Origin. IX, 3.

²⁶ Herodot IV, 23.

der Früchte eines *Pontikon* genannten Baumes zu einem Brei, den sie *Aschy* nannten. (*Aschy* hat in den Turksprachen die Bedeutung «bitter». Man könnte daher an eine Beziehung der Argyppaioi zu den späteren Turkvölkern denken, die die Beschreibung ihres Äußeren und ihre Lebensweise in Jurten, die mit Filz bekleidet waren, nahe legt.)²⁷

Bis zu den Argyppaioi, deren Wohnsitze man sich wahrscheinlich im Tal des Ili vorzustellen hat, kamen nach Herodot griechische Kaufleute von der Mündung des Dnjepr und aus Städten an der Küste des Schwarzen Meeres.²⁸ Das wird durch Funde von Münzen des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus Olbia und Pantikapaion in der Dzungarei bestätigt.²⁹

Der Schatten Chinas über dem Ostteil der Nordroute der Seidenstraße

Die Straße führte dann von den Argyppaioi weiter nach Osten.³⁰ Im Gegensatz zu den Argyppaioi, die auch von griechischen Kaufleuten besucht wurden, haben die Issedonen diese offenbar selbst bei den Argyppaioi besucht.³¹ Man kann daher annehmen, daß griechische Kaufleute weder in das zuweilen als Land der Issedonen bezeichnete eigentliche China noch in seine mit diesem Namen ebenfalls bezeichneten Randgebiete gekommen sind.

Es gab also an diesem östlichen Teil der Seidenstraße schon einen Handelsplatz, den die Issedonen besuchten. Die Angaben Herodots über die Issedonen stammen, wie er bemerkt, nur aus skythischer Quelle. Die Skythen hatten also damals die Dolmetscher für die Issedonen gestellt. Die Angaben, die sie übermitteln, gehen nach zwei Richtungen. Einmal berichten sie über die angeblich im Norden der Issedonen wohnenden Dämonen und übernatürlichen Wesen.³² Diese Angaben geben eigene Mythen der Issedonen wieder. Die zweite Gruppe

²⁷ Herodot bezeichnet die aus Zweigen zusammengesetzten Jurten als Bäume, die man im Winter mit Filz umhüllte.

²⁸ Herodot IV, 24.

²⁹ Eine Abbildung der Münzen findet sich bei E. H. MINNS: *Scythians and Greeks*. Cambridge 1913.

³⁰ Herodot IV, 24.

³¹ Herodot IV, 25 u. 26. Herodot betont zwar, daß auch das östlich von den Argyppaioi liegende Land der Issedonen bekannt sei, weist dann aber in Kap. 26 darauf hin, daß die Nachrichten über die Issedonen aus skythischer Quelle stammen.

³² Herodot IV, 27: Die hier zitierte Mythe der Issedonen, die von «Einäugigen» und den «das Gold hütenden Greifen» spricht, zeigt hier ihre skythische Herkunft durch das von Herodot zitierte skythische Wort für die «Einäugigen»: *Arimaspen*. Auch die altchinesische Mythologie kennt die «Einäugigen». Sie erwähnt sie in Verbindung mit der Übergabe des Bogens und der Pfeile durch den Himmelsgott Tsün an den Jagdgott Yin (W. MÜNKE: Die klassische chinesische Mythologie. Stuttgart 1976. S. 279 Shao Hao). Diese Mythe erinnert mit der Erwähnung des Jagdgottes Yi (MÜNKE a. a. O. S. 344) an die Legende vom königlichen Schützen Skythes, der den Bogen des Herakles und damit die Herrschaft über das Reich der Skythen erhält (Herodot IV, 10). Wie Lukian (1–10) zeigt, gaben die Griechen die Bedeutung von *Skythes* mit *Toxaris* = Bogenschütze wieder. *Skythes* entspricht germanisch *skutja* = Schütze. Sie ist durch die Bezeichnung *Σκόττας* bei Priskos, Exc. p. 125, 22 für einen der engsten Berater Attilas belegt.

der durch Herodot bekannt gewordenen Nachrichten über die Issedonen bezieht sich auf ihre Bestattungssitten.³³ Hiernach gab es bei ihnen keine Bestattung der Toten im üblichen Sinne. Das würde erklären, warum es im Westen von Kan-su und im Tarimbecken seit dem Neolithikum bis zur chinesischen Eroberung in dem Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende keine Grabfunde gegeben hat.

Eine klare Vorstellung von den Wohnsitzen der Issedonen kann man aber nicht aus der von Herodot gegebenen Beschreibung dieser nördlichen Route der Seidenstraße gewinnen. Hierfür muß man die Erwähnung dieses Volkes durch Ptolemaios heranziehen. Seine Beschreibung des Tarimbeckens, das er als *Serike* bezeichnet, kennt im Nordwesten die Wohnsitze der Issedonen.³⁴ Die Issedonen müssen also zu seiner Zeit dort beheimatet gewesen sein, wo die chinesischen Quellen die Wu-sun und auch die Yüe-chi kennen.³⁵ Da Ptolemaios für seine Darstellung wie die chinesischen Berichte Quellen aus der ersten Hälfte des zweiten und aus dem ersten Jahrhundert v. Chr. benutzt,³⁶ müssen zu dieser Zeit die Issedonen in der Hauptsache im Norden des Tarim und im Siebenstromland gewohnt haben. Das stimmt aber nicht für die Zeit, von der Herodot berichtet. Damals wohnten sowohl die Wu-sun wie auch die Yüe-chi der chinesischen Quellen, die nach den geographischen Angaben bei Ptolemaios mit den Issedonen gleichzusetzen sind, noch im Westen der chinesischen Provinz Kan-su und zu einem Teil auch in der Turfan-Oase. Von dort sind sie erst 176 v. Chr. nach Westen ausgewandert.³⁷ Demnach reicht die von Herodot gegebene Beschreibung der Nordroute der Seidenstraße von der Mündung des Don bis in den Westteil der Provinz Kan-su.

Der Versuch einer Rekonstruktion der Südroute der Seidenstraße

Eine mit Herodots Bericht über die Nordroute der Seidenstraße vergleichbare zusammenhängende Beschreibung gibt es für die Südroute nicht. Sie hat es, wie einige Fragmente beweisen, sicher einmal gegeben. Diese Teilstücke einer Beschreibung, die verschiedenen Zeiten angehören, reichen aber nicht aus, um ihren Verlauf im einzelnen rekonstruieren zu können. Zu den ältesten Fragmenten gehört eine nur zum Teil erhaltene akkadische Keilschrifttafel aus dem 7.

³³ Herodot IV, 26.

³⁴ Bei Ptolemaios 431, 5 ed. WILBERG heißt es: *ὑπὸ δὲ ταῦτα μέχρι τῶν Κασίων Ἰσσηδονες μέγα ἔθνος καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι αὐτῶν Θρόανοι*. Hiernach müssen die Issedonen unmittelbar westlich des hier mit der sogdischen Bezeichnung erwähnten *Tunhuang* gewohnt haben. Wo das im einzelnen im Tarimbecken gewesen ist, geht aus der Bemerkung des Ptolemaios nicht hervor. Sicher ist, daß die Wohnsitze der Issedonen zu dieser Zeit im Westen von Kan-su gelegen haben müssen. Die Provinz Kansu, wo die ehemaligen Wohnsitze der Yüe-chi lagen, scheidet also für diese Zeit aus.

³⁶ E. ZÜRCHER: *The Yüeh-shih and Kaniska in Chinese Sources*. S. 348–353 in *Papers on the Date of Kaniska*, ed. A. L. BASHAM, 1968. Hiernach dürften die chinesischen Quellen etwa aus der gleichen Zeit stammen wie die des Ptolemaios.

³⁷ E. ZÜRCHER: a. a. O., S. 366 übersetzt hier die sich auf die ehemaligen Wohnsitze dieser Völker beziehenden Angaben der chinesischen Quelle.

Jahrhundert v. Chr.³⁸ Was von ihr vorhanden ist, beschreibt einen Abschnitt, der von einer Stadt in Mesopotamien bis etwa nach Ekbatana reicht. Weitere Teile, die man als ihre bis Mittelasien reichende Fortsetzung ansehen kann, sind in den Stathmoi des Isidor von Charax erhalten, ein Werk, das der parthischen Zeit angehört.³⁹ Hier sind wie bei Herodot die Entfernungen zwischen den einzelnen Stationen angegeben. Nach seiner Beschreibung führte die Straße aus Mesopotamien über Ekbatana bis Kyreschata (= *Kuruš-kath* = «Stadt des Kyros»),⁴⁰ eine Festung, die sich schon in der Sogdiana befand. In achämenidischer Zeit war sie der nördlichste persische Stützpunkt im Osten Irans.

Im Norden der Sogdiana gab es damals die sogenannten »spitzmützigen« Saken⁴¹ und im Westen von ihnen zwischen Aralsee und Kaspischem Meer wohnten die Massageten,⁴² gegen die Kyros der Große «in der Ebene der Daher» im Jahre 529 v. Chr. gefallen war.⁴³ Von der Sogdiana aus erreichte die Route nach Plinius den *Silis* genannten Fluß,⁴⁴ der von Strabo als *Iaxartes* (= Perlenfluß) bezeichnet wird.⁴⁵ Der Name *Silis* gibt die parthische Aussprache des Flußnamens,⁴⁶ der in seiner persischen Form *Sir* auf die Serer zu weisen scheint, wieder. Die Bedeutung von *Iaxartes* = «Perlenfluß» war auch den Chinesen bekannt, die sie für ihre Bezeichnung des Flusses übernahmen.⁴⁷ Jeder der Namen dieses Flusses gehört zu der Beschreibung einer anderen Route der Seidenstraße. Als *Iaxartes* wird er bei Strabo bezeichnet, der Teile der Südroute

³⁸ Bei E. HERZFELD: Iran in the Ancient East, 1941.

³⁹ Die Stathmoi Parthikoi des Isidor von Charax folgen der alten Karawanenstraße, die vor allem das alte parthische Zentrum in Nisa und Hekatompylos berücksichtigte.

⁴⁰ Die Stadt, deren Namen BENVENISTE identifiziert hat, scheint mit dem im Hudūd al 'Ālam (Transl. and explained by V. MINORSKY, 2 Aufl. ed. C. E. BOSWORTH, 1970, S. 115 u 354) erwähnten Kurkath an der Straße, die an der durch Ferghana in das Tarimbecken führte, identisch zu sein. Es gehörte später zum Fürstentum Ustrushana und lag westlich des Jaxartes und am Nordhang des Buttamangebirges. Hier befanden sich Gold- und Silberbergwerke. E. BENVENISTE, «La ville Cyreschata». Journal Asiatique (1943/1945), p. 163.

⁴¹ Es handelt sich bei ihnen um die von den Persern *saka tigraxauda* «spitzmützige Saken» genannten Stämme, die südlich und nördlich des Syr darya wohnten. Herodot VII, 64 beschreibt ihre die Form einer Tiara besitzende Kopfbedeckung. Die als *Hunnen* bezeichneten Völker in Mittelasien, die sich der gleichen Kopfbedeckung bedienten, wurden nach dem Wort für «Tiara», *κίθαρις*, als «kidaritische Hunnen» bezeichnet. Man übertrug damit auf sie die von den Königen der Kuschana als Herrscher über diese Saken geführte Bezeichnung *Kidara Kušana šahi*. Vgl. auch Yasht, IX, 30, wo Vischtaspa um den Sieg über «die Feinde mit dem spitzen Helm» betet.

⁴² Herodot I, 204. Nach Herodot wohnten die Massageten in jener Ebene, die sich bis zum Ostufer des Kaspischen Meeres erstreckte.

⁴³ Die Notiz bei Berossos spricht von *Daern*.

⁴⁴ Plinius Nat. Hist. VI, 16 sagt: ... *includente flumine Iaxarte, quod Scythas Silim vocant*.

⁴⁵ Strabo Geogr. XI, 8,2.

⁴⁶ Mani bezeichnet das Gebiet der Serer nicht als *ΚΙΑΕΩC* sondern mit der Form *ΚΙΑΕΩC* (Kephalaia. Ed. BÖHLIG. S. 188, 32), der die bei Plinius überlieferten Namensform für den Fluß *Silis* entspricht.

⁴⁷ Die Chinesen nannten ihn *Tschen-tschu* = «wahre Perle» (Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kioüe Occidentaux, Paris 2. Aufl. 1900, S. 9). Sie übersetzten damit diese Bezeichnung in ihre Sprache.

kennt. *Silis* heißt er bei dem älteren Plinius, der ein Stück der Land- und Seeroute nach einer indischen Quelle beschreibt.⁴⁸ Beide Quellen unterscheiden sich durch die Darstellung der Serer. Strabo, der um die Zeitwende schrieb, verstand unter den Serern, wie seine Schilderung der Herstellung des nicht mit der Seide identischen Stoffes, der aus dem Bast der Ramiepflanzen gewonnen wurde, zeigt,⁴⁹ die Chinesen; der gleiche Autor identifiziert an einer anderen Stelle mit ihnen auch die Yüe-chi in Kan-su. Plinius der Ältere dagegen, der etwa ein halbes Jahrhundert nach Strabo schrieb, sah in ihnen ein Volk mit den gleichen körperlichen Merkmalen, wie sie nach den chinesischen Quellen die Wu-sun besaßen.⁵⁰

Der Unterschied erklärt sich aus der Benutzung verschiedener Quellen. Strabo geht über Apollodoros von Artamita wahrscheinlich auf die Ephemeriden jenes Feldzugs zurück, den Seleukos II. im Jahre 232 v. Chr. unternommen hatte,⁵¹ um die mit der Erhebung der Parther zusammenhängenden partikularistischen Bestrebungen im Osten des Irans zu unterdrücken. Strabo war durch diese Quelle in der Lage, sehr ausführlich über die damals in Mittelasien wohnenden Völker zu berichten. Seine Informationen bezogen sich auf die zweite Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts. Plinius der Ältere dagegen stützte sich auf eine wesentlich jüngere indische Quelle, die Beschreibung eines Teilabschnittes der von der indischen Küste kommenden Route der Seidenstraße. Sie stammt von dem indischen Kaufmann Rachias.⁵² Dementsprechend kannte Strabo die Serer, soweit er sie nicht überhaupt mit den Chinesen gleichsetzte, noch in ihren Wohnsitzen, die sie bis 176 v. Chr. in der späteren chinesischen Provinz Kan-su behaupteten. Plinius aber wußte nur von ihren Wohnsitzen in ihrer neuen Heimat im Nordosten des Tarimbeckens und im Siebenstromland.

Das Chinabild in den Nachrichten von der Südroute der Seidenstraße

Im Gegensatz zu Herodot erwähnt Strabo⁵³ bei der Beschreibung der Nordroute auch die Chinesen, wenn er von dem Verfahren der Serer zur Her-

⁴⁸ Plinius, Nat. Hist., VI, 54 u. V, 88. Rachias war als Gesandter des Königs von Taprobane (Ceylon) unter der Regierung des Kaisers Claudius nach Rom gekommen. Sein Bericht stützte sich auf die Erzählung seines Vaters, der diese Straße bereits hatte.

⁴⁹ Strabo XV, 693 *τοιούτα δὲ καὶ τὰ Σηρικὰ ἐκ τῶν φλοιῶν ξαινομένης βύσσου*. Er beschreibt hier nicht die Herstellung der Seide aus den Kokons des in Maulbeerbaumplantagen gezüchteten Seidenspinners, sondern die eines Gewebes, das aus den Fasern der Ramiepflanze gewebt wurde. Die Ramiepflanze wurde in China südlich des Hoang-ho angebaut.

⁵⁰ Plinius, Nat. Hist., VI, 88. Plinius erwähnt ihre rote Haarfarbe (*rutilis comis*) und ihre blauen Augen (*caeruleis oculis*). Die Wu-sun besaßen «rote Bärte» und «azurblaue (ts'ing) Augen» (CHARPENTIER: Die ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer. *ZDMG* 71 (1917) S. 374).

⁵¹ Vgl. HAUSSIG: Byzantinische Quellen über Mittelasien in ihrer historischen Aussage. S. 41 in *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, ed. J. HARMATTA, Budapest 1979.

⁵² Vgl. Anm. 48.

⁵³ Vgl. Anm. 49.

stellung der von ihm mit der Seide verwechselten Stoffe aus dem Bast der Ramie-Pflanze spricht, denn weder von den Serern in Kan-su vor dem Jahre 176 v. Chr. noch von den damals nach dem Nordwesten des Tarimbeckens ausgewanderten Teilen dieses Volkes ist bekannt, daß sie sich mit der Herstellung dieser Art Stoff befaßt hatten.⁵⁴ Die chinesischen Quellen, die sich in einer eigenen Monographie mit den Wu-sun beschäftigen, berichten davon nichts.⁵⁵ Da die Serer bei Plinius dem Älteren nach ihrer Beschreibung mit den Wu-sun identisch sein müssen,⁵⁶ gilt das auch für sie. Wenn Strabo die Chinesen als Serer bezeichnet,⁵⁷ wiederholt sich hier ein Vorgang, der auch bei der Entstehung des Namens anderer Völker zu beobachten ist, bei den Italern in Süditalien, nach denen die Bewohner der ganzen Halbinsel genannt wurden, oder den Germanen im Südwesten Mitteleuropas, deren Name als Bezeichnung der übrigen Stämme gebraucht wurde. Die Ursache für die Verwendung dieser Namen ist überall die gleiche. Es waren jene Völker, denen die Griechen in Italien, Deutschland oder China zuerst begegneten.

Die Mittlerrolle der Serer im Handel mit China

Während Herodot einen Handelsplatz bei den Argypaioi als Stätte des Warenaustausches zwischen Griechen und Issedonen nur voraussetzt, wird Plinius der Ältere auch hier deutlicher. Nach ihm erfolgte der Warenaustausch mit den Serern am Ufer eines Flusses und dort in der Form eines «stummen Tauschhandels».⁵⁸ Dem scheint auf den ersten Blick Herodot zu widersprechen, der voraussetzt, daß die griechischen Kaufleute mit den Issedonen durch skythische Dolmetscher sprechen konnten.⁵⁹ Der Widerspruch klärt sich dadurch

⁵⁴ Es gibt eine alte Erzählung in Chotan, nach der eine Prinzessin aus Kutscha das bestehende Verbot der Ausfuhr von Eiern des Seidenspinners dadurch umgangen habe, daß sie die Eier unter ihrer Kopfbedeckung über die Grenze nach Chotan brachte, wo man bis zu diesem Zeitpunkt weder Maulbeerkulturen noch die durch sie ernährten Seidenraupen kannte. (Vgl. CHAVANNES, Doc., S. 125—126). Die Erzählung keweist daß es im Tarimbecken erst relativ spät zur Einführung der Seidenraupenzucht gekommen ist.

⁵⁵ Vgl. J. J. M. DE GROOT: Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens. Teil 2. Berlin—Leipzig 1926. S. 125—16. Aus den Berichten geht hervor, daß die Wu-sun Nomaden waren und in Jurten wohnten. Man pflegte ihnen als Geschenke chinesische Seiden zu übersenden.

⁵⁶ Vgl. Anm. 50.

⁵⁷ Vgl. Anm. 49.

⁵⁸ Plinius Nat. Hist. VI, 88 u. Mela III, 59.

⁵⁹ Herodot IV, 24. u. 27. Herodot erwähnt die Notwendigkeit von sieben Dolmetschern für die Reise von der Donnmündung zu den Argypaiern. Da man auf dem Weg zu ihnen nur sechs Völker berührte, war offensichtlich der siebente für das Gespräch mit den Issedonen bestimmt. Diese Dolmetschertätigkeit bezog sich auch auf die schriftlichen chinesischen Angaben, die sich auf den zum Kauf angebotenen Seidenrollen befanden. In seiner Scholie zu Dionysios Perigetes heißt es: *Οἱ δὲ Σῆρες ὅτι τοὶ σηρικὸν πωλοῦντες ἀποκροῦνται τὸ τίμημα ἐπιγράφαντες τοῖς σακκίοις, καὶ ὁ ἔμπορος ἐξ ἐπιγραφῆς ποιεῖται τὰς ὑποκρίσεις.* Die Angaben der Scholie werden durch den Befund an den in Lo-lan gefundenen chinesischen Seidenrollen bestätigt. Sie enthielten nicht nur Angaben über den Preis, sondern auch über Länge, Breite und Gewicht. A. STEIN, Central Asian relics of Chinas ancient silk trade in T'oung Pao 20 (1921) 131 ff.

auf, daß Plinius hier, wie auch an anderer Stelle, eine indische Quelle benutzt.⁶⁰ Die Inder verfügten offenbar zu dieser Zeit über keine Dolmetscher, durch die sie sich mit den Serern verständigen konnten. Da man den Syr darya als *Silis* (= «Sererfluß») bezeichnete⁶¹ — der Name des Flusses wie der Name *Serer* wird bekanntlich in parthischer Aussprache statt des *r* mit einem *l* gesprochen — kann man vermuten, daß der Warenaustausch mit den Serern im Ferghana-Tal am oberen Syr darya erfolgte.

Der kombinierte See- und Landweg der Seidenstraße

Dieser dritte Weg der Seidenstraße setzt sich, was den Seeweg betrifft, aus einer ägyptischen und mesopotamischen Route zusammen, die beide nach Barygaza, einem Hafen an der Mündung des Namada in den Indischen Ozean, führten. Ihre Beschreibung ist in dem sogenannten «Periplus des Roten Meeres» enthalten, mit dem der Indische Ozean gemeint ist. Es handelt sich um eine aus der Zeit um Christi Geburt stammende Darstellung, die sich auf den Schiffsverkehr im Indischen Ozean bezieht. Sie erwähnt den von Barygaza über Baktrien nach Thinaï führenden Handelsweg. *Thinaï*⁶² bezeichnet hier die chinesische Hauptstadt, deren Name von der Bezeichnung *Ts'in* des westlichsten chinesischen Staates gebildet ist.

Zusammenhängende Beschreibungen der drei Landwege dieser Route der Seidenstraße gibt es nicht. Für einen von ihnen, jenen durch Mittelasien, bleiben als einzige Spuren die indischen geographischen Bezeichnungen von drei Gebirgen, die der Weg, der an der Mündung des Kabulflusses in den Indus seinen Ausgang nahm und bis in das Ferghana-Tal fast bis zur Quelle des Syr darya führte, berührte. Es sind die Sanskritnamen für den Hindukusch: *Ottokorra*, für den Pamir: *Imaos* (= *hima*) und für das Alai-Gebirge: *Kaschia* nach einem in Sanskritquellen vorkommenden Namen für ein Gebirgsvolk, das vielleicht mit den von Herodot erwähnten *Argypaioi* identisch ist.⁶³ Auf diesem Weg ist vielleicht die von Nearchos als *Dermata Serika* (= «Serische Häute») bezeichnete Seide nach Indien gekommen.⁶⁴ (Nearchos war der Admiral Alexanders des Großen.)

Von der zweiten Route, die über den Wachdir-Paß in Jarkänd das Tarimbecken erreichte, ist nur ein kleiner Abschnitt mit dem Wach-Fluß, vom Vikto-

⁶⁰ Vgl. Anm. 48.

⁶¹ Vgl. Anm. 46.

⁶² Periplus Maris Erythraei (ed. Müller, I, 303, 23): *παράκειται ἐν αὐτῇ πόλις μεσόγειος μεγίστη λεγομένη Θῶναι, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ τε ἔριον καὶ τὸ νῆμα καὶ τὸ δρόνιον τὸ Σηρικὸν εἰς τὰ Βαρύγυζα διὰ Βάκτρων πεζῆ φέρεται.*

⁶³ Die auch im Sanskrit belegte Bezeichnung *Khasa* für Kaschgar (Vgl. Lévi: La catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūri. Journal Asiatique 15 (1903) S. 52 u. 102) scheint auf die gleich lautende Bezeichnung der Bergstämme durch die Inder zurückzugehen (Lévi: Notes chinoises sur l'Inde. BRFEQ 5 [1905], S. 260–261).

⁶⁴ Strabo XV, 693 *σηρικὰ δέρματα.*

ria-See bis Balch, durch eine Beschreibung bei Plinius bekannt; sie geht auf die Wegbeschreibung durch den indischen Kaufmann Rachias zurück.⁶⁵

Auf die Benutzung der dritten Route, die vom oberen Indus über Gilgit und den Karakorumpaß nach Chotan in das Tarimbecken führte, weisen nur die vom ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr. an längs der Straße erhaltenen Graffiti.⁶⁶ Allerdings wurde diese Route wahrscheinlich schon 176 v. Chr. von den Sai-wang, den Saka der Indischen Quellen, nachdem sie von den Yüe-chi aus dem Siebenstromland vertrieben worden waren, für ihre Auswanderung nach Indien benutzt.⁶⁷

Man kommt also zu dem Ergebnis, daß die Entstehung der drei Routen, der Nordroute, der Südroute und des kombinierten Land- und Seewegs der Seidenstraße das Ergebnis einer sich über mehrere Jahrhunderte erstreckenden Entwicklung war.

Die Bedeutung der Zusammenfassung älterer Wegstrecken für die Entstehung der Seidenstraße

Während die Nordroute offensichtlich schon in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit für den Warenaustausch zwischen dem Westen und China benutzt wurde, scheint für die Südroute als Ganzes eine Verbindung erst durch die skythische Westwanderung im 8. und 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. entstanden zu sein. Bei der dritten Route der Seidenstraße, dem kombinierten See- und Landweg, hat die am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. erfolgende Angliederung des Pandschab an das achämenidische Persien durch Dareios den Großen die verschiedenen See- und Landwege zu einer durchgehenden Handelsstraße zusammengefaßt. Unter Dareios wurde durch den Griechen Skylax von Karyanda zunächst der Weg von Kaspapyros in Paktyia,⁶⁸ einer Stadt, die im Tal des Kabulflusses lag, über den Kyberpaß bis zum Indus erkundet.

Hierauf folgte dann die Fortsetzung der Reise zu Schiff bis zur Mündung des Indus und dann von dort über den Indischen Ozean zu den Häfen an der südarabischen Küste, von wo man Ägypten erreichte.⁶⁹ Die andere Abzweigung,

⁶⁵ Plinius, Nat. Hist. VI, 16. *Oxus amnis ortus in lacu Oaxo*. Plinius gibt dann kurz verschiedene Stationen der Straße nach Balch (Bactrum) wieder.

⁶⁶ Diese folgt im wesentlichen der heutigen Karakorumhochstraße. Die Graffiti entlang der Straße wurden von JETTMAR fotografiert und von HUMBACH bearbeitet, der seine vorläufigen Ergebnisse jetzt vorgelegt hat.

⁶⁷ Vgl. hierzu die Übersetzung des chinesischen Berichtes, der auf Chang-k'ien zurückgeführt wird, in der Gestalt des Ch'ien Han Shu durch ENOKI (bei A. K. NARAIN: *The Indo-Greeks*. Oxford 1957. S. 130). Hierzu muß man noch die Übersetzung, die G. HALOUN (bei J. JUNGE: *Saka-Studien*, Klio Beiheft 41. S. 96 nach dem Han-schu Kap. 96) gegeben hat. Hieraus ergibt sich, daß die von den Ta Yüe-chi vertriebenen Sai-wang über die Hängebrückenpässe, also die Straße von Khotan über den Karakorumpaß und Gilgit, nach Indien gezogen sein müssen.

⁶⁸ Herodot III, 102. Die hier erwähnten Sage von den «goldgrabenden Armeisen» kennt auch die tibetische Überlieferung.

⁶⁹ Herodot IV, 44.

die von der Mündung des Namada aus die mesopotamischen Häfen erreichte, hatte zwei Jahrhunderte später Nearchos an der Spitze der makedonischen Flotte erkundet.⁷⁰ Beide Seeverbindungen wurden in Teilen sicher schon früher benutzt, aber erst durch Dareios bzw. Alexander zu einer durchgehenden Verkehrs- und Handelsverbindung ausgebaut.

Auch bei der Südstraße sind einzelne Abschnitte schon lange vorher für den Handelsverkehr benutzt worden. Das gilt für die von Herodot erwähnte Strecke von Syrien nach Mesopotamien, auf der z.B. der Weinexport aus Syrien nach Babylonien durchgeführt wurde, und die Fortsetzung dieser Straße von Babylon nach Ekbatana.⁷¹

Auf diesem Wege kam vielleicht die bei Herodot als «medische Kleider» bezeichnete Wildseide, die bei den Persern sehr beliebt war,⁷² nach Mesopotamien. Dagegen wurden die Fäden, aus denen die Gewebe der Wildseide hergestellt wurden, wahrscheinlich über die berühmte persische Königsstraße durch Anatolien nach Sardes und Ephesus exportiert. Hier an der Westküste Kleinasiens lagen die griechischen Manufakturen, die aus ihnen die berühmten koischen Stoffe herstellten.⁷³

Bochum.

⁷⁰ Vgl. Strabo XV, 693.

⁷¹ Herodot I, 194.

⁷² Herodot I, 135. Hier wird von dem Import medischer Kleidung durch die Perser berichtet. Dort scheint zuerst die Wildseide hergestellt worden zu sein, die offenbar zu den sogenannten «medischen Kleidern» verarbeitet wurde.

⁷³ Die Berichte über die Herstellung der Seide in Kos gehen bis in die zweite Hälfte des dritten Jahrhunderts zurück. Damals kannte man nur die Wildseide, bei der die Kokons in den Wäldern gesammelt wurde. Die Angabe bei Plinius (Nat. Hist. 76) kann sich daher nicht auf Kos bezogen haben, sondern wahrscheinlich auf Lydien.

B. A. LITVINSKIY—I. R. PICHIKYAN

MONUMENTS OF ART FROM THE SANCTUARY
OF OXUS
(NORTH BACTRIA)*

The last decades have been successful in the field of study of the culture of Central Asia, especially of the culture and art of Bactria. The archeological excavations removed the curtain over this region. The fundamental results have been achieved through the unearthing and systematic excavations of the Graeco-Bactrian city Ai-Khanum in North Afghanistan (South Bactria). They revealed here principles of city planning, solutions of planned composition, technique of construction, monuments of written culture, the Greek way of life of an antique city in Ancient Bactria, far away from the coast of the Mediterranean.¹ Certain parallels were furnished by the excavations in Saksanokhur (North Bactria), where the complex of a palace and a temple has been unearthed.² However,

* ABBREVIATIONS

AO	Археологические открытия. Москва.
ИООН АН Тадж. ССР	Известия Отделения общественных наук АН Таджикской ССР
КСИА	Краткие сообщения Института археологии АН СССР
МАР	Материалы по археологии России.
МИА	Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР
НС ГМИНВ	Научные сообщения Государственного музея искусства народов Востока.
CA	Советская археология.
СГЭ	Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград.
СМБК	Сообщения Музея восточных культур. Москва.
Тр. ТГУ	Труды Ташкентского государственного университета.
AA	Archaeologischer Anzeiger.
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung.
AIBL	Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
BSFN	Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique.
IsMEO	Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
JASB	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
JHS	Journal of Hellenistic Studies.
MDAFA	Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.
ML	W. H. Roscher: Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.
PPS	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society.
RA	Revue archéologique.

¹ P. BERNARD: *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum* (Campagnes 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968). MDAFA, XXI, Paris 1973.

² B. A. LITVINSKIY—H. МУХТДИНОВ: Античное городище Саксанохур (Южный Таджикистан) СА 1969. No. 2, 166 foll.

as a matter of fact, just a few monuments of Graeco-Bactrian representative art (statues, reliefs, etc.) have been discovered. From the earlier, Achaemenid, period in the Bactrian territory we have interesting data on cities, structures of architecture, complexes of material culture, but we have hardly any finds of monuments of art. The researchers, therefore, have referred for a hundred years to the Graeco-Bactrian coins, collected in Afghanistan, in Northern India and in the southern part of Central Asia, and to the treasure of the Oxus (in Russian professional literature: «Amudar'inskiy klad»), containing a larger quantity of objects made of gold from the Achaemenid and Seleucid periods. The striking artistic quality, the expressive and fine portraiture and characteristic representation of the Graeco-Bactrian kings on the coinages convincingly showed the existence of a high level of monumental art, especially of sculpture, *i.e.* of the original specimens copied by the minters. This is also shown by the highly artistic monuments of fine arts contained in the stock of the treasure of the Oxus, found by local inhabitants in 1877.³ The history of the accidental discovery of the treasure of the Oxus and the interpretation of the finds contained in it have been heatedly discussed up to the present time. All researchers agree that the treasure was discovered within the boundaries of Bactria, at the Oxus (Amu-Darya). In fact, it has definitively entered history as the «treasure of the Oxus» (or in Russian as «Amudar'inskiy klad»).

The history of the archaeological study of the upper course of the Amu-Darya on the right bank, that is of the narrow coastal strip, situated between the Amu-Darya and the rocky ridge of the Teshik-Tash, extending near to the river, is therefore of interest, because it is almost indisputable that the Amu-Darya treasure was found in one of the two fortresses on the right bank, protecting the ancient crossing place, *viz.* the southern Takht-i Kubad, opposite to the mouth of the Qunduz-Darya and the northern fortress — Takht-i Sangin, the «Stone Platform» (Kamennoye gorodishche according to M. M. Diakonoff), at the confluence of the Vakhsh and the Panj.⁴

N. Mayev and N. Pokotilo, who stayed in that region at the Takht-i Kubad for some years after the discovery of the treasure of the Oxus, and considerably later also D. N. Logofet, published reports in favour of the discovery of the treasure at this place (N. Mayev, N. Pokotilo),⁵ and speak of the richness

³ O. M. DALTON: *The Treasure of the Oxus*. London III. ed. 1964.

⁴ O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.*; E. V. ЗЕУМАЛ: Еще раз о месте находки Амударьинского клада. ИООН АН Тадж. ССР 1 (28) (1962) 30. See E. V. ЗЕУМАЛ: Амударьинский клад. Leningrad 1979; M. M. ДИАКОНОВ: Работы Кафирниганского отряда. МИА 15 (1950) 183; *idem*: Археологические работы в нижнем течении реки Кафирнигана (Кобадиян) 1950—1951. 37 (1953) 254; *idem*: У истоков культуры Таджикистана. Stalinabad 1956. 69.

⁵ F. ЗНУКОВ: Верхнее течение Аму-дарьи. Газета «Туркестанские ведомости» 18. III 12 (1880) (N. A. МАЕВ under the pseudonym «F. Знукон» published some of his scientific and belletristic works); N. РОКОТИЛО: Путешествие в центральную и восточную Бухару. Известия Русского географического общества. 25 СПб. (1889) 480.

in gold of the bank of the river (D. N. Logofet).⁶ The latter writes quite obscurely about a nail-formed (cuneiform ?) inscription on the rocky wall, but he publishes no photograph. Consequently, the authenticity of this report, of course, raises serious doubts. Except the gold diggers, about whom we know from the reports of N. Mayev and N. Pokotilo, nobody had made excavations at Takht-i Kubad.

At Takht-i Sangin the first exploratory trenches were made in 1928 by the members of the expedition of the National Museum of the Art of the Peoples of the Orient B. P. Denike. M. M. Diakonoff found on a column the inscription: «To send to the Moscow museum . . .», written with copying pencil, and he reported about this.⁷ The results of the works of this year have not been published.⁸ M. M. Diakonoff has left impressive lines on his stay at Kamennoye gorodishche, however, he did not regard the treasure of the Oxus as a uniform complex, contesting the opinion of O. Dalton — to be sure without argumentation — on the Iranian origin of the objects contained in it.⁹ Almost thirty years after the works of B. P. Denike, in 1956 A. M. Mandelshtam made an exploratory excavation 11 m. by 7 m., in a depth up to 2—2,5 m. in Kamennoye gorodishche, which did not furnish substantial results.¹⁰ In a series of his articles, on the basis of the pottery discovered, he dated the early layers of Kamennoye gorodishche to Graeco-Bactrian times.¹¹ A. M. Mandelshtam did not connect the explored place with the treasure of the Oxus.

Beginning with 1976 through 1982 the South Tajikistan Archeological Expedition, led by B. A. Litvinskiy, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR, has been carrying on excavations in Kamennoye gorodishche. The Takht-i Kubad team of the Archeological Expedition of South Tajikistan (headed by I. R. Pichikyan) did not set itself the target to identify the site of the treasure of the Oxus. The selection of the place of the works at Takht-i Sangin (Kamennoye gorodishche) was connected with a systematic exploration of the cultural relations of the ancient peoples of Central Asia with the Far East, esp. with China, India, Iran, Afghanistan and the Mediterranean area. The antique phase of these relations has been studied very little so far. The location of the gorodishche on the ancient caravan route, the excellent pre-

⁶ D. N. ЛОГОФЕТ: На границах Средней Азии. Путевые очерки в 3-х книгах. Кн. III, СПб. 1909. 57—59; M. M. ДИАКОНОВ: Археологические работы. 255.

⁷ M. M. ДИАКОНОВ: Археологические работы . . . 254 foll. In 1977 we found in the same place a big piece of a column, although without an inscription.

⁸ B. P. ДЕНИКЕ: Экспедиция Музея восточных культур в Термез. Предварительный отчет. Культура Востока СМВК I. Moscow 1927. 18; *idem*: Экспедиция Музея восточных культур в Среднюю Азию 1927 года. Культура Востока I. Moscow 1928. 4.

⁹ M. M. ДИАКОНОВ: Археологические работы . . . 255.

¹⁰ See B. A. ЛИТВИНСКИЙ—I. P. ПИЧИКЯН: Тахти Сангин — Каменное городище. Раскопки 1976—1978. Культура и искусство древнего Хорезма. Moscow 1980. 195.

¹¹ A. M. МАНДЕЛСХТАМ: Кочевники на пути в Индию. МИА 136 (1966) 146. *Idem*: К истории Бактрии — Тохаристана (Некоторые археологические наблюдения). КСИА 98 (1964) 23. *Idem*: Памятники кочевников кушанского времени в Северной Бактрии. Leningrad 1975. 135—136.

servation of the strong stone protective walls (not characteristic at all of the unburnt brick and mud architecture of the region), the parts of antique columns scattered on the surface of the earth have aroused interest from immemorial time. However, the difficult approach to the place, the distance from the inhabited places, the lack of drinking-water, rendered the excavations very complicated, even if at the same time the exploration of this *gorodishche* was of great interest both for the historian and for the archaeologist, but it demanded great material and human expenditures at the permanent works.¹² As from 1976 from year to year, the progress of the works has been showing more and more convincingly the perspectivity of research work at Takht-i Sangin. The archaeological and stylistic parallels of certain finds of the treasure of the Oxus show the possibility of a more scientific understanding of the highly artistic objects contained in it that, together with the new discoveries of the works of art, is important for the history of culture of Central Asia, Afghanistan and Iran.¹³

Takht-i Sangin consists of urban structures and manors surrounded from the north and the south with protective walls in a distance of 1 kilometre. In the centre of the city there is the citadel (165 m. by 237 m.), surrounded with a moat up to 3 metres deep, and with stone walls rising up to a height of 6 metres even today, with a thickness of 2 metres, and at the corners flanked by bastions. To the west the *gorodishche* stands close to the ridge of the Teshik-Tash, where the necropolis is situated. Thus from the west the fortress is protected by a mountainous ridge, from the east by the Amu-Darya, and from the north and the south by a double line of protective walls. Thus, as a result of the strategically considered selection of the place, it was inaccessible from the dry land. The natural factors strengthened the efficiency of the structures of fortification, strong even without them. The planning of the citadel, in its eastern half, is characterized by the existence of a big square paved with big bricks (50 cm. by 50 cm.), and in its western half there are structures of a palace and a sanctuary rising 3 metres above the court. The ruins of these structures form three mounds: the central, the northern, the north-western and southern.

It was clear from the very beginning of the research work that in the central mound (digging of 25 metres by 30 metres) we are unearthing a sanctuary structure.¹⁴ Now, on the basis of an inscription — consecrated to the god

¹² M. M. DIAKONOFF: Археологические работы . . . 265.

¹³ O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.*; E. V. ZEYMAL: Амударьинский клад; T. I. ZEYMAL — E. V. ZEYMAL: Еще раз . . . 40—45; B. G. GAҒUROV: Таджики. Moscow 1972. 78; E. E. KUZMINA: В стране Кавата и Афрасиаба. Moscow 1977. 47, 124; *eadem*: Семантика изображения на серебряном диске и некоторые вопросы интерпретации Амударьинского клада. Искусство Востока и античность. Moscow 1977. 16; B. YA. STAVISKIY: Кушанская Бактрия. Проблемы истории и культуры. Moscow 1977. 74, 93; *idem*: Заметки об Амударьинском кладе. Искусство Востока и античность. Moscow 1977. 43.

¹⁴ I. R. PICHIKYAN: Культурный комплекс на Каменном городище (обоснование, характеристика). Всесоюзное научное совещание «Античная культура Средней Азии и Казахстана» (Тезисы докладов). Tashkent 1979. 88—90.

Oxus — this attribution has been fully confirmed. The nucleus of the palace-sanctuary complex consists of the central quadratic White Hall (144 square metres) and the two lines of circumambulatory galleries, with a breadth of about 3 metres, and the length of the southern section being 12 metres, that of the western section 21 (26) metres, and that of the northern section, being the reflection of the southern section and explored so far only on the surface, 12 metres. The central four-columned White Hall and the corridors are formed by mudbrick walls on the natural subsoil, with a preserved height of up to 5.5 metres and a thickness of 3 metres, rising from the subsoil up to the present-day surface. The size of the bricks ($50 \times 50 \times 15$ cm) is unusual for the structures of the Kuşāna monuments of North Bactria.¹⁵ Each wall was plastered three times and whitewashed several times.

The described planning of the temple of Takht-i Sangin (Fig. 1) can be traced back to the Iranian fire temples. A difference can be observed in the arrangement and number of the doorways, in the connection of the three inner ambulatory corridors among themselves, framing the cell from the front and the sides, and in other not important details of the uniform construction of the eastern fire temple. We see an entirely identical planning in Persepolis, in the little known fire temple, discovered by E. Herzfeld.¹⁶ Obviously the architects planning the sanctuary of Takht-i Sangin relied upon this, or another similar model. Other architectural and planning solutions of temples with four-columned cells and three ambulatory corridors near to those of Persepolis and Takht-i Sangin are published by K. Schippmann in his book dedicated to the development of the form of the Iranian fire temples.¹⁷ It has to be added that the sanctuary in the north-eastern part of Dilberjin also belongs to this archaeological standard.¹⁸

The roofing of the central White Hall (named by us so because of the colour of the white plaster and the white alabaster floor) rested on four columns. Of the columns the torus-shaped bases of the eastern order have been preserved, with removable tori on the two-step pedestal. The dimensions of the bases (1 metre on the side of the pedestals, and 0,65 metres at the lower part of the columns) allow to reconstruct the volumetrical solution of the central White

¹⁵ V. A. NILSEN: *Архитектура Средней Азии V—VIII вв.* Tashkent 1966. 204—208; G. A. РУГАСЧЕНКОВА: *К истории античной строительной техники Бактрии — Тохаристана (По раскопкам в Халчаяне)* СА 4 (1963) 74; *eadem*: *Халчаян.* Tashkent 1966. 126—127; *eadem*: *Дальверзинтепе. Кушанский город на юге Узбекистана.* Tashkent 1978. 232; *eadem*: *К познанию античной и раннекушанской архитектуры Северного Афганистана.* Вып. 1. I. Moscow 1976. 126; *eadem*: *Жига-тепе. (Раскопки 1974 г.). Древняя Бактрия,* Вып. 2. Moscow 1979. 70—72.

¹⁶ A. GODARD: *L'Art de Iran.* Paris 1962. 161, Fig. 156.

¹⁷ K. SCHIPPMANN: *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer.* Berlin—New York 1971. 496, Fig. 83, 178—180, Fig. 24.

¹⁸ I. T. KRUGLIKOVA: *Дильберджин. Раскопки 1970—1972 гг. Part I.* Moscow. 16. Unfortunately I. T. KRUGLIKOVA does not mention anything about the formation of the hall with inner column (room 1), presuming that the columns must stand outside and not within the cell.

Hall quite firmly with the original height of the columns of nearly 7 metres. The removability of the tori finished on a rotating millwork, separately from the pedestals, the character of the working of the stone, having analogies in the Achaemenid architecture¹⁹ and in the Graeco-Bactrian order of Ai-Khanum,²⁰ speak for the Seleucid or early Graeco-Bactrian times as the date of the original construction, to be dated on the basis of the archaeological characteristics not later than to the 3rd century B. C.

The analysis of the fashioning of the monumental altar, discovered in the north-western corner of the White Hall, confirms this early date of the establishment of the sanctuary. The stylobate of the altar area, standing on the subsoil, with two bases for circular altars on the upper plain surface with a diameter of 1 metre, is attached direct to the western wall of the hall and standing at a distance of 0.6 metres from the northern wall in its full length. The breadth and length of the stylobate is close to the square, *viz.* 2.65 metres by 2.5 metres by 0.3 metres. The rectangular squares running along the perimeter of the stylobate have an edge without oblique grooves that points to an early Hellenistic date of the establishment of the altar and to the Greek tradition of stone-cutting craft. As regards its axes, this structure is perfectly parallel with the sides of the square formed by the four columns, and absolutely identical with it regarding the character of the fashioning of the stones. The unity of the compositional solution of the interior of the White Hall and the quality of execution of the monumental altar and of the columns point to the establishment of the sanctuary of Oxus as a whole in Graeco-Bactrian times. A close analogy to the form of the base of the stone altar is furnished by the altar of Dilberjin, with dimensions 2.47 metres by 2.48 metres, and height 0.6 metres. It is true that three rows of blocks were preserved there (the upper one is definitely the later — the Authors).²¹ An analogous altar is known in Surkh Kotal in the inner cell of the temple of Kanışka.²²

The monumentally formed doorways, the jambs of which are reinforced by triple pylons, set on rectangular stone bases give an effect of stateliness

¹⁹ The bases with removable tori in the White Hall cannot be dated later than the Hellenistic period. In the profile the tori discussed here are entirely analogous to the three-stepped torus-like bases of the outer portico of the propylaeum of Ai-Khanum. As a consequence of this the original construction of the central nucleus of the cultic complex discovered by us is very likely contemporaneous with the propylaeum of Ai-Khanum. E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis I. Figs 75—79, Pls. 119, 122*; A. B. TILLA: *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs. II. Rome 1978. Figs 4—5, 12—15, 18—25, 38, 39.*

²⁰ P. BERNARD: *Chapiteaux corinthiens hellénistiques de l'Asie Centrale découverts à Ai Khanoum. Syria 45 (1968) 128, 129, Figs 8a, 10*; P. BERNARD: *Campagne de fouilles 1969. AIBL, 1970, avril—juil. Paris 1970. 337, Fig. 29*; *ibidem* 333, Fig. 28.

²¹ I. T. KRUGLIKOVA: *Дильберджин. Раскопки 1970—1972 гг. 29, Figs 20—29.*

²² D. SCHLUMBERGER: *Der hellenisierte Orient. Die griechische und nachgriechische Kunst außerhalb des Mittelmeerraumes. Kunst der Welt. Baden-Baden 1969. 62, Fig. 27.*

similar to those of Ai-Khanum and earlier monuments of eastern architecture.²³

The main votive offerings, concentrated to a depth of 3.5 to 4 metres under the modern surface, were lying on the floors not far from the subsoil, at a distance of 0.05 to 1 metre that has to range them with the first period of construction. However, up to the present time no pure Graeco-Bactrian layer could be separated, since in the floors, pits and cultic burials the latest, undoubtedly Kuşāna material seems to be determinant as to the dating. This can be explained by the literal period of the life of the sanctuary, and also by the preservation of its functional meaning also after the conquest of Graeco-Bactria by the Kuşānas. The early date is confirmed only by the basic mass of the finds, viz. by highly artistic, and as a result of this fairly reliably datable, works of fine arts of the Seleucid and Graeco-Bactrian periods.

Certain finds of the Achaemenid period, earlier than the time of construction of the sanctuary, purely Greek items of the classical time, are well explained by the statements of the written sources on ancient weapons and votive monuments of different times to be found in the temples. This picture is given by the comparisons with the excavations of other sanctuaries,²⁴ where the chronological dispersion of the votive stock is determined by the careful relation of the sacrificers to the sacrificial offering to the deity, characteristic of the religions of all times and peoples. The robbing of the sanctuaries having very precious treasures, still in ancient times, most frequently by people belonging to foreign tribes, or in very exceptional cases by compatriots, is shown even more convincingly by the results of the archaeological excavations, than by the antique authors. It has to be stated that the richness of the material in Takht-i Sangin is not characteristic of the urban sanctuaries.

A normal way of preservation of offerings out of use both in Greece and in the East was their hiding in specially digged pits (bothroi) or in old worn-out reservoirs, receptacles, cisterns, water tanks. Regarding the character of the storages of the finds, in Takht-i Sangin several types of cultic interring have been

²³ R. NAUMANN: *Architektur Kleinasiens von ihren Anfängen bis zum Ende der hethitischen Zeit*. Tübingen 1971. 160—171, Figs 194—217, 406; P. BERNARD: *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum*. Pls. 45, 56, 61—64; B. A. LITVINSKIY—X. MUHITDINOV: *op. cit.* 164, Figs 3, 5.

²⁴ C. CARAFANOS: *Dodone et ses ruines*. Paris 1878. Pls. XIII—XLIV, XLIX—L; R. M. DAWKINS: *The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta*. London 1929. 239, 244, Pls. CLXVII, 2, CLXXV, 14; 236—237, Pl. CLXII; G. DAUX: *Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1963*. BCH 90 (1966), 2, P. 847, Fig. 5 (a, b); F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis, II*. Chicago 1957. 63, Fig. 8 (PT, 5, N 409; PT 4, N 409, N 449), p. 99, Fig. 20 (PT 6, N 578 c, PT U, 1114 a). O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.* In the Northern Coast of the Black Sea: M. M. НУДУК: *Из истории Нимфея*. Leningrad 1962. 22, 26, 47, 54; E. I. LEVI: *Ольвийская агора*. МИА 50 (1956) 41; E. I. LEVI: *Новые посвященные надписи Аполлону Дельфинию*. In: *История и культура античного мира*. Moscow 1977. 96; E. I. LEVI: *Материалы ольвийского теменоса*. Ольвия. Теменос и агора. Moscow—Leningrad 1964. 132, 133.

discovered. These are dumps in distant corners of corridors (Nos 1—4), castings into specially constructed pits (bothroi) (Nos. 1—5) and dumps behind a partition (favissa) (No. 1). Thereafter the corridors were walled up blocking the doorways with other bricks smaller in size, than those of which the walls were built (doorways Nos. 1, 2). In the second period of construction the doorways were renovated, the corridors were strewn to 2 metres, leveled with a stamper and paved, the walls were strengthened with arch-butresses. The functioning of the sanctuary continued that is testified by the bringing of horns of sacrificial animals into the corridors, *viz.* of stags, bulls, goats, rams, found on the pavement without accompanying material. Soon afterwards the whole territory of the sanctuary, the hall and the three ambulatory corridors were filled up with stiff clay. The cultic votive deposits, arranged in the area of the sacred sites beside, and in the sanctuary itself in specially digged pits (bothroi),²⁵ in favissas,²⁶ the uniqueness of the votive objects and the difference in time of the cast off material, are widely known from the excavations of the antique monuments. The offering of the horns of the sacrificed animals has analogies in the most ancient eastern sacred monuments, contemporary with the sanctuary of Oxus.²⁷

The description of the structure and dimensions of the bothroi and cultic interings is given in the most detailed form in special archaeological reports, partly already published.²⁸

In the present work we cannot publish all monuments of art discovered by us. Therefore, we discuss in detail certain finds of ambulatory corridor No. 2, and we only mention the other, brightest ones.

All the proposed monuments have been discovered in the same depth, in the last lower metre of ambulatory corridor No. 2 of the excavated temple

²⁵ As was noted by E. I. LEVI: «The pits with cultic materials were concentrated either immediately in the neighbourhood of the temples, or on the borders of the temenos.»

²⁶ The structure of the favissa with pit closed with a Doric capital see: H. A. THOMPSON: Activities in the Athenian Agora. *Hesperia* 27, 2 (1958) 145; D. BURR: A Geometric House and a Proto-Attic Votive Deposit. *Hesperia* 2 No. 4 (1933) 542; K. LEHMAN: Samothraka. *Hesperia* 19 (1950) 12, Pl. 9; C. WEICKERT: Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien. Augsburg 1929. 78.

²⁷ To the *bothroi*, pits for the throwing of cultic deposits, there are so broad analogies in the antique world that it is no use to mention them. An analogous repository of the horns of sacrificial animals has been discovered recently in the southeastern corridor in Dedoplis Mindori (Georgia). The throwing down is dated to the 1st century B. C. According to the authentic assertion of the researcher, this temple stands side by side with a multitude of temple and palace buildings of ancient and Hellenistic East. У. М. ДАГОШИДЗЕ: Раскопки храма I в. до н. э. в Дедоплис Миндори (Восточная Грузия). КСИА чешские 161 (1977) 107.

²⁸ B. A. LITVINSKIY—I. R. PICHIKYAN: Тахти-Сангин—Каменное городище (Раскопки 1976—1978 гг.) 195—218; B. A. LITVINSKIY—I. R. PICHIKYAN: Археологические открытия на юге Таджикистана. Вестник Академии Наук СССР 1980. № 7. 124—133; B. A. LITVINSKIY—I. R. PICHIKYAN: Ножны акинака из Бактрии. ВДИ 1981. № 3. 87—110. see also the articles of I. R. PICHIKYAN in the volumes entitled «Археологические открытия» for the years 1976—1980.

on Takht-i Sangin.²⁹ This, first of all, relates to cultic deposit No. 4, consisting of different cultic and dedicated material cast on the floor in a depth of 0.1 metre above the subsoil into the most distant corner of the 21 metres long ambulatory corridor No. 2.³⁰ The casting of the cultic objects took place in the 1st century A. D., they showed a synchronous character, but the main offering gifts can be dated to the Hellenistic period, and certain specimens to the 5th century B. C.

Let us turn to the monuments of polar dating *i.e.* to those of the earliest and the latest dating, and also to those of fairly strict dating.

The sheath of the Achaemenid akinakes is made of solid piece of ivory (Fig. 2). The upper end with a side part consisting of two semiovals has a circular hole for the attachment to the belt.³¹

On the front surface two «scenes» are engraved. The main, upper scene is very expressive, *viz.* it is filled by the large figure of a lion standing on its hind paws, holding in its forelegs a small stag. The body of the king of the animals is represented in profile, and its head in front-view with a little turning to the stag. The head of the lion is modelled clearly, expressively. The bulges of the cheek and the forehead are projecting relief-wise, the chin is well cut, the eyes are carefully fashioned, the nose is modelled with wrinkles on the upper surface and with nostrils, and the whiskers are widely projecting on the sides. From the closed, snarling mouth big slantwise canines are protruding. The lion holds the stag in its paws. The lion is standing on its fully straightened out hind paws, the right one being ahead (on a higher level), and the left one behind (on a lower level). The legs of the animal are accurately represented, on the right leg even the contracted pillows of the claws are shown. The tail is lowered between the legs and twisted around the right leg. It ends in a broadening, a tassel. The powerful body of the beast of prey is strongly stressed with its paw stretched ahead, with which it holds the stag. The hair on the back and the mane are indicated with parallel slanting bulging stripes with outer curly ends. The gap between the stripes is filled up with circular bulging hatches running at angles to the basic ones. All this, although in a conditional and generalizing way, gives the impression of a thick fur.

²⁹ The upper two construction periods, the second and the third (5 to 2 metres above the subsoil) furnished altogether about 20 fragments of Kuşāna pottery. In corridor No. 2, the second construction period, on a level of 2 metres above the datum-point of levelling, on 1 metre above the real subsoil, exactly corresponded to the material on the synchronous level in corridor No. 1. Here there were found about ten whole horns of the *Capra subgutturosa*, rams and goats. On the floor, together with the horns, no other finds were discovered.

³⁰ Cultic deposit No. 4 in the northern end of the western circular gallery of the temple, of corridor No. 2, consisted mainly of alabaster sculptures of different forms.

³¹ The whole sheath of akinakes made of ivory was cleaned and fixed by I. R. PICHIRYAN and the restorator N. TURLIGIN, A. Donish Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR, inventory No. 1000/1091. On the outer surface there are minor defects and crackles.

In the femural part the legs, two ovals with a notch, conditionally stressing the muscles, at the same time serve as a filling ornament, characteristic of archaic art. In the front part of the thigh are two twisted converging stripes, with circular thin lines between them, similar to the horns of a goat. On the front shoulder-blade there are twirls, but without notching, whose outlines, besides these, are represented with a small bulging. The joints of the paw and the bulging claws are fashioned in a detailed form.

A vertical stripe runs along the breast and the abdomen (it incurves below) with a horizontal notch. But the head of the lion is fashioned most clearly and in a most detailed form. It is represented in front-view with a slight turning to the right, to the stag. The figure of the stag is represented vertically in profile, it is most expressive and realistic. The muzzle of the stag is turned towards the lion, its feet are twisted and let down in a pose of obedience.

The lower broadening of the sheath (*bouterolle*), is filled up with the figure of a doubling up beast of prey and with the head of a goat (Fig. 3). The trunk of the attacking animal belonging to the *felidae* is highly stylized. The carver paid the greatest attention to the head of the goat, which is not only dominating in its size, but it is represented also with a careful fashioning of many details. The side surfaces and the upper edge are ornamented in two stripes with the Greek ornament of *ovoli*, *viz.* with an outer narrow one with close-set perpendicular notches, and with an inner broad one, consisting of Ionic *ovoli*, turned inside (bigger than on the lower, narrow one).

The composition of both scenes is excellent. The figures of the animals of prey and their victims are excellently drawn into the picture-plane, utilizing each millimetre of the space. The sheaths, besides being highly artistic works of art, at the same time reflect the synthesis of the components of Achaemenid culture merging with the achievements of antique Asia Minor (Ionic ornament framing the representations), of ancient eastern symbology (in spite of the «zoomorphic» physiognomy of the lion, it is unusually anthropomorphic, undoubtedly this is a mythological allegory, *viz.* the triumphant winner — the king or god — and the obedient subject), and the animal style, to which the lacerating scene on the *bouterolle* belongs, interpreted in its own way and completed with ornamental motifs.

The sheaths of Takht-i Sangin are undoubtedly sheaths of dagger-akinakes. On the reliefs of Persepolis the form of the akinakes and its sheath borne by the Persians sharply differ from those of the Medes.³² The akinakes of the

³² E. HERZFELD: *Iran in the Ancient East*. London—New York 1941. 266; E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis, I. Structures. Reliefs. Inscriptions*. Chicago, III 1953. (The University of Chicago Oriental Publications. Vol. XLVIII) 165—166; E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis, II. Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries*. Chicago. I. 11 1957. (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications. Vol. LXIX) 99; B. GOLDMAN: *Achaemenian Chapes*. «*Ars Orientalis*» II. Michigan 1957. 43—45.

Persians had a hilt broadening towards the pommel and to the guard. Its lateral parts were arch-formed and the pommel had the form of egg-shaped bulging. The dagger is in a sheath, with a triangular pointed shape, and its upper end on one side a long lateral projection, the upper and lateral line of which are slightly bulging, and the lower one is festoon-like (two closed arches carved in the plain surface of the projection). On the side opposite to the projection there is a narrow projection, separated below from the main part of the sheath with a thin triangular cutting. Such akinakes was carried on the middle of the abdomen, put under the belt.³³

The Median akinakes differs sharply from the more simple Persian one (at any rate as concerns its sheath). The ornate Median akinakes had a straight hilt, sometimes decorated with two closed longitudinal ribs on the centre, from which on the sides there were rows of bulging lozanges and indented triangles. Its pommel is oval whetstone-shaped with an inner oval hollow. The sheath was plain or richly ornamented. On the upper part of the sheath there is a bulging butterfly-shaped «projection», a festoon-like cartouche, the upper surface of which consists of two closed arches with a point in the centre, and the lower surface also consists of two arches, but here a hollow corresponds to the «point». This cartouche is somewhat broader than the adjoining part of the sheath and its base projects below the sheath. From the cartouche a lateral projection starts out also of figural form, and its upper side terminates in a circle with a hole. The base of the sheath, the *bouterolle*, is of the form of a trifoliate palmette, or a triangle with rounded angles. The *bouterolle* is also bulging as compared with the middle part of the sheath.³⁴ The sheath is plain, in which case it has a longitudinal central rib (but even then the *bouterolle* is frequently decorative), or decorated.

The most ornate sheaths were covered with whole rows of representations.³⁵ The study of the reliefs shows that not all sheaths were absolutely identical in form. Thus, the Mede who was the usher, represented on the relief of the procession on the eastern stair of the *apudāna*,³⁶ bore a sheath the upper edge of which had a nearly straight form with somewhat raised edges.

³³ E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. I. Pl. 28, 51—52, pp. 164—165; G. WALSER: Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis. Berlin 1966. (Teheraner Forschungen, Bd. 2) Taf. 8, 11, 21, 36 etc.

³⁴ E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. I. Pl. 27, 57, 65, 120, 165, 166, etc. (in one case, perhaps, frequently also the cross-bar, Pl. 65); G. WALSER: Die Völkerschaften... Taf. 8, 28, 31, 34, 35; A. B. TILIA: Studies and Restoration at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fars. Rome 1972. (IsMEO Reports and Memoirs. Vol. XVI). Pls. CLXXI/110, CLXXVII/111. See also the representation of the dagger of the Median type on the silver rhyton from Erebuni. B. N. ARAKELYAN: Клад серебряных изделий из Эребуни. СА 1 (1971) 146—147, Figs 2, 3; V. G. LUKONIN: Искусство древнего Ирана. Moscow 1977. 76.

³⁵ E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. I. Pl. 120.

³⁶ E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. I. Pl. 37.

The sheaths of the Median akinakes, besides all similarities with those of Takht-i Sangin, also have considerable differences, *viz.* more lengthened proportions on account of the greater length of the middle part, the bulging character of the upper cartouche, which forms an independent part of the sheath, in the majority of the cases different outlines of the upper border and the *bouterolle*.

The gold sheath of akinakes with scenes of royal hunting on lions belongs to the stock of the Oxus treasure. O. M. Dalton dates it to the 6th century B. C. (even earlier datings are proposed).³⁷ It slightly differs in form from the akinakai of the Persepolis treasure. The upper part of the «guard» has projections over the line of the sheath in both sides. This guard fits evenly (without a bulging elevation) to the middle part of the sheath. The latter approaches this sheath to those of Takht-i Sangin.

The reliefs render possible to fully imagine that the Median akinakai were carried (on the right side).³⁸ The akinakai are hanged and fixed this way on the representations of the peoples of Central Asia, with the Saka-Tigraxauda,³⁹ and with the Sogdians.⁴⁰ As far as it can be judged on the basis of the reliefs, the daggers of the Saka-Tigraxauda had a small bulging point on the upper edge. With the Sogdians the upper edge was straight with projecting borders, and the handle of the dagger was antenna-like, in the form of a ring with sharpened, contracted ends. The Scythian sheaths are known in several specimens, kept in the museums of the U.S.S.R. A. I. Melyukova divides the sheaths of the Scythian daggers into two groups. She includes in the first group the sheaths with a broadening — *bouterolle* — in the lower end, and in the second group the sheaths without such broadening.⁴¹ The *bouterolle* can be rhomboidal (Melgunov treasure),⁴² flattened-oval (Kelermes),⁴³ circular (Solokha).⁴⁴ The sheaths from the Chertomlik tumulus⁴⁵ and from Tolstaya mogila⁴⁶ are gradually broadening in their lower part, the base is convex. These sheaths had gold covering, usually richly ornamented. In one case (at the village Daryevka, district of

³⁷ O. M. DALTON: *The Treasure of the Oxus with Other Examples of Early Metal Work*. III ed. London 1964. 9—11, Pl. IX; E. V. ZEYMAL: *Амударьинский клад*. 43—44.

³⁸ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 65; G. WALSER: *Die Völkerschaften*... Taf. 35.

³⁹ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 37; G. WALSER: *Die Völkerschaften*... Taf. 56, 57, 83.

⁴⁰ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 43, below (holds in the hands); G. WALSER: *Die Völkerschaften*. Pls. 24, 69.

⁴¹ A. I. MELYUKOVA: *Вооружение скифов*. Moscow 1964. 61—62.

⁴² M. I. ARTAMONOV: *Сокровища скифских курганов*. Leningrad 1966. Pl. I.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, Pls. 6, 7.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, Pl. 145; A. I. MELYUKOVA: *Вооружение*. 61, Pl. 17/3.

⁴⁵ A. I. MELYUKOVA: *Вооружение*..., 61, Pl. 17/4; M. I. ARTAMONOV: *Сокровища*..., Pl. 183.

⁴⁶ *Древнее золото*. Из собрания Музея исторических драгоценностей УССР. Moscow 1975; B. M. MOZOLEVSKY: *Толста могила*. Kiev 1979. Figs 52—55; E. V. CHERNENKO: *Оружие из Толстой могилы*. Скифский мир. Kiev 1975. 157, Fig. 5.

Kiev) a bone bouterolle was found with engraved representation of the animal style.⁴⁷ On the sheath there was a figural projection above, on the lateral side. The butterfly-shaped upper part of the sheaths sometimes is present (Melgunov treasure), while on other sheaths it appears rudimentarily (Kul-Oba), or it is missing (Solokha). The Scythian sheaths, besides their typological nearness to the Median sheaths on the reliefs of Persepolis, differ from them by the absence of standardization and in a series of details.

Returning to the Achaemenid akinakai, it should be noted that their sheaths could be prepared of metal (gold, bronze, etc.); with metal sheathing (gold, bronze, etc.) covering on wooden base; of leather, of wood, or of bone, of ivory. In Persepolis a fragment of the pointed end of the sheath of an akinakes made of bone or ivory, has been found.⁴⁸ A whole series of bouterolles of the Achaemenid circle made of bronze and ivory is known,⁴⁹ but whole sheaths made of ivory have not been found so far,⁵⁰ although the existence thereof is shown by a Greek inscription (IG, II², 1425, I, 75—78), which mentions in the treasure-house of the Parthenon an «iron akinakes with gold handle and sheath made of ivory, with gilded (or gold) covering.»⁵¹ Supposedly it originates from Persian trophies.

According to a construction inscription of Darius in Susa (DSf), ivory (Old Persian *piru*) was furnished to Achaemenid Iran from Ethiopia, Arachosia and India (DSf, § 3i.40—45).⁵² Carving in bone in Achaemenid Iran continues the Assyrian tradition, especially clearly expressed in the products from Nimrud, on the one hand, it does not continue, however, the latter directly but through a series of intermediate branches (Ziwiye, etc.),⁵³ and on the other hand, it continues Syro-Phoenician, Egyptian and Greek traditions.⁵⁴ The large collection of such objects found in Susa gives an idea of the Achaemenid articles made of ivory, but there is no sheath of akinakes even among them.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ A. I. MELYUKOVA: Вооружение . . . , 61, Pl. 19/2.

⁴⁸ E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis, II, 99, Pl. 75/10.

⁴⁹ B. GOLDMAN: Achaemenian Chapes. «Ars Orientalis» Vol. II. Michigan 1957; 1957; P. BERNARD: A propos des bouterolles de fourreaux Achéménides. Revue archéologique 2 (1976); R. A. STUCKY: Achämenidische Ortbänder. Archäologischer Anzeiger 1 (1976); S. S. SOROKIN: Свернувшийся зверь из Зивие. СГЭ, XXXIV. Leningrad 1972. 76, 77.

⁵⁰ D. B. THOMPSON: The Persian Spoils in Athens. The Aegean and Near East Studies Presented to H. Goldman. New York 1956. 284.

⁵¹ P. BERNARD: A propos . . . 227, n. 1; R. A. STUCKY: Achämenidische Ortbänder. 22, n. 52.

⁵² R. C. KENT: Old Persian. Grammar. Texts. Lexicon. 2nd ed. New Haven, Connecticut 1953. (American Oriental series. Vol. 33) 143—144. See also E. HERZFELD: Die Magna Charta von Susa. AMI (1931) 67—68; E. HERZFELD: The Persian Empire. Wiesbaden 1968. 335.

⁵³ B. GOLDMAN: Achaemenian Chapes. 50—51.

⁵⁴ A review see R. D. BARNETT: A catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with Other Examples of Near Eastern Ivories. London 1957. 123—131; R. D. BARNETT: Early Greek and Oriental Ivories. Journal of Hellenistic Studies 68 (1948) 3—5 (with literature on the question).

⁵⁵ P. AMIET: Les ivoires Achéménides de Suse. Syria 49 (1972) 157—191, 319—337.

The scene on the surface of the akinakes of Takht-i Sangin shows two figures: that of a lion and that of a stag (fallow deer). According to the antique sources, lions occurred in Asia Minor and in the Near East, notably in Mesopotamia (especially in the area of the Euphrates). They were known in Armenia, in Parthia and in Arabia. The antique authors also knew about the spreading of lions in India.⁵⁶ There is a report connected also with Central Asia, where according to the narration of Quintus Curtius (VIII, I, 14—17), Alexander the Great, turning down the help of his companion Lysimachus, personally killed a lion of rare size with a single stroke.⁵⁷ There is mentioning of lions also in Hyrcania.⁵⁸ In contemporary literature, however, the opinion has been spread that in reality in antiquity as well as in the Middle Ages no lions were living either in Bactria or in Hyrcania, tigers were believed to be lions.⁵⁹

In the ancient art of Mesopotamia two species of lions were represented, viz.: *Felis leo Persicus*, Persian lion, with a thick mane covering the neck and the shoulders, and with thick hairs on the abdomen, and *Felis leo Goojratensis*, Indian lion, usually without mane, just like a cat.⁶⁰ The lion on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin, as well as the majority of lions on the monuments of Achaemid art in Iran, undoubtedly belong to the species *Felis leo Persicus*.

The characteristic feature of the figure of the stag (fallow deer) on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin — the small circles — represent spottedness. In Mesopotamian art the spottedness is characteristic of one of the three breeds of stags represented in it, viz. *Cervus (Dama) Mesopotamicus Brooke*.⁶¹ It belongs to the genus *Cervidae*, subspecies «fallow deers», and it is spread in Iran, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Palestine. There is a dark stripe along the spine of the animal, on the sides of which there are rows of longish, whitish spots. Another characteristic of this subspecies is the shovel-like broadening of the upper branches of the horns.⁶²

The spottedness can be observed also on representatives of the subspecies «real stags» (*Cervus Linneus*). The *Cervus elaphus Bactrianus Lydeker* — «Bukharan stag» — (also called «khangul», «govas») also belongs to the subspecies of these stags. It is spread in the USSR along the Amu-Darya, and in earlier times also along the lower course of the Syr-Darya, and also in Northern Afghanistan. On the young animals, and sometimes also on the grown up ones, along the dark-brown stripe running on the spine, on the sides, from the withers to the tail, there is a row of grayish, circular spots, and there are similar spots on the

⁵⁶ List of the sources: STEIER: Löwe. RE XXV Hbhd. Stuttgart 1926; W. L. BROWN: The Etruscan Lion. Oxford 1960. 167.

⁵⁷ Iust., XV, 3, 7—9; Plin. Sec. NH., VIII, 54; Plut., Dem., 27.

⁵⁸ STEIER: Löwe. RE XXV. Stuttgart 1926. 970.

⁵⁹ M. E. MASSON: Из прошлого тигров в Средней Азии. Историческая справка. Тр. ТГУ Vol. 200. Tashkent 1963. 154—155.

⁶⁰ A. SALONEN: Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien. Helsinki 1976. 120.

⁶¹ A. SALONEN: *op. cit.* 128—129.

⁶² K. K. FLEROV: Кабарги и олени. Moscow—Leningrad 1952. 134.

rump and on the feet, especially on the haunches. The horns have usually five branches each.⁶³

Thus, even if the artist represented a Mesopotamian stag, still he endeavoured to render the shovel-like form of the upper branch, what does not exist here. However, when in art the *Cervus* (*Dama*) *Mesopotamicus* Brooke was represented, usually they endeavoured to render the shovel-like form of the branch. By way of example we can mention the engraved representations of such stags on the silver rhyton from the Karagodeuashkh tumulus,⁶⁴ the silver statuette (handle ?) from Bukhtarma,⁶⁵ etc.

At the same time, of course, on this basis it is impossible to assert definitely that this is the representation of the Bukharan stag.

V. Malmberg has noted that on the Attic vases only the ordinary stag can be found, while on the vases of Rhodes exclusively the spotted stag (he calls it «mottled») occurs. Therefore, he presumes that originally the mottled stag was known only by the Greeks of Asia Minor (and those of the islands).⁶⁶ Still earlier it was represented by the art of Mesopotamia.⁶⁷

The representation of the lion appeared in the art of Egypt, of the eastern Mediterranean, of Asia Minor,⁶⁸ and Mesopotamia early and very frequently, viz. in scenes of royal hunting, laceration of herbivorous animal by a lion, etc. Usually, in this scene the lion, living or killed, is in horizontal (or slanting) position.⁶⁹ We, of course, do not propose to examine all subjects connected with the lion, but only those, which iconographically (or semantically) have some similarity with the group lion — stag on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin. In the given case the Mesopotamian material has a special meaning. Therefore we discuss it in greater detail.

⁶³ К. К. ФЛЕРОВ: Кабарги и олени . . . , 166—172; N. A. BOBRINSKIY—K. K. ФЛЕРОВ: Материалы по систематике оленей подрода *Cervus*. Сб. Трудов Гос. Зоологического Музея МГФ I. Moscow 1934. 21—23; V. G. ГЕРТNER—V. I. ТСАЛКИН: Олени СССР. (Systematics and Zoography). Moscow 1947. 46—49.

⁶⁴ V. MALMBERG: Памятники греческого и греко-варварского искусства, найденные в кургане Карагодеуашх. МАР, No. 13, СПб., 1894. 141, Figs. 16, 17.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, 166—167, Fig. 26. This statuette obviously had Central Asian or Near Eastern origin. S. I. and N. M. RUDENKO: Искусство скифов Алая. Moscow 1949. 21.

⁶⁶ V. MALMBERG: Памятники. . . 166—168.

⁶⁷ A. SALONEN: Jagd und Jagdtiere. 128—129 (list of representations).

⁶⁸ From Asia Minor and the Eastern Mediterranean the representations of lions spread towards the West. As from the 7th century B. C. the products made of ivory appeared in eastern art, so that they apparently came about under the influence of the art of Palestine and Phoenicia (W. L. BROWN: *The Etruscan* . . . 2). The representations of lions made of ivory in Greek art fall also in this time, it is possible that they go back to Late Hittite art. (J. DÖRING: Frühe Löwen. Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung, Vol. 76. Berlin 1961.). On the lion in Greek art see G. M. A. RICHTER: *Animals in Greek Sculpture*. London 1930. 3—9, Pls. I—VIII.

⁶⁹ On the possible utilization of tamed lions as hunting animals, on their utilization in fight and for guarding see B. BRENTJES: Mensch und Katze im Alten Orient. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle—Wittenberg. Geschichte-Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. XI/16. Halle 1962. (with adequate interpretation of the monuments of art).

On the terracotta mould from Mari there is a very early (in the opinion of some researchers one of the earliest) representation of the lion with the body in profile and with the head in front-view. Here the lion lacerates a stag.⁷⁰ In Alaca-Höyük in the hunting scene the representation of the lion is the same.⁷¹

On the Mesopotamian seals of the third early-dynastic period (about 2500—2316) we know already representations of the lion in profile, standing on its hind legs, with its head turned towards the spectator.⁷² Later, in the Sargonic period (last third of the 3rd millennium B. C.) such lions were represented in profile.⁷³ We know lions standing on their hind legs on the neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian seals, represented in profile.⁷⁴

On the Neo-Babylonian seals a winged hero is holding in his hands, stretched on the sides and half bent, two lions by their tails, hanging with their heads downwards.⁷⁵

On the Syrian seals from Ras-Shamra, 15th—14th centuries, the motif of a pulled down fallow deer and the lion (a pair of lions) trampling it, is usual.⁷⁶

On the ivory from Nimrud there are several representations, where a lion lacerating a bull is represented in profile, with its head in front-view that is turned towards the spectator.⁷⁷ This is, however, as a rule, a horizontal figure, biting the bull with a turn. An exception is an ivory tube, on which lengthwise there are two relief figures of lions in a very complicated perspective, between them there is the vertical figure of a bull with its body in profile. Each lion presses its foreleg to the body of the bull (similarly to that of Takht-i Sangin). The muzzles of the beasts of prey represented in front-view, are turned at right angles to their bodies (and to the body of the bull), they bite the bull opposite to each other.⁷⁸ This scene of laceration is dated to the 8th century B. C.⁷⁹

In Assyrian art we know also other representations of lions standing on their hind legs, holding some vessel.⁸⁰ Among the reliefs from Khorsabad there is a colossal figure of a hero (Gilgamesh ?), with his left hand pressing to himself

⁷⁰ Syria 18 (1937) Pl. XII.

⁷¹ H. BOSSERT: *Altanatolien*. Berlin 1942. Fig. 520.

⁷² H. FRANKFORT: *Cylinder Seals. A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*. London 1939. 82, Pls. XII, XVI/a.

⁷³ H. FRANKFORT: *op. cit.* 82—83, Pl. XVI/d, f.

⁷⁴ H. FRANKFORT: *op. cit.* Pl. XXXVI/a, g.

⁷⁵ H. FRANKFORT: *op. cit.* Pl. XXXVI/l.

⁷⁶ DU MESNIL DU BUISSON: *Le mythe oriental de deux géants du jour et de la nuit*. *Archaeologia Iranica. Miscellanea in honorem R. Ghirshman*. Leiden 1970. Pl. I, Fig. 6.

⁷⁷ R. D. BARNETT: *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories with Other Examples of Near Eastern Ivories*. London 1957. 73, Pl. XXXVI (S — 62), Pls. XLII—XLIII (S — 72), LXVII (S — 158 c, d).

⁷⁸ R. D. BARNETT: *op. cit.* 73, 196, Pls. XLII—XLIII (S — 72).

⁷⁹ R. D. BARNETT: *op. cit.* 134.

⁸⁰ R. D. BARNETT: *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*. 95, Fig. 32.

a small figure of a lion.⁸¹ The head of the lion is turned towards the spectator, its body is in profile. Unlike the lion on the sheath, the body is not vertical, but inclined, while the hind legs are represented as if in motion, the left leg is higher and the right one is stretched down.

In Egyptian art the thick hair of the lion is represented quite realistically.⁸² In principle we see the same also on part of the Assyrian representations, although there also a «tip» appears in the back part of this cover of hair.⁸³ On other monuments of Assyrian art, especially on the later ones, 7th—6th centuries B. C., however, the conception becomes allegorical, in the form of a prolongation going out from the mane and curlingly tapering off towards the end, reminding of a narrow wing or feather,⁸⁴ perhaps under the influence of the iconography of the griffon.

On the reliefs in the throne-hall of the north-western palace in Nimrud there is a representation of a winged person, who in one of his hands holds the small figurine of a stag (in another case, of a goat), and in his other hand, stretched ahead and upward, a twig (in another case a corn-ear). In the opinion of R. D. Barnett, these figures had a magic destination. He believes it possible that this is perhaps the demigod NIN.AMAS.KU.GA, who sacrificed a goat (stag) to gain health. The skeleton of a gazelle, undoubtedly sacrificed at such a ceremony, was found in Nimrud during the excavations of 1950.⁸⁵ On the body of the stag there were oval circles.⁸⁶ This stag, just like on the sheath of Takht-i

⁸¹ J. B. PRITCHARD: *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton 1954. Fig. 615; A. PARROT: *Assur. Die mesopotamische Kunst vom XIII vorchristlichen Jahrhundert bis zum Tode Alexanders des Grossen*. München 1972. Figs 36, 38.

⁸² H. J. KANTOR: *The Shoulder Ornament of Near Eastern Lions*. JNES 6 (1947) Fig. 5.

⁸³ A. PARROT: *Assur*. Fig. 38 (Khorsabad 8th century B. C.); Fig. 65; R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*. Toronto 1975. Figs 103—104, 108, 127, 130; A. H. LAYARD: *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*. London 1863. 278 (Arban); G. PERROT—CH. CHIEPIEZ: *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*. T. II. Paris 1882. Pl. between pp. 540 and 541. A similar interpretation of the sculptures of lions of the 8th century B. C. in Late Hittite art, the influence of Assyrian tradition on whose iconography is doubtless, is given by: E. AKURGAL: *Die Kunst der Hethiter*. München 1976. Pls. 135—136.

⁸⁴ A. PARROT: *Assur*. Fig. 64 (Nimrud, 9th century B. C.); Fig. 221 (A) (Babylon, 7th—6th centuries B. C.); R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Pl. VI (Babylon, 7th—6th centuries B. C.), Figs 70, 74, 94, etc.; R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrian Sculpture*. Figs 32, 110, 118, 121, 178.

⁸⁵ R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Prague 1962. 12—13, 28 (note 25) Pls. 1—2. See also J. B. PRITCHARD: *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton 1954. Fig. 614; Cf. R. D. BARNETT—M. FOLKNER: *The Sculptures of Aššur-Našir-Apli II (883—859 B. C.), Tiglat-Pilešar III (745—727 B. C.), Esarhadon (681—669 B. C.) from the Central and South-West palaces at Nimrud*. London 1962. Pls. LXXXVI—CXXXVI. A list of similar representations see: A. SALONEN: *Jagd und Jagdtiere im alten Mesopotamien*. Helsinki 1976. 128—129.

⁸⁶ In Mesopotamia there were three kinds of stags. One of them is the *Cervus dama*, also called «russety stag», which differs, besides the colour of the fur and the character of the horns, also by the presence of spottedness. (A. SALONEN: *Jagd und Jagdtiere* . . . 128—129).

Sangin, is represented in a free loose pose. The person holds the stag, putting his hand between its forelegs, possibly, pressing it to himself hanging. There is here a partial iconographic and semantic parallel (just partial and not full) with the scene on the sheath.

In Khorsabad a relief was discovered, where a king sacrificing a goat is represented (8th century B. C.). The king is holding the small animal in his hand on the level of his breast putting his hand between the forelegs of the animal.⁸⁷

For the appearance of the subject on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin and for its original semantics, the representation on a Neo-Babylonian seal is also interesting, which by E. Porada is included in the group of seals of the 9th--7th centuries B. C.⁸⁸ On them the fight between a hero and a lion for a bull is represented. The hero seized the bull by the hind leg and lifted it with his straight stretched left hand. With his left foot he trampled on the neck and the head of the animal, pressing them to the earth. The forelegs of the bull are bent. To the left from this group, the enraged lion is standing on its hind legs and moving towards the hero. The head and the lower (hinder) part of the body of the lion are represented in profile, and the upper (fore) part of the body in three quarters. It stretched one paw ahead and touches with it the hind leg (being above) of the bull, quasi pressing it, while it lifted the other paw up. The tail is turned upward. Its head and the lower (hinder) part of its body are represented realistically, while the upper (fore) part of its body and the forelegs are represented human-like, but this impression does not change the toes with claws. In the representation of the lion the anthropomorphization is clear. This is not simply a lion, but a man-lion.

Among the Luristan bronzes, middle of the 8th century -- middle of the 7th century B. C., there are representations of lions standing on their hind legs with their bodies in profile and their heads in three quarters. The hind (lower) legs are parted, the foreleg (the second one is not seen) is lifted up. Along the back of the animal there is a stripe with transversally grooved hatching. Two such lions are sideward from the human person striking a blow with a dagger. The lions «put» their forelegs on the shoulders of the man. In general, the flanking lions for the Luristan bronze are no exceptional subject, the characteristic is in the position of the head.⁸⁹ The subject of the Neo-Babylonian seal described above, found a reflection on the Luristan bronze, but the place of the hero holding and trampling on a bull is occupied here by the lion.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ H. FRANKFORT: *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient East*. London 1970. 174, Pl. 199; A. PARROT: *Assur*. Fig. 43.

⁸⁸ E. PORADA: *Mesopotamian Art in Cylinder Seal of the Pierpont Morgan Library*. New York 1947. 66, Fig. 89.

⁸⁹ E. PORADA: *Alt-Iran*. Baden-Baden 1962. 65; P. R. S. MOOREY: *Some Elaborately Decorated Bronze Quiver Plaques Made in Luristan*. c. 750--650 B. C. Iran Vol. XIII. London 1975. 21--22, Fig. 1.

⁹⁰ P. R. S. MOOREY: *op. cit.* 26--27, Fig. 7.

Switching over to Achaemenid art, we remark first of all that the connection of the iconography of the lion in this art with the Assyrian iconographic tradition has been established already long ago.⁹¹ Lions were represented on stone reliefs, on glazed tile panels, on stone and bronze sculptures, on works of toreutics and lithoglyphics, on textile products, etc. These are single figures of lions, processions of lions, scenes of fight of a lion with herbivora, victory of a king over a lion, etc.

Let us restrict ourselves to the subjects connected with the lion on seals. This is the scene of hunting of the king (Darius), travelling on a war chariot on hunting lions; ⁹² the king is mounted on a stag, he is hunting on a lion,⁹³ kills it with a dagger on foot in single fight.⁹⁴ In the glyptics of the Achaemenid time we find the motif of the king seizing the lion and pressing it to himself by the neck of the animal.⁹⁵ Sometimes the king holds in his hands one lion each. He sized each of them by the hind leg, and they are hanging head downwards.⁹⁶ The latter motif is repeated on many seals.⁹⁷ Sometimes the king holds the lions hanging head downwards by the tails.⁹⁸ On another series of seals the king holds in his horizontally stretched hands lions by their shoulders,⁹⁹ etc. We know the representation on an Achaemenid cylindrical seal, on which a tumbled stag is attacked by lions from two sides.¹⁰⁰ On seal-stamps a goat is attacked by a lion.¹⁰¹ A comparison of the figure of the lion on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin with the lions in Assyrian and Achaemenid art shows its nearness especially to the Achaemenid tradition. Let us pause on this in greater detail.

The appearance of the lion and the lion-griffon, standing vertically on the hind legs, is not unfrequent in Achaemenid art, e.g. in Persepolis in the scenes, where the hero is fighting with a lion (griffon). On this both forelegs are shown.¹⁰² Reliefs are also known, where the hero seizes and presses the standing

⁹¹ G. LAMPRE: *La représentation du lion à Suse*. MDP T. VIII. Paris 1905. 159—176; O. M. DALTON: *The treasure*. 8—9.

⁹² H. FRANKFORT: *Cylinder seals* . . . Pl. XXXVII/d.

⁹³ H. FRANKFORT: *Cylinder seals* . . . Pl. XXXVII/m.

⁹⁴ J. BOARDMAN: *Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire*. Iran Vol. VIII. London 1970. Fig. 2/g; 11/77, 83, 85, Pls. 4/82, 84, 86; 32—33.

⁹⁵ SPA VII. 1967, Pl. 123/L.

⁹⁶ SPA VII. 1967, Pl. 124/L.

⁹⁷ F. SARRE: *Die Kunst des Alten Persien*. Berlin 1923. Pl. 52 below; D. J. WISEMAN: *Cylinder Seals* . . . Pl. 105; E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 3/3; 4/6; J. BOARDMAN: *Pyramidal Stamp Seals* . . . Pl. 5/108, 110.

⁹⁸ J. J. BOARDMAN: *Pyramidal Stamp Seals* . . . Pl. 5/107.

⁹⁹ G. A. EISEN: *Ancient Oriental Cylinder and Other Seals with a Description of the Collection of Mrs. W. H. Moore*. Chicago, III 1940. (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications. Vol. XLVII) 54, Pl. XI/101.

¹⁰⁰ E. PORADA: *The Collections of the Pierpont Morgan Library*. Vol. I. Washington 1948. (Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American collections. The Bollingen series. Vol. XIV) 105/N 835.

¹⁰¹ E. PORADA: *The Collection* . . . 106°N 843; J. BOARDMAN: *Pyramidal Stamp Seals* . . . Pl. 3/55.

¹⁰² E. HERZFELD: *Iran in the Ancient East*. London—New York 1941. Pl. LXV; E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pls. 114—117, 144—146, 195.

lion, turning its head back.¹⁰³ The hind («lower») legs are also represented just like on the sheath, *viz.*: the left leg is drawn almost back. On the relief from the necropolis of Xanthus the head of the lion standing on the hind legs in profile is turned towards the spectator.¹⁰⁴

A winged lion standing on its hind legs is represented on a bulging plaque made of ivory (Susa).¹⁰⁵ On the gold cup from the treasure of the Oxus¹⁰⁶ there are six pairs of lions standing on their hind legs. The lions are represented in profile, with their heads in front-view. The hind legs are somewhat parted, the body is not entirely vertical, one foreleg is drawn down and the other up, the tail is curved ringwise. E. Herzfeld presumes that this cup was prepared in Urartu. O. M. Dalton, polemizing with him, points out that the Assyrian type of lions continued in Early Achaemenid art, eventually through the mediation of the Medes. He dates this cup to the 6th century B. C.¹⁰⁷ As has been shown, on the Achaemenid seals the king or hero frequently fights with one or two lions, or lion-griffons. The figures of the animals are represented usually standing on their hind legs, while the body and the head is in profile.¹⁰⁸

In the scenes of laceration on the reliefs of Persepolis profile horizontal figures of lions are embossed, with their heads turned in front-view.¹⁰⁹ On the lions of these scenes there are common features with the lion of the sheath of Takht-i Sangin, which with its right foreleg quasi «presses» the stag in the plane. The action of the foreleg is represented absolutely identically also with the lions lacerating a bull on the eastern staircase of the *apadāna* of Persepolis,¹¹⁰ on the main staircase of the «Council-hall»,¹¹¹ in the palace of Darius,¹¹² and in the palace of Xerxes.¹¹³ The difference is that on the reliefs the leg is not stretched, but half bent and as a whole more realistic. At the same time, not only the pose coincides, but also the minor iconographic details. In Persepolis and on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin on the legs there are four fan-like pared toes, their length is unproportionately big, the bulges of the joints are represented identically, the right projection-toe is conceived in the same way in the form of a pin on a disk. The representation of the back part of the «elbow» joint (of arched inflexions) also coincides. The lions from the «Council-hall», very likely, are nearest

¹⁰³ E. F. SCHMIDT: I. Pl. 147; A. PARROT: Assur. Fig. 244.

¹⁰⁴ M. DIEULAFOY: L'art antique de la Perse. 3. Paris 1885. Pl. XVI.

¹⁰⁵ P. AMIET: Les ivoires... Syria (1974) 188-189, Fig. 21.

¹⁰⁶ O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.* Pl. VIII/47.

¹⁰⁷ O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.* 8-9.

¹⁰⁸ SPA VII. 1967. Pl. 123/A, C, E, G, L, M; D. J. WISEMAN: Cylinder Seals of Western Asia. London. Pls. 100, 101, 108, 115; E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. II. Pls. 3/1-2; 4/5; 5/10, 11; 11/37; 13/60; E. R. GOODENOUGH: Jewish symbols in the Graeco-Roman period. Vol. VI Toronto 1958. (Bollingen Series, XXXVII) 41, Fig. 36.

¹⁰⁹ M. DIEULAFOY: L'art antique de la Perse. 3. Pls. 19, 20, 62, 66, 122/13, 153, 161, 166, 189.

¹¹⁰ E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. I. Pls. 19-20.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem.* Pls. 62, 66, 69.

¹¹² *Ibidem.* Pls. 132/B, 152, 153.

¹¹³ *Ibidem.* Pls. 161, 166, 169.

to that of Takht-i Sangin, they are brought near also by the identity of the oval on the front shoulder-blade, and also that the tail is drawn between the legs. The position of the foreleg of the lion is also represented in the same way, as it cuts into the lying gazelle, on the stone plaquette in the collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago.¹¹⁴ It could be presumed that the carver preparing the sheath copied the front part of the body of the lion from the reliefs, but the other iconographic details differ considerably.

The two variants of the representation of the hair under the abdomen, developed already in Assyrian times, continues to be varied in the Achaemenid period. The variant in the form of almost straight or slightly bent feather-like «wings» occurs very frequently. In Persepolis, on the reliefs, this «wing» bent upwards, inside has such intermediate part, scaled filling up, as the mane.¹¹⁵ The «wing» is sometimes drawn with a groove, a lineal contour.¹¹⁶ The conception of the hair under the abdomen on the tile panel in Susa,¹¹⁷ and in the *apadāna* of Artaxerxes Mnemon (404—459 B. C.),¹¹⁸ is close to the Takht-i Sangin conception. However, all these representations of the hair under the abdomen in the form of a «wing» differ from the representation on the sheath in the form of an oval, especially in the absence of the sharply turned up end, and in the inner filling in. There are, however, some monuments with a closer conception.

Thus, the sewn-on gold label from the excavations in Persepolis representing a lion going to the right,¹¹⁹ is interesting because the hair under the abdomen is represented by a narrow oval, on the inner field of which, with distances from the margins, there is a steep-transversal hatching. On another analogical gold ornament (from the collection of the Oriental Institute of the Chicago University),¹²⁰ the engraver did not understand this detail at all and transformed it into a pointed palmette with central stem and hatches perpendicular to them (from both sides).

On the woolen textile-breast-plate from the 5th tumulus of Pazyryk, on a light brown base, there are 15 proudly striding lions. The hair under the abdomen is in the form of an almost straight or slightly bent wing-shaped feather going backward with ends turning upward. It joins the mane and has the same

¹¹⁴ H. FRANKFORT: A Persian Goldsmith's Trial Piece. JNES 9 N2 (1950) 111—112, Pl. III.

¹¹⁵ E. HERZFELD: Iran . . . Pl. LXV, Fig. 362; E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis. I. Pls. 20, 28, 68, 69, 146; A. B. TILIA: Studies . . . 1972. Pls. CVIII—CIX.

¹¹⁶ A. GODARD: Die Kunst . . . Pl. 67.

¹¹⁷ R. D. BARNETT: Assyrische Palastreliefs. Pl. XX; R. GHIRSHMAN: Perse. Fig. 193. Example for a more realistic interpretation of the sculptures of Susa./SPA VII. 1967. Pl. 115 E; G. LAMPRE: La représentation . . . Pl. IX.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁹ E. F. SCHMIDT: Persepolis, II. p. 77, Fig. 14/B.

¹²⁰ H. J. KANTOR: Achaemenid Jewelry in the Oriental Institute. JNES 16 N 1 (1957) 7—8, Pl. V/A. Cf. the interpretation of this detail on the rhyton from Hamadan: E. PORADA: Alt-Iran. Die Kunst in orientalischer Zeit. Baden-Baden 1962. 163 (Tafel); V. G. LUKONIN: Искыцтво . . ., 53.

colour. S. I. Rudenko, not without any reason, compares them with the Achaemenid representations, especially with those from Susa, and dates them to the 5th century B. C.¹²¹ The textile lions from Pazyryk, on the basis of the form of the wing-like feather, are very close to that of Takht-i Sangin.

On the open-work disk from the treasure of the Oxus with the representation of a sphinx the hair under the abdomen, in the form of a narrow smooth wing-like feather, is sharply bent at the end.¹²² On another disk with the representation of a lion-griffon the hair under the abdomen is not represented, but on the wing there is a stripe with transversally grooved surface.¹²³ According to O. M. Dalton, its date is the 5th century B. C. E. V. Zeymal writes that it is, possibly, somewhat later. The transversal grooving in the form of notching on the narrow feathers, wings, etc., is known from the materials of the collection of objects made of ivory from Susa (Achaemenid period).¹²⁴ On the other hand, there the hair on the back is represented with such notching¹²⁵ (cf. the position of the mane along the spine on the lion of the sheath of Takht-i Sangin). It should be kept in mind that the notched stripe along the spine of the animal, as has been said above, is already on the representations of the Luristan bronzes from the middle of the 8th century — middle of the 7th century B. C., and the representation of the hair under the abdomen is also similar on the monuments of the Middle Elamite period from Susa (about the 12th—11th centuries B. C.).¹²⁶

There are many analogies in the representation of the muscular system of the hind leg in the form of longitudinally bent ovals. On the woolen textile from the 5th tumulus of Pazyryk¹²⁷ on the hind legs of the lions there are peculiar small half horseshoe-like patterns, sometimes converging into small circles. In certain lions on the reliefs at Persepolis,¹²⁸ on the hind leg there are two deepened grooves: one of these is parallel to the rear edge of the upper part of the leg and the inner one is in the beginning parallel to the first one, then it turns inside, becoming horizontal. On the lions on the gold cup of the treasure of the Oxus, on the hind leg there are oval figures.¹²⁹

¹²¹ S. I. RUDENKO: Древнейшие в мире художественные ковры и ткани из оленевых круганов Горного Алтая. Moscow 1968. 76, 78, Fig. 71. See also S. I. RUDENKO: Искусство Алтая и Передней Азии (middle of the 1st millennium B. C.). Moscow 1961. 19—20, Fig. 12.

¹²² O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.* Pl. XII, 26, 28.

¹²³ *Ibidem.* 14.

¹²⁴ P. AMIET: Les ivoires... Syria 49 (1972) 188, Fig. 50. Also on some seals: J. BOARDMAN: Pyramidal Stamp Seals... Pl. I/8.

¹²⁵ P. AMIET: Les ivoires... Syria 49 (1972) 184, Pl. V/2.

¹²⁶ E. PORADA: Alt-Iran... 62 (Tafel).

¹²⁷ S. I. RUDENKO: Древнейшие в мире... Fig. 71.

¹²⁸ A. GODARD: Die Kunst... Pl. 67.

¹²⁹ O. M. DALTON: The Treasure... Pl. VIII/47.

In this respect the representations of animals on the tile panels in Susa are most interesting, viz. the «procession of lions»,¹³⁰ the winged bulls,¹³¹ the griffons,¹³² the sphinxes,¹³³ and other monuments from Susa.¹³⁴ In the lions on the back shoulder-blade there are two ovals, viz. a small one inside and a bigger one at the edge of the hinder part of the body. The same applies to the lion-griffons. Unlike those of Takht-i Sangin, these ovals are parallel. Obviously, the changed poses of the body (instead of the moving animal, the one standing on the hind legs), induced the artist to change the mutual position of the ovals.

The enigmatic «horned» design on the hind leg of the lion on the sheath is also elucidated by the representation from Susa, viz. it originates from, or rather is, a highly stylized representation of an ovaly-pointed cartouche of the lion on the Susa representations. The representation of the muscular system on the shoulder-blades with brackets and with pointed ovals was applied in the 6th—3rd centuries also on the figures of other animals, viz. of stags,¹³⁵ bulls,¹³⁶ goats,¹³⁷ etc.

E. Porada, examining the details of a bronze weight in the form of a lion from Susa (presumably from the 5th century B. C.), kept in the Louvre, notes the representation of the muscles on the fore shoulder in the form of a pointed oval (with bulging inside), which forms lower a noose. He remarks that this is a specific feature of the Achaemenid style.¹³⁸ Actually, the schematic representation of the muscular system of the fore shoulder-blade of the lion in the form of an open oval with a noose is very widely spread on the monuments of Achaemenid art. Let us mention a few examples. This is the practice on the lions of the stone plaquette from the collection of the Chicago Oriental Institute;¹³⁹ on some lions of the Persepolis reliefs,¹⁴⁰ etc.

On the Achaemenid gold ornament from the Teheran Museum of Archaeology,¹⁴¹ there are two lions represented in profile with their backs turned towards each other, with the head of one turned towards the spectator. The muscles of the shoulder-blades of one of them are represented in the form of the figure

¹³⁰ R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastrelief*. Pl. XX; R. GHIRSHMAN: *Perse . . .* Fig. 193.

¹³¹ R. D. BARNETT: *Ibidem*. Pls. XI—XII; R. GHIRSHMAN: *Perse . . .* Fig. 192.

¹³² R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Pl. XIV; R. GHIRSHMAN: *Perse . . .* Fig. 191; SPA VII. Pl. 77/a.

¹³³ R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Pl. XXIV.

¹³⁴ F. SARRE: *Die Kunst des alten Persien*. Berlin 1923. Pl. 37.

¹³⁵ O. M. DALTON: *The Treasure . . .* Pl. XX/36.

¹³⁶ H. FRANKFORT: *A Persian Goldsmith's . . .* Pl. III; R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs . . .* Pls. XI—XII.

¹³⁷ M. P. GRYAZNOV: *Древнейшее искусство Алтая*. Leningrad 1958. Pl. 41; O. M. DALTON: *The Treasure . . .* Pl. X/24.

¹³⁸ E. PORADA: *Alt-Iran . . .* 161 below.

¹³⁹ H. FRANKFORT: *A Persian Goldsmith's . . .* Pl. III.

¹⁴⁰ A. GODARD: *Die Kunst . . .* Pl. 67.

¹⁴¹ 7000 Years of Iranian Art Circulated by the Smithsonian Institution. 1964—1965. 89, Fig. 456.

eight, and of the other in the form of a pointed oval with a noose below. On the shoulder-blades of the figures of lions in the Susa «procession of lions»,¹⁴² there is a twirl in the form of a drop-like oval, one side of which continues in the form of a hook, which in its contours is absolutely analogous with the figure of the twirl on the lion of the Takht-i Sangin sheath.

On the garment of the king on the relief in the main hall of the palace of Darius in Persepolis, there were a series of carelessly engraved lions and other representations (in the opinion of E. Schmidt, this is a preparatory drawing for the colouring).¹⁴³ The stretched oval with noose and circle on the fore shoulder-blade are absolutely analogous with those of Takht-i Sangin.

The half bracket on the foreleg of the lion of Takht-i Sangin has an absolutely accurate analogy in such details of the griffons of the bracelets of the treasure of the Oxus, which are dated by O. M. Dalton to the 5th century — the first half of the 4th century B. C.¹⁴⁴ There is such a half bracket also on the foreleg of the griffon on the silver rhyton from Armenia, which is also dated to the 5th century B. C.¹⁴⁵ On the forelegs of the figures of sphinxes on the tile reliefs in Susa there are also pointed half brackets.¹⁴⁶ Finally, the framing of the edge of the side of the sheath consisting of Ionic ovoli has an analogy in the carved bone of the Achaemenid period from Susa.¹⁴⁷

To achieve maximal expressive power, the artist, author of the sheath of Takht-i Sangin, united the plastic volume of the figures with a multitude of engraved details, placed on the same. This method is characteristic also of the specimens made of ivory from Susa.¹⁴⁸

Thus, there were vertical profile representations of lions with heads in front-view already in Assyrian art. The representation of the abdominal hair in the form of a narrow, bent wing (feather) going backward from the mane was wide-spread. Together with the representation of the lion lacerating a herbivore animal, there appears the representation of the king, of a hero, or a demigod, holding a goat or a stag, and this is connected with ritual scenes. The small figure of the stag reminds of the representation on the sheath. This scene, where the powerful (and mighty) king, hero, or demigod is holding an obediently motionless tiny stag or goat, is the semantic archetype of the Takht-i Sangin

¹⁴² R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Pl. XX; R. GHIRSHMAN: *Perse . . .* Fig. 193.

¹⁴³ E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pl. 142; A. B. TILIA: *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fārs*. II. (IsMEO Reports and Memoirs. XVIII). Rome 1974. Pl. XXXIII, Fig. 39—40.

¹⁴⁴ O. M. DALTON: *The Treasure . . .* 32—33, Pl. I/116. E. V. ZEYMAL: *Амударьинский клад . . .* 65 also agrees with this dating.

¹⁴⁵ O. M. DALTON: *op. cit.* 42—43, Pl. XXII.

¹⁴⁶ R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs*. Pl. XXIV. This detail, very likely, appears already in the Assyrian style: A. H. LAYARD: *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1873. 278.

¹⁴⁷ P. AMIET: *Les ivoires . . .* Fig. 66.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*.

scene, while the development led to the substitution of the human figure for the representation of a lion, but by this the lion shows shades of anthropomorphic features. This became possible as a result of the identification of the king with the lion, or by the appearance of the king in the figure of a lion.

The comparisons made above permit to definitely include the scene on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin into the circle of the works of Achaemenid (but, may be, not imperial, but provincial) art of the 5th—4th centuries B. C., with the predominance of the parallels pointing to the 5th century, and some features connect this scene with the Assyrian tradition.

The analysis of the *bouterolles* is facilitated considerably by the detailed special works of three researchers, *viz.* B. Goldman,¹⁴⁹ R. Stucky,¹⁵⁰ P. Bernard,¹⁵¹ by the publication of the Persepolis reliefs in the monumental work of E. Schmidt,¹⁵² and by the well illustrated edition of G. Walser.¹⁵³ The comparison of the typological table, necessary at the careful examination of the stylistic evolution of the representations on the lower part of the sheaths was facilitated by the collection of the illustrative material by P. Bernard, kindly furnished to him by B. Goldman and R. Stucky. Therefore, the numeration of the *bouterolles* will be given according to the new edition thereof made by P. Bernard.

In the articles of Soviet scholars the previous period is well represented, and also the Scythian style of the wooded steppe, and the Scytho-Siberian style, which is interesting for the elucidation of the genesis of this form and the representations embellishing it.¹⁵⁴ In the present case we are restricted to the already

P. Bernard — 1979	R. A. Stucky — 1976	B. Goldman — 1957
No. 1, fig. 4	No. 2, fig. 4	fig. 1, 1
No. 2, fig. 5	No. 3, fig. 5	fig. 1, 4
No. 3, fig. 6	No. 4, fig. 6	fig. 1, 2
No. 4, fig. 7	No. 10, fig. 12	—
No. 5, fig. 8	No. 7, fig. 9	—
No. 6, fig. 9	—	—
No. 7, fig. 10	No. 6, fig. 8	—
No. 9, fig. 11	No. 5, fig. 7	fig. 1, 7
No. 10, fig. 12	No. 9, fig. 11	fig. 1, 6
No. 11, —	No. 1, fig. 3	—
No. 12, fig. 13	No. 8, fig. 10	—
No. 13, fig. 14 and 1	fig. 2	fig. 1, 3
No. 14, fig. 15	fig. 1	fig. 1, 5
No. 15, fig. 16		fig. 1, 9

¹⁴⁹ B. GOLDMAN: *Achaemenian Chapes*. 43—54.

¹⁵⁰ R. A. STUCKY: *Achämenidische Ortbänder*. AA 1976. 13—23.

¹⁵¹ P. BERNARD: *A propos des bouterolles* . . . 227—246.

¹⁵² E. F. SCHMIDT: *Persepolis*. I. Pls. 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 51, 52, 57, 67, 70, 110, 111, 153, 155.

¹⁵³ G. WALSER: *op. cit.* Fig. 8, 18, 31, 34, 35, 56, 57, Pl. I.

¹⁵⁴ A. I. SHKURKO: *Об изображении* . . . 31—33; N. L. SHLENOVA: *Происхождение и ранняя история племен тагарской культуры*. Moscow 1967. 118 foll., 127; M. I. ARTAMONOV: *Сокровища* . . . 12; S. S. SOROKIN: *ibidem*. 76—77.

developed pure Achaemenid style of representation reaching, in fact, the «multiple» development on 16 bouterolles.

Agreeing with the opinion of P. Bernard on the Achaemenid time of all bouterolles published by him, let us follow their evolution in order to separate, in the framework of the dates proposed by him, at least stylistically, the earliest ones from the latest ones. This requires a comparison of the known Achaemenid bouterolles with the sheath of Takht-i Sangin for the more accurate definition of the dating of the latter.

The first two bouterolles (Nos. 1 and 2),¹⁵⁵ from the stylistic point of view, are the earliest. According to P. Bernard they belong to the Achaemenid period and were prepared by Achaemenid masters, or by Egyptian ones in the period of the first Achaemenid conquest of Egypt. The characteristics of the representation of the ungulate on them are as follows: the head of the goat is engraved in profile to the left, the rounded off horns are clearly seen, the ears are represented realistically, under a line there is the pectinate beard, the neck is stylized into a pectinate, fir-like ornament. As for the representation of the predatory animal of the species of felidae, on bouterolle No. 1 a predatory animal below is attacking, which judged by the encircling mane, is a curling up lion. The whole figure of the predatory animal is represented very realistically, the hind leg and the foreleg are bent, three ribs are shown. The long tail is behind the hind leg. In the opened mouth two canines are clearly seen, an upper and a lower one. On bouterolle No. 2, of the figure of the predatory animal only the long, cat-like bent tail has remained. The whole body divided into two segments, is represented by concentric grooved arches. Beginning with bouterolle No. 2, not only the stylization of the body of the predatory animal can be observed, but also the division of the bouterolle into three segments facing each other, filled up with ornamental motifs.

Bouterolle No. 3 is very characteristic.¹⁵⁶ Here the ear of the goat, going into the circle formed by the horns, is stylized into a «rudimentary» palmette. On the following bouterolles, according to the stylistic typology of P. Bernard, instead of the horns and the ear only a palmette remained. However, on bouterolle No. 3 the body of the predatory animal shows an intermediate form of stylization nearer to the realistic representation of No. 1. Not only the curling feline tail is clearly visible, but also the realistic relief of the hinder part of the predatory animal, including the half of the abdomen, while the front part

¹⁵⁵ The numbers of the collections and the Figs. are given according to the article of P. BERNARD: A propos . . . 227. Cf. also *Ancient Art in the Norbert Schimmel Collection*, Ed. by O. W. H. MUSCARELLA. Mainz 1974. N 156 bis.

Bouterolle No. 1: Louvre MNo. 1376, Collection Clot-Bey, Fig. 4.

Bouterolle No. 2: Louvre MNo. 1377, Collection Clot-Bey, Fig. 5.

¹⁵⁶ Bouterolle No. 3 according to P. Bernard's typology corresponds to No. 2 according to B. Goldman. Bouterolle No. 3: Louvre MNo. 1379, Collection Clot-Bey, Fig. 6.

was transformed in the lower segment with a concentrically grooved surface, and with a hole in the middle for the strap or ribbon to fix the sheath to the waist. This gave to B. Goldman an inducement to grant advantage to *bouterolle* No. 3 in the evolution series and to place it before *bouterolle* No. 2 and even before *bouterolle* No. 4, what is absolutely correct, if we base the typology on the degree of stylization of the figure of the predatory animal. Thus, if the stylistic priority of *bouterolle* No. 1 is doubtless, then *bouterolles* Nos. 2, 3 and 4 are very close. On *bouterolle* No. 2 the head of the goat is very archaic, on *bouterolle* No. 3 the body of the lion preserved the original iconographic basis in a great degree. Here the idea of the artist obviously appears endeavouring to represent the two figures more convincingly, separated by lower ornamental motifs, but not losing for him the original semantics. At the same time, the transition to ornamentalization is obvious, *viz.* *bouterolles* Nos. 4 and 5 are in style near to *bouterolle* No. 3.

On *bouterolles* Nos. 4 and 5¹⁵⁷ the heads of the goats are represented with horns stylized in a palmette, and the hinder part of the predatory animal is covered by concentric grooved notches.

Bouterolles Nos. 6 and 7¹⁵⁸ differ from *bouterolles* Nos. 3 to 5 in the changing of the horns into a developed palmette, so unique that it is difficult to find out its genesis. The ears and the twirl of the horns are those of a ram. However, the heads of the goats with beard represented with notches are very realistic.

On *bouterolles* Nos. 9, 10 and Nos. 12 to 14 the palmette of the developed type, decorating the head of the goat in different stylistic executions, ornamentally is opposed to the already independent grooved circles forming a triangle. It is true that in the knowledge of the previous stylistic representations the tail and hinder part of the predatory animal can be guessed. Besides, on all the enumerated specimens, the tail betrays the feline origin of the predatory animal, it is so to say its mark.¹⁵⁹

And finally, *bouterolle* No. 15, the representation of the sheath on the relief of the Royal gate (Audience-hall) of Persepolis is the logical realization of the whole typological series, where, according to the opinion of P. Bernard, to the palmette representing the horns of the goat, resembling to the bull, an accurately similar palmette is opposed, instead of the hinder part of the pred-

¹⁵⁷ *Bouterolle* No. 4: Louvre MNo. 1378, Collection Clot-Bey, Fig. 7. *Bouterolle* No. 5: Louvre, AO-24573, Fig. 8.

¹⁵⁸ *Bouterolle* No. 6: Louvre MNo. 1380, Collection Clot-Bey, Fig. 9. *Bouterolle* No. 7: British Museum No. 132925, Fig. 10.

¹⁵⁹ *Bouterolle* No. 8: British Museum No. 5428, given without representation.

Bouterolle No. 9: Ashmolean Museum without No., Fig. 11.

Bouterolle No. 10: Ashmolean Museum, Fig. 12, bronze specimen, all the previous Nos., 1–9 were made of bone.

Bouterolle No. 11: originates from Syria.

Bouterolle No. 12: New York, Collection H. Schimmel, Fig. 13.

Bouterolle No. 13: Persepolis, representation in the Apadāna, Fig. 14.

Bouterolle No. 14: Persepolis, Audience Hall, Fig. 15.

atory animal.¹⁶⁰ On this specimen nothing has remained from the representation of the predatory animal. Of the scene of laceration the head of the goat has remained, losing its specific accuracy. It is true that the ornamentally represented beard has been preserved also here, this is the only link that connects this representation with the previous representations of the goat. However, the neighbouring representation No. 14 in the same hall has preserved the tail and the mask of the predatory animal, and the outstretched form of the head of the goat. Inasmuch as bouterolles Nos. 14 and 15 are undoubtedly contemporary, it has to be presumed that the master preparing No. 15, realizing this innovation, did not recognize the necessity to follow the artistic rule so scrupulously, or did not understand it.

Summing up the analysis of the representation on the bouterolles, let us turn to the conceptions represented by specific research in this question. B. Goldman and R. Stucky examined the representations on the bouterolles as scenes of laceration.¹⁶¹ P. Bernard, pointing out the erroneous character of the opinions of his predecessors, explains their «error» with the misunderstanding the territorial and stylistic origin of bouterolle No. 1, found in Egypt. «Both scientists believe — P. Bernard writes — that it was brought there from the north-eastern regions of Iran, or from the northern part of Mesopotamia in the pre-Achaemenid period. Thereafter, as they presume, the head of the lion disappeared, its body and the head of its victim formed a whole, which was transformed into a turning animal. In the course of time, the head of the goat, as is presumed, was transformed into the head of a young bull, but without horns.»¹⁶²

The opinion of P. Bernard, differing from the conceptions of the preceding researchers, was formulated in the following way: «We, on our part, believe that the origin of the drawing and its development are different. A more careful study of some iconographic details and places, where some bouterolles were found, especially that (No. 1 — the author), which B. Goldman and R. Stucky believe to be the oldest, make us think that the basis of the drawing was already the turning animal, the lion, neither the goat, nor both together, but the young bull, and the representation of the lion attacking the goat, on bouterolle No. 1 is a local variant, characteristic of the Egyptian type, created on the basis of the Achaemenid prototype.»¹⁶³

The evolutionary scheme set up by P. Bernard, in his opinion, bringing about the series of bouterolles Nos. 1 and 2 with the lion attacking the goat, has to be examined in two aspects. His first contradiction can be summed up in the disputation of the species of the lacerated animal. The second one can be

¹⁶⁰ Bouterolle No. 15: Persepolis, Audience Hall, Fig. 16.

¹⁶¹ B. GOLDMAN: *op. cit.* 43; R. STUCKY: *op. cit.* 13.

¹⁶² P. BERNARD: *op. cit.* 230.

¹⁶³ *Ibidem.*

summed up in the inclusion of bouterolles Nos. 1 and 2 into the Achaemenid period. His second, undoubtedly correct, contradiction permits us to discuss the whole evolutionary series in the framework of the Achaemenid period. We are interested in the first two bouterolles, in which all researchers, including also P. Bernard, see the goat lacerated by the lion. The sheath of Takht-i Sangin connects the early, complete representation of bouterolles Nos. 1 and 2 with the later, more stylized ones. «The ornament in the form of a heart, which is on the head and within which a flower (Nos. 3, 12), or a palmette (Nos. 7, 9—15) is placed, are the stylized representations of the ear, and not of the horns, as is stated by R. Stucky,¹⁶⁴ — P. Bernard writes — this stylization can be found frequently in the representational art of both the steppe peoples and in the representations of the articles belonging to the Ziwiye treasure. And if we exclude Nos. 1 and 2, then nothing remains for the confirmation that this is the head of some kind of capripeds.»¹⁶⁵ The same opinion is maintained by S. S. Sorokin and V. G. Lukonin.¹⁶⁶ Thus, the bouterolle of Takht-i Sangin, according to this characteristic, stands between bouterolles Nos. 1 and 2 according to the numbering of P. Bernard.

«The two paired lines of yarns with twisted ends, which cover the neck and the back of the animals,» indicate — in the opinion of P. Bernard — as follows: «This double representation of yarns, arranged this way on the back of the animals in such fixed form, is characteristic exclusively of the representations of the empty-horned animals of the Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid periods.»¹⁶⁷ It is possible that these twirls (from two to five) bordering the lower sphere of the bouterolle from two sides, the first sphere, on all bouterolles, covered with groovings, are also dividing elements between the spheres to give them a tripartite division. Being a rudiment of twirls represented on the bouterolle of Ziwiye,¹⁶⁸ they belong already to the ornamental motifs. By the way, these twirls are not always present, on the majority of bouterolles they do not exist, *viz.* on bouterolles Nos. 1—5, 7, 10, 12. On the bouterolle of Takht-i Sangin they are definitely ornamental.

Examining the bouterolle of Takht-i Sangin in this connection and in this evolutionary series, it has to be noted that after the most masterly Egyptian bouterolles Nos. 1—2, it occupies undoubtedly the third place, and if we rely upon the representation of the predatory animal, it occupies the second place. The head of the goat is represented with the ear, a point directed upwards.

¹⁶⁴ R. A. STUCKY: *op. cit.* 18.

¹⁶⁵ P. BERNARD: *op. cit.* 236—237.

¹⁶⁶ S. S. SOROKIN: *op. cit.* 76—77; V. LUKONIN: Археологические памятники Ирана второго-первого тысячелетия до н. э. и новые поступления в отдел Востока СГЭ. XLII. 50.

¹⁶⁷ P. BERNARD: *op. cit.* 236.

¹⁶⁸ R. GHIRSHMAN: Tombe princière de Ziwiyé et le début de l'art animalier scythe. Paris 1979. Fig. 1.

The goat with beard and outstretched narrow muzzle, is just as undoubtedly, as on *bouterolles* Nos. 1 and 2. On the body of the predatory animal the character of stylization can be seen, although undoubtedly in a smaller degree than on *bouterolles* Nos. 2 and 3. The predatory animal has lost only the head, the legs are also represented in a stylized form, but they have not yet been transformed into concentric grooves. According to P. Bernard we have to do with one of the earliest specimens of the stylistic evolution, if not with the second one, then with the third one, depending on, which of the animals is accepted by us generalizing in this scheme.

The evolution proposed by P. Bernard appears to be not only doubtless, but also more characteristic and advantageous, than the table of development by B. Goldman, which is smaller in its composition. P. Bernard gives preference to the head of the victim over the stylization of the body of the predatory animal, the degree of which is less important in the comparisons.

The parallelism of the decrease of the specific characteristics on the goat and the predatory animal shows that in the early Achaemenid period two animals are represented. The decrease of the specific characteristics in the course of stylization takes place so gradually that it connects alone all *bouterolles* enumerated by P. Bernard into a unific united evolutionary chain, where the differences of the *bouterolles* are less conspicuous than the similarity among them.

The representations on the Royal gates in Persepolis can serve as an example of the unity of the style, in different degrees of stylization, where two serially different representations, No. 14 and No. 15, most differing in the evolutionary series, are accurately contemporaneous. This speaks in favour of the dating of all *bouterolles* to the Achaemenid period as proposed by P. Bernard. Another example is the *bouterolles* of the collection of Clot-Bey originating from Egypt. They not only belong actually to the Achaemenid style, but, in all probability, belonged to the Achaemenid warriors occupying Egypt. This is confirmed by the investigation of the weapons of the army of Cambyses found in Egypt.

What was the idea of the representation of the sheath of Takht-i Sangin? Let us outline very selectively the circle of conceptions and beliefs connected with the animals acting in this scene. The hunting on lions with two-wheeled chariots was pursued in Egypt, in Asia Minor, in Syria, in Assyria and in Achaemenid Iran. The Assyrian kings constantly hunted on them in the jungles of Mesopotamia, where lions were very numerous. An Assyrian king proclaimed that he, on foot and on a two-wheeled chariot, killed 920 lions, another king «modestly» declared that he killed 450 lions.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ R. D. BARNETT : A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories.

The royal hunting on lions was in Assyria a particular form of «royal sport». On the other hand, it was also ritual. Sources from the year 570 (?) report that at the time of his yearly festival the god Nabû himself set out for the hunting-ground to hunt on lions. The king by this demonstrated (with a definite chronological interval) his divine hypostasis and at the same time his earthly power and aptitude to perform his earthly duties.

Another explanation is also possible. Aššur, Nergal, Ninurta and Ištar were deities, who appreciated the hunting on lions and helped the king during its time, thus the lion itself was the most sacred of the animals.¹⁷⁰

In Assyrian times, judged from the seals and the monuments of art, the lion was «the animal of the king.»¹⁷¹ In the chariot of Ištar seven lions were harnessed.¹⁷² According to a text, the monster Lamastu «had the face of an enraged lion».¹⁷³

On the colossal sculpture from the temple in Kalah there is a long votive inscription of Aššur-našir-apla to the goddess Ištar.

Because still in the Sumerian period the statue of the lion bore the name of the king, it can be thought that the temple sculpture at the same time personified the king and the goddess Ištar, the patroness of the lions.¹⁷⁴

In Late-Hittite art the masculine deity and the king sometimes were represented sitting or standing on a pedestal, flanked by a pair of lions,¹⁷⁵ or right on a lion.¹⁷⁶ In a Hittite text the representation of the deity is described as being made of silver and travelling mounted on a wooden lion.¹⁷⁷ On a Hittite rock relief the representation of the god is shown with lion's fore parts substituting his shoulders and his arms, and with two figurines of lions hanging head first along the body of the god. The «lion's» character of the god is rendered this way.¹⁷⁸

The iconographic materials show that in the ancient world, including Mesopotamia, the lion received a solar symbol.¹⁷⁹ The lion was the attribute also of the Syrian solar deities. It was the animal of Astarte, Kedeš and Atargatis. In Hieropolis and Emesa the solar deity Gennaios (GNN') was worshipped by the Syrians in the form of a lion.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, in the Ancient East the killing

¹⁷⁰ R. D. BARNETT: *Ibidem.* 70—71; R. D. BARNETT: *Assyrische Palastreliefs.* 24.

¹⁷¹ A. SALONEN: *Jagd* . . . 122.

¹⁷² *Ibidem.* 209.

¹⁷³ *Ibidem.* 224.

¹⁷⁴ E. R. GOODENOUGH: *Jewish Symbols in the Graeco-Roman period.* Vol. VI. Toronto 1958. (Bollingen Series. XXXVIII) 39.

¹⁷⁵ E. AKURGAL: *Die Kunst der Hethiter.* München 1976. Pls. 109, 126—127.

¹⁷⁶ E. R. GOODENOUGH: *op. cit.* Vol. VII, 43, Fig. 41.

¹⁷⁷ H. GOLDMAN: *A Crystal Statuette from Tarsus.* AOEH. New York 1952. 131, with reference to a work not accessible to us.

¹⁷⁸ E. R. GOODENOUGH: *op. cit.* Pl. VII, p. 30; 43, Fig. 38.

¹⁷⁹ A. VOLLGRAFF-ROES: *The Lion with Body Marking in Oriental Art.* JNES 12 (1953) 44—45.

¹⁸⁰ R. D. BARNETT: *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* . . . 71; E. R. GOODENOUGH: *op. cit.* 44—45. On the lions in Syrian art and in religions, especially see: SEYRIG: *La triade héliopolitaine et les temples de Baalbek.* Syria 10 (1929). (The lion was the incarnation of all members of the divine trinity.)

of the lion, in the ritual sense, must have been a sacral act of the connection of the king with this deity. The lions from the tomb of Antiochus I from Commagene are the symbol of the king, of his divine nature and, especially, of his solar hypostasis.¹⁸¹

The sacral, in particular the solar, symbology, connected with the lion, is known in the religious conception of many peoples of antiquity. Thus, the lion of Nemea, with which Heracles fights, according to the tradition, is believed to have appeared from the sky or from the moon. The lion is the sacred animal of Apollo of Patara. «In the lions the sun shines» — Seneca said — (when the sun at the verge of the summer arrives at the sign of the Lion, this is the hottest time of the year). With the Berbers and the Egyptians the lion is compared with the sun. At the same time it is the symbol of the star Venus, the attribute of Eros, Bacchus, Cybele, Astarte, the Syro-Phoenician Atargatis, the Punic Baal and Tanit.

In Egypt, Syria, and in the whole Graeco-Roman world the head of the lion was connected with the sources of water. In Athens, Ephesus, Olympia, and in many other places the lion's head with opened mouth was placed into the springs and the water flew through it,¹⁸² and in Assyria the sculptured heads of lions served as the guards of the springs.¹⁸³ In ancient Greece and in Rome the lion is the symbol of power, particularly that of the emperor. Still another hypostasis of the lion is chthonic, it is especially clearly shown in the conception on the lion as the guard of the graves (spread in the Graeco-Roman world and also beyond its boundaries).¹⁸⁴

In the ancient Indian epic the lion appears as the vehicle of physical strength, power, greatness, etc.¹⁸⁵ The comparison of the ruler with the lion, the meaning of the word «lion», as «hero», «intrepid», «knight», was wide-spread in medieval Tajik and Persian literature.¹⁸⁶

In Mithraism the lion was identified with the nature of power and energy of bodily and earthly existence. The lion is the fullest personification of the soul in a bodily cover. At the same time it is the natural principle of fire and its reason, the source of internal heat, giving motion and energy to others. This

¹⁸¹ K. HUMANN—O. PUCHSTEIN: *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*. Berlin 1890. Pls. XIX—XL.

¹⁸² E. R. GOODENOUGH: *op. cit.* 58—60.

¹⁸³ G. RERROT—CH. CHIPIEZ: *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*. II. Paris 1884. Fig. 311.

¹⁸⁴ Detailed references and sources see: E. КАГАРОВ: *Культ фетишей, растений и животных в древней Греции*. СПб. 1913. 216—217; O. KELLER: *Die Antike Tierwelt*. I. Leipzig 1909. 45—61; STEIER: *Löwe RE*, XXV. Stuttgart 1926. 983—984; E. R. GOODENOUGH: *op. cit.* 60—62.

¹⁸⁵ S. L. NEVELEVA: *Вопросы поэтики древнеиндийского эпоса. Эпитет и сравнение*. Moscow 1979. 103.

¹⁸⁶ M.-N. O. OSMANOV: *Стиль персидско-таджикской поэзии IX—X вв.* Moscow. 1974. 95.

animal is compared with Jupiter annihilating the earthly giants, the lion is the planetary symbol of Jupiter.¹⁸⁷

The lion was the travelling companion of the four-armed goddess, whose name is not yet known to us, but who was worshipped in Northern Asia. Her representations are everywhere found on seals, on jewellery and on works of toreutics.

In the Far East and in Central Asia the image of the lion comes from Buddhist iconography, the lions are the usual guards or the carriers of the Buddha, the lion is the permanent companion of the deity of highest wisdom Mañjuśrī.¹⁸⁸

The reports, which we have regarding the beliefs connected with the stag, with the peoples of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean, are considerably smaller in volume. In Mesopotamia the stag was not only a wild animal, but it was also kept as a domestic animal in the temples. The milk of the stag was *e.g.* a sacrificial food of the goddess Ningirsu. Besides this, the horns of the stag and its other parts were used as medicines.¹⁸⁹ According to the iconographic historians, the stag is the sacred animal of the Hittite masculine deity. The symbol of the third member of the holy trinity, Karḫuḫaša, was the horn or pair of horns of the stag.¹⁹⁰ According to a Hittite text from the end of the 8th century B. C., the god, patron of the fields, stood on a stag.¹⁹¹

The stag, especially the spotted stag, in the period of classic Greece, was held mainly an Asiatic animal. Its spotted hide was thought to be the reflection of the star-lit sky at night. Therefore, the stag was the attribute of the moon goddess, who was thought to be Artemis (and also Athene) by the Greeks. The stag occupied a significant place in the cult of Artemis, in her iconography, including coin iconography, as well as in her poetic descriptions. The stag was also the symbol of the night and darkness, of the evil principle, which is defeated by the solar lion, the representative of light and giver of happiness.¹⁹² In ancient India the stag, the fallow deer, was held the symbol of helplessness.¹⁹³ In popular imagination the Ossetic god, Afsati was an old man with a head decorated with stag-horns.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁷ L. A. CAMPBELL: *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*. Leiden 1968. (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain. T. 11) 68, 287, 309.

¹⁸⁸ N. V. ДИАКОНОВА: *Материалы по культовой иконографии Центральной Азии домусульманского периода*. ТГЭ 5 (1961) 266—267; *eadem*: «Сасанидские» ткани. ТГЭ 10 (1969) 88.

¹⁸⁹ A. SALONEN: *op. cit.* 161.

¹⁹⁰ R. D. BARNETT: *A Catalogue* . . . 73.

¹⁹¹ L. ROST: *Zu den hethitischen Bildbeschreibungen*. Mitteilungen des Institutes für Orientforschung der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 8 (1961) 179—180; E. PORADA: *Of Deer, Bells and Pomegranates*. *Archaeologia Iranica. Miscellanea in honorem R. Ghirshman*. Leiden 1970. 115.

¹⁹² E. KAGAROV: *Культ.* . . 267; O. KELLER: *op. cit.* 277.

¹⁹³ S. L. NEVELEVA: *Вопросы* . . 106.

¹⁹⁴ V. I. АВАЕВ: *Историко-этимологический словарь* . . . , III. 14.

On the sheath of Takht-i Sangin the lion and the stag do not appear isolated, but in a scene, where the stag is seized by the lion, in which the incommensurability of their size is stressed. This is the scene of laceration and at the same time, the scene of the triumph of the power of the lion and that of the defencelessness of the stag. In the art of the Ancient East there is a frequent variation of the scene, where the lion lacerates another herbivorous animal, a bull. The fight between the lion and the bull, the scene of laceration of the bull by the lion, is regarded by the research as having a mythological or ritual meaning. However, the concrete interpretations proposed by the different researchers differ considerably from one another. Thus, in the light of the Canaanite myths, they presume that the lion and the bull, each one of them, personifies a certain deity fighting with another, at the same time the scene personifies the alternation of the seasons.¹⁹⁵

Publishing the Assyrian bronze disk with the scene of the laceration of the bull by the lion (the lion is on the back of the bull), the umbo of the shield of Sargon II (721—705 B. C.), E. Porada presumes that the Assyrians originally regarded the lion as an enemy. Thereafter the representation of the king of the animals was transformed into the representation of the conqueror and finally, into the king himself. The triumph of the lion over the bull had a symbolic character. Therefore the lion on the disk is shown considerably bigger than the bull. This corresponded to the ideology of both the customer and the artist. This meaning of the motif explains, why these representations are found on the embroidered tunic of Aššurnasirpal (9th century B. C.).¹⁹⁶

W. Hartner and R. Ettinghausen suppose that this motif originally had an astrological meaning and this interpretation was preserved still in the Achaemenid period, for example at the time of the ceremonies of Nouruz in Persepolis. R. Ettinghausen, at the same time, points out that on the reliefs of the staircases of the *apadāna* of Persepolis there are no royal representations, and the scene of the fight of the lion with the bull is placed side by side with the inscription, where Xerxes praises his realm. This scene is found not less than sixteen times. R. Ettinghausen, following E. Herzfeld, arrives at the conclusion that in Persepolis, together with the original astral meaning, this scene represents a heraldic emblem.

R. Ettinghausen also underlined the evolution of this scene, *viz.* on the Assyrian disk the lion floats over the bull, while on the Achaemenid reliefs it really lacerates the herbivorous animal.¹⁹⁷ In the opinion of W. Hartner the

¹⁹⁵ R. D. BARNETT: *op. cit.* 72.

¹⁹⁶ E. PORADA: An Assyrian Bronze Disc. *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Art*. Boston 48 (1950). Cited after: W. HARTNER—R. ETTINGHAUSEN: *Oriens* 17 (1964) 168.

¹⁹⁷ E. HERZFELD: *Iran in the Ancient East*. London—New York 1941. 251—252; W. HARTNER—R. ETTINGHAUSEN: *The Conquering Lion. The Life Cycle of a Symbol*. *Oriens* 17 (1964) 169. In Achaemenian art the scene of laceration of a bull by a lion was the emblem of some cities, Biblos, Kition and Tarsus. (R. D. BARNETT: *A Catalogue* . . . 73.)

scene of the fight of the lion with the stag has to be regarded as an «equivalent» of the scene of the fight of the lion with the bull.¹⁹⁸

It has to be added that the solar symbology of the stag was well known in the Indo-European consciousness. In Russian folklore the sun is a glowing stag. In the «Tales of recurrent summers» the fawns fall from the sky. In the Scandinavian beliefs the stag is the son of the Sun,¹⁹⁹ four stags correspond to the four cardinal points.²⁰⁰ Of course, the possibility of entirely different interpretations should not be excluded either. We mention *e.g.* an Ossetic folk-tale motif: the heroine appears before the hero in the form of a fallow-deer to turn thereafter into a beauty.²⁰¹ The fallow deer is the image of feminine helplessness also in the ancient Indian epic, where the victory over the weak enemy resembles to the victory of the lion over a tiny animal, and the victory over a mighty enemy resembles to the victory over a big animal (a bull). It should also be kept in mind that the king in the ancient Indian epic is compared with the lion.²⁰²

We do not know exactly what conceptions are reflected by the scene on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin, but it is clear that they belong to that group of conceptions, which was outlined above.

In conclusion we note that the lion on the sheath not only seizes and holds the stag, but if we take the sheath as a whole, with the bouterolle, then also together with it so to say tramples on the contracting goat, and although the primary image on the bouterolle, as a scene of laceration, in the iconographic relation was already almost lost, this representation very likely continued to be understood as the sign symbolizing such a scene.

V. V. Ivanov and V. N. Toporov discovered the all Indo-European conception on the embedding of ritual symbols into each other, connected with the world (or sacred) tree, by which the world tree stands at the beginning of the chain and death is at the end.²⁰³ Conceptions of the same type have been discovered in ancient India and in Central Asia.²⁰⁴ And on the sheath of Takht-i Sangin, apparently, we have to do with a continuously narrative series of sacrificial-ritual conceptions (acts), in which the scenes of the fight and victory of the lion over the stag (goat) substitute the stages of the fight of the earthly ruler (or divine hero) with their rival (rivals), of the fight, which ends with triumph and apotheosis, when the rival, in the form of a stag, is defeated and humiliated.

¹⁹⁸ W. HARTNER: The Earliest History of the Constellations in the Near East and the Motif of the Lion-Bull Combat. JNES 24 N 1—2 (1965) 16; P. АСКЕРМАН developed a similar conception, see: P. АСКЕРМАН: Iconography. SPA I. 1967. 389—391.

¹⁹⁹ V. I. АБАЕВ: Историко-этимологический словарь III. 14.

²⁰⁰ V. V. ИВАНОВ—V. N. ТОПОРОВ: Исследования в области славянских древностей. Moscow 1974. 28.

²⁰¹ V. I. АБАЕВ: Историко-этимологический. . . 14.

²⁰² S. N. NEVELEVA: *op. cit.* 103, 106.

²⁰³ V. V. ИВАНОВ—V. N. ТОПОРОВ: *op. cit.* 35.

²⁰⁴ B. A. ЛИТВИНСКИЙ—Г. I. ЗЕУМАЛ: Некоторые аспекты иерархии и семантики ступа в Средней Азии и Индии. Древняя Индия. 1981.

If we accept the explanation of V. I. Abaev, according to which the ethnonym *Saka* originates from the reconstructed Old Iranian **saka-* «stag», and the opinion (of I. M. Artamonov, N. L. Chlenova and others), according to which the stag was the most wide-spread totem of the Sakas,²⁰⁵ then it would be tempting to concretize this scene, as the symbolically reflected victory of the Achaemenid king, or of his (Bactrian ?) governor over the Central Asian Sakas. However, the explanation *sak* «stag» cannot be regarded as the only possible²⁰⁶ and more or less firmly established explanation²⁰⁷ that renders the above mentioned interpretation problematic.

The sheath of Takht-i Sangin, with regard to its form, is close to the gold coverings of the sheaths originating from the treasure of the Oxus (No. 22). They coincide at an accuracy of millimetres both regarding their size (27.6 cm) and the time of their manufacture, *viz.* 6th century — turn of the 6th and 5th centuries B. C. In the territory of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan and northern India, similar articles, close with regard to their time, have not been discovered. This confirms the opinion on the provenance of the treasure of the Oxus in the upper course, on the right bank of the Amu-Darya and it is possible that this speaks in favour of the origin of the treasure from temple treasuries. And the material — ivory —, a whole series of specific details of the form and conception of the representation, point to the local, Bactrian manufacture of these sheaths. So far sheaths of similar type were known only from the representations on the reliefs of Persepolis, while now as a result of the excavations the art of the world has been enriched with an excellently preserved, highly artistic original specimen made of ivory from the 6th—5th centuries B. C.

The circumstance that the Egyptian boutherolles are very close to that of Takht-i Sangin, is not the only example for the width of the area of spreading of the imperial style in the Achaemenid period. The same phenomenon is seen by us at the study of the architectural monuments, especially in the spreading of the torus-shaped Achaemenid bases from Egypt and Palestine to Central Asia.²⁰⁸

All the 15 boutherolles published by P. Bernard, are dated to the period 524—404 B. C., the epoch of the first hegemony of the Persians, to the time of the first conquest of Egypt. By this the dating in the broad sense, to the 5th century seems to us to be most acceptable. In this case the fact is also very important that we find the closest analogies of the form of sheaths on the ear-

²⁰⁵ V. I. АБАЕВ: *op. cit.* 12—15.

²⁰⁶ B. A. LITVINSKIY: Древние кочевники «Крыш и мира». Moscow 1972. 151—152.

²⁰⁷ O. SZEMERÉNYI: Four Old Iranian Names: Scythian-Skudra-Sogdian-Saka. Wien 1980. ÖAW Phil.-hist. Kl. Sitzungberichte 371. Bd. P. 41.

²⁰⁸ I. R. ПИЧИКУАН: Торовидные базы (происхождение, хронология). Культура и искусство народов Средней Азии в древности и средневековье. Moscow 1979. 57—61.

liest specimen, No. 22, of the treasure of the Oxus and on the early representations of Persepolis.²⁰⁹

As far as the chronology is concerned, according to the continuous evolutionary scheme, proposed by P. Bernard, it seems to be very convincing to include in it also the sheath of Takht-i Sangin. The unbroken evolution, the similarity of the representations and of the stylistic marks, first of all, show that the bouterolle of Takht-i Sangin and, consequently also the sheath, cannot be dated later than the 5th century B. C. And if we take into consideration, as it is accepted in archeology and in history of art that the stylistic marks most frequently are also chronological characteristics, then it becomes an obvious fact that the sheath of Takht-i Sangin has to be dated to the first half of the 5th century B. C., and by no means later.

The ornament framing the upper part of the sheath also speaks in favour of this or an even earlier dating. It is dated to the transitional period (6th century B. C.) of the Minor Asian tonguelet ornament of Ionic ovoli with the initial stage of the intermediate stems,²¹⁰ hardly observed only in the lower part of the stripe between the upper representation and the bouterolle. The braiding above the dividing ornamental stripes above the bouterolle belongs to the Minor Asian and Iranian early archaic ornamental motifs²¹¹ borrowed from Asia Minor, and used by no means later than the first half of the 5th century B. C., similarly as the representations, ornamentation and form of the sheath as a whole has also to be dated.

In cultic deposit No. 4, together with the sheath a votive stone altar was found, with a bronze sculptured figure of Silenus Marsyas playing on an two-branched flute (Fig. 4), placed on it.

The first Ancient Greek inscription on the territory of Asia Minor reads as follows :

Ἐὸχὸν
ἀνέθηκεν
Ἀτροσώκης
ἸΟξωί

«Atrosokes dedicated his vow to Oxus» (Fig. 5). In the open altar the synthesis of Graeco-Bactrian culture is realized with unusual sharp clearness. The

²⁰⁹ O. M. DALTON : *op. cit.* N 22 ; E. F. SCHMIDT : Persepolis. I. N 65 A. B, D., Pl. 120, 121. Unlike the late sheath of Artaxerxes III, where the bouterolle is trifoliate, see : E. F. SCHMIDT : Persepolis. III. Pl. 75 (18).

²¹⁰ C. WEICKERT : *Das lesbische Kymation*. Leipzig 1913 ; W. B. DINSMOOR : *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*. London 1950. 13, 25, 29. 44.

²¹¹ R. GHIRSEMAN : *Tombe . . .* Pl. IX, 6, 8, XII, 7 ; CH. WILKINSON : *Vessels from Ziwiye Terminating in Animal Heads*. Proceedings of the IVth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology. Part A, April 24—May 3, 1960. Teheran 1967. 2982, Fig. 1045.

local sacrificer of fire, Atrosokes (his name from Old Iranian is deciphered as «burning with the sacred fire», or «useful to the deity of fire» or mostly «having the force of the deity of fire») dedicates a small altar of Greek form with a figurine of the Greek Silenus, a Bacchic deity, with an Ancient Greek inscription in form and language to the local deity of river Oxus (the Greek transcription of the Vaxš — Amu-Darya). We have to do not with a superficial mixing, or the amalgamation of the forms, but with a deep process leading to the mutual penetration of the world view of the Bactrians and the Hellenes. The votive inscriptions are characteristic of the sacred groves, the Greek temene, they are to be found also in the area of temples, but they are always addressed to the deity to whom the temple is consecrated. Consequently, also the sanctuary of Takht-i Sangin, as it becomes clear from the inscription, was consecrated to Oxus, the highest deity of the river and of the primeval element of water. Therefore, the information included in the four words is very significant. The ancient Greeks rendered the hydronym «Vaxš» with the word Oxus (by which the local inhabitants at that time did not call only the river Vaxš, but also the whole Amu-Darya). The common name appeared quite late.²¹² On the Kušāna coins this deity is represented with the inscription OAXDO («Vaxš»). Thus, in antiquity not only one of the main rivers of Central Asia was denoted by this word, but also the deity connected with it.^{212a} In the sacred hierarchy it occupied a high place, because in the inscription on a gem (kept in the Calcutta museum) the phrase «Vaxš, the sole god» appears. The great Khorezmian scholar Bīrūni in the 11th century stated that «Vaxš is the name of the angel placed (to supervise) the waters, especially river Jaiḥūn» (Amu-Darya, the ancient Vakhsh).²¹³ Up to the twenties with the Tajiks and the Uzbeks many beliefs connected with this river were preserved.

The figure of Silenus—Marsyas standing on the base of the altar is well known in the Greek pantheon. Silenus—Marsyas, playing a two-branched flute, is standing in full-size on the small bronze base, cast together with the figurine. The small base is mounted on the upper plain surface of the altar with the help of a hammered out slit, soldered with lead. Silenus holds the flute in his bent hands. His left foot is slightly stretched ahead. The legs are represented frontally, somewhat geometrically and generalized. The big head sharply separates in profile together with the protruding abdomen. The shoulders are in proportion very narrow, only slightly projecting from the line of the head. From the chin to the omphalos along the sternum there is a deep incision separating the big, hanging breasts (Fig. 5).

²¹² J. MARKWART: Wehrot und Arang. Leiden 1938. 351.

^{212a} J. HARMATTA: Cusanica. Acta Orient. Hung. 11 (1960) 198—200; J. ROSENFELD: The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans. Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967. 92, Pl. VIII/155.

²¹³ BIRUNI ABURAYKHAN: Памятники минувших поколений. Tashkent 1957. 258.

The big, bald skull is framed by long locks. The coiffure directly goes over to the short, broad beard, fashioned, like the locks, generalized, by deep, short incisions. On the forehead there are two wrinkles: the one is vertical, deep, the other is short, horizontal. The small eyes are deep-set. The cheeks are puffed-up from tension. The huge, jug-eared head, with broad nose, the stressed ugly figure, are characteristic of the outward appearance of Silenus. The grasp of the naked masculine body, the representation of the realistic Hellenistic mythological figure in the traditional manner, the caricaturing of the face, betray the hand of a Greek master. The face of Silenus belongs to the caricatured portrait representation of Socrates, favoured in Hellenism.

The altar combines Hellenistic and Bactrian traditions. Language, formula and script of the inscription are Greek, the contents — Bactrian. On the altar, dedicated to the Bactrian deity Oxus — Vaxš, is set the Hellenic sculptural figure of the Greek deity Marsyas whose function was among others the protection of the watercourses. Thus, one and the same semantic idea got twofold expressions: an epigraphic (written) expression (Oxus — Vaxš) and a sculptural one (Marsyas). This reduplication increased not only the sacred force of the altar but it also bore witness to the cultural synthesis and drew attention to the culturally and perhaps ethnically mingled Graeco-Bactrian environment.

The epigraphic analysis of the inscription,²¹⁴ the comparison with the monumental inscriptions of the 3rd century B. C. and financial dipinti of the 2nd century B. C. discovered in Ai-Khanum, as well as with the later inscriptions of Surkh Kotal, permit to date the dedication on the altar to the middle of the 2nd century B. C. that is to the last decades before the fall of Graeco-Bactria.²¹⁵

In cultic deposit No. 4 the basic mass of the finds consisted of polychrome clay sculpture. The large quantity of finds made of alabaster and unburnt clay, undoubtedly has to be included in local, Bactrian art. Their materials are so breakable that their local manufacture does not raise any doubts. Besides the forms and difference of the material, the heads, torsos and smaller details of the figures can be divided according to the style of manufacture and the chronology into three entirely independent schools.

²¹⁴ V. A. LIVSHITS agrees with the dating proposed by us. Adhering to our opinion, we quote with gratitude the views of the national epigraphists, specializing on the inscriptions of Olbia, Chersonesus and the Bosphorus. E. I. LEVI, A. I. BOLTUNOVA, N. S. BELOVA and V. V. RUBAN are inclined to an earlier date, viz.: 3rd century — turn of the 3rd century—beginning of the 2nd century B. C. JU. G. VINOGRADOV believes that, according to the epigraphic data, the offering of Atrosokes should be dated to the middle of the 2nd century B. C.

²¹⁵ L. ROBERT: Les inscriptions. P. BERNARD: Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum. MDAFA XXX. Paris. 517—520, Pl. 11; P. BERNARD: Pratiques financières dans la Bactriane hellénisée. BSN 34 Pl. II; H. HUMMACH: Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler. II. Wiesbaden 1967. Pls. 17—21, 22 above.

The sculpture of the Seleucid times, produced according to Greek traditions of Asia Minor belongs to the first school. The second, Graeco-Bactrian school is characterized by specific local traditions. The third school, the most numerous one, includes sculptures prepared in the Parthian and Indo-Gandharian style. At the same time it is clear that the sculptures were previously crushed, and thereafter brought and thrown into the distant northern dead-end of corridor No. 2, together with the inscription dedicated to Oxus, the sheath of akinakes, the silver hand bigger than the natural size, the Scytho-Siberian nephrite representation of the wolf-dragon, and the 15 stone disks, because it was seen already before the restoration that all the sculptures were fragmentary and only one whole alabaster statue could be put together that of an eastern satrap, and the rest were only separate parts.

The head of a beardless man with royal hair-band or diadem, representing the first school (Fig. 6), is the best with regard to style and the workmanship of preparation. The clay is local, yellowish brown in colour, with inclusions of sand and limestone. The head was formed separately from the body. The blue-black locks, held together with a pink fillet, drop on the forehead and the temples with bent, elegant plaits thinning towards the ends, divided with a modelling tool into several parts. The pupils of the deep-set eyes are not shown plastically, they were painted. The curls of the locks stress the beauty of the straight forehead. In spite of the small dimensions (its scale is half of the natural size) the head looks monumental. The head is modelled with hand. The master was undoubtedly a Greek, or a strongly Hellenized Bactrian, acquainted with the best traditions of the Greek sculptors Scopas and Lysippus, widely known from original works and copies to the local masters creating the Hellenistic sculptural koine. The sculptor modelling the head of a large statue was familiar with the Seleucid specimens of Asia Minor, both in monumental and minor sculpture, including the coin representations of the early Hellenistic rulers. The affinity of the general appearance, as well as of the conception of the small details, *viz.* the hair-do, the forehead, the eyes, the oval face, betray the nearness of the schools, of that to which the master of northern Bactria, more accurately that of the Takht-i Sangin, belonged, with the best workmanships of Pergamum, Priene, Magnesia on the Maeander, working in the 3rd century B. C. The head is a portrait. On the basis of the hair-band or diadem worn by the diadochoi and epigoni, it represents the governing dynast.

The work of the second local school deserves special interest. It is represented by the sculpture of the satrap robed in kyrbasia (Fig. 7). The masculine head is represented in front-view, its scale is one third of the natural size. The face is slightly broadening below. The nose is thin, high, with a slight sinking on the ridge and with a moderate convexity towards the tip. The nostrils are fashioned with arches. The deep-set eyes are outlined with linear black ovals, pointed at the outer edge and rounded off at the nose. In the middle of the upper

line of the oval there is a circular spot, the pupil. The arches of the eyebrows are indicated by black lines reaching over the lateral edges of the nose. The mouth is not big. Partly, especially the upper lip, is covered by moustache and beard. The lower lip is straight, the small, semioval upper lip fits tight to it. The lips are painted with red colour. The whole lower part of the face is framed by thick, black hair, into which the moustache and the beard melt. The broad moustache is parted in the middle, it turns into the beard, which begins below the cheeks. The beard in the beginning hangs along the contours of the face broadening downwards, and below it is pulled together wedgewise. The hairs in the moustache are represented with several oblique notches. The finishing of the beard is much more detailed. The naturalness of the representation is enhanced by the relief-like shaping of the beard as compared with the plane of the face. Above the low forehead a bulging and almost smooth stripe of locks is hanging, clipped. Higher up the hair-dress, the *kyrbasia* begins. It consists of a surrounding, smoothly projecting cylinder or band, above which the hammered semispheric or conic part projects. Around the band the smooth plates-face-guards hang down, covering the lateral parts of the head and reaching to the level of the chin. Below they have round outlines. The modelling is very accurate and convincing. The sculpture is painted: the beard, the moustache, the eyebrows, the oval of the face, the eyes and the pupils are black, the face is brown, the lips are vermilion, the head-dress is white. This sculpture is masterly, although it is a laconically scanty portrait representation of a man, imperatively and attentively looking before himself. The head is made of white alabaster, it is hollow inside. A study of the reversed side creates the impression that at the preparation of the relief the mass was so to say crammed into the form. Meanwhile, into the necessary places from the reversed side additional lumps of alabaster were put inside. It is hoped that the subsequent restoration will permit the publishing of the whole figure. The dimensions of the fragment are as follows: height 12 cm., breadth 7.4 cm.

Khalchayan furnished a whole series of masculine heads, including also heads with beard and moustache and even with similar head-dress. However, with regard to style they differ from that of Takht-i Sangin. It is especially important that the common oval of the face in Khalchayan becomes narrower downwards, while in Takht-i Sangin, on the contrary, it is broadening below. In this respect the nearness to the sculpture of Hatra and to the sculptures from two Parthian centres can be followed. The question of the Partho-Bactrian mutual relations in the field of art and architecture has been elaborated repeatedly and in a detailed form. The sculpture of Takht-i Sangin showing traces of Partho-Bactrian mutual relations in the field of art, supports this thesis. At the same time it expands our conceptions about the appearance of Bactrian sculpture as a whole. As for the dating, the broad dating to the 3rd—2nd centuries B. C. seems to be most acceptable.

One of the numerous sculptures, the alabaster sculpture representing a Bactrian, of the third local school (Fig. 8), is very interesting. The head, the arms and legs are partly broken off. The man was represented in motion. The right leg is ahead, the left one is kept behind. The clothing is local, Indo-Bactrian, in the form of a long, pleated chiton girded with a sash, fastened with a knot with two long ends hanging down. Of the iconography, the stretched proportions with narrow waist, with rather thin thighs and narrow shoulders, the accurate, almost graphic conception of the dimensions and the sure, somewhat generalized representation of the form, are characteristic.

The comparison with the Kuṣāṇa iconography shows some points of contact with the image of Kanīška eternized on coins. On the coins of Kanīška, the standing king is in girded kaftan, sharply, almost triangularly broadening in the lower half. The line of the lower edge of the garment is straight or wavy, festoon-like tripartite, rounded off in the centre. On the lower half sometimes folds are shown: two rows of horizontal arches closed on the axle line.²¹⁶ The similarity of the statuette discussed, with this image is insignificant.

The same can be said also about the sculpture from the Kuṣāṇa times belonging to the Mathura school. The belt on the statue of Kanīška from Mathura²¹⁷ is decorated with plaques. It surrounds the under-garment, on which the long, open kaftan is spread. Under the belt arch-shaped folds are indicated with engraving, turned downwards. The lower edge is straight. The lower edge is similar also on the statue of the Kuṣāṇa prince from Mathura,²¹⁸ where a tassel is hanging down from the broad belt on the axle line. The strap fastened in the centre with two tassels hanging down is rare in the art of Mathura. Such fastening of the belt is found on earlier monuments of Indian art, belonging to the 2nd century B. C. — the beginning of our era, in Bharhut, Bhaja, Pitalhor, Sanchi, etc.²¹⁹

Certain parallels are observed also with the Parthian culture. The belt with two hanging tassels is usual in Parthian art. By way of example we can mention the stone reliefs from Bisutun with the representation of a Parthian prince (1st—2nd centuries A. D.),²²⁰ where the line of the lower edge consists of two arches closed in the centre, so that between them a tip turning downwards is formed. Such character of the belt is established in Parthian art already in the

²¹⁶ J. M. ROSENFELD: *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Los Angeles 1967. Pl. 11 (30, 38); P. GARDNER: *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings in Bactria and India in the British Museum*. Chicago 1959. (reprint) Pls. XXVI—XXVII.

²¹⁷ J. M. ROSENFELD: *op. cit.* Fig. 2, 94.

²¹⁸ *Ibidem*. Figs. 8, 13, 21, 22.

²¹⁹ A. M. LOTH: *La vie publique et privée dans l'Inde ancienne II^e siècle avant J.-C. — VII^e siècle environ*. Fasc. VII. Planches. Paris 1979. (Publications du Musée Guimet. Recherches et documents d'art et d'archéologie. VI) Pls. III (1—4), IV (1, 2), VII (1).

²²⁰ R. GHIRSHMAN: *Iran. Parthians and Sasanians*. Paris 1962. Fig. 66. Such fixing of the belt is found in the women's costume of the Parthians. *Ibidem*, Fig. 103.

1st century B. C. (reliefs from Nimrud-Dag).²²¹ This «fashion» was spread also in Palmyra, at any rate in the 2nd—1st centuries B. C.²²² Its sources, apparently, are still in Achaemenid art, especially in its works, reflecting the direct influence of Greek art.²²³

The statuette of Takht-i Sangin, on the basis of its proportions and, partly, its garment, is probably nearest to the «statue of the standing aristocrat» from Dalverzin-Tepe.²²⁴ A certain exchange of experiences is discovered also from the sculpture of the «sitting ruler» from Khalchayan.²²⁵ However, also these analogies have a very approximate and partial character. On the basis of comparison with them, it can be confirmed at a certain degree of surety that this statuette belongs to the circle of the works of Bactrian art. Its dating, however, contains significant complications. At the present phase of research we date it within the broad limits, from the 3rd century B. C. to the beginning of our era. If one also takes into account the resemblance to the ancient sculpture from Asia Minor then the dating to the first half of this period seems to be preferable.

Thus, in cultic deposit No. 4, besides the great variety in the material of the works of art, and the richness of cultural representational sources, we get the widest chronological range of the objects cast together, *viz.* from the 5th century B. C. through the 1st century A. D. The monuments of art are in an excellent condition of preservation (with the exception of the various alabaster sculpture transported in a broken condition), they have been preserved really in museum condition. The questions raised by this complex are so extensive that all the monuments require a special edition, each of which is unique in this territory, and a whole series also in world culture.

The great significance of the treasure of Takht-i Sangin, particularly, on the basis of the results of cultic deposit No. 4, consists in the fact that they contain the dynamics of development of the art of Bactria, unknown so far, of the second half of the millennium B. C., from the Achaemenid style through the Graeco-Bactrian tradition to the development of the Kuşāṇa schools of art. The date of the deposit, on the basis of the last find, is in the neighbourhood of the beginning of our era.

One of the most significant finds in the temple was the discovery of the sheath of a miniature votive makhaira embellished with the relief representation of Alexander of Macedonia depicted as Heracles. The head of Alexander is

²²¹ *Ibidem*, Figs 79—80. See also B. GOLDMAN: Parthians at Gandhāra. EW 28 (1978) Fig. 6.

²²² R. GHIRSEMAN *op. cit.* Figs. 84, 91.

²²³ A. U. POPE: A Survey of Persian Art. VI. Teheran—London—New York 1967. (Reprint). Pl. 108 (A—C). Especially: A. SHAPUR SHAHBAZI: The Irano-Lycian Monuments. Teheran 1975. (Institute of Achaemenid Research Publications. II) 138, Pl. LXXXVIII.

²²⁴ G. A. PUGACHENKOVA: Искусство Бактрии эпохи кушан. Moscow 1979. Pls. 129—130.

²²⁵ G. A. PUGACHENKOVA: Скульптура Халчаяна. Moscow 1971. 57—58, Pl. 68.

represented in front-view slightly turned to the left and hardly perceptibly leaned to the left shoulder. The look of the widely opened eyes without the drawing of the pupils is directed above the onlooker. The round oval of the face with the chin drawn into it is contracted with a helmet representing the head of a scalped lion. The upper jaw of the lion garlands the forehead, while the two halves of the lower jaw frame the cheeks of the hero in the form of face-guards of the helmet. The streaming, thinly modelled twirls-locks of the mane are behind the head of Alexander, and on his chest there are the legs of the lion, fastened in the «knot of Heracles» (one of the legs and a part of the hide on the left shoulder have been preserved, the right leg and the knot have been lost). Because of abrasion, the nose and the lips are somewhat blurred (Fig. 9).²²⁶

The contour of the face of the Alexander of Takht-i Sangin is oval, unlike the round types of heads sculptured by Scopas. The wide open eyes are set close to each other and not very deep, but the massive muscles of the eyebrows at the ridge of the nose are projecting ahead, not hanging above the eyes that still gives the expression of pathos to the face, characteristic of all portraits of Alexander, showing their affinity and uniting them on the basis of this one mark. It is also noted that the furrows on the forehead and on the ridge of the nose and the squinting of the eyes, characteristic of the late Hellenistic period, are missing.

As was correctly remarked by K. Gebauer, the question of the attribution of each portrait of Alexander, has the only perspective of solution, if we examine it from the view-point of the whole existing material.²²⁷ Alexander the Great was represented by the best known sculptors of Greece, *viz.* Lysippus, Leochares, Euthykrates, Euphanor. At present the iconography of the portraits of Alexander is well elaborated,²²⁸ and the literature on the attribution of his

²²⁶ The fragment was glued together by I. R. PICHIKYAN of several vertically stratified scales of ivory, found in different parts of the iron conglomerate. Inv. No. 1134/1091, Institute of History A. Donish of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR. The conglomerate consisting of over 2000 arrow-heads and other iron objects of armament, was recorded by us as cultic deposit No. 2 in the most distant north-western corner of the 20 metres long ambulatory corridor (No. 2). Deposit No. 2 was discovered in a depth of 3.5 metres from the present-day surface, 0.5—0.65 metres above the real subsoil. On the glued fragment of bouterolle the dimensions of the portrait bust of Alexander are as follows: height: 33 mm, breadth: 28 mm. The representation of the head has been preserved completely, *viz.* height: 20 mm, eyes: 13 mm, nose: 3 mm. On the opposite side of the half of the bouterolle there are traces of a slit of a vertical incision usual for the functional and votive-decorative mouth of sheaths of daggers, found in large quantities in the cultic deposits of the temple. See I. R. PICHIKYAN: Ножны ксифосов и махайр в Северной Бактрии. СА 4 (1980) 202—212.

²²⁷ K. GEBAUER: Alexanderbildnis und Alexandertypus. AM 63/64 (1939/9) 32.

²²⁸ The works of sculptors of the 4th century B. C. are reviewed in detail in the works of the eminent Soviet researcher O. F. Valdgauer. See O. F. VALDGAUER: Портреты Александра и их значение для истории портретной скульптуры IV в. до н. э. *Idem*: Этюды по истории античного портрета. Leningrad 1938. 150 foll. Th. SCHREIBER: Studien über das Bildnis Alexanders des Grossen. Leipzig 1903; W. HOFFMANN: Das literarische Porträt Alexanders des Grossen im griechischen und römischen Altertum. Leipzig 1907; F. WEBER: Alexander der Grosse im Urteil der Griechen und Römer bis an

portraits is incredibly comprehensive, which facilitates our work considerably. Inasmuch as the attribution of the portrait at Takht-i Sangin does not give complications, therefore besides the analogies it is necessary to establish its place in iconographic typology.

The successful classification according to the creative masters has been done by O. F. Valdgauer. His work could be continued with a broadening classification according to schools, because the authorship of the majority of the indefinable portraits of Alexander is impossible to establish. In this plan, in a special monographic research, all known works should be grouped according to the method of J. Beazley, applied by him in the study of Attic vase painting, and named the masters after the names of the most characteristic portraits,²²⁹ but this is not at all our task.

The classification according to schools of sculpture in the geographic range has been made by M. Bieber and K. Gebauer, but their works do not excel with a comprehensive fullness.²³⁰ The excellent work of K. Gebauer arranges the coinages and sculptures with the representations of Heracles and Alexander known to the author, according to regional schools. In his opinion the sculptural works of the Alexandrian school collected by him, can be set against altogether only 12 marble works of the whole remaining Mediterranean.²³¹ However, it is not so. In the last years the archeological journals have published new attributions that are completed on the basis of the study of museum and private collections,²³² and also by archaeological excavations, which can be testified by the excavations in Aigai,²³³ and in Takht-i Sangin. The classification with the selection of the Roman idealized portrait and the so called group of Roman historical portraits has earned already justification in the iconography of Alexander the Great.²³⁴ There are also typological groups, based on the most diversified marks, including the emotional characteristics. Thus, O. Ya. Neverov, classifying the deification of the creator of the vast Hellenistic monarchy according to the phases of the apotheosis of the ruler (what in itself contains a very sensi-

die Konstantinische Zeit. Giessen 1909; K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.*; V. v. GRAVE: Zum Herrscher Philippos II. und Philippos III. von Makedonien. AA 3 (1973) 236—249, Figs 5, 6; M. BIEBER: Ein idealisiertes Porträt Alexanders des Grossen. JDAI 40 (1925) 167; M. BIEBER: The Portraits of Alexander the Great. PPS 93 (1949) 349; M. BIEBER: The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age. New York 1955; G. KLEINER: Das Bildnis Alexanders des Grossen. JDAI. 65/66 (1950/1951) 206 ff.; G. BERTELLI: Alexandros III di Macedonia. Enciclopedia Italiana Fondata di Giovanni Treccani. I. Rome 1957.

²²⁹ J. D. BEAZLEY: Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters. Oxford 1963.

²³⁰ M. BIEBER: *op. cit.*; K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.*

²³¹ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 33.

²³² M. A. ZAGDAUN: Collection Paul Canellopoulos. BCH, C III, 1979. 411, Figs. 29—32; H. G. NIMEYER: Alexanderkopf in Sevilla. AA 1978. I. 106—115.

²³³ M. ANDRONIKOS: Гробницы Македонских царей. Уникальная археологическая находка — возможно, захоронение отца Александра Македонского. Курьер ЮНЕСКО 7 (1979) 3 foll. Фото на обложке.

²³⁴ M. A. ZAGDAUN: *op. cit.*; H. G. NIMEYER: *op. cit.*

ble idea, but not a new one),²³⁵ sees the evolution also in the style of the portrait of Alexander. This is what leads O. Ya. Neverov to the typology based on emotional principles.²³⁶ There are classifications that are arbitrary, difficult to define, based on typology of principle unknown to us.²³⁷

The classification according to kinds and genres of art was realized only by numismatists, selecting from the whole complex of representations, the representations in profile on the coins.

As a matter of fact, there is no generalizing iconographic typology of the image of Alexander in representational art, since each researcher started out from portraits, in the course of time increasing considerably, which were at their disposal, or which were more or less close to them, or within their reach. This is also understandable. The diversity of the material, the chronological differences, the stylistic characteristics, the non-adequacy of the age and the subject, give complications for a single, methodologically reliable typology of the representations of Alexander.

We propose the typological characteristic of the representations of Alexander the Great according to statuary subjects, in which all antique representations would be included, regardless of time, place of preparation, material, and the author creating the portrait of the great strategist. Following this method, the same works of ancient sculptors-portraitists may be included in different typological groups, *viz.*:

1. Alexander, the child.
2. Alexander, the palaestic, warrior.
3. Alexander, the philosopher, the statesman.
4. Alexander, the deified hero, or god.
5. Alexander, an idealized image.

In each typological group it is proposed to follow the chronological division from the portraits prepared during his lifetime to the Hellenistic copies, and from the latter to the Roman historical portraits. After the monumental sculpture, if it exists, in each group the small sculpture, glyptics and coin representations follow, consequently, the material of the sculptural works in marble, limestone, and bone precedes the copies in terracotta and metals (because original bronze masterpieces are unknown so far).

According to the idea, the first group of the portraits from the early youth should be the earliest. As a matter of fact, a great part of this group belonged

²³⁵ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 2.

²³⁶ O. YA. NEVEROV: Митридат и Александр. К иконографии Митридата VI. СА 2 (1971) 88 foll.

²³⁷ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.*; G. KLEINER: *op. cit.*

among the Roman copies that is they were executed in the Roman style of portraiture.²³⁸

The second group is Alexander, the palaestic, or the nude Alexander with spear (*doryphoros*), going back to the praised statue by Lysippus known from written sources.²³⁹ However, in the copies the figure of Alexander is altered by the too free conception (sometimes in reversed, reflected representation). Two groups of similar statues are known, made of bronze and of marble.²⁴⁰ Their characteristics are: the polycletic presentation of the figure depending on the degree of qualities of the copyist (chiasmus and motion in statics), heroic nakedness of the young athletic body, and a very generalized conception of the face that permits us to include them in the group of warriors. Alexander, the warrior was represented in armour, in helmet, sometimes with shield (Alexander on horseback in full military equipment). However, the main difference of all representations of Alexander the warrior is the emotional saturation of the characteristic of the image of the hero, or his idealized presentation. All copies are very different in character, executed in different material, and as a whole they strongly fall behind the originals, prepared by sculptors from nature. With the exception of the mosaic of Pompeii,²⁴¹ their majority consist of considerably reduced replicas of the kind of the statuette «Alexander on horseback»,²⁴² from Herculaneum not permitting a judgement of similarity with original as a result of the generalization of the face. Very likely, the copy of the portrait by Lysippus, perhaps, a mounted statue, going back to the gold medallion of Abukir,²⁴³ is the best specimen of this group.

The third group is Alexander, the philosopher. The degree of surety in the attribution of these representations of Alexander is different in antique history of art. There is no doubt that the signed herma in the Louvre (collection of Azar) represents Alexander the Great. However, in the beginning it was attributed by L. Curtius to Leochares,²⁴⁴ by Th. Schreiber to Lysippus,²⁴⁵ and then, much more convincingly, it was re-attributed by O. F. Valdgauer to Euphonor.²⁴⁶ It has a close analogy in the British Museum, also erroneously included among the copies from the sculpture of Lysippus.²⁴⁷ The signed herma, accepted at present as the initial one, is valued very low, possibly undeservedly, on account of the bad preservation of the monument. M. Bieber writes straight that

²³⁸ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* 41, Pl. 1(B); K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* Pls. 8, 12.

²³⁹ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* 217, Fig. 27.

²⁴⁰ O. F. VALDGAUER: *Портреты Александра.*, 165, 152, Figs 69, 62; TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* Pls. VI, XI.

²⁴¹ C. BERTELLI: *op. cit.* 240.

²⁴² *Ibidem.* 357.

²⁴³ R. DELBRUECK: *Zwei Porträts.* JDAI. 40 (1925) 12, Fig. 5; V. v. GRAVE: *op. cit.* 254, Fig. 5.

²⁴⁴ H. G. NIMAYER: *op. cit.*

²⁴⁵ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* 28—40, Pl. 14.

²⁴⁶ O. F. VALDGAUER: *Портреты Александра.* 164—165.

²⁴⁷ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 97, Pl. 14 (3; 4).

this is a very bad copy,²⁴⁸ and O. F. Valdgauer points out the deformation of the eyes, made by the copyist. And still, this representation shows in a sufficient degree not only the literary image of Alexander, the wise strategist and statesman, created by the antique authors, but it also reflects the excellent characterization by O. F. Valdgauer: «Alexander is the pupil of Aristotle, well versed on the great Hellenic teachers and poets. Alexander is a hero and great conqueror, realizer of the expectations of Hellenism about the submission of the East, talented with genial organizatory qualities».²⁴⁹ As Th. Schreiber remarks, Alexander is represented on the portrait in mature age. We should add that in him the wisdom of the statesman is stressed, Alexander, the philosopher should be ranged by the portraits of the Louvre and the British Museum with this type of iconography.

In the examination of the fourth typological group the main attention will be paid only to the appearance of Alexander in the image of Heracles, since the rest of the hypostases, being not so wide-spread, add little in comparison with the representation discussed here.

The fifth typological group, the largest one, consists mainly of copies presenting the idealized Alexander.²⁵⁰ In reality, Alexander was very handsome (Arr., Anab. VII, 26,1), but the sculptors of Hellenism, after his death endeavoured to invest him in addition also with features of heavenly beauty. Judged from the number of the copies, this trend of development stood nearest to the taste of the Roman age.

Returning to the fourth typological group, we remark that the researchers propose different numbers of specimens of the deification of Alexander. O. Ya. Neverov, touching this question to some extent, mentions only the main iconographic types of this group, viz. Alexander, in the image of Heracles, Dionysus, Ammon and Helios.²⁵¹ K. Gebauer gives a more general, but also incomplete list in the form of a foot-note without the illustration of the examples. viz. Alexander, Helios, a Genius, a Dioscur, Ammon-Carneios, Hermes Dionysus, Heracles, Ares, Asclepius, River god, Satyr, Attis.²⁵² Alexander-Zeus (Jupiter)²⁵³ is missing in both cases, and Alexander in elephant helmet, serving, apparently, as a model of the representation of the Graeco-Bactrian coinage of Demetrius,²⁵⁴ is not mentioned either.

²⁴⁸ M. BIEBER: Ein idealisiertes Porträt . . . 181.

²⁴⁹ O. F. VALDGAUER: Портреты Александра . . . 165.

²⁵⁰ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* 25, Pls. 11-D, III-F, IV, V, VII; TH. WIEGAND: Ein neues Alexanderporträt. *JDAI* 14 (1899) 1; M. BIEBER: Ein idealisiertes Porträt . . . Figs. 1-6, Pls. 6-8; V. V. GRAVE: *op. cit.* Pl. 24 (9-12); K. G. KLEINER: *op. cit.* Pls. 1-4, 5, 7, 14.

²⁵¹ O. JA. NEVEROV: *op. cit.* 88 foll.

²⁵² K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 1.

²⁵³ TH. SCHREIBER: *op. cit.* 113, pl. VII-O.

²⁵⁴ A. CUNNINGHAM: Relics from Ancient Persia in Gold, Silver and Copper. *JASB* 24 (1888) 172; B. STAWISKI: Kunst der Kuschan. Leipzig 1979. Fig. 29.

Let us stop at the representation of Alexander in the image of Heracles. The representations in profile of Heracles-Alexander and Alexander in lion helmet dominate over the statuary representations of portraits of other groups, because they are represented by a vast material of numismatics on numerous series of coins from the time of Alexander, of the diadochoi, especially of Lysimachus, and the epigons. The comparison of the coin representations of Heracles, of Alexander in the image of Heracles, of Mithridates in the image of Alexander-Heracles and Commodus in the image of Heracles, shows the evolution of the represented image. Originally Heracles was represented on the coins with the apotrope, the lion's hide, reliable for attribution, *i.e.*, the head of Heracles, represented in profile, was garlanded with a lion's mask. Similar representations of Heracles in profile are widely known on the coins of the 5th—4th centuries, on the gold stater from Tarentum,²⁵⁵ on the tetradrachmas of Thasos,²⁵⁶ on the double staters of Dicaeos (Thrace).²⁵⁷

Heracles on the tetradrachmas of Alexander personifies a manly warrior skilled in fights (frequently with broken ridge of the nose, with hypothetically bulgings of the arches above the eyebrows and the cheeks, like after a pancratiun just finished).²⁵⁸ It is not for nothing that all representations of boxers show a great similarity with his virile and somewhat tired and gloomy appearance.

Alexander «was transformed into Heracles» still in his lifetime, not only on the coins through the mechanic changing of Heracles with the portrait of Alexander in profile. The repeated and obviously not accidental mentioning of Alexander's affinity with Heracles by the authors, about his endeavour to ascend, and perform a heroic deed, worthy of his legendary ancestor, or to surpass him, including not only the attacking of insurmountable obstacles and taking up fight alone with numerous enemies, but also the direct single fight with a lion, mentioned above (Curt., VIII, 11—14). The complicated process of transformation of Alexander on the coins is very accurately described by K. Gebauer: «On the tetradrachmas of Alexander — K. Gebauer writes — the observer, at desire, can recognize Alexander in the image of Heracles, because Alexander personally assimilated himself to this god.»²⁵⁹

However, the majority of the researchers, including also K. Gebauer, see the decisive moment in the iconography of Alexander simultaneously on all coins exactly in 327 B. C. This is shown by the study of the coinage of Amphi-

²⁵⁵ K. LANGE: *Götter Griechenlands. Meisterwerke Antiken Münzkunst*. Berlin (without year). Fig. 64.

²⁵⁶ *Ibidem*. Fig. 61.

²⁵⁷ *Ibidem*. Fig. 60.

²⁵⁸ *Monnaies. Grecques-Romaines. Byzantines-Gauloises, Françaises-Étrangères*. Drouet rive Gauche-Salle, n. 6. Astole-France, 75007. Paris 21—22 juin 1979. N. 31—39.

²⁵⁹ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 2, 11, 12.

polis, Tarsus, Sidon, Pella, Tyre, Babylon, Alexandria, and other smaller series. In the opinion of K. Gebauer : «Alexander then arrived at the recognition of the man of that time as a supreme power, on which the fate of everything depends. The legend of his fabulous results in India reached the West in this year ; at the same time rumours were spread that he himself appeared sometimes in the form of Heracles.» Therefore, the engraver may have ventured to individualize the head of Heracles, as the portrait of Alexander. Since then not a single representation of Heracles exists in a strict sense. If the type is somewhere interrupted, then the new face, at least in some minute difference, always appears since then.²⁶⁰ Even if the concepts of Nietzsche mix with naivety in the judgments of K. Gebauer, the main trend of development in the iconography of Alexander is presented correctly. At the moment we are interested in the date of the «decisive moment» of this evolutionary series. M. Bieber showed an interesting scheme of the transformation of Alexander into Heracles on the coins. Cos, as well as other city-states of the disintegrating great empire, between the years 300 and 200, minted the idealized head of Alexander in the image of Heracles, instead of the bearded Heracles.²⁶¹ It can be presumed at a high degree of probability that in the formation of the iconography of Alexander in the image of Heracles, not the coin representations themselves played a significant role, but the monumental sculptures, one of whose authors was, most probably, the favourite courtsculptor, Lysippus. The sculpture could come into existence soon after the successful single fight with the lion, when Alexander was not far from Maracanda, pushing aside Lysimachus, standing behind the king, entered into single fight and slained the lion of exceptional size, similarly to Heracles, with one stroke.²⁶² The statuary representations of Alexander in the image of Heracles are convincingly shown by the originals of the period of Hellenism,²⁶³ and by his representation in lion helmet on the sarcophagus of Alexander.²⁶⁴ But the diversity itself of the coin representations shows that various statuary specimens were utilized.²⁶⁵ The mentioned spreading of the representations of Alexander on coins of his numerous successors, diadochoi and epigons, was brought about by the fact that, according to the very accurate remark of O. Ya. Neverov, Alexander became «the necessary component of dynastic cult, which was formed in the empires of the Ptolemies, the Seleucids, and the Attalids. The image of Alexander the Great surrounded with mystic aureola furnished so to say the visibility of legitimacy to their power.»²⁶⁶

²⁶⁰ *Ibidem.* 11—12.

²⁶¹ M. BIEBER : Ein idealisiertes Porträt . . . 178, Fig. 10.

²⁶² Q. CUETI RUFFI : Hist. Alex., VIII, I, 11—17. Cf. above p. 38, n. 59.

²⁶³ E. BUSCHOR : Das hellenistische Bildnis. München 1949. Fig. 20.

²⁶⁴ E. AKURGAL : Ancient Civilizations and Ruins of Turkey. Istanbul 1969. Pl. 23.

²⁶⁵ E. T. NEWELL : Alexander Hoards. Numismatic Notes and Monographs. N 19. New York 1923. Pls. I—VIII.

²⁶⁶ O. YA. NEVEROV : *op. cit.* 88 foll.

Parallel with the general trend of development of the representations of Alexander, an additional «masked» trend of the images of Alexander-Heracles and Alexander-Ammon appears already on the coins of the diadochoi. The Seleucids and the Ptolemies borrow from their predecessor the image of Ammon, and within two hundred years after Alexander, the image of Alexander-Heracles is revived again by another great strategist of antiquity, Mithridates Eupator and after nearly five centuries — already in the genre of the farce — by the lenient Roman emperor Commodus, for the reflection of the share of the clan of the Antonini in the patronage of Heracles. Mithridates Eupator borrowed two statuary types of Alexander the Great. His predecessor was Lysimachus.²⁶⁷ The circumstance is interesting that not only coin representations of Commodus have been preserved, but also his sculptured portrait in lion's hide, with the club of Heracles and the apples of the Hesperids in his hands. However, the image of the emperor, created by the court sculptors entirely corresponds to the judgment of Lampidius, *viz.* «the expression of the face is dull, like that of a drunkard, and his speech is indolent.»²⁶⁸ The coins of Commodus (182—192) iconographically repeat his monumental sculptural prototype, just like the coins of Alexander. On them Commodus is represented in left profile, the face with thin aristocratic nose, small mouth and modestly cast down eyes, reflects inner apathy²⁶⁹ that sharply distinguishes him from Alexander.

In addition to the iconographic analysis according to the similarity of the representations, for the identification of the portrait from Takht-i Sangin, the logical method of exclusion can also be applied. Of the four representations in lion helmet, considering the site of discovery, only Alexander remains as a real competitor. This is shown by the canonical character of the idealization of the appearance, by the open juvenile face, not characteristic of Heracles. Mithridates and Commodus do not fit in, because the time of manufacture of the makhaira is earlier than their appearance in the historical arena.²⁷⁰

According to the general similarity of the representations, of the idealizing tendency of the 3rd century B. C., the portrait from Takht-i Sangin of Alexander

²⁶⁷ *Ibidem.*

²⁶⁸ Monnaies . . . N 54; N. N. BRITOVA—N. M. LOSEVA—N. A. SIDOROVA: Римский скульптурный портрет. Очерки. Moscow 1975. 67, Fig. 112.

²⁶⁹ K. LANGE: *op. cit.* Fig. 141.

²⁷⁰ In fact our attribution of the relief representation of Alexander the Great in the image of Heracles did not raise doubts in any of the Soviet. After the lecture on the antique treasures of Takht-i-Sangin in 1980 in Moscow (ИБ АН СССР, Институт археологии АН СССР, ГМИИ им. А. С. Пушкина), in Leningrad (Гос. Эрмитаж, ЛОИА АН СССР) and in Dushanbe (Институт истории им. А. Дониша АН Тадж. ССР) the speakers confirmed the opinion on the doubtlessness of the attribution. We wish to extend our sincere gratitude to O. YA. NEVEROV, to YU. E. CHISTYAKOV and to V. D. BLAVATSKIY for the valuable advices. N. A. FROLOVA and A. NIKITIN extended help in the work on the numismatic collection of the State Historical Museum (Gosudarstvennyy istoricheskiy Muzei — GIM, Moscow), kindly furnishing photographs of the coins with the representation of Alexander in lion helmet.

der is similar not only to the images of the strategist on the coins, but it is also close to the sculptures of the school of Alexandria and Cos of the Hellenistic period,²⁷¹ partly reaching to the copies of the Roman times.²⁷²

The juvenile portrait of Alexander from the museum of the Acropolis of Athens can serve as a good analogy of Alexander from Takht-i Sangin. There is a similarity in the soft appearance of the eyes, in the butterfly-like form of the lips,²⁷³ in the round oval of the face with the chin drawn into it. The Athenian portrait is counted to the copies from the work of Leochares that was consecrated after the battle of Chaironeia (338 B. C.) in the Philippeion. V. Grave writes that it looks like a Greek original of the Late-Hellenistic period.²⁷⁴

As it appears, the differentiation according to the material cannot be at all determinative, because the sculpture made of ivory, on account of the fragility of the material, is preserved under very favourable circumstances. The known sculptures of the Hellenistic times²⁷⁵ have recently been completed by the portrait heads from the presumed tomb of Philip of Macedonia in Aigai, one of which represents Alexander.²⁷⁶ The attribution of the portrait head from Aigai is reliable, viz. the sculptor representing the young Alexander with the head lifted up, presented the whole gallery of the similar iconography of the Hellenistic period and the Roman imitations. The marble head from the Alexandrian museum No. 3405, dated to the 3rd century B. C., possibly, really of the circle of Lysippus,²⁷⁷ in nearest according to the artistic characteristics and conception to the representation of Alexander from Aigai.

The heads from the so called sarcophagus of Alexander of Macedonia, representing Alexander in the scene of fighting and in the scene of hunting, are very close to the portrait from Takht-i Sangin. In our opinion, these representations are unanimously attributed by all researchers to Alexander with justification.²⁷⁸ The bending of the heads with the forehead ahead add dramatism and a firm will to victory to these, images that is seldom found in the iconography of the strategist, whose head is usually represented slightly lifted up and slightly turned to the left, as on the gigantic, famous replica from Pergamum,²⁷⁹ and on other representations including also the portrait from Takht-i Sangin. The «Heracles» of Pergamum is also very close to this type, personified by G. Kraemer as Mithridates. The identification of this statue by G. Kraemer with the

²⁷¹ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 35, 95, Pls. 6 (1,2), 9.

²⁷² *Ibidem.* 48, 63, Pls. 14, 15.

²⁷³ B. ASHMOLE: *Demeter of Cnidus*. JHS. 71 (1951) 13—28.

²⁷⁴ V. V. GRAVE: *op. cit.* 246, 249, Figs. 5, 6.

²⁷⁵ M. BIEBER: *The Sculpture* . . .

²⁷⁶ M. ANDRONIKOS: *op. cit.* Photograph on the cover of the journal.

²⁷⁷ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 35, Pl. 6 (1,2).

²⁷⁸ M. BIEBER: *Ein idealisiertes Porträt* . . . Figs. 7, 8; G. M. A. RICHTER: *Sculptures and Sculptors of the Greeks*. New Haven 1930. 76, Fig. 176; E. AKURGAL: *op. cit.* Pl. 23.

²⁷⁹ M. BIEBER: *Ein idealisiertes Porträt* . . . Fig. 11.

image of Mithridates Eupator seems to be absolutely inconsistent.²⁸⁰ «Heracles is considerably more similar to Alexander from the sarcophagus of Alexander (both are in lion helmet, the expression and the similarity of the faces are striking), and even more to the gigantic head of Alexander from Pergamum, ascribed to Lysippus,²⁸¹ than to the portrait of Mithridates Eupator, and even to those of Attalus II or Attalus III, as it was thought by the great specialists in antiquity, Winter and L. Curtius.²⁸² We have to do here rather directly with the influence of the portraits of Alexander on Hellenistic sculpture. Inasmuch as the Pergamum Heracles from the northern hall of the sanctuary of Athena is connected with the sculptural group of Prometheus, we cannot maintain the attribution of this sculpture to Alexander, however, the unusual similarity must be stated. The gigantic head from Pergamum is connected with the Pergamum Heracles not only by the common Pergamum school, but also by the absolute similarity of the general appearance, as well as of the certain features of the face, *viz.* the representation of the forehead, the nose, the lips, the deportment of the head, and also the presentation of the juvenile appearance, and the presence of the predatory, lion-like pathos, characteristic, as K. Gebauer remarks, «of a large number of original marble heads, which can be compared rather on the basis of the presence of pathos, than on the basis of outward similarity.»²⁸³

The portrait from Takht-i Sangin of Alexander the Great unites a whole series of works both sculptural and minted on coins, where Alexander is represented in the image of Heracles in lion helmet. Inasmuch as in the portrait from Takht-i Sangin of Alexander obviously an unknown original is copied, which became the prototype for numerous replicas and copies of the 3rd century B. C., and in the portrait discussed idealizing features are felt, characteristic of early Hellenism, we date the representation of Alexander to the broad frames of the third century. The proposed date is supported by the comparison with identical coin mintings from 300—200 B. C. This fully corresponds to the dating characteristic of the miniature Greek votive makhaira, which the relief embellishes. The conceptions mentioned firmly point to the date of the 3rd century B. C.

It is difficult to overestimate the significance from the view-point of the history of culture, because of the high importance of the purely Greek portrait, lifting the curtain of the «enigmatic» Graeco-Bactrian art. This highly artistic work is the first Graeco-Bactrian portrait of Alexander, representing the image of the king and hero Iskander, robed in the victorious insignia, as he was preserved in the Central Asian popular traditions so far.

²⁸⁰ G. KRAHMER: Eine Ehrung für Mithridates VI. Eupator in Pergamum. *JDAI* 40 (1925) 182, 200—205, Figs 2, 7, 11, 12.

²⁸¹ M. BIEBER: Ein idealisiertes Porträt . . . Figs 7, 11.

²⁸² L. CURTIUS: Bronzestatuetten eines Heracles in Neapel. *Walter Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*. Leipzig 1928. 65, Fig. 7.

²⁸³ K. GEBAUER: *op. cit.* 22.

Cultic deposit No. 3, to be found in the centre of the southern third of corridor No. 2, with a diameter of 1.5 metres, on a level of 1 metre (10 cm. above the real subsoil), consists mainly of cutting and thrusting weapons, whole iron *akinakai*, spear-heads, coverings of ivory sheaths of Greek swords: *xiphe* and *makhairai*, of a gilded bronze face-guard of a Greek helmet, and of two plates with scenes of hunting from the 2nd—1st centuries B. C. About these we have to speak in detail, because these plates date cultic deposit No. 3, as the latest ones.

This arsenal enters the history of military affairs of the period of Hellenism, although certain single monuments are dated to the 5th century B. C., and others are definitely later, from the 2nd century B. C., and even from the 1st century B. C. But first of all let us stop at certain representations, because they are rarest even for the considerably elaborated Greek mythology.

One handle of a *xiphos* is ornamented on both sides, the outer and the inner one, with exactly identical high relief representations of two statuary groups, *viz.* Heracles, throwing down Silenus (Fig. 10 a, b), Heracles is standing in full height, his right hand holding a knotted club, lifted up to administer a stroke; with his left hand he seized Silenus by the long hair, and pulling him down, pressed him to his thigh. Heracles with his leg preventing Silenus from running away, stepped on his thigh and pressed him to the earth. Silenus, standing on one knee in canonical pose of run with bent knee, is full of desire to free himself from the grasp of the mighty enemy. Resisting, with his left hand he strives to take off the hand of Heracles, holding him by the hair and causing pain to him. On Heracles there is a cloak made of lion's hide, the paws of the lion are fastened at his neck in the «Heracleian knot». Silenus, as always, is nude. His attributing mark, the goat's ear, is clearly seen, directed upwards. Both figures are athletic, with anatomically correct representation of the trained, well developed and relief-like projecting muscles. The dynamism of the fight is rendered by the motion of Heracles, lifting the club to a stroke, by the position of the legs of Silenus striving to rise, and their strong bodies, pressed together in fight, consisting of bundles of muscles. On the basis of the style of representation, the handle of *xiphos* should be dated to a period from the beginning of the 4th century to early Hellenism.

The third relief on the ivory sheath ornamenting the *bouterolle* of the Greek sword, represents a fantastic creature, a female figure with a serpent's, or fish-tail, with horse's legs and with bird's wings (Fig. 11). In her left hand she holds a paddle vertically, and in her right hand a round object, a shell, an apple or a stone, ready to be thrown. The loose long locks stream in thick curls. The face with the long straight nose and with the high forehead, with big eyes, with carefully elaborated upper eyelid, with round brows rendered with incision, and pupils indicated with dots, is wilful and at the same time beautiful. A smile hovers about her lips. The round relief here and there goes over to a sculptural

solution, and here and there, intentionally in half relief on the base of the smoothly polished bone. This is determined by the given round form of the *bouterolle*, and also by the fragility of the material. The bent and curled tail of the monster ends in a noose and fins, the wings are represented in a swing, the horse's legs in run: the right one before the left one. However, the dynamism still is missing in the whole figure. The given planeness, characteristic of the representation as a whole, can be observed in all parts of the body. The improbable junctions of the various elements of the creature are rendered fairly successfully. The details are very carefully elaborated, *viz.* the scales of the tail, the feathers of the wings, the hoofs, ornamented with incisions, all these are rendered with a naive carefulness, but spiritlessly. On the other hand, the female torso and the horse's legs are executed masterfully, the perspective shortening of the complicated joints not existing in nature is rendered artistically. The work betrays the hand of an experienced master, but that of a craftsman.

The attribution of this personality can be twofold, although it is monosyllabic. It is clear that we have to do with the nymph of the water element, close to the Mediterranean Scylla or female hippocampus. The Scylla was represented with fish-tail and with wings, with the attribute paddle and with shell. It is connected with the representation from Takht-i Sangin also by the transition from the female torso to the fish-tail framed by palmettes. The energetic swing of the wings, the loose locks and the aggressive swing of the right hand are also analogous. However, in the case of the Scylla, especially in the representation on the cover of the mirror from the tumulus of Artyukhov, two dogs appear from under the curl, personifying the monstrosity and the fury of the Scylla. On the representation from Takht-i Sangin they are missing. We feel that on the Artyukhov Scylla there were also horse's legs, part of a leg with hoof has been preserved under the figure, left to us fragmentarily.²⁸⁴ The second attribution, close to the first one, is similarly probable: this is the hippocampus, the nymph of the water element, or as it is called otherwise, *centaurotritonis*.²⁸⁵ In both cases, the Greek sea deity could be transformed into a nymph, the companion of the god of river Oxus. The dry, and at the same time careful style of the work does not permit its dating earlier than the 2nd century, more accurately it should be dated to the first half of the 2nd century B. C.

Together with other, purely Greek finds, the Greek weapon embellished with representations, found in the depth of Central Asia, far from the Mediterranean coasts, shows the fact of the Hellenization of the culture of Bactria and the significance of the antique elements in the synthesis of Graeco-Bactrian art.

²⁸⁴ M. I. МАКСИМОВА: Артыуховский курган. Leningrad 1979. Figs on pp. 31, 89.

²⁸⁵ B. SAUER: Hippokamp. *ML I* (2) 2673–2677; S. REINACH: Répertoire de la statuaire Grecque et Romaine. I. Paris 1906. 95–68, 113, 429, 430.

The scenes of hunting on the walls of the casket made of ivory (21.6 by 6.2 by 0.7 cm), have furnished very valuable representations, *viz.* documentary portraits, costumes, armament, horse-furniture, species of horses, sitting of the horsemen, the irresistible blow of the Yueh-chih or early Kuṣāṇa warriors and conquerors of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom (Fig. 12).

Two horsemen in full gallop (one turning back) are shooting from bows on wild animals. The field is full of running, wounded and already killed animals. A she-panther, already wounded by two arrows in the breast, defending her cubs, tries to jump on the horseman, two small panther's cubs are beside her. The hunters have killed several mountain rams with spirally curving horns, hares and foxes are running away. The engraver carefully and artistically engraved the smallest details. From the compositional point of view, the scene is solved with great skill. The horsemen galloping in the opposite directions, are arranged at the edges, but this does not cut the picture into two parts, because both horsemen are shooting in one direction, they are united also by the animal, filling two parts of the field between the horsemen. At the same time, we have to note the sharp contrast between the direct and vivid, very accurate rendering of the movements of the beasts and animals, especially the wonderful rendering of the galloping horses, and the figures of the horsemen, who are represented as if they were not sitting on horses flying in gallop, but in court thrones. In this the following of the canon showed itself, what at first was discovered on this monument, and later can be followed on wall paintings and other representations of early medieval Central Asian art. As a whole, dynamism is the main artistic dominant feature of this composition. The scene of hunting is one of the most favourite motifs of the art of the East. It developed and was diversified in the art of Parthian and Sassanian Iran.

The panels from Takht-i Sangin (together with the portrait and ethnic similarity found in them with the sculptures and representations of Kuṣāṇa princes from Khalchayan and Dalverzin)²⁸⁶ are made excellent works of art by the documentary character of their portrait characteristics.

Two circumstances are of interest. In Takht-i Sangin, a fortress protecting the ford through the Amu-Darya, which was neither a capital, nor a big city, more sheaths of daggers from the times of Alexander the Great were found, than in the whole Greek world.²⁸⁷ Secondly, the fortress and temple have not only not been destroyed by the passing of the Kuṣāṇas, but on the contrary, they continued to flourish, judged from the rich Kuṣāṇa, Indian and Parthian sacrificial gifts and coins.

²⁸⁶ G. A. PUGACHENKOVA: Скульптура Халчаяна. 1971. Pls. 43, 55, 65, 68, 78, 112.

²⁸⁷ The list of the material known to us see: I. R. PICHUKYAN: Ножны...

The panels from Takht-i Sangin with the representation of «Kuṣāṇas on hunting» are dated to the time after the conquest of Graeco-Bactria by the Yueh-chih that is to the end of the 2nd—1st century B. C.

The discovery in Takht-i Sangin in the year 1979, of single monuments of the Achaemenid period and of a mass of works of Graeco-Bactrian art, permit at the present time to draw some preliminary conclusions :

1. The treasure of the Oxus, up to the present time the main material on the history of Bactrian art of the pre-Hellenistic and Graeco-Bactrian times has so far special chronological and stylistic parallels only in Takht-i Sangin. This supports the opinion of scholars, localizing the site of the treasure in the upper course of the Amu-Darya to Takht-i Kubad or Takht-i Sangin.

2. The Graeco-Bactrian culture, more accurately its establishers, in their creation relied on the broad circle of imported or trophied works of Greek and Achaemenid art which directly or indirectly influenced the synthesis of the Graeco-Bactrian style.

3. The basic impulse to the Hellenization of art and culture of Bactria after 329 B. C. was given by the establishment of new Hellenic cities and fortresses, in the architecture of which there was a considerable local and eastern influence.

4. In Hellenistic times, in the period of the accession of Bactria to the state of the Seleucids, and after that at the time of the independent Graeco-Bactrian state, the contacts with the Greek cities of the Mediterranean were regular. The subsequent pouring of Greeks to Central Asia after the Graeco-Macedonian conquest is not excluded, what is shown by the schools of art developing under the direct influence of the contemporary specimens of the art of Seleucid Asia Minor.

5. The multitude of finds of armament — Greek, Saka-Scythian and Sarmatian-Kuṣāṇa — permits to approach them with a more scientific conception, as a result of a considerable quantitative increase of material of armament of the peoples of Central Asia from the wide chronological range of the 6th century B. C. — 4th century B. C.

6. The multitude of the most different armament, including ornate and highly artistic specimens, of Greeks, Bactrians and nomads, shows the strict necessity of the times when the helmets, shields, swords, spears, javelins and arrows served not only as indispensable instruments of fight, but also as valuable sacrificial gifts.

7. The numerous articles made of ivory, the multitude of goods made of this rare and expensive material show not only the close political and economic relations with India. The analysis and attribution of the representational works made of ivory points to the probability of the local Bactrian manufacture of the basic mass of the articles, which at the same time frequently correspond to Greek standards, types and conceptions.

8. Certain finds from different times point to the constant connections with the Saka-Scythian world of the steppe.

9. The intermediate Graeco-Bactrian trade with the Altai, India, Iran, Parthia and with the cities of the coastal region of Asia Minor, promoted the flourishing of jewellery and bone carving craft, what is testified by the Takht-i Sangin treasure. The trade with works of representational art played a part in the cultural relations, in which the Hellenic goods had a general and wide demand.

10. The formation of anything architectural and artistic Eastern-Hellenistic koine in the vast territory promoted the development of representational art and the flourishing of local schools. In this phase the ethnic, religious and cultural components of Greeks and Bactrians amalgamated into a unique and not reproducible Graeco-Bactrian phenomenon.

11. The functioning of the Graeco-Bactrian temple at the Oxus in the Kuṣāṇa period and the protecting relation to the existing religious tradition, show not only the religious tolerance of the Kuṣāṇas, but also the symbiosis of Greek, eastern-Zoroastrian and Kuṣāṇa conceptions.²⁸⁸

12. The components of the art of Central Asia of the beginning of the 1st millennium, after the finds at Takht-i Sangin appear to be the symbiosis of trends of different character in style, of the synthesis of primary eastern, introduced Hellenic, Gandhara — amalgamated Graeco-Indian and Bactrian arts.

13. The achievements of Bactrian civilization became possible not as a result of its seclusion, but on the contrary, as a result of the presence of broad and diversified cultural and economic relations. That mighty creative synthesis developed exactly under these circumstances, which by itself gave strong impulses to the development of culture.

14. The unique treasures of Takht-i Sangin have enriched the ancient culture of Tajikistan and Central Asia with a vast collection of significant works of art. However, the significance of these finds is much broader, *viz.* we have to do with clear and unambiguous evidences of the close mutual relations between Central Asia, the countries of the Far East and the Mediterranean.

15. The discovery, at Takht-i Sangin, of a whole series of excellent antique monuments of world art visibly complete the reports of the antique authors on the whole cultural and historical phase of the peoples of Central Asia and Afghanistan.

16. The sculptures of Takht-i Sangin made of the local clay and alabaster, of a material so fragile and unsuitable for transportation, point to the local manufacture of the highly artistic monuments of art, which has its subsequent development in the Kuṣāṇa and early medieval period.

²⁸⁸ B. A. LITVINSKIY—I. R. PICHIKYAN: Кушанские Эроты. (One of the aspects of antique influence on Central Asian culture.) ВДИ 1979/2 89—109.

17. On the right bank of the Oxus—Amu-Darya, as well as on the left bank of the river, Greek was not only written, but it is now clear that it was also spoken and Greek deities were worshipped. The power of the antique tradition was so great in the Kuṣāṇa period that the hypothesis according to which the elements of this culture could exist also after the fall of the Kuṣāṇa state seemed to be quite probable. The getting of further materials in this direction is very important, because the demonstration of the traditions of antique art and culture in medieval Central Asia would change the whole conception of the appearance and development of science and culture in the Mussulman East.²⁸⁹

Moscow.

²⁸⁹ G. V. ШНАУМУКНАМВЕТОВА: Арабоязычная философия средневековья и классическая традиция. Moscow 1979. (With literature on the question.)

ZENTRALASIATISCHE ELEMENTE IN DEM ALEXANDERROMAN

Die in einer kaiserzeitlichen Hippokrates-Biographie überlieferte Geschichte von Hippokrates und Perdikkas, dem Sohne des Makedonenkönigs Alexanders I. bietet eine genaue Parallele zur «zarten Sage» von Antiochos und Stratonike, in welcher die Rolle des klugen Arztes der berühmte Erasistratos, anderswo der noch berühmtere Galenos, in einer orientalischen Fassung derselben Geschichte aber der arabische Galenos, d.h. Avicenna spielt. Ob es sich dabei um eine spätere Übernahme der Hippokrates-, bzw. Erasistratos- oder Galenos-Anekdote handelt, oder man die Wanderungen und Wandlungen der Sage in einer *umgekehrten* Richtung sich zu denken hat? Unseren Gedankengang* haben wir mit einem Hinweis auf eine andere «anmutige Sage», d.h. auf die rührende Liebesgeschichte von Zariadres¹ und Odatis (Athen. XIII c.35 = Jac. FG rHist 125, frg.5) geschlossen, von welcher Chares von Mytilene versichert, sie sei *ἐν ταῖς ἰστορίαις*, in den *persischen* Geschichtsbüchern aufgeschrieben, und welche — «im Orient weit und lange verbreitet» — sich wie in einem matternen Abbild in einer bei Aristoteles (frg.503, p.499 Rose) und Iustinus (XLIII 3,8 ff.) zu lesenden phokäisch-massaliotischen Sage wiederholt.²

Eigentlich bewegen wir uns in demselben Gedankenkreis, wenn wir uns nun der Interpretation einer anderen Perdikkas-Geschichte zuwenden. Es handelt sich um Perdikkas I., den Helden des herodoteischen Berichts über den Ursprung des makedonischen Herrscherhauses (VIII 137 ff.). Eine bekannte, oft behandelte und gründlich mißverständene Erzählung, über deren Sinn man sich viel den Kopf zerbrach. Nach Salamis, anlässlich des Botendienstes, den Alexander I. — der Philhellen, zu gleicher Zeit persischer Vasall — auf Mardonios' Geheiß nach Athen tut, erzählt Herodotos, wie Perdikkas, der Vorfahr siebenten Gliedes dieses Alexanders, den makedonischen Königsthron erlangt hatte. Drei Söhne des Temenos entflohen aus Argos und nahmen in der makedonischen Stadt Lebaia Dienst beim König. Der älteste hütete die Pferde, der

* Der Hinweis gilt unserem Vortrag «Avicennas Qānūn im westlichen Ärztekanon», gehalten anlässlich des Avicenna-Millenniums in Budapest am 1.10.1980 (bisher nicht erschienen).

¹ D. h. *Zairiwairi*, «der mit goldfarbenem Harnisch», vgl. K. ZIEGLER—W. HINZ: RE «Zariadres» 2325.

² Vgl. E. ROHDE: Der griech. Roman und seine Vorläufer.³ Leipzig 1914, 51.

zweite die Rinder, der jüngste, Perdikkas, das Kleinvieh. Als sich ein Brotprodigium mehrmals wiederholte, dachte der König, daß es ein göttliches Zeichen (*τέρας*) sei und auf etwas Großes hindeute (*φέροι ἐς μεγά τι*). Er befahl also den Temeniden, sein Land zu verlassen, sie aber sagten, es sei billig, daß sie ihren Lohn als etwas Geschuldetes bekämen (*τὸν μισθὸν . . . ἀπολαβόντες οὕτω ἐξιέναι*). Als der König von dem Lohn hörte, sagte er in seiner Verblendung (*θεοβλαβῆς γενόμενος*): *Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι*, «das ist der Lohn, eurer würdig, den gebe ich euch», damit zeigte er auf die Sonne am Boden, die durch das Rauchabzugsloch ins Haus hineinschien. Die beiden Älteren standen fassungslos da (*ἔστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι*), der Knabe aber sagte: *Δεκόμεθα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ διδοῖς* (wie Alexander d.Gr. vor Issos: *δέχομαι τὴν κληδόνα*),³ und machte mit dem Messer, das er bei sich hatte, einen Schnitt rings um die Sonne auf dem Estrich des Hauses (*περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ . . . τὸν ἥλιον*), *περιγράφας δὲ ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρις ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλίου ἀπαλλάσσετο . . .*, d. h.: «dann schöpfte er dreimal von dem umrissenen Sonnenfleck in seinen Busen und ging davon» (mit seinen Brüdern). Erst zu spät stellt es sich heraus, daß Perdikkas das ihm Angebotene mit Sinn und Verstand angenommen habe (*σὺν νόῳ . . . λάβοι τὰ διδόμενα*), vergeblich sandte der König den Temeniden Reiter nach, um sie umzubringen: der Grenzfluß schwoll so gewaltig an, daß die Verfolger nicht mehr hindurch konnten. Dieser Knabe war Perdikkas, der so die Königsherrschaft an sich gebracht hatte.

Statt eine kritische historiographische Übersicht zu geben, die die «Ergebnisse» des daran verschwendeten Philologenwitzes zeigen würde, nehmen wir zuerst mit dem Wenigen fürlieb, was in den alten Kommentaren als gesichert gelten kann. Im skythischen Logos des Herodotos liest man innerhalb der vier Traditionen von den Ursprüngen der Skythen zwei Versionen, diejenige der Skythen (IV 5—7) und der pontischen Hellenen (8—10), die sich mit der eben besprochenen makedonischen Königsgeschichte vergleichen lassen. Von den drei Söhnen des Targitaos konnte die vom Himmel herabgefallenen goldenen Geräte (*χρύσεια ποιήματα*) nur der Jüngste anfassen, so daß die älteren Brüder auf die Herrschaft verzichteten und sie dem Jüngsten übergaben, und desgleichen war von den drei Söhnen des Herakles, die ihm die skythische *μῆξιπάρχθενος* geboren hatte, nur der jüngste Skythes imstande, die herakleischen Aufgaben zu vollbringen: so blieb er im Lande, und die Könige der Skythen stammten von ihm ab.

Einen unbetretenen Weg schlug neuerdings Hermann Kleinknecht in seinem postum erschienenen Aufsatz «Herodotos und die makedonische Urgeschichte»⁴ ein. Seine Deutung des «Sonnenschöpfens» aus der iranisch-persischen *χvarənah*-Vorstellung darf in der Tat als «ein bedeutungsvoller interpretatori-

³ Luk., De lapsu in salut. 8; vgl. Herod. VIII 115 oder IX 91, oder etwa Tac. Ann. II, 133 mit Komm.

⁴ Hermes 94 (1966) 134 ff.

scher Fund»⁵ betrachtet werden. Diese *Trouvaille* wollen wir hier nicht in allen Einzelheiten rekapitulieren. Mit vollem Recht wies Kleinknecht die unverantwortlichen «Erklärungen» ab, die im herodoteischen Bericht eine «geschichtlich wertlose Gründungssage», eine «verdunkelte und entstellte Märchendichtung» oder gar ein Kuriosum erblickten, «mit welchem man sich nicht weiter zu beschäftigen brauche» usw. Dieses «Volksmärchen» entpuppt sich als eine ausgesprochene *Königsgeschichte*, die Sonne aber, deren goldene Strahlen der zum Königtum Auserwählte «in seinen Busen schöpft», muß der iranische «Lichtglanz der königlichen Majestät», die «Königsglorie» (H. H. Schaefer), also das *χvarənah* sein, das «als Versinnbildlichung und Unterpfand höchster, gottgewollter Herrschaft» in besonderer Weise dem irdischen Könige eignet, «der dadurch als rechtmäßiger Herrscher legitimisiert, geschützt, in seinem Verstand zum Regieren erleuchtet und zum Sieg über seine Feinde befähigt ist. Es ist eine göttliche Gestaltwerdung des sonnenhaften, sieghaften *Glücks*, das ein Wesensmerkmal echten Königtums ist.»⁶

Kleinknecht kannte freilich auch Altheims Ausführungen, der aber die Form- und Motivverwandtschaft mit der Perdikkas-Geschichte noch nicht gesehen hat. Im Sasaniden-Kapitel seines Buches «Gesicht vom Abend und Morgen»⁷ erzählt er in seinem verführerisch-geschmeidigen Stil den Mythos des Reichsgründers und der Reichsgründung dem mittelpersischen «Königsbuch» nach, wie Ardašir, Sasans Sohn, in Kenntnis der Weissagungen der Sternkundigen seinem Herrn Ardewan mit dem Mädchen, das um das Geheimnis der Macht-ergreifung wußte, sowie mit einer Krone und vielen Kostbarkeiten entfloh.⁸ Leute, die dem sie verfolgenden König begegneten, sagten, des Morgens seien beide Reiter vorübergekommen, schnell wie der Wind, und ein dicker Widder sei ihnen gefolgt. Als das sich wiederholt, fragt der König den Obersten der Magier, was es bedeute, und er erhält die Antwort; «Der Widder ist der Glanz der königlichen Herrschaft; *noch* hat er Ardašir *nicht erreicht* . . . » Am nächsten Tage berichten die Karawanleute schon davon, daß mit einem von den beiden Reitern zugleich ein großer Widder zu Pferde saß, —d.h. daß der Glücksglanz der königlichen Majestät Ardašir *erreicht hat*. Und weil das *χvarənah* bei Ardašir war, gewann dieser den Sieg, tötete Ardewan und nahm dessen Tochter zur Frau.

Das *χvarənah* als «göttliche Wesenheit» verleiht dem Helden Gelingen.⁹ Die griechisch-baktrischen Königsmünzen stellen dieses *χvarənah* in der Gestalt der *Tyche* dar; in mittelpersischer Schrift wird es durch ein aramäisches Ideogramm (*GDH*) wiedergegeben, das ebenso «*Glück*» heißt. *χvarənah* als Widder hat auch in der griechischen Heldensage sein Gegenstück: ¹⁰ in Pelops'

⁵ Bemerkung des Herausgebers G. MÜLLER: a. O. 134.

⁶ KLEINKNECHT: 139.

⁷ Fischer-Bücherei 79: Frankfurt a. M.—Hamburg 1955.

⁸ Ausführlicher bei KLEINKNECHT: 143.

⁹ Zum Folgenden vgl. ALTHEIM: 108.

¹⁰ Vgl. KLEINKNECHT: 139.

Nachfolge wurde die Herrschaft über Mykene durch ein von Hermes dem Atreus geschenktes Lamm mit goldenem Vließ gesichert (vgl. Eur., El. 705 ff.; Or. 998 ff.).* «Gold und himmlischer Glanz ist auch dem *χvarənah* wesenhaft zu eigen, . . . sein Name ist dem der Sonne (*hvar-*) verwandt». Feuriges Gold, vom Himmel herabgekommen, spielte auch in der besprochenen skythischen Sage die Rolle, die sonst dem *χvarənah* zukommt: dadurch, daß Skythes das glühende Metall anfassen kann, ergreift er sein Glück, «erweist sich als gottgewollter Herrscher».

Und jetzt wollen wir zeigen, daß es nicht nur im mittelpersischen Königsbuch, d. h. in jener «Zusammenstellung der heimischen Überlieferung, die kurz vor dem Untergang des Sasanidenreiches niedergeschrieben wurde und dieses als ein nationales Vermächtnis überdauert hat»,¹¹ sondern hie und da auch im berühmten Alexanderroman Überreste uralter mythischer Vorstellungen gibt. Dabei denken wir an eine Episode, die selbst die besten Kenner dazu bewog, über die romanhafte Alexander-Überlieferung im allgemeinen recht ungünstig zu urteilen. Alexander sucht auf Ammons Geheiß, der ihm im Traum in der Gestalt des Hermes erschien, als sein eigener Bote verkleidet den Dareios auf, um ihm zu melden, daß Alexander da ist, und zu fragen, wann er den Krieg beginnen will (II 14). Der erzürnte Dareios faßt den Boten bei der Hand und führt ihn in seinen Palast, was Alexander als ein *σημεῖον ἀγαθόν* betrachtet und legt sich im Palast als erster zur Tafel des Dareios nieder. Die Perser aber (15) sahen Alexander voll Verwunderung über seine kleine Gestalt an, wußten sie doch nicht, *ὅτι ἐν μικρῷ ἀγγεῖῳ τύχης οὐρανίου ἦν δόξα* (daß in einem kleinen Gefäß der Glanz eines himmlischen Glückes verborgen war).¹² Als sie nun dem Wein stärker zusprachen, hatte Alexander folgenden Einfall: *ἴσους σκύφους ἔλαβεν, ἔσωθεν τοῦ κόλπου ἔβαλεν*. Als darauf Dareios ihn fragte: *ὦ γενναῖε, πρὸς τί ταῦτα ἐγκολπίζει κατακείμενος ἐπὶ δείπνον*, ersann Alexander eine Ausrede, die die Perser erstaunt anhörten. Bald aber sah sich Alexander erkannt, so daß er mit den goldenen Bechern in seinem Busen (*ἔχων ἐν τοῖς κόλποις . . . τοὺς χρυσοὺς σκύφους*: B'L; *ἔχων τὸ χρυσίον . . .* Kroll) aufsprang, ging heimlich hinaus, dort schwang er sich aufs Pferd, um der drohenden Gefahr zu entgehen. Man verfolgt ihn bis an einen Fluß, der zugefroren war: Alexander ritt übers Eis. Als das Pferd das gegenüberliegende Ufer erreicht hatte, taute der Fluß auf; das Pferd konnte gerade noch seinen Reiter ans Ufer schleudern und wurde von der Strömung fortgerissen. Die Verfolger konnten den aufgetauten Fluß nicht mehr überschreiten.

* *Korr.-N.*: Ziegen als *regni auctores* in der makedonischen Königsgeschichte bei Iust. VII 1, 9.

¹¹ ALTHEIM: 96.

¹² Der Text nach B' und L (ed. van Thiel); bei KROLL heißt es: *ὅτι ἐν μ. ἀ. ἔκχυμα τύχης <οὐρανίου> ἔστίν*, vgl. den app. crit.

«Man meint, dem Baron von Münchhausen zuzuhören» — bemerkt R. Merkelbach dazu,¹³ nicht ohne allen Grund. Ja, der Held des «Romans» benimmt sich manchmal wenig heldenhaft,¹⁴ oder wie Ad. Ausfeld¹⁵ seinerzeit über die «alexandrinischen» Züge dieses Alexanders schrieb: statt echten Heldentums wird Alexander im Roman «mit Eigenschaften ausgestattet, die den alexandrinischen Handelsleuten vertrauter sind als Königsstolz und Heldensinn. Er ist klug und schlau wie sie, versteht zu beschwatzen und zu betrügen; bricht gelegentlich sein Wort, *stiehlt auch wohl einmal . . .*» Fataler Diebstahl, den offensichtlich nicht nur die modernen Forscher, sondern bereits die Kompilatoren der hybriden Alexander-«Geschichte» mißverstanden hatten. U. E. handelt es sich um ein Überbleibsel einer uralten Ideologie der Königsherrschaft, deren äußere Formen für spätere Betrachter ihren wahren Sinn längst verloren haben. Herodotos vermochte noch den mythischen Sinngehalt der Perdikkas-Geschichte als *Königsgeschichte*¹⁶ aufzufassen und zu veranschaulichen, die Repräsentanten der späthellenistischen Geschichtsklitterung samt ihren Lesern nicht mehr: sie werden in einer tiefsinnigen Szene der *translatio imperii*,^{17a} wie der zukünftige makedonische Weltherrscher der goldenen Trinkschalen des persischen Königs der Könige — gleichsam seines *χαρανάη* — habhaft wird, nur etwas Groteskes, Sensationelles empfunden haben.*

In derselben Erzählung findet man noch weitere Einzelheiten, die geeignet sein dürften, unsere oben skizzierte These zu erhärten. Dazu müssen wir ein wenig ausholen.

In einer Anmerkung von G. Widengrens lehrreichem Buche «Iranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer Zeit» (Köln — Opladen 1960, S.68, 238), dessen Kenntnis ich der freundlichen Zuvorkommenheit H. Humbachs verdanke, wird u. a. auf H. W. Bailey (Zoroastr. Problems in the 9th Cent. Books, Oxford 1943, 32) hingewiesen, der aufgrund einer Textstelle aus dem

* *Korr.-N.*: Interessant ist die «Erklärung» der gelungenen Flucht im sog. Wiener Prosatext (Paraphrase von H. J. GLEIXNER: Das Alex.-bild der Byzantiner. Diss. München 1961, 82): «Die Torwächter überlistete Alexander, indem er die goldenen Becher als Zeichen des Perserkönigs ausgab.

¹³ Die Quellen des griech. Alexanderromans. München 1954. 57.

¹⁴ W. KROLL: RE «Kallisthenes» 1711.

¹⁵ Der griech. Alexanderroman. Leipzig 1907. 236.

¹⁶ Und als Überlieferung von einer Herrschaftsgründung, deren weltgeschichtliche Perspektiven zu Alexanders I. Zeiten noch niemand ahnen konnte! Über Herodots Leistung vgl. KLEINKNECHT: 146: (Die Perdikkas-Erzählung ist) «durch und durch herodoteisch: Weit davon entfernt, Überlieferung unverstanden oder nicht voll verstanden weiterzugeben oder gar selbst zu entstellen, hat die eigene reife Erzählergabe und Deutungskraft die fremde Tradition in der griechischen Form erst das sein lassen, was sie vom Hause aus ist: ein Stück Urgeschichte.» — Als Parallele (wie die mythischen Bezüge einer Stadtgründung bei Pindar, Pyth. I später nicht mehr verstanden wurden) mag hingewiesen werden auf J. TRUMPFs Interpretation: Stadtgründung und Drachenkampf. Hermes 86 (1958) 129 ff., insbes. 140.

^{17a} Vgl. W. GOEZ: *Translatio imperii*. Tübingen 1958. *passim*, und unseren Versuch (mit dem gleichen Titel) in der Festschrift für K. Marót (Idő és történelem, Budapest 1974), 33.

Dēnkart (ed. Sanjana, VII 1, 56—58) schildert, «wie ein Licht von dem *χvarənah* der Mutter Zarathustras auf den von ihr gewandelten Weg fällt. Ihr *χvarənah* hat sich beim Eintritt in sie wie ein Feuer gezeigt . . . »

Nun liest man im Alexanderroman (nach der Handschrift L, in der Übersetzung H. van Thiels, II 15,6): «Als Alexander . . . sich erkannt sah, . . . sprang auf mit den goldenen Bechern in seinem Gewand (*ἐν τοῖς κόλποις*) und ging heimlich hinaus. Dort schwang er sich auf sein Pferd . . . , und als er am Tor einen Perser auf Wache fand, tötete ihn und floh aus der Perserstadt. (7) Daireios . . . schickte bewaffnete Perser aus, um ihn zu fangen. Alexander aber spornte sein Pferd und erhellte ihm den Weg (*διευθύνων αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁδόν*), denn es war tiefe Nacht und der Himmel finster.» (Seine Verfolger stürzen in der Dunkelheit in die Abgründe.) *ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν ὥσπερ ἀστὴρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φαιδρὸς ἀνιῶν μόνος* . . . (9: Nach der Rückkehr berichtet man dem Großkönig vom *εὐτύχημα* Alexanders.)

Noch interessanter als die zitierte Stelle selbst ist der *Unterschied* zwischen dem Wortlaut der Handschrift L und dem von W. Kroll nach der *recensio vetusta* herausgegebenen Text, wo die offensichtlich nicht mehr verstandene, gewissermaßen noch mythische Erzählung «sinngemäß» ergänzt, d. h. ihres ursprünglichen Sinnes völlig beraubt wurde (p. 84,11—): *ἐκτὸς δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἰδὼν τινα Πέρσην παραφυλάσσοντα δῆδας μετὰ χειρᾶς ἔχοντα, ταύτας βαστάζας ἐσφαγίασε τὸν ἄνδρα . . . (15) ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθούμενος . . . προέβαλλε τὴν πεύκην καὶ ἐφωταγῶγει τὸν πῶλον ἦν γὰρ νύξ βαθεῖα . . . ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔχων πεύκην ὡς ἀστὴρ ἀπέλαμπεν ἑαυτῷ . . .* U. E. unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, daß die Version L (ohne die Ergänzungen van Thiels) ursprünglicher ist, als die sog. *recensio vetusta*. Die Verballhornungen zeigen, daß man mit der lichterhaften Natur des Besitzers des Glücksglanzes nichts anzufangen wußte und die «unverständlichen» Hinweise «erklären» zu müssen glaubte.

Eine Bemerkung W. Krolls^{17b} zeigt, daß die soeben behandelte Szene auch diesem hervorragenden Kenner des Alexanderromans zu bedenken gab. In Wirklichkeit läßt Leo (II 15 p. 91 Pfister) den königlichen Gast genauso verfahren und dann fliehen: *Alexander . . . vidit quendam Persen tenendo in manu facculam tollensque eam illi percussit eum, ascendit equum et [h]abiit . . . Alexander portans in manu facculam, tenens iter rectum (erat enim obscura nox), insequentes eum cadebant in foveas.* Umso mehr gewinnt eine Stelle der darauffolgenden Kampfschilderung (II 16 p. 93 Pf.) besondere Bedeutung: . . . *tunc ascendit Alexander equum, qui dicitur Bucefalo, et occurrit et stetit in medio ante omnes. Videntes eum (sc. Alexandrum) Perses dubitabant . . . ire super eum (sc. Alexandrum) eo, quod divinitas cooperiebatur eum . . .*, desgleichen in der Leo sehr naheliegenden syrischen Version (laut der deutschen Überset-

^{17b} W. KROLL: RE «Kallisthenes» 1711: «Für die Moral des Autors ist es bezeichnend, daß der König als Gast an Daireios' Tafel die kostbaren Becher einsteckt; Leo hat das geändert.»

zung von V. Ryssel): «Weil *Götterkraft* auf ihm ruhte.» Leider hilft dabei weder die *recensio vetusta* (II 16,4 p. 86 Kroll *προσεγγίσει δὲ τούτῳ οὐδείς ἠδύνατο διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ θεσθιώτητα*),^{17c} noch die auch hier verballhornte Handschrift L (II 16,6 *προσεγγίσει δὲ τούτῳ τῷ Ἰππῳ οὐδείς ἐδύνατο*) weiter, und man sieht auch hier nur die Anstrengungen der späteren Redaktoren, die «unverständlichen» Elemente der überlieferten Erzählung durch schulmeisterliche Einschübel, Glossen o. ä. zu erklären.

Nach diesem nachträglichen Exkurs dürfte unsere Hypothese noch weniger gewagt erscheinen, laut welcher es in der romanhaft aufgebauchten Alexander-«Geschichte» gewisse rudimentäre *χαρανάη*-Vorstellungen gegeben haben muß, deren mythischer Sinn im Wandel der Jahrhunderte völlig der Vergessenheit anheimfiel, deren Spuren aber hie und da selbst in den hoffnungslos trüben Redaktionen des Alexanderromans aufgezeigt werden können.

Und nun — mit einem kleinen Sprung — möchte ich die Geburtslegende Dschingis Khans, wie sie in der Geheimen Geschichte der Mongolen¹⁸ zu lesen ist, besprechen. Da rechtfertigt Alanqo'a die übernatürliche Empfängnis ihrer drei Kinder vor ihren zwei anderen, aus der Ehe mit Dobun mergen (D. dem Klugen) hervorgegangenen Söhnen: «Nacht für Nacht kam ein goldglänzender Mann durch die Dachluke der Jurte herein. Er streichelte meinen Bauch, und sein Strahl senkte sich in meinen Leib. Wenn er hinausging, kroch er hinaus auf dem Sonnen- oder Mondstrahl wie ein gelber Hund.» Alanqo'a nimmt dies zum Beweis, daß sie «Söhne des Himmels» geboren hat: «Wie könnt ihr . . . sie mit schwarzköpfigen, gewöhnlichen Menschen vergleichen? Wenn sie einmal Könige über alle sind, dann wird das gemeine Volk sie erkennen.»¹⁹ Wir haben nicht vor, das riesige Material, das in Zusammenhang sei es mit dem Danae-Mythos, sei es mit Gilgamesch oder mit gewissen christlichen Legenden mehrfach vorgelegt und interpretiert wurde, bei dieser Gelegenheit noch einmal zu registrieren. Nur einige Bezüge dieses Materials wollen wir hervorheben, um die Verbreitung des Alexanderromans, bzw. den mythischen Gehalt gewisser Bestandteile dieses «Romans» zu zeigen.

Den Zusammenhang des Danae-Mythos und der Geburtslegende Dschingis Khans mit einer Einzelheit der Perdikkas-Geschichte hielt auch weiland I. Trencsényi-Waldapfel in Evidenz: das Gottesurteil in der Ursprungssage der Kirgisen,²⁰ durch welches Altyn Bels Tochter die Auserwähltheit des Dschin-

^{17c} *θειώτητα* conl. KROLL (coll. Syr. Leo); equidem *ἐσθλώτητα* malim, cf. LIDDELL-SCOTT s. v. *ἐσθλός* II. 3.

¹⁸ Hrsg. von E. HAENISCH: *Leipzig 1948. 3 f. und 209; P. PELLIOU: Histoire secr. des Mongols. Paris 1949. 121 ff.; L. LIGETI: A mongolok titkos története. Budapest 1962. 11.

¹⁹ Vgl. I. TRENCSENÝI-WALDAFEL: Der Danae-Mythos im Osten und Westen. Unters. zur Religionsgesch. Amsterdam 1966. 192 ff.; G. BINDER: Die Aussetzung des Königskindes. Meisenheim a. Gl. 1964. 220 f. und Enz. des Märchens. III. 263 ff. («Danae»).

²⁰ Vgl. W. RADLOFF: Proben der Volkslit. der türk. Stämme Süd-Sibiriens. III. Petersburg 1870. 82 ff.

gis gegenüber dessen drei Halbbrüdern dartut, erinnerte ihn an die «genealogische Sage des makedonischen Herrscherhauses insofern als die Sonnenstrahlen auch hier für den auserwählten Perdikkas eine handgreifliche Realität und zugleich Vorzeichen seiner Herrschaft bedeuten.» Als erster hatte J. G. Frazer²¹ eine andere Einzelheit des griechischen Mythos mit der innerasiatischen Sage verglichen.

Was die innerasiatische Verbreitung der Alexander-Sage betrifft, so will man eine wichtige Beobachtung von E. Herzfeld kurioserweise noch immer nicht zur Kenntnis nehmen. In Plutarchs Alexander-Biographie (c.2) liest man, daß Olympias als Braut Philipps einen Traum hatte: Es war ihr, als wenn bei einem Gewitter der Blitz ihr in den Leib schlug und durch diesen Schlag helles Feuer hervorbräche usw. Herzfeld hat nun erwiesen, daß die zur Verherrlichung Dschingis Khans konstruierte mongolische Legende aus «Griechenland» (d. h. aus der griechischen Alexander-Überlieferung) stammt.²² Der Name Alongoa (Alan-qo'a, Alan-koa) ist nichts anderes als eine durch falsche Punktsetzung entstellte Form für griech. Olympia(s); zur Verderbnis $p(h) \sim f - q$, die «bereits in der am Hofe Dschingis-Khans gelesenen Gestalt des Iskandar-nāmah vorlag»,²³ vergleiche man die Formen Filifus — Filius — Feilaqus oder Failaqus (statt Philippos) oder Kaidafe (statt Kandake) usw. Dementsprechend ist die gewöhnliche Übersetzung «Alan die Schöne» (Alanqava, Along-go'a) «eine sehr naheliegende mongolische Etymologisierung», die nichts daran ändert, daß die mongolische Dschingis-Legende undenkbar ohne ihr griechisches Vorbild ist.²⁴

Damit ist aber nicht so einfach bestellt. Alanqo'a's Name kann getrost als entstellte Form des griech. Eigennamens Olympias erklärt werden, desgleichen dürften einige Einzelheiten der Dschingis-Legende aus der Alexander-Überlieferung hergeleitet werden, es gibt aber ganz verblüffende Parallelen, deren ursprüngliche Fassung bzw. Heimat nicht so leicht erschlossen werden kann. Dazu nur ein einziges Beispiel, à travers les âges.

Ktesias, der als Leibarzt und neugieriger Grieche am persischen Königshof Gelegenheit genug hatte, um orientalische Sensationen anzuhäufen, erzählt in den Semiramis-Kapiteln des Diodor (II 16 f.), was die ehemalige Königin für eine Kriegsliege gegen die Elefanten der Inder ersann: aus der abgezogenen Haut von schwarzen Ochsen ließ sie Trugbilder (*εἰδωλα*) von Elefanten verfertigen, welche von Kameltreibern getragen durch ihre Riesenzahl die Inder in die Flucht hätten jagen sollen. Ein ähnliches Strategem kehrt im Alexanderroman (III 3) in einer grotesken Fassung wieder: der listenreiche Alexander läßt alle

²¹ The Golden Bough, London 1913. 74 f.

²² Alongoa. Der Islam 6 (1916) 320 ff.

²³ HERZFELD: 324; vgl. ED. MEYER: Kl. Schriften II. Halle 1924. 436,4; ebenso J. E. BERTELS: Roman ob Aleksandre. M.-L. 1948. 26,2. Vgl. noch N. POPPE: Eine mong. Fassung der Alex.-Sage. Zeitschr. f. D. Morg. Ges. 32 (1957) 105 ff.

²⁴ HERZFELD: 327.

ehernen Standbilder (*ἀνδριάντας χαλκούς*), die er bei sich hatte, und die erbeuteten Panzer (*καταφράγματα*) der Soldaten stark erhitzen, so daß das Metall glühend wurde (in der syr. Variante: «die Statuen hatten feurige Kohlen in sich»), und sie vor der Schlachtreihe aufstellen. Als die Tiere des Poros auf die Statuen lossprangen, verbrannten sich die Rüssel, flohen bestürzt zurück und waren nicht mehr zu gebrauchen.

Interessant ist zu sehen, wie die Kriegslist der Semiramis und des «klugen» Alexander nach tausend Jahren bei den Mongolen wiederkehrt. Wie man in der tatarischen Reisebeschreibung des Plano Carpini²⁵ liest, ließ Dschingis Khan während seines indischen Feldzuges «Puppen von Menschengröße aus Kupfer anfertigen, setzte sie in Sättel auf Pferde, tat Feuer hinein und setzte hinter jede dieser kupfernen Puppen einen Mann mit Blasebalg aufs Pferd . . . Die Männer warfen etwas Unbekanntes ins Feuer [Firdausi läßt Alexander Erdöl gegen Poros verwenden] und fachten dann mit ihren Blasebälgen die Flamme mächtig an . . . » Fr. Risch (a. O.) wies mit Recht darauf hin, daß Plano Carpini das ursprüngliche innerasiatische Sagenmaterial mit antiken Requisiten — d. h. mit denjenigen der Alexander-Überlieferung — bereichert hatte. Die ursprüngliche mongolische Fassung findet man in Rašid-ed-Dins Jahrbüchern: ²⁶ dort wird der Feind durch Popanzen aus Filz, die hinter einem jeden Reiter «sitzen», getäuscht.

Und das ist keine Fiktion: die Verwendung solcher Popanzen, um die Gegner durch ihre dahinsausende Menge zu erschüttern, gehörte in der Tat zur Taktik der Mongolen. Dafür haben wir den Bericht eines Augenzeugen aus der Zeit der mongolischen Invasion im J. 1241. Rogerius, Erzdechant von Großwardein erzählte in seinem «Carmen miserabile» (c. 27, Szentpétery, SRH II 568) u. a., wie die Leute seines Bischofs *per Tartaros* ins Garn gelockt wurden: *cum (Tartari) haberent equos plurimos et ipsi pauci existerent, . . . fecerunt larvas et monstra quam plurima, ea super equos vacuos, tanquam si essent milites, ordinando, et equos illos . . . paucis cum servientibus dimiserunt mandantes eisdem, ut cum Hungaris ingrederentur in pugnam, ipsi . . . procederent versus eos . . . Tartari numero pauciores terga eis (sc. Hungaris) dare fingentes . . . retrocedere inceperunt. Et dum ipsi cum larvis exierunt . . ., Hungari opinantes eis (d. h. sibi) insidias factas terga dederunt . . ., Tartari autem etc.* (richteten ein fürchterliches Blutbad an).

Das war im 13. Jahrhundert. Ob ich mich zum Schluß an ein Leseerlebnis aus meiner Kinderzeit wiedererinnern darf? In einer alten illustrierten Familienwochenschrift guckte ich staunend einen interessanten Stahlstich an, der bewegliche Reiterattrappen darstellte, wie sie Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts im

²⁵ Hrsg. von FR. RISCH: Leipzig 1930. 123.

²⁶ Vgl. O. I. SMIRNOWA—B. I. PANKRATOW—A. A. SEMENOW: R. Sbornik letopisei I/2. M.-L. 1952. 221 ff.

russisch-japanischen Krieg verwendet wurden. Auch diese Einzelheit dürfte uns nachdenklich stimmen: innerhalb der romanhaften Alexander-Überlieferung gibt es auch wertvolle Tradition, deren Elemente aufzuhellen, wie sie gewisse Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Osten und Westen spiegeln, eine lohnende Aufgabe nicht nur für einen klassischen Philologen sein würde.

Budapest.

B. STAVISKIY

KARA TEPE IN OLD TERMEZ

A BUDDHIST RELIGIOUS CENTRE OF THE KUSHAN PERIOD
ON THE BANK OF THE OXUS

A vast site, occupying an area of over 500 hectares, is situated in the neighbourhood of modern Termez, a regional centre of South Uzbekistan, on the right bank of the ancient Oxus (now Amu-Darya). It is the site of Old Termez (Fig. 1), which attracted the attention of travellers already in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.¹ It became the principal object of research made by the first major archaeological expedition of Soviet scholars to Central Asia in 1926–28 — the expedition of the Moscow Museum of Eastern Cultures (now the State Museum of Oriental Arts), headed by prof. B. P. Denike,² which was followed in 1936–38 by the large Termez Archaeological Complex Expedition (TACE) under prof. M. E. Masson.³

Excavations carried out by the two expeditions revealed that Old Termez was the site of a town destroyed in 1220 by the armies of Chenghis Khan. It was also found out that there was a settlement there going back as far as the 3rd–2nd centuries B.C., when Bactria⁴ was under Greek rulers. The town reached its heyday at the time of the Kushan Empire, which, in the first centuries of our era united under its dominion the present territories of Afghanistan, Northern Pakistan, Northern India, Southern regions of the Soviet Uzbek and Tajik republics and Eastern Turkistan (Sinkiang).

In 1928 A. S. Strelkov of the Museum of Eastern Cultures expedition found three filled-up caves on the eastern slope of a three-top hill rising in the north-western corner of the site, close to the bank of the Amu-Darya. The caves

¹ М. Е. Массон: Городища Старого Термеза и их изучение — ТАКЭ 1936 года (Труды Узбекстанского филиала АН СССР, серия I вып. 2); Ташкент, 1941, 5–122

² Культура Востока. (вып. I), М., (1927), вып. II, М. (1928).

³ See Труды ТАКЭ: т. I — ТАКЭ 1936 года; т. II — Труды АН Уз. ССР, серия I, т. II, Ташкент, 1945.

⁴ I share the view held by most of the Soviet scholars and many Western researchers that Bactria, as a historico-cultural entity, included not only the left bank of Amu-Darya up to the Hindu Kush on the South (the present Northern Afghanistan), but also the right bank of this great river, i.e., southern regions of the present Uzbek and Tajik Soviet republics.

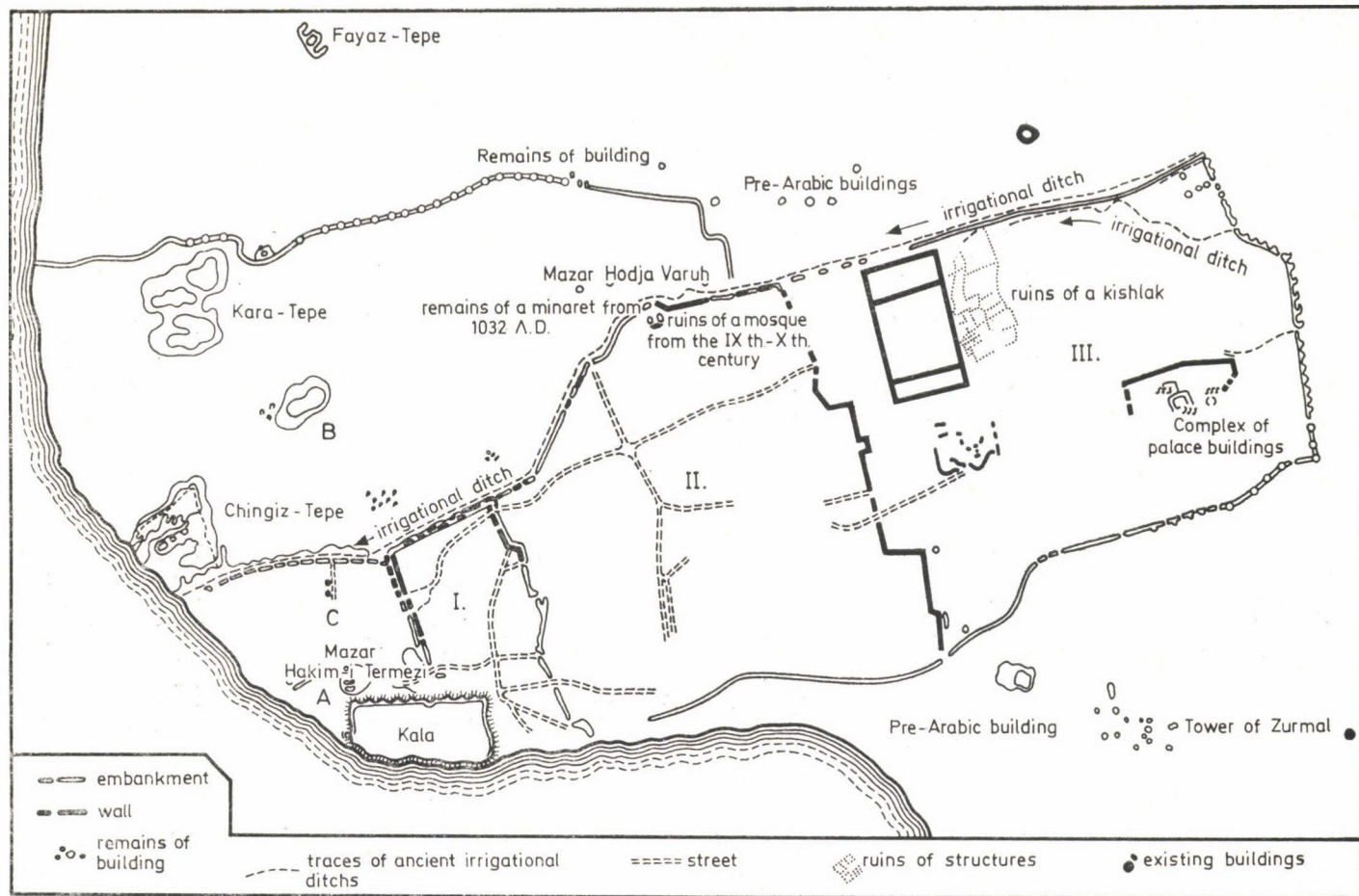


Fig. 1. Town-site of Old Termez. Schematic plan

in his view, might have been small Buddhist temples of the pre-Moslem (prior to 7th—8th centuries A.D.) period.⁵

The three-top hill, on which A. S. Strelkov discovered the caves, was known locally as Black Hill (Kara tepe in Uzbek), the epithet «black» referring not to its colour which was as of all the other hills here sandy light yellow, but to its sombre past: according to legend a multitude of people had once perished on this very spot. The hill is known in scientific literature under that name.

In 1934—36 the caves found by A. S. Strelkov (Nos. 1—3) were investigated by G. V. Parfenov, director of the Termez Museum, who made the description of the caves and measured them. Since 1936 excavation work on Kara tepe was carried on by the TACE: V. I. Kesayev and A. S. Strelkov cleared two manholes in cave No. 2, which had formed after the ceiling caved in; B. B. Pyetrovskiy studied the remains of the mud brickwork on the hill's surface.⁶

In the 1937 season, a group of the TACE archaeologists headed by E. G. Pchelina drove three exploratory trenches on the eastern slope of the hill north of the caves 1, 2 and 3. In one of the trenches, remains of a small ground temple were discovered, in another — a passage leading inside one of the caves and an adjoining cave sell, and in the third — a passage leading into another cave. Four Kushan copper coins (two of them issues of Kanishka) and red-slip pottery were found in the course of the excavations, which gave E. G. Pchelina sufficient ground to date her discoveries to the Kushan period. Data pointing to the existence on Kara tepe of numerous cave and ground structures also led her to the conclusion that the hill was actually the site of an ancient Buddhist monastery.⁷ In 1938, G. A. Pugachenkova, the TACE architect, measured the caves E. G. Pchelina had been excavating and drew their plans and architectural cross sections.⁸ After that, excavation work on Kara tepe was discontinued.⁹

It has been carried on since 1961 by the joint archaeological expedition sponsored by the institutions under the USSR Ministry of Culture. The expedition was originally formed by the Oriental Department of the State Hermitage

⁵ Е. Г. Пчелина: Начало работ по обследованию буддийского монастыря Кара-тепе в Термезе — Материалы совместной археологической экспедиции на Кара-тепе (вып. I). *Кара-тепе* — буддийский пещерный монастырь в Старом Термезе, Москва, 1964, 83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 83—85; М. Е. Массон: Городища Старого Термеза, 39.

⁷ Е. Г. Пчелина, Древнебуддийский монастырь Кара-тепе. Термез. Доклады и сообщения исторического факультета Московского Университета, вып. 4, М., 1946, p. 52—56; the same author, Начало работ . . . , 85—99.

⁸ See H. FIELD and E. PROSTOV: Excavations in Uzbekistan. 1937—1939. *Ars Islamica* vol. IX, 1942 pt. 1—2, 144, Figs 6—8; Г. А. Пугаченкова, Л. И. Ремпель: История искусств Узбекистана. Москва 1965. 52—53, Fig. 20; Г. А. Пугаченкова: В поисках памятников древнего искусства Средней Азии. In: Наука и человечество 1971—1972, Москва, 1972, 69—70.

⁹ Е. Г. ПЧЕЛИНА summed up the results of the 1937 excavations in her Master of Sciences thesis which she maintained in 1944 at the historical department of Moscow State University. (See Е. Г. Пчелина: Древнебуддийский монастырь Кара-тепе. Термез.)

Museum. Since 1962, the State Museum of Oriental Arts has also taken part in its organization. In 1968 the above-mentioned institutions were joined by the USSR Central Research Laboratory on the Conservation and Restoration of objects of art (WCNILKR), and in 1977 — by the State Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism (GMIR).

Besides archaeologists and restorers, many other specialists (on oriental languages, history of art, architecture, etc.) take part in the annual excavation seasons of the joint expedition. Its finds are studied by researchers from the sponsoring institutions, and from the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences and its Leningrad branch, from the Academies of Sciences of the Tajik and Uzbek republics, as well as by specialists from Hungary, India, the USA and West Germany. The results of the research work done by this vast collective have been published in over a hundred articles in Soviet and Western publications. A special collection of articles is also put out devoted to the work of the expedition (Materials of the Joint Expedition). The four issues already published cover the period from 1961 to 1973,¹⁰ and the fifth which is now being prepared for the press will deal with the 1974—1977 seasons.¹¹

BUDDHIST COMPLEXES OF KARA TEPE IN THE LIGHT OF THE 1961—77 EXCAVATIONS

The excavation work of our predecessors and excavations of 1961—77 covered only one of Kara tepe's three tops — the South (or, to be more exact its exposed slope) reminding of a horseshoe in plan (Fig. 2).¹²

On the eastern part of the slope three caves (Nos. 1, 2 and 3) were discovered in 1928 and 1934—36. North of them, two more caves were later found by E. G. Pchelina. Excavation of the latter caves was carried on by our expedition. These are caves P-I and P-II (P for the Russian «peshchera» — cave, with the numbers denoting the order in which the caves were discovered during our 1961—64 seasons).^{*} Six other caves are being excavated on the northern slope: caves 1, 2, 3 (or P-III) and 4 of the C complex and P-IV and P—V caves. Thus there are eleven caves that we know of on the southern top on less than half of its exposed slope. Consequently, we have every ground to believe that there might have been 25—30 caves all told on the top.

¹⁰ Materials of the joint expedition: I — Кара-тепе — буддийский пещерный монастырь в Старом Термезе, Москва 1964; II — Буддийские пещеры Кара-тепе в Старом Термезе, Москва 1969; III — Буддийский культовый центр Кара-тепе в Старом Термезе, М., 1972; IV — Новые находки на Кара-тепе в Старом Термезе, Москва 1975 (And further — Кара-тепе, I; Кара-тепе, II, Кара-тепе, III; and Кара-тепе, IV).

¹¹ For brief data on Kara-tepe excavations in 1974—1977 see Археологические открытия 1974 года, М., 1975, 512—513; Археологические открытия 1975 года, М., 1976, 535—536; Археологические открытия 1976 года, М., 1977, 543—544; Археологические открытия 1977 года, М., 1978, 538—539.

¹² In 1963 a cave was incidentally found on the northern top of the hill. However, its plan and purpose is still to be discovered by special excavations.

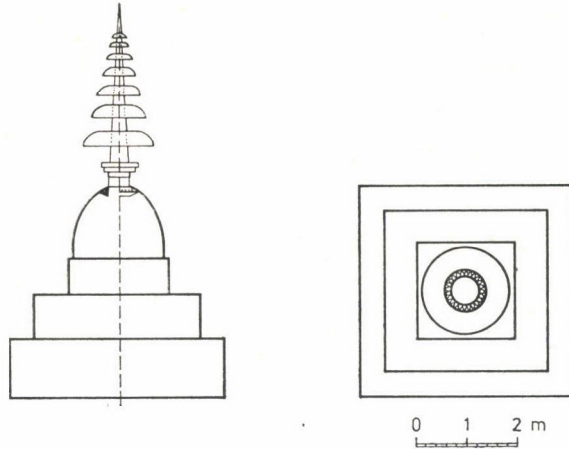


Fig. 3. A stupa at Kara tepe. Reconstruction by I. Lunkova

our architect I. P. Lunkova to trace a graphic reconstruction of the stupa (Fig. 3). The stupa stood in an open courtyard exposed to rain and snow. To protect it from being washed away special water-consuming devices were made at the foot of the stupa and the water brought by spring cloud-bursts was evidently drained from the yard through a ceramic tube (koubour) built into the base of the eastern wall of the courtyard.

Unlike the northern courtyard, the central and the southern ones were bordered with porticos (aiwans). Their wooden columns placed on stone Attic-type bases supported flat wooden ceiling which protected the greater part of

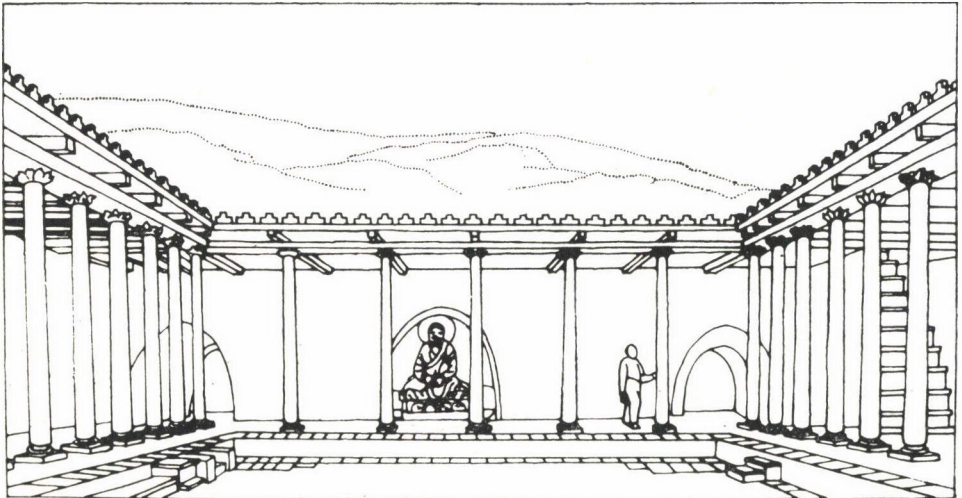


Fig. 4. The courtyard of the B complex. Reconstruction by I. Macheret

the courtyard from the sun, rain or snow. Only the central part of the courtyard was open but its level was lower than that of the aiwans and the water casually accumulated there did not flood the porticos (Fig. 4).

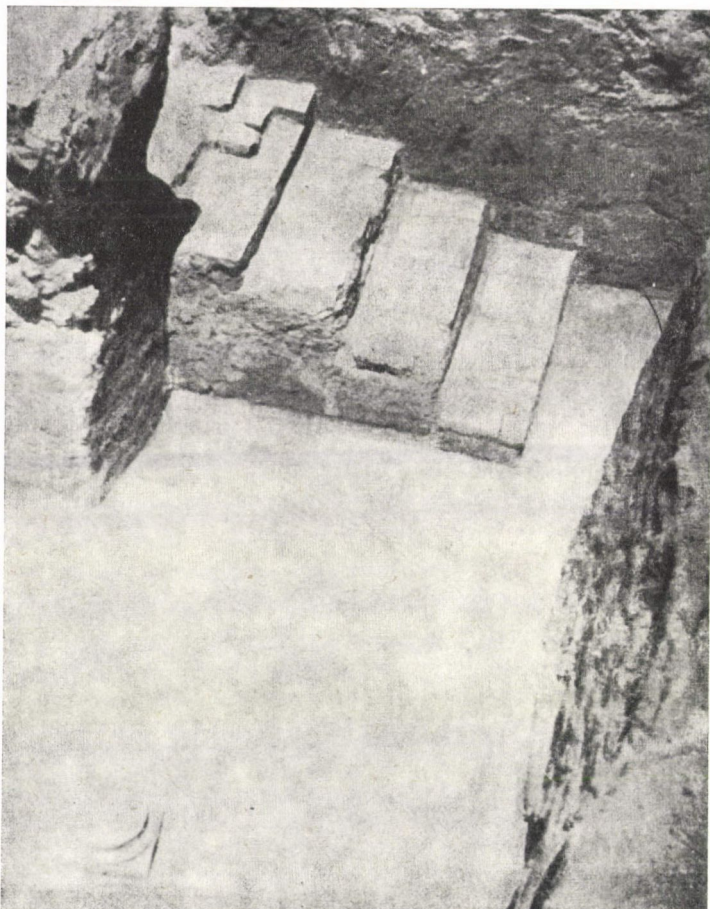


Fig. 5a. The staircase leading from the southern courtyard up hill

The western aiwans of the central and southern courtyards adjoined the vertically cut off slope of the hill, in which niches were hewn framing entrances to P-II and P-I caves. Each cave had two entrances situated close to the south-western and north-western corners of the courtyards. In the central courtyard there was one more niche in the middle of the western aiwan, in which probably a big Buddhist statue stood.

To the north of the northern entrances into the caves in both courtyards cave cells were discovered: one in the southern and two in the central courtyard, one above the other. Narrow entrances with steps descending into the cells led to them from the aiwans. The similar passage with steps connected the

two cells in the central courtyard. The upper cell and the one in the southern courtyard had couches (sufas) along the walls cut out, as the cells themselves, in sandstone (Fig. 22). There were flights of stairs above the cells that led from the northern aiwans of the central and southern courtyards up to the upper part of the hill side or up to the upper premises (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5b. The staircase leading from the central courtyard up hill

All these stairs, as well as the few steps from the aiwans to the lower, central, part of the courtyards were paved with plates of baked brick, evidently to protect sandstone and mudbrick steps from damage.

There was a chamber between the central and the southern courtyards. Originally it gave access to both yards, thus connecting the A and B complexes. Later, however, it was isolated from the courtyards: from the southern — by a plastered mud-brick wall, and from the central by a mud-brick partitioning. It was undoubtedly a place of worship. The remains of a square dais faced with

blocks of white lime were uncovered in the centre of the chamber. Floor space around the dais was also paved with flat plates of white lime. Besides, fragments of stone umbrellas were found here which confirmed the assumption that a votive stupa (probably a diminutive replica of the northern courtyard stupa) stood in the centre of this relatively small chamber.

To the east of it (in the south-eastern corner of the central courtyard) was another chamber, most probably a monk cell. True, there was no couch in it, but its owner might well make himself comfortable on mats behind the clay wall overlaid with plaster (alabaster) and painted, which was built near the entrance and partitioned off the north-eastern corner of the cell.

Another ground structure was excavated to the south of the southern courtyard, which E. G. Pchelina, being the first to discover it, defined as a Buddhist temple. It consisted of a cell and three corridors surrounding it (eastern, southern and western). The southern aiwan of the southern courtyard which adjoined the cell on the fourth side and communicated with it and the corridors closed the ring, so to say. The floor level of the cell was lower than that of the aiwan and the entrance in to the cell had a high threshold made of blocks of white lime. The blocks were originally adorned with a contour flower design and later plastered over and painted red. The path leading to the entrance was paved with white lime plates (Fig. 6). To the east of the eastern corridor there was a small cell with a couch made of mud bricks.

The P-I and P-II caves, which were evidently cave temples, in general outline repeated the ground temple structure. Each consisted of a cell and vaulted corridors that encircled it (Fig. 24). As mentioned above, each cave temple had a cell next to one of its entrances which housed a monk, a guard and attendant of the Buddhist sanctity. In detail, however, the P-I and P-II cave temples differed both from the ground temple and from one another.

Thus, as distinct from the ground temple, the cave temples had four corridors each. The cell of the P-I temple had a floor space of over 28 sq.m., high (not less than 4 metres) vertical walls and, evidently, a wooden ceiling, while the floor space of the central part of the P-II cave was under 12 sq.m. and it had a vaulted ceiling cut in sandstone. The entrance into the P-I cell was in the eastern wall and that of the P-II cell — in the northern wall. In the north-western corner of the P-I temple there was a small cave, most probably a store-room. In the P-II cell excavations revealed (in the southern wall, and southern parts of the adjoining walls) small sockets from timbering of a wooden dais, the like of which may be found in Buddhist cave temples of Eastern Turkistan (Sinkiang) and on which Buddhist statues and oil lamps evidently stood. Its front (northern) surface might have been adorned with reliefs.¹³

¹³ See A. GRÜNWEDEL: *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch Turkistan*. Berlin 1912. 316—317, Figs 635, 635a.

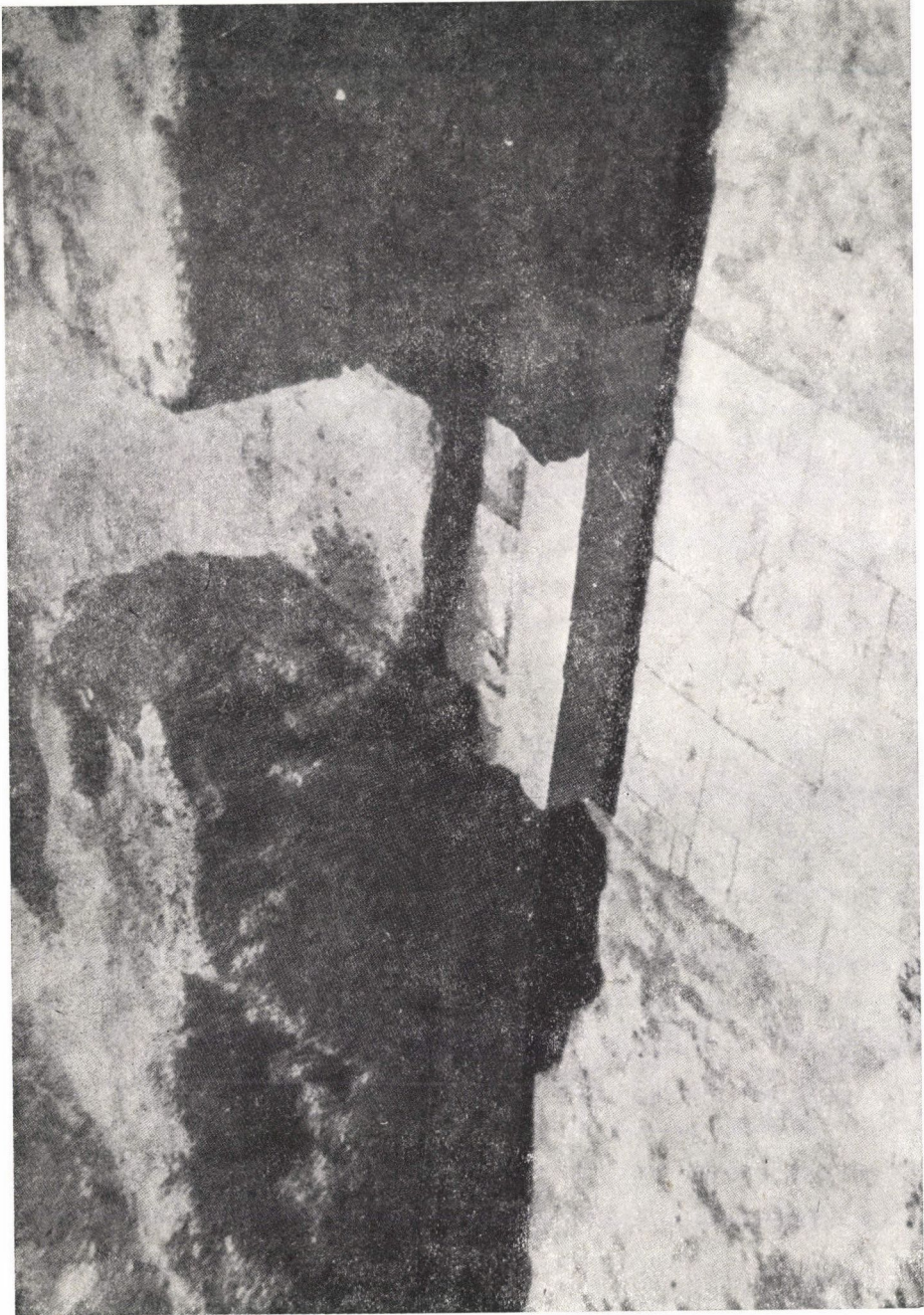


Fig. 6. The path leading to a Buddhist temple (A complex)

It should also be noted that walls in almost all ground and cave premises of the A and B complexes were painted over the plaster (mostly with red paint). In niches, cells and corridors of cave temples the red panels often hid ornamental geometric or floral designs. It is only at the entrances in to the ground temples (the one with the small stupa in the southern aiwan of the B complex courtyard and the temple in the southern aiwan of the A complex courtyard) that fragments of compositions depicting Buddhist personages and donators were found.

The A and B complexes were, evidently, connected in some way with the ground structures that were built above the P-I and P-II temples. We may merely conjecture the existence of such a structure above the P-I temple for it has not been brought out yet. However, in the course of the excavation of the P-I cell mud brickwork was uncovered over the temple's sandstone walls, apparently the remains of the walls of the ground structure. The structure above the P-II ground temple has been fully excavated (Fig. 7). Its lower part was cut in the hill's sandstone slope, with the southern and northern walls coinciding in plan with the walls of the southern and northern corridors of the cave temple, which may testify to their simultaneous construction.

The structure over the P-II temple was situated not far from the southern top of the hill. It was entered not from below (from the B complex) but from above, a short flight of stairs leading down the slope of the southern top into the premises. On the right of the stairs, inside the antechamber there was a big jug (khum) dug into the ground, and on the left, also sunk in the ground — a mud brick plate with holes in it, a kind of «wash-stand».

The jug was, apparently, filled with water for ritual ablutions, which were performed over the «wash-stand». Though merely a symbolic operation, it nevertheless called for certain measures to be taken to drain water out of the building, and, what was probably most important, further away from the temple below. A rectangular reservoir was made for the purpose under the «wash-stand» plate, connected with the system of eight koubours which were laid towards the northern outer wall of the building and drained water beyond it onto the vacant lot on the northern slope of the southern hilltop. It is peculiar to note that the inclination of the drainage system was 3° , *i.e.*, fully conformed to the modern standards.

The Kara tepe antechamber with the «wash-stand» brings to mind the Gandhasala mentioned in Buddhist texts, though the analogy may be slightly far-fetched. Besides the antechamber, there were six more rooms in the building, one of them an elongated chamber stretching from south to north along the western side of the building (Fig. 8). At the northern wall of the chamber there was a wide sufa plastered with clay and alabaster. The room was probably a Kathikasala where people gathered to be taught and to discuss themes connected with Buddhist texts. If so, the monk-teacher (probably even Buddhasira

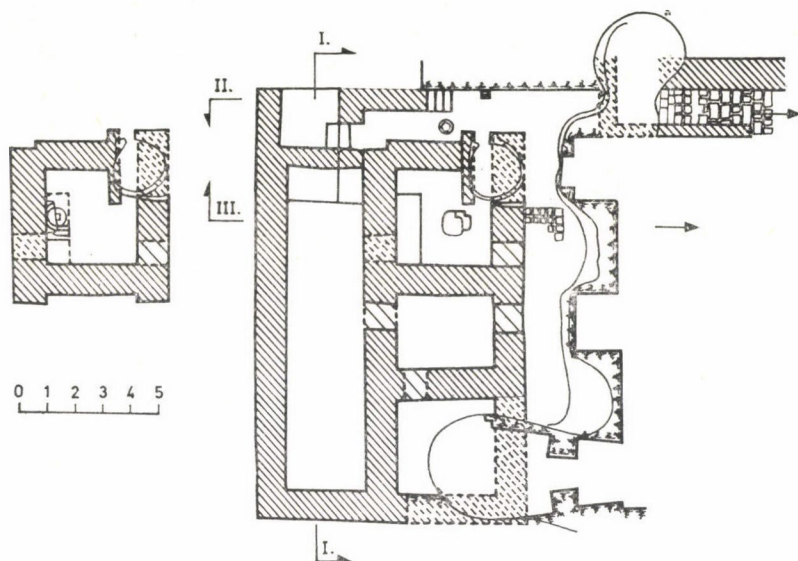


Fig. 7a. The structure above the P-II cave-temple — a) plan

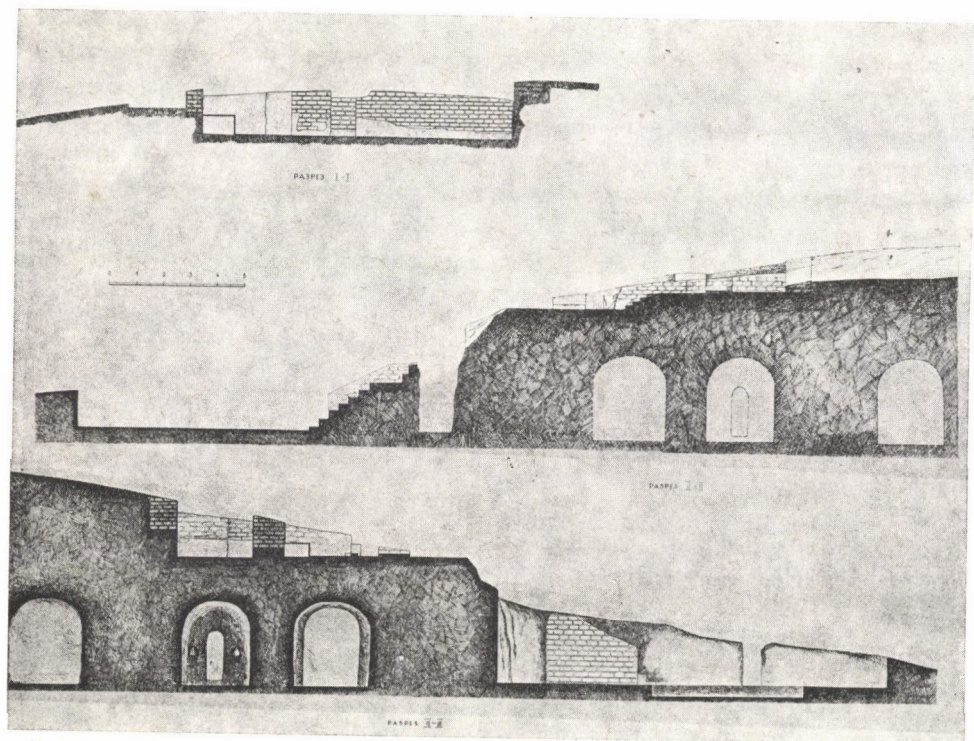


Fig. 7b. The structure above the P-II cave-temple — b) cross-sections

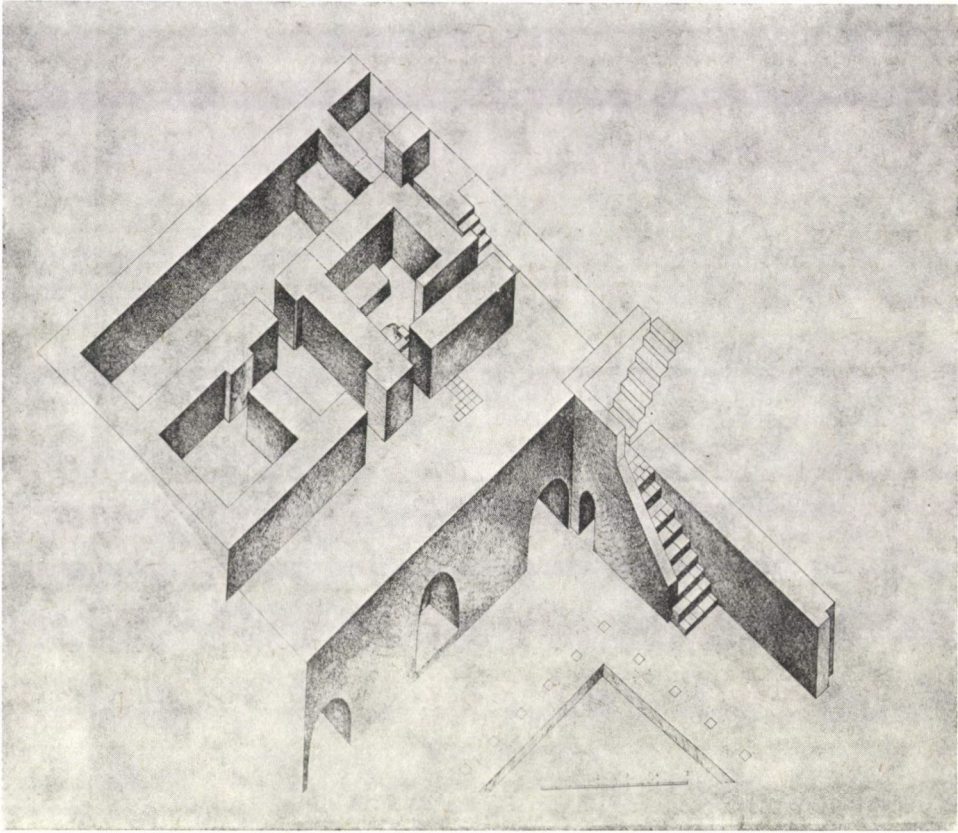


Fig. 7. The structure above the P-II cave-temple — c) reconstruction by I. Lunkova

dharmakathika himself, who was mentioned in a Kara tepe inscription on ceramics)¹⁴ occupied the sufa, and in front of him, on mats, sat his pupils or monks.

Of special interest were excavations of a small room next to the antechamber, to the south of its eastern part. Originally a communicating passage, an extension of the antechamber, it later became a cell. Before it was turned into a cell, it had three entrances: one — from the antechamber, another from the lecture-room (Kathikasala), and the third — from the aiwan-type structure fringing the building on the east. There was an altar at the western wall of the chamber — an attached niche with a shell-shaped back wall, in which a flame, eternal or kindled from time to time, burned. The back wall and the bottom of the niche were scorched and tempered and the hollow for the flame at the bot-

¹⁴ See below.

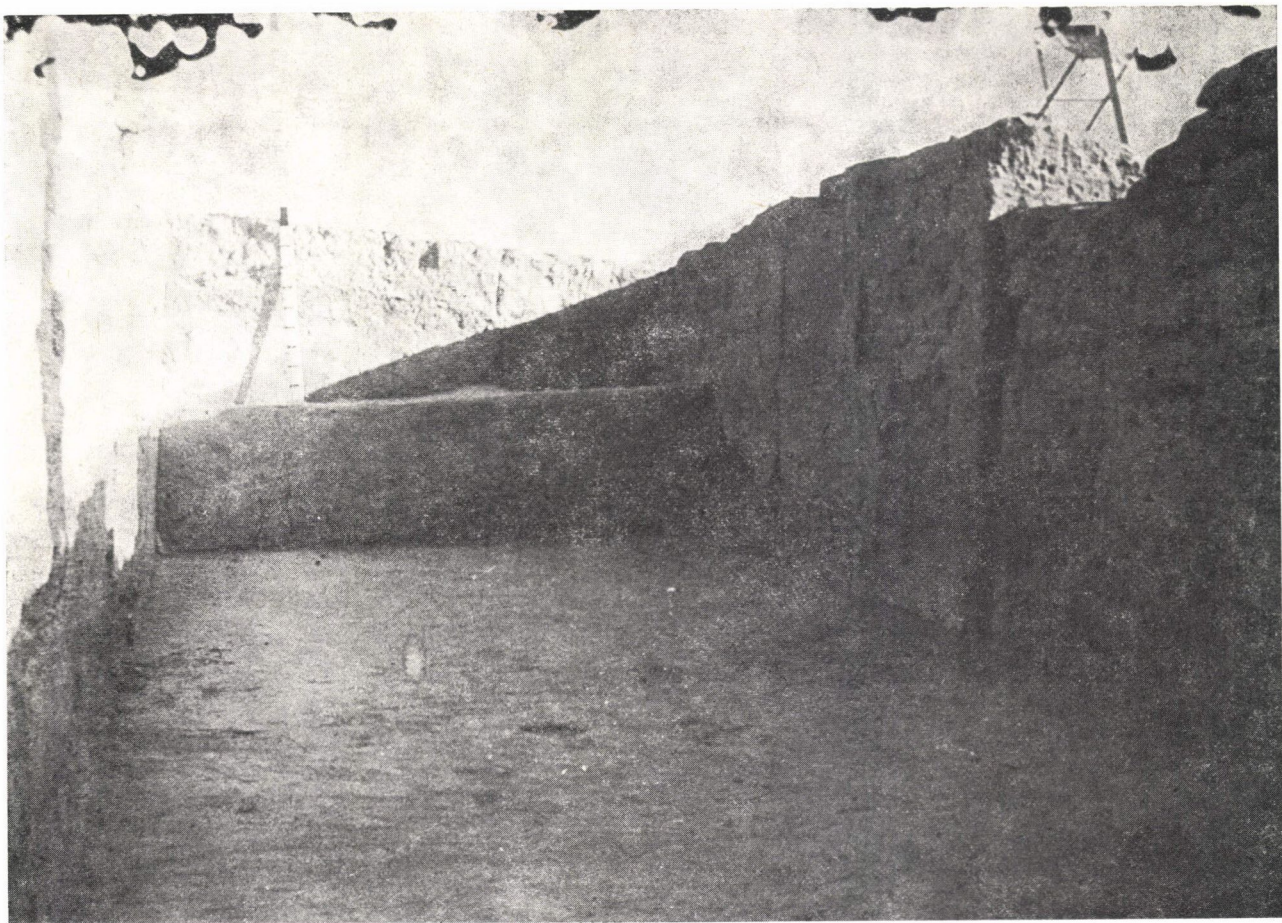


Fig. 8. The western chamber of the structure above P-II

tom filled to the brim with pure grey ash. The altar was used during a long period, for we have found traces of over 18 repairs and reconstructions (Fig. 9).

Subsequently the room with the altar was reconstructed: the entrance from the lecture-room was walled, a clay screen was put before the entrance from the antechamber, and, besides, against the western wall of the room, a sofa was built, in which fragments of the altar niche were immured. The altar-room was thus turned into an abode, more comfortable and rich than the cells next to the P-I and P-II temples, the A complex ground temple and to the B complex premises with the stupa. The status of the owner of the former altar-room was apparently much higher than that of the monks inhabiting the above-mentioned cells. He might have been a tutor or Buddhist preacher (probably *Buddhasira dharmakathika* we have already spoken about), who actually had the whole of six or seven-room building at his disposal.

Naturally the explanation given here of the purpose of the premises described, including the ground structure near the hilltop, is no more than a hypothesis, but it is based on the latest data, and, therefore, has the right to life.

The existence and functioning for a long period of a fire altar in a Buddhist structure is significant. The fire altar with its attached niche may definitely traced to the fire-places found in the Graeco-Bactrian town of Ai-Khanoum.¹⁵ However, it would be wrong to conclude that it was a warming device. First, unlike the fire-places in Ai-Khanoum which are rather common there and may even be found in neighbouring premises, the Kara tepe altar is the only one discovered on the site so far. Second, traces of frequent repairs testify to the fact that it was an object of special concern. And, third, what gives sufficient ground to speak of its ritual nature is its similarity to fire altars of the Kushan period found in Gyaur-Kala (Khorezm)¹⁶ and in Samarkand (excavations under A. I. Terenoshkin),¹⁷ as well as to altars of a later period — from Toprak Kala in Khorezm¹⁸ (3rd—4th centuries) and from Penjikent in Soghd¹⁹ (6th—8th centuries). It is probable that Bactria-Tokharistan of the Kushan period was the first region in Central Asia to use the Graeco-Bactrian-type fire-places²⁰ as

¹⁵ See Fouilles d' Ai Khanoum, I/MDAFA, t. XXI/P. 1973, 283, 284, CRAIBL — 1969, P., 1970, 318; CRAIBL — 1970, P., 1970, 307, CRAIBL — 1974, P., 1974, 284, CRAIBL — 1975, P., 1975, 172; Б. Я. Ставиский: Кушанская Бактрия: проблемы истории и культуры. Москва 1977. 153 and Fig. 21, a, b. and Fig. 95,2 on p. 206.

¹⁶ Ю. А. Рапопорт—С. А. Трудновская: Городище Гяур-кала. Труды Хорезмской археолого-этнографической экспедиции, т. II, М, 1958, 359—360.

¹⁷ See Л. И. Ремпель: Изображение «дома огня» на двух терракотовых плитках с Афрасиаба. Доклады АН Тадж. ССР, IX, Душанбе, 1953, 27—29.

¹⁸ С. П. Толстов: Работы Хорезмийской археолого-этнографической экспедиции АН СССР в 1949—1953 гг. Труды Хорезмской археолого-этнографической экспедиции т. II.,

¹⁹ See В. Л. Воронина: Архитектура Древнего Пенджикента. Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР. № 124. М.—Л. 1964, 67—72; А. М. Беленицкий: Монументальное искусство Пенджикента, Москва 1973, 14.

²⁰ It should be remembered, naturally, that domestic hearths in antiquity (in the Hellenic world, as well as in the East) were also connected with worshipping, of the fire as a home patron god, etc.

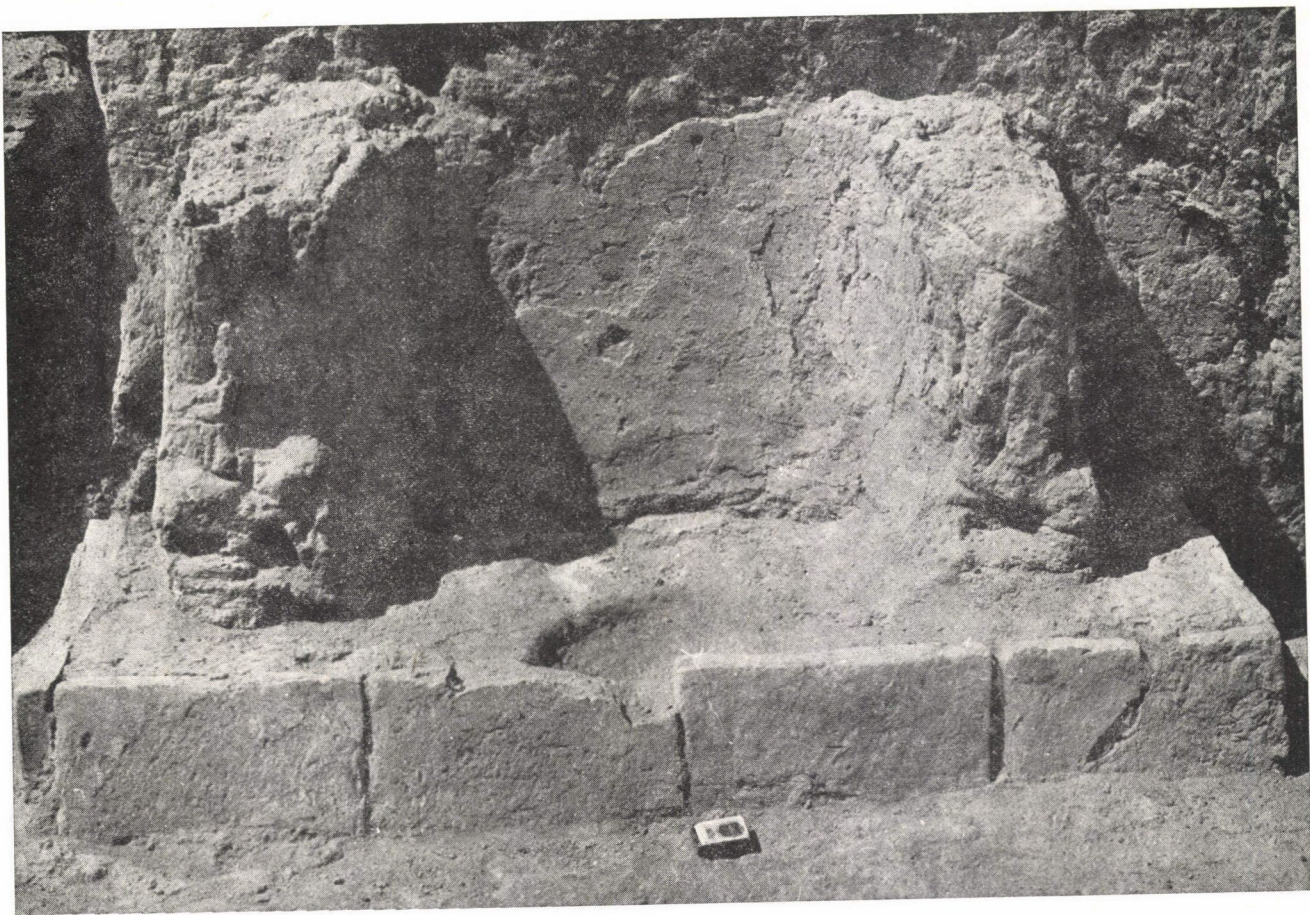


Fig. 9. The altar of the structure above P-II — a) at the earliest stage



Fig. 9. The altar of the structure above P-II — *b*) at the latest stage

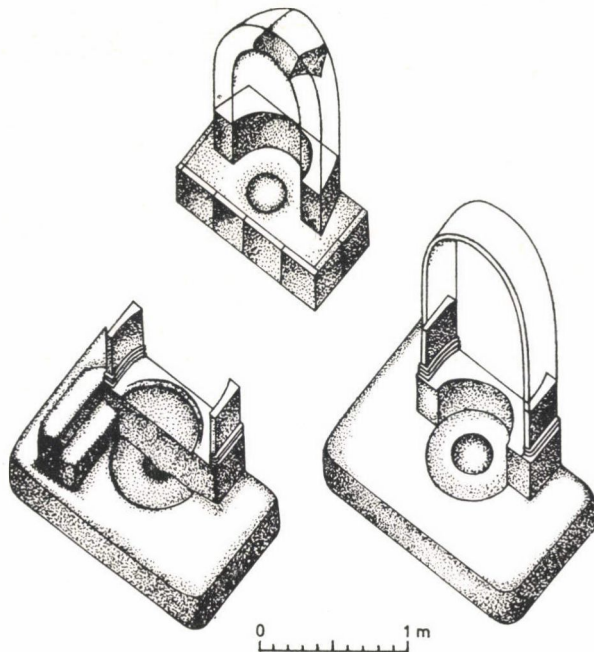


Fig. 9. The altar of the structure above P-II — c) at the three principal stages.
Reconstruction by I. Lunkova

altars. In that period, the borrowed Hellenic traditions were undergoing transformation under the impact of ethnic, historical and cultural factors. Altars of this kind were used by fire worshippers and in temples of the local Mazdean cults, and also in early Buddhist structures.

According to the data acquired in Toprak Kala and Penjikent, the tradition of building such altars to be used by local cults survived up to the period of Arab conquest. As to the Kara tepe fire altar, its fate may serve as evidence of the change in attitude of the Buddhist community (or, at least, the Buddhist community of the Kushan Termez) to fire worshipping as early as the 3rd—4th centuries. At first treated with respect (or tolerance) it was finally destroyed and on its ruins a sufa was made, somewhat demonstratively, we may presume, upon which sat or slept the high-placed occupant of the room.

The fact that the ground structure was placed above the Buddhist cave temple is peculiar and may be the object of special study.

C AND D COMPLEXES

The excavation of the C and D complexes on the northern slope of the southern hilltop of Kara tepe is far from completion. One of the caves of the C complex — P-III (now cave 3) was discovered in the course of exploratory dig-

ging in 1962, and the D complex cave — P-V — in 1964. But systematic excavations of the C complex have been going on since 1971, and of the D complex — since 1976.

The D complex is, evidently, similar in its composition and planning to the A and B complexes. The central part of its courtyard was also situated on a lower level and surrounded along its perimeter with aiwans. The wooden columns of the aiwans were placed on stone Attic-type bases. The southern aiwan, which has been completely excavated, adjoined, like the western aiwans of the A and B complexes, the vertically cut off slope of the sandstone hill and was similar to those aiwans: there were vaulted niches at its both ends with entrances to the P-V cave, and in the centre there was a big niche for a Buddhist statue. On the right of the western entrance to the cave there was the entrance to the cave cell of a monk attendant. The construction of the cell was not completed, however. Having hewn out the vaulted passage with steps leading down from the courtyard into the cell and part of the cell, the builders discontinued the work, most probably, from fear of a possible caving-in, for they had overestimated the height of the hill at this particular spot. The entrance was then walled with mud bricks, plastered with clay and painted with red paint. The central niche (as distinct from that of the B complex) had a hiding-place — a small cave behind the thin sandstone back wall of the niche.

The P-V cave (most probably a cave temple), like the P-I and P-II temples, had two entrances, and four vaulted corridors. Whether the corridors surrounded a sandstone-filled space or a cell as in the P-I and P-II temples is yet to be seen. It will be made clear by further excavations. There was a ground structure above the P-V cave, too. However, excavations have revealed only two rooms, the nature and purpose of which remains unknown.

The C complex, situated between the B and D complexes, differed substantially from the latter two (and to a lesser degree from the A complex). Only part of the courtyard has been undug as yet, and it is, therefore, too early to draw conclusions. But as far as one could judge, there were no aiwans in it, at least no trace of columns has been found in the southern part of the courtyard. And what is more, instead of a single cave temple with a cell and four corridors, the complex had four (or five) isolated caves. Three of them (1, 2 and 3) were long and narrow chambers with vaulted ceilings. Caves 1 and 3 ended in a niche (there was a small cell, evidently a hiding place, behind the niche in cave 1). Cave 2, judging by its situation, is similar in character but its excavation has not yet been completed. The planning of cave 4 is not yet clear so far. It had either an offshoot or (and this is more probable) it communicated with the cave corridor that led to the westernmost (the sixth) vaulted niche of the C complex courtyard. In the latter case cave 4 was h-shaped in plan (with a niche at the end of the eastern corridor, extending it to the south from its juncture with the southern corridor), its three sides (corridors) framing the fifth vaulted niche of

the courtyard, or vaulted aiwan (Fig. 25). Such aiwans were typical not so much for Central Asia, where aiwans with columns were more common, but for the Near East and Iran, particularly in the Parthian and Sasanian periods. There were six such niches in the C complex courtyard along its southern fringe.

The purpose of the C complex caves is not yet clear. However, their general structure and the fact that there were no sufas or any traces of hearths in them are all evidence that they were not dwelling premises. They were hardly used as storerooms or for any other household purposes. It is much more likely that the caves were places of worship and the niches in their walls held statues, reliquaries or Buddhist relics.

What we may definitely assert, however, is that the Kara tepe caves and complexes in their structure did not follow a strict pattern. Though identical in many respects, they differed in details.

TRACES OF RECONSTRUCTIONS, A BURIAL GROUND AND MORE RECENT LAYERS ON KARA TEPE

In the course of excavations, E. G. Pchelina and, later, our expedition came across traces of numerous reconstructions in all the four complexes described above. Not going into details, we may assert that these reconstructions (some of them mentioned earlier) which might have been explained by the need to make repairs or to prevent caving-in, and sometimes by reasons not clear to us, never brought about changes in the character and purpose of the Kara tepe complexes as a Buddhist religious centre. Note should be taken, though, of one instance of a reconstruction of a different order, that of the central niche in the western aiwan of the B complex.

This grand niche between the two entrances to the P-II cave temple, like the similar one in the southern aiwan of the D complex, most probably held a big Buddhist statue (as we pointed out earlier). However excavation of the niche first revealed a mud-brick wall, built over a layer of debris, pieces of mud brick and sand and screening it from the courtyard, and, then, when the niche itself was uncovered, a hearth circular in plan. It was built with mud bricks over clay and ganch plaster fallen from the arched upper part of the niche and not in the middle of it but closer to its left-hand (southern) corner. This was, evidently, a fire altar: the hearth was burned out inside and filled with fine whitish ash, which contained no pieces of coal, bones, or fragments of pottery always found in domestic ovens. Its position too shows that it was used for religious and not domestic purposes. We may well believe that after the B complex was destroyed or fallen to desolation a fire altar was built in the niche which had previously held a Buddhist statue. It was made hastily, out of materials that were at hand and symbolized the victory of some other cult (most likely Zoroastrian) over Buddhism. Who walled the niche with the fire altar and

why is not known. But whoever he might be he did not destroy this fragile symbol of fire worship, but rather protected it from destruction or desecration.

The period of desolation of the Kara tepe site is connected with the layer discovered directly over the floors of all ground and cave structures. The layer was not even. In the caves it was thinner than in the ground premises, and thicker at the entrances into the caves (50—60 cm. above the floor level) than inside (5—10 cm). Its maximum thickness exceeded 80 cm. The layer included dust, blown-in sand and debris — plaster fallen down from walls and ceilings and sometimes fragments of the upper part of sandstone or mudbrick walls or of the ceilings. Rains or rainy seasons left marks on the clay over the layer or inside it.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that numerous inscriptions and drawings scratched on the plastered walls of the caves and their entrance niches refer to the period of desolation. Some of these graffiti, in fact, may be dated by a much later period, the Moslem Middle Ages (most probably the 10th—12th centuries). However, the nature and linguistic peculiarities of the inscriptions make it possible to distinguish between those left by the Moslems and those made earlier, in the period immediately following the destruction or decline of the site.

Above the period of desolation layer E. G. Pchelina and our expedition discovered, more than once, human bones. A number of burials found gave us ground to believe that finds of single bones were also remains of burial grounds, rather than a result of some casualty.

The burials in the desolated caves and ground premises of Kara tepe sometimes contained ten or more corpses laid in rows and even several rows one above the other. It may be that the upper rows in some cases presented later burials, but it seems the greater part of the burials were simultaneous affairs, most probably connected (according to the special analysis of the bones made by paleopathologist Z. B. Altman)²¹ with some epidemics, and not with mass slaughter, as the legend explaining the sinister name of Kara tepe has it.

In the better preserved burial we also found pottery, remains of clothes, adornments and other things (bracelets, rings, ear-rings, a gold pendant, a brooch, an iron knife, mirrors, etc.). The objects that went into the burials were sometimes quite valuable. It should be noted that a coin or even two were often put into the hand of the deceased. What might be added is that the entrances into all the premises, where burials or their remains occurred, had been walled. In such cases we invariably discovered, above the period of desolation layer, the remains of unplastered crudely built walls laid out of mud bricks or their fragments. Sometimes stone blocks that had faced the stupa, or probably the terrace, were used for the purpose, and once even a capital of an ornamental pilaster.

²¹ З. Б. Альтман: Антропологические и палеопатологические исследования останков людей в пещерах Кара-тепе — Кара-тепе. III, Москва 1972, 104—110.

Apart from group burial grounds of the time immediately following the period of desolation (most probably the walls and ceiling were still intact then), excavations of some cells and chambers brought out, in the layers high above the floor level, single human skeletons or bones of the Moslem Middle Ages period. They are all in a poor state of preservation, therefore one could only guess whether these are burials or casualties.

In cases when it is possible to trace the stratification of the caves' filling, it becomes apparent that the layers with skeletons and bones of the 10th—12th centuries contain also pottery of the same period and coincide in time with the destruction of the walls and ceilings of the caves. It is through gaps formed after that the later visitors (up to A. S. Strelkov and G. V. Parfenov, for that matter) entered filled or half-filled caves.

MAJOR FINDS

The Kara tepe excavations brought out wall paintings, stone and stucco (ganch in local terminology) sculpture, terracottas and pottery, metalware and coins, inscriptions on pottery and graffiti on the wall of the caves and their entrance niches.

WALL PAINTING

In almost all of the Kara tepe cave or ground premises excavations uncovered traces of red or black paint on the walls, and, in a number of cases, traces of ornamental colour design: geometric or, rarely, flower patterns or panels (usually made with red paint) on white ganch plastering.

A representation of a human figure was first found here in 1937 by E. G. Pchelina who discovered (on the wall of the A complex ground temple, at the entrance into the cell) a fragment of wall painting showing two feet in a frontal position with toes turned outward and a border of a robe above them «coloured rhythmically with spots of white, light blue, blue, pink, red and brown».²² The painting has not survived, but, besides the description, we have a black-and-white photograph of it. Judging by the footwear (soft leather boots) and the border of a rich robe, we may presume that what E. G. Pchelina found was a fragment of a painting depicting a Kushan nobleman as a Buddhist donator.

This view was borne out in the course of our excavations in 1971—71. Fragments of multi-figure compositions were found in the southern aiwan of the B complex temple courtyard. One of them represented a group of donators, the other — the Buddha with monks. Like the wall painting discovered by E. G. Pchelina, these compositions adorned the wall space next to the entrance into a place of worship, in this case the chamber with the votive stupa.

The fragment of the first composition found on the wall west of the entrance showed the feet of seven donators: five men in soft leather boots laced

²² E. Г. Пчелина: Начало работ. . . , Кара-тепе. I. М. 1964. 89.

with straps and buckled at the side, and two women in long robes from under which only their toes showed (Fig. 10). The donators stood in a line, in some cases only slightly covering one another. Their feet are placed in a frontal position (as on the fragment found by E. G. Pchelina). In the same strictly frontal position are represented the feet and the robes of the women. Drawing on the analogies in representations of donators and other Kushan personages in sculpture²³ and in imperial Kushan coinage (the figure of a King before the altar)²⁴ we may assume that a rigid strictly frontal posture was typical for donators on the Kara tepe wall paintings. It should be noted that the heads of the donators (or at least of some of them) are shown in profile (as those of Kings on the Kushan coins). It may be concluded from a fragment of the painting that had evidently slid down from the wall and was found next to it. The head we see on the fragment is turned to the left. It is that of a man with bald head framed with grey hair, bearded and with moustache, and with an ear-ring. His face above the sharply outlined collar of his robe is calm and concentrated, his longish eyes turned upwards (Fig. 11).

The donator (and may be all the donators on this painting) was probably shown looking at the composition with the Buddha, which was placed on the same wall on the left (east) of the first painting and, evidently, on a higher level. A piece of plaster with a fragment of the composition depicting the Buddha and monks was found face down on a layer of the debris which had accumulated on the floor of the aiwan to the east of the entrance. The painting was cleared and fixed on the spot and transported to Moscow to the WCNILKR, where its restoration was completed and the painting was prepared for an exposition in the State Hermitage Museum.

The restored fragment (Figs. 12a—b) reveals figures of the Buddha sitting under a tree with rich foliage (on the right) and three monks standing each under a tree (on the left). It is highly probable that it is only a part of the scene which might have included three other monks placed symmetrically on the Buddha's right. The scene is identical with the Miran painting (Eastern Turkistan)²⁵ but is executed in a style closer to the Indian manner. It is peculiar that in the Kara tepe wall painting the Buddha has not merely a nimbus but a halo around the body, which is probably to be traced not to the Indian, but to the local, Bactrian, artistic tradition (see further).

²³ See, e.g. J. ROSENFELD: *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Berkeley 1967. Figs 20, 21, 28—39, 98, 98a, 104, 108, 109, 112.

²⁴ See., e.g. J. ROSENFELD: *The Dynastic Arts*. Pl. II, 19—27, 29—38; Pl. III, 50—60; Pl. IV, 61, 63, 65—66; Pl. V, 84—91, 93—97, 99—102; Pl. VI, 103—123; Pl. VII, 124—135, 143, Pl. VIII, 155—156, 158—159, 163—164; Pl. IX, 167—181, 185, 187; Pl. X, 188—196, 199, 203, 205—208; Pl. XI, 209—229; Pl. XII, 230—246 (images of gods and rulers).

²⁵ M. BUSSAGLI: *Le peinture de l'Asie Centrale*. Genève 1963. 23; B. ROWLAND: *The Art of Central Asia*. N. Y., 1974. 33.

The head of the Buddha is depicted in front view (as distinct from that of the donator mentioned above), and the heads of the monks turned slightly towards him. The trees are stylized. In their foliage, above the monks, flowers and ovaries may be discerned, and above the Buddha — circles, evidently ripe fruit.

The background of the wall paintings in the southern aiwan of the B complex courtyard was blue, the faces of the personages — flesh-coloured, the hair of the Buddha — black, his nimbus and the halo — white, the robes — multi-coloured. The trees with black foliage and golden trunks were dotted with red and white ovaries and fruit.

All the wall paintings discovered in the course of excavations on Kara tepe were made on stucco (alabaster) priming laid over clay plaster which covered sandstone and mud-brick walls of the premises. This technique is known to be used in the most ancient wall painting found in Central Asia, in Pessedjik-tepe (Southern Turkmenistan) dated by the 5th millennium B.C.²⁶ The Kara tepe wall paintings with their elaborate technique are a product of a long history of the development of painting, which by then already had ancient traditions.

Undoubtedly, what we have here are not the first steps of the local, Bactrian school of painting but mature works of art.

SCULPTURE

Judging by the abundance of fragments among the finds, stone and stucco (alabaster) sculpture was common at Kara tepe. A hand of a stucco statue of the Buddha or a Bodhisattva and other fragments derived from the temple courtyard of the A complex gives us ground to believe that big Buddhist statues were placed in the grand niches of the aiwans, and, probably, in the cells. The fragments of stucco relief with floral design found near the central niche in the D complex courtyard gives us good evidence that carved stucco was an element of the decoration at Kara tepe.

But stone sculpture prevails among the finds of this kind. Among them are column bases, blocks from the facing of the big and the votive stupas and also two stone capitals of pilasters reminding those of the Buddhist «platform of statues» near Surkh Khotal²⁷ as well as the pilasters adorning the terraces of the Kanishka temple.²⁸ The latter conclusion is prompted by the finds of a lower part of a pilaster and a fragment of its base.²⁹ The capitals and fragment of the

²⁶ See Л. А. Лелеков: Монументальная живопись Передней Азии VI—I тыс. до н. э. Художественное наследие. Хранение. Исследование. Реставрация. № 3, Москва 1977, 84, 93, 96.

²⁷ See., e.g. D. SCHLUMBERGER: The Excavations at Surkh Kotal and the Problem of Hellenism in Bactria and India. Proceedings of the British Academy XLVII. 1962. Pl. XXII. a, XXIV. a, b.

²⁸ D. SCHLUMBERGER: The Excavations at Surkh Kotal. Pl. XVIII, b.

²⁹ See Кара-тепе. II. М. 1969, 159 and Pl. 37, a, 6.

pilaster were not found *in situ*, therefore their original disposition is still to seek. Most likely they were part of the lateral facing of the terrace upon which courtyards, caves and other structures of the southern hilltop were situated.

One of the capitals (Fig. 14) was discovered in 1964 in the brickwork walling the entrance to the cave sell of the P-II temple, the other (Fig. 15) — in 1976 in the filling of the D complex courtyard. Both belonged to one type, with two belts of carved design. The lower belt represented a composite (*i.e.*, Corinthianized) capital with volutes and a human half-figure against the background of acanthus leaves: on the first capital — a man in front view with a trefoil in his right hand, on the second — a girl in profil supporting a flower garland. On the upper belt three animals are depicted, two lying zebu-bulls, their heads turned outwards flanking a beast of prey — a tiger or lion on the first capital, and a fantastic horned and winged griffon on the second.

Some of the fragments of stone reliefs brought out in the course of the Kara tepe excavations might have been those of similar capitals. But the greater part of the fragments are to be connected rather with the reliefs decorating the stupas, the bases of Buddhist statues and daises where statues were placed (*e.g.* the wooden platform in the P-II cave temple cell), etc.³⁰

As revealed by finds on Kara tepe and other sites in Middle and Central Asia (Dalverzin tepe in Southern Uzbekistan,³¹ monuments of Eastern Turkistan³² etc.³³, the technique of preparation of alabaster sculptures was elaborate enough. Clay pig, evidently on a wooden carcass was wound round with cloth and covered with alabaster, which was then modelled or moulded and painted. The cloth, the imprints of which are easily discernible on the inner surface of a number of fragments³⁴ formed a conjunctive tissue, so to say, between clay and alabaster that combines badly with each other. Inside fingers and toes of the alabaster statues traces may be seen left by wooden sticks. Details (rosettes and small balls adorning the garments, etc.) were modelled or moulded separately and then fixed.

Stone sculpture of Kara tepe, as well as stone architectural details (column bases, capitals, fragments of the facing, etc.) are made of white lime-stone, the deposits of which are to be found on the right bank of the Amu-Darya,

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 159—173.

³¹ Г. А. Пугаченкова: Кушанская скульптура из Дальверзин-тепе. Искусство (Magazine) 1970. No. 2, 62; the same author. Les trésors de Dalverzine-tepe. Leningrad 1978. Figs 15—31.

³² С. М. Дудин: Техника стенописи и скульптуры в древнихбуддийских пещерах и храмах Западного Китая. Сборник Музея антропологии и этнографии т. V, вып. I, Petrograd 1918; А. STEIN: Serindia. Vol. IV, Oxford 1921, Pl. XLIX, CXXXIX—CXXXIX; The same author: Innermost Asia. Vol. III, Oxford 1928. Pl. IV, VIII, IX, XII, XIX, XX, LIII, LIV, LXXII.

³³ See Б. Я. Ставиский: Основные итоги раскопок Кара-тепе в 1961—1962 гг. Кара-тепе, I, М., 1964, 22—25.

³⁴ See Кара-тепе. I. Pl. 25.

particularly on the Hodja Gulsuar mountain (to the northeast of Termez) where a gold coin of Kanishka³⁵ was found in 1904 in ancient pits. Special petrographic analysis of lime-stone samples has shown that the lime-stone used for the Kara tepe sculpture and architectural details most likely came from the Hodja Gulsuar mines.³⁶

The alabaster and stone sculpture was brightly painted and, sometimes, in many colours. The finds of Kara tepe revealed traces of gilt laid over red ground and red, blue and green paint against white background.

Mention should be made of white lime-stone chatras (umbrellas) adorning the pole over the grand stupa in the A complex northern courtyard and the votive stupa in the sanctuary between the A and B complexes temple courtyards. The chatras were painted red and blue and gilded.

Another Buddhist attribute, along with the wall painting, sculpture and chatras, were undoubtedly the discs (probably the lids of reliquaries) decorated with lotus flower reliefs. The discs (Fig. 15) were either made of stone or of baked clay.

The sculpture also included terracottas: a Buddhist figurine, a relief depicting the local Bactrian mother-goddess, and other personages or figures of animals (for instance zebu-bulls reminding those on the stone capitals).

CERAMICS

The layer that yielded the greater part of ceramics, usually the most numerous among archaeological finds, was that with the burials, in which more than 40 vessels, whole or fitted together from fragments have been discovered. Typical pieces of glazed or painted pottery found in fragments refer to the 10th—12th or later centuries. Finds that may be dated by the time when the Kara tepe Buddhist centre was functioning, are scant: oil lamps, several vessels, which would be restored, and relatively few disconnected fragments. It may, evidently, be explained by the nature of the monument: ceramics is seldom found in religious or dwelling premises which were looked after, swept and otherwise cleared out.

Among the ceramic objects discovered on the floors of the caves and ground premises of the Kara tepe Buddhist complexes oil lamps prevailed. These were simple saucers with a small dent closer to the rim for a fuse (Fig. 16).

³⁵ М. Е. Массон: Монетные находки, зарегистрированные в Средней Азии за время с 1917 по 1927 г. Известия Средазкомстариса, вып. II. Ташкент 1928, 286.

³⁶ The material was usually referred to in literature as marl lime-stone, according to the definition given by the geologist N. L. NIKOLAYEV who inspected the famous Airtam stone relief representing three musicians (see М. Е. Массон: Находка фрагмента скульптурного карниза первых веков н. э. Материалы Узкомстариса, вып. I. Ташкент 1933. 16). The erroneous nature of this conclusion was revealed by E. N. АГАЙЕВА, member of our expedition, in 1977.

Some of the decorative clay pottery may, with an adequate degree of accuracy, also be referred to that early period: vessels with stuck-on moulded representations of a human head, bowls with lion heads or jugs with handles shaped like birds or animals (*e.g.* monkey, Fig. 17). The vessels were made of yellow or grey clay, over which red, brownish-crimson or grey slip was laid. The polish either covered the entire surface of the vessel or formed arches stripes or rhombic network. Some vessels were decorated with stamped pattern placed at intervals. Stamps common at the time bore representations of a man standing upright, smaller ones with the so-called «Foot of the Buddha» and also circles, rosettes, herringbone, etc. At the bottom part of the vessels trickles of slip are sometimes to be seen.

Ceramics from the burials (Fig. 18) followed the traditions of the preceding period. Red or crimson slip bowls (*tagora*), one or two handle jugs, basins and saucers were adorned with polished waves, arches and rhombs or stamped continuous small flower pattern. Irregular flows of slip were, evidently, also used as a decorative element. Vessels with long curved spouts («tea-pots») may belong to a new type of pottery.

The data, based on the study of the Kara tepe ceramics and its comparison with the pottery from other sites of Northern Bactria made by N. S. Sycheva, member of our expedition, gives sufficient ground to believe that Termez of the Kushan and post-Kushan periods had its own, local, centre of ceramic production.³⁷

COINS

The Kara tepe excavations, since the time they started, have brought out 65 coins (one coin — in 1936 by V. N. Kesayev, when he was uncovering the manhole into cave 2, five coins — in 1937 by E. G. Pchelina, and the rest, 59, — in 1961—1977 by our expedition). Thirty-five of them has been defined. Chronologically they may be divided into two distinct groups. The first one, connected with the Buddhist complexes, consists of Kushan coins, the second derived from the layers with the burials, includes Kushano-Sasanian, post-Kushan (Chionite?) and early Hephthalite coinage. All of them are copper, except one early Hephthalite coin which is made of silver.

Of the 15 Kushan coins, 13 have been defined with greater chronological accuracy:³⁸ 1 — as belonging to the coinage of Vima Kadphises (the definition is conditional for the image on the coin is almost effaced); 3 — to that of Kanishka; 3 — of Huvishka, 5 — of Vasudeva, and 1 — an imitation of the coinage of Vasudeva. It should be noted that two of the coins of Huvishka have

³⁷ See H. C. Сычева: Керамика Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе IV. М. 1975. 88 — 148.

³⁸ Definitions given by M. E. MASSON (1937 finds), E. V. ZEIMAL (1961—71 finds) and B. I. VAINBERG (1972—77 finds).

been found inside a mud brick, and one coin of Vasudeva in a crack in a limestone pilaster base, which is important for dating reconstructions of the Kara tepe complexes.

Of the 20 coins of the second group 1 was defined as belonging to the coinage of the Sasanian Kushanshah Hormizd I, 4 — to the coinage of Varahran I (one of them suppositionally); 4 — to the coinage of Varahran II (three of them suppositionally); 5 — as Kushano-Sasanian coins (a more accurate dating could not be gained);³⁹ 5 coins (Fig. 19), with the bust of an unidentified ruler on the avers and tribal mark (tamga) on the reverse,⁴⁰ might be minted by a local, post-Kushan (probably Chionite) ruler, and 1 coin (Fig. 20), early Hephthalite, referred to the 6th century A.D.⁴¹ Most of the Kushano-Sasanian coins (11 out of 14) have been derived from the layer with the burials in the central chamber of the P-I temple in the A complex, while the Chionite (?) coins come from the same layer in the P-II temple of the B complex and in a hiding-place in the D complex. It may be that the coin of Varahran II (?) found in the ground cleared out of the B complex is also connected with the burials in the P-II temple, and the Kushano-Sasanian coin, discovered in the rubble in the A complex courtyard southern aiwan, — with the burials in the P-I temple. The early Hephthalite coin found in cave 3 of the C complex, along with another two small coins (Kushano-Sasanian or Chionite?). Whether it comes from the burials of the 6th century or was brought here by some later visitor is still to be cleared.

INSCRIPTIONS

Among the major finds that immediately attracted the attention of scholars to the Kara tepe site were undoubtedly the inscriptions of the Kushan and post-Kushan periods. The former, made in black or Indian ink, are to be found on pottery, and the latter were scratched on cave walls and entrance niches, probably upon the decline of the Buddhist complexes but before the premises were used as burial grounds. The graffiti left by Moslems visiting the place in the 10th—12th centuries form a group of their own. They have been studied by S. B. Pevzner, specialist in Arabic languages.⁴²

Of the inscriptions on pottery we are in possession of only two complete texts — one on a jug that was preserved almost intact, and the other on the fragments of a vessel.⁴³ The rest have been found in fragments.

³⁹ Defined by V. G. LUKONIN and E. V. ZEIMAL.

⁴⁰ Defined by B. I. VAINBERG and E. V. ZEIMAL.

⁴¹ Defined by B. I. VAINBERG.

⁴² See С. Б. Певзнер: Арабские надписи — граффити из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. II. Москва 1975. 82—87.

⁴³ See Кара-тепе. IV. Москва 1975. Fig. 11—13, and Кара-тепе. III. М. 1972. Pl. XXIII.

The Kara tepe inscriptions have been studied by the Soviet Indologists T. V. Grek and V. V. Vertogradova and the specialist in Iranian languages V. A. Livshits — and also by Prof. J. Harmatta from Hungary and Prof. H. Humbach from West Germany.⁴⁴

Most of the inscriptions were written in Indian Kharoshthī and Brāhmī, some in the Kushan script (the language of such inscriptions is commonly known as Bactrian). There were also bilingual texts in Brāhmī and Kushan scripts. Three fragments revealed an «unknown script» which G. Fussman conventionally called «Kambodian».⁴⁵ In the opinion of V. A. Livshits it might be the script of the Sacas.⁴⁶

Considerable part of the Kara tepe inscriptions on pottery was made by or in the name of donators.⁴⁷ In the bilingual (Brāhmī and Kushan scripts) inscription collected from fragments and on a number of fragments the donator mentioned is «Buddhasira dharmakathika» («the Buddha preaching a good deed» or «creed» in the Bactrian variant).⁴⁸ «Saṅghapala»⁴⁹ of the Kharoshthī inscription found in fragments might be the name of another donator. Some inscriptions are of didactic nature.⁵⁰ Peculiar is the mention in a number of inscriptions of the Mahasaṅghika Buddhist school.⁵¹

The Kara tepe graffiti of the post-Kushan period were discovered at the entrance to the P-II temple — its corridors (southern, eastern and northern) and its northern entrance niche in the B complex courtyard. These inscriptions have been published and discussed in a number of articles.⁵² The bilingual brief

⁴⁴ See Кара-тепе. I. Москва 1964. 62—81; Кара-тепе. II. М. 1969. 32—39, 47—76; Кара-тепе. III. М. 1972. 114—117, 118—121, 122—123; Кара-тепе. IV. Москва 1975. 47—52, 62—69, 70—81. See also J. НАРМАТТА: The Bactrian Inscriptions at Kara Tepe. — Central Asia in the Kushan Period. Vol. I. Moscow 1974. 328.

⁴⁵ See G. FUSSMAN: Documents epigraphiques Kouchans. BEFEO t. LXI, 1974. 22—34; G. FUSSMAN—M. LE BERRE: Monuments bouddhiques de la Région de Kaboul. MDFA, t. XXII, P., 1976. 94.

⁴⁶ В. А. Лившиц: Надписи из Дильберджина. Древняя Бактрия (ed. I. Т. КРУГЛИКОВА) Москва 1976. 165—166, note 14.

⁴⁷ The donatory nature of the inscriptions on pottery was first pointed out to by J. НАРМАТТА, who also offered the most complete interpretation: «To the (Buddhist) community of the four cardinal points (with the consent of the monks (or tutors) Ma[ha]-saṅghika (monk's gift) from Saṅghapala». See Я. Харматта: К интерпретации надписей на керамике из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. II. М. 1969. 34—35.

⁴⁸ See Т. В. Грек—В. А. Лившиц: Двухязычная надпись из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. III. Москва 1972. 118—120; Т. В. Грек: Новые индийские надписи из раскопок Кара-тепе. *Ibid.* 114—116. Cf. Я. Харматта: К интерпретации надписей на керамике из Кара-тепе. 37—39. For arguments against the interpretation of the inscription as a bilingual see X. Хумбах: К находкам бактрийских надписей на Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. IV. Москва 1975. 62—69.

⁴⁹ Я. Харматта: К интерпретации надписей . . ., 34—35.

⁵⁰ В. В. Вертоградова: Об одной индийской надписи на сосуде из Кара-тепе. *Кара-тепе*. IV. Москва 1975. 70—81.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 81; Я. Харматта: К интерпретации надписей. . ., 34.

⁵² В. Г. Луконин: Среднеперсидские надписи на Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. II. Москва 1969. 40—46; В. А. Лившиц: К открытию бактрийских надписей на Кара-тепе. *Ibid.* 47—81 (particularly 50—52, 76—81); J. НАРМАТТА: The Bactrian Wall Inscriptions from Kara Tepe. *Ibid.*, 82—125; the same author: The Bactrian Inscriptions at Kara

inscription scratched on the cornice of the vaulted entrance niche of cave 3 in the C complex⁵³ has also been published. The graffiti in Kharoshthī and Kushan scripts found in 1977 in the entrance part of the P-V cave of the D complex are being prepared for publication.

As distinct from the inscriptions on pottery, the Indian graffiti are not numerous: 3 in Kharoshthī and 2 in Brāhmī. According to T. V. Grek, in the inscriptions in Brāhmī mention is made of «Maheśvara» and «dharma».⁵⁴ The nature of the Kharoshthī inscription is not yet clear.

Two inscriptions in Middle Persian,⁵⁵ a bilingual inscription (in Kushan and Middle Persian scripts)⁵⁶ and over a dozen inscriptions in Kushan script⁵⁷ (Fig. 21a—b) consist, primarily, of the names of visitors and, in some cases the dates of their visits. J. Harmatta believes that among the names scratched on the walls of the P-II temple there also were those of the Sasanian Kushan-shahs.⁵⁸ V. A. Livshits, however, disagrees with him.⁵⁹ Deciphering of some of the dates has been disputed. It seems that some of the dates may be accepted, such as those given in a Middle Persian inscription — 60 or 61,⁶⁰ and in two Kushan inscriptions from the P-II temple — 97⁶¹ and 35.⁶²

To conclude, I would like to note that there is no unanimous opinion as to the reading and interpretation of the Kara tepe graffiti which are fragmentary and often effaced, and that therefore one should display maximum caution for conclusion from the data acquired by their analysis.

Төре. Central Asia in the Kushan Period, V. I, Москва 1974. 328—333. Т. В. Грек: Новые индийские надписи из раскопок Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. III, М. 1972. 117; X. Хумбах: Кара-тепе—Тоχι—Сурх—Котал. *Ibid.*, 122—128; H. Хумбаш: Кара Төре—Тоχι—Сурх Котал. *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*. 28 (1970) 43—50; В. А. Лившиц: К интерпретации бактрийских надписей из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. IV. М 1975. 47—60; В. Н. Мукнерjee: The Epigraphic Evidence from Kara Tepe and the So-called Old Saka Era. East and West 21 (1971) 69—73.

⁵³ See Кара-тепе. IV. Москва 1975. 8 and Pl. 10.

⁵⁴ Т. В. Грек: Новые индийские надписи. 117.

⁵⁵ В. Г. Луковин: Среднеперсидские надписи. 40—46.

⁵⁶ See note 53.

⁵⁷ Here according to V. A. LIVSHITS (see V. A. Лившиц: К интерпретации бактрийских надписей, 53—60), who believes there were 11 inscriptions in the P-II temple. Probably, there were more.

⁵⁸ J. HARMATTA: The Bactrian Wall-Inscriptions (Nos. 17, 26, 49, 50, 52, 61), 94—95, 100, 111—112, 114—115, 122—124; the same author: The Bactrian Inscriptions. 329, 332—333.

⁵⁹ В. А. Лившиц: К интерпретации бактрийских надписей. 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60.

⁶⁰ В. Г. Луковин: Среднеперсидские надписи. 41—46.

⁶¹ J. HARMATTA: The Bactrian Wall-Inscriptions (No. 20), 95—97 X, Хумбах: Кара-тепе — Тоχι—Сурх—Котал, 128; В. Лившиц: К интерпретации бактрийских надписей, 57. J. HARMATTA and V. A. LIVSHITS hold that number 3 might have preceded the date which is then to be read as 397.

⁶² J. HARMATTA: The Bactrian Wall-Inscriptions (No. 35), 104—108; X. Хумбах: Кара-тепе — Тоχι—Сурх—Котал, 128; В. А. Лившиц: К интерпретации бактрийских надписей. . ., 59. J. HARMATTA believes that in this case the first number was omitted and the inscription is to be dated by 435. H. Хумбаш and V. A. LIVSHITS disagree with him on this point.

GENERAL HISTORICAL SURVEY

Scholars who were the first to get interested in Kara tepe dated its caves by the pre-Moslem period. The excavations of 1937 allowed E. G. Pchelina to make more accurate dating by referring the Kara tepe Buddhist monuments to the time of the Kushans. The 1961—77 excavations confirmed Pchelina's conclusions. The fact that the Kara tepe Buddhist religious centre emerged and functioned in Kushan times is evidenced by the finds made by our expedition — Kushan coins, ceramics, inscriptions on pottery, and objects d'art. Details of the Kara tepe history, however, are not to be easily ascertained.

The emergence of the centre is most probably to be connected with the reign of the famous Kushan emperor Kanishka. The only pre-Kanishka coin found in 1961, that of Vima Kadphises (thus defined by its dimensions and weight for the images were effaced)⁶³ is not enough to disprove this hypothesis, while there are already three coins of Kanishka among the finds. The early ceramics of Kara tepe draws analogies in the pottery connected with the heyday of the Kushan Empire, and not with the period of its foundation. The Kushan script, based on the Greek alphabet, according to numismatic data, was created at the time of Kanishka, therefore even the earliest inscription in Kushan script found cannot be referred to a pre-Kanishka period. Inscriptions analogous to the Indian inscriptions on Kara tepe pottery do not refer (as far as I can judge) to an earlier period either. According to Buddhist traditions Kanishka encouraged the spread of Buddhism and Buddhist communities beyond the borders of the Indian sub-continent. Thus the conjecture as to the emergence of a Buddhist religious centre on the outskirts of a big city of Kushan Bactria—Termez — at the time of Kanishka is borne out both by archaeological data and the Buddhist tradition.

On the evidence of the finds — three coins of Huvishka and four coins of Vasudeva (one of them, as has already been mentioned, discovered in a crack in the base of a pilaster which was found *in situ*, puttied into a wall so that only one of its lower edges jutted out) — and also the palaeography of the cursive and half-cursive inscriptions in the Kushan script and the Kharoshthī and Brāhmī inscriptions of pottery, we may well believe that the Buddhist religious centre existed on Kara tepe all through the period of heyday of the Kushan Empire, which covered also the reign of Kanishka's successors. It tallies fully with the data on the cultural development of the Kushan Empire. According to the general point of view, Huvishka continued his famous predecessor's policy of religious tolerance. It is with his name, for instance, that the Buddhist vihāra

⁶³ See. E. В. Зеймаль—В. Г. Луконин: Монеты из раскопок Кара-тепе 1961—1971 г. Кара-тепе. II. 1972. 101 (№. I).

in Jamalpur is connected. Judging by the inscriptions it existed in Vasudeva's time too, at least as far as year 77 of the «Kanishka era.»⁶⁴

It is not so easy, however, to determine the cause and the time of the desolation of the Buddhist complexes. The data collected so far are insufficient for drawing any definite conclusions as to whether it was destroyed by enemies or just forsaken in good time by its inhabitants. One might be tempted to explain the destruction or desolation of Kara tepe by the conquest of Termez by the Sasanian army. Of the appearance here of Sasanian troops we have good evidence now that Middle Persian graffiti have been discovered in the P-II temple. Especially since one of them was interpreted as a text written by a *dibir*, i.e., scribe or secretary at the chancellery of the Sasanian ruler or military leader.⁶⁵ It is not unreasonable to suppose that the mud-brick fire altar built in the central (grand) niche in the aiwan of the B complex western courtyard is connected with the presence of Sasanian soldiers here. For the fact that the region of Termez was under Sasanian rule we also have evidence in Kushano-Sasanian coins from the layer of burials. Nevertheless it would still be an oversimplification to state that the desolation of the complexes was the result of an invasion or an exodus in anticipation of an invasion. Archaeological data rather prompts the conclusion that the fire altar and the Middle Persian inscriptions appeared on the grounds *after* the B complex and its P-II temple were abandoned. However, how much time elapsed from the moment the B complex was destroyed or abandoned till Sasanian troops appeared here — a few days or a number of years — is unknown.

It seems that the time of the desolation of the Kara tepe Buddhist complexes might be determined by the dates given in the graffiti. But, unfortunately, in this case, too, it remains a matter for conjecture.

According to H. Humbach, the dates given in the graffiti inscriptions in the Kushan script — 35 and 97 — might be the years of the Kushano-Sasanian era of the famous inscriptions from the Tochi Valley (the beginning of the era refers to 232 A.D.). If so, the dates of the P-II temple inscriptions may be deciphered as 267/268 and 329/330 A.D.⁶⁶ If, however, we adopt the interpretation given by J. Harmatta, the dates 97 and 35 are to be read as 397 and 435 of the so-called Old Saka era which started in 67 B.C. and should, therefore, correspond to 330 and 368 A.D.⁶⁷ Besides, we cannot be certain that the era of the Kara tepe inscriptions in the Kushan script is the same as that of the Tochi inscriptions or of the post-Kushan inscriptions of the territory of Ancient

⁶⁴ For inscriptions from the Vihāra of Huvishka see L. LÜDERS: *Mathura Inscriptions*. Göttingen 1961. §§ 29—63, 57—105.

⁶⁵ See В. Г. Луконин: *Среднеперидские надписи*. 41, 43—44.

⁶⁶ X. Хумбах: *Кара-тепе — Тохи — Сурх — Котал*. 128.

⁶⁷ J. HARMATTA: *The Bactrian Wall-Inscriptions*. 95—97, 104—108, 122—125.

India. All this makes it impossible to determine the dates of inscriptions in Kushan script with sufficient accuracy.

Different interpretations are also given of the date 60 or 61 in the Middle Persian inscription. The late W. B. Henning thought it to be a date of the «royal Sasanian era» which corresponded to 264/265 A.D.,⁶⁸ while V. G. Lukonin believes that it is the 61st year of the reign of Shapur II, *i.e.*, 369/370 A.D.⁶⁹ In the first instance the date of the Middle Persian inscription is close to those of the inscriptions in the Kushan script offered by H. Humbach, in the second — to the dates given by J. Harmatta. This alone shows that coincidences of this order might be fortuitous.

We hope that new discoveries will throw light on this problem and help to establish the era of the inscriptions and, consequently, the exact year in which they were made.

Until then the inscriptions help us in answering one question only, that of how long the period of the B complex desolation lasted, the period in the course of which visitors scratched their names on the walls of this complex.

Since the Kara tepe graffiti in Kushan script definitely belong to a single era we may assert that the interval in time between the two inscriptions known to us is either 62 years (if we accept H. Humbach's interpretation of the dates 35 and 97 as belonging to one century) or 38 (if we agree with J. Harmatta who reads them as 397 and 435). Correspondingly we may conclude that the period of desolation of the B complex and, most likely, of the Kara tepe Buddhist centre as a whole, covered not less than 62 or at least 38 years.

It will be remembered that at the end of this period the abandoned premises were used for mass burials. The date of the burials found in P-I temple may be established on the basis of the copper coins of the Kushano-Sasanian rulers Hormizd I, Varahran I and Varahran II that occurred in them.

The dating of the Kushano-Sasanian coins generally fluctuates within the limits of over 100 years, though three new approaches to the problem have been offered lately to replace the outdated system of E. Herzfeld.⁷⁰ A. D. H. Bivar refers their coinage to the period ranging from the middle of the 3rd century to the late 4th century,⁷¹ R. Göbl — to 371 — 400,⁷² and V. G. Lukonin — to the 60s of the 4th century — the 30s of the 5th century.⁷³ The divergence

⁶⁸ See Kara-tepe. II. 46, note 24.

⁶⁹ В. Г. Луконин: Среднеперсидские надписи, 41, 44, 46.

⁷⁰ E. HERZFELD: Kushano-Sasanian Coins. Memoires of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 38. Calcutta 1930.

⁷¹ A. D. BIVAR: The Kushano-Sasanian Coins Series. Journal of the Numismatic Society of India 18 (1956) Pl. I. Cf. Central Asia ed. by C. Hambly, L. 1970. 51—52.

⁷² R. GÖBL: Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Bactrien und Indien. Wiesbaden 1967. Bd. I. Ss. 24—25; Bd. II. Ss. 47—48.

⁷³ В. Г. Луконин: Кушано-сасанидские монеты. Эпиграфика Востока 18 (1967) 16—33; the same author: Завоевания Сасанидов на востоке и проблема Кушанской абсолютной хронологии. Вестник древней истории 1971, № 3, 39—44; the same author: Культура сасанидского Ирана, Москва. 124—151.

is the least, however, in relation to the dating of the Varahran I reign. According to Lukonin this Kushanshah ruled from 384 to 388, and A. D. H. Bivar places his reign 25–30 years earlier. If we believe Lukonin, Kushanshah Hormizd I was the predecessor of Varahran I and ruled from 381 to 384. Bivar, however, refers the rule of Hormizd I to 277–286. It may be noticed, however, that the coin of Hormizd I was found at Kara tepe (in the layer of burials in the central part of the P-I temple) together (in one complex) with the coins of Varahran I and Varahran II, which speaks against the dating of this Kushanshah's rule to such an early period. Varahran II ruled, according to Bivar, around the year 360, and according to Lukonin from 389 even up to 440. B. I. Vainberg, however, who agrees in principle with the chronology given by Lukonin convincingly proved that Lukonin's dating of the Varahran II coins is disputable. In her opinion, the coins were minted either by Varahran I or his predecessors. «At any rate,» she concluded, «we have no sufficient ground to believe that the Kushano-Sasanian coins were minted after 389.»⁷⁴ This conclusion seems reasonable enough. In any case the coins of Hormizd I, Varahran I and Varahran II form a chronologically compact group and may be referred to the 50s–60s or 80s of the 4th century. The burials in the P-I temple of the A complex are dated accordingly.

The post-Kushan coins with the half figure of a ruler on the averse and his tamga on the reverse found in the burials (or in connection with them) in the B complex (P-II temple) and the D complex hiding-place, were, evidently, minted after the break-up of the Sasanian domination in Bactria by a local (Chionite ?) ruler.

Chronological and geographical ties of these coins with the coinage of the Goboziko group, which, according to Vainberg, were in circulation in Northern Tokharistan in the period between 389 and 440,⁷⁵ is as yet not ascertained.

As the data given above shows, it is still impossible to reconstruct with adequate coherency and in detail the history of the Buddhist religious centre of Kara tepe. The general outlines of its history, however, may be presented in the form of the following table (see p. 129).

KARA TEPE AND THE PROBLEM OF BUDDHISM IN KUSHAN TERMEZ

In the 7th century, Termez and its environs, according to Hsüan Tsang, boasted ten Buddhist monasteries and other monuments and up to a thousand monks.⁷⁶ One should not, probably, give full credit to the words of the great

⁷⁴ Б. И. Вайнберг: Некоторые вопросы истории Тохаристана в IV–V вв. Кара-тепе. III. М. 1972. 134–135.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 130–134, 137, 150–151 (Pl. 1).

⁷⁶ S. BEAL: *Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang*. L. 1906. Vol. I. 39.

Table I

General Historical Outlines of the Buddhist Religious Centre on Kara tepe

The rise of the Buddhist complexes	the time of Kanishka	?
Their functioning, reconstructions and repairs	the time of Huvishka and Vasudeva	?
Destruction or the beginning of desolation	the time of Vasudeva around 260 or 370 A. D.	
Burials in P-I temple	the time of Kushanshahs Hormizd I, Varahran I and Varahran II	50 60 or 80 of the 4th cen. A. D.
Length of the period of desolation of the P-II temple	not less than 38 or 62 years	?
Burials in the P-II temple and the D complex	the time of an identified (Chionite?) ruler	after the 80s of the 4th cen. A. D.
Penetration of visitors through gaps and breaks from the 9th—10th cen. (6th in the C complex?)	

Buddhist pilgrim, for he personally never visited Termez. There is no doubt, however, that there were large Buddhist communities and numerous Buddhist monuments in Termez in the early (pre-Moslem) Middle Ages as in Balh, Qunduz and other big cities of Tokharistan.⁷⁷

Unfortunately, we have no written evidence as to the number of Buddhist monuments or the size of monastic communities in Bactria-Tokharistan of an earlier, Kushan, period. The name of Termez in particular crops up only once in connection with the history of Buddhism — in a colophone of a Buddhist treatise of the Kushan period translated into Tibetan, which gives the name of the author as Dharmamitra, «native of Tarmita [= Termez] on the bank of the Vakshu [= Oxus = Amu Darya].»⁷⁸

Archaeological data acquired by Soviet researchers so far reveals that Buddhism in Kushan Termez enjoyed the same status as in the period described by Hsüan Tsang.

It is to be recalled that apart from Kara tepe on the outskirts of the Old Termez site (Fig. 26), three more Buddhist monuments had been discovered beyond the outer city wall north and east of it. Not much remained of two of the monuments. On the site of one of them, on the south-east of the city, ruins of a grand stupa have been discovered, which is now known as the Zurmala

⁷⁷ I share the opinion of many other scholars that Tokharistan is what ancient Bactria came to be called since the 4th century A. D. Thus, these are two names of one and the same region.

⁷⁸ Ю. Н. Рерих: Тохарская проблема. Народы Азии и Африки 1963. № 6. 122; the same author: Память о тохарах в Тибете. Краткие сообщения Института Народов Азии. Москва 1964. №. 65, 141; H. W. BAILEY: Indo-Iranica. III. 5. Tarmita, BSOAS 13 (1950) 400—403.

Tower.⁷⁹ On the other site, close to the north-eastern corner of the city, underground premises with steps leading up have been unearthed.⁸⁰

The stupa was a giant structure of up to 16 metres in height. Its cylinder-shaped body, 15 metres in diameter, was crowned with a cupola and set on a rectangular dais of 22×16 metres. While differing from the two Kara tepe stupas in appearance, the Zurmala Tower was similar to them in construction technique: it was built of mud brick and pakhsa and faced with lime and baked brick (the latter, probably, used for the sake of economy considering the size of the structure). The studies made by G. A. Pugachenkova and Z. H. Hakimov leave no doubt as to its being built in the Kushan period.

The dating was confirmed by the finds of pottery and Buddhist inscriptions of the Kushan period discovered in the underground premises. The finds also bear witness to the Buddhist nature of the ground structures connected with these premises, of which, unfortunately, nothing came to us.

We can only make conjectures as to the composition of the Buddhist complex of which the Zurmala Tower and the underground premises were a part. But it is highly probable that next to the Zurmala Tower there was a suburban monastery similar to the third Buddhist monument on the outskirts of Kushan Termez.

This third monument, known as Faiaz tepe site, was situated north of Termez at a distance of about one kilometre from Kara tepe.⁸¹ It is in a better state of preservation than the other two, and even than Kara tepe. This complex (a typical suburban monastery) consisted of a rectangular building, 110 metres in length and 35 metres in width spreading from northwest to southeast and a stupa to the northeast of it that might initially, be surrounded by walls. The monastery building was divided into three functional parts approximately equal in size, each with an inner courtyard.

The northwestern part, evidently, consisted mainly of dwelling quarters giving access to the inner courtyard which had an aiwan along one of its walls. This should have been the monastery proper, which above the monks' hostel included other premises.

⁷⁹ Г. А. Пугаченкова: Две ступы на юге Узбекистана. Советская Археология 1967. № 3, 257—261 and bibliography.

⁸⁰ Data on the 1973 excavations has not yet been published. I have had occasion to visit them due to the kindness of L. I. ALBAUM who is carrying out the digs. For brief information on the «basement» and the inscriptions found there see М. И. Воробьева-Десятовская: Новые надписи письмом кхарошги из Термеза. Вестник Древней Истории, 1974 № 1. 117.

⁸¹ The excavations of Faiaz-tepe were carried out from 1968 to 1976 by L. I. ALBAUM. Data has not yet been published. For brief information see: Л. И. Альбаум: Раскопки буддийского комплекса Фаяз-тепе (по материалам 1968—1972 гг.). Древняя Бактрия. Л. 1974. 53—58; the same author: Живопись Афрасиаба. Ташкент 1975. 90—93. I take this opportunity to thank L. I. ALBAUM and deputy director of the Termez Museum V. A. KOZLOVSKIY for allowing me to visit the Faiaz tepe site and familiarize myself with the data.

The south-eastern part adjoining a large courtyard housed store rooms, kitchens with ovens to cook food (*e.g.* flat cakes) and, probably, refectories.

The central part was, evidently, a place of worship. Its courtyard, was similar to the temple courtyards of Kara tepe : aiwans along its perimeter with wooden columns resting on limestone bases and a lowered unroofed pitch in the middle. What brings it still closer to the Kara tepe A and B complexes temple courtyards was the entrance to a sanctuary in the southern aiwan, and also the wall paintings uncovered on the walls of the aiwan and inside the sanctuary. They remind those of Kara tepe but are in a better state of preservation. Here, too, the paintings present the Buddha and a group of donators : their faces are depicted in profile and their bodies and feet in a frontal position,⁸² which confirms the assumption we have made in connection with the Kara tepe murals. Clay, alabaster and lime-stone sculptures found here are also better preserved. What was preserved that were the alabaster head of the Buddha or Bodhisatva and a remarkable lime relief showing the Buddha under a tree and two monks on his right and left.⁸³ Both pieces of sculpture are executed in the best traditions of the Gandharan art.

The Faiaz tepe site have also yielded fragments of pottery with Indian inscriptions in Kharoshthī and Brāhmī, as well as inscriptions made in Kushan script (most of them are not yet published).

The comparison of the Faiaz tepe and Kara tepe sites reveals, along with the similarity of their temple courtyards, certain distinctions in the structure of these basically synchronous monuments. The former was erected according to a single and distinct plan on an open flat terrain, while the latter was probably built in stages, as separate complexes, on a high hill seen from afar. Faiaz tepe was, therefore, a one-storey compact structure, while the Buddhist complexes of Kara tepe, its ground and cave premises, were scattered over the slopes of the hill, on different levels, sometimes one directly above the other. However the basic difference between them lay elsewhere, *i.e.*, in their purpose, which, in the final analysis, determined also the choice of place.

The builders of the Faiaz tepe Buddhist monastery followed a traditional architectural pattern and created a complex that answered perfectly the needs of a monastic community completed with dwelling and household premises, mess rooms and a place of worship. The planning is precise and easily divined.

The Kara tepe complexes do not offer us either the precision of the planning nor complete architectural pattern. The only typological distinction we can point to so far is a temple courtyard with its aiwans and the lowered central part. As to temple premises, their planning was each time to be determined anew (see cave 2, temples P-I and P-II). Much in the structure and purpose of

⁸² Л. И. Альбаум: Живопись Афраснаба. 90 and Pl. LI.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 90 and Pls. 31, 32.

the Kara tepe religious centre is still to seek by further excavations. Thus, we do not yet know whether the complexes had monk hostels, refectories and other premises common in monastic Buddhist communities, and if so, whether each complex had his own premises of this kind, or they were shared by the whole community.

Of one thing, however, we may speak with certainty — a large number of Buddhist temples and sanctuaries was concentrated on Kara tepe to be used not by a single monastic group but, most probably, by a numerous Buddhist community of the town of Termez. Frequent visits to its ruins and inscriptions left by the visitors might testify to its popularity as a religious centre. It should be said that this popularity, and also its proximity to the town now give much trouble to its students: the art monuments of the neighbouring Faiaz tepe preserved better by far than those of Kara tepe.

Nevertheless, ruined as it is by time, and even more by people, the Kara tepe site together with other Buddhist monuments of Kushan Termez bears vividly witness to the spread of Buddhism and also to the wealth of the Buddhist community that was, evidently, numerous and enjoyed much authority in these parts in the Kushan period.

The nature of this community may be established on the basis of the inscriptions on pottery of Kara tepe. Already at the initial stages of study, J. Harmatta assumed that the inscriptions made in Kharoshthī script were to be connected with the school of Mahasaṅghika, and those in Brāhmī — with the Sarvastivada school.⁸⁴ The assumption was disputed on the grounds that the script alone could not be a conclusive evidence in referring an inscription to a definite school of Buddhism. It was noted, in particular, that an inscription in Kharoshthī belonging to a Sarvastivada school had been found in Hadda (Southern Afghanistan).⁸⁵ However, Harmatta's assumption was confirmed by further studies. Among the newly-found inscriptions on pottery there was one which contained the word «mahasaṅghika» (Harmatta had only part of the word: «... saṅghika»)⁸⁶ Besides, a complete inscription in Brāhmī on a vessel discovered in the ground structure above the P-II temple and a number of fragmentized inscriptions of this order, according to V. V. Vertogradova, bear evidence of a dispute between the followers of the early Hinayanic Arhat ideal and adepts of the Mahayanic Bodhisattva ideal which was at that time infiltrating the Hinayanic school.⁸⁷ Presumably different trends existed and Mahayanic ideas were current in the Kushan period on Kara tepe and in the Termez Buddhist community, as in other Buddhist centres for that matter.

⁸⁴ Я. Харматта: К интерпретации индийских надписей на керамике из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе, II. Москва 1969. 32—39.

⁸⁵ G. FUSSMAN: Une inscription Kharosthi à Hadda. BEFEO 56 (1969) 5—9.

⁸⁶ Я. Харматта: К интерпретации индийских надписей на керамике из Кара-тепе. 35.

⁸⁷ В. В. Вертоградова: Об одной индийской надписи на сосуде из Кара-тепе. Кара-тепе. IV. Москва 1975. 70—81.

The Kara tepe inscriptions in which mention is made of dharmakathika Buddhaśira, give grounds to assume that this worthy donator-monk might have been like Dharmamitra of the Tibetan colophon, a learned interpreter of Buddhist texts. Data on Buddhist monks from Bactria indulging in translation in China in the 2nd—4th centuries⁸⁸ makes it all the more probable that in Buddhist communities of Kushan Bactria, in Termez community in particular, texts were translated from Sanskrit into the local, Bactrian language. It is not unlikely that Buddhaśira, whose bilingual inscriptions bespeak the knowledge of Indian, as well as Bactrian languages, might have been one of such translators.

The Kara tepe site, its decoration and the finds made during the excavations reveal the syncretistic nature of the art of the Kushan Empire, and also of Buddhism of the Kushan Termez (and of the entire Bactria).

Stupas and cave premises (A and B complexes) were derived from India, along with Buddhism, whereas the planning of the cave temples is alien to the ancient Indian tradition and is rather to be traced to the religious architecture of the Middle East, where similar fire temples could be found consisting of a cell and the corridors encircling it.⁸⁹ As to the temple courtyards of Kara tepe, they go back to the Rhodos-type East Hellenistic courtyards that became common in Bactria and the neighbouring Parthia already in the 3rd—2nd centuries B.C. Vivid illustrations are the large courtyard of the Ai Khanoum palace complex⁹⁰ and the original courtyard of the Square House in the Parthian Nica.⁹¹

The Kara tepe wall paintings are equally syncretistic (as distinct from the Buddhist sculpture of Kushan Termez, which, as is evidenced by the finds, followed the Indian, or, to be more exact, Gandharan, tradition). The images of the Buddha and the monks are executed in Indian manner, while the donators are presented in the style of the Kushan dynastic art, which spread not from the Indian subcontinent, like Buddhism, but from Bactrian territory and may be exemplified by the clay sculptures of Khalchayan⁹² and separate earlier finds.⁹³

⁸⁸ The latest brief data based mainly on the works by P. CH. BAGCHI, *India and Central Asia*, Calcutta, 1955 and E. ZÜRCHER, *The Buddhist conquest of China*, Leiden, 1956, may be found in the book by Б. А. Литвинский and Т. И. Зеймаль: *Аджина-Тепе*, Москва 1971. 114.

⁸⁹ Numerous examples are contained in the fundamental work: K. SCHIPPMANN: *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer*. B. — N. Y. 1971.

⁹⁰ P. BERNARD: *Ai Khanoum on the Oxus: a Hellenistic City in Central Asia*. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 53 (1967) 78—80. See also: *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum*. I. *Rapport préliminaire publié sous la direction de P. Bernard*, P., 1973.

⁹¹ See Г. А. Пугаченкова: *Искусство Туркменистана*, Москва 1967. Pl. on p. 35; Б. Я. Ставиский: *Искусство Средней Азии. Древний период*, Москва 1974, Fig. 37.

⁹² See Г. А. Пугаченкова: *Скульптура Халчаяна*. Москва 1971; cf. *Халчаян*. Ташкент 1966 by the same author.

⁹³ See Б. Я. Ставиский: *Кушанская Бактрия: проблемы истории и культуры*. Москва 1977, 162, 224; М. М. Дьяконов: *Археологические работы в нижнем течении реки Кафирнигана (Кубадиан) 1950—1951 гг.* МИА СССР № 37. М.—Л. 1953. 286; О. В. Обельченко: *Кую-Мазарский могильник*, — *Труды института истории и археологии АН Узбекской ССР*, вып. 8., Ташкент, 1956, 223—224.

Moreover, such details in the representation of the Buddha as the nimbus and the halo around the entire figure can hardly be traced to Indian tradition. A. Grünwedel and A. Foucher noted in their time that such attributes were extremely rare in the art of Gandhara. A. Grünwedel assumed that the nimbus and especially the halo in Indian sculpture were, evidently, derived from painting.⁹⁴ The Kara tepe wall paintings that may be dated to the time of Kanishka, on whose coins the image of the Buddha with the nimbus and the halo first occurs, confirm the assumption of the famous German scholar. It is appropriate to ask here was it not in Bactria that this iconographic type first appeared?

It might be interesting to note that Buddhist temples similar to those of Kara tepe in their planning, as well as representation of the Buddha with the nimbus and the halo around the whole body become common in Eastern Turkestan and then in the Far East in the post-Kushan period, which is probably the result of the impact of the syncretistic Buddhism of Kushan Bactria.

The syncretism of culture and art — creative assimilation of different cultural and artistic traditions, which, embodied in the work of art, present an organic combination of various artistic elements — may be witnessed in the Kara tepe architectural decoration as well. A vivid example is the two-belt capitals of the decorative pilasters.⁹⁵ The reliefs placed one above the other bring them closer to the Roman and early Byzantine capitals, and distinguish them from Gandharan capitals. The half-figure against the acanthus background may be traced to the classic tradition, the trefoil on the first capital and the garland on the second have analogies in the art of Gandhara, while the slanted eyes of the girl holding the garland may be a local touch, a reflection of aesthetic notions of the nomad conquerors of Bactria. The composition of the upper belt (the central animal in front view and the two others flanking it with heads turned outwards) was known in ancient Indian art. However, capitals with sculptured animal figures, protomes, may be traced to ancient Persian architecture. At the same time, the motif of a beast of prey assailing a bull was widespread not only in the Ancient East but also in the world of the steppes. From there also comes the image of a horned and winged griffon, depicted in the centre of the upper belt of one of the capitals.

Of lesser artistic value, but no less peculiar is a fragment of a ceramic vessel with a handle in the shape of the figure of a monkey.⁹⁶ Zoomorphic handles, judging by the area of the finds of this kind were traditional with the peoples

⁹⁴ See A. GRÜNWEDEL: *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*. B.—Lpz., 1920. S. 83; A. FOUCHER: *L'Art gréco-bouddhique*. T. II, 1. P., 1917. 370.

⁹⁵ For details see: B. J. STAVISKIY: *The Capitals of Ancient Bactria*. East and West, vol. 23, No. 3—4, Roma 1973. 265—277; See also Б. Я. Ставиский: *Кушанская Бактрия*. 234—236. Neither of the works include the data on the second Kara-tepe capital.

⁹⁶ See Кара-тепе. III. 59 and Pl. XVII; Б. Я. Ставиский: *Кушанская Бактрия*. 236—237.

of the East European steppes, Kazakhstan and Northern Central Asia.⁹⁷ In the Volga region zoomorphic handles are to be found as far back as the 2nd—1st centuries B.C.⁹⁸ Zoomorphic handles in Kushan Bactria are definitely a sign of the influence of the notions of the steppe tribes. However, the Kara tepe handle differs from zoomorphic handles of the steppe world. The latter usually depicted rams or other local animals with heads turned up to the mouth of the vessel, which, it was believed, had to guard the contents of the vessel from evil spirits. Represented on the Kara tepe vessel is the monkey, a traditional image of Indian Buddhist art. The head of the animal is turned away from the vessel, which makes the figure rather a decorative element. This piece of handicrafts of Kushan Termez is thus a vivid illustration of intermingling of different artistic traditions — the Indian and that of the steppes — meant probably to please the tastes of the local Buddhist community.

It should be stressed that handles analogous to that of the Kara tepe vessel⁹⁹ are not to be found either in the Eurasian steppes or in the Indian sub-continent.

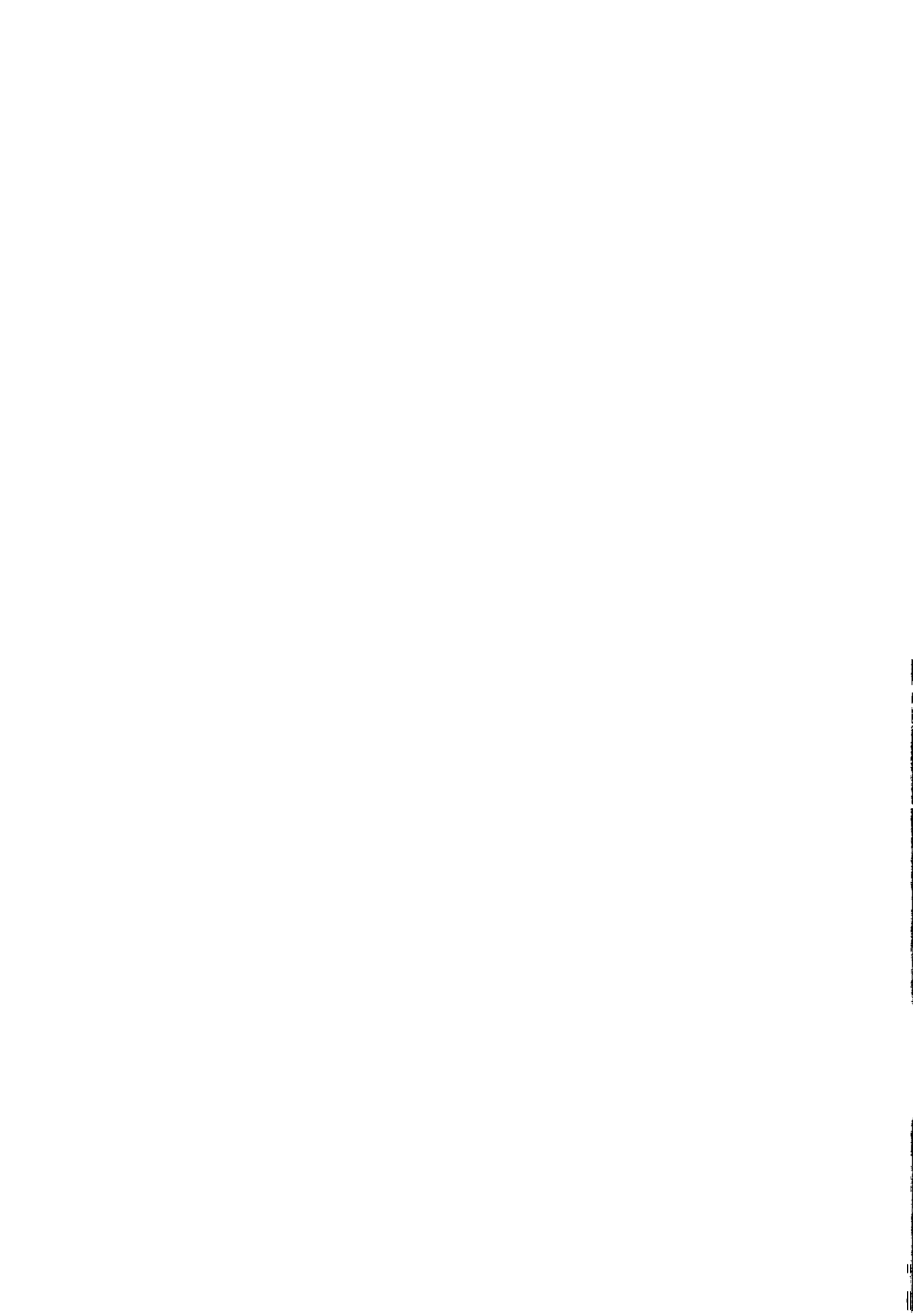
The present article does not lay claim to being an exhaustive analysis of the finds made on Kara tepe in the course of the 1937, and 1961—77 excavation seasons, or a complete summary of the conclusions to be drawn on its studies. My purpose has been to familiarize the reader with the major results of several years of work on this large Buddhist religious centre of the Kushan period on the bank of the Oxus.

Moscow.

⁹⁷ For the recent data on ceramic vessels with zoomorphic handles see: Б. А. Литвинский: Канюйкого-сарматский фарн. Душанбе 1968 (particularly 3—13). See also an enlarged and amended edition of the work in German in *Central Asiatic Journal* 16 (1972) 244—288; 20 (1976) 47—73.

⁹⁸ See М. П. Абрамова: О керамике с зооморфными ручками. *Советская археология* 1969, № 2, 69.

⁹⁹ An analogous find has been made in the vicinity of Termez at the Shor-tepe site. See Г. А. Пугаченкова: Новые данные о художественной культуре Бактрии: Из истории античной культуры Узбекистана. Ташкент 1973 121, 123, Fig. 40a.



J. WOLSKI

LES SOURCES DE L'ÉPOQUE HELLÉNISTIQUE ET PARTHE DE L'HISTOIRE D'IRAN

DIFFICULTÉS DE LEUR INTERPRÉTATION ET PROBLÈMES DE LEUR
ÉVALUATION

Pour aborder les problèmes montrés dans le titre, il me semble indiqué de m'en remettre à deux propos d'importance et qui sont liés intimement avec le sujet en question. Et tous les deux, ce qu'il me paraît propre de souligner, ont été exposés ici, à Budapest, pendant les conférences consacrées à l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale préislamique. C'est M. le Professeur Gignoux qui a évoqué le rôle et l'importance des sources orientales, uniquement destinées à reconstruire le cours de l'histoire orientale.¹ Etant en principe d'accord avec son exposé, je me suis réservé, et j'y tiens encore aujourd'hui, une exception dont la validité ne me semble pas possible d'être mise en doute aussi à l'avenir. Il s'agit, bien entendu, de l'époque parthe et de celle, courte qu'elle soit, qui la précède et qu'on se plaît d'appeler hellénistique.² La tâche qui m'a été confié, et c'est ici que je dois présenter mes remerciements à M. le Professeur János Harmatta, rédacteur en chef de la Collection des sources sur l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale préislamique, me pose de nouveau et cette fois pas du côté théorique, général, mais pratique, en vue de la nécessité d'élaborer le volume deux de cette Collection, devant le problème dont il a été question plus haut.

Les sources dont nous disposons pour l'époque hellénistique et parthe sont, pour la plus grande partie, ou bien grecques ou bien latines. En comparaison avec le laps de temps qu'englobe l'histoire de l'Iran depuis la mort d'Alexandre le Grand jusqu'à la chute de la monarchie des Arsacides, donc de 323 av. n. e. à 226 de n. e., donc cinq siècles et demi, les sources archéologiques, à défaut de fouilles ayant pour but de dégager les monuments de cette époque, ne peuvent entrer que de façon restreinte en ligne de compte pour reconstruire cette phase de l'histoire de l'Iran.³ Cela ne veut pas dire que nous ne disposions que de sources écrites grecques et latines. Certes, il y en a un assez grand nombre,

¹ Pendant la conférence tenue à Budapest en 1976.

² Cf. J. WOLSKI : Points de vue sur les sources gréco-latines de l'époque parthe dans : *Prolegomena to the sources on the History of Preislamic Central Asia*. Budapest 1976 (publié 1979). 17—25.

³ Cf. R. GHIRSHMAN : *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam*. Paris 1951. A. G. KOSCHELENKO : *Kultura Parfii*. Moscou 1966, qui donnent l'état de la question.

pour n'énumérer que les auteurs arméniens d'une valeur douteuse,⁴ les chroniqueurs chinois, mais dont les données difficiles parfois à interpréter portent seulement sur un secteur de l'histoire de la Bactriane. Pour en finir, il faut se rapporter aux sources juives, à la tradition indienne dont l'importance est aussi à prouver. Pour fermer la liste globale, nous devons tenir compte d'inscriptions, semées à long intervalle, sur toute l'histoire de l'Iran, de papyrus, de parchemins, de textes cunéiformes provenant de la Babylonie.⁵ Mais, à vrai dire, cette variété des sources ne doit pas nous tromper sur leur importance et leur rôle dans la reconstruction de l'histoire de l'Iran à l'époque hellénistique et parthe ; sans les auteurs grecs et latins avec leur continuité du récit qui fait défaut ailleurs, le processus historique dans cette région apparaîtrait comme vide, comme dénué de faits, de liaisons intrinsèques.

Et c'est pourquoi il nous faut nous poser de nouveau la question capitale : quelle est la valeur des sources gréco-latines, qu'est-ce qu nous pouvons en tirer pour être en état de répondre à la tâche posée devant nous. Il va de soi, et il ne nous semble pas nécessaire de le souligner, qu'elles représentent, et elles le doivent, bien sûr, le point de vue macédonien ou romain.⁶ Issues du milieu grec et romain, ces sources, leurs auteurs, se sont laissés conduire par leur raison d'Etat, habitués, et qui s'en étonne, de traiter les peuples de l'Orient comme inférieurs en comparaison avec les leurs, comme barbares. Cette attitude, façonnée et maintenue le long des siècles, a influencé les tendances exposées dans la science, a donné à l'histoire parthe un aspect partial, conçu du point de vue des Séleucides d'abord, des Romains ensuite : les éléments parthes en furent presque exclus. Un facteur additionnel dont l'importance est pour nous clair c'est le manque, du côté des auteurs grecs et latins, d'orientation dans les institutions iraniennes, la mauvaise traduction et explications des termes juridiques propres à la société iranienne,⁷ phénomène dont l'apparition remonte, du reste, à l'époque des Achéménides.

⁴ C'est seulement, autant que je sache, B. P. LOZINSKI : *The Original Homeland of the Parthians*. S-Gravenhage 1959, qui s'est prononcé en faveur, quant à sa valeur, de cette couche des sources.

⁵ Pour cette catégorie de sources, consulter N. C. DEBEVOISE : *A Political History of Parthia*. 2 ed. Chicago 1968. Les recherches à venir apporteront, certainement, la solution du problème.

⁶ De la nombreuse littérature relative à cette attitude, on ne peut citer que les positions les plus typiques comme J. DOBIAŠ : *Les premiers rapports des Romains avec les Parthes et l'occupation de la Syrie*. *Archiv Orientální* 3 (1931) 212–256, H. H. VON OSTEN : *Die Welt der Perser*. 3 ed. Stuttgart 1956. 118 et passim, J. B. BURY : *The Hellenistic Age and the History of Civilisation* dans : *The Hellenistic Age*. 2 ed. Cambridge 1968. 1–31, qui, expressis verbis, traitent les Parthes de barbares.

⁷ C'est J. WOLSKI : *L'Etat parthe des Arsacides, Essai de reconstitution de leur évolution intérieure*. *Palaeologia* 7 (1958/9) 91–98, qui a souligné cet aspect des sources gréco-latines. Id., avec une ample documentation, *Le classi inferiori della popolazione nel regno dei Parti* dans : *Storia sociale ed economica dell'età classica negli studi polacchi contemporanei*. Milano 1976. 55–61.

Il est bien significatif que ce n'est que ces derniers temps que la conception très bornée de l'histoire de l'Iran sous les Arsacides, du complexe iranien dans le cadre de l'histoire d'Alexandre le Grand et de ses successeurs, des Séleucides, commence à prendre une autre allure.⁸ Probablement, il faut en chercher la cause dans le changement de l'appréciation du rôle des peuples orientaux, des cultures extra-européennes, opéré aujourd'hui non seulement dans le domaine purement scientifique, mais aussi dans la vie politique et économique. Pourtant, ce revirement globalisant ne tient pas compte d'une situation particulière demandant un traitement détaillé comme c'est le cas avec l'histoire de l'Iran à l'époque hellénistique et parthe surtout. Pour faire ici un pas en avant, pour débarasser le tissu de l'histoire iranienne des déformations accumulées le long des siècles, il faut trouver une approche approfondie, toujours conscient d'un défaut inné à toutes les recherches relatives à l'histoire de cette époque, à savoir des sources indigènes. C'est ici qu'on se heurte à un obstacle capital qu'on doit surmonter dans les cadres des possibilités, bien entendu. Pour créer une atmosphère plus favorable à la tâche que nous nous sommes posés et qui demande encore des travaux assidus, il nous faut reconsidérer avant tout une nouvelle mise au point qui s'était formée dans l'aperçu du processus historique. Au lieu d'une discontinuité, parfois conçue sous l'impression des faits politiques, le plus facilement saisissables et, en conséquence, s'imposant avec le plus de force, on cherche sous cet aspect extérieur des facteurs moins sujets à la transformation, plus stables et c'est pourquoi plus importants, plus prêts à nous faire une idée de la continuité des principaux courants du processus historique.⁹

Et c'est ici que nous pouvons nous rapporter aux résultats des recherches qui contribuent, sous maints aspects, à établir une autre approche à l'histoire de l'époque qui a suivi la conquête de l'Iran par Alexandre le Grand. C'est l'opinion bien séduisante et marquée d'un nombre de références de Pierre Briant de l'échec du conquérant macédonien en vue de s'attirer la bienveillance des Perses, des Iraniens en entier.¹⁰ La preuve de son mécontentement fut l'incendie de l'ensemble des palais à Persépolis. Grâce à cette opinion très attrayante nous sommes en état de constater d'un refus de la part des Iraniens

⁸ Pour une conception globale du problème voir FR. ALTHEIM et R. STIEHL: *Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum*. Berlin 1970.

⁹ C'est J. WOLSKI: *L'Iran dans la politique des Séleucides*, Festschrift J. Harmatta; *A. A. A. S. H.* 25 (1977, publié 1980) 17–25, qui a exposé ce point de vue pour l'adapter à l'histoire de l'Iran.

¹⁰ P. BRIANT: *Conquête territoriale et stratégie idéologique: Alexandre le Grand et l'idéologie monarchique achéménide*. Dans: *Actes du colloque international sur l'idéologie monarchique dans l'antiquité*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 63 (Cahiers scientifiques de l'Université Jagellone, *Travaux Historiques* 63). Cracovie 1980. 37–83. P. BRIANT, appuyé sur une analyse des sources très pénétrante, a montré les méthodes capables de nous révéler l'existence de la tradition iranienne cachée dans les sources gréco-latines.

de se subordonner de bon gré, de la volonté de résister, d'entretenir l'esprit d'indépendance vis-à-vis du conquérant. Héritiers d'un glorieux passé, les Perses et les autres Iraniens, comme le montre la résistance témoignée par les Bactriens et les Sogdiens, sans parler des peuples habitant l'arrière-pays de l'Iran, ont fait cause commune contre l'envahisseur macédonien. Ce ne sont pas les nouvelles sources capables de nous donner des détails pour combler le tissu historique mais ce sont les données qui nous font apparaître l'attitude des Iraniens, certainement de l'aristocratie foncière, de son activité qui contraste avec les opinions tant de fois suggérées par les savants modernes de leur passivité. Ces considérations sont à même de nous livrer la clef pour résoudre maints problèmes dans l'avenir.

Si les propos de Briant mettent en lumière le côté idéologique, très négligé dans les recherches, de la société iranienne dans son comportement envers les dynasties macédoniennes ce qui permet de voir d'un autre œil le contenu des sources gréco-latines, ceux qui ont été présentées, aussi ces derniers temps, par Heinz Kreissig¹¹ donnent accès au milieu économique de l'Iran à l'époque hellénistique, milieu continué aussi, sans doute, à celles des Parthes. De ses recherches on peut tirer la conviction que les nouveaux maîtres n'ont introduit que peu de changement touchant la structure économique des pays conquis en Orient, donc aussi en Iran. En particulier, ils ont retenu les modes de production hérités du passé. La force des institutions façonnées depuis des siècles sinon des millénaires, a conservé sa vigueur malgré les vicissitudes des temps et a créé la base de la nouvelle structure politique en Iran issue de la conquête de ce territoire par les Arsacides. Cependant, il faut s'en rendre compte, les propositions de Briant et de Kreissig ne nous fournissent pas de détails, mais elles forment une nouvelle approche à l'histoire de l'Iran dans la phase qui nous occupe. Si l'on veut élaborer un commentaire répondant aux exigences des temps actuels, il ne suffit pas, comme il me semble, d'expliquer sèchement les faits politiques, il faut les interpréter et les appuyer, en analysant les sources gréco-latines, au moyen d'information tirées d'autres couches du processus historique. Bien sûr, cela ne peut pas être de règle, pourtant sans en tenir compte, sans en faire mention dans l'occurrence, ce commentaire ne présenterait aucun progrès, si important dans la science.

Je tiens à exposer ce caractère d'études visant à approfondir notre connaissance de l'époque en question parce que c'est grâce à cela que nous trouvons une approche convenable à nos propres tâches. Le manque de sources iraniennes, la division inégale des relations gréco-latines, où seul Justin donne un récit continu des événements, depuis les origines des Parthes jusqu'au règne d'Au-

¹¹ Quand il s'agit du problème controversé de l'influence exercée par le milieu hellénique en Asie Antérieure dans le domaine socio-économique, voir H. KREISSIG: *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im Seleukidenreich*. Berlin 1978, qui se prononce décidément contre l'opinion exagérée de cette influence en exposant le rôle des facteurs traditionnels.

guste, tout cela nous incite à nous pencher sur le terrain jusqu'ici inexploité mais propre à nous donner des renseignements précieux. Dégager le sens véritable des sources gréco-latines et, ce qui est d'importance, d'en tirer les informations provenant du milieu parthe, cela, à mon avis, se pose devant nous comme étant d'un intérêt majeur, si nous voulons construire une base solide capable de soutenir la reconstruction de l'histoire de l'Iran dont nous nous occupons.¹² Une fois déjà, et c'est ici, à Budapest, que j'ai essayé de mettre en relief la valeur de la tradition gréco-latines pour l'histoire des Parthes.¹³ Mon propos s'est ramené, cette fois, à vérifier, en vertu de l'analyse de quelques exemples choisis, la valeur de Strabon et de Justin pour la haute époque de l'histoire de l'Iran. La critique dans bien des cas a pu révéler à un haut degré de véracité les informations fournies par ces auteurs. Cela ne veut pas dire qu'on n'y trouve pas de défauts, signalés déjà plus haut, c'est-à-dire du manque de précision quant il s'agit de termes juridiques, d'institutions politiques et sociales propres à l'Iran.

En trouvant cela conforme à nos tâches, il me semble juste d'élargir notre analyse en la soumettant à des démarches répondant aux nouveaux buts que nous sommes proposés. Bien entendu, ce qu'on a dit plus haut sur une nouvelle conception de l'histoire de l'Iran sert à nous introduire dans un climat différent, mal conçu jusqu'ici et adopté dans les recherches. Cependant, pour approfondir notre connaissance de l'époque, pour gagner un élément additionnel, apte à dissiper les malentendus surgis à propos de la barbarie des Parthes, leur infériorité culturelle en comparaison avec la supériorité supposée des Gréco-Macédoniens et des Romains,¹⁴ il nous faut faire une chose de plus. La critique textuelle des sources ne suffit pas à nous satisfaire dans ce domaine. Je ne voudrais pas m'en remettre à mes recherches précédentes relatives à l'époque du Haut-Empire parthe, donc de cette phase de son histoire qui finit, du point de vue de Rome, avec l'activité d'Auguste dont la politique consistait à établir un *modus vivendi* avec les Parthes.¹⁵ Et il me semble, d'accord avec le déroulement du processus historique chez les Parthes, de mettre, et de leur part, la césure entre le Haut- et le Bas-Empire en 20 av. n. é. environ. C'est peu à peu que commence en ce temps-là de se dessiner le changement dans la structure de la royauté parthe, arsacide exposée de plus en plus aux attaques de l'aristocratie

¹² Il est bien clair que c'est de ce manque de sources iraniennes que provient, dans les recherches, cet aspect proromain dans l'histoire des relations romano-parthes. Voir, p. ex., dernièrement, M. G. ANGELI BERTINELLI: *Roma e l'Oriente*. Roma 1979.

¹³ Cf. mon article cité plus haut, *Points de vue sur les sources gréco-latines de l'époque parthe*.

¹⁴ C'est à ce problème que j'ai consacré ma communication au VI^e Congrès International d'Études Classiques, Madrid 1974, sous le titre: *Les Parthes et leur attitude envers le monde gréco-romain*. Bucureşti—Paris 1976. 455—462.

¹⁵ Je tiens ici à renvoyer à mon étude *Iran und Rom, Versuch einer historischen Wertung der gegenseitigen Beziehungen*. ANRW II 9. 1. Berlin—New York 1976. 195—214, où j'ai présenté l'état de la question.

foncière, des puissantes familles parthes, inspirées par l'inimitié de la monarchie absolue considérée comme oppressive, comme tyrannique. D'autre part, en vertu du processus intrinsèque, on voit s'accomplir au sein de la société iranienne un retour à la tradition vieille-perse, aux traditions des Achéménides, ensevelies pour quelque temps sous la couche superficielle d'apports helléniques.¹⁶

En comparaison avec l'époque du Haut-Empire, cette phase de l'histoire parthe, assombrie par les défaites subies de la part des Romains, par la triple prise par eux de Ctésiphon, capitale parthe, est assez mal connue, si nous l'envisageons, bien entendu, du côté des Parthes. Contrairement à l'époque du Haut-Empire, nous ne disposons pas, pour l'époque du Bas-Empire, d'un récit continu, comparable à celui de Justin. Il nous faut donc nous contenter d'informations exposant, du point de vue de Rome, les exploits des armes romaines, des empereurs romains et où on ne tient compte que de façon très faible des conditions socio-économiques en vigueur dans l'Etat des Arsacides. Et c'est pourquoi, comme il me semble, on doit d'autant plus mettre l'accent sur la tradition gréco-latine, en extraire des données accusant la provenance parthe. C'est à mon avis l'unique voie qui puisse nous conduire vers une plus grande confiance à l'égard de la tradition romaine, nous inspirer plus de foi dans sa vérité, sapée, et qui s'en étonne, pour le III^e siècle de n. è., par la découverte des *Res gestae divi Saporis*.¹⁷ Et c'est par cela qu'on peut aller à l'encontre de la suggestion avancée par le professeur Gignoux de donner la priorité pour reconstruire l'histoire de l'Orient aux sources orientales, cette fois parthes. Ce serait, du reste, demander trop à cette étape des recherches, de parvenir déjà à des résultats plus importants, d'épuiser le problème qui ne vient que d'être posé. Quand même, il y a quelques points de repère assez significatifs dont l'impression nous prédispose à suivre la voie une fois choisie.

Dans mes études à mettre de la lumière sur le problème de l'idéologie des Arsacides, sur leur capacité, tant de fois mise en doute, de se laisser conduire dans leur politique par des plans d'envergure, je me suis penché sur une phrase de Tacite, Ann. VI 31, qui mentionne un événement ayant trait à l'histoire des relations romano-parthes. Il s'agit d'une lettre adressée par le roi parthe Artaban II à l'empereur Tibère.¹⁸ La voici : *missis qui reposerunt; simul veteres Persarum ac Macedonum terminos, seque invasurum possessa primum Cyro et post Alexandro per vaniloquentiam ac minas iaciebat*. Sans attarder aux expressions issues sans doute du milieu romain et témoignant de la manière

¹⁶ Cf. J. WOLSKI: Les Achéménides et les Arsacides, Contribution à l'histoire de la formation des traditions iraniennes. *Syria* 43 (1966) 65—89.

¹⁷ Pour une dernière mise au point, voir M. G. ANGELI BERTINELLI: *Roma e l'Oriente*. 103 ss., où on trouve citée la littérature la plus récente relative à cette question.

¹⁸ Cf. J. WOLSKI: Les Achéménides et les Arsacides. *Syria* 43 (1966) 65—89, où cette question a été analysée en détail.

habituelle du dédain avec lequel les cercles impériaux traitaient les Parthes, et d'autant plus, sur le témoignage très convaincant de la pensée politique des Arsacides, se posant en successeurs des Achéménides, il faut tirer de cette phrase une conclusion valable pour nos recherches. C'est que, dans les archives romaines, probablement de l'époque impériale, on a conservé un nombre de textes officiels parthes, utilisés ensuite par les écrivains romains dans les parties pertinentes de leurs récits relatifs aux Parthes. Cet exemple confirme l'existence de tels documents ce qui ne semble être une preuve de premier ordre, compte tenu de ce peu dont nous disposons ; cependant, à fortiori, les gains qu'ils nous apportent, sont encore plus multiples. D'abord ils nous inspirent de la confiance dans la véracité des sources romaines, grecques et latines, appuyées, dans une mesure qui nous échappe, bien entendu, sur une quantité de documents, lettres, traités, rapports etc., étant la preuve de l'activité diplomatique du milieu arsacide.¹⁹ S'il en est ainsi, et il n'y pas de raison d'en douter d'après l'exemple cité plus haut, tous ces documents ont été transmis à la postérité par l'intermédiaire de l'historiographie romaine.

Si nous ne pouvions citer que la phrase de Tacite mentionnée ici pour faire valoir l'idée exprimée ci-dessus, on n'en a pu tirer qu'une conclusion limitée, sans pouvoir l'utiliser dans le but de créer une conception plus large, plus générale. Cependant, nous ne nous trouvons pas dans une situation exceptionnelle, au contraire, il y a d'autres cas portant dans le même sens. C'est à l'occasion de traiter le problème du Caucase et de la Mer Noire dans la politique de Rome et des Parthes, que j'ai pu me référer à une lettre d'un souverain parthe dont la teneur nous a aussi été transmise par Tacite.²⁰ Cette fois, le personnage principal est le roi parthe Vologèse I qui, à l'occasion de l'intronisation de Tiridate, son frère, et du règlement de l'affaire arménienne a précisé dans une lettre adressée à l'empereur Néron les fondements, les directives de la politique de l'Etat parthe face à l'Arménie. La teneur de Tacite, Ann. XV 24, est la suivante : se (Vologesis) priora et totiens iactata super optinenda Armenia nunc omittere. Ce n'est pas ici la place d'analyse en détail le programme arménien des Arsacides. Ce qui importe, c'est de mettre en relief, cette fois encore, le rôle de la tradition parthe, des documents parthes insérés dans la trame de la narration de l'auteur latin. L'analyse du texte de Tacite suggère et nous fait

¹⁹ Que l'activité de la cour de Ctésiphon, en vue de présenter les plans politiques des Arsacides sur les problèmes relatifs aux relations romano-parthes, ne se limitait pas aux genres cités dans le texte, qu'elle utilisait d'autres moyens pour atteindre les buts proposés, nous en avons des preuves indirectes dans une phrase célèbre de T. Live. IX 18,6 : *Levissimi ex Graecis qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent*. C'est un grand dommage pour la science de voir toute cette littérature perdue qui, conservée, serait à même, certainement, de jeter un peu de la lumière sur les méthodes de la propagande parthe.

²⁰ Cf. J. WOLSKI : Caucase et Mer Noire entre Rome et les Parthes. Actes du XVI^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Bucarest 1980.

croire à l'existence, du reste pas exclusivement chez Tacite, d'une ample documentation provenant de cercles officiels parthes et conservée dans les archives romaines, exploitée par les historiens romains dans les parties pertinentes de leurs œuvres.

Et en vertu de ces exemples dont le nombre peut certainement être augmenté, se fortifie la conviction — pour le contraire on devrait citer des arguments d'un poids suffisant — de la haute valeur des sources romaines touchant les relations romano-parthes. Cela dit, on est loin d'englober dans cette opinion toute l'histoire de l'Iran de l'époque parthe qui de telle manière menacerait de n'être perçue que sous l'angle romain. Qu'il y a encore beaucoup de domaines lacuneux, presque vides de faits historiques, cela s'ensuit de l'examen des sources à l'histoire de l'Iran propre qui restent muettes et ne nous donnent pas réponse à beaucoup de questions. Et elles auraient trait à l'histoire intérieure de l'Iran des Parthes, aux querelles dynastiques, aux séditions des satrapes, aux contacts tantôt pacifiques, tantôt belliqueux avec les voisins parfois turbulents.²¹

Ce qui nous échappe, ce sont les causes, les voies, les milieux où s'est opéré le grand processus intérieur et qui, pas à pas, a permis aux Iraniens de refaire leurs liens traditionnels avec l'héritage des Achéménides en frayant de telle façon la renaissance grandiose de l'époque des Sasanides²². En vue de l'opiniâtreté avec laquelle les Sasanides ont persécuté les souvenirs de l'époque des Arsacides, pour en effacer la mémoire même au moyen d'une telle manipulation que de limiter la durée de leur règne à 200 ans,²³ il me semble indiqué de soulever cette question pour nous rendre présents les problèmes qui restent encore à résoudre pour la pensée historique moderne. Les défauts des sources y sont clairs.

J'ai cru nécessaire de faire l'examen de toutes ces questions abordées seulement très rarement dans les recherches afin d'exposer mon parti pris, de l'autre, pour montrer quelles lacunes doivent être prises en considération et doivent être marquées avant que nous puissions trouver notre tâche, de donner un commentaire complet des sources sur l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale portant sur l'époque arsacide, comme épuisée.

Pour finir, on ne peut pas omettre de souligner le rôle des considérations comme celles-ci sur notre aperçu des possibilités des Parthes. La structure inté-

²¹ L'exemple le plus marquant en est l'histoire des Juifs de Babylonie dont l'attitude a parfois causé à l'Etat parthe de graves inconvénients. Cf. J. NEUSNER: *A History of the Jews in Babylonia. I. The Parthian Period.* Leiden 1965. 50 ss.

²² L'opinion du rôle actif de l'époque arsacide dans la transmission de l'héritage des Achéménides aux Sasanides commence aujourd'hui de plus en plus à prendre de la valeur dans la science. Cf., p. ex., G. WIDENGREN, *Die Begriffe «populorum ordo» und «ram» als Ausdrücke der Standesgliederung im Partherreich.* Festschrift Walter Baetke. Weimar 1960. 384. note 25.

²³ Cf. J. WOLSKI: *Arsakiden und Sasaniden.* Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben. Berlin 1969. 315—322.

rieure de leur Etat s'avère plus développée qu'on ne le soupçonnait jusqu'ici. L'activité diplomatique de la chancellerie royale menée probablement en langue grecque, les directives de leur politique révélées dans les lettres des rois, la stabilité dans l'exécution des plans une fois conçus et mis en action, tout cela nous oblige d'enclure dans les réflexions, dont l'effet sera le commentaire, un tel aspect de l'époque parthe qui répond aux réalités de l'histoire parthe.

Kraków.



THE FIRST HOARD OF TETRADRACHMAS OF THE KUṢĀṆA «HERAIOS»

The first hoard of silver tetradrachmas of «Heraios» has been found in the southern part of Tajikistan in the territory of the district centre of Vakhsh (district Vakhsh) at the construction of a house.¹ The type of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» has been described although very briefly, in literature. Here it is important to stress those details and characteristics, which can be essential for further study.

Obverse. The bust of the ruler: face with moustache (and with a short beard?) in right profile, the shoulders being almost in front-view. The diadem surrounds the forehead at the root of the hair, the frontal short locks are brushed back, while the right long locks are freely hanging down, covering the ear. The face is sometimes more round, almost puffy, and sometimes more thin and even «vehement».² Stylistic differences can be observed in certain details. The eye is represented sometimes in front-view and sometimes in profile. The moustache is sometimes quite straight and sometimes slightly pointed with somewhat drooping or turning up ends. The locks are cut straight at their ends forming sometimes slight and sometimes sharp waves. The right lock of the hair turned back from the forehead frequently falls freely on the diadem, but sometimes it fuses with the long locks into one line. The ends of the diadem are quite short and curved, they slightly vary in the length and steepness of the arch, but

¹ The original dimensions of the hoard are not known. The late N. N. ERSHOV, a well-known Tajik specialist in ethnography has informed of the circumstances and place of its find. He has already succeeded to collect six coins (N-377), which he handed over to the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR (further on IIT). One coin (N-341) was handed over to the IIT by the journalist V. E. SITNIKOV. And an additional coin was given to the Republican Museum of History and Culture of the Tajik People (further on RMT, Inv. No. I-2973) by the collective farmer H. IDRISOV. To the eight coins of the hoard mentioned later in the article the following serial numbers have been given: Nos. 1 to 6, IIT, N-377/1-6; No. 7, IIT, N-341; No. 8, RMT, I-2973.

² It is possible that this is not simply a stylistic difference but a difference of age, if the representation is a portrait. In this connection, however, it is important to stress the great similarity of the coins of «Heraios» to the sculptural representations of two monuments of different times and distant from each other: by Khalchayan in Southern Uzbekistan (G. A. PUGACHENKOVA: К иконографии Герая, VDI 1965 No. 1. 132-134; *eadem*: Халчаян. Tashkent 1966. 188-189; *eadem*: Скульптура Халчаяна. Moscow 1971. 45-46) and by Hadda (J. HASKIN, L'Œuvre de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan (1922-1932). I. Archéologie bouddhique. Tokyo 1933. 11. Fig. 12; B. ROWLAND: Zentralasien. Baden-Baden 1970. 27-28, 48).

they always stand out backwards, not hanging down. The head is sometimes slightly lifted up and thrown back, and sometimes it shows a more straight position. The bust of the ruler is surrounded by a frame consisting of longish «beads» alternating with two vertical strokes each (resembling occasionally dots). In those cases, when this frame has been preserved below, it can be seen that on different coins the bust was cut in different heights. The clothing is always the same, *viz.* underneath a shirt made of soft textile with broad round neckline, keeping open the neck with a wrinkle under the chin; above there is a caftan with a «roll»-collar (or with border?). The representation and the frame are arranged exactly in the centre of the flan only on coin No. 1, and in this case it can be seen very clearly that the size of the stamping-die was slightly smaller than the size of the flan. On the other coins of the hoard, the representation is shifted sometimes slightly and sometimes considerably in some direction, so that part of the frame (below occasionally also an insignificant part of the bust) is completely outside the flan, and if the representation and the frame were displaced still entirely, then on the margin of the opposite side, there remains a large free field on the flan.

Reverse. Mounted figure with quiver on horseback shown from the right side; the quiver reaches down to the level of the foot. From behind the goddess Nike flies towards the mounted figure; her relative size, pose and position compared with the horse and the mounted figure, as well as the stylization of the costume are somewhat different. The horse is pacing, its left foreleg is lifted up. Its tail is tied round so that sometimes five and sometimes six knots (represented with dots) are formed. The end of the tail is pointed. The horseman is sitting freely, the reins in his left hand are slackened, his right hand — bent in the elbow — reaches backwards, the torso is turned almost into front view, and the head is in profile. The mounted figure is obviously the same ruler as the one represented on the obverse. In spite of the small size of the representation, the characteristics of the coiffure and the face are definitely stressed, and the details of the attire are given even more accurately. The border (roll-collar or lappet?) of the caftan reaches down to the waist. The type of the representation is the same. The representation differs on all the eight coins of the hoard in the details, in the manner and skill. The legend is arranged partly above the mounted figure in an arched line and partly under and between the legs of the horse in two straight lines. On the different coins the arched line of the legend differs in the bending of the arch, in its «base» (the beginning and the end are approximately in the same level, but more above or more below in comparison to the horseman), and in the size of the characters. The word between the legs of the horse consists sometimes of five (coins Nos. 1 to 4 and 6 to 7) and sometimes of seven characters (coins Nos. 5 and 8), the arrangement of which can be different (see Table 1).

Table 1

No.	Hind legs of the horse		Front legs of the horse		
1		Σ	ΔN	Δβ	
2		Σ	AN	Δβ	
3		Σ	AN	Δβ	
4		Σ	ΔN	[Δβ]	
5	Σ	Δ	ZΔ	β	□V
6		[Σ]	AN		Δβ
7		Σ	AN		Δβ
8		Σ ↑	N	↑	□βV

Reverse: characters arranged between the legs of the horse

The relationship of the axes of the obverse and reverse sides is different. Both the obverse and reverse sides of all the eight coins of the hoard — judged from the details and manner of the representation, as well as from the peculiarities of the inscriptions — were minted with different dies.³

³ A. N. ZOGRAF, author of the most thorough and many-sided research in the coins of «Heraios», on the basis of the obverse and the inscription between the legs of the horse on the reverse side, divides the tetradrachmas into two groups (A. N. ZOGRAF: Монеты «Герая». Tashkent 1937. 15): 1) low cut of the bust, straight carriage of the head and accurate beard (on the reverse side the word between the legs of the horse

The legend on the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» has raised a great polemic and it cannot be regarded as definitively deciphered and understood even today. In the course of the accumulation of material it has become clear that the legend is the same on all tetradrachmas, but on some coins it differs in certain characters. Consequently, on certain coins there were errors and distortions in it that permitted of different restorations of its original, basic text. This uncertainty rendered its deciphering and understanding even more difficult, and has brought about further hypotheses.

The legend consists of four words. At present the original spelling (although there are errors in the execution), the reading (with the consideration of two paleographic details)⁴ and the translation of the first word — *TYPAN-NOYNTOS* «of the ruling» — do not raise any doubts. Among the tetradrachmas of the hoard this word appears on coin No. 8 in correct form, and on coins Nos. 1 to 7 with different errors. There exists, however, no convincing historical interpretation so far. According to the interesting comment by Kennedy, this title reflects the vassal condition of its bearer.⁵

The restoration of the original form of the second word *HIAOY* on the tetradrachmas does not raise any earnestly founded refutation, although its second character is frequently fully missing or appears in the form of a short stroke upwards; there are also errors. On coins Nos. 2 and 8 of the hoard the spelling is exactly the same, *viz.* *HIAOY*, while on coin No. 6 there is a short stroke in place of the second character, on coin No. 4 it appears without the second character, and on the other coins it contains errors. It is important to note that the first character on seven coins is an *eta*, on one it is an *omicron* in quadratic form (the origin of this and the other errors will be explained below), and the *mu* does not occur as an initial character at all (here we do not discuss the spelling of this word on the obols).

The most accepted reading («Heraios») and interpretation (Greek proper name) are, however, still disputed and doubted.⁶

consists of seven characters); 2) high cut of the bust (almost at the border of the shirt), the neck bent ahead, the head of rather big size and slightly lifted up, the beard is not so accurate (on the reverse side the same word consists of five characters). The coins of the hoard partly support this classification (see Pls. I—III): Nos. 5 and 8 low cut of the bust and this word on the reverse side consists of seven characters; Nos. 1—3 high cut of the bust and this word on the reverse side consists of five characters. The carriage and the size of the head, apparently, are no accurate criteria for classification.

⁴ The third character *ro* usually has the form of an inclined stroke, and the *omicron* is of quadratic form, in the setting, however, it is always substituted for a round form.

⁵ ΖΟΓΡΑΦ: ΜΟΝΕΤΕΣ «Γεραία». 11—12.

⁶ YU. G. VINOGRADOV kindly stated to me that the name *Ἡραῖος* (or *Ἡραῖος*) is a theophoric name to be derived from the name Hera or from the month *Ἡραῖος* of certain Doric and other calendars (Crete, Delphi, Byzantium, Bithynia, Chios, Zeleia, see A. SAMUEL: Greek and Roman Chronology. München 1972. 74, 88, 117, 131, 175), documented: 1) on the coin from Kyme and in several inscriptions, see W. PAPE—G. BENSELER: Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen. Braunschweig³ 1884. 462; 2) in Chersonesus — IOSPE I², 359; E. I. SOLOMONIK: Новые эпиграфические памятники

The third word, arranged under the feet of the horse, was read as «Kuṣā-ṇa». The reading does not raise any doubt. On the tetradrachmas, *e.g.*, the basic representation is KOIIANOY, but the third and fourth characters stand some times separated and sometimes together, and have sometimes a slightly arched form that should not be regarded as errors, but as other variants of different meaning, showing the attempts to render the sound ṣ. The interpretation of the word *Kuṣāṇa* as the name of one of the five tribes of the Yueh-chih,⁷ however, is not indisputable. After Kujula Kadphises, the *Kuṣāṇa yabghu*, has subdued the other four *yabghu*, his empire was called *Kuṣāṇa*. All other peoples used this name, and only the Chinese Han dynasty called them invariably Great Yueh-chih. The question on the origin of the word *Kuṣāṇa* and on its meaning before it became the name of the dynasty and the empire in their own language, and as such it was accepted by the other peoples, however, must not be examined isolated, outside the general context of informations on the Yueh-chih.

In fact, in the sources there is no direct reference to the five tribes (clans) of the Yueh-chih. In the Han-shu and the Hou Han-shu five hsi-hou (*yabghu*) are mentioned. The informations of these two sources on the five hsi-hou are not entirely identical. They seem to be different in respect of their contents, but they stress in the same degree the necessity of the independent examination of two questions in this connection, *viz.* 1. on the belonging of the five territories

Херсонеса, [II]. Kiev 1973. 146. No. 147; 3) in the Bosphorus — KBN, 166, 692, 1137, B, 2.22; V. F. ГАЙДУКЕВИЧ: Вотив Герей из Мирмекия, Культура античного Мира. Moscow 1966. 70; I. I. ТОЛСТОЙ: Греческие граффити древних городов Северного Причерноморья. Moscow—Leningrad 1953. 93, No. 149; 4) in Athens, see J. КИРШНЕР: Prosopographia Attica B. 1901. Nos. 6435, 6436; 5) in the island of Eresos, tyrant at the time of Alexander — OGIS, 8.37. By these, in his words, all mentionings of this name, well spread up to the Roman period, are not being exhausted.

It must be noted that the interpretation of this word as a name, but in the spelling MIAOY and MIAIOY, proposed in the initial phase of the study of these coins, was convincingly refuted by the numismatists on the basis of a more objective analysis of the old and the newly accumulated material. In spite of this, in certain recent monographs devoted to the history and numismatics of the *Kuṣāṇas* this spelling with the first character *mu* and with the reading «Miaou» has emerged again. Thus, BHASKAR CHATTOPADHYAY (The Age of the *Kushānas* — A Numismatic Study. Calcutta 1967. 11—16, 20), without any motivation and evidence, only in the beginning gives the name of this ruler as «Miaus (or Heraus)», and later in the whole excursus there appears definitely the writing MIAOY and the reading «Miaus». In this the author relies upon the tetradrachma of the British Museum, published by P. GARDNER (but on that, judged from the photograph, there appears not an *M* but exactly an *H*; P. GARDNER himself also read *H*, see P. GARDNER: Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum. Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India. Chicago 1966. XLVII, 116, Pl. XXIV, 7), and also upon the obol of the Museum of India in Calcutta (on which the first character does not at all resemble to an *M*). It is possible, that the acceptance of such a writing and reading is explained by the circumstance that the author is not acquainted with the whole literature of the question. B. N. МУКНЕРЖЕЕ (Studies in *Kushāna* genealogy and chronology. Vol. I. The *Kushāna* genealogy. Calcutta 1967. 92, note 6) asserts that he has studied the coins of the British Museum and he has convinced himself that on them at least one must read «Miaos (MIAOY)». In his text we find everywhere consistently «Miaos».

⁷ ЗОГРАФ: Монеты «Герая». 31—32.

or possessions with cities-capitals and on their place in the empire of the Great Yueh-chih ; 2. on the origin of the names of the hsi-hou and the transformation of their meaning.⁸

Chang Ch'ien, who visited the Great Yueh-chih between 130 and 125 B.C. (some scholars mention more accurate, but different dates), describes the following situation: the Great Yueh-chih conquered the territory of Ta-hsia (south of the Amu Darya), but they settled down north of the river and led there a nomadic way of life. It is important that in the description of the boundaries of the empire of the Great Yueh-chih Ta-hsia is mentioned as the southern boundary.

Five districts or possessions are not mentioned either in the territory of nomadic life north of the river or in Ta-hsia. The lack of reference is, of course, no evidence. Chang Ch'ien, however, did visit Ta-hsia, and his detailed description («They have no great kings or heads, but everywhere in their walled cities and settlements they installed small heads»)⁹ does not render likely the existence of five or less districts or possessions. The situation described by Chang Ch'ien is called by us conditionally the first stage in the history of the Yueh-chih after they conquered the territory on both sides of the Amu Darya.

In the Han-shu (completed about 80 A.D., the events are described up to 25 A.D.) a completely different situation is depicted, *viz.* the residence of the king of the Great Yueh-chih is in a city north of the river; the southern boundary is no more Ta-hsia, but the district Ki-pin; they themselves originally developed as a nomad state; there are five hsi-hou, which are subjected to the Great Yueh-chih.¹⁰ Thus many things have already changed towards the joining of the nomad conquerors in the local culture and economy (and, partly, very likely in the settled life) and towards a more definite formation of the state of the Great Yueh-chih itself. This is shown by the residence in a city, by the establishment of the boundaries of the state (the annexation of Ta-hsia originally conquered only formally), as well as by some determination of the system of state schematically fixed by the existence of the king of the Great Yueh-chih and the five districts or possessions governed by subordinated hsi-hou (*yabghu*). The development and duration of the existence of this situation is unknown,

⁸ We used the English translations of the most significant contemporary sinologists PULLEYBLANK and ZÜRCHER that are in certain essential details different from the Russian translation by BICHURIN, E. G. PULLEYBLANK: Chinese Evidence for the Date of Kaniska, in Papers on the Date of Kaniska, submitted to the conference on the date of Kaniska, L., 20—22 April 1960, ed. by A. L. BASHAM. Leiden 1968; E. ZÜRCHER: The Yüeh-chih and Kaniska in the Chinese Sources (*ibidem*); N. Ja. BICHURIN (IAKIN): Собрание сведений о народах, обитавших в Средней Азии в древнейшие времена, II. Moscow—Leningrad 1950.

⁹ ZÜRCHER: *op. cit.* 360.

¹⁰ ZÜRCHER: *op. cit.*, 364; A. F. P. HULSEWÉ: China in Central Asia. The Early Stage: 125 B. C.—A. D. 23. Leiden 1979. (*Sinica Leidensia*, Vol. XIV.) 121—123.

it is only clear that it existed earlier than 25 A.D.¹¹ and it represents a new stage in the history of the Yueh-chih that is called by us the second stage.

Who were the *yabghu*, the rulers of these five districts or possessions, each of whom, similarly to the head of the Great Yueh-chih, had his residence in his own district? The existing different viewpoints have to be divided into two groups, viz. 1. *yabghu* — no Yueh-chih;¹² 2. *yabghu* — Yueh-chih.

The text of the Han-shu, taken isolated, permits both assumptions. The logical conclusion from the first one (i.e. if the *yabghu* — is no Yueh-chih) will be as follows: Kadphises I, *yabghu* of one of the five districts, was also no Yueh-chih, but a local or pre-Yueh-chih dynast. Thus the Kuṣāṇa state established by him was not Yueh-chih either. Such a conclusion, however, contradicts to the sources of the later period and to the fact that in them the Kuṣāṇa empire appears as Yueh-chih. The logical conclusion from the second assumption (*yabghu* — is Yueh-chih) will mean that there existed a hierarchy among the Great Yueh-chih, and the *yabghu* — the heads of the five tribes (clans) — were in a certain dependence from the head of the Great Yueh-chih, i.e. from the whole of their tribal union. In this case the text of the Han-shu would mean that the five Yueh-chih *yabghu* received five districts or possessions in the territory of the state of the Great Yueh-chih, but practically or formally they were not independent. Very likely it can be presumed that originally this was a nomadic division the territories of which, in accordance with the adoption of sedentary life and culture, gradually were transformed into more definite possessions.¹³ Since the envoy Chang Ch'ien does not speak about the five nomadic camps and possessions, and in Ta-hsia he even describes a different situation, it can be presumed that the quite accurate division of the nomadic camps and even more of the possessions took place later, when it formed a significant component of the second stage. With other words, even in the short and general testimonies of the two sources from different times — in the report of Chang Ch'ien and in the Han-shu — undoubtedly important changes are reflected, giving so to say the minimum about the two stages. There is no doubt that changes must have taken place also later and, therefore, their reflection can also be expected in later sources.

If we look at the next, third source — the Hou Han-shu (in this source the information about the Western Regions dates back to 125 A.D.) from such,

¹¹ E. PULLEYBLANK (*op. cit.* 250–254) has convincingly shown that the passage on the five hsi-hou appears to be a later insertion from the years 74–75 A. D. and reflects the situation of these years. The latter does not appear to be compulsory; the insertion may be an additional information on the past history.

¹² On the different assumptions about their origin in this case see ZÜRCHER: *op. cit.*, 365, note 1; G. HALOUN: Zur Üetsi-Frage. ZDMG, Bd. 91, 1937, 257, note 7.

¹³ Undoubtedly, these nomad camps or possessions corresponded both to the physico-geographical and (judged from the existence of capitals) to the historical and cultural regions, what is important for the localization.

not «static» viewpoint, then it appears that it does not contradict the Han-shu and is no distortion (as it was thought by certain researchers), but it simply reflects another new stage in the history of the Yueh-chih that we call the third stage.

The compiler of the Hou Han-shu himself stated that he was interested only in the situation from the time of the foundation of the Later Han dynasty, which is entirely different from the previous one. It is not by accident that the whole early history of the Great Yueh-chih is limited with him to two informations, *viz.* they clashed with the Hsiung-nu and moved to Ta-hsia. The following events stood in the sphere of direct interest of the compiler of the Hou Han-shu: the *yabghu* Kuṣāṇa subdued the other four *yabghu*, declared himself king and called his state Kuṣāṇa. Till the time of the unification, therefore, the five possessions headed by Yueh-chih *yabghu* were independent, there was no hierarchy and subordination to the head of the Great Yueh-chih. Very likely it is not by accident that the unifier was not the head of the Yueh-chih either (in this case he is not mentioned at all), but one of the five *yabghu*, and the form of the unification was not the strengthening of the «central» power of the Great Yueh-chih, but the victory of one *yabghu* over the other four. This is the new situation described in the Hou Han-shu. Its compiler, however, knows that these five possessions had existed since long, he even knows about how long these five possessions existed before the unification, *viz.* over one hundred years. However, it does not interest him at all how these possessions were originally (at the time of their formation), because these nuances of the past are outside his chronological interest. Thus, stating the fact of the *antiquity* of these possessions, he writes about them as they looked like before the unification. This is why the following phrase is very important: the Yueh-chih divided their country among five (or into five) hsi-hou (*yabghu*).¹⁴

Thus, in the Han-shu the districts governed by the *yabghu* (the origin of the *yabghu* is not defined at all by this source) were subdued by the Great Yueh-chih. In the Hou Han-shu the country of the Great Yueh-chih is divided into districts unconditionally governed by Yueh-chih *yabghu*, which became independent at that time, when one of the *yabghu* conquered the other four. The early informant speaks about the «whole» (state of the Great Yueh-chih) and about the «parts» (possessions of the *yabghu*) subordinated to it. For that chronological section of time that interests the late informant, the «parts» became so independent and the details of the past of their former subordination became so distant that he «turns over» the situation near to his time (independ-

¹⁴The translations of this important phrase on the division of the country by PULLEYBLANK (*op. cit.*, 247: «They divided the country among five hsi-hou (Yabgu) . . .») and by ZÜRCHER (*op. cit.* 367: «. . . and divided their country into the five hsi-hou (yabgu) . . .») differ in the arrangement of the accents. PULLEYBLANK's translation gives more expedient to regard the five hsi-hou as tribal name (see below).

dence of the possessions) into this past and speaks about the «division» of the state among the five *yabghu*. Behind this differing information of the two sources one can clearly see the tendency of development of the still whole, nomadic state of the Great Yueh-chih, already adopting sedentary life and culture, with subordinated Yueh-chih *yabghu* (second stage), towards the dissolution of the unified empire into independent possessions of the *yabghu* (third stage).¹⁵

There is no need to give preference to one of the two sources (as is usually done). They are not contradictory, but define the general tendency, the different stages and boundaries of the history of the Yueh-chih, and the territories conquered by them on both sides of the Amu Darya. In this long period the development advanced in the direction of the separation and strengthening of the independence of the five districts or possessions of the Yueh-chih *yabghu*, reflected in the formulation of the Hou Han-shu and brought about that the centre of the new unification became one of the possessions.

In our opinion the most complicated question is not the seeming mutual exclusion of the testimonies of the Han-shu and the Hou Han-shu regarding the five hsi-hou, but the origin of their *designations*. Are they the designations of districts, of some pre-Yueh-chih dynasties or of tribes (clans) of the Yueh-chih themselves? In fact these three viewpoints are raised in literature. The decision of this question is outside our competence, but it has no conceptual significance for the present paper either. Here it is more important to reconstruct the further transformation of these designations taking into consideration any variant of their original meaning. The key for the understanding of the «semantic transformation» is the designation «Kuṣāṇa». Since Kadphises I was a Kuṣāṇa *yabghu* and after the conquest of the other four *yabghu* his state was called Kuṣāṇa, consequently the meaning of the dynastic designation was borne by this word in the stage of the five independent possessions and also after their unification. Thus, if the five designations according to their origin are pre-Yueh-chih,¹⁶ then after the dissolution of the nomadic camps and the formation of possessions they became the dynastic designations of the five Yueh-chih *yabghu*. This would be one of the examples for the territorial designation of the dynasties. If, however, this was the designation of the five tribes (clans) of the Yueh-chih, then a reversed process can be presumed, *viz.* the extension of the tribal designations to the districts or possessions received. But apart from the dependence from the original meaning, the result will be the same also in accordance with the order

¹⁵ The fact that the Hou Han-shu mentions the capital of the Great Yueh-chih south of the river, does not at all contradict to the conclusion about the dissolution of the country into independent possessions. The existence of a capital is no evidence at all of the strength and significance of the «central» power. Cf. Chang Ch'ien: in Ta-hsia there is no supreme head at all, but the capital is designated.

¹⁶ Directly designations of districts, or (what is less likely) designations of pre-Yueh-chih dynasties extended to the districts.

of the process, *viz.* the melting of the designation of the districts and the dynastic designation *yabghu* in one of the stages. Therefore, the conclusion apparently will not raise any objection that the designations of the five hsi-hou in the second stage (transformation of the nomadic camps first into «vassal» possessions) and in the third stage (development of their independence) till the unification by Kadphises I can be regarded as *dynastic-territorial* designations independently of the ancient origin of the words themselves.

The proposed interpretation of the reports of the three sources as reflections of three stages in the history of the Yueh-chih enables us to see the first word — *TVIANNOVNTOS* «of the ruling» — of the inscription on the coins of «Heraios» in a new light and to define the place of these tetradrachmas from the viewpoint of periodization and relative chronology. The «vassal» character of this title noted by Kennedy (see below) fits well into the framework of the second stage (*i.e.* the situation according to the Han-shu) and seems to be a very good Greek translation or equivalent of the title hsi-hou (*yabghu*) for that long period, when in the second stage the *yabghu* were in a different and changing phase of subordination to the head of the Great Yueh-chih. Such a relative chronology in combination with all the other data can also be useful for the absolute chronology.

The fourth word between the legs of the horse raised a serious polemic in all aspects and this polemic has not come to an end. Of the proposed variants of reconstruction of this word we mention the three most important ones, *viz.* 1) *ΣΑΚΑ* (without taking into consideration the fifth character *beta* or without a convincing interpretation of it); 2) *ΣΑΝΑΒ* — *ΣΑΝΑΒΟΥ*; 3) *ΣΑΚΑΡΟΥ*. The first variant can be regarded as discarded. The study of a more significant material has shown that this word consists sometimes of seven characters (in genitive case, as the whole inscription), and sometimes of five characters *ΣΑΝΑΒ*, *i.e.* a form consisting of four characters (*i.e.* *ΣΑΚΑ*) is excluded.

Cunningham proposed the reconstruction of the spelling as *ΣΑΝΑΒ* — *ΣΑΝΑΒΟΥ* on the basis of six coins of his collection (they are kept at present in the British Museum). Bataille accepted an analogous spelling on the basis of eight tetradrachmas (seven in the British Museum and one in the Paris Cabinet of Medals), and A. N. Zograf supported such a reading with the publication of further coins.¹⁷

The third variant of spelling and reading was proposed by R. M. Ghirshman¹⁸ on the basis of a further coin, which he himself called unique. In this line of the legend there are seven characters. It differs from the original spelling of

¹⁷ A. CUNNINGHAM: Coins of the Indo-Scythian king Miaüs or Heraus. NC, 1888, Ser. 3. Vol. VIII, Sec. offpt. p. 10; G. BATAILLE: Notes sur la numismatique des Kou-shans. *Archéologie* 1928. 19 ff.; ZOGRAF: Монеты «Герая». 15—16.

¹⁸ R. GHIRSHMAN: Begram, recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Koushans. Le Caire 1946. 109—112.

the second variant essentially only in the fifth character, where in place of the *beta* there is some other character, which was proposed by R. M. Ghirshman to be read as *ro*. It really has in the upper part an inflexion permitting the reading *ro*, but below there is a horizontal twirl («the origin of which — in the words of R. M. Ghirshman himself — is not to be clarified»), which is not at all necessary for the character *ro*. Among the published and not published tetradrachmas of «Heraios» known to us there is no other one with an analogous peculiarity of the fifth character in this word consisting of seven letters. It appears to us that this is rather the result of the technical deficiency of the die, and due to abrasion and cracking in the lower part of the fifth character. At the same time R. M. Ghirshman proposed exactly the character *ro* to be regarded as original, the character *beta* on all the other coins as a later error of the engravers of the dies, and the strange form (the unnecessary horizontal twirl below) of the original character *ro* as a cause of their error. To support this conclusion he mentions still two arguments, *viz.*: 1) the fifth character on the tetradrachma of the Paris Cabinet of Medals is written so that Bataille hesitated between the reading *ro* and *beta* 2) the cursive nature of the character *beta* itself renders such a reading doubtful, because one ought to expect a lapidary, capital form.

The doubts of Bataille have been resolved already by Zograf. Regarding the cursive form of the letter *beta*, however, we should note the followings. It is very important that this character has not at all the same shape on the different coins. It is sufficient to examine the coins of the published hoard (Pls. I to III) to be convinced about this fact. On coins Nos. 1, 2 and 8 the «cursiveness» is clearly expressed, the shape of the characters is round, this character is somewhat higher (especially on coin No. 8) than the other ones in this word. The form of the letter *beta* on coins Nos. 3 and 6, on the other hand, can hardly be considered cursive, it can be regarded nearly (No. 6) or fully (No. 3) as lapidary. The shape of the *beta* on the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» Nos. 3 and 6 does not differ from the form of this character on many Graeco-Bactrian and Kuṣāṇa coins, *e.g.* in the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Moreover, examining this subject of the coin hoard, we have discovered on a series of coins of the «Nameless king»¹⁹ that the character *beta* in the first word of the inscription has exactly such a cursive form as on the tetradrachmas Nos. 1 and 2 of «Heraios». In the same word we see the clearly cursive form of the letter *beta* on the Bactrian bronze coins minted after the model of the tetradrachmas of Heliocles. Thus, the cursive form of the fifth character in the word discussed on certain tetradrachmas of «Heraios» in itself does not furnish any basis to doubt that this is exactly the letter *beta*, and no error or deformation of the character *ro*.

As regards the third letter of this word, which was read by the authors of the first variant (ΣΑΚΑ) and the third variant (ΣΑΚΑΡΟΥ) of its reconstruc-

¹⁹ IIT, N-294. Found in the district of Hissar, Tajik SSR.

tion not *N* (*nu*), but *K* (*kappa*), this reading, besides conceptual and intellectual considerations (which we do not discuss now), was based on the following palaeographic data. The third character on the tetradrachmas has two forms, viz. *N* and *H*. Already Gardner read the *H* (as the Russian «И») as the basic, original form, and such a form was frequently assumed by the *kappa* on the latest Bactrian and Parthian coins.²⁰ Now, when a sufficiently large material has been accumulated, this conclusion, from the palaeographic point of view, seems to be entirely fictitious. Even if we confine ourselves only to certain tetradrachmas of the hoard discussed, it becomes clear that there is no reason to regard the *H* in the word discussed as original and to read it as κ (*kappa*).

For the sake of a comfortable comparison, we included the inscriptions on the coins of the hoard in Table 2, and gave a general numeration to all characters.²¹

Let us start with the statement that the character *H* and the alternation *N* — *H* are typical not only of the word discussed (in which according to the general numbering on Table 2 this is character 28: *N* on coins Nos. 1, 2, 6 and 8; *H* on coins Nos. 3, 4 and 7). The same two forms appear in the first word (characters 5 and 6: *NN* on coins Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8; *N* on coin No. 3; *HH* only on coin No. 4), the reading of which does not raise any doubt, because the original form is here exactly *N* (*nu*), and the *H* is the reflected image of the *nu*. Both forms appear also in the third word (character 23: *N* on coins Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8; *H* on coin No. 3, and also on coin No. 5 in character 20), in which the original form is undoubtedly also the character *nu*, i.e. *N*. All these examples already themselves render the palaeographic foundation of the reading of character 28 as *K* (*kappa*) doubtful. But it is even more important that in the inscription of the tetradrachmas there appears the character *K* (character 18) as the first character of the third word. And in each case, when it has been preserved well on the coins of the hoard (coins Nos. 1, 3, 6, see Pls. I—II), it is a quite clearly and correctly written character *K* (*kappa*). And if on the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» the character *K* (*kappa*) has still preserved its correct writing, then there is no reason to doubt that character 28 in its source is actually *N* (*nu*) sometimes reflection-like deformed into *H*. With other words, for the readings ΣAKA and $\Sigma AKAPOY$ neither the character *K* (*kappa*) nor the character *P* (*ro*) furnishes any palaeographic basis. Consequently, the variant $\Sigma ANAB$ — $\Sigma ANABOY$ remains most authentic.

²⁰ GARDNER: Catalogue . . . , XLVII.

²¹ The blank square on Table 2 indicates that the corresponding character is missing in the inscription. The fully erased characters are marked with three parallel strokes. In those cases, when the inscriptions have been preserved very badly and it cannot be absolutely established, whether certain characters were erased or they did not exist, then an interrogation mark is put into the square on the figure. On Table 2 we gave the main characteristics of the writing and position of the characters, but it is not absolutely authentic for the study of those changes that took place on the exterior of the characters on account of the wear and tear of the dies or of other special reasons,

Table 2

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
1	Τ	Υ	/	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Σ	Η	Λ	Ο	Υ	Κ	Ο	/	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β				
2	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Ο	Σ	Η	/	Α	Ο	Υ	'	Ο	/	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β					
3	Τ	Υ	/	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Ο	Σ	Η	Α	Ι	Υ	Κ	Ο	/	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β				
4	Τ	Υ	/	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Ο	Σ	Η	/	Α	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β									
5	Τ	Υ	/	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Υ	Η	Σ	Ο	Α	Ο	Υ	'	Ο	Κ	Α	Ι	Ι	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ζ	Α	Β	Ο	Υ	
6	Τ	Υ	/	Δ	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Ο	Σ	Η	/	Α	Ο	Υ	Κ	Ο	/	Ι	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Α	Ν	Α	Β			
7	Τ	Υ	/	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ο	Τ	Ο	Σ	Η	Υ	Ο	Υ	'	Ο	Ο	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Σ	Α	Ν	Α	Β				
8	Τ	Υ	/	Α	Ν	Ν	Ο	Υ	Ν	Τ	Ο	Σ	Η	Ι	Α	Ο	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ	Α	Ν	Ο	Υ	Α	Ν	Α	Β	Υ			

Errors in the inscriptions on the tetradrachmas of the hoard

The question of the meaning of this word has not been decided and in its essence this circumstance has not been examined by specialists. The idea of Zograf seems to be very useful (casually mentioned and rejected at once by him) that this is a proper name of Iranian origin.²² This idea was energetically supported by S. P. Tolstov,²³ convincingly rejecting all other explanations. The absence of this word on the oboli of «Heraios» confusing Zograf is not a serious obstacle, because the inscriptions of coins even of the same denominations and even more of different denominations were frequently different and did not always contain proper names (cf. the coins of the «Nameless king»). At the same time, it has to be noted in advance that the word «Sanab» as a proper name by itself does not decide at all the problem of the second word, *HIAOY*, of the inscription. The existence of two names on the tetradrachmas (the Greek «Heraios» and the Iranian «Sanab») should not be excluded mechanically, although the study of *HIAOY* as a constituent part of the titulature²⁴ is also very useful.

In the restored inscription of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» we accept not the traditional order of the words, inasmuch we do not regard the word below, under the feet of the horse as the last one, but the word «Sanab» between the legs of the horse.

1. *TYIANNOYNTOS HIAOY KOIIANOY ΣANABOY*
«Of the ruling (= *yabghu*) *HIAOY* Kuṣāṇa Sanab».

2. *TYIANNOYNTOS HIAOY KOIIANOY ΣANAB*,
«Of the ruling (= *yabghu*) *HIAOY* Kuṣāṇa, Sanab».

As has been already noted, there are many errors in the inscription of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios», and the first task of research was, of course, to «break through» these errors, to establish the original writing and the original text. At that the errors themselves were not the matter of special examination. The peculiarities of these errors and their possible regularity were not analysed. They were mechanically «placed» to the account of the gradual deformation of the inscription. Sometimes they were implicitly and sometimes explicitly regarded as the sign of the illiteracy of the engravers of the dies, and sometimes also as unskilful forgeries.

A more careful examination of these errors permits their classification, and the classification suggests an entirely different assumption regarding the reasons and origin of these errors. Here we consider only the inscriptions of coins of the hoard (see Table 2 and Pls. I to III).

On the basis of the material of the hoard, these errors can be divided into five types, which are numbered with Roman numerals.

²² ZOGRAF: МОНЕТЫ «Герая». 30—31.

²³ S. P. TOLSTOV: К вопросу о монетах «Герая». VDI 1939. No. 2. 117.

²⁴ *Ibidem.*

I. Reflection-like reversed writing of the characters

- a) *N* — *H* (see above)
- b) Δ — Λ in each word (characters 4, 15, 22, 29).

II. Substitution of the necessary characters and groups of characters with other characters and groups of characters

- a) *O* in place of *N* (character 9 on coins Nos. 1 to 7)
- b) *H* in place of *N* (character 11 on coin No. 5)
- c) *Y* in place of *T* (character 10 on coin No. 5)
- d) *O* in place of *H* (character 13 on coin No. 5)
- e) *Y* in place of Δ (character 15 on coin 7)
- f) *O* in place of *II* (characters 20 and 21 on coin No. 7)
- g) in place of group *KOII* (characters 18 to 21) on coin No. 8 *NNY*

III. Shifting of characters and groups of characters²⁵

- a) on coin No. 3 *AI* in place of *IA* (characters 14 and 15)
- b) on coin No. 5 *HAI* in place of *IIAI* (characters 20 to 23)
- c) on coin No. 8 *OB* in place of *BO* (characters 30 and 31)
- d) on coin No. 5 characters 11 to 13 (parts of two words) are also the result of shifting: ... *HΣ||O* ... in place of ... *OΣ||H* ...

IV. Omission of characters

- a) *O* (character 11 on coin No. 1)
- b) *N* (character 6 on coin No. 3)
- c) *I* full and abbreviated (character 14 on coins Nos. 1, 4, 5 and 7)

V. «Inversions» by 90°, 180° and other divergences from the correct position

- a) Σ in place of *N* (character 29 on coin No. 5)
- b) Λ in place of the character *A* (character 4 on coin No. 3, character 15 on coin No. 1), possibly it is the «inversion» of *Y* by 180°
- c) character 4 on coin No. 6 — *alpha*, but the impression remains that its upper part forms here the left end of the base, *i.e.* it is inverted by about 120° to 130°. An approximate position is possible also in the case of character 27 on coin No. 4.

²⁵ The published coins give a very interesting variant of translocation of an already erroneous combination of characters, not represented in the hoard. Characters 8—10 in the first word should be *YNT*, a very frequent error (with the replacement of character 9: □ in place of *N*, see coins Nos. 1—7 of the hoard) is *YOT*. On the published coins in this place (characters 8—10) we find *TOY* instead of *YOT*. (See CUNNINGHAM: *Coins* . . . , 10, No. 4, Pl. III, 4; R. B. WHITEHEAD: *Notes on the Indo-Greeks*, NC 1940. Ser. 5, No. 78, 120, No. 17); ΖΟΓΡΑΦ: *Монеты «Герая»*, 34 (in the rendering of character 8 with ΖΟΓΡΑΦ we find *Y*, and it should be *T*, see the photograph).

d) example of divergence from the correct position is character 27 (*alpha*) on coins Nos. 2 and 3.

The first word is written correctly only on coin No. 8; the second word on coins Nos. 2 and 8 (if we regard the writing *HIAOY* as correct); the third and fourth words on coins Nos. 1, 2 and 6. But there is not even one among the eight coins of the hoard, on which the inscription would not contain some types of errors.

It has already been mentioned that the reverse sides of all the eight coins were minted with different dies, *viz.* the details of representation of the horseman and the goddess Nike are different; the bending of the arched part of the inscription and its arrangement in comparison to the representation are different; there is a difference in the length and arrangement of the lower word under the feet of the horse; and the arrangement and size of the characters of the fourth word between the legs of the horse are also different. Now we have to add to this also another very important characteristic, *viz.* the *stock of errors and the types of errors* are individual on each coin! We enumerate these individual «stocks» of errors (omitting the errors of type I).

Coin No. 1: type II (character 9) + type IV (characters 11 and 14) + type V (character 15).

Coin No. 2: type II (character 9).

Coin No. 3: type II (character 9) + type III (characters 14 and 15) + type IV (character 6) + type V (character 4).

Coin No. 4: type II (character 9) + type IV (character 14).

Coin No. 5: type II (characters 9 and 10) + type III (characters 20 to 23 and characters 11 to 13) + type IV (character 14) + type V (character 28).²⁶

Coin No. 6: type II (character 9).

Coin No. 7: type II (characters 9, 15, 20 and 21) + type IV (character 14).

Coin No. 8: type II (characters 18 to 21) + type III (characters 30 to 31).

It is important to stress that not only the inscriptions showed stocks of errors of different types, but even the single characters or groups of characters contained errors of several types. For example, an incorrect character was taken (type II), and in addition it was also inversed (type V); or an incorrect group of characters came into being as a result of the substitution of one character (type II), and then they were also shifted here and there.

But what is the origin of these errors?

²⁶ On the coin published by CUNNINGHAM, who reads the inscriptions not entirely correctly, judged from the photograph, there is an entirely analogous, composite set of errors (character 31 *O* resembles to *I*, because it is damaged by the representation of the foot of the horse). CUNNINGHAM's coin has been preserved badly, but still it seems to be more likely that it and coin No. 5 of the hoard were minted with different dies. Only the type of the set of errors is identical (see CUNNINGHAM: *Coins* . . . , 10, No. 5 Pl. III, 5).

Of course, every new die for the minting of coins was prepared after a model and, consequently, the engraver of the die could repeat the certain accidental errors of the model, but he could also make some separate errors. Thus, the errors of the first type can easily be explained with negligence on the part of the engraver of the die. Certain especially frequently repeating substitutions of certain characters could be regarded as «inherited», *i.e.* part of the errors of type II (*e.g.* *O* in place of *N*, character 9), etc. But, obviously, the errors of types II to V as a whole and the individuality of the stocks of errors in each inscription will be understood, if we presume that on the dies the inscriptions were not engraved individually, but they were minted with punches of the certain characters.

The punching technique²⁷ simplified and accelerated the preparation of the inscriptions but, at the same time, it also furnished a considerable possibility of errors exactly of types II to V. Simplicity and advantage of the punching technique are obvious. The character must have had the same form on the punch as later on the coin, *i.e.* the character on the punch did not have a mirrored but a normal representation that psychologically facilitated the work of the engraver. But, of course, this is not the main thing. The main thing was that one and the same punch could be used many times. The character engraved on it once, later on was repeated on many dies, thus accelerating and facilitating their preparation.

The engraver of the dies had a set of punches. And just like in the modern hand-operated typographic set, he made the same errors. The model was lying before the engraver just like before the setter. He took the correct character, but inverted the punch, and thus an error of type V was made. He correctly took 2–3 characters, which followed one after the other, but he arranged the punches incorrectly, and thus an error of type III arose. He did not take the same character, and thus an error of type II came into being, etc. And there were no «proof-readings». Thus an individual set of errors of different types came into being. Only the errors of type I were errors in the strict sense of the word. These are errors made at the time of preparation of the punch. The rest of the errors, with standard forms of the characters themselves, were errors of the «setter».

This explanation is also supported by two observations. Firstly, on certain coins the inscriptions are arranged so that certain characters practically «run» into the representation and, to some extent, even damage it. This can clearly be seen at the contact of the characters with the representation of Nike, of the head of the horseman, as well as with the representation of the head and feet of the horse. We mention a few concrete examples (see Pls. I–III). Coin

²⁷ About the application of the punching technique in ancient times see «Wörterbuch der Münzkunde», ed. by F. SCHRÖTTER. B. 1970. 538.

No. 2 : characters 7 and 13 ; coin No. 3 : characters 5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 29 ; coin No. 4 : characters 6 to 8 ; coin No. 5 : characters 26, 30 and 31 (character 30 below does not come out from behind the representation of the hoof) ; coin No. 6 : character 15 ; etc. On coin No. 2 characters 29 and 30 «ran» into each other. At the engraving directly on the die the engraver could easily have avoided these deficiencies with a slight shifting and reducing.

Secondly, at the individual engraving on the die, in the case of a «set» of punches, the engraver ought to have made a marking of the arch on the die for the first two words and a marking of a straight line for the third word under the feet of the horse. If he had engraved the inscription direct on the die, then this marking would have been an accurate basis for him and then he would not have damaged it. In the punching technique it is more complicated to observe such a marking. This consideration also speaks in favour of the punching technique, because on certain coins this marking is considerably damaged. In this conception coins Nos. 6 and 8 are especially characteristic, *viz.* the third word under the feet of the horse on coin No. 6 is arranged in an «undulant» form, while on coin No. 8 it is arranged arched. There are smaller deficiencies of the marking also on other coins.²⁸

The writing of certain characters in the arched part of the inscription attracts attention. For example, the characters *H* and *N* — *H* are sometimes broadening upwards that corresponds to the arch and therefore, in the early phase, explicable, these characters were either engraved direct on the die or on the punch (marked out for the arched inscription). But when the character *H* (coin No. 3, character 23) is broadening upwards in the linear third word under the feet of the horse, then this speaks in favour of the punching technique (a punch marked out for the arched inscription was taken). Character *N* in the arched inscription of the tetradrachma belonging to the Cabinet of Medals in Paris²⁹ is even more convincing. This is character 5, it is broadening not upwards but downwards ! It is clear that the punch was turned round with the legs upwards, at 180°, just like other characters (errors of type V) were turned round.

Thus, all facts and observations mentioned, and especially the presence of errors of types II to V on the coins and the individuality of the set of errors of these types on the different coins of the hoard, render the conclusion very probable that the inscriptions on the dies for the minting of the reverse of the tetra-

²⁸ The dimensions of the characters and their height are interesting. Usually, the height of the characters in the same inscription is almost identical. But on certain coins it is very different even in the single words (see coins Nos. 4, 6 and others). Although this can be explained also with the inexperience of the engraver of the die, still it must be noted that it is more complicated to keep the accurate height of the characters at the preparation of separate punches, than in the direct engraving on the die if there is punctuation. This alone does not speak in favour of the punching technique, but together with the previous more weighty facts and conceptions it still receives some significance.

²⁹ GHIRSHMAN : *Begram* . . . , Pl. XXIII, 5.

drachmas of «Heraios» were not engraved individually on each die, but stamped on the dies with sets of punches.³⁰

From the palaeographic point of view, in the inscriptions of the coins of the hoard the character *beta* is most interesting, because it furnishes variants from the cursive up to the almost perfectly lapidary forms (see above). The other characters of the coins show a rather standardized writing for this group of coins known already from publications (Table 3).³¹ The tetradrachmas of the

Table 3

Greek letters	alpha	beta	ypsilon	eta	kappa	ny	omikron	rho	sigma	tau	letter 14 on Table 2	letters 20-21 on Table 2
on the coins of the hoard	Α	Β	Υ	Η	Κ	Ν	Ο	Ι	Σ	Τ	!	!!
	Α	Β			Κ	Η		ρ			'	((
	Α	Β									ρ?	

Basic forms of the characters on the tetradrachmas of the hoard

hoard do not show any further or different transformations of the characters, except, perhaps, the peculiar writing (with «hook») of character 14 on coin No. 2, which at the first glance could support its reading as *ro* that, on the other hand, would support the reading of the whole word as «Heraios». But one must carefully examine this «hook» (Pl. I, 2). Between character 13 and character 15

³⁰ Among other things, we have examined in this context the obols of «Eucratides» minted in Bactria and to be found in Southern Tajikistan. Two unpublished obols from the burial-ground of Tup-khana near Hissar (excavations of 1961, burial 96 and excavations of 1971, burial 3) convince us that the inscriptions on the dies for the reverse side were also prepared exactly with punches.

³¹ The small variation (not considered on Table 3) is sometimes the result of inclination to the left or to the right (especially in the arched inscriptions) and of some individuality of the «writing», and sometimes the result of the wear and tear of the dies or punches. The Greek names of the last two characters and composite characters are not given on Table 3: the final reading of character 14 on the tetradrachmas has not been established, and characters 20—21 served for the rendering of the sound ξ .

there is a too small space for character 14, it is so to say «sticked» to the *alpha* (to character 15) and repeats its writing. It seems that this is the case when the punch with the character 15 (*alpha*) was either simply dislodged or stamped twice (after the first failure, when it did not appear fully), as a result of which the left «side» of character 15, *i.e.* *alpha* in the die and thereafter also on the coin appeared as practically duplicated forming the above mentioned «hook». If this is so, then on coin No. 2 character 14 is simply left out, what is very typical of this word on the tetradrachmas of «Heraios».³²

It is interesting to note the rendering of the two variants of the sound *ş* (characters 20 and 21), *viz.* with two straight or with two slightly bent, parallel strokes. They are placed so close that visually they are perceived as one character. In the literature on the obols of «Heraios» these forms are laid down, and also two combinations uniting both writings *И* and *П*, where the first character of this two-charactered sound in outlines is sometimes a clear *ro*. The assertion of A. M. Mandelshtam, according to which on the obols of «Heraios» for the rendering of the sound *ş* the *kappa* was also used,³³ is a mere misunderstanding. The whole inscription consisting of two lines is read by A. M. Mandelshtam as follows:³⁴ [?] *A* [? ?] *OY* [*K*] *OKANOY*. The coin was found in the south of Tajikistan and is kept in the IIT. We have carefully examined it, and the inscription has the following form (Pl. III, 9): *HA/OY* [*K*] *OИA//OY*. Here in both words there appear errors of type III, *viz.* shifting of characters. In the first word in place of *HA/OY* we must put *H/AOY* (to which in this case the parallel bendings of the second and third characters correspond very well); in the second word in place of [*K*] *OИA//OY* we have to put [*K*] *OИAИOY*. Consequently, the sound *ş* is rendered also here with one of the variants of the usual combination of characters. And the nature of the errors itself in the inscription of the obol permits the assumption that the punching technique of preparation of the inscriptions in the dies was used for the obols of «Heraios» just like for his tetradrachmas.

To show that the coins have become important sources for political and economic history, we must elucidate their own «biography». As regards the inscriptions of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios», there is still no convincing and unambiguous reading and translation accepted by everybody. The hoard of tetradrachmas from Tajikistan does not furnish special additional materials for it. But the coins have supported the original variant of this inscription on the

³² Cf. coins Nos. 1, 4, 5, 7.

³³ A. M. MANDELSTAM: Об одном оболе «Герая». *EV*, 14 (1961) 54.

³⁴ On the basis of this reading of the first word and also of the writing of the same word on the oboli published by ZOGRAF (Монеты «Герая», 6), G. A. ПУГАЧЕНКОВА presumed that the obols and the tetradrachmas belong to the minting of two different rulers, *viz.* the obols to the successor or predecessor of «Heraios» (К иконографии Герая 13.). The essence of the errors (translocation of the characters) both on the tetradrachmas and (see below) on the obols, to be traced back to the punching technique of preparation of the inscriptions in the die, remove the assumption of ПУГАЧЕНКОВА.

tetradrachmas, they have rendered possible the classification of the errors and different readings, and on the basis of this classification also the explanation of the specific feature, reasons and origin of the errors to be traced back to the punching technique of the preparation of the inscriptions of dies.

In the «biography» of the coins of «Heraios» there is still a series of «white spots», like the chronology, genealogy, and the place of minting.

At present the place of the mint where the coins of «Heraios» were struck, *viz.* Bactria,³⁵ raises the slightest disputes. The conclusion is based on the comparison of three circumstances, *viz.* the absence of Kharoṣṭhī in the inscriptions, the essentially Attic standard of weight, provenance of the coin finds. The attempts «to take» the mint of «Heraios» out of the boundaries of Bactria is not supported by any facts.³⁶

It must be taken with reservation that the coins made of precious metals could be taken far out of the boundaries of those places, where they were minted. The isolated and sporadic finds of silver coins of high standard do not at all outline the boundaries of the districts issuing them and they require great carefulness. Finds of coins of «Heraios», *e.g.* are now recorded from Taxila to Tashkent.³⁷ Therefore, only a mass registration of compactly situated provenances of silver coins of «Heraios» could be regarded as a reliable source. Till recent times, however, the researchers have had information only on isolated and territorially scattered finds. Their number can now be considerably increased, *viz.* there are already three finds in the territory of Southern Tajikistan. We have already mentioned the obol of «Heraios» from the site of Kei-Kobadshah.³⁸ Four obols of «Heraios» have been found in 1972 by the archaeologist B. A. Litvinskiy at the excavations of the necropolis (two specimens in the funeral structure II) and in the gorodishche (two specimens, slope) of Shahtepa near the banks of river Pyanj (district Shaartuz).³⁹ And, finally, the published hoard of tetradrachmas. Thus, exactly Northern Bactria (city of Termez⁴⁰ and

³⁵ There are two viewpoints about the question, what territory was called in ancient times Bactria, *viz.* only that situated south of the Amu Darya or also north of this river, *i.e.* comprising Southern Uzbekistan and Southern Tajikistan? Here and later we accept the second variant.

³⁶ The territory south of the Hindu Kush has already been convincingly excluded. There are, however, attempts to take the coins of «Heraios» beyond the boundaries of Bactria north and north-east of it. S. P. Tolstov proposed, even as a hypothesis, *e.g.* first Chorasmia or Kuṣāniya on the Zerafshan (VDI, 1939. No. 2. 119), then Sogdiana or Bactria (Древний Хорезм. Moscow 1948. 181) and again Kuṣāniya on the Zerafshan (По следам древнехорезмийской цивилизации. Moscow—Leningrad 1948. 149). These hypotheses are not based on facts, the constituent part of the conception is that «Heraios» is a vassal of the king of K'ang-chü. It was convincingly pointed out by PUGACHENKOVA that the location of the mint of the coins of «Heraios» to Kuṣāniya on the Zerafshan is unfounded (К иконографии Герая. 131, 134—135).

³⁷ It is true, the find in Tashkent was received with dubitation (PUGACHENKOVA: К иконографии Герая. 131).

³⁸ MANDELSHTAM: Об одном оболе «Герая». 53—54.

³⁹ These obols are the subject of special publication.

⁴⁰ ZOGRAF: Монеты «Герая». 34—35.

three sites in Southern Tajikistan) has already given four compactly situated occurrences of coins of «Heraios».⁴¹ The total number of coins from these four places is now fourteen (five obols and nine tetradrachmas), but there were more of them, because the hoard of tetradrachmas from Tajikistan has not yet been collected fully.

This, of course, does not give a firm basis to assert that the mint issuing the coins of «Heraios» was exactly in Northern Bactria. But it shakes the rather wide-spread and earnestly not founded point of view (to which, by the way, also Zograf adhered) that the coins of «Heraios» were minted in Southern Bactria (in Northern Afghanistan). If we do not want to overestimate the facts in favour of the conception, then it can quite objectively be stated only that the new occurrences of coins prove beyond any doubt that the coins of «Heraios» were really minted in Bactria. By themselves they do not answer two important questions, *viz.* whether there was one mint or several mints; accordingly, were the coins of «Heraios» minted in Northern Bactria, or both in Northern and in Southern Bactria? To answer these questions the registration of the finds of coins alone is, apparently, insufficient, exactly because the coins are made of *silver*.⁴²

The indisputability of the conclusion about the Bactrian (and preferably Northern Bactrian) origin of the coins of «Heraios» induces us to turn to the question of the five *hsi-hou*, *i.e.* the five districts or possessions of the Yueh-chih *yabghu*. The localization of these possessions has attracted the attention of the most important scholars several times and it has raised a series of hypotheses. The Kuṣāṇa *hsi-hou*, *e.g.*, was located in different places from the valley of the Kashka Darya to Badakhshan and Kafiristan,⁴³ but outside the boundaries of that state of the Great Yueh-chih, which was established in the second stage (according to our chronology) and occupied the territory of Bactria (north and south of the Amu Darya). The data on the place of minting of the coins of «Heraios» do not leave any doubt that the Kuṣāṇa *hsi-hou* was situated exactly in the territory of Bactria. The earlier attempts to locate his settlement could

⁴¹ One of the obols of «Heraios» from the collection of the late historian and region researcher A. E. МАЖИ is kept now in the RMT (I-1884/2). It has not been published, and the site of this find is not known.

⁴² The data of the archaeological excavations have led PUGACHENKOVA to the conclusion that the main possession of the Kuṣāṇas before the foundation of the empire was exactly Northern Bactria: «Under the rule of «Heraios» Khalchayan obviously played the role, if not of the capital, then of the main residence of the king, as soon as a sculptural composition of the building of the palace was devoted to the glorification of the «clan of Heraios» (К иконографии Герая. 132—134).

⁴³ A summary of data see A. M. MANDELSHTAM: Материалы к историко-географическому обзору Памира и припамирских областей с древнейших времен до X в. н. э., Труды АН Тадж ССР, 53 (1957) 62—64. The basis for the location and the method is the phonetic similarity and the data of a later source (Pei-shih). In connection with this MANDELSHTAM (not taking into consideration even the work of ZOGRAF and the numismatic data) manifested a quite sober doubt regarding the full identity of the data of Pei-shih and the earlier sources, and especially concerning the location of the Kuṣāṇas.

not yet rely on the data of the coins, and the general historical situation as well as the chronology of the Yueh-chih before the establishment of the Kuṣāṇa empire (as these are described on the basis of three sources, *viz.* Chang Ch'ien, the Han-shu and the Hou Han-shu, see above pp. 153 to 155) were not considered by them. It has to be added that the four other hsi-hou should also be looked for and located in those boundaries of the state of the Great Yueh-chih as they were in the second stage (when the hsi-hou were still vassal) and continued to exist in the third stage, because the expansion started already under Kadphises I, *i.e.* after the unification of the five possessions.⁴⁴

One of the most complicated and definitively not yet solved questions is the *time* of minting of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios». After the most fundamental research of Zograf (in 1937) which, on the basis of a comparative analysis of a large number of relevant data, dated the coins of «Heraios» to the middle or even to the second quarter of the 1. century B.C., and mentioned also a series of arguments against the earlier and later date proposed before him (within the limits from 128 B.C. to 100 A.D.), and found followers in this question, in the works of several authors there appeared again the tendency to date these coins to a later period. This is, however, exactly a tendency, because the method and conclusions of Zograf are not refuted, new methods and facts are not proposed, but the new dates appear, as a rule, in the form of «appendices» to the conceptions.⁴⁵

The first hoard of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» itself does not solve the question of their dating either. But certain observations made in the course of the study of the hoard can be very useful in this respect.

The *form* and *execution* of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» deserves attention. Zograf took this circumstance into consideration in the dating of the coins of «Heraios», *viz.* «In the field of the execution the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» with their solid circle with almost flat surface on both sides and even, plain edge are far from the Bactrian tetradrachmas, just like all hellenistic coins of the 3. and 2. centuries B.C. clearly showing bulge on the observe side and depression on the reverse side with a sharp edge».⁴⁶ Below, Zograf stresses once more that

⁴⁴ Cf. the correction in the Hou Han-shu in connection with the fifth hsi-hou, mentioned in the Han-shu (ZÜRCHER: *op. cit.*, 367–368), and also the other data on the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa conquests (*ibidem*, 367).

⁴⁵ We mention a few excellent examples. R. M. GHIRSHMAN (1946): last quarter of the 1st century B. C. (Begram . . . , 112; it is true that GHIRSHMAN did not have a possibility to use the work of ZOGRAF); I. M. DIAKONOV (1950): 1st century A. D., from the turn of this century (M. M. DIAKONOV: Работы Кафиригганского отряда, МИА 15. 1950. 174–175); BHASKAR CHATTOPADHYAY in 1967 (The Age of the Kushānas . . . , 15): last quarter of the 1st century B. C.; D. W. MACDOWALL—N. G. WILSON in 1970 (The References to the Kuṣānas in the Periplus and Further Numismatic Evidence for Its Date. NC 1970. Ser. 7. Vol. X. 227 foll.): «Heraios» is identical with the «Nameless King», his coins were minted in the period between the Kuṣāṇa kings Kadphises I and Kadphises II.

⁴⁶ ZOGRAF: *Монеты «Герая»*. 22, 24.

the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» and those of the later Bactrian rulers «sharply» differ in their execution.⁴⁷

It is, however, far from being so. R. B. Whitehead, on the contrary, has noted that the coin published by him is distinguished not by flat but by concave reverse.⁴⁸ The same can be said also about six (of the eight) coins of the hoard discussed here. The degree of bulging of the obverse side and the concavity of their reverse side are different, but they exist, and the edges of all the six coins are not even but exactly sharp.⁴⁹ Thus, this essential characteristic — the execution of the tetradrachmas — does not at all separate («sharply» at that) the hellenistic coins from the 3. and 2. centuries B.C. (including the Graeco-Bactrian ones) and the tetradrachmas of «Heraios». On the contrary, the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» in their execution closely join the Graeco-Bactrian coins, but these typical features of the latter ones so to say gradually fades away in them. This circumstance is essential for the absolute and relative dating of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios», especially in connection with the tendency to date them to a later period already mentioned.

The *standard* and *weight* of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» are very important. Seven coins of the hoard have been tested, the standard of six coins was 800 (the testing was made in Moscow, in the GIM), and the standard of one coin was 873 (the testing was made by the coin tester of the Office of Standardizing Control in Tashkent). For the time being we do not discuss a certain difference, we note only the main thing, *viz.* the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» have been minted of silver of high quality, the silver in them is about or above 80%. This is a very important essential fact against the background of the characteristics of the development of minting in Bactria and in certain neighbouring territories after the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom and before the reform of the Kuṣāṇa ruler Kadphises II.

The weight of all the 8 coins of the hoard is high (Table 4), it gives a compact group within the limits of 15.2 to 16 grams.

It is not possible to determine the average weight of all these coins with the graphic method (histogram). The average arithmetic weight of the eight coins of the hoard is 15.56 g. This number, in the given case, is convincing, because the coins of the hoard do not show unexpected differences of weight, and as has already mentioned, they are quite compact in regard to weight.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem.* 25.

⁴⁸ WHITEHEAD: Notes . . . , 122.

⁴⁹ Since among the tetradrachmas both variants appear, *viz.* flat ones with plain edges, and convex-concave ones with sharpened edges, from this point of view it is absolutely unnecessary to examine the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» kept in other museums, especially in the rich collection of the British Museum. Certain coins of those published by CUNNINGHAM (Coins . . . , Pl. III. Nos. 3—4) arouse our interest: judged from the photographs, the sharpening of the edges and the convex-concave execution is exactly the same on them that, of course, have to be controlled in the originals.

Table 4
WEIGHT AND STANDARD OF THE TETRADRACHMAS OF THE HOARD

N°	Inv. N°	Weight in grm.	Standard	N°	Inv. N°	Weight in grm.	Standard
1	N-377/1	15.20	800	5	N-377/5	16.00	800
2	N-377/2	15.55	800	6	N-377/6	15.79	800
3	N-377/3	15.42	800	7	N-341	15.84	—
4	N-377/4	15.40	800	8	RMT-2973	15.30	873

The weight of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios», as a source for their dating, was thoroughly studied by Zograf. Working with the weights of ten coins, he received the following data: the extreme values are 11.95 g. and 15.67 g., and the average weight is 13.93 g. Starting out from the assumption that the changes of weight (the average weight, the amplitude of fluctuations in the weights, the quantity of specimens with small weights below 14 g.), in several eastern states took place synchronously, A. N. Zograf arrived at the conclusion that the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» most closely join with the tetradrachmas of Orodes I (57—37. B.C.) and with the Roman minting in Antioch (47—20. B.C.).⁵⁰

Does the hoard change the conception about the weight of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios»? Definitely, although the question is not at all simple and at present it cannot be examined in its whole range. First of all we must elucidate the facts themselves of the high weight of all coins contained in the hoard, of their «compactness» of weight, and accordingly their high average weight «within the hoard». This characteristic of the hoard can reflect the fortuity of the set or the regularity of the mint of the coins and the circulation of money. Since the general range of the fluctuation of weight of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» is very broad (now it is even broader, up to 4.14 g.: from 11.86 g. to 16.00 g.), it can be presumed that the owner of the hoard specially selected specimens of high weight. The possibility, however, cannot be excluded that «Heraios» himself changed the standard of weight and also the average weight limits in the minting of the tetradrachmas. This would mean that in one stage the tetradrachmas were of high weight and the average weight limits were comparatively small (the fluctuations of weight were within the limits of 1 g. or slightly higher), and in another stage they were of smaller weight and with a very high range of the fluctuation of weight (over 2 g.). If this is so, then the method proposed by Zograf for the study of the weight of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» for their dating is unacceptable, because it will be necessary to study and to compare not

⁵⁰ ZOGRAF: МОНЕТЫ «Герая», 21—23. At present one thinks that it was Orodes II who reigned in these years.

the general average weight of all tetradrachmas and not the general range of the fluctuations of their weights, but two average weights and two ranges of the fluctuations of weight.

Now we know the weight of 23 tetradrachmas of «Heraios».⁵¹ The histogram (Table 5) seems to speak in favour of exactly two stages in the minting of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios». In this case the hoard would reflect one of the two stages of coin minting and the circulation of money. For the time being this is a working hypothesis. A possible method of control is the collation of the weight of the coins with all of their other characteristics, *viz.* the testing of standard of fineness, execution, and with the characteristic of variants, and also with the stylistic characteristics of the representation, the errors as well as with the «sets» of types of errors in the inscriptions, etc. It is also essential to compare the weight of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» with the weight of his obols, and also with the weight of other coins minted and circulated in the territory of Bactria after its conquest by the Yueh-chih. This already exceeds the frame of the tasks of the present publication, but it is important to stress that the assumption about two «stages of weight» in the minting and circulation of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» and the necessity to find a method for the control of this hypothesis are prompted exactly by the hoard discussed. And depending on whether there appears a compactness of high weights (15.2 g. to 16.0 g.) of the eight coins of the hoard and whether their high average weight (15.56 g.) is the result of accident (selection by the owner) or the result of regularity (minting of coins and minting policy), these data of weights are different, but in both cases they represent an additional source for the absolute and relative dating of the coins of «Heraios».

Another fact is also interesting, *viz.* all the eight tetradrachmas of the hoard were minted with different dies. The majority of the coins published earlier — as far as it can be judged from the photographs — were minted also with different dies. The assumption can be expressed only about certain specimens that they were minted with the same dies.⁵² The small number of tetradrachmas of «Heraios» known at present should not lead to a mistake, *viz.* their minting was very numerous, what is shown exactly by the significant number of dies, used for the minting of such a small number of coins known so far. This fact,

⁵¹ The weight of nine tetradrachmas of the British Museum (1 specimen published by P. GARDNER; 1 specimen of H. N. WRIGHT and 7 specimens of CUNNINGHAM) was told me by D. W. MACDOWALL, for what I am very grateful to him. In the publications only the weight of part of the coins of the British Museum was mentioned. Certain data of weight have been taken from the publications of WHITEHEAD and ZOGRAF, the weight of the specimen of the MIUZ (N-16/4) and that of the eight specimens of the hoard have been added.

⁵² We are giving some examples. The reverse side of coin No. 5 of the hoard and of coin No. 5 of CUNNINGHAM was minted with one die; the reverse side of the coin found in Termez (ZOGRAF: МОНЕТЫ . . . , 34) and that of coin No. 4 of CUNNINGHAM, etc. were also minted with the same die.

Table 5
 WEIGHT OF 23 TETRADRACHMAS OF «HERAIOS»
 (the black circles represent the coins of the hoard)

Weight in grm.,	Coins	Weight in grm.	Coins
16.0	● ○	13.9	
15.9		13.8	
15.8	● ●	13.7	
15.7	○	13.6	○
15.6	● ○	13.5	
15.5		13.4	
15.4	● ●	13.3	
15.3	● ○	13.2	
15.2	●	13.1	
15.1	○ ○	13.0	
15.0		12.9	
14.9		12.8	○
14.8	○	12.7	○
14.7		12.6	
14.6		12.5	
14.5		12.4	
14.4		12.3	
14.3		12.2	○ ○
14.2		12.1	
14.1		12.0	○
14.0	○	11.9	○

examined not isolated, but together with the weight and fineness of the silver tetradrachmas of «Heraios», and also with their already doubtless Bactrian origin, clearly show that in the territory of Bactria, at the time when they were minted, there was a sufficient quantity of silver (in metal or in old coins). The favourable condition of the silver reserves in Bactria under «Heraios» and the intensive minting of his coins are also facts that are very important for their dating taking into consideration the financial reform of Kadphises II.

It is true that Macdowall and Wilson maintain that the «selection» of silver by «Heraios» for the minting of coins does not have a significance for the dating. In their opinion the selection of coinage metal (copper, fine silver, billon) by the rulers (examples are given) entirely depended on the accessibility of the rich silver mines of Panjshir.⁵³ Then it should be explained, why did Kadphises

⁵³ MACDOWALL—WILSON: The Reference, 225 foll.

II (whom they regard as the direct heir of «Heraios», whom they identified with the «Nameless King»), to whom the mines of Panjshir (if they were functioning) were definitely accessible, reject the minting of silver entirely and the subsequent Kuṣāṇa kings did also not return to the silver. The question of the «selection» of the coinage metal should not be decided so unilaterally and simplified. This «selection» depends on the interrelation of several economic, political, psychological, and sometimes also on individual reasons and factors, which in addition are concrete for each region. In Parthia, *e.g.* the minting of silver was not discontinued. Bactria, on the other hand, definitely experienced a local «crisis of silver coins», which ended with the reform of Kadphises II (see below), it is only important to determine when it started and when it developed. The *silver* of the Bactrian coins of «Heraios» is, therefore, a very important fact for the dating of these coins and also for the development of the «crisis of the silver coins» in Bactria.⁵⁴

The reform of Kadphises II was observed by the numismatists long ago. E. V. Zeymal, who studied the Kuṣāṇa coins intensively and usefully, summed up and evaluated his observations and those of his predecessors regarding the contents and reasons of its realization as follows: «Essentially Vima Kadphises laid down the beginnings of the minting of gold in Bactria and in Northern India. The changing over to the gold coin by Kadphises II was usually explained first of all with the exhaustion of the silver reserves in the country, what manifested itself in the Indo-Greek period in the deterioration of the quality of the minting metal. The second reason is seen in the establishment of close connections by the Kuṣāṇas with the Roman Empire. There were also economic relations that resulted in the influx of western gold to the country. Our attention should also be turned to the circumstance that as from the 2. century B.C. the territories incorporated in the Kuṣāṇa Empire thereafter, were distributed among small governors. The uniting of these isolated possessions into a vast and powerful state must have influenced its economic possibilities favourably and, apparently, it also became one of the most important conditions of the appearance of the minting of gold under Vima Kadphises».⁵⁵

One of the sides of this reform — the minting of gold — is studied now thoroughly. We must specially mention the meticulous observations of Macdowall in two excellent articles of his (in 1960 and 1968). Pointing out that the idea itself of the minting of gold by Vima Kadphises was «possibly» (1960) or

⁵⁴ Apparently it is not important for Macdowall and Wilson, because they accepted the conception that «Heraios» is the «Nameless King» and he ruled between Kadphises I and Kadphises II. This conception, however, is not based on facts, and it exactly contradicts them. It is sufficient to compare the palaeography, the titulature, and especially the iconography of the silver coins of «Heraios» with the bronze coins of the «Nameless King» to be convinced that such an identity is entirely impossible, they are entirely different individuals in the direct and in the figurative sense.

⁵⁵ E. V. ЗЕУМАЛ: Монеты Великих Кушан в Государственном Эрмитаже, сб. Нумизматика, 3. Труды ГЭ. 9 (1967) 61.

even «undoubtedly» (1968) inspired by the Roman aureus. He, at the same time, also showed the independence of the metrological side of the reform, and the further course of the financial affairs.⁵⁶ Zeymal correctly stressed that the unification of the isolated possessions into the vast state of the Great Kuṣāṇas created favourable conditions for the realization of this side of the reform.

The systematical minting of gold coins, however, in itself does not demand the discontinuance of the minting of silver. The idea about the exhaustion of the silver reserves in the country is useful, but it does not elucidate everything. The exhaustion of the silver reserves would have led to a serious change of the ratio of gold to the silver, which must have led in some stage (especially under the conditions of development of international trade) to a mass influx of the silver metal and silver coins from those regions, where they were minted. This could have eased the shortage of silver and could have «smoothed out» the ratio, *i.e.* it could have prepared the objective conditions for the returning to the minting of silver coins. But the realization of such a possibility depended on other reasons.

The history of financial affairs showed such examples, when the state on account of various reasons could not mobilize silver metal for the minting of silver coins, both in the conditions of bad and — what is especially important — in the conditions of a favourable state of the silver reserves. Among the reasons disturbing the mobilization of metal for the minting of coins the psychological reason should not be disregarded either, *viz.* if the minting of silver coins was seriously discredited in the eyes of the population, then the returning to it became more difficult than the organization of minting from another currency metal.

The question about the reasons of the entire rejection of silver coinage in the state of the Great Kuṣāṇas requires special study in which one should not disregard either of the two assumptions, *viz.* the exhaustion of the silver reserves and the impossibility of its mobilization for the minting of coins. The interrelation of both factors appears to be most likely, but their significance is different in the different chronological periods of time under the conditions

⁵⁶ D. W. MACDOWALL: The Weight Standards of the Gold and Copper Coinage of the Kushana Dynasty from Wima Kadphises to Vasudeva. JNSI 22 (1960) 63 foll.; *idem*: Numismatic Evidence for the Date of Kanishka. Papers on the date of Kanishka [Australian National university centre of oriental studies. Oriental monograph Series. Vol. IV]. Leiden 1968. 135, 143 foll. On the basis of the study of the mean weight of the Kuṣāṇa denarii, MACDOWALL inferred their weight standard, *viz.*: about 8g. (1960. 64) or accurately 8 g. (1968. 144). [The histograms and the allowance for the «mean erosion», as far as the coins were put into circulation, suggest the assumption that the weight standard of the denarii of Kadphises II was even higher than 8 g. — E. D.] The Roman aurei had such a weight only in the years 19 to 12 B. C., what is too early for Wima Kadphises. The pre-reform (years 56 to 64 A. D.) aurei of Nero weigh by 0.4 g. less than the denarii of Kadphises II. Besides this, the Kuṣāṇa kings preserved the weight standard, but they gradually reduced the standard of fineness, while the Roman emperors, on the contrary, preserved it but reduced the weight of the gold coins.

of the changing political (phases of the attack of the Yueh-chih ; stage of the five vassal possessions ; stage of the five independent possessions ; the state of the Great Kuṣāṇas, the expansion of the boundaries) and economic situation (definite development of the commercial production demanding the increase of the quantity of coins).

The reform of Kadphises II is a qualitative turn prepared by the characteristics of the development and change of the political and economic situation in general and of the coinage and circulation of money in particular, in the course of a long time after the fall of Graeco-Bactria.

The dating of the coins of «Heraios» for the time being was examined essentially without this broad context and without the analysis of all reasons and conditions of the implementation of the reform of Kadphises II. The chronological «place» of the silver coins of «Heraios» between Graeco-Bactria (the coinage system of which was based on silver) and the reform of Kadphises II (who organized the coinage system based on gold) cannot be determined in the framework of the publication of the hoard of tetradrachmas and only on the basis of the coins of the hoard, we propose to devote a special work to this question. And the publication of the first hoard of tetradrachmas of «Heraios» is similar to the edition of a new source containing useful material, partly repeating something already known, partly telling something new, and partly playing the role of an impulse in the perception or re-interpretation of certain facts laid down earlier. All these data can be summed up as follows.

1. From the palaeographic point of view the hoard has not furnished anything principally new, supporting the stability and «single-stage character» of the transformation of the Greek characters on the tetradrachmas and the difference, observed already long ago, between the obols and the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» in this respect. At the same time, the coins of the hoard furnished different variants of the character *beta*, the comparison of which with other occurrences (from the Graeco-Bactrian coins to those of the Great Kuṣāṇas) has definitively proved that on the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» this letter can be considered *beta*.

2. The comparative analysis of the errors in the inscriptions has stated that they are not the result of deformation on account of mechanic imitation, and the increasing number and different character of the errors do not arise from the misunderstanding of the content of the inscriptions, but the result of some kind of negligence of the «setter», in the punching technique of the preparation, although the set itself of the punches with characters has remained standardized for the tetradrachmas. These observations, of course, could also be made by other authors earlier, but it appears that they were suggested by the hoard.

3. The hoard convincingly supports that the execution of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» occupies an intermediate place, many specimens still have this

bulging-concave form and sharp edge important for the dating. At the same time the conception about the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» as flat coins with an even cut of the edge, *i.e.* with their execution diverging from the Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachmas, can be regarded as removed.

4. Eight coins of the hoard have been minted with different dies. This has suggested the conclusion (supported also by the coins published earlier) that the issue of the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» was no accidental and short episode, but it was a rather long and abundant emission.

5. The hoard has entirely changed the conception about the weight of the tetradrachmas and has suggested the very probable assumption about two «stages of weight». It has also become clear that in the study of the weight of tetradrachmas it is methodically incorrect to work with the arithmetic average of all tetradrachmas as their average weight, *viz.* if the assumption about two «stages of weight» proves to be true, then the tetradrachmas of each stage will have their own average weight.

6. It is also doubtless that the tetradrachmas of «Heraios» covering a quite large sphere of trade, had no piece by piece circulation, since the fluctuation in weight were very high, and between the pieces of the smallest weight and those of the highest weight the fluctuations were over 4 g. Such tetradrachmas differed from each other by a whole drachma.

7. The test of fineness of the coins of the hoard has shown that they were minted from a quite high quality silver.

8. The hoard has fixed a new occurrence of the coins of «Heraios» in Northern Bactria. Together with the data known earlier and also with the new data published here for the first time, we have now information about four compactly situated provenances of the coins of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» in the territory of Northern Bactria. This permits to speak about Northern Bactria not only as a place of circulation of the coins of «Heraios», but as a possible (even if not necessarily single) place of their production.

9. The analysis of the Chinese sources and the three-staged periodization of the history of the Yueh-chih (from the conquest of the territory of Bactria to the foundation of the Kuṣāṇa state) in comparison with the first word — the vassal title *TYIANNOYNTOS* — in the inscription of the tetradrachmas (an equivalent of the vassal *yabghu*) permits the assumption that this issue belongs to the second stage.

Moscow.



ILYA GERSHEVITCH

THE COLOPHON OF THE
NOKONZOK INSCRIPTION*

No. 1. **M**: §9. *στο ευο μο σαδο οδο μαρτο χειρομανο κερδο αμο βορζομιυρο αμο
κοζγαρκι πουρο αμο αστιλογανσειγι αμο νοκονζικι καραραγγε μα-
ρηγο πιδο ι χοαδηο φρομανο*

§10. *στο ευομανο νοβιχτο αμο μυραμανο αμο βορζομιυροπουρο mg₁
αμυραμανο mg₂*

No. 2. **M**: §9. And this well and dromos by Khirgman was built, together with Kozgašk's son Burzmihir the Hastilugānian, honouring-the-memory-of the Lord of the Marches Nokonzok by command of the Emperor.

§10. And by *ευομανο* (it) was written, together with Burzmihir's son Mihrāman mg₁ together with Mihrāman mg₂

No. 3. **B**: §9. *στο μο σαδο βορζομιυρο κερδι ι κοζγαρκι πουρο βαστιλογανζειγο
νοκονζικι καραραγγι μαρηγι πιδο χοαδηο φρομανο A NAME mg₃
ANOTHER NAME mg₄*

No. 3. **B**: §9. And the well by Burzmihir was built, the son of Kozgašk, the Hastilugānian, honouring-the-memory-of the Lord of the Marches Nokonzok by command of the Emperor A NAME mg₃ ANOTHER NAME mg₄

No. 4. **A**: mg₁ *αμιοραμανο* mg₂

No. 5. **Dilberjin**: *ευο μανο κοβειγηο λιυαγο*

Above under No. 1 you see the colophon of the Nokonzok inscription as it stands on the monolith, the final of the three versions of the inscription, called **M** for «monolith».

* (Paper delivered at the International Seminar on pre-Islamic Sources for the History of Central Asia on Tuesday, 30 September 1980, at 9.00 a. m., in Budapest.)

Below it, as No. 2, you see my English translation of the *two* paragraphs, §9 and §10, of which the colophon consists in the **M** version. The translation is largely based on the improvements in the understanding of the syntax of this passage which Nicholas Sims-Williams published in *IF*, 1973, 96. But I differ from him in that I have reverted to Henning's interpretation of *αστιλογανσειγι* as a nisbe, and in the interpretation of the last seven words of §9. My translation of these represents, as it were, a contamination of Henning with Sims-Williams, prompted by considerations which I explained in a paper given at the International Seminar of Kushan Studies held in Kabul in November 1978, and in a more detailed version of that paper due shortly to appear in print in Volume 2, 1979, pp. 55–73 of *Afghan Studies*, the journal of the British Academy's Society for Afghan Studies.

Below that translation you see, as No. 3, the colophon as it stood at the end of version **B**, whose blocks, you will remember, were found, like the blocks of version **A**, immured at random as part of the lining of the walls of the well's dromos. Version **B** ends with §9. The two names which respectively precede immediately monogram₃ and monogram 4 here abbreviated *mg*₃ and *mg*₄, are too poorly preserved for identification, but they were certainly different from any name appearing in the **M** version.

If the colophon of **B** is shorter than that of **M**, the one of **A**, the earliest and original version of the inscription, is even shorter. It consists solely of what above is given as No. 4, namely of the same *αμυ/οραμανο* sandwiched between the same *mg*₁ and *mg*₂ as terminate the colophon of the monolith **M**, No. 1 above.

This is all I have to say by way of introduction, except that in the sequence *ευομανο*, the second word of §10 in **M**, I have always seen a proper name, Iyuman, a view which Sims-Williams has accepted.

Of course Iyuman, or Iyumān, is not exactly a common name in Iranian onomastics, in fact until recently one knew of it only here. Indeed, since in §9 of **M** *ευο* occurs by itself as second word, in the clear meaning of «this», from OIran. *iyam*, it would be perfectly legitimate to treat *ευομανο* in §10 as consisting of two words, *ευο* «this» plus *μανο*. The only reason for not doing so, is that syntactically we need, before the past participle *νοβιχτο* «was written», a word expressing the agent of writing whom naturally one expects to be denoted by a proper name.

That we need such an animate agent placed immediately before *νοβιχτο*, is rendered abundantly clear by the fourth and fifth words of §9 of **B** (see No. 3 above), which together mean «by Burzmihir was built».

Therefore the only acceptable alternative to translating *ευομανο νοβιχτο* in §10 of **M** as «by Iyuman was written», would be «and this (*ευο*) was written by Mān, or by Man». It is not a very attractive alternative.

There would be no more to be said on the subject, had not the fragment of a Bactrian inscription from Dilberjin published in 1979 by Livshits and Kruglik-

ova on pp. 108—112 of the second volume of Древняя Бактрия (Ed. I. T. Kruglikova, Moscow), brought to our notice a second occurrence of *ειομανο*, this time spelled with one iota only (see above, No. 5). The sequence, which Livshits divides into two words, is followed there by another sequence which he again divides into two words. The latter he interprets as a hyphenated proper name «*Κυβεΰζεε-Λιΰαζ*», duly querying it with two question marks. I appreciate the query, but see no reason for quarrelling with this interpretation, especially as the context is in any case quite obscure.

However, «*Κυβεΰζεε-Λιΰαζ*» is in itself so strange a name, that Livshits understandably refuses to regard the preceding *ειομανο* as yet another strange name asyndetically prefixed to it. He accordingly suggests that in the Dilberjin inscription *ειο μανο*, as two words, means «this building», and he therefore naturally wants *ειο μανο* in §10 of **M** to have the same meaning, in which case *νοβιχτο* would in that paragraph mean not «was written» but «was inscribed».

So far, so good. What is less good are the consequential adjustments to which Livshits finds himself inexorably driven within the ambit of **M**'s colophon. He of course still needs an agent for *νοβιχτο*, but having deprived himself of *ειομανο* as the first-named of two agents, he takes recourse to finding that the verb has as one and sole-named agent the following Mihrāman. To the preposition *αμο* preceding the latter he thereafter has no option but to attribute a meaning equivalent to English «by» in agential sense.

This is the first step on slippery ground, of the chain-reaction which Livshits's dismissal of *ειομανο* as agent releases. The second is that, since to him in §10 of **M** *νοβιχτο αμο μινραμανο* now has to mean «was inscribed by Mihrāman», Livshits is bound to want *κιρδο αμο βορζομιωρο* in §9 of **M** to mean «was built by Burzmihr», despite the fact that in §9 of **B** this very meaning is expressed, as one would expect, by *βορζομιωρο κιδι*.

The next and final step in this consequential chain-reaction is for Livshits inevitably the inference that the sequence *χιργομανο*, which precedes *κιρδο* in §9 of **M**, is not a proper name denoting the agent of *κιρδο*, but a term for yet another structure, asyndetically aligned with the preceding *ειο μο σαδο οδο μαρτο*, so that his translation becomes «and this well and dromos, terrace (*χιργομανο*), was built by Burzmihr».

This is where I balk, notwithstanding my boundless admiration for Livshits, a truly great Iranianist, and friend of mine in addition. And if *χιργομανο* refuses to be anything but the logical subject of *κιρδο* just as in §9 of **B** *βορζομιωρο* is even for Livshits the logical subject of *κιδι*, what else can we do but retrace *all* the steps of his slippery chain-reaction until we are back at *ειομανο* in §10 of **M** having to remain, after all, the animate logical subject of *νοβιχτο*.

We are back at *ειομανο* as animate agent, but even I can no longer say that this makes me happy. For naturally I do accept Livshits's premise, the unlikelihood that so strange and rare a name as Iyuman, or rather the bearer

of it, should occur in *both* inscriptions, at Dilberjin even followed asyndetically by an even stranger name.

Caught in this onomastic fix, my mind happened to stray to the difference between Dr Livshits's and my own first names. It then struck me that mine disposes of an advantage which his could not possibly have offered him on this occasion. For reasons no doubt egocentric, the name I bear has always induced me to take an interest in words beginning with IL. And so, before long, it dawned on me that semantically, and partly even etymologically, English *ilk* fits the *ειομανο* situation like a glove the hand. At Dilberjin *ειομανο* immediately precedes a proper name, in other words, qualifies a person. In the Nokonzok colophon's M version the same *ειομανο* ought to be a person, the logical subject of *νοβιχτο*, yet should not be, as Livshits rightly says, a personal name.

Well, English *ilk* means «the same», and consists, as Germanicists have long shown, of the pronominal element *i*, present also in Bactrian *euo* from *iyam*, plus a reduced form of what in English is *like*, in Gothic *leik*. Livshits wanted to find in the *μανο* of *euo μανο* a building structure, etymologically therefore a cognate of *dmāna*- «house». But Bactrian *μανο* may just as well belong to the Iranian base *mān*- «to resemble», so that, just as English *ilk*, *ειομανο* would derive its meaning «the same» from «this-like».

It would follow that at Dilberjin we must translate «the same *Κυβεΰζες-Λυΐαε*», who presumably was mentioned earlier on in the text of which only a fragment has survived. And in the M colophon of the Nokonzok inscription we must translate «and by the same was written».

This would not be without interest to the understanding of the Nokonzok inscription as a whole, whether or not you accept my new interpretation of what happened to the well of Baghlan, in the article about to appear in *Afghan Studies*. For, the person referred to as «the same» in §10, can only be the man called Khirgman in §9. And if Sims-Williams is right, as I think he is, in defining the monogram mg_2 as that of Mihrāman, the monogram mg_1 as that of the man he believed bore the name Iyuman, then we learn at last what hitherto we had no reason for even suspecting, namely that Khirgman figures already, represented so to speak ideographically, by no more than mg_1 , in the *brevissimus colophon* of the A version (No. 4 above).

The gain accruing to us from this recognition, is a little more than I had time or space to explain in translation-note *i* on p.66 of my article about to appear. Let me devote to it the rest of this paper.

§§1—8, *i.e.* the original Nokonzok text constant in all three versions, to which a different colophon was added in each of the three, name only two persons, Kanīška, too famous for his patronymic to be stated, and Nokonzok, famous yes, but not famous enough for his patronymic to be omitted.

§9 of M, *i.e.* the first paragraph of that version's *longissimus colophon* (see No. 1), introduces a third person, Burzmihir, stating his patronymic. He had

already appeared, complete with patronymic, in §9 of **B** (see No. 3), which paragraph by itself constitutes the whole of the *longior colophon*, intermediate between the *brevissimus* and the *longissimus* not only in length, but also in time.

§10 of **M**, *i.e.* the second paragraph of the *longissimus*, which includes as coda the *brevissimus*, supplies, just in front of the latter, the patronymic absent from the *brevissimus* itself, of Mihrāman. This patronymic we should never have known had version **A** alone reached our ken. But we may be quite certain that local readers contemporary with the setting up of **A**, even if familiar with dozens of Mihrāmāns, would have known exactly which Mihrāman the *brevissimus* designates, because mg_2 supplied as it were his patronymic ideographically.

The rule which emerges applied to Nokonzok, Burzmihir, and Mihrāman, is that for identification name *and* patronymic must be given. But the custom of *not* stating the patronymic of a person whose name was to be immediately followed by his monogram not only transpires from the *brevissimus*'s « $\mu\omicron\sigma\alpha\mu\alpha\nu\omicron$ mg_2 » (see No. 4), but is assured by the *longior*'s coda (see No. 3). The two names preceding respectively that coda's mg_3 and mg_4 cannot be read with any confidence (see *Asia Major*, XII, 1966, 94f.), but both certainly differ from all the names mentioned in **A** and **M** and the rest of **B**, while yet neither bears its bearer's patronymic. It is clear, therefore, that local readers extracted the two patronymics which to us are beyond reach, from the monograms mg_3 and mg_4 .

Accordingly in the *brevissimus* of **A**, where not only the patronymic of Khirgman, but even his name, fails to appear, both had to be extracted by local readers contemporary with the setting up of that version, from no more than Khirgman's monogram mg_1 . We may infer that either Khirgman was so well-known that the mere sight of his monogram sufficed for identification not only of his patronymic but also of his name, or that, although it did not really suffice, Khirgman thought that it would. For quite likely the author of the *brevissimus* was Khirgman himself, the boss of **A**'s other engraver Mihrāman.

Now all we need to note in addition is that in the *longior* and in the *longissimus* Nokonzok's patronymic *no longer* appears, *i.e.* its absence from both colophons is due merely to awareness of its having been stated at the first mention of Nokonzok's name, in §5 of the inscription. With this in mind we shall understand why of all the *dramatis personae* (apart from Kanīška) of **M** only Khirgman is named without patronymic: the author of the *longissimus* (who again was quite likely Khirgman himself, the author of the *longior* presumably being Burzmihir) was aware that the *longissimus* would have as coda the *brevissimus* he had «composed» years earlier, whose initial mg_1 sufficed, at least in his opinion, to inform readers of his patronymic. He therefore refrained, in §9 (see No. 1), from adding it to his name. But in §10 we may expect that he *would* have added it, seeing that in that paragraph immediately before the *brevissimus* he did add Mihrāman's patronymic to his underling's name. He *would* have added it also to his own name. But on reaching §10 it occurred to him for stylistic

variation to write, instead of his name, «Ilk». And to Ilks even Bactrians were evidently not in the habit of attaching patronymics.

These are not aimless considerations. For whenever one differs from illustrious predecessors in the solution of problems, one must try to understand, and refute, not only the reasons they *adduced* for their solution, but also reasons that may have influenced them without their deeming it necessary to adduce them, if they are such that they appear tacitly to support the solution with which one disagrees. We may well ask why Livshits, despite the *βορζομορο κροδι* of No. 3 above almost forcing one to take *χιργομανο* in No. 1 for a personal name, preferred to consider *χιργομανο* a building structure as Henning had done, who however of our No. 3 knew as yet nothing. It seems to me obvious, although Livshits does not say so, that he did this out of reluctance to regard as a name a word which, unlike all the other names appearing in M (the sole Kaniska's excepted), is unaccompanied by a patronymic defining it as a personal name.

The word also has as yet no etymology supporting onomastic interpretation. Let me end by hazarding a shot into this dark: **rix taka-manah-* (> **xir-dag* > **xir(d)g*) «the relaxed-minded, the even-tempered», with reference to the meaning of German *gelassen*.

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KIDARA AND THE KIDARITE HUNS IN KAŚMĪR

It was recognized by earlier research long ago that precise historical dates can only be found in Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī from 813 A.D. onwards. This date (*viz.* the Laukika year 3889 which began on the 7th March, 813 A.D.) is given by Kalhaṇa for Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa's death. Before this event he can only offer figures indicating the length of the reigns of individual rulers.¹ It was also seen already long ago that the chronology of the whole period preceding the death of Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa was based on calculated dates, computed by Kalhaṇa on the basis of some chronological and historical theories.²

In spite of the constructed character of the chronology for the earlier periods of Kaśmīrian history, one must not regard the narrative of Kalhaṇa as a mere invention, being without any historical authenticity. This statement may be valid first of all for the earlier Kārkoṭa kings who ruled prior to the death of Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa. Here we find only a small error of 25 years.³ Even the date for the rise of the dynasty, deducted from the length of the reigns of the earlier Kārkoṭa kings, can be supported by historical reasons.⁴ It follows that in general the historicity of Kalhaṇa's narrative from the beginnings of the VIIIth century A.D. onwards cannot be called in doubt.

But it was also pointed out by M. A. Stein that Kalhaṇa mentions some well-known historical personalities even before the Kārkoṭa dynasty.⁵ Thus, he borrowed from the work of Chavillākara the names of five kings of which at least four, *viz.* Aśoka, Huṣka, Juṣka, Kanīṣka, are also known from other sources. The description of these kings given by Kalhaṇa well corresponds to the evidence of other sources and as regards the three Kuṣāṇa kings he offers even some details, unknown elsewhere, which point to a well-informed historical work. Such details are the following :

¹ Cf. M. A. STEIN : Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī.² Delhi—Patna—Varanasi 1961. Vol. I. 58 foll. with earlier literature.

² Cf. Rāj. I. 48—56. M. A. STEIN : *op. cit.* Vol. I. 59 foll. (Introduction), notes to I. 48—50, 53, 54 Vol. I. 10—12 (Translation).

³ Cf. A. CUNNINGHAM : The Ancient Geography of India. I. London 1871. 91 ; G. BÜHLER : Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS. Made in Kaśmīr, Rajputana, and Central India. Bombay 1877. 43, 55 ; M. A. STEIN : *op. cit.* 67 foll.

⁴ J. HARMATTA : Late Bactrian Inscriptions. Acta Ant. Hung. 17 (1969) 404.

⁵ M. A. STEIN : *op. cit.* 64 foll., 74 foll.

1. The form of the names *Huṣka* and *Juṣka*.
2. The chronological interval between the three Kuṣāṇa kings and the Nirvāṇa of Buddha which is presumed to be 150 years.
3. The simultaneous reign of the three Kuṣāṇa kings which seems to be supposed by Kalhaṇa.

Each of these details may arouse a keen interest.

1. The forms *Huṣka* and *Juṣka* used instead of *Huviṣka*, *Huveṣka*, *Ooṣko* and *Vāsiṣka*, *Vajheṣka*, *Bazēṣko* were striking from the beginnings and *Juṣka* became identified with *Vāsiṣka* only later.⁶ In fact, the possibility of these forms can be proved from the view-point of historical phonology. The form *Kaṇiṣka* obviously prevents us from ascribing the development of *Huviṣka*, *Vāsiṣka* into *Huṣka*, *Juṣka* to Gāndhāri Prākṛit in which the outcome of *Kaṇiṣka* was **Ka-nik(k)a*. Accordingly, the rise of these striking forms can more probably be presumed in some Eastern Iranian dialect, possibly in the language of the Kuṣāṇas themselves. In Late Bactrian or in some other Eastern Iranian Language like Yidgha-Munji, the form *Huviṣka* could develop into **Hūṣka* and then into *Huṣka*. Thus, this form can easily be explained from the view-point of historical phonology. As concerns *Vajheṣka* (to be read obviously **Vazeṣka*), on the basis of Munji *wuzōw-* > *wzōw-* 'to extinguish', Yidgha *vzān-*, Munji *vzōn-* < OIr. **ava-zān-*, cf. Saka *vaysān-* 'to recognize',⁷ we can presume a development *Vazeṣka* > **Vzeṣka* > **Vzuṣka*, and even > **Zuṣka*. The forms **Vzuṣka* or **Zuṣka* could only be adopted by Sanskrit in the spelling *Juṣka*. Contrary to the forms *Ooṣko* and *Bazēṣko* used in Bactrian, perhaps we have to do with some local, Eastern Iranian variants or even with the genuine Kuṣāṇa development of these names here.

2. The striking statement about the short chronological interval (150 years) between the Nirvāṇa of Buddha and the three Kuṣāṇa kings has an exact parallel in the Khotanese text P 2787-1-195 according to which Candra Kaṇaṣka was born when one hundred years elapsed since the deva Buddha passed in parinirvāṇa.⁸ Both the Saka text and Kalhaṇa's source might have preserved a genuine Kuṣāṇa tradition which wanted to shorten the long (more than six hundred years) interval between the Nirvāṇa of Buddha and the three Kuṣāṇa kings considerably.

3. Since the discovery of the inscription from Ārā, it became clear that *Kaṇiṣka* II and *Huviṣka* (I ?) must have reigned partly simultaneously. In the light of this fact it seems not to be excluded either that *Kaṇiṣka* or/and *Huviṣka* were already co-rulers of *Vāsiṣka*. In this case the Kāśmīrian tradition might

⁶ Cf. recently M. BUSSAGLI: The Problem of *Kaṇiṣka* as Seen by the Art Historian. Papers on the Date of *Kaṇiṣka*. Leiden 1968. 42 and L. PETECH: Kashmiri and Tibetan Materials on the Date of *Kaṇiṣka*. Ibidem 244.

⁷ Cf. G. MORGENSTERNE: Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages. II. Oslo 1938. 260, 264.

⁸ H. W. BAILEY: *Viśva Samgrāma*. AM NS 11 (1965) 107.

have correctly preserved the memory of the three Kuṣāṇa kings as ruling simultaneously.

Thus, the historical value of the Buddhistic tradition, preserved in Chavil-lākara's work and used by Kalhaṇa, seems to be beyond any doubt. Moreover, earlier research also recognized long ago that the Rājatarāṅgiṇī preserved a valuable tradition of the Hephthalite kings Mihirakula, Toramāṇa, Khiṅgila, and Laḥkhaṇa, too.⁹ On the basis of linguistic and historical arguments it seems also to be very likely that at least one part of the list of kings from Mihirakula until the Western Turk conquest of Gandhāra in the twenties of the VIIth century A.D. can be regarded as authentic from historical view-point.¹⁰

Now, we arrive at an obvious contradiction here. It is well-known from various sources that the rule of the Kuṣāṇas (and Late Kuṣāṇas) was followed by that of the Kidarite Huns who were again succeeded by the Hephthalites. This historical succession is valid also for the territory of Kaśmīr as it is clearly proved by the coinage of the Hephthalite dynasty of Kaśmīr. The type of the coins, minted by Toramāṇa, Pravarasena, Narendrāditya and Gokarṇa, exactly reproduces the gold coins of Kidara, which again follow the type of the coins struck by the Late Kuṣāṇa kings of North-Western India.¹¹

The Hephthalite kings of Kaśmīr had maintained even the legend *Kidara* on the reverse of their coins. This fact can only be explained by the assumption that the Hephthalite dynasty of Kaśmīr was the immediate successor of the Kidarite Hun kings who ruled there. As it is proved by the legend of their coins, the Hephthalite kings of Kaśmīr wanted to be regarded as the legitimate descendants and heirs of Kidara and this claim is only comprehensible if Kidara also ruled over Kaśmīr.

It follows from all these considerations that Kidara, the Hun king ought to have occurred in the enumerations of the Kaśmīrian kings. It was impossible, however, to discover Kidara or Kidarite Hun kings in Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī so far. In the meantime the contradiction between historical probability and Kalhaṇa's narrative became even sharper. One succeeded to identify some coins of Hiraṇyakula who reigned in Kaśmīr according to the Rājatarāṅgiṇī before Vasukula, the immediate predecessor of Mihirakula.¹² The coins of Hiraṇyakula imitated even more exactly the coins struck by Kidara. Thus, they represented a missing link between the coinage of Toramāṇa and that of Kidara and proved – at least to some extent – the historicity of the list of kings who ruled before

⁹ A. CUNNINGHAM: *Coins of Mediaeval India*. London 1894. 25 foll.; M. A. STEIN: *op. cit.* 64 foll., 78 foll.

¹⁰ J. HARMATTA: *op. cit.* 100 foll.

¹¹ A. CUNNINGHAM: *Coins of Mediaeval India*. London 1894. 42 foll., Pl. III. For the coins of Kidara mentioned here cf.; A. CUNNINGHAM: *Later Indo-Scythians. Scytho-Sassanians and Little Kushans*. London 1893. Pl. VI, 3, 10, 14.

¹² A. CUNNINGHAM: *Later Indo-Scythians. Ephthalites, or White Huns*. London 1894. 98, 114, Pl. VIII. 9–10.

Mihirakula according to the Rājatarāṅgiṇī. It became clear that these kings must have been Kidarite Hun rulers because they reigned before the first Hephthalite king, Mihirakula, in Kaśmīr. But the name Kidara seemed to be missing there. Accordingly, the whole problem came to a deadlock.

At this state of affairs unexpected help arrived on behalf of linguistics. Studying the Kidarite Hun and Hephthalite names, I discovered that the name Kidara did not stand isolated among the names of the epoch. It occurs four times in the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Eastern Turkestan, each time as a honorific title or surname. The evidence is the following :

- 1 Doc. 118, C, 2 *kiṃdari suḡitasa muli l*
- 2 Doc. 103 Rev. B 6 *kiṃtra suḡitasa l*
- 3 Doc. 146, B, 4a *daśavita kiṃtra mutreya*
- 4 Doc. 242. Obv. B, 1 *kiṃtra suḡitasa paḱe l*

The honorific character of the title becomes clear from its use by the officer *daśavita mutreya*. Its meaning may be 'honoured, hero, valiant' or the like.

Then I found abundant evidence for the word in Khotanese Saka texts. The evidence for it was collected and discussed by H. W. Bailey in a detailed manner.¹³ The variants of the word are the following : *kaidari*, *kidari*, *kaidara*, *kidarrā* (locative pl.), *kinarāṇa* (genitive pl.), *kiṃnara*, *kedhara*, *kedara*, *kiṃdari* and even *kaidharā re* 'Kidara king'. The variants *kinara*- and *kiṃnara* and even more the occurrence of the word as the equivalent of Sanskrit *Kimnara*-, *Kinnara*- in the Khotanese Saka Sudhana-Avadāna prove beyond any doubt that Saka *kaidari*, *kidara*, *kiṃdari* etc. represent an adoption in Khotanese Saka of Indian *Kimnara*-, *Kinnara*. Taking into consideration that the change *-ṃn-/-nn- > -ṃd-/-d-* cannot be pointed out in Gāndhārī Prākṛit, but it is well-known in Sanskrit loan-words of Khotanese Saka (Saka *sandāvāta* < Sanskrit *sannipāta*-, Saka *vavanna*-/vavaṃda < Sanskrit *upapanna*-)¹⁴, we must regard *kiṃdari*, *kiṃtra* in the Niya documents as borrowed from Khotanese Saka.

At this point we can return to Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī. If we recognized that the name *Kidara* was an Iranian adoption and development of Indian *Kimnara*-, *Kinnara*- probably meaning 'hero, valiant' then it becomes clear at once that the king Nara who is mentioned in Book I 197 of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī in the following way :

kiṃnarāparanāmātha kiṃnairgītavikramaḥ /
vibhīsanasya putrobhūnnaranāmā narādhipaḥ //

¹³ H. W. BAILEY : Rāma II. BSOAS 10 (1941) 583, note 2. and Irano-Indica IV. BSOAS 13 (1951) 921 foll.

¹⁴ H. W. BAILEY : Rāma II. BSOAS 10 (1941) 583, note 2.

«Then Vibhīṣana's son Nara who also bore the name of
Kiṃnara, and whose prowess was sung by the Kiṃnaras, became king.»

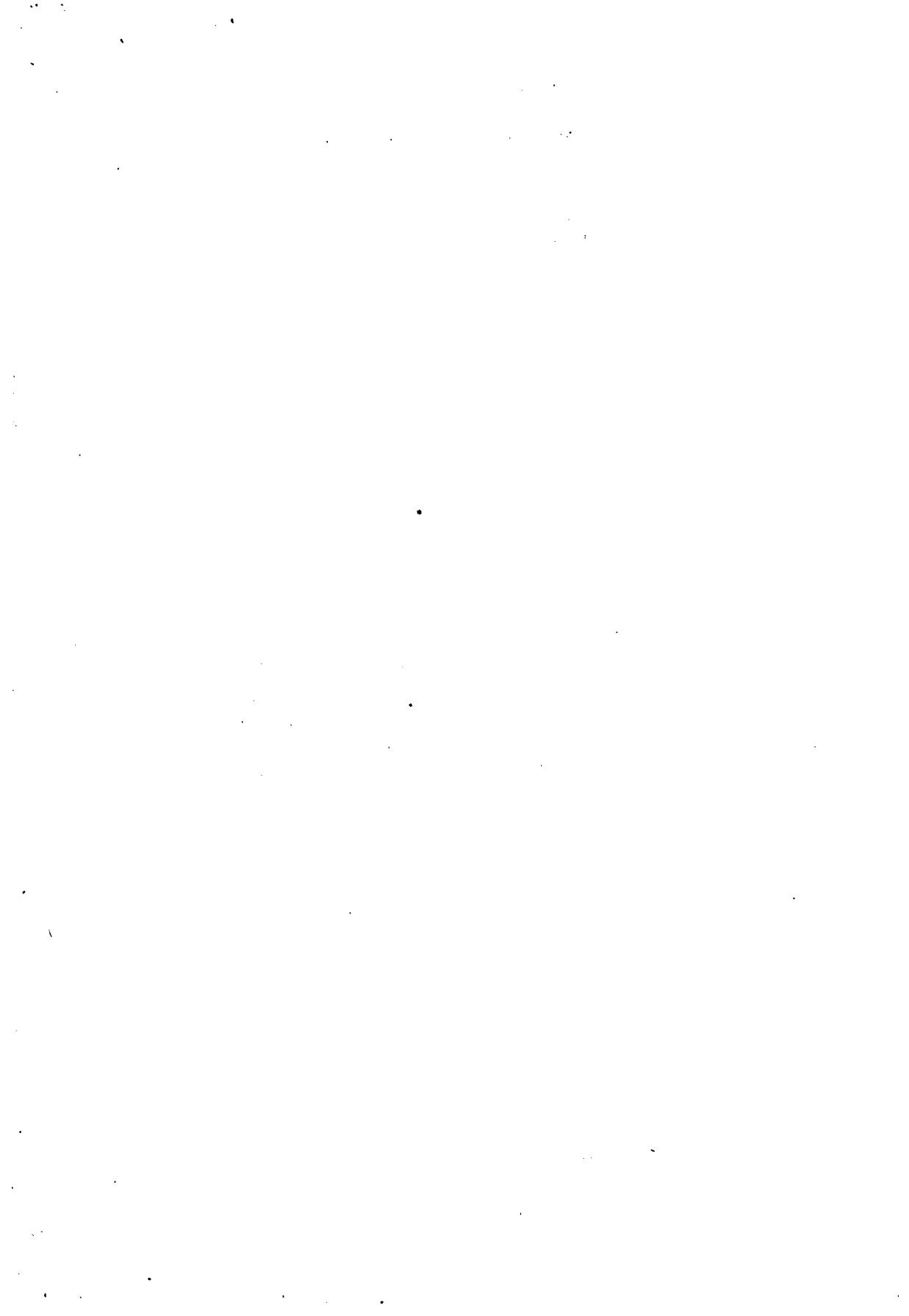
represents the Kidarite Hun king Kidara whose reign in Kaśmīr must have been supposed already on the basis of historical considerations and numismatic evidence but who could not be identified in the text of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī hitherto.

The identification of of king Kiṃnara/Nara mentioned in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī with the Hun king Kidara can also be corroborated by chronological arguments. According to the narrative of Kalhaṇa, after Huṣka, Juṣka, Kaṇiṣka six kings reigned in Kaśmīr. The length of the reigns of the last five kings amounts to 190 years and 6 months but the duration of the reign of Abhimanyu I is not indicated. Adopting 134 A.D. for the beginning of the Kaṇiṣka Era and 195 A.D. for the end of the reign of Huviṣka and adding to this figure the 190 1/2 years, we arrive at the date 385 A.D. to which we have still to add the regnal years of Abhimanyu I, reckoning with an average reign of 15—25 years. Thus we obtain approximately 400—410 A.D. for the beginning of the reign of Kidara in Kaśmīr which exactly coincides with the lower time limit proposed by K. Enoki for the Indian conquests of Kidara recently.¹⁵

Taking into consideration that by the coinage of Hiranyakula an immediate historical link between Kidara and the Hephthalite kings of Kaśmīr is established, we can identify the Kidarite kings of Kaśmīr with Kiṃnara and his successors. Thus, it becomes clear that the continuous historicity of the narrative of Kalhaṇa in the Rājatarāṅgiṇī is not restricted to the period beginning with 813 A.D. — as it was presumed earlier — but it can be extended up to the beginning of Kuṣāṇa rule in Kaśmīr about the middle of the IInd century A.D.

Budapest.

¹⁵ K. ENOKI: On the Date of the Kidarites. *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 28 (1970) 20.



TITRES ET FONCTIONS RELIGIEUSES SASANIDES
D'APRÈS LES SOURCES SYRIAQUES
HAGIOGRAPHIQUES

Si l'on compare les sources arabes aux sources syriaques, notamment hagiographiques — dans le but de les utiliser pour l'histoire de l'administration sasanide¹ — on ne peut que constater combien ces dernières sont supérieures aux premières, par la qualité de l'information plus précise et généralement plus crédible. Cette supériorité pourrait être dûe au fait — que l'on n'a pas assez noté — que beaucoup de personnages mis en scène dans les *Actes des martyrs perses*² ne sont pas seulement des chrétiens ayant vécu en Iran mais des convertis du mazdéisme, venus des hautes couches sociales et ayant exercé des fonctions importantes au service du Roi des Rois. Pour prendre quelques exemples, datables du 6^{ème} siècle, le Catholicos Mar Abā était né dans la religion mazdéenne, il était même *arzbēd*,³ mot qu'il faut corriger en *argbed*, à mon avis, puisqu'il devint attaché au secrétariat de l'*āmārgar*, qui le dénoncera comme chrétien.⁴ De même, Mar Yazīdpanāh, est présenté comme plus savant que tous les mages nombreux et instruits qui vivaient à Šuš, près de Karkā d' Lēdan, et il était «chef et juge» de son village.⁵ Et encore, Mar Giwargis avant de se convertir au Christianisme, s'appelait Mihr-Māh-Gušnasp (plutôt que

¹ J'ai étudié notamment la fonction de *marzbān*, surtout à partir des sources arabes, dans un article à paraître dans les *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*. J'ai aussi présenté au Colloque de Jérusalem (juin 1980) une communication «Pour une esquisse des fonctions religieuses sous les Sasanides», qui fait le point des sources iraniennes.

² Cf. P. BEDJAN: *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, 7 vol., Paris 1890—1897. Ce sont les vol. II et IV qui contiennent les actes des martyrs perses. Je cite cette édition-là, et non celle d'ASSEMANI: *Acta sanctorum martyrum orientalium et occidentalium*, I, 1748, difficilement accessible.

³ BEDJAN: *Histoire de Mar-Jabalaha, de trois autres patriarches, d'un prêtre et de de deux laïques, nestoriens*, Paris 1895, p. 210: syr. 'rzbēd.

⁴ BEDJAN: o. c. p. 215—216. Le titre est écrit: *hmrgrd* mais la fin du mot *-grd* n'est sans doute dû qu'à une confusion banale avec les mots iraniens se terminant par *-gird* (cf. *Yazdgird*: *yzdgrd*). Le h initial pourrait indiquer que l'aspirée était encore prononcée; les deux graphies avec ' et h coexistent en tout cas, sur les sceaux et les bulles, comme on peut le voir dans mon *Catalogue des sceaux, camées et bulles sasanides*, II. *Les sceaux et bulles inscrits*, Paris 1978, pp. 141 et 144.

⁵ BEDJAN: *Histoire*... p. 396: les deux titres sont donnés en syriaque: *rs' wdyn'*. Il semble d'ailleurs que pour désigner le «juge», ce soit le plus souvent le terme syr. qui est utilisé.

Mihrām-Gušnasp, comme on l'appelle en général),⁶ il portait donc un nom mazdéen comme tant d'autres martyrs, et le père de son père était de lignée royale et gouverneur d'une petite ville, tandis que le père de sa mère était *mōbad*.⁷ Plus anciennement, dans les textes se rapportant au 4^{ème} siècle, on trouverait aussi des exemples : le père du martyr Pusay avait épousé une femme perse de la ville de Bišāpūr (Veh-Šābuhr) lorsqu'il fut déporté dans cette ville après avoir été fait prisonnier.⁸

On peut penser dès lors que les rédacteurs des récits de ces martyres devaient être assez bien informés du contexte historique, administratif et religieux, dans lequel vécut ces chrétiens, et leurs données, sous cet aspect-là, n'ont pas été, il me semble, suffisamment étudiées, en dépit des travaux récents que l'on doit au Père J.-M. Fiey ou à G. Wiessner. Ce dernier, dans son livre *Zur Märtyrerüberlieferung aus der Christenverfolgung Schapurs II*⁹, a centré sa recherche sur les textes se rapportant au 4^{ème} s. (mais rédigés au 5^{ème} s.), et relevant les termes utilisés en syriaque pour la hiérarchie religieuse mazdéenne, il déplore leur confusion et considère que les mots différents employés pour désigner une seule et même personne seraient dus au fait que les rédacteurs ne faisaient pas une distinction nette entre les deux grandes classes de prêtres mazdéens, les *mōyān* et les *mōbadān*.¹⁰ Et il ajoute que cette confusion est comparable à celle de la littérature grecque (où il n'est question que de *magos*) et arabe (où l'on ne parle que de *mūbad*).¹¹ Cette interprétation me semble trop pessimiste, et pour juger de la valeur des termes administratifs transmis en syriaque, je pense qu'il est préférable de commencer par étudier les données plus tardives, celles du 6^{ème}-7^{ème} siècles, qui doivent normalement se révéler plus précises et plus sûres, tout comme les sources arabes sont beau-

⁶ Le nom est en effet écrit sous plusieurs graphies : cf. BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 436 : *myhrmgwšnsp* mais p. 564, l. 6 et 12, le h est bien noté : *myhrmhgwšnsp*. *Mihrām n'est pas usité dans l'onomastique sasanide, telle que je l'ai décrite dans *Pad nām i yazdān*, Paris 1979, pp. 35-100.

⁷ BEDJAN : *Histoire*, p. 435. Son père même était *ōstāndār* (syri. 'ustndr' à Nisibe. J.-M. FIEY n'a malheureusement pas compris ce passage, dans son livre *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours*, Louvain 1977, p. 274, addenda n° 1, et p. 11 de l'introduction [CSCO vol. 388, Subsidia t. 54]. Ma liste n'est évidemment pas exhaustive, car on pourrait citer encore le nom de Kardag, qui, avant de se convertir, était un zoroastrien aux fonctions importantes, qui cumulait les titres de marzbān de l'Adiabène et *ptkš'* d'Āsūr (Āsūrestān). Ce deuxième titre pourrait bien représenter le pehl. *bthšy* des inscriptions, car le p initial peut s'expliquer, soit comme une conséquence de la règle d'archaïsation de l'écriture (qui veut qu'en pehl., un son b est souvent écrit p), soit comme le signe d'une étymologie pressentie du mot commençant par *pati-*. Il faut noter qu'il existe deux graphies du mot en syr. : *ptkš'* BEDJAN : *AMS* IV, 221, et *ptkš'*, cf. BEDJAN : *AMS* II, 445, 463, 464, 487.

⁸ BEDJAN : *AMS* II, 208.

⁹ Göttingen, 1967 [Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Hist. Klasse, 3. Folge, n° 67]. Ce livre est malheureusement difficile à utiliser, car il n'est pourvu ni d'Index ni de bibliographie.

¹⁰ WIESSNER : *o.c.* p. 171.

¹¹ WIESSNER : *o.c.* p. 171 note 3.

coup plus crédibles pour la période des Xusrô que pour les débuts de l'époque sassanide, et seulement ensuite examiner les sources plus précoces du 4^{ème} siècle, que l'on pourra alors juger d'un regard moins sévère et en tout cas, dans une perspective diachronique.

J'ai affirmé, au début de mon introduction, la précision des sources syriaques. Je voudrais en donner quelques exemples. Dans un passage de la vie de Mar Giwargis, martyr du 6^{ème} s., est cité un mot moyen-perse en syriaque qui n'a pas été reconnu jusqu'ici, à ma connaissance, et qui est abondamment attesté dans les inscriptions du 3^{ème} siècle, de Kirdir à Narseh. Le passage

w'tyhb lh 'yqr' bdrq' hd' dmtqry' pdkšr

qui se traduit : «Et il lui fut donné une dignité dans ce rang qui est appelé *padixšar*»,¹² à Giwargis qui était serviteur à la table du Roi.

Même dans une phrase aussi courte, le mot *padixšar* semble avoir un sens assez précis, et en tout cas différent de celui que possède 'yqr'. Il faut donc voir, à partir des occurrences en pehlevi, que je voudrais citer ici *in extenso*, quel peut être le sens exact du mot, qui apparaît dans huit contextes différents :

a) KKZ 4/KSM 5/KNRm 10 :¹³

'Pm g'sy W pthšly 'plily 'BYDWN...
«Et il éleva mon rang et mon *padixšar*»

b) KKZ 6/KSM 8/KNRm 16 :

'Pm whl'nc MLK'n MLK' PWN 'gl'dyhy W pthšly YHSNN...
«Alors Vahrām roi des rois me maintint dans ma noblesse et mon *padixšar*»

c) KKZ 8/KSM 11/KNRm 22 – 23 :

ZKm BYN štry 'plily g'sy W pthšly 'BYDWN 'Pm g'sy W pthšly ZY wcl'k'n YHBWNt...
«Celui-ci (= Vahrām II) éleva mon rang et mon *padixšar*, et il me donna le rang et le *padixšar* des Grands»

d) KKZ 9/KSM 13/KNRm 28 ? :

¹² BEDJAN : *Histoire*, p. 437, l. 5–6.

¹³ J'utilise les sigles, utilisés dans mon *Glossaire des inscriptions pehlevies et parthes*, London 1972, et adoptés par la plupart des iranistes : KKZ = inscr. de Kirdir à la Ka'aba de Zoroastre ; KSM, = inscr. du même à Sar Mašhad ; KNRm = inscr. du même à Naqš-i Rostam ; NPi = inscr. de Paikuli.

W mgwGBR' BYN štry LB' pthšly YHWWNt...
 «Et les *mogmard*¹⁴ furent dans le pays d'un grand *padixšar*»

e) KSM 25/KMRm 50(lacunaire) :

HT LB' 'gl'dyhy W pth[š]ly QDM...
 «Si une grande noblesse et un grand *padixšar* sur...»

f) NPi 9 :¹⁵

*W GDH W štry W NPŠH 'LŠ['] W pthšly ZY nyd'k'n MN yzd'n
 MKBL[WN...]*

«Et (qu'il)¹⁶ accepte des dieux le *xvarrah*, l'empire, son propre trône et le *padixšar* des ancêtres...»

g) NPi 26 :

[W pt]hšly BR' LMYTNt...
 «Et il fut déchu (?) de son *padixšar*...»

h) NPi 33 :

*HT 'yw b'ly šhp[wħry] ... [p]sd'lyk k[r]ty 'Pšn psd'lykn pthšly
 YHBWN ...*
 «Si une fois Šābuhr (roi des rois?) (le) fit *pāsdārīg*, alors il (lui) donna le *padixšar* des *pāsdārīg* ...»

Ainsi, d'après ces différents passages, les rois ont leur *padixšar*, les Grands (*vuzurgān*) aussi, le grand mage Kirdīr également ; et même le saint

¹⁴ Le mot *mogmard* pourrait bien être un titre dans la hiérarchie cléricale, bien que l'usage qui en est fait dans les inscriptions de Kirdīr ne soit pas très clair. Le syr. me semble traduire ce mot dans l'expression *gbī' mgwš'* que j'ai relevée dans BEDJAN : *AMS* II, 51. Mais surtout, nous avons sans doute d'autres titres, formés de la même manière, et décelables dans des noms propres comme *Āzād-mard*, qui se lit sur un sceau du Musée de Copenhague (cf. M.-L. BÜHL : *A Hundred Masterpieces from the Ancient Near East, in the National Museum of Denmark*, 1974, p. 63, n° 51. Je lis : 'c'tmlt' Y *mgw Y hw't'dbut'n*), ou comme *Xvadāy-mard*, que j'ai relevé sur deux empreintes de Qasr-i Abu Nasr : n° 135 (36.30.249, ou D. 176, selon la publication de R. N. FRYE : *Sasanian Remains from Qasr-i Abu Nasr*, Cambridge 1973, p. 62b), où est inscrit : *hw't'dmlt' Y mgw Y pws'n*; et n° 192 (36.30.118, ou D. 248, FRYE p. 63b) où je lis : *hw't'dmlt' Y mgw Y [...]'n*). Or je considère ces noms comme de possibles anciens titres, parce que l'inversion des membres du composé ne se fait pas dans de tels noms propres, comme on le constate par exemple dans *Mard-būd* (cf. mon *Catalogue* de la B. N. p. 146a, cité en note 4) et *Būd-mard* (*Catalogue* p. 143b).

¹⁵ Selon la nouvelle édition de H. HUMBACH et PRODS O. SKJÆRVØ : *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*, Part 2, Synoptic Tables, Wiesbaden 1980. Je pense toutefois qu'en NPi 9, on peut et doit restaurer un W entre les mots 'LŠ' et *pthšly*.

¹⁶ Il s'agit, d'après le contexte, du roi Narseh.

Giwargis qui servait à la table du roi. L'étymologie proposée depuis longtemps ne nous apprend pas grand'chose, et tout le monde traduit par «honneur, dignité». ¹⁷ Mais d'après nos textes, y compris le passage en syriaque, il s'agit manifestement d'une certaine qualité ou qualification qui ne va pas de soi, qui est accordée, peut-être en vertu des mérites, et qui est proprement mazdéenne. Si le mot est vraiment hérité du parthe, ¹⁸ on pourrait penser qu'il désigne non un titre mais une qualité spéciale, que les contextes ne nous permettent pas de préciser davantage, et qui existait déjà sous les Arsacides.

Il est intéressant de noter que le mot est aussi attesté en moyen-perse manichéen. Dans un texte publié par W. Sundermann, ¹⁹ on lit en effet ceci :

«'w(š) 'st'yšn 'wd pdxšr dyynd (')wš d'nynd kw ky 'st
'wš (pd) wzrgyy(h) 'wd 'gr'yih gwg'y (hyn)d . . . »

Quel que soit le sens ici, on sera frappé tout de même de constater l'alliance de l'expression *padixšar dādan* avec le mot *agrāyih*, comme dans plusieurs passages des inscriptions.

Dans les actes des martyrs perses, de nombreuses allusions sont faites à la religion mazdéenne, au rituel et aux coutumes que les rédacteurs connaissent bien. Il n'est pas question ici de relever l'ensemble de ces données, mais pour en montrer la précision, je voudrais prendre seulement un exemple. Dans la vie de Mar Giwargis, ²⁰ il est question d'un mage qui venant vers le saint, sans savoir sans doute qu'il s'était converti, selon l'habitude mazdéenne «lui donne le vāz au moment du pain (i.e. du repas)», comme il est écrit :

wyhb lh wsq' b'dn' dlhm' . . .

Le syr. *wsq'* représente le pehl. *vāzag* de toute évidence. Or, l'expression *vāz dādan*, bien rendue ici en syr., exprime précisément l'échange de la prière avant le repas entre deux personnes. Certes, le terme courant pour désigner l'ensemble de cet acte rituel est *vāz griftan*, ²¹ mais il ne convenait pas dans ce contexte.

Ces quelques exemples nous ont montré la validité des sources syriaques. On pourra donc faire confiance, avec la prudence requise, à ce qu'elles nous

¹⁷ Cf. M. BACK : *Die Sassanidischen Staatsinschriften*, 1978, p. 248 [= *Acta Iranica* 18] : < **pai-šjara* «Ehre, Ehrung».

¹⁸ BACK : *o.c.* p. 249, qui cite cela comme une suggestion d'O. SZEMERÉNYI.

¹⁹ *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*, Berlin 1973, p. 102, ligne 1986/88. Je n'étudie pas ici les autres occurrences du mot, qu'on peut relever dans les *Mitteliranische Manichaica*, hrsgg. ANDREAS-HENNING, et qu'on a traduit par «honorer».

²⁰ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 440.

²¹ Cf. M. BOYCE et F. KOTWAL : *Zoroastrian bāj and drōn*, dans *BSOAS* 24 (1971) pp. 56—73 et 298—313, notamment p. 58 et 60.

rappellent au sujet de l'administration religieuse à l'époque sasanide. Toutefois, Wiessner n'est pas de cet avis, et reste pessimiste quant à cette validité. Il considère que l'emploi de plusieurs mots pour désigner une seule et même fonction manifeste, de la part des rédacteurs, une différence non claire entre les deux grandes classes de prêtres mazdéens.²²

Je pense qu'il faut distinguer entre les textes du 4^e—5^e s. — auxquels s'est limitée l'étude de Wiessner —, et ceux du 6^e siècle, car ils nous fournissent une documentation assez différente, et on pourra ainsi voir se dessiner une certaine évolution, à condition, encore une fois, de faire confiance aux textes.

Première constatation : il n'est nulle part question d'un *mōbadān mōbad* au 4^e—5^e s., alors que ce titre est continuellement attesté au 6^e s., et ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard. On ne peut évidemment croire, avec Christensen, sur la foi de Ṭabari,²³ que ce titre existait déjà sous Ardachir I^{er}. J'ai montré ailleurs,²⁴ que cette fonction n'a pu commencer au 3^e s., car le mage Kirdīr l'aurait assurément exercée, et nous n'en avons aucune trace dans toute l'épigraphie iranienne. Si l'on en croit les sources syriaques, ce serait donc une fonction relativement tardive. D'ailleurs, peu de temps après la parution de l'ouvrage de Christensen, S. Wikander estimait que la dignité de Grand Mage, ou de *mōbadān mōbad*, n'avait commencé qu'au 5^e siècle.²⁵

Un texte intéressant de la vie de Mar Aba, qui fut patriarche de 540 à 552, nous présente un ensemble de dignitaires, lors de la reconnaissance officielle de sa mort :

«Et ensuite le Roi des rois et le Mōbadān mōbad envoyèrent le Mōbad et le Juge (*dayyana*) et les autres mages (*magušē*) avec eux pour voir si c'était bien le saint ou non...»²⁶

Le Mōbadān mōbad est souvent accompagné des *magušē*, ce terme désignant à la fois les prêtres de rang inférieur et plus généralement les prêtres quels qu'ils soient, puisque l'expression *rabb magušē* sert à désigner simplement le mōbadān mōbad, comme l'indiquent deux passages de la vie de Mar Aba.²⁷ Cette équivalence est même exprimée, de la bouche de Mar Aba, qui déclare :

²² O.c. p. 171.

²³ *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 119.

²⁴ Dans mon article sur le *marzbān*, cité déjà note 1.

²⁵ *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran*, Lund 1946, p. 182. G. WIDENGREN : *Les religions de l'Iran*, Paris 1968, p. 292, ne se prononce pas sur une datation, et J. DUCHESNE-GUILLEMIN : *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, p. 294, estime que ce fut «peut-être sous Vahrām V...».

²⁶ BEDJAN : *Histoire*, p. 271. La fonction de juge, que je n'étudierai pas ici, devrait correspondre au *dāvar* pehlevi. Le *dayyana* est distinct du Mōbad, mais dans d'autres passages (*Histoire*, p. 229), il est identifié au *rabb magušē*. Le juge, comme le *rad* (cf. plus loin), sont des titres qui peuvent être donnés à un mōbad.

²⁷ Cf. BEDJAN : *Histoire*, p. 232 et 233 : *hydyn mwbdn mwbd wklhwn mgušē* et l'expression équivalente, p. 230 et 233 : *qm rd mgušē wḥbrwhy*.

w'mr lmbdn mwbd w'p 'nt d'ytyk rb mgwš'

«Et il dit au mōbadān mōbad : «Toi aussi, qui es chef des mages . . .»²⁸

Comme l'a noté Wiessner,²⁹ le même personnage est souvent désigné par des titres différents. Par exemple, le *rēš mauhpatē* (chef de mōbads) est appelé aussi simplement *mauhpata* (mōbad) ou même *maguša rabba* (grand mage) ou seulement *maguša*. Mais toutes ces appellations peuvent convenir à un mage suprême, et ne prouvent pas nécessairement que le rédacteur est mal informé. Encore aujourd'hui, lorsque l'on parle du Pape, on peut l'appeler aussi pontife suprême, ou évêque (de Rome), ou pasteur, ou même prêtre, puisque c'est sa première dignité.

Le Mōbadān mōbad est appelé aussi *rēša d' magušē* (chef de mages). Dans la vie de Mar Yazid-panāh, les deux titres sont explicitement présentés comme identiques :³⁰

mwbdn mwbd d'ytwhy rš' d'mgwš'

Précisément, dans ce même passage, nous trouvons une liste hiérarchique fort intéressante, où sont énumérés :

- 1 — le Mōbadān mōbad, qui est *rēša d' magušē* ;
- 2 — un grand Mōbad (*mauhpata rabba*) ;
- 3 — le Mōbad du Beth Aramayē (= Séleucie-Ctésiphon) ;

le texte est le suivant :

wmtyw lh lmdynt' pyrwsšbwr mwbdn mwbyd d'ytwhy rš' d'mgwš'
wmwhpt' hd rb' wmwht' dbyt 'rmy'

«Et ils arrivèrent à la ville de Pērōz-Šābuhr, le mōbadān mōbad qui est le chef des mages, un Grand mōbad et le mōbad du Beth Aramayē».³¹

Les données géographiques me paraissent confirmer la valeur du texte : Pērōz-Šābuhr (ou Anbār)³² est située sur l'Euphrate, et c'était le dernier évêché du Beth Aramayē en remontant l'Euphrate. Elle devait donc faire partie aussi de la province civile d'Āsūrestān, où pouvait fort bien se rendre le Mōbad responsable de cette province, puisque les divisions ecclésiastiques nestoriennes calquées au début sur les divisions administratives sasanides ont dû sans doute le rester par la suite.

²⁸ BEDJAN : *Histoire*, p. 232. Cf. de même, p. 226.

²⁹ *O.c.* p. 170.

³⁰ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 401.

³¹ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 401.

³² Comme l'a montré A. MARIOQ : *Classica et Orientalia*, Paris 1965, pp. 94—97.

Ainsi, au-dessous du Mōbadān mōbad, il y a un «grand mōbad», et c'est un titre que l'on rencontre souvent et qui est nettement distinct du Mōbad qui a la charge de telle ou telle province, comme cela est mentionné dans les textes. En voici quelques exemples :

hydyn qm mwhpt' dbyt 'rmy'

«Alors il se leva le mōbad du Beth Aramayē...»³³

w'yty l'dwrbygn wlbk qdm mwhpt' d'tr' hw

«...Et il emporta [ces écrits] en Ādurbādagān et les plaça devant le mōbad de cet endroit».³⁴

'šlm 'nwn lmwht' dbhw zwn' šlyt hw' bhdyb dnwbl 'nwn lut mlk'

«Il les livra au mōbad qui, en ce temps-là, avait le pouvoir en Adiabène, pour qu'il les conduise auprès du Roi...»³⁵

Comme le mōbadān mōbad, le grand mōbad se tient manifestement à la cour, devant le roi, lorsqu'il s'agit par exemple d'interroger un chrétien :

hydyn qm mwhpt' rb' qdm mlk'...

«Alors il se leva, le grand mōbad devant le roi...»³⁶

Mais il se déplace aussi, en dehors de la cour, comme en témoigne ce passage du martyre de Yazīd-panāh :

'zlw w'mrw lh lmwht' rb' d'yt hw' b'tr' hw m'ltlh wmn dšm' mwhpt' hw šdr wqryhy lqdmwhy

«Ils allèrent parler contre lui au grand mōbad qui se trouvait en ce lieu et dès que ce mōbad (les) eût entendus, il l'envoya (chercher) et le convoqua devant lui».³⁷

Il n'y a pas à s'y méprendre ici : il s'agit bien du grand mōbad et non pas du mōbad de la province. Que ce grand mōbad avait un pouvoir sur tout le pays, le partageant sans doute avec le mōbadān mōbad, me semble indiqué par un passage de la vie de Yazīd-panāh, où le roi promet au saint, s'il abandonne le Christianisme, de le faire «grand mōbad sur tout le pays» :³⁸

n'bdk mwhpt' rb' bklh 'r''...

³³ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 233, idem p. 300.

³⁴ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 250.

³⁵ BEDJAN : *AMS* IV, p. 136.

³⁶ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 368.

³⁷ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 397.

³⁸ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 402.

Il me semble donc que les grands mōbads pouvaient former une sorte de collège autour du Mōbadān mōbad, à l'image de ce qui existait alors dans l'Église nestorienne. Nous savons en effet qu'il y avait trois degrés dans sa hiérarchie : le Patriarche, les métropolitites ayant juridiction sur une région très étendue, et les évêques³⁹ dont l'autorité ne s'exerce que sur une seule ville.⁴⁰ Selon Labourt, le métropolitain est «en quelque sorte, le délégué régional du Catholicos qui le nomme... Il peut intervenir dans les contestations qui surviennent entre les évêques... Mais pour les causes plus graves, il doit en référer au patriarche. Car il ne possède pas, comme lui, la juridiction ordinaire dans toute l'étendue de sa province... Sa primauté est surtout une primauté d'honneur.»⁴¹

Ainsi, de même que le métropolitite a un pouvoir intermédiaire entre le patriarche et l'évêque, et moins «territorial», car «l'évêque est maître absolu dans les limites de son diocèse»,⁴² de même il semble que le grand Mōbad soit aussi une sorte d'intermédiaire entre le Mōbadān mōbad et le mōbad «provincial». Cette hiérarchie mazdéenne est encore reflétée dans un passage de la vie de Yazīd-panāh, où le grand mōbad propose au saint de le nommer mōbad (il était seulement, avant sa conversion, *rēša* et *dayyana*, comme on l'a vu), s'il revient au mazdéisme :

*hš' 'n dly tt̄pys wtšm' lhw m̄dm d'mr 'n' lk thw' mw̄hpt' btr dylly
b'tr' hn'*

«Maintenant, si tu te laisses convaincre et écoutes ce que je te dis, tu seras mōbad après moi en cette région...»⁴³

Bien entendu, les titres ont changé, au cours des siècles : le Patriarche s'est d'abord appelé archevêque, puis grand métropolitain, et à partir de Dādišō' (421—456), l'évêque de Séleucie se nomme presque exclusivement Catholicos, puis patriarche.

Si l'on en croit le témoignage d'un sceau très intéressant de la Bibl. Nationale de Paris,⁴⁴ l'évêque ayant autorité sur le Hulvān et le Balāsagān portait le titre de *vuzurg Catholicos*.⁴⁵ Ce devait être l'équivalent d'un métropolitite. On peut donc supposer que le grand mōbad portait le titre en pehl. de **vuzurg mōgbed*, malheureusement non attesté jusqu'ici. Par contre, les bulles sasanides

³⁹ Cf. J. LABOURT : *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, Paris 1904, p. 326 sv.

⁴⁰ LABOURT : *o.c.* p. 332 : «Il ne doit y avoir qu'un seul évêque dans chaque ville».

⁴¹ LABOURT : *o.c.* pp. 331—332.

⁴² LABOURT : *o.c.* p. 333.

⁴³ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 398.

⁴⁴ Cf. mon *Catalogue*, p. 64, n° 7.5. Le professeur J. HARMATTA avait le premier déchiffré l'essentiel de l'inscription, et je le remercie encore pour cette importante découverte.

⁴⁵ Pehl. : *wcwlk <k>'tlykws*.

nous ont livré en de nombreux exemplaires, des empreintes de sceaux de mōbads des villes,⁴⁶ que je place au troisième degré de la hiérarchie, qui avaient donc à sceller des documents, ce que ne faisaient peut-être pas les grands mōbads.

La situation de la hiérarchie mazdéenne que j'ai tenté de décrire ici, est celle que nous connaissons à partir des textes syriaques à l'époque des Xosrô. J'ai indiqué plus haut que le mōbadān mōbad n'était pas attesté au 4^e–5^e^{me} s. En effet, à cette époque, on parle seulement du *rēša d' mauhpatē*, «le chef des mōbads», qui, au-dessus de tous les mōbads, a dû logiquement précéder le titre de «mōbad des mōbads».⁴⁷ Mais la situation au 6^e^{me} s., mieux documentée, et plus proche de nous, semble plus claire. C'est pourquoi nous nous limitons ici à cette période-là, comptant présenter ailleurs un tableau de la situation plus ancienne.

Le rad

Il est une fonction encore mal connue, celle qui est exercée par le *Rad* et sur laquelle je voudrais apporter le témoignage des textes syriaques.

Ce titre apparaît pourtant à maintes reprises dans les actes des martyrs, comme dans la littérature pehlevie tardive, mais Hoffmann dans ses *Auszüge* semble l'avoir presque ignoré, en l'interprétant comme un nom propre *Rād*, nom qui n'est pas attesté dans l'onomastique sasanide.⁴⁸

Il est évident que la graphie en syriaque est ambiguë, puisqu'on peut supputer comme voyelle médiane un *a* long ou bref, mais c'est le titre de *rad* (< av. *ratu-*) qui est généralement attesté.

En effet, dans le martyre de Saint Pethion, Hoffmann cite un personnage qui s'appellerait tantôt *Naihormazd* tantôt *Naihormazdrād*.⁴⁹ Bien plus, il semble qu'Hoffmann identifie dans ce récit trois personnes différentes, car à côté de ces deux noms, il fait du dernier nom composé, deux personnages s'appelant *Naihormazd* et *Rād*.⁵⁰ Or il est clair qu'il faut comprendre dans ce mot composé «Naihormazd le rad»!

De même, dans l'histoire de Mar Giwargis, Hoffmann interprète le syr. *rd* comme le nom d'un mage, alors qu'il s'agit manifestement d'une controverse sur le feu entre le saint et un *Rad*.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Par ex., dans le seul Catalogue de la B. N., on trouve les mōbads de Husrō-šād-Ohrmazd (= Ctésiphon), s. 1.9; d'Abaršahr (Nišāpūr), b. 1.1a, 1.3a, 1.4a, 1.5a; d'Ērān-Xvarrah-Šābuhr (Suse), b. 1.4a, 4.8a; de Médie, b. 7.8a.

⁴⁷ Cf. BEDJAN: *AMS* II, 158.

⁴⁸ G. HOFFMANN: *Auszüge aus Syrischen Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, Leipzig 1880, pp. 64–65. JUSTI: *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 256b, ne cite ce nom que sur la foi d'Hoffmann.

⁴⁹ *O.c.* pp. 64–65.

⁵⁰ *O.c.* p. 68.

⁵¹ *O.c.* p. 109.

D'après les sources syriaques, la fonction de rad n'est pas une fonction indépendante, mais elle était exercée par le mōbad d'une province :

hydyn qm rd wmwḥpt' dbyt 'rmy' . . .

«Alors il se leva, le rad et mōbad du Beth Aramayē» . . .⁵²

Le rad est attaché à une province :

w'šlmwhy lrd d'dwrbygn dšmh hw' d'dyn

«Et ils le livrèrent au rad d'Ādurbādagān dont le nom était Dādēn.⁵³

Dans la discussion de Mar Giwargis avec un rad,⁵⁴ celui-ci est appelé rad (ligne 8), mais plus loin (ligne 14) *maguša*, tandis que c'est de nouveau le rad qui est désigné ligne 16, de même qu'à la page suivante, ligne 1. Mais cela ne doit pas nous étonner, car comme nous l'avons vu plus haut, à propos du mōbadān mōbad, il est normal qu'un membre élevé de la hiérarchie ait été d'abord «mage», tout comme un évêque ou un métropolitain avait d'abord été consacré prêtre.

La fonction de rad était distincte de celle d'*ainbed* (ou *āyēnbed*) que j'ai étudiée ailleurs,⁵⁵ car on lit dans l'histoire de Mar Aba :⁵⁶

wmn btr d'šlmh rd l'ynbd . . .

Un peu plus loin,⁵⁷ le rédacteur utilise le pluriel (*n'ḥdwn-yhy*) pour indiquer qu'il s'agit de deux fonctionnaires différents :

wšdrwhy lrd w'ynbd dn'ḥdwnyhy ksy'yt

«Et ils l'envoyèrent au Rad et à l'Ainbed pour qu'ils s'emparent de lui en secret».

Que le rad ait été, en tout cas, un fonctionnaire important dans la hiérarchie, cela est attesté aussi dans les textes pehlevs. Ainsi, dans la procédure d'ordalie, décrite dans plusieurs chapitres du *Mādayān ī hazār dādestān*, c'est

⁵² BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 235.

⁵³ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 239. C'est un excellent nom, bien attesté (cf. *Pad nām ī yazdān*, 1979, p. 67), que n'a pas reconnu BEDJAN, qui a voulu l'interpréter comme *dād-dīn* ! De même, O. BRAUN, *Ausgewählte Akten Persischer Märtyrer*, 1915, p. 204, a cru bon de transcrire le nom Dād[d]ēn. Certes, le nom de *Dēn-dād* existe : BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 234.

⁵⁴ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 528.

⁵⁵ Dans mon art. «Pour une esquisse des fonctions religieuses sous les Sasanides», cité en note 1 : j'y étudie les sources iraniennes ainsi que les passages des actes des martyrs.

⁵⁶ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 242.

⁵⁷ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 255.

sous l'autorité d'un rad et non d'un seul mōbad que le jugement pouvait être arrêté. La condamnation ne pouvait être prononcée par les seuls dādvarān ou mōbadān.⁵⁸

Cette étude, consacrée à quelques dignitaires mazdéens, voudrait en même temps manifester quelques aspects de l'intégration de la chrétienté nestorienne à l'intérieur de l'empire sasanide. Le jugement de J.-M. Fiey, affirmant la non-assimilation des chrétiens en Iran, doit être rectifié : dans l'introduction à son livre sur Nisibe,⁵⁹ il déclare de manière péremptoire :

«L'église de Perse put bien s'étendre, . . . mais elle n'en devint jamais pour autant «iranienne», ni par la langue de sa liturgie, ou de ses écrits spirituels, ni par sa hiérarchie, le plus souvent «importée», ni par ses racines hagiographiques, ni surtout par sa mentalité». Ce jugement peu nuancé sert apparemment d'argument pour expliquer l'effondrement rapide de la chrétienté devant l'Islam. Or, même si les premiers chrétiens d'Iran ont été des prisonniers «d'importation grecque», ils ne le sont pas restés pendant quatre siècles ! Par ailleurs, il ne faut pas seulement distinguer, comme le fait Wiessner, entre des chrétiens de langue grecque, de langue araméo-syriaque ou de langue moyen-perse, mais il faut aussi poser le problème du bilinguisme.⁶⁰

Dans son excellente monographie sur l'église nestorienne, toujours utile, le Cal Tisserant notait déjà que le Catholicos Ma'nā, vers 420, avait traduit en persan des ouvrages syriaques.⁶¹ D'autres métropolitains du Fārs, à Rēv-Ardašīr, composèrent des hymnes et cantiques en persan. Le code juridique d'Īsō'bōxt fut rédigé en persan et traduit plus tard en syriaque. Certes, le syriaque est resté la langue liturgique, mais les nestoriens ont été certainement bilingues, utilisant le syriaque et le moyen-perse, tout comme aujourd'hui ceux qui vivent au Kurdistan, parlent à la fois le syriaque moderne et le kurde.⁶² Un passage de la vie de Mar Aba témoigne clairement de ce bilinguisme :

⁵⁸ Cf. A. PERIKHANIAN : Ordaliya i kljatva v sudoproizvodstve doislamskogo irana, dans *Peredneaziatskij Sbornik III*, Istorija i filologija stran drevnego vostoka, Moskva 1979, pp. 182—192.

⁵⁹ *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours*, 1977, p. 9.

⁶⁰ G. WIESSNER, Zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Christentum und Zoroastrismus in Iran, dans *ZDMG Supplementa I*, XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag, Wiesbaden 1969, p. 411. Je n'ai pas compris l'intérêt de cet article, qui compare un récit tardif, et déclaré inauthentique, à savoir le «roman de Qardag» au *Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr*, pour démontrer le changement des deux pôles du dualisme zoroastrien (bien et mal) opéré dans le christianisme iranien, défini comme une sorte de dualisme «inversé». Je ne vois pas comment l'on peut vraiment différencier deux grandes religions à partir d'éléments mythico-légendaires communs (qui signifient seulement que les rédacteurs syriaques ont été influencés, ce qui est normal, par la littérature épique iranienne), ni je ne puis croire que le christianisme nestorien ait jamais été une forme de dualisme, ce que l'auteur semble admettre.

⁶¹ *DTC* (dictionnaire de théologie catholique), fasc. XCI—XCII, 1930, p. 264.

⁶² Comme je l'ai longuement constaté durant un séjour en Irak.

wmn btr d'mr hlyn klhyn blšn' swryy' hpk brdrš w'mr 'nyn blšn' prsy' 'yk dnšm'wn 'p prsy' wnd'wn mdm d'mr . . .

«Et après qu'il eût dit toutes ces choses en langue syriaque, il les répéta en langue perse afin que les Perses aussi l'entendent et connaissent ce qu'il avait dit». ⁶³

Je vois aussi une autre preuve de ce bilinguisme dans les sceaux chrétiens. En effet, dans un article à paraître,⁶⁴ j'ai réuni une trentaine de sceaux que j'identifie comme chrétiens essentiellement à partir du contenu de leurs inscriptions. Or celles-ci sont soit en syriaque soit en pehlevi, soit même pour l'une d'entre d'elles dans les deux langues !⁶⁵ C'est assez dire combien les nestoriens n'avaient pas de peine à utiliser l'une ou l'autre langue, même dans des documents officiels comme les sceaux — celui du grand Catholicos cité ci-dessus est gravé en écriture et langue pehlevie ! — ce qu'ils n'auraient certainement pas fait s'ils étaient restés à l'écart de toute influence mazdéenne et iranienne⁶⁶ et fermés sur leur propre communauté. L'expansion nestorienne vers l'est à partir du 6^{ème} et 7^{ème} siècle témoigne au contraire de l'ouverture des chrétiens au monde dans lequel ils vivaient, tout comme les actes des martyrs. C'est pourquoi ceux-ci, comme j'ai tenté de le montrer, nous informent à la fois sur la structure de l'église mazdéenne et sur la bonne insertion des nestoriens dans l'Iran sasanide.

Paris.

⁶³ BEDJAN : *Histoire* p. 540.

⁶⁴ «Sceaux chrétiens d'époque sasanide», dans *Iranica Antiqua 1980* (en hommage à la mémoire de R. GHIRSHMAN).

⁶⁵ C'est un sceau du Brit. Museum n° 120 260 (= BIVAR NA 1), où l'on peut lire deux mots : pehl. *p'ky* et syr. *'lh'*, «Dieu saint !».

⁶⁶ Cette influence mazdéenne se manifeste aussi dans les inscriptions de sceaux, puisque les chrétiens ont utilisé des formules zoroastriennes, mais en les adaptant et les rendant conformes à leur propre foi.

QUESTIONS OF INTERPRETATION IN THE
INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SASANIAN SEALS

The engraved gems of the Sasanian period in Iran, with their short Pahlavi inscriptions, have attracted interest in recent years for the special light they can throw on the history, culture, and religion of that civilization. In my present paper, for the opportunity to present which I express thanks to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,¹ I shall be dealing with some fairly limited problems of interpretation which concern these inscriptions.

One of the most familiar terms in the Pahlavi seal-inscriptions is the word *rāst*, either found alone, or in phrases. This has dictionary meanings «true», «straight», «direct»,² but for the present discussion the opposed shades of meaning are, on the one hand, «correct», and, on the other, «righteous». We shall come in a moment to the associated abstract noun *rāstih* (*l'styhy*) «righteousness». One line of interpretation, therefore, for the effective meaning of the former term on a Sasanian seal is to regard it as a mere mark of authentication, signifying that a document is correct. Equivalent in the Arabic chancery usage is the use of a phrase such as *saḥḥa dhālika* «that is correct» as a mark of authentication for official documents in the states of the Maghrib.³ I had been inclined to this view until I saw Professor Gignoux's eloquent article in the *Yādegār Nāme-ye Purdāvud*, which makes strong case for the interpretation of phrases containing this term as the expression of moral sentiments:⁴

«Il résulte, de ce qui précède, que partout où *rāstī*, *rāstih* n'est pas employé seul, à une exception près (et encore douteuse: le dernier exemple), il possède une connotation morale. Dès lors, quand il est seul, pourquoi

¹ This paper was read at the conference on the theme «Problèmes d'interprétation des sources sur l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale préislamique» held at Budapest on September 30th to 2nd October 1980 under the auspices of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (with the assistance of the Union Académique Internationale and the CIPSH). I am grateful also to the Council of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, who assisted my attendance.

² D. N. MACKENZIE: *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*. London 1971. 71.

³ S. M. STERN: *Fatimid decrees*. London 1964. 139–40.

⁴ PH. GIGNOUX: Les «formules» des sceaux sassanides et la signification de *rāst* et *rāstih*. *Farhang-e Irān Zamīn*, XXI, 1354/1976 (= *Yādegār Nāme-ye Purdāvud*), 49.

perdraît-il cette connotation ? Il reste en tout cas à le prouver, si l'en veut établir qu'il servait à authentifier un document».

Of course, in one very obvious sense, every seal is designed for the authentication of documents ; and in a state where the administration was largely in the hands of the priesthood, the distinction between a religious and an executive act may not always have been clear-cut. A seal recently published by Judith Lerner,⁵ illustrating the Christian, or Jewish, theme of the sacrifice of Isaac, bears the Pahlavi inscription *ZNH mudly r'st* «This seal is correct». Such a text is difficult to understand in other than a practical sense — that an earlier seal of the same owner had been lost, and only its replacement was now considered valid. It is true that the iconography makes clear that this was not a seal used by the Zoroastrian hierarchy.

Yet its engraving is sufficiently typical of Sasanian glyptic, and it is difficult to doubt that the word *rāst* would have been understood as on other seals. This example, therefore, tends to some degree to swing back the balance, and to leave the precise meaning of *rāst* once more open to debate. Where we have knowledge only of the seals, and not of the documents they authenticated, it is difficult to grasp their message clearly ; yet perhaps the fault is ours for seeking to understand them too literally ; between an ethical exhortation and a stamp of authenticity there may have been less difference than we are inclined to suppose.

Where the formula involves the abstract noun, *rāstih* «righteousness», the ethical force is of course more obvious. At the same time, the term had a long life in the Iranian chanceries, and the words *rāstī*, *rāstī* appear in the sign manual of Timur.⁶ A different nuance, however, is conveyed by the statement of al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūj*, II, 204), that the revenue seal of Khosrau I Anoshirvan was engraved with the word *al-'adl* «justice» — an Arabic translation of *rāstih*. It has to be considered, therefore, whether the Sasanian seals engraved with this word are likely to have been employed exclusively in the revenue department. Curiously enough, one of the more explicit phrases quoted by Professor Gignoux,⁷ *l'styhy TB ZY ŠBW PWN bhty* — which he variously translates «La bon droiture des choses (se fait) par le sort» or «Bonne exactitude des biens (marchandises) en partage», could, though the implications in either case are far from clear to me, be interpreted as an admonition to share the burdens of taxation equitably. However, though its editor appears to entertain the possibility of

⁵ JUDITH A. LERNER: *Christian seals of the Sasanian period*. Leiden and Istanbul 1977. 42, no. 17. [Subsequently, P. GIGNOUX: *Sceaux sasanides de diverses collections privées*, Leuven 1982, 19 has justifiably shown that the complete reading is *ZNH mudly r'sty* „This seal belongs to Rastēn” which eliminates this example from the discussion.]

⁶ JAHĀNGĪR QA'IM-MAQĀMĪ: *Muhrhā, tughrahā u tawqīhā-yi pādishāhān-i Irān az Ilkhāniyān tā payān-i Qājāriya*. *Barrasīhā-yi tārikhī*, IV, 3–4, 1348/1969–70. 128

⁷ GIGNOUX: 49.

a fiscal purpose for this seal, I still feel, as I did some years ago, that an ethical connotation for *rāstih* provides the best solution at present.

A formula of the Sasanian seals of which the implications can be puzzling is that which appears in its basic form as *lwb'n HZYTN* (*ruvān vēn*) «see the spirit». The ideogram *HZYTN*, representing the past participle, or the imperative, of the verb «to see», might of course appear on seals in several connections, literal as well as spiritual. At the present day, all those of us who travel are familiar with *visa* stamps. The word *-ruvān*, as the name of the ruler Anoshirvān plainly testifies, might form an element of personal names or honorifics. On the other hand it is difficult to understand in what sense anything so invisible as the spirit can be spoken of as to be seen. I find it difficult, nevertheless, to follow Brunner (*Sasanian stamp seals in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 141) that *lwb'n HZYTN* represents a legal formula signifying «witnessed». At the same time, he suitably calls attention to almost the first instance of such a formula to receive scholarly discussion, the epigraphic seal at Berlin which had also been noted by Shaked, reading :⁸

tny ZY KBYR k'mk lwb'n HZYTN

which with the other commentators I take to mean «Body of many desires, consider the spirit». I assume this is an ethical admonition, expressing the well-known Zoroastrian value-judgment which, dualistically, contrasts the physical unfavourably with the spiritual being. The admonition (not improbably a quotation from a religious text), is I suppose addressed not to the reader of the document, but directly to the owner of the seal, to remind him of the sovereign virtues of austerity. Consequently, when we come to interpret such shorter formulae as *thmdyny lwb'n HZYTN*, I understand the implications a little differently, not only from Brunner, but also indeed from Gignoux,⁹ whose translation «Regarde l'âme de Tahm-den» suggests that he considers the admonition addressed to the reader, and the «spirit» in question to be specifically that of the owner of the seal himself, so that the whole legend has (as he suggests) a flavour of «commemoration». In my view, this would constitute, for the Zoroastrian, an attitude of self-glorification quite at variance with the sentiments appropriate to that faith. Rather, I should prefer, the admonition was a permanent reminder to the titular of the seal to give precedence to spiritual over physical values, and by no means a message addressed by him to the reader of the inscription.

⁸ SHAOUL SHAKED : Jewish and Christian seals of the Sasanian period, in MYRIAM ROSEN-AYALON (ed.), *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, 29; citing P. HORN and G. STEINDORF, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, Berlin 1891. 39, no. 2179.

⁹ P. 50.

These are useful preliminaries before turning to one of the most troublesome and puzzling seals which use a formula of this type, the British Museum's seal BBI, which has inspired an unusual number of conflicting interpretations. Though there is no disagreement among scholars as to the reading of the letters, and indeed of the words, the point of commencement, the word division, and the punctuation invite varying solutions. My first attempt¹⁰ *HZYTN LY pr'whlmzdy ZY hwhym lwb'n* «Seen by me, Farr-Ohrmizd, son of Huhēmruvān», made the purport of the inscription that of a simple visa-stamp, and of course sidesteps the general question of *lwb'n*. Shaked soon afterwards sent me his very ingenious rendering¹¹ *mzd ZY xwxymlwb'n XZYTN LY pr'wzl* «My *frawahr* (= eternal spiritual being) has seen the reward of a man possessed of a soul of good character». Professor Gignoux returned to the fray¹² with *pl'whlmzdy ZY hwhym lwb'n HZYTN LY* «Farr-Ohrmazd, à l'âme bienveillante, regarde moi !» He was right to correct my orthographic imprecision in failing to record that the second character was written with the usual *-l-* for *-r-*; yet on the general issue, if my view is correct, it was not the purpose of these inscriptions to call attention to the owners of the stones; rather they were an ethical admonition addressed to that person. Consequently, *lwb'n HZYTN* will be, as in other examples, a closely linked phrase, and the general interpretation has again to be revised. My first reading, in which I understood the pronoun *LY* (*man*) as the second word of the sentence, was partly influenced by Professor Boyce's teaching, that the pronoun normally comes second in the Middle Persian sentence. On the other hand, there is a gap in the legend before *LY*, of which the opening character is larger than others in the inscription, suggesting that reading should commence at this point.

Recently I have seen how this paradox can be resolved. If we assume that the word *mwdly* (*muhr*) «seal» is understood, but not expressed, as the first word of the sentence, then we can interpret the whole as (*mwdly*) *LY, pl'whlmzdy ZY hwhym: lwb'n HZYTN*, a text of perfectly conventional pattern. However, problems may not yet be at an end. Are we to understand *hwhym* «benevolent» as a proper name, or just as an epithet of religious tone, similar in fact to *hwmtry*, of which Gignoux has shown that it has, at least in some connections, merely an adjectival force? Similar hesitation arises over another piece, Frye, *Foroughi Collection*, LI, 178, which reads, *yzdt-wlhl'n hwkly*, which might be either an invocation of the deity (*Yazad Vahram hukar*), or a personal name with patronymic. Of this group of epithets, *hwpndy* from the British Museum stone CD1 seems definitely a proper name.

¹⁰ *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamp seals. II: The Sassanian dynasty*. London 1969. 55.

¹¹ SHAKED: 30.

¹² PH. GIGNOUX: Cachets sasanides du British Museum, in *Acta Iranica, Textes et Mémoires*, V, *Varia*: :há. 133.

I turn now to what seemed to me in my innocence of 15 years ago a very simple text, the British Museum stone AA2,¹³ which reads *mnctry ZY 'rthštr-šnwmy*, and which I took to mean «Manuchihr who (is) Ardashir's Joy» — the latter not unusual type of Sasanian honorific attested also in the *Shāpūr KZ* inscription. Discussion with colleagues soon evoked the view that this was far from certain, and in his survey of my readings, to which we owe so many valuable ameliorations,¹⁴ Gignoux denied that *mnctry* could spell the name in epigraphic Pahlavi of which the Avestan form is *Manuščiθra*. For this seal he accordingly proposed an avowedly vague interpretation «De la descendance de Ardaxšir-šnōm». I had been recalling, however, the well-known coins of the pre-Sasanian princes of Fars,¹⁵ a familiar variety of which, attested in London by a fortunately well-preserved specimen, (Pl. I) reads clearly *mnctry MLK' BRH mnctry MLK'* King Manuchihr who (is) son of King Manuchihr». There can be no doubt at all that the repeated word must represent the proper name of father and son. The etymological problems arising from these data I have no choice but to leave to expert etymologists.

The points I have made so far constitute merely a sifting of previously-published discussions, but it is only right I should wind up my article with some new material. This includes two readings which throw a chink of light on the history of the Sasanian fire-temples. Actual seals employed by the fire-temples are rare, and I can quote offhand only those excavated at Ādūr-Gushnasp, and perhaps the Paris stone 3.4, on which I commented in a review.¹⁶ Yet despite dissenting views, there is a considerable case that the names of fires, and various compounds of these, occur frequently as the names of individuals. If that view were well founded we could hope to learn from these attestations of fire-temples whose existence was otherwise unrecorded. Recently I was sent by an owner living in a small English village a good enlarged photograph of a 5th century A.D. Sasanian portrait seal with a semi-cursive inscription interesting in this regard (Pl. II). I am grateful to Mrs. L. Beck for permission to publish this specimen.

'twr'rthštr Y 'twrplh'ndt
Ādūr-Ardashīr ī Ādūrfarroxān-dād

It is tempting to see in the names appearing on the specimen allusions to the names of Sasanian fire-temples. Gignoux has recently re-opened the discus-

¹³ *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. Stamp seals. II. The Sassanian dynasty.* 44.

¹⁴ GIGNOUX: *Cachets sassanides.* 135.

¹⁵ *Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum; Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, etc.*, by G. F. HILL. London 1922.

¹⁶ *JRAS*, 1980. 94, anent PH. GIGNOUX: *Catalogue des sceaux, camees et bulles sassanides de la Bibliothèque Nationale et du Musée du Louvre: II. Les sceaux et les bulles inscrits.* Paris 1978. 25.

sion of Sasanian personal names of this type, adopting a rather formalized criterion to determine which examples indeed allude to the names of temples, and which are merely theophoric compounds incorporating the element *Ādūr-*; though in fact cult-institution and personal deity may not have been rigorously differentiated by the Zoroastrian mind. On the one hand he concedes:¹⁷

«Certes, dans des noms comme *Ādūr-Farrbay* et *Ādūr-Gušnasp* si communément attestés, on ne peut rien voir d'autre que les noms des deux grands feux devenues noms de personnes . . . »

Elsewhere, he shows a tendency to prefer wherever possible the interpretation of such compounds as «des noms . . . constitués par deux noms de dieux». However, one of the examples he quotes in this connection, *Ādūr-Anahīd*, being obviously the name of the celebrated fire-temple of Istakhr, might here inspire in us a note of caution. Surely the name of the provincial fire-temple of Fars would be more in the mind of the Zoroastrian naming his offspring than would a routine juxtaposition of the names of the two deities. When the names of so many other unattested fire-temples of Iran are unknown to us, it is important to beware of undue dogmatism. There could be more allusions to particular fire-temples than is at first obvious, and a critical judgment, taking note of the rapidly expanding evidence, is required in every case.

In the case of our example above, *Ādūr-Ardashīr* can hardly be regarded as other than the name of the dynastic founder's fire. This probability must naturally affect our understanding of the second onomastic element on the seal. The son having been named from a sacred fire, so too could have been the father, an element of parallelism within the family being naturally to be expected, if not invariable. Evidently *Ādūr-farroxān-dād* could be analysed in several ways. MacKenzie¹⁸ cites *Farrobag* (*plwbg*) — besides, presumably, *plnbg* — as a name of the priestly fire of Fars. Gignoux reads¹⁹ *plhwbg'tw(r)* on a bulla from *Qaṣr-i Abū Naṣr*, which seems to be a variant rendering of the same name. However, he does not list this reading in his «Étude typologique»,²⁰ perhaps because it seemed antagonistic to his general theory. These forms are somewhat parallel to *Ādūrfarroxān*, a compound not attested hitherto. One could conceive of a fire temple designated *Ādūr-Farroxān-dād* «Fire founded (or created) by a person named *Farroxān*, name of a post-Sasanian King of *Ṭabaristān* at a date of course considerably later than that of our example. On the other hand, it is

¹⁷ PH. GIGNOUX: *Les noms propres en moyen-perse épigraphique: étude typologique*, in *Pad nam i Yazdan* (Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, Travaux de l'Institut d'Études Iraniennes, 9). 76.

¹⁸ *Concise Pahlavi dictionary*. 32.

¹⁹ PH. GIGNOUX: *Les bulles sassanides de Qaṣr-i Abū Naṣr* in PH. GIGNOUX and A. TAFAZZOLI (ed.), *Memorial Jean de Menasce*. Louvain 1974. 179, No. 214.

²⁰ GIGNOUX: *Les noms propres* . . .

fairly obvious that the element *-dād* in Sasanian proper names, as in many other religiously inspired names of the ancient world, refers the child's conception to the answering of prayer directed to a particular deity, or performed in a particular temple. On this fairly evident hypothesis, *Ādūrfarroxān-dād* might well be the name of child whose conception was attributed to prayers performed at a temple named *Ādūr-Farroxān*. And so I take it to be in this particular case. *Farrox*, or *Farrox-bag* could be understood as the designation of a deity, perhaps identical with *Farrbay*. With regard to the name of the *Ṭabaristān* ruler *Farroxān*, it could well be that he was named from a celebrated fire-temple, the *Ādūr-Farroxān* of our inscription, a name presumably well known locally, and thus shortened merely to *Farroxān*. If so, and the temple the same as on our seal, it may well have been situated in *Ṭabaristān*, a theory which the style of the engraving may do something to support.

My second example which again seems to make allusion to a fire-temple is from Frye's *Foroughi* album,²¹ being the striking impression on Pl.L, 171. (=Pl. III here). The inscription, not to my knowledge read previously, appears to run :

'thš' pzrdrp Y l's<t>'whlmzdy: 'p[s'tn 'L - -y]

It seems quite logical to resolve the first of these names as *Ataxš-ābzar-darb*; taking *ābzar* (a term still current in modern Persian, as Mr N. Chegini reminded me) as the designation of the famous mercury gilding typical of the Sasanian silverware. *Darb*, a by-form of *dar* «door» also current in modern Persian (the relation of which to its Arabic homonym, perhaps a loan from MP, must remain unresolved) is readily understood as «door», giving the overall meaning «Fire-temple of the gilded door». This concept is perfectly probable. At the present day I know one religious building of Iran with gilded doors, the *Madrassa* at *Isfahan*. In the Sasanian heyday of silver-gilt, such decoration would have been typical. In this case at least, there seems no difficulty in conceiving the owner of the seal as having been named from a fire-temple, and no possibility here of a theophoric re-interpretation of the name. The second name presents a difficulty. Of course, *l's* is a Pahlavi spelling of Persian *rāh* «road», yet though possible, «road of *Ohrmizd*» is not a very convincing personal name. On the whole it seems best to assume the omission of a character in the engraving, and emend to *Rāst-Ohrmizd* «The righteous (deed) of *Ohrmizd*» — whether deity or ruler of that name be here in question. And *rāst*, of course, was the term with which I began this paper.

London.

²¹ R. N. FRYE: *Sasanian seals in the collection of Mohsen Foroughi*. (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum Pt. III, Vol. vi, Portfolio II). (A reading based on a different emendation is now proposed by GIGNOUX and GYSELEN: *Sceaux sasanides de diverses collections privées*, 142, but shows no obvious superiority.)

K. CZEGLÉDY

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER HEPHTHALITEN

Die Erforschung der Geschichte der Hephthaliten hat während der zwei letzten Jahrzehnte zu wichtigen Teilergebnissen geführt, die heutzutage die Revision einiger Grundfragen der hephthalitischen Geschichte ermöglichen. Ich möchte diesmal von den letzteren, zwei miteinander zusammenhängende Probleme ins Auge fassen: einerseits die Frage der Namen und der Stammeskomponente der Hephthaliten, andererseits die Geographie der hephthalitischen Einwanderung nach Ost-Tocharistan. Obwohl ich beide Problemenkomplexe bereits vor 25 Jahren in einem ungarisch herausgegebenen Aufsatz¹ behandelt habe, ist es nicht meine Absicht meine frühere Arbeit hier zusammenzufassen. Vielmehr möchte ich Rechenschaft geben von meinen neueren Untersuchungen, die ich auf Grund von neuen Quellenstudien, einschließlich der chinesischen Berichte angestellt habe.

Die Beurteilung der ältesten Periode der hephthalitischen Geschichte ist eng mit der Frage ihrer verschiedenen Benennungen verbunden. Der Name *heftal* scheint weder altaischen, noch iranischen Ursprungs zu sein: diese etymologische Frage ist aber vom Gesichtspunkte unserer Problemstellung weniger aufschlußreich. Aus den Quellen geht nämlich eindeutig hervor, daß *heftal* ursprünglich nur Name einer zeitgebundenen Dynastie um ungefähr 460—560 unserer Zeitrechnung war und erst nach 460 auf das Volk der Hephthaliten übertragen wurde. Der Auftritt der hephthalitischen Dynastie ist also ein terminus post quem für die Authentizität der Erwähnungen der Hephthaliten. Mit anderen Worten: diejenigen Quellen, die die Hephthaliten vor 460 erwähnen, antizipieren diesen Namen, was unter Umständen auch für die Beurteilung ihrer Quellenwertes von Belang sein kann. Noch wichtiger ist aber, daß wir für die Zeitalter der Erscheinung der Hephthaliten und für ihre frühere Geschichte, anstatt des Namens *heftal* andere Benennungen zu erwarten haben. Und das ist in der Tat der Fall: die Hephthaliten erscheinen in den chinesischen Quellen vor 460 u. Z. unter dem Namen *Hua*. In den Quellen des Mittel- und Nahen Ostens werden sie als *hyaona*, *xyōn*, oder *χon*, beziehungsweise *hon-k'* und *huna*

¹ Hefthaliták, hunok, avarok, onogurok. Magyar Nyelv [Ungarische Sprache] 50 (1954) 142—151.

erwähnt, während sie bei den Byzantinern *Hunnen*, oder *Weißer Hunnen* genannt werden.

Was nun das chinesische *hua* 華 betrifft, sind die besten Kenner der chinesischen Lautgeschichte, unter ihnen P. Pelliot,² B. Karlgren,³ L. Ligeti⁴ und neuerdings auch E. G. Pulleyblank⁵ der Meinung, daß das chinesische Graphem *Hua* im Mittelchinesischen als **ɣwät* ausgesprochen wurde. Seine Lautform entwickelt sich aber in derjenigen chinesischen Mundart, in der die meisten Sprachreste der nördlichen Barbaren Innerasiens im VII—IX. Jh. übermittelt worden sind, ins *huad*, oder *huaδ*, eventuell auch *'uad*, oder *'uaδ*. Das *ɣ*-verstummt also in dieser Mundart stufenweise. In der Form mit modifiziertem *h* gibt letzteres ein stimmhaftes *h* zurück. Dieser alte Laut wurde zuerst von P. Pelliot angenommen. Pulleyblank kam neuerdings zum gleichen Resultat. Das stimmlose *h* hat Ligeti auf Grund von sino-tibetischen Entsprechungen vorgeschlagen.

In meinem ungarischen Aufsatz ging ich von diesen wichtigen linguistischen Erkenntnissen aus, und nahm an, daß wir den alten Namen der Hephthaliten mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit in **uar* zu sehen haben, umsomehr, da auch sonst mittelchinesisches *δ* fremdsprachiges *r* vertritt. Einer ganz anderen Meinung ist dagegen Kazuo Enoki,⁶ der in einem ausgezeichnet dokumentierten Aufsatz neue Lösungen der hier erörterten Fragen vorlegt. Er zweifelt darin auch meine in 1954 veröffentlichten Ausführungen an. Enoki, ein hervorragender Kenner der chinesischen Quellen betrachtet die letzteren nach den Prinzipien der modernen Quellenkritik und demonstriert auch in diesem Falle überzeugend, daß wir ohne einen kritischen Vergleich der chinesischen Kompilationen, welche denselben Bericht in verschiedener Fassung darbieten, kaum zu einem befriedigenden Resultat gelangen können. Seine Übersetzungen und Kommentare enthalten viel wertvolles Material zur Frage. Auch seine Ansichten auf dem Gebiete der chinesischen Lautgeschichte trachtet er sachgemäß zu fundieren. So verläßt er sich im Falle des Namens *Hua* auf die kompetente Rekonstruktion B. Karlgrens, indem er die zeitgenössische Lautform dieses Namens als *ɣwät* rekonstruiert, das er auf eine mit Asteriskus versehene Form **Ghwâr* zurückführt. **Ghwâr*, seiner Meinung nach, ist nichts anderes als der alte Name der nordwestafghanischen Provinz, der später, in den islamischen Quellen oft als *Ĝūr* belegt ist. Mit diesen Erörterungen verknüpft schließlich

² T'oung Pao 16 (1915) 9, cf. Journal Asiatique 1921/I, 139 sqq.

³ B. KARLGREN: Grammata Serica Recensa. 133—134, No 486/e; 91—92, No 302/m.

⁴ In einem Vortrag, gehalten 13 Okt. 1945 an der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

⁵ Asia Major 9 (1962) 258.

⁶ KAZUO ENOKI: On the Nationality of the Ephthalites. Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko 18 (1959) 1—58.

Enoki seinen wichtigsten neuen Deutungsversuch, indem er die Hephthaliten für ein in Ostiran autochtones Volkselement erklärt.

Es fällt allerdings sofort auf, daß Enoki in diesem Falle gar nicht sagt, in welcher Sprache die Entwicklung **Ghwār* > *Ĝūr* stattgefunden hat. Diesbezügliche Angaben fehlen in unseren älteren Quellen und auch den Muslimen war die Sprache vom unzugänglichen *Ĝūr*, wie auch sein heidnisches Volk im allgemeinen, fast gänzlich unbekannt. Enoki nimmt eine mit Asteriskus versehene «ursprüngliche» Form von *Ĝūr* als **Ghwār* offenbar deshalb an, weil sie dem mittelchinesischen Lautwert (**ɣwät*) von *Hua* am nächsten stehen würde.

Weitere Schwierigkeiten häufen sich, wenn wir die geographischen Erörterungen Prof. Enoki's näher ins Auge fassen. Die wichtigste Beschreibung des Landes *Hua* finden wir — wie schon längst bekannt — in dem 54. Kap. des Liang-šu aus der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts. Hier finden wir eine Reihe von wichtigen Angaben auch bezüglich der Nachbarländer von *Hua*. Der Wert der Berichterstattung des Liang-šu wird aber dadurch beeinträchtigt, daß die Verfasser dieses Jahrbuches, Hofbeamter der südlichen Liang-Dynastie, mit der Lage der einzelnen Länder des fernen Nordwestens, im Verhältnis zu einander, nicht ganz im Klaren waren. So unterlief ihnen ein Fehler im Falle des Landes *Hua* und der Provinz Balch, indem sie behaupteten, daß sich das Land *Hua* auf sechsh Tagesmärsche westlich von der Provinz befinde, während weniger später, im selben Kapitel behauptet wird, daß der westliche Nachbar der Provinz Balch *Po-si*, das heißt Persien, wäre. Es ist jedoch glücklicherweise gar nicht schwierig festzustellen, welche von den zwei einander ausschließenden Berichten zu akzeptieren sei. Alle historischen und geographischen Quellen nämlich, welche die Geschichte des persisch-hephthalitischen Krieges behandeln, lassen keinen Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß das eigentliche Zentrum des Hephthalitenlandes sich immer östlich und nicht westlich von der Provinz Balch befand. Deshalb erscheint es einigermaßen befremdend, daß Enoki die andere Angabe (*Hua* westlich von Balch) für richtig erklärt, indem er *Hua*, als soeben gesagt, mit der Provinz *Ĝūr* identifiziert, obwohl letztere sich süd-südwestlich und auf einer großen Entfernung von Balch befand.

Umsomehr entscheidend fällt in die Waagschale, daß sich weitere wichtige Angaben bezüglich des Landes *Hua*, d. h. **Uar* in den chinesischen Quellen einerseits und muslimischen historischen und geographischen Quellen andererseits befinden, welche die Anwesenheit des Volkes *Hua*-**Uar* östlich von der Provinz Balch, im eigentlichen Tocharistan bezeugen. Um hier nur die zwei wichtigsten zu nennen: H'üan Tsang, der berühmte chinesische Pilger, durchkreuzte während seiner Reise nach Indien um 630 auch Tocharistan. Er verweilte damals auch in der hephthalitischen Hauptstadt. Letztere befand sich, gemäß seiner Aufzeichnungen, südlich vom Oxus, in der Gegend des jetzigen Kunduz. Der Name der Hauptstadt lautet bei H'üan Tsang *Huo* 𐰽𐰺, also wieder einmal ein chinesisches Wort, dessen mittelchinesische Form *ɣwät* lautet, also

identisch mit der des chinesischen Volksnamens *Hua* ist. Die natürliche Annahme, daß wir auch in diesem Fall mit dem Hephthalitennamen **Uar*, als Name der hephthalitischen Hauptstadt zu tun haben, wird erhärtet durch Birūni's Angabe, wo gesagt ist, daß die Hauptstadt der Hephthaliten in alten Zeiten den Namen *War-waliz* trug. Mit Rücksicht auf Hiüan Tsang's *War* erscheint nun sehr wahrscheinlich, daß es sich hier um einen zusammengesetzten Namen handelt, dessen erste Hälfte den Hephthalitennamen **Uar* enthält, während die zweite — wie es lange her vermutet wurde — ein Wort mit der Bedeutung 'Burg, Stadt' sein kann.⁷ Wir sollen dabei die Tatsache nicht vergessen, daß **Uar* sich im eigentlichen, östlichen Tocharistan befand, also auf altem iranischem Boden, wo neben der Sprache der Eroberer auch noch das mittelbaktrische Idiom gesprochen wurde. Ich bin daher zur Überzeugung gekommen, daß wir genug Grund dazu besitzen, zwischen diesem *waliz* und dem mittelbaktrischen *malizo* einen Zusammenhang zu suchen, und diese Annahme scheint auch vom linguistischen Standpunkt aus plausibel zu sein.⁸

Was nun die oben genannten anderen Bezeichnungen der Hephthaliten betrifft, die mit dem Namen der Hunnen zusammenhängen (*xyōn*, *χun*, *hun*), ich habe mich in meiner früheren Arbeit mit den sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten dieser Namensformen eingehend beschäftigt. Jetzt bemerke ich nur, daß wir bezüglich des Endnasals in der chinesischen Form *hiung-* (im Namen *hiung-nu*, archaisch-chinesisch *χiwong-nuo*) besser unterrichtet sind als früher. J. Hamilton und E. G. Pulleyblank haben nämlich schwerwiegende Argumente vorgetragen für die Beobachtung, daß der chinesische Nasal in manchen Transkriptionen fremdsprachiger Streudenkmäler den Lautwert *-n*, anstatt des gewöhnlichen *ŋ* besitzt. Das bedeutet, daß wir die archaische Form von *hiung-nu* problemlos als *χiun-nuo* rekonstruieren können, welch letzteres mit dem mittelpersischen *xyōn* bis auf den im mittelpersischen schon nicht mehr bezeugten,

⁷ Prof. HARMATTA, dem ich diesen etymologischen Gedanken vortrug, hatte die Güte dazu zu bemerken, daß so eine Erklärung ohne weiteres akzeptabel ist, aber unter der Bedingung, daß wir vom Element *lizo* des baktrischen Wortes ausgehen.

⁸ Das Zusammenleben der Hephthaliten und der Qarluken in Ost-Tocharistan geht besonders deutlich aus einer von ENOKI nicht angeführten Stelle des T'ang-hui-yao (ed. Shanghai 1935. 1315), aus dem Jahre 649. 10. Monat 3. Tag) hervor, wo von der administrativen Organisation der Westländer die Rede ist, welche die Chinesen nach ihren überwältigenden Siegen über die Türken planten. Hier wird auch eine Präfektur (*čou*), namens *Ko-lo* (abgekürzt von *Ko-lo-lu* ~ *Qarluq*) aufgezählt «für zwei Horden, die Qarluq und die Hephthaliten eingerichtet». Wichtig in diesem Berichte ist, daß hier eine Verwechslung, wie im Falle des arabischen Graphems *h.l.h* (mögliche Lesungen: *halluh* = *qarluq* oder *halač* = *qalač*) ausgeschlossen ist.

Die *Yabgus* (bzw. *Sads*) von Tocharistan und von den ihm angrenzenden Gebieten gehörten zum westtürkischen Zweig der herrschenden A-schi-na Dynastie. Einige von ihnen trugen den Namen *P'u-lo* oder *Ko-lo P'u-lo*. Im Bärcezi Géza Emlékkönyv [Festschrift für Géza Bärcezi. Budapest 1963. 60] habe ich versucht zu beweisen, daß die mittelchinesische Form dieser Namen: *b'uok-lá*, *ká-lá b'uok-lá* eine genaue Wiedergabe des türkischen *Buyra*, *Qara Buyra* darstellt. Gleichzeitig habe ich die Bedeutung dieser Angaben für die Frage des Ursprungs der Bugra oder Qara-Chanidischen Dynastie gewertet.

also wohl auch schon im Original entfallenen Endung *-uo* identisch ist. Die Hephthaliten besaßen also, wie auch die Awaren, neben den Uar-Stämmen, auch starke hunnische Stammeskomponente. Der gemeinsame Ursprung der verschiedenen Namensformen der Hunnen (*hiung-nu*, *χyōn*, *χun*, *hun*) tritt im Falle der hephthalitischen Hunnen am deutlichsten hervor.

Budapest.

M. GRIGNASCHI

LA CHUTE DE L'EMPIRE HEPHTHALITE DANS LES SOURCES BYZANTINES ET PERSES ET LE PROBLÈME DES AVAR

Les sources perses sur la chute de l'Empire Hephthalite ont été étudiées en détail par M. Widengren¹ et nous reprenons aujourd'hui cet argument parce que nous croyons que, si l'on tient compte des rapports entre les textes auxquels le savant suédois a emprunté les différentes «riwâyah» se rapportant à cet événement, il est possible de se former une idée plus claire du récit original du «Ĥodâynamah» sassanide. Tout comme M. Widengren, nous ne nous arrêterons pas dans cette communication sur le problème de savoir s'il a existé un seul «Ĥodâynâmah» sassanide ou si, déjà l'époque perse, il y avait plusieurs versions de ce livre.² Nous dirons seulement que si l'on préfère croire qu'il a existé un seul «Ĥodâynâmah», ainsi que nous sommes enclin à le penser, il faut alors admettre que déjà ce livre perse contenait parfois des versions différentes du même événement à l'instar de ce que nous rencontrons si souvent dans les ouvrages arabes.³ Il était d'ailleurs nécessaire de reprendre le problème des sources perses sur la chute des Hephthalites parce que trente ans déjà se sont écoulés depuis la parution de l'article de M. Widengren et que les progrès dans la connaissance de la numismatique des Etats fondés par les nomades dans l'Iran Oriental et l'Afghanistan, ceux que M. Göbl a appelé les «Huns iraniens»⁴ et notre découverte des fragments d'un «Kârnâmag-i-Anûširwân» remontant à l'époque sassanide dans l'histoire d'Ibn Miskawayh⁵ permettent aujourd'hui de soumettre la version pehlvie à une critique plus serrée. Quant aux sources grecques, analysées tant de fois par les savants, dernièrement en particulier par M. Haussig et M. Czeglédy,⁶ elles méritent elles-aussi

¹ *Orientalia Suecana* I. p. 69—95.

² WIDENGREN : l. c. p. 85.

³ Ainsi par ex. Euty chius raconte tout d'abord que Bahrâm s'était fait confier par la noblesse perse le mandat de désigner le successeur de Yazdağird I et que, fort de ce mandat, il se proclama lui-même Šâhenshâh. Ensuite, à la fin du chapitre, Euty chius résume en quelques mots la «riwâyah» bien connue qui racontait que Bahrâm Gor avait vécu à la cour d'al-Nu'mân b. Munğir et que ce fut avec l'appui des forces arabes de la principauté de Ĥira qu'il obtint le trône.

⁴ R. GÖBL : *Die iranischen Hunnen*. Wiesbaden 1965.

⁵ J. A. 1966 p. 16—45.

⁶ H. W. HAUSSIG : *Theophylakt's Exkurs über die skythischen Völker*. *Byzantion* 23 (1953), *Die Quellen über die zentralasiatische Herkunft der europäischen Awaren*. *CAJ* 2 (1956) et *Zur Lösung der Awaronfrage*. *Byzantinoslavica* t. XXXIV 1973 fasc. 2.

d'être reprises en examen car, une fois établie avec certitude la date de l'effondrement de l'Empire Hephthalite, elles apparaissent sous une lumière nouvelle.

Ce fut Stein qui, le premier, montra comment les sources grecques nous livrent un «terminus ante quem» pour la fin de l'Empire Hephthalite : 561. Cependant Stein envisageait la possibilité qu'Anûširwân se fût tourné contre son voisin de l'Est immédiatement après la trêve stipulée avec l'Empire d'Orient en 557⁷. De son côté déjà Specht avait rappelé l'attention sur une indication de «L'histoire des Tcheou» qui, à son avis, nous donnait le «terminus post quem» de l'effondrement de l'Etat Hephthalite : en 558 une dernière ambassade des Jé-tha s'était rendue à la cour des Tcheou.⁸ En dépit de cette indication, on a parfois préféré admettre qu'en fait, au moment où ces ambassadeurs arrivèrent à la cour des Tcheou, l'Etat hephthalite n'existait plus et qu'il s'était écroulé sous les coups des armées turques et perses déjà à la fin de 558.⁹ Aujourd'hui le «Kârnâmağ-i- Anûširwân» nous apprend qu'au cours de l'année 28 de son règne, qui commença le 5-VII-559, Anûširwân renonça à conduire personnellement une grande enquête sur les conditions des paysans à cause de la guerre qui était en cours contre les ennemis de l'Iran et de la nécessité de se rendre sur le théâtre des opérations.¹⁰ En tenant compte de la date—en 559 la trêve entre Ctésiphon et Constantinople continuait et, dans les premières années qui suivirent le partage de l'Empire Hephthalite, les relations entre Anûširwân et Istemi étaient encore amicales—il ne peut être question que des hostilités sur les frontières nord-est de l'Iran. Donc la chute de l'Empire Hephthalite date soit de la fin de 559, soit de 560. Ajoutons que les fragments de Ménandre permettent de préciser deux autres points importants : l'attaque principale contre les Hephthalites fut dirigée par le Qağan turc Σιλζιβουλος¹¹, le Silğibû ou Singibû des sources perses et islamiques,¹² sans doute un titre décerné par la Cour Chinoise à Istemi Qağan, le Στεμβισαγάν de Théophylacte, le Στεμεις χαγάν de Nicéphore Xanthopoulos¹³. Le Roi hephthalite était resté

K. CZEGLÉDY : Heftaliták, hunok, avarok, onogurok, MNy 50 (1954) = IV—IX századi népmozgalmak a steppén (par la suite abrégé en Népmozgalmak) ; Nomád népek vándorlása Napkeletől Napnyugatig. Budapest 1969 (par la suite abrégé en «Nomád népek». Ne connaissant pas le hongrois, nous nous basons sur l'analyse de ces deux travaux du savant magyar que M. A. MOHAY (Priskos' Fragment über die Wanderung der Steppenvölker) a donnée dans les «Studies in the Sources on the History of pre-Islamic Central Asia» (Budapest 1979) et nous en reproduisons les indications.

⁷ Ménandre Protector De leg. Romanorum frag. 11. STEIN : Histoire du Bas Empire p. 518 n. 1 Cependant STEIN pensait que la campagne d'Anûširwân contre les Hephthalites avait eu lieu immédiatement après la trêve signée avec Byzance en 557.

⁸ J. A. Octobre 1883 p. 345.

⁹ Népmozgalmak p. 11 (MOHAY : l. c. p. 133).

¹⁰ Episode VII l. c. p. 20.

¹¹ «Excerpta de Sententiis» éd. Mai p. 354.

¹² MARKWART : Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften, WZKM XII p. 184—185. Voir aussi HAUSSIG : Byz p. 332 et suiv. Cependant dans son article «Die Herkunft der Awarischen Hunnen», où il propose pour Σιλζιβουλος la reconstruction «Silig-ğebu», Haussig semble établir une distinction entre ce «yabgu» et Istemi.

¹³ «Historia Eccles.» XVIII 30. MORAVCSIK : Byz.-Turc. II p. 291.

sur la défensive en suivant le conseil frauduleux d'un grand personnage de sa cour *Katouλφος*,¹⁴ qu'il avait offensé et qui ensuite passa à l'Iran. De plus, Ménandre nous apprend que *Σιλζιβουλος* reçut la nouvelle de la fuite des *Ἀβαροι*, c. à-d. les *Οὐάρ* et *Χουννί*, les pseudo-Avares de Théophylacte, les *Οὐαρχωνίται* de *Τουρξανθός* alors que la guerre contre les Hephthalites était encore en cours.¹⁵ Or, la date de l'arrivée des ambassadeurs des pseudo-Avar à Constantinople est bien connue. Leurs ambassadeurs arrivèrent en 558 et le gros de la horde se trouvait cette année-là dans le pays des Alains et, à en croire Ménandre, elle ne se déplaçait pas dans une grande hâte.¹⁶ Il faudra en conclure que la première expédition des T'ou-kiue contre les Hephthalites fut dirigée en 555 par Sse-kin, le fils de T'ou-men connu sous le nom de Mou-han Khan, ainsi que l'affirment les sources chinoises,¹⁷ qu'une seconde campagne fut conduite par *Σιλζιβουλος* (Istemi) déjà avant 558, l'année de l'arrivée des pseudo-Avar dans l'Alanie, donc en 556 ou 557 au plus tard, que ce fut à ce moment-là qu'Istemi apprit la nouvelle de leur fuite et que probablement déjà en 556 Istemi était maître de la Sogdiane car, d'après at-Ṭabarī le mariage entre Anûširwân et la fille d'Istemi avait précédé d'un an l'ouverture des opérations militaires contre le Royaume Hephthalite ; en tenant compte des renseignements des sources chinoises on comprendra que ce mariage, ou le contrat de ce mariage¹⁸ avait précédé d'un an la seconde campagne turque.¹⁹

La chronologie de ces événements revêt plus d'importance encore pour le problème si obscur des Avar et des pseudo-Avar que pour l'histoire des Hephthalites eux-mêmes. En effet elle suffit à exclure la possibilité que l'émigration des pseudo-Avar en Europe ait été la conséquence directe de la chute de l'Empire Hephthalite.²⁰ Aussi, quand Théophylacte affirme que les Avar arrivés en Europe en 558 étaient en réalité des tribus Uar et Xunni et que Ménandre cite le qağan Tourksanthos qui les appelle Uarxônitai, nous n'avons plus le droit d'interpréter ses paroles dans le sens qu'il s'agissait d'une confédération de tribus War (les Hoa de l'histoire des Liang) et de tribus Chionites (les Hyon des textes pahlvis provenant du Ṭohâristân,²¹ voire des steppes à

¹⁴ «De legat. Gentium» frag. 18 (Ed de Boor p. 450).

¹⁵ Excerpta de Sententiis éd. Mai p. 354.

¹⁶ Ménandre Exc. de leg. gentium frag. 4 Ed. DE BOOR p. 442. Voir aussi PRIG-LEVSKAJA : *Sirijskije Istočniki* p. 139 (Joh. Ephes.).

¹⁷ ST. JULIEN : Documents sur les Tou-kiue Orientaux. J. A. V. série vol 3 p. 335.

¹⁸ D'après Eutychiüs, le Qağan envoya sa fille à Anûširwân seulement après la victoire sur les Hephthalites.

¹⁹ at-Ṭabarī I, 2 p. 899.

²⁰ Par contre HAUSSIG (Byz. l. c. p. 370) parle d'un «kausaler Zusammenhang» entre l'effondrement des Hephthalites et la migration des Avar. De son côté MAROUART : *Komanen* p. 73 rattachait l'arrivée des Avar en Europe à la défaite des Jeou-jan. Nous préférons songer à la chevauchée de Mou-han à travers la Sibérie en 555.

²¹ K. CZEGLÉDY : *Népmozgalmak* p. 2—4 (MOHAY : l. c. p. 132). Rappelons que, pour expliquer la différence entre la description des Hephthalites par Maniach, qui les définissaient des habitants des villes, et les renseignements des sources chinoises qui représentent les Yé-tha comme des nomades, HAUSSIG propose à son tour (Byz-Sl. p.

nord d'Abršahr,²² deux régions qui, selon toute vraisemblance, en 557 n'avaient été pas encore touchées par la guerre. Et d'ailleurs, même si plusieurs éminents sinologues ont considéré que l'ancienne prononciation de «Hoa» était «War» et que l'analogie entre Warčan de la «Géographie Arménienne» et Waraçan, la ville des Huns dans le Caucase ne saurait être ignorée, la forme «War» est loin d'être certaine. Enoki préférait lire «γwat» (Ghôr)²³ et M. Harmatta «Qal», «Xwal» et y retrouver le nom des «Qalâč» ou «Qilğı».²⁴ En tout cas, même si nous ne croyons pas que Hoa puisse être la ville de Ghôr sur le Harîrûd, ainsi que le conjecturait Enoki, les sources chinoises permettent de localiser le pays de Hoa, plus probablement des Hoa²⁵ à sudouest de Balkh.²⁶ Ainsi l'hypothèse de M. Czeglédy qui propose d'expliquer la distinction faite par Silziboulos entre les Avar (c. à. d. les Uarxônitai) et les Hephthalites en admettant que les premiers étaient les tribus nomades du Toḥâristân Oriental et les seconds les habitants des villes de la Bactriane²⁷ n'aide pas à expliquer pourquoi les Uarxônitai auraient quitté leur pays déjà avant le dénouement de la guerre turco-hephthalite ni comment ils auraient traversé la Sogdiane déjà turque. Ou alors force serait-il d'admettre avec M. Haussig, qui localise les pseudo-Avar» dans la région d'Abršahr, que ces tribus traversèrent tout l'Iran et passèrent le Caucase. Mais le passage d'Evagrius, que M. Haussig invoque à l'appui de sa thèse,²⁸ ne parle nullement d'un passage du Caucase. Il dit seulement que les Avar étaient l'un de ces peuples qui avaient les chariots pour demeure et habitaient les plaines au delà (ὕπερ) du Caucase.²⁹ Nous ajouterons qu'on ne possède en réalité aucune preuve certaine que des tribus ayant fait partie de la confédération hephthalite se soient établies ensuite dans le Caucase. La mention des Kamičik Hep't'alk dans l'«His-

175/6) une distinction assez semblable. De plus, Haussig voulait éclaircir par cette même distinction le rapport entre les nom de Yé-tha et d'Abdel. Les premiers (*Yabdel) auraient été les tribus nomades de ce peuple habitant à l'est du Pamir, les seconds (Abdel, Hephthalites) les habitants de la Bactriane. Et le premier attaque turc se serait dirigé contre les Yé-tha/Abdel (l. c. et Byz. p. 325.) Nous devons faire noter que l'auteur du «Pien-i-tien» dans sa «Remarque sur Mou-ho khan» affirme que ce dernier «avait avancé jusqu'à 10.000 li de la Mer Occidentale (la Mer Caspienne) et au sud jusqu'au nord du Grand Désert». On en conclura que Mou-ho avait vaincu les Yé-tha après une chevauchée à travers la Sibérie, car autrement l'historien chinois aurait parlé d'une campagne en direction du Tsonç-ling. (St. JULIEN J. A. V série vol. III p. 323 et suiv.).

²² HAUSSIG : Byz. Slav. p. 178 et note 46.

²³ Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko 1958 «On the Nationality of the Ephthalites, p. 5.

²⁴ A. MOHAY : l. c. p. 142 note 70.

²⁵ La traduction du «Liang-chou» d'ENOKI (l. c. p. 1) «The country (kouo) of Hua is another branch of the Ch'ê-shih (Tourfan)» nous cause de la perplexité et, tout en ignorant le chinois, nous croyons qu'il faudra préférer la traduction plus libre de SPENGLER, «Le royaume des Hoa. Ce peuple est une branche particulière des Tche-sse». D'ailleurs ENOKI a traduit lui-aussi quelques lignes plus loin «kouo» par «community».

²⁶ Liang-chou l. 54 traduit par ENOKI l. c. p. 3.

²⁷ Népmozgalmak p. 10 (MOHAY l. c. p. 133.)

²⁸ Byz-Sl p. 182.

²⁹ J. BIDEZ (Londres 1898) p. 196 : «Ἔθνος δὲ Σκυθικὸν οἱ Ἄβαροι τῶν ἀμαξοβίων, τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Καύκασον τὰ ἐπέκεινα πεδία νεμομένων· οἱ τοῦς γειτνιώντας Τούρκους πασσαδι πεφευγότες, ἐπεὶ κακῶς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπεπόνθησαν, ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἀφίκοντο.

toire des Agouan» I ch. 27 de Moses Dasxuranci³⁰ indique seulement, si toutefois on peut ajouter foi à la légende de Mérope, que des «barbares Kamičik» se trouvaient dans le Causace au IV siècle et au V siècle. On en conclura que les Kamičik faisaient partie de la confédération des *Oñnoi λευκοί* et que des tribus de cette horde s'étaient arrêtés dans les Caucase, où les Huns Blancs sont signalés en 395,³¹ tandis que d'autres Kamičik se fixèrent plus tard dans le Tohâristân.³² On sait que les Huns Blancs, les «Sveta Huņa» arrivèrent jusque dans l'Inde. Quant aux War, les Huns de Waračan, dont la présence au Caucase est attestée seulement au VII siècle, ils peuvent appartenir soit à la horde *Βαρσῆλι* qui lia son nom aux plaines au nord du Daghestân,³³ peut-être une confédération des War (*Bárq*) et des *Záloi* (les Čöl?),³⁴ soit plus probablement à la horde des Uar et Xunni (on ne saurait oublier que le «Şâhib-as-sarîr» portait le titre de «Awar»),³⁵ soit enfin avoir été, tout comme les Kamičik, une tribu des Huns Blancs qui s'était fixée dans le Caucase alors que leurs congénères transmigraient vers le sud. En tout cas, rien ne permet de penser qu'ils venaient du Tohâristân, pas même la polyandrie, car ce que Movsis Dasxuranci raconte³⁶ n'implique pas que chez ces Huns la famille était fondée sur un système polyandrique réglé jusque dans les détails comme il en était le cas chez les Hephthalites, mais seulement que les mœurs de ces Huns étaient fort relâchés si bien que les frères avaient parfois une femme en commun quitte à posséder d'autres concubines.

En faveur d'une origine hephthalite des Avar d'Europe on a parfois avancé que les noms de Uarxônitai, de Uar et Xunni, d'Avares et de Hephthalites désignaient en réalité le même peuple³⁷ Altheim croyait même avoir découvert dans les sources syriaques la preuve définitive du fait que les Hephthalites incorporés dans l'Empire Sassanide après l'écroulement de leur Etat étaient connus sous le nom d'Avar.³⁸ Dans l'«Histoire Ecclésiastique» de Johannes d'Ephesos (III partie, livre VI ch. VII), il est question de deux mille vierges

³⁰ Passage mis en vedette par MAROUART: Wehrot und Arang p. 98 et Komanen p. 34.

³¹ Voir la Vie de Pierre d'Ibère Trad. RAUBE p. 6 et suiv., MARKWART *Eranšahr* p. 95 et les études de HONIGMANN sur Pierre d'Ibérie et sa Vie.

³² Hwarezmi, *Mafâtiḥ-al-'ulûm* p. 119; Al-Muqaddasi 283(8).

³³ Voir G. MORAVCSIK: *Byzantinoturcica*. II. 1958. p. 89.

³⁴ Ménandre *Excerpta de legatis* éd. BOOR p. 443/9; MARKWART *Известия Кусс. Арх. Имст. въ Константиполь* 15 (1911) p. 17, HAUSSIG (*Byz.* p. 368) préfère songer à une confédération de Var et de Sir (*Σῆρες*). Cependant la lettre grecque «θ» rend assez souvent le son ture et persan «dj» (HAUSSIG: *CAJ* 2. p. 15).

³⁵ Voir MARQUART: *Komanen* p. 74. Rappelons que dans cette page MARQUART envisageait une hypothèse, sur laquelle il faudra probablement revenir. En tenant compte du fait que les Huns appelaient le Dniéper «Var», MARQUART envisageait la possibilité qu'à l'origine ce terme ait pu constituer un nom topographique et non pas un nom ethnique.

³⁶ Moses Dasxuranci (trad. PATKANIAN) p. 194: «Также преданы афродитным желаніям согласно языческим нравам своим своим они брали в супружество жену отца; у них два драта имели одну жену и брали также разных жен.»

³⁷ K. CZEGLÉDY: *Nomád népek* p. 95 (A. MOHAY: 135).

³⁸ *Geschichte der Hunnen*. II. p. 26—28.

chrétiennes faites prisonnières par Anuširwân à Dârâ en 575 que le Šâhenšâh décida de remettre «aux barbares vivant à l'intérieur de son Empire et qui sont appelés Abaris». ³⁹ Parvenues sur les rives d'un grand fleuve, à une distance de cinq étapes de ces barbares, les vierges choisirent de s'y noyer plutôt que d'être déshonorées par des payens. Mais les Avar de cet épisode n'étaient pas les Hephthalites de l'Iran Oriental, ainsi que le supposait Altheim. En effet Théophylacte nous apprend incidemment qu'une colonie d'Ἄβαροι se trouvait à cinq étapes de *Κιρκήσιον* (Qarqîsiyyah) ⁴⁰ la ville située sur la confluence de l'Euphrate et du Kharbur. Et dès lors il faudra penser non pas à une colonie hephthalite mais à une tribu avar du Caucase qui, à l'instar des tribus sabir, avait obtenu la permission d'entrer dans l'Iran à condition de servir dans l'armée sassanide. ⁴¹

Il existe enfin un dernier argument mis en lumière par Shiratori qui permet d'écartier définitivement l'hypothèse d'après laquelle les Avar d'Europe venaient du Turkestan Occidental. Ils portaient la queue qui suscita tant de curiosité chez les Byzantins, une coiffure inusitée, ainsi que le notait le savant japonais chez les Huns arrivés en Europe avant les Avar, chez les Huns Iraniens et chez les Yue-pan. ⁴²

Mais c'est précisément quand on a écarté cette hypothèse — et c'est le seul résultat certain, nous ne nous le cachons pas, que les textes à notre disposition permettent d'atteindre — qu'on se heurte à la difficulté la plus grave : le problème des rapports entre les «vrais Avar», les «pseudo-Avar» et les Jeou-jan. Pour s'orienter au milieu des données contradictoires de nos sources et des solutions qu'on a proposées, il importe tout d'abord de distinguer soigneusement les différents aspects de notre problème.

I) Les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte et les Apar de l'inscription de Kültegin ⁴³ peuvent-ils être identifiés avec les Jeou-jan ?

II) A-t-on droit d'admettre que cette horde connue des Chinois seulement sous le nom de Jeou-jan dans les Annales du Nord, de Joui-joui dans les Annales du Sud voire par un jeu de mots péjoratif de Joan-Joan portait aussi le nom d'Abar/Apar ? Ou alors Théophylacte a-t-il donné aux Jeou-jan le nom d'Avar par une méprise ?

III) Les Avar de Priscus qui expulsèrent les Sabir de leurs sièges étaient-ils les Jeou-jan ou les Apar (si on préfère distinguer ces deux peuples) ou enfin les «pseudo-Avar» de Théophylacte ?

³⁹ Ms. Vatican.

⁴⁰ Théophylacte L. III ch. 10.

⁴¹ Dans l'épisode IX du Kârnamağ-i-Anuširwân (l. c. p. 40) il est question de «arba'atu-ašnâfin mina-l-'atrâk», donc de quatre peuples hunniques différents, de la région des «Hazar» qui avaient demandé asyle à la Perse.

⁴² The Queu among the peoples of North Asia. I. The Queu of the Hsiung-Nu (Toyo Bunko I. p. 63—64).

⁴³ Inscription de Kültegin côté est ligne 4 (ORKUN: Eski Türk Yazıtları. Vol. I. 31).

IV) Quelle confiance peut-on faire à la distinction établie par ce seul historien byzantin entre les «vrais Avar» et les «pseudo-Avar» ?

Sur aucun de ces points l'unanimité ne s'est faite parmi les savants qui assez souvent ont modifié leurs opinions au fur et à mesure qu'ils approfondissaient l'étude des textes⁴⁴, ce qui prouve assez combien les documents à notre disposition sont insuffisants et incertains. Ainsi, après plusieurs hésitations, Chavannes a fini pour considérer que les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte étaient les Jeou-jan et non pas les Apar, mais il n'a su proposer aucune explication pour la différence des noms sous lesquels cette horde a été connue des Chinois et des Byzantins.⁴⁵ M. Haussig et M. Czeglédy acceptent eux-aussi que les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte étaient les Jeoujan, mais ils divergent sur le second point. M. Haussig qui, au cours de toutes ses études a maintenu que les «Avar» et les «Aba» des sources chinoises étaient en réalité un peuple du Turkestan Occidental,⁴⁶ a proposé dernièrement une explication de l'emploi fait par Théophylacte du nom d'Avar pour les Jeou-jan. L'écrivain byzantin aurait suivi une mode des Sogdiens qui auraient donné aux Jeou-jan le nom du peuple que les Chinois appelaient Wou-houan, des idéogrammes sous lesquels se cacherait la prononciation «Avar». Et ils leur auraient donné ce nom, car ils habitaient les anciens territoires des Wou-houan, un peuple que, d'après M. Haussig, les Sogdiens connaissaient bien puisqu'il était arrivé dans le Turkestan Occidental avec les Chion que le savant allemand considère comme les Huns de Lieou-Ts'ong.⁴⁷ Il s'agit d'une hypothèse ingénieuse mais qui à notre avis attribue aux Sogdiens des connaissances géographiques et historiques que difficilement ils possédaient. Et d'ailleurs les anciennes sièges des Wou-houan étaient englobées dans l'Empire Jeou-jan mais elles ne constituaient pas son centre.

De son côté, M. Czeglédy qui, dans son premier travail, considérait l'identification des Avar (Ouar) avec les Jeou-jan comme invraisemblable,⁴⁸ a cru ensuite pouvoir inférer des Annales chinoises que ses auteurs employaient exclusivement le nom de Jeou-jan pour la partie de cette horde qui était restée dans la Mongolie et les noms de Jeou-jan, de Hiong-nou et de Hoa pour les

⁴⁴ Ce qui, avouons-le, nous est arrivé à notre tour.

⁴⁵ Documents sur les Tou-kiue Occidentaux p. 309.

⁴⁶ D'après HAUSSIG le nom d'Abršahr dériverait des Avar qui auraient habité cette région pendant deux siècles. (Byz-Slav. p. 193). Et ces Avar seraient les Wou-houan des Chinois. Nous avouons ne voir dans le nom d'Abršahr que le terme pahivi d'«apar» (supérieur, septentrional), une interprétation que HAUSSIG a lui-aussi envisagée mais qu'il a écartée à cause de la thèse de MARQUART qui voulait voir dans ce nom l'ethnique d'un peuple. Toutefois MARQUART songeait-il aux «Aparnoi», une explication en tout cas plus vraisemblable que celle de HAUSSIG. Quant aux indications de Théophylacte qui situait la ville de «Taugast» sur les confins de l'Inde et du côté de la Bactriane, des indications que HAUSSIG a mises en vedette, un détail suffit à lui seul à leur enlever toute valeur: le souverain de «Taugast» portait le titre de «Taisan» et Théophylacte traduit «le fils de Dieu», le fils du Ciel.

⁴⁷ Byz-Slav. p. 189 et 191.

⁴⁸ Népmozgalmak p. 10 n. 5 (MOHAY : p. 133).

tribus qui avaient transmigré dans le Turkestan Occidental.⁴⁹ Et, dès lors, M. Czeglédý conjecture que la horde Jeou-jan se composait de tribus Jeou-jan, Hiong-nou et Hoa (War). Nous ne reviendrons pas sur nos doutes qu'on puisse reconnaître dans Hoa une ancienne prononciation War. Nous ferons plutôt remarquer que, d'après les Annales chinoises, la horde Jeou-jan acquit de l'importance à peine en 394, quand elle émigra des montagnes qui séparent le Chen-si de la Mongolie Intérieure, au nord du Grand Désert.⁵⁰ Par conséquent, on ne saurait considérer ni les Chions d'Ammien Marcelin ni même les Hoa qui, d'après le T'oung-tien livre 193, avaient fondé leur Etat 80—90 ans avant 456⁵¹ comme des branches de Jeou-jan. Et d'ailleurs les renseignements des sources chinoises pour l'histoire de l'Asie Centrale au cours du IV siècle et du V siècle sont arbitraires et sujettes à caution, ainsi que l'a établi Enoki.⁵² Et nous ajouterons que l'indication de T'ou-yeou qui permet de penser que les Hoa étaient arrivés dans le Tohâristân déjà dans la II moitié du IV siècle, rend encore plus obscur le problème des Sabir. En effet, si on prête foi à cet auteur, les Avar qui, d'après Priscus, peu avant 463⁵³ ont délogé les Sabir de leurs sièges sur le bas Syr-Daria, ou plus probablement des plaines qui se prolongent au nord du Balkash de l'Irtych Noir au bas Syr-Daria,⁵⁴ n'auraient pu être en aucun cas les tribus Hoa/War en marche vers le Turkestan Occidental. Et il est aussi difficile d'identifier les Avar de Priscus avec les Jeou-jan, car les Annales Chinoises ne connaissent pas une expansion de cette horde vers l'Occident et mentionnent uniquement une campagne de Dadar (Ta-t'an) contre les Yue-pan de la région de l'Ili avant 429 et une campagne contre les Tseu-K'iu du

⁴⁹ Nomád népek p. 59—62 (MOHAY : p. 134—135).

⁵⁰ PARKER : *A thousand years of the Tatars*. Book III. London 1924.

⁵¹ Voir ENOKI : *On the Nationality of the Ephthalites* p. 2 et note 3. Le prof. SABBATINI-ROSSI nous a confirmé que le texte chinois affirme bien que l'émigration des Yé-tha avait eu lieu 80—90 ans avant le règne de Wen-tch'ing-ti (452—465). Il est vrai que, ainsi que le remarquait ENOKI, nous ne savons pas à quelle source T'ou-yeou a emprunté ce renseignement. Mais il est probable qu'il l'avait trouvé dans la rédaction originale du Wei-chou.

⁵² Voir ENOKI : l. c.

⁵³ Nous ne nous cachons pas que le texte de Priscus ne contient aucune indication permettant d'établir avec certitude l'époque de la transmigration des Sabir. Dans son article «Die Herkunft der europäischen Awaren» p. 21 HAUSSIG a même considéré le passage de Priscus comme le premier témoignage de la présence des Avar dans le Caucase. Cependant de la lecture des passages des «Excerpta de legationibus» et de Suda on gagne l'impression très forte que vers 463 les Saragour et leurs alliés venaient seulement d'arriver dans la Ciscaucasie et qu'ils ne devaient pas avoir abandonné leur ancienne patrie depuis longtemps.

⁵⁴ Tout comme CZEGLÉDY (Nomád népek p. 92, MOHAY : p. 136) nous songeons à la zone du bas Syr-Daria à cause du nom de l'ancienne ville des Onogour conservé par Théophylacte : Bakath, un nom qui fait songer inévitablement au sogdien. Mais, dans ce cas, il est certain que Théophylacte a obtenu ce renseignement d'informateurs sogdiens qui peuvent avoir modifié la forme originale turque. Voir les remarques de MOHAY : p. 138. Cependant c'est seulement dans une région exposée aux influences sogdiennes qu'on peut concevoir que les nomades turcs aient commencé à habiter des villes.

Tourfan en 460.⁵⁵ Il est vrai que ces sources attribuent aussi à Chö-louen d'avoir soumis la horde des Kao-kiu et à Cheloun d'avoir annexés des tribus hiong-nou se trouvant à nord-ouest de son Empire, qui devait ainsi atteindre le haut Irtych. Et de plus en 429, en 443, en 449 et en 459 les Empereurs des Yuen-Wei T'o-pa Fu-li et T'o-pa Siun conduisirent des expéditions victorieuses contre les Jeou-jan. En 429 Fu-li dépassa même les territoires des Jeou-jan et attaqua les Kao-kiu de l'Altaï. Aussi ne serait-il pas impossible qu'à la suite de ces campagnes des Yuen-Wei, la horde jeou-jan se soit déplacée vers le nord-ouest et se soit jetée sur les Sabir quitte à rentrer ensuite dans ses sièges au nord du Grand Désert.⁵⁶ Mais nous n'en possédons qu'un seul indice⁵⁷ et qui est par surcroît incertain : la mention de l'Etat de «A-fu-t'ai-han» dans le Peï-chih ch. 98 et dans le «Wei-chou» ch. 102, Etat qui se trouvait entre Bokhara et Khwârizm. Marquart pensait y retrouver la mention d'un «Grand Khan des A-fou» (ancienne prononciation About), des Avar.⁵⁸ Mais M. Paul Daffinà nous a communiqué que, de règle, les historiens chinois ne traduisaient pas une partie d'un titre étranger. Aussi pourrait-on songer tout au plus — et M. Daffinà est sceptique même sur ce point — à un tarhan des A-fou.⁵⁹ Et dès lors on pourrait imaginer qu'après la victoire sur les Sabir vers 460 quelques tribus avar avaient avancé jusqu'aux confins du Khwârizm.⁶⁰ Mais, dans ce cas, il faudrait se demander pourquoi les Chinois auraient parlé d'un «tarhan des About»? Etait-il parce qu'ils n'avaient pas reconnu dans ce petit royaume du

⁵⁵ Voir PARKER : A thousand years of the Tatars l. c. et GROUSSET : L'Empire des Steppes p. 104.

⁵⁶ Nous devons signaler une difficulté supplémentaire. Priscus raconte que trois peuples s'étaient enfuits devant les Sabir : les Saragouroi, les Ourôgoi et les Onogouroi. Or, avec la seule exception de HAUSSIG (Voir MORAVCSIK : Byz-Turc. II p. 227) tous les savants ont corrigé la forme Ourôgoi de nos mss. en «Ogouroi», une correction justifiée par la leçon du ps. Zacharias Rhétor «w.g.r». D'autre part, il est évident que les Sabir attaqués par les Avar devaient se trouver à nord, nord-est des Yue-pan qui occupaient la vallée de l'Ili. Mais la toponymie de la Sibérie Occidentale (nous renvoyons aux travaux de Patkanian) prouve assez que des tribus sabir ont continué à habiter cette région pendant de longs siècles encore. Et, de même, Théophylacte signale au VI^e siècle une grande confédération «ogôr» vivant sur le Til Noir, à notre avis le Kara Irtych. Il faudra probablement en conclure que seules les tribus méridionales des Sabir et des Ogôr participèrent aux transmigrations signalées par Priscus.

⁵⁷ En effet on ne saurait tirer aucune conclusion de la présence des Avar dans la liste des peuples au nord du Caucase dans l'appendice du ps. Zacharias Rhétor, car l'auteur de cette liste s'est inspiré de Priscus. (Voir K. CZEGLÉDY : Studia Turcica. Budapest 1971. Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor on the nomads p. 141.)

⁵⁸ Das Reich Zabul p. 264, A Catalogus of the Provincial Capitals of Eranšahr p. 43.

⁵⁹ Ainsi, dans la liste des gouvernements du protectorat de Ngan-si (CHAVANNES Doc. p. 69) on rencontre une expression analogue : «le gouvernement du Ta'i-Han établi dans la ville de Houo-lou des Hephthalites» et ce «ta'i-han» n'était certainement pas un Grand Khan mais un simple Tarhan.

⁶⁰ Cette ville de «A-fou-t'ai-han» ne figurait pas, selon toute vraisemblance, dans le rapport sur les «Pays d'Occident» de Toung-Youan, ainsi que le croyait MARQUART. Toung-Youan, qui visita l'Occident vers 437, avait des idées fort confuses sur la région «entre les deux mers et au sud des eaux croupis» et ce fut le compilateur du Wei-chou qui ajouta la description de plusieurs pays de l'Occident qui ne figurait pas dans le rapport de Toung-Youan. (Voir ENOKI : Sogdiane and the Hsiung-nu. Central Asiatic Jour. 1955 p. 55 et suiv.)

Khwârizm qui n'entretenait pas des rapports avec la Chine, de consanguins des tribus auxquelles ils donnaient le nom de Jeou-jan ?

Ainsi on revient une fois de plus au point le plus difficile de notre problème, celui de savoir si on a le droit d'admettre que les Jeou-jan portaient aussi le nom d'Apar/Abar. M. Haussig⁶¹ cite une inscription du Chen-si appartenant aux Jeou-jan, dans laquelle ils s'intitulaient le Règne des «Ta (Grands) Jou-jou» (ou Nou-nou). De son côté Pelliot croyait possible de reconnaître dans le nom de Jeou-jan/Joui-joui le terme de «jojin», un terme qui dans les langues altaïques signifie l'étranger. Dans le turc «hâqâniyyah» «yat» désigne l'étranger entré au service d'une tribu ou d'un chef militaire. Dès lors on se demandera s'il n'existe quelque lien entre ce sens du terme de «jojin» et ce que nous racontent les annalistes chinois de l'adoption par cette horde du patronyme «Ukuru Toba» pour affermir leurs liaisons avec les Yuen-Wei.⁶² Seul Blochet, rappelons-le, a cru pouvoir découvrir dans la forme «Joui-joui» des annalistes chinois du Sud une ancienne prononciation «ou-in» qui pourrait rendre le nom «awir».⁶³ C'est une explication qui, pour autant que nous le sachions, n'a pas été retenue par les sinologues et qui par surcroît pourrait difficilement expliquer la forme «apar» du turc et la forme «obri» du slave. Vraisemblablement ce fut seulement en grec et en syriaque⁶⁴ que la lettre «b» ou «p» du nom «Abar» se transforma en «v» (Avar).

Dans ces conditions, il est compréhensible que d'autres savants aient rejeté l'identification des Avar avec Jeou-jan. En particulier Parker proposait de voir dans les «pseudo-Avares» de Théophylacte les Yue-pan, les tribus turques ennemies des Jeou-jan qui vivaient dans la région de l'Ili. Il pensait que l'idéogramme «yue» ait pu rendre une «a» initiale et que l'idéogramme «pan» soit une forme abrégée de «pan-lo», la transcription chinoise du terme sanscrit de «vara». Dans son article «Ueber de Wu-sun Stamm in Centralasien»,⁶⁵ Shiratori n'écartait pas la possibilité que les idéogrammes désignant les Yue-pan aient pu être prononcées à l'époque ancienne «yeut-bat» et correspondre à Abar et cela quoiqu'il n'acceptât pas l'argument principal apporté par Parker à l'appui de sa thèse : à savoir que les Yue-pan ne sont plus mentionnés par les historiens chinois après l'émigration des Avar en Europe.⁶⁶ Et Shiratori n'acceptait pas cet argument car il croyait retrouver les Yue-pan dans les Yen-mien, d'après les Annales des Soei une branche des Tie-le sur le Balkash.⁶⁷ Cependant

⁶¹ Byz. p. 354 et suiv et note 293.

⁶² The Toba of the northern wilderness (PARKER l. c.).

⁶³ E. BLOCHET : Le pays de Tehata et les Hephthalites RSO 1925.

⁶⁴ K. CZEGLÉDY : Ps. Zacharias Rhetor p. 137.

⁶⁵ Keleti Szemle III p. 133.

⁶⁶ Asiatic Quarterly Review Vol. XIII p. 355.

⁶⁷ CHAVANNES (Doc. p. 311) n'ouissait des doutes à propos de cette identification. D'ailleurs dans la liste des gouvernements du Protectorat de Ngan-si (CHAV. Doc. p. 71) on rencontre le «gouvernement de l'arrondissement des Yue-pan». Il faudra en conclure que des tribus yue-pan s'étaient transférées dans la Tohâristân Oriental dans la région de Kiu-lan (Kourân).

plus tard ce fut le même Shiratori qui apporta la preuve définitive que les Yue-pan n'avaient rien en commun avec les Avar d'Europe qui portaient la queue : ces tribus turques de l'Ili coupaient et lavaient les cheveux.⁶⁸

De son côté, M. Gumiljév se refusait catégoriquement d'admettre que les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte aient été les Jeou-jan et il les identifiait avec les A-pa, qu'il considérait comme une tribu proto-sibérienne et que les annales chinoises signalent à la fin du VI siècle dans la Dzoungarie.⁶⁹ En 585 elles enregistrent une attaque des A-pa contre le camp royal d'A-po-khan, l'un des Khans des T'oukiue Orientaux qui disputait le pouvoir à Cha-po-liou et une intervention des troupes chinoises.⁷⁰ A ce moment-là leurs sièges ne pouvaient être qu'au nord du Grand Désert. Elles les mentionnent une dernière fois à l'occasion de l'insurrection des tribus T-ie-le, Se-kie, Fou-likiu, Sie-sa et Poukou contre Ta-T'eu⁷¹ et, ainsi que le faisait valoir Chavannes, d'après le T'ang-chou ch. 62, T'ie-le, Se-kie, Hoen et Pou-kou appartenaient aux «Tölös» une horde de la Sibérie. Si les A-pa se trouvaient déjà au V siècle dans la région où les historiens chinois les signalent à la fin du VI siècle, ils pourraient correspondre aux Avar de Priscus, ainsi que le conjecturait M. Gumiljév. Mais on se demandera si cette tribu, selon les sources chinoises d'une importance secondaire, aurait été capable de vaincre la puissante confédération sabir⁷². Et nous croyons tout aussi difficile d'accepter les arguments apportés par M. Gumiljév pour considérer les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte et les Jeou-jan comme deux peuples différents et pour référer aux A-pa ce que l'historien byzantin raconte des «vrais Avar», à savoir qu'ils avaient été vaincus par les Turcs et qu'ils s'étaient réfugiés en partie à Taugast, c. à. d. auprès des Si-Wei, et en partie chez les Moukri, d'après M. Gumiljév un peuple sien-pi vivant sur les rives de

⁶⁸ The Queu among the Peoples of North Asia, I. The Queu of the Hsiung-nu (Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko I, 1923, p. 63).

⁶⁹ Malheureusement nous ne connaissons les thèses de GUMILJËV qu'à travers son article Эфталити и их соседи в IV. веке. *VDI* 1959 p. 129 et ses notes ajoutées à la *История Хазар* d'ARTAMANOV (Moskva 1962), en particulier la note de p. 106—107.

⁷⁰ J. A. V série Vol. III p. 494.

⁷¹ Soei-chou «ch. LI (CHAV. Doc. p. 50). Et le texte continue : «Ces tribus demandèrent de venir se soumettre à la Chine. Tout le peuple de Ta-t'eu s'étant dispersé, (Ta-t'eu) s'enfuit dans l'ouest chez les T'ou-kou-hoen». Il en résulte de ce récit qu'à ce moment Tardou se trouvait dans les régions orientales de l'Empire Tou-kiue et qu'on ne saurait considérer ce passage, ainsi que le faisait HAUSSIG (Byz. p. 330), comme une preuve que les A-pa habitaient dans le Turkestan Occidental.

⁷² En reprenant une thèse de DARKÓ, GUMILJËV croyait que les paroles de Priscus qu'un peuple habitant près de l'Océan avait mis en mouvement les Avar, se rapportaient aux Hephthalites qui vivaient près de la Mer Caspienne, une mer que les Anciens, même après Ptolémée, continuaient très souvent à considérer comme un golfe de l'Océan. Cette hypothèse fut envisagée à un certain moment aussi par HAUSSIG (CAJ 2 p. 34). Cependant, à l'époque de l'expulsion des Sabir de leurs sièges, expulsion antérieure en tout cas à 463, la Sogdiane étaient encore aux mains des Huns Kidarites, les Cöl habitaient les bords orientaux de la mer Caspienne (Tabari I 884) et les Hoa venaient à peine de constituer un Etat. Ce fut seulement dans la dernière décade du V siècle qu'ils attaquèrent les Turcs Kao-kiu près d'Ouroumchi (ЕНОКИ : On the nationality of the Ephthalites I. c. p. 25).

l'Ili⁷³. Par contre les Jeou-jan, fait noter le savant russe, avaient cherché asyle chez les Pei-Ts'i. Or, cet argument n'arrive pas à nous convaincre car il est exact que A-na-lo-chen, le successeur de A-nakouei le dernier qağan Jeou-jan, s'était retiré dans le territoire des Pei-Ts'i et non pas chez les Si-Wei. Mais ensuite les débris des Jeou-jan cherchèrent un refuge auprès de l'Empereur Wei Thai-tsou.⁷⁴ Et de plus, il est certain que dans les langues de l'Asie Centrale le nom de Tabğaç désignait toutes les anciennes régions des T'o-pa et partant même le royaume des Pei-Ts'i. Mais un dernier argument de M. Gumiljév mérite d'être examiné de plus près car il pourrait être décisif. A son avis, les Apar qui, d'après l'inscription érigée par Bilge Qağan, envoyèrent en 552 des ambassadeurs aux funérailles de Boumin (T'ou-men) Qağan ne pouvaient être en aucun cas les Jeou-jan qui à cette date continuaient encore leur résistance contre les Tou-kiue⁷⁵ et qui ne constituaient plus une horde indépendante. Toutefois, avant d'accepter cet argument, il faut tout d'abord se demander quelle confiance on peut faire aux renseignements de Bilge Qağan pour les événements des années 552—555. Or, il est certain que Bilge Qağan qui, en 732, fit élever la stèle en honneur de Kültegin, n'avait que des idées fort vagues à propos de l'histoire du premier Empire Tou-kiue. Il savait tout juste que Boumin (recte T'ou-men) Qağan et Istemi Qağan avaient fondé un Empire allant de la forêt de Qadirqan au «Temir Qapıg» (les Portes de Fer dans la Sogdiane) et il imaginait que tous les peuples puissants s'étaient fait représenter aux funérailles de deux fondateurs de l'Empire turc, ainsi qu'il en avait été le cas à l'occasion des cérémonies funèbres en honneur de Kültegin. Mais il est bien certain que les Romains d'Orient (Purum) n'envoyèrent pas de délégués aux funérailles de T'ou-men dont ils ignoraient jusqu'à l'existence. Et il est tout aussi certain qu'en 552 et en 576 les «Tüpüt» (T'ou-fan) du Tibet Central n'avaient pas encore constitué un Empire et qu'ils n'entretenaient pas de rapports avec les Tou-kiue. Et de plus Bilge Qağan parle uniquement des Tabğaç, les Chinois, sans faire distinction entre les Si-Wei, les Pei-Ts'i et les Pei-Teheou. Probablement il imaginait qu'à l'époque des fondateurs de l'Empire Turc, la Chine était unie sous une seule dynastie ainsi qu'il en était le cas sous les Tang. Dans ces conditions, on a le droit de conclure que les Apar de l'inscription de Kültegin, les «vrais Avar» de Théophylacte qui étaient renom-

⁷³ Nous ignorons malheureusement les arguments que GUMILJÉV possédait pour avancer cette identification et qu'il allait exposer dans un article qui nous a été inaccessible «Tri isceznuvšix naroda Sibirii». En général on s'accorde à les voir dans «Moukri» un peuple de la Corée (MORAVCSIK : Byz-Turc. II p. 193) et on explique ce nom par le terme sanscrit de Mukuri, en tibétain Muglig, la Corée. Mais on se demandera comment les Turcs auraient adopté un terme du sanscrit pour désigner la Corée à une époque à laquelle ils n'avaient qu'une connaissance superficielle du bouddhisme. On préférera l'opinion de HENNING (Sogdica 7) qui proposait de corriger Moukri en Bükli, dans les inscriptions de l'Orchon les peuples des forêts de l'est.

⁷⁴ S. JULIEN : J. A. V série vol. 3 p. 325, Extrait du «Pien-i-tien».

⁷⁵ Sous le commandement de T'eng-cho-tseu l'oncle de A-nakouei (S. JULIEN : J. A. V série vol. 3 p. 330).

més chez tous les habitants de la Scythie pour leur valeur militaire, devaient être un peuple fort puissant, dont le souvenir se conservait encore chez les Turcs et que dès lors ce peuple ne pouvait être que les Jeou-jan.⁷⁶ Et ce qui est en tout cas certain, c'est que Théophylacte a donné aux Jeou-jan le nom d'Avar parce que les ambassadeurs turcs eux-mêmes leur avaient donné ce nom. Il ne leur a pas donné parce qu'il l'avait trouvé dans l'histoire de Priscus. En effet il nous raconte aussi qu'une partie des Avar s'était réfugiée chez les Moukri, un peuple qui lui était certainement tout à fait inconnu et qu'aucune autre source grecque ne mentionne.

Or, une fois établi ces deux points, à savoir que les «pseudo-Avar» de Théophylacte n'avaient rien en commun avec les Hephthalites et que ses «vrais Avar» étaient les Jeou-jan, on peut espérer de s'approcher de la solution du problème de l'origine des Ouar et Xounni. Il ne fait pas de doutes que l'exkursus de Théophylacte sur les peuples scythes fourmille d'erreurs en dépit des renseignements d'origine turque qu'il possédait. Ainsi Théophylacte semble ne s'être même pas aperçu que ses renseignements à propos des premières campagnes turques se rapportaient à l'époque de la fondation de l'Empire tou-kiue et non pas au règne du Qağan Tardou, qui avait envoyé à l'Empereur Maurice la lettre, dont il nous a donné le début. De même, il prétend que la première campagne des Turcs avait été dirigée contre les Abdel-Hephthalites, alors que les Tou-kiue devinrent indépendants seulement avec la victoire de T'ou-men sur les Jeou-jan.⁷⁷ Par surcroît, il prétend que l'expédition turque contre la confédération des «Ogôr», dont faisaient partie les tribus Ouar et Xounni avait eu lieu après les victoires sur les Abdel et les Avar, tandis que nous savons qu'une partie de ces deux tribus était arrivée dans l'Alanie déjà en 558 avant la défaite finale des Hephthalites. Et il fait peu de doutes que l'insurrection de Touroum appartient par contre à l'époque de Tardou car dans cet excursus elle représente le seul fait nouveau que le Qağan pouvait désirer de communiquer à Maurice. Et il est aussi certain que les *Κοιράγγηροι* qui

⁷⁶ Cependant voir ENOKI : On the date of the Kidarites 2. Mem. of the Toyo-Bunko XXVIII, 1970, p. 25—27. Mais nous ne saurions admettre qu'on puisse attribuer au terme de «Apar» dans une inscription turque du VIII^e siècle la valeur d'Aparkhshatr dans l'inscription de Chapour I. De son côté, HAUSSIG a rappelé l'attention sur le fait qu'on rencontre une mention des Apar dans un texte ture du Tourfan (Byz-Sl. p. 188 n. 120).

⁷⁷ CHAVANNES (Doc. p. 250) pensait qu'on puisse retrouver dans les Abdel les Tôlôs battus par les Tou-kiue alors qu'ils étaient encore les vassaux des Jeou-jan en 546. Cependant il existerait une explication plus simple pour l'ordre chronologique des campagnes turques chez Théophylacte. Mou-ho khan conquiert la Sibérie et avança jusque dans la Sogdiane avant d'exiger de l'Empereur Thaï-tsou des Si-Wei la livraison des Jeou-jan réfugiés à Tch'ang-ngan (Pien-i-tien l. c.). Aussi les Tou-kiue auraient-ils pu considérer ce massacre comme le couronnement de leur guerre contre les Jeou-jan qui, dans ce cas, se serait close après leur première victoire sur les Hephthalites. Mais il sera plus prudent d'admettre que Théophylacte ne possédait que des relations imprécises sur les déclarations faites par les ambassadeurs tures en 598, trente ans avant la composition de son livre.

d'après Théophylacte appartenait eux-aussi aux Ouar et Xounni, étaient en réalité les *Κουτρίγιοροι* de Procope, les *Κουτρίγιοροι/Κουτράγηροι* de Ménandre arrivés en Europe avant les pseudo-Avar.⁷⁸ Mais en dépit de toutes ces erreurs on ne saurait — croyons-nous — ignorer l'assertion de Théophylacte que les Ogôr et les Ouar et Xounni habitaient sur le Til Noir, une fleuve qui ne peut être la Volga puisqu'en 555 les armées de Mouho-khan avaient atteint la Sogdiane mais non pas la Mer Caspienne et que par conséquent cette horde devait se trouver quelque part dans la Sibérie méridionale, probablement sur le Irtych Noir.⁷⁹ Ménandre affirme explicitement que les Avar étaient parvenus dans l'Alanie après de longues pérégrinations,⁸⁰ Evagrius qu'ils avaient eu à souffrir de leurs «voisins, les Turcs».⁸¹ Et on ne saurait non plus négliger l'affirmation catégorique de Théophylacte que les Avar d'Europe étaient des pseudo-Avar puisque nous apprenons de Ménandre que les Turcs les considéraient comme des «Ouarxônitai»,⁸² alors que, nous l'avons constaté, les «vrais Avar», les Jeou-jan s'appelaient en turc Apar. Certes, il est permis de penser que Théophylacte a donné une forme plus dramatique à ses renseignements de source turque. A n'en point douter, il a inventé les héros éponymes Uar et Xounni. Mais une invention de ce genre s'expliquerait mal si les pseudo-Avar ne se composaient pas réellement de deux tribus : les Ouar et les Xounni. Et à ce propos on ne saurait oublier qu'après l'invasion avar il existait dans le Caucase la ville de Waraçan et que nos mss. grecs contiennent la variante Xeounni qui, ainsi que le faisait noter Chavannes, rappelle la tribu des Hoen, faisant partie au VII siècle de la confédération ouïgoure.⁸³ On a aussi le droit de douter que ce fut seulement à la suite d'une méprise des Sabir, des Onogour et des Barsilt que les Ouar et Xounni assumèrent le nom d'Avar et cela lors même qu'il ne serait pas inconcevable que des populations de la Ciscaucasie aient pu se tromper sur l'identité d'un peuple de la Sibérie Occidentale. Mais en fait il n'est pas rare, ainsi que l'a signalé Shiratori, que des tribus de la Mongolie et de la Mandchourie aient adopté au cours de leur histoire le nom d'une tribu plus puissante. Par ex. au moment du triomphe des Sien-pi, des tribus hiong-nou en assumèrent le nom.⁸⁴ Dès lors il ne serait non plus impossible que les tribus Ouarxônitai voire les tribus «Ouar et Xounni» aient adopté déjà dans la première moitié du V siècle le nom de Abar, c. à. d. le nom turc ou mongol

⁷⁸ MORAVCSIK : Byz-Turc II p. 171 — 172.

⁷⁹ Rappelons que CHAVANNES (Doc. p. 251) songeait plutôt au Tola car, à l'époque des Soei, la confédération ouïgoure se trouvait sur le rive de ce fleuve. Cependant la turcologie n'accepte plus l'identification des «Ogôr» avec les «Ouïgour».

⁸⁰ Ménandre «De leg. Gentium» Ed. DE BOOR p. 442 (frag. 4).

⁸¹ Voir note 29.

⁸² De leg. Rom. frag. 43 (DE BOOR p. 205).

⁸³ CHAVANNES : Doc. p. 88 n. Ed. de Bonn p. 284 : *οἱ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἔθνους παλιώτατοι ἔξαρχοι Οὐάρ καὶ Χουννὶ ὀνομάζοντο.*

⁸⁴ SHIRATORI : The Queu among the Peoples of North Asia. I p. 25 — 26.

des Jou-jan. Et, dans ce cas, les Avar de Priscus auraient pu être eux-aussi des Ouar et des Xounni. En faveur de notre hypothèse à savoir que le Ouar-Xounni avaient pris le nom de leurs suzerains les Apar, il n'existe qu'un indice qui est loin d'être décisif. Maniach, l'ambassadeur sogdien d'Istemi à Constantinople en 568, donne lui-aussi le nom d'Avar aux nomades qui s'étaient réfugiés en Europe et à leurs congénères qui étaient restés dans leurs anciens sièges sous l'autorité turque⁸⁵ et le même nom leur est donné par Silziboulos.⁸⁶ On pourrait en conclure que pour désigner ces populations les Turcs employaient tour à tour les nom de «Ouarxônitai» et de Apar/Avar» et que des liens quelconques devaient exister entre les Ouar-Xounni du Til Noir et les Jou-jan de la Mongolie puisque, tout comme ces derniers, les Avar d'Europe portaient la queue, une mode qu'ils n'avaient certainement pas empruntée aux Tou-kiue, sous lesquels ils avaient vécu un ou deux ans au plus.

Bien entendu nous ne nous cachons pas qu'on pourrait renverser notre argumentation et voir dans l'emploi du nom d'Avar par Maniach et par Silziboulos et même dans la queue des pseudo-Avar autant de raisons pour considérer les Ouar et Xounni comme des tribus jou-jan. Du moins notre hypothèse permettrait d'expliquer la présence de quelques petites tribus «A-pa» dans la Dzungarie vers la fin du VI siècle, dans lesquelles les annalistes des Soei ne reconnaissaient plus les Jou-jan et l'arrivée de tribus Avar en Europe sans être obligé de corriger nos sources qui se confirment les unes les autres : la relation d'origine turque sur la fuite des Apar/Avar en Chine et chez le Moukri, le récit de l'anéantissement de ce peuple dans les Annales chinoises et la déclaration emphatique de Théophylacte que les Avar d'Europe étaient des pseudo-Avar appartenant à la confédération Ogôr et qu'ils provenaient de la région du Til Noir, une fleuve qui, en aucun cas, ne saurait être identifié avec la Volga.⁸⁷

Mais venons à l'examen des sources perses étudiées par M. Widengren.⁸⁸ Nous constatons tout d'abord un fait. Les «riwâyah» les plus anciennes parmi celles que M. Widengren a recueillies, se partagent entre trois traditions différentes :

I) Une chronique de la moitié du IX siècle qui a utilisé en partie le «Ĥodâynâmah» sassanide. Aṭ-Ṭabarî a transcrit presque entièrement cette histoire et nous en possédons une seconde version à peu près identique, celle de l'Anonyme Sprenger.⁸⁹ A la chute des Hephthalites cette chronique consacre

⁸⁵ Ménandre De leg. gentium fr. 18 (Ed. DE BOOR p. 452). Néanmoins ce passage ne peut pas être considéré comme décisif car, au cours de la conversation avec Maniach, c'est l'empereur Justin II qui, le premier, emploie le nom d'Avar pour les tribus qui s'étaient soustraites à l'autorité turque et qui s'étaient établies dans la Pannonie.

⁸⁶ Excerpta de Sententiis (Ed. MAI p. 354—55).

⁸⁷ Cependant voir CZEGLÉDY : Népmozgalmak p. 8—10 (MOHAY : p. 133).

⁸⁸ Orientalia Suecana I p. 69—99.

⁸⁹ BEO 1974 Damas ch. III et Appendices et III A B.

une courte notice insérée correctement après le récit de la première guerre perso-byzantine de l'époque de Justinien I, d'une campagne d'Anûšîrwân dans le Caucase contre les Ĥazar (en réalité contre les Sabir et les peuples du Caucase alliés de Byzance) et du blocus légendaire du détroit d'Aden. Selon cette tradition, après ces victoires, Anûšîrwân décida de venger son aïeul Péroz. Dans ce but, il épousa la fille du Ĥâqân des Turcs, le poussa à attaquer les Hephthalites et, en profitant de la victoire du Ĥâqân qui avait tué leur Roi, il occupa Balḥ, la Transoxiane et la Ferghana.⁹⁰

II) L'épitomé du «Ĥodâynâmah» conservé par Euty chius et Ibn Qutaybah. Il s'accorde le plus souvent avec la tradition précédente. Dans notre cas, il donne un texte presque identique à celui d'aṭ-Ṭabarî. Cependant Euty chius ajoute — et, probablement cet ajout n'est pas à rejeter, ainsi que le faisait M. Widengren⁹¹ — que le mariage d'Anûšîrwân avec la fille du Ĥâqân fut célébré seulement après la victoire sur les Hephthalites.

III) La réélaboration d'une traduction du «Ĥodâynâmah» — vraisemblablement de celle d'Ibn-al-Muqaffa' — par un écrivain arabe des premières années du IX siècle que nous avons proposé d'appeler le pseudo-Ibn-al-Muqaffa'.⁹² Mais, à côté de la traduction du «Ĥodâynâmah» cet auteur utilisait d'autres sources appartenantes à la «Šu'ûbiyyah», un mouvement qui possédait assurément de bons renseignements sur l'histoire de l'ancien Iran mais qui n'hésitait pas à les manipuler pour mieux exalter la gloire des Sassanides.⁹³ Ce texte fut à son tour remanié à plusieurs reprises au cours du même siècle. Aṭ-Ṭabarî a puisé ses extraits à la version la plus ancienne de cet ouvrage, qui fut utilisée aussi par al-Ya'qûbî. Ad-Dainawarî en possédait une rédaction déjà modifiée, tandis que, dans sa forme actuelle, la «Nihâyat-al-'arab fi 'aḥbâri mulûki-l-Furs wa-l-'Arab» représente la dernière forme de ce livre.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Notons que le texte de cette «riwâyah» dans aṭ-Ṭabarî manque de clarté, ce qui aide à comprendre qu'al-Mas'ûdî (Murûğ-aḍ-ḍahab II p. 203) et Bal'amî (ZOTENBERG II, 161 aient attribué à Anûšîrwân d'avoir tué lui-même le Roi des Hephthalites. Mais nous convenons avec M. WIDENGREN qu'il faut traduire le passage d'aṭ-Ṭabarî et de l'Anonyme Sprenger : «Et il (le Ĥâqân) vint à eux et il tua leur Roi et il extermina (et non pas il emmena de force) les gens de sa maison. Il (Anûšîrwân) dépassa Balḥ et la Transoxiane et il établit ses armées dans la Ferghana.»

⁹¹ L. c. p. 75. Rappelons qu'Euty chius est indépendant d'aṭ-Ṭabarî. Si l'on accepte son indication, ce mariage aurait été célébré en 560. Cette notice est d'autant plus vraisemblable qu'il aurait été dangereux pour la fiancée du Šâhenšâh de traverser le Royaume Hephthalite avec lequel les Turcs étaient en état de guerre depuis 555. Il est vrai que sa caravane aurait pu emprunter la route du Khwârizm qui, ainsi que nous allons le constater, était à l'époque un royaume indépendant.

⁹² Voir notre étude «La Nihâyat-u-l-'arab fi 'aḥbâri-l-Furs wal-'Arab» et les «Siyaru Mulûki-l-'Ağam» du ps. «Ibn-al-Muqaffa'». BEO t. XXVI Damas 1974 p. 115 ch. III «Le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'».

⁹³ Voir notre étude sur la réforme fiscale d'Anûšîrwân dans les Quaderni della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei—Convegno sulla Persia (Rome 1970) et Les Règles d'Ardašîr b. Bâbak pour le gouvernement du Royaume que nous avons publiées dans l'Islam Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi (Istanbul 1973).

⁹⁴ «La Nihâyat-al-'arab etc.» BEO Damas 1969 et 1974 ch. I.

Or, les «riwâyah» que M. Widengren a appelées les lignes I, II et IV, appartiennent toutes à la tradition du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' — seule la ligne IV de Firdausî, sur laquelle nous allons revenir, peut être en partie indépendante — et elles relatent différents épisodes du règne d'Anûšîrwân présentés dans une succession arbitraire à la différence de ce que faisaient les traditions I et II.

I) Episode : la reconquête par Anûšîrwân des provinces que ses ancêtres avaient perdues.

a) aṭ-Ṭabarî I,2 p. 894 l. 10—13. Dans ce passage le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' avait oublié de préciser que ces pays appartenaient aux Hephthalites, vraisemblablement parce qu'il l'avait déjà dit dans les paragraphes précédents. D'ailleurs il y fait explicitement allusion dans le troisième épisode.

b) al-Ya'qûbî (Vol I p. 186). Cependant ce dernier a modifié le passage et fait vaguement allusion à la conquête de pays qui, par le passé, n'avaient pas appartenu à l'Iran.

c) la «Nihâyah» qui spécifie que les pays perdus étaient sous la domination des Rois hephthalites.

d) ad-Dainawarî qui fait précéder la listes des provinces recouvrées par l'avertissement : «Il porta des armées dans le pays des Hephthalites» et qui la fait suivre par le récit d'une expédition de Singîbû Ḥâqân en direction du Ḥorasân. Mais, ainsi que l'a fait remarquer M. Widengren⁹⁵ c'est seulement dans la version de Mirḥond, qui par ailleurs copie ad-Dainawarî — que la conquête des pays des Hephthalites et la campagne de Singîbû sont considérées comme contemporaines.

II) Episode : les mesures prises par Anûšîrwân contre les peuples pillards des frontières (aṭ-Ṭabarî et «Nihâyah»).

III) Episode : Les fortifications qu'Anûšîrwân fit élever dans le Caucase que Singîbû fut impuissant à forcer. A ce propos, pour donner plus de relief au succès du Šâhenšâh, on raconte incidemment que Singîbû était le souverain qui avait vaincu et tué W. z. r. (Warâz ?),⁹⁶ le puissant Roi des Hephthalites, détruit la plus grande partie de ses armées et conquis ses provinces à l'exception de celles qu'Anûšîrwân avait précédemment occupées.⁹⁷ On notera que l'apparition d'Istemi devant Derbent, sans aucun doute un fait historique, doit appartenir aux années 572 ou 573 après la rupture de la paix entre Justin II et Anûšîrwân. Mais dans cette tradition la campagne du Roi perse contre Justinien I est racontée après cet épisode.

On rencontre la même succession des événements dans les «Ġurur» de Ta'âlîbî (Ta'âlîbî I et III de M. Widengren. Ed. Zotenberg p. 610).

De son côté, Firdausî réunit ces trois épisodes, parle vaguement de la soumission de certains Rois étrangers à Kisrâ, d'un voyage du Šâhenšâh le

⁹⁵ L. c. p. 77.

⁹⁶ Voir WIDENGREN : l. c. p. 73 note 4.

⁹⁷ «'illâ mâ kâna Kisrâ ḡalaba 'alayhi minhâ».

long des frontières de son règne, d'une muraille bâtie sur les eaux et des mesures prises contre les peuples pillards sur toutes les frontières du Royaume.

Mais, quand on compare les versions que les historiens qui dépendent du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' donnent de ces épisodes, il apparaît immédiatement que déjà l'auteur de la «Nihâyah» et, plus encore, les éditeurs successifs de ce livre ont modifié le texte original soit pour suivre la mode littéraire de l'époque soit pour enjoliver le texte. Nous nous bornerons à deux exemples. Le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' commençait le chapitre du règne d'Anûšîrwân par le texte de la lettre où le Roi annonçait au «paḡgospân» de l'Azerbaïdžân Wârî-bn-Naḡîr-ğân son élévation au trône, une lettre que Nöldeke considérait comme une pièce originale. Al-Ya'qûbî y fait allusion. Par contre, dans la «Nihâyah» cette lettre a été remplacée par un discours du trône farci de lieux parénétiques, que nous retrouvons dans le «Šâhnâmah» de Firdausî. De même, aṭ-Ṭabarî raconte qu'Anûšîrwân punit cruellement les Wârz et les Šûl (Čöl). De ces derniers il n'épargna que 80 hommes qu'il établit dans la ville de Šahrâm-Fîrûz. L'auteur de la «Nihâyah» a transformé ce massacre dans une victoire glorieuse du Šâhenšâh qui aurait fait construire à l'intention des prisonniers une ville égale à celles qu'ils habitaient auparavant, ainsi qu'il le fera plus tard pour les déportés d'Antioche.⁹⁸ La plus grande prudence s'impose, on le voit, quand on fait recours aux «riwâyah» des auteurs les plus récents. Toutefois ces derniers nous permettent de reconnaître que la version intégrale du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' ou l'édition primitive de la «Nihâyah» contenaient au moins deux autres épisodes.

IV) Episode : Le mariage d'Anûšîrwân avec la fille du Ḥâqân. D'après aṭ-Ṭabarî, l'Anonyme du «Muğmal-at-tawâriḡ» et de Firdausî le Ḥâqân avait pris l'initiative d'offrir sa fille à Anûšîrwân dans le but, ainsi qu'il en ressort explicitement du récit de Firdausî, d'éviter un choque avec l'armée perse massée sur les frontières du Ḥorassân. Et Anûšîrwân avait réuni cette armée dès qu'il avait reçu la nouvelle de l'écrasement des forces hephthalites et de l'intention du Ḥâqân, l'héritier d'Arğasp, d'envahir l'Iran. Ad-Dainawarî devait avoir trouvé lui-aussi dans la première édition de la «Nihâyah» l'indication que Singîbû se préparait à attaquer le Ḥorassân. Et Firdausî ajoute qu'Anûšîrwân, tout en acceptant la proposition du Ḥâqân, chargea son conseiller Mihrânsîtâd de choisir entre les filles du souverain ture celle qui avait pour mère la Ḥâtûn et non pas une simple concubine. Et après avoir raconté comment Mihrânsîtâd déjoua le stratagème de la Ḥâtûn qui voulait éviter de lui donner son enfant et comment le Ḥâqân accéda à sa demande lors-

⁹⁸ Cependant M. WIDENGREN (l. c. p. 77 note 2) considérait que la tradition d'aṭ-Ṭabarî est fort légendaire et que la Nihâyah corrige «d'une façon heureuse» la notice d'aṭ-Ṭabarî. Quant à nous, nous éprouvons moins de difficulté à croire à un massacre général qu'à l'assertion de la «Nihâyah» que ces nomades possédaient une ville. D'ailleurs nous avons déjà donné un exemple significatif des modifications que les éditeurs de la «Nihâyah» apportaient au texte du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' dans notre étude «Le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'» (Damas 1974) p. 138—139.

qu'un devin lui apprit qu'il allait devenir le grand-père du futur Šâhensâh, Firdausî prétend que, pour s'assurer la reconnaissance d'Anûšîrwân, le Hâqân évacua la Transoxiane et la Ferghana. Ainsi cette version du mariage d'Anûšîrwân avec la fille du Hâqân s'oppose directement à celle que nous ont conservée les traditions I et II (At-Ṭabarî-Anonyme Sprenger ; Euty chius-Ibn Qutaybah) qui déclarent en toutes lettres que c'était Anûšîrwân qui avait demandé la main de la fille du Hâqân pour obtenir ensuite son aide dans la guerre contre les Hephthalites. Cependant un heureux hasard nous apprend que, même dans la tradition originale du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa', c'était le Šâhensâh qui avait pris l'initiative de ce mariage. L'auteur de notre «Nihâyah» a réélabore le Roman de Bahrâm Ābîn pour lui donner un ton plus dramatique et il y a inséré de nouveaux épisodes, par ex. les péripéties qui marquèrent la fuite de Parwîz vers la Syrie après que son oncle Bindoë l'avait sauvé de la poursuite des cavaliers de Bahrâm Ābîn⁹⁹ et la prophétie d'un moine qui avait lu dans le «Livre de Daniel» l'annonce du prochain triomphe des Arabes. Et, de même, l'auteur de la «Nihâyah» a imaginé que dans le conseil de guerre convoqué par Hurmuz, que l'offensive du Roi des Turcs avait jeté dans l'affolement, l'ancien conseiller d'Anûšîrwân Mihransîtân (recte Mihrânsîtâd), désormais un veillard décrépit, avait fait le récit de son voyage à la cour du Hâqân défunt. Il s'y était rendu pour apporter une lettre d'Anûšîrwân qui demandait au Hâqân de lui accorder la main de sa fille. Mais il avait l'ordre de choisir entre ses filles celle qui avait pour mère la Hâtûn. Et, tout comme dans le récit de Firdausî, même dans cet épisode le Hâqân et la Hâtûn ont recouru à l'artifice de revêtir leur enfant d'une robe usée afin de détourner d'elle l'attention de l'envoyé perse. Plus tard ils donnent leur consentement à ce mariage quand un devin annonce que de cette union allait naître le futur roi de l'Iran. Seulement, dans cette version, le devin ajoute que ce Roi aura la chance d'être servi par un commandant glorieux, dont il donne la description, et que ce héros vaincra les envahisseurs turcs de l'Iran. Nous donnons dans l'appendice cette page de la «Nihâyah» car elle suffit à prouver que, tout comme l'auteur de notre «Nihâyah» arabe, l'éditeur de la version de ce livre qui forma la base pour l'histoire d'at-Ta'âlibî et pour le Šâhnâmah en prose persane mis en vers par Firdausî, devait avoir trouvé lui-aussi dans son modèle que c'était Anûšîrwân qui, le premier, avait proposé au Hâqân cette alliance. Mais cet éditeur renversa les rôles afin d'exalter davantage la figure du Šâhensâh. Et le fait que cette modification a été reprise par Firdausî, at-Ta'âlibî et l'Anonyme du «Muğmal-at-tawârih» laisse penser que cette édition avait vu le jour dans le monde iranien. Par surcroît nous possédons une preuve supplémentaire du fait que la version ancienne de ce mariage attribuait l'initiative à Anûšîrwân.

⁹⁹ Ces péripéties ont été inventées par l'auteur de la «Nihâyah» dans le but d'expliquer la politique que Parwîz suivra ensuite vis-à-vis de la dynastie d'al-Ĥîrah.

Nous trouvons cette histoire dans une «riwâyah» d'Ibn Balhî¹⁰⁰ qui est indépendante de celles que nous venons d'examiner et qui remonte à son tour à l'époque sassanide, ainsi que le prouve l'accord sur ce point entre Sébéos¹⁰¹ et al-Mas'ûdi.¹⁰² Al-Mas'ûdi comme le faisait noter Marquart, a donné à la princesse turque le nom de Fâq.m (variantes Faq.r, Fâl.g), mais il apparaît de Sébéos et d'Ibn Balhî que Fâq.m (Sébéos: Kayên, Ibn Balhî: Qâq.m) était en réalité le nom du père de cette princesse. Cependant cette «riwâyah» était incertaine à propos de la nationalité de ce «Fâq.m» qui, selon les uns était le «Hâqân des Turcs», selon les autres «l'un des Rois ħazar de la région attenante à Al-Bâb wa-l-Abwâb».¹⁰³ Probablement dans sa forme originale elle parlait d'un Roi des ħazar car, dans le récit de Sébéos, Kayên était le roi des T'etalaċ'ik, un terme, soulignait Marquart, que l'historien arménien a employé pour les Hephthalites et les ħazar, nous ajouterons aussi pour les barbares en général, mais jamais pour les Turcs.

V) Episode: Parvenu à la fin de sa vie, Anûširwân préféra Hurmuz à ses autres fils à cause de ses vertus et de la noblesse de sa mère. De nos trois traditions seulement celle du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' contient ce renseignement qui revient chez tous les historiens qui en dépendent, même dans l'histoire d'ad-Dainawarî, quoique ce dernier avait précédemment raconté que Hurmuz à la tête d'une armée perse avait forcé Singibû à évacuer la Transoxiane et la Ferghana. Aṭ-Ṭabarî, il est, vrai, donne lui aussi cette notice au début du chapitre sur le règne de Hurmuz, mais il l'a interpolée dans la tradition I en l'empruntant au ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa', qu'il utilisait largement, car la phrase «Et sa mère était la fille du Grand Hâqân»¹⁰⁴ n'existe pas dans l'Anonyme Sprenger. On notera cependant que Sébéos et al-Mas'ûdi citent eux-aussi la «riwâyah» du mariage d'Anûširwân avec la fille de Kayên/Fâq.m à propos de Hurmuz pour nous assurer qu'il était né de ce mariage.

Et enfin chez les auteurs qui dépendent du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' nous trouvons deux «riwâyah» isolées.¹⁰⁵ Celle d'ad-Dainawarî qui attribuait à Hurmuz

¹⁰⁰ Fârsnâmah, Ed. LE STRANGE & NICHOLSON p. 94 l. 8—95 l. 6. La lacune dans cette «riwâyah» signalée par M. WIDENGREN (l. c. p. 81) peut probablement être comblée par le récit d'al-Balâdurî (194/13) à propos des dissensions qui s'élevèrent entre Anûširwân et le Hâqân des régions à nord du «Bâb-al-'abwâb».

¹⁰¹ Voir MARKWART: Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften. WZKM XII. MARKWART a donné aussi la traduction de ce passage de Sébéos, p. 36 que nous reproduisons.

¹⁰² Murûğ-ad-đahab ch. XXII p. 211 «ṭumma malaka ba'dahu-bnuhu Hurmuz min-'Anûširwân b. Qubâđ wa 'umnuhu Fâq.m ibnatu Hâqân maliki-t-turk wa qila bal malikuṛ min mulûki-l- ħazar mimma yali al-Bâba wa-l-'Abwâb.»

¹⁰³ Voir note 102.

¹⁰⁴ «wa kânat 'ummatuhu-bnatu Hâqâni-l-'akbar».

¹⁰⁵ Pour notre but, nous pouvons faire ici abstraction des «riwâyah» se rapportant aux ħazar, qui remontent elles-aussi au «Ĥodâynâmah», ainsi que le prouve leur présence dans toutes nos trois traditions, aux expéditions contre Sarandîb que Bal'amî et aṭ-Ta'âlibî localisent dans l'Inde et contre la Chine (Ibn Balhî) et à la suzeraineté iranienne imposée à la Chine (aṭ-Ta'âlibî) et au Tibet (al-Mas'ûdi). Il s'agit de légendes dépourvues de toute historicité et qu'on ne rencontre que chez les auteurs les plus récents.

d'avoir obligé Singîbû à se retirer de la Transoxiane et de la Ferghana et dont nous ignorons la source. Probablement elle appartenait à la première rédaction de la «Nihâyah» qui, parfois, devait donner deux versions différentes du même épisode, comme il en est le cas pour le théâtre de la bataille entre Bahrâm Ġôr et le «Ĥâqân des Turcs». Et surtout la «riwâyah» de Firdausî que M. Widengren attribue à la ligne IV et dont nous venons de prouver qu'elle contient un épisode (le mariage d'Anûsirwân avec la fille du Ĥâqân) emprunté de nouveau au ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'.

Or cette «riwâyah» pose un problème qui nous oblige à revenir sur notre article «Deux documents nouveaux à propos de la Légende de Buzurġmîhr» paru dans le tome XXVI des «Acta Antiqua». Nous maintenons notre point de vue, à savoir que le plus souvent le texte de Firdausî remonte à une version en prose persane très proche de la «Nihâyah» et qui doit donc dériver de l'arabe et non pas directement d'un «Ĥodâynâmah» en pahlvî. D'ailleurs nous avons constaté cette affinité même dans les épisodes du règne d'Anûsirwân. Mais nous avons tort quand, dans la seconde partie de cet article, pour laquelle nous nous étions imprudemment appuyé à l'étude de Christensen,¹⁰⁶ nous avons cru pouvoir avancer que même les «Conseils de Buzurġmîhr» dans le «Ŝâhnâmah» de Firdausî dérivent du texte arabe conservé par Ibn Miskawayh. Ne connaissant pas le pahlvî, nous présentions nos conclusions comme une simple hypothèse qu'il appartenait aux iranologues d'examiner. Ensuite le prof. Mahyar Nawabî nous a démontré notre erreur. Maintenant, dans l'épisode d'Anûsirwân et de la guerre contre les Hephthalites nous nous trouvons en présence d'un cas assez analogue. La description de la mission chargée de choisir pour Anûsirwân sa femme entre les filles du Ĥâqân a un pendant exact dans le chapitre de Bahrâm Ĥûbin dans la «Nihâyah».¹⁰⁷ Par contre, le récit de la guerre entre les Turcs et les Hephthalites ne correspond à aucune de nos traditions. Elle donne au Roi des Hephthalites le nom de «Ġâtfûr» qui rappelle inévitablement celui de *Κατοῦλφος* dans le fragment de Ménandre. Elle attribue la défaite des Hephthalites aux seuls Turcs, elle prétend que, par désespoir, la noblesse hephthalite décida de se soumettre au Ŝâhenšâh de l'Iran et que le Ĥâqân évacua à la fin la Transoxiane et la Ferghana pour s'assurer l'amitié d'Anûsirwân. Nous noterons que ce récit de Firdausî, qui l'attribue à un «dehqân» illustre, est celui qui rabaisse le plus le rôle de l'Iran dans l'élimination de l'Empire hephthalite. Il y a des changes qu'il nous ait conservé une ancienne «riwâyah»

¹⁰⁶ Dans son étude La légende du Sage Buzurġmîhr (A. O. 1929 p. 81 — 123) CHRISTENSEN se rapporte aux texte du Pandnâmak édité par Dastûr Peshotanji en dépit du fait que WEST dans son article publié dans le Muséon, Notes sur quelques petits textes pahlévîs avait déjà prévenu que le texte original s'étend seulement treize lignes au delà du paragraphe 119 de l'édition du Dastûr Peshotanji et que la continuation donnée par ce dastûr (§§ 121 — 159) appartient à un autre ouvrage.

¹⁰⁷ Ed. de Calcutta p. 1697—1700 (L'offre d'un mariage) et p. 1700—1703 (La mission de Mihrânsitâd).

sassanide indépendante de nos trois traditions et qui reflétait fidèlement la marche des événements. Toutefois n'en sommes-nous pas certain. En effet, dans les épisodes qui nous ont été conservés, la tradition du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' ne parle pas explicitement de la guerre perso-hephthalite. Elle donne seulement une liste des provinces recouvrées par Anûširwân au début de son règne et dont elle savait qu'elles avaient été sous la domination des Hephthalites.¹⁰⁸ Mais ensuite elle fait aussi allusion au fait que la plus grande partie de l'armée hephthalite avait été écrasée par le Hâqân.¹⁰⁹ Et, par conséquent, rien ne s'oppose à ce que les épisodes racontés par le seul Firdausî (la guerre turco-hephthalite, l'élection de Fağâniš, l'arrivée d'Anûširwân dans le Hōrassân, l'évacuation du Soğd, de Samarkand et de Čâğ par le Hâqân et l'hommage de Fağâniš à Anûširwân) aient figuré déjà dans le récit du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'. Nous sommes d'autant plus enclin à le croire que Firdausî nous a conservé certains épisodes qui doivent appartenir au Roman de Bahrâm Ūbîn, que nous ne lisons plus dans notre «Nihâyah» mais qui devaient figurer déjà dans la première édition de ce livre.

Nous devons désormais nous demander quelle est la valeur historique de ces «riwâyah», dont nous avons nous sommes efforcé jusqu'ici d'établir l'origine et les rapports, et nous commencerons par l'épisode V de la tradition du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' (l'origine turque de Hurmuz) car, même s'il s'agit d'un problème marginal ne concernant pas la chute de l'Empire hephthalite, il permet de constater comment les historiens perses connaissaient mal les événements de la Cour sassanide et comment ils faisaient circuler des relations tendancieuses dans des buts propagandistes. On sait que toutes les versions conservées dans les sources arabo-persanes font de la mère d'Anûširwân la fille d'un dehqân, la classe de la petite noblesse favorisée par Quabâd I et par Hōsrō I alors, que d'après Procope, elle était la sœur de l'Aspahbed, c'est-à-dire d'un membre de la plus haute noblesse.¹¹⁰ Or, nous nous trouvons en présence d'un cas assez analogue. Nous ne connaissons pas la source de la «riwâyah» d'ad-Dainawarî qui, tout en achevant son chapitre sur Anûširwân par le récit du choix de Hurmuz comme futur Sâhenšâh à cause du rang de sa mère, la fille du Hâqân, avait auparavant attribué au même Hurmuz le mérite d'avoir guidé une armée perse contre le Hâqân des Turcs et de l'avoir forcé à évacuer la Sogdiane et la Ferghana. Cependant il ne serait pas impossible que cette «riwâyah» ait appartenu à une tradition aujourd'hui perdue se proposant d'exalter la figure de Hurmuz, d'après les autres traditions perses un tyran cruel, digne de son aïeul turc. Sébéos le dit en toutes lettres : «Il était encore plus grand que ses ascendants paternels et plus grand et plus sauvage que ses ascendants maternels».¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Voir l'épisode 3.

¹⁰⁹ Voir l'épisode 3.

¹¹⁰ «De bello persico» Livre I ch. 11.

¹¹¹ Traduction MARKWART: l. c. Rappelons que Firdausî revient dans plusieurs épisodes sur l'origine turque de Hurmuz pour en expliquer la cruauté.

Et, dans nos extraits du «*Ĥodâynâmah*», on relève encore deux tendances opposées que les historiens musulmans se sont efforcés de concilier : le désir de mettre en relief la protection que ce Roi accordait au menu peuple, un désir conforme à l'idéologie du *Ĥodâynâmah* qui s'efforçait toujours de voiler les défauts des Rois légitimes et de leur attribuer des mérites, et le jugement sévère qu'en donnait le Roman de Bahrâm Ćûbîn qui, tout en représentant ses héros comme les victimes de la fatalité, ne cachait pas leurs défauts.

Or, la possibilité que Hurmuz ait joué un rôle quelconque dans la guerre perso-hephtalite — pour qu'on lui confiât en 559/60 le commandement, ne fût-ce que nominal, de l'armée contre les ex-alliés turcs il aurait dû être né vers 545 au plus tard — ne saurait être retenue à la lumière du récit de Johannes d'Ephèse. Et sur ce point cet historien mérite notre confiance puisqu'il rapporte des événements, dont le dernier acte s'était déroulé à Constantinople à son époque. En parlant du choix de Hurmuz (Ormazd IV) comme successeur de Hosrô, il emploie les termes de «*puer arrogans et immanis et rationis exiguus*». ¹¹² De son côté, Michel Syre, reprenant les renseignements de Johannes, note qu'il était «*un jeune homme bouillant, cruel et de peu de cervelle*». ¹¹³ On préférera les termes de la traduction de Chabot, à savoir qu'au moment de son arrivée au trône en 579 Hurmuz était encore un jeune homme puisque, quand en 590 son fils Hosrô II se réfugia dans la Syrie byzantine, il était accompagné par les femmes de son harem avec leurs ourissons. ¹¹⁴ Donc en 579 Hurmuz ne pouvait pas être à proprement parler, un «*puer*».

Et d'autre part, les renseignements qu'on trouve dans l'histoire de Théophylacte et certains détails du Roman de Bahrâm Ćûbîn rendent difficile d'accepter l'historicité de la «*riwâyah*» qui fait de Hurmuz le fils d'Anûširwân et de la fille d'Istemi, même si cette possibilité ne saurait être tout à fait écartée. En 589 Hurmuz proposait à la noblesse perse de mettre à sa place son fils cadet, un *μειράκιον* dit Théophylacte, ¹¹⁵ donc un garçon de 15 ans au moins, l'âge auquel commençait la majorité d'après le «*Pandnâmak-i-Zaradušt*». ¹¹⁶ Dans cette année-là Hosrô II, déjà père de plusieurs nourissons, devait avoir au moins 17 ou 18 ans. Et, dans le Roman de Bahrâm Ćûbîn on raconte l'étonnement du héros à la vue de l'allure royale et de la barbe qui ornait désormais le visage du nouveau roi Parwîz. Ce dernier devait donc être né au plus tard en 571 et il est difficile de croire que son père ait pu être le fils de la princesse turque qu'Anûširwân avait épousée en 556 si l'on prête foi à aṭ-Ṭabarî, en 560 si on accepte l'indication d'Eutychius. Et d'ailleurs Johannes d'Ephèse et Michel Syre ne savent rien de la mère de Hurmuz et nous racontent une his-

¹¹² «*Hist. Eccl.*» Pars III Livre VI ch. XXII (trad. BROOKS p. 243).

¹¹³ Livre X ch. 20. Trad. CHABOT tome II p. 353.

¹¹⁴ «*Historia*» L. IV ch. 10.

¹¹⁵ «*Historia*» Livre IV ch. 4.

¹¹⁶ Ed. et trad. FREIMANN § 27. Le texte n'est cependant pas explicite.

toire fort différente de celle de la tradition du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'. D'après ces auteurs c'était l'assemblée de la noblesse perse (*σύγκλητος*) qui avait imposé à Ḥosrô I la désignation d'Ormazd, le «fils cadet» et Ḥosrô I avait donné de l'argent à son fils aîné qu'il préférait pour qu'il se sauvât et «qu'il ne fût pas mis à mort»¹¹⁷. Plus tard un «impostor quidam astutus ex ipsis Persis, puer adulencens»¹¹⁸ arriva à Constantinople et se fit reconnaître comme l'héritier légitime de Ḥosrô. A la fin il fut démasqué par le Spatharius du Roi de Perse qui avait trouvé à son tour refuge à la Cour byzantine.¹¹⁹

Ainsi les «riwâyah» recueillies par le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' sur la participation de Hurmuz à la guerre turco-hephthalite et sur son origine turque n'ont aucune chance d'avoir une base historique. Et on ne saurait pas non plus prêter foi à la tradition de Sébéos—al-Mas'ûdi car les sources byzantines et le «Kârnâ-mağ-i-Anûšîrwân» s'accordent à présenter les populations à nord du Caucase comme des peuples barbares sans organisation et ayant à leur tête des roitelets dénués de prestige, avec lesquels le Šâhensâh ne se serait jamais emparenté. Quant à Istemi, il ne fit son apparition dans le Caucase qu'après 572 et, de toute évidence, Hurmuz ne pouvait être issu d'une union scellée à cette époque. Toutes ces «riwâyah» doivent appartenir à des romans populaires tels que celui de Bahrâm Ćûbîn et on voit combien la prudence s'impose dans l'utilisation de nos sources, même quand elles remontent, comme il en est dans notre cas, à l'époque sassanide. Par contre on peut faire confiance à la «riwâyah» des traditions d'aṭ-Ṭabarî—Anonyme Sprenger, Eutychius—Ibn Qutaybah lorsqu'elles nous racontent qu'Anûšîrwân avait épousé la fille d'Istemi en vue d'obtenir son appui contre les Hephthalites. Ce récit cadre bien avec tout ce que nous savons de la marche des événements et, surtout, il est confirmé par un document conservé par Moses Dasxuranci, un historien qui possédait des sources arméniennes contemporaines pour l'histoire de Héraclius et de Ḥosrô II. Dans l'«histoire des Agouans» nous lisons le texte d'une lettre envoyée par Ḥosrô II au Ḥâqân des Turcs, où le Roi perse rappelle à ce dernier les mariages qu'unissaient la Maison des Ḥâqân à celle de l'Iran mais où il ne prétend pas toutefois d'avoir lui-même du sang turc.¹²⁰

Cependant ce ne sont pas seulement les «riwâyah» dérivant des romans populaires de l'époque sassanide qui sont suspectes. Nous constatons le même manque d'historicité dans la liste des provinces hephthalites annexées par Anûšîrwân et cela quoique sur ce point toutes nos traditions soient au fond concordées et qu'elles attribuent toutes à Anûšîrwân d'avoir annexé la Transoxiane et la Ferghana elles-mêmes. La liste la plus détaillée des conquêtes d'Anûšîrwân nous a été conservée par le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' et elle n'inspirait

¹¹⁷ Michel Syre Livre X ch. 20 Trad. CHABOT t. II p. 353.

¹¹⁸ Johannes d'Ephèse Hist. Eccl. pars III, Livre VI ch. 29.

¹¹⁹ Michel Syre L. X ch. 20.

¹²⁰ Trad. PATKANOV Livre II ch. 12.

pas de la confiance à Nöldeke.¹²¹ Et, en fait, cette tradition renferme une contradiction de fond. Elle prétend tout d'abord qu'Anûšîrwân avait conquis le Sind, le Bost, l'Arachosie, le Zabûlistân, le Tohâristân, le Kâbulistân et le Dardistân.¹²² Ensuite elle raconte incidemment que le Hâqân des Turcs avait conquis tous les pays des Hephthalites à l'exception de ceux qu'Anûšîrwân avait déjà occupés.¹²³ Il est évident que si Anûšîrwân avait annexé toutes les régions énumérées dans cette «riwâyah», Istemi n'aurait fait qu'attaquer un Roi qui avait déjà perdu le centre de son Empire et qui ne se serait maintenu que dans la Transoxiane. Et néanmoins cette tradition n'arrive pas à cacher que l'attaque principale contre les Hephthalites avait été menée par les Turcs. Aussi serait-on tenté d'attribuer cette liste à quelque partisan de la Su'ûbiyyah, un mouvement auquel participait le ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'. Et cela d'autant plus que, ainsi que le faisait remarquer Marquart,¹²⁴ le terme de Kâbulistân appartient au néo-persan et qu'à l'époque sassanide on parlait du «Royaume de Kâbul». Cependant cet indice n'est pas décisif, car nous ne possédons que des traductions du II siècle et du III siècle de l'hég., dont les auteurs pouvaient tout naturellement remplacer l'expression ancienne par sa forme moderne. Ainsi nous rencontrons le terme de «Kâbulistân» jusque dans la traduction du «Kârnâmağ-i-Anûšîrwân», un ouvrage appartenant sans contredit possible à l'époque sassanide. Rien ne s'oppose donc à ce que cette liste remonte réellement à l'époque perse et à ce qu'Anûšîrwân, qui faisait imprimer sur ses monnaies la légende «gêhân apâbîm kartar»,¹²⁵ ait fait aussi circuler quelque «fathnâmah» énumérant ses prétendues conquêtes.¹²⁶

Quant au problème de savoir si la liste originale contenait réellement le Dardistân et le Kâbulistân — dans les mss. d'aṭ-Ṭabari I 894 on lit D.rwstân et Kâr.stân — nous ferons noter que la leçon Kâbulistân est confirmée par les éditions les plus récentes du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa', mais nous avons déjà constaté comment ces éditions remanient souvent le texte original qu'aṭ-Ṭabari avait encore à sa disposition. Dans ces conditions, il sera peut-être plus prudent d'accepter la leçon de Bal'amî Garğistân, la province sur le haut Murğâb qu'Anûšîrwân a certainement annexée et la lecture proposée par Marquart Zabûlistân au lieu de Drwstân.¹²⁷ Il est par contre probable que la liste originale contenait aussi le Čağâniyyân, ainsi qu'il en ressort d'ad-Dainawari. M. Widen-

¹²¹ NÖLDEKE: Geschichte der Perser und der Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden p. 156 n. 1.

¹²² Episode I.

¹²³ Episode III.

¹²⁴ Eranšahr p. 32 n. 3.

¹²⁵ Celui qui délivre le monde de la peur. Voir WIDENGREN l. c. p. 94 n. 2.

¹²⁶ Rappelons que la «Nihâyah» nous a conservé, ne fût-ce que sous une forme modifiée, le «fathnâmah» que Bahrâm Ğôr adressa à ses peuples après la victoire sur le Hâqân turc. Même cette pièce semble être empruntée à un roman populaire.

¹²⁷ Voir MARKWART: Eranšahr p. 32 n. 3 et HARMATTA: Late Bactrian Inscriptions. Acta Antiqua 17 (1969) p. 401 et 402 et note 71.

gren considère comme «extrêmement probable» que les provinces indiquées dans la tradition du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' ont été occupées réellement par Anûšîrwân mais qu'elles furent perdues ensuite, peut-être à l'époque de Hurmuzd IV.¹²⁸ Et le savant suédois justifiait sa conviction par la description des frontières de l'Iran dans la «Lettre de Tansar» qu'il considère avec Christensen comme appartenante à l'époque de Ḥosrô I¹²⁹ mais que nous préférons attribuer aux toutes dernières années du Royaume Sassanide.¹³⁰ Cependant aujourd'hui, grâce au «Kârnâmağ-i-Anûšîrwân» et aux sources byzantines, il est possible de prouver que la plus grande partie de ces provinces n'appartenaient pas à l'Iran en 568 et on ne saurait penser qu'elles aient été évacuées dans la période 560—568 car, ainsi que nous l'apprend Ménandre, pendant cette période les rapports perso-turcs s'étaient détériorés à cause des obstacles créés par la Perse au commerce turco-sogdien de la soie, mais on n'était pas arrivé à une guerre ouverte.¹³¹ L'épisode IX du «Kârnâmağ-i-Anûšîrwân» nous apprend qu'à cette date (468) Anûšîrwân reçut les hommages du seigneur du Ḥwârizm et du Roi de l'Inde, de Dâwar et du Kâbulistân.¹³² Donc ces pays n'avaient été jamais annexés à l'Iran, ce qui est par surcroît confirmé par le fait que les émissions des Napki-Malka de Kâbul ne présentent aucune interruption à cette époque¹³³ et que nous possédons toute une série de monnaies des Rois du Ḥwârizm avec la légende M.RA M.LK HAR.ZM et les noms, malheureusement d'une lecture douteuse, des souverains qui les émettaient.¹³⁴ Et le même épisode IX du «Kârnâmağ» raconte que, dans cette année-là, Anûšîrwân autorisa des populations turques, sans doute principalement des Sabir mais peut-être aussi des tribus pseudo-Avar, à entrer dans l'Iran et qu'il cantonna les auxiliaires enrôlés parmi ces nomades dans les territoires des Alains, dans l'Azerbaïdžân et dans la région de Marw. Difficile de se soustraire à l'impression qu'il s'agissait de régions frontalières et que, même en 568, les confins de l'Iran ne dépassaient la région de Marw, Marw-i-rûd et Ṭalaqân. De plus, en 570 Ménandre enrégistre une invasion turque de la Médie.¹³⁵ Comme en 569, au moment où Zemarchos rentra à Constantinople, les troupes perses contrôlaient encore le territoire

¹²⁸ L. c. p. 90—91.

¹²⁹ L. c. p. 84 et note 2.

¹³⁰ Voir remarques au Testament d'Ardašîr dans le JA 1966.

¹³¹ De legationibus gentium frag. 18.

¹³² Nous profitons de cette occasion pour corriger notre note 74 de la page 41 du JA 1966. Même si aṭ-Ta'âlîbî (éd. ZOTENBERG p. 615) et Bal'amî (Ed. ZOTENBERG II p. 221) situent Sarandîb dans la vallée inférieure de l'Indus, il est plus probable que l'auteur sassanide songeait aux souverains des grands centres commerciaux sur la route de la Chine : Ceylan et la ville de Kelât.

¹³³ Voir GÖBL l. c. Vol I p. 68 et suiv. Nous devons cependant rappeler que M. MITCHNER dans son article Who were Napki Malik (East and West XXV 1975) est enclin à admettre l'historicité de la conquête perse et considère que les émissions de Napki Malka s'achèvent vers 560.

¹³⁴ M. MITCHNER : «The early coinage of Central Asia» p. 48.

¹³⁵ Ménandre De Leg. Gentium fr. 23 (éd. DE BOOR p. 459).

des Alains¹³⁶ et que Derbent était puissamment fortifié, il est à peu près certain que l'armée turque fit irruption dans la Médie par la route allant de Qômîs à Ray. Et ce renseignement de l'historien byzantin est confirmé par le «Kârnâ-mağ». Dans l'épisode X, qu'une allusion aux ambassadeurs byzantins envoyés auprès d'Istemi permet de dater de 571 ou 572, Anûšîrwân rappelle un revers subi par les Perses au cours d'une attaque récente des Turcs et il parle des mesures prises pour mettre en état de défense les villes et les forteresses du Ḥorassân. Même si la «Géographie Arménienne» inclue Balḥ et le Ṭoḥâristân dans le Ḥorassân, il est difficile de croire qu'Anûšîrwân parlait ici de ces régions éloignées.

Et enfin à la même date (568) Maniach, l'ambassadeur sogdien d'Istemi à Constantinople, assurait Justin II que les villes des Hephthalites payaient le tribut aux Turcs.¹³⁷ Cette déclaration corroborée par le fait qu'Istemi se servait d'un ambassadeur d'origine sogdienne, prouve définitivement, comme l'enseignait Nöldeke, que la Transoxiane n'appartenait point à l'Iran.

Ainsi de toutes les provinces de notre liste Anûšîrwân n'avait recouvré en réalité que l'Arachosie et le Zabûlistân,¹³⁸ qui d'ailleurs étaient probablement sous l'autorité des dynasties hephthalites locales, ainsi que la «Nihâyah» le laisse entendre. De plus, il avait sans doute rétabli son autorité sur les régions de Hérat et de Bagdêš.¹³⁹ A notre avis, il y aurait une seule interprétation qui permettrait de considérer ces listes des «provinces recouvrées» comme quelque chose d'autre qu'un faux mis en circulation de propos délibéré. Une partie importante de la noblesse hephthalite, telle que le roi Fağâniš de la «riwâyah» de Firdausî et le prince *Κατοῦλφος* de l'histoire de Ménandre, avait sans doute préféré se soumettre à l'Iran, dont elle avait absorbé la culture,¹⁴⁰ plutôt qu'aux barbares turcs. Et dès lors il serait concevable qu'Anûšîrwân se soit considéré comme le suzerain légitime des régions que les Rois hephthalites avaient inféodées à ces princes.

¹³⁶ Ménandre De leg. gentium frag. 21 éd. DE BOOR p. 453—4.

¹³⁷ Ménandre De leg. gentium frag. 18 Ed. DE BOOR. p. 451—452. On notera que Maniach affirme seulement que les Turcs avaient obligé les Hephthalites à leur payer des tributs. Il ne parle pas d'une occupation directe de leurs villes qui étaient évidemment restées sous l'autorité de la noblesse locale hephthalite. De son côté, la tradition nationale tou-kiue (inscription de Kültegin côte est ligne 9) considérait les «Portes de Fer» comme le point extrême de l'expansion turque à l'époque de la Grande Dynastie.

¹³⁸ Voir GÖBL : l. c. Vol I p. 68 et suiv. ; en particulier à propos de l'occupation de Kapiša à la fin du VI siècle par les Napki qui possédaient déjà Gazni. Il est intéressant de noter que même le Dâwar faisant partie du Zabûlistân n'appartenait pas à Anûšîrwân quoiqu'en 508 Qubâd I eût pris d'assaut le sanctuaire de cette région, le *Τζουρνάδες* (MARQUART : Das Reich Zabûl p. 279—287).

¹³⁹ Voir MARQUART : Eranšahr p. 61—62 à propos du problème de l'absence des évêques nestoriens de Hérat aux conciles nestoriens de la fin du V siècle et de la première moitié du VI siècle. Cette région, ajoutons-le, était occupée par le Qadiš (Eranšahr p. 77) qui, ainsi que CZEGLÉDY l'a prouvé (Acta Orient. Hungarica t. IV fasc. 1—3 p. 63), appartenait aux tribus chionites.

¹⁴⁰ La langue des «fragments hephthalites» déchiffrés par O. HANSEN est un dialecte iranien.

Le bilan de ce que les sources perses permettent d'établir, une fois écartées les «riwâyah» tendancieuses ou défigurées par les remanieurs et les faux de la propagande officielle, semble à première vue assez maigre. Mais elles nous ont conservé quand même quelques renseignements précieux qui permettent d'entrevoir le déroulement des événements. Elles nous livrent le «terminus post quem» pour la chute de l'Empire Hephthalite et elles complètent ainsi les sources byzantines. Elles nous ont appris que ce fut Anûširwân qui poussa Istemi contre les Hephthalites en demandant la main de sa fille, une demande qui devait flatter le Hâqân turc qui avait été jusqu'à 552 un obscur vassal des Jou-ian et qui obtenait ainsi un prestige comparable à celui que le mariage avec une princesse des Si-Wei avait assuré à son frère aîné Tou-men. Elles nous ont aussi révélé que ce furent les armées turques qui portèrent tout le poids de la guerre et qui occupèrent la plupart des territoires hephthalites. Mais le succès remporté par le Šâhenshâh n'était pas moins grand. Il avait anéanti l'ennemi traditionnel de l'Iran — on remarquera que les paroles du plénipotentiaire perse Yezdegusnar Zich au délégué byzantin Petrus magister officiorum, prises à la lettre n'impliquent pas de conquêtes territoriales¹⁴¹ —, il avait recouvré des territoires aussi importants que Hérat, Bağdêš, l'Arachosie et le Zabûlistân et il avait obtenu l'acte de soumission d'une partie considérable de la noblesse hephthalite. Et, parmi nos sources, la plus importante est sans contredit possible le «Kârnamağ-i-Anûširwân», dont l'auteur a été probablement le seul écrivain perse ayant accès aux archives royales, tandis que, entre les traditions dérivant du Ĥodâynameh, celle du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' est la plus riche, même si elle risque de fourvoyer les historiens par son caractère hétérogène, ses emprunts aux romans populaires et les remaniements, auxquels elle a été soumise.¹⁴²

Trieste.

¹⁴¹ Ménandre : De legat. Rom. fragm. II (éd. DE BOOR p. 177).

¹⁴² A cette tradition appartient aussi at-Ta'âlibî qui, dans son chapitre sur Anûširwân, donne deux notices provenant de la tradition du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' (Ed. ZOTENBERG p. 615 Ta'âlibî I et III de WIDENGREN) et une notice appartenant à la tradition d'at-Tabarî—Anonyme Sprenger (Ed. ZOTENBERG p. 615 Ta'âlibî II de WIDENGREN). On ne s'étonnera pas trop, car il est bien connu qu'at-Ta'âlibî, tout en suivant une version parallèle à celle de Firdausî, a employé aussi la Chronique d'at-Tabarî. Nous ne saurions partager entièrement l'opinion de WIDENGREN (l. c. p. 89), à savoir que l'analyse des «riwâyah» se rapportant à la chute des Hephthalites ne confirme pas la théorie de ZOTENBERG qui admettait que Firdausî et at-Ta'âlibî ont suivi des narrations distinctes remontant à une source commune. En fait les deux auteurs ont donné seulement un relief différent aux épisodes I—V du ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa'. Ce qu'on ne trouve pas dans le récit d'at-Ta'âlibî c'est la description de la guerre turco-hephthalite qui caractérise la version de Firdausî. On pourrait voir dans cette lacune dans la narration d'at-Ta'âlibî une raison pour attribuer cette dernière «riwâyah» non pas au ps. Ibn-al-Muqaffa' mais à une tradition indépendante.

APPENDICE

LA MISSION DE MIHRÂNSITÂD

(DANS LE MS (مهرستان) D'APRÈS LA «NIHĀYAH»)

ك ورقة ١٦٥ آ) فقال رجل من مرازبته يسمى انوشجان (١) أيها الملك هنيئ ملكك ووقيت شره إن والدي مهرنستان كما قد علمت شيخاً كبيراً لازماً (٢) جوف بيته لضعفه وأنه أرسل إليّ البارحة فأتيته فذكر أن عنده في أمر ملك الترك علماً وأنت إن وجهت (٣) إليه أذاك فأخبرك به. فأرسل إليه الملك فأتي به محمولاً في محفة حتى وضع بين يديه فقال ما عندك أيها الشيخ من العلم في شأن ملك الأتراك؟ فقال الشيخ أخبرك أيها الملك بالأمر وأقص (٤) عليك القصة. إن أباك كسرى وجهني إلى خاقان ملك الترك ووجه معي كتاباً يسئله أن يزوجه بعض بناته وأن يعرضهن عليّ ويجعل الخيرة في ذلك إليّ ووجه معي خمسين رجلاً من الأساورة. فسرت حتى أتيت خاقان فأوصلت إليه كتاب والدك فسر به وأجاب إلى ما سأله. ثم أمر بإنزالي وأصحابي. فلما كان اليوم الثالث أرسل إليّ فدخلت إليه و عنده امرأته خاتون وأمر (٥) ببناته من الإمام فزين بأحسن زينة و ترك ابنته من خاتون من غير زينة. ثم أمرني فجلست وقال كسرى سألتني في كتابه أن أجعل الخيرة إليك في بناتي لتختار له أيتهن أحببت وهاهن جميعاً بين يديك فاختر أيتهن شئت. فنظرت إلى ابنة خاتون و عليها ثياب غير زينة و هي متمرمة فعرفت أنها ابنة خاتون بشبهتها بها و علمت أنها لبست تلك الثياب الرثة لتنبو أعيني عنها و أختار غيرها من بناتها من الإمام. فقلت أيها الملك قد أخترت هذه لسيدى كسرى هذه (ورقة ١٦٥ ب) الرثة الثياب. فقالت خاتون ما تصنع بهذه عليك بهؤلاء المزيينات فاختر لسيدك أيتهن شئت. فقلت أيها الملك إن أردت قضاء حاجة سيدى و إجابته إلى ما سألك من مصارته فزوجه هذه الجارية وإلاً فسرحني بجواب (٦). فلما سمع الملك ذلك أرسل إلى عراف له تركي كندغ (٧) و قال له ما ترى في أمر هذه الجارية فقص عليه القصة. قال العراف أيها الملك إن تزوجها أياه و ترسل بها إليه في حشمها و ظؤورتها (٨) فإنها ستقع منه موقماً حسناً و سيلد له غلام مربوع أعين مقرون الحاجبين عظيم الهامة يملك بعد أبيه و يعظم شأنه و هو أنت أيها الملك. ثم قال له الكاهن و سيسير إليه من ناحيتنا ملك في جموع عظيمة (٩) فيطأ تخوم بلاده فيرسل ابن هذه الجارية رجلاً من قواده عظيماً طوالاً (١٠) آدم مفرق الوجه أفتى الأنف جعد الشعر مقرون الحاجبين فيسير إلى الملك الذي يخرج من ناحيتنا فيقتله و يستبيح عسكريه فيسير إليه ابن الملك المقتول فيحاربه أيضاً فيفرق جمعه و يأخذه أسيراً فيبعث به إلى ابن هذه الجارية.

فلما قال له العراف ذلك أجابني إلى ما سألته من اختاري أياها فجهزها و أرسلها معي في ظؤورتها و حشمها و هي والدتك أيها الملك.

فلما فرغ الشيخ من هذه القصة شخص بصره و هو جالس في المحفة بين يدي الملك. فقال لمرازبته و من حضره إنني أحببت هذا الشيخ و إنه إنما أخره الدهر (١١) لهذه الغاية لئبلغنا ما حدث به ثم أمر فحمل إلى ناوسه

Cambridge ms. Qq 255 daté 1024 h (1615) = ك

British Library Arabes Add. 23 298 = ل

- (١) أضافت ل فقال ا في السختين الوسجان
- (٢) ل وأنه في جوف
- (٣) ل وإن أنت وجهت
- (٤) ل فقص
- (٥) فأمر
- (٦) ل بكتاب
- (٧) ل يقال له كندغ
- (٨) ل ظورتها
- (٩) ل كثيرة عظيمة
- (١٠) ل طويلا
- (١١) نقصت في ك

WESTERN TURKS IN NORTHERN CHINA IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 7TH CENTURY

1. EAST AND WEST IN ANCIENT CHINA

East and West are secondary in ancient Chinese orientation. Their proper indication depended on the main directions of South and North, *i.e.* the starting and ritual direction of South referring to early times if only for cultic reasons on the one hand, and the politically important North with a symbolic «imperial» rule of the Polar Star over the sky at night on the other hand. Naturally, the latter, *i.e.* the exact determination of the North upon the Pole-Star cannot be earlier than the appearance of the Polaris in the position of our North Pole-Star in the late 2nd millennium B. C. at least. The beginnings of the Chinese script about the 17th—16th century B. C. show a South-faced orientation, because the pictogramm of the word from the Yin period (prior to the first millennium B.C.), 北 *pei* 'North' represents two human figures back to back, and it meant 'North' as well as 'back side', 'turn the back' etc.¹ In the time preceding the celestial «rule» of the Pole-Star, *i.e.* in the «South-facing» period, Southern constellations, namely Antares and its neighbourhood in the Scorpio could be the base of orientation, but this is another problem, being beyond the scope of this paper.²

The direction of North—South ought to be known in China for official purposes and in authentic form, also for building houses, founding a settle-

¹ Cf. B. KARLGRÉN: *Grammata Serica Recensa*. BMFEA 19 (1957) No. 909a—d; e): when being added the classifier key of 'body', the character 背 *pei* meant 'the back, posterior part' or 'turn the back on, cheat', from the *Book of Songs (Shih-king)* on; and, f) added another key, *i.e.* that of 'man', 背 *pei* meant 'turn the back on, abandon', 'not to face straightly', from the Han-period onwards (as it occurs in the book of ceremony *Li-chi*).

² On an old cult of Antares ('Star of Fire') see H. MASPERO: *La Chine antique*. Paris 1965. 197(—198), 510(—511); B. KARLGRÉN: *Legends and cults in ancient China*. BMFEA 18 (1946) 243—244. On a Sino-Tibetan or Tibeto-Burmese folkloric tradition concerned and the related Chinese records see my papers: *On a few traces of ancient Sino-Tibetan contacts in the early Chinese mythic tradition: Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Memorial Symposium, held at Mátrafüred, Hungary, 24—30 September 1976*, Ed. by L. LIGETI. Budapest 1978. 89—99; *Far Eastern sources on the history of the steppe region: Memorial Volume devoted to Paul Demiéville*. BEFEO LXIX (1981) 268—269 (and Note 11).

ment, fixing ritual points or lines etc.,³ but the exactitude of Eastern or Western direction could seem less important, and, as seen above, its astronomic determination must have been secondary, and still later than that of the North—South Pivot of the Universe, both day and night. That is why the ancient practical method used in China, too, when determining the cardinal directions according to the sun, to its light and shadow on the earth as concerns South (and North),⁴ and the celestial route of the sun as concerns East and West, could remain widespread in case of the latter for a longer period, as it is reflected as late as *e.g.* in the historical records of the 1st millennium A. D. The starting and ending points of the apparent way of the sun could serve for a practical fixing of East and West respectively, the «place of sunrise» being in the East, while «the place of sunset» showing West.

We can see it *e.g.* in the letter of the Persian ruler sent to the Chinese emperor around 520 A. D.; having survived in Chinese records, its Chinese text («translation») calls China's ruler the Son of Heaven in the Orient, expressing East as «sunrise place», *i.e.* «the place where the sun rises» — I tried to show its background in a paper submitted to the former meeting of this same Conference, in 1976.⁵ A similar wording is characteristic of another famous letter of diplomacy in this period, namely the letter of the ruler of Japan sent to the Chinese Emperor in 608; it became of ill-fame in Chinese historiography for the impertinence calling the emperor Yang-ti of the Sui Dynasty the «Son of Heaven of the place (*i.e.* land) of sunset», while calling himself — to be exact: herself — the «Son (Child) of Heaven of the place (land) of the sunrise». The letter sent by Empress Suiko can well reflect a foreign, say, Japanese wording, if not «translating» a message from Japanese, as in case of the Persian ruler's letter when a similar supposition could be raised.⁶

³ On the ancient Chinese cities, capitals of principalities etc., divided by North-South directed lines and representing or symbolizing a universal order, see: P. WHEATLEY: *The Pivot of the Four Quarters [of the Universe], A Preliminary Inquiry into the Origins and Character of the Ancient Chinese City.* Chicago 1971. 423—436, 460—468.

⁴ Even in the middle of the Chou period (11th—3rd centuries B. C.), in the historical time of astronomical observation and orientation, as shown by ritual books (compiled as late as the Han-time, 206 B. C. — 220 A. D.), the credit of their traditionally respected texts being supported by related astronomical records — found by recent archaeological excavations in China — concerning the Chou period, too.

⁵ Cf. *Early Persian envoys in the Chinese courts (5th—6th centuries A. D.). Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia.* Ed. by J. HARMATTA (Collection of the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia. Series I. Vol. II. Ed. by J. HARMATTA.) Budapest 1979. 153—162 (East as «the place of sunrise»: 160—161, and Note 33).

⁶ Here I express my thanks to Professor ROY ANDREW MILLER (University of Washington, Seattle) for his private letter of August 15, 1980, drawing my attention to this interesting parallel of the Persian ruler's message, shown in my paper mentioned

We may well suppose a Japanese «world-view» behind the addresses of the two rulers — residing in the Far East from our angle —, because it is hidden even in the name of country of the envoys in question — 日本 *Nihon* (*Nippon*) «root or the sun», i.e. the place where the sun originates (the European name *Japan* reflecting a Chinese pronunciation *Jih-pen* of the same Chinese characters). The inhabitants of Japan might consider their country the easternmost land of the world known for them, every other country being but West of it. Japan, however, borrowed the Chinese script for its language, involving many cultural or just linguistic borrowings as well, the expression «the place of sunrise» for the eastern direction must have been at least familiar to the Chinese — using it in other records, too — and it could reflect a method of orientation of at least one millennium old in China, as late as at the beginning

above. The letter of the Japanese ruler, written in Chinese, was preserved in the chapter on ancient Japan 倭國傳 *Wo-kuo chuan* of the official Chinese Dynastic work *Sui-shu* (and in the less creditable texts of the *Wei-shu* and *Pei-shih* as well): 日出處天子至女書 日沒處天子無恙 *Jih-ch'u-ch'u t'ien-tzu, chih-shu jih-mo-ch'u t'ien-tzu, wu yang*, translated by Goodrich and Tsunoda (as it is understood today in Japan, too), like this: «The Son of Heaven in the land where the sun rises addresses a letter to the Son of Heaven in the land where the sun sets. We hope You are in good health», cf. Ryūsaku Tsunoda, translator — L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH, editor: *Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories, Later Han Through Ming Dynasties* (South Pasadena 1951), p. 32. R. A. MILLER adds: «The *Sui-shu* says this was a 國書 [*kuo-shu* «letter of country (importance)»], Goodrich et Tsunoda have 'official message' for this, which is probably fine; but I have sometimes also wondered if it means that the text was in Chinese script but in a Japanese-style Chinese, i.e., what struck the Chinese as being «Japanese national script [國書 *kuo-shu*]», and he finds the phrase 日出處 *jih-ch'u-ch'u* («The land where the sun rises») interesting. — This impertinent (無禮 *wu-li* «ceremony-less») letter from the country of the «Root of the Sun» (日本 *Nihon/Nippon*) arrived to the court of 隋煬帝 *Sui Yang-ti* in the 4th year of his 大業 *Ta-yeh* period, on the 壬戌 *jen--hsü* day of the 3rd month (April 9th, 608, cf. P. HOANG: *Concordance des chronologies néoméniques chinoise et européenne. Variétés Sinologiques XXIX*, Shanghai 1910), according to the chronicle *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien* by Ssu-ma Kuang (1019—1086). Vol. VI. Peking 1956. 5637—5638. The head of the delegation, a certain 多利思比孤 *To-li-ssu-pi-ku* is entitled 王 *wang* in the record — like the sender of the Persian letter —, thus he must have been considered a royal person, some kind of prince at least. In Japan, however, the records say that in the period 飛鳥 *Asuka*, during the reign of the Empress 推古 *Suiko* (554—628; she ruled from 592), the governing regent 聖德太子 *Shōtoku-taishi* (Prince *Shōtoku*), initiator and protector of Buddhism and Chinese culture in Japan, sent delegations to China, in 608 sending another high ranking person of the court 小里妹子 *Ono-no-Imoko* as a leader of the envoys. *Sui Yang-ti*, hurt by the written message, told the 鴻臚卿 *hung-lu-ch'ing*, i.e. the head of the court office dealing with foreigners that he should not receive at all these Barbarians (of South and East 蠻夷 *man-i*) on the following occasion; but the efforts of Japanese diplomacy continued, and not without success. See the visits of envoys from Japan in the *Sui* court in 600, 607, 608, 610, 614: 徐 堯 *Hsü Hsien-yao*, 隋倭國交 對等性 *ni tsuite* (*Zui-Wa kokkō no taitōsei ni tsuite*): *Bunka* 29 (1965) 2, 247—278.

of the 7th century B.C.⁷ All this happened not long after the period when the neighbouring Turk Empire was divided into two parts (after 581 A.D.), and the Chinese records called their rulers Eastern and Western Turks respectively. (As far as I know, none of their own records shows this kind of distinction, adopted probably for facility reasons by European historians.)

The points of sunrise and sunset, however, are changing place, as well known, both according to the day of the year and the geographic position of the observer, and therefore they cannot provide a firm basis of determination of the directions, at least not without the due astronomical knowledge and instruments etc. By the way, it is a commonplace in China that her two main streams divide the land by their flows from West to East; but the lines of the Huangho and Yangtzu-kiang go from North-West to South-East instead, and — in my opinion — this could also contribute to a slight turn of the «pivot» of Chinese 'universe', *i.e.* geographic view of historical records, too. *E.g.* the above envoys of Japan were called by the Chinese emperor «Barbarian» with the ill-name 蠻夷 *man-i*, *i.e.* «(Southern) Barbarian» and «(Eastern) Barbarian» or «(South-East) Barbarian» also for simplicity sake, remembering the southern islands, too, where a part of Japan's population originated from, connected with China since a longer period of time. But it should be mentioned that this geographic view and traditional terminology did not change even when the Chinese officials regularly met the Japanese themselves, recording their organized, centralized, administered etc. country (*i.e.* a civilized world in Chinese view, too) — a part of today's Japan — as a land lying east of China.

Naturally, this is not the only sign of different types of troubles in the history of Chinese orientation.⁸ To mention only one more example of the above inclination of axis: the period when the Turks appeared in the history, in the

⁷ Cf. the chapter 堯典 *Yao-tien*, on the organization of seasonal works and observation of the culmination of the four seasons (each of them being connected with a star, direction and sun's position) in the classical book 書經 *Shu-king*: B. KARLGRÉN, *The Book of Documents*: BMFEA 22 (1950), p. 2(3). As concerns this type of title of China's emperor, expected to be used by his «foreign subjects», it was recorded as early as *e.g.* in the middle of the 1st century A. D., when in Yünnan the Chinese officials offered to the court three poems of the recently subdued native population, in their native language (with Chinese characters) and in Chinese translation, respectively. In a passage concerned the emperor is addressed 日出主 *jih-ch'u chu*, *i.e.* the «Lord of Sunrise» while the surrendering people seem to have called themselves 日入之部 *jih-ju chih pu* («A Tribe of Sunset»). See Hou Han-shu (So-yin po-na-pen erh-shih-ssu shih III, Peking 1958), chap. LXXXVI, *lieh-chuan* LXXVI, p. 1283a; cf. W. SOUTH COBLIN: A new study of the Pai-lang songs. Ch'ing-hua Hsüeh-pao (The Tsing-Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, T'aipei) XII N. S. 1979: 1—2. 179—216.

⁸ In case of East and West, *e.g.*, the old Chinese anthropomorphous designations «left (side)» and «right (side)» respectively are responsible for certain difficulties of interpretation, their usage depending on the position of the observer. In ancient China of various kinds of ceremonies and prescriptions, these «sides» and the orientation concerned

time of the «Southern and Northern Dynasties» (南北朝 *Nan-pei-ch'ao*, 3rd—6th centuries A. D.). South and North — implied in the name of the period in this, historical order of sequence — are the main directions, while East and West — as regards positions or movements (changes of capitals) of the dynasties concerned — are inclined to them: the West toward North and the East toward South. The latter connection, also shown by the above quoted joint expression of the Barbarians of these directions (*man-i*), could be illustrated by the names of the state 晉 *Chin* (265—419), one of the Southern and Northern Dynasties. The second part of its rule, when it had to leave its Northern homeland, and to move its court from Loyang (Honan province) to Chienk'ang (today's Nanking «Southern Capital», in Kiangsu), was called by the posterity 東晉 *Tung Chin* «Eastern *Chin*» (from 317 on). Meanwhile the first part of its rule, in the North, *i.e.* *Chin*, not yet necessary to be distinguished, is called sometimes — to separate it from its «Eastern» continuation — Western *Chin* (西晉 *Hsi Chin*).

The related slight inclination in the records of the other end of the «pivot» of China's «four directions», can be explained also by geographical reasons, and not at all merely by the above-mentioned «false» East—West line of the two big rivers. The geographical factor of historical importance could be China's western gate, *i.e.* that opened from and towards Central Asia and the

were connected with a kind of social hierarchy and their order of sequence was attributed ritual importance, but several times in an ambiguous way, the significance of «right» being stressed now, and «left» being esteemed then, or *vice versa*; and the connection of «sides» with East and West was not constant and consequently applied. Instead of a kind of conscious practice of this terminology, tradition and social convention seem to be the main reasons for this trouble of «right» or «left», *i.e.* sides and directions — in China, right-handed from the pictograms and mythic tradition to the earliest artistic representations —, as pointed out by M. GRANET: *La droite et la gauche* [1933]: *Études sociologiques sur la Chine*. Bibliothèque de Sociologie Contemporaine. Paris 1953. 261—278, and *La pensée chinoise*. Paris 1934. 360—373. The task remains — when interpreting a historical record — to scrutinize the «right» or «left» if they mean East and West respectively or in the way round, according to the period, source etc. of a passage, cf. P. DEMIÉVILLE: *Gauche et droit en Chine* [1968]. *Choix d'études sinologiques* (1921—1970). Leiden 1973. 518—532. In my opinion, the old change from South-faced to North-faced orientation, mentioned above, could well bring forth a confusion of sides, hands etc., and East and West — connected with them in traditional order —, East being on the left side, when the observer looks southward, while it is on the right one, when he faces North, cf. my book *A kínai állam kezdetei* [On the Beginnings of the Ancient Chinese State] Budapest 1984. Luckily, in the case of the Chinese records on the Turks or other foreigners, the above problem rarely means serious difficulties of interpretation; and if certain passages still reflect it (cf. left and right wings of armies, see later, part 3.), they should be analyzed within the textual and historical context concerned, by no means mechanically relying on a common knowledge, *i.e.* only one kind of tradition as regards pairing of East-West and right-left or left-right (sides).

steppe region. Namely, the large roads leading westward from China, went to the North, avoiding the western region of mountains, the old mythic lands of immortals, visited by Buddhist pilgrims and foreign merchants only from a comparatively late period. Anyhow, as an indirect consequence, it was also noticed by Chinese readers of China's historical records that — although separate terms had designated the four Barbarians of the «four directions» (四方 *ssu-fang*) of the world: 蠻 *man* of the South, 狄 *ti* of the North, 夷 *i* of the East and 戎 *jung* of the West —, as regards China's Barbarian neighbours, West may also mean North, or *Western* something like *Northern*,⁹ and this is to be considered in case of Chinese records *e.g.* concerning the Western Turks, too.

2. EASTERN AND WESTERN TURKS IN CHINESE HISTORICAL RECORDS

The 金山 *Chin-shan*, *i.e.* Altai region, where the mythic ancestors of the Turks entered into the horizon of Chinese historians, is lying west or north-west of the related courts and their imperial sphere of power. The 突厥 *T'u-chüeh*, *i.e.* Turks, however, are not registered in China among Western Barbarians (*jung* or 西戎 *hsi-jung*), but among the northern ones (北狄 *pei-ti*), connecting them with a famous predecessor of Northern Barbarians, the 匈奴 *Hsiung-nu-s*, and thus — indirectly — with all the alleged ancestors of theirs, told to have been «Northern».

Naturally both the mythic nucleus of the Turks and their first historical representatives, unified under the founder of the first empire 土門 *T'u-men* (*Bumïn*) in 551 A.D., were recorded simply as *Turks*, *i.e.* as an undivided people or political unit, if only because no further details of their organization had reached China so far. But in the Chinese sources concerning the following decades no more distinction can be found either, although their envoys of diplomacy and their raiding troops arrived regularly to the Western imperial house 周 *Chou* — called *Northern Chou* —, and then to the eastern one 齊 *Ch'i* — *Northern Ch'i* — in the northern part of the Chinese Empire unified in 581/589 A.D. by the Sui House. Apparently the allies and enemies of the parallel and successive Chinese dynasties came from one and the same, still undivided world of the Turks.¹⁰

⁹ Cf. *e.g.* 岑仲勉 *Ts'EN CHUNG-MIEN*'s study on those components of the Chinese (漢族 *han-tsu* 'Han-ethnic'), which can be considered of western origin: 漢族一部分西來之初步考証 *Han-tsu i pu-fen hsi-lai chih ch'u-pu k'ao-cheng* (in his volume 兩周文史論叢 *Liang Chou wen-shih lun-ts'ung*, Shanghai 1958), to the effect (p. 27) that in the related records *West(ern)* and *North(ern)* could be alternately used, and both of them indicated but a vaguely known tribe or people, originating from a distant land.

¹⁰ See the details of the early Turk history in my paper: Trade-and-war relations between the Turks and China in the second half of the 6th century. *Acta Orient. Hung.* 21 (1968) 131 – 180.

The germs of social division and political separation, however, must have developed meanwhile, since the turbulences that led to the split of the empire in 581 A.D. had been started by revolts of discontent leaders of strong tribes. This is the period when one can shed light on the social network, clan hierarchy and birth of tribe, *i.e.* various social elements being *in statu nascendi*.¹¹ As none of the heads of clans (tribes) could get the upper hand above these new or strengthened social forces, a part of the most ambitious tribes (clans) sought for a better chance westward — as far as in Western Asia or Eastern Europe —, giving by this an opportunity to the Chinese to designate them as Western Turks. No Chinese record concerning the former period would suggest more than one kind of Turks, and even the ancestor of Western Turks 室點蜜 *Shih-tien-mi* (*Ištāmi*) occurs only in passages containing references to antecedents of later Western Turk actions on historical events connected with them. Consequently, in case of the Turks, recorded by Chinese sources, the adjective *Western* seems to be first of all a chronological term of *ante quem non* type; it shows the Turks after 581 A.D., strong enough to wage conquering wars even westward of their cradle, *i.e.* the Altai region, but not necessarily separated from it completely in later periods either.

One of the most active tribes in the events of 581 A.D., that of 阿波可汗 *A-po k'o-han* (*Apa qayan*) may well illustrate both the lack of an original separative difference between a Western Turk group and an Eastern one at that time, and the direction of the possibilities of a social or ethnic change. Namely, 大邏便 *Ta-lo-pien*, or, by his given title: *Apa qayan*, a disregarded and discontent member of the ruling 阿史那 *A-shih-na* clan organized and re-organized his tribe several times, now losing his troops consisting of Eastern Turk subjects and then gaining armed forces from the Western Turk ruler against the common enemy, *i.e.* the ruling Khagan 沙鉢略 *Sha-po-lio* (*Išpara*), considered Eastern from the time of division of his empire. In every case «Apa's tribe», «Apa's people» is mentioned, apparently irrespective of their origin. On the other hand, Apa's mother (her clan) seems to be lower in clan hierarchy than those of his princely relatives, so probably his maternal relatives are of a relatively distant origin or distant land, relation etc. When in his home his mother (*i.e.* the women, children) are killed in a decisive battle (in 583 A.D.), it turns out from the record that his homeland is in the North, and it is a kind of «old land» to be re-conquered by *Išpara*. Thus Apa's northern relations can also be made responsible for a tension, contributing to the political separation of his people, *i.e.* his Western and, in some way *Northern* Turks from *Išpara's* Eastern Empire.

¹¹ See a related trial in my papers *Tribe and tribal society in the 6th century Turk Empire*. *Acta Orient. Hung.* 25 (1972) 245–262, and *Tribe and empire, tribe and society in the Turk age*. *Acta Orient. Hung.* 31 (1977) 1–13.

This distant Northern land of old or new relations or joining people may be met also in the Chinese description of many Northern Barbarians, registered side by side with the Turks or after them, within their empire etc.¹² This is then another objective distinctive feature of Western Turks: those Turks who conquer or gain etc. new subjects or allies, are the Western Turks, while the Eastern ones, in China's protective and dangerous neighbourhood, get isolated, do not increase or just lose importance.¹³ Obviously it is the Eastern Turk that must be distinguished, first and then mostly in relation to the Western brother; and to be sincere, in several cases this distinction, if indicated at all, seems but merely mechanic. It is characteristic, after all, that when only «Turks» are mentioned in a separate event: raid, visit etc., we can hardly clear up, whether Western or Eastern Turks are concerned. No wonder that the reader is inclined to simplify the question to a geographical distinction, seeking e.g. Eastern Turks in the East — east of Altai — and to find or suppose only Eastern Turks within the field of Chinese authority.

Let me quote now a counter-example, that of the Karluks, representing the related problems in the records concerning the 7th century at least.

3. THE CASE OF A WESTERN TURK TRIBE, ALLY OR SUBJECT: THE KARLUKS

In a recent study of mine, on the basis of re-examined old and a few new arguments and Chinese records I could conclude that the tribal structure, *i.e.* the so-called three-tribe Karluk could be known for the Chinese not earlier than the beginning of the 8th century, the time of the wars of 默啜 *Mo-ch'o* (*Bäg čor*) (*Qapγan qayan*) against them, and contrary to the common view based on Chinese records, even the names of provinces established for them by the Chinese occurred first at the same time. Thus their history, prior to that period, remained open to new research, the date 657—658 A.D. of their alleged whole defeat and settling by the Chinese included.¹⁴

¹² *E.g.* in the myth of origin of the ruling family of the 托拔 *T'o-pa* (*tabγač*) Northern 魏 *Wei* dynasty, controlling Northern China in the centuries prior to Turk history, cf. Wei Shou, *Wei-shu* (*So-yin po-na-pen erh-shih-ssu shih* VIII), chap. I, p. 18a.

¹³ After this paper had been delivered (in 1980, Budapest), the problem of East-West division of the Turks was treated upon Chinese sources, with a conclusion that only an Eastern Turk Empire is to be taken into consideration, while those various leaders and tribes which fought for power on its western peripheries and even westward of it, *i.e.* the so-called Western Turks — apart from Apa khaghan's short period of trials — failed to found an empire proper. See WANG HUAN: Apa Qaghan, founder of the Western Turkish Khanate, the splitting up of the Turkish Khanate and the formation of the Western Turkish Khanate. *Social Sciences in China* (Peking) 1982: 4. 124—154.

¹⁴ Cf. my paper A contribution to the history of Karluks in the T'ang period. *Acta Orient. Hung.* 34 (1980): 1—3. 23—37.

As regards the first mentioning of the Karluks, we read that they belonged to the tribes of the Western Turks and lived according to the same customs, slightly differing in their language, on the slopes of the Altai, later on moving slightly southward. This first record about them occurs in the chapter on the Uigurs (of the *Hsin T'ang-shu*), i.e. the inheritors of the Western Turks, so their appearance on the stage of history — at the beginning of the 7th century — is over the chronological limit, when a part of the Turks became *Western*, both in the sense that they sought for new territories westward, and that they increased by new («Western») tribes, allies or subjects. The cultural unity, i.e. the way of life seems the most important cohesive force, while the common or related language is but second, and no other tie with the ruling clan(s) being mentioned, the cohesion seems to be first of all political (judging from the Chinese terms in general: «Country of Western Turks» etc.), realized in joint military actions. Naturally the time of division of the Turk Empire does not mean the beginning of Karluk history on the slopes of the Altai, and the movement to South can concern their whole population and a part of them as well; as it turns out, the latter case can be supposed. Anyhow, they participated as a unit, a tribe among the other subjects of the Western Turks around 630 A.D. in the smaller or bigger battles, causing troubles to the recently established T'ang dynasty. But these same 歌邏祿 *Ko-lo-lu* (*garluq*; in transcriptions of a probably later period: 葛邏祿 *Ko-lo-lu*, 葛祿 *Ko-lu* etc.), i.e. Karluks sent their leaders to take part in sacrifices at Chinese sacred mountains as far as in Shantung, East China.

As a rule there is no indication, whether Eastern or Western Turks are concerned in the sporadic records of daily events in the northern sphere of the T'ang Empire, from the Altai region practically to Easternmost China. In most cases, however, the participant leaders or the names of tribe — Karluk, 處月 *ch'u-yüe* (*čigil*) 處蜜 *ch'u-mi* (*čomul*) etc. — reveal that mostly or exclusively Western Turks are present in the warlike activities in this period, under the rule and leadership of the Khaghan 賀魯 *Ho-lu* or at least acknowledging his authority. It is only this period, when the Karluks can balance between the Eastern and Western Turks — as told in their summary description quoted above —, since later on almost no role is played by the offsprings of the Turks called Eastern, who lived under the «protection» of their great eastern neighbour. The turning-point in the events is indicated by the defeat, capture and execution of *Ho-lu* khaghan by the Chinese in 649—650 A.D., followed in 657—658 by the establishment of new provinces for the Karluks as well as for the other tribes who took part in *Ho-lu's* campaigns. As seen from a so far — so to say — hidden record of the geographical chapters of the *Hsin T'ang-shu*, several tribes, groups etc. that appear later on in the West — even westward of the Altai — are settled under Chinese control in inner North China, in Shanhsi, Shantung provinces.

The record in question contains an interesting detail — an indirect information — as regards the localization of those original Karluks, which gave troops to *Ho-lu's* campaign. Namely, their two (left and right) *wings* are described — *i.e.* a military organization, like that of the tribal groups of the Western Turks, instead of a mere tribal division — by the names of their homelands: one of them originated from the Ötükän region, while the other from the neighbourhood of *Pei-t'ing*. That is to say, a part of them must have moved eastward (or: «slightly southward»), and thus Western Turks, represented and followed by the Karluks, could be present, in a significant number and vigour, in the entire Turk territory east of the Turk homeland in the Altai, at least till the middle of the 7th century. After their defeat and fatal «protection» by China in the 650's, they — *i.e.* the Karluks of the two above lands of their homelands — appeared in the Chinese borderlands only sporadically, and apparently with small forces. Having no chance against the T'ang military power, the tribal armies — armies of the already «three-tribe Karluks», as seen from later records — must have sought for another land to conquer and to tax.¹⁵

4. CONCLUSIVE SUPPOSITIONS FOR A EURASIAN ASPECT OF THE WESTERN TURK HISTORY IN THE 7TH CENTURY CHINA

It may be of interest to emphasize, especially in Hungary, that Chinese records and East Asian history can serve as a background of the steppe history as a whole, also in the time when the second wave of the rulers of the Avarian Empire appeared in the Carpathian Basin. If at any time in the 7th century, it could be possible and reasonable to suppose a Central Asian military movement and action just in the 660's — before 670, the second Avarian invasion, the disputed date being thus supported by the eastern events in question —, no matter how far this action could reach at all, pushing other peoples westward, but — a possibility to be considered — perhaps going as far as the Carpathian Basin. If so, it could be very similar to the events of the middle of the 6th century, when the 蠕蠕 *Juan-juan-s*, the so-called «Asian Avars» were defeated by the Turks in 551, and a part of them tried its fortune in North China and got «protection» in 554,¹⁶ while the first wave of Avars appeared in Eastern Europe in 558 A.D.

Budapest.

¹⁵ On the role of Karluks in the further history of the region of 北庭 *Pei-t'ing* see my paper Uigurs and Tibetans in Pei-t'ing. *Acta Orient. Hung.* 17 (1964) 83—104 (esp. p. 85 sqq).

¹⁶ Cf. Trade-and-war relations . . . Appendix I. 174—179.

THE PAHLAVI TREATISE *AVDĒH U SAHĪKĒH Ī
SAKISTĀN* OR «WONDERS AND MAGNIFICENCE
OF SISTAN»

In a previous paper, entitled «Non-religious Book Pahlavi literature as a source to the history of Central Asia»,¹ I have sketched something of the historical and pseudo-historical contents of four of the few extant non-religious Book Pahlavi works, namely *Šahristānihā ī Erān* («Cities of Iran»), *Vičārišn ī čatrang* («The explanation of chess»), *Kārnamak ī Artaxšēr ī Pāpakān* («The chronicle of Artaxšēr, son of Pāpak») and *Ayyātkār ī Zarērān* («The memoir of the Zarēr family»). From a strictly historical point of view the contents of those works may be considered insignificant, but they can serve a purpose by turning our attention to the intricate blend of reflections of historical events, primordial myths and religious reconstructions which is peculiar to many of our sources on the history of Pre-Islamic Central Asia.

Here follow a few comments on another work of a similar type: the short Pahlavi treatise known under the title *Avdēh u sahkēh ī Sakistān* or «Wonders and magnificence of Sistan». It is a sister text to those just mentioned, not only because it is similar in contents (especially so to the *Šahristānihā ī Erān*), but also because it belongs to the same text tradition: that of Jamasp-Asana's famous Codex MK, dated 691 A.Y., corresponding to 1322 A.D. This comprehensive manuscript, which was published by Jamasp-Asana in his *Pahlavi Texts* (vol. I—II, Bombay 1897—1913), is our main and often only source for some thirty short but important Pahlavi works.²

Avdēh u sahkēh ī Sakistān is the third work in that collection, appearing already in the first volume of 1897. It occupies only two pages there (pp. 25—26), or 37 lines. It offers substantial problems, however, as the text is obviously corrupt in many places. In his edition, Jamasp-Asana gives a few variants from the manuscript designated JJ, dated 1136 A.Y., corresponding to 1767 A.D. (i.e. 445 years after MK), but that is of little avail, since that manuscript is a copy of Codex MK.

¹ *Acta Ant. Hung.* 24 (1976) 115—124; also publ. in J. HARMATTA (ed.): *Studies in the sources on the history of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*. Budapest 1979. 119—128.

² Cf. my contribution to *Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, Tehran—Liège, *Acta Iranica*, 1975, vol. II, pp. 399 f., and *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen, 37 (1976) 76.

Jivanji Jamshedji Modi published a transliteration of this text in Gujarati script with English and Gujarati translations and notes in Gujarati in his *Aiyâdgâr-i-Zarirân, Shatrôihâ-i-Airân, and Afdiya va sahigiya-i-Sistân*, printed in Bombay in 1899 (pp. 123—127). Next in time, in the treatment of the text, comes a hand-written transliteration and translation by Edward W. West, published posthumously by A.V. Williams Jackson in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* of 1917.³

Heinrich Junker paraphrased the contents of the treatise in his comprehensive article «Mittelpers. *frašēmurv* 'Pfau'» in *Wörter und Sachen* of 1929,⁴ and at about the same time Ernst Herzfeld gave a translation of it in the second volume of his *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*.⁵ Finally, Harold Bailey adduced parts of it in an argument on the memorizing of texts, giving a translation of about half the treatise, in his *Zoroastrian problems in the ninth-century books*.⁶

These scholars generally agree on the comparatively recent origin of the text, putting its compilation to around the tenth century A.D., but their interpretations differ rather much from each other. Without doubt this is mainly due to the poor shape of the available text material. A number of problems still remain to be solved, but I shall venture to present a transcription and a tentative translation of the complete text, before taking up a few points of historical relevance for discussion.

It seems that the title of the treatise, *Avdēh u sahikēh ī Sakistān*, does not occur in the manuscripts. It has obviously been abstracted by Jamasp-Asana from the first line of the text. It is not unlikely, however, that the composition of this little piece is a reflection of the 'Ajā'ib, «Wonders» or «Marvels», genre, so common in Arabic and New Persian literature in later centuries, but known already from the fourth century A.H., i. e. the tenth century A.D., in the work 'Ajā'ib *ul-buldān*, «Wonders of the countries», written by the poet Abu'l-Mu'ayyad al-Balxī for the Samanid prince Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr.⁷ Incidentally, Junker's point of paraphrasing the contents of the treatise was to prove that there are no «Wundern» in it. He argues that *avd* should be translated «merkwürdig, sonderbar». His problem may have been connected more with German—English semantics than with Iranian.

³ Vol. 36. 115—121.

⁴ Vol. 12. 132—158 (this subject : 134).

⁵ Berlin 1930. 94.

⁶ Oxford 1943. 161.

⁷ It is also known as 'Ajā'ib-i *barr u bahr*, «Wonders of land and sea»; v. F. TAUER in J. RYPKA (ed.), *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968. 461, and G. LAZARD in *Yādnāme-ye Jan Rypka*. Praha 1967. 95—96. This work by al-Balxī seems to be lost but it obviously contained ample material on Sistan, as is shown by references in the 11th century work *Tārīḫ-i Sīstān*, «History of Sistan» (ed. M. BAḤĀR, Tehran 1314. 13; transl. L. P. SMIRNOVA, Moscow 1974. 30—31, 58).

Transcription (paragraph numbers are inserted according to the numbering in *Pahlavi Texts*):⁸

pat nām ī yazdān

1. *avdēh u sahiḱēh ī zamīk ī sakistān hač apārik šahrihā ēt rād apērtar u vēh.*
2. *ēvak ēn kū rōt ī hētmand u var ī frazdān u zrēh ī kayānsē u gar [i] ušdā-
(da?)štār⁹ andar zamīk ī sakist[ān].*
3. *zāyīšn u parvarišn ī hu(r)šētar u hušētarmāh [u] s(ay)ōšāns ī zartuštān
ī spitāmān u-š rist-āxēz kartan.*
4. *ēvak ēn kū patvand u tōhmak ī kayān dahyupātān (i) pat ēn kišvar vizand
aviš mat*
5. *hač frazandān ī frētōn: salm kē kišvar ī hrōm u tūž kē turkistān pat x^uatāyēh
dāšt ērēč ērān dahyupāt būt u-š bē ōzat.*
6. *u hač frazandān [i] ērēč bē kanīk-ē an kas bē nē mānd.*
7. *u pas frētōn ō var [i] frazdān nayīt¹⁰ u pat nihān dāšt tāy [da]hum¹¹ patvand
ka hač hān kanīk pus zāyāt.*
8. *pas frētōn ō var [i] frazdān šut u-š hač artvišūr anāhit āyaft x^uāst u pat
apāč ārāstan [i] ērān-šahr u x^uarraḱ [i] kayān apārik yazdān hač andar sa-
kistān gāh mahmānēh apartar āyaft vindāt apāk mānuščihr u ōyšān ērān
āfrīn.*
9. *ēvak ēn kū vištāsp-šāh dēn pat var ī frazdān kart ravākēh fratom pat sakis-
tān u pas pat apārik šahrihā.*
10. *u vištāsp-šāh pat hampursakēh ī zartušt u sēn [i] ahūmst[ūt]ān ī bustīk
čigōn-iš hāvištān ī zartušt fratom pat sar-hāvištēh ōy bāt hēnd.*
11. *dēn [i] sakistān ō čāšt ravāk dāstan rād nask nask¹² pat dūtak [i] vēhān
frāč raft.*

⁸ As far as possible the original text of codes MK has been restored from the edition of JAMASP-ASANA; my additions to the text are given between square brackets [], while letters which I suggest to be excluded are put in parentheses (); emendations are marked with a plus + and are explained in foot-notes. The transcription system is, with some slight modifications, that employed by H. S. NYBERG in his *Manual of Pahlavi*, vols. I–II (Wiesbaden 1964–74); it must be stressed that it is purely conventional, representing the archaistic Pahlavi orthography as faithfully as possible while supplementing it with vowels and substituting Iranian equivalents for Aramaic «ideograms».

⁹ Both MK and JJ infix an unnecessary extra sign.

¹⁰ The ending is written with the ligature «-x₁» in MK and «-x₂» in JJ (JAMASP-ASANA substitutes -t); cf. my notes on these ligatures in *Acta Orientalia*, Copenhagen, 37 (1976) 96–99.

¹¹ The original text has only *hum*; both JAMASP-ASANA and WEST supplement *d(a)*-; this seems justified considering *Bundahišn* XXXI: 11 (transl. WEST: SBE, vol. V, 133–134; *Ir. Bundahišn*, translit. & transl. ANKLESARIA, XXXV: 13, 294–295; facs. of MS. TD₁, Tehran 1348/1970. 197).

¹² Possibly to be read instead (*u*) 50 *u* 50, as by JAMASP-ASANA, MODI, HERZFELD and BAILEY.

12. *nask-ē + bagān-ič¹³ x^uānēnd čigōn sēn [u] burzmīhr ī zartuštān pat vīrās-takēh ī hān būt (ī) + āšnāk.¹⁴*
13. *ka gizistak alaksandar ī hrōmā[y] ō ērān-šahr mat ōyšān kē pat brāh¹⁵ ī mōg-martēh raft grift ōzat.*
14. *mart u rētak ē-čand ō sakistān āmat hēnd.*
15. *nask-ē būt ī zanān būt (ī) apurnāyīk-ē nask-ē + bagān-ič¹³ x^uast¹⁶ u varm kart ēstāt pat čē¹⁷ hān rāh¹⁸ dēn andar sakistān apāč gašt u ārāst u vīrāst nōk nōk (nōk) bē pat sakistān adak-iš¹⁹ apārik giyāk nē varm.*
16. *+avar²⁰ pat hān giyāk hamāk-dēn-ē yazēnd šātēh ī gōhrikānēh rād hātōxt-ē framāyēnd yaštān.²¹*

Colophon :

frazaft pat drōt [u] šātēh [u] rāmišn šāt u farrax^u u dēr-zīvišn u pērōzkar u ahlav [u] kāmāk-hanjām bavāt kē nipišt kē x^uēš u kē x^uānēt. ašm.

Translation :

In the name of the gods

- (1) The wonders and magnificence of the land of Sakistān are greater and better than those of other lands for these reasons :
- (2) One [reason] is this that the river Hētmand and the lake Frazdān and the sea Kayānsē and the mountain Ušdāštār [are situated] in the land of Sakistān ;
- (3) [and] the birth and upbringing of Hušētar and Hušētarmāh [and] Sōšāns of the family of Zartuš Spitāmān and the resurrection [are] to occur from it.
- (4) One [reason] is this that the offspring and seed of the Kayān rulers are in this clime ; disaster came upon them (5) through the sons of Frētōn :

¹³ With the emendation proposed by BAILEY (*op. cit.*, 160, n. 4): +‘RHY’-nc’ with reference to *Dēnkart* (DkM 692, 15; WEST: SBE, vol. XXXVII, 34; the reference to *Frahang ī Pahlavīk* I: 3, however, seems mistaken). MODI reads *dvāsīrājo*, WEST *gūvah-sēn-ico* («the witness is even Sēn»), HERZFELD *dvasāēna* («die beiden Sēn»), and JUNKER professes himself unable to read it.

¹⁴ With the emendation of BAILEY; the original text seems to have *aškān*, Arsacid (thus MODI), but is read *āyākān*, «the coming ones», by WEST; or *āškār*?

¹⁵ Or *brēh*, as BAILEY reads it, suggesting that it stands for *brahm*, «garment, manner».

¹⁶ Or *ōst*, «firm, reliable»; BAILEY emends *xuānēnd*.

¹⁷ Possibly for -*ič*, as read by BAILEY.

¹⁸ Possibly for *brēh* in the sense of *brahm*, as emended by BAILEY (cf. n. above) because the text has *l’h*, while *rāh* normally is written *l’s*.

¹⁹ Text: *’DYN-š*; may also be read (with BAILEY) *’dyny’* for *’yny’* = *ēnyā*.

²⁰ Tentative emendation: *’LPN(M)H*, for the apparent *L MNW* = *man kē*, «me who», of the text which is difficult to reconcile with the context.

²¹ May also be read *SGYTWN* = *rav*, «go!» (in that case probably with the reading *man kē* in the beginning of the paragraph (cf. the preceding note).

Salm who [ruled] the clime of Rome and Tūž who ruled Turkistān, [while] Ērēč was the ruler of Ērān; and he was slain by them.

- (6) And of the children of Ērēč except one girl nobody else remained; (7) and then she was brought by Frētōn to Lake Frazdān and was held in concealment till the [ten]th generation, when a boy was to be born from that girl.
- (8) Then Frētōn went to Lake Frazdān, and he asked a boon from Artvisūr Anāhit, and for the restoration of Ērān-šahr and the Kayān *x^uarənah* the other gods, through [this] dwelling-place in Sakistān, gained a superior boon with Mānuščihr, and their blessing was with Ērān (?).²²
- (9) One [reason] is this that King Vištāsp propagated the religion at Lake Frazdān, first in Sakistān then in other lands; (10) and King Vištāsp was in consultation with Zartušt and Sēn, son of Ahūms[tū]t, of Bust, as of the disciples of Zartušt he was the first in head-discipleship (?).²³
- (11) In order to keep the religion of Sakistān current for the teaching, *nask* after *nask* passed on in the families of the Zoroastrians,²⁴ (12) one *nask* [being] the one they call *Bagān²⁵ for the arrangement of which Sēn and Burzmihir, son of Zartušt, were well-known.
- (13) When the accursed Alexander, the Roman, came to Ērānšahr, those who went in the splendour²⁶ of the Magians were seized [and] slain.
- (14) A few men and boys came to Sakistān.
- (15) There was one *nask* which was among the women, [and] a child had been trained²⁷ and had memorized [this] one *nask*, that same *Bagān.²⁵ In such a way the religion returned in Sakistān, and it was ordered and arranged afresh. Except in Sakistān, then there was no memory of it in any other place.
- (16) Come(?), in that place they perform a complete religious ceremony [and] they order a Hādōxt to be recited for the happiness of the nobility(?).

The text ends with a standard colophon which unfortunately adds nothing to our knowledge of the background and origin of this treatise:

«Completed with benediction, happiness [and] satisfaction; may he be happy and fortunate and long-lived and victorious and righteous and successful who wrote [it], who owns [it] and who reads [it]. Ašəm.»²⁸

²² The somewhat uncertain syntax of this paragraph allows many variations in the order of words and phrases, but the general purport seems clear.

²³ The verb is formally in the plur., «they were», perhaps referring to both Sēn and his father Ahūmstūt, hardly to King Vištāsp.

²⁴ Or possibly: «a hundred in the families of the nobles went forth» (BAILEY, 161; cf., n. 12 above).

²⁵ I.e. «The gods»; cf. n. 13 above.

²⁶ Or «fate» or «garment, manner»; cf. n. 15 above.

²⁷ For *xuast* in this sense, v. NYBERG, Manual of Pahlavi, vol. II, 221, and *xuast* as «trampled path» in *Burhān-i qāṭi*, ed. MU'IN, vol. III, 791. If *ōst* (cf., n. 16 above), translate: «had memorized firmly»!

²⁸ I.e. the Avestan *Aša*-prayer.

As marked by the introductory phrase *ēvak ēn kū*, the text falls into three parts: the three reasons for considering Sistan the most remarkable of lands. These reasons are derived from purely Zoroastrian traditions. It is noticeable that the not very much younger New Persian work *Tārīx-i Sīstān*, «History of Sistan», begins with an enumeration of the «excellencies» (*faḏā'il*) and «wonders» (*'ajā'ib*) of the same province.²⁹ None of these outstanding features, however, coincides with those mentioned here, in spite of the fact that the anonymous author of *Tārīx-i Sīstān* mentions the Pahlavi *Bundahišn* (in the form «Ibn Dahištī») as one of his sources for this passage.³⁰ According to the first pages of this *Tārīx-i Sīstān*, there should also have existed a work directly entitled *Faḏā'il-i Sīstān*, composed by an otherwise unknown Hilāl [ibn] Yūsuf Ūqī (Auqī?), a title mirrored in the later work *Faḏā'il-i Balx*, an anonymous Persian translation of a work first written in Arabic in the beginning of the 7th/13th century.³¹

The first reason for pre-eminence is geographical: Sistan is presented as the land of certain legendary topographic features, namely the holy river Hētmand (Av. *haētumant-*), the holy lake Kayānsē (Av. *kaṣaoya-*) and the holy mountain Ušdāštār (Av. *uši.darəna-* or *uši.dam-*).³² Without doubt, this implies the arena for Zoroaster's teaching of the religion. It may be considered an archetypal geographic trinity; for a parallel compare, e.g., Christ, the River Jordan, Lake Gennesaret and the Mount of Olives.³³ From a historiographical point of view, however, this information is rather trivial. The younger Zoroastrian tradition, in general, identifies Kayānsē with the lake Hāmūn, Ušdāštār with the mountain Kūh-i Xvājah and, naturally enough, Hētmand with the river Hilmand, all parts of the modern geography of Sistan.

It is not entirely correct, however, to describe this first reason as a «geographic trinity», because also a fourth name is mentioned, *var ī frazdān*, the identification of which is more uncertain. The list of lakes in Chapter XXII (XII) of the *Bundahišn* places it in Sistan,³⁴ and in §36 of the *Šahristānīhā ī Erān* it is mentioned in connection with Bust, which is situated in the eastern part of Sistan in its more narrow sense.³⁵ The tradition about Frazdān goes back to Yašt 5 : 108, according to which Kavi Vištāspa sacrificed a hundred stallions, a thousand oxen and ten thousand sheep in front of (?) *āp- frazdānu-*

²⁹ Ed. BAHAR, 9—18; transl. SMIRNOVA, 54—60.

³⁰ Ed. BAHAR, 16—17; transl. SMIRNOVA, 59—60; from the context in *Tārīx-i Sīstān* it might be inferred that *Bundahišn* was known to the author only through the intermediary of Abu'l-Mu'ayyad al-Balxī (cf. n. 7 above).

³¹ Cf. C. A. STOREY, *Persian literature*. Vol. I. London 1953. 1296—1297 (transl. & rev. by YU. E. BREGEL', Moscow 1972. Vol. II. 1053—1054).

³² Cf. Yašt 19 : 66.

³³ Cf. HERZFELD, *op. cit.*, 95.

³⁴ Transl. WEST, ŠBE, vol. V, 86 (XXII : 5); Ir. *Bundahišn*, translit. & transl. ANKLESARIA, 114—115 (XII : 6).

³⁵ Cf. my «Non-religious Book Pahlavi literature», *Acta Ant. Hung.* 24 (1976) 118.

One of the difficulties in placing it in the geography of Sistan is to find a suitable lake (if *var* must be taken to mean exactly «lake»). Some modern scholars, like Ernst Herzfeld,³⁶ have cast their vote for Gaud-i Zirah, a huge marshy depression to the south-east of Lake Hāmūn. So does Gherardo Gnoli, who has elaborated the connections between legendary and Sistani geography in great detail, lately in his richly documented book *Zoroaster's time and homeland*.³⁷ In spite of the great ingenuity applied by Herzfeld, Gnoli and others to definite geographic identifications of topographic features figuring in Zoroastrian traditions, it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that Frazdān, Kayānsē, Ušdāštār, etc. basically remain mythical places.³⁸

To this geographic section of the text is added a reference to the three eschatological saviours who are to be born of the water of Kayānsē from the seed of Zoroaster, i.e. *uxšyāt.ərata-*, *uxšyāt.nəmah-* and *saōšyant-* (for *astvaṭ.ərata-*) of the Avesta.³⁹

The second reason for the pre-eminence of Sistan belongs to legendary Kayanian history, as incorporated into Zoroastrian tradition. This section mentions the role of Sistan, and especially Lake Frazdān, in securing the legitimate succession to the throne of Ērān-šahr after the fratricide among the sons of Frētōn (Av. *θraētaona-*). When the younger son Ērēč, who sat on the throne of Iran, was slain by his brothers, Salm of the western realm (Hrōm) and Tūž of the north-eastern (Turkistān), the succession of Mānuščihr to the throne of Iran and the passing of the *x^uarənah* to him was achieved by hiding a daughter of Ērēč at Lake Frazdān.

Here we meet the eponymous heroes of the main peoples of the Iranian political universe, «roughly described as the Shem, Ham, and Japhet of the Iranian legend» by E. G. Browne.⁴⁰ These peoples are, in fact, only three out of five in the old list given in Yašt 13 : 143—144 (Av. *airya-*, *tūirya-*, *sairima-*, *sāinu-*, *dāhī-*), but these three completely dominate in later traditions.⁴¹ There is, however, a certain discrepancy in the tradition concerning the succession to the Iranian throne after Ērēč. Originally (cf. Yašt 13 : 131), Mānuščihr (Av. *manuš.čīθra-*) appears as the direct son of Ērēč (Av. *airyāva-*), but in later tradition he is often, as in the *Šāhnāmah*, presented as the son of the daugh

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, 91.

³⁷ = Istituto Universitario Orientale, Seminario di studi asiatici, Series minor, 7; Naples 1980; on Frazdān/Gaud-i Zirah, v. esp. 133.

³⁸ See, e.g., the conclusions drawn by J. KELLENS in his paper «L'Avesta comme source historique: la liste des kayanides», *Acta Ant. Hung.* 24 (1976) 37—49 (on geography, v. 41); repr. in J. HARMATTA (ed.): *Studies in the sources on the history of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*. Budapest 1979. 41—53.

³⁹ Cf. Yašt 13 : 128—129, Yašt 19 : 92 and Vendidad 19 : 5 (where *kšaoya-* is placed in the east; east of what?).

⁴⁰ A literary history of Iran, vol. I, 1902, etc., 116.

⁴¹ On the formation of the eponyms, v. A. CHRISTENSEN: *Etudes sur le zoroastrisme de la Perse antique*. Copenhagen 1928. 23.

ter of Ērēc.⁴² The present text seems to suggest an extra retardation of ten generations, in relative concordance with the younger Zoroastrian tradition found in *Bundahišn* XXXI: 9—11 (cf. p. 261, n. 11 above). The most interesting piece of information in this passage of the *Avdēh u sahkēh ī Sakistān* is, however, the role given to Frazdān and Sakistān. They are not generally associated with these events in other sources, but it is interesting to notice that *Tārīx-i Sīstān* (ed. Bahār, p. 6) writes that «Afrīdūn, up to the time of Manūčīhr (?), entrusted Manūčīhr to Narīman, until he went away and took revenge for his father Īraj». Narīman was the great-grandfather of Rustam and thus a hero of Sistan. — It is unfortunate that the text of § 8 seems too confused to yield more exact information on the relation between Artvīšūr Anāhīt, «the other gods» and Sakistān.

The third and last reason for the pre-eminence of Sistan is directly related to central Zoroastrian traditions on the propagation and survival of the faith. The starting-point is once more the mysterious lake(?) of Frazdān and the activities of King Vištāsp. The latter is here presented as a prime propagator of the religion on a par with Zoroaster himself and Sēn (Av. *saēna-*, Yt. 13: 97), the son of Ahūmstūt of Bust. The opaque syntax of § 10 makes it difficult to determine exactly what relationship is intended between these three heroes of the faith.⁴³

The following description of the restoration of the religion after the devastation brought about by Alexander has a little more verisimilitude than the legendary material presented so far. This restoration is said to have taken place in Sistan through the memorizing of one special *nask* of the Avesta, which possibly, with the emendation proposed by Bailey, could be identical with the *Bagān yašt* described in the 15th chapter of Book VIII of *Dēnkart* (cf. above). This must have been a part of the original Avesta giving particulars about the divinities, and obviously the circumstances of its transmission are far from the full story of the survival of the religion. Similarly the localization of this crucial memorizing must be taken both as symbolic and as relative to the ambitions of the author and his local tradition.

The final paragraph of the text, as it stands now (§ 16), is somewhat confusing. Even with the rather uncertain emendation suggested above, it is difficult to see what it is aiming at. Given the abruptness of this paragraph and the shortness of the preceding list of «wonders», in comparison, for instance, with the great number of *'ajā'ib* presented in the beginning of *Tārīx-i Sīstān*, one

⁴² Ed. MOHL (paper-back ed. Tehran), vol. I, 83—85; ed. BERTEL's, vol. I, 107—110.

⁴³ On the various aspects of the complex figure of Vištāsp, v. J. MARKWART: A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr, ed. G. MESSINA, Rome 1931. 36—37, 51 (a water-god out of Indo-Iranian myth), and recent evaluations by J. KELLENS: *op. cit.*, 38—39, and GH. GNOLI: *op. cit.*, 3, 94—95 (with n. 15) et pass.

could suspect the present text of being only a fragment or just an improvisation. However this may be, there is something incidental about its form and message. It clearly had its origin in a narrowly religious environment and betrays no ambition of really presenting a portrait of Sistan. It is perhaps understandable that there is no reference to that great hero of Sistan, Rustam, who in § 37 of *Šahristānihā i Ērān* is presented as *rōtastahm i sakistān-šāh*,⁴⁴ but it is striking that there is no mention of the Karkōy fire, for instance. That fire-temple is not only mentioned in *Šahristānihā i Ērān* (§ 38),⁴⁵ but even the Muslim *Tārīx-i Sīstān* devotes a substantial section to it.⁴⁶

Now, what we can glean from this text is not what we would expect a Sistani of the centuries after the Arab conquest to say on the marvels of his province, neither geographically nor historically. It is rather a few fragments of late Zoroastrian traditions with bearing on decisive moments in the history of this faith.

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⁴⁴ Cf. my «Non-religious Book Pahlavi literature». *Acta Ant. Hung.* 24 (1976) 118.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁴⁶ Ed. BAHĀR, 35–37; transl. SMIRNOVA, 69–70.

DIE XALAĞ IN DEN ARABISCHEN QUELLEN

Für die Akten dieser Tagung habe ich den zentral-asiatischen Teil der Weltkarte von al-Xwārizmī vorbereitet. Es bedeutete gewisse Schwierigkeiten, die Karte nach den Angaben des Textes zu zeichnen, aber hinter dieser Arbeit stecken im Stoff noch weitere, im engeren Sinne genommen nicht mehr geographische Probleme. In diesem Zusammenhang möchte ich kurz nur ein Beispiel, das Problem der Xalağ, anführen, und zwar hauptsächlich auf Grund der arabischen geographischen Schriften.

Die bekannteste Textstelle finden wir bei al-Iṣṭaxrī.

«Das Land al-Dāwar ist ein fruchtbares Gebiet, die Grenze von al-Ġūr, Baġnīn und Xalağ und Pišlang und Xāš . . . Baġnīn und Xalağ und Kābul und al-Ġūr und jene Distrikte nach diesen, haben den Islam angenommen . . . und die Xalağ sind eine Art der Türken, und in den uralten Zeiten sind sie nach diesem Land gekommen, das zwischen Indien und den Gegenden von Siğistān liegt, hinter den al-Ġūr. Sie besitzen Weidevieh, nach der Art der Türken, und so sind auch ihre Kleider und ihre Sprache.»¹

Muqaddasī, als er über die Flüsse von Siğistan spricht, läßt den Hilmand hinter den al-Ġūr (فی ظهر النور) entspringen. Auf diese Weise können wir die Xalağ um die Quellen des Hilmand lokalisieren.²

Ibn Ḥawqal³ wiederholt fast buchstäblich, was al-Iṣṭaxrī geschrieben hat. Die Quelle von al-Iṣṭaxrī scheint als Grundlage auch für al-Idrisī gedient zu haben, weil er auf die folgende Weise schrieb: «Wir sagen, daß der östliche Teil von Siğistān an al-Ġūr grenzt, und das nächste Distrikt nach den al-Ġūr al-Dāwar heißt. Es ist ein weites, reiches, fruchtbares Gebiet, es ist die Grenze von al-Ġūr und Baġnīn und Xalağ und Pišlang . . .» Und weiter: «Dieses Land wird von einem Stamm namens al-Xalağ bewohnt. Sie sind eine Art der Türken, sie sind nach diesem Ort in uralten Zeiten gekommen. Ihre Wohnsitze grenzen

¹ Al-Iṣṭaxrī: Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Bat. 1870. 244.

² Al-Muqaddasī: Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fi ma'rifat al-aqālīm. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Bat. 1877. 329.

³ Ibn Ḥawqal: Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Bat. 1873. 302.

im Norden an Indien, (dann) an den Rücken von al-Ġūr und an einige Gebiete des östlichen Siġistān.»⁴

Dieselbe geographische Lage der al-Xalaġ lag auch dem Text von Mas'ūdī zu Grunde, der den Streifzug von 'Abdarrahmān Moḥammad al-Aš'aṭ geschildert hat.⁵

Der auffallende wörtliche Einklang zwischen den Worten der oben erwähnten geographischen Werken lassen uns daran denken, daß die Verfasser, obwohl sie die wirkliche Lage beschrieben haben, doch aus einer und derselben Quelle schöpften.

Es muß aber auch eine andere Quelle vorgelegen haben, die in der Regel in den verschiedenen Itinerarien belegt ist. Bei Ibn Xurradābeh finden wir z. B. die folgende Beschreibung des Weges: «Von Ṭarāz nach dem unteren Baršxān 3 Farsax, von dort nach Kesrā Bās 2 Farsax . . . dort sind die Wintersitze der Xarluxen, und in ihrer Nähe die Wintersitze der Xalaġ.»⁶

Al-Idrisī beschreibt denselben Weg, die Entfernungen werden aber in Meilen angegeben. Über die Xalaġ sprechend fügt er hinzu, daß sie eine Art (ein Zweig) der Türken sind.⁷

Die Xalaġ, die zwischen al-Dāwar und Ġaznīn lebten, sind von allen Schriftstellern einschlägig für Türken gehalten, und die Xalaġ, die im Norden im Ṭalas-Tal lebten, wurden von Al-Idrisī ebenso als Türken bezeichnet.

Die Xalaġ sind also in zwei Quellengruppen in zwei verschiedenen, von einander weit entfernten Gegenden erwähnt.

Es gibt aber eine dritte Art von Nachrichten. Mohammad ibn Naġīb Bakrān schreibt in seinem persisch abgefaßten Werk, daß die Xalaġ ein türkisches Volk ist, daß sie von den Xarlux-Grenzen an die Grenzen von Zābulistān kamen, und in der Umgebung von Ġazna in der Steppe wohnten.⁸ Diese Nachricht kann natürlich wahr sein, sie scheint jedoch eine Kontamination der zwei oben erwähnten Quellen zu sein.

V. Minorsky vertrat die Meinung, daß die Texte der zwei Quellen einander widersprechen und deshalb sie wahrscheinlich verbessert werden sollten.⁹ Die Xalaġ-Gebiete um Ġazna sind von dem Ṭalas-Tal so entfernt, daß die Nachricht sicherlich unannehmbar ist.

⁴ Idrisi: *Opus geographicum*. Neapoli—Romae Brill 1974. Fasc. IV. 466.

⁵ Mas'ūdī: *Les prairies d'or*. Ed. C. BARBIER DE MEYNARD. Paris 1869. V. 302.

وقد كان الحجاج استعمال عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن الأشعث على سجستان وبست والرخج فحارب من هناك من امم الترك وهم انواع من الترك يقال لهم الغور و الخليج.

⁶ Ibn Xurradābeh: *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*. Ed. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Bat. 1889. 28.

⁷ Idrisi: *op. cit.* Neapoli—Romae. Brill 1976. Fasc. VI. 715.

⁸ Moḥammad ibn Naġīb Bakrān, *Ġihān nāme*. Moskva 1960. Ed. J. E. BORŠEVSKIJ. 17 b.

⁹ V. MINORSKY: *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*. Oxford 1937. 347—348.

Um diese Schwierigkeit zu beseitigen, müssen wir ihm gegenüber annehmen, daß sich diese zwei Quellen auf zwei verschiedene Gruppen der Xalağ beziehen.

Das Bild wird aber mehr verwickelt dadurch, daß Al-Kāšgarī die Xalağ für Oğuz-Türken hält, Al-Xwārizmī dagegen behauptet, daß sie Überreste der Hephthaliten sind.¹⁰

Diese zwei Behauptungen schließen einander nicht aus, aber die Erforschung der türkischen Sprache einer dritten Xalağ-Gruppe, die im heutigen Iran zwischen Hamadan und Qum lebt, führte zu dem Ergebnis, daß diese türkische Sprache einen selbständigen Zweig der Türk-Sprachen darstellt, sie ist also der Mundart der Oğuzen nicht unter-, sondern nebengeordnet.¹¹

Vorausgesetzt, daß der Name «Xalağ» in diesen drei Fällen drei verschiedene Gruppen eines Volkes bezeichnet, schließen die Ergebnisse der modernen Forschungen die Richtigkeit der Nachricht von Al-Kāšgarī aus. In diesem Fall könnte man die Worte Al-Kāšgarīs durch die Annahme erklären, daß die zweite Quelle die Xalağ auf dem von den Oğuzen bewohnten Gebiet erwähnte, und so konnte er sie für Oğuzen halten. Das ist aber nur eine Vermutung, die sich nicht beweisen läßt.

Einige Forscher haben angenommen, daß die arabischen Quellen nur in einem weiteren Sinne behaupten, daß die Xalağ Türken (صنف من الاتراك) sind. Die Kabğina, die bei al-Xwārizmī zusammen mit den Xalağ als Überreste der Hephthaliten erwähnt sind, werden von den meisten Forschern nicht für Türken gehalten.¹² Das Wort würde in diesem Fall so viel bedeuten, wie «Nomaden». Die Quellen, die die Lebensführung der Xalağ schildern, beschreiben sie wirklich als Nomaden, die ihres Vieh in der Steppe zwischen al-Dāwar und Ġazna weiden.

Unter der oben genannten Voraussetzung müssen wir das Wort ترکی in bezug auf die Xalağ jedoch in engerem Sinne verstehen. Al-Iṣṭaxrī sagt nämlich ausdrücklich, daß die südlichen Xalağ sich einer türkischen Sprache bedienten, und nicht einmal Al-Kāšgarī kann voreilig einer so unverantwortlichen Behauptung verdächtigt werden, daß er die nicht existierende türkische Sprache der Xalağ in eine bestimmte Gruppe der türkischen Sprachen einordnete, ohne sie gehört zu haben, ohne etwas über sie zu wissen. Gleichzeitig stellen die heutige Existenz einer Xalağ-Gruppe und ihre türkische Sprache schwerwiegende Beweise dar.

Diese drei Umstände lassen uns also die Worte Al-Xwārizmīs im engeren Sinne verstehen, als er über die Al-Xalağ spricht.

¹⁰ C. E. BOSWORTH—G. CLOWSON: Al-Xwārizmī on the Peoples of Central Asia. JRAS 1965. 2—12. Kāšgarī: Divān luğat al-turk. III. 412—416.

¹¹ V. MINORSKY: The Turkish Dialect of Khaladj. BSOS 10 (1940) 417—437.

G. DOERFER: Khaladj. Language. Enc. of Islam IV. 918 mit Literatur.

¹² A. D. H. BIVAR: Hayāṭila. Enc. of Islam III. 303 ff. mit Literatur.

Da die türkische Herkunft der Kabğina jedoch nur durch die Worte al-Xwārizmī unterstützt wird, so können wir nicht entscheiden, was die genaue Bedeutung des Wortes in bezug auf sie sei.

Die angenommene türkische Herkunft der Xalağ steht nicht im Widerspruch mit der Nachricht von al-Xwārizmī, die besagt, daß die Xalağ Überreste der Hephthaliten sind.¹³ Diese Behauptung bedarf aber einer Erklärung, die wir nur hypothetisch geben können. Es gibt nämlich eine Meinung unter den heutigen Forschern, die die Hephthaliten für Türken hält.¹⁴ In diesem Fall ist es natürlich, daß auch ihre Reste Türken sind.

Trifft jedoch diese Meinung nicht zu, selbst dann haben wir unsere Folgerung nicht zu verwerfen. Die Hephthaliten, wie die Nomaden immer, haben aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auch andere Völker oder Teile von anderen Völkern in den Verband ihrer Stämme aufgenommen und auf ihre Wanderungen mitgenommen. Diese Annahme könnte erklären, wie einige Xalağ-Gruppen im Norden geblieben sind, während andere im Süden als Abkömmlinge der Hephthaliten galten. Diese Annahme gibt uns die Möglichkeit, alle Überreste der Hephthaliten für Nomaden zu halten, die teilweise türkischer Abstammung sein konnten, teilweise einer anderen Sprachgruppe angehören konnten.

Jedenfalls scheint es so, daß die angebliche hephthalitische Abstammung der Xalağ durch die ewig wiederkehrende Bemerkung unserer geographischen Schriftsteller, wonach die Xalağ in uralten Zeiten nach ihren südlichen Wohnsitzen kamen, indirekt unterstützt wird.

Die arabischen Quellen können also gewisse Fragen über die Xalağ beantworten, für andere Fragen geben jedoch nur eine hypothetische Lösung, die im Lichte anderer Quellen weiter untersucht werden soll.

Budapest.

¹³ AL-KHWĀRIZMĪ: *Mafātih al-ʿulūm*. Ed. V. VLOTEN. Lugduni-Batavorum. 1895. 119—120.

¹⁴ A. D. H. BIVAR: *Hayāṭila*.

ILYA GERSHEVITCH

THE BACTRIAN FRAGMENT
IN MANICHEAN SCRIPT*

In June 1958, while cataloguing in Berlin the Iranian manuscripts written in Manichean script, Professor Mary Boyce made the remarkable discovery that one small fragment was inscribed on both sides in an unknown Iranian language. She was anxious to impart the news at once to Henning in London, in a manner that might enable him to identify language and contents. It would take time for the two sides of the fragment to be photographed. Therefore, as the Verso side was hard to read, the Recto less so, she transliterated the Recto only, posting the outcome without delay. It was an outcome never meant to be definitive. Some indistinct letters later proved to be different from what she at first thought. For some others she left gaps. But as a provisional first shot this initial revelation, private and to her teacher only, deserves nothing but praise.

The transliterated 19 lines reached Henning on 20 June 1958. They did make him sit up. He replied on the same day, having taken «at least a *full hour* (his underlining) to make up my mind on the language». It was a language, he explained, that stands between Parthian, Sogdian, and Pashto. Hence, he continued, it will be the language of the intervening area, Balx, presumably the same language, at a later stage, as the one in which the French had found an inscription at Surkh Kotal, perhaps also the same language as that of the so-called Hephthalite fragments.

In his letter, which consists of a single sheet written on both sides, Henning then proceeded to details. He had found translatable four sequences, of which I quote only the words he correctly translated from the spelling here reproduced as at the time it stood before him.

First sequence: *mwvl myg(d)yg 'wud 'sp(r)gmyyg 'βyryynd o 'wd cgwvng 'ww w(š) 'wd . . . 'cyy 'β [] 'wd g'w lhyyh t'(')d pn'yyd p'yyg 'wd rwgn 'βy(r) [«roots (*māla*) fruits and flowers produce; and as the (<*hau*) grass and . . . which to (<*abi*) [sheep] and cows you(?) give, then . . . cheese (-r ?) milk (*payah-*) and butter they produce».*

* (Paper delivered at the Conference «The Sources of the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia» in Budapest on 25 March, 1976.)

Second sequence: *š(.)g qyrdg'n wys(p) 's l'(hw)'n (. .)fyd* «good (*širak* ?) action all from (?as < ats) gifts arise».

Third sequence: *ywg p(w.) hz'r pwnyng βrg (.)βyryyd 'wd wy(šp) nrh šwwhyd 'wd pwwn pydrwβ[.]d y'wyd'nfyg* «A single (*aiwaka-*, Pashto ۛ) puṇya a thousand puṇya-fruits (Sogd. *βr'kw*) produces and wipes out (? cf. *krmšwhn*) all hells and . . . (? cf. Parth. *pdrwb-*) puṇyas eternally».

Fourth sequence: (*'cy*)*yd šmn'n '(d)hn xwynynd* «whom Buddhist monks call arhant», postulating a dot over the *d* of *'dhn*. The word occurs once more on the Recto, again without visible dot over the *d*.

Of individual words Henning recognized in *lyynl(.)yg'*n the plural of the word meaning «an Electus, a *dēndār*», which in fact occurs in the singular, as *lynlyryg*, on the Verso; and he of course compared the noun *l'hw'n* with Parth. *d'hw'n*.

In addition his letter contains remarks on phonology. He noted the palatization of *s* in *wyšp*, expressed, as Professor Boyce had told him, by a special diacritic, two dots placed over the usual Manichean sign for *š*. The same diacritic placed over the *j* sign, in *y'wyd'nfyg* for example, is used, he surmised, to indicate that thus marked the sign stands for *dz*. He pointed out the voicing after vowel of OIran. *k* and *t*; the change of *d* to *l*; the outcome *š* of *str* in *wš*; the prothetic vowel of *'cy* «which», with which he compared Sogd. *'cw*; the *s* of *'s* «from», from the *č* of OIran. *hačā*; and the interior *y* of *-aya-* present stems, exemplified by *xwyn-* «to call» and *'βyr-* «to bring, produce».

It was a rich communication, a tour de force achieved in one hour, with no Verso as yet to compare and from a transliteration not quite perfect. But this first pronouncement of Henning's on the fragment was also his last, because thereafter he was to communicate on it only with himself, to whom he stood in no need of imparting his thoughts in writing. It was his habit to think, and when he had finished thinking, to compose the final article at his typewriter, ready for the printer. This explains why Professor Boyce never received from him any further details about the text, despite its having been his intention to publish it under both their names in a joint article.

Her own share, however, of the planned article, Professor Boyce promptly brought to completion: on 12 July she posted to him a painstaking transliteration of both Recto and Verso, supplying an apparatus in which she discussed possible alternative readings and the spacing of gaps, and enclosing photographs. This was a great service rendered, by which she crowned her discovery of the fragment with the provision of every help possible that could be given from the distance. The next and final step it was for him to take. He never took it, in the eight and a half years still left to him.

In 1968, one year after Henning's death, Professor Boyce wrote to ask if I would care to take over what was to have been their joint publication. I replied that I was willing to try. Henning's dear wife, who unhappily one

year later was also to die, having agreed and the German Academy, through the good offices of Dr Sundermann, having kindly approved of the transfer, I received from Professor Boyce the letter from which I have quoted, from Mrs Henning her husband's file on the fragment, and from Dr Sundermann two enlarged photographs, one each of Recto and Verso.

Henning's file contained only one sheet written entirely in his hand, namely his own transliteration, and even that only of the 19 lines of the Recto, with a succinct apparatus. There was no translation, except indirectly of two words. One, restored by him as *p(rdyj)g*, he had glossed with NP *pālēz*. It occurs in the line preceding the first sequence quoted above. Against the other word, *xwβyc*, he had pencilled, with a question mark, Av. *x^vaēpaθya-*. Otherwise the file contained only Professor Boyce's two contributions: her first, provisional transliteration of the Recto, which had prodded him into the tour de force she by then had sent me and I had eagerly read; and her second, final transliteration of both sides of the sheet. This second contribution is of invaluable help for reading the difficult Verso written in a different hand from the Recto, and much more faded and smudged, requiring extensive restoration. Against a few of Professor Boyce's readings of the Verso Henning had jotted down in pencil alternative readings, thrice with a translation each of one word: «recalls» with a question mark, against *'βy's'd*; «that» against *kwd*; and German «hiesig» against *ml'(m)'(n)g*. Moreover, against two of her readings left untouched by him, he had entered a translation, namely «*ροῦς*» against *lyn'ng fr*, and «he calls him» against *'wdyh xwvnyd*.

These are small crumbs from the table of one of the best-endowed brains that ever turned to Iranian studies. Whatever they were crumbs of, perished on 8 January 1967, together with that brain.

When I had taken stock of the position, my heart sank. It was of course clear that the Recto contained two Ruvānegān similes new to us, a vegetable one and an animal one. The laymen's gifts to the Elect produce puṇyas and salvation, as irrigation induces roots to produce fruits and flowers, as grass and water (*y'β*, to replace the three dots after *wš'wd* in the first sequence above) given to cattle produce meat (*p'ydyd*, to replace the five dots after *t'(')d*), cheese, milk and butter.

It was also clear, and not only from the «*ροῦς*» jotted down by Henning against *lyn'ng fr*, that the Verso was of eschatological purport. Quite a number of words even on the Verso make immediate sense, such as *'z'γdym* «I have come», or *rštyg l'dβr wyspz'nyndyy* «the just all-knowing judge».

But the greater part of the Verso seemed to consist of words either unknown or illegible, or of whose reading there could be no certainty; and nowhere on the Verso was it clear how sentences, let alone periods, were to be construed. What, for example, did Henning think, what was I to think, of the mysterious *drwfr* in line 13 of the Verso, whose occurrence also as first word of

line 10 of the Recto he had recognized with uncanny perspicacity? What did he make of *yβw'g lyynl(yr)yg' 'n*, even though in the longer of these two words he had at once recognized, as we saw, the «Electi»? What did he think of the sequence *'wdyh 'hwg nyšt qyrd w(β)*, which is clearly a self-contained clause, seeing that it is followed by a sequence beginning with *'wdyh* and ending with a past participle? And what were the «Buddhist monks» doing in the three bottom lines of the Recto, with whom Henning had ingeniously grappled in his tour de force letter, but on the premise of a transliteration not wholly correct, and in any case with the beginning of all three lines lost in a hole? This śramaṇa passage is crucial in deciding whether or not the eschatological Verso, written in a different hand and deprived at the top of one or perhaps two lines, was at all the continuation of the Ruvānegān statement of the Recto, or constituted a new text under a new, lost headline.

To each of these vital questions Henning was bound to have given anxious thought. If clues to the answers occurred in Manichean texts in other languages, published or unpublished, nobody was better equipped than he to recognize them. Nor could there be any doubt that, having in 1960 revealed in a printed footnote that he was about to publish the fragment, and in the same year authorized Mary Boyce to reveal in her Catalogue his identification of its language as Bactrian, he would by all means have proceeded to publication with the urgent speed characteristic of all his major discoveries, if only he felt satisfied that he had the right answers to the above questions and to the many more which the text poses. The conclusion was inescapable: what had stopped him from publishing it was awareness that what he had written to Professor Boyce within the first hour, and anything that had occurred to him since, though it did go some way towards clarification, was as yet insufficient to warrant publication under his name.

The conviction that this had been the cause of his silence was to me, who knew very well his dread of posthumous publication, an insuperable bar to bringing into the open what had been entrusted to me of his. I had a right to bring it into the open only if I saw it lead to a breakthrough, which evidently it had not done even under his own, exceptionally high-powered care. As to myself, throughout the five years from 1968 to 1973, despite my time and again turning to the fragment, I could see no prospect of breaking through. Words which I recognized unaided by annotations of Henning's, such as *p'yūd* for «meat» or *y'β* for «water», or *hβyś* of which as yet I saw no meaning but took for granted the identity with what in «Hephthalite» is written *vaβiso*, did not really further an overall understanding. It was unthinkable that such trifles of recognition had by-passed Henning, but clearly they did not drive him into print. They must therefore not drive into print me either, especially as the immediate sequel to *hβyś*, namely *(. .)ng pwwn drwfr*, with *(. .)ng* as a possible alternative to *(. .)ng*, remained, apart from the word for punya, incomprehensible.

By 1973 I had no illusion as to what Henning would have wanted me to do: destroy everything I had of his. But this was ruled out by the trust Mary Boyce and the German Academy had shown me. Had they thought me capable of thus dealing with his notes, they would have made sure of keeping them safely out of my reach. I was caught in a conflict of loyalty, run aground in an impasse.

The fact is that, as the observations of Henning's which you have heard struck me as obvious from the moment I saw them, yet the fragment remained largely incomprehensible, I had come to underestimate his achievement. That achievement had been breath-taking at the time when he reported on it after one hour. But given a few days to think, let alone weeks months or years, almost any Iranianist, or so I began to think, would have achieved as much. The conclusion seemed obvious: if even Henning in years after the miraculous feat achieved no progress, or no significant progress — as his failure to publish left no doubt had been the case —, then the difficulties must simply be insoluble beyond the most elementary stage. Having drawn this conclusion by the time of the Budapest conference of 1973, if I had been able to attend it I would have been ready to declare in this very Kisterem, that I was giving up.

But some months later in 1973 I was able to attend the International Congress of Orientalists in Paris. And in Paris something happened which completely changed my outlook.

At one of the Iranological sessions a paper was delivered which included a wholly convincing demonstration that the Bactrian word for «wine» was *mal*. There followed a discussion. And in the course of the discussion, a declaration was made before the packed international audience that «no, it was not *mal*, it was *mul* as in Sogdian, seeing that the Bactrian word for wine occurs in the Berlin fragment, written *mwul*». The speaker evidently had in mind the first word of the first sequence quoted above.

I was too dumbfounded even to open my mouth. While others were challenging the speaker as to how on earth he had got hold of the Berlin fragment, I fell into a kind of trance, lost in mourning and nostalgic admiration for the unflinching greatness of the scholar it had been my supreme privilege to have as teacher.

Not once in the five years had it occurred to me, who am not unfamiliar with Sogdian, that the first word of the quoted sequence might mean «wine». The context precluded the very thought of such a thing. But then, I had never been in a position to try and unravel the context by myself. Straightway I was presented with Henning's tour de force letter, so that it was quite impossible for me to go wrong on *mwul* and its context when later the photographs arrived, but alas possible, in the light of the disappointment at Henning's notes offering help with so little else, to give him very much less than his

due for his immediate grasp of the first sequence's purport. It took the Paris uproar to shake me out of this unappreciativeness and make me realize what a horrible trap *mwvl* posed, and what a test this word constituted of the true quality of would-be decipherers. I had literally to hear the trap snap, to convince myself that it was not true that given days weeks months or years, others would also find out what Henning saw in the first hour.

And so, there and then in the Paris Kisterem, the realization took hold of me that if I were not to publish what I had from Henning, even though he never thought it worth bothering to put it into print by itself, years if not decades might pass sucking casualties into not only this trap, but also other traps equally insidious, which Henning with sure step had avoided.

I returned to Cambridge a reformed character, and at once set to work in the mood of one just emerged from an illness. I was no longer troubled by not understanding crucial passages and key-words of the Recto, and by my inability to construe even one period of the Verso. Henceforward I was going to be no more than an amanuensis. All I would do was to publish the text in the reading of Mary Boyce with the improvements Henning had entered here and there, and the addition of such alternative readings as here and there had come to seem to me worth considering. The text would be followed by the bits of translation and the few hints I had from Henning, and by a few self-evident trifles which had occurred to me in five years. I no longer felt it incumbent on me to achieve progress.

But no sooner had I begun to proceed in this strictly expository manner insouciant of progress, when progress no longer prayed for took to beckoning from all sides. It was as if the fragment, for so long a dead weight round my neck, had suddenly sprung to life. One day I saw that the key-word *drwfr* occurring, you will remember, once on the Recto and once on the Verso, would make good sense if it were a metathesized outcome of the Zoroastrian term *ratufrī-*. We had not had this word before in Manicheism. It qualifies *puṇya* in the fragment, and thereby sheds new light on the Manichean doctrine of redemption, indeed on the very essence of the Ruvānegān institution. Surely no religion could survive which preached as sole duty of laymen the feeding of its Elect. Priority must be given at least in theory, to religious behaviour, *puṇyas*. But religious behaviour on the part of laymen, without their assiduously attending to gifts of food, would have exposed the poor Elect to starvation. Hence the clever invention of a rider: the *puṇyas* must be «ratu-pleasing», that is, inducing the *ratus* to grant forgiveness of sins; and what renders them *ratu-pleasing* is the giving of gifts of food to the Elect. The vegetable simile and the animal simile of the Recto thus emerge fraught with doctrinal subtlety: without roots there can be no fruit, without cows no milk or beef, without *puṇyas* no redemption. But roots will not give rise to fruits unless they are watered, cows will not yield milk or beef unless they are fed.

And punyas will not lead to redemption unless they secure ratu-pleasure, are RATified as it were, by the care taken of the Elect.

Once *drwfr* made sense, it became clear that the sequence *hβys' (. .)ng* or *hβys' (.)ng* quoted above, is like *drwfr* a qualification of *pwwn*, or rather, qualifies *pwwn drwfr* taken together. A likely meaning of it will therefore be «of very many kinds», something on the lines of Sogd. *zngzng'n*, *γrf zng'nt*, *wyspw znk'n*, OP *vispazana-*, Aram. *wspzn*. As soon as one thus realizes that the context could do with the presence of a *z*, one actually sees that the traces preceding *ng* tally with *z*, and with nothing else. To account for *hβys'* (the «Hephthalite» *vaβiso*) expressing large quantity one may relate the word to Khot. *hambisa*, Parth. and Pers. *ambis* «heap». The base will be the *bai-* of Av. *baēvar-* «ten thousand», the suffix that of Av. *navasō* «by nines, nine times» and Sogd. *IIsw* (*δwasu*) «at the rate of two», the prefix that of Greek *ἄπας* «quite all, all possible» (as distinct from OIran. *hama-*, present in *hambisa* and *ambis*). Literally the adjective will thus mean «thoroughly-hugenumber-fold».

On another day the daringly primitive thought struck me that the puzzling *yβw'g* which precedes *lyynl(yr)yg'n*, seeing that in Parthian the Elect are often called *pw'g* «pure», might be the very same word preceded by the article after which its initial *p* would in this language have suffered voicing, as happens in Celtic with feminine nouns. In Welsh, for instance, «a pipe» is *pip*, but «the pipe» *y bib*, with soft mutation (and assimilation). Thereby also the existence of the article *i*, familiar from the Nokonzok inscription, would be assured for Manichean Bactrian.

From *yβw'g lyynl(yr)yg'n* meaning «the pure Electi» it would follow that the verb *pydrwβ-* corresponds only formally to Parth. *pdrwb-* «to render distraught» (cf. Skt *rūpyati*, Lat. *rumpo*), since in the fragment its meaning would have to be «to garner, reap», in agreement with the simple *rwp-* in Sogdian.

Soon afterwards it was the Buddhist monks at the bottom of the Recto, and the Arhants, who fell into place, at least to the extent of no longer compelling the assumption that the eschatological Verso constitutes a separate text pursuing a different trend of thought from the Verso.

Of course each individual step forward was apt to require a reappraisal of the whole. Thus gradually the Verso came to unfold a growing number of meaningful stretches, until one day it at last dawned on me that my inability to construe periods had been due to nothing more alarming than the abandonment by the language of the oblique ending of nouns. It was then that at long last the meaning of the complete clause *'wdyh' lwg nyšt qyrd w(β)* emerged, and with it a remarkable Manichean doctrine hitherto missed, about the overriding role played by Beauty, with capital B, in the redemption of Man and indeed the World. When the evidence is in print,* it will be seen that the

* And already preliminarily, in a lecture which I gave in Budapest fifteen days later, on 9 April 1976, to the Society for Ancient Studies.

supremacy of Beauty also explains at last why the Ruvānegān, the alms-gifts, were called by that name. It is an explanation which could have been found ever since 1960, from the moment Mary Boyce published Henning's view that the Middle Persian name *xwšn* of the Living Soul meant «Beauty». But the opportunity was missed because this view failed to get credit, seeming to require independent confirmation. The Bactrian clause now provides it: «and he OF grain consigned-to-perdition the Beauty» (namely by eating the grain himself instead of giving it to the Electi). The word *wβ*, which had teased me, and no doubt Henning, for years, is nothing else but the Middle Bactrian outcome of OIran. *vafuš*, whose identity of form and meaning with Vedic *vapuš* was recognized by Andreas and Wackernagel half a century ago, and is now confirmed beyond all reasonable doubt by inter-Iranian Manichean evidence.

Naturally as a result of the fragment thus springing to life and revealing far-reaching novelties of Iranian Manichean thinking, it took me longer than I had foreseen on my return from Paris, to prepare it for publication. But by now it is possible to offer a connected translation of the Recto, and to grasp the hang and partially even the syntax of the Verso, although on that side the indifferent state of preservation will keep us reduced to guess-work on many details for so long as no parallel version in another language is found.

Cambridge.

ILYA GERSHEVITCH

BEAUTY AS THE LIVING SOUL
IN IRANIAN MANICHEISM*

The one burning concern which pervaded all Manichean thinking, was the catastrophe which befell the Light that had gone forth intending to defeat the Powers of Darkness, but instead was itself defeated and swallowed up.

It is true that plenty more Light was left in the Highest Heaven, the seat of the Father of Greatness. But the loss of Light had been of cosmic proportions, and the Highest Aeons can have no peace until the missing Light is restored to them, the Living Soul, the Anima Viva desperately longing for liberation from captivity in Darkness and for return home. The whole of Mani's highly elaborate system amounts to one gigantic rescue operation, of the Anima Viva suffering torture in this dismal domain of Hyle in which we live.

I must spare you to-night the Emanations, the cosmogony, the cosmology, the manufacture of Man, all the devices aimed at the rescue of the Living Soul. But we may join the Living Soul, or rather the particles of Light which constitute it, at the moment when, from edible plants, cucumbers for example, or the wheat of which bread is made, the particles of Light pass into the bodies of pure Manichean Electi engaged in eating cucumber or bread.

The Electi act as human filters for the particles of Light. As they eat and digest the foods containing Living Soul, the latter escapes through their bodies to the Column of Glory. Along that Column the particles of Light mount from Earth to Heaven, invisible to the human eye despite their ascent in column-formation, because they consist of nothing but light at its purest. Visibility intervenes only when at the upper end of the Column the Moon-ship arrives and, visibly to all of us, fills up, over a period of fifteen days, with particles of Light as they disembark from the Column and re-embark in the Moon-ship. When the Moon-ship is loaded, it takes its passenger-particles to the Sun-ship, for further, final conveyance to the Realm of everlasting Light.

Naturally the rearing of pure Electi was a crucial part of Mani's plan for the liberation of the Living Soul. For only Electi were capable of acting as

* Lecture delivered in Budapest on 9 April 1976 at a meeting of the Society for Ancient Studies, Professor J. HARMATTA in the chair.

filters for the Light. But of course no Electus was pure and could act as filter if he himself should in any way have hurt or harmed the Living Soul, for instance by cutting bread with a knife or, Heaven forbid, trampling on some cucumber in a field. In fact it was so risky to let him do anything to the Living Soul other than eat it, that the whole preparation of food, from cultivation of crops to the actual cooking of meals had to be left to the Auditores, the Manichean laymen.

These were not sufficiently pure to act as filters for the Living Soul. But they could nevertheless hope for salvation in the other world. Their impurity and their sins, including the dreadful one of hurting the Living Soul, would be forgiven them if they made sure that vegetarian food daily reached the mouths and bodies of the Elect, so as to maintain a constant upward stream of liberated Living Soul along the Column of Glory.

This duty which the Manichean Auditors had, of feeding the Elect, and incidentally also clothing them and providing them with shelter, was known under the term of alms-giving or gift-giving. One third of every Auditor's working-day had to be devoted to alms-giving pursuits, in fields, workshops or kitchens.

Of course also the Auditors ate. Their eating brought the Living Soul no direct benefit. But for obvious reasons it was not considered sinful for them to eat, provided that they did not eat portions which they should have made over to the Elect. If they did that, or indeed, if they fed Electi who *wrongly* claimed to be pure, they became guilty of grievous sin against the Living Soul, consigning it to perdition at the very moment when it had reason to expect to be at last about to be filtered.

It was necessary to dwell on these details, because in the only surviving Manichean fragment written in Bactrian language, which I am preparing for publication and on which I had the honour to report here in Budapest a fortnight ago at an International Conference convened by Professor Harmatta, the remarkable sentence occurs, «and of grain he consigned to perdition the beauty».

The Manichean text in question is a so-called Ruvānegān text, Ruvānegān being the *Iranian* Manichean term for the institution of alms-giving to the Electi on the part of Auditores. The statement I have quoted, «and of grain he consigned to perdition the beauty», appears to have as subject an Auditor who had been remiss in his Ruvānegān duties. What he consigned to perdition was therefore the Living Soul imprisoned in grain. But it is of quite unusual interest to find the Living Soul here being referred to under the simple name of «Beauty».

You may of course say that I am wrong, and that the Bactrian word *waβ* which I translate as «beauty», means something quite different. It is a Bactrian hapax. Most Bactrian words of any interest are hapaxes.

But *waβ* is comfortably etymologized as corresponding to Rigvedic *vapuṣ* «shape, beautiful shape, beauty», which in Avestan occurs as *vafuš*. The Bactrian sentence therefore immediately reminds one of a suggestion offered by the late Professor Henning to Mary Boyce and published by her in 1960, to the effect that the Middle Persian name *xwšn* of the Living Soul meant «beauty». When after Henning's death in 1967 I enquired of Professor Boyce what reason other than etymological he had given her, she thought none, and even that subsequently Henning himself gave up the idea. But now that Bactrian *waβ* seems to confirm its correctness, we have a more pressing incentive than Henning appears to have felt, to cast round our minds in search of even further confirmation, that with any luck might clinch the matter.

I believe such luck to have come my way, in the form of a reappraisal, forced on me by *waβ*, of the meaning of the names which the Column of Glory bears in Parthian and Sogdian. In Parthian texts the Column is called *h'mcyhr*, in Sogdian texts *ʷkršny*. Both names are compounds, each having as first term the Parthian, respectively Sogdian, outcome of Old Iranian *hāma-*, to which in Greek etymologically corresponds *δμο-*. The second compound-term, *cyhr* in Parthian, *kršn* in Sogdian, means «shape, form, μορφή». Accordingly it was thought until now that in both languages the literal meaning of the compound was «homomorphic», without any convincing explanation being available as to why «homomorphic» should have become a technical term for the Column of Glory. But you have now seen three distinct Iranian words for «shape, form»: the Old Iranian *vafuš* whose Vedic equivalent in addition to «shape» meant «beautiful shape», and Parthian *cyhr* as well as Sogdian *kršn*, adjectival derivatives of both of which mean «shapeLY, beautiful» by the same semantic evolution as from Latin *forma* produced *formosus*. The Column of Glory, as we saw, consists uniformly and exclusively of particles of Light which are Viva Anima. But if that Light, if that Living Soul, was also called «Beauty», then surely the μορφή of the term «homo-morphic» stands for «shapeLIness», and the name of the Column meant not incomprehensibly «homomorphic», but TRANSPARENTLY «that which evenly consists of Light», the term for «Light = Living Soul» here used being «Beauty».

We may now take it for granted, on the strength of Manichean writers in four distinct Iranian languages each applying to the Living Soul a term for «beautiful shape» peculiar to his own language, that really in Iranian Manicheism, and so far as the evidence goes only in Manicheism Iranian, the Living Soul was regarded as sheer and exclusive Beauty. But to recognize this as a fact means to reach the core of the problem. Why is the Anima Viva «Beauty», and why is she «Beauty» only in Manicheism Iranian?

There can be no doubt that the term «Living Soul» had been Mani's own, coined by him in the Aramaic language of Babylonia in which he first

formulated his doctrine. From there St. Augustine got his *Anima Viva*, as indeed also in Iranian Manicheism the Living Soul is often called, by Iranian terms meaning respectively «living» and «soul». But it is well known that when Mani, a Persian grown up in Babylonia, preached to Iranians, he often translated his own religious terminology into a quite different, typically Iranian way of thinking.

Bearing this in mind, if we wish to understand why Mani presented the Living Soul to Iranians as Beauty, we must not fail to ask if by any chance earlier, pre-Manichean, Iranian religious thinking could have served him as model for renaming the Living Soul. Many of you will by now have guessed what I am making for: the famous, age-old belief related in the *Haḏōxt Nask* of the Avesta, that every man has a *Daēnā*, a personification or live illustration of his soul in the other world, whom he will meet and see for the first time after death. A man who has lived a good life will encounter after death his *Daēnā* in the shape of a beautiful young woman. A man who has led an evil life will find that his *Daēnā* has the looks of an ugly old hag.

Men will meet their respective *Daēnās* only after death, when of each the sum of all stages of behaviour throughout life has been drawn and the total is, as it were, frozen, no longer alterable, reflected in a *Daēnā* immutably beautiful, or immutably ugly, or of appropriate intermediate looks likewise immutable. But it stands to reason that if it were possible for us to slip out from time to time into the other world while we are still alive, just to have a peep at how our *Daēnā* is faring, we might find her on certain days uglier or more beautiful than on other days, according as our balance of actions stood on the day in question. This is just how Dorian Gray was able stage by stage to observe the deterioration of his soul, by furtively mounting to the room he kept locked and watching the uglification of his portrait. I cannot help it thinking that Oscar Wilde must have drawn the inspiration for his «Picture of Dorian Gray» from the Zoroastrian story of the *Daēnā*.

But now, to convince you that we are not dealing with mere coincidences, but are on the track of something solid, grounded on age-old Iranian tradition, let me bring you face to face with the problem as yet unsolved, as to why the Manichean institution of alms-giving by Auditors to *Electi* is called in Iranian, and only in Iranian, *Ruvānegān*.

The word *ruvān*, which in Avestan has the form *urvan-*, is the pan-Iranian word for «soul», so that literally *Ruvānegān* means «that which has reference to the soul». Of course in religion almost anything has reference to the soul, but it has never been clear why a term so ostentatiously sporting the soul, should be the very one chosen to denote the pretty materialistic concern with the feeding, clothing and housing of Manichean monks. For it is not the Living Soul which was alluded to by the term *Ruvānegān*, seeing that in Iranian Manichean terminology the word used for the *anima* of *Anima Viva* is not *ruvān*,

but another word for «soul», *grīw*. Therefore all that Iranologists have so far been able to suggest is that the term Ruvānegān alludes to «the spiritual welfare and salvation» of the Auditor who conscientiously performs his alms-giving duties.

This definition of the implications of the term Ruvānegān is certainly not incorrect, but it does by-pass what to my mind is a pointer to a more exact definition. This pointer I would recognize in the epithet *hu-ruvān* which in Middle Persian Manichean texts is frequently bestowed on Auditors who excel in performing their religious duties. In his 1933 publications Henning translated *hu-ruvān* as «gut-seelig», referring to the Zoroastrian, already Avestan term *hurunya-* of which Bartholomae's explanation reads: «Gutseeligkeit», eigentlich Zustand eines **huruvan-*, «des Seele gut ist». Later, however, Henning noticed that the Sogdian Manichees translated the Middle Persian term *huruvān* as if to them it meant «soul-loving», which is why he himself in subsequent publications translated into English even Middle Persian *huruvān* as «soul-loving». Yet there can be no doubt that a compound of *hu-* and *ruvān* can strictly speaking mean only «he whose *ruvān* is *hu-*», never «he who is *hu-* towards his *ruvān*».

The catch, as I see it, lies in what has been done with *hu-* in this compound. Of course *hu-ruvān* can mean «des Seele gut ist». But if this was a term used already in Zoroastrian antiquity, in the same Avestan scripture which tells us that a man who is good, *hu-*, in this world, will find in the other world that his Daēnā is not good, ethically, but beautiful, aesthetically, visually attractive, then surely Avestan *hurunya-* is not the «Zustand» of one whose soul is good, which in any case would be a pretty meaningless Zustand, but the «Zustand» of one whose Daēnā in the other world, whose picture of Dorian Gray in the locked room, is beautiful. In Avestan usage *hu-* can have either meaning: the name Hutaosā, for instance, means not «she whose thighs are good», but «she who has beautiful thighs».

So we see that when Iranian Manichees, and quite likely Mani himself, describe dutiful Auditors as *huruvān*, they consciously or subconsciously followed an age-old Iranian tradition we already find in primitive Zoroastrianism, which translated ethical goodness into physical beauty, which loved goodness, so to speak, with eyes.

Those of you familiar with Zoroaster's Gathas, will remember that in certain verses the prophet uses the term *daēnā-* interchangeably with the term *urvan-*. It is in fact thanks to this partial interchangeability that we know that to him already the Daēnā was a kind of soul. It has of course long been noticed that etymologically *daēnā-* could very well belong to the root of Persian *dīdan* «to see», so that one might regard a man's Daēnā as a kind of Platonic idea of him in the other world, his visible soul-prototype, the word «idea» also belonging to a base meaning «to see», *vid-*.

I would go further, and suggest that the confusion in modern discussions of the term *daēnā-*, which from oldest times down to the present also served as general word for «religion», arises from there having existed in antiquity two homonyms *daēnā-*: one belonging to the base *dhi-* «to see» and denoting the visible outline of a man's soul; the other belonging to the base of Sanskrit *dyāti* «to bind», Greek *δέω*, with suffix *-īnā-*, and therefore quite literally meaning «re-ligio».

And to cap it all, I would add that it is not for nothing that up to now no agreement has been reached as to what was the real original meaning of the pan-Iranian word for «soul», *urvan-/ruvān*. We have been looking in the wrong direction, seeking explanations in the light of our own experience with *anima*, *spiritus*, *ψυχή*. But we are dealing with Iranians, who distinguished between the breathing soul as principle of life, and the soul whose SHAPE they would see in the other world. The most natural analysis of *ruvān* is that a suffix *-ān* was added to a base *rū-*. And if you want a base *rū-* with a meaning that fits what we have seen to be characteristic of the Iranian VIEW of the soul, well, Sanskrit has *rūpa* «shape, form» and «beautiful form», base *rū-* with suffix *-pa*.

Whether or not this etymology commends itself, there remains the fact that already to Zoroaster *urvan-* was a variant of *daēnā-*, so that it is safe to define the Manichean huruvān Auditors as laymen entitled to expect their souls, their *ruvāns*, to look attractive. Our gain from this definition is that at last we understand why to Iranians Mani presented the alms-giving institution under the name of *Ruvānegān*. The institution must have been a harsh one for new converts to swallow. Laymen asked to toil and sweat for the Elect might well say «but what do *we* get out of it, are not the beneficiaries only the theoretical Living *Grīw*, and the lazy Elect, fed clothed and sheltered at our expense?» Mani's answer would set them completely at rest: «Oh no, it is not only the far from theoretical Living *Grīw*, pure divine quintessence tortured in the grip of dread Darkness, nor the far from lazy Elect distilling themselves ascetically to Filters, who benefit from your forced labour within the *Ruvānegān* institution. Not for nothing its name is *Ruvānegān*: each of you safeguards his own *ruvān* by submitting to the institution's prescriptions and discipline. Just think, what CAN be more wonderful than union forever with a soul shaped by your own toil to breath-taking beauty, what CAN there be drearier than eternal union with her disfigured, allowed by your own neglect to grow ugly?»

But our now knowing, or at least believing that we know, why Mani called the alms-giving institution *Ruvānegān*, exposes us to the danger of incurring a fallacy in respect of the reason why he called the Living Soul «Beauty». Would it not be tempting to infer from this name that he had pressed to its last consequence the *Daēnā*-myth: a good man finds his soul in the other world beautiful; but no human being is so good that his soul's beauty will not have to put up with some imperfection; only God has goodness perfect;

ergo the soul that is Beauty, par excellence, can only be God's own. If we were to read such a reasoning into the wonderful name of the Anima Viva we have discovered, we should soon find ourselves drowning in vertiginous Living-Soul/God-Soul/World-Soul speculations on behalf of Mani.

The reason for not drawing such inferences lies partly in its being *grīw*, and not *dēn* (from *daēnā*-) or *ruvān*, which designates the Living Soul as «soul»; but chiefly the reason lies in the fact that the soul which is called «Beauty», the Living Soul, consists of Light. Up to now in this lecture we have been looking exclusively in the Living Soul's being a soul, for an explanation of her name «Beauty». Although we did find an explanation, it would be rash to close the inquiry without asking also if perchance within Iranian tradition the Anima Viva might not deserve the name «Beauty» on account of her being LIGHT.

We shall do well to remind ourselves why she is Light. The difference between Zoroaster's and Mani's dualism, to put it in a nutshell, is that Zoroaster opposes Right to Wrong, while Mani opposes Light to Darkness. Zoroaster's dualism is ethical, Mani's is optical. It is that by dint of his make-up, his genes, which even a prophet cannot escape. Mani's system is a cerebral elucubration, but its elucubrator was an artist, a visual artist. He did write books, but he also drew a picture book. In Persia, long after his writings were forgotten, wiped out by Islam, Mani remained a household word for an artist, the prophet survived as painter. Combining these two vocations of his we might call him the prophet of chiaroscuro, inexorably fated to translate Zoroaster's Right into Light.

Having so translated it, what prompted him to call the lost particles of Light, the ones swallowed up by Darkness, «the Living Soul»? There is no problem about «Living», *Viva*. The particles were alive, Darkness had swallowed them but not killed them. But why did Mani not call them «the Living Light», which surely would have been, indeed is, their truest definition?

If it is only to Iranians that Mani gave «Beauty» as name of the Living Soul, then he must have known that this name would spark off in their minds the recognition of a notion which the tradition of non-Iranians lacked. But Mani was himself an Iranian. The notion in question was therefore one with which he himself had grown up. Might then not this be the notion which impelled him, long before he turned to Iranians, while he was still addressing only Babylonians, to call the lost particles of Light not «the Living Light» but «the Living Soul»?

The fact is that the requisite notion makes its appearance centuries before Mani, in the Avesta. I dealt with it at some length years ago, in my Mithra book, totally unaware at the time of its relevance to Manicheism as disclosed by the Bactrian fragment. The Avestan notion is that light, more specifically daylight and the sun inasmuch as he *is* daylight, is «the most beautiful creature» and has «of (all) shapes the most beautiful shape».

Light is Beauty without further qualification, absolute Beauty. What notion can there be, more compellingly appealing to a prophet born painter. But the prophet in question, witness his use of the terms *huruvān* and *Ruvānegān*, was heir also to ANOTHER notion : the more dutiful the man, the more beautiful his soul. In the *Haḍōxt Nask* in fact the *Daēnā* meeting her deceased paragon of virtue is said to be «in shape of the same beauty as the most beautiful creature». The «most beautiful creature» in the *Avesta*, we have just learned, was Light. So an *Avestan Daēnā*, even though paired with a being no more than human, was not below vying with the unsurpassably ravishing beauty of Light itself!

Would not Mani have been familiar with the *Avestan* statements in point? And if *we* are reminded of them on seeing him call «Beauty» the lost particles of Light we were wondering why he calls «Soul», is this not because it was *he* who had in mind these very same statements when he decided to call the Light «soul»?

We have come round full circle. We started in astonishment at learning from the *Bactrian* fragment that Mani called the Living Soul, the lost particles of Light, «Beauty». We looked for a reason, and found one. But the reason boomeranged on us, and we end by discovering that it was BEAUTY which induced Mani to call the lost particles of Light «Living Soul»! What we took for effect has turned out to be cause : in Beauty Mani the painter saw the common denominator of Light and Soul, through Beauty he merged them.

Such aesthetics of course do not mar, how could they, the ethics which as a prophet Mani felt bound to uphold. They in fact greatly enhance their appeal. It is Mani at his most beguiling whom Lord Henry unwittingly mimics in his repartee : «I can't bear the idea», *Dorian Gray* tells him, «of my soul being hideous»; to which the perceptive Lord replies «A very charming artistic basis for ethics, *Dorian*.»

Cambridge.

PROBLEME DER INTERPRETATION
MANICHÄISCH-SOGHDISCHER BRIEFE*

Daß sich unter den soghdischen Turfantexten in manichäischer Schrift eine Reihe historisch bemerkenswerter Briefe befinden, hat als erster W. B. Henning vor mehr als vierzig Jahren mitgeteilt.¹ Henning machte auch eine knappe Inhaltsangabe der Schreiben, so wie er sie damals verstand, und hob ihre wichtigsten Punkte hervor. Eine Veröffentlichung der Briefe sollte das 5. Kapitel seines Buches «Sogdica», London 1940, bilden. Hennings Bearbeitung war offenbar so weit gediehen, daß die Briefe im Inhaltsverzeichnis angekündigt werden, aber nicht weit genug, um in den Text eines unter schwierigen Zeitumständen entstandenen Werkes noch rechtzeitig Eingang zu finden.² Stattdessen hatte I. Gershevitch die Möglichkeit, viele wichtige Wörter und Formen der Briefe in seinem Artikel «Sogdian Compounds», TPS 1945, S. 137

* In seiner gedruckten Form ist dieser Vortrag des Ergebnis einer berichtigenden und verbessernden Überarbeitung, in deren Verlauf ich Gelegenheit fand, die Originaltexte in der Orientabteilung der Staatsbibliothek — Preußischer Kulturbesitz zu studieren. Wertvolle Richtigstellungen, Hinweise und Anregungen verdanke ich Herrn Prof. D. N. MACKENZIE (im folgenden MK) und Herrn Dr. N. SIMS-WILLIAMS (im folgenden SW), sowie allen Fachkollegen, die meinen Vortrag am 2. 10. 1980 in Budapest hörten und zu ihm Stellung nahmen. Eine wertvolle Hilfe waren mir der Rat und Beistand meiner Kollegen Dr. TH. THILO und Dr. P. ZIEME, sowie meiner Frau. Ihnen allen, und mit ihnen Herrn Dr. D. GEORGE, dem Direktor der Orientabteilung der Staatsbibliothek, sei an dieser Stelle gedankt. [Vgl. auch Anhang II.]

¹ W. B. HENNING: Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus. ZDMG 90 (1936) S. 16 ff. Ein Verzeichnis der mutmaßlich zu dieser Textgruppe gehörenden Stücke bei M. BOYCE: A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection. Berlin 1960. S. 148. Die Zugehörigkeit von M 891 a erscheint mir fraglich. Ähnlichen Schriftcharakter haben u. a. die Fragmente M 5885—9 und T III D 271 k (nicht im Katalog). In ihrem Fall ist mit Zugehörigkeit zu Briefen zu rechnen. Auch das zutreffend als «school-exercise» charakterisierte Fragment M 7391 (Catalogue, S. 131) enthält Briefformeln. Das vermutliche Brieffragment M 858 a wird an den Zeilenenden ergänzt durch das von A. N. RAGOZA publizierte Leningrader Stück S I $\frac{\text{Kr IV}}{852}$ inv. No. 3599 (Sogdijskie fragmenty central'no-aziatskogo sobranija instituta vostokovedenija. Moskva 1980. S. 52 u. 152).

² Vgl. I. GERSHEVITCH in: W. B. Henning Memorial Volume. London 1970. S. XII.

ff., und in seiner «Grammar of Manichean Sogdian», Oxford 1954, zu klären. Was aber war mit Hennings Manuskript geschehen? Sein Schicksal ist mir unbekannt geblieben. Ich muß gestehen, daß ich auch nicht systematisch versucht habe, es aufzuklären, denn es erschien mir sowieso wenig sinnvoll, mich an eine Arbeit zu machen, die Henning ohne Zweifel bereits früher viel besser geleistet hatte.

Wenn ich mich nun doch entschlossen habe, an einem berufenen Ort meine Vorstellungen von den beiden größten und wichtigsten Fragmenten, deren Hauptstücke M 112 und M 119 sind,³ mitzuteilen, so 1. weil ich Gelegenheit finde, das Urteil der Fachleute zu hören, 2. weil das Schicksal des wissenschaftlichen Nachlasses Prof. Hennings nach wie vor unklar ist und die Existenz eines von ihm ausgearbeiteten Manuskripts zweifelhaft zu sein scheint, und 3. weil jüngst in einer Reihe erschienener und noch unpublizierter Arbeiten die Geschichte des Manichäismus in Zentralasien und China mit wertvollen neuen Resultaten untersucht wurde,⁴ für die auch die manichäisch-soghdischen Briefe, genauer gesagt: Hennings Angaben von 1936 über diese Schriften, eine gewisse Rolle spielen. Ich meine, daß man heute einiges mehr dazu sagen kann, und da ich Zugang zu den iranischen Turfantexten habe, fühle ich mich verpflichtet, es auch zu tun. Ich tue es nicht, ohne dankbar anzuerkennen, daß es vor allem die Resultate des wissenschaftlichen Lebenswerkes W. B. Hennings sind, die diesen Fortschritt ermöglichten. Henning und Gershevitch folgend bezeichne ich M 112 usw. als den ersten, M 119 usw. als den zweiten Brief.

Mit Henning betrachte ich die Schriftstücke als Briefe, wenngleich ihre Form dies nicht von vornherein erwarten läßt. Sie sind jedenfalls keine leicht erkennbaren Faltbriefe wie etwa die soghdischen Alten Briefe⁵ oder einige der Mugh-Dokumente, sondern einseitig beschriebene Rollen. Sie sind auch nicht in

³ Vgl. dazu M. BOYCE: Catalogue [s. Anm. 1]. S. 10.

⁴ P. ZIEME: Ein uigurischer Text über die Wirtschaft manichäischer Klöster im Uigurischen Reich. In: *Researches in Altaic Languages*, Budapest 1975. S. 331 ff., Keng Shi-min (耿世民), 回鶻文摩尼教寺院文書初釋 (Notes on an Uigur Government Charter issued to a Manichaean Monastery), in: *Kaogu Xuebao* 4 [1978], S. 497 ff. (Eine neue Gesamtbearbeitung dieses wichtigen Textes wird gegenwärtig von mehreren Gelehrten vorbereitet.), S. N. C. LIEU: A Lapsed Chinese Manichaean's Correspondence with a Confucian Official in the Late Sung Dynasty (1265): a Study of the Ch'ung-Shou-Kung Chi by Huang Chen. In: *The John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 1977. S. 397 ff., ders.: *The Religion of Light. An Introduction to the History of Manichaeism in China*. Hong Kong 1979. Ders.: *Polemics Against Manichaeism as a Subversive Cult in Sung China (A. D. c. 960 — c. 1200)*. In: *The John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 1979. S. 132 ff., ders.: *Nestorians and Manichaeans on the South China Coast*. In: *Vigiliae Christianae* 34 (1980), S. 71 ff., bes. S. 75 mit Anm. 23 a, ders.: *Precept and Practice in Manichaean Monasticism*. In: *The Journal of Theological Studies* NS 32 (1981) S. 153 ff.

⁵ H. REICHELT: *Die soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums. II*. Heidelberg 1931. S. 5.

der geläufigen soghdischen Schrift zu Papier gebracht, sondern in einer vereinfachten Variante der sonst der sakralen Literatur vorbehaltenen manichäischen Schrift. Was für Hennings Auffassung spricht, ist ihr Inhalt, und die formalen Eigentümlichkeiten dürften sich so erklären, daß gewichtige und lange Schreiben an hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten vorliegen. Da konnte man keinen alltäglichen Faltbrief schicken, sondern wählte die altehrwürdige Schriftrolle, und zwar nicht die Rückseite von chinesischen Texten sondern jungfräuliches Papier. Daher auch die Verwendung der manichäischen statt der soghdischen Kursivschrift.⁶ Die verfeinerte Form der Schreiben macht es auch unwahrscheinlich, daß sie lediglich Entwürfe oder zum Verbleib beim Absender bestimmte Abschriften darstellen. Man kann daher von der Annahme ausgehen, daß ihr wahrscheinlicher Fundort Qoço⁷ zugleich der Wohnort oder Amtssitz des Empfängers war und nicht umgekehrt der Ort des Absenders. Inhalt und Schrift sprechen auch für Hennings Charakterisierung der Briefe als Dokumente manichäischer Herkunft.⁸

Im folgenden gebe ich eine knappe Beschreibung dessen, was ich als Inhalt der beiden Briefe vermute und als Probleme erkenne. Meine Lesung und Übersetzung des Textes ist diesem Aufsatz als Anhang beigefügt.

⁶ Vergleichbar damit ist die an uigurischen Brieffragmenten gemachte Beobachtung, daß amtliche Schreiben an hochgestellte Persönlichkeiten sorgfältiger ausgefertigt werden als Privatbriefe (S. TEZCAN u. P. ZIEME: Uigurische Brieffragmente. In: *Studia Turcica*. Budapest 1971. S. 451 ff.). Was die Art des Briefverschlusses betrifft, so nehmen die Bearbeiter für längere Schreiben die Rollenform an (S. 452).

⁷ Da sowohl M 112 wie M 119 alte, von F. W. K. MÜLLER gegebene M-Signaturen haben, müssen sie von der ersten Turfanexpedition (Nov. 1902 bis März 1903) in Qoço gefunden oder gekauft worden sein (BOYCE: *Catalogue* [s. Anm. 1], S. XXI) und mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit der Ruine α entstammen (BOYCE: ebd. Anm. 3). Diese Annahme wird für M 112 aber durch den Umstand in Frage gestellt, daß das zugehörige Fragment M 162 a (BOYCE: ebd., S. 13) die Fundsignatur T I D 51 trägt, was die Möglichkeit anderer Herkunft innerhalb Qoços offen läßt (BOYCE: ebd., S. XIII). Was M 119 betrifft, so konnte ich auf dem in der Staatsbibliothek in Westberlin befindlichen Original sehen, daß seine Rückseite die alte Signatur T I D I I α (so!), d. h. T I D, T I α , trägt. Das Stück muß also während der ersten Turfanexpedition in Qoço in der Ruine α geborgen worden sein. Damit stimmt überein, daß das zugehörige Fragment M 1225 die Signatur T I α (BOYCE: ebd., S. 69), das ebenfalls zugehörige Stück M 1867 die Signatur T I D (BOYCE: ebd., S. 82) trägt. Die dann naheliegende Annahme, daß das Gebäude α auch der Amts- und Wohnsitz jenes hohen manichäischen Geistlichen war, an den die Briefe gerichtet wurden, ist verlockend aber nicht sicher beweisbar. Sie ist unwahrscheinlich angesichts der Erklärung der Ruine als Rest eines buddhistischen Heiligtums (A. v. LÉCOQ: *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien. Die manichäischen Miniaturen*, Berlin 1923, S. 28 ff.).

⁸ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1], S. 16 ff. Die einmal erwogene Alternativmöglichkeit, daß nestorianische Briefe vorliegen (M. BOYCE: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abt., 4. Bd. Iranistik, 2. Abschn. Literatur, Lieferung 1, Leiden Köln 1968, S. 73), trifft mit Sicherheit nicht zu.

Erster Brief

(Ein aus den nur teilweise zusammensetzbaren Stücken M 112, 146 a, 162 a, 336 a, 336 b und 336 c bestehender Briefrest in Rollenform, die Rückseite trägt einen uigurischen Text in spätem Duktus.⁹ Über die Lokalisierung der Teile läßt sich nur sagen, daß M 146 a und M 336 c im mir vorliegenden Text mit M 112 zusammengefügt sind und daß M 336 a in größerem Abstand M 112 usw. voranging. Wo M 336 b und M 162 a einzuordnen sind, ist unbekannt. In dieser Arbeit gehören die Zeilen /1–13/ zu M 336 a, /14–32/ zu M 112 + 146 a + 336 c, /33–37/ zu M 336 b und /38–40/ zu M 162 a.

Die geschichtlich bedeutsamste Aussage dieses Schreibens, von Henning bereits bekanntgemacht,¹⁰ ist die Erwähnung der beiden Parteien der syrisch-manichäischen Kirche, der *myhry'nd* (Zeile 5) und *mkl'sykt* (Zeile 10), im arabischen Text des Fihrist *mihriya* und *miqlāšiya*.¹¹ Es scheint, daß der soghdische Verfasser eines ihrer Worte — in mp. Sprache — zitiert, dessen unvollständiger Erhaltungszustand sehr zu bedauern ist. Es lautet in Zeile 3: 'yg hm'g dyn 'm'h hwm «der ganzen Religion/Kirche sind wir». Danach dürften die Syrer, vielleicht insbesondere die in Zeile 5 genannten *Mihryānd*, als Sachwalter oder Sprecher der manichäischen Gesamtkirche aufgetreten sein, was insofern verständlich ist, als die *Mihriya* jene Partei der manichäischen Kirche Mesopotamiens darstellte, von der die *Miqlāšiya* sich abspaltete und deren Oberhaupt in Babylon seinen Sitz hatte. Da in Zeile 10 dann noch die *Miklāsikt* in unklarem Zusammenhang genannt sind, so scheint es, daß Anhänger beider Parteien sich damals in Zentralasien befanden. Der Briefschreiber dürfte aber wenig Unterschiede zwischen ihnen bemerkt und beide Gruppen mit derselben Geringschätzung betrachtet haben. Seine Bemerkung in den Zeilen 11–12 «denn von einem Gesetz und einem Ursprung . . . sind sie» läßt sich jedenfalls so deuten. Hennings allgemein akzeptierte Annahme, der Briefschreiber habe allein gegen die *Mihriya* polemisiert,¹² ist nicht widerlegbar. Der Inhalt des zweiten Briefes spricht aber nicht für diese Auffassung (vgl. S. 297).

Von den zuvor genannten Syrern ist dann gewiß auch im folgenden erhaltenen Hauptteil des Briefes die Rede. Was zunächst gegen diese gedankliche Einheit des Gesamtschreibens zu sprechen scheint, ist die Tatsache, daß das Oberhaupt der kritisierten Gemeinschaft den persischen Namen *Mihr-*

⁹ M. BOYCE: Catalogue [s. Anm. 1], S. 10.

¹⁰ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1], S. 16 ff.

¹¹ G. FLÜGEL: Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Leipzig 1862. S. 68. Z. 1., der Pl. *al-maqlāša* S. 68. Zeile 13 u. 15. vgl. Kitāb al-Fihrist I. ed. G. FLÜGEL, Leipzig 1871. S. 335, Z. 19, 27, 29. The Fihrist of al-Nadīm, ed. B. DODGE, Bd. II. New York, London 1970. S. 793. Über die beiden Religionsparteien vgl. FLÜGEL: Mani, S. 66 ff., 97 ff., Kitāb al-Fihrist I. S. 334, Z. 3 ff., DODGE: S. 792 ff.

¹² Neue Materialien (s. Anm. 1), S. 17.

pādār führt und daß die Electae dieser Gemeinschaft ebenso *dēnāvarānč* (Sg.) genannt werden, wie die Erwählten-Schwestern der zentralasiatischen *Dēnāwariya*-Gemeinde. Aber beide Einwände sind nicht zwingend. Ein syrischer Manichäer konnte ebensowohl *Mihr-pādār* heißen wie der Begründer der *Mihrīya*-Partei den persischen Namen *Mihr* führte und der eigentliche Begründer der *Miqlāšīya Zād-Hormezd* hieß. Und Begriffe wie *dēnāwar* und *dēnāwarīft* haben die zentralasiatischen Manichäer offenbar nicht zur Abgrenzung von ihren westlichen Glaubensbrüdern benützt und daher ihrer eigenen Gemeinschaft vorbehalten. Wenn sie diese bezeichnen wollten, so sprachen sie von der Kirche von Churasan.¹³

Unter der Voraussetzung also, daß die Zeilen 14 ff. von den zuvor genannten Syrern handeln, nehme ich an, daß der Briefschreiber nunmehr die hohen Ansprüche der Fremden kritisch an ihrem Glaubenswandel und diesen an den Forderungen der fünf für die Elekten geltenden Gebote mißt. Ihre Taten werden gewogen und zu leicht befunden.

Als erstes kommt das Zeile 13 genannte Gebot der «Wahrhaftigkeit» (*ršty'k cxs'pδδ*), also des Bekenntnisses der manichäischen Glaubenslehren, zur Sprache, doch das dazu Gesagte ist leider ganz verlorengegangen, was um so bedauerlicher ist, als es für eine genauere Kenntnis der Auffassungen von *Mihrīya* und *Miqlāšīya* ohne Zweifel sehr bedeutsam gewesen wäre. Mit Zeile 14 ff. setzt der Text des Briefes wieder mitten im Zweiten Gebot, *pw'zrmy'h* «das Nichtverletzen», ein, in dem Taten einer oder mehrerer Erwählten-Schwestern der angeklagten Gemeinde beschrieben werden, die der in den irdischen Elementen und Organismen verstreuten *viva anima* Leid und Schaden bereiten und die eigentlich nur von Hörern hätten verrichtet werden dürfen. Für alle Beschuldigungen werden Augenzeugen genannt, so daß die ungeliebten fremden Glaubensbrüder längere Zeit kritisch beobachtet worden sein dürften. Da hat jemand gesehen, daß jemand pflanzliche Produkte abhieb und daraus etwas nähte (Zeilen 15–16). Ein anderes Mal hat ihre Erwählten-Schwester mit einem Grabegerät den Boden bearbeitet (Zeile 18). Auch wurde von den Beklagten Mehl gemahlen und Holz geschnitten (Zeilen 19–20). Großen Raum (Zeilen 20–22) nimmt die skandalöse Beobachtung ein, daß ihre Erwählten-Schwester einmal «Blut nahm» (*xwrnyy "syyskwn*, Zeile 21), was wohl dasselbe bedeutet wie np. *xūn gereftan*, wtl. «Blut nehmen», nämlich

¹³ Dyn 'y xwr's'n u. ä. in M 4 (f) /R/10–11/, M 82 /V/18–19/, M 83 /I/V/17/, M 190 /4/, M 235 /I/R/9/, M 494/3/(?), M 1368 /4/, M 1863 /14/. Dagegen finde ich parth. *dyn'wryft* nur ein einziges Mal belegt in M 6020 /3/, publ. bei HENNING: A Grain of Mustard. AION-L 1965, S. 30 f. HENNING erklärte seine dort gegebene Übersetzung «the man who is in the *Dēnāvāriyya*» überzeugend als Hörer der «(Eastern) Manichaean church». Diese Selbstbezeichnung ist aber gewiß nicht als Parteiennamen zu verstehen, der die eigene Gemeinschaft vom Rest der manichäischen Kirche abgrenzen sollte. Wenn überhaupt, so mochte sie der Abgrenzung gegen Christen, Buddhisten und andere dienen.

zu Heilzwecken Blut schröpfen oder zur Ader lassen.¹⁴ Dies habe sie getan und dann verwerflicherweise en ʔpy ʔpyw kmʔ snʔyyskwn, «mit Wasser das kmʔ gewaschen». Leider ist kmʔ ein Hapax legomenon unbekannter Bedeutung. Man erwartet, daß es entweder ein von Blut beschmiertes chirurgisches Messer oder das Schröpfinstrument oder die bei der Blutentnahme entstandene Wunde, vielleicht auch ein Reinigungstuch¹⁵ ist. Das Abwaschen des Blutes mußte dann das Wasser verunreinigen, und eben dies wurde der Heilpraktikerin vorgeworfen. Die Anklage stimmt überein mit dem, was wir aus anderen Quellen über die Hochachtung und Reinhaltung des Wassers bei den Manichäern wissen.¹⁶

¹⁴ J. A. RUBINČIK: *Persidsko-russkij slovarʔ*. I. Moskva 1970. S. 589 *xūn gereftan med.* «puskatʔ krovʔ». Das kann sowohl «zur Ader lassen» wie «schröpfen» bedeuten. So erklärt M. MOʔIN: *A Persian Dictionary* I. Teheran 1963. S. 1464 *xūn-gir* als *rag-zan*, *faṣṣād* «Aderlasser», *haḡḡām* «Aderlasser, Schröpfer». Im vorliegenden Text dürfte das Zeile 25 ff. beschriebene dreifache «Blut-Nehmen» aber eher ein Schröpfen als ein Aderlaß gewesen sein. Das Schröpfen (*heḡāmāt*) wird in Moʔins Wörterbuch, S. 1341, so beschrieben: «Dem Körper wird so Blut entzogen, daß eine besondere Klinge ein Stück Haut zwischen den Schulterknochen aufschneidet und mit einem besonderen Instrument (dem 'Schröpfhorn') die aufgeschnittenen Hautteile abgesaugt und die genügende Menge Blut dem Körper entzogen wird.» Zu «Schröpfhorn» (*šāḥ-e heḡāmāt*) sagt Moʔin: «Das Endstück eines Rindshornes, dessen Inneres ausgehöhlt worden ist.» Beide Formen des Blutentzuges haben in den Heilkunden des Orients eine alte Tradition. Für Indien vgl. J. JOLLY in: *Grundriß der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*. 3. Bd., Heft 10, Medizin. Straßburg 1901. S. 35, für die islamische Welt: M. ULLMANN: *Die Medizin im Islam*. In: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*. 1. Abt., Ergbd. 6, 1. Abschn. Leiden, Köln 1970. S. 16. Auch in Zentralasien muß der Blutentzug praktiziert worden sein, wie aus türkischen Texten hervorgeht (vgl. R. MÜLLER: *Ein Beitrag zur ärztlichen Graphik aus Zentralasien (Turfan)*. In: *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 15 (1923) S. 21 ff., G. R. RACHMATI: *Zur Heilkunde der Uiguren*. II. SPAW Phil.-hist. Kl. 1932. XXII. Berlin 1932. S. 419).

¹⁵ Darf in diesem Fall np. *kaṃā* «a sleeve; old cloth sewed together, whereon bread is laid to be baked in the oven» (F. STEINGASS: *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London 1963. S. 1046) verglichen werden?

¹⁶ Die «große griechische Abschwörungsformel» sagt den Manichäern das Verbot nach, «ihren Schmutz mit Wasser abzuwaschen, damit nicht, wie sie sagen, das Wasser befleckt wird» (Die Gnosis III, *Der Manichäismus*, unter Mitwirkung von J. P. ASMUSSEN ed. v. A. BÖHLIG. Zürich, München 1980. S. 299, Text bei A. ADAM: *Texte zum Manichäismus*. Berlin 1954. S. 100, 114 f.). Daß der Besuch der öffentlichen Bäder den Manichäern grundsätzlich als verwerflich galt, folgt auch aus Augustins Beschuldigung: «Multi in vino et carnibus, multi lavantes in balneis inventi sunt» (De Mor. Man., Kap. 19, 68, in: *Patrologiae cursus completus, ser. latina prior*. Bd. 32, Paris 1861. Sp. 1374). Umgekehrt verleiht die erörterte Briefstelle einer Mitteilung Li Chao's (李肇) in seinem *Tang guo shi bu* (唐國史補) (1. Ht. des 9. Jh.) Gewicht, wonach die Manichäer das Wasser «verehrten», vgl. ED. CHAVANNES und P. PELLIER: *Un Traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine (deuxième partie)*, in: JA 1913, S. 268. Die Richtigkeit von 敬 «ils respectent» hatten die Autoren wenn nicht zurückgewiesen, so doch in Zweifel gezogen und gemeint, daß der Text ursprünglich «sie trinken» gehabt habe (ebd., S. 274 Anm. 3). Vgl. auch S. 349 Anm. 2.

Wenn die Fremden ihre Electa mit der Entschuldigung verteidigen, sie habe Brunnenwasser genommen und dies sei tot, d. h. wohl, es enthalte nichts von der Lebendigen Seele, so wurde dies in Mittelasien zweifellos als Beweis für die Laxheit der Moral der Syrer aufgefaßt. Uns erinnert es aber auch an die wichtige Scheidung zwischen stehendem und fließendem Wasser beim Taufritual der Mandäer,¹⁷ so daß sich in dieser Haltung der beschuldigten Erwählten-Schwester vielleicht eine altererbe, unter den mesopotamischen Täufern verbreitete Auffassung kundtut. Eine Verletzung des Zweiten Gebotes ist es auch, wenn Heilpflanzen zerstoßen und Feuer gelöscht(?) werden (Zeilen 22—23).

Die Zeilen 24 ff. bis zum Ende des Fragments behandeln Verstöße der Syrer gegen das Dritte Gebot, dyncyhyrft cxš'pδδ, «Religionsmäßiges Verhalten», d. h. keuscher, ja streng enthaltsamer Lebenswandel in sexuellen Dingen. Was der Briefschreiber hier vorzubringen hat, sind Klatsch- und Tratschgeschichten reinsten Wassers, deren Wichtigkeit für den Manichäer strikter Observanz aber durch chinesische Nachrichten über die radikale Trennung der Geschlechter bei den manichäischen Klerikern verdeutlicht wird.¹⁸ Unser Briefschreiber nun weiß von *Mihr-pādār*, dem Oberhaupt (s'r'r) der inkriminierten Gemeinde (Zeile 25), zu berichten, daß er eine Lohnmagd (z'k'nc kr'y'nc) zu sich kommen ließ und mit ihr hinter verschlossener Tür alleine blieb, damit sie sein Fußleiden durch Blutentzug, d. h. wohl Schröpfen, heile. Die eigenen Electi *Yazd-Aryāmān*, *Drist-Rōšn*, *Mihr-Wahman* und *Wahman-šūh* stellten darauf das Mädchen zur Rede, das sich aber nicht bußfertig zeigte, sondern sogar erwiderte, sie müsse noch ein weiteres Mal zu *Mihr-pādār* gehen (Zeilen 25—29).

Eines anderen Verstoßes gegen das Dritte Gebot machte *Mihr-pādār* sich schuldig, als er einen heftigen Streit zwischen einer Dienerin und einer Erwählten-Schwester seiner Gemeinde dadurch gewaltsam schlichtete, daß er die Dienerin am Arm packte und somit körperlich berührte (Zeilen 29—31).

Bedenken wir, daß noch das Vierte und das Fünfte Gebot behandelt worden sein dürften, so muß der Brief ein sehr umfangreiches Sündenregister enthalten haben, aus dem hervorging, daß eine tiefe Diskrepanz zwischen den hohen Ansprüchen der Syrer und ihrem Glaubenswandel bestand.

¹⁷ K. RUDOLPH: *Iconography of Religions XXI. Mandaeism*. Leiden 1978. S. 8.

¹⁸ Vgl. besonders, was *Lu Yu* (1125—1209) in seinem *Lao xue ang bi ji* (老學菴筆記) als Meinung der Anhänger der «Religion des Lichts» (d. h. der Manichäer) in Fu-Kien zu dieser Frage mitteilt: «Qu'hommes et femmes ne soient pas séparés, voilà ce qui est démoniaque; qu'hommes et femmes ne se donnent rien en se touchant la main, voilà la [règle de la] religion de la lumière» (CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité II*. [s. Anm. 16], S. 342 mit Anm. 2, Text S. 343). Vgl. auch ebd., S. 353 f., 362, LIEU: *Polemics against Manichaeism* [s. Anm. 4], S. 153.

Zweiter Brief

(Ein aus den Stücken M 119, 119 a, 119 b, 1225, 1867 a und 1867 b bestehendes, einseitig beschriebenes Rollenfragment,¹⁹ dessen Zeilen sich wie folgt zusammensetzen: /1—4/: M 1225, /4—6/: M 119 a, /5—19/: M 119, /18—19/: M 1867 b, /19—21/: M 1867 a, /19—20/: M 119 b. Denselben Duktus und Zeilenabstand hat ein kleines, drei Zeilenreste umfassendes Fragment T III D 271 K, das nicht im Katalog von M. Boyce erscheint, hier M 119 c genannt. Seine zweite Zeile lautet βγγšty[y] krj w(rz...). Im Gegensatz zu anderen Stücken des zweiten Briefes trägt M 119 c auf seiner Rückseite uigurischen Text, doch schließt dies Zugehörigkeit nicht aus. Nur ein Teil des Briefes könnte ja zur Wiederbeschriftung verwendet worden sein.

Als Sprecher einer von Zwistigkeiten zerrissenen Gemeinde wenden sich der oder die Schreiber des zweiten Briefes an eine hochgestellte, nur xypδ'wnd «Herrscher» genannte (Zeilen 5, 14), höflich βγ «Herr» angeredete (Zeile 5) Persönlichkeit. Die Schwierigkeiten sind offenbar so groß geworden, daß sie der Beachtung der angerufenen Autorität anempfohlen werden, damit sie Schlimmeres verhindere (Zeile 7, 17).²⁰

Für wen der Briefschreiber sich verwendet, wird in den Zeilen 10, 11 und 12 gesagt. Es sind m'x xwyštrt «unsere Oberen» und 'skwncykt xwyštrt

¹⁹ Vgl. M. BOYCE: Catalogue [s. Anm. 1]. S. 10.

²⁰ Frm'y 'ms' 'ktyy bzw. 'ms' frm'y 'krtyy. HENNING hatte zuvor den Sinn des Satzes dahingehend zusammengefaßt, daß «der Erzbischof» die Missetäter verwarnen und ihnen anbefehlen solle, «den früher in diesem Lande so angesehenen religiösen Oberhäuptern die gebührende Achtung entgegenzubringen (Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1], S. 16), hatte frm'y also im üblichen Sinne als «befehlen» verstanden. Eine Bedeutung «Gehorsam, Gefolgschaft» für 'ms' vorausgesetzt, erschien mir diese Auffassung sinnvoller als jene von I. GERSHEVITCH, der «please, pay obedience» übersetzte (A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian. Oxford 1961. § 1682). Ich war daher Henning in der ursprünglichen Fassung dieser Arbeit gefolgt. MK und SW belehren mich jedoch mit Recht, daß 'ms' tatsächlich «Beobachtung, Aufmerksamkeit» bedeutet, MK u. a. mit Hinweis auf A. N. RAGOZAS Sogdijskie fragmenty [vgl. Anm. 1], Nr. 37, Z. 18, SW u. a. mit Hinweis auf HENNINGS richtigstellende Übersetzung bei J. P. ASMUSSEN: X^aästvānift. Studies in Manichaeism. Copenhagen 1965. S. 238, Anm. 6. Die zutreffende Bedeutung von chr.-soghd. 'ms' wn- «faire attention, observer» dürfte E. BENVENISTE als erster festgestellt haben (JA 239 [1951], S. 118), der das Wort mit parth. pdms- «verstehen» und pdm's «Verstand, Urteil» verglich. Die von MK erwogene Herleitung von *ā + mṣ-sko- ist damit gut vereinbar. Zur Etymologie von 'ms' vgl. weiterhin D. WEBER: Die Stellung der sog. Inchoativa im Mitteliranischen. Göttingen 1970. S. 102 f. Wenn aber in den fraglichen Briefstellen zur Aufmerksamkeit aufgefördert wird und nicht zum Gehorsam, so gewinnt die von GERSHEVITCH vertretene Auffassung von frm'y als einer höflichen Bitte sehr an Wahrscheinlichkeit und ist mit MK und SW gewiß zu bevorzugen. Daß sie im Soghdischen nicht unbelegt ist, betont SW mit Hinweis auf VJ, Z. 179, M 617 /1/V/8/ in GMS §§ 733 und 927 und auf C 2/13. V 15 in seiner noch ungedruckten Arbeit über diese Handschrift, wo fr](m)'(y) qty «please do (it)» syr. s'wr «do (it)» entspricht.

«die gegenwärtigen Oberen». Offenbar wird ihr Schicksal mit dem einiger früherer Lehrer und anderer *Electi* verglichen, von denen es heißt, daß ihnen Lehrer und Bischöfe der angeklagten Partei «auf den Kopf gestiegen» seien (pr ... sry ... stty, Zeile 18, [prw] ... sryy ... st'nd, Zeile 19–20). Hier liegt wohl eine idiomatische Wendung vor. Wenn ein Vergleich mit np. *bar sar āmadan* «superare; incementum afferre, augere; elevari»,²¹ wtl. «auf den Kopf kommen», erlaubt ist, so könnte dies bedeuten, daß die Vertreter der Gegenpartei jenen der eigenen an die Seite getreten sind, sie vielleicht auch überwunden, bedrängt oder verdrängt haben, ihnen jedenfalls mancherlei Schwierigkeiten bereitet haben. Daß mehrere Lehrer der eigenen Partei erwähnt werden, darunter ein *Nēwānzādag* (Zeile 19), verdient Hervorhebung.

Wer ist die Gegenpartei, die zum Gehorsam gebracht werden soll? Die Zeilen 15 ff. nennen und bewerten sie. Es heißt da: «Dieser schmutzigen und gemeinen Syrer Brauch und Kunst ist so: in Spaltung und Streit sind sie erfahren [und] geübt, denn 'geistige Spaltung' herrscht hier.» Die wesentlichen Teile dieser wichtigen Stelle hatte Henning schon 1936 bekanntgemacht.²² Sie lassen erkennen, daß es Glaubensgenossen fremder Nationalität, Syrer, d. h. Manichäer aus Mesopotamien, waren, die Unruhe stiftend bei ihren zentralasiatischen Glaubensbrüdern auftraten. Daß tatsächlich die als Gegner der eigenen Geistlichen genannten Persönlichkeiten Syrer gewesen sein können, wird durch den syr. Namen *Gavryav* (Zeile 19, auch bereits Zeile 3) bestätigt. Auch der Bischof *ktwn'* könnte einen syrischen Namen getragen haben (Zeile 20). Dagegen führten die Lehrer *Saxtōē* (Zeile 20)²³ und *Māhdād* (Zeile 18) persische Namen. Die den Syrern pauschal vorgeworfene Streitsucht bezieht sich wohl auf die Auseinandersetzung zwischen *Mihriya* und *Miqlašīa*, deren Parteien der erste Brief nennt. Es scheint also, daß die wegen ihres laxen Glaubenslebens angeklagten Gegner des ersten Briefes derselben Herkunft sind wie die Unruhestifter des zweiten Schreibens. Ich habe auch den Eindruck, daß beide Briefautoren den Parteiungen der syrischen Glaubensbrüder mit gleicher Distanz gegenüberstehen (vgl. S. 292). Sie sind nicht *Mihryānd* und *Miklāsikt*, ihre Partei ist eben die Kirche von Churasan, die die westlichen Manichäer als *Dēnāwarīya* bezeichneten. Den Gegnern schreibt der zweite Brief die ängstliche Behauptung zu: «Die Oberhäupter steigen ein wenig empor, und dann steigen sie wieder hinab...» (Zeilen 16–17). Problematisch ist an diesem Satz fast alles. 'yw p'zky' wurde bisher m. W. nicht belegt.²⁴ Was aber bedeuten «hinauf-» und «hinabsteigen»? Mein Erklärungsversuch

²¹ J. A. VULLERS: *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*. I. Bonn 1855. S. 51.

²² *Neue Materialien* [s. Anm. 1], S. 16.

²³ Zu diesem Namen vgl. F. JUSTI: *Iranisches Namenbuch*. Marburg 1895. S. 280 s. v. *Saxtūyeh*.

²⁴ Vgl. Anm. 47 zum Anhang I.

setzt voraus, daß beide Verben eine Art Wechselbewegung bezeichnen, und ferner, daß sie die den manichäischen Elekten vorgeschriebenen beständigen Reisen im Dienste ihrer Religion,²⁵ ihr Kommen und Gehen von Ort zu Ort, zum Gegenstand haben. Chinesische Quellen bezeugen sie für China ausdrücklich und sprechen von einem Kommen aus der Fremde und einer Rückkehr in den Heimatort.²⁶ In Zentralasien dürfte es nicht anders gewesen sein. Aber Auf- und Absteigen ist nicht Kommen und Gehen. Beide Bewegungen könnten nur unter der Bedingung identisch sein, daß das Reiseziel hoch über dem Ausgangspunkt der Reise lag oder eine idiomatische Verwendung der Worte nachweisbar ist. Es lassen sich verschiedene Situationen denken, in denen dies zutrifft, z. B.: wenn die Reise vor der Seidenstraße im Einzugsgebiet des Tarim aus über den Tien-Schan in das Uigurische Steppenreich führte. Die Turfan-oase etwa liegt 154 m unter dem Meeresspiegel, während die höchsten Gebirgsgipfel bei Urumtschi die 5000 m-Grenze übersteigen. Eine Reise in dieser Richtung ist in der Tat ein «Hinaufsteigen».²⁷ Aber es könnte auch anders gewesen sein, wenn «hinaufsteigen» z. B. das Gehen in eine Metropole bezeichnete. Sollte eine derartige idiomatische Wendung in dem manichäischen Brief voraussetzen sein, so würde das Aufsteigen der Syrer ihre Ankunft in der Hauptstadt des Uigurischen Steppenreiches oder in Qočo oder in der Hauptstadt eines anderen Kleinstaates an der Seidenstraße, ja vielleicht sogar Chinas bedeuten. Wie Th. Thilo mir mitteilt, ist es im Chinesischen üblich, das Gehen in die Hauptstadt als «Hinaufgehen» zu bezeichnen, das Gehen aufs Land als «Hinabgehen». In der meinem Vortrag folgenden Diskussion bestätigten mir auch J. Harmatta und I. Gershevitch, daß Bewegungen nach und von Budapest, bzw. in englische Universitätsstädte oder aus ihnen fort in analoger Weise bezeichnet werden, und es ließen sich gewiß noch weitere Beispiele in anderen Sprachen finden.

²⁵ Vgl. ED. CHAVANNES u. P. PELLIOT: Un Traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine. JA 1911. S. 572 f.

²⁶ Vgl. den Kommentar des *Hu Sanxing* (胡三省) zum *Zi zhi tong jian* (資治通鑑) (1285): «Les grands [religieux] manichéens . . . ne font la voyage qu'une fois en plusieurs années pour venir de leur pays d'origine ou y retourner; les petits [religieux] alternent chaque année» (CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: Traité II [s. Anm. 16], S. 266 mit Anm. 2, Text S. 267). Seine Quelle, Li Chao's *Tang guo shi bu* (vgl. Anm. 16) wird so zitiert: «Les grands [religieux] manichéens . . . ne se remplacent qu'au bout de plusieurs années, allant dans le royaume de Milieu et en revenant; les petits [religieux] alternent chaque année.» Vgl. auch LIEU: Polemics against Manichaeism [s. Anm. 4], S. 145 f.

²⁷ Vgl. A. v. LECOQ (in entgegengesetzter Richtung reisend): «Nachdem wir das Gebirge [bei Urumtschi] durchquert hatten, stiegen wir in die merkwürdige Niederung von Turfan herab, . . .» (Auf Hellas Spuren in Ostturkistan, Leipzig 1926. S. 35). Zu soghd. sn- «besteigen» vgl. z. B. C 87 = T III B 61⁴/5/ [qw] (γ)rys'r snnt en zyryny pyd'[r] «auf den Berg steigen sie des Goldes wegen».

Welche Sachverhalte wir auch immer hinter den Worten des Briefes vermuten mögen, daß «herauf-» und «hinabsteigen» in diesem Fall dasselbe wie «kommen» und «gehen» bedeutet, ist sehr wahrscheinlich, und der fragliche Satz könnte besagen, daß die syrischen Gäste zur Beruhigung der Gemüter behaupteten, sie würden, gewissermaßen ihrem ambulanten Lebensstil verpflichtet, nicht für immer bleiben, und sie kämen in der besten Absicht, das Wohl der Kirche zu mehren (Zeile 16—18). Es überrascht freilich nicht, daß der Verfasser des zweiten Briefes ihnen mißtraut. «Dies Wort ist ganz verderblich», sagt er (Zeile 17). Er befürchtet also, daß die unverträglichen Syrer sich für die Dauer in der Gemeinde einnisten und sogar die Gewalt an sich reißen werden. Dies sagt er offenbar in den Zeilen 9 ff.: «Sie steigen empor und vermischen sich mit uns, und es wird einige Jahre dauern, . . . , nach(?) dem Willen der gegenwärtigen Oberen wird es sein, . . . ungesetzlicher und unzeitiger Befehl wird zu den gegenwärtigen Oberen emporkommen. . . [Jene], die ihre Spione waren,²⁸ werden fest an die Stelle unserer Oberen treten und unser . . . Und sie werden die Hart-Bedrängten in ihrem Selbst zerbrechen und den Oberen große Not bereiten und im Bl[ut . . . ihre Hände(?)] waschen. . . ». Als ein schlechtes Beispiel, das Schlimmeres befürchten läßt, scheint sodann in mir unklarem Zusammenhang das Wirken eines gewissen Yazd-Māh genannt worden zu sein (Zeile 14).

Diese Syrer also waren dabei, durch aufsässige Streitsucht die Autorität eines zuvor etablierten Gemeindeglerus zu untergraben. Was sie behaupteten, muß im verlorenen Anfang des Briefes gestanden haben. In den erhaltenen Teilen ist, wenn meine Textergänzungen zutreffen, lediglich von w'xšt ekštyt «häßlichen Worten» (Zeile 7) die Rede. Ein wenig wissen wir von deren Inhalt, wenn die Behauptung auf einem dem Fragment M 119 a zugefügten Etikett zutrifft,²⁹ daß dies die rechte Ecke von M 119 bilde, und zwar offenbar so, daß M 119 a /2/ den Anfang der ersten Zeile von M 119 darstellt. In diesem Fall hätte jemand behauptet: nwm pδk' mn(?) I mγwn xcy «das Gesetz ist mir ebenso.»³⁰

²⁸ Meine Übersetzung folgt GERSHEVITCH: Grammar [s. Anm. 20] § 1679.

²⁹ Vgl. M. BOYCE: Catalogue [s. Anm. 1], S. 10.

³⁰ I mγwn zu man.-soghd. 'yw mγwn, das von GERSHEVITCH: Grammar [s. Anm. 20] § 1317 «altogether» übersetzt wird, dazu buddh.-soghd. 'yw mγ'wn (E. BENVENISTE: JA 1936. S. 218) und christl.-soghd. 'yw mγwn, als dessen Bedeutung N. SIMS-WILLIAMS in seiner noch unpublizierten Edition der Sammelhandschrift C 2 «like» nachweisen konnte (Anm. zu p. 65 /V/27/). Die Bedeutung des Ausdruckes ist gleichwohl fraglich. SW erwägt «The law is the same for me (as for you)». Sollte aber eine der Sonderbedeutung des deutschen «gleich» im Sinne von «egal, gleichgültig» entsprechende Entwicklung auch für das soghdische Wort angenommen werden dürfen, so ergäbe sich die provokatorische Feststellung «Das Gesetz ist mir egal» [Vgl. aber S. 309, Anm. 31.].

Nach dieser Beschreibung der Gegenpartei läßt sich das über die eigenen Oberen Gesagte noch etwas konkretisieren. Sie waren keine Syrer sondern offenbar Iraner, Soghder oder Perser, wie mindestens aus dem Namen *Nēwān-zādag* (Zeile 19) hervorzugehen scheint.

Man wird dem Verfasser des zweiten Briefes Betroffenheit von einem schwerwiegenden gesellschaftlichen Problem nicht absprechen, wie immer man seinen Standpunkt beurteilen mag. Aus dem ersten Brief läßt dieser Eindruck sich nicht unmittelbar gewinnen. Im übrigen aber haben beide Schreiben so viele Gemeinsamkeiten, daß die Annahme, sie seien gleichen Alters und handelten auf ihre Weise von denselben Dingen, gestattet ist. Die noch offenen Fragen, wann, von wem und an wen die Briefe geschrieben wurden, sollten daher für beide Dokumente im Zusammenhang zu beantworten versucht werden.

Wann wurden die Briefe geschrieben? Zweifellos, wie bereits Henning betonte, nach der Entstehung der *Mihriya*- und *Miqlāšiya*-Parteien der mesopotamischen Manichäer, d. h. nach dem Zeugnis des Fihrist allerfrühestens in der 1. Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts.³¹ Ein *terminus ad quem* läßt sich weniger leicht gewinnen. Für Henning war er durch die Rückkehr der *Miqlāšiya* zur *Mihriya* gegeben, die etwa 880 erfolgte.³² Henning selbst betonte jedoch die Unsicherheit einer solchen Zeitbestimmung. Die Möglichkeit fortdauernder Parteienkämpfe, zumal im fernen Zentralasien, ließ sich ja nicht ausschließen.³³ Epigraphische Gründe sprechen nach Henning für eine Entstehung der Schreiben frühestens um die Mitte des 9. Jh.³⁴ Mir selbst erscheint in diesem Zusammenhang der rein iranische Charakter der Briefe hervorhebenswert. Ihre Sprache ist soghdisch, nicht türkisch. Die genannten Personen tragen iranische oder syrische Namen. Nirgendwo stößt man auf einen türkischen Namen oder ein türkisches Wort. Die geläufige Sprache mindestens des Adressaten in Qočo, vielleicht auch des Absenders, wahrscheinlich aber jene des Briefschreibers dürfte also die soghdische gewesen sein.

Bedenkt man, daß die Vernichtung des Uigurischen Steppenreiches durch die Kirgisen im Jahre 840 zur Auswanderung uigurischer Stämme nach *Gaochang*, *Ganzhou* und in andere Gegenden Chinesisch Turkistans führte und damit zur schließlichen Turkisierung dieser Gebiete,³⁵ so erscheint eine Datierung der Briefe vor Mitte des 9. Jh. oder doch nicht viel später sehr wohl möglich.

Der Schriftduktus widerspricht nicht dieser Möglichkeit. Als Briefe mochten sie in einem vereinfachten Stil geschrieben worden sein, neben dem

³¹ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1]. S. 17.

³² Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1]. S. 17.

³³ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1]. S. 17 Anm. 4.

³⁴ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1]. S. 17 Anm. 4.

³⁵ Vgl. A. v. GABAIN: Das Leben im uigurischen Königreich von Qočo, Wiesbaden 1973. S. 19, CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité* II [s. Anm. 16]. S. 307.

die ornamentale Schreibform üblich war und blieb. Daß beide Stile längere Zeit nebeneinander beherrscht wurden, ist jedenfalls wahrscheinlicher als daß sie einander einfach ablösten.

An wen sind die Briefe gerichtet? An eine hochgestellte Persönlichkeit von Kompetenz und Autorität in geistlichen Dingen, also eher an einen Kleriker als an einen weltlichen Herren. Daß er im zweiten Brief $xyp\delta'wnd$ «Herrscher» genannt wird, spricht nicht dagegen. Das Fragment M 7440 stellt die Anschrift eines Briefes dar und nennt den Adressaten in der Form $\text{'}t' \beta\gamma'n \text{'nywn p'scn xyp\delta'wnd mzyx \delta\text{'nmyc sr\delta\text{'ng}}$ «An den göttergleichen (oder: An *Vayān-anyōn*?), den ehrwürdigen Herrscher, das große Oberhaupt der Kirche».

Henning vermutete im Adressaten der Briefe den Lehrer, der vielleicht als Oberhaupt der manichäischen Kirchenprovinz Churasan in Qočo residierte und dessen Würde er vergleichend als die eines Erzbischofs beschrieb.³⁶ Ich halte dies für richtig. Allerdings sind wir über die hierarchische Gliederung der manichäischen Kirche Zentralasiens kaum unterrichtet. Aber es ist ja denkbar, daß der mutmaßlich in Qočo residierende Lehrer als «Lehrer der Provinz Churasan» und «Oberhaupt von *Čahār-Tuyristān*», bzw. als «Großer Lehrer von **Tört-Tuyri*» die Stellung eines Primas aller Kleriker der *Dēnāwarīya*-Gemeinschaft, mindestens aber des *Čahār-Tuyri*-Landes einnahm.³⁷ Die Frage ist nur, ob ein solcher Würdenträger bereits für die Zeit vor Begründung des uigurischen Reiches von Qočo angenommen werden darf. Möglich ist das durchaus doch bisher nicht beweisbar. Der Zeugenwert eines uigurischen Textes zugunsten dieser Annahme hängt von der Frage ab, ob der *Buyuy-qayan* des Textes mit dem *Bögü-qayan*, der den Manichäismus im uigurischen Reich einführte, gleichgesetzt werden darf.³⁸

Gewiß aber war Qočo Metropole des zentralasiatischen Manichäismus in der Zeit nach Begründung des uigurischen Reiches von Qočo, also seit Mitte des 9. Jh.³⁹

Was wissen wir von den Absendern der Briefe? Ihre Namen und Wohnorte sind uns unbekannt. Unter den oben gemachten Voraussetzungen sollte ihre Heimat aber die Diözese des «Erzbischofs» von Qočo gewesen sein, also vorzugsweise das *Čahār-Tuyri*-Land, vielleicht aber auch das Uigurische Steppenreich oder China. Vom Verfasser des zweiten Briefes läßt sich vermuten, daß er nicht der höheren Geistlichkeit angehörte, da er sich fürbittend für die Gemeindeoberen verwendet. Er könnte sogar ein Vertreter des Laienstandes

³⁶ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1]. S. 15 Anm. 2.

³⁷ W. B. HENNING: *Argi and the «Tokharians»*. BSOS 9 (1938) 551 f.

³⁸ Neue Materialien [s. Anm. 1]. S. 15 Anm. 2. Der Text wurde veröffentlicht von A. v. LECOQ in der Festschrift Vilhelm Thomsen, Leipzig 1912. S. 147, 149 ff.

³⁹ CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité II* [s. Anm. 16]. S. 196 f.

der Hörer gewesen sein. Die manichäische Schrift hätte er dann zwar schwerlich beherrscht, doch könnte er seinen Brief ja diktiert haben. Der erste Brief dürfte durchaus demselben Milieu entstammen. Mehrfach ist in ihm von *Electi* und *Electae* die Rede, ohne daß der Verfasser sich ausdrücklich einer dieser Gruppen zurechnet.

Die hier behandelten Dokumente sind «Privatbriefe» genannt worden.⁴⁰ Das trifft insofern zu, als sie keine Staatsschreiben darstellen. Im übrigen handeln sie aber von Gemeindeangelegenheiten öffentlichen Charakters.

Worin liegt die Bedeutung der Briefe für die Geschichte des zentralasiatischen Manichäismus? Zweifellos in der Bezeugung syrischer Manichäer in Zentralasien, in den Informationen über sie und über ihr Zusammenleben mit Angehörigen der zentralasiatischen *Dēnāwariya*-Gemeinde. Syrer werden sie im zweiten Brief genannt, von den *Mihryānd* und *Miklāsikt*, die in Mesopotamien zu Hause waren, spricht der erste. Aber dies bedeutet wohl mehr, daß man es mit Fremdlingen aus *Sūristān*, d. h. Mesopotamien, zu tun hatte. Die Namen der gegenerischen Partei sind weitgehend persisch (vgl. S. 297). Persisch sind aber auch die zitierten Worte der Gegner, und schließlich haben sich literarische Nachweise einer Präsenz manichäischer Syrer in der Turfanoase bisher nicht gefunden. Der schon Flügel aufgefallene beträchtliche Anteil iranischer Manichäer am Parteienkampf der mesopotamischen Kirche dürfte hier eine Bestätigung finden.⁴¹

Bisweilen wird das Erscheinen syrischer Manichäer in Zentralasien auf Manichäerverfolgungen im islamischen Gebiet zurückgeführt.⁴² Dem Fihrist zufolge geschah in nachsasanidischer Zeit die erste große Flucht der Manichäer aus Mesopotamien nach Churasan unter dem Druck der Verfolgungen *al-Muqtadirs* zu Anfang des 10. Jh.⁴³ Es liegt nahe, das Vordringen der manichäischen Syrer nach Zentralasien dann mit diesem Ereignis zu verbinden und in das 10. Jh. zu datieren. Sprache und Inhalt der Briefe sind damit aber nicht vereinbar, die wie oben gezeigt, ein höheres Alter erfordern.

Tatsächlich hat G. Vajda eine lange *Zanādiqa*-Verfolgung, die auch Manichäer erfaßte, in der Zeit von 163 d. H. (779/80) bis 179 (795/96) und auch noch in den folgenden Jahren nachgewiesen.⁴⁴ Mit den oben gemachten Datierungsversuchen ist dieses Ereignis als Auslöser der Flucht von Manichäern besser vereinbar als die Verfolgungen unter *Muqtadir*.

⁴⁰ M. BOYCE: Catalogue [s. Anm. 1]. S. 148. Handbuch der Orientalistik (s. Anm. 8). S. 73.

⁴¹ Mani [s. Anm. 11]. S. 322.

⁴² LIEU: Nestorians and Manichaeans (s. Anm. 4). S. 75.

⁴³ FLÜGEL: Mani [s. Anm. 11]. S. 77, 105 f., Kitāb al-Fihrist I [s. Anm. 11]. S. 337.

⁴⁴ Die Zindīqs im Gebiet des Islam zu Beginn der 'Abbasidenzeit, in: Der Manichäismus. Ed. G. WIDENGREN. Darmstadt 1977. S. 426.

Daß die syrischen Manichäer im Gebiet der ihnen entfremdeten oder fernstehenden *Dēnāwariya*-Gemeinde Zuflucht suchten, könnte aber auch durch die folgenschwere Bekehrung des Chans des Uigurischen Steppenreiches *Bögü-qayan* in Lo-yang im Jahre 762/63 zum manichäischen Glauben motiviert gewesen sein.⁴⁵ Sie führte nachweislich zu einer Reihe von Missionsreisen manichäischer Geistlicher durch die uigurischen Lande, von denen die Zeilen 8 bis 10 der chinesischen Version der Inschrift von Qara-Balgasun (um 810)⁴⁶ in der Übersetzung von Ed. Chavannes und P. Pelliot folgendermaßen berichten: «[Le qaghan] emmena quatre religieux, dont 睿息 *Jouei-si*, et les introduisit dans son royaume; ils développaient et exaltaient les deux sacrifices⁴⁷ et pénétraient profondément les trois moments. D'ailleurs le maître de la Loi était merveilleusement instruit dans la doctrine de la Lumière et comprenait parfaitement les sept ouvrages. Ces capacités étaient plus hautes que le pic maritime; son éloquence était comme une cascade. C'est pourquoi il put initier les Ouigours à la vraie religion... Le roi de la religion, ayant appris que [les Ouigours] avaient accepté la vraie religion, loua fort leur respectueuse... [vertu], conduisant des religieux et des religieuses, entra dans le royaume pour y répandre et y exalter [la religion]. Ensuite la foule des disciples du *mou-chō* parcourut les pays en tous sens de l'Est à l'Ouest et alla et vint en prêchant la religion.»⁴⁸

Danach mußten mehrfach, mindestens drei Mal, verschiedene Gruppen manichäischer Glaubensboten in das uigurische Reich gekommen sein: 1. vier Missionare, die Bögü bei seiner Rückkehr aus Lo-yang begleiteten. In unklarem Zusammenhang mit ihrer Reise wird das Wirken eines «maître de la Loi» erwähnt, 2. ein «roi de la religion» mit *Electi* und *Electae*, 3. viele Schüler eines «Lehrers», die von Ost nach West das uigurische Reich durchdrangen. In dem «roi de la religion» (*法王 fa-wang*) sahen Chavannes und Pelliot «le chef suprême de la religion manichéenne», der lange in Babylon residierte.⁴⁹ Sollte dies zutreffen, so hätten wir den Beweis in der Hand, daß die Bekehrung des Uigurenchans und seines Volkes zum Erscheinen manichäischer Missionare aus Mesopotamien in Zentralasien führte.

⁴⁵ Vgl. z. B. A. v. GABAIN: Das uigurische Königreich von Chotseho 850—1250. SDAW, Kl. f. Sprachen, Lit. u. Kunst 1961 Nr. 5. Berlin 1961. S. 24.

⁴⁶ L. BAZIN in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* II. Ed. L. BAZIN u. a. Wiesbaden 1964. S. 205.

⁴⁷ Dazu s. CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité* II [s. Anm. 16]. S. 190 Anm. 2. LIEU: *Polemics against Manichaeism* [s. Anm. 4]. S. 156 Anm. 5.

⁴⁸ CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité* II [s. Anm. 16]. S. 190 ff. Der ganze Text bei G. SCHLEGEL: *Die chinesische Inschrift auf dem uigurischen Denkmal in Kara Balgasun*. Helsingfors 1896. S. 43 ff.

⁴⁹ Vgl. CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité* II [s. Anm. 16]. S. 195 Anm. 1.

Aber dies ist nicht mehr als eine Hypothese. Daß der «roi de la religion» der Archegos der manichäischen Kirche in Babylon sei, geht aus dem chinesischen Text selbst nicht hervor. Man könnte in ihm auch den Lehrer der Kirche von Churasan in Qoço oder einen anderen Lehrer vermuten. Nichteinmal die Richtigkeit der Lesung *fa-wang* (法王) «roi de la religion» darf als völlig sicher gelten. Eine Lesung *fa-zhu* (法主) «chef de la Loi» würde fast gleich geschrieben.⁵⁰ Sollte *fa-wang* im Text stehen, so wäre nach seiner genauen Bedeutung als manichäischer Terminus zu fragen. Daß der Begriff nicht ohne Kenntnis seiner Verwendung im buddhistischen Sprachgebrauch, nämlich als Äquivalent von aind. *dharmarāja* und Bezeichnung Buddhas⁵¹, gebraucht wurde, ist sicher. Als ein manichäischer Kleriker dürfte der *fa-wang* etwa das sein, was die soghdischen Manichäer *mzyx dynmyc srđng* «das große Oberhaupt der Kirche» nannten. Wir wissen aber nicht, ob dies der Titel eines bestimmten Würdenträgers war oder ob er von vielen geteilt wurde.

Auf Grund der hier vorgetragenen Erwägungen halte ich es für möglich, daß die soghdischen Briefe die folgenden historischen Situationen voraussetzen: Entweder: Die Bekehrung der Uiguren zum Manichäismus führte dazu, daß am Ende des 8. und zu Beginn des 9. Jh. soghdische Manichäer in das Uigurische Steppenreich zogen, um die heidnischen Türken zu bekehren und eine manichäische Kirche zu begründen. Manichäer aus Mesopotamien, die in ihrer Heimat Verfolgungen ausgesetzt waren, folgten ihnen, um am Werk und seinen Früchten teilzuhaben. Sie gerieten bald mit ihren soghdischen Glaubensbrüdern in Konflikt. Diese riefen den Beistand des Lehrers in Qoço an. Oder: Die Existenz eines manichäisch-uigurischen Staatswesens in Qoço zog in der 2. Hälfte des 9. Jh. manichäische Geistliche aus Mesopotamien an, die sich in den Hauptorten der kleinen Staaten an der Seidenstraße niederließen und mit der ansässigen, noch soghdischen Geistlichkeit in Konflikt gerieten. Der Lehrer von Qoço als Primas des manichäischen Klerus in Zentralasien wurde von den Soghdiern um Beistand angerufen.

Berlin.

⁵⁰ CHAVANNES—PELLIOT: *Traité* II [s. Anm. 16]. S. 192 Anm. 1 und *Traité* I (s. Anm. 25). S. 581 Anm. 4.

⁵¹ Vgl. SCHLEGEL [s. Anm. 48]. S. 64.

ANHANG I

EDITION DER BRIEFE 1 und 2

Erster Brief

/1/ []nd(s)kwn w(n)[]/2/ []' kww δstww δ[]
 /3/ []'yg hm'g dyn 'm'h hwm /4/ [](c) m'x βγrw'n mwj'(k)
 /5/ [](w)m't'nd myšnd (my)hry'nd krtrty(?)¹ /6/ []m'x
 sytm'n dyn'βrt 'ty 'wrδp(?)[r]/7/ []δy]nδ'ry' cxš'pδδ t'pyy /8/ []
 m'γzym nyxy' 'ty /9/ [](.).dyy 'ty xwp m'xtysyy /10/ [](.).
 kyy cn mkl'syktyy /11/ [](.). p'rty I pδkyy I 'wstnyy /12/ []
 (x)nd o p'rty prw nmw pr cxš'pδδ /13/ []'f](tmww)² prw ršty'k cxš'pδδ

(Lücke von unbestimmter Weite)

(14/ []wyy dyn'[βr(?)] /15/ []3—5](c)[]10—15 dyn']-
 (β)[r']nc[]'p](r)[y](w)(?)³ wyy kt wys'ndy [dyn'βr'nc]/16/ []2—4]p'xw'y
 ('t)[y 8—10](.).šwmδ'rt⁴ o tym m'x dyn'βr'[nc wyy kt wys'ndy]⁵ /17/
 [dyn'](βr')nc xwšyc⁶ 5—7 p]rsm'skwn(?) o ms ''z'd dwxt (xypδ) []8—
 —12]/18/ []2—4 pw] (ry)št(?)⁷ w'nw wyn'nd kt wy[š'ndy]⁸ dyn'βr'nc tšycq
 ny'tyy 'ty z'y kn('sk)[wn] /19/ []12—16](rwrt)t⁹ nxw(')[yn](ds)kwn o
 'ty ms δ'rwk 'ty p'št' t'šnds(kwn) /20/ pww pcqwyr o tym ms m'x dyn'βr'št
 w'nw wyn'nd kt c'nw wys'ndy dyn'βr'nc /21/ xwrnyy ''syyskwn cn ''pyy
 'pryw km' sn'yyskwn 'ty m'x dyn'βr'št nxrysndskw(n) /22/ wyš'nd w'nw
 p'teγnyy kwn'nd kt c'tyk ''p mwrtyy xeyy m'yδδ pc'ytt o 'ty ms /23/ rwr'
 x(w)tyy(?) nxw'y'ndskwn 'ty ''t(r) xwtyy 'wst'ndskwn o 'tyšn prywyδ
 w'xš γw'(n)[]'ty] /24/ kmbwnyy ny šm'r'ndskwn o o 'rty tym
 dyncyhryft cxš'pδδyy w'xš xeyy /25/ xwycq 'ty pww šf'r o p'rtyšn [s](')r'r
 kyy myhr p'd'r¹⁰ xeyy xwycn'k wm't 'ty šy /26/ c's'r pδyk r'f wm't 'ty I (z)-

¹ GERSHEVITCH las krtrtyy (GMS § 249 Anm. 1). Vom letzten Buchstaben ist nur ein oberer Rand erhalten, der zu einem y oder ' gehören könnte. Ein ' würde den am Zeilenende zur Verfügung stehenden Raum besser füllen als ein y.

² Spitze eines t, oberer Rand des m und obere Teile der letzten Buchstaben erhalten.

³ Punkt über dem r erhalten, w durch Riß im Papier zerstört.

⁴ Der dem š vorangehende Buchstabe könnte ein w gewesen sein, also '](w)šwmδ'rtf

⁵ Meine Ergänzung modifizierte inen Vorschlag von SW, dyn'βr'[št wyn'nd kt] zu lesen, mit dem Ziel, das erwartbare Possessivpronomen wyš(')ndy in der vorhandenen Lücke unterzubringen.

⁶ Die GMS § 1012 erwogene Möglichkeit, xwšycq zu lesen, wird durch den erhaltenen Text ausgeschlossen, der die Form des finalen c deutlich bewahrt.

⁷ Kopf und Punkt des r erhalten, y versehrt, auch w möglich.

⁸ So wahrscheinlicher als wyš'nd (SW).

⁹ Nur rtt sicher erkennbar.

¹⁰ In /25/ wie mwhr p'd'r geschrieben, in /30/ deutlich myhr, so daß das, was in /25/ wie der Aufstrich eines w aussieht, in Wirklichkeit das linke untere Ende eines m ist.

['](k)'nc kr'y'nc wnyy s'r tys 'ty γyrtr nyjty m'[x] /27/ sγtm'nyy δβn' ptyy'p
 c'nw xwnyy kr'y'nc nyjtyy 'ty δynd'r't nyxy' kwn(')nd 'ty /28/ kr'y'nc kww
 yzd 'ry'm'n dryst rwšn myhr whmn 'ty whmns'h s'r w'nw wγtwδ'(r)[t] /29/ kt
 II prwrtyy pšyy δβry' xwrnyy 'stww¹¹ o 'ty tym I prwrtyy 'smk'm o ms
 myš(n)[dy]¹² /30/ xypδ I 'sp'skr'nc δn I δyn'βr'nc 'pryw y'r 'δwβ pδwβ
 [w](β)'¹³ 'ty myhr p'δ'(r)¹⁴ /31/ s'r'r wnyy 'sp'skr'nc β'z' nyy's 'ty en y'ryy
 wyxnš o ms xz'ny 'tyh /32/ ()

(Zeilenfragmente unbekannter Zugehörigkeit) /33/ [] (.) []

/34/ [] (cw)xt [1-2](.β)[] /35/ [] pyrn
 prw xyp(δ)[] /36/ [] (.rt kwnyskwn (w')[]
 /37/ [] (s)ty o ty(.)[2-4](.)'d []

Zeilenfragmente unbekannter Zugehörigkeit /38/ δyn'β(r)[]

/39/ nwmpδk'[] /40/ [1-3](ps' '')[]

Erster Brief (Übersetzung)

/1/ [] zur Hand [] der ganzen Kirche sind wir. []
 unser *glaubensstarker¹⁵ Lehrer /5/ [] waren diese Anhänger *Mihrs*

¹¹ Nicht 'stw (GMS § 690).

¹² Ergänzt gemäß GMS § 1396 (Hinweis von SW).

¹³ In GMS § 453 pδwβ(s)'. Das Wortende ist durch ein Loch im Papier zerstört, das breiter ist als ein s. Von dem so gelesenen Buchstaben ist nur die linke obere Spitze erhalten. Daß sie spitz ausläuft und nicht rund ist, spricht aber für β statt s.

¹⁴ Vgl. Anm. 10.

¹⁵ βyrw'n in /4/ und im zweiten Brief /18/ ist unpubliziert wiederholt belegt: M 635 /I/V/6-7/ 'rty 'yδ βyrw'n pr[n](x)wndyy wm't kyy «Und dieser glückselige β. war (es), der . . .», M 4436 /15/ βyrw'n 'ft'(δ)['n] «der β. Bischof» oder «Bischof β.», M 6673 /5/ 'jnyy βyrw'(n) «dieser β.». Ist *vayruwān* appellatives Attribut oder Eigenname? Ich halte die erstere Möglichkeit für die wahrscheinlichere, da man ungern einen namensgleichen Bischof und Lehrer annehmen wird, während andererseits dieser Name nicht sicher bezeugt zu sein scheint. Daß die Wortstellung m'x β. mwj'k statt m'x mwj'k β. oder β. m'x mwj'k gegen die Annahme eines Eigennamens spricht, betont mir gegenüber SW. *Vayruwān* läßt sich entweder als «eine Gottesseele (habend)» (d. h. «göttlich»?) verstehen oder «eine Seele (wie der Gott) Vay (habend)» oder als Zusammensetzung mit der unbezeugten soghd. Entsprechung des mp. belegten Wortes bg «*sicher» (Mir. Man. II, S. 338), womit auch parth. (und mp.) 'bg «*uneasy, nervous» (HENNING, BSOS 9 [1937], S. 80) verbunden wird und wozu H. W. BAILEY chot.-sak. *bagalagvā* «gallants» (?), oss. *bāgu* «surely» usw. (Dictionary of Khotan Saka, Cambridge 1979, S. 264) stellt. Zugunsten der Übersetzung «eine Gottesseele habend» ließe sich auf die Bedeutung des soghd. Personennamens βyγfrn, βyγprnw «God-luck» (I. GERSHEVITCH, TSP 1945, S. 139, D. WEBER, IF 77 [1972], S. 196) hinweisen. Die letztgenannte Möglichkeit erscheint mir aber doch etwas überzeugender, wenn man β. als Appellativum und nicht als Eigennamen auffaßt. Jedenfalls verbinden sicher deutbare Komposita mit *ruwān* als Zweitbestandteil dieses Wort m. W. mit Adjektiven oder gleichwertigen Präfixen: mp. *anōšruwān* «mit unsterblicher Seele», d. h. «seelig verschieden», *hurwān* «gutseelig», d. h. «fromm», parthT. *dužruwānīft* «Übelseeligkeit», d. h. «Schlechtigkeit, Gottlosigkeit». (Eine Verkürzung von *Anōšruwān* ist nach Ph. GIGNOUX, Parole de l'Orient 6-7 [1975-76], S. 522 syr. *Sirwān*.) Unter dieser Voraussetzung sollte auch im Fall von βyrw'n Zusammensetzung mit einem Adjektiv erwartet werden.

*Tätig[keit(?)¹⁶] all unsere Erwählten und darüberhinaus []
 Erwähltschaft, Gesetz, Siegel [] wir begannen *Nachforschung¹⁷
 und [] und gut ? ¹⁸ /10/ [] die von den Anhän-
 gern des *Miqlāš* [] denn von einem Gesetz und einem Ursprung
 [] sind sie. Denn in Gesetz und Gebot [] Als erstes: Gegen
 das Gebot der Wahrhaftigkeit [sündigen sie]

(Lücke)

[]/15/ zusammen mit der Electa sah, daß ihre [Electa]
 abhieb und []nähte. Wiederum [sah] unsere Elec[ta, daß ihre]
 Electa ? [p]reßte.¹⁹ Ferner sahen die jungfräulichen(?) [Töchter]
 der *Āzād-duxt*, daß ihre Electa eine *Hacke²⁰ nahm und Erde ausgrub. []

¹⁶ Krtrty' in /5/. Zur Lesung vgl. Anm. 1. GERSHEVITCH übersetzte «insidious, cunning» (GMS § 249 Anm. 1). Für die Bedeutung des Wortes als ein negatives Adjektiv sprechen die Parallelen M 133 /R/i/18—19/ 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭩 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭩 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭩 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭩 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭩 «many cunning, sinful passions» (GMS § 1658) und M 5912/3/ 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭩 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭩 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭩 «listige Dämonen». Damit unvereinbar ist aber die Verwendung desselben Wortes in dem christl.-soghd. Text C 3 = T II B 35 + T II B 14 c /R/13—15/ s't wyšnt byy ptry nbnteyq qrttr 'nt'št 't fryštyt krwbyt w sr'pyt 't s't (s)p'dy'nt qy sqwnt sm'ny sqys'r «alle diese bei Gott dem Vater befindlichen k. Scharen und Engel, die Cherubim und Seraphim und alle Heerscharen, die über dem Himmel weilen». Hier liegt eine Übersetzung «mächtig, stark, aktiv, lebhaft» nahe, die für gute und böse Wesen zutreffen kann. Dies vorausgesetzt, betrachtet SW qrttr als soghd. Entsprechung von parth. kyrdyr, mp. krtyr usw. «If these derive from *k(a)rtrya- (with SZEMERÉNYI) there is probably no phonetical problem, cf. wytr (3 sg. impf.) < *wi-a-tryat». Zu soghd. -tr < -rya vgl. generell GMS § 185. Wie Prof. HUMBACH am 2. 10. 1980 in Budapest mitteilte, konnte er den Namen krt'yr in einer der soghd. Shatial-Bridge-Inschriften lesen. Beide Schreibungen, krtr und krt'yr, sind unter der Voraussetzung vereinbar, daß sie für *karttr* stehen.

¹⁷ Nyxy' in /8/ und /27/. HENNINGS Übersetzung «Sorgsamkeit, Aufmerksamkeit» (BB, S. 86 zu 727, S. 104 zu f. 56) erfaßt gewiß jene Bedeutung des Wortes, die der im vorliegenden Text vermuteten Wiedergabe durch «Untersuchung, Nachforschung» zugrunde liegt.

¹⁸ M'xtysy in /9/ ist, wie die Verlängerung der unterzeiligen Horizontalen des x unter die folgenden Buchstaben erkennen läßt, ein Wort. Seine Bedeutung «Mondeingang» o. ä. und seine Form (Obl. ?, -aka — Erweiterung ?) sind unklar. Sollte der astrologische Eigenname einer Person vorliegen? (Etwa: geboren zur Zeit des Eintrittes des Mondes in sein «Haus», oder: zur Zeit des Eintrittes des Mondes in seine Planetenstunde.) Besteht vielleicht sogar eine Verbindung mit dem etymologisch nicht ganz klaren persischen Frauennamen *Mahsatī* o. ä. (vgl. F. MEIER: Die schöne Mahsatī I. Wiesbaden 1963. S. 43 ff.)?

¹⁹ Die Ergänzung «sah» und die für das Verständnis des ganzen Satzes entscheidende Beziehung von [p]rsm'skwn auf «ihre Electa» statt auf «unsere» verdanke ich SW.

²⁰ Tšyycq in /18/ wurde von HENNING ursprünglich «spade» übersetzt (GMS § 1012), später von ihm aber, worauf MK mich hinwies, mit chwār. tšyckyk «axe» verglichen (Z. V. Togan'a Armağan, Istanbul 1956, S. 435). Wie MK mir weiterhin aus seiner Kenntnis des Chwār. mitteilt, entspricht np. *qadūm, tēša* «adze». Er folgert: «If the Khwār. is a diminutive in -k, the Sogd. word — a tool for digging, rather than cutting — will be a ‚mattock, Hacke'.» Bestätigend kann auf das etymologisch verwandte np. *tēša* hingewiesen werden, das «Beil» und «Hacke» bedeutet (STENGASS: S. 342). Dazu gehört aber auch paschtu *tiyāš* «plough-share», das G. MORGENSTIERNE: An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto. Oslo 1927, von **tašyā-* ableitet und mit np. *tēša* vergleicht, sowie wakhi *iš* «železnyj nakonečnik pachotnogo orudija, kovanyj sošnik, lomeč» (A. L. GRJUNBERG—I. M. STEBLIN-KAMENSKIJ: Vachanskij jazyk. Moskva 1976. S. 473). Angeichts der Ähnlichkeit von primitivem Holzpflug («Hackenpflug») und Hacke (vgl.

Heilpflanzen zerstoßen sie und schneiden auch ohne Scheu Holz und *Gerät.²¹ /20/ Ferner sahen unsere Electae auch, wie ihre Electa Blut *schröpfte²² (und mit Wasser das ?²³ wusch. Und unsere Electae tadelten sie, sie gaben zur Antwort: «Brunnenwasser ist tot, so ist es gestattet.» Und auch Heilpflanzen zerstoßen sie selbst, und das Feuer löschen sie selbst(?).²⁴ Und sie sehen in dieser Sache nicht Sünde noch Mangel. — Und ferner: Zum Gebot des religionsmäßigen Verhaltens ist da eine Sache, /25/ offenbar und schamlos.²⁵ Denn ihr Oberhaupt, welches *Mihr-pādār*²⁶ ist, war krank, er hatte ein Leiden unter dem Fuß, und ein gemietetes Mädchen²⁷ trat bei ihm ein, und später ging sie hinaus. Uns alle ergriff Verdacht,²⁸ als jene Lohndienerin²⁷ herausging,

A. NEUBURGER: Die Technik des Altertums. Leipzig 1919. S. 86) überrascht es nicht, daß Hacke und Pflugschar mit etymologisch verwandten Begriffen bezeichnet werden, Daß die Electa sich also einer Hacke bediente, dürfte MK mit Recht annehmen. Wenn die mit dem Gerät ausgeführte Arbeit ein regelrechtes Graben war (*kan-*), so läßt sich an eine «Grabhacke» (*ketman*) der Art denken, wie sie bis in unsere Zeit in Chinesisch-Turkistan beim Ausschachten der Erde in Gebrauch sind (vgl. L. GOLOMB: Die Bodenkultur in Ost-Turkistan. Posieux, Freiburg/Schweiz 1959. S. 61, 63.). Die Electa könnte die Hacke dann etwa für Arbeiten an einem Bewässerungskanal verwendet haben. Sollte *kan-* hier aber in freierer Verwendung nur eine Lockerung des Bodens bedeuten, so wäre eher an eine Spitzhacke zu denken (GOLOMB: aaO., S. 63).

²¹ P'st' in /19/, vgl. GMS §§ 973, 1268, ein hölzernes Gerät nicht genau bestimmbarer Bedeutung, zu buddh.-soghd. p'styt (Pl.), vgl. HENNING: BSOAS II [1946] S. 728.

²² Oder: zur Ader ließ. Zur Bedeutung vgl. Textanmerkung 14.

²³ Km' in /21/, vgl. dazu Textanmerkung 15.

²⁴ 'tr ... 'wst'ndskwn in /23/, wtl. «sie setzen das Feuer». Zur Bedeutung vgl. das np. *āteš nešāndan* «to extinguish a fire», wtl. «Feuer setzen», vgl. STEINGASS: S. 13. SW gibt aber zu bedenken, daß 'tr ... 'wst- im Soghd. vielleicht auch «light a fire» bedeuten könne, denn «this may have been regarded as an improper activity for electi, since it would cause pain to the fuel. Ich meine, daß auch diese Möglichkeit in Betracht gezogen werden muß, zumal für die Manichäer das Feuer eine aus einem guten und einem bösen Element bestehende Erscheinung war.

²⁵ SW schlägt vor: «In the matter of the commandment *dyncyhyrjt* it (= the Syr. community) is open and shameless». Wenn, wie SW mit Recht betont, pww šf'r nur «schamlos» bedeuten kann, so erinnert die Begriffsverbindung xwyq 'ty pww šf'r an pw šβ'r r'zyh in Or. 8212/83, Zeile 6 (bei N. SIMS-WILLIAMS: IJ 18 (1976), S. 49), das SW zweifelnd so gelesen und «without shame (or) secrecy» übersetzt hat (aaO. S. 50 Anm. 33). Xwyq 'ty pww šf'r dürfte also in positiver Wendung dasselbe besagen und damit für die Richtigkeit der Lesung von SW sprechen.

²⁶ Je nachdem, ob man *pādār* als Ableitung eines nomen actoris von *pādan* «schützen» oder *pādan* «verweilen, warten» auffaßt (MACKENZIE: S. 62), ließe der Name *Mihr-pādār* (in /25/ und /30/) sich sinnvoll als «Beschützer der Freundschaft, Liebe/ des Vertrages» oder als «(wie/in/durch) Mithras beständig», vielleicht, falls *pādār* auch «Diener» sein konnte, als «Diener des Mithras» auffassen. Kaum denkbar ist «Beschützer der Mithras». Wenn *Mihr* selbst Name ist, so wäre zu fragen, ob hier eine Gottheit gemeint ist (mpT. *spiritus vivens*, parthT. der *legatus tertius* als Sonnengott) oder der Begründer der *Mihriya*-Partei der mesopotamischen Manichäer, der auch *Mihr* hieß (vgl. S. 292).

²⁷ Z'k'nc kr'y'ne in /26/, kr'y'nc in /27/ und /28/. Kr'y'ne ist gewiß nicht von np. *kerāye* *chire*, price paid for labour, fare, rent» (STEINGASS: S. 1020) zu trennen, das allerdings m. W. nie die gemietete oder entlohnte Person bezeichnet. Das Verhältnis zwischen np. *kerāye* und soghd. kr'y'nc dürfte daher dasselbe wie etwa zwischen einem Ortsnamen (**Kāš* «Kaschghar») und einem fem. Zugehörigkeitsadjektiv (*q's'nc* «Kaschgarienne») sein, vgl. GMS § 1048. Danach ließe sich auch eine mask. Adjektivbildung *kr'y'ny «gemietet, entlohnt» vorstellen.

²⁸ δβn' hier eher «Verdacht» als lediglich «Mißtrauen», wie SW mir gegenüber mit Hinweis auf HENNING in BSOAS II [1946], S. 719 und seine eigene, noch unpublizierte Arbeit über die christl.-soghd. Handschrift C 2 betont.

und die *Electi* stellten eine *Nachforschung¹⁷ an. Und die Lohndienerin sprach so zu *Yazd-Aryāmān*, *Drist-Rōšn*, *Mihr-Wahman* und *Wahman-šāh*: «Zweimal habe ich hinter der Tür²⁹ Blut *geschöpft,³⁰ und noch einmal werde ich *schröpfen.» Auch zettelte /30/ eine ihrer Dienerinnen mit einer *Electa* einen Streit an. Und *Mihr-pādār*,²⁸ (ihr) Oberhaupt, ergriff den Arm jener Dienerin und schuf Befreiung vom Streit. Auch im *Herbst und []

(Lücke)

[]
/35/ [] vor im eigen [] tue []

(Lücke)

/38/ Elect[] Gesetz []

Zweiter Brief

/1/ [] y(x)'pδ δ(')r(y)[] /2/[] 'r]t[y]βγ (mys'ndy .)
[] /3/ [] (6-9 m'x) gβry[hβ] /4/ (20-25
k'm(?) .s 15-20) [] /5/ (w'n)w wγt-
wδ'rt nwm pδk' mn(')³¹ I mγwn xcy y o 'rtyβγ xypδ(?)wn(d)[]
/6/ [] (w' rwc prwstyy wβyy mys'ndy xyp)δ³² rw'n g(ryw ')
[] /7/ [] (γ't) w'nw frm'y '(ms)' 'ktyy (endn(?))³³ w'xšt

²⁹ Pšyy δβry' in /29/. GERSHEVITCH übersetzte in GMS § 373 «*backdoor», gewiß weil pšyy keine regelrechte Präposition sein kann. Als solche hätte sie unbedingt die Postposition s'r nach sich ziehen müssen. Andererseits erscheint pšyy δβry' auch nicht unter den GMS § 1143 aufgezählten regelrechten Komposita, wahrscheinlich, weil man in diesem Fall eher *pš'δβr(y) erwarten würde. Es verbleiben dann die Möglichkeiten, in pšyy δβry' eine altertümliche, erstarrte idiomatische Wendung mit dem Nomen im Lokativ zu sehen oder vielleicht ein «open compound» (GERSHEVITCH: Compounds. S. 148 f.), im Deutschen durch «hintertürs» nachbildbar. Da das Skandalöse der Beschuldigung des Briefes darin besteht, daß ein manichäischer Kleriker eine Zeit lang, hinter verschlossener Tür mit einer Frau allein blieb, so wird der Sinn des Ausdruckes eher «hinter der Tür» als «an der Hintertür» sein. Damit läßt sich das von GERSHEVITCH zitierte osset. *faesduar* «behind the door» (GMS Add. 1143), in weiteren Sinne etwa np. *pāytaxt* «Hauptstadt», wtl. «(Ort) zu Füßen des Thrones» vergleichen.

³⁰ Oder: zweimal habe ich hinter der Tür zur Ader gelassen, und nocheinmal werde ich zur Ader lassen, vgl. Textanmerkung 14.

³¹ SW teilt mir mn(d) I mγwn als Lesung von I. GERSHEVITCH mit. Da am Rande eines Risses im Papier sowohl eine rechte obere wie eine linke untere Ecke erhalten ist, so betrachte ich mn(') als die wahrscheinlichere Lesung. [Vgl. aber S. 299, Anm. 30.]

³² Ergänzt gemäß GMS §§ 1396 und 1435 (Hinweis von SW). In seinem heutigen Zustand, d. h. nach Abtrennung des Fragments M 119 a von M 119, ist dieser Text nicht in vollem Umfange lesbar. Mit Hilfe der Originalschriften hatte ich lediglich prwstyy sicher erkennen können. Angesichts der unmotivierten Verwendung von pers. rwc für soghd. myδ «Tag» muß aber auch gefragt werden, mit welcher Sicherheit die ergänzten Textteile vor dem Krieg tatsächlich lesbar waren.

³³ Alle Buchstaben versehrt, nur -nd und ein vorangehendes c sicher. Cndn las auch GERSHEVITCH: GMS § 1609.

ckštyt)[] /8/ ckštyt 'skwnd s't ryj wšyy cynd(r)p'r 'styy w'nw
wβ't xw'n (.)[] /9/ (sn'nd 'rty m'x 'pryw) wryδ'nt 'rty I o'f srδyt
skw'mndyy wβ('t .)[] /10/ (k'm prm(?) ryj 'skwncykt³⁴ xwyšt)rtyy
(w)β't 'rty myš'nd (ms)[] /11/ (n' pδkey)q 'ty (n') kry'cy(q) frm'n
(sn't kww 's(kwncyqt³⁵ x)wyštrty (s'r)[(?)] /12/ (my)š'ndyy
γwšytt kyy wβ'nd m'x xwyštrt(yy) šxww p'ekrt 'wš(t')ndk'm 'ty (m'x m)
[] /13/ (')ty (nyz)'r p(y)štytyy prw γryw 'wsyndndk(')m 'ty (xwyš)-
trty γr'n (t)fsnwk kwn'ndk'm 'ty prw xw(r)[nyy³⁶] /14/ ('sn'ynd)-
k'm³⁷ m'yδδ c'nw rymnyt yzd m'h n'my jw'(n)wtr 'krtwδ'rt xwtyy xyδ
ny'myy xypδ(')[wnd] /15/ wm'tyš p(')rty (m)yš'nd rymnyt kmbyt
swryktyy 'ndyk ps'k (m)'yδ xcyy pr βxtwnyy 'ty p(c'w)' (y)w(x)t(yt)[
'rty] /16/ (fs)γtyt xnd p'rtyy (w')xš(yg) bxtgyy mδyy 'xšyt skwn o 'rty cw
w'nw w'β'nd skwn kt srδ(ng)t pr'yw p'zky' sn'(nd)/17/[r]ty δβtyk 'w(x)z(')nd
δymyδ w'xš I p'ryk n's xcyy 'rty w'nw n(y)x 'ms' frm'y 'krtyy kyy³⁸ pyr-
mstr st'nd /18/ [cndn(?)] (wr'³⁹ 'ty frtry)' 'krtwδ'rnd p'rty (pr(?) β)γrw'n
myh(. .⁴⁰ mwj)'kyy sryy m'hd'd mwj'k sttyy cn(w(?) pr)[w 2-4 δyn]/19/
(δ)'rty 'ty p(r)w nyw'nz'dg mwj'kyy s(ryy) gbryhb (3-5 s)n('.)[]
(. .) [](+7) /20/ s(r)yy sxt(w)yy (mwj)'k 'ty ktwn' (')-
ft'δ'[n] (st'n(d . . .))[] /21/ sryy rym(ny)y f(rw)x'(y) 'ywšt(yy)
[]

Zweiter Brief (Übersetzung)

/1/ [] und, o Herr, diese []
Gavryav [] /5/ sprach so: «Das Gesetz ist mir gleich(?)»⁴¹ Und,
o Herr, Herrscher, [] der Tag mag sich gewendet haben(??),⁴² ihre
eigene Seele (und) das Selbst [] so geruhe zu beachten,⁴³ wieviel
häßliche Worte [] häßlich sind, alles Verlangen ist darinnen. So wird
sein der Tisch(?) [] sie steigen empor und vermischen sich mit

³⁴ Alle Buchstaben durch Riß im Papier sehr stark versehrt. Statt prm auch pne möglich.

³⁵ GERSHEVITCH las 'skwncyk (GMS § 1248), Hinweis von SW. 'skwncykt ist aus Raumgründen wahrscheinlicher als die Singularform.

³⁶ SW weist mich darauf hin, daß GERSHEVITCH offenbar noch xwrnyy (unversehrt ?) lesen konnte (GMS § 1168 Anm. 1).

³⁷ GERSHEVITCH las überzeugend sn'ynd k'm (GMS § 756, Hinweis von SW). Vor dem s ist aber noch ein nach links oben geführter Aufstrich erkennbar, so daß ich 'sn'yndk'm für wahrscheinlicher halte.

³⁸ Nicht ky (GMS § 1682).

³⁹ So GERSHEVITCH: GMS § 973, Hinweis von SW. Ich kann aber nur die oberen Ränder der Buchstaben und einen diakritischen Punkt erkennen.

⁴⁰ Auf h dürfte ein b oder β folgen, danach k oder x. Myhr- erscheint nicht möglich. [Vgl. S. 315.]

⁴¹ Zur Bedeutung vgl. Textanmerkung 30.

⁴² Ganz unsicher, vgl. Anm. 32.

⁴³ Vgl. Textanmerkung 20.

uns, und es wird einige⁴⁴ Jahre dauern []/10/ nach(?) dem Willen der gegenwärtigen Oberen wird es sein, und diese [] ungesetzlicher und unzeitiger Befehl wird zu den gegenwärtigen Oberen emporkommen [] die ihre *Spione waren,⁴⁵ werden fest an die Stelle unserer Oberen treten und unser[] und sie werden die Hart-Bedrängten in ihrem Selbst zerbrechen und den Oberen große Not bereiten und im Bl[ut] werden sie [ihre Hände(?)] waschen, so wie ? ? ?⁴⁶ Selbst zu dieser Stunde, o Herr, []/15/ warst du, denn dieser schmutzigen, gemeinen Syrer Brauch und Kunst ist so: in Spaltung und Streit sind sie erfahren [und] geübt, denn «geistige Spaltung» herrscht hier. Und wenn sie sagen: «Die Oberhäupter steigen ein wenig(?)⁴⁷ empor, und dann steigen sie wieder hinab»,⁴⁸ so ist dies Wort ganz verderblich. Und so geruhe auf jene sorgfältig achtzugeben,⁴³ die früher emporgestiegen sind,⁴⁹ wieviel Gewinn und Förderung sie bewirkten.⁵⁰ Denn über den *glaubensstarken¹⁵ Lehrer *Mih.* ist der Lehrer *Māhdād* gekommen, wie(?)⁵¹ über [] die Electi und über den Lehrer *Nēwānzādag* der *Gavryav* []/20/ über []

⁴⁴ I c'f in /9/ überträgt wörtlich in ST I, S. 8, Z. 15 syr. ḥd km' «wievielmehr» und muß daher andere Bedeutungsmöglichkeiten dieser Wendung nicht ausschließen. Ich verstehe I c'f im Sinne des gleichbedeutenden np. *yek-čand* «somewhat; a little» (STEINGASS: S. 1533), mp. *ēw čand* «some, a few» (MacKenzie, S. 31).

⁴⁵ Meine Übersetzung folgt GMS § 1679.

⁴⁶ Der ganze Satzteil c'nw rymnyt yzd m'h n'my jw'nwtr 'krtwδ'rt in /14/ ist mir unklar und scheint ohne Annahme eines Fehlers (rymnyt für rymnyy oder 'krtwδ'rt für 'krtwδ'rt) nicht übersetzbar. Was bedeutet jw'nwtr? Sicher eine negative Eigenschaft, Person oder Gruppe. Darf an den Komparativ (-tr) eines von 'nwt «Beistand» abgeleiteten Adjektivs *jw-anut* < **duž-anut* «der üblen Beistand hat» (vgl. GMS § 287) gedacht werden?

⁴⁷ P'zky', bisher unbelegt, betrachte ich in Verbindung mit 'yw als Nominalableitung von man.-soghd. 'yw p'zyy, I p'zyy. P'zyy bedeutet HENNING zufolge in diesem Zusammenhang «Teilchen; ein wenig, bißchen» (BB, S. 81 zu 674). Der Sinn der Behauptung wäre dann, daß die Syrer nur in geringer Zahl, für kurze Zeit oder nach und nach zu kommen beabsichtigten. Eine sehr einleuchtende Alternativlösung erwägt jedoch SW: «If 'yw p'zky' is a compound its basis need not be p'zyy, 'bit' but can equally well be p'z 'face, front', whence a bahuvrihi *'yw-p'zyy with *-aka- as compound-suffix (cf. NP *yak-rūya* beside *yak-rū(y)*), abstract 'yw-p'zky'. The meaning of NP *yak-rū'i* 'unanimity, sincerity, conciliation, friendship' would fit very well here.»

⁴⁸ Zu diesem Satz vgl. S. 298 f.

⁴⁹ GERSHEVITCH: GMS § 1682, stellte hier die Übersetzungen «who were before» und «those who are foremost» zur Diskussion, räumte aber auch die Möglichkeit ein, daß im Prädikat eine Ableitung von sn- «rise» vorliegen könne (GMS § 780). Die Tatsache, daß von Empor- und Herabsteigen bereits in den Zeilen 16–17 die Rede ist, spricht aber dafür, eine entsprechende Bedeutung auch im vorliegenden Fall anzunehmen. Bestätigend weist SW darauf hin, daß neben st'nd die Formen 'styy «ist» in /8/ und stty «stieg auf» in /18/ auch für die im Text stehende Übersetzung sprechen.

⁵⁰ Meine Übersetzung folgt weitgehend einem Vorschlag von SW: «Please note carefully [whether] (those) who came up previously brought about profit and improvement.» Lediglich folgt aus Kenntnis des Originaltextes, daß die von SW vorgeschlagene Ergänzung cwt'y nicht möglich ist, da in diesem Falle am Textrand der Aufstrich eines t erhalten sein müßte.

⁵¹ Cnw Fehler für c'nw (vgl. BST I, ed. O. HANSEN, Zeile 116)?

der Lehrer *Saxtōē* und der Bischof Ktwn', über [] der schmutzige, *zerstörungssüchtige⁵² []

ANHANG II

Es ist mir eine ehrenvolle Pflicht, in den Kreis der Gelehrten, die durch ihre kritische Hilfe zur Verbesserung meiner Arbeit beigetragen haben und denen ich tiefen Dank schulde, auch Dr. Gershevitch (IG) einzuschließen. Er stellte mir auf das großzügigste seine eigenen Bemerkungen zu den Briefen wie auch Aufzeichnungen der ihm mündlich mitgeteilten Interpretationsvorschläge Hennings (H) zur Verfügung (Schreiben vom 15.1.1981 und 9.6.1982) und gestattete mir ihre Verwendung trotz der Bedenken, die Dr. Gershevitch prinzipiell gegen jede von Henning «deplored and dreaded unauthorized publication of great men's titibits» hegt, denn Henning selbst war ja «a staunch defender of a scholar's right to be judged by posterity exclusively on the strength of what he had personally approved for printing» (vgl. I. Gershevitch: Walter Bruno Henning 1908—1967. In: W. B. Henning Memorial Volume. London 1970. S. xxiii, und: Proceedings of the British Academy. London, Vol. 65 (1979) [erschieden 1981], S. 717). Wenn ich diese Bemerkungen auch nicht mehr in den Text meines Artikels einfügen konnte, so gab mir Prof. Harmatta doch die Möglichkeit, als einen zweiten Anhang zu meiner Arbeit in knapper Form jene Bemerkungen mitzuteilen, die ich akzeptiere oder zur Diskussion stellen möchte. Ich hoffe zugleich, auf diese Weise deutlicher werden zu lassen, zu welchen Resultaten die Edition der soghdischen Briefe geführt hätte, wenn es Henning vergönnt gewesen wäre, sie zu besorgen.

I,4, II,18: Auch H. betrachtete βγrw'n als Titel, IG betont die Problematik aller Übersetzungsversuche. Neben anderen Möglichkeiten erwägt er «'der gottselige' in the sense of 'the late, le feu', cf. MP 'nwšlwb'n ?!».

I,5: Die Lesung krtrty vorausgesetzt, leitet IG das Wort provisorisch von *kartara- ab, das er mit ehot. *kūdara* «sword» verbindet und «cutting» übersetzt. Im übertragenen Sinn könnte das Wort vielleicht als Bezeichnung göttlicher Mächte «incorruptible, safe, erlöst» bedeuten, als Bezeichnung von Dämonen «irredeemable». In M 133 sei qrtr vielleicht Adverb und könnte «irredeemably (sinful passions)» bezeichnen.

I,6: 'wrδp'r «dortig, being there».

I,9: M'xtysy -- ein Wort, für das H. eine eindrucksvolle Erklärung gefunden hat: arab. Maqdisi «a man from Jerusalem», d. h. «a man who had

⁵² Frwx'y 'ywštyy in /21/: in frwx'y sehe ich Infinitiv eines sonst frwx'y-, frxwst geschriebenen Verbs «zerstückeln» (BB, S. 59), zur Metathese von -xw- zu -ux- s. GMS § 417. Frwx'y 'ywštyy wäre dann wörtlich «vom/zum Zerstückeln erregt», was man vielleicht als «zerstörungswütig» oder «spaltungssüchtig» deuten könnte. Sollte jedoch Inversion eines eigentlich *'ywšt frwx'y lautenden Kompositums vorliegen (vgl. GERSHEVITCH: Compounds, S. 147), so ließe sich einfach «Zerstörung erregend» übersetzen.

lived in Aramaic surroundings». X wäre dann als Versuch zu betrachten, arab. q wiederzugeben, während später in manichäisch geschriebenen np. Texten hierfür das aus dem Türkischen vertraute Zeichen q verwendet wurde. Während ich m'xtysyy als Eigennamen ansehe, betonte IG mir gegenüber die Möglichkeit, daß auch ein Appellativum vorliegen könne.

I,11: 'wstnyy kann auch als Part. Präs. aufgefaßt werden (GMS § 892). In diesem Fall wäre zu übersetzen «of the law there is one establisher».

I,12: p'rtty . . . cxš'pδδ: H übersetzte «for, as regards (the fulfilment) of the law (in general) [they are weak] in (observing the) commandments».

I,14:]wyy für n]wyy «neu»?

I,15–16: δyn'βr'nc . . . šwmδ'rt: H übersetzte «our nun saw that their nun cut [a garment] and sewed (it)».

I,16–17: tym m'x δyn'βr'[nc] . . . [p]rsm'skwn: gegen meine Übersetzung wendet IG ein: «Introduced by *tym*, one expects to see a report of yet another misdemeanour of nuns». Er deutet daher prsm- «massieren» als «tappen» und in freierer und idiomatischer Verwendung «ertappen, erwischen». In xwšyc vermutet IG ein großes, tönernes (*xuš°* aus **xurms°*) Wassergefäß. In ihm habe die «erwischte» Nonne gebadet, und dies sei ihre Sünde gewesen.

I,17: Im letzten erkennbaren, von mir (xypδ) gelesenen Wort, dessen δ wirklich sehr zweifelhaft ist, sieht IG vielmehr einen weiteren, Āzādduxt folgenden Namen.

I,19:]rwrtr bereits in GMS § 492. Die Lesung geht auf H zurück.

I,19: δ'rwk 'ty p'št' nach IG eher «blocks of wood» und «chips of wood splitt off a block», mit Hinweis auf die Anhang I, Anm. 21 zitierte Erklärung Hennings.

I,23: ''tr . . . 'wst'ndskwn eher «lay (aufschichten) a fire» wie englisch «to lay a fire» und in Anbetracht der Überlegung, daß gewiß eher Anlaß bestand, ein Feuer zu entfachen als zu löschen (IG).

I,24–25: 'rty tym . . . pww šf'r: Henning übersetzte «And as regards the third commandment, it is loose and shameless (with them)». IG erklärt, daß H offenbar w'xš als «Sache» verstand und mit vorangehendem dyncyhyft cxš'pδdy verband, «(in) the matter of the third commandment».

I, 26: IG wendet gegen meine Übersetzung von c's'r pδyk r'f als «ein Leiden unter dem Fuß» ein, daß soghd. «Fuß» *pād* und nicht *pad* sei. H habe daher aw. *pada-* «place, spot» verglichen und übersetzt «a lower-part illness», wahrscheinlich im Sinne von «eine Unterleibskrankheit». Es sei dann ferner naheliegend, pšyy δβry' als «backdoor» zu übersetzen, wie GMS geschehen (vgl. Anh. I, Anm. 29), und dies als einen Euphemismus für «anus» zu erklären. Schließlich sei statt pšyy δβry' auch pšyyδ βry' als Lesemöglichkeit erwogen worden, was mir nicht ganz unmöglich erscheint. Allerdings ist das δ mit dem β zusammengeschrieben. Für c's'r «downwards» (GMS § 459) müßte mit nicht korrekter Verwendung im Sinne von «unten, unterhalb» gerechnet werden, was

aber nicht unmöglich ist, vgl. christl.-soghd. *cyns'* «innerhalb» statt «hinein» in ST II, c 3 /9/.

I,26: *z'k'ne kr'y'ne*: H verglich *kr'wr'n* und *kwr'y'nk*, «suggesting that the *z'k'ne may* have been a girl from Kroraina».

I,27—29: *'ty δynd'rt ... 'smk'm*: H übersetzte «they [die Electi] paid attention (= heard) that (*'ty*) she told four persons (viz. Yazd Aryaman etc., all of them, as Henning stessed, bearing Persian names) that twice I took blood...». Erklärend führt IG dazu ferner aus, daß die vier Personen nicht notwendigerweise verhörende Electi waren sondern vielleicht lediglich Bekannte der Heilpraktikerin, denen sie von ihren Taten berichtete, ohne zu ahnen, daß sie belauscht wurde.

I,34: Statt meines](cw)xt las IG ']wzxt (ebensowohl möglich), statt](.)β[:](w)β[.

I,37: Statt *ty(.)*[: *ty*[m (naheliegend, da ein Interpunktionszeichen vorausgeht), statt](.)'d :]'r (ich sehe keinen r-Punkt).

II,3: vor *m'x*:](.st' 'ty) (IG konnte *st' 'ty* lesen).

II,4: IG konnte seinerzeit]mt 'skw'm 'ty rwšn mwj'k lesen, d. h. «ich bin und der Lehrer Rōšn» (kaum «der lichte Lehrer», weil in diesem Fall wohl ein soghd. Wort verwendet worden wäre).

II,5: Wenn *mand I mγwn* zu lesen ist, dann ergeben sich mit Henning die möglichen Übersetzungen 1. «it is altogether in accord with the religious law» (*mand* = mimetic affixation of MP -mand to the Sogdian open compound *nwm-pδk'*), 2. «the (observance of the) law is ceasing» (*mand* = privative prefix). Es könnte aber auch, wenn *I mγwn* mit SW «like» bedeutet, *mand-ēvma-γōn* «unlike, different» oder «incompatible» sein.

II,6: IG konnte lesen: ... *t w' rwc prwstyy wβyy myš'ndyy xypδ rw'n γryw ']*. Er erklärt *rwc prwstyy* als ein adjektivisches offenes Kompositum in der Bedeutung «one for whom destiny has turned» (Lehnübersetzung eines pers. **rōz-bargašte*, vgl. np. *roz bargard-/bargašt*, Wolff, S. 447 unter Nr. 43) oder einfach «unfortunate, desperate, abandoned» (Hinweis auf Np. *bargašte-rōzgār*, bei Johnson, Steingass, Haim). Das vorangehende *w'* ist IG zufolge Elativpräfix. Für die Zeilen 5—7 schlägt IG als Übersetzung vor: «And O Lord [in order not only to save ourselves, but also to prevent that] their own soul's self become so-very-much ill-fated [as a result of their Laxity,] it is necessary to order that etc.».

II,7 u. 8: Falls man statt *ckštyt exštyt* lesen darf (in beiden Fällen finden sich Punkte über dem š, die man vielleicht auf das vorangehende *k* beziehen kann), so liegt vielleicht ein Part. Prät. *čaxšt-* «received» vor, das neben *čayt-* existierte (IG, vgl. GMS § 551 (c)).

II,8: Für *xw'n* schlägt IG Ableitung von aw. **hu-āna-* «gutes Atmen gewährend» > «wohlbehaglich» vor und verweist auf Bartholomae's Übersetzung von aw. *x^vāθra-* als «(gutes Atmen sva) Wohlbehagen».

II,9: Statt «es wird einige Jahre dauern» übersetzte H «there is staying (= they stay) for several years».

II,10: Statt prm las IG pnc und übersetzte «five desires shall be to the present teachers», auch das vorangehende k'm verstand H als «desire».

II,12: Statt kww las IG ky (wenn richtig, so für kyy), meine durch kww angeregte Ergänzung der letzten Schriftspuren dieser Zeile als s'r hat IG folglich nicht.

II,12: Neben der von IG mitgeteilten, auf H zurückgehenden Übersetzung im Text erwog H die Möglichkeit, daß in diesem Fall auch «Hörer», also Angehörige des Laienstandes der Kirche, gemeint sein könnten. Ich halte das unter der Voraussetzung für denkbar, daß der Briefschreiber hier die «Hörer» der feindlichen Partei absichtlich herabsetzt und verspottet, sie also sozusagen «Horcher» statt «Hörer» nennt.

II,13: nyz'r . . . 'wsyndndk'm: H übersetzte «they shall break down on the body those who are (already) broken by Elend». «On the body» erklärt IG als «physically».

II,13–14: H ergänzte: 'ty prw xwrn[yy xypδ γryw] sn'yndk'm «and they shall wash themselves in blood». Weder Hs noch meine Textergänzung (xypδ δst') würden das Zeilenende normalerweise ganz füllen, so daß mit mindestens einem weiteren Wort zu rechnen ist.

II,14: Wie IG mitteilt, betrachtete H rymnyt als Fehler für rymny, so wie ich dies in Anhang I, Anm. 46 auch vermutet habe. Er sah in jw'nwtr einen Titel unbekannter Bedeutung. Yzd m'h n'my erklärt IG überzeugend als Bahuvrihi-Kompositum «. . . whose-name-is Yazdmāh».

II,14 f.: H übersetzte und ergänzte «At that time (viz. the time of Yazdmāh) you yourself, o Lord, were (bishop?)».

II,16: Statt w'xš(yg) bxtgyy las IG w'xš 'y bxtgyy, was H «the spirit of schism» übersetzte. In seinem heutigen Zustand gestattet der Text eine solche Lesung aber nicht mehr.

II,17: Statt [r]ty am Zeilenanfang ergänzte IG überzeugender [']ty, zumal andernfalls ein r-Punkt erhalten sein sollte. Ebenso dürfte II,15 am Ende mit IG 'ty zu lesen sein.

II,18 Anfang: Statt [cndn] ergänzte IG c(w) «what». In seinem heutigen Zustand gestattet das Manuskript beide Möglichkeiten, wenn man breite Schreibung des c annimmt.

II,18–21: In diesen letzten erhaltenen Zeilen des Briefes, die heute aus vier voneinander getrennten Stücken bestehen, konnten H und IG einst weitaus mehr lesen als dies heute möglich ist.

II,18: Statt myh(. . mwj)'kyy: myhr['n mw](j)'kyy. Damit wäre der Name des dort angeführten Lehrers der eigenen Partei als Mihrān wiederherstellbar. In seinem heutigen Zustand gestatten allerdings weder das Photo, mit dem ich arbeite, noch der Originaltext eine solche Ergänzung (vgl. Anhang I, Anm. 40).

II,18–19: Statt $cn(w?) (pr)[w\ 2-4\ \delta yn] / (\delta)'rty \dots$: $cndn\ f[rtry' \ 'krtw] / \delta'rt$ «wieviel Besserung hat er bewirkt?» Diese einleuchtende Lesung dürfte grundsätzlich den Vorzug verdienen. Insbesondere $cndn$ ist möglich, wenn man annimmt, daß das finale n mit dem linken Ende des c -Bogens zusammenfiel. Für $f[rtry' \ 'krtw]$ reicht das Ende von 18 kaum hin. IGs Ergänzung scheint mir aber doch möglich, wenn man sie etwas verkürzt; etwa: $(pr)[w'k \ 'krtw] / (\delta)'rt$ «er hat verleumdet».

II,19: Nach $gbryhb$ konnte IG zweifelsfrei $'ft'\delta'n$ lesen und danach $[s]tty$ (Prät.) statt meines sn' (Imperf.) ergänzen. $Gavryav$ war also ein Bischof! Die folgenden Worte, von denen ich gar nichts zu lesen vermochte, waren offenbar ebenfalls weniger zerstört als heute, doch auch seinerzeit nur zweifelhaft deutbar. IG hat mir gestattet, seinen folgenden, sehr zweifelhaften Rekonstruktionsversuch dessen, was er glaubt, einst mit H gelesen zu haben, mitzuteilen: $[s]tty\ cndn\ \beta'n' \ ? \dots (p/\beta\gamma)t[w]\delta[']rt [prw\ NN\ mwj'kyy]$. Ergänzend teilt er mir mit, daß $\beta'n'$ immer ganz unklar war und daß das Verb von H als «he has given away as a present» übersetzt, also als $\beta\gamma tw\delta'rt$ verstanden wurde.

II,20: Nach $st'nd$: $cnd[n$ «wie viel», heute nicht mehr erkennbar.

II,21: Statt $frwx'y$: $frwx'n$, dazu die Übersetzung «the dirty Farruxān the agitator (or: 'the disturber of the happy ones')». Eine einleuchtende und daher wohl richtige Lesung. Ich kann aber nur wiederholen, daß das, was ich zu sehen vermag, als $f(rw)x'(y)$ erscheint. Der letzte Buchstabe ähnelt am meisten einem in der Mitte versehrten y .

Anhang I, Anm. 44: IG verweist mich noch auf paschtu *you co* «several» mit Bezugnahme auf GMS S. 251, zu 1586. Leider hatte ich versäumt, in meiner Anmerkung auch § 1586 selbst zu zitieren.

Anfang 1982 erhielt ich dank freundlicher Vermittlung von Dr. N. Sims-Williams durch Herrn Dr. G. Gropp aus der Photosammlung des Seminars für Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orient der Universität Hamburg ein ausgezeichnetes Photo, das den Hauptteil des zweiten Briefes (Zeilen 1–19) in seinem weniger versehrten Vorkriegszustand zeigt. Beiden Herren danke ich an dieser Stelle für ihre Hilfe, die um so größer ist, als sie eine Reihe problematischer Lesungen definitiv entscheidet, und zwar:

II,5: $mn(d) I\ m\gamma wn$ (so IG),

II,6: $](ty\ w' rw)c\ pr(w)styy\ w\beta yy\ m(y\delta)'ndyy\ xyp\delta\ rw'n\ gryw\ (?)$ [so IG),

II,7: $\gamma wt\ w'nw$ (so IG),

II,9 (erste Stelle): $(')ty$ statt $(')rty$,

II,10: statt prm eher pnc (so IG),

II,16: $w'x\delta' y\ bxtgyy$ (so IG),

II,19 nach $gbryhb$: $[\quad](.)tyy\ (c)n\delta n\ \beta'n(w.)$], nicht sn' !

M. MARÓTH

PTOLEMAIC ELEMENTS AND GEOGRAPHICAL
ACTUALITY IN AL-ḤUWĀRIZMĪ'S DESCRIPTION
OF CENTRAL ASIA

INTRODUCTION

The geographical knowledge and geographical science of the Arabs, as shown by J. H. Kramers,¹ have developed in several stages until they attained the high level known to us. This development had several factors. One of its earliest components is the practical knowledge of nomadic people wandering in the desert about their own country, the Arab peninsula.² The poetry of the *ġāhiliyya* has preserved a few practical directions and descriptions showing how to get from one place to another. Later on, these simple items of knowledge were summarized by the lexicographers on a higher level. At this time geography was not a separate science, but it represented already part of scientific knowledge. These items of practical knowledge were included in their alphabetically compiled works. One of the earliest products of this trend was al-Asma'ī's work dated from the 8th century that, beside the Arabic vocabulary, also contained the geographical names of the Arab peninsula. Of the works known to us most useful are al-Bakrī's work entitled «Geographical dictionary» and Yāqūt's «Kitāb mu'ġam al-buldān». Beside the old geographical names, both contain also the toponyms of the newly conquered territories.

It was an important achievement, when the Arabs got acquainted with theoretical geography. The first signs of this can also be gathered already from the Koran. That knowledge, however, can be ascribed to foreign influence.³ Much more significant than these modest beginnings was the fact that the Arabs adopted the achievements of the theoretical geography of the Greeks, reaching them in three routes. It came via India in the form of the so called Sind-Hind literature, and through Iran in the form of the Zīg literature. The known world maps of al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb came into existence as a result of direct Graeco-Arab relations (although this word «direct» does not mean that we would forget about the intermediary activity of the Syrians). The map of al-Ḥuwārizmī is very important because it came into existence early, in the first half of the 8th century. The cartographical activity of the Arabs cannot be understood without the knowledge of the work of Ptolemy

¹ J. H. KRAMERS: *Djuġhrāfiya*. EI Supplementumband. 62.

² F. BUHL: *Das Leben Muhammads*. Leipzig 1930. 61.

³ EI. Leiden 1965. II. 5575- 5578.

entitled *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις*. In fact, the activity of the Arabs was closely connected with this work. In a short time even three Arabic versions of it were prepared. The work contains the detailed description of the world, thus it could serve as the framework of the activities of the Arab cartographers, in which the changes taken place since Ptolemy had only to be inserted as well as those items of knowledge that were acquired by the Arabs on the basis of informations more accurate than those of Ptolemy. Unfortunately, neither of the three translations mentioned above has been preserved, thus we do not know whether they were simple translations or rewritings.

The third group of sources is represented by the geographical writers. The geographical writers of the 9th and 10th centuries borrowed from several sources. Their activity, on the one hand, was the continuation of the earlier Persian geographical science, and on the other hand they also borrowed from the Faḍā'il and Ḥadīṭ literatures, from the practical knowledge of the travellers and post-officials, as well as from the data of different itineraries. The geographical writers can be divided into two groups. The first group is the so called Iraḳī school. Members of this are Ibn Ḥurraḍāḍbeh, Qudāma, al-Ya'qūbī, al-Mas'ūdī, etc. The other is the so called Balḫī school, its famous representatives are al-Iṣṭaḥrī, Ibn Ḥawqal and Muqaddasī.⁴

In the work following here I shall examine the part of al-Ḥuwārizmī's work, the Kitāb Šūrat al-Arḍ, relating to Central Asia. It meant a help that several scholars already made similar investigations earlier, and at the same time, even the limits of my works are determined by their research work. In the West I started my investigations at the territory elaborated by J. Eckmann.⁵ I finished it in the East at the same line with the elaboration of H. Mžik, at the border of the Ptolemaic *Scythia extra Imaum*.⁶ The southern border was meant all along by India. The mountain range stretching between India and Central Asia is slightly ascending towards the East. Therefore, if I wanted to represent the cities of Central Asia in the West, it could not be avoided to put the northernmost parts of India on the map. The examination of these territories, however, was not my aim, therefore the formations of the surface to be found there were taken into consideration only if they helped me to determine the formations of the surface in the territory examined.

The primary aim of my study is the reconstruction of al-Ḥuwārizmī's lost map. Besides, after drawing the map, I tried to examine the points represented. In the course of this work I compared al-Ḥuwārizmī's map with the

⁴ Cf. notes 1 and 3.

⁵ J. ECKMANN: Keleteurópa és Nyugatázsia a legrégi arab térképeken (Eastern Europe and Western Asia on the Oldest Arabic Maps). Földrajzi Közlemények 57 (1929) No. 6–7. Pp. 91–105.

⁶ H. MŽIK: Parageographische Elemente in den Berichten der arabischen Geographen über Südostasien. Beiträge zur historischen Geographie usw. Festschrift für E. Oberhummer. Ed. H. MŽIK 1929. 172–202.

corresponding parts of Ptolemy's map, as well as with other Arabic maps, notably with that of Suhrāb that similarly had to be reconstructed first. Finally, if it was possible, I tried to reason out to what the map — prepared with more primitive means than those of today and therefore frequently deformed — corresponds in reality according to our present knowledge.

In the course of the work first I translated and corrected al-Ḥuwārizmī's text frequently preserved in a distorted form. Thereafter follows the identification and objective commenting of the cities, mountains, names of countries and rivers. The results of the research could be drawn only after these.⁷

AL-ḤUWĀRIZMĪ ON CENTRAL ASIA

I. Cities

Climate V

(398) Ušrūsanat	91°10'	36°40'
(399) Ḥoġanda ¹	92°30'	37°10'
(400) Banākath ²	94°30'	38°30'
(401) Aḥsikath ³	96°30'	36°40'
(402) Ṭāraband	96°30'	36°40'
(403) Isbiġāb ⁴	98°10'	39°50'
(404) al-Ṭarāz, city of the merchants ⁵	100°30'	40°24'

⁷ My research started out from the following works of fundamental importance : Das Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ des Abū Ġa'far Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḥuwārizmī. Ed. H. v. MẒIK. Leipzig 1926.

Das Kitāb 'Aġā'ib al-Aḳālīm as-Sab'a des Suhrāb. Ed. H. v. MẒIK. Leipzig 1930. Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia. Ed. C. F. A. NOBBE. Leipzig 1898.

Tabulae in Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiam. Ed. C. MÜLLER. Parisiis 1901.

¹ In al-Ḥuwārizmī, in the figure denoting longitude, the dot is missing from the ب. In Suhrāb the figure occurs in its correct form : صبل. In the latitude, on the other hand, Suhrāb omitted a dot from the ر, while this was correctly written by al-Ḥuwārizmī as لزى.

² In al-Ḥuwārizmī the latitudinal datum appears incorrectly in the form لجل. This ought to be read as 33°30'. At the same place in Suhrāb we find لجل, this however, has to be interpreted as 38°30'. On the basis of the situation as compared with each other and the system of the cities, Suhrāb's datum has to be accepted as correct, accordingly al-Ḥuwārizmī has to be corrected.

³ Differing from al-Ḥuwārizmī, in Suhrāb the longitudinal co-ordinate is 94°30'.

⁴ The second member of the figure representing the longitudinal co-ordinate of the city in al-Ḥuwārizmī is ج, and in Suhrāb ح. Starting out from the system formed by the cities, surely we have to accept Suhrāb's datum as correct, accordingly al-Ḥuwārizmī has to be corrected.

⁵ In al-Ḥuwārizmī the longitude is indicated by ق, and in Suhrāb by ف. Suhrāb's datum has to be corrected according to the other, apparently correct datum.

(405) al-Tubbat ⁶	130°	38°
(406) Aṭrāqārā ⁷	149°10′	37°50′
(407) City beside a mountain and a spring ⁸	149°15′	39°

Climate VI

(467) Ḥwārizm ⁹	91°50′	42°10′
(468) al-Ḥazar ¹⁰	93°	45°
(469) Nawākath ¹¹	104°	44°
(470) City ¹²	110°	44°45′
(471) City ¹³	112°45′	42°

Climate VII

(497) Sīnistān	148°10′	46°44′
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Climate VIII

(536) ما با سو مع الجبل ¹⁴	131°	58°10′
(537) ما نامو مع جبل ¹⁵	141°30′	51°20′

⁶ In the case of the longitudinal data in connection with the مل° both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and in Suhrāb two dots were left out from the ق . Al-Ḥuwārizmī's defective latitudinal datum — لج° — must be interpreted by all means as 38°, because in Suhrāb we find 40°.

⁷ In the case of the latitudinal data Suhrāb writes لرن . This has to be corrected according to al-Ḥuwārizmī's correct لزن .

⁸ In the case of this and also of the previous point in the longitudinal co-ordinates from the ق the two dots were left out both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and in Suhrāb.

⁹ Both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and in Suhrāb the ب to be found in the latitudinal data has to be completed with one dot. The correct form of the figure is صبى .

¹⁰ Both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb one dot is missing from the figure صح denoting the longitude. The longitude of the city is definitely 93° and not 98°, because the conditions given at the description of the direction of the course of the Syr-Darya are performed only by this interpretation of the figure. The correct form of the figure is صح° .

¹¹ According to Suhrāb the datum of al-Ḥuwārizmī has to be corrected into قد .

¹² The correct form of the longitudinal datum is قى . Above the ق the two dots are missing with both al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb.

¹³ The ambiguous figure (فسمه) representing the longitudinal co-ordinate can be established correctly so that we take into consideration Suhrāb's map. In his work, here several cities appear after the city given in point 471, and the longitudinal datum of each of them is unambiguously smaller than 150. Thus, the ambiguous figure has to be corrected into قيبمه .

¹⁴ A name of uncertain reading.

¹⁵ A name of uncertain reading.

2. Mountains

Climate V

(817—818)	Mountain, stretching between this mountain and Samarkand				
	88°	36°	106°	39°20'	
	direction of peaks : North		colour of mountain : red		
(819—820)	Mountain connecting with the previous one				
	106°	39°20'	124°35'	39°45'	
	direction of peaks : North		colour of mountain : in-different blue		
(821—822)	Mountain ¹⁶				
	126°50'	39°50'	139°30'	38°	
	North		indifferent iron colour		
(823—824)	Mountain similar to the former one ¹⁷				
	137°	72°	139°20'	38°	
	direction of peaks : West		colour : indifferent iron colour		
(825—826)	Mount Emodon				
	140°30'	37°	149°20'	38°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : indifferent iron colour		

Climate VI

(865—866)	Burğ Ḥiğārat ¹⁸				
	101°55'	41°5'	101°55'	42°15'	
	direction of peaks : East		colour : (.)		

¹⁶ On the basis of comparison with Suhrāb's data, the *فکر* in al-Ḥuwārizmī has to be corrected into *تکر*, because the picture thus received is closer to that of Ptolemy. Similarly on the basis of comparison with Ptolemy, the latitude given in point 822 cannot be read as 33°, but only 38°. Imaon : Ptolemy *Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις*. VI. 13—1.

¹⁷ In Suhrāb the co-ordinates are 140°, 36°—144°5', 68°5', respectively. Of the differing data of Suhrāb and al-Ḥuwārizmī those of the latter have proved to be correct on the basis of comparison with Ptolemy. This comparison furnished the basis also for the definition of the ambiguous figures in absence of the punctuation.

¹⁸ Contrary to al-Ḥuwārizmī, in Ptolemy (VI. 13—2), the *Αἰθωός Πύργος* is represented only as one point. Taking this into consideration, we succeeded in selecting the adequate figures from the values that are ambiguous because of the absence of punctuation. The longitude of point 865, as collated with that of point 866, had to be interpreted as *قانه*, and the latitude of point 866, as collated with that of point 865, had to be interpreted as *مب به*, because we could get the smallest extension this way. Unfortunately, on account of the differences between the data of Ptolemy and al-Ḥuwārizmī (East-West shifting of degrees, in a more detailed form in the concluding part) the comparison of the two is a rather uncertain method, and still we had to rely upon this, because Suhrāb does not give any hint.

(867—868)	Mountain				
	117°50'	45°30'	122°20'	41°50'	
	direction of peaks : South		colour : concentrated red		
(869—870)	Mount Asfaṭāfā ¹⁹				
	124°55'	49°50'	134°40'	43°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : yellow		
(871—872)	Mount Qāsiyā ²⁰				
	141°	41°10'	147°45'	47°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : red		

Climate VII

(885—886)	Mountain ²¹				
	96°	45°55'	100°50'	49°50'	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : pale yellow		
(887—888)	Mountain ²²				
	102°	47°	107°20'	47°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : pink		

After Climate VII

(927—928)	Mount Rūmīqā ²³				
	88°	57°	93°25'	55°	
	direction of peaks : North		colour : pink		

¹⁹ The minutes belonging to the western longitude can be interpreted accurately according to Suhrāb's text. The ح of the eastern latitude stands without punctuation both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb, thus it represents number 8. Still on the basis of comparison with Ptolemy (*Askatagkas*. VI. 13—14; 14—13), correctly it has to be interpreted as eastern latitude 43° instead of 48°, both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb a dot must be put into the ح. The correct form is ° مع.

²⁰ In the longitude East in al-Ḥuwārizmī we find و, but this has to be corrected according to Suhrāb's ز, because this figure is closer to Ptolemy (*Kasia*. VI. 15-2). Very likely al-Ḥuwārizmī's و is only clerical error. With Suhrāb the western longitude is 141°5' and the eastern latitude is 47°5'.

²¹ Contrary to al-Ḥuwārizmī, the co-ordinates of the western extreme point in Suhrāb are 96°5' and 45°45'.

²² Suhrāb's western co-ordinates are 102°5' and 47°5', the eastern latitude with him is 47°5'. The differences do not render the correction of al-Ḥuwārizmī's text necessary. In his work, however, in the case of the western latitude and the eastern longitude and latitude the dot must be put on the letters و, because their correct form is ز. (Thus مزه , قرك).

²³ In Suhrāb the two latitudes are 57°5' and 55°5', respectively. It is important that in his work in the case of the data of the eastern longitude there is a dot in the ح, thus it renders sure the value 93°25'. This dot must be put there also in the case of al-Ḥuwārizmī.

(929—930)	Mountain ²⁴	89°35'	61°	94°50'	61°
	direction of peaks : North			colour : indifferent	sky-blue
(931—932)	Mount Arsānā	95°40'	55°10'	100°50'	59°20'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : indifferent	yellow
(933—934)	Mountain ²⁵	102°	60°20'	108°20'	59°30'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : indifferent iron	colour
(935—936)	Mountain, begins from the fore-part of previous mountain ²⁶	97°20'	67°30'	102°	60°30'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : pink	
(937—938)	Mount Aṣqāsiyā ²⁷	104°25'	56°40'	108°40'	52°20'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : sky-blue	
(939—940)	Alān-mountain	107°45'	62°25'	114°35'	62°20'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : yellow	
(941—942)	Ṭafūrā-mountain	109°20'	55°45'	115°40'	51°20'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : olive	
(943—944)	Sūnyā-mountain ²⁸	114°15'	58°20'	124°	63°
	direction of peaks : North			colour : concentrated	red

²⁴ In Suhrāb the latitude is 61°5'.

²⁵ In Suhrāb the western longitude is 102°5'. The value of the eastern longitude is dubious. It is written as قح ك, in the ح there is no dot either in Suhrāb or in al-Ḥuwārizmī. There is no Ptolemaic material for comparison, thus I interpreted the ح as 8.

²⁶ Suhrāb's data differ from al-Ḥuwārizmī's values at two points. With him the western latitude is 60°30', and the eastern longitude is 102°5'. In the western longitude the ر is incorrect. The dot has been omitted from it both in Suhrāb and al-Ḥuwārizmī. Correctly written it is صر ك .

²⁷ In al-Ḥuwārizmī the eastern longitude, erroneously, is punctuated so that it ought to be interpreted as 103°. On the basis of comparison with Ptolemy (*Aspisia ore* VI. 14-6), we have to accept Suhrāb's 103° as correct. Thus, al-Ḥuwārizmī's text correctly is قح .

²⁸ The eastern longitude in Suhrāb, in contrast to al-Ḥuwārizmī, is 124°5'. In al-Ḥuwārizmī the western longitude is punctuated. With the help of this the و to be found with Suhrāb can be corrected into ه. In the case of the eastern latitude, however, the datum of al-Ḥuwārizmī can be corrected into سج on the basis of Suhrāb's text. In fact, this value can also be proved on the basis of Ptolemy's text (*Sueba ore* VI. 14-8).

(945—946)	Mountain connecting with this ²⁹	118°	67°45'	125°	63°
	direction of peaks : North			colour : sky-blue	
(947—948)	Anāzāyā mountain range	122°10'	59°10'	128°40'	54°25'
	direction of peaks : North			colour : sky-blue	
(949—950)	Mountain ³⁰	126°45'	61°30'	135°20'	57°
	direction of peaks : North			colour : indifferent yellow	
(951—952)	Mount Awzaqiyūn ³¹	141°40'	51°20'	148°50'	58°
	direction of peaks : North			colour : indifferent iron colour	
(953—954)	Mount Lanātīti ³²	147°40'	65°	155°55'	60°10'

3. Names of Countries

- 1585 Country of Šāš and Ṭāraband, its middle longitude : 98° latitude : 42°
 1600 Country of Osqōniyā, land of the Turks, its middle longitude : 114°
 latitude : 59°30'
 1601 Country of Osqōthiyā, country of the Toğuzğuz, its middle longitude :
 143° latitude : 59°30'

4. Rivers

River Bāṭis

Its beginning is a spring at longitude : 146° and latitude : (2046)
 39°40'. From here it flows to longitude : 153° and latitude : 40°10'... (2048)
 A spring meets this river, its beginning is at longitude : 147°20' and
 latitude : 45°20'. It meets the river at longitude : 149° and latitude
 41°30'. (2051)
 Another spring also meets river Bāṭis, its beginning is between two
 cities and a mountain at longitude : 149°30' and latitude : 38°40'. (2052)
 It meets the river at longitude : 153° and latitude : 40°. (2053)

²⁹ In the case of the eastern latitude the punctuation is omitted both in al-Ḥuwā-rizmī and Suhrāb. On the basis of the text it had to be adjusted to the previous point, viz. point 944. In accordance with this the latitudinal figure has to be corrected into سح in both Arab authors.

³⁰ In Suhrāb both latitudes are different. The western latitude is 71°45' and the eastern 57°5'.

³¹ In Suhrāb the eastern longitude is 153°50'. The collation with Ptolemy (*Auxakia* ore. VI. 15-2) justifies the latitudinal datum established here.

³² In Suhrāb the western latitude is 65°5'.

River Balḥ

- Its beginning is a lake at longitude: 100° and latitude: 48° . (2196)
- The dimension of the river is one part. It flows to the corner of the mountain at longitude: 102° and latitude: 47° . (2197)
- From there it turns back to the point at longitude: $96^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $44^{\circ}30'$, and then from there it flows to longitude: $96^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 42° . (2198)
(2199)
- Thereafter it comes and crosses the city of Ḥwārizm, flowing out from there it reaches the point longitude: $91^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}40'$. (2200)
- It flows along in the vicinity of the city of Balḥ and meets the Baṭīḥa at longitude: 88° and latitude: $39^{\circ}10'$. (2201)
- From River Balḥ flows a river, its beginning is at longitude: $91^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}40'$. (2206)
- It flows, and then it crosses a long mountain, it passes along the cities of Ušrūsana and Hoğanda and arrives at a place at longitude: $92^{\circ}30'$ and $34^{\circ}40'$. (2207)
- A spring flows out from the mountain at longitude: $99^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: 39° . (2211)
- It flows along in the vicinity of the city of merchants to the place at longitude: 100° and latitude: $41^{\circ}30'$. (2212)
- It flows farther and meets River Balḥ at longitude: $96^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $44^{\circ}30'$. (2213)
- Into this river flows a river rising from a spring, its beginning is at longitude: $101^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}20'$. (2214)
- It flows touching the city of merchants and meets the river rising from a spring at longitude: 100° and latitude: $41^{\circ}30'$. (2215)
- A river rising from mountains falls in (the water) of the first spring. Its beginning is at longitude: $104^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $47^{\circ}5'$. (2216)
- It flows into the river originating from a spring at longitude: $97^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $44^{\circ}5'$. (2217)

Long river

- Its beginning is a spring at longitude: $129^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 46° . (Suhṛāb mentions $41^{\circ}5'$). (2218)
- It flows to longitude: 118° and latitude: $46^{\circ}5'$. (2219)
- From there it flows to longitude: $107^{\circ}5'$ and latitude $50^{\circ}30'$. (2220)
- Then from there it makes for longitude: $100^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 51° . (2221)
- It passes by the city of the Khazars and between the sea and the city of Ḥwārizm, its water flows into the lake of River Balḥ at longitude: $90^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $41^{\circ}30'$. (2222)

- Into this river flows a river from the mountain of Arsānā, its beginning is at longitude: 99° and latitude: $57^\circ 30'$. (With Suhrāb longitude: $99^\circ 5'$.) (2223)
- It flows into the big river at longitude: $92^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $45^\circ 5'$. (With Suhrāb latitude: $44^\circ 5'$.) (2224)
- A river coming from Mount Arsānā also flows into the big river, its beginning is at longitude: 100° and latitude: $59^\circ 5'$. (Suhrāb: longitude: $100^\circ 40'$.) (2225)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $94^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $46^\circ 5'$. (2226)
- A river flows into the big river from Mount Asqāsiyā, its beginning is at longitude: $104^\circ 40'$ and latitude: $56^\circ 5'$. (2227)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $100^\circ 30'$ and latitude: $51^\circ 5'$. (2228)
- A river from Mount Asqāsiyā similarly flows into the big river, its beginning is at longitude: $106^\circ 30'$ and latitude: $54^\circ 5'$. (With Suhrāb latitude: $54^\circ 40'$.) (2229)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $104^\circ 30'$ and latitude: 51° . (With Suhrāb latitude: $51^\circ 5'$.) (2230)
- Another river from Mount Asqāsiyā also flows into the big river, its beginning is at longitude: $108^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $52^\circ 30'$. (2231)
- Its mouth at the big river at longitude: $107^\circ 20'$ and latitude: $50^\circ 30'$. (2232)
- Three rivers from a mountain also flow into the big river.
- The source of the first river is at longitude: 103° and latitude: $48^\circ 30'$. (2233)
- It flows into the big river at longitude: $103^\circ 10'$ and latitude: $51^\circ 30'$. (2234)
- The source of the second one is at longitude: $103^\circ 30'$ and latitude: $47^\circ 30'$. (2235)
- Its mouth at the big river is at longitude: $104^\circ 30'$ and latitude: $50^\circ 40'$. (2236)
- The source of the third one is at longitude: $104^\circ 45'$ and latitude: $48^\circ 5'$. (2237)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $106^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $50^\circ 20'$. (2238)
- Three rivers from Mount Taghūrā similarly flow into the big river, the source of the first one is at longitude: 112° and latitude: $58^\circ 10'$. (2239)
- (With Suhrāb longitude: $112^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $53^\circ 5'$.)
- Its mouth into the river is at longitude: $109^\circ 20'$ and latitude: $50^\circ 5'$. (2240)
- The source of the second one is at longitude: $114^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $52^\circ 5'$. (2241)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $114^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $49^\circ 30'$. (2242)
- The source of the third one is at longitude: $115^\circ 30'$ and latitude: $51^\circ 30'$. (With Suhrāb latitude: $51^\circ 20'$.) (2243)
- It flows into the river at longitude: $114^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $48^\circ 30'$. (2244)
- Into this big river flows a spring, its source is at longitude: $119^\circ 40'$ and latitude: $44^\circ 30'$ (With Suhrāb longitude: $119^\circ 5'$.) (2245)
- Its mouth at the river is at longitude: $118^\circ 5'$ and latitude: $46^\circ 5'$.

(With Suhrāb longitude : 118°40'.) (2246)

A spring flows similarly into the big river, its source is at longitude : 124°30' and latitude : 49°5'. (With Suhrāb longitude : 124°5'.) (2247)

It flows into the river at longitude : 123° and latitude : 46°20'. (With Suhrāb latitude : 123°5'.) (2248)

River Yūhardis

Its source is a spring, at longitude : 145°30' and latitude : 47°. (2249)

From there it flows to longitude : 152°30' and latitude : 51°30'. (2250)

... Into this river flows a spring, its source is at longitude : 147°30' and latitude : 52°30'. (2257)

It flows into the river at longitude : 152°40' and latitude : 51°30'. (2258)

... Into this river flows a river from the mountain, its source is at longitude : 92°30' and latitude : 61°. (2389)

Its mouth into the river is at longitude : 81°30' and latitude : 58°30'. (2390)

... Into the former river flows a river from Mount Rūmiqā, its source is at longitude : 91° and latitude : 56°5'. (2399)

It flows into the river at longitude : 88° and latitude : 54°. (2400)

A river from Mount Arsānā also flows into the former river, its source is at longitude : 97° and latitude : 56°. (2401)

It flows into the first river at longitude : 87°20' and latitude : 53°. (3402)

II. EXPLANATION AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL POINTS

(398) اشروسنة longitude : 91°10' and latitude : 36°40'. The co-ordinates given by al-Ḥuwārizmī accurately tally with those of Suhrāb. The name اشروسنة denotes a province.¹ Its name occurs also in the forms Sutrūsana and Šurūsana.² The name of the capital of the province was Bunġikath.³ اشروسنة can be identified with the surroundings of present-day Ura-Tübe.⁴ Al-Ḥuwārizmī in his work, however, denotes by the name اشروسنة not the province, but its capital. Therefore by the point given Bunġikath must be understood. The one time city can be identified with the ruins of the medieval Šahristān.⁵

(399) حجنة longitude : 92°30' and latitude : 37°10'. Suhrāb also gives exactly these co-ordinates. The city was situated at the border of the

¹ Ibn Ḥawqal, 379 : اما اشروسنة فانه اسم الاقليم كما ان السغد اسم الاقليم وليس بها مدينة بهذا : Iṣṭāḥri: . الاسم , الاسم

² HA. 354.

³ At each of the places quoted so far.

⁴ Turkestan, 164—166.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 166—167. A. N. NEGMATOV—S. G. HMELNITSKI : 191—197.

province Farghāna, but it belonged still to Šāš.⁶ It can be found beside the Ptolemaic Alexandria Eschate, but their names have nothing to do with each other.⁷ Ibn Rusta, in contrast to al-Ḥuwārizmī, places the city not in Climate V, but in Climate IV together with the cities of Ošrōsana and Farghāna.⁸ On its place we can find today the city named Ḥoğend.⁹

(400) بناکت longitude: $94^{\circ}10'$ and latitude: $38^{\circ}30'$. The city can be found also in Suhrāb, but at longitude: $94^{\circ}55'$. In the Arab geographic literature its name occurs also in the form بناکت, but Barthold remarked that the form بناکت is correct.¹⁰ It occurs in this form also in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb. Besides the variant mentioned above the form فناکت is also known.¹¹ The city was situated in the one-time province of Īlāq at the bank of River Angren, near its mouth into the Syr-Darya. Its one-time existence is witnessed by the present-day Šarkiya ruins.¹²

(401) اخسیکت longitude: $96^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $36^{\circ}40'$. With Suhrāb the city can be found at longitude: $94^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $36^{\circ}30'$. It was the capital of province Farghāna, therefore in the Arabic itineraries it is frequently mentioned like this: مدينة فرغانة.¹³ The city is described by the Arab authors differently in regard to its size. It was situated in the territory of the present-day villages Aḥsi and Šāhand.¹⁴ In contrast to al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb, Ibn Rusta places it into Climate IV.¹⁵

(402) طاربند longitude: $96^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}35'$. We find the same data also with Suhrāb. The city is also mentioned by the names طاربند and مدينة الشاش.¹⁶ The latter name originates from the circumstance that for a time it was the capital of province Šāš. This name can also be found with the historians, al-Ṭabarī and al-Balāḏūrī. With the exception of al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb, the other geographical writers mention بنکت as capital of Šāš.¹⁷

⁶ HA. 355. The opposite is said by Ibn Ḥurradāḡbeh, p. 30.

⁷ THOMSON: 126. J. MARKWART: Die Sogdiana des Ptolemaios. *Orientalia* 15 (1946) 125.

⁸ Ibn Rusta, 97: الاقليم الرابع... فيمربيلاد التبت ثم على خراسان فيكون فيها من المدن فرغانة وخجندة واسروشنة.

⁹ Turkestan, 164.

¹⁰ EI. II. 671.

¹¹ V. MINORSKY: Addenda to the *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*. BSOAS 17 (1955) 262.

¹² Not this city was the capital of Īlāq, but Tunkat. Cf. Iṣṭahṛī, 331.

¹³ Ibn Ḥurradāḡbeh, 30. Qudāma, 208. Iṣṭahṛī, 333. Ya'qūbī, 294. The latter uses the expression مدينة فرغانة التي ينزلها الملك يقال لها: مدينة فرغانة, but he refers it to another city: كاسان.

¹⁴ Turkestan, 161—162. EI. I. 247.

¹⁵ Ibn Rusta, 97.

¹⁶ The طاربند occurs with the historians. Balāḏūrī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, Leiden, 1866. 421. Ṭabarī: *Ta'riḥ al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*. II. 1571. مدينة الشاش can be found in the itineraries.

¹⁷ Muqaddasi, 276, and also with others.

The reason of the difference is very likely that the cartographers, in contrast to the other geographical writers, recorded the older conditions in their works. In Barthold we find the name Birkath instead of Binkat.¹⁸ Yāqūt in his work accepts the co-ordinates known from al-Ĥuwārizmī and Suhrāb, and writes that the city is also known by the names Ṭurāraband, Ṭurār and Oṭrār. On the basis of this text Ṭāraband can be identified with present-day Otrar.¹⁹

(403) اسبيجاب longitude: $98^{\circ}10'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}50'$. In Suhrāb the latitude is $39^{\circ}7'$. In Ya'qūbī the name of the city can be found in the form اسپيشاب.²⁰ The name equally denoted the city and the province situated around it, whose capital it was.²¹ It was situated in the valley of River Aris, in the neighbourhood of Čimkent. It can be identified with present-day Sayram.²² According to Iṣṭaḥrī it was a small town.²³

(404) الطراز longitude: $100^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $40^{\circ}24'$. In Suhrāb the latitude is $40^{\circ}25'$. It is mentioned by the Chinese sources as a famous commercial city.²⁴ It is also mentioned by al-Ĥuwārizmī and Suhrāb like this: مدينة التجار. It was situated in the valley of River Talas, near present-day Auliya-Ata.²⁵

(405) التبت longitude: $130'$ and latitude: 38° . In Suhrāb the latitude is $40^{\circ}25'$. It is also known from the Arabic itineraries. C. A. Nallino identifies it with Tibet.²⁶ Very likely, also here as already in several cases, al-Ĥuwārizmī indicates by the name of the province its capital. At this time Tibet had no permanent capital, its place was always changing. The changing places of the capital, however, can always be found in the region of present-day Lhassa.²⁷ The name of Lhassa can also be found in the HA.²⁸ Ibn Rusta places also this city into Climate IV.²⁹

(406) اطراقارا longitude: $149^{\circ}10'$ and latitude: $37^{\circ}50'$. In Suhrāb the longitude is $149^{\circ}50'$. The city can be identified with the city *᾽Οτροκορόῳρα* to be found in Ptolemy, exactly on the basis of the similarity of name and the site. According to Mžik, the transliteration of the name of the city points

¹⁸ EI. IV. 745.

¹⁹ Yāqūt: Kitāb Mu'ğam al-Buldān. Leipzig 1866—1873. III. 524.

²⁰ Ya'qūbī, 295.

²¹ Muqaddasī, 262.

²² HA. 357—358. Turkestan. 175—179.

²³ Iṣṭaḥrī, 333.

²⁴ K. CZEGŁĘDY: Die Karte der Donaulandschaftgruppe nach al-Ĥuwārizmī. Acta Orient. Hung. 1 (1950) 51.

²⁵ HA. 119. 357—358. EI. IV. 720.

²⁶ C. A. NALLINO: Al-Ĥuwārizmī e il suo refacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo. Raccolta di Scritti editi e inediti. Vol. V. 514.

²⁷ I know this on the basis of G. URAY's verbal communication.

²⁸ HA. 93.

²⁹ Ibn Rusta, 97.

to Syrian mediation.³⁰ Thomson regards this point in Ptolemy as a fabulous element,³¹ but Berthelot identifies it with the Chinese Sung-Pan.³²

(407) مدينة على جبل وعين longitude: $149^{\circ}15'$ and latitude: 39° . It can also be found in Suhrāb, but the longitude given by him is $149^{\circ}50'$. Unfortunately, al-Ḥuwārizmī did not give any name, and the city is situated outside the territories well-known by the Arabic itineraries. We tried to identify the city on the basis of its place occupied by it on our map. In the HA we can find a city,³³ about which we can read: «It is . . . close to the mountains». In his explanation V. Minorsky adds that the city was situated on the bank of a small river, southeast of this. It can be identified very likely with this city.

(467) مدينة خوارزم longitude: $91^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: $42^{\circ}10'$. In Suhrāb the longitude is $91^{\circ}4'$. Just as above, the city bearing the name of the province means the capital also here. On the basis of the itineraries it seems that the capital of Ḥwārizm was Kāth.³⁴ This view is supported also by Barthold.³⁵ Today only the remainders of the city can be found, and they are known under the name Šāh 'Abbās Walī. Ibn Rusta places this city into Climate V.³⁶

(468) مدينة الخزر longitude: 93° and latitude: 45° . Suhrāb's data agree with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī. The reports on the city of the Khazars can also be found in the Arabic itineraries. Ibn Ḥurradāḏbeh calls the Khazar city Khamliḡ.³⁷ It was situated at the lower course of the Volga. V. Minorsky proposes the reading Khamliḡ.³⁸

(469) نواكث longitude: 104° and latitude: 44° . Suhrāb gives 42° as latitude. It is one of the important stations of the route leading towards China, according to Qudāma it was a big city.³⁹ The route led from here to Barshān to be found at the border of China, on the northern bank of the Issik-Köl.⁴⁰ The name of the city was pronounced Nawīkat, al-Ḥuwārizmī and the Arab geographers transcribed the long «ī» with alif mamdūda.⁴¹

(470) مدينة longitude: 110° and latitude: $44^{\circ}45'$. The city is characterized with these data also in Suhrāb. It was situated between Nawīkat and

³⁰ H. MŽIK: Afrika nach der arabischen Bearbeitung der *Γεωγραφική ὑφήγησις* des Claudius Ptolemaeus von Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Ḥwārizmī. Wien 1917. IX.

³¹ THOMSON: 310—311.

³² A. BERTHELOT, Carte de l'Asie Centrale. L'Asie Centrale Ancienne. 224—225.

³³ HA. 85. 232.

³⁴ Ibn Ḥawqal, 351. Maqdisī, 287. Iṣṭaḥri, 300.

³⁵ Turkestan. 144—145, 150. EI. II. 974.

³⁶ Ibn Rusta, 98.

³⁷ Ibn Ḥurradāḏbeh, 124. Against this Iṣṭaḥri, 220: ائل, Ibn Ḥawqal, 365: ائل, Ibn Rusta, 139: سار عشن.

³⁸ HA. 450—454.

³⁹ Qudāma, 206.

⁴⁰ HA. 289.

⁴¹ HA. 290.

Barshān, thus it was situated on the northern route of the three routes leading to Barshān, north of the Issik—Köl. This is shown also by the circumstance that on our map it can be found by 2°45' more to the north than Barshān situated on its southern shore. Reading the itineraries we find that it is the most important station of the northern route that appears in every enumeration, it was the city of كبال.⁴² Very likely, at this point this city was also represented by al-Ḥuwārizmī.⁴³

(471) مدینه longitude: 112°45' and latitude: 42°. The same data are given also by Suhrāb, but unfortunately he does not mention the name of the city either. Examining the itineraries of Ibn Ḥurradāqbeh and Qudāma, however, we can be sure that this city was نوشجان,⁴⁴ and its name has to be read correctly Barshān.⁴⁵ This city was situated at the border of China,⁴⁶ and was the final point of the itineraries. From the territory reviewed here one could get here on three routes. One of the routes led from Nawikat on the northern bank along the Issik-Köl. The second route starting out from Tumkat ran on the southern bank of the Issik-Köl, while the third one led through the cities Qūbā, Ōš and Uzkand from the south to the north.⁴⁷ This is the final station of each route, from here the route leads already in foreign territory. The city of Barshān was situated on the bank of the Issik-Köl in the vicinity of present-day Prževalsk.⁴⁸ From here one could get further to China, to the land of the Toğuzguz, to Sīnistān.⁴⁹

(497) سینستان longitude: 148°10' and latitude: 46°45'. Suhrāb's data accurately tally with these. The city does not occur in Ptolemy. It can be found in the land of the Toğuzguz, near the border of China. On the basis of the different data and of the comparison of names it can be identified with Čināngkāth of the HA, the winter capital of the Toğuzguz.⁵⁰ The city is mentioned by other sources by other names. It is known by the Chinese under the name Kao-ch'ang, and by the Turks under the name Qočo. Today beside the place of the city the ruins of Idiqut-šahri are situated.

(536) تا ماسوم جبل longitude: 131° and latitude: 58°10'. Suhrāb's data tally with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī. In writing Suhrāb gives the form ناسو to the name of the city, thus to some extent he differs from al-Ḥuwārizmī. In

⁴² Qudāma, 206. Ibn Ḥurradāqbeh, 29.

⁴³ Identification see HA. 291.

⁴⁴ Ibn Ḥurradāqbeh, 29. Qudāma, 206.

⁴⁵ HA. 292, note 3.

⁴⁶ Qudāma, 206.

⁴⁷ HA. 289. Ibn Ḥurradāqbeh, 30. Qudāma, 206.

⁴⁸ Qudāma, 262. J. DE GOEJE: De Muur van Gog en Magog, reviewed by TOMASCHKE in WZKM 1889. HA. 293.

⁴⁹ Ibn Ḥurradāqbeh. 30.

⁵⁰ HA. 271. M. P. PELLLOT: Kao-teh'ang, Qočo, Houo-tcheou et Qarā-Khodja. JA (1912) 579—603. A. STEIN: Innermost Asia. Oxford 1928. 566—609.

absence of punctuation, however, the name is illegible with both of them, it is also difficult to identify it. On the map this city can be found in the region of اسقوثيا, country of the تنزغز. In the itineraries we can read that the people named كيماك was living there.⁵¹ According to the HA, there was a city in the Kimāk region, in agreement with our text beyond Climate VII, its name was بلد ياسو or يفسون ياسو. Comparing these data we find that the two cities correspond to each other.⁵²

(537) جيل ناساموع longitude: 141°30' and latitude: 51°20'. Suhrāb's data tally with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī, but he gives the name in the form ناسامو. On account of the absence of punctuation, the reading of the name is uncertain. It is difficult to identify, because it has been preserved in a very distorted form. The difference is significant even between the forms of al-Ḥuwārizmī and Suhrāb. On the basis of our map that much is certain that the city was situated in the Toğuzğuz territory. Panğikāth, the summer capital was the second most important city after Čināngkāth. According to the HA these two cities were separated from each other by a mountain.⁵³ The representation of al-Ḥuwārizmī meets this requirement. The Chinese name of the tribe living in the vicinity was *Pa-si-mi* (= Basuzil). It appears that this name can also be restored from the city name of al-Ḥuwārizmī that differs considerably from Panğikāth mentioned in the HA as well as from the Turkish name of the city, viz. from Bišbaliq.⁵⁴

II. 2. Mountains

(817—818) جبل longitude: 88° and latitude: 36° — longitude: 106° and latitude: 39°20'. The direction of the peaks is North. On the basis of its site, the mountain can be identified with the Ptolemaic Παροπάνισος and the τὰ Σάριφα ὄρη. On the basis of Hermann's identification, the present-day Hindukush mountain corresponds to the one-time Paropanisos, while the Kaitu mountain and the Safid-kūh correspond to the Sariphos.¹

(819—820) جبل longitude: 106° and latitude: 39°20' — longitude: 124°35' and latitude: 39°45'. The direction of the peaks is north. On the basis of its site, the mountain can be identified with the Ptolemaic Κανκάσιον ὄρος. According to Hermann² and Berthelot³ the mountain between the Amu-Darya and the Indus can be regarded as the Κανκάσιον ὄρος. As compared

⁵¹ Ibn Ḥurradāqbeh, 31.

⁵² HA. 94. 469. 471—474.

⁵³ HA. 309.

⁵⁴ HA. 272.

¹ RE 18/3. 1778—1779, 11/1. 2514—2515.

² RE. 11. 60.

³ A. BERTHELOT: 265.

with the reality, the mountain to be found on the map of al-Ḥuwārizmī is disproportionately elongated. The reason of this will be discussed in the Conclusions.

(821 – 822) جبل longitude: $127^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: $39^{\circ}50'$ — longitude: $139^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 38° . The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb gives also the name of the mountain, viz.: انماوس. Taking into consideration this name and the site of the mountain, we find that it can be identified with *Ἰμαον ὄρος* of Ptolemy. The name of the mountain also occurs in Syrian geographical literature. The spelling *أمصلا* to be found there is the accurate transliteration of the Greek form.⁴ It seems that the Arabic variant of the name of the mountain originates from the misreading of the Syrian variant.

(823 – 824) جبل longitude: 137° and latitude: 72° — longitude: $139^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: 38° . The direction of the peaks is West. Suhrāb's co-ordinates differ from the data of al-Ḥuwārizmī. Suhrāb gives the name of the mountain also in this case, viz.: انماوس. Thus, on the basis of its site and its name, also this mountain can be identified with Ptolemy's *Ἰμαον ὄρος*, exactly with its long branch of N-S direction.

(825 – 826) جبل مزن longitude: $140^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 37° — longitude: $149^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: 38° . The direction of the peaks is North. With Suhrāb the name appears in the form حمزن. On the basis of the better form of the name and on the basis of the site, the mountain can be identified with the mountain *Ἡμωδά ὄρη* occurring with Ptolemy. The last three mountains in reality can be identified with the mountain system of the Himalayas.⁵

(865 – 866) برج حجارة longitude: $101^{\circ}55'$ and latitude: $41^{\circ}5'$ — longitude: $101^{\circ}55'$ and latitude: $42^{\circ}15'$. The direction of the peaks is East. It does not occur in Suhrāb. It can be identified with Ptolemy's *Αίδιμος Πύργος*, although according to the co-ordinates of al-Ḥuwārizmī it is situated much more to the West than that. Earlier it was regarded by the researchers as the equivalent of Taškurgan,⁶ but as a result of the more recent investigations, Treidler,⁷ Markwart⁸ and Thomson⁹ represent the unific view that it can be found on the Alai plateau, in the vicinity of present-day Darautkurgan. The mountain was of great significance from the viewpoint of travels, because the route to China led through this.

(867 – 868) جبل longitude: $117^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: $45^{\circ}30'$ — longitude: $122^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $41^{\circ}50'$. The direction of the peaks is South. Suhrāb's

⁴ A. HJELT: *Études sur l'Hexameron de Jacques d'Edesse*. Helsingfors 1892. Pp. XXXVIII., XLI.

⁵ RE. 10. 2261 - 2263. 5. 2502–2504. 9. 5214. 9. 2542.

⁶ THOMSON: 309.

⁷ RE. 24. 33–46.

⁸ J. MARKWART: *Wehrot und Arang*. Leiden 1938. 39–65.

⁹ THOMSON: 308.

data tally with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī, but neither of them gives the name. On the basis of its site, it can be identified with Ptolemy's *Κωμηδῶν ὄρεινή*. In the form *كوميد*, the name also occurs in with Ibn Rusta.¹⁰ In reality the Alai mountain system corresponds to this mountain. Kretschmer¹¹ and Markwart¹² share this opinion.

(869—870) جبل اسفطا نا longitude: 124°55' and latitude: 49°50' — longitude: 135°40' and latitude: 43°. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's data tally with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī, there is a small difference only in the form of name given by him: it appears in the spelling *سفا طا نا*. On the basis of its site and name the mountain can be identified with Ptolemy's *Ἀσκατάγκας ὄρη*. The identification has been done by Tomaschek.¹³ According to him the mountain range consisting of the Usun-tau, the Kogart-tau and the Karakol-tau corresponds to this mountain, indeed.

(871—872) جبل قاسيا longitude: 141° and latitude: 41°10' — longitude: 147°45' and latitude: 47°. The direction of the peaks is North. In Suhrāb the name of the mountain appears in the form *ماسنا*. The co-ordinates at two points do not agree with the co-ordinates of al-Ḥuwārizmī. The mountain, on the basis of its name and site, corresponds to the Ptolemaic mountain. The direct predecessor of the Arabic name is very likely the Syrian spelling *قاسيا*.¹⁴ It can be identified with the present-day Karakorum mountain, otherwise called Mus-tag mountain.¹⁵

(885—886) جبل longitude: 96° and latitude: 45°55' — longitude: 100°50' and latitude: 49°50'. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb slightly differs from the co-ordinates of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of its site the mountain can be identified with the *Ῥξεια ὄρη* known from Ptolemy. According to Hermann today the Hissar mountain corresponds to this.¹⁶

(887—888) جبل longitude: 102° and latitude: 47° — longitude: 107°20' and latitude: 47°. The direction of the peaks is North. There is a smaller, insignificant difference between the co-ordinates of Suhrāb and those of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of its site the mountain can be identified with the *Σόγδια ὄρη* to be found also in Ptolemy. In reality the mountainous district situated between river *Baskatis* and river *Demos* corresponds to this mountain.¹⁷

¹⁰ HA. 361—363.

¹¹ RE. 2/3. 788—791.

¹² MARKWART: *op. cit.* 59—65.

¹³ RE. 2. 1614—1615. W. TOMASCHEK: Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten über den skythischen Norden. II. 51.

¹⁴ Jacob of Edessa, 38.

¹⁵ HA. 199.

¹⁶ RE. 18. 2003.

¹⁷ RE. 263. 789.

(927—928) جبل روميقا longitude: 88° and latitude: 57° — longitude: $93^{\circ}25'$ and latitude: 55° . The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's data slightly differ from the data of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of its site and name the mountain can be identified with the Ptolemaic *Ῥυμμικὰ ὄρη*. According to Eckman,¹⁸ Berthelot¹⁹ and Hermann²⁰ equally the Ural corresponds to the جبل روميقا.

(929—930) جبل longitude: $89^{\circ}36'$ and latitude: 61° — longitude: $94^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: 61° . The direction of the peaks is North. In the co-ordinates there is only one smaller difference between Suhrāb and al-Ḥuwārizmī. Neither of them mentions the name of the mountain. On the basis of its site it can be identified with the *Ῥπερβόρεια ὄρη* of Ptolemy, and in reality the Ural corresponds to it.²¹

(931—932) جبل ارسا نا longitude: $95^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $55^{\circ}10'$ — longitude: $100^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: $59^{\circ}20'$. The direction of the peaks is North. The data of Suhrāb and al-Ḥuwārizmī completely tally with each other. On the basis of the site and the similarity of name, the mountain can be identified with the Ptolemaic *Νόρσοσον ὄρος*. This corresponds to the hilly country joining the Ural from the south. In this respect there is a complete identity of views among the researchers.²²

(933—934) جبل longitude: 102° and latitude: $60^{\circ}20'$ — longitude: $108^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $59^{\circ}30'$. The direction of the peaks is North. The mountain has no name either in al-Ḥuwārizmī or in Suhrāb. The mountain cannot be found in Ptolemy, and it has no trace in the Syrian geographical literature either. This is a new material on the map of al-Ḥuwārizmī. It is situated between the Arsānā and Alan mountains. The former mountain represents the hilly country connecting with the Ural. About the Alan mountains we can give the same statement below. Accordingly, the mountain situated between the two can also be regarded only as a hilly country of the Ural.

(935—936) جبل longitude: $97^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $67^{\circ}30'$ — longitude: $102^{\circ}60'$ and latitude: $60^{\circ}30'$. The direction of the peaks is North. In Suhrāb the direction of the range of the mountain differs from that represented by al-Ḥuwārizmī. This mountain also represents a new material just like the former one. The sites of both are also similar, thus it can also be regarded only as the southern hilly country of the Ural. Accordingly, just like the *Ῥπερβόρεια ὄρη*, described by Ptolemy as one mountain, was regarded by al-Ḥuwārizmī as three nameless mountains, similarly the *Νόρσοσον ὄρος*, con-

¹⁸ J. ECKMANN: *op. cit.* 99.

¹⁹ BERTHELOT: 224.

²⁰ RE. 2/1. 1884—1885.

²¹ J. ECKMANN: *op. cit.* 99.

²² *Op. cit.* 98. BERTHELOT: 224. RE 17. 1048.

sisting in Ptolemy of one range, was represented by al-Ḥuwārizmī as a system consisting of three mountains.

(937—938) جبل اسقا سيا longitude: $104^{\circ}25'$ and latitude: $56^{\circ}40'$ — longitude: $108^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $52^{\circ}20'$. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's data tally with those given above. On the basis of its name and site the mountain can be identified with the ᾿Ασπίσια ὄρη of Ptolemy. The form of the Arabic name clearly shows that the direct source was not Greek, because the errors of the transliteration point to Syrian mediation. In Jacob of Edessa this name can be found in the form ܐܣܩܐܣܝܐ .²³ In the variants of the manuscript the spelling ܐܣܩܐܣܝܐ also occurs. Thus, it is easily understood that the ܥ was read as ܥ (= ق). And the transliteration of the long ī is in Arabic alif mamdūda.²⁴ From among all scholars who dealt with the identification of the mountain, Hermann's solution is most likely. He sees its real equivalent in the Karatau.²⁵

(939—940) جبل الان longitude: $107^{\circ}45'$ and latitude: $62^{\circ}25'$ — longitude: $114^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $62^{\circ}20'$. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's data completely tally with the data of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of the identity of the name and the site it can be identified with the mountain ᾿Αλατὰ ὄρη of Ptolemy. According to Berthelot²⁶ and Tomaschek²⁷ this mountain also corresponded to the hilly country connecting with the southern part of the Ural.

(941—942) جبل طفورا longitude: $109^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $55^{\circ}45'$ — longitude: $115^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $51^{\circ}20'$. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's data completely tally with the data of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of its name and site the mountain can be identified with the Τάπουρα ὄρη of Ptolemy. According to Hermann's identification in reality this corresponds to the Alexander range.²⁸

(943—944) جبل سونيا longitude: $114^{\circ}15'$ and latitude: $58^{\circ}20'$ — longitude: 124° and latitude: 63° . The direction of the peaks is North. In Suhrāb the name is given erroneously as سونتا. The data of the longitude are different. On the basis of the site and the similarity of the name of the mountain, it can be identified with the Σοῦῆβα ὄρη of Ptolemy. The Arabic spelling of the name of the mountain points to Syrian mediation.²⁹ The distortion of the name results from the erroneous punctuation of the correctly written letter forms.

²³ Jacob of Edessa, 38.

²⁴ C. BROCKELMANN: Syrische Grammatik. Leipzig 1960. 6—7.

²⁵ RE. 2/4. 2272—2273. RE. 2. 1736—1737. Kritik, II. 51.

²⁶ BERTHELOT: 224.

²⁷ RE. 1. 1281.

²⁸ RE. 2/4. 2272—2273.

²⁹ About this in greater detail H. MŽIK: Afrika, II. VI—VIII.

(945—946) جبل longitude: 118° and latitude: $67^{\circ}45'$ — longitude: 125° and latitude: 63° . The direction of the peaks is North. The mountain is nameless both in Suhrāb and in al-Ĥuwārizmī. According to both of them it connects with the former mountain. Very likely, it forms a unit with that one, and therefore it did not receive a separate name either. The two mountain ranges form one unit, just as we have already seen an example for this in the case of the *Νόρροσον ὄρος* and the *Ὶπερβόρεια ὄρη*. The complex consisting of these two mountains corresponds to the ranges of the Ala-tau. Their common name correctly written is : سویا.³⁰

(947—948) جبل انا زایا longitude: $122^{\circ}10'$ and latitude: $59^{\circ}10'$ — longitude: $128^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $54^{\circ}25'$. The direction of the peaks is North. In Suhrāb the data agree with the above ones, but the form of the name has further deteriorated, viz.: اانا تا. On the basis of its site and name the mountain corresponds to Ptolemy's *Ὶνάρεα ὄρη*. The Arabic transliteration shows that the Greek name was taken over with Syrian mediation.³¹ According to Tomaschek the mountain can be identified with the western foothills of the Tien-Shan.³²

(949—950) جبل longitude: $126^{\circ}45'$ and latitude: $61^{\circ}30'$ — longitude: $135^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: 57° . The direction of the peaks is North. There is a difference between Suhrāb and al-Ĥuwārizmī in the latitudinal data. This mountain is also nameless in both of them. No Ptolemaic antecedents can be traced and it is not known by the Syrians either. We can find also this first in al-Ĥuwārizmī. In all probability, it can be regarded as a more easterly range of the *Ὶνάρεα ὄρη*. Thus, together with that, it can be identified with part of the Tien-shan. This is also shown by the fact that it is situated between the *Ὶνάρεα ὄρη* and the *Ὶννίβα ὄρη*, and as we shall see, the *Ὶννίβα ὄρη* are identified by the research with the eastern range of the Tien-shan.

(951—952) جبل اورقون longitude: $141^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $51^{\circ}20'$ — longitude: $148^{\circ}50'$ and latitude: 58° . The direction of the peaks is North. In Suhrāb the name, apart from the *ن* at the end of the word, is not punctuated, while in al-Ĥuwārizmī the dot is missing only from the *ر*. On the basis of its name and site the mountain can be identified with Ptolemy's *Αὐξάκλα ὄρη*. It stretches from the Karakorum mountain to the eastern foothills of the Tien-shan, and thus it corresponds to the present-day Altyn-tag.

(953—954) جبل لنا نیی longitude: $147^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: 65° — longitude: $155^{\circ}55'$ and latitude: $60^{\circ}10'$. The direction of the peaks is North. Suhrāb's co-ordinates and those to be found in al-Ĥuwārizmī slightly differ from each

³⁰ Jacob of Edessa, 37: it stands in the form *سویا*

³¹ H. MĀIK: Afrika, loc. cit.

³² RE. I. 2063.

³³ RE. I. 2258—2259.

other. In Suhrāb we find the name of the mountain in the form انا نینی. On the basis of its site it can be identified with the Ἄρνιβα ὄρη of Ptolemy. Tomaszek (in RE) identifies it with the eastern part of the Tien-shan, mentioning especially the Qarašar and Turfan mountains.

II. 3. Names of countries

(1585) بلاد الشاش وطار بند longitude: 98° and latitude: 42° . The name cannot be found in Ptolemy, it belongs to the new acquisitions of al-Ḥuwārizmī.

(1600) اسقونيا longitude: 114° and latitude: $57^\circ 30'$. In Ptolemy the territory corresponds to the Σκυθίας τῆς ἐντὸς Ἰμάου ὄρους θέσεις. The Syrian variant of the word is ܣܩܘܢܝܐ.¹ The Arabic form came into existence on the basis of the latter one.

(1601) اسقونيا longitude: 143° and latitude: $57^\circ 30'$. The territory corresponds to Ptolemy's Σκυθίας τῆς ἐκτὸς Ἰμάου ὄρους θέσεις. This word through the Syrian transliteration ܣܩܘܢܝܐ can be traced back to the Greek word Σκυθία.

II. 4. Rivers

River بلخ. (2196—2201) Its beginning is a lake at the longitude: $100^\circ 30'$ and latitude: 48° . It reaches the corner of a mountain at the longitude: 102° and latitude: 47° . It turns back to the longitude: $96^\circ 40'$ and latitude: $44^\circ 30'$. It flows to the longitude: $96^\circ 30'$ and latitude: 42° . Crossing the city of Ḥwārizm it arrives at longitude: $91^\circ 30'$ and latitude: $39^\circ 40'$. It flows farther in the vicinity of Balḥ, until at longitude: 88° and latitude: $39^\circ 10'$ it flows into Lake Aral. Looking at the map we see that of the two big river systems the branch described now represents the main course of the southern river system. The southern river system clearly corresponds to river Ὠξος to be found in Ptolemy and to its tributaries, while the northern water system is nothing else than the Ptolemaic Ἰαξάρτης and its branches. Today the Ὠξος corresponds to the Amu-Darya, and the Ἰαξάρτης to the Syr-Darya.

Comparing the Oxus-course described by al-Ḥuwārizmī with the description to be found in Ptolemy, we can find several differences. One of the differences is that in al-Ḥuwārizmī the نهر بلخ flows into Lake Aral, while in Ptolemy it flows into the Caspian Sea. In this respect, in accordance with reality, al-Ḥuwārizmī has corrected Ptolemy.¹ The other difference is that in Ptolemy the

¹ L. Jacob of Edessa, 38.

¹ On the mouth of the Oxus see W. BARTHOLD: Nachrichten über den Aral-See und den unteren Lauf des Amu-darja von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum XVII. Jahrhundert. Leipzig 1910.

direction of the course is South-North, while in al-Ĥuwārizmī it is North-South, or exactly the reverse of it. Examining the actual circumstances, we can see that the river-heads of the Amu-Darya (Oxus) and the Indus flank the mountainous district of the Hindukush, by its ancient name *Κανκάσιον ὄρος*, as referred to by us already while discussing the mountains.² Examining the map of al-Ĥuwārizmī, we find that also in him there is a river that with the river-head of the Indus flanks the *Κανκάσιον ὄρος*. He describes this river as follows.

(2211—2213) It comes out from the mountains at longitude: 99° and latitude: 39° , it flows on along the City of merchants up to the point with the co-ordinates longitude: 100° and latitude: $41^\circ 30'$, then it flows into the *نهر بلخ* at the longitude: $46^\circ 40'$ and latitude: $44^\circ 30'$. According to the conditions mentioned above this river corresponds to the main course of the Ptolemaic Oxus, the present-day Amu-Darya. This view is supported also by the fact that also another river flows into this river not much after its source.

(2214—2215) It is the tributary of the former river. Its source can be found at the longitude: $101^\circ 40'$ and latitude: $39^\circ 20'$. It flows beside the City of merchants and at the longitude: 100° and latitude: $41^\circ 30'$ it flows into the Amu-Darya. This river can be identified with the Murgāb to be found at the river-head of the Amu-Darya. The Murgāb in reality takes its source from the Pamir mountain, on our map from the Paropanisos mountain. This is the most important tributary of the upper course of the Amu-Darya, to such an extent that Iṣṭahṛī takes this as the main branch, and regards the main course as a tributary of the Murgāb.³

After these it has to be clarified that if these two rivers represent the main branch of the Amu-Darya, then to what does the river correspond that is shown by al-Ĥuwārizmī as the Amu-Darya? We get the answer, if we take three factors into consideration. The first is the North-South direction of the course of the river. The second is that the source of the river is a lake (2196). The third is that in al-Ĥuwārizmī one river is missing that can be found in Ptolemy. This missing river is the *Πολυτίμητος* which can be identified with the Zarafšan.⁴ The direction of the course of the river in question in general outlines corresponds to that of the Zarafšan, and on the other hand, in the Middle Ages it was believed that the Zarafšan took its source in a lake, in fact in Lake Iskandar. Thus, the lake described under point 2196 corresponds to the Iskandar-köl,⁵ and the river in question to the Zarafšan. Thus, on the one hand, at this point al-Ĥuwārizmī corrected Ptolemy, who represented the *Πολυτίμητος* so that it flew into the Caspian Sea, and on the other hand, in the course of the correction

² BERTHELOT: 265.

³ Iṣṭahṛī, 296.

⁴ W. TOMASCHEK: *Centralasiatische Studien. I. Sogdiana.* Wien 1877. 14—22.

⁵ HA. 73. 211. J. MARKWART: *Wehrot und Arang.* 84.

he also fell victim to an error, because he mixed up the Zarafšan with the Amu-Darya. According to the sources, however, this was a traditional error, it cannot be put down to his account.⁶ Besides, it is also an evidence in favour of the view just expounded that in Ptolemy the co-ordinates of the river-head of the Oxus are longitude : 119°30' and latitude : 39°. Comparing these data with the data of the river of al-Ḥuwārizmī taking its source in the *Kaukasion oros*, we can see that the latitudinal data exactly tally with each other, while in the longitude we find a difference of 20°. This, however, can be attributed to the general displacement of the longitudinal degrees. This question will be discussed in the Conclusions.

The Amu-Darya received its present name from the city of Āmul situated on its bank.⁷ On the basis of a similar consideration, al-Ḥuwārizmī called it نهر بلخ, because in fact, the river before flowing into Lake Aral, flew along by the city of Balḥ. Suhrāb mentions in his book that its most widespread name in Arabic scientific literature is جیحون. In Pahlavi literature the river was also called Weh-rōt.⁸ The Greek variant of its name is Ὠξος. This name was derived from the one-time name of the river to be discussed below.

(2216—2217) A tributary from the right bank flows into the Amu-Darya. Its source can be found at the longitude : 97°20' and latitude : 44°50', and its mouth at the longitude : 104°30' and latitude : 46°. It flows into the Amu-Darya. This can be identified with present-day river Waḥš, the biggest and at the same time most important tributary of the Amu-Darya.⁹ At its middle course it is called Surḥāb and at its upper course Kizil-su. The Ὠξος is derived from the name *Waḥš*, and this name was applied later on not to this tributary, but to the main river, the Amu-Darya.¹⁰

(2206—2207) It is a tributary of the river نهر بلخ on the left bank. Its co-ordinates are longitude : 91°30' and latitude : 39°40'. In Ptolemy we find here the river named *Margos*, this flows through the province of Margiana. The province, at the same time, received its name from it. The present-day Murghab¹¹ corresponds to this river, but in reality, in contradiction to al-Ḥuwārizmī's map, it does not reach the Amu-Darya. Al-Ḥuwārizmī does not give the name of this river, therefore the river can be identified with the *Margos*-Murḡāb only on the basis of Ptolemy. In this area geographical tradition takes note also of another river, the name of that is Ὠξος in Greek sources, today it can be found under the name Herirud-Taḡand. In reality this river does not reach the Amu-Darya

⁶ J. MARKWART : *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenae'i*. Berlin 1901. 150. Wehrot. 77.

⁷ BARTHOLD : *op. cit.* 35. This name occurs also in Suhrāb.

⁸ MARKWART : *op. cit.* 34.

⁹ HA. 209. *Iṣṭahṛī* 295. Ibn Ḥawqal, 398.

¹⁰ MARKWART : *op. cit.* 34.

¹¹ MARKWART : *loc. cit.*

either.¹² In Ptolemy we can also find a river named Ὡξος. This flows, however, according to him first into the Δαργαμάνης, and then the Δαργαμάνης falls into the Amu-Darya. The Ὡξος and the Δαργαμάνης to be found in Ptolemy can be identified with the Qunduz and its tributary,¹³ but these tributaries were not represented by al-Ḥuwārizmī.

(2218—2222) نهر طویل. The river has its source at the longitude: 129°30' and latitude: 46°, finally at the longitude: 90°5' and latitude: 41°30' it flows into Lake Aral. It can be identified with Ptolemy's Ἰαξάτηης. The name is of Iranian origin, the original form *Hasart*¹⁴ can be found in the HA. There have already been attempts to explain the origin of the name.¹⁵ In Suhrāb we find it, beside the نهر طویل to be found in al-Ḥuwārizmī, also under the name سيحون widespread in Arabic scientific literature. Sometimes we find it under the name نهر الشاش, thus also in Ibn Ḥawqal. Today it is called Syr-Darya. This section of the river that stretches from point 2218 to point 2246, can be identified with present-day River Narin. This appears in the HA under the name *Ḥatlam*.¹⁶ Barthold also mentions this branch as the biggest among the sources of the Syr-Darya.¹⁷ In harmony with al-Ḥuwārizmī, Suhrāb also regards this branch as the main stream. As we shall see below, this view was not of general validity.

(2245—2246) The source of the river is longitude: 119°40' and latitude: 44°30'. It flows into the Long River at the longitude: 118°5' and latitude: 46°5'. This river can be identified with the present-day Kara-Darya. It occurs in the HA under the name Uzgand. In the Middle Ages the geographers, as well as the major part of the population even today, regard this as the main course. The HA is also of this opinion.¹⁸

(2247—2248) Nameless river, it flows into the Syr-Darya. Its source is the longitude: 124°30' and latitude: 49°5'. Its mouth is at longitude: 123° and latitude: 46°20'. On the basis of its site the river can be identified with the Kara-su.

Three rivers flow into the Syr-Darya from the Tapura mountain. All the three are nameless both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Ptolemy.

(2239—2240) longitude: 112° and latitude: 53°10'. It flows into the Syr-Darya at the longitude: 109°20' and latitude: 50°5'. It can be found also

¹² BERTHELOT: 176. MARKWART: *op. cit.* 4-4. In Ptolemy the *Margos* is described in VI. 10-1.

¹³ MARKWART: *op. cit.* 27.

¹⁴ HA. 116. TOMASCHEK: *Kritik*, 250. II. 50.

¹⁵ HA. 210.

¹⁶ HA. 73. 210.

¹⁷ Turkestan, 155.

¹⁸ Turkestan, 155. HA. 211. This view is rejected by ibn Ḥawqal, 392: نهر الشاش و... هو نهري عظم بانهار تجمع اليها... اوزكند، خرشاب، قبا، جد غل...

in Suhrāb, but with him the data of the river-head are different. On the basis of its site, it can be identified with the river Bossu.¹⁹

(2241—2242) The river-head is at the longitude: $114^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $49^{\circ}30'$. It can also be found in Suhrāb, and the longitudinal and latitudinal data given there completely tally with those of al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of its site it can be identified with the river Parak mentioned in the HA,²⁰ as well as with the river Čirčik according to Barthold.²¹ The province of Šāš is situated in the valley of the river.

(2243—2244) The co-ordinates of the river-head are longitude: $115^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $51^{\circ}30'$, and those of the mouth are longitude: $114^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $48^{\circ}30'$. The river is also mentioned by Barthold.²² It can be identified with the present-day Angren. The province of Īlāq was situated in the valley of this river.

From Mount اسقاسيا similarly three rivers flow into the Syr-Darya. All the three are nameless both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Ptolemy.

(2231—2232) The co-ordinates of the source are longitude: $108^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $52^{\circ}30'$, and those of the mouth longitude: $107^{\circ}20'$ and latitude: $50^{\circ}30'$. The river can also be found in Suhrāb, and the co-ordinates given by him completely tally with those given here. It can be identified with the present-day Aris. The course of this was described by Barthold.²³

(2229—2230) The river-head is at longitude: $106^{\circ}30'$ and $54^{\circ}5'$, and the mouth at longitude: $104^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: 51° . The latitudes of the river-head and the mouth of the river are equally different in Suhrāb. On the map of al-Ḥuwārizmī, from the اسقاسيا mountain, three rivers flow into the Syr-Darya. In reality from the mountain corresponding to the اسقاسيا similarly three major rivers are heading for the main river. Of these the first one was the Aris and the middle one was the Bugun. The river in question can be identified with this.

(2227—2228) The co-ordinates of the river-head are at longitude: $104^{\circ}40'$ and latitude: $56^{\circ}5'$. Those of the mouth are at longitude: $100^{\circ}30'$ and latitude: $51^{\circ}5'$. In Suhrāb we can find exactly those co-ordinate data as in al-Ḥuwārizmī. On the basis of the consideration expounded in the previous point, this can be identified with the present-day river Iničke.

From the *Norossan* mountain two rivers are heading for the Syr-Darya. In al-Ḥuwārizmī both are nameless.

(2223—2224) The river takes its source in the ارساتا mountain at longitude: 99° and latitude: $57^{\circ}30'$. It flows into the Syr-Darya at longitude:

¹⁹ Turkestan, 173.

²⁰ HA. 73. 211.

²¹ Turkestan, 169.

²² *Lec. cit.*

²³ Turkestan, 176.

92°5' and latitude: 45°5'. In al-Ĥuwārizmī, differing from Ptolemy, the Daix takes its source in the *Rhymmika* mountains, thus in the *Norossan oros* there remains place only for the Ἰάστρης. On the basis of these, this river can be identified with the Ptolemaic Ἰάστρης, and that is identical with the present-day Emba.²⁴

(2225—2226) It takes its source in the ارسا mountain at longitude: 100° and latitude: 59°5', and it flows into the Syr-Darya at the longitude: 94°5' and latitude: 46°5'. This river has no equivalent in Ptolemy. Examining the map carefully, we see that beside the Emba-Iastes, only one river flows from the hilly country connecting with the Ural corresponding to the *Norossan oros* towards the Syr-Darya and this is the Sari-su. In reality this does not reach the catchment river either, just like the Emba, or the Murghab that does not reach the Amu-Darya. North of the Syr-Darya we can still find another significant river, this is the Ču. The site of this, however, completely differs from that represented in al-Ĥuwārizmī. Thus, this river cannot be anything else than the Sari-su.²⁵

(2233—2234) The source of the river can be found at longitude: 103° and latitude: 48°30'. Its mouth is at the longitude: 103°10' and latitude: 51°30'. In al-Ĥuwārizmī the Syr-Darya has three tributaries on the left side. This river is the most westerly of them. In Ptolemy, the Iaxartes has only two tributaries on the left side, these are the Δῆμος and the Βασκαίς. All the three tributaries mentioned by al-Ĥuwārizmī are nameless. Similarly, in the HA we can find three rivers here, the names of all the three can also be found. The river characterized by al-Ĥuwārizmī with the above co-ordinates corresponds to the Qūbā, because this is the most westerly of the three. According to Barthold's description, we do not know with which of the small brooks flowing in the territory in question it can be identified, with the Aravan, the Abšura, or the Isfayram.²⁶ In Suhrāb this river does not occur.

(2235—2236) The source of the river is at longitude: 103°30' and latitude: 47°30', and its mouth at longitude: 104°30' and latitude: 50°40'. Of the rivers on the left side the middle one corresponds to the Ōš indicated in the HA. This was identified by Barthold with the Aqbura.²⁷ This river does not appear in Suhrāb.

(2237—2238) The source of the river is at longitude: 104°45' and latitude: 48°5', and its mouth is at longitude: 106°5' and latitude: 50°20'. It is the most easterly tributary on the left side. It corresponds to the Ĥuršab in the

²⁴ BERTHELOT: 224.

²⁵ RE. 9. 1178—1179.

²⁶ Turkestan. 159. HA. 72. 211.

²⁷ HA. *loc. cit.* Turkestan. *loc. cit.*

HA. This is the name of the river even today. W. Tomaschek identified it with Ptolemy's *Δῆμος*.²⁸ This river does not appear in Suhrāb.

(2046–2048) *تهر باطس*. Its source is longitude: 146° and latitude: 39°10'. Through longitude: 149° and latitude: 41°30' it flows to the longitude: 153° and latitude: 40°10'. On the basis of its name and site it can be identified with Ptolemy's *Βαύτισος*. Tomaschek identified it with the present-day Hoang-ho.²⁹

(2050–2051) It is the tributary of the *نهر باطس*. Its source is at longitude: 147°20' and latitude: 45°20'. Its mouth is at longitude: 149°30' and latitude: 38°40'. Tomaschek identified it with the Hoang-sui.³⁰

(2052–2053) Similarly, it is a tributary of the *نهر باطس*. Its source is at longitude: 149°30' and latitude: 38°40', and its mouth at longitude: 153° and latitude: 40°. Tomaschek identified it with the Tar-ho.³¹ The entire system of river *باطس*, unlike the *نهر بلخ* and the *نهر طويل*, completely agrees with the Ptolemaic picture. The tributaries of the *باطس* can be identified with the tributaries of the *Βαύτισος*.

(2249–2258) *نهر نو حرديس*. Its beginning is at longitude: 145°30' and latitude: 47°. From here it flows to the longitude: 152°30' and latitude: 51°30'. On the basis of its name and site it corresponds to Ptolemy's *Οιχάροδης*. A. Hermann identified it with the river Tarim.³²

The beginning of its tributary is at longitude: 147°30' and latitude: 52°30'. It is the tributary of the Tarim. Hermann identified it with the Tsung-ling.³³ The system of this river is identical both in al-Ḥuwārizmī and Ptolemy.

The rivers taking their source in Mount Rūmīqā have already been discussed by J. Eckmann.

CONCLUSIONS

In the interpretation of al-Ḥuwārizmī's text and in the drawing of his map the first difficulty is the interpretation of the Arabic letter-numerals. H. Mžik has already corrected the misinterpretations and a great part of the errors, when he published the work of al-Ḥuwārizmī entitled «Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Ard», but of course, he was not immersed in the investigation of the territories

²⁸ RE. 5. 154. RE II/3. 789.

²⁹ RE. II. 175–176.

³⁰ *Loc. cit.*

³¹ *Loc. cit.*

³² RE. 17. 2101–2102. In Ptolemy the river flows into the Eastern Sea. According to HERMANN this represents Lake Lop Nor. He identifies its branch taking its source in the *Auzakia ore* with the Tsung-ling and that taking its source in the *Kasia* with the *Yu-tien* (Khotan).

³³ Cf. note 32.

of Central Asia represented here. Thus he has left some questions open, and he did not notice a few hidden mistakes. Although the number of these errors is insignificant, the work had still to be started with the clarification of these mistakes, exactly on the basis of the hints of Mžik himself.¹

In the case of the letter-numerals one of the possible sources of misunderstanding is that in the case of several Arabic letters the tracing is identical, the differentiating mark is indicated by the dots applied. If the dots are omitted, then sometimes several interpretations are possible. It is true that the meaning of the numeral is unambiguous and clear in many cases even in absence of dots, exactly because one of the two possible interpretations is a figure of place value one, and the other is a figure of place value ten, and the unpunctuated form in question is on place value one. We have to do with such a case in point 399, where ب (صبل) can be found. This there can only represent «2», because ب = 2, ن = 50.

I could establish the correct value with the help of other criteria, there, where there was no such obvious evidence. I should like to mention only a few cases by way of example. Most of the difficulties were connected with the writing of the ج and the ح. The separation of the ن and ع was similarly difficult, if they stood in the middle or in the beginning of the group of letters signifying a figure (e.g. points 865, 866, 471, etc.). The ق also presented an opportunity for misunderstanding, if two dots were missing from it. This happened in the case of 469, where the form given can equally mean 84 and '104. It did not create misunderstanding, however, in the case of point 470, where it is clear even without dots that the ق can only be interpreted as 110.

In the case of the rivers it could not be decided, whether the mark 5 is not a clerical error in place of the 5? Suhrāb gave the same form in each case, when in al-Ḥuwārizmī it stood like this, but at the same time there was no Ptolemaic evidence available because of the major changes taking place in the representation of the rivers. I deemed it correct that because of the mere assumption of a clerical error it is still not worth while to correct the text in reality. In these cases I have left the 5' unchanged everywhere.

I have also found such hidden errors which resulted from the erroneous writing of two letter-numerals similar in form. In point 821 ر stood instead of ٤, and in point 872 ٤ stood instead of ٤.

Examining the drawn map itself, we can make some interesting observations.

If we examine the cities represented on the map, we find that besides the eastern Ottorokorra we do not find any other Ptolemaic point. It has also been established by Mžik that the most changing layer of Ptolemy's rewriting by

¹ These general hints are contained in the preface attached to the publication of the text.

al-Ḥuwārizmī is represented by the cities.² The great changes in Central Asia have two reasons. One of them is that during the about one thousand years that have elapsed between Ptolemy and al-Ḥuwārizmī certain peoples disappeared and new ones came in their place. The other reason is that the Arabs conquered a great part of these territories, and could gather more accurate knowledge.³ The question of the cities has already been clarified by K. Czeglédý.⁴ The cities represented on the map mean the main points of the routes given by the itineraries. Viewing the map, we can also discover three routes. In the North there is the route Ušrūsanat-Ḥoğanda-Banākath — Ṭarāband — Isbiğāb — Ṭarāz-Nawīkath — Barshān, in the south the route Ušrūsanat — Ḥoğanda — Aḥsikath — al-Tubbat, and towards the North the route Ḥuwārizm — City of the Khazars. It strikes the eye at the first glance that the cities situated in reality on the banks of the Syr-Darya, are on the map south of the place due to them. The reason of this shift is very likely that as from Antiquity the Yaxartes was mixed up with the Tanais.⁵ It also points to this that on our map the City of the Khazars is on the bank of the Syr-Darya, although, as generally known, it was situated on the bank of the Volga. Of course, this could only happen as a result of a further error, in fact so that the Arabs sometimes mistook the Don for the Volga. Ibn Ḥurradādbēh writes that Ḥamliḥ is situated on the bank of the river that comes from the land of the Slavs and flows into the sea of Gurğāni.⁶ (This is the present-day Caspian Sea). Comparing with the HA, it can be established without any doubt that the river coming from the land of the Slavs is the Don.⁷ The mistakes made in the identification of the rivers resulted, of course, in new errors. Not only the City of the Khazars but all cities have shifted in southern direction. A result of this was that the برج حجارة, an important place from the view-point of the itineraries, has also shifted. This is a serious mistake, because it disturbs the system of mountains, although it was taken over by al-Ḥuwārizmī from Ptolemy almost without any change. As regards the number of degrees, the significant shifting of the برج حجارة has without doubt also other reasons, because such a great displacement can only be explained by the joint effect of several reasons. The other reason will be mentioned later on. At any rate, in order to preserve the harmony with the itinera-

² H. MŽIK: *Parageographische Elemente*, 175.

³ The considerable change of the names of cities is also explained by the fact that part of the points represented by al-Ḥuwārizmī did not yet exist in the age of Ptolemy. It is written by BARTHOLD in the EI. II. 64—69, under the entry Fergāna that this name is mentioned for the first time in the 5th century: The name of Ṭarāz occurs also in a Greek source, in 568 A. D.

⁴ K. CZEGLÉDÝ: *Die Karte*, 51.

⁵ J. JUNGE: *Saka-Studien*. Leipzig 1939.

⁶ Ibn Ḥurradādbēh, 124.

⁷ HA. 75. 216.

ries, the برج حجارة had to occupy a different place on al-Ḥuwārizmī's map in contrast to the Ptolemaic map. This meant such an insoluble problem and the observation of different view-points necessary in such a degree (its situation as compared with the itineraries — its situation as compared with the other mountains, etc.) that Suhrāb found it better to disregard its representation.

The mountains represented are without exception of Ptolemaic origin. The mountains tally with the Ptolemaic system also in regard to their sites. We can still find a few minor differences. Al-Ḥuwārizmī differs from the Ptolemaic pattern on three occasions, in fact in the case of the *Arsānā*, *Syeba* and *Anarea* mountains. He represented all the three in a more differentiated form. It is, however, important to observe that all the amplifications were made so that they do not disturb the Ptolemaic internal order already formed, each change modifies the edge of the map.

Very likely, the knowledge regarding the mountains of Central Asia did not come in possession of the Arabs directly from the Greeks, but with Syrian mediation. The Arabic writing of the names of mountains shows that we must presume Syrian variants in the course of the transmission. The intermediate Syrian forms can be inferred from two phenomena. One of them is the transliteration of the original Greek name into Arabic — according to Syrian orthography. In this case I tried to point to the Syrian orthographic rules concealed behind the Arabic script on the basis of the hints of Mžik. The transliteration of the names of the Anarea and Syeba mountains belongs to this group. The other phenomenon is the distortion of the names. The name transliterated into Syrian, as a result of the similarity of the Syrian letters, was misread when the Arabic rewriting was prepared, and the Arabic form, as a result of its distortion characteristic of Syrian, betrays its origin. The following names belong to this group: *Imaos*, *Emoda ore*, *Askatagkas*, *Aspisia ore*, etc. Although Al-Ḥuwārizmī follows Ptolemy almost accurately in the representation of the system of mountains, he does not take over names of mountains from the *Geographike Hyphegesis* together with the mountains in several cases. Such mountains taken over without names are the *Paropanisos*, the *Saripha ore*, the *Kaukasion oros*, the *Oxeia ore* and the *Sogdia ore*. In connection with this it is interesting to note that these mountains do not occur in the geographical chapter of the *Hexameron* of Jacob of Edessa either. Thus, very likely this also confirms the Greek-Syrian-Arab route of the names of the former mountains.

If we take a glance at the map drawn on the basis of al-Ḥuwārizmī's data, it immediately strikes the eye that in the East, the rivers situated in *Serike* completely correspond to the Ptolemaic pattern, while the two rivers to be found in the West, the Amu-Darya and the Syr-Darya, slightly differ from it.

The most important change — and this reflects at the same time the changed circumstances, as well as the fundamental principle of al-Ḥuwārizmī's rewriting (where he has more accurate knowledge, there he does not take over

Ptolemy's data without criticism) — is that with him these two rivers do not flow into the Caspian Sea, but into Lake Aral. The course of the Zarafšan similarly bears witness to a better knowledge. The *Polytimetos* corresponding to the Zarafšan flows into the Caspian Sea. In al-Ḥuwārizmī this river flows already into the Amu-Darya. A similarly striking change is the E—W direction of the course of the Syr-Darya. Ptolemy's *Iaxartes* flows first from the South to the North, then later on it turns to the west. Ptolemy's error is traced back by A. Hermann to two erroneous conceptions. According to the one the Greeks believed that the *Iaxartes* separates the Sogdians from the Sakas, while according to the other conception the Sogdians lived at the border of India. As a result of the linking of these two ideas, Ptolemy placed the source of the *Iaxartes* as far to the South as he could.

Al-Ḥuwārizmī represented the system of the Oxus in many respects differently from Ptolemy. He did not represent the system of tributaries on the left side consisting of the rivers *Artamis* and *Zariaspis* as well as the *Ochos* and the *Dargamanes*, but we can find with him the course of the Murgāb, mentioned by Ptolemy under the name *Margos*. In Ptolemy we do not find the river Waḥš, this belongs to al-Ḥuwārizmī's new knowledge. At this point he further developed the inherited knowledge. We know this river also from the HA. There, however, several tributaries of the Amu-Darya are also mentioned, but very likely al-Ḥuwārizmī held these insignificant, therefore, he did not mention them in his work. In this respect he included the Ptolemaic material into his work after a certain screening, just like the material of the Arabic itineraries that was recorded by him only after a very strict selection. This was also characteristic of his working method.

In the representation of the system of the Syr-Darya, al-Ḥuwārizmī is more accurate than Ptolemy, who mentions *e.g.* that from the *Norossos* mountain several rivers flow into the *Iaxartes*. Al-Ḥuwārizmī gives also the accurate co-ordinates of these rivers. There is a difference also in the question of the left side tributaries between the two of them. In the *Geographike Hyphegesis* we can read only about two tributaries, while in al-Ḥuwārizmī we can read about three. The HA also discusses three tributaries. This renders likely that al-Ḥuwārizmī and the author of the HA used common sources. The three tributaries on the left side on al-Ḥuwārizmī's map do not flow into the Kara-Darya but into the Syr-Darya. The reason for this representation is very likely that these rivers were also important from the view-point of the itineraries (one of the routes leading to Barshān went along here), and with the displacement of the cities these also shifted towards the West.

On the map the general shifting of the degrees can also be observed. Attention was drawn to this on several occasions also by H. Mžik, who studied

⁸ H. MŽIK: *op. cit.* 175.

the eastern territories described by al-Ḥuwārizmī equally condensed the Ptolemaic material in order to ensure place to the new material in the territories of Central Asia. He also had to make place for the Syr-Darya, because the direction of the course of this in al-Ḥuwārizmī is more elongated in the E—W direction than in Ptolemy. This disputable procedure has brought about several detrimental consequences. Of these we can mention first that the *Kaukasios oros* and the *Paropanisos* were unproportionately elongated, and the river-heads of the Amu-Darya and the Indus situated very close to each other, differently from reality, shifted very far from each other. Add to this al-Ḥuwārizmī's error mentioned above resulting in an even more westerly shifting of the cities which had been pressed to the West even without this. Thus, a large empty space has come about in the middle. These two reasons jointly explain that the برج حجارة in al-Ḥuwārizmī has shifted with 34° as compared with the Ptolemaic localization.

However, it has to be noted that for the filling of the empty space in the middle al-Ḥuwārizmī did not elongate all surface forms. In his work, e.g., جبل الان is shorter than in Ptolemy. The reason for this is that the *Norossos* and *Syeba* mountains situated on its two sides were represented by him in a more differentiated form and on a larger area. In the southern territories, on the other hand, the shifting as compared with the Ptolemaic data is greater than in the northern territories.

It is not sure, however, whether all these errors have to be attributed to al-Ḥuwārizmī's activity. Studying his work, we can observe that he used several kinds of sources. He had such sources (e.g. Ptolemy) that were not known to him first hand. He has taken over not only the positive knowledge but also the errors of these sources, and the linking up and adjusting of these sources were not always successful either.

As it could be seen already in the Introduction, on the basis of different references we can presume the existence of even three Ptolemy translations. In the beginning of his work, Ibn Ḥurradāḍbeh mentions⁹ that he translated Ptolemy's work in question. He wrote this book in 846, thus he had completed the translation earlier. We know that al-Ḥuwārizmī's work came into existence in these years. Thus it can be imagined that, eventually, he could already use this translation. According to the evidence of the *Fihrist*¹⁰ a Ptolemy translation is also connected with the name of al-Kindī, this, however, was bad. It is not known exactly when was the translation prepared, but in all probability it could already be known also by al-Ḥuwārizmī. The third translation was prepared by Thābit ibn Qurra. He was born in 836, and thus it is not likely that

⁹ Ibn Ḥurradāḍbeh, 3.

¹⁰ Al-Nadīm: *Kitāb al-Fihrist*. Leipzig 1871—1872. See in the chapter entitled Geography.

his translation could have come to the hands of al-Ḥuwārizmī before the writing of his work. Thus, a bad Arabic translation and eventually another Arabic translation was at al-Ḥuwārizmī's disposal, but we are not informed about the value of the latter. Similarly, according to the *Fihrist*, Ptolemy's work also had a Syrian translation.

The Syrian translation of Ptolemy's work was in all probability known by al-Ḥuwārizmī, since as it was already pointed out above, we saw in connection with the names of the mountains that from the writing of the Arabic forms of names we can frequently make conclusions to an intermediary Syrian variant. The question arises spontaneously that there, where al-Ḥuwārizmī does not give the names of the mountains and we do not find any reference to the names either in Jacob of Edessa or in Suhrāb, what brings about this deficiency as compared with the other cases? The names of the *Kaukasion oros* and the *Paropanisos* situated in the South (where the shifting is greater than in the North) are known *e.g.* only from Ptolemy's Greek text. If we examine these mountains more thoroughly, we find that in their representation al-Ḥuwārizmī differs considerably from the Ptolemaic traditions. In the co-ordinates of these, the difference of degrees is even greater than in the case of the others. In the description of these mountains, where al-Ḥuwārizmī also otherwise relied upon Ptolemy in the highest degree, he probably drew first of all on the Syrian translation, while in the elaboration of the mountains separating India and Central Asia he could use another source. This could be either one of the two Arabic sources just mentioned, or an earlier Arabic map. Unfortunately, we do not know, whether the two Arabic translations were prepared as literal translations, or they were already rewritings.

About the representation of the rivers it can be established that the rivers to be found in *Serike* tally with the picture to be found in Ptolemy. In Central Asia, however, the hydrographic map differs from the known patterns. In the representation of the rivers flowing in *Serike*, al-Ḥuwārizmī very likely used the Syrian translation, because in fact, the orthography used in the transliteration of the names of rivers does not contradict to this assumption. In the drawing of the waters of Central Asia, however, his main source could already be an Arabic rewriting. Besides, very likely, he also used the data originating from the Arabic itineraries, because on the map we do not find only corrected Ptolemaic elements, but also several new rivers. The description of these rivers can also be read in the books belonging to the *Masālik wa Mamālik* literature of geographical writers living in the period after al-Ḥuwārizmī.

The description of the cities completely differs from the representation to be found on Ptolemy's map. With the exception of the distant city of Ottorokorra, all elements are new. All the cities of Central Asia without exception can be found in the enumerations of the itineraries, which were the main sources of al-Ḥuwārizmī.

In the case of the names of countries we also find a duality. The names اسقونيا and اسقونيا are clearly of Greek origin, they can be traced back to *Scythia extra Imaum* and *Scythia infra Imaum*. On the basis of the correct writing we can conclude that this name also got into the Arabic with Syrian mediation, where on account of the error in the punctuation the form of the name further deteriorated. For the time being it cannot be decided, whether this error in the punctuation was made by al-Ḥuwārizmī himself, or he took it over already in such a defective form. The country name بلاد الشاش و طار بند is similarly of Arabic origin.

Suhrāb also prepared his own world map using the work of al-Ḥuwārizmī. Examining this map, it immediately strikes the eye that it is much more schematic than that of al-Ḥuwārizmī. This can be observed in the representation of the mountain separating India and Central Asia, as well as in the drawing of the system of the Indus. The description of the rivers is more or less identical in both works. The greatest difference can be observed in the case of the cities. Beside the material to be found in al-Ḥuwārizmī, Suhrāb included also new elements in his work. The مدينة الصغد and the الدبوسية also belong here.¹¹ The insertion of the new material of knowledge was not successful. Comparing the localization of the مدينة الصغد with the cities represented, we find that it is too far to the North, while the الدبوسية is too far to the East, beyond the Pamir. The new material did not become an organic part of the map, it remained a foreign body. The fiasco of the insertion, however, is not due to Suhrāb alone. The map of al-Ḥuwārizmī is also concerned in this in a great degree. After all, the مدينة الصغد drawn in a situation comparatively well adjusted to the surface forms is not in harmony with the system of cities taken over in a defective form, without correction.

If we make some statistics, it will become clear how Suhrāb took over al-Ḥuwārizmī's data. On our map al-Ḥuwārizmī represented 17 cities. Of these 12 can easily be identified, the preserved text is unambiguous and clear. In the case of 5 cities, on account of the absence of names or uncertain reading, the identification is difficult.¹² In the first group the given co-ordinates in the majority of the cases slightly differ in Suhrāb from those of al-Ḥuwārizmī (in 7 cases they differ, while in 5 cases they are identical). As regards the cities belonging to the other group, their situation was probably not clear to Suhrāb himself. He took over al-Ḥuwārizmī's data without hesitation, in the form he found them. This is shown by the fact that he does not deviate from al-Ḥuwārizmī's data even in a single case.

¹¹ Both cities occur in the HA, pp. 551 — 552.

¹² The cities belonging in the first group are: Ušrūsanat, Ḥoğanda, Banākath, Aḥsikath, Tāraband, Isbiğāb, al-Ṭarāz, al-Tubbat, Atrāqārā, Ḥwārizm, Madīnat al-Ḥazar, Nawikath. The second group contains: Madīnat (470) madīnat (471) Sīnistān, نا سا مو، نا سا سو.

A significant difference between them is that in Suhrāb we cannot find the *برج حجارة*, as well as the Ptolemaic *Demos* and *Baskatis*.

It can be mentioned as an influence of al-Ḥuwārizmī that a city named *سینستان* can also be found in Idrīsī.

Budapest.

APPENDIX

Beside the mountains drawn on the map, Suhrāb in his work indicates the following:

Mountain. Longitude: $128^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $58^{\circ}30'$ — longitude: $128^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $52^{\circ}5'$.

Mountain. Longitude: $132^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $60^{\circ}5'$ — longitude: $132^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $58^{\circ}5'$, here it meets another one: at longitude: $129^{\circ}5'$ and latitude: $58^{\circ}30'$ this is met by a mountain, at longitude: 141° and latitude: $55^{\circ}30'$ it ends.

These mountains were described by Suhrāb somewhat confusedly, but that much is still sure that on the map they cannot be represented. Mžik also formed the same opinion. According to him Suhrāb did not take over these data from Ptolemy, but from some other work. Disregarding the inconsistency of his different sources, he wrote down everything. At the drawing of Suhrāb's map the above data had to be disregarded by me.

ABBREVIATIONS

- W. BARTHOLD: *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*. London 1958. (Turkestan)
 A. BERTHELOT: *L'Asie Ancienne Centrale et Sud-Orientale d'après Ptolémée*. Paris 1930. (BERTHELOT)
 V. MINORSKY: *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*. Oxford 1937. (HA)
 J. O. THOMSON: *History of Ancient Geography*. Cambridge 1948. (THOMSON)
 Al-Iṣṭahri: *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Batavorum 1870.
 Ibn Ḥawqal: *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Batavorum 1873.
 Al-Maqdisī: *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fi ma'rifat al-aqālim*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Batavorum 1877.
 Ibn Rusta: *Al-I'lāq al-nafīsa*. Lugd. Batavorum 1877.
 Al-Ja'qūbī: *Kitāb al-buldān*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugd. Batavorum 1892.
 Ibn Khurradāqbeh: *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugduni Batavorum 1889.
 Qudāma ibn Ġa'far: *Kitāb al-Ḥarāğ*. Ed. M. J. DE GOEJE. Lugduni Batavorum 1889.

HISTORIOGRAPHIE ET AGGADA DANS LE LIBER
ANTIQUITATUM BIBLICARUM DU PSEUDO-PHILON1. *La genèse de l'œuvre et les problèmes de genre*

Le LAB — dont la matière s'étendant de la création jusqu'à la mort de Saül (2 Samuel 1) est puisée à la Bible — fut composé après 70 de n. è., (voir l'allusion faite en XIX. 7 visant la destruction du second temple de Jérusalem). D'après la précision de M. R. James il serait le produit de la même école que le 4^e livre d'Esdras et l'Apocalypse de Baruch, conservée en langue syriaque.¹

L'œuvre elle-même passe pour un des derniers produits de cette époque littéraire allant du temps de la destruction du premier temple jusqu'à la dispersion sous Tite et Vespasien. Le début de cette activité littéraire est marqué par la canonisation des livres bibliques en Palestine.² C'est au cours de cette période que naquirent la plupart des œuvres pseudépigraphiques, les parties ultérieures du Testament des douze patriarches,³ le Livre des Jubilés,⁴ le Livre de Hénoch sous sa forme définitive,⁵ le 4^e livre d'Esdras⁶ et l'Apocalypse syriaque de Baruch dont le texte subit peut-être l'influence du LAB.⁷

L'histoire politique de la période de la genèse du LAB comprend l'époque de l'état national juif suivant la révolte des Macchabées, ensuite la domination de Rome et le temps de la guerre juive. Le LAB fut composé après la destruction du second temple, tout probablement sur territoire palestin, fait dont

¹ M. R. JAMES : *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo*. Now first translated from the Old Latin Version. London 1918. 37.

² L'étape suivant de la canonisation de la Tora (Esdras 7 et suiv., Néhémie 8 et suiv.) est marquée par l'établissement du canon de la Tora et des prophètes. Processus qui fut terminé jusqu'à 117 av. n. è. ; Josèphe Flavius, lui, mentionne 22 livres canonisés (*Contra Apionem*, I. 8) ; cf. O. EISSFELDT : *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Tübingen 1964³ ; W. FELL : *Der Bibelkanon des Flavius Josephus*. BZ 7 (1909) 1—16, 113—122, 235—244 ; G. W. ANDERSON : *Canonical and non-canonical*. *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. Cambridge 1970. 113—159.

³ O. EISSFELDT 1964. 855—862.

⁴ O. EISSFELDT 1964. 823—824.

⁵ O. EISSFELDT 1964. 838—843.

⁶ O. EISSFELDT 1964. 848—849.

⁷ O. EISSFELDT 1964. 852—853. Sur le rapport entre le LAB et l'apocalypse syriaque de Baruch v. M. R. JAMES 1917. 46—54 (avec collationnement des textes) ; L. GRAY : *La date de la fin des temps, selon des révélations ou les calculs du Pseudo-Philon et de Baruch (Apocalypse syriaque)*. RB 48 (1939) 337—356.

témoigne entre autres le texte originel écrit en hébreu.⁸ Au cours de la guerre juive, et précisément après la chute de Masada (73 de notre ère) le sort de Palestine se voit comme réglé, un peu plus tard le territoire lui-même échoit à Vespasien. La résidence du gouverneur impérial de Judée se transmet à Césarée, Jérusalem, ruiné ne pourra plus jamais reprendre son ancienne importance; la domination romaine met l'accent sans cela sur le développement des villes de fondation ou de reconstitution romaines.⁹ La population, elle, se trouve épuisée et dépouillée par la guerre. Officiellement le culte est supprimé et — malgré une survie sporadiquement attestée¹⁰ — le sanctuaire de Jérusalem, en tant que centre et représentant officiel du culte, n'existe plus.

Une œuvre littéraire bouleversante et qui nous renseigne sur la guerre c'est le *Bellum Judaicum* de Josèphe Flavius, écrit de propagande et apologie à la fois, avertissement adressé aux Juifs vivant hors la Palestine, et précision du rôle et de la responsabilité des Juifs palestiniens du point de vue des événements liés à l'éclatement de la guerre.¹¹ Si l'œuvre de Josèphe est le seul exposé historique détaillé sur l'époque en question, la plupart des œuvres littéraires contemporaines ne restent pas elles non plus sans toucher l'histoire, dont celles de Philon d'Alexandrie, *In Flaccum* et *Legatio ad Gaium*, ouvrages polémiques contre les offenses concrètes faites aux Juifs de la Dispersion.¹² C'est dans ce même genre que se range le *Contra Apionem* de Josephus.¹³

Le LAB, lui n'est pas une réponse à des attaques aussi directes, ni une analyse des événements contemporains du point de vue des Juifs; il n'en reste pas moins une œuvre apologétique. C'est en effet cette intention qui se fait valoir dans la manière de voir dominant l'œuvre entière, dans l'arrangement et dans le remaniement de la matière légendaire de l'histoire. Le LAB est une apologie indirecte écrite dans le dessein de démontrer que le judaïsme n'est du point de vue ni culturel ni historique inférieur aux grands peuples culturels de l'Antiquité. Sous ce rapport le LAB est comme un parallèle «historique» de l'œuvre de Philon d'Alexandrie,¹⁴ ce dernier explique des notions de la

⁸ L. COHN: *An Apocryphal Work Ascribed to Philo of Alexandria*. JQR 10 (1898) 311.

⁹ E. SCHRÜRER: *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*. I. Leipzig 1890. 537—545.

¹⁰ E. SCHRÜRER 1890. 546—547; A. BÜCHLER: *Economic Conditions of Judaism after the Destruction of the Second Temple*. London 1912. Sur la signification du Temple et sur le culte v. G. F. MOORE: *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era*. I. Cambridge 1950. 281—307.

¹¹ S. ZEITLIN: *A survey of Jewish historiography from the Biblical Books to the Sefer ha-Kabbalah with special emphasis on Josephus*. JQR 49/3 (1969) 171—214.

¹² Le premier doit sa naissance à la persécution des Juifs d'Alexandrie, le second, à l'apothéose et l'introduction du culte de Caligula.

¹³ «*Contra Apionem*» — tout comme les «*Antiquités judaïques*» — entrent dans la catégorie de l'apologie indirecte. L'auteur y exprime ses idées sous forme de traité historique. Sur les genres apologétiques v. J. BERGMAN: *Jüdische Apologetik im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*. Berlin 1908.

¹⁴ Le LAB représente une analogie indirecte d'une part de la méthode exégético-philosophique des «*Questiones*», d'autre part de l'apologie directe.

religion en démontrant la priorité des notions bibliques sur celles de la religion grecque, et cela par le moyen de la philosophie grecque; le Ps.-Philon, lui intègre les passages bibliques qu'il traite, à l'idée de l'alliance, de l'élection. La conception n'est pas nouvelle, la composition de la Bible elle-même se fondant sur l'idée de l'alliance reparaissant sans cesse dans le texte biblique — le procédé du LAB est pourtant tout nouveau. Parmi les histoires bibliques il ne retient que les passages insistants sur l'importance de l'alliance, et les compléments qu'il y apporte s'ajustent eux aussi à ce point de vue. Le texte du LAB ne va-t-on pas donc le considérer comme un extrait de la Bible — le Livre des Jubilés traitant les histoires de la Genèse n'en est lui non plus un simple abrégé¹⁵ — il s'agit d'un texte remanié suivant un seul point de vue, d'une œuvre autonome, de voix individuelle, composée d'une technique toute spéciale.

La méthode de composition du LAB et son procédé de remaniement relèvent cependant d'une tendance beaucoup plus ancienne, de celle commencée par les premiers remaniements des cycles de tradition bibliques. La matière de la Bible, la mise au point canonique de ses composants différant par leur caractère et leur genre, se trouvent dès le début dominées par une idée réunissant le tout de l'œuvre et portant sur le rapport entre vie humaine, société et surnaturel; loin d'être un simple récit d'événements, la matière de la Bible est une sorte de philosophie de l'histoire, déterminée toutes les fois par la vision religieuse du monde de chacun des remanieurs. Dans la conception de ces derniers il y a ceci de commun que la directrice suprême des événements c'est partout la justice de Yahvé ('emet) — à la manière de la vision du monde des Mésopotamiens où c'est la justice («kittum») qui soutient l'ordre cosmique, le roi n'en étant que le serviteur, la garantie.¹⁶ Dans la Bible les souverains terrestres ne sont jamais exempts de faute — au lieu d'être les incarnations du «'emet» ils en sont les serviteurs. La conception historique de la Bible a pour deux points focaux l'alliance du peuple élu avec Yahvé et la délivrance du peuple par Yahvé. Chacun des livres bibliques se fonde sur ces prémisses; et, la conception des bases de l'alliance, l'explication de la délivrance, l'espoir et le pessimisme y relatifs — autant de moments qui varient suivant l'époque pour caractériser chacune des parties de la Bible.¹⁷

¹⁵ M. R. JAMES 1917. 45; S. ZEITLIN: The Book of Jubilees, its Character and its Significance. JQR 30 (1939-40) 1-32; S. ZEITLIN: The Book of Jubilees. JQR 35 (1944-45) 12-16.

¹⁶ E. A. SPEISER: The Biblical Idea of History in its Common Near Eastern Setting. IEJ 7 (1957) 203.

¹⁷ M. BURROWS: Ancient Israel. The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East. New Haven-London 1966³. 111-117. G. F. MOORE 1950, II. 48; E. A. SPEISER: IEJ 7 (1957) 259; R. BULTMANN: Primitive Christianity in its contemporary setting. Edinburgh 1960. 40-51.

Le LAB a pour modèles bibliques le Livre des Rois et celui des Chroniques.¹⁸ L'un comme l'autre remontent à des sources différentes et datent de l'époque néo-babylonienne et achéménide (le Livre des Rois obtint sa forme définitive au milieu du 6^e siècle, les Chroniques, de même que le Livre d'Esdras et celui de Néhémie formant, à trois, une unité, écrits après le retour de l'exil de Babylone).¹⁹ Ces deux livres sont les premières tentatives d'un aperçu général de l'histoire des tribus d'Israël; il s'agit d'anthologies historiques composées dans un ordre chronologique bien défini, puisant leur matière dans des sources différentes et portant ainsi l'empreinte des idées nationales et religieuses de leur rédacteur. Leur genèse semble avoir été influencée par les chroniques synchronistes assyriennes, puis néo-babyloniennes, du 7^e siècle.²⁰ Le LAB est marqué surtout par l'influence du Livre des Chroniques qui, postérieur à l'autre en met lui-même en œuvre quelques passages. La similitude apparaît au premier coup d'œil: les Chroniques, le Livre d'Esdras et celui de Néhémie formèrent primitivement une unité contenant l'histoire de la royauté de Juda²¹ — c'est à dire, dans leur conception l'«empire de Yahvé», tout en omettant l'histoire de la royauté du Nord «impie» — et en passant en revue, en ordre chronologique les événements à partir d'Adam jusqu'aux temps tout récents, c'est-à-dire jusqu'au retour et à la réorganisation du culte. Esdras et Néhémie mettent au centre, eux, le culte et le Temple — plus tard, dans la conception religieuse plus abstraite du Ps.-Philon cette position sera réservée à la loi. Dans les Livres des Chroniques et des Rois l'histoire apparaît comme l'enchaînement du développement organique des événements et à ces événements les auteurs ajoutent des explications politiques, religieuses et morales.

De par leur origine — leur matière étant prise dans les livres plus anciens — les livres en question sont de caractère midrashique, c'est à dire que la matière remaniée y est suivie d'explications et de compléments. Le caractère midrashique du Livre des Chroniques est dû d'une part aux extraits qu'il comporte du Livre de la Genèse et de celui des Rois, d'autre part aux additions (pour la plupart des prières, des discours).²²

¹⁸ O. EISSFELDT 1964. 654—656. Sur le LAB et le Livre de la Chronique v. M. R. JAMES 1917. 33.

¹⁹ O. EISSFELDT 1964. 749.

²⁰ O. EISSFELDT 1964. 338—379; A. C. WELCH: *The Work of the Chronicler. Its Purpose and its Date.* London 1939; A. NORDTZIJ: *Les intentions du Chroniste.* RB 49 (1940) 161—168.

²¹ O. EISSFELDT 1964. 654—656.

²² L'auteur de la Chronique se sert, entre autres, du midrash du Livre des Rois, cf. O. EISSFELDT 1964. 721—723. Sur le caractère et l'origine du midrash, sur les passages midrashiques des livres canonisés v. K. BUDDE: *Midrasch des Buches der Könige.* ZAW 12 (1892) 37—51; R. BLOCH: *Ezechiel XVI: Exemple parfait du procédé midrashique dans la Bible.* CahSi 91 (1955) 193—223; R. BLOCH: *Midrash, Dictionnaire de la Bible. Suppl. 5.* Paris 1957; R. BLOCH: *Écriture et tradition dans le judaïsme. Aperçus sur l'origine du Midrash.* CahSi 8 (1954) 9—34; S. ZEITLIN: *Midrash. A Historical Study.* JQR 44 (1953) 21—36.

Le Ps.-Philon emprunte au Livre des Chroniques non seulement des noms, mais aussi un procédé, leur conformité consistant principalement dans la propagande qu'ils font : les Chroniques idéalisent la théocratie réalisée par la royauté légitime de David et réunissant les Juifs retournés de l'exil; l'idéal du Ps.-Philon est, à son tour la théocratie davidique qui sera établie comme pour accomplir les calculs eschatologiques.

Parmi les œuvres pseudégraphiques de date postérieure c'est le Livre des Jubilés qui met en œuvre, à la manière du LAB une matière biblique, en appliquant une méthode «historique». Le Livre des Jubilés remanie la matière de la Genèse en la répartissant en périodes de yōbēl et en y apportant des compléments explicatifs aggadiques et halachiques ; son but consiste en effet à illustrer, à travers la matière de la Genèse la voie de l'observance de la loi. Par sa conception et sa méthode il sert, sur plus d'un point de modèle pour le LAB.²³

2. Alliance et histoire universelle eschatologique

La matière mise en œuvre dans le LAB finit sur la mort de Saül, mais cette fin n'est pas celle envisagée par l'auteur. C'est que le texte s'arrête brusquement, en plein milieu d'une phrase du Saül mourant, ce qui rend problématiques la fin et aussi l'intention de l'auteur quant à l'étendue et l'achèvement de la matière historique traitée par lui. Malgré la forme inachevée on devine quand même une structure précise de l'œuvre qui permet d'en reconstituer — du moins hypothétiquement — l'achèvement vraisemblable, la conclusion de l'histoire universelle présentée par le LAB.

Le LAB s'ouvre non sur la Genèse, mais sur l'énumération de la famille d'Adam.²⁴ L'auteur n'indique que brièvement la période qui s'écoula depuis le premier couple d'hommes jusqu'à Noé, sous forme de tableaux généalogiques, en complétant le texte d'une histoire sur l'invasion du péché (I. 8). La méthode que l'auteur du LAB applique ici est celle du livre des Chroniques, en matière à la fois de la mise en œuvre et des noms. Il paraît sûr que l'auteur a très bien connu la Bible et qu'il en fit emploi, d'une façon consciente, de tels passages, tels cycles de tradition.²⁵

L'histoire de Noé suivant les tableaux généalogiques (III. 1—12) ne diffère pas, pour l'essentiel de celle de la Bible. Cependant la description donnée par le Ps.-Philon de l'alliance conclue avec Noé est d'une importance

²³ L. FINKELSTEIN : *The Book of Jubilees and the Rabbinic Halakah*. HTR 16 (1923) 39—61 ; S. KLEIN : *Palästinisches in Jubiläenbuch*. ZDPV 57 (1934) 7—27. Sur les relations aggadiques du LAB et du Livre des Jubilés cf. M. R. JAMES : 1917. 45.

²⁴ Cf. Chronique I : 1 s'ouvrant également sur la descendance d'Adam.

²⁵ P. ex. l'omission conséquente ou transformation des passages relatifs aux Samaritains, dans la matière biblique : v. A. SPIRO : *Samaritans, Tobiads and Judahites in Pseudo-Philo*. PAAJR 20 (1951) 279—355.

particulière. Après le déluge Noé présente un sacrifice d'action de grâce qui sert de base pour l'alliance effective : «Et dixit Deus : Non adiciam iam maledicere terram pro homine, quoniam figura cordis hominis desiit a iuventute sua, et ideo non adiciam simul disperdere omnes viventes sicut feci. Erit autem cum peccaverunt habitantes terram, *diudicabo eos* sive in gladio, sive in igne, sive in morte, et erit terremotus et *dispergentur in inhabitabilia*. Terram autem non adiciam corrumpere aqua diluvii» (III. 9). «Cum autem *completi fuerint anni seculi*, tunc quiescet lumen et extinguentur tenebre, et vivificabo mortuos, et erigam dormientes de terra. . . Et *erit terra alia*, et celum aliud habitaculum sempiternum (III. 10).²⁶

C'est à dire que la description de l'alliance, tout en complétant l'idée formulée dans l'Ancien Testament sur l'alliance conclue avec Noé, la divise en deux parties : la première c'est — en conformité avec la Bible — cette promesse de Yahvé qu'il ne détruira plus jamais la Terre par un déluge. Le Ps.-Philon, lui y ajoute une autre idée, de caractère eschatologique, servant de base pour une seconde alliance : il y aura d'autres sortes de châtements, suivant la mesure des péchés des mortels. C'est ce complément qu'achève la conclusion eschatologique encadrant, elle, l'alliance conclue avec les mortels. Du point de vue de la structure ce passage n'a point son pareil dans l'œuvre et y a un rôle de pilier. C'est que l'œuvre entière fut tout probablement une sorte d'apologie juive encadrée d'une histoire universelle à conception eschatologique, et l'auteur chercha à réunir les idées de l'eschatologie cosmique avec celles de l'histoire nationale juive, en imposant, à la fin de l'œuvre une conclusion commune aux passages situés sur des plans tout différents.²⁷

Chez le Ps.-Philon l'idée du «peuple élu» apparaît la première fois dans l'histoire d'Abraham (VI. 1 — 18). C'est à l'histoire de Babel qu'attache l'auteur le motif explicatif — et unique dans son temps — de l'élection d'Abraham (L'analyse de G. Vermes a démontré que sur ce point le texte du Ps.-Philon servit de base pour les midrash les plus anciens aussi bien que les récents).²⁸ La situation de départ est la même que dans le cas de Noé : parmi les mortels coupables et corrompus Yahvé ayant trouvé un seul qui soit juste pour conclure une alliance avec lui. Mais tandis que, selon le Ps.-Philon du temps de Noé sur la terre «adimpleta erant opera malignitatum» (III. 3 — en pleine conformité avec les paroles de l'Ancien Testament, v. Gn 6 : 5, mais en ne se servant que de ce seul passage), à l'époque d'Abraham le péché des hommes s'est mani-

²⁶ Sur la «consommation des temps» v. Test. Ruben 6 : *τελείωσις χρόνων*; Test. Levi 10 : *συντέλεια τῶν αἰώνων*; Test. Zebulon 9 : *καιρὸς συντελείας* Sur le commencement du nouvel éon : l'apocalypse syriaque de Baruch 44 : 12 : *mundus ille*; 48 : 5, 51 : 10 : *mundus novus*; 51 : 3 : *mundus qui non moritur* (les citations sont traduites par O. F. FRITZSCHE : *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti*. 1871). Avec Baruch concorde Esdras IV. 7 : 50, 4 : 2, 27, 6 : 9, 7 : 12, 8 : 1, 6 : 55, 7 : 113, etc.

²⁷ R. BULTMANN 1960. 94 — 102.

²⁸ G. VERMES : *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism. Haggadic Studies*. Leiden 1961. 88.

festé dans ce qu'ils s'opposèrent à la révélation divine : «Tunc hi qui divisi erant omnes habitantes terram, postea congregati habitaverunt simul. Et profecti ab oriente invenerunt campum in terra Babilonis, et habitantes ibi dixerunt singuli quique ad proximum suum : Ecce *futurum est ut dispergamur* unusquisque a fratre suo, et in novissimis diebus alterutrum erimus expugnantes nos. Nunc ergo venite et edificemus nobis ipsis turrim, cuius caput erit usque ad celum, et faciamus nobis nomen et gloriam super terram» (VI. 1). C'est à dire que le but de la construction de la tour n'est-il pas ce que suggère Gn 11 : 4 «faisons-nous un nom afin que nous ne soyons pas dispersés sur la face de toute la terre» ; ils construisent la tour tout en sachant bien qu'ils seront dispersés sur la terre et qu'une lutte aura lieu entre les hommes — aussi se mettent-ils, comme par vengeance contre Yahvé, à construire une tour afin de perpétuer leur nom.

Le passage analysé est donc une interprétation vaticinante de la précision du Gn 11 : 4, interprétation conforme à l'esprit du LAB et qui, figurant à l'endroit donné se voit intégrée au cadre eschatologique de l'histoire de Noé.

L'INTERPRÉTATION DE L'HISTOIRE D'ABRAHAM DANS LE LAB²⁸

La révolte contre Yahvé et le monothéisme est figurée par une image qui, à l'intérieur du système de symboles du LAB, figure ailleurs en symbole de l'idolâtrie (motif des noms gravés sur les pierres, XXVI). Dans l'histoire d'Abraham les constructeurs de la tour de Babel gravent leur propre nom sur les pierres qu'ils vont cuire aux fins de la construction de la tour. La signification du motif se trouve par là modifiée : l'audace des constructeurs de la tour devient le symbole de la révolte contre l'avenir révélé.²⁹ Chez le Ps.-Philon les constructeurs de la tour de Babel se révoltent contre la direction divine du processus de l'histoire — voilà le plus qu'apporte le LAB à cette histoire qui dans l'Ancien Testament et ailleurs raconte la révolte de l'homme contre le ciel.³⁰ En dehors de ce qui y est effectivement rapporté l'importance de l'histoire de Babel présentée par le Ps.-Philon est encore augmentée par ceci que de l'épisode de Yaïr et les sept dévots — épisode parallèle à celui du salut miraculeux d'Abraham et ses compagnons — le motif des pierres est absent (XXXVIII. 1—4). Le motif, on le voit bien, n'est pas sans fonction dans le texte ; comme ceci, Yaïr y figure en simple idolâtre : «... ipse edificavit sacrarium Baal...» (XXXVIII. 1).

^{28a} L'article de P. M. BOGAERT Sur la figure d'Abraham dans le LAB était pour moi inaccessible jusqu'à l'apparition du présent article (P. M. BOGAERT — L. DEQUEKER et al.: Abraham dans la Bible et dans la tradition juive. Bruxelles 1978.

²⁹ D'après Jub. 10 : 1 c'est encore après le temps de Noé que commencent à se propager, sous l'effet des démons malins, les péchés — le texte interprète, cette fois encore, le passage comme exprimant le détachement de Yahvé.

³⁰ La suite d'idées commencée en Jub. 10 : 11 ne se poursuit non plus. D'après Jub. 11 : 10—19 le but des hommes consiste également à monter aux cieux.

Après ces événements Yahvé conclue l'alliance avec Abraham puisque celui-ci ne s'est par révolté contre la providence divine, contre la direction divine du destin des générations futures et, qui plus est, il a prouvé par son comportement la fermeté de sa foi. Au lieu d'accepter le secours de Yectan, au lieu d'échapper, à la manière de ses compagnons à la punition des révoltés il se confie à Yahvé, la providence de celui-ci étant garantie et s'avérant la seule possibilité de se sauver : «*Ecce ego fugio hodie in montana, et si evasero ignem, exient de montibus fere bestie et venientes comedent nos, aut esce nobis deficient et moriemur fame, et inveniatur fugientes ante populum terre, et cadentes in peccatis nostris. Et nunc vivit in quo confido, quia non movebor de loco meo in quo posuerunt me. Et si fuerit aliquod peccatum meum consumens ut consumar, fiat voluntas Dei*» (XI. 11).

L'alliance conclue ensuite avec Abraham est d'un caractère autre que celle conclue avec Noé. Abraham, lui *a mérité* d'être élu, avant même de conclure l'alliance il en a répondu aux exigences.³¹ L'élection d'Abraham se double, comme d'une ligne secondaire plus vague, de l'élection des fils de Sem, celle-ci ayant toutefois une signification autre que pour la descendance d'Abraham, et se réglant sur l'enseignement de l'épisode de Yectan et de l'histoire des compagnons d'Abraham. Les deux exemples représentent les deux degrés de l'observance de la loi, de la crainte de dieu ; Yectan, le chef des fils de Sem cherche à sauver Abraham et ses compagnons — le rôle qu'il assume est celui du personnage qui prête aide sans participer activement dans l'établissement de l'alliance. Ayant reconnu que l'attitude d'Abraham est la seule qui soit juste, il lui porte aide sans pour autant s'associer à l'opposition d'Abraham. Le cercle plus exclusif des douze dévots (symbole des tribus d'Israël auprès de Yectan symbolisant, lui les peuples sémitiques) atteint un plus haut point de l'observance de la loi. C'est de concert avec Abraham que ceux-ci se refusent à l'obéissance signifiant l'adhésion aux révoltés. Tout en persistant dans leur intention ils s'avèrent incapables de suivre la seule voie juste. Leur erreur ne signifie quand même pas une chute. La passage final de l'histoire annonce leur solidarité avec Abraham délivré de la fournaise ardente : «*Et surrexit Abraham de camino, et concidit caminus ignis. Et salvatus est Abraham, et abiit ad undecim viros qui erant absconsi in montanis, et renunciavit eis omnia que contingerunt illi. Et descenderunt cum eo de montanis gaudentes in nomine Domini et nemo eis obvians terruit die illa*» (VI. 18).

La gradualité du mérite se fait valoir, d'une manière analogue, aussi dans la conclusion de l'alliance. Yahvé conclue alliance uniquement avec Abraham : «*Ibi ergo faciam inhabitare puerum meum Abraham, et disponam testamentum cum eo, et semen eius benedicam, et nominabor ei Deus in eter-*

³¹ D'après Jub. 11 : 16—24 c'est à l'âge de 14 ans qu'Abraham parvint à la connaissance parfaite de dieu. Jub. 13 : 26 donne une énumération détaillée des lois et de l'ordre des sacrifices qu'Abraham aurait observés.

num» (VII. 5). Les trois degrés — le plus haut en étant l'attitude et l'élection d'Abraham — rendent nécessaire une sorte de distinction de la providence divine au profit des tribus de Sem et d'Israël, à l'opposé du reste coupable des mortels.

L'interprétation que donne le Ps.-Philon de l'histoire d'Abraham a deux moments remarquables : le premier c'est la position que prend l'histoire elle-même à l'intérieur de la matière traitée, le rôle de l'alliance à l'endroit donné. C'est que, en conformité avec la conception du codex sacerdotal,³² l'auteur du LAB met au centre, au lieu de l'alliance sinaïtique celle conclue avec Abraham, en l'insérant dans une série d'alliances, dont les étapes sont représentées par la genèse, le déluge et l'alliance de Yahvé avec Abraham, de la même façon que l'affirmation de Gn 17 : 8 : «Et je serai leur dieu» vaut, dans la Bible encore, pour la descendance d'Abraham. Et voilà nous sommes arrivés au deuxième moment, aux «degrés» de l'élection. D'après le passage cité de la Genèse l'élection vaut pour les descendants d'Abraham — l'alliance se montrant donc plus complète que les antérieures — ensuite la rédaction citée réduit l'alliance également aux douze tribus, descendant de Jacob.³³

L'HISTOIRE DES DOUZE TRIBUS

Par l'insertion de l'épisode d'Abraham et par l'interprétation de celui-ci le Ps.-Philon fait suggérer l'élection collective des tribus d'Israël et — même sans le dire expressément — il étend l'alliance de Yahvé conclue avec Abraham à l'Israël entier. A partir de ce moment la Bible «remaniée» par le Ps.-Philon se poursuit en histoire exclusivement juive, ses événements restant à l'intérieur des pôles Yahvé — peuple élu, deux côtés de l'alliance.

L'idée et le motif périodiquement répété de l'alliance apparaissent pour la première fois dans l'histoire de la Genèse pour réapparaître dans les autres livres bibliques, en reflétant une conception qui varie avec la date de la composition des livres et en mettant en relief des aspects toujours nouveaux de l'alliance.³⁴ La tradition ancienne contient déjà les bases de la vision historique des époques postérieures : alliance, promesse de l'occupation de la terre de Canaan et du triomphe sur les peuples hostiles.³⁵ Dans ces histoires le rédacteur insiste tout le temps sur la faiblesse humaine, sur le besoin de l'homme d'être aidé — la clémence divine succédant aux péchés des mortels s'appuie de cette manière exclusivement sur la bienveillance du pouvoir surnaturel. Aux yeux des prophètes l'alliance devient la base d'une suite analogique — Isaïe, p. ex. rap-

³² E. A. SPEISER : IEJ 7 (1957) 210. Sans que le Livre des Jubiles ait mis en relief l'alliance conclue avec Abraham, le passage suivant la mort de celui-ci n'en semble pas moins, ici encore, marquer une limite (23 : 1).

³³ Test. Simeon insiste également sur l'élection des fils de Sem à l'opposé de l'assujettissement des fils de Ham (6).

³⁴ M. BURROWS 1966. 102.

³⁵ Un exemple classique en est Deut. 26 : 5—9.

pelle, hors la sortie d'Égypte, autres cas de la délivrance. (Is 1 : 9). En même temps l'alliance s'exprime désormais dans les notions de la promesse et de l'accomplissement. A l'effet des événements des époques assyrienne et néobabylonienne, des guerres et de la captivité, la conception de l'alliance dans la tradition biblique sera dominée par l'autocritique. Les prophètes accusent le peuple des péchés anciens et récents à la fois.³⁶ L'espérance en l'accomplissement apparaît pour la première fois sous un aspect nouveau. Qu'on pense à la juridiction divine (c'est à dire pas à une délivrance collective, mais à un jugement plus individuel, supposant une sorte de responsabilité individuelle des péchés) figurant dans la 17^e parabole d'Ézéchiël. La conception de la vision d'histoire deutéronomique insiste d'une façon encore plus marquée sur les péchés pouvant découler des rapports établis avec les peuples étrangers (Jg 2 : 1—3). C'est ici que s'ajoute à l'idée de l'élection celle de l'isolation d'avec les autres peuples. L'atmosphère des livres composés après la captivité exprime la joie d'être sauvé — ce qui s'exprime chez Is. 52 : 4 par l'analogie entre la délivrance de l'Égypte et celle de Babylone s'offrant d'elle-même. Auprès de la délivrance — un des éléments constitutifs de l'alliance — une autre idée celle du service du Dieu aura désormais un rôle plus marqué dans la pensée du judaïsme post-exilique (p. ex. Is. 52—53). L'histoire ancienne sera réappréciée, la conception antérieure, qui considère le passé comme l'enchaînement des peines cède la place à celle qui tient les souffrances, les désastres comme préparation d'une mission spéciale du peuple élu à remplir dans le monde. La rédaction sacerdotale (P), écrite au 6^e siècle, remettant la matière du texte de la Bible prend l'alliance pour constante et indissoluble; c'est cette source qui — d'une façon analogue à l'histoire d'Abraham citée plus haut — met au centre non l'alliance sinaïtique, mais celle conclue avec Abraham.³⁷

C'est à partir des éléments de conception des périodes antérieures que le LAB — de même que la conception contemporaine d'alliance — crée son idée d'alliance à lui qui, pareillement à la rédaction sacerdotale domine l'œuvre entière et en assure même la cohérence. Au lieu des idées religieuses plus générales — dont la relation du monde et de l'homme avec la sphère divine — le Pseudo-Philon met en relief celles qui sont spécifiquement juives; chez lui la première place revient au rapport du peuple juif avec Yahvé, dieu d'Israël. Ce rapport-ci est en effet la base à laquelle tout se laisse comparer, autour de laquelle tout se laisse regrouper. Une conception qui d'ailleurs n'est pas uniquement celle du LAB: dans cette période tardive du judaïsme elle prend une importance remarquable.³⁸ Chez le Pseudo-Philon elle fait dominer l'œuvre entière par l'interprétation de l'idée de l'alliance. Dans la relation Yahvé —

³⁶ M. BURROWS 1966. 11—126.

³⁷ E. A. SPEISER: IEJ 7 (1957) 210; M. BURROWS 1966. 124.

³⁸ G. F. MOORE 1950. I. 219—234; R. BULTMANN 1960. 72.

peuple élu la notion de dieu se voit, elle aussi comme élargie : Ayant quitté le rôle de dieu des tribus israéliens Jahvé apparaît comme un «Deus», dieu omnipotent qui a élu les tribus d'Israël afin de pratiquer la charité exclusivement avec elles. Le pôle de l'*élection* se complète cependant de celui de la *loi* : il leur fit encore don de la loi pour que, en observant celle-ci elles puissent mériter la providence divine. Cette idée est toute courante dans les œuvres littéraires de l'époque de la composition du LAB,³⁹ alors que la notion de la loi se voit, elle aussi, élargie pour devenir une notion surtemporelle, valable donc pour l'éternité. Par conséquence — et en partie par suite du contenu changé des notions — la conscience religieuse concentrée autour des idées de l'élection et de la loi même encore plus loin pour projeter l'élection sur l'avenir. Voilà le but auquel seront rattachées toutes les idées de cet ordre et qui signifie encore la base de la conception téléologique qui se trouve chez le Ps.-Philon. La projection de l'élection sur l'avenir — voilà en quoi consiste en général la foi des Juifs d'après la guerre ayant, pour moyen de réaliser la foi, l'observance de la Loi. Les deux pôles de la conception primitive se restituent sur un autre plan réunissant, lui, les pôles de l'*observance de la loi* et de l'*attente de la récompense*. La valeur des notions de «loi» et d'«observance de la loi» se trouve, elle aussi modifiée. La loi ne signifie plus les recueils de loi bibliques : la notion va se concentrer sur «quelque chose d'origine divine ordonnée par dieu et transmise par Moïse» (Esd 7 : 6). La formation de cette conception de la loi s'attache à la tendance nomistique de la période qui succéda à la captivité de Babylone.⁴⁰ Le changement notionnel des catégories de l'observance et du respect de la loi se traduit par la «canonisation» du respect de la loi, par la reconnaissance officielle de son origine divine, cette dernière étant d'ailleurs à justifier à partir des sources bibliques également (p. ex. Esd 7 : 6, Ne 8—10). L'interprétation de la loi fournie par le Livre des Jubilés représente une étape antérieure mais qui fait déjà penser au LAB. La loi est ici aussi intemporelle (les patriarches observent eux-mêmes les prescriptions de la loi)⁴¹ et malgré les explications concrètes de lois que comporte le texte on sera enclin à voir, dans le choix des lois à expliquer un signe de l'abstraction, ces lois se rattachant toutes, à l'office divin et ayant par conséquent un caractère plutôt théologique que moral. Chez le Ps.-Philon la loi apparaît sous une forme tout abstraite. Un moment caractéristique et qui représente fidèlement la conception religieuse de l'époque c'est que, en rapportant la transmission de la loi le Ps.-Philon complète de maints épisodes le passage narratif de l'histoire (XI. 1—15) alors que, en expo-

³⁹ D'après Jub. 13 : 26 la mérite de l'élection se fonde également sur l'observance de la loi. C'est justement par leur citation permanente que la loi et l'alliance deviennent intemporelles et peuvent par conséquent être remontées au passé ; cf. R. BULTMAN 1960. 72.

⁴⁰ H. STRACK : *Einleitung in Talmud und Midraš*. Leipzig 1921. 195.

⁴¹ Jub. 13 : 26.

sant le contenu de la loi il se réduit à ces précisions les plus courtes possibles et ne donne qu'un résumé bien sommaire des commandements et de l'ordre des sacrifices. La base idéale de cette nouvelle conception de la loi est fournie par Dt 6, où il est dit que l'amour de Yahvé et l'observance de ses lois — la crainte du dieu — sont inséparables; aimer Yahvé et suivre son chemin, c'est la même chose. Or, dans la situation d'après la guerre des Juifs lorsque le temple est détruit, le culte, supprimé, la seule force de cohésion c'est en effet la loi, ce que semblent indiquer telles manifestations religieuses de l'époque.⁴² D'après la nouvelle conception de loi du judaïsme c'est justement le respect de la loi qui peut être le moyen d'accomplissement des espérances eschatologiques des Juifs et c'est ce qu'entend viser le respect « officiel » de la loi. Le passage où le Ps.-Philon décrit la transmission des lois de Moïse exprime la même idée: « Et adiecit Dominus: Adhuc ostendi *vias paradysi*. . . » (XIII. 9).

Le « départ » même du motif de l'alliance témoigne dans le LAB, de la nouvelle conception de la relation acte — foi (observance de la loi — attente de l'avenir) et de la nouvelle interprétation — basée sur celle-ci — de l'alliance. La raison pour laquelle Yahvé élit pour peuple favori la tribu de Sem, c'est l'attachement d'Abraham à la loi. Dans l'esprit de la pensée biblique la mention de la loi à propos d'Abraham serait un anachronisme. Bien sûr, le Ps.-Philon, lui, parle aussi en d'autres termes, mais la piété d'Abraham n'en signifie pas moins l'observance du premier commandement de la loi de Moïse.

A la couple Yahvé — peuple élu, force motrice de l'histoire des douze tribus s'ajoute un troisième élément, complétant et réunissant les deux premiers: il s'agit du territoire à accorder à Israël qui figure dans l'alliance comme un élément de promesse. Chez le Ps.-Philon cet attachement territorial est beaucoup plus étroit qu'il ne l'est dans l'Ancien Testament. Le LAB ne rappelle que d'une façon vague les passages succédant à l'émigration d'Abraham (l'arrivée d'Abraham en Canaan, la séparation de Lot, la stérilité de Sara, tout cela n'est que vaguement abordé, le séjour en Égypte et l'histoire de Hagar étant entièrement absents — VIII. 1—3). Dans le passage en question l'importance de l'alliance est la seule à être soulignée par ceci qu'avant la conception et la naissance d'Isaac le texte en fait mention une nouvelle fois — l'idée obtenant par là une place de choix dans la suite des événements et la naissance d'Isaac devenant tout nettement le sceau de l'alliance. (VIII. 3). Ceci revient à dire que, par la concentration du texte le Ps.-Philon transmet l'accent sur le rapport réciproque entre la naissance d'Isaac et l'alliance, mettant ainsi en relief la famille d'Abraham et avançant, par la concentration le motif de la terre promise.

Pour ce qui est de l'histoire de Jacob l'auteur n'en entre non plus dans les détails — ayant du reste la tendance à remanier ou à omettre tout simple-

⁴² G. F. MOORE: 1950. 267—280.

ment les parties narratives. Or, l'omission de l'histoire de Jacob ne reste pas sans se faire sentir dans une partie postérieure du texte, et précisément dans la description de la lutte entre David et Goliath : parmi les noms écrits par David sur les lance-pierres se retrouvent en effet ceux d'Isaac et de Jacob (XI. 5). Les noms écrits sur les pierres sont les symboles de l'aide divine offerte par l'alliance — ce qui revient à dire que dans l'alliance Isaac et Jacob ont le même rôle préférentiel que p. ex. Abraham ; si leur histoire est quand même omise par l'auteur, c'est pour que l'unité notionnelle de peuple élu — terre promise soit par là assurée et que l'accent soit désormais mis uniquement sur l'ordre d'idées de l'observation de la loi — providence divine, soit l'espoir fondé sur l'avenir.

Quant à la période qui s'écoula depuis la naissance d'Isaac jusqu'à la captivité en Égypte le Ps.-Philon ne l'indique que sous forme de tableaux généalogiques et élargissant ceux d'Ésaü et des fils de Jacob en rattachant à l'histoire de Dina le récit du mariage de Dina avec Job (Gn 34) ; de cette façon la descendance de Jacob se voit enrichie des enfants de Dina (VIII. 7—8).⁴³

Le passage servant d'introduction à l'occupation de la terre promise et qui contient une description assez détaillée des événements s'étend de la période d'avant la naissance de Moïse jusqu'à Josué et à la construction du sanctuaire de Gilgal (IX. 1—XXI. 7). Le LAB fait précéder ce passage d'un détail intercalé et qui paraît très important du point de vue de l'alliance : il s'agit du discours que prononce Amram, père de Moïse, au moment où le pharaon prescrit le meurtre des enfants des Juifs (IX. 3—6). Amram se refuse à éluder le décret de cette façon que le lui conseillent les vieux (que chacun vive séparément de sa femme : ainsi il n'y aura pas d'enfants à tuer). Amram est le seul à avoir confiance en la providence divine : «Et respondit Amram et dixit : Celerius est ut in victoria minuatur seculum aut in immensurabile mundus indicat aut cor abissi astra contingat, quam genus filiorum Israel minuatur» (IX. 4). La foi d'Amram est elle-même fondée sur des analogies ; il rappelle le cas de Tamar qui se fit aider elle aussi par le dieu pour sauver sa famille (l'histoire de Tamar, elle, — Gn 38 — ne figure pas dans le LAB) : «Et salvavit eam consilium eius ab omni periculo. Nunc ergo et nos faciamus sic. Et erit cum completum fuerit tempus parturitionis, si potuerimus, non prociemus fructum ventris nostri. Et quis scit si pro hoc zelabitur Deus, *ut liberaret nos de humilia-tione nostra?*» (IX. 5—6). Dans le discours d'Amram on aperçoit la même conception téléologique que chez les insurgés de l'histoire de Babel (VI. 1) à cette différence près que, cette fois elle sert à exciter à accomplir l'avenir prédit dans la révélation divine. Amram mérite l'élection tout aussi bien qu'Abraham — encore que l'accomplissement n'en ait lieu que sous son fils Moïse.

⁴³ Le passage intercalé reflète une tendance d'hostilité envers les Samaritains, cf. A. SPIRG : PAAJR 20 (1951) 319.

L'accomplissement succédant à l'acte représente, dans la structure du LAB la première analogie avec l'histoire d'Abraham, avec l'exemple de celui-ci persistant dans sa foi et se trouvant sauvé. A leur tour l'histoire d'Abraham et celle d'Amram serviront, à l'intérieur du LAB de base pour toute une série d'événements analogiques afin d'exprimer la valeur et la force permanentes de l'alliance. Signalons que l'histoire d'Abraham et celle d'Amram illustrant dans le LAB le caractère de l'alliance — la force de l'alliance sauvant des mains de l'ennemi ceux qui persistent dans leur foi — ne figurent pas dans la Bible.

L'accomplissement a lieu par le moyen d'une forme intermédiaire — par une série d'épisodes : il s'agit du rêve de Miriam sur la naissance de Moïse et ses propriétés extraordinaires, ensuite de l'activité entière de Moïse, l'exode, la législation — le cours des accomplissements y étant interrompu par l'histoire du veau d'or. Chez le Ps.-Philon chacun des deux éléments — l'importance de la législation et l'idolâtrie — a une portée plus grande que dans l'Ancien Testament. Le récit de Sināi comporte dans le LAB plusieurs éléments nouveaux : les phénomènes naturels accompagnant la transmission de la loi, l'apocalypse de Moïse sur le mont, ensuite la splendeur du visage de Moïse rentré du mont et le changement de son extérieur (XI. 4, XII. 1) — soit la punition divine précédant le motif de l'écrasement du veau d'or et celui de l'ingurgitation de l'eau contenant ses morceaux : la disparition de l'écriture des tables de pierre (XII. 5). La punition divine, au lieu d'être un simple élément de supplément pose cette fois sur de nouvelles bases le contenu de l'alliance entre le dieu et son peuple élu. La disparition de l'écriture signifie la cessation de l'alliance et la révocation de la loi que Yahvé va lui-même renouveler sur les instances de Moïse (XII. 8). Le caractère du discours de Moïse diffère lui aussi et d'une façon remarquable de celui qui figure dans l'Ancien Testament : ici Moïse reconnaît le péché du peuple et en demande pardon ou plutôt il fait l'offre de l'expiation en personne pour obtenir ensuite la promesse concernant l'occupation de la terre de Canaan (Dt 32 : 31—35, 33 : 1—2) ; chez le Ps.-Philon cependant Moïse, dans la parabole sur le cep commence par parler de la providence divine pour en venir à l'autre aspect de l'alliance : Yahvé a lui-même besoin de ceux qui le glorifient aussi bien que le peuple a besoin de lui : «Tu es enim qui omne lumen es, et domum tuam ornasti lapidibus preciosis et auro et aromatibus... decorastis domum tuam, et in diversis escis, et suavitate diversi potus saturasti creaturam tuam. Si ergo misertus fueris vinee tue, omnia Domine in vano facta sunt, et non habebis qui te glorificaret. Nam etiam aliam vineam plantaveris, nec hec tibi credet, eo quod priorem dissipasti. Si enim relinques, relinqueris in seculum» (XII. 9). L'alliance de Yahvé conclue avec Moïse, casse donc chez le Ps.-Philon d'être basée sur la bienveillance de la puissance surnaturelle et sur la faiblesse humaine et a formellement *le caractère d'un traité*. L'idée du traité entre dieu et homme n'est pas un phénomène tout neuf à l'Orient antique : elle remonte en effet à la formule des traités poli-

tiques officiels. Dans la Bible l'alliance conclue avec Yahvé se règle aussi chaque fois sur cette formule : la conclusion effective de l'alliance est introduite par un prélude et un aperçu historique.⁴⁴ Dans le LAB l'idée du commencement de l'alliance implique d'elle-même le caractère de traité sans l'expliquer nettement : ce n'est que plus tard, à travers des cas analogues périodiquement répétés (l'acte de mériter l'alliance — signes — assistance) que devient manifeste l'idée de traité pour devenir en même temps le propre de la technique de composition de l'œuvre.

Le moment où Moïse «mérite» l'alliance (par la suite nous allons entendre par «mériter» l'accentuation de la force de l'analogie en tant qu'antécédent du renouvellement de l'alliance) est suivi par l'accomplissement, par la transmission de la loi. La répétition périodique de la suite *alliance* (aussi sous la forme de l'évocation de l'alliance, donc d'une série analogique) — *signes* — intercalation éventuelle des motifs du péché et de la punition — *accomplissement de la promesse*, divise en des périodes systématiquement revenant l'histoire des douze tribus.⁴⁵ Le texte du Pseudo-Philon ne s'éloigne nulle part outre mesure de celui de la Bible : il ne fait que réunir les récits bibliques ou les regrouper de façon que la tendance en question soit plus frappante (p. ex. la révolte de Korah se trouve chez lui étroitement liée aux événements accompagnant la transmission de la loi — XVI. 1).

Cette vision périodique de l'histoire — dont les bases sont bibliques, mais l'élaboration est toute spéciale et particulière au LAB — annonce la vision historique eschatologique dominant le temps de composition de l'œuvre, vision d'après laquelle c'est l'apogée du processus périodiquement répété de l'histoire que signifieraient la venue du Messie et l'avènement de la théocratie, soit le jugement dernier, suivi par le renouvellement du monde — c'est-à-dire par la répétition de la période passée, au fond statique, à un niveau plus haut.⁴⁶ Sous cet aspect c'est le Livre des Jubilés qui est le plus rapproché de la conception du LAB : dans ce livre-là l'auteur, en remaniant la matière de la Genèse recrée l'histoire par le moyen des périodes Yōbēl d'origine traditionnelle. (Entre les deux écrits il y a maintes autres coïncidences ; dont la forme de chronique

⁴⁴ J. BEGRICH : Berit. ZAW 60 (1944) 1—11 ; J. MULLENBERG : The Form and the Structure of the Covenant Formulation. VT 9 (1959) 347—365.

⁴⁵ La tendance de périodisation, commençant au 2^e siècle av. notre ère n'est pas sans laisser son empreinte sur presque toutes les œuvres pseudépigraphiques et apocryphes. L'histoire sera divisée en 12, 10 ou 7 périodes. Division en douze : 4^e Esdras 14 : 11 et suiv. ; Baruch, syriaque 53—72 ; l'apocalypse d'Abraham 29. Division en dix : Hénoch 93 : 1—10 ; 91 : 12—17 ; Oracula Sybillina 4 : 47 et suiv. ; 4^e Esdras 14 : 11. Division en sept : Hénoch (slave) : 33 : 1.

⁴⁶ 4^e Esdras 7 : 50 s'attend le tournant séparant les deux époques définies lors de la création du monde et qui va survenir dans un proche avenir ; d'après le Baruch syriaque 49 : 51 la nouvelle époque portera de la gloire. De la même façon Bab. Berakot 17a.

qui, dans les deux cas est élargie de tableaux généalogiques au début de chacune des œuvres.)⁴⁷

Le processus historique périodiquement répété dans la conception du Ps.-Philon, l'histoire des douze tribus est dirigée par l'omnipotence divine celle-ci aidant chaque fois les tribus d'Israël contre les ennemis. La conclusion de l'alliance avec Moïse signifie non seulement le renouvellement des alliances antérieures (XII. 8 — XIII. 10) mais aussi la garantie de l'élection pour les tribus. Selon les paroles de Yahvé : «*Sciens autem scio quoniam corrumpent vias suas et relinquam eos et obliviscetur testamenta que disposui patribus eorum, et ego tamen non in sempiternum obliviscar eos* (XIII. 10). Ce n'est pas d'une façon directe que la providence divine régit le cours de l'histoire des tribus — il y aura des péchés et des punitions — il n'en reste pas moins qu'il est dirigé par le secours divin systématiquement apparaissant.

L'histoire de Moïse et l'histoire nationale y succédant sont embrassées par les motifs relevant de cette vision, motifs qui leur assurent en même temps une isolation formelle du reste de la matière du LAB. La providence divine se réalise surtout dans les qualités charismatiques du chef du peuple. Cette nouvelle relation a ses nouvelles expressions symboliques : il s'agit de ces motifs qui dominent l'œuvre entière ou s'y répètent (généralement trois fois). Ayant, chacun le même sens ils symbolisent la force divine attribuée au chef, la force de l'alliance — voilà pourquoi il se trouve que, au cours de l'histoire ils se substituent l'un l'autre ou qu'ils s'assimilent l'un à l'autre alors que, à l'intérieur de chacun des passages du texte, l'auteur emploie, pour la plupart du temps les mêmes motifs.

Un motif qui reste dominant tout le long du texte, c'est le sceptre de l'alliance. Son acte de donation étant passé sous silence il figure la première fois lors du passage de la mer Rouge. (X. 5). Ici le sceptre — pareillement en ceci à la conception de la Bible (Gn 14 : 16) — symbolise la puissance miraculeuse, d'origine divine de Moïse : c'est grâce au sceptre que celui-ci réussit à fendre en deux les eaux de la mer. Le sceptre de Moïse, en tant que symbole constant de l'alliance est attesté une deuxième fois dans l'histoire de Sinaï du LAB : «*Et nunc virga tua in qua facta sunt signa, erit in testimonium inter me et populum meum, et erit cum peccaverint irascar eis, et memorabor virge mee, et parcam eis iuxta misericordiam meam. Et erit virga tua in conspectu meo in commemorationem omnium diebus, et similabitur arcui in quo disposui testamentum ad Noe cum exiret de arca*» (XIX. 11).

La force divine symbolisant la maîtrise sur le peuple continue à se transmettre par la personne de Moïse. Après la mort de celui-ci Josué sera élu chef

⁴⁷ M. R. JAMES veut que l'auteur du LAB ait connu le Livre des Jubilés, les tableaux généalogiques de celui-là étant, par leurs structures étroitement attachés à ceux du Livre des Jubilés. Les données fictives de ce dernier s'y trouvent complétées d'autres données du même type.

(XX. 1). A la différence de la Bible le Ps.-Philon n'en ajoute pas moins à l'installation de Josué le motif de l'obtention de la force et sans mentionner, il est vrai, le sceptre, il y parle quand même de l'héritage de Moïse, du pouvoir divin assuré par le sceptre : « . . . et dixit Deus ad Ihesum : Ut quid luges et ut quid speras in vanum, quod Moyses adhuc vivat? Et ideo superflue sustines, quoniam defunctus est Moyses. Sed *accipe vestimenta sapientie istius et indue te et zona scientie eius precinge lumbos tuos, et inmutaberis et eris in virum alium* Nonne pro te locutum sum servo meo Moysi dicens : Iste ducabit populum post te. In manum eius tradam reges Amorreorum » (XX. 2). Les symboles de l'héritage de Moïse transmis à Josué, les «*vestimenta sapientiae*» et la «*zona scientiae*» sont, dans la conception religieuse contemporaine des Juifs, ceux du savoir, non pas du savoir abstrait, mais bien de la morale pratique, de la connaissance des voies, des choses de monde, de la distinction du vrai d'avec le faux — bref, de l'emploi pratique de la loi que le texte exprime d'une façon qui est celle du symbolisme essénien.⁴⁸ Aussi le terme de «*vestimenta sapientiae*» est-il parfaitement compatible avec les qualités du chef du peuple, qualités qui, dans la pensée du Ps.-Philon relèvent sans cela de la direction spirituelle, de la direction de l'observance de la loi.⁴⁹

La force divine accordée aux fins de la direction et semblable à celle des prophètes apparaît une nouvelle fois à propos de la personne de Kenaz (en latin : Cenaz) (XXV. 2—XXVIII. 10). Sa présence dans le texte paraît en elle-même assez étrange : la Bible n'en fait qu'une vague mention, en connexion de son fils (Jg 1 : 13), or, dans le LAB il a un rôle de poids. Le récit sur Kenaz figure chez le Ps.-Philon dans la tradition du Livre des Juges, après le récit sur la mort de Josué. L'auteur du LAB fait figurer la personne de Kenaz, un chef nouveau, le successeur du chef défunt, qui a les qualités et la popularité de Josué.⁵⁰ Voilà pourquoi élargit-il l'histoire de Kenaz par des épisodes légendaires, dont le motif de la force divine : avant d'entrer en lutte contre les Canaanites Kenaz se trouve possédé par une force divine : «*Et factum est ut audivit Cenaz verba eorum indutus est spiritus virtutis et transmutatus est in virum alium, descendit in castra Amorreorum et cepit percutare eos*» (XXVII. 10).

Un autre exemple de la force divine attribuée au chef du peuple est fourni par l'histoire de Gédéon qui représente, elle, une dernière étape de la transformation successive du motif. Gédéon est, lui aussi, élu : «*Et nunc veni, mittam te et liberabis Israel de manu Madianitum . . . Nunc ergo vade, et cinge lumbos tuos, et Dominus erit tecum*» (XXXV. 4—5). C'est seulement sur sa propre de-

⁴⁸ D'après Ps. Sal. 22 le Messie de David arrivera «*cerclé de force*».

⁴⁹ La Mishna, elle, divise en deux le motif figurant avec deux sens chez le Ps.-Philon ; Josué dut son savoir au sceptre de Moïse dont il était en possession ; Jer. Nedarim 9, 91b.

⁵⁰ La matière du Livre des Juges ne concordant pas, pour la plupart, avec la conception postérieure, il resta sans être propagé, cf. A. SPIRO : PAAJR 20 (1951) 298.

mande que Gédéon obtient les signes de son élection : «*Ecce Moyses primus omnium prophetarum peccit a Domino signum, et datum est ei. Ego autem quis sum, nisi forte se elegit me Dominus, det mihi signum, ut sciam, quoniam dirigor*» (XXXV. 6).

Pour ce qui est de Jephthé c'est le peuple même qui est donateur du pouvoir de chef que celui-ci se refuse d'abord à accepter : «*Et factum est dum expugnaretur Israel, venerunt in terram Tobi ad Ieptan, et dixerunt ad eum : Veni principare populo*» (XXXIX. 3). Que Jephthé se charge d'être le chef de l'armée dirigée contre les Ammonites, cela est dû uniquement à la demande du peuple lui-même ayant peur de la colère de Yahvé à cause des péchés du peuple. Le peuple rappelle à Jephthé la vocation d'Israël — ce qui ne l'empêche pas d'insister, dans son argumentation, au mépris de l'importance de la personne du chef sur la force de l'observance de la loi, force qui assure la plus grande puissance : «*Nunc ergo ponite cor vestrum in lege Domini Dei vestri, et deprecemur unanimes et sic pugnabimus adversus inimicos nostros, confidentes et sperantes in Domino, quoniam non tradet nos usque in finem*» (XXXIX. 6).

Dans la suite, la force divine du chef n'apparaît que périodiquement dans les récits sur les juges : «*Et penituit Deus ire sue, et confortavit spiritum Iepte*» (XXXIX. 8). Sur la personne d'Adda, ce juge succédant à Jephthé, le Ps.-Philon ne fait aucune observation et, quant à la légende de naissance de Samson il se contente de remarquer à propos de sa personne : «*Et erat Dominus cum eo*» (XLIII. 1).

L'apparition du secours divin à travers la personne du chef va donc en se supprimant alors que les péchés se propagent; les juges commettent eux-mêmes des fautes contre l'alliance, tel Jephthé dont le péché — le vœu audacieux et le sacrifice de sa propre fille — se trouve, chez le Ps.-Philon particulièrement mis en relief et condamné (XXXIX. 11).

Au cours de la période allant jusqu'à David Israël est sans chef : «*Et in diebus illis non erat dux in Israel, sed faciebant unusquisque que placita erant ante conspectum eorum*» (XLIV. 1). L'exigence d'avoir un chef n'en reste pas moins vive et pourra même à prélude, d'une façon efficace à l'histoire de David, à la confrontation de David avec la royauté de Saül : «*Et in tempore illo ceperunt filii Israel requirere a Domino, et dixerunt : Sorciamur omnes nos et videmus quis sit qui possit principari nobis sicut Cenez*» (XLIX. 1).

Après la mort de Samuel c'est David qui sera élu chef : en connexion avec l'apparition de sa personne réapparaissent dans l'œuvre les signes miraculeux particuliers au chef politique du peuple mais, cette fois sous la forme d'un motif nouveau qui, jusque-là servit à exprimer le secours divin direct. Avant d'entrer en lutte avec Goliath David, par le moyen des noms écrits sur les lance-pierres demande secours à Yahvé tout en lui rappelant la force de l'alliance (LXI. 5). Au cours du combat il sera aidé par un ange, force divine personnifiée : «*Angelus autem erexit faciem David, et nemo agnoscebat eum. Et*

videns Saul David, interrogavit eum quid esset, et non erat qui cognosceret eum» (LXI. 1). Le fait que la figure de David devient indiscernable des mortels est cependant un analogue de l'épisode sinaïtique de la transmission de la loi : ici c'est le visage de Moïse qui, après l'acceptation des tables reçut une splendeur d'origine divine telle que le peuple lui-même ne pût plus le reconnaître (XXV. 1 et Ex. 34 : 29—35).⁵¹

Auprès des principaux symboles de la force divine du chef et qui sont attestés tout le long de l'œuvre apparaissent d'autres motifs, un peu moins marqués, avec des sens éventuellement différents et qui, au lieu de dominer l'œuvre entière n'y sont présents qu'en un nombre défini (généralement trois fois); indiquons, en outre ces parties qui sont la répétition ou la paraphrase de tels passages antérieurs (des discours par exemple) et ont pour fonction de souligner la force de l'analogie.

Cependant la royauté de Saül qui précéda celle de David apparaît, dans le LAB, sous un aspect tout autre. Ce portrait de Saül diffère essentiellement non seulement de l'idéal du chef dessiné dans le LAB, mais aussi de celui de la Bible. D'après le Ps.-Philon la période précédant la royauté de David signifierait l'échec de l'alliance dû aux péchés du peuple. (Pour faire décor à la situation extraordinaire voilà la description du double châtiment pour l'idolâtrie de Mika soit pour le meurtre de la concubine du lévite — XLVII. 7—12). En même temps le peuple commence à sentir le besoin du retour du secours divin en la personne du chef. Or, l'élection d'un nouveau chef, le peuple ne l'a pas encore méritée : c'est ce qui signalent l'insuccès du tirage au sort, et aussi ce fait que le choix se portant sur Elqana (dans la texte latin : Helcana) celui-ci, tout en connaissant les intentions de Yahvé se refuse à être le chef, justement à cause des péchés du peuple : «Ego non possum dux esse super populum istum, nec estimare quis possit esse vobis in ducem. Sed si peccata mea comprehenderunt me ut supervolaret me sors, ego me interficiam, ut non me contaminetis. Iustum est enim me pro peccatis meis tantummodo mori, magis quam sustinere pondus populi» (XLIX. 5). Samuel, fils d'Elqana — dont la naissance est antérieurement révélée par Yahvé — est le seul à avoir le privilège de sacrer le futur roi. Après la description de l'enfance de Samuel, de la lutte contre les Philistins, de la mort des fils d'Éli et de la victoire décisive le problème de la royauté se trouve de nouveau au premier plan : «Et in illo tempore concupierunt filii Israel petentes regem, et congregati sunt ad Saulem et dixerunt : Ecce nunc tu senuisti, et filii tui non ambulat in viis tuis. Et nunc constitue super nos regem, qui nos diiudicet, quoniam completum est verbum quod dixit Moyses patribus nostris in heremo dicens : Constituendo constitue de fratribus tuis super te principem» (LVI. 1).

⁵¹ Pour les parallèles v. H. STRACK—P. BILLERBECK : *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*. IV. 2. München 1922. 298.

Mais, à l'intérieur de l'histoire de la royauté le Ps.-Philon fait opposer d'une façon marquée le règne de David à celui de Saül. Le portrait négatif que donne le Ps.-Philon du règne de Saül, est loin d'être une sorte de propagande contre la royauté; il sert plutôt à mettre en relief l'élection de David. D'après les paroles de Samuel: «*Ecce nunc video, quoniam non est adhuc tempus regnandi nobis in sempiterno et edificare domum Domini Dei, petentibus regem ante tempus*» (LVI. 2). La fin tragique du règne de Saul est préalablement déterminée par Yahvé: «*Mittam enim eis regem qui eos exterminet, et ipse postea exterminabitur*» (LVI. 3). Après quoi Samuel lui-même se désolidarise d'avec le nouveau roi.

Quant à la figure de Saül le Ps.-Philon y apporte des modifications considérables par rapport du texte de la Bible. En rapportant sa naissance il omet tous les passages qui rappellent l'origine benjamite de Saül pour lui improviser l'origine éphraïmite: «... Saul filius Cis veniebat de monte Effraim...» (LVI. 4). Du point de vue de la conception historique du LAB cette indication de l'origine de Saül a en elle-même une grande importance. C'est qu'en la figure de Saül le Ps.-Philon nous dépeint le Messie ben Éphraïm dont la venue est, dans les idées messianistiques des Juifs antérieure à celle du Messie davidique.⁵² Par sa personne, se voit justifiée cette conception toute reçue dans les idées d'histoire eschatologiques d'après laquelle le temps de la rédemption sera précédé d'une période pire que toute autre et la dernière étape de celle-ci sera marquée des pertes et des guerres.⁵³ L'existence de cette conception chez le Ps.-Philon est bien mise en vue par un passage antérieur, lorsque Moïse aperçoit son peuple en train d'adorer le veau d'or: «*aperte sunt manus eius, et factus est similis mulieri parturiendi in primitivis suis, que cum teneatur in doloribus et manus eius super pectus illius, et virtus non erit que adiuvet partus eius*» (XII. 5). Dans la littérature de l'époque les «maux d'enfant du Messie» signifient, selon la conception eschatologique de l'histoire ce soudain redressement succédant à la dernière période la plus grave ainsi que la voie qui conduit à la rédemption.⁵⁴

Le Ps.-Philon présente la royauté de Saül comme coupable et en agrandit même les péchés; par exemple lorsque, au cours du combat contre les Philistins l'arche tombe dans les mains de ceux-ci Saül, lui prend la fuite (LIV. 4), cependant, à la différence du premier livre de Samuel (p. ex. 1 S 15: 11)

⁵² C. C. TORREY: The Messiah Son of Ephraim. JBL 66 (1947) 253—277; J. LIVER: The Doctrine of the Two Messiahs in the Sectarian Literature in the Time of the Second Commonwealth. HTR 52 (1959) 149—185; A. SPIRO: Pseudo-Philo's Saul and Rabbis' Messiah ben Ephraim. PAAJR 21 (1952) 136.

⁵³ Hénoch 99: 4; Jub. 23: 22; 4^e Esdras 4: 51—5: 13; 6: 18; 8: 63—9: 6; Baruch 25: 1—29.

⁵⁴ I. HAHN: Flavius Josephus és a Bellum Judaicum eschatológiai háttere. (Josephus Flavius et l'arrière-plan eschatologique du Bellum Judaicum.) Ant. Tan. 8 (1961) 199.

il ne le blâme jamais pour ses péchés. Aux yeux de l'auteur du LAB l'état de culpabilité de Saül est tout naturel ; c'est en effet la force divine qui lui impose ce rôle. Aussi sa figure n'est-elle pas conforme à celle que doit avoir le chef, suivant la conception du LAB. A vrai dire, il n'est même pas roi oint (c'est que le texte ne fait mention nulle part de ce que Samuel l'aurait oint roi — cf. 1 Sam. 10 : 1 — pour David, il le fait bien : LIX. 2). Saul n'ignore pas que, le «spiritus sanctus» l'ayant quitté, il n'est plus souverain (LX. 1). Après la conversation qu'il poursuit avec la sorcière d'Endor c'est encore lui-même qui, la femme n'ayant pas reconnu, constate ceci : «*Ecce nunc scio quoniam species mea mutata est et gloria regni mei transivit a me*» (XLIV. 4). La destinée de Saul sera bientôt accomplie à cause du péché commis contre Agag (LVIII. 2—3 LXV. 4).

Cependant les signes représentatifs de la personne de David, leur confrontation avec ceux de la personne de Saül durant le règne de celui-ci, donnent à se faire des idées sur le caractère de la royauté de David conçu par le Ps.-Philon, et ceci malgré que, le texte étant fragmentaire, la description des événements de la royauté de David elle-même en est absente. David est un véritable élu de Yahvé. C'est ce qui ressort des paroles de Samuel adressées à David lors de leur première rencontre : «*Ecce nunc sanctus christus Domini*» (LIX. 2). L'onction de David a lieu sous l'effet d'un ordre divin : «*Et dixit Dominus ad Samuel : Vade ungue quem tibi dixero, quoniam completum est tempus in quo adveniret regnum eius*» (LIX. 1).

C'est dans les deux psaumes chantés par David que l'opposition du «Messie ben Éphraïm» au «Messie ben David» apparaît la plus marquée (LIX. 4, LX 2—3).⁵⁵ C'est en pleine conscience de son état d'élu et avant d'entrer en lutte avec Goliath que David chante les psaumes. Dans chacun d'eux il met en parallèle, par le moyen des récits de la Genèse la personne de Saül avec la sienne. Dans le premier, en évoquant l'histoire de Caïn et Abel il fait le récit de la haine de ses frères et celui de sa propre élection : «... custodivit me Deus et... angelis suis tradet me et custodibus suis ut me custodiant...» (LIX. 4). Dans le second il est déjà question de la primauté de David sur Saül et de la victoire qu'il va remporter sur celui-ci, tout cela à partir de l'histoire de la création où — comme le veut le psaume⁹ l'âme de Saul figure parmi les choses créées du chaos. Quant à sa propre personne David la présente comme la perfection l'emportant sur le chaos (ce dernier ayant cette fois le sens de «force finie, désordre»), comme une force supérieure :⁵⁶ «*Aut in memor es quoniam de resultatione in chaomato natus est vestra creatura. Arguet autem te metra nova unde natus*

⁵⁵ R. BULTMANN 1960. 96.

⁵⁶ Ps. Sal. 17 : 37 affirme que le Messie l'emporte sur ses adversaires ; en Test. Lévi 18, Test. Zebulon 9 il triomphe sur Beliar ; Ass. Mosis attend la victoire de l'armée céleste. — Sur le caractère dualiste essénien de l'hymne v. M. PHILOLENKO : Origine essénienne des psaumes de David. *Semitica* 9 (1959) 35—38.

sum, de qua *nascetur post tempus de lateribus meis qui vos dominabit*» (LX. 3).⁵⁷

La personne de David est entourée de signes miraculeux : dans sa lutte contre Goliath c'est — conformément à la prophétie qu'il a donnée dans son hymne — en effet un ange qui le fait triompher (LXI. 2). C'est David qui reçoit l'attribut «christus» (en hébreu מָשִׁיחַ — LIX. 2) attesté une seule fois dans le texte du LAB. Cependant, d'après la conception du LAB le Messie rédempteur figurant dans l'histoire des douze tribus n'est pas David lui-même : ses calculs eschatologiques, le Ps.-Philon les fait aboutir à sa propre époque, à une date proche de la naissance de l'œuvre.⁵⁸ La confrontation de la royauté de David avec celle de Saül n'est qu'une illustration de ceci que la force divine favorable aux élus triomphe de ceux qui s'opposent à elle — une illustration des espérances de sa propre époque.

L'auteur du LAB croit savoir que «la fin des temps» arrivera dans des cadres apocalyptiques ; c'est ce qui ressort des passages apocalyptiques qui reparaissent dans l'œuvre entière. On y trouve le schéma des apocalypses juives, la marche de ces éléments pour ainsi dire réunissant le processus des événements rapportés par la narration historique. Une partie des descriptions apocalyptiques n'est qu'une addition gratuite au texte de la Bible,⁵⁹ une autre partie en sert de supplément, d'élargissement de la description de tel signe ou de tel phénomène surnaturels, par des éléments apocalyptiques (p. ex. lors du passage de la mer Rouge — X. 5 ou lors de la révélation de la Tora — XI. 4—5). Dans l'adaptation du LAB deviennent apocalyptiques ces parties qui suivent fidèlement les passages bibliques comportant des éléments miraculeux — dans ces cas-là l'importance des éléments se voit-elle augmentée par leur mise en relief, leur intégration à un texte raccourci. Deux fragments majeurs de l'apocalypse sont fournis par la vision impliquée dans le récit de Moïse : la présentation, par le moyen des éléments cosmiques, de la terre promise à Moïse, et le mouvement cosmique lors de l'épisode de combat renfermé dans l'histoire de Débora (XIX. 10—16 soit XXXI. 1).

L'eschatologie apocalyptique et l'historiographie nationale se trouvent, chez le Ps.-Philon, dans un rapport spécial : alors que, dans les apocalypses

⁵⁷ La période initiale de l'eschatologie juive est marquée de tendance nationaliste et de l'espérance en la royauté davidienne, celle-ci consistant à attendre le rétablissement de la royauté davidique sous la conduite d'un roi provenant de la maison de David. Ce messie serait, d'après Ps. Sal. 17 une figure humaine qui va occuper le trône de Jérusalem, les Juifs de la Dispersion, eux, vont retourner et la domination universelle de l'Israël se verra par là réalisée.

⁵⁸ Sur le terme final des calculs eschatologiques du LAB et sur le rapport entre les calculs de celui-ci avec ceux de l'apocalypse syriaque de Baruch v. L. GRV : RB (1939) 337—356.

⁵⁹ Les livres additions des éléments apocalyptiques du LAB ont beaucoup de ressemblances avec l'apocalypse de 4^e Esdras 5 : 4—12 ; les parallèles de l'arbre sanglant, due feu jaillissant de la terre, des pierres criantes, des fleuves de sang, du soleil brillant pendant la nuit sont, chez le Ps.-Philon, les suivants : feu, délivrance du feu, destruction de l'ennemi par tremblement de terre, le soleil qui, à l'effet des sorcelleries d'Aod brille pendant la nuit, prodige (eau) offert à Gédéon lequel se transforme en sang et feu.

«régulières» la conception de l'eschatologie cosmique d'origine étrangère se mêle avec les espérances nationales juives, avec les prophéties annonçant d'une part les espérances glorieuses d'Israël, son futur magnifique, d'autre part la perte des puissances adversaires,⁶⁰ chez le Pseudo-Philon le rapport des éléments constitutifs est juste le contraire : ici c'est dans l'historiographie nationale que se mêlent des éléments cosmiques eschatologiques et apocalyptiques.

La structure et la conception analysées ci-dessus nous amènent à supposer que le texte primitif du LAB s'est tout probablement terminé par un jugement de Dieu ayant lieu dans des cadres apocalyptiques et par la description de la théocratie de l'éon suivant. Dans la théocratie du nouvel éon — comme donne y conclure, à l'intérieur de l'œuvre, la conception du rapport peuple — Dieu — les descendants des douze tribus ont un rôle privilégié : «Dabo lumen mundo, et illuminabo habitabilia, et disponam testamentum cum filiis hominum et glorificabo populum meum super omnes gentes; in quo disposui excelsa sempiterna, que ei erunt in lumine, impiis vero in punitiorem» (XI. 1).

3. *Sphère humaine et sphère divine*

La représentation du processus historique n'est qu'un des aspects de la vision du monde du LAB. Un autre élément constitutif en est la conception du rapport entre individu et dieu, individu et univers, donc un élément statique par rapport au dynamisme du processus historique.

HOMME ET DIEU

Pareillement aux tendances spiritualisantes des prophètes le LAB transforme certaines conceptions bibliques pour les rendre plus abstraites. Son image de dieu est exempte de tout trait anthropomorphe. Yahvé n'y est plus comme un dieu de tribu plus puissant que celui de tout autre peuple, mais bien le dieu tout-puissant, qui, à cause de sa persistance dans sa foi a élu Abraham pour conclure l'alliance avec lui. Dieu éternellement subsistant et qui sait tout, qui connaît l'intention des générations futures avant même que celles-ci ne soient nées : «... tu scis sensum omnium generationum antequam nascantur» (XXI. 2).

Par sa loi il dirige l'univers, l'histoire des douze tribus. Ce sens abstrait de la loi apparaît dans l'œuvre par des symboles qui rappellent le symbolisme essénien des rouleaux de Qumran :⁶¹ «et nunc si ambulaverimus in viis eius erimus filii sui...» (XVI. 5).

⁶⁰ Telles les visions de 4, Esdras ou bien la série de vaticinia ex eventu de l'Oracula Sibyllina.

⁶¹ Les œuvres littéraires voisines du LAB témoignent, elles aussi, d'une influence essénienne (le Livre des Jubilés, Hénoch, le Testament des douze patriarches), v. A. DUPONT-SOMMER : Les écrits esséniens découverts près de la Mer Morte. Paris 1959. 308.

L'omnipotence divine dirige cependant les actes des hommes non seulement sur la voie de la loi antérieurement prescrite, mais assez souvent par une intervention directe. En apprenant la promesse de Jephthé Yahvé se met en colère et décide lui-même que Jephthé aille rencontrer le premier sa propre fille pour sacrifier justement celle-ci, la plus chère (XXXIX. 11).

C'est encore d'une façon directe que Yahvé dirige les douze tribus d'Israël, lorsqu'il leur conseille d'attaquer la tribu coupable de Benjamin pour que celle-ci expie par la lutte le meurtre de la concubine du lévite : «Ascendite, quoniam tradam eos in manus vestras. Ipse autem seduxit eos ut compleret verba sua» (XLVI. 1).

Kenaz ayant achevé le combat contre les Amorites n'arrive pas à se débarrasser de son épée miraculeuse dont il eut tué tant d'ennemis. L'Amorite capturé par Kenaz lui conseille de se laver les mains du sang d'un Hébreu. Or, d'après le Pseudo-Philon l'ennemi donne ce conseil méchant pour se déceler et pour faire par cela triompher le peuple élu de Yahvé (XXVII. 11).

La plus belle et la plus complète illustration de la force de l'omnipotence divine qui dirige les actes humains est fournie par un épisode à part, l'histoire de Balaam (XVIII. 1—14). G. Vermes en ayant fait l'analyse⁶² a démontré que cette conception de la figure de Balaam remonte sur Num. 31. En conséquence Balaam apparaît chez le Ps.-Philon non comme un homme méchant, mais comme un héros tragique. Cette conception de la figure de Balaam est-elle tout isolée — les autres commentateurs considérant Balaam, tous, d'après la tradition de Num. 22—24 comme un coupable par excellence qui personnifie l'avidité, l'orgueil et qui, ayant corrompu son peuple est en plus le moyen de la chute d'Israël. C'est par avidité qu'il eut accepté l'appel de Balak, c'est par fanatisme qu'il n'eut point observé l'avertissement divin, et lorsque Yahvé le contraignit à bénir Israël, il donne tout de suite un conseil méchant à Balak en se révoltant par cela contre l'ordre divin.⁶³

Le Balaam du Ps.-Philon est en revanche un héros tragique qui ne haït point Israël. Il assume son rôle non par avidité, mais par ceci que, accomplir la volonté de Jahve, c'est là son unique ambition. Il n'ignore par que les Juifs sont peuple élu, lui-même adore leur dieu. Son activité entière est déterminée par une première erreur : il demande la permission de se mettre en route avec Balak tout en sachant que Israël, en tant que peuple élu, ne peut être blessé. Si pour la seconde fois il va chez les Moabites, c'est qu'ayant pris pitié de Balak il veut offrir un sacrifice pour lui. Yahvé, tout en le lui permettant le prévient que sa mission fera du mal à chacun d'eux (XVIII. 8). C'est pour cela qu'il lui enlève le talent de prophète. Désormais Balaam accepte son sort consciemment et se soumet à la destinée ordonnée par Yahvé. Aussi, le dernier conseil

⁶² G. VERMES 1961. 140.

⁶³ G. VERMES 1961. 174.

qu'il donne à Balak n'est pas, d'après le Ps.-Philon un fruit de sa méchanceté, plutôt le moyen de son suicide physique.⁶⁴

Cette conception de la figure de Balaam est basée, d'après G. Vermes non pas sur l'ignorance de la tradition paléstinienne, mais plutôt sur le refus conscient de celle-ci⁶⁵ (il ressort d'autres passages également que l'auteur du LAB a très bien connu la tradition des livres bibliques et que tout ce qu'il en inséra dans son œuvre, fut filtré d'une façon consciente et conforme à ses propres idées.) Au lieu de la rédaction rabbinique de la Tora et la tradition rabbinique se modelant sur celle-là le Ps.-Philon a ici recours à une tradition d'origine différente. Dans son œuvre la figure de Balaam est destinée à illustrer la conception entière du LAB, suivant laquelle l'activité et la puissance du dieu d'Israël orientant les événements du monde n'en agit pas moins sur les actes de l'ennemi et fait ainsi triompher son peuple élu.

Une preuve de la puissance directrice immédiate de Yahvé c'est retardement des punitions. Chaque crime commis doit être puni, mais pour la plupart du temps la peine n'accable le coupable qu'ultérieurement: «non pro hoc peccato quod nunc locuti sumus moriemur, sed in illo priori de quo comprehensi confessi sunt viri, qui arserunt in peccatis suis.» (XXVII. 15). L'infécondité de la femme de Manoah est due à des péchés antérieurement commis. (XLII. 2). Abraham admet la menace de la peine de mort pour une punition de ses péchés antérieurs commis malgré soi (VI. 11). C'est pour des péchés anciens que Kenaz se fait tuer au cours du combat (XVII. 7), et la mort de la concubine du lévite s'explique de la même façon (XIV. 3). Elqana, le père de Samuel qui craint dieu et qui est le seul du peuple à comprendre la volonté divine hésite à accepter le pouvoir suprême offert par le peuple parce qu'il n'ignore pas que ceci contreviendrait à la volonté de Yahvé. Il pense qu'un éventuel accès au pouvoir passerait pour une punition de ses anciens péchés: «Sed si peccata mea comprehenderunt me ut supervolaret super me sors, ego me interficiam, ut non me contaminetis. Iustum est enim me pro peccatis meis tantummodo mori, magis quam sustinere pondus populi» (XLIX. 5).

Nous avons pu constater non seulement dans la manière de penser d'Elqana mais aussi à propos d'autres châtiments que les anciens péchés s'expient pour la plupart par la mort. Pour avoir fait l'idolâtrie Mika et sa mère vont mourir dans les tourments; ici encore la punition a bien l'air d'un jugement (XLIV. 10) et en plus le texte insiste sur la généralité de la punition: «Et sic non hoc solummodo Miche faciam, sed omnibus qui peccant in me» (XLIV. 10).

⁶⁴ Le dualisme du Test. Aser I montre de la similitude avec la conception du Pseudo-Philon; il y est question des deux voies ordonnées à l'homme; de celui qui suit le mal, chaque acte tourne en mal alors qu'il veut faire du bien, cf. I QS, IV. 15-19.

⁶⁵ G. VERMES 1961. 175.

Les punitions retardées témoignent d'une part du changement de la conception du péché. Le LAB pose la question de la punition non à partir de la responsabilité morale, mais bien d'un point de vue déterministe : l'expiation du coupable est inévitable en ce qu'elle dépend de la volonté du dieu tout-puissant et non de l'acte du coupable. C'est ce qui est souligné aussi dans les passages où il s'agit de la punition d'après la mort : Gédéon, de son vivant n'est pas puni pour avoir fait le culte des idôles : «Una via posita est ut non redarguam Gedeonem in vita sua, eo quod dissipaverit sacrarium Baal, quia dixerunt tunc omnes: Vindicet se Baal» (XXXVI. 4). Gédéon va donc mourir dans sa vieillesse, mais après sa mort, comme dit Yahvé : «... castigabo eum semel» (XXXVI. 4). La spécialité de la punition consiste non seulement dans ceci que le Ps.-Philon trace une ligne de démarcation entre la manière païenne de la punition et celle signalée dans le LAB, mais aussi qu'il place la punition dans un temps irréel, après la mort. Cette conception, celle de la punition après la mort est à démontrer aussi à partir de certains passages du LAB : «Quando senuerimus, tunc penitebimur» (LII. 4), — disent les fils d'Éli. L'affirmation vaut tout probablement pour la punition après la mort.

Les œuvres pseudépigraïques rapprochées du LAB et qui sont les produits de la même école représentent des idées toutes pareilles. Dans le 4^e livre d'Esdras apparaît une dualité toute pareille à celle du LAB, à propos de l'expiation et de l'élection individuelles. Chacun doit expier ses propres péchés, mais dans l'éon prochain les tribus d'Israël, finissent, par l'intervention du Messie par être sauvées.⁶⁶ Dans le livre syriaque de Baruch le péché n'est pas non plus suivi de l'expiation — fait qui permet que les peuples païens qui, au commencement eurent une sort favorable ne soient punis qu'ultérieurement et la situation de ceux qui sont punis dans le présent sera meilleure dans l'éon qui arrivera très prochainement.⁶⁷

Le problème de la punition après la mort soulève celui de la foi dans l'autre monde laquelle n'est peut-être pas absente du LAB. Au sujet de cette question la conception du LAB n'est pas complètement développée. Le Ps.-Philon, lui est sûr de l'être après la mort et de la résurrection, le temps de cette dernière se rattachant à l'accomplissement des calculs eschatologiques ; lorsque les années du monde seront consommées, Yahvé, lui va faire naître un tremblement de terre pour ressusciter ceux qui dorment. Shéol et Abaddon (deux noms de l'enfer dans la croyance de l'autre monde du judaïsme) payeront leurs dettes⁶⁸ et jugeront chaque hommes selon leurs actes. Le jugement sera suivi de la recréation de la terre celle-ci servant désormais de demeure éternelle pour les justes.⁶⁹ (III. 10).

⁶⁶ Cf. Esdras IV. 7 : 50.

⁶⁷ Cf. l'apocalypse syriaque de Baruch, 13 — 20.

⁶⁸ De la même façon 4^e Esdras 7 : 32, 4 : 42 ; Hénoch 56 : 8 ; apocalypse syriaque de Baruch 21 : 23.

⁶⁹ 4^e Esdras 7 : 50 ; apocalypse syriaque de Baruch 49 : 51.

Les âmes attendent l'arrivée du temps du jugement en leur demeure d'après la mort ;⁷⁰ c'est ce qui ressort du passage selon lequel Moïse ne peut entrer sur la terre promise « à cette époque-là », mais il dormira avec les patriarches et restera ici bas jusqu'à ce que Yahvé ne visite la terre pour les ressusciter — c'est à ce moment-là qu'ils regagneront leur demeure éternelle (XIX. 7). Malgré que le jugement n'aura lieu qu'avec « la consommation des temps » l'auteur du LAB fait quand même distinction entre la demeure après la mort, des justes et celle des coupables ; distinction qui ressort le plus nettement de cette remarque que la récompense des justes c'est la vie éternelle, leurs âmes se reposant en paix, jusqu'à ce que les temps du monde ne soient consommés (XXIII. 13). Les âmes des patriarches se reposent elles aussi jusqu'à ce moment-là isolées (XXI. 9, XXIV. 6., XXXII. 13).⁷¹ Pour ce qui est cependant des âmes des païens et des coupables, c'est la punition ou du moins une demeure pareille à l'enfer qui les attend juste après leur mort. Sisera, une fois mort parviendra à l'enfer (XXXI. 7), Korah et ses compagnons révoltés attendront le jugement sur le lieu des ténèbres et de la désolation (XVI. 3). Les coupables — à l'opposé des justes — seront jetés par Yahvé aux ténèbres (LI. 5).⁷²

Toutefois, les idées sur la distinction des coupables et des justes d'après la mort ne sont pas éloignées de la conception biblique de l'au-delà, c'est-à-dire de l'idée de l'être sans temps ni pensée après la mort. Après la mort il n'y a pas grâce immédiate, les patriarches, après être morts, ne peuvent eux non plus intervenir dans l'intérêt d'Israël (XXXIII. 2—5). Débora du LAB raisonne de la même façon lorsqu'on la prie d'intervenir à cause des péchés du peuple (XXXIII. 5).⁷³

Le rôle d'intermédiaire entre la sphère des hommes et celle du dieu est rempli par les anges qui tous figurent chaque fois comme personnificateurs de la volonté divine. C'est ce que semble suggérer le fait que, d'après la conception du LAB les anges n'interviendront pas dans l'intérêt du peuple dans le cas où celui-ci commettra des péchés (XV. 5). Les anges du Ps.-Philon s'avèrent donc différents de ceux de l'Ancien Testament. Au lieu d'être des envoyés, des messagers ils sont comme les expressions autonomes des notions abstraites. Leur figure ne remonte pas à une tradition antérieure, ni à l'influence perse, mais elle annonce une évolution intérieure. Au niveau de l'histoire des reli-

⁷⁰ Jusqu'au jugement qui aura lieu dans le nouvel éon le Shéol servira de lieu de séjour transitoire pour les âmes, et ceci dès l'apocalypse syriaque de Baruch, 30 : 2 ; de la même façon Hénoch 51 : 1 et suiv.

⁷¹ La résurrection des justes est à part mentionnée en 2 M 7 : 9 ; 14 : 23 ; 12 : 43 etc., Hénoch 91 : 10 ; 92 : 3 ; 100 : 5. Selon Baruch 11 : 4 les justes dorment en paix. D'après Test. Benjamin 10 les justes seront séparés des méchants lors de la résurrection.

⁷² De la même façon Baruch 34 : 4 et 4^e. Esdras 7 : 67 ; dans la conception phariséenne dans le Shéol aussi il y a peine et récompense (Josèphe Flavius, Ant. 18 : 1, 3).

⁷³ D'après Job 24 : 20 et Ps. 88 : 13 le Shéol serait le lieu de l'oubli. Selon Qoh. 9 : 10, Ps. 49 : 16 il n'y a ici qu'existence sans temps ni pensée. Pas même d'intervention, selon Baruch 85 : 9.

gions l'époque est sans cela marquée d'une sorte d'autonomie des notions religieuses — telle la shekina, «présence divine» dont l'autonomie se traduit aussi par le changement du caractère du culte.⁷⁴ L'angéologie du LAB est le fruit d'une évolution pareille. L'ange y est chaque fois la force surnaturelle personnifiée s'incarnant dans une forme qui convient à sa fonction. La force divine incarnée est exprimée par le nom de l'ange : l'ange qui figure dans l'histoire de David s'appelle Zervihel. Le nom rappelle la fonction : il dérive du nom hébreu זְרִיחַ qui veut dire entre autres «force, bravoure». La dénomination est justifiée par l'explication insérée dans le texte latin aussi, explication qui, dans l'origine hébraïque doit avoir eu une valeur étymologique : «Zervihel angelum prepositum super virtutem». La figure de l'ange de l'histoire de Samson qui, chez le Pseudo-Philon s'appelle Fadahel (XLII. 10) marque déjà une nouvelle étape de la personnification sans pour autant dépasser l'incarnation de la force divine. L'étymologie du nom dérive du verbe hébreu פָּדַד «sauver, délibérer» et le nom de l'ange rappelle tout probablement les actes futurs de Samson qui naîtra. C'est que la naissance de Samson est prédite justement par cet ange. Plutôt que messenger il est cette fois encore personnificateur de la force divine bien que sa figure ait été certainement influencée par l'ange de l'histoire de Samson dans l'Ancient Testament (Jg 13); toutefois la partie finale ne laisse point à conclure sur la personne autonome de l'ange. D'après les paroles de Manoah : «Morte moriemur quia vidimus dominum facie ad faciem» (XVII. 9) et c'est ce qu'indique aussi le nom de l'ange qui est une dénomination fonctionnelle aussi bien que celui de l'autre ange.

Parmi les anges qui sont nommés dans le texte du LAB citons Gethel (Ingethel), ange des choses cachées (XXVII. 10) et Nathaniel, ange du feu (XXXVIII. 3). Ce dernier figure dans l'histoire de Yaïr et les sept dévots, histoire qui est l'analogue de celle d'Abraham (XXXVIII.). Dans l'histoire de Yaïr c'est aussi un ange qui délivre les hommes jetés dans la fournaise. L'ange a ici le même rôle que, dans l'histoire d'Abraham le tremblement de terre qui détruit les impies (VI. 17). Un collationnement des deux textes rend tout évident que les expressions «ange» et «tremblement de terre» sont à interpréter comme notions exprimant le secours divin (C'est cette même analogie dont se sert à l'endroit parallèle la chronique de Yerahmeel où l'ange s'appelle Nathanael). L'histoire de Yaïr rappelle l'ange de par sa fonction : «...angelus qui preest igni» (XXXVIII. 3).

Quelquefois la dénomination de l'ange désigne seulement la fonction de la force divine en question (c'est ce qu'a conservé du moins la version latine) : «Premittam angelum ire mee in ipsos» — promet Yahvé à Josué (XV. 5). De même, l'ange figure comme l'élément intermédiaire de la volonté divine

⁷⁴ H. RINGGREN : *Israelitische Religion. Die Religionen der Menschheit*. Stuttgart 1963. 283.

dans le passage du texte où c'est lui qui répond directement à la question du peuple posée à Jahve: «Et dixit eis angelus Domini: Preponite» (XXV. 2).

La fonction des anges rappelée plus haut se manifeste encore dans le fait que dans le texte du Ps.-Philon dans la description du même événement figurent la plupart du temps plusieurs anges à la fois, leur nombre correspondant aux éléments constitutifs de l'événement. Le plus bel exemple en est fourni par l'histoire de Kenaz où dans le récit sur les prodiges présentés à Kenaz apparaissent trois anges: «Et post hec venit angelus et combussit eos (i.e. libros). Alius autem angelus accipit lapides preciosos. Et alius angelus iens attulit duodecim lapides...» (XXVI. 8). Dans l'histoire de Samuel il y a également deux anges (LXIV. 6).

Le secours angélique est la réalisation périodique du secours divin permanent accordé au peuple élu. Sans être tout aussi direct le motif des pierres a juste le même sens dans l'œuvre — parfois il se rattache même à celui du secours angélique. Dans l'histoire de Kenaz les douze pierres précieuses, de sortes différentes signifient, avec les noms de tribus gravés sur elles l'assurance du secours divin permettant l'occupation de la terre de Canaan (XXVI. 10 — 11). Les sept pierres figurant dans l'histoire de David symbolisent également l'assistance divine; avant d'entrer en lutte avec Goliath David grave sur les pierres ramassées pour sa fronde les noms de Abraham, Isaac, Jacob Moïse, ensuite son propre nom et celui de dieu, de l'autre partie de l'alliance (LXI. 5). Le motif en question indique donc chaque fois un recours à une puissance, en fonction du nom gravé sur les pierres (c'est ce sens qu'il prend dans l'histoire de Babel analysée ci-dessus, en désignant la révolte des hommes. Les pierres et les noms gravés sur elles sont rattachés, dans l'histoire de Kenaz et de David au motif des anges. Dans la première l'ange apporte les pierres du ciel, dans la dernière il donne assistance à David dans sa lutte.

Dans la conception de l'auteur du LAB les planètes sont également des éléments médiateurs, porteurs de la volonté divine. C'est grâce à une intervention divine que les tribus d'Israël sortent victorieux du combat contre Sisera. D'après l'Ancien Testament «Yahvé mit le trouble en Sisera» (Jg 4: 15) — chez le Ps.-Philon un succinct discours adressé au peuple est suivi de la préfiguration de l'assistance divine, et ceci sous la forme d'une action cosmique, décrite par l'auteur dans le cadre de la vision de Débora. Dans les paroles de la prophétesse préfigurant le combat les participants sont représentés par des «êtres» cosmiques, des planètes: «... video astra conturbari in dispositione sua et parari in pugnam vobiscum...» (XXXI. 1).⁷⁵

Bien que la fonction des anges et des autres éléments médiateurs de l'assistance divine soit pareille au système d'hypostases de Philon et de la Gnose, les figures médiatrices du LAB ne seront quand même pas considérées comme

⁷⁵ Cf. Hénoch 14: 8. Sur la similitude et sur l'influence probable du Livre de Hénoch à ce passage du LAB v. M. R. JAMES 1917. 43—44.

résultant d'un effet pareil. La vision du monde du LAB reste, jusqu'au bout de formulation «mythologique», sans s'élever en un système philosophique comme qui est le cas chez Philon. C'est ce que prouve aussi ce fait que parmi les médiateurs il y a plusieurs sortes d'éléments qui, à l'intérieur du système peuvent se remplacer l'un l'autre avec la même valeur (ange, pierres, phénomènes cosmiques).

D'autre part des notions telles que la sagesse médiatrice (cf. la Sophia de Philon) tiennent leur place, en tant qu'inventions autonomes dans l'exégèse rabbinique également, et parfois même dans une conception assez rapprochée de celle de Philon.⁷⁶

Les anges du LAB établissent un rapport permanent entre sphère divine et sphère humaine, rapport qu'exigent la conception de dieu et celle de l'alliance plus abstraites, plus spirituelles du LAB, et ceci conformément à la nouvelle image de dieu et dans une conception qui pour différente qu'elle soit de celle des livres bibliques antérieurs en est quand même la suite.

LES PUISSANCES OPPOSÉES À LA SPHÈRE DIVINE: IDOLES ET DÉMONS

Les représentations de l'idolâtrie sont dans le LAB les symboles des religions étrangères, opposées à la religion de Yahvé. La description des idoles de Mika rappelle les statues d'un sanctuaire de Mithras (XLIV. 5).⁷⁷ Un autre passage comporte la description des cultes cananéens — formes différentes de l'idolâtrie pratiquée par les tribus (XXV. 9—13). Les péchés des tribus sont d'ordre moral: vénération des dieux étrangers, railleries de la providence divine. Cependant, à propos des idoles de la tribu d'Issachar le texte ajoute ce qui suit: «Nos volumus interrogare per demones idolorum si manifeste annunciant» (XXV. 9). Le passage est conforme à l'esprit de l'histoire de Mika ou les idoles servaient également les buts de la divination (Mika a en effet installé un oracle, comme ceci devient clair du texte) et ont un pouvoir particulier: «facies tibi idola, et erunt tibi in deos et tu eris eis sacerdos» (XLIV. 2). Après de la divination faite avec le concours des puissances s'opposant à Yahvé le LAB cite encore les sorcelleries d'Aod (XXXIV. 1—5). Sous l'effet de la magie d'Aod le soleil brille pendant la nuit; Aod tient sa force magique à des anges échus: «...et fecit magicis sui precipiens angelis, qui preerant maleficiis, quoniam multo tempore immolabat eis» (XXXIV. 2). Plus tard le texte explique que ces anges sont exempts de pouvoir: «Et quia transgressi sunt, factum est ut angeli in potestate non essent...» — Et ensuite: «Et in his

⁷⁶ D'après Prov. 3: 17 le symbole de la sagesse intermédiaire serait l'arbre de vie, d'après Philon Leg. all. I. 64—65, le jardin de l'Éden. Selon Sap. Sal. 7: 15 la sagesse émane de Yahvé. D'après Hénoch 1: 42 elle habite dans le ciel, avec les anges. R. M. GRANT: Les êtres intermédiaires dans le judaïsme tardif. Studi in onore di Alberto Pincherle. I. Rome 1967. 246 trouve qu'il ne s'y agit pas d'interprétation gnostique, mais bien de l'évolution de la méthode de l'exégèse rabbinique qui, elle eut des résultats semblables.

⁷⁷ M. R. JAMES 1917. 39.

operantur qui ministrant hominibus in maleficiis, usque quo veniat immensurabile seculum» (XXXIV. 3).

Des passages cités ci-dessus se dégage une conception suivant laquelle il existe des puissances s'opposant à la puissance divine, en la personne des anges échus dont le pouvoir limité n'est valable qu'«à cette époque-là» du monde, jusqu'à l'arrivée du nouvel éon.⁷⁸ Les forces s'opposant à Yahvé aspirent à s'emparer du savoir possédé par la sphère divine (c'est à dire la connaissance de l'avenir).

Le caractère fragmentaire des informations rend difficile de préciser la démonologie du LAB c'est à dire le caractère des puissances extérieures à la sphère divine. De ce point de vue l'œuvre n'est pas dominée d'une conception unique, elle a recours aux éléments d'une tradition attestée ailleurs aussi pour les insérer dans son propre système.

Un aspect de la démonologie du LAB apparaît dans la conception dominante la première — majeure — partie de l'œuvre, conception qui n'est pas d'origine gnostique. Dans la conception de l'auteur du LAB les forces opposées à la sphère divine et apparaissant sous la figure d'anges déchus ne sont pas égales au divin, elles n'exercent leur pouvoir que dans la mesure permise par celui-ci, elles sont, somme toute, à sa disposition, et servent à exécuter les punitions. La conception du LAB représente ici la tradition se rencontrant dans Gn 6 : 1—14 (sur la chute des anges) ou plutôt une forme plus développée de celle-là.⁷⁹

Auprès de l'opposition cependant la subordination à la puissance divine se trouve également mise en relief par le texte : «Et dixit Dominus ad anteciminum : Vides quemadmodum conturbatus populus insipiens in terra...» (XLV. 6). Ensuite Yahvé décide de punir des hommes de leurs péchés, c'est à dire de l'idolâtrie de Mika et de la participation du peuple à celle-ci. Le terme *anteciminus* employé à cet endroit du texte (transcription du grec ἀντικείμενος) signifie «adversaire, qui s'oppose» et par son sens est à rapprocher de la notion Mastema figurant dans le Livre des Jubilés. «L'adversaire» n'est, dans aucun des deux cas le principe du mal pris dans le sens du dualisme gnostique, mais bien celui qui s'oppose à l'homme, qui est porteur de la tentation — tout comme par exemple la figure du Satan dans le Livre de Job où c'est de par sa position subordonnée au dieu et avec la permission de celui-ci qu'il tente Job, ou bien comme dans le Livre des Jubilés ou Mastema est le chef des esprits s'opposant au dieu et protecteur de l'idolâtrie. C'est lui qui demande au dieu le sacrifice d'Abraham, c'est lui qui attaque Moïse — alors qu'il est lui-même une force subordonnée au divin.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Cf. 2 Cor. 4 : 4 où la tête des anges malins n'est le dieu que «de cette époque-là».

⁷⁹ De la même façon le Hénoch grec 6 : 11 ; Hénoch éthiopique 19 ; Test. Juda 6 ; Jub. 5 : 1—14 ; 10 : 1, 5.

⁸⁰ Job 1 : 6—12 ; Jub. 17 : 16.

Dans les autres écrits pseudépigraphiques et à certains endroits du Nouveau Testament on rencontre de nouvelles variantes de la figure de l'«adversaire».⁸¹ Mais le dualisme qui s'exprime dans ces passages n'est jamais de conception gnostique, d'existence a priori. Aucun des textes en question n'affirme que le mal serait lui-même principe créateur, son origine s'y explique — là où il en est question — par la chute des anges.

Les éléments littéraires de la dernière partie du LAB concernant la personne de Saül sont cependant remarquables du point de vue du dualisme de l'œuvre. Saül dont le rôle se réduit à préparer, en tant que Messie ben Ephraïm le règne de David se trouve obséqué par l'esprit malin. L'esprit sera exorcé par David. Le second psaume chanté par David (LX. 2—3) est au fond une formule d'exorcisation, par le moyen de laquelle il chasse le démon qui possède Saül. C'est que, après la révélation de l'élection de David Saül est abandonné par la force divine : «Et in illo tempore ablatu est spiritus sanctus a Saule . . . » (LX. 1), et suit le second psaume de David.

Les deux psaumes de David constituent une unité organique avec le texte du LAB, et il n'est par probable qu'ils y aient été postérieurement insérés. Le second qui, par sa conception paraît peut-être plus étranger sert à souligner, les différences qui séparent les deux Messies et à en expliquer les idées fondamentales. C'est en effet ce texte qui nous fait comprendre la conception messianistique du LAB, ce point culminant du texte conservé.

Le psaume de David redit l'histoire de la création, non à la manière de la Genèse, mais dans une conception dualiste. L'opposition des expressions «spiritus sanctus» et «spiritus pessimus» à propos de la personne de Saül suggère déjà, il est vrai, la conception dualiste du Pseudo-Philon, pourtant le sens des expressions ne nous est éclairci que par le psaume en question. Dans le récit de conception gnostique de l'histoire de la création le «spiritus pessimus» de Saül figure après l'achèvement du premier acte de la création, c'est à dire parmi les choses secondairement créées : «Et post hec facta est tribus spirituum vestrorum» (LX. 2). Le texte insiste sur le caractère secondaire du «spiritus pessimus» : «de resultatione in chaomato nata est vestra creatura» (LX. 3). Le «spiritus pessimus» ayant un pouvoir secondaire est donc obligé à le soumettre à la puissance d'origine divine de David.

A cet endroit du LAB l'opposition de David et de Saül reflète pour ainsi dire celle de deux puissances cosmiques. D'après M. Philolenko le psaume en question serait-il une incantation d'origine essénienne⁸² employée par l'auteur du LAB d'une façon indirecte et conforme à ses idées messianistiques.

⁸¹ «L'adversaire» est souvent rappelé dans le livre des Jubilés (p. ex. 17 : 16) ; Test. Dan. 3 : 5, 6 ; Test. Gad 4 : *ὁ σατανᾶς* Test. Naphtali 3 ; Test. Aser 4 : *ὁ διάβολος* Test. Ruben 2 : 4, 6 etc. : *Βελιάρ* 1 Cor 10 : 10.

⁸² L'analyse du psaume v. M. PHILOLENKO : *Semitica* 9 (1959) 35—48.

3. *Les origines de l'aggada*

1. LE LIVRE DE DANIEL ET DEUX ÉPISODES DU PSEUDO-PHILON

Les récits indiqués dans le titre et qui vont être analysés dans ce qui suit constituent — avec les suppléments explicatifs — la matière aggadique du LAB. Les épisodes ont ceci de commun que chacun d'eux sert de parallèle non expliqué mais suggéré, pour d'autres épisodes bibliques, apocryphes ou antiques, et notamment grâce à la base spirituelle commune des récits.

Dans le 3^e chapitre du Livre de Daniel on lit l'histoire de Nabuchodonosor et des trois Juifs dévots, Shadrak, Meshak et Abed Nego. La suite des événements y est la suivante :

1. Nabuchodonosor fait exécuter une statue d'or de dieu, et appelle le peuple à la vénérer, tout en menaçant ceux qui s'y opposent de les jeter dans une fournaise ardente (3 : 1—6).

2. Malgré la menace répétée trois fois, les trois jeunes gens refusent l'idolâtrie en se référant à l'assistance du dieu des Juifs (exposition du but parénétiq ue, 3 : 7, 18).

3. Les trois jeunes gens seront jetés dans la fournaise ardente, mais au lieu de mourir ceux qui les y avaient jetés doivent périr : le feu de la fournaise les tue (3 : 19—22).

4. Les trois dévots, accompagnés d'un ange sortent de la fournaise sains et saufs (3 : 22—27).

Le but parénétiq ue du Livre de Daniel est rendu évident non seulement par l'argumentation des trois Juifs, qui parlent de la réussite probable de leur résistance, mais aussi par le contexte tout entier. L'histoire fait au fond partie d'une série de récits parénétiq ues. Le premier élément en serait le songe de Nabuchodonosor expliqué par David (sur les quatre empires du monde, Dn 2); le passage suivant raconte la persuasion de Nabuchodonosor par un miracle. Le récit qui est à son tour suivi par un nouveau songe de Nabuchodonosor et la prophétie de Daniel. Originaires ces récits étaient sans former une unité cohérente, ce qui les unit ce sont le but parénétiq ue et la scène commune, soit la figure de Nabuchodonosor.⁸³

Or, le Pseudo-Philon a recours au schéma du récit exposé ci-dessus du Livre de Daniel, et même deux fois : d'abord en racontant la construction de la tour de Babel, deuxièmement dans l'histoire de Yaïr et des sept dévots (VI. 1—8 soit XXXVIII. 1—4). Le schéma de l'histoire d'Abraham est le suivant :

1. L'idolâtrie se répand parmi les gens. Le péché le plus grave et qui met le comble aux sacrilèges c'est la construction de la tour de Babel (IV. 16, VI. 1).

⁸³ O. EISSFELDT 1964. 716. Aux épisodes du Livre de Daniel v. A. BENTZEN : Daniel 6. Ein Versuch zur Vorgeschichte der Märtyrerlegende. Bertholet-Festschrift 1950. 58—64; J. B. ALEXANDER : New Light on the Fiery Furnace. Theology 58 (1955) 340—345.

2. Abraham et ses 14 compagnons se refusent à cuire les pierres signalées de leurs noms (notons la préfiguration du motif du feu; VI. 13).

3. Abraham et les autres exposent par-devant les chefs du peuple le motif de leur résistance: «Unum Deum novimus et ipsum adoravimus» (Le caractère composé de l'histoire d'Abraham du LAB et la multiplicité des sources sont à voir nettement de ce que l'argumentation d'Abraham et les autres annonce cette fois le contraste de polythéisme et de monothéisme alors que la construction de la tour symbolise, d'après le sens originaire de l'histoire la révolte contre le destin divin — VI. 4).

4. Les chefs décident de punir Abraham et les autres puisque ceux-ci avaient révolté contre leur ordre. Ils veulent les faire brûler eux-mêmes avec les pierres offertes par les constructeurs de la tour (le motif des pierres étant ici le symbole, d'après le système de symboles de l'œuvre entière aussi, de l'idolâtrie — VI. 5).

5. Apparition d'un auxiliaire en la personne du chef des fils de Sem; il demande d'accorder sept jours de délai aux coupables en attendant qu'ils abandonnent leur projet — son intention effective consistant à sauver Abraham et les autres (VI. 6).

6. Les compagnons d'Abraham acceptent le projet de l'auxiliaire et s'enfuient dans les montagnes. Abraham — qui est le seul à avoir confiance en la justesse du jugement divin — reste, tout en prêtant aide à ses compagnons réfugiés (VI. 7—14).

7. Abraham dans la fournaise ardente et sa délivrance. Le feu jaillissant brûle ceux qui l'entourent. La délivrance des compagnons d'Abraham (VI. 5—18).

Voyons la marche de l'histoire de Yaïr et des sept dévots :

1. Yaïr établit un autel à Baal et menace de mort ceux qui se refusent à lui offrir un sacrifice (XXXVIII. 1).

2. Sept hommes du peuple s'y opposent et se référant à la loi refusent le sacrifice à Baal (XXXVIII. 1—2).

3. Suivant l'ordre de Yaïr on les jette au feu mais, voilà un ange («angelus qui preest igni») l'étient et, le feu brûle ensuite les serviteurs de Yaïr — après être averti il tue Yaïr qui s'approche du feu — et le feu finit par détruire la statue de Baal et ceux qui lui offrent un sacrifice (XXXVIII. 2—3).

Entre les deux histoires racontées par le Ps.-Philon c'est celle de Yaïr qui, par ses motifs constitutifs est plus rapprochée du récit du Livre de Daniel. Voyons la série des motifs qui constituent la structure commune des deux histoires: — appel à l'idolâtrie (opposition du dieu local et du dieu étranger) et perspectives d'une sanction immédiate; — les opposants se réfèrent à leur dieu (référence à la loi); — punition — apparition de l'assistance divine — la destruction des persécuteurs par le feu.

L'histoire de Yaïr représente une variante plus simple de cette série de motifs. La répétition triple connue du Livre de Daniel, est absente des passages racontant l'appel à l'idolâtrie et la menace de supplice. Le discours parénétiq ue de ceux qui refusent l'idolâtrie, discours qui figure cependant dans le Livre de Daniel est également absent dans ce récit — dans l'histoire de Yaïr l'efficacité de la providence divine est justifiée par l'histoire elles-même.

L'histoire d'Abraham comporte plusieurs passages supplémentaires, sans représenter en elle-même aucune vision unitaire. Le récit de Babel, servant de base pour celle-ci permet lui-même beaucoup moins d'établir l'analogie avec le passage cité du Livre de Daniel que l'autre passage du Ps.-Philon. Ici l'histoire placée à l'époque des juges suggère elle-même la comparaison du polythéisme chananéen, une sorte d'idolâtrie, avec le monothéisme des Juifs.

Cependant l'histoire de Babel reste sans former une unité voire même avec son propre contexte. L'histoire, elle, raconte la révolte contre le destin divin — révolte inévitable qui s'exprime dans la construction de la tour — les antécédents, les péchés antérieurs des mortels étant effectivement considérés comme idolâtrie: «Tunc ceperunt hi qui inhabitant terram, inspicere in astris, et inchoaverunt imaginari, et ex his divinationes facere, et filios et filias suas traicere per ignem (IV. 16).

Le motif de la peine infligée à ceux qui se refusèrent à l'ordre est également absent de l'histoire de Babel du LAB. Même le commencement de l'histoire — description des péchés de l'humanité et de la révolte des dévots — est différent de celui de l'autre récit du Livre de Daniel. Chez le Pseudo-Philon ce passage est plus rapproché — du moins par ses motifs — de l'histoire biblique de Babel. Le «changement» survient dans la partie décrivant le refus de l'ordre par Abraham: dans les paroles de celui-ci le péché des constructeurs de la tour apparaît comme s'il s'agissait d'idolâtres. (VI. 4). Toujours les mêmes paroles suggèrent aussi la mode du supplice: «et si nos mittatis in ignem cum lapidibus vestris, non consentiemus vobis» (VI. 4). Ce n'est qu'après cela que les chefs des peuples déclarent la mode du supplice d'Abraham et ses compagnons: «Et irati duces dixerunt: Sicut locuti sunt, sic eis facite. Et erit nisi consenserint vobiscum mittere lapides, consumetis eos igni cum lapidibus vestris» (VI. 5).

Les motifs que le Ps.-Philon fait succéder à ce passage (le rôle d'auxiliaires des chefs des fils de Sem, l'hésitation des compagnons d'Abraham et leur fuite) sont rendus nécessaires par la conception d'alliance de l'œuvre, puisque l'alliance d'Abraham et de Yahvé est comme la base de celle des douze tribus, ce qui explique que l'histoire d'Abraham est aussi le point de départ du symbolisme des nombres relatif aux tribus et qui reste dominant dans les passages suivants.

L'histoire de Babel semble encore différer des autres dans la troisième étape de la série de motifs aussi. Si Abraham est délivré de la fournaise ardente

par aide divine, la figure de l'ange n'y est pourtant pas présente. Fait qui trouve son explication encore une fois dans la conception d'alliance de l'œuvre. Étant donné que dans la manière de penser du Ps.-Philon l'ange apparaît partout comme personnificateur de la puissance divine, tout en indiquant, par son apparition le caractère immédiat de l'aide divine, l'apparition de l'ange avant la naissance de Moïse ne pourrait correspondre à la gradualité temporelle de la conception de l'alliance. Une formule moins personnelle qu'est le motif du tremblement de terre exprime beaucoup mieux la signification de l'alliance d'Abraham à l'intérieur de la structure de l'œuvre.

Les motifs de l'idolâtrie et de la mise au feu (dans le passage décrivant les antécédents, IV. 16, les deux sont rattachés l'un à l'autre) sont à retrouver en d'autres endroits de l'œuvre. Dans le passage cité l'idolâtrie et la mise au feu figurent ensemble — c'est à dire non en supplice — et rappellent tout probablement le sacrifice d'enfants des cultes cananéens. Dans la tradition juive — probablement en conformité avec la mentalité du talio — le supplice qu'entraîne l'idolâtrie c'est — à ce qu'on le voit d'un passage pareil à celui cité plus haut — le supplice du feu. (L'histoire de Babel doit représenter chez le Ps.-Philon une étape de cette suite d'idées : ici, c'est en plein cours des événements que le supplice du feu frappe soudainement Abraham, en tant que renversement des péchés de l'humanité.)

Mika, le fils de Samson et de Délila expie l'idolâtrie également par le supplice du feu. Le Ps.-Philon décrit l'idolâtrie de Mika avec une minutiosité qui évoque celle des midrash : «Et fecit sibi effigies tres puerorum et vitulorum tres, et leones atque aquilam, et draconem et columbam» (XLIV. 5). L'Ancien Testament rappelle également l'idolâtrie de Mika (dans certains passages du Livre des Juges) sans nous informer sur son destin ultérieur. Le Ps.-Philon connaît lui aussi, le genre de mort qui attend Mika, et l'avertissement, la prédiction de la punition n'est pas non plus absente du LAB : «Micham autem tradam igni» (XLIV. 9), ensuite : «In illo tempore reddidit Dominus Miche et matri eius omnia que locutus est. Et erat Micha dissolutus igne, et mater eius marcescens, sicut locutus fuerit Dominus de eis» (XLVII. 12). Ce qui revient à dire que la description des circonstances de la mort de Mika dans l'œuvre du Ps.-Philon est loin d'être le produit de la fantaisie; ce détail est bien plutôt la preuve d'un symbolique systématique et conséquent du LAB et il est en même temps un exemple illustrant la naissance d'une tradition de motifs.

La combinaison de la personne d'Abraham avec la fournaise ardente est assez courante dans la tradition aggadique.⁸⁴ D'après G. Vermes cette tradition remonterait à l'œuvre du Ps.-Philon, celle-ci étant la plus ancienne parmi les sources comportant le motif en question.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Pour les légendes d'Abraham v. L. GINZBERG : *The Legends of the Jews*. Philadelphia 1938. I. 202, V. 215.

⁸⁵ G. VERMES 1961. 88.

Cependant l'autre ligne de tradition, c'est-à-dire le motif de la punition de l'idolâtrie par supplice du feu n'est pas elle non plus sans exemples dans la littérature aggadique. La tradition veut que le père d'Abraham ait brûlé toutes ses idoles; son frère Haran essayant de les sauver fuit lui aussi la proie des flammes.⁸⁶

Le supplice du feu est attesté encore chez Hieronymus, mais cette fois combiné avec un motif contraire: Haran est brûlé pour s'être refusé à adorer le feu lequel les Chaldéens vénèrent en dieu. Cette histoire représente donc un mélange spécial des deux types.⁸⁷

Pour le péché et le supplice de Haran les midrash conservent de différentes traditions — nous nous sommes cette fois contentés de ne citer que celles qui offrent aucun parallèle avec les histoires exposées.

Sans bien sûr permettre de suivre la voie de la tradition les deux exemples médiévaux que nous allons citer témoignent par les motifs qu'ils comportent, d'une sorte de parenté avec les exemples déjà cités. D'après le premier un garçon juif fait apprendre à son père son intention de se faire chrétien. Le père dans sa fureur jette son fils dans la fournaise mais celui-ci en sera délivré grâce à Marie.⁸⁸ D'après l'autre légende un dévot reçoit chez lui un homme pauvre dont la figure cèle en effet le diable. Le méchant saisit le fils du dévot et le jette dans une fournaise ardente, mais, voilà deux anges qui, en la figure de pèlerins en délivrent l'enfant.⁸⁹ La possibilité du conflit découle ici d'une conception dualiste. Seule l'apparition des anges rappelle de quelque façon l'histoire primitive.

2. LE LIVRE DE JUDITH ET PS.-PHILON

Par son genre littéraire, le Livre de Judith est un récit parénétiq ue, genre littéraire très à la mode de son époque. Malgré son sujet apparemment historique l'événement qu'il traite ne l'est pas.⁹⁰ Il ne veut pas faire de l'historiographie — son caractère apparemment historique ne servant qu'à augmenter l'authenticité de l'écrit, mais il veut donner le bon exemple, un enseignement moral. Un événement — cette fois fictif — du passé national est exposé pour prouver que le dieu prête son aide à son peuple élu, le sauve de sa situation difficile. Le caractère propagateur du livre est dû entre autres aux circonstances de sa genèse, c'est à dire à l'époque de la révolte des Macchabées.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Haran subit le supplice du feu pour avoir sauvé les idoles: Jub. 12: 1—12; Ephraem le Syrien I. 156 D-157 A (d'après le Jub.).

⁸⁷ Hieronymus: Quaestiones 11: 28.

⁸⁸ F. C. TUBACH: Index exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales. FF Communications 204. Helsinki 1969. 204.

⁸⁹ F. C. TUBACH 1969. H. 652.

⁹⁰ E. SCHÜRER 1890. II. 601.

⁹¹ O. EISSFELDT 1964. 796.

La mise en parallèle de l'histoire de Yaël et celle de Judith, soit l'insertion de certains motifs de l'histoire de Judith dans celle de Yaël sont, chez le Ps.-Philon, tout évidentes. Il paraît certain que le Livre de Judith fût inspiré justement par l'histoire biblique de Yaël (Jg 4 : 17—23, 5 : 24—29). La mise en œuvre du récit par le Ps.-Philon continue, pour ce qui est de l'histoire du motif, justement cette tendance. Chez lui, c'est l'histoire de Judith qui se trouve replacée dans son contexte primitif. La comparaison des textes fait voir maints traits spéciaux et conformes à la conception de chacun des deux auteurs :⁹²

D'après le récit biblique la marche de l'histoire est comme ceci :

1. Baraq se met à la poursuite de Sisera ; celui-ci le fuit tout seul, à pied, son armée entière s'étant faite tuer (3 : 15—16).
2. Rencontre avec Yaël, par-devant la tente de celle-ci (4 : 17).
3. Yaël offre son aide à Sisera et le cache (4 : 18) — Sisera demande de l'eau de la femme — Yaël lui donne du lait à boire. A la demande de Sisera Yaël se tient à l'entrée de la tente (4 : 19—20).
4. Yaël tue Sisera endormi (4 : 21).
5. Yaël montre à Baraq l'ennemi vaincu (4 : 22).

L'autre récit sur Yaël et Sisera dans le Livre des Juges (5 : 24—28) raconte les éléments de l'histoire citées sous le 3^e point de l'analyse, avec plus de détails que le passage précédent, dans le cadre du chant de triomphe de Débora et de Baraq. Les passages cités sont des épisodes qui, apparemment interrompent la suite des événements pour les enrichir de nuances, par leur contenu cependant l'accueil apparent de Yaël et la tournure inattendue qui le suit, c'est à dire la mort de Sisera marquent le point culminant de l'histoire. 5 : 24—28 du Livre des Juges souligne aussi justement ces deux épisodes : «il demanda de l'eau, elle a donné du lait», ainsi que la mort de Sisera subie sans résistance aucune, d'une façon impuissante.

Ce sont justement les passages cités du Livre des Juges qui devaient servir de base à la conception du Livre de Judith. La marche des événements est dans ce dernier, la suivante :

1. Présentation de la situation difficile de Béthulie au cours du siège, différends entre Ozias et le peuple (les différends résultant des conceptions différentes de la confiance en la providence divine — 7 : 16).
2. Judith, jeune veuve, vénérée par tous pour son dévotisme et sa pureté, par la ville entière expose son projet ; elle se rend dans le camp de l'ennemi, — préparatives : la prière de Judith et le changement de ses habits à quoi vient s'ajouter une beauté extraordinaire, d'origine divine (!) (9 : 1 : 15).

⁹² Sur le type identique des deux épisodes v. E. J. BURNS : Judith or Jael ? CBQ 16 (1954) 12—14 ; E. J. BURNS : The Genealogy of Judith. CBQ 18 (1956) 19—22.

3. A force de manœuvres Judith réussit à parvenir dans le camp de l'ennemi (10 : 6—16).

4. Rencontre avec Holopherne qui, lui est ébloui par la beauté et la sagesse de Judith : «Non est talis mulier super terram in aspectu et pulchritudine, et in sensu verborum (Vulg. 11 : 19). (Cette scène n'est pas sans évoquer la rencontre d'Esther avec Assuérus, Est. 5 : 2). — Judith refuse Holopherne qui l'invite à un festin (12 : 2). — Judith «...exibat noctibus in vallem Behuliae, et baptizebat se in fonte aquae» — conservation et renforcement de la force de l'assistance divine (12 : 7).

5. La deuxième invitation de la part de Holopherne, cette fois acceptée — après avoir prononcé une courte prière Judith, à l'aide de sa servante tue l'ivre Holopherne (la description rappelle vivement la mort de Sisera).

6. Judith rentre dans la ville assiégée — l'armée assiégeante, à la vue de son chef mort, prend la fuite (14—15).

Pour finir voyons la marche de l'histoire de Yaël chez le Ps.-Philon : (les divergeances d'avec l'Ancien Testament seront soulignées)

1. *La vision cosmique de Débora* fait préfigurer le cours du combat et fait apprendre les intentions de Sisera qui, lui veut acquérir des captives pour en faire des concubines. D'après *la prophétie de Débora* : «in manus mulieris incidat etiam ipse (XXXI. 1).

2. Bataille — Sisera s'enfuit (XXXI. 2).

3. Yaël «...ornavit se ornamentis suis et exivit obviam eis» (XXXI. 3).

4. Rencontre — *description de la beauté* de Yaël (XXXI. 3).

5. Yaël offre à Sisera *de le sauver* : — «Et ingressus Sisera ut vidit rosas sparsas in lecto dixit : Si liberabo ibo ad matrem meam, et *Iahel mihi erit mulier*» (le motif figure à la place de la première invitation du Livre de Judith et a à peu près la même fonction que celle-là, seuls les rôles sont inverses — XXXI. 3), — Sisera demande de l'eau — Yaël donne une réponse évasive, ensuite : «cum obdormisset Sisera *Iahel perrexit ad pecora et mulsit ex eis lac*» — ensuite dans une prière elle demande un signe divin qui puisse prouver son pouvoir sur Sisera (XXXI. 5). — Sisera demande de nouveau à boire — voilà le signe que vient de demander Yaël.

6. Yaël lui donne à boire, en mêlant le lait avec du vin. Sisera s'endort et Yaël, ayant reçu un nouveau signe divin lui enfonce le clou dans la tête (XXXI. 7). — Hymne de Yaël — les dernières paroles de Sisera qui vient de reprendre ses sens, ensuite la mort de celui-ci (XXXI. 7).

7. Les paroles de la mère de Sisera (dans l'Ancien Testament rappelées par le cantique de Débora) — Yaël montre à Baraq l'ennemie tué (XXXI. 8—9).

Les trois histoires examinées comportent de traits essentiellement communs et qui définissent en grandes lignes leur structure. Au cours du combat de deux peuples se trouvant en relations hostiles c'est une femme qui, du milieu

du peuple attaqué fait triompher son peuple en soumettant à sa puissance (en séduisant par son amour) le chef ou un héros éminent de l'ennemi.

A partir des traits mentionnés plusieurs histoires bibliques seraient à inclure dans ce groupe, en dehors de celles que nous venons de citer. Telle l'histoire de Samson et Délila où les vainqueurs sont — du moins dans l'histoire — les Philistins. L'histoire de Samson comporte aussi ce motif caractéristique — qui bien que omis dans l'énumération précédente n'en figure pas moins dans les autres histoires — que la héroïne livre à sa famille l'ennemi vaincu (Yaël montre à Baraq le cadavre de Sisera, Judith présente la tête de Holopherne — Délila, elle aussi livre aux hommes de son peuple Samson aux cheveux coupés, Jg 16 : 20—21). Et justement le motif de la remise marque partout le tournant : dans l'histoire de Yaël bien que l'armée de Sisera se soit faite battre antérieurement, la victoire ne sera complète que par la mort du chef — ou plutôt par la présentation collective de Baraq victorieuse et de Sisera tué. Dans le Livre de Judith aussi, les assiégeants poursuivent le siège et ne prennent la fuite qu'ayant appris la mort de Holopherne. Dans l'histoire de Samson la captivité et la mort de Samson portent malheur au peuple entier.

En dehors des traits généraux cependant le LAB comporte des motifs ou des analogies spéciaux qui figurent uniquement dans le Livre de Judith. D'une analyse formelle des deux textes vont se dégager les parallèles suivants (l'analyse ne portant que sur les événements suivant la rencontre) :

A la différence du récit de l'Ancien Testament Yaël va elle-même à la rencontre de Sisera. Qu'elle ait des intentions pareilles à celles de Judith ça se voit bien de ce qu'elle se met des parures et qu'elle dispose la maison pour l'accueil de Sisera. Yaël — tout comme Judith — éblouit de sa beauté Sisera, à tel point que celui-ci lui fait des propositions de mariage. Yaël offre à Sisera de la sauver — fait qui montre fort bien son rôle d'initiatrice qui est aussi celui de Judith.

Pour une deuxième étape des motifs parallèles voilà le passage qu'on pourrait peut-être résumer sous le titre de «préparation de l'instrument magique». L'héroïne, ayant ébloui de sa beauté le chef de l'ennemi et l'ayant soumis à sa puissance a recours à de nouveaux moyens dans le but d'un triomphe décisif. Voilà pourquoi Judith se rend-elle à Béthulie où elle «baptizabat se in fonte aquae» (12 : 7), et que, au cours du festin elle se met à boire avec Holopherne pour pouvoir ensuite tuer l'homme entièrement ivre. Chez le Ps.-Philon l'acte magique est-il mis en relief avec plus de netteté que dans le Livre de Judith; dans ce dernier il est intimement lié à l'idée du secours divin. Yaël, elle, donne à Sisera son propre lait mêlé avec du vin. En faisant ceci elle gagne le pouvoir sur lui d'une façon consciente, et finit par le tuer.

Malgré les coïncidences et les parallèles des événements il y a une certaine différence de conception entre le Livre de Judith et l'histoire de Yaël rapportée par le Ps.-Philon. Ceci ressort clairement surtout de la description des

antécédents. Dans le Livre de Judith l'action de l'héroïne a lieu afin de justifier l'idée de la providence divine. La situation est, elle-même dès le début autre que chez Ps.-Philon qui, à ce sujet ne s'écarte point de la tradition de l'Ancien Testament si bien que, dans la vision de Débora il fait préfigurer le triomphe de la providence divine, voire même le mode de la triomphe: «in manus mulieris incidat ipse» (XXXI. 1). A l'intérieur de l'histoire les prodiges offerts à Yaël renforcent eux-mêmes cette conception téléologique sans pour autant être de valeur démonstrative. Ce qui a pour effet que le caractère parénétiq ue de l'histoire entière s'efface un peu et, au lieu de stimuler la crainte de dieu et l'attachement à la loi elle sert à la foi, en pleine conformité avec la conception historique du Ps.-Philon, à justifier l'élection divine, comme le font nettement voir les paroles que prononce Débora lors de sa vision: «Nam etsi populus meus peccavit, ego tamen memorabor ei. Et his dictis, profecta sunt astra sicut preceptum fuerat eis et incenderunt inimicos eorum» (XXXI. 2). L'idée du triomphe se trouve donc chez le Ps.-Philon dès le début comme garantie, l'histoire de Yaël ne servant qu'à la réaliser — et ceci par le moyen de la structure et de certains éléments de l'histoire de Judith, de caractère parénétiq ue et «démonstratif».⁹³

L'histoire de Yaël est richement attestée aussi dans la tradition rabbinique, à propos de Yaël, y apparaissent plus d'une fois les motifs figurant chez Ps.-Philon ou pareils à ceux-ci. On y lit par exemple de l'ivresse de Sisera, ce qui fait supposer que Yaël le fit boire non pas du lait pur.⁹⁴ D'après une autre information des midrash palestiniens Sisera est fasciné par la beauté de Yaël, mais celle-ci résiste à la tentation.⁹⁵

Dans le Talmud babylonien l'histoire de Yaël est toute pareille à celle de Judith; Yaël se soumet à la passion de Sisera en y voyant la seule manière de le tuer.⁹⁶

Une seule aggada contient cette variante du Ps.-Philon suivant laquelle Yaël fit boire Sisera de son propre lait; pour deux autres passages cependant il y a lieu à supposer la connaissance du motif.⁹⁷

L'autre ligne de la tradition postérieure de l'histoire de Yaël et Sisera remonte au texte biblique. En se fondant sur la bénédiction de Débora (Jg

⁹³ D'après E. J. BURNS l'essence du Livre de Judith serait née à l'intérieur de la communauté d'Éléphantine, sous l'effet des réalités politiques, en imitation consciente de l'histoire de Yaël pour devenir ce qu'elle devint, cette histoire connue, parmi les Juifs de Léontopolis: E. J. BURNS: CBQ (1954) 12—14; E. J. BURNS: CBQ (1956) 19—22. Le parallèle subsistant chez Pseudo-Philon laisse cependant conclure à un emploi plus général du motif, à son caractère de sujet folklorique.

⁹⁴ MHG I. p. 336; d'après le Talmud babylonien aussi: Jebamot 103a—103 b; Nazir 23b; Horajot 10b; Niddah 55b et Tosefta Shabbat 8: 24.

⁹⁵ Midrash ha-Gedol I. 336; Midrash wa-Yiqra Rabba 23: 10.

⁹⁶ Yebamot 103a—103b; Nazir 23b; Horajot 10b.

⁹⁷ L'aggada citée par Rimzø Haftarot et Niddah 55b; v. L. GINZBERG 1938. VI. 198. n. 85.

5 : 24) le Talmud babylonien rappelle, parmi les femmes bénies, Yaël avec Sara, Rébecca, Rachel et Léa.⁹⁸

Deux sources postérieures mentionnent la vision de la mère de Sisera⁹⁹ d'après laquelle Sisera devait rentrer victorieux. Cette vision ne figure pas chez le Ps.-Philon — d'ailleurs, à l'endroit cité le motif semble remonter à Jg 5 : 28—31 — la description de la vision rappelle cependant l'histoire connue du Ps.-Philon. La mère de Sisera espère le triomphe de son fils après l'avoir vu coucher dans le lit d'une femme hébraïque ce qu'elle explique de façon qu'il va rentrer chez lui avec beaucoup de captives. Pareillement à ceci le texte du Ps.-Philon fait mention des intentions de Sisera avant le combat, lesquelles consistent à apporter de la guerre des captives. Le motif se fonde encore une fois sur les vers cités du Livre des Juges tout comme les passages du Zohar et de l'autre source, mais sous une forme anticipée le motif de l'acquisition des captives figure aussi chez le Pseudo-Philon. Un rapport éventuel entre les sources rabbiniques et le Ps.-Philon est encore à supposer de ce fait que le nom de la mère de Sisera est dans chacun d'eux Temah — un élément qui est cependant absent des autres sources.

3. LE MOTIF ANTIQUE DU «LIBER ANTIQUITATUM BIBLICARUM» LE CHANT FUNÈBRE DE LA FILLE DE JEPHTÉ

Dans la Bible la personne de Jephthé figure dans le 11^e chapitre du Livre des Juges. En 11 : 1—28 on lit de Jephthé lui-même, tandis que les vers 29—40 racontent son vœu et le sacrifice de sa fille. Chacun des deux passages comportent des éléments fabuleux ayant beaucoup de parallèles et qui sont généralement connus aussi du folklore mondial — dont la mise en fuite de Jephthé de chez soi, ensuite les honneurs qu'il obtient.¹⁰⁰ L'histoire du sacrifice de la fille de Jephthé contient elle aussi un motif fabuleux, celui du vœu fait sur une chose préalablement inconnue. Dans les contes parallèles antiques et européens le héros fait vœu que, une fois sauvé de sa situation difficile il va consacrer la première chose (ou le premier homme) qu'il rencontre à celui qui lui a prêté aide.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Le même fait réapparaît, sous une forme raccourcie en Jerahmeel 58 : 172. Le Talmud rappelle Yaël avec Sara et autres, en se basant sur Gn 24 : 67 et 41 : 33 ; BR 48 : 15, Nazir 23b ; cf. Targum Jud. 5 : 24.

⁹⁹ Zohar III. 119a et Sabbat wa-Jeze 27d. Avec le Pseudo-Philon concorde Jerahmeel 58 : 184.

¹⁰⁰ S. THOMPSON : Motif-Index of Folk-Literature. FF Communications 106. Helsinki 1932. L. 10.

¹⁰¹ S. THOMPSON 1932. S 241. Les variantes antiques du motif : Idoménée, roi de Crète fait à Poséidon le vœu de sacrifier la première personne qu'il rencontrerait, lorsqu'il serait rentré sain et sauf de la guerre de Troie : Servius ad Virg. Aen. III. 121 et XI. 264, ensuite le premier et le second mythographes du Vatican : Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini, I. (ed. G. H. BODE, 1834). 195, 210. Lors de la guerre phrygienne Mæandros fait le vœu de sacrifier à la Magna Mater, pour la victoire la première personne qui, chez lui, vienne le saluer — c'est son propre fils qui le saluera le premier, en compagnie de sa mère et sa sœur, cf. Plutarque De fluviis IX. 1.

L'histoire biblique de Jephthé comporte, hors les motifs de conte des autres motifs qui rappellent les cultes cananéens. Tel le passage sur lequel s'achève l'histoire du sacrifice de la fille : «Et de là vient cette coutume en Israël : tous les ans les filles d'Israël s'en vont se lamenter quatre jours par an sur la fille de Jephthé le Galaadite» (Jg 11 : 39—40). L'histoire elle-même ou plutôt le vœu de Jephthé sert à expliquer un culte cananéen en rattachant le motif de conte à l'histoire étymologique du culte de végétation. C'est que le deuil de quatre jours des jeunes femmes dans les montagnes fait effectivement partie du rite du culte de Miçpé et d'autres coutumes sont encore à citer dont le deuil d'Anat sur le Baal mort dans l'épopée ougaritique.¹⁰²

La première partie de l'histoire de Jephthé ne figure, dans l'œuvre du Ps.-Philon que brièvement, à titre d'indication. D'autant plus détaillée est la seconde partie, la description du sacrifice de la fille de Jephthé.

Du point de vue de la tradition du texte latin du LAB, le passage a ceci d'intéressant qu'il a été d'abord séparément publié. Sa première publication est due à J. B. Pitra («*Analecta sacra*»); or dans la série «*Texts and Studies*» de M. R. James il a été publié suivi des textes de «*Oratio Moysi*», «*Visio Zenez*» et «*Citharismus regis David*», c'est à dire d'autres passages de la chronique du Ps.-Philon.¹⁰³

Dans le texte du Ps.-Philon l'histoire est relatée non seulement sous une forme élargie en comparaison du texte biblique, mais aussi dans une conception différente de l'originale. Le premier motif de conte, le récit sur l'origine de Jephthé y est absent, et le vœu de Jephthé prend lui-même un autre sens dans la conception du Ps.-Philon que dans l'Ancien Testament. Le motif garde son caractère de conte en ceci que le Ps.-Philon souligne qu'il s'agit de la fille unique de Jephthé, mais le vœu, lui obtient une interprétation théologique. Que Jephthé soit un chef élu par le peuple et qu'il soit élu — chacun des deux moments sont bien mis en relief dans le texte du Ps.-Philon : «*Vehi principare populo. Quis enim scit si propterea salvatus es in dies istis, aut propterea liberatus es de manibus fratris tuorum, ut principeris in tempore hoc populo tuo*» (XXXIX. 3). La conscience de l'état d'élu de Jephthé fait voir le vœu sous un tout autre aspect — le texte du Ps.-Philon insiste énergiquement sur l'absurdité et la vanité du vœu contre la justice divine : «*Et iratus est Dominus ira et dixit : Ecce devovit Ieptan ut offerat mihi omne quod primum obviaverit ei. Ecce nunc si canis primus obviaverit Iepte numquid canis offeretur mihi. Et nunc fiat Iepte oratio eius in primogenitum fructum ventris sui, et peticio eius in unigenita ipsius. Ego autem liberans libero populum meum in eo tempore, non prod eo, sed pro oratione quam oravit Israel*» (XXXIX. 11).

¹⁰² H. RINGGREN 1963. 45.

¹⁰³ M. R. JAMES 1893.

La fille de Jephthé — appelée dans le texte du LAB Sheila — devient par là comme destinée au sacrifice. C'est-ce que souligne aussi l'étymologie hébraïque de son nom : «Iuste vocatum est nomen tuum Seila, ut offereris in sacrificium» (XL. 1). L'étymologie du texte hébraïque doit se baser sur le radical שאל ayant le sens de «demander, exiger, interroger», sa forme qui en dérive et qui est le plus rapprochée du nom de Sheila s'employant dans le sens de «demande» (שאלה).

Après le vœu que fit son père Sheila, suivie de ses amies se retire dans les montagnes pour y pleurer. Le rite de deuil est mentionné dans la Bible aussi : «Elle s'en alla avec ses compagnes et elle pleura sa virginité sur les montagnes» (Jg 11 : 38). La Bible ne fait qu'effleurer le chant funèbre, le Ps.-Philon, lui en présente le texte entier. Le chant funèbre de la fille de Jephthé n'a pas son pair parmi les variantes de l'histoire de Jephthé. Les manuscrits, eux aussi le font ressortir à l'intérieur du texte (dans le manuscrit de Budapest le chant est introduit par l'intitulation «Planctus Seile Filie Iepte») :

Le chant funèbre de Sheila s'œuvre sur un tableau naturel : c'est qu'elle prend à témoin la nature pour sa mort (les passages cités seront articulés conformément à la structure intérieure du texte) :

Audite	montes	trenum meum
intendite	colles	lacrimas oculorum meorum
testes estote	petres	in planctu anime mee (XL. 5)

Dans la suite il s'agit du motif de la mort de Sheila, ensuite le texte reprend la structure liturgique :

non sum saturata	thalamo meo
nec repleta sum	coronis nuptiarum meorum
non enim vestita sum	splendore secundum ingenuam meam
non sum usa	Moysi odoris mei (dans l'édition de M. R. James : preciosi odoramenti mei)
nec fronduit anima mea	oleo unctionis quod preparatum est mihi (XL. 6)

Voilà la troisième partie du texte qui précise le véritable sens du chant entier :

O mater, in vano peperisti unigenitam tuam
 (négation de l'existence terrestre)
 quoniam factus est infernus thalamus meus
 (combinaison de la mort avec les noces)
 ... et confectio omnis olei quam preparasti mihi effundetur
 (la négation des noces terrestres par la négation des éléments de la partie précédente, de caractère énumératif)

Et referentes me convirgines mee in genitum per dies plangant me (XL. 6)
(adieux à l'existence terrestre)

Le chant termine sur le tableau naturel initial :

Inclinate arbores ramos vestros et plangite iuventutem meam

Venite fere silvae et conculcate supra virgines meas

(James : supra virginitatem meam)

quoniam abscisi sunt anni mei, et tempus vite mee in tenebris inveterabit (XL. 7)

Le chant funèbre est suivi de la description du sacrifice et des funérailles de Sheila, ensuite le Ps.-Philon reprend le texte de la Bible : «Et fecerunt filie Israel planctum eius, et constituerunt in mense eo XIII die mensis ut convenientes per singulos annos plangerent filiam Iepte per dies quatuor. Et fecerunt nomen sepulchri eius iuxta nomen eius Seila (XL. 8). La tradition biblique se trouve donc élargie, chez le Ps.-Philon par l'indication du temps du culte et le motif étiologique relatif au lieu du culte.

L'Ancien Testament et le texte du Pseudo-Philon donnent ensemble une idée exacte du culte de végétation des Cananéens, les deux textes se complétant mutuellement. A travers le texte du Ps.-Philon s'impose aussi un parallèle littéraire grec : par l'interprétation du sacrifice, par le contenu et la structure du texte le chant funèbre de Sheila est remarquablement analogue à la complainte d'Antigone dans la tragédie de Sophocle.¹⁰⁴

Le chant de Sheila se fonde sur la tradition biblique, il représente une variante du motif connu de la Bible — sa mise en œuvre se modelant sur une forme littéraire grecque. Les deux histoires, le Ps.-Philon les réunit à partir de ce qu'elles ont de commun. Or, l'élément commun de la mort des deux filles — Sheila et Antigone — c'est le mythe de Perséphone, le rite du deuil sur la Korè dont le rite de végétation des Cananéens est un parallèle. Dans la tragédie de Sophocle la figure d'Antigone et celle de Perséphone se trouvent comme compénétrées, ou plutôt ce n'est qu'un aspect de Perséphone que Sophocle met en relief. Dans le mythe de Perséphone c'est encore la mort et le mariage qui se rattachant l'une à l'autre.¹⁰⁵ Leur liaison est évidente, la mort ayant pour opposé dialectique la renaissance, et le mariage, soit le rite d'initiation des jeunes filles sont également à concevoir comme une sorte de mort qui est renaissance. C'est que dans la langue des mythes le mariage achève une existence pour indiquer en même temps le commencement d'une nouvelle existence.

¹⁰⁴ Ce n'est qu'après l'achèvement du présent article que me sont devenus accessibles : M. ALEXIOU — P. DRONKE : The lament of Jephtha's daughter : themes, traditions, originality. *Studi medievali* 12 (1971) 819 — 863, ainsi que M. PHILOLENKO : Iphigénie et Sheila. In : *Les Syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine*. Paris 1973. 165 — 177. Ces études sont consacrées à l'analyse du passage du Pseudo-Philon examiné aussi dans le présent article, ensuite à ses parallèles littéraires grecs — dont le passage sur Antigone — et ceci sous un aspect différent du mien.

¹⁰⁵ Sur les différents aspects de Perséphone : C. C. JUNG — K. KERÉNYI : *Das göttliche Mädchen*. Amsterdam — Leipzig 1941. 39 — 50.

Cette conception se manifeste nettement dans les rites de noces qui, eux signifieraient partout dans le monde une fête à la fois de joie et de deuil.

Dans la tragédie de Sophocle, la figure d'Antigone se réalise, au cours du traitement du mythe de végétation, à travers certains intermédiaires. Perséphone meurt par ceci qu'elle se marie — pour Antigone de même que pour Sheila, le destin est de mourir *au lieu de* se marier. C'est toujours la mort et les noces qui se trouvent identifiées dans ces mythes d'Antigone où celle-ci doit être enterrée par Hémon.¹⁰⁶ Il se peut qu'il ne s'agit pas tellement d'une modification du mythe de Perséphone, de son ajustement à la figure d'Antigone mais plutôt de ceci que le mythe d'Antigone est en contact avec un rite qui fait revivre continuellement le mythe de Perséphone, rite dans lequel le personnage principal — la jeune fille destinée à être sacrifiée — apparaît en la figure d'Antigone. On ignore la tradition littéraire dans laquelle Sophocle prit la matière de sa tragédie, la figure et le problème même de l'héroïne étant absent des cercles mythiques antérieurs.¹⁰⁷

Les éléments communs du sacrifice de jeune fille sont à retrouver dans chacune des deux œuvres. Sheila est enfant unique, Antigone, elle, première-née. Leur mort est représentée sous forme de claustration. Le Ps.-Philon, il est vrai, n'en fait aucune mention, il ne parle que du tombeau de Sheila, qui deviendra le centre du culte, toutefois le motif sera à retrouver chez les auteurs juifs postérieurs. D'après D. Kimhi Jephthé aurait bâti une maison afin que, enfermée, sa fille y passât ses jours.¹⁰⁸ Ce moment rappelant le mythe de Danaë réapparaît dans la tragédie de Sophocle :

ἔτλα καὶ Δανάας οὐράνιον φῶς
ἀλλάξαι δέμας ἐν χαλκοδέτοις ἀύλαις.
κρυπτομένα δ' ἐν τυμβήρει θαλάμῳ κατεφεύχθη.

(944—946)

Certains passages de la complainte d'Antigone sont également à comparer avec le chant funèbre de Sheila :

τὸν παγκοίτην ἔθ' ὄρω θάλαμον
τήνδ' Ἀντιγόνην ἀνότουσαν

(804—805)

¹⁰⁶ Euripide, fragment d'Antigone et Hygine : 72. fab. 72. Sur les deux : J. CSENGERY : Euripidész elveszett drámáinak töredékei (Les fragments des drames perdus d'Euripide). Budapest 1926. 261—264.

¹⁰⁷ L'héroïne et les problèmes touchant sa personne sont absents du cercle de légendes d'Eschyle. G. MÜLLER : Sophokles' Antigone. Heidelberg 1967, affirme qu'il s'y agirait d'une libre invention de Sophocle. 21.

¹⁰⁸ L'exégèse médiévale de D. Kimhi sur Jg 11 : 39, v. L. GINZBERG 1938. VI. 203. n. 109.

(identification de la mort avec les nocés)

... οὐδ' ὕμναίων ἔγκληρον, οὐτ' ἐπινομφεῖός
 πῶ μέ τις ὕμνος ὕμνησεν, ἀλλ' Ἀχέροντι
 νομφεύσω (négation des nocés terrestres)

(812—816)

Les vers cités — identification de la mort avec des nocés et énumération des éléments de la fête de nocés — constituent justement l'essentiel de l'analogie entre les deux chants. Par leur forme et leurs motifs l'un et l'autre sont au fond des épithalames — sous une forme négative.¹⁰⁹ Le motif de l'identification de la mort avec les nocés passe pour un lieu commun de la littérature grecque. La même identification se fait noter dans la figure de l'Hyménée personnifié en tant que génie qui meurt jeune et qui est en rapport avec les nocés.¹¹⁰ L'identification est attestée dans les genres très divers : drame, épitaphe, poésie, roman, etc.¹¹¹ Parmi les identifications littéraires qu'il nous soit permis de citer les paroles d'Iphigénie sur sa propre mort sa figure étant — après Antigone — la plus rapprochée de celle de Sheila :

Τὴν δ' αὖ τάλαιαν παρθένον — τί παρθένον;
 "Αἰδῆς νιν ὡς εἶοικε νομφεύσει τάχα

(Eur. Iph. Aul. 460—461)

Antigone prend à témoin de sa mort également la nature — il se peut que ce motif, attesté dans chacun de deux chants, ait son origine dans le culte de végétation :

ὼ Διοκαῖαι κρηναί
 Θήβας τ' εὐαργάτου ἄλσος, ἔμπας ξυμμάρτυρας ὅμ' ἐπικτῶμαι,
 οἶα φίλων ἄκλαντος, οἷοις νόμοις
 πρὸς ἔργμα τυμβόχωστον ἔρχομαι τάφον ποταίνου

(843—848)

Antigone donne également sa malédiction à sa propre naissance — la malédiction passant, dans la tragédie grecque pour l'accomplissement du destin de famille, se transforme, chez Pseudo-Philon en une acceptation forcée de la volonté divine :

¹⁰⁹ Parmi ses antécédents littéraires les mieux connus sont les hyménées mentionnés en Hom. Iliade 18 : 493 et Euripide, Iphigénie en Aulide 1036.

¹¹⁰ Pindare, frg. 139 ; Servius ad Aen. I. 651.

¹¹¹ M. ALEXIOU—P. DRONKE : Studi Medievali 12 (1971) 830.

*ὠὸ ματρῶναι λέκτρων
 ἄται κοιμήματά τ' αὐτογέννητ' ἐμῶ πατρὶ δυσμόρου ματρὸς
 οἶων ἐγὼ ποθ' ἄ ταλαίφρων ἔφρον.*

(861—865)

La complainte d'Antigone s'achève par la combinaison de l'image du tombeau et de la chambre nuptiale, en résumant par là les motifs rappelés :

*ὦ τύμβος, ὦ νυμφεῖον, ὦ κατασκαφῆς
 οἴκησις ἀείφρουρος, οἷ πορεύομαι
 πρὸς τοὺς ἐμαντῆς, ὦν ἀριθμὸν ἐν νεκροῖς
 πλεῖστον δέδεκται Φερσέφασσ' ὀλωλότων*

(891—894)

En comparant les deux chants funèbres on sera amené à constater que celui de Sheila est composé avec plus de conception et fait plus nettement valoir le sens primitif du rite. La figure de Sheila est plus rapprochée, dans le récit lui-même, du rite, en étant comme la personnificatrice, tandis que, dans le cas d'Antigone les motifs du mythe de Perséphone ne sont que des éléments accessoires illustrant la mort de la jeune fille. La structure à cadres du chant funèbre de Sheila, les tableaux naturels initiaux et finaux indiquent eux-mêmes le rapport de l'histoire avec le mythe de végétation — et, à l'intérieur du cadre la suite des motifs et leur rapport entre eux représentent les étapes du rite de végétation.

Les motifs grecs que Pseudo-Philon emprunta à Sophocle ne sont pas sans parallèle — nous sommes pourtant conduits à croire que dans le LAB il ne s'agit pas d'un libre emprunt de motifs grecs, mais plutôt d'un exemple littéraire consciemment choisi. L'imitation consciente est très probable par cela même que dans les œuvres pseudépigraphiques et apocryphes (de même que dans la littérature aggadique tardive)¹¹² l'imitation consciente des motifs antiques, et plus spécialement des drames antiques est généralement répandue.¹¹³ Le texte du testament de Joseph dans le «Testament des Douze Patriarches»¹¹⁴ semble avoir subi l'influence du récit grec de Phèdre — bien qu'il s'agisse d'un sujet biblique (Gn 39 : 7—20) qui était très connu et répandu dans l'Orient antique entier. C'est encore une fois un exemple grec sur lequel se modèle le

¹¹² A. SCHEIBER: Die Parabel vom Schatz des Gelehrten. Acta Ant. Hung. 10 (1962) 233—235; A. SCHEIBER: Zu den antiken Zusammenhängen der Aggada. Acta Ant. Hung. 13 (1963) 267—272; A. SCHEIBER: Antikes und Aggada. Acta Ant. Hung. 17 (1969) 449—457; A. SCHEIBER: Neue Bemerkungen zu den antiken Zusammenhängen der Aggada. Acta Ant. Hung. 14 (1966) 225—229.

¹¹³ M. HADAS: Hellenistic Culture. Fusion and Diffusion. New York 1959. 300.

¹¹⁴ Test. Joseph 3.

drame intitulé «Exode» du juif Ezéchiel mais dont nous ne connaissons que quelques fragments¹¹⁵ et c'est aussi le cas du *Christus patiens* de Grégoire de Nazianze, daté du 4^e siècle de notre ère. Par leur forme les œuvres en question sont des imitations de drame, par leur contenu, des traités philosophiques et morales.

La tendance d'intégrer dans les œuvres des genres littéraires non épiques, des paraphrases hymniques est d'abord illustrée par Pseudo-Philon lui-même qui, lui introduisit dans le LAB cette incantation rappelée plus haut, d'origine essénienne. Le chant funèbre de Sheila, on le voit bien, tient-il sa place de toute évidence parmi les hymnes du LAB.

4. LES COMPLÉMENTS AGGADIQUES DU «LIBER ANTIQUITATUM BIBLICARUM»

Par compléments aggadiques nous entendons ces passages du LAB qui portant des additions plus ou moins courtes et dont les informations, sans dépendre directement de la composition structurale et de la conception idéelle de l'écrit, y apportent plutôt des menus compléments, d'un point de vue qui est en pleine conformité avec l'esprit de l'œuvre même. Leur fonction n'est pas de formuler une nouvelle conception, mais plutôt de mettre en relief l'importance des motifs subsistants et qui forment des parallèles avec d'autres motifs à l'intérieur de l'œuvre ou avec ceux d'autres œuvres, bref, ils sont comme des échos des motifs principaux.

Parfois, il ne s'agit même pas de motifs, mais des additions de quelques mots ajoutées au texte et lui permettant de fournir une explication des événements plus détaillée que ne le fait la Bible. Les compléments en question servent à expliquer surtout ces passages qui prêtent à équivoque ou qui, pour être parfaitement compris, nécessitent une opération, un supplément logiques. Un complément explicatif de cette sorte est chez le Pseudo-Philon ce passage de l'histoire de Moïse où l'ordre donnée par le Pharaon de massacrer les garçons des Hébreux et de laisser la vie aux filles est motivé comme ceci : «... feminas eorum reservabimus, ut eas nostris demus domus in uxores; et erit qui natus fuerit ex eis servus et serviebat nobis. Et hoc est quod pessimum visum est coram Domino» (IX. 1). Les midrash tardifs expliquent ce même passage par le caractère sensuel des Égyptiens.¹¹⁶

Le LAB fournit des explications non seulement là où la compréhension du texte l'exige absolument. Les nombreux compléments ajoutés aux dates historiques et aux noms des personnes et qui ont une fonction «légalisatrice», sont exigés par l'intention apologétique. Tels les tableaux généalogiques con-

¹¹⁵ I. TRENCSENYI-WALDAPFEL : Une tragédie grecque à sujet biblique. AOr 2 (1952) 143—163.

¹¹⁶ ER 7 : 40 et GINZBERG 1938 I. 222.

stituant la première partie presque entière du LAB et qui doivent leur continuité à l'énumération systématique et ininterrompue des données. Dans ceux-ci l'auteur ne manque d'énumérer le nom des membres des races. Les données numériques sont rapprochées de celles de la version des Septante, y sont presque identiques. Il est seulement à regretter que la forme très corrompue des noms ne permette pas chaque fois une analyse.

A propos de l'histoire de Caïn et d'Abel le Pseudo-Philon ne manque pas d'indiquer la date du sacrifice et l'âge des deux frères : au temps du sacrifice Caïn aurait eu 40 ans, Abel, lui 50. (II. 3). La même explication — avec des données numériques un peu différentes — réapparaît dans d'autres sources.¹¹⁷

Des compléments de cette sorte s'ajoutent aussi aux noms. Dans le LAB la femme de Caïn s'appelle Temach — la mère de Sisera ayant le même nom (II. 3 et XXXI. 8). Le Ps.-Philon, lui, n'ignore pas le nom des parents de Moïse : Amram et Yokabed. (IX. 9). Sur la même tradition semble avoir été fondé ce passage du «Testament des douze patriarches» où il est dit que Amram et Yokabed naquirent le même jour. Le nom d'Amram y est interprété comme le «redressement du peuple» puisque «c'est lui qui fait sortir le peuple d'Égypte». ¹¹⁸ L'élection d'Amram est rappelée dans plusieurs midrash, chez Joseph Flavien de même que dans la biographie de Moïse écrite par Philon.¹¹⁹ De pareilles explications étymologiques s'attachent au nom de Yokabed et on voit en elle l'une de ces dévotes femmes-sages qui sauvent les nouveaux-nés tout en s'opposant à l'ordre du pharaon.¹²⁰

Chez le Ps.-Philon Moïse est appelé par sa mère Melkiel (IX. 6). Les aggadas postérieures mentionnent plusieurs noms de Moïse donnés à celui-ci par ses parents, les autres membres de sa famille ou son peuple.¹²¹

Les parents de Samson s'appellent Manoah (dans le texte latin Manoe) et «Eluma, filia Remac» (XLII. 1). Le Ps.-Philon ne manque pas de raconter qu'ils se disputaient souvent en s'accusant mutuellement de la stérilité de leur mariage (XLII. 2). Dans les autres midrash les parents de Samson figurent aussi maintes fois. Dans les autres sources la mère de Samson s'appelle Hazlelponit ou Zelalponit. La Aggadat Bereshit semble savoir de sept femmes stériles pour qui un miracle se produisit : Sara, Rébecca, Léa, Rachel, Hanna, Hazlelponit et Cion. Une autre source veut que Hazlelponit soit l'une des 22 femmes chastes mentionnées dans le dernier chapitre des Prov.¹²² Manoah, le père de Samson figure, lui aussi, assez souvent. A partir de Jg 15 : 8 le Talmud identifie Etano

¹¹⁷ Tan. Bereshit 9.

¹¹⁸ Test. Lévi 12.

¹¹⁹ Joseph Flavien : Antiquitates II. 8 : 6 ; Philon : Vita Mosis 1.2.

¹²⁰ L. GINZBERG 1938. V. 393. n. 15.

¹²¹ Yashar Shemot 131 a ; WR 1.3 ; Dibrē ha-Yamim 3 ; PRE 48 ; Megilla 13a ; Targum sur Chronique I. 4 : 18 ; avec les dénominations du Pseudo-Philon concordent celles de Clément d'Alexandrie : Stromata I. 21.

¹²² Aggada Bereshit 52, 106—107 ; sur Hazlelponit MHG I. 337 ; sur les parents de Samson : Tan. B. IV. 160 ; Baba Batra 91a ; BaR 10 : 5.

rappelé dans le Livre des Chroniques avec le père de Samson. D'après Josèphe Manoah aurait été le plus grand homme de son époque.¹²³

Le Ps.-Philon nous fait apprendre le nom de ces deux espions qu'envoie Josué sur la terre à occuper: «Et vocavit Cenez et Semeniam fratrem eius, duos filios Caleph...» (XX. 6). Selon d'autres sources les espions sont Perets et Zerah, fils de Juda.¹²⁴

Le Ps.-Philon omet les histoires de Jacob mais ajoute des compléments à celle de Dina. Plus tard la jeune fille fut donnée en mariage à un homme nommé Job qui, à ce qu'on voit du texte serait identique au principal personnage du Livre de Job et de qui Dina aurait eu sept fils et trois filles, et ensuite, après la mort de ceux-ci encore sept fils et trois filles (VIII. 8).

La naissance de Moïse est prévue dans une vision de sa sœur Miriam. Celle-ci voit dans son rêve un homme vêtu en blanc qui lui prédit la naissance de Moïse et le salut du peuple (une scène pareille a lieu dans le testament de Lévi: dans son rêve Lévi voit également un homme portant des vêtements blancs de lin et paré des attributs sacerdotaux).¹²⁵

Le récit de la sortie d'Égypte est interrompu chez le Ps.-Philon par un court épisode: avant le passage de la mer Rouge, lorsque les soldats du pharaon sont sur le point de rattraper le peuple guidé par Moïse. A la vue du danger l'opinion de la foule est partagée: Les tribus de Ruben, Issachar, Zabulon et Siméon préfèrent mourir dans les eaux au lieu de se laisser tuer par l'ennemi. Celles de Gad, Asher, Dan et Nephtali veulent rentrer avec les persécuteurs, puisqu'il est mieux de servir vivant que de mourir. Seules les tribus de Lévi, Juda, Joseph et Benjamin restent attachées à leur décision, ils préfèrent prendre les armes et lutter (X. 3). Le système de la division des tribus est tout de suite évident. Les descendants de Jacob nés des captives choisissent la servitude, les tribus de Léa, la mort et seules les tribus de Rachel et les deux tribus élues de Léa ont confiance en l'assistance divine (l'appréciation des tribus est toute pareille dans le «Testament des Douze Patriarches»: Malgré leurs péchés commis Juda et Lévi seront élus, l'élection des tribus de Rachel allant de soi — dans cet écrit la division des tribus se fait encore une fois en considération de leur origine).

L'opinion partagée des tribus reflète chez le Ps.-Philon cette même conception qui, dans l'histoire d'Abraham a pour effet la différence de comportement entre Abraham et les autres. L'épisode du passage de la mer Rouge sert, chez le Ps.-Philon à expliquer l'élection des tribus de Lévi, Juda, Joseph et Benjamin tout comme explique l'autre épisode celle des descendants d'Abraham et des douze tribus (VI. 1—18).

¹²³ Joseph. Antiquitates V. 8 : 2—3.

¹²⁴ Tan. B. IV. 62 ; Tan. Shela 1 ; BaR 16 : 3.

¹²⁵ Test. Lévi 3.

Le motif de la division des tribus réapparaît ailleurs. Une partie des sources semble savoir — en conformité avec le Ps.-Philon — de trois groupes d'opinion.¹²⁶ Quelque part dans le Yashar Shemot on trouve une division à quatre.¹²⁷ Ici la division des tribus ne semble pas logique, au lieu de quelque conception autonome il s'agit plutôt de l'emprunt d'une tradition corrompue. A l'endroit en question ce sont les tribus de Ruben, Siméon, Issachar — Zabulon, Benjamin, Nephtali — Juda, Dan, Joseph — Lévi, Gad, Asher, qui se séparent les unes des autres.

L. Ginzberg fait remonter cette division à Ps 68 : 28; d'après lui elle représenterait donc une tradition autre que celle du Ps.-Philon.¹²⁸ Le passage décrivant les idoles de Mika passerait lui aussi, pour une précision aggadique (XLIV. 5).

Le passage du LAB traitant le Livre de Samuel est particulièrement riche en détails nuancés. Les détails servent ici à présenter Samuel sous un aspect favorable, et ceci en conformité avec la conception de la royauté de Saül et de David, soit avec celle du rôle que joua Samuel dans la royauté. Sans élargir la suite des événements proprement dite, de l'histoire de Samuel, le Ps.-Philon ne fait qu'ajouter des explications à chacun des événements. Il précise par exemple les raisons pour lesquelles Anna prononce une prière à haute voix avant la naissance de Samuel (I. 5). Lorsque, suivant le vœu d'Anna, Samuel est porté dans le temple, il y est accompagné par le peuple entier, celui-ci jouant à des instruments de musique — voilà comment l'offre de Samuel devient-elle chez le Ps.-Philon, à partir du vœu d'Anna, l'offre du peuple entier, et la voie de Samuel, elle, la marche solennelle de l'élu (LI. 7). Le Ps.-Philon nous fait aussi apprendre que Samuel avait huit ans quand il eut la première vision — pareillement en ceci à Moïse. En conformité avec le récit biblique, Samuel ignore d'abord qui lui avait parlé. C'est Éli qui renseigne le garçon : si la voix se fait entendre deux fois, à minuit et à midi, c'est l'esprit malin, si elle se fait entendre une troisième fois, c'est la voix de l'ange. Pour la troisième fois, Yahvé lui parle par la voix d'Elqana, le père de Samuel. Si Samuel l'aperçoit de l'oreille gauche, c'est d'après l'explication d'Éli, la voix de l'esprit malin. S'il entend l'oreille droit, c'est celle de l'esprit bon (LIII. 3—6).

Parfois, les éléments aggadiques servent à intégrer les passages en question dans un cercle de légendes. Tel le passage suivant de l'histoire de Samson : Samson après avoir sorti la porte de ville de Gaza, enlève un vantail, comme un bouclier au-dessus de l'épaule, et se sert de l'autre comme d'un épée, pour tuer 25 000 Philistins (XLIII. 3). Sur la force, sur la grandeur physique, sur

¹²⁶ Pirqa Rabbenu ha-Qedoš (éd. GRÜNHUT) Likkutim III Jerusalem 1898—1902, 43; Wa-Yosa 51—52.

¹²⁷ Yashar Shemot 146 a (Ruben, Simeon, Issachar, — Zabulon, Benjamin, Naphtali — Juda, Dan, Joseph — Lévi, Gad, Aser).

¹²⁸ L. GINZBERG 1938. VI. 4. n. 23.

les pieds mutilés de Samson, il y a nombre de traditions aggadiques : pour celles-ci, la manière de la transmission est de second ordre, puisque le récit biblique lui-même, de par son caractère de légende épique, a pu très facilement inspirer des légendes postérieures, et il est aussi à supposer que l'histoire biblique de Samson ait été élargie des éléments légendaires, prêtés du folklore mondiale.

L'autre élément de conte se rattache à la naissance d'Isaac. Chez le Ps.-Philon, la naissance d'Isaac est mentionnée dans le discours de Josué où il est indiqué que celui-là naquit sept mois après sa conception et avait par conséquent des qualités extraordinaires : «Et dedi ei Ysaac et plasmavi eum in metra eius que eum genuit, et precepi ei ut cicius restituens reddere eum mihi in mense septimo. Et propterea omnis mulier qui peperit septimo mense vivit filius eius, quoniam super eum vocavi gloriam meam» (XXIII. 8). Le motif de «l'enfant né au septième mois» fait généralement partie de la série suivante : une femme stérile supplie pour avoir un enfant — sa demande est accomplie : elle accouche d'un fils ayant des qualités extraordinaires (dons de prophète). Les midrash postérieurs nous informent sur les mêmes circonstances à propos d'autres personnages. Après d'Isaac, Samuel vit aussi le jour au septième mois.¹²⁹ (Il est remarquable que le Ps.-Philon reste sans le mentionner alors que dans son récit l'histoire se trouve également élargie à ce point : après la prière d'Anna, Éli apprend par inspiration divine qu'Anna sera accouchée d'un garçon — mais tout ce qu'il en fait savoir à la femme c'est que sa prière fut exaucée (I. 8). D'après Josèphe Flavius, Ichabod, le petit-fils d'Éli naquit au septième mois (Antt. V. 2 : 4). A propos de Moïse, un midrash suppose qu'il ait été né dans des circonstances pareilles¹³⁰ et en y lit encore que chacun des prophètes naquit — comme l'affirme aussi le Ps.-Philon — au septième mois. Le même motif apparaît dans le roman arabe d'Antar où la force extraordinaire du fils le plus brutal d'Antar, Khudzruf s'explique par cette croyance généralement répandue que si une femme enceinte vivant séparément de son mari met au jour son enfant au septième mois, celui-ci sera beaucoup plus développé et plus fort que de coutume.¹³¹

Après des additions objectives, des courts épisodes et éléments légendaires qui illustrent la conception de l'auteur sans pour autant s'intégrer dans la structure de l'œuvre, une nouvelle catégorie des compléments aggadiques est formée par ces renseignements dans lesquels le Ps.-Philon se réfère à une histoire fort bien connue de la Bible, comme par exemple dans le discours d'Amram à l'histoire de Tamar sans cette fois raconter l'histoire elle-même (IX. 5). Un

¹²⁹ Rosh ha-Shana 11a, Samel 3 : 52. Sur Isaac : Rosh ha-Shana 1c. Sur Ichabod : Josèphe Flavius : Antiquitates V. 2—4 ; MHG II. 13 croit savoir que chacun des prophètes serait né de cette façon.

¹³⁰ Pirge Rabbi Eliezer, Warszawa 1862, 48.

¹³¹ B. HELLER : Az arab Antar-regény (Le roman arabe d'Antar). Budapest 1918. 198.

passage de ce type peut être cité à propos de Samuel : en décrivant l'orgueil de Fenenna envers Anna, stérile, l'auteur du LAB cite l'exemple de Rachel que Jacob avait aimée malgré sa stérilité — mais ceci sans raconter l'histoire elle-même (I. 2). Cette méthode est une caractéristique générale de l'aggada primitive. Pareillement au Ps.-Philon, certains endroits du Livre des Chroniques, comportent également des allusions à d'autres passages (13 : 22 et 24 : 27), au Livre du prophète Iddo et au midrash du Livre des Rois.

Dans un autre groupe des compléments aggadiques se rangent les récits où le texte du Ps.-Philon met en relief un épisode de l'histoire biblique alors que pour les autres il se réduit à les mentionner (tel le passage relatif à Délila dans l'histoire de Samson, XLIII. 5—7). Lorsque l'auteur laisse inexplicés certains passages, il le fait à dessein, ayant notamment le but de présenter à travers le motif mis en relief l'événement entier de l'histoire, sous forme d'enseignement moral. Dans l'histoire de Samson, la cause de la chute de Samson n'est pas sa passion pour Délila comme le veulent les midrash tardifs,¹³² mais bien le péché de la « commixtio », c'est-à-dire celui de s'être détourné du Dieu de son peuple. C'est pour cela que Samson perd sa force et devient prisonnier, et non pour s'être laissé couper les cheveux. Notons d'ailleurs que c'est ce type d'explications aggadiques qui est le plus rapproché de l'interprétation morale des exégèses postérieures.

Les additions aggadiques causent à leur tour, un problème, celui du rapport entre l'œuvre du Pseudo-Philon et le genre aggadique. Les motifs de l'aggada prise dans son sens traditionnel, se sont formés dans des circonstances autres que le texte du LAB. L'aggada fut créée au cours de la décomposition du texte biblique et l'explication de certains passages, de certaines propositions de celui-là. Ces explications doivent leur naissance à des raisons différentes : tel passage écrit comporte un mot dont le sens est à préciser (corruptions éventuelles du texte), ou bien le texte est lui-même défectueux, c'est-à-dire qu'il n'est pas en lui-même suffisant pour être compris ou qu'il se trouve en contradiction apparente avec d'autres passages bibliques et enfin, le texte ou son sens apparent semblent inadmissibles. Les types énumérés, G. Vermes les qualifie de « pure exegesis ».¹³³ Cependant l'exégèse pure ne se rencontre que dans le cas des textes officiellement admis, canonisés et admis par la tradition aussi, et fixés avec exactitude, c'est-à-dire là, où c'est justement le rattachement littéral au texte qui rend nécessaire les explications aggadiques. Or, il n'en est pas ainsi des textes du Ps.-Philon. Ici, il s'agit plutôt d'une libre interprétation de la Bible, de la formation de la matière, à partir d'un propre point de vue. Le mobile de l'œuvre étant tout à fait autre, le texte, lui, n'en comporte pas moins des passages analogues par leur méthode à des explications des textes

¹³² L. GINZBERG 1938. VI. 208. n. 121.

¹³³ G. VERMES : Bible and Midrash : Early Old Testament Exegesis. The Cambridge History of the Bible I. Cambridge 1970. 203.

postérieurs, voire même — et c'est ce que prouve la tradition postérieure — dans plus d'un cas, c'est justement le LAB qui sert de base pour les aggadas postérieures.

Va-t-on donc affirmer que le LAB soit une œuvre de caractère midrashique? S'agit-il d'une aggada? Ce problème du LAB touche bon nombre d'autres œuvres. Le midrash est — d'après la conception de R. Bloch¹³⁴ — une œuvre qui a pour point de départ la Bible, en est donc une sorte d'écho, une méditation sur la Bible. Pratiquement, il dérive de la lecture et de l'explication liturgiques de la Tôra. D'où résultent son but et sa spécialité de genre consistant celle-ci à éclaircir les passages obscurs et à chercher des analogies au texte lu. Bien entendu, au cours des explications, s'y trouvent introduits des éléments faisant depuis longtemps partie de la tradition orale ou qui comportent des actualités (événements historiques). Par la suite des différences de genre subsistant à l'intérieur de la Bible, la littérature midrashique se divise en deux parties : la halaka est l'explication des passages d'ordre juridique, des articles de la loi, tandis que l'aggada sert à éclairer les passages épiques (historiques, narratifs).

La formation des œuvres midrashiques est étroitement liée à la formulation du texte biblique — ce qui ne revient pourtant pas à dire qu'antérieurement, il n'ait été écrit de midrash, le Livre des Chroniques canonisé en étant lui-même un. De même, les écrits des prophètes d'après la captivité comportant maints passages qui sont, eux, l'interprétation d'autres passages bibliques. Ce processus ayant pris naissance dans le contexte biblique, se poursuit dans les œuvres postérieures qui ne sont plus canonisées : dans la littérature de sagesse, dans la littérature pseudépigraphique (dont nous nous permettons de mettre en relief par sa parenté méthodique et thématique avec le Pseudo-Philon, «Le Livre des Jubilés»), dans les passages bibliques de la *'Ioudaïkē' Archaïologia* de Josèphe Flavius, dans les textes des rouleaux de la Mer Morte, et aussi dans la version des Septante et, finalement, dans le Nouveau Testament où, d'après G. Vermes, chaque forme midrashique serait attestée.¹³⁵ Les œuvres citées ne sont pas identiques avec la notion des midrash amoréens et tannaïtiques postérieurs. Elles s'inspirent de la Bible sans en expliquer le texte, leur structure ne suivant que vaguement celle de l'Ancien Testament. Mais, malgré la différence de genre par rapport au midrash postérieur, la matière relève du midrash — ces textes sont, en effet, des formes réalisées de l'aggada d'avant l'exégèse prétannaïtique et chrétienne. A la lumière des textes cités, la définition du genre

¹³⁴ R. BLOCH: Note méthodologique pour l'étude de la littérature rabbinique. RSR 48 (1955) 194—227.

¹³⁵ G. VERMES 1970. 8. Pour les midrash primitifs: R. BLOCH: CahSi 8 (1954) 9—34. E. J. BIKERMANN: The Septuagint as a Translation. PAAJR 28 (1959) 1—39; W. BACHER: Die Proömien der alten jüdischen Homilie. Leipzig 1913; G. VERMES: Haggadah in the Onkelos Targum. JSS 8 (1963) 159—169; G. WIDENGREN: Tradition and Literature in Early Judaism and the Early Church. Numen 10 (1963) 42—83.

de l'aggada et du midrash, sera, elle-même, modifiée, pour comprendre désormais non seulement les explications de texte proprement dites, mais aussi ces œuvres d'inspiration biblique traitant et élargissant la matière de la Bible sous un aspect spécial, œuvres qui furent créées au cours du processus accompagnant l'établissement précis et la formation du canon définitif des Livres de l'Ancien Testament. C'est ce processus qui représente l'histoire de genre de l'aggada, ensuite sa division en exégèse chrétienne et aggada, ces dernières passant pour des formes figées du genre.

Cependant, les exégèses d'avant les explications tannaitiques et chrétiennes, comportent déjà — même si ce n'est sous la forme postérieure du midrash — les caractéristiques essentielles des midrash. Si, en se basant sur le LAB, nous cherchons à définir la mesure dans laquelle les interprétations de motifs du texte obéissent-elles aux règles du Hillel, celles-ci prescrivant les caractéristiques de la halaka et aussi celles de l'aggada, pareille par ses méthodes à celle-là, nous observons plusieurs traits communs. Le Ps.-Philon a souvent recours aux analogies (comme par exemple, dans le discours cité ci-dessus d'Amram où est rappelé l'exemple de Tamar, IX. 5). On y retrouve des passages semblables à d'autres passages bibliques — et c'est là une caractéristique fondamentale de la composition du texte. Cette ressemblance n'est bien entendu pas telle qu'elle apparait dans les exégèses : le Ps.-Philon ne fait que rendre reconnaissables certaines ressemblances, le texte ne les précisant nulle part, bref, cette méthode se trouve à mi-chemin entre le texte biblique et l'explication aggadique.

En même temps, la méthode du Ps.-Philon laisse déjà entrevoir l'exégèse chrétienne dont les débuts apparaissent en effet dans l'activité des apôtres expliquant, eux, les doctrines de Jésus à travers le texte de l'Ancien Testament. C'est dans les interprétations d'Origène que prend une forme définitive la méthode explicative, allégorique des exégèses chrétiennes,¹³⁶ l'explication littéraire, morale et mystique de la Bible se poursuivant dans l'activité d'Ambroise et d'Augustin. Le combat de David et Goliath qu'on lit chez Augustin et qui est à interpréter symboliquement (dans le sens du combat de Jésus avec l'esprit malin)¹³⁷ peut avoir pour modèle l'histoire analogue relatée par le Ps.-Philon, où on devine les débuts de l'interprétation symbolique dans la description de la lutte de David aidé par l'ange.

Somme toute, le LAB sera rangé parmi les aggadas primitives. L'analyse de sa structure et de son texte nous permet d'affirmer que le texte comporte non seulement les débuts des règles logiques des midrash postérieurs, mais aussi les spécialités de genre de ceux-ci. Cette manière de composition rappelée au cours de l'analyse de structure, et qui consiste à établir des analogies et à insé-

¹³⁶ H. DE LUBAC : *Exégèse médiévale*. Paris 1959. I. 171 — 219.

¹³⁷ Augustin : *Sermo XXXII*. 5 — 6.

rer des motifs de répétition et ceci avec la composition d'analogies ou de séries analogiques, sera au fond à considérer comme le début de genre des midrash homilétiques. Cependant, la matière est ici plus riche que dans les midrash rappelés. Non seulement elle comporte les passages destinés à lecture solennelle du Deutéronome et des Livres des prophètes et leurs parallèles, mais elle représente le pendant de l'entière matière biblique, comprise et traitée par le LAB.¹³⁸

Les analogies du LAB sont déjà marquées de la caractéristique postérieure des midrash homilétiques. C'est que les passages mis en parallèle, dérivent, pour la plupart, non du Pentateuque, mais des livres hagiographiques.

Les additions qualifiées dans notre analyse, de compléments aggadiques, marquent non pas en elles-mêmes les passages aggadiques du LAB, mais elles représentent l'autre groupe de genre monumental de la tradition midrashique, celui du midrash explicatif (*Auslegungsmidrašim*)¹³⁹ qui, lui, explique le texte suivant l'ordre des vers en y ajoutant des compléments, des épisodes. Les midrash explicatifs sont, pour leur plupart, de caractère halachique — et sans être eux-mêmes les traits caractéristiques de l'œuvre du Ps.-Philon confèrent par leurs compléments, une couleur spéciale au texte, et pour ce qui est de leur popularité, la transmission postérieure est là à en témoigner.

Budapest.

¹³⁸ H. STRACK 1921. 197.

¹³⁹ H. STRACK 1921. 197.

DIE ZWEI L. NERATII PRISCI UND NERATIUS PRISCUS DER JURIST

I

Eine sechszeilige Bauinschrift aus Saepinum, die mit Th. Mommsen's Ergänzungen in das *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* aufgenommen wurde¹ und die seither als die zuverlässige epigraphische Grundlage für die Beurteilung der Laufbahnen der in dieser Inschrift erwähnten zwei L. Neratii Prisci gegolten hat, schien es unzweideutig bezeugen, daß von diesen zwei Senatoren der Ältere noch die ungeteilte Provinz Pannonia, der Jüngere dagegen nacheinander schon die Provinzen Pannonia inferior und superior verwaltet haben. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf diese Angaben unserer Inschrift wurde die pannonische Statthalterschaft des älteren L. Neratius Priscus in der Fachliteratur entweder in die Jahre zwischen 94—97,² oder in jene zwischen 102—106,³ bzw. 102—105⁴ während die Legation des jüngeren homonymen Senators in Unterpannonien in die Spätjahre der Regierung Traians,⁵ oder in die Anfangsjahre der Regierung Hadrians,⁶ und jene in Oberpannonien entweder in die frühere,⁷ oder in die spätere⁸ Regierungsjahre Hadrians versetzt.

¹ CIL IX 2455. Danach D. 1034, mit Weglassung der ergänzten Endformel, [...s.p.f.]:

L. Neratius L. f. [Vol. Priscus] | praef. aer. Sat., cos., [leg. pr. pr. prov.] | Pannonia. L. Neratius L. f. Vol. Pr[iscus? f., cos.] | VII vir. epul., leg. Aug. pr. pr. P[annonia] | inferiore et Pannonia [superiore].

² W. REIDINGER, Die Statthalter des ungeteilten Pannonien und Oberpannoniens, *Antiquitas*, R. 1., B. 2., Bonn 1956, 58 f. Vgl. A. Mócsy s. v. «Pannonia», *RE Suppl.* IX (1962), 589.

³ So schon E. RITTERLING, Die Statthalter der pannonischen Provinzen, *AEM.* 20 (1897), 14 f. Ähnlich Á. Dobó, Die Verwaltung der röm. Provinz Pannonien von Augustus bis Diocletianus, Budapest 1968, 41 f.

⁴ R. SYME, *Governors of Pannonia*, *Gnomon*, 29 (1957), 515 ff. = *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest 1971, 177 ff., bes. 185 f. (zit. im späteren nach diesem Sammelband), der nach dem Vorgang E. Groag's, s. v. «Metilius», *RE* XV (1935), 1401, n. 19 den P. Metilius Nepos (*suff.* 103), als den unmittelbaren Nachfolger des L. Neratius Priscus d. Ä. für die Jahre 105/106 vorgeschlagen hat. Ihm folgt W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian*, *Vestigia*, B. 13., München 1970, 160 f.

⁵ E. GROAG, s. v. «Neratius», *RE* XVI (1936), 2547 f., n. 13. Dafür war auch W. REIDINGER, a. O. 70.

⁶ E. RITTERLING, Die legati pro praetore von Pannonia inf. seit Traian, *ArchÉrt.* 41 (1927), 283 f. (um 119 ff.). J. FITZ, Legati Augusti pro praetore Pannoniae inferioris, *Acta Ant.* 11 (1963), 253 f. (zwischen 118—120), vgl. auch *AlbaR.* 11 (1970/1971), 146. R. SYME, *DP* 227 und 234 (from 119—). W. ECK, a. O. 186 f. stimmte der Datierung von J. FITZ zu. Á. DOBÓ, a. O. 48 f. läßt die Datierungsfrage offen.

⁷ W. REIDINGER, a. O. 69 f. (120 ff.). Ähnlich Á. DOBÓ, a. O. 125.

⁸ E. RITTERLING, *Statthalter* (Anm. 3.) 18 f. (zweite Hälfte der hadrianischen Zeit). R. SYME, *DP* 186 (before 133). J. FITZ, a. O. 254 (before 130). W. ECK, a. O. 230 legt sich nicht fest.

Im letzteren Jahrzehnte kündigte man jedoch wichtiges neues Material an, das geeignet ist, die bisherige teils unsichere Zeitordnung der Laufbahn dieser zwei Senatoren vom Grund aus zu modifizieren.

Zuerst wurde von einer neuen Inschrift aus Saepinum benachrichtigt, die den *cursus honorum* des jüngeren L. Neratius Priscus enthält.⁹ Aus dieser Inschrift konnte dann B. Thomasson durch das freundliche Entgegenkommen italienischer Kollegen unlängst den nachfolgenden Textteil mitzuteilen:¹⁰

[[*eg. Aug. pr. pr. in*]] *a inferiore et Pannonia.*

Schon etwa früher, wurde auch die anlässlich dieser neuen Inschrift dringends nötig gewordene Revision der eingangs erwähnten Bauinschrift aus Saepinum von G. Camodeca durchgeführt¹¹ und der revidierte Text, wie folgt, vorgelegt:

L. Neratius L. f. [Vol(tinia) Priscus] | praef(ectus) aer(arii) Sat(urni), co(n)s(ul),
[[*eg(atus) pr(o) pr(aetore) in prov(inci)a*]] | *Pannonia.*

L. Neratius L. f. Vol(tinia) Pr[iscus, q(uaestor), tr(ibunus) pl(ebis), pr(aetor),
co(n)s(ul),] | VIIvir epul(onum), leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) [n pro-
vinc(ia) Germania] | inferiore et Pannonia.

Das wesentliche Neue, worüber uns die obigen zwei Inschriften belehren, betrifft vor allem die konsulare Laufbahn des jüngeren L. Neratius Priscus. Seine Legation vor 107 in der noch ungeteilten Provinz Pannonia bezeugen die beiden Inschriften in vollem Einklang miteinander. Vor dieser Legation war unser Senator Statthalter in einer «*provincia . . . inferiore*». Der Vollname dieser Provinz fehlt in beiden Inschriften. Vor der administrativen Teilung Pannoniens etwa im Winter 106/7¹² existierten jedoch im römischen Reich bekanntlich nur zwei Provinzen, die in ihren Namen das komparative Adjektiv, *inferior*, getragen haben und zwar Germania inf. und Moesia inf. G. Camodeca entscheidet für die erstere Provinz. In der Tat ist kaum eine andere Lösung

⁹ S. die knappe Mitteilung von V. CIANFARANI, *Fasti Arch.* 22. 1967 (1971), 344, n. 5030.

¹⁰ B. THOMAE, *LP I.* 2 (1979), n° 18, p. 7, wo bemerkt er noch u. a.: «*Torellii mecum communicaverunt, post verba 'et Pannonia' nihil incisum esse.*»

¹¹ G. CAMODECA, *La carriera del giurista L. Neratius Priscus*, *Atti dell'Accademia di scienze morali e politiche Napoli*, 87 (1976), 19 ff., bes. 24.

¹² In der neueren Literatur wird die Zweiteilung der Provinz im allgemeinen in die Zeit unmittelbar nach dem Ende des 2. Dakerkriegs verlegt. J. FITZ, a. O. 246 f. R. SYME, *DP* 227 (u. a.), G. ALFÖLDY, *Die Legionslegaten der römischen Rheinarmeen*, *ES* 3, 1967, 23 f. W. ECK, *Senatoren*, 9. G. CAMODECA, a. O. 28. — An das J. 103 hält sich A. MÓCSY nach dem Vorgang W. REIDINGER's (a. O. 18 f.) fest: *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London and Boston 1974, 92 — was aber nach der revidierten Lesung der saepinatischen Bauinschrift der Neratier (D 1034) kaum aufrecht erhalten werden kann. Eine Neubehandlung der prätorischen Laufbahn Hadrian's [s. *Historia*, 30 (1981), im Druck] hat mich zur obigen, im Text angegebenen Datierung, Ende 106/Anfang 107 geleitet.

möglich, insofern es zu bestätigen läßt, daß der jüngere L. Neratius Priscus mit dem gleichnamigen Suffektkonsul des J. 97. identisch ist. In diesem Fall konnte nämlich dieser Senator nach seinem Konsulat und vor seiner pannonischen Legation, die er wohl schon vor Ende 102 angetreten hat,¹³ nur die Provinz Germania inferior verwalten, wo in den Provinzialfasten nach 90 und vor 101/102 eine größere Lücke sich zeigt,¹⁴ nicht aber die Provinz Moesia inferior, wo alle Statthalter aus dem Zeitraum zwischen 97 und 102 bekannt sind.¹⁵ Die angenommene Identität des jüngeren L. Neratius Priscus mit dem homonymen Suffektkonsul des J. 97. unterliege jedoch nur dann keinem Zweifel, wenn aus der senatorischen Familie der Neratier von Saepinum das höchste Amt unter Domitian und Nerva - von L. Neratius Marcellus abgesehen - nur allein die zwei Neratii der revidierten Bauinschrift bekleidet hätten. Die auf diese Jahrzehnte bezüglichen Konsulfasten bezeugen nämlich nur zweimal den Konsulat je eines L. Neratius Priscus und zwar in den Jahren 87.¹⁶ und 97.¹⁷ Es scheint nach diesem Tatbestand wirklich auf der Hand liegen, daß der ältere L. Neratius Priscus mit dem homonymen Suffektkonsul des J. 87., während der Jüngere mit jenem des J. 97. identische Persönlichkeiten sind und demgemäß der letztgenannte Senator in den ersten Regierungsjahren Traians die Provinz Germania inferior, danach aber die ungeteilte Provinz Pannonia verwaltet hat.

Diese einfache Lösung betrübt aber ein dritter Neratius Priscus der bekannte Jurist, der einmal ebenfalls Suffektkonsul gewesen war¹⁸ und zwar kaum bedeutend früher oder später als sein Bruder L. Neratius Marcellus (*suff.* 95).¹⁹ Für diese drei Neratii Prisci, die alle drei einmal in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 1. Jh. die Fasces geführt haben, sind jedoch, wie es im Obigen schon angemerkt wurde, in den erhaltenen Konsulfasten nur zwei Plätze

¹³ Sein Vorgänger, Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola, ist am 19. November 102 noch in der Provinz bezeugt (CIL XVI 47), am Idus Januar 103 (belegt ist zwar erst am 19. Januar 103: A. DEGRASSI, FC 31) hat aber Agricola seinen zweiten Suffektkonsulat wohl schon in Rom und nicht *in absentia* in der Provinz angetreten.

¹⁴ Vgl. W. ECK, *Senatoren*, 141 ff., 242, der aber noch mit der möglichen Statthalterschaft des L. Licinius Sura zwischen 97/98 und 100/101 gerechnet hat. Diese Möglichkeit hat aber inzwischen nach der vom M. SPEIDEL vorgelegten Inschrift aus Grammeni [JRS 60 (1970), 75 ff. = AE 1969/1970, 583] ihre Berechtigung eingebüßt. Für die Einzelheiten s. die Argumentierung von G. CAMODECA, a. O. 25 f.

¹⁵ So bezeugt sind: im Januar 97, (L.) Iul. Mar[inius?] (CIL XVI 41); am 14. August 99, Q. Pomponius Rufus (CIL XVI 44 und 45); am 25. Oktober 100, M' Laberius Maximus (PIR² L 9), den wohl noch vor Ende 102 Q. Fabius Postuminus abgelöst hat. PIR² F 54. Vgl. W. ECK, a. O. 160. G. CAMODECA, a. O. 25, Anm. 44.

¹⁶ N. ALFIERI, *I fasti consolari di Potentia*, Athenaeum, 26 (1948), 110 ff. = AE 1949, 23. A. DEGRASSI, FC 26.

¹⁷ G. BARBIERI, *Nuovi frammenti dei Fasti Ostiensi*, Studi Romani, I (1953), 366 = AE 1954, 220. S. auch L. VIDMAN, *Fasti Ostienses*, Praha 1957. 17 und zuletzt F. ZEVI, *Consoli del 97 d. Cr. in due frammenti già editi dei FO.*, *Listy Filologické*, 96 (1973), 125 ff., bes. 137 = AE 1975, 132.

¹⁸ Dig. 1.2.2, 53.

¹⁹ Einige Angaben über die Intervalle der Konsulaten zweier Brüder findet der Leser dieser Zeilen unten, S. 461, Anm. 68.

vorhanden, ein im J. 87 und ein anderer im J. 97. Diese Schwierigkeit wurde von G. Camodeca mit der nicht näher begründeten Annahme umgegangen, daß der Jurist mit dem jüngeren L. Neratius Priscus identisch ist und so der gleichnamige Suffektkonsul des J. 87. nur mit dem älteren, während jener des J. 97. nur mit dem jüngeren L. Neratius Priscus, d. h. mit dem Juristen identisch sein kann.

Diese angenommene Identität des Juristen mit dem jüngeren L. Neratius Priscus ist aber mehr als fraglich. Zunächst, wir kennen nicht einmal den Vornamen des Juristen. In den gewiß auf ihn bezüglichen schriftlichen Quellen, vor allem in den Digesten, wird er nie mit *tria nomina* genannt, sondern nur als Neratius Priscus, bzw. Priscus Neratius, oder schlicht nur als Neratius.²⁰ Unser Rechtsgelehrte könnte also höchstens, müßte aber nicht unbedingt den *Lucius*-Vorname führen. Dieser Umstand macht schon an und für sich berechtigtes Bedenken gegen seine Identifizierung mit dem jüngeren *Lucius* Neratius Priscus.

Eine weitere Betrachtung verstärkt nur die Schwierigkeiten einer solchen Identifizierung. Nach der Veröffentlichung der *Cursus*inschrift des jüngeren L. Neratius Priscus aus Larinum²¹ ist es nämlich unzweifelhaft geworden, daß dieser Senator, wie auch sein gleichnamiger Vater zur plebejischen Schicht des Senatorenstandes gehört haben. Ebenso steht es aber von jeher fest, daß der Bruder des Juristen dagegen ein Neupatrizier gewesen war.²² Wenn nun jetzt nimmt jemand die Identität des Juristen mit dem jüngeren L. Neratius Priscus an, der muß notgedrungen irgendeine Adoptionsart postulieren, um die Zugehörigkeit des Rechtsgelehrten zur plebejischen Nobilität, während jene seines Bruders zum Patriziat verständlich zu machen. Dies Erfordernis erkennend war es also ganz logisch, daß nachdem die frühere Fassung einer Adoption²³ in der Beleuchtung des neuen Inschriftbestandes sich als überwundene herausgestellt hat, zur weiteren Aufrechthaltung der Identität eine neue Version der Adoption vorgelegt wurde.²⁴ Diese läßt sich, wie folgt, kurz zusammenzufassen:

Der Jurist und sein Bruder waren die Söhne des älteren L. Neratius Priscus (*suff.* 87). Der Erstgeborene L. Neratius Marcellus wurde dann von seinem vermeintlichen Onkel, M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa (*suff.* 73?) adoptiert und bald darauf vom Kaiser Vespasian im J. 73 oder 74 unter die Patrizier adlegiert. Der jüngere Sohn, der Jurist, und sein Vater blieben dagegen weiterhin Plebejer.

²⁰ S. die zusammengestellte Neratius-Zitate in der Textausgabe von P. KRUEGER — TH. MOMMSEN, p. 938. S. noch, V. Hadr. 18,1: Neratius Priscus.

²¹ O. FREDA, Epigrafi inedite di Larino, Contributi dell'Istit. di Filol. Class. Milano, I 1963, 238 f. = AE 1969/1970, 152. Die letzten Zeilen emendiert jetzt von G. CAMODECA, a. O. 30, Anm. 75.

²² D. 1032.

²³ R. SYME, The Jurist Neratius Priscus, *Hermes*, 85 (1957), 480 ff., bes. 491 f.

²⁴ G. CAMODECA, a. O. 24, 32 f.

Die Adoption des Marcellus durch Hirrius Fronto läßt sich jedoch nicht beweisen, ja das meiste spricht dagegen. In jeder Form einer Adoption²⁵ mußte nämlich der Adoptivsohn nach der eingebürgerten Sitte den Vollnamen oder zumindest einen Namensteil seines Adoptivvaters aufnehmen,²⁶ mit möglicher Beibehaltung seines vorigen Namens, bzw. Namensteilen. Wenn also der Adoptivvater M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa hieß, dann wäre es zu erwarten, daß der Adoptivsohn ebenfalls ein Polyononym gewesen war,²⁷ dessen Vollname etwa als M (oder mit möglichen Beibehaltung des vorigen Vornamens, L) Hirrius Fronto Neratius Marcellus geläutet hat. In den auf unserem Marcellus bezüglichen schriftlichen Quellen, in den Konsulfasten und dem Militärdiplom von Malpas,²⁸ trägt aber dieser Senator nur die schlichten *tria nomina*: L. Neratius Marcellus. In den Konsullisten und Militärdiplomen kommen zwar die Konsuln, bzw. die Statthalter meist nicht mit ihren Vollnamen vor.²⁹ Eben darum sind die Angaben dieser Dokumente für die Beurteilung der evtl. Vollnamen der in diesen Quellen benannten Amtsträger nicht immer richtungsgebend. Wie man es auch nimmt, im Fall des Marcellus sind nur die *tria nomina* bezeugt, die aber keinen Rückschluß auf seiner vermeintlichen Adoption durch Hirrius Pansa zulassen. Das beste, von dieser ganz hypothetischen Annahme ein für alle Mal abzusehen.

In dem ganzen komplizierten Fragekomplex der Familienverhältnisse der Neratier wäre zurzeit die meist beruhigende Lösung mit zwei verschiedenen Zweigen innerhalb dieser senatorischen Familie aus Saepinum zu rechnen, von denen die eine, zu der Marcellus und sein Bruder, der Jurist angehört haben, von Vespasian und Titus im J. 73 oder 74 unter die Patrizier aufgenom-

²⁵ Vgl. Dig. 1.7.1: *quod adoptionis nomen est quidem generale, in duas autem species dividitur, quarum altera adoptio similiter dicitur, altera adrogatio. adoptantur filii familias, adrogantur qui sui iuris sunt.* Ähnlich schon Gai., Inst. 1.99.

²⁶ Zur Frage mit konkreten Beispielen s. Br. DOER, Die römische Namengebung, Stuttgart 1937 (Reprint, Arno Press New York 1975), 74 ff.

²⁷ In der früheren Literatur tauchte aufgrund eines Inschriftfragments aus Saepinum (CIL IX 2513) in der Tat schon einmal jene kühne Gedanke auf, daß Marcellus war ein Polyononym und hieß vielleicht L. Neratius [Marcellus] Iunius Macer. GROAG, RE XVI, 2542. Die Zusammengehörigkeit dieses Fragments und der seit B. Borghesi's Vorgang allgemeinen dem L. Neratius Marcellus zugewiesenen akephalen Inschrift aus Saepinum (D 1032) hat sich aber bisjetzt nicht bestätigt.

²⁸ Cf. AE 1940, 92, CIL VI 527, bzw. XVI 48.

²⁹ Es ist unnötig, diese wohlbekannte Tatsache bezüglich der Konsullisten mit Belegen zu bezeugen. Die von den Militärdiplomen befolgte Praxis kann man aber hinreichend mit einem einzigen, doch m. E. sehr lehrreichen Beispiele beleuchten.

Cn. Pinarius Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus hat in den Amtsjahren 85/86 und vielleicht noch 86/87 die Provinz Iudaea, zwischen 93/94 und 96/97 Moesia superior und danach unvermittelt die Provinz Pannonia etwa bis zur Mitte 98 verwaltet. Aus seinen Amtszeiten kennen wir 4, auf die Auxiliarheere dieser Provinzen bezüglichen Militärdiplome. In den frühesten von diesen, welches das Auxiliarheer der Provinz Iudaea betrifft (CIL XVI 33), führt unser Senator nur die schlichten *tria nomina*: Cn. Pompeius Longinus. Die für das obermoesische Auxiliarheer ausgestellten zwei Diplome (CIL XVI 39 und M. M. ROXAN, Roman Military Diplomas, London 1978, 6) lassen aus dem Vollnamen dieses Senators das *nomen* Pinarius weg. Allein in dem pannonischen Diplom von Felsőnána (CIL XVI 42) lesen wir den Vollname dieses Polyonyms.

men wurde, während der andere Zweig der Familie, deren Representanten im öffentlichen Leben unter den Flaviern und dem Kaiser Traian der ältere und der jüngere L. Neratius Priscus gewesen waren, weiterhin Plebejer geblieben sind. Diese ganz offensichtliche Lösung, die, wie ich es jetzt sehe, schon vor einigen Jahren aufgeworfen wurde,³⁰ macht die verschiedene und unbeweisbare Identifizierungs- und Adoptionstheorien überflüssig.

Gegen die Identität spricht zuletzt auch eine in dieser Zusammenhang bes. wichtige Angabe aus der Lebensgeschichte und Tätigkeit des Juristen Neratius Priscus. Es ist die Erwähnung von der aktiven Teilnahme unseres Rechtsgelehrten gemeinsam mit einem anderen Juristen, namens Titius Aristo, an einem Kognitionsverfahren, das von dem obersten Gerichtshof Traians (*consilium Traiani*) im Beisein des Kaisers, wohl im Rom beurteilt wurde.³¹

M. Ulpius Traianus traf nun nach der Übernahme des Prinzipats erst im Herbst 99 in Rom ein, wo er bis 25. März 101 blieb, als er gegen die Daker aufbrach.³² Sein Rückkehr von dem Kriegsschauplatz in die Hauptstadt erfolgte etwa im Herbst 102. Der Princeps verweilte dann — von kurzweiligen Reisen innerhalb Italiens abgesehen — bis 4. Juni 105 in Rom,³³ da zog er zum zweiten Mal gegen die Daker ins Feld. Der siegreiche Herrscher kehrte im Sommer 107 wieder nach Rom zurück. Die späteren Daten für die Aufenthaltsorten Traians hier anzuführen, ist unnötig, da die im obigen wachgerufenen liefern schon einen genügenden chronologischen Rahmen für die Nächstfolgenden.

Die späteste Nachricht über den Lebenslauf des Titius Aristo, Mitglieds des von Traian präsierten kaiserlichen Gerichtshofs stammt nämlich aus einem im J. 105 an Aristo gerichteten Briefe des Plinius.³⁴ In diesem Brief ersucht Plinius die Begutachtung des Aristo über seine Rolle und Stellungnahme in jener Untersuchung, die für die Aufklärung der Todesumstände des während seiner Amtszeit, am 24. Juni 105 in seiner Wohnung leblos gefundenen Suffektkonsuls, Cn. Afranius Dexter³⁵ im Senat durchgeführt wurde. Wenn auch das 8. Buch der Epistularum, das dieses Brief des Plinius enthält, mit einigen Jahren später veröffentlicht wurde,³⁶ ist es kaum denkbar, daß Plinius die Begutachtung des von ihm hochgeschätzten Juristen erst mit Jahren später nach dem obigen Ereignis und nicht gleich nach der Beendigung der senatorischen Untersuchung einzuholen bestrebt hat. Der Lebenslauf des

³⁰ L. SCHUMACHER, Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur Besetzung der vier höhen römischen Priesterkollegien im Zeitalter der Antonine und der Severer, Mainz 1973, 222 f.

³¹ Dig. 37. 12,5. Cf. TH. MOMMSEN, G. Schr. 2.22, Anm. 6.

³² Für diese und die nächstfolgenden Daten s. R. HANSLIK, M. Ulpius Traianus, RE Suppl. X (1968), 1050 ff.

³³ R. HANSLIK, a. O. 1075 gibt irrig den 6. Juni 105 an. Im Frg. XIX. Z. 5 der FO (L. VIDMAN, a. O. 18) liest man aber: *Pr. nón. Jún.*

³⁴ Plin., Ep. 8,14.

³⁵ Das Datum gibt das Frg. XIX, Z. 6 f. der FO an.

³⁶ A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE, The Letters of Pliny, Oxford 1966, 41. Cf. 461.

Titius Aristo läßt sich demnach wohl höchstens nur bis zum dritten Viertel 105 verfolgen. Als Titius Aristo noch die Vorlesungen des C. Cassius Longinus (*suff.* 30), des einflußreichen Rechtsgelehrten unter Claudius und bis 65 unter Nero gehört hat,³⁷ war er im J. 105 gewiß schon bejahrt und stand allem Anschein nach schon am Ende seiner Laufbahn.³⁸ Seine mit dem Juristen Neratius Priscus gemeinsame Tätigkeit am kaiserlichen Gerichtshof unter Traian läßt sich allenfalls quellenmäßig nur bis 105, für die Jahre 99–101 und (oder) 103–105 unterbauen. Der jüngere L. Neratius Priscus verwaltete aber eben in diesen Jahren nacheinander zwei kaiserliche konsulare Provinzen und konnte folglich kaum während seiner hiesigen Amtszeiten als *consiliarius* am obersten Gerichtshof tätig sein. Er ist also nicht der fast gleichnamige Jurist, den wir neben ihm und dem älteren L. Neratius Priscus als den dritten fast homonymen Senator aus dieser Zeit in Evidenz halten müssen.

Für die Konsulaten der obigen drei Neratii Prisci sind aber bis jetzt nur zwei Daten in den Konsulfasten überliefert. Eben darum wäre es zurzeit noch verfrüht, den älteren L. Neratius Priscus bestimmt mit dem gleichnamigen Suffektkonsul des J. 87., den Jüngeren aber mit jenem des J. 97. ohne Weiteres identifizieren. Man muß also zuerst noch genauer umsehen, wann der dritte Neratius Priscus das höchste Amt bekleiden konnte. Und wenn diese Nachforschung zur Erfolge führe und demzufolge sich herausstelle, daß der Jurist weder im J. 87, noch im J. 97 Konsul gewesen sein konnte, dann werden die im obigen noch mit Fragezeichen versehenen Behauptungen in der Tat zwingend, daß nämlich die zwei L. Neratii Prisci der revidierten Bauinschrift aus Saepinum den Konsulat im J. 87, bzw. 97 bekleideten und der Jüngere von ihnen nach seinem Konsulat zwischen 97/98 und 100/101 die Provinz Germania inferior, danach aber zwischen 102/103 und 105/106, bzw. 104/105 die noch ungeteilte Pannonia verwaltete.³⁹

II

Fast vor achzig Jahren hat O. Benndorf von einem 68 cm hohen und 25 cm breiten Quaderstein, der auf dem Gebiet der antiken lykischen Stadt Tlos in ein neuzeitliches Gebäude sekundär erbaut wurde, den Rest einer vierzeiligen Inschrift veröffentlicht,⁴⁰ die nachdem in das Berliner Corpus der

³⁷ Dig. 4.8,40: *nam et Cassium audisse se dicentem Aristo ait etc.* Über C. Cassius Longinus s. PIR² C 501. W. KUNKEL, Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen², Graz – Wien – Köln 1967, 130f. D. LIEBS, Rechtsschulen und Rechtsunterricht im Prinzipat, ANRW, II. 15, Berlin – New York 1976, 212.

³⁸ TH. MOMMSEN, G. Schr. 2,21. W. KUNKEL, a. O. 141f. TH. MAYER-MALY, s. v. «Titius Aristo», RE Suppl. IX (1962), 1395 f.

³⁹ Wenn die «*maxima provincia*», deren Verwaltung zu übernehmen P. Metilius Nepos in der ersten Hälfte des J. 105 schon in Begriff war (Plin., Ep. 4.26,2) beziehe sich auf seine Legation in Pannonia (R. SYME, DP 185 f.), dann blieb L. Neratius Priscus nur etwa bis zur Mitte 105 in dieser Provinz. Gegen diese letztere Ansicht sprechen aber andere Gründe, die in der am Ende dieses Aufsatzes angezeigten Arbeit eingehender erörtert werden.

⁴⁰ O. Benndorf, WS 24 (1902), 250, Anm. 1.

griechischen Inschriften,⁴¹ wie auch in die von R. Cagnat besorgte Sammlung der auf die Römerherrschaft bezüglichen griechischen Inschriften⁴² Aufnahme fand, zuletzt aber in der maßgebenden Wiener Ausgabe der kleinasiatischer Inschriften in dem nachfolgenden revidierten Textgestalt⁴³ abgedruckt wurde :

. . . [, *νῖὸν τοῦ | δικαιοδ[ότου Λουκίου | Νερατί[ου Πρίσκου, | Τλωέων ἡ [βουλῆ
καὶ ἡ γε | ρουσί[α.*

Von allen Herausgebern wurde der Neratius der obigen Inschrift, wenn auch meist mit gewissem Vorbehalt, mit dem L. Neratius Priscus *pater*, dieser aber mit dem fast gleichnamigen Jurist identifiziert und dessen lykische Statthalterschaft in einer näher nicht festgelegten Zeit in Evidenz gehalten. Ähnlich beurteilte unsere Inschrift die zeitgenössische prosopographische Literatur etwa bis zu den fünfziger Jahren.⁴⁴ W. Reidinger hat dann mit einem Schritt noch weiter gegangen und versuchte die lykische Legation dieses Neratius, den sonst auch er als mit dem Juristen und dem älteren L. Neratius Priscus identische Persönlichkeit beurteilte, auf die Jahre zwischen 84 und 87 zu bestimmen.⁴⁵ Die Unhaltbarkeit dieser Datierung, wie auch die Grundlosigkeit der Identifizierung des Neratius der Inschrift aus Tlos entweder mit dem älteren, oder mit dem jüngeren L. Neratius Priscus der Bauinschrift aus Saepinum hat dann R. Syme erwiesen, der seine kritische Bemerkungen letzten Endes darin zusammengefaßt hat, daß es das Beste wäre, bezüglich des Juristen von dem Neratius der lykischen Inschrift künftig ganz abzusehen.⁴⁶ Diesem ablehnenden Standpunkt schienen zwei zeitlich dicht darauf folgenden Mitteilungen völlig Recht zu geben. Zuerst wurde aus einer unpublizierten Inschrift von Xanthus der Name des [*Μ. Ἰερῖου Φρόντωνος Νερατί[ου Πανσά*] bekanntgegeben,⁴⁷ wodurch die lykische Legation dieses Neratius einen einwandfreien Beleg erhielt. Aufgrund dieser neuen Belehrung wurde dann in einer zweiten Mitteilung die besagte Inschrift von Tlos ebenfalls auf den Namen des [*Μ. Ἰερῖου Φρόντωνος*] | *Νερατί[ου Πανσά*] ergänzt⁴⁸ und diese Ergänzung hat eine allgemeine Zustimmung gefunden.⁴⁹ So hätte also die Provinz Lycia und Pamphylia unter den Flaviern aus der senatorischen Familie der Neratier von Saepinum einzig nur M. Neratius Pansa (*suff.* 73 ?) verwaltet.

⁴¹ CIG III 4240b.

⁴² IGR III 1511.

⁴³ TAM II 568.

⁴⁴ PIR N 46. E. GROAG, s. v. Neratius, RE XVI (1935), 2547, n. 13. D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, II. Princeton 1950 (Reprint, Arno Press New York 1975), 1599.

⁴⁵ W. REIDINGER, a. O. (Anm. 2), 58.

⁴⁶ R. SYME, Hermes, 1957, 486 f. Vgl. SEG 19 (1963), no 868.

⁴⁷ J. et L. ROBERT, Bull. 1958, no 294.

⁴⁸ J. et L. ROBERT, Bull. 1959, no 112.

⁴⁹ W. ECK, Die Legaten von Lykien und Pamphylien unter Vespasian, ZPE 6 (1970), 65 ff. Idem, s. v. «Neratius», RE Suppl. XIV (1974), 283 f., no 10. B. THOMAE, SPQR, Gothoburgi 1975, 43 f. Idem, LP II. 2 (1977), no 30, p. 4. B. KREILER, Die Statthalter Kleinasiens unter den Flaviern, München 1975, 106.

Doch stellt sich die epigraphische Grundlage dieser Folgerung bei einer Nachprüfung als unzulänglich heraus. Von der Neratius-Inschrift von Tlos sind nur die nachfolgenden vier Zeilenreste erhalten geblieben:

δικαιοδ[. . .
 Νερατι[. . .
 Τλωεωνη[. . .
 ρουσια

Die diesem Inschriftfragment im Wiener Corpus beigefügte schriftliche und zeichnerische Dokumentation läßt darüber kaum einen Zweifel aufsteigen, daß der regelmäßige Quaderstein, der dieses Inschriftfragment aufbewahrt hat, als der linksseitige untere Eckteil des ursprünglichen Steindenkmals aufgefaßt werden soll und ferner, daß auf diesem Eckteil eigentlich die vier letzten Zeilenanfänge der ursprünglichen Inschrift auf uns gekommen sind. Linkswärts fehlen also keine Buchstaben und für die Ergänzung bleibt so nur die rechtswärts fehlende Schriftfläche übrig. Die einzelne Zeilenlänge der ursprünglichen Inschrift ergeben sich nun aus Z. 3 und 4, die kaum anders, als ἡ[βουλή και ἡ γε] | ρουσί[α] sich ergänzen lassen. In Z. 3 standen also ursprünglich gewiß 18 Buchstaben, von denen 6 (und ein halbes) auf die erhaltene, während 11 (und ein halbes) auf die verlorengegangene Schriftfläche eingemeißelt wurden. Als die Höhe der Buchstaben wie auch die Schreibweise in allen 4 Zeilenresten durchwegs die Gleiche sind, die zur Z. 3 bemerkten gelten auch für die Z. 1, wo sonst der Quaderstein ebenfalls nur 6 (und ein halbes) Buchstaben aufbewahrt hat. Nach der gesicherten Ergänzung, δικαιοδ[ότου] bleibe Raum also auch in dieser Zeile höchstens nur für einen siebenbuchstäblichen Text übrig. Die zuletzt vorgeschlagene Ergänzung, *M. Ἰρρίου Φρόντωνος*, mit ihren 16 Buchstaben läßt sich jedoch eben deswegen kaum in der verfügbaren Schriftfläche unterbringen, auch nicht, wenn man mit kleineren Schwankungen in den Buchstabenzahlen der einzelnen Zeilen Rechnung trage. In dieser Zeile, nach dem Wort, δικαιοδ[ότου], müßte also entweder nur der ausgeschriebene Vorname, oder aber dieser verkürzt und noch ein Familienname dieses Neratius die Schriftfläche ausfüllen. Außer der von O. Benndorf vorgeschlagene und auch von den späteren Herausgebern beibehaltenen Ergänzung *Λουκίου* — statt dessen wohl auch ein anderer Vorname, wie z. B. *Μάρκου*, oder ähnlicher stehen konnte — wäre eine Ergänzung auf *M. | Ἰρρίου*, die auf die Abstammung unseres Senators von M. Hirrius Pansa hindeute, epigraphisch noch ebenfalls möglich. Für ein weiteres, dreisilbiges Kognomen, bleibt aber in dieser Zeile kein Platz mehr übrig.

In der Z. 2 die erhaltene Schriftfläche hat nicht mehr, als nur 6 Buchstaben aufbewahrt, was dafür sprechen kann, daß der Name des Statthalters mit etwa lockerer Buchstabenverbindung eingemeißelt wurde, als die anderen Textteilen. Mit Rücksicht darauf, dürfen wir auf der fehlenden Schriftfläche

der Z. 2, nach der Ergänzung des Familiennamens, *Νερατί[ov]* für das Kognomen im Genitiv zumindest und gleich höchstens mit 7—8 Buchstaben rechnen. Zum Weiterkommen in dieser Frage ist auch die Zeitstellung unserer Inschrift vom Belang. Den Späteren teils vorgehend, sind wir auch zu dem Ergebnis gekommen, daß unsere Inschrift in die Flavierzeit gehört.⁵⁰ Nun, für die männlichen Mitglieder der senatorischen Familie der Neratier aus Saepinum, zu denen wir zweifellos auch den Neratius unserer Inschrift zurechnen müssen, sind aus diesem Zeitabschnitt nur die *cognomina* Priscus (dreimal),⁵¹ ferner Marcellus,⁵² Fronto und Pansa,⁵³ je einmal bezeugt. Nimmt man diese Namengebung-Praxis bei den ersten Generationen der senatorischen Familie der Neratier in Betracht, so scheint es berechtigt zu sein, auch das Kognomen unseres Neratius, dessen Zugehörigkeit zu diesen Generationen der Neratier aus Saepinum kaum bezweifelt werden darf, auf den einen von den obigen Zunamen zu ergänzen. Von diesen paßt nun allein das Kognomen im Genitiv, *Πρίσκου*, mit seinem 7 Buchstaben einwandfrei in die fehlende Schriftfläche der Z. 2 ein. Das Kognomen im Genitiv *Πάνσα* fülle dagegen die zur Verfügung stehende Schriftfläche nicht aus. Das Kognomen, *Μαρκέλλου*, lasse sich nur gedrängt unterbringen,⁵⁴ wem aber nicht nur die lockere Schreibweise des Statthalternamens, sondern auch die Nichterwähnung einer lykischen Legation in der inschriftlich überlieferten Laufbahn des L. Neratius Marcellus aufs bestimmteste widersprechen.⁵⁵

Nach alledem spricht also das meiste dafür, daß der Neratius der Inschrift von Tlos das Kognomen *Priscus* geführt hat. Er hatte entweder nur die *tria nomina*, L., bzw. M. (oder ähnliches) Neratius Priscus, oder aber zwei *nomina*. In diesem Fall könnte sein Vollname beispielweise auch L. (M.) Hirrius Neratius Priscus läuten. Aber auch dann, wenn er nur die im vorigen vorgeschlagene *tria nomina* geführt hätte, könnte er schon deswegen nicht

⁵⁰ Die nähere Begründung s. unten, 459 ff.

⁵¹ L. Neratius Priscus d. Ä.: D 1033, 1034. AE 1927, 117; 1949, 23. AFA CXX H.-L. Neratius Priscus d. J.: D 1034, AE 1969/1970, 152 und die Späteren etwa vorgehend, Dig. 48.8.6. — Neratius Priscus, der Jurist: Dig. 1.2.2.53 (u. a.), V. Hadr. 18,1. — Die Ergänzung des teils getilgten Namens eines . . . *Ius Priscus | cos* auf der hexagonalen Basis von Savaria (RIU 36) auf L. Neratius Priscus [L. BALLA, Die Inschrift eines Senators aus Savaria, ES 4 (1967), 61] trifft kaum das Richtige. Das *nomen* dieses Senators war gewiß kürzer, dafür spricht die Proportioniertheit der Inschrift. Dieser Konsular war kein Neratius.

⁵² Vgl. die oben, Anm. 28 zit. Stellen, ferner Plin., Ep. 3.8,1. Dig. 33.7,12,43.

⁵³ Die älteren Zeugnisse für diese beiden *cognomina* des M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa sind in RE XVI 2545 zusammengestellt. Neues Material bringen, Bull. 1958, no 294 (das Kognomen Pansa ergänzt), M. TORELLI, The *cursus honorum* of M. Hirrius Fronto Neratius Pansa, JRS 58 (1968), 170 ff. (beide *cognomina* sind ergänzt, doch können diese nicht bezweifelt werden).

⁵⁴ Das Gleiche gilt auch von dem Kognomen im Genitiv, *Φρόντωνος*.

⁵⁵ Was man in der «Kleine Pauly» 4 (1972), 66 liest, daß nämlich dieser Marcellus mit dem in der Inschrift von Tlos erwähnten Neratius identisch ist und daß dieser die Legation in Lykien und Pamphylien ca 92—94 innegehabt hat, sind ganz unbegründete Behauptungen.

mit dem einen oder dem anderen Homonymer der saepinatischen Bauinschrift identisch sein, weil in deren bekannten Laufbahnen eine Legation in Lykien und Pamphylien nicht erwähnt wird.

Der lykische Statthalter [.] Neratius [Priscus] dürfte also entweder mit dem gleichnamigen Jurist, oder mit einem vierten, bisjetzt noch unbekanntem Homonymer identisch sein. Das zweite Glied dieser Alternative kann man aber nur dann aufrecht erhalten, wenn es beweisbar wäre, daß der Jurist auf keinem Fall mit dem Neratius der Inschrift aus Tlos identisch sein kann. Dies liege auf der Hand, wenn die besagte Inschrift entweder in die vor-, oder die nachdomitianische Zeit datierbar wäre. Der Jurist, dessen Geburtsdatum — den Späteren vorgreifend — auf die fünfziger Jahre verlegt werden kann,⁵⁶ dürfte nämlich seine in Einzelheiten zwar noch nicht aufgeklärten, aber wegen seines Suffektkonsulats kaum bezweifelbare prätorische Laufbahn normalerweise noch unter Domitian hinterlegen. Die Inschrift von Tlos läßt sich jedoch, wie wir es gleich sehen werden, ebenfalls in die domitianische Zeit einordnen, wodurch ihre Beziehung auf den Jurist beinahe gewiß und die Annahme eines vierten Homonymers unnötig wird.

III

Die Inschrift von Tlos enthält ein wichtiges Datierungselement in der Bezeichnung des Statthalters als *δικαιοδότης*. Jene kaiserzeitliche Inschriften aus dem lykisch-pamphyllischen Bereich, in denen die hiesigen Gemeinden, oder der lykische Bund,⁵⁷ oder Privatleute den Statthalter mit diesem, dem lateinischen *iuridicus* entsprechenden Titel⁵⁸ als den gerechten Rechtspfleger beehren, gehören in die flavisch-traianische Zeit. Das früheste diesbezügliche Zeugnis stammt nämlich aus dem 1. Regierungsjahr Vespasians,⁵⁹ das späteste aber, das in einer akephalen Inschrift von Tlos erhalten geblieben ist, aus der Zeit zwischen 103 und 115.⁶⁰ Alle übrigen datierbaren Beispiele gehören in die zwei letzten Jahrzehnte des 1. Jh.⁶¹ Daneben kommt schon in frühtraianischer Zeit die Bezeichnung, *ὁ ἡγεμών* vor,⁶² die nachher von der spätraianischen Zeit ab, ist vorherrschend geworden.⁶³ Nach diesem epigraphischen Bestand

⁵⁶ Über diese Frage s. eingehender unten, 462.

⁵⁷ Über dies s. J. DEININGER, Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit, *Vestigia* 6, München 1966, 73 ff.

⁵⁸ Cf. D. MAGIE, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in Graecum sermonem conversis*, Leipzig 1905, 28. ROSENBERG, s. v. «iuridicus», RE X 1151, ferner D 8842, AE 1966, 472, etc.

⁵⁹ TAM II 131 (Sex. Marcius Priscus, 69/70).

⁶⁰ TAM II 571 (*Ignotus*). Traian ist schon *Dacicus*, aber noch nicht *Parthicus*. Zur Datierung s. P. KNEISSL, Die Siegestitulaturen der römischen Kaiser. *Hypomnemata* 25, Göttingen 1969, 198.

⁶¹ TAM II 21 (T. Aur. Quietus, 80/81). D 8818 (P. Baebius Italicus, 85). TAM II 570 (L. Domitius Apollinaris, ca 93–96). TAM II 594 (L. Iul. Marinus, ca 98–99).

⁶² TAM II 421 (C. Trebonius Proculus Mettius Modestus, ca 99–102).

⁶³ S. u. a. die Dokumente des Opramoasdenkmals in Rhodiapolis, IGR III 739, TAM II 907, *passim*.

konnte der Neratius der Inschrift von Tlos die Provinz Lycia und Pamphylia frühestens unter Vespasian, spätestens aber unter Traian verwalten. Die im letzten Jahrzehnte wiederholt sorgfältig zusammengestellte Statthalterliste dieser Provinz⁶⁴ ermöglicht nun weitere Präzisierungen.

Die fast vollständige Liste unter den Flavieren zeigt nämlich nur eine einzige mehrjährige Lücke, die zwischen den Legationen des P. Baebius Italicus und des A. Iulius Quadratus nach 85 und vor 90, etwa für die Amtsjahre 86/87—88/89 vorhanden ist.⁶⁵ In der Regierungszeit Traians zeigt sich aber nach Q. Pompeius Falco und vor Ti. Iulius Frugi, zwischen 105/106 und 112/113 eine noch größere Lücke, die der Amtsdauer zumindest zweier Statthalter entspreche.⁶⁶ Unser Neratius könnte also allein nur entweder unter Domitian, zwischen 86/87 und 88/89, oder unter Traian, zwischen 105/106 und 112/113 die Provinz Lycia und Pamphylia innehaben. Auch schon deswegen darf man seine Identität mit M. Hirrius Neratius Pansa (*supp.* ?73) nicht ernstlich erwägen. Eine Legation in der letzterwähnten Zwischenzeit wäre jedoch auch für den Jurist zweifelsohne schon zu spät. Es bedeute nämlich, daß er das höchste Amt frühestens um 109/110, spätestens aber nur in den letzten Regierungsjahren Traians angetreten hätte. Der erstere Zeitansatz fällt aber schon dadurch

⁶⁴ W. ECK, *Senatoren*, 112 ff., s. auch 244. B. KREILER, a. O. (Anm. 49), 103 f. B. THOMAE, LP II. 2 (1977), no 30.

⁶⁵ W. ECK, a. O. 138 f. rechnet mit dieser Lücke zwischen 86/87 und 90/91. A. Iul. Quadratus ist aber nach den Jahren 87 und 88 im J. 89 nur bis zum 19. Mai in Rom bezeugt (AFA CXVI sq. H.). Die auf die zweite Hälfte dieses Jahres bezügliche Arvalakten sind zwar nicht erhalten geblieben, doch die Nichterwähnung des A. Iul. Quadratus in den Teilnehmerlisten der Arvalbrüder am 3. und 22. Januar, ferner am 27. 28. Mai 90 (AFA CXXIV sq. H.) macht es beinahe gewiß, daß Quadratus befand sich in der ersten Hälfte dieses Jahres schon nicht mehr in Rom. Er hat die Regierung in Lykien und Pamphylien also wohl schon in der zweiten Hälfte des J. 89 übernommen. Seine hiesige Legation dauerte gewiß zumindest bis zum Ende 92, als er an der Zusammenkunft der Arvalbrüder am 16. November 92 noch nicht anwesend war. Die Legation des P. Baebius Italicus ist durch IGR III 548 für das Jahr 85 einwandfrei bezeugt. Diese Inschrift wurde gewiß vor 14 September 85 (4. *trib. pot.* und 11. Konsulat Domitians) gesetzt. Die Richtigkeit des unteren Zeitansatzes, April 85, hängt jedoch davon ab, ob Domitian seine 9. imperatorische Akklamation tatsächlich in diesem Monat angenommen hätte, wie dafür in BMC II 314 argumentiert wird. Wir können aber W. Eck darin unbedingt zustimmen, daß Baebius Italicus seine lykische Legation frühestens nur um die Mitte 84 antreten konnte, da er im Chattenkrieg Domitians (a. 83) noch die *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix* kommandierte (IGR III 551 = D 8818). Die Zeitdauer seiner Legation in Lykien ist jedoch ungewiß. Jedenfalls könnte entweder P. Baebius Italicus oder sein unmittelbarer Nechfolger nur zwei Jahre lang die Provinz verwalten. Die steife Anwendung dreijähriger Legation bewährt sich nicht immer.

⁶⁶ Q. Pompeius Falco hat an der Spitze der *legio V Macedonica* im 1. Dakerkrieg Traians teilgenommen und militärische Auszeichnungen verdient. Danach und vor seinem Suffektkonsulat im J. 108 hat er zuerst Lykien und Pamphylien, bald die Provinz Iudaea verwaltet (D 1035, 1036). Die für diese zwei Legationen von W. Eck, *Senatoren*, 160 f. vorgeschlagenen Daten, 102/103—104/105, bzw. 105/106—106/107 treffen allem Anschein nach das Richtige. — Ti. Iul. Frugi wird in den Inschriften des Opramoasdenkmals wiederholt als der Legat der Provinz Lycia und Pamphylia erwähnt: TAM II 905, IF, 2; IIB, 14; IIF, 4; IVE, 10; VB, 16. E. RITTERLING, *Zur Zeitbestimmung einiger Urkunden vom Opramoasdenkmal*, Rh. M. 73 (1920), 35 ff., und nach ihm D. MAGIE, *Rom. Rule*, II. 1599 datierten die Statthalterschaft des Iul. Frugi auf das J. 114. W. Eck, a. O. 117 und nach ihm B. THOMAE, LP II. 2, n° 30, p. 8 auf die Amtsjahre 113/115.

weg, daß aus den Jahren 109–114 alle amtsführende Konsuln bekannt sind,⁶⁷ und unter diesen der Name unseres Neratius fehlt. Aus dem zweiten Zeitansatz lassen sich wegen ähnlichen Gründen entweder nur das J. 115, oder die Jahre nach 116 in Betracht ziehen. Sein Bruder, Marcellus, war nun schon im J. 95 Suffektkonsul. Ein 19-, oder noch mehrjähriges Intervall zwischen den Konsulaten zweier Brüder stehe aber in der Frühprinzipatszeit ganz vereinzelt da,⁶⁸ und läßt sich auch bezüglich des Juristen und seines Bruders kaum ernstlich erwägen. Man darf also aus diesem Umstand wohl mit Recht die Folgerung ziehen, daß der Jurist unter Traian nicht eine Statthalterschaft in Lykien bekleiden konnte.

⁶⁷ Der bei A. DEGRASSI, FC 34 noch fehlende Suffektkonsul des J. 114 ist inzwischen durch das Militärdiplom von Pisarevo in der Person des L. Caesennius Sospes bekannt geworden. Cf. M. M. RAPSÆT, RMD 14.

⁶⁸ In den julisch-claudischen Zeiten kommen höchstens 10–12jährige Intervalle vor. Beispiele dafür:

Zehnjähriges Intervall: C. Sulpicius Galba (*ord.* 22), L. Livius Ocella Ser. Sulpicius Galba (*ord.* 33). A. DEGRASSI, FC 9 f. PIR S 721 und 723. Suet., Galba, 3,4.

Elfjähriges Intervall: P. Cornelius Scipio (*ord.* 56), P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (*suff.* 68). A. DEGRASSI, FC 15 und 18. PIR² C 1439, 1440.

Zwölfjähriges Intervall: L. Seius Tubero (*suff.* 18), L. Aelius Seianus (*ord.* 31). A. DEGRASSI, FC 8 und 10. Tubero und Seianus waren aber Halbbrüder. Zu den bestrittenen Familienverhältnissen dieser Männer s. jetzt D. HENNIG, L. Ael., Seianus, Vestigia 21, München 1973, 15 f.

Unter den Iuliern und Claudiern wie es die Nachfolgenden exemplifizieren mögen, überwiegen aber die gleichzeitigen, oder die zeitlich dicht aufeinanderfolgenden Konsulaten der Brüder:

Cossus Lentulus (*ord.* 25), Cn. Lentulus Gaetulicus (*ord.* 26). A. DEGRASSI, FC 9. PIR² C 1381, 1390.

L. Cassius Longinus (*ord.* 30), C. Cassius Longinus, der bekannte Jurist (*suff.* 30). A. DEGRASSI, FC 10. PIR² C 503 und 501.

Faustus Cornelius Sulla (*suff.* 31), L. Cornelius Sulla Felix (*ord.* 33). A. DEGRASSI, FC 1. c. PIR² C 1459 und 1465.

A. Vitellius (*suff.* 32), L. Vitellius (*ord.* 34). A. DEGRASSI, FC 1. c. Vgl. Suet., Vit. 2. T. Statilius Taurus (*ord.* 44), T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus (*ord.* 45). A. DEGRASSI, FC 12. PIR S 618 und 595.

A. Vitellius (*ord.* 48), L. Vitellius (*suff.* 48). A. DEGRASSI, FC 14.

C. Velleius Paternulus (*suff.* 60 ?), L. Velleius Paternulus (*suff.* 61 ?). A. DEGRASSI, FC 16 f. Vgl. R. HANSLIK, s. v. «Velleius», RE VIII A (1955), 660.

In der Flavierzeit bedeuteten vier Jahre schon ein größeres Intervall:

L. Volusius Saturninus (*ord.* 87), Q. Volusius Saturninus (*ord.* 92). AE 1949, 23. Beide waren die Söhne des Q. Volusius Saturninus (*ord.* 56). S. die Stemma: PIR V 603.

Meist haben jedoch auch in der Flavierzeit die Brüder gleichzeitig oder aber im raschen Nacheinander das höchste Amt bekleidet. Von den Mitgliedern des kaiserlichen Hauses abgesehen (T. Caesar Vespasianus *ord.* 70, Caesar Domitianus *suff.* 71) die *fratres Curvii* (Mart., 5, 28; vgl. Plin., Ep. 8.18,4), Cn. Domitius . . . Lucanus und Cn. Domitius . . . Tullus, haben die *Fasces* um 77/78 gleichzeitig oder eher dicht nacheinander geführt. D 990, 991. IRT 527, 528. W. ECK, Senatoren, 91 f.

Von dem Bruderpaar, Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis und C. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis [cf. H. NESSELHAUF, CIL XVI p. 20, n. 5. W. ECK, s. v. «Vettulenus», RE Suppl. XIV (1974), 842 f., no 1; 846, no 3] dürfte der Erstere nach den datierten Posten seiner prätorischen und konsularen Laufbahn den Konsulat im J. 72 oder 73 bekleiden. Er war nämlich *legatus legionis V Macedonicae* zumindest zwischen 68–70; Jos., BJ 3,310; 6,237. Nach der Einnahme Jerusalems (im September 70) wurde er von Titus dekoriert (D 988) und mit der *legio X Fretensis* als Statthalter (*προσβευτής*) in Iudaea zurückgelassen, wo er frühestens um die Mitte 71 von Lucilius Bassus abgelöst wurde: Jos., BJ 7,17 + 163. CIL XVI 14–16. — Am 28. April 75 ist Sex. Vettulenus Cerialis als Statthalter der

Wäre es also möglich den Neratius der Inschrift von Tlos eben deswegen für einen vierten Homonymen, vielleicht den Vater des L. Neratius C. f. Proculus (*suff.* c. 145)⁶⁹ zu halten? Die Annahme eines vierten Neratius ist jedoch solange nicht nötig, bis sich bezüglich des Juristen nicht außer allem Zweifel herausstelle, daß er eine Legatur in Lykien und Pamphylien nicht einmal zwischen 86/87 und 88/89 bekleiden konnte.

Der im allgemeinen angenommene Lebensalter des Juristen scheint in der Tat auf dem ersten Blick gegen seine Legation in Lykien und Pamphylien auch in dem angezeigten Zeitabschnitt sprechen. Wenn nämlich wir jener herrschenden Ansicht zustimmen, daß sein Bruder, L. Neratius Marcellus, in der zweiten Hälfte der fünfzigeren Jahren, um 56/57,⁷⁰ oder genau im J. 59 geboren ist,⁷¹ und Priscus der jüngere Bruder gewesen war,⁷² in diesem Fall könnte er normalerweise in seinem ca 26–27. Lebensjahr die Legation in einer kaiserlichen prätorischen Provinz kaum antreten.⁷³ Das jüngere Alter des Neratius Priscus gründet sich aber einzig auf jene mehr als bestreitbare Annahme, daß er mit dem fast gleichnamigen und früher mit dem älteren, neulich aber mit dem jüngeren L. Neratius Priscus gleichgestellten Suffekt-konsul des J. 97 identisch ist und folglich wohl mit einigen Jahren jünger gewesen war, als sein Bruder, der schon im J. 95 zum höchsten Amt gelangt ist. Da sich aber die Identität des Juristen weder mit dem älteren, noch mit dem jüngeren L. Neratius Priscus aufrecht erhalten läßt, wird auch seine vermeintliche Identität mit dem fast gleichnamigen Suffekt-konsul des J. 97 sehr fraglich. Es ist nämlich beinahe gewiß, daß jener Neratius, der die *fasces* in diesem Jahr geführt hat, wurde in den nachfolgenden Jahren von Traian nacheinander in zwei wichtigen kaiserlichen Provinzen mit Legation betraut. Dieser Senator, wie darauf im Vorigen schon hingewiesen wurde, konnte jedoch vor 106 kaum als *consiliarius Traiani* am obersten Gerichtshof tätig sein. Der Ratgeber Traians bei den Kognitionsverfahren war aber gewiß der Jurist Neratius Priscus. Folglich ist es ebenso gewiß, daß der damals in den Provinzen tätige Homonymer nicht der Jurist sein konnte. Damit fälle aber der einzige vermeintliche Beleg weg, der bisjetzt für das jüngere Lebensalter des Juristen

Provinz Moesia bezeugt (M. M. RAPSÄET, a. O. 2), somit konnte er seine hiesige Legation schon in der zweiten Hälfte des J. 74 antreten. Ein neues Frg. der FO (AE 1968, 6) bezeugt, daß in der ersten Hälfte dieses Jahres Cerialis nicht das Amt eines Suffekt-konsuls besetzt hat. So bleiben für seinen Konsulat nur die im obigen angedeuteten Jahren 72, oder 73 übrig. Sein Bruder erhielt das höchste Amt mit Berücksichtigung seines Prokonsulats in Asia (im J. 87/88, oder 88/89), spätestens im J. 75. A. STEIN (Die Legaten von Moesien, Budapest 1940, 34) nimmt das J. 76 an, während W. ECK, (RE Suppl. XIV. 1. c.) hält auch ein früheres Datum (?74) für möglich.

⁶⁹ D 1076. Zur Datierung G. ALFÖLDY, Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen, Bonn 1977, 140.

⁷⁰ E. GROAG, RE XVI 2593.

⁷¹ R. SYME, Hermes, 1957, 483, 491 (u. a.).

⁷² R. SYME, a. O. 492. G. CAMODECA, a. O. 30 f.

⁷³ Vgl. bes. J. MORRIS, *Leges Annales* under the Principat, LF 87 (1964), 316 ff.

ins Feld geführt werden konnte. Nach dessen Eliminierung stehe nichts dem entgegengesetzten Ansicht im Wege, daß nämlich der Jurist, als der ältere Bruder betrachtet werden kann, der wohl mit einigen Jahren früher, als Marcellus, um die Mitte der Fünfzigerjahre geboren ist. Jene mögliche Einwand, daß in diesem Fall es schwer verständlich wäre, wie Neratius Priscus als ein fast schon Achzigjähriger um die J. 133/134 juristisch noch tätig sein könnte,⁷⁴ büßt mit Hinweis auf die Geistesfrische einiger literarisch oder im öffentlichen Leben noch tätigen Alten⁷⁵ ihre Beweiskraft stark ein.

Der mit dem späteren Kaiser, M. Ulp. Traianus (geb. 53)⁷⁶ etwa fast gleichaltrige Neratius Priscus könnte normalerweise schon um die Mitte der Achzigerjahre die Prätur bekleiden und danach unvermittelt die lykische Legation übernehmen. Eine solche, zweifelsohne ungewöhnliche Ämterlaufbahn⁷⁷ stehe doch in der Flavierzeit keinesfalls ganz einzigartig da. Ein *Ignotus*, der als Statthalter in der Provinz Lycia und Pamphylia unter Titus bezeugt ist⁷⁸ und der wegen seiner Amtszeit mit dem in dieser Provinz zwischen 1. Juli 80 und 30. Juni 81 belegten Statthalter, T. Aur. Quietus⁷⁹ (*suff.* 82) wohl

⁷⁴ Dig. 44.2,11 prol. Über das hier erwähnte *Senatus Consultum* s. v. MEINHART, Die Datierung des SC Tertullianum, ZSS 83 (1966), 110 ff. über Neratius, 126 f.

⁷⁵ M. Terentius Varro hat sich genau in seinem achtzigsten Lebensjahr an das Schreiben seines landwirtschaftlichen Fachwerkes drangemacht (Varro, r. r. 1,1). — T. Livius, geb. 59 v. Z., gest. 17 u. Z., hat in seinen drei letzten Lebensjahren, also schon als ein Siebziger, die letzten 22 Bücher seines großangelegten historischen Werkes niedergeschrieben, bzw. -diktirt. Per. CXXI. KLOTZ, s. v. «Livius» n° 9, RE XIII 816 ff., bes. 818. — Q. Haterius blieb «*promptus et popularis orator usque ad XC prope aetatis annum*» Hieron., Chron. 172 g (HELM). Vgl. auch Tac., ann. 4,61: *Q. Haterius, familia senatoria, eloquentiae, quoad vixit, celebratae*. — T. Vestricius Spurinna, in seinem 77. Lebensjahr schrieb noch «*utraque lingua lyrica doctissime*». Plin., Ep. 3,1,7. Vgl. H. BARDON, La littérature latine inconnue, II. Paris 1956, 232—, usw., usw.

⁷⁶ R. HANSLIK, a. O. (Anm. 32), 1035 f., wo ist noch nachzutragen, Epit. 13,14. Die abweichende Datierung von J. MORRIS, a. O. (Anm. 73), 328: c. 56/7, ist nicht überzeugend.

⁷⁷

Name	Prätorische Ämter vor der lykischen Legatur	Belege
C. Caristianus Fronto	<i>leg. pr. pr. Ponti et Bithyniae</i> <i>leg. leg. IX Hisp.</i>	D 9485
P. Baebius Italicus	<i>leg. leg. XIII G. M. V.</i>	D 8818
A. Iulius Quadratus	<i>leg. pr. pr.¹ Ponti et Bithyniae</i> <i>leg. pr. pr. Asiae bis²</i> <i>leg. Aug. Cappadociae</i> <i>procos. Cretae et Cyrenae</i>	D 8819, 8819a AE 1966, 463
L. Iulius Marinus	<i>leg. pr. pr. prov. Cyprī</i> <i>leg. pr. pr. prov. Ponti et Bithyniae</i> <i>curator viae Tiburtinae</i> <i>leg. Aug. leg. XI Cl. p. f.</i>	D 1026

¹ sc. proconsulis ² i. e. sub. duobus proconsulibus. PIR² J 507.

⁷⁸ IGR III 724, noch im Leben des Kaisers Titus in Myra gesetzt.

⁷⁹ IGR III 690 = D 8796. Vgl. PIR² A 1592.

identisch sein kann,⁸⁰ wurde mit dieser Legation ebenfalls unmittelbar nach seiner Prätur beauftragt. Auch sonst, wie es von einem guten Kenner der frühkaiserzeitlichen senatorischen Laufbahnschemen schon etwa vor 40 Jahre treffend bemerkt wurde, «alle Vorschriften über die Ämterbesetzung in kaiserlichen Rom sind ja nur *regulae*, Regeln, die durch Ausnahmen bestätigt werden».⁸¹ Auch die Laufbahn des Juristen mag für die Richtigkeit dieser Erkennung sprechen.

Der lykischen Legatur unseres Neratius unter Domitian stehen andere Kandidaten gar nicht im Wege. Die Statthalterschaft eines Unbekannten wurde zwar alternative in die Regierungszeit dieses Kaisers, oder in die jene Traians versetzt.⁸² Von diesen Datierungen ist aber wohl nur die letztere vertretbar. Dieser *Ignotus* wird nämlich in seiner akephalen Cursusinschrift aus Tlos, als *δικαιοδότης* betitelt,⁸³ und außerdem noch bei der Aufzählung der von ihm bekleideten Ämter, als zweimaliger Legionskommandant erwähnt. Diese zwei Datierungselemente insgesamt verweisen die lykisch-pamphyliche Legation dieses Unbekannten ziemlich gewiß in die Regierungszeit Traians.⁸⁴ In diesem Unbekannten können wir also allem Anschein nach den einen der Statthalter aus dem Zeitraum zwischen 105/106 und 112/113 erkennen. Fraglich sind dagegen die Amtszeiten der zwei nächstfolgenden *Ignoti*, von denen der Erste nur mit gewisser Wahrscheinlichkeit in die Regierungszeit Traians verweisen mag.⁸⁵ Bezüglich des Zweiten⁸⁶ liegen aber keine Anhaltspunkte einer näheren Datierung vor. Es ist jedoch auch wohl möglich, daß diese beiden Unbekannten mit dem einem oder anderem der schon namentlich bekannten Statthalter identisch sind. Sie können jedenfalls nicht gegen die Statthalterschaft des Juristen in Lykien zwischen 86/87 und 88/89 als Gegenargumente gelten.

Die obigen erlauben die Folgerung zu ziehen, daß ähnlich wie Pannonia, auch die Provinz Lycia und Pamphylia zweimal von einem Neratius verwaltet

⁸⁰ B. KREILER, a. O. (Anm. 49), 110. Skeptisch B. THOMAE, LP II. 2, no 30, p. 13. Da jedoch der *cursus honorum* des C. Caristianus Fronto (D 9485) bezeugt, daß dieser Senator den T. Aur. Quietus noch im Leben des Kaisers Titus, also wohl um die Mitte des J. 81 von dieser Legation abgelöst hat (s. auch W. ECK, Senatoren, 130), ist eine andere Identifizierung kaum möglich.

⁸¹ St. BRASSLOFF, Zu Inschriften aus der römischen Kaiserzeit, Serta Hoffilleriana, Zagrabiae 1940, 239.

⁸² W. ECK, a. O. 228.

⁸³ IGR III 558—TAM II, 569.

⁸⁴ Der Titel *δικαιοδότης* für den Statthalter ist im lykisch — pamphylichen Bereich nach der Regierungszeit Traians nicht bezeugt. S. oben, Anm. 60. und 61. Andernteils, ein zweimaliges Legionskommando in der prätorischen Laufbahn der Senatoren kann man, von dem Vierkaiserjahr abgesehen, nicht vor der Regierungszeit Traian belegen. Die frühesten Beispiele für zwei Legionskommandos bieten die Karriere des T. Iul. Maximus . . . Manlianus (D 1016), ferner eines *Ignotus* (D 1021) und des A. Larcus Priscus (D 1055) aus traianischer Zeit. Alle andere Beispiele gehören schon in die späteren Zeiten. S. die diesbezügliche Liste bei G. ALFÖLDY, Legionslegaten, 78 ff.

⁸⁵ TAM II 573, mit Ergänzung auf diesen Kaisername.

⁸⁶ TAM II 574 (kurz und fragmentarisch).

wurde. Die pannonische Legation haben die Mitglieder der plebejischen Linie der senatorischen Familie der Neratier aus Saepinum zweimal innegehabt, während die lykische die zur anderen Linie dieser Familie angehörigen Senatoren, die vom Kaiser Vespasian unter die Patrizier erhoben wurden.⁸⁷

IV

Eine Legation in der kaiserlichen, prätorischen Provinz Lycia und Pamphylia bedeutete unter den Flaviern regelmäßig gleich den Abschluß der prätorischen Laufbahn des betreffenden Senators.⁸⁸ Der von dieser Legation abgetretene Statthalter könnte sich schon als der Anwärter eines Suffektkonsulats betrachten. Dieses höchste Amt hat bekanntlich auch der Jurist bekleidet. Somit erhebt sich die Frage, wann er seinen Konsulat antreten konnte. Unter den Flaviern läßt sich kein bestimmtes Intervall zwischen der lykischen Legation und dem Konsulat beobachten. Der letztere folgte dieser Legatur zeitlich entweder unmittelbar oder aber nach einem 2–4-jährigen Intervall.⁸⁹ Wenn also Neratius Priscus, der Jurist, Lykien verwaltet hätte, dann

⁸⁷ Nach der Unbewiesenheit jeder Art einer Adoption bezüglich des Juristen kann auch die Zugehörigkeit dieses Senators zum Patriziat kaum fraglich sein.

⁸⁸ Bis jetzt ist keine Ausnahme vorhanden. L. Iulius Marinus Caecilius Simplex war schon unter Traian vor seinem Konsulat (a. 101) noch mit dem Prokonsulat der Provinz Achaia betraut. W. ECK, a. O. 148 f., mit Anm. 152.

⁸⁹ Von den Statthaltern Lykiens unter Vespasian sind eigentlich nur die Legation des Sex. Marcus Priscus [68/69 und 69/70], sowie der Konsulat des M. Petronius Umbrinus (*suff.* 81) datiert. Für die erste s. B. THOMAE, LP II. 2, no 30, p. 3, mit allen Belegen, für den zweiten A. DEGRASSI, FC 24. Wenn nun Marcus Priscus die Fasces im J. 79 geführt (vgl. CIL XVI 25) und Petronius Umbrinus die Provinz Lycia und Pamphylia in den Amtsjahren 76/77 und 77/78 (W. ECK, Senatoren, 123 f.) verwaltet hätten, dann erstrecken sich die Intervalle in diesen beiden Fällen auf 8, bzw. 3 (2) Jahre.

Etwas besser sind wir über die Intervalle zwischen der lykischen Legatur und dem Konsulat aus den Regierungsjahren des Titus und Domitians unterrichtet. Unsere diesbezüglichen Kenntnisse lassen sich in der nachfolgenden tabellarischen Übersicht zusammenfassen:

Name	Belegtes Amtsjahr	Letztes Amtsjahr	Konsulat	Intervall
T. Aur. Quietus	80/81 ¹	80/81 ²	82 ³	kein
C. Caristianus Fronto	81/82 ⁴	ca 83/84 ⁵	90 ⁶	7 (5) ⁷
P. Baebius Italicus	85 ⁸	85/86? ⁸	90 ⁶	4 (?3)
A. Iul. Quadratus	?89/90 ⁹	92/93? ⁹	94 ¹⁰	3?(kein?)
L. Domitius Apollinaris	—	ca 95/96 ¹¹	97 ¹²	—(kein?)

1: s. oben, S. 463, mit Anm. 79. — 2: s. oben, S. 464, mit Anm. 80. — 3: CIL XVI 28. 4: s. oben, S. 464, mit Anm. 80. — 5: W. ECK, a. O. 133. — 6: AE 1949, 23. — 7: Die erste Nummer gibt das Intervall von dem bezeugten Jahr der lykischen Legation an, die zweite in Klammern jenes von dem oft nur angenommenen letzten Amtsjahr. — 8: s. oben, S. 460, mit Anm. 65. — 9: s. die vorige Anm. — 10: A. DEGRASSI, FC 28. — 11: W. ECK, a. O., 146. — 12: AE 1975, 132.

darf man nach den Obigen mit gewissem Recht erwarten, daß auch er den Konsulat entweder im auf seiner Legation unmittelbar folgenden Jahr oder mit etlichen Jahren später angetreten hätte.

Alle amtsführende Konsuln sind nun aus dem J. 90 bekannt.⁹⁰ Ein Neratius Priscus ist unter ihnen nicht befindlich. Dagegen kommen seine zwei Vorgänger in der lykischen Legatur, C. Caristianus Fronto und P. Baebius Italicus in der Konsulliste dieses Jahres vor. Ein willkommenes Wink, daß unser Neratius Priscus die *fasces* etwa später führen müßte. Die Konsuln aus den Jahren 91, 92 und 94—96 sind aber gleichfalls alle bekannt.⁹¹ Ein Neratius Priscus wird in diesen nicht erwähnt. Wohl begegnet uns unter die Suffekt-konsuln des J. 94 A. Iulius Quadratus, der unmittelbare Nachfolger unseres Neratius in der lykischen Legation. Nach diesem zweiten Wink kann kaum ein Zweifel darüber obwalten, daß unser Neratius seinen Konsulat nur im J. 93, d. h. nach einem dreijährigen Intervall nach seiner lykischen Legation, bekleiden konnte.

Die Namen der Konsuln dieses Jahres sind bekanntlich nur teils überliefert. Die *F(asti) P(otentini)* erhalten von den Suffektkonsuln dieses Jahres allein die Namen des Avidius Q[uietus] und eines Corn[elius . . . aus den zweiten und dritten Nundinien des Jahres. Aber unabhängig davon, ob dieser Corn[elius . . . mit dem C. Cornelius Rarus Sextius Na[so?], dem Proconsul Africae in einem näher unbekanntem Jahr unter Traian identisch wäre oder nicht,⁹² bleibe ein Platz für den Konsulat des Neratius Priscus in diesem Jahr noch in beiden Nundinien.

In den vorangehenden Jahren 92 und 91, wie auch in den nachfolgenden Jahren 94 und 95 waren jährlich je zwei Suffektkonsulpaaren im Amte. Außerdem in den Jahren 92 und 95, als Domitian seinen 16., bzw. 17. Konsulat bekleidete, trat am Idus Ianuar. and die Stelle des Kaisers noch ein Konsul. In den Jahren 91 und 94 amtierten also jährlich 6, während in den Jahren 92 und 95 7 Konsuln, davon jährlich 4, bzw. 5 Suffektkonsuln. Nach diesen gesicherten Angaben der Konsullisten erschien es als das Wahrscheinlichste, daß auch im J. 93, als Domitian einen eponymen Konsulat nicht übernommen hat, ebenfalls nur 6 Konsuln, unter diesen 4 *consules suffecti* im Amt gewesen waren.^{92a}

Nun hat aber F. Zevi auf dem Münchener Epigraphischen Kongresse ein neues Fragment der FO eingezeigt, wo die letzten Buchstaben von 5 Suffektkonsulpaaren erhalten geblieben sind und hat dieses Bruchstück dem J. 93

⁹⁰ AE 1949, 23. A. DEGRASSI, FC 27.

⁹¹ A. DEGRASSI, FC 27 f. Vgl. L. VIDMAN, FO 16.

⁹² Die Identität, behauptet von R. SYME, JRS 43 (1953), 153 hält auch W. ECK, a. O., 56, Anm. 6 als ziemlich gesichert. Skeptisch ist dagegen BENGT THOMASSON, s. v. «Cornelius», RE Suppl. IX (1962), 22 f., no 297a und Opusc. Rom. 7 (1969), 169. A. DEGRASSI, FC 28 und H.-G. PFLAUM, Scripta minora, I. Paris 1978, 31 denken bezüglich des Konsulats des C. Cornel. Rarus alternative an das J. 93, oder 97. Gegen das letztere Datum hat aber zuletzt F. ZEVI, a. O. (Anm. 17), 137 Stellung genommen.

^{92a} Vgl. W. ECK, a. O. 56.

zugewiesen.⁹³ Wenn sich diese Datierung bewähre, dann wären noch zumindest 8 Suffektkonsuln aus dem J. 93 unbekannt. Für diese 8, wenn nicht nur 2 Plätze, hat nun die Forschung nach der Veröffentlichung des Fragments XIIIId. der FO und des besagten Fragments des FP die Namen der nachfolgenden 11 Senatoren vorgeschlagen:⁹⁴

1. L. Dasumius (Hadrianus?),⁹⁵ 2. A. Egrilius Plarianus Pater,⁹⁶ 3. L. Iulius Ursus Servianus,⁹⁷ 4. Publicius (oder Publilius) Tullus,⁹⁸ 5. Sallustius Lucullus,⁹⁹ 6. Silius Italicus,¹⁰⁰ 7. Cn. Suellius Flaccus,¹⁰¹ 8. ein näher nicht identifizierter Ummidius,¹⁰² 9. Vibius Varus,¹⁰³ 10. L. Iulius Mar[inus?],¹⁰⁴ 11. T. Vestricius Spurinna.¹⁰⁵

Die Überbewerbung für die noch unbesetzten 2 oder 8 Konsulstellen im J. 93 ist unbestritten. Auf die mit dieser in Zusammenhang stehende Frage, daß von den angeführten 11 Kandidaten welche Senatoren sich bei einer näheren Prüfung bewähren, versuchen die Nachfolgenden eine Antwort zu geben.

1. Unter dem Namen des ersten Kompetenten verstecken sich wohl eigentlich zwei Persönlichkeiten: ein L. Dasumius . . ., *proconsul Asiae* unter Traian in einem unbekanntem Jahr,¹⁰⁶ und ein [...] Hadrianus, der in einem der Jahre 104–113 ebenfalls diese Provinz als Prokonsul verwaltet hat.¹⁰⁷ Die Identität dieser zwei, nicht mit ihren Vollnamen überlieferten Prokonsuln, läßt sich zurzeit nicht beweisen.¹⁰⁸ [...] Hadrianus dürfte allenfalls mit Rück-

⁹³ F. ZEVI, *Nuovi frammenti dei Fasti Ostienses*, Akten des VI. Internat. Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik München 1972 (1973), 438.

⁹⁴ In einem früheren Stand der Forschung hat man durch die falsche Datierung der Militärdiplomen von Salona und Negovanovci (CIL XVI 38 und 39) die Konsuln des J. 94 für jene des vorangehenden Jahres gehalten. S. etwa: W. LIEBENAM, *Fasti consulares imperii Romani*, Bonn 1909, 17 und die Artikel über die betreffenden Senatoren in PIR und RE.

⁹⁵ A. DEGRASSI, FC 28: 93/100c. R. SYME, Tacitus II. Oxford 1958, 664 f. und W. ECK, a. O. 166 sind für das J. 93.

⁹⁶ A. DEGRASSI, FC. l.c.: 93 o 97? Vgl. W. ECK, a. O. 56, Anm. 6.

⁹⁷ A. DEGRASSI, FC 27: prima dell'87 (o nel 93).

⁹⁸ A. DEGRASSI, FC 28: 93/100 c.

⁹⁹ A. DEGRASSI, FC 224: prima dell'86 (o nel 93).

¹⁰⁰ A. DEGRASSI, FC 28 und 227: 93?

¹⁰¹ W. ECK, *Beförderungskriterien der senatorischen Laufbahn*, ANRW II. 1, Berlin–New York 1974, 200, Anm. 201: «möglichlicherweise» 93.

¹⁰² R. SYME, JRS 43 (1953), 160. IDEM, *The Ummidii*, *Historia*, 17 (1968), 72 ff. bes. 82 f.

¹⁰³ R. SYME, JRS 43 (1953), l.c. (perhaps). S. auch L. VIDMAN, FO 47 f.

¹⁰⁴ A. DEGRASSI, FC 26: prima dell'87 (o nel 93). Das letztere Datum befürworten H. NESSELHAUF, *Gnomon*, 26 (1954), 267, R. SYME, Tacitus, II 638.

¹⁰⁵ H. NESSELHAUF, a. O. 270: «in einem der Jahre 84–86 oder 93.»

¹⁰⁶ CIG 2876, PIR² D 14.

¹⁰⁷ Da C. Aquilius Proculus für das Prokonsulatsjahr 103/104 bezeugt ist (W. ECK, a. O. 161, Anm. 214), erstreckt sich der Datierungswert der zwischen 103 und 113 geprägten Münzen aus Thyatira selbstverständlich nur auf die im obigen Text angegebene Zeitspanne.

¹⁰⁸ Nach dem Vorgang E. GROAG's, PIR² D Add. p. XI argumentierte für die Identität wiederholt R. SYME, JRS 43 (1953), 156, Tacitus, II 635 (u. a.), der den Prokonsulat des L. Dasumius [Hadrianus?] auf das Amtsjahr 106/107, während dessen Konsulat auf das J. 93 verlegt hat. Vorbehalte sind dagegen in PIR² H 5. Ganz zurückhaltend ist B. THOMAE, LP II. 2 (1978), 29.

sicht auf die datierten Münzen von Thyatira einer-, und auf das allgemeinen 12—13-jährige Intervall zwischen Konsulat und Prokonsulat andererseits das erstere Amt frühestens im J. 93, spätestens aber in einem der Jahre 98—100 bekleiden.¹⁰⁹ Für L. Dasumius . . . kann man jedoch noch die obige, zumindest fakultative Möglichkeit wegen seiner völlig unbekanntenen Amtszeit in Asia nicht in Rechnung nehmen.¹¹⁰

2. Für den wahrscheinlichen Konsulat des A. Egrilius Plarianus Pater im J. 93 berief sich A. Degrassi auf eine Inschrift von Ostia.¹¹¹ Aus der angeführten Inschrift geht jedoch nur soviel hervor, daß Egrilius Pater zur Zeit, als dieses beschriebenes Denkmal aufgerichtet wurde, schon Konsul gewesen war. Näheres über das Jahr seines Konsulats läßt sich aber aus dem besagten Text nicht ermitteln. Gegen einen möglichen Konsulat dieses Senators im J. 93 spricht außerdem noch, daß sein Sohn erst im J. 128 zum Konsulat gelangt ist.¹¹² Wenn also Egrilius Pater die Fasces schon im J. 93 geführt hätte, daraus ergebe sich ein 34-jähriges Intervall zwischen seinem und seines Sohnes Konsulatsdaten, was aber in den Jahrzehnten um die Wende des 1. zum 2. Jht. ganz vereinzelt da stehe.¹¹³ Dies in Betracht ziehend empfiehlt es sich den Konsulat des Egrilius Pater mit einigen Jahren nach 97 zu verlegen. Ja, die neuesten Forschungsergebnisse scheinen dafür sprechen, daß der am 1. Okt. 128 belegte Suffektkonsul, A. Egrilius Plarianus, ist nicht mit dem jüngeren, sondern mit dem älteren A. Egrilius Plarianus, also mit dem Pater identisch sei.^{113a}

3. L. Iulius Ursus Servianus, der Schwager des späteren Kaisers Hadrian, ist nach der einleuchtenden Beweisführung von R. Syme¹¹⁴ identisch mit dem

¹⁰⁹ Das J. 97 fälle weg, wenn sich die von F. ZEVI, a. O. (Anm. 17), 137 für dieses Jahr vorgeschlagene Konsulliste bewähre.

¹¹⁰ Wenn jemand doch auf der Identität bestehe und den Konsulat dieses Senators auf das J. 93 verlege, der verfarene richtiger, diesen Senator nicht als L. Dasumius [Hadrianus?], sondern im Gegenteil als [L. Dasumius?] Hadrianus benennen. Eine mögliche Bekleidung des Konsulats in diesem Jahr folgt nämlich aus den besagten Münzlegenden nur für [...] Hadrianus. Die Statthalterschaft des L. Dasumius . . . in der Provinz Asia ist dagegen nicht näher datierbar.

¹¹¹ CIL XIV 399. E. GROAG, PIR² E 48 hat gegen H. DESSAU *ad tit.* festgestellt, daß die richtige Artikulierung des Textes in den Z. 2—3 ist wie folgt: *A. Egrili Plariani Patris, p(atroni) c(oloniae), co(n)sulis*. Für diesen Vollnamen bietet nun ein willkommenes neues Beleg, AE 1955, 173.

¹¹² A. DEGRASSI, FC 37. Aber nicht dieser, sondern sein Onkel, adoptiert von einem M. Acilius Priscus, hieß M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus. S. die Stermma der Familie bei H. BLOCH, A Ostie, Nds 1953, 264.

¹¹³ S. die Ausführungen von W. ECK, *Senatoren*, 67 f., Anm. 73, der von dem durchschnittlichen 25—30-jährigen Intervall nur 4 Ausnahmefälle registriert, aber nur für ein kürzeres Intervall. Ein anderes Bild zeigt sich freilich in der frühantoninischen Zeit, als ein Intervall von 34 oder noch mehreren Jahren ziemlich häufig vorkam. S. die diesbezügliche tabellarische Zusammenstellung bei G. ALFÖLDY, *Konsulat*, 323 f.

^{113a} F. ZEVI, *Nuovi documenti epigrafici sugli Egrili Ostiensi*, MEFR 82 (1970), 279ff., bes. 300f. Vgl. M. CORBIER, *L'aerarium Saturni et l'aerarium militare*, Paris—Roma 1974, 169 f. zugestimmt vom H.-G. PFLAUM, *Les fastes de la province de Narbonnaise*, Paris 1978, 20.

¹¹⁴ R. SYME, JRS 43 (1953), 156. IDEM, *Tacitus*, II. 636. S. auch, PIR² J 569 und 631.

Ser. Iul. Servianus (*suff.* 90). Die Namensverschiedenheit erklärt in diesem Falle genügend eine nach 90 und vor 102 erfolgte Adoption des Ser. Iul. Servianus durch den L. Iul. Ursus (*suff.* 84).

4–5. Als Suffektkonsuln im J. 93 können dagegen weder Publilius (oder Publicius) Tullus, noch Silius Italicus in Evidenz halten. Der erste von diesen verdankte ihre Existenz einer verlesenen Münzlegende, die richtig den Name des L. Baebius Tullus (*suff.* 95) und Prokonsul in Asia ca 100/110 erhalten hat.¹¹⁵ Über den zweiten Kandidat, den angeblichen Sohn des bekannten Dichters, Ti. Catius Asconius Silius Italicus, hat schon E. Groag das Wesentliche mitgeteilt.¹¹⁶ Der Erstgeborene des Dichters, dessen Konsulat Martialis in einem Epigramm beglückwünscht,¹¹⁷ hieß L. Silius Decianus und hat die *fasces* im J. 94 geführt.¹¹⁸

6. Der nächste Kompetent, Sallustius Lucullus, hat zwischen 93–96, bzw. 92/93 die Provinz Britannia verwaltet.¹¹⁹ Wohl sein zweiter Nachfolger in dieser Legatur, P. Metilius Nepos (*suff.* 91), wurde im J. 98 durch T. Avidius Quietus (*suff.* 93) von dieser Post abgelöst.¹²⁰ Die Konsulatsdaten der letztgenannten zwei Senatoren zeigen schon an und für sich genügend, daß der Konsulat des Sallustius Lucullus dürfte vor 91, ja die erhaltene Konsulliste der FP berücksichtigend, vor 87 liegen.¹²¹

7. Eine nähere Betrachtung erwünscht der neulich auf das J. 93 vorgeschlagene Suffektkonsulat des Cn. Suellius Flaccus.¹²² Dieser Vorschlag gründet sich auf die Legatur des Flaccus in Numidien, wo es laut einer Inschrift aus der Nähe von Syrtis,¹²³ als *leg. Aug. propr.* (sic!) für das Amtsjahr 86/87 in der Tat bezeugt ist.¹²⁴ Wie es schon längst erkannt wurde, die mit dem Legionskommando verknüpfte Legation in der Provinz «Numidia» eröffnete dem hiesigen Befehlshaber meist den Weg zum Konsulat. Von den zwei bekannten Vorgängern des Flaccus aus der Regierungszeit Domitians, L. Tettius Iulianus bekleidete schon im auf seiner numidischen Legation folgenden Jahr, C. Octavius Tadius Tossianus L. Iavolenus Priscus aber nach einjährigem

¹¹⁵ PIR² B 29.

¹¹⁶ E. GROAG, s. v. «Silius», no 14, RE IIIA (1927), 78.

¹¹⁷ Mart., 8.66. Zur Datierung: R. HANSLIK, Die neuen Fastenfragmente von Ostia, WS 63 (1948), 117 ff., bes. 123.

¹¹⁸ AE 1949, 23. Vgl. R. SYME, JRS 43 (1953), 157. Fälschlich (D) gibt das Prä-nomen A. DEGRASSI, FC 227 an.

¹¹⁹ A. E. BIRLEY, The Roman Governors in Britain, ES 4, 1967, 68. W. Eck, a. O. 143.

¹²⁰ CIL XVI 43.

¹²¹ Wenn sich jedoch seine Identität mit dem P. Sallustius Blaesus bewähre [cf. R. SYME, JRS 43 (1953), 158], dann hätte er die *Fasces* schon im Jahr 89 geführt. A. DEGRASSI, FC 27.

¹²² S. oben, Anm. 101.

¹²³ P. ROMANELLI, Tre iscrizioni Tripolitane di interesse storico, Epigraphica, 1 (1939), 111 = AE 1940, 70 = IRT 854.

¹²⁴ Vgl. B. E. THOMASSON, Die Statthalter der römischen Provinzen Nordafrikas, II. Lund 1960, 158 f., und Opusc. Rom. 7 (1969), 180.

Intervall das höchste Amt.¹²⁵ Wenn auch Ausnahmefälle prinzipiell nicht geleugnet werden können,¹²⁶ ist es doch im gegebenen Falle ziemlich unwahrscheinlich, daß Suellius Flaccus seinen Konsulat erst nach einem fünfjährigen Intervall nur im J. 93 angetreten hätte. Das berechtigte Bedenken verstärkt noch mehr der Umstand, daß die Laufbahn des Cn. Suellius Flaccus nach seiner numidischen Legatur ganz unbekannt ist, ja wissen wir nicht einmal, ob er das höchste Amt überhaupt wirklich bekleidet hätte. Ein anderer Vorschlag also, daß nämlich Flaccus noch als Anwärter auf den Konsulat in Ungnade gefallen, oder gestorben ist, scheint eine größere Wahrscheinlichkeit zu haben.¹²⁷

8—9. Vibius Varus und ein gewisser Ummidius scheiden nach der Neudatierung des Fragments XXXI. der FO auf das J. 115 aus der Reihe der *competitores* ebenfalls aus.¹²⁸

10. Als einen ziemlich gut beglaubten Anwärter auf einen Suffektkonsulat des J. 93 darf man dagegen den L. Iul. Mar[inus?] ansehen, der in der zweiten Hälfte der achzigeren Jahre, spätestens im J. 89/90 die Provinz Pontus und Bithynia verwaltet hat¹²⁹ und im Januar 97 schon als konsularer Statthalter in der Provinz Moesia inferior bezeugt ist.¹³⁰ Nach diesen Daten müßte Iul. Mar[inus?] die *fasces* unbedingt im J. 93 führen, da sein Name fehlt in den vollständigen Konsullisten der Jahre 87—92 und 94—96.¹³¹

11. Ebenso spricht das meiste dafür, daß T. Vestricius Spurinna seinen ersten Suffektkonsulat im J. 93 bekleidet hat. Er war bekanntlich *cos. suff.* II im J. 98.¹³² Aus der Liste der Suffektkonsuln dieses Jahres folgt nun ungezwungen, daß Spurinna das höchste Amt zum ersten Mal unbedingt nach 84

¹²⁵ Zu den Legation dieser Senatoren in Numidien s. B. E. THOMASSON, Statthalter, II 157 f., zu ihren Konsulaten s. A. DEGRASSI, FC 25 f.

¹²⁶ S. die im obigen, S. 464 Bemerkten.

¹²⁷ Ähnlich beurteilte diese Frage schon E. BIRLEY, JRS 52 (1962), 224.

¹²⁸ F. ZEVI, a. O. (Anm. 93), 438.

¹²⁹ Erwähnt seinen hiesigen Prokonsulat die inschriftlich überlieferte Laufbahn seines Sohnes (D 1026), der unter seinem Vater *legatus pro praetore* war, gewiß vor 91. E. GROAG, s. v. Iulius, no 341, RE X 670. PIR² J 408. G. ALFÖLDY, Legionslegaten, 20. W. ECK, a. O. 140. B. KREILER, a. O. (Anm. 49), 143.

¹³⁰ CIL XVI 41. Der in seiner Zeit noch berechtigte Zweifel, ob Mar[inus?] einzig aufgrund des Fundortes des fragmentierten Militärdiploms, gef. in der römischen Festung von Salsovia, das nicht einmal den Namen der Provinz enthielt, den Statthaltern Unter-moesiens zugerechnet werden könne [s. A. STEIN, Die Legaten von Moesien, 58, B. THOMAE, LP (Moesia, Dacia, Thracia), Gothoburgi 1977, 13], ist nach dem Bekanntwerden des Militärdiploms von Viminacium [Sl. DUŠANIĆ—M. R. VASIĆ, An Upper Moesian Diploma of A. D. 96, Chiron, 7 (1977), 291 f.] gegenstandslos geworden. Cn. Pinarius Aemilius Cicatricula Pompeius Longinus ist mit diesem am 12. Juli 96 aus-gestellten Diplom wohl auch für das Amtsjahr 96/97 in Moesia superior als Statthalter bezeugt, und Mar[inus?], der laut dem Diplom von Salsovia seinen Post schon vor Januar 97 besetzen dürfte, konnte folglich nur die Provinz Moesia inferior verwalten.

¹³¹ S. auch H. NESSELHAUF, a. O. (Anm. 104), 267 und W. ECK, a. O. 73, Anm. 109. Der letztere Forscher rechnet auch mit der Möglichkeit, daß Mar[inus?] schon vor 87 *consul* gewesen sein könnte. Es ist aber schon deswegen ganz unwahrscheinlich, weil sein Vorgänger in dem Prokonsulat von Pontus und Bithynia, Ti. Iul. Celsus Polemaeanus den Suffektkonsulat erst im Jahr 92 bekleidet hat. A. DEGRASSI, FC 28.

¹³² A. DEGRASSI, FC 29.

antreten müßte. Die erste Stelle unter den Suffektkonsuln dieses Jahres nimmt nämlich der Neupatrizier Cn. Domitius . . . Tullus ein,¹³³ der seinen ersten Suffektkonsulat im J. 77, oder 78 bekleidete.¹³⁴ Nach diesem Patrizier, der am Idus Januar, an die Stelle des Kaisers Nerva getreten ist, folgen in der Liste drei Plebejer, alle als *cos. suff. II*. Zuerst, Sex. Iulius Frontinus, *cos. suff.* erstmals im J. 73.¹³⁵ Dann, L. Iulius Ursus, *cos. suff.* das erste Mal im J. 84,¹³⁶ und als der dritte, T. Vestricius Spurinna, der nach dieser Nacheinanderfolge gewiß als der rangjüngere unter diese Plebejern kenntlich gemacht wird. Seinen ersten Suffektkonsulat hat also Spurinna beinahe gewiß nicht vor 84, etwa noch unter Vespasian,¹³⁷ sondern nach 84 bekleidet. Das Jahr 85 kommt aber aufgrund der neueren Forschungsergebnissen¹³⁸ nicht in Frage. Wenn Spurinna die Fasces im J. 86 geführt und danach seine von Plinius bezeugte Legation in Untergermanien übernommen hätte,¹³⁹ dann würde er zurzeit des Saturninus-Aufstandes der Statthalter dieser Provinz gewesen. Der Statthalter in dieser Provinz war aber damals bekanntlich A. Bucius Lappius Maximus,¹⁴⁰ der Suffektkonsul im letzten *nundinum* des J. 87.¹⁴¹ Spurinna dürfte also normalerweise später, als Lappius Maximus, aber unbedingt vor 98 die Fasces führen, da er schon zum zweiten Mal das höchste Amt erlangt hat. Das J. 97 fällt jedoch weg¹⁴² und ebenso wenig kommen selbstverständlich auch die Jahre 94—96 und 87—92 in Betracht. Nach alledem bleibe also nur das J. 93 für seinen ersten Suffektkonsulat übrig. Spurinna war damals zwar schon fast ein Siebziger.¹⁴³ Dieser hohe Lebensalter schließe aber den obigen Zeitansatz keinesfalls aus. Domitian hat im J. 96 den neunzigjährigen C. Manlius Valens zum eponymen Konsulat zugelassen¹⁴⁴ und Kaiser Nerva

¹³³ Erkennt von R. SYME, JRS 43 (1953), 156. Vgl. auch H. NESSELHAUF, a. O. 270, L. VIDMANN, FO 51 f.

¹³⁴ S. oben, Anm. 68.

¹³⁵ PIR² J 322, W. ECK, a. O., 73? A. DEGRASSI, FC 21: 174. Wenn Q. Petillius Cerialis seinen zweiten Suffektkonsulat nicht *in absentia* bekleidet hätte, dann müßte Frontinus, der unmittelbare Nachfolger des Q. Cerialis in der Provinz Britannia (Tac., Agr. 17), die Fasces spätestens im J. 73 führen und so wäre der Rest . . .]ON[. . . eines Konsulnamens in den *Fasti feriarum Latinarum* (I. I. XIII. 1,2) richtiger nicht auf den Namen des Sex. Iulius Fr]on[tinus, sondern wohl auf jenen des M. Hirrius Fr]on[to zu ergänzen. Cf. auch J. MORRIS, a. O. 328, 331.

¹³⁶ PIR² J 630, mit vollständigem Apparat.

¹³⁷ So W. ECK, a. O. 58, Anm. 22. Sonst, Spurinna war im J. 69 kein «Legionslegat», sondern nach Tac., hist. 2.18,1 der Befehlshaber einer gemischten othonianischen Truppe. S. auch, R. SAXER, Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian, ES I, Köln—Graz 1967, 17.

¹³⁸ S. MODUGNO—S. PANCIERA—F. ZEVI, Riv. storica dell'Antichità, 3 (1973), 87 ff., bes. 106 = AE 1975, 131.

¹³⁹ Plin., Ep. 2.7,1—2. Vgl. auch Ep. 3.1,12: (Spurinna) *provincias rexit*, wo der Plural eine ähnliche Übertreibung sein kann, wie z. B. in Plin., Paneg. 14,3, bei der Erwähnung Traian's Kommando in Hispania über «*legiones*».

¹⁴⁰ PIR² L 84, mit allen Belegen.

¹⁴¹ AE 1949, 23.

¹⁴² Vgl. F. ZEVI, a. O. (Anm. 17).

¹⁴³ Geb. um das Jahr 24, Plin., Ep. 3.1,10.

¹⁴⁴ Cassius Dio, 67.14,5 (BOISSEVAIN, III. 182).

im folgenden Jahr den zumindest in seinem 83. Lebensjahr stehenden L. Verginius Rufus zum Kollegen im Konsulat gewählt.¹⁴⁵

Von den im Obigen kurz besprochenen elf Kandidaten für je einen Suffektkonsulat des J. 93 bewähren sich also eigentlich nur zwei Senatoren: T. Vestricius Spurinna und L. Iulius Mar[inus?]. Alle beiden können neben T. Avidius Quietus und dem Corn[elius . . . mit gewissem Recht in Evidenz halten. Als der Fünfte wäre zu diesen [...] Neratius [Priscus] anzureihen, der als Statthalter Lykiens zwischen 86/87 und 88/89 das höchste Amt, dessen Bekleidung von einer Digestenstelle verbürgt wird, nur in diesem Jahr antreten konnte. Einen möglichen Einwand gegen seinen Konsulat in diesem Jahr darf man aber an dieser Stelle nicht gänzlich außer Acht lassen.

Unter Domitian galt es nämlich gewissermaßen als Regel, daß ein Patrizier sein Amt als Suffektkonsul unmittelbar nach den *consules ordinarii* angetreten hat.¹⁴⁶ Die *Fasti Potentini* vermerken aber unter den Suffektkonsuln des J. 93 als den Ersten den Plebejer (T.) Avidius Q[uietus], woraus nach den Obigen logisch folge, daß auch die übrigen Suffektkonsuln dieses Jahres zur plebejischen Nobilität angehört hätten. Der Jurist als Patrizier konnte also bei strikter Anwendung der obigen Regel schwerlich in der Konsulliste dieses Jahres einen Platz finden. Es ist aber nicht zu schwer, diesen auf dem ersten Blick berechtigten Einwand eben aufgrund der FP zu überwinden.

Der Text dieser Fasti ist bekanntlich sehr fehlerhaft. Nicht nur die Namen der amtierten Konsuln sind oft verschrieben,¹⁴⁷ sondern, was bis auf den heutigen Tag weniger beachtet wurde, auch die Konsulnamen in den einzelnen Nundinien wurden etliche Male miteinander verwechselt. Zwei Beispiele genügen. Die FP registrieren beim J. 88 im dritten *nundinum* das Konsulpaar, Sex. Iulius Sparsus, M. Otacilius Catulus. In einem offiziellen Dokumente, dem Militärdiplome von Muhowo,¹⁴⁸ kommen diese Konsulnamen dagegen in umgekehrter Reihenfolge vor. Das Gleiche gilt für das J. 90, wo im vorletzten *nundinum* liest man in den FP: Cn. Pompeius Longin(us), L. Pullaienus Pollio. Die offizielle, umgekehrte Reihenfolge bewahrte das Militärdiplom von Mainz.¹⁴⁹ Nach diesen Beispielen, die wohl noch vermehrt werden können, scheint es berechtigt zu sein, auch im zweiten *nundinum* des J. 93 mit einer ähnlicher Verwechslung zu rechnen.

Zuletzt, die Datierung des im Obigen schon erwähnten neuen Fragments der FO mit fünf Suffektkonsulnpaaren auf das J. 93¹⁵⁰ beseitige auch das letzte Hindernis aus dem Wege des Konsulats unseres Neratius zu diesem

¹⁴⁵ Plin., Ep. 2.1.4.

¹⁴⁶ H. NESSELHAUF, a. O. (Anm. 104), 269. W. ECK, a. O. 64.

¹⁴⁷ Bemerkt schon von N. ALFIERI, a. O. (Anm. 16) in der Veröffentlichung der FP.

¹⁴⁸ CIL XVI 35.

¹⁴⁹ CIL XVI 36.

¹⁵⁰ F. ZEVI, a. O. (Anm. 93), 438.

Zeitpunkt. Von den mit diesem Fastenfragment wohl bezeugten 10 Suffektkonsuln sind zwei, nämlich (T.) Avidius Quietus und ein Corn.[elius . . . durch die FP belegt. Drei weitere Senatoren, T. Vestricius Spurinna, L. Iulius Mar[inius?] und [.] Neratius [Priscus] lassen sich ferner mit der größten Wahrscheinlichkeit, fast mit Gewißheit als die Konsuln dieses Jahres in Evidenz halten. Als der Sechste, trete zu diesen 5 Senatoren möglicherweise noch [L. Dasumius?] Hadrianus hinzu. Vier Suffektkonsuln bleiben also noch unbekannt.

Aufgrund der Gesagten läßt sich die Lebensgeschichte und die öffentliche Laufbahn des Juristen bis zum Konsulat, wie es folgt, vorzulegen: geb. um die Mitte der fünfziger Jahre, Prätor um 85, kaiserlicher Legat in der Provinz Lycia und Pamphylia zwischen 86/87 und 88/89, Suffektkonsul im J. 93, etwa in seinem 38., oder 39. Lebensjahr. Dieses Alter kann gleich auch für den Patriziat des Juristen sprechen. Von den übrigen flavischen Neupatriziern, deren Lebensdaten genauer bekannt sind, hat nämlich der ältere Zeitgenosse des Juristen, Cn. Iulius Agricola (geb. am 13. Juni 40, *suff.* 77)¹⁵¹ in seinem 37., oder 38., während der mit dem Juristen fast gleichaltrige M. Ulpius Traianus (geb. am 18. September 53, *ord.* 91)¹⁵² in seinem begonnenen 38. Lebensjahr den Konsulat angetreten.

Unserem Neratius Priscus wurden konsulare Ämter, soweit wir wissen, weder unter Domitian, noch unter den späteren Kaisern anvertraut; wohl hat er aber als der Representant der prokulianischen Rechtsschule eine Tätigkeit im Gerichtshof Traians entfaltet.¹⁵³ Unter Hadrian wurde unser Jurist in den von diesem Kaiser umgestalteten Gerichtshof¹⁵⁴ zwar noch öfters einberufen,¹⁵⁵ das besondere Vertrauen Hadrians in der Rechtspflege hat jedoch neben dem sabinianischen Rechtsschule angehörigen P. Salvius Iulianus¹⁵⁶ schon ein jüngerer Vertreter der Prokulianer, der zur Generation Hadrians angehörige P. Iuventius Celsus (*suff.* 117?)¹⁵⁷ genossen.¹⁵⁸ Der Lebenslauf des Neratius Priscus läßt sich bis zu den Jahren 133/134 verfolgen.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵¹ PIR² J 126.

¹⁵² R. HANSLIK, a. O. (Anm. 32), 1035 f. Anders J. MORRIS, a. O. (Anm. 73), 328.

¹⁵³ Dig. 37.12,5 + 1.2,2,53. W. KUNKEL, a. O., 144 f. Über die Rechtsschulen s. jetzt auch die Artikel von D. LIEBS, a. O. (Anm. 37), 197 ff.

¹⁵⁴ J. CROOK, *Consilium principis*, Cambridge 1955, 56 ff. W. KUNKEL, a. O. 291 ff.

¹⁵⁵ V. Hadr. 18,1: *Cum iudicaret, in consilio habuit nec amicos suos aut comites solum sed iuris consultos et praecipue Iuventium Celsum, Salvium Iulianum, Neratium Priscum aliosque, . . .*

¹⁵⁶ Sein *cursus honorum*: D 8973. S. dazu TH. MOMMSEN, G. Schr. 2, 1 ff. Das Leben und Werk des Salvius Iulianus wurde zuletzt behandelt von E. BUND, ANRW II. 15 (1976), 408 ff. Über das strittige Geburtsdatum s. auch G. ALFÖLDY, *Konsulat* 44, Anm. 30.

¹⁵⁷ Er ist am 19. Juli 114 noch als prätorischer Statthalter in der Provinz Thracia bezeugt (M. M. ROXAN, RMD 14). Seine hiesige Legation dauerte wohl bis 115/116. Vgl. W. Eck, *Senatoren*, 176 f. Anders PIR² J 882.

¹⁵⁸ Dies zeigt ziemlich klar die Nacheinanderfolge der Namen der Juristen in dem oben, Anm. 155. angeführten Text. Die zwei ersten Stellen nehmen hier die Vertreter der prokulianischen, bzw. sabinianischen Rechtsschulrichtungen ein, P. Iuventius Celsus, respektive P. Salvius Iulianus. Neratius Priscus wird erst nach ihnen als der dritte

Eine wichtige Station dieses Lebenslaufs war der schwer bestreitbare Konsulat des Juristen im J. 93., der auch für die Beurteilung der Konsulatsdaten der anderen zwei L. Neratii Prisci vom Belang ist. Die Annahme des im vorigen vorgeschlagenen Zeitansatzes bezüglich des Konsulats des Juristen kann nämlich erst jeden Zweifel darüber aufheben, daß von seinen plebejischen Namensvettern der ältere L. Neratius Priscus das höchste Amt im J. 87, während dessen gleichnamiger Sohn jenen im J. 97 angetreten haben. Die Behandlung der nach ihren Konsulaten bekleideten Ämter dieser zwei Neratier in Pannonien, sei mir aber gestattet, einem nachfolgenden Aufsatz aufbewahren.

Budapest.

erwähnt. Dieser hadrianzeitlichen Bewertung des Celsus und des Priscus folgt offensichtlich auch Pomponius in Dig. 1.2.2, 53: *Celso patri Celsus filius et Priscus Neratius*. Der jüngere Celsus war *praetor* im J. 107, insofern der Prozeß *de repetundis* gegen Varenus Rufus im Senat (Plin., Ep. 6,5) in den ersten Monaten des J. 107 begonnen hat, wie es R. HANSLIK, s. v. «Varenus», no 7, RE VIIIA (1955), 376 sehr wahrscheinlich gemacht hat. A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE, a. O. (Anm. 36) 399 f. hält dagegen auch das Ende 106 für wahrscheinlich. Jedenfalls, wenn P. Iuventius Celsus die Prätur *minima aetate*, d. h. in seinem 30. Lebensjahr angetreten hätte, dann fälle sein Geburtsdatum ins J. 76 (es ist auch das Geburtsjahr Hadrians), oder ins J. 77. Sein zweiter Konsulat im J. 129 (A. DEGRASSI, FC 37) zeigt ferner genügend, daß er das Wohlwollen Hadrians im großen Maß genossen hat.

¹⁵⁹ S. oben, S. 463 und Anm. 74.

THE VARIANTS OF THE FRAME STORY OF THE ŚUKASAPTATI

In an earlier paper¹ I arrived at the conclusion that the appearance of the so-called cunning stories among the stories in the Śukasaptati² can be regarded as the birth of the genre of short story within Sanskrit literature.³

However, the principal frame story of the Śukasaptati⁴ — *i.e.* not that of the single stories, but that of the whole work — is a fairy-tale story, where,

¹ Cs. TÖTTÖSSY: *Ant. Tan.* 15 (1968) 221 foll. and *Acta Ant. Hung.* 17 (1969) 433 foll.

² The text editions of the Sanskrit variants of the Śukasaptati are: R. SCHMIDT: *Der Textus orniator der Śukasaptati. Kritisch hgg. von —. ABayA I. Cl.* 21 (1901) 2. Abt. München 1898. 317–416; R. SCHMIDT: *Die Çukasaptati. Textus simplicior.* AKM 10 (1897) No. 1. Leipzig 1893. X+213; and notes to this text: R. SCHMIDT: *ZDMG* 48 (1894) 580–628; R. SCHMIDT: *Der Textus simplicior der Śukasaptati in der Recension der Handschrift A.* *ZDMG* 59 (1900) 517–547 and *ZDMG* 55 (1901) 1–44 (*Textus elegantior*); Śukasaptati. Dilli 1959. 152 (*Textus simplicior*); RAMĀKĀNTA TRIPĀTHĪ: *Śukasaptati. Ed. with comm. by —. Varanasi* 1966. 288 (*Textus simplicior*). — The translations of the Sanskrit variants of the Śukasaptati are: R. SCHMIDT: *Die Śukasaptati. (Textus orniator.) Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von —. Stuttgart* 1899. IV+149; R. SCHMIDT: *Die Çukasaptati. (Textus simplicior.) Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt von —. Kiel* 1894. III+102; R. SCHMIDT: *Śukasaptati. Das indische Papageienbuch. In: Meisterwerke Orientalischer Literaturen. III. Bd. München* 1913. I–XIV+1–120 (*Textus simplicior*) (*Einleitung, Übersetzung*); Шукасапта. Семьдесят рассказов популя. Перевод с санскрита М. А. Ширяева. Предисловие и примечания В. И. Кальянова. Москва 1960. 173 (*Textus simplicior*); Cs. TÖTTÖSSY: *Sukasaptati. Budapest* 1962. 249 (*Textus orniator*) (*Translation, postscript, notes*); W. MORGENROTH: *Das Papageienbuch. Berlin* 1968. 324 (*Textus orniator und 16 Erzählungen aus dem Textus simplicior*) (*Übersetzung, Nachwort, Anmerkungen*).

³ These cunning stories centre around a witty and unexpected turn taking place during a rescue from great straits or a solution of an intricate problem. Their essence is this unexpected turn, and it is not the victory of truth that is important here (as, for instance in the tale of the clever rabbit taken over from the Pañcatantra (*Tantrā-khyāyika* α and β I. 6, Pañc. *t. s.* and *t. o.* I. 8., Śuk. *t. o.* 40, *t. s.* 31, *t. e.* 33.), but the disentanglement from the difficulty, which is always successful by any means. This ever victorious character of the cunning story reflects an optimism founded on prosperity. In contrast to the transcendental solutions of the folktale realism prevails here.

⁴ As for me I distinguish not only two Sanskrit variants of the Śukasaptati [*i.e.* *textus orniator*, (abbrev.: *t. o.*) and *textus simplicior* (abbrev.: *t. s.*)], but three ones, that is to say I regard the *textus elegantior* (abbrev.: *t. e.*), published by Schmidt based on the manuscript A as a separate variant [*cf.* Cs. TÖTTÖSSY: *Ant. Tan.* 14 (1967) 249 and *Acta Ant. Hung.* 16 (1968) 447]. The literature, however, — evidently on the basis of the slightly misleading title of the edition by Schmidt of the text of manuscript A — usually mentions two variants of text, see M. WINTERNITZ: *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur. III. Leipzig* 1920. 343 and *id.*: *A History of Indian Literature. Transl. by SUBHADRA JHA. Vol. III. Part I. Delhi—Varanasi—Patna* 1977². 415; A. B. KEITH: *A History*

among others, a parrot occurs.⁵ Miraculous elements and magic play a major role in fairy-tale. These fairy-tales turn into adventurous and interesting stories, having the elements of the world of irrationality. Nevertheless the aim of the present paper is not to deal with the characteristics of the fairy-tales, nor to discuss all parrot stories,⁶ but merely to examine the parrot stories occurring in the Śukasaptati variants and its later versions, and serving as their frame story.

The frame story of the *textus ornatior* variant of the Śukasaptati⁷ is the following:

A son, Madanasena is born to Haradatta, the rich merchant, as a reward for his veneration of Śiva. Haradatta obtains the Prabhāvati of radiant beauty as wife for his son, and as a result of her beauty Madanasena neglects even his duties as a merchant. Haradatta, his father grows desperate seeing that his son neglects his duty until Trivikrama, one of his friends gives him the advice to try and bring about a change in his son's attitude with the help of the parrot Guṇasāgara and of his wife, the *śārikā*-bird Malayavatī, who were changed into birds because of the curse of Indra.

Trivikrama goes on to expound the story of this transformation to Haradatta. The parrot used to be Viśvāvasu, the Gandharva king and the name of

of Sanskrit Literature. London 1961. 290; O. ВОРТО: Letterature antiche dell'India. Milano 1969. 202; Шукасаптати. Семьдесят рассказов попугая. Перевод с санскрита М. А. Ширяева. Предисловие и примечания В. И. Кальянова. Москва 1960. 7; W. MORGENROTН: *op. cit.* 282; but see also R. SCHMIDT: ZDMG 54 (1900) 515. From the viewpoint of the present work, however, it is of no consequence whether *textus simplicior* and *textus elegantior* are regarded as two separate variants or not, because the introductory and the concluding parts of the frame story are missing in the *textus elegantior*, comprising only stories 2—53.

⁵ The single stories (so the story of Bālasarasvatī or also that of another parrot, Dhūrtacakora, who occurs only in the *t. o.* variant) are each told by the parrot of the seventy tales to his mistress, Prabhāvati, in order to prevent her from immorality by narrating a most often immoral story. In relation to the frame of these single stories this parrot chooses the most ingenious device in the *textus ornatior* variant, see Cs. TÖTTÖSSY: Ant. Tan. 10 (1963) 155 foll. and Acta Orient. Hung. 18 (1965) 227 foll.

⁶ See about these other Indian, Persian, Turkish, etc. Śukasaptati-versions named Śukabāhattari, Śukabahottari and Tota-itihāsa, Tota-kahāni and Tūṭi-nāme: R. SCHMIDT: Vier Erzählungen aus der Çukasaptati. Kiel 1890. 6 foll., *id.*: ZDMG 45 (1891) 629 foll. and ZDMG 46 (1892) 664 foll., *id.*: Über den Werth des Sanskritstudiums. Stuttgart 1898. 4, W. PERTSCH: ZDMG 21 (1867) 506 foll. and ZDMG 22 (1868) 568, J. HERTEL: Über die Suvābahuttarikāthā. In: Festschrift Windisch. Leipzig 1914. 138 foll., J. HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung. Leipzig—Berlin 1914. *passim*, M. WINTERNITZ: Geschichte der indischen Litteratur. III. 346 foll., *id.*: A History of Indian Literature. Vol. III. Part I. 419 foll., A. B. KEITH. *op. cit.* 262 foll. and 359 and J. РУПКА: Iranische Literaturgeschichte. Leipzig 1959. 235. — See about the Persian collection of tales «Sindbād-nāme» (see J. РУПКА: *loc. cit.*) going back to an Indian work, and its Arabian, Syrian, Greek, Hebrew, Old Spanish, Middle Latin versions: M. WINTERNITZ: Geschichte der indischen Litteratur. III. 348, *id.*: A History of Indian Literature. Vol. III. Part I. 421 foll., A. B. KEITH: *op. cit.* 360 foll. and esp. B. E. PERRY: The Origin of the Book of Sindbad. Berlin 1960.

⁷ R. Schmidt accounts the slightly *in medias res* start of the frame story for the loss of the beginning of the text, see R. SCHMIDT: Der Textus ornatior der Çukasaptati. Ein Beitrag zur Märchenkunde. Stuttgart 1896. 1.

his wife was Mālāvati. Once they happened to fail to entertain Indra, and when the god, angry as he was, appeared they turned into birds in alarm, in order to elude Indra's wrath. Indra, upon this, cursed them that they should retain their bird shape, and he became conciliated only that much that he promised them that if they did a service to Madanasena, son of Haradatta, and if then he released them in his joy, then they would obtain admission into the world of the immortals again.

After being carried to the house of Madanasena, by means of the story about Devaśarman⁸ and Puṇḍarika, the parrot actually brings Madanasena to reason, and he even sets out in order to increase his riches. Prabhāvati, who protests at first despairingly against the departure of her husband, is trusted by Madanasena to the two birds. Vinayakandarpa, the son of the king, still takes a fancy to the merchant's young wife spending her days in sorrows and his female messengers persuade the lady not to spend her life drearily, while her husband obviously enjoys the pleasures of love with other women. Under the influence of all these, Prabhāvati bejewels herself and prepares to set out. At this time the hen-bird openly opposes her. For this her mistress nearly wrings her neck, but she succeeds in flying away. The cock-parrot, however, is shrewder, wiser and more cautious. Upon the question of his mistress he shows a different attitude. He seemingly approves of the departure of his mistress. He only cautions her to be as wise and clever as the hero, or the heroine of a story. Then, after relating the story he makes his mistress think so long on the solution of the complicated and difficult situation that at last day begins to dawn. Thus, while Prabhāvati usually listened to the story of an unfaithful and false woman, she herself still does not strike into the path of conjugal infidelity, since by the time when the parrot told her the solution at daybreak which she was unable to find out during the whole night, the night was over and at the same time the opportunity to see her lover was also missed.

This introductory frame story is very long. But the concluding part is all the shorter, and it does not correspond to the introductory frame story. This will be discussed and expounded at the end of this paper.

The introductory frame story⁹ of the *textus simplicior* variant of the Śukasaptati tallies in its contents with that of the *textus ornatior*, but the story of the curse is not mentioned here, and the Puṇḍarika story is also omitted from the side of Devaśarman's story. Nor is the attitude of the parrot so witty. In fact,

⁸ See Mahābhārata III. 207–216.

⁹ After the two-line poem following Gaṇeśa's greeting, and after the short introductory frame story, which states that this is only an abridged version of the story of the parrot, the first tale begins. Here in the introduction the name of the merchant is Haridatta, that of his wife is Śṛṅgārasundari, that of the son is Madanavinoda, later Madana, that of the son's wife is Prabhāvati, who is the daughter of a śreṣṭhin named Somadatta.

here the parrot tells the cunning solution only on the condition that Prabhāvati promises to stay at home that night and to go to sleep.¹⁰

The concluding part of the *textus simplicior* completely differs from that of the *textus ornatior*. In the *textus simplicior* the concluding part coming after the 69th story, as a matter of fact, the 70th story itself, is namely exactly corresponding to the introductory part. The husband, Madana, comes home. His wife is as kind to him as she had been before the time of his departure. However, the parrot starts to allude to the behaviour of the wife. Upon this the wife begins to praise the wisdom of the parrot, the parrot hearing the praise is ashamed of his hints, and Prabhāvati gradually still starts to confess that during the absence of her husband she wanted to go to a strange man, and she was withheld from this by the parrot by means of his cunning talk. The man is abashed at the confession and he turns to the parrot for advice. Then the bird tells the story of Madanamañjarī, the Gandharva Madana's¹¹ daughter, who similarly did not in fact commit conjugal infidelity.¹² After listening to this story, Madana, Prabhāvati's husband forgives, and at the festival arranged by Haridatta, the parrot, the hen-bird and Trivikrama being delivered from the curse¹³ go to heaven.

In the *textus elegantior* of the Śukasaptati — since in the manuscript both the beginning and the end are missing — this frame story, of course, does not appear at all.

The Marāṭhī version of the Śukasaptati,¹⁴ as in general, tallies fairly well with the *textus simplicior* also with regard to the frame story.¹⁵

With Naḥṣabī and Qādīri there is another parrot story. Diyā' u' d-dīn Naḥṣabī, who was a contemporary of Hāfiẓ and Sa'dī and very likely was living in the court of Muḥammad II, finished his work¹⁶ entitled Tūṭī-nāme prob-

¹⁰ Prabhāvati, persuaded by her wanton friends, wants to go to Guṇacandra according to the *textus simplicior*. He is not a son of a king in this version. The wife of the parrot acts clumsily and flies away in this version, too, in order to save her life.

¹¹ Of course, this Madana is not identical with Prabhāvati's husband.

¹² A vidyādhara enjoyed Madanamañjarī, as a consequence of the curse of the brāhmaṇa Nārada. Kanakaprabha, her husband, who wanted to kill his wife therefore, learned from Caṇḍikā, the goddess in her temple that Madanamañjarī was actually innocent, because the vidyādhara had assumed the figure of Kanakaprabha, and therefore the goddess advises the husband to forgive.

¹³ This curse is mentioned only here in this version (and in the introductory part it is not), even here it is not given in detail.

¹⁴ R. SCHMIDT: Śukabāhattari. Die Marāṭhī-Übersetzung der Śukasaptati. Marāṭhī und Deutsch. AKM 10 (1897) No. 4. Leipzig 1897.

¹⁵ Accordingly, we need not go into details with regard to the Marāṭhī version because of the correspondence between this text and the *textus simplicior*. Tales 71 and 72 in the Marāṭhī version contain tale 70 of the *textus simplicior*. The tale 71 tells the story about the Gandharva and his wife, and the tale 72 relates the story of the former cursing of the two birds, their present deliverance from the curse and their ascension to the heaven on a celestial carriage, and the happiness of Madanasena.

¹⁶ See J. RYPKA: Iranische Literaturgeschichte. Leipzig 1959. 235; W. PERTSCH: ZDMG 21 (1867) 506; J. HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung. Leipzig—Berlin 1914. 234.

ably in 1330. He mentions in his work that the parrot book had been translated into Persian already before him by an author whom he does not name. Naḥṣabī's work is very valuable, because besides the Śukasaptati version he used, he also made use of other Indian works. Muḥammad Qādiri's work, written similarly in Persian, is an elaboration of this successful Persian work of Naḥṣabī either, with Pertsch and Schmidt,¹⁷ from the 17th, (or, according to Hertel,¹⁸ only from the late 18th — early 19th century).

Qādiri's first tale¹⁹ contains even two parrot stories. The first part of the tale, corresponding to the parrot stories above, relates that once the merchant Meimun set out for a long business tour. The parrot, who together with another bird, is put in charge of the house, entertains with his tales the woman, who is sad because her husband left. One day, however, a prince from a foreign country sets eyes on his mistress, and by the aid of female messengers he asks her to fix an appointment. The woman puts on her finest clothes, and when the other bird disapproves of what she is going to do, she dashes her to the ground, so that she dies. The parrot is shrewder and he promises to conceal what she does from her husband, just as the parrot of bey Feruh did not tell him anything about his mistress. Then, at his mistress' request, he tells the story of the other parrot, which is suitable both to win the confidence of his mistress, and, the night being spent with listening to the story, to hinder his mistress from going to her lover that night. This story (the second part of Qādiri's first tale),²⁰ which being another version — is interesting to us, goes like this :

A merchant, named bey Feruh, on his departure put his wife and all his goods and chattels in his parrot's charge. He was away for a long time, and on the other hand the woman soon got to know a young Moghul, and fell in love with him. She received him every night in her home and he stayed there till morning. All this was going on before the very eyes of the parrot, but he pretended to see or hear nothing at all. After arriving home, the merchant thoroughly interrogated his parrot, who told everything else, but did not tell a single word about the infidelity of the wife. The merchant, however, heard about the matter from others, therefore he reprimanded the wife and punished her. The wife, of course, suspected the parrot of giving her infidelity away. Therefore once at night she tore his feathers, threw the parrot out the door, and

¹⁷ W. PERTSCH: ZDMG 21 (1867) 506; R. SCHMIDT: Vorwort zu Tutinameh. In: Meisterwerke Orientalischer Literaturen. III. Bd. München 1913. XV and J. RYPKA: *loc. cit.*

¹⁸ See HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 244.

¹⁹ C. J. L. IKEN: Quādiri's Tutinameh. Übersetzt von —. In: Meisterwerke Orientalischer Literaturen. III. Bd. 121—236. München 1913. (It is the reprint of his translation edited in 1822.) 123 foll.

²⁰ In the second part of the first tale Meimun's parrot tells the whole story of the parrot of bey Feruh. The story in Naḥṣabī and in Qādiri is the same, so I thought it sufficient to expound that of Qādiri. Naḥṣabī, at the end differs only so far as in his version the parrot rises from the dead because of the woman's prayers, and from this fact the husband is driven to the conclusion that his wife is innocent.

thinking that she did really destroy the bird, she alarmed all the servants and maids, saying that the parrot was taken away by the cat. The bird, however, took shelter in the near-by cemetery in a grave pit. The merchant, when the next day he did not find his favourite bird, expelled his wife, too. The wife went to a neighbouring cemetery, because she knew that nobody would give shelter to her in his house. At night the parrot came out of the grave and told the woman to crop her hair and to spend forty days in the temple without any food, and then all her sins will be forgiven and he himself will reconcile her with her husband. The woman thought that a pious soul was speaking from the grave and she performed the instructions. Hereafter the parrot appeared to the woman, reproached her, but told her that he would reconcile her with her husband, what he really did. Returning home to the merchant, he told, as he was answering his questions that he was his old parrot, who was taken by the cat from the cage and closed in his belly. To the question of his master how he could rise from the dead, he answered that it was the Almighty who gave him life again, seeing the woman's forty day long, deep sorrow in the cemetery and he gave him the commandment to reconcile his master with his wife. The merchant, attaching credence to this story, went for his wife himself, and thinking that she was totally innocent folded her in his arms, brought her back home and they were living happily with each other hereafter.

A Turkish translation or elaboration prepared about one hundred years later is also based on Naḥṣabī's work. According to Pertsch its author is efendi 'Abdullāh.²¹ Nor does this²² essentially differ from the story of Naḥṣabī and Qādirī.²³

²¹ W. PERTSCH: ZDMG 21 (1867) 507 foll.

²² This is the first story of the fourth night in the Turkish version. See G. ROSEN: Tuti-Nameh. Das Papagaienbuch. I—II. Nach der türkischen Bearbeitung... übersetzt von —. Leipzig 1858. 30 foll. and in: Bibliothek der Romane. XVII. Bd. Leipzig sine anno. 24 foll.

²³ In the end this version is, of course, standing nearer to Naḥṣabī than to Qādirī, the only difference from the former being that here we can see a Moslim adaptation of the Naḥṣabī version. In the Turkish version namely when the woman is going to carry out the instructions of the parrot, that she should crop her hair the parrot comes forward and reprimands the woman for her failure to distinguish her friends from the enemies, and she did wrong to him, who did not denounce her to her husband, on the contrary he even tried to reassure him. He pointed out that the woman with the foolish act that she cast out him brought trouble to herself as well, and that was the cause of her expulsion. It is only her stupidity — goes the parrot on rebuking her — that can be an excuse, as now also did the woman believe, when he was speaking from behind the idol of Indian religion, that an idol, made of stone and wood, can speak. She should be converted to the «true religion», he urges her, and then he would arrange it for her that she would enjoy her husband's favours again. The woman is really converted to Islam and the parrot goes home. The merchant, seeing him becomes very glad and asks the parrot about his vicissitudes. The parrot tells him that he really was dead, but God was gracious to him and revived him. The merchant is astonished at that, but the parrot explains that their Indian deities are but stone and wood, there is no soul in them. Then the merchant, too, is converted to Islam. He goes on to ask the parrot why God raised him from the dead. The parrot says that the wife of the merchant being converted to the Moslim faith prayed so devoutly to God to help her with the proving of her innocence that he was

In the Persian (Naḥṣabī, Qādirī) and Turkish versions, which go back to the Śukasaptati, a second parrot story can be found. And there is another one in the *textus ornatior* variant of the Śukasaptati. We do not know the first part of this story, owing to the lacuna from the 65th to the beginning of the 68th tale in the *textus ornatior*, but in tales 68—70 we can read the other parrot story, which can be regarded as the third variant of the parrot stories.

In tale 68, where the lacuna ends, we can read the story known from the frame tale of Book III of the Pañcatantra, the moral of which is that one cannot have confidence in the benevolence of the old enemy. The tale is told by the parrot Dhūrtacakora to his master Somadatta to illustrate this old truth.

In tale 69 our parrot narrates to Prabhāvati the cunning escape of the parrot named Dhūrtacakora :

Dhūrtacakora's story *i.e.* the relating of tale 68 did not strike root in Somadatta's heart. He took the parrot to the harlot Kāmasenā, who told the event to her procuress Devasenā. Upon this the latter relaxed and the following morning she went to the king, and before this she gave instructions in the presence of Kāmasenā that the parrot should be killed and cooked. Hereafter the maid began to pluck the bird. Then the cunning parrot recommended a cosmetic to the maid, and while she went to fetch some other things supposedly necessary to prepare the cosmetic, the parrot himself escaped through the drain, meanwhile shouting : «the cat has taken it, the cat has taken it».²⁴ Hearing this the servant-maid returned, and since she did not find the parrot, in alarm she prepared a partridge for the procuress.

In tale 70 Prabhāvati listens to the cunning revenge of Dhūrtacakora from our parrot :

In fact, this Dhūrtacakora went to the temple of Śiva, before which Kāmasenā danced on every lunar day, and there he hid in the cavity of a bilva tree. Once, when Kāmasenā's dance came to an end, he began to speak from there as if he were the god Śiva, and promised to the hetaera that on the next lunar day a heavenly carriage would come to take her to Mount Kailāsa. She should distribute their property — he instructed Kāmasenā — and both she and the procuress should crop their hair and so they should come there. Kāmasenā gladly performed the order, which she believed to have come from the god, and in the glaring sun they, both of them with bald head, were waiting for the heavenly carriage, but in vain. And then the crafty and revenging parrot ridicules the hetaera in a śloka :²⁵

given a new life by God, and he was commissioned to attest the innocence and faithfulness of the woman. The husband goes to the temple for his wife himself, and his wife admires the shrewdness and wisdom of the parrot.

²⁴ *anaiṣid anaiṣin mārjāra īti.*

²⁵ *śaṭhe pratīṣaṭhaṃ kuryād ādare ca tathādaram |
twayā me luñcūtāḥ pakṣāḥ mayā te muñḍitāḥ śiraḥ ||*

«One should repay craft with craft and honour with honour as well !
You plucked out my pinions, I clipped your head.»

This third version of the parrot story can be found in the *Pañcākhyānavārttika*.²⁶ This work is a version of the *Pañcatantra* written in Old Gujarātī prose, in which there are a number of stories which do not occur in the *Pañcatantra*. Its author is unknown, but he definitely was a Jaina monk not versed in Sanskrit. The only manuscript of his work is that of a certain Jinavijaya which was written in 1673/74 A.D. Thus the *Pañcākhyānavārttika* was, naturally prepared at a time preceding this date.²⁷ This above-mentioned story about the parrot and the hetaera can be summarized as follows:²⁸

A merchant setting out for long commercial tour puts his shop in the charge of his son, Madana and charges his parrot to guard the house. Madana, however, is seduced by a hetaera, who also got much money out of him. The parrot, therefore, gets angry with her and warns the young merchant against the hetaera. The courtesan learns this from the servant-maid and decides to revenge her on the bird. She asks Madana to bring once his bird along with him. When he fulfils this wish, the hetaera plucks the pinions of the bird out, puts it on a dish and goes to fetch a knife. The parrot, however, crawls into the drain, so the hetaera does not find him. She thinks that the bird was taken away by a cat and she is glad of this. The parrot, having his pinions grown again, leaves his hiding-place and flies into the court of a sanctuary. When the hetaera repeatedly prays before the statue of the goddess standing there that she should lift her with her body to heaven, the parrot, in the name of the goddess, enters into conversation with her and sets her as a condition of her being lifted to heaven to liberate herself from the deception of the *saṃsāra*, to donate her property to the *brāhmaṇas*, to get blessed by them, to put on a white garment, to have her head clipped, and after having performed all this, she should come back to the court of the sanctuary and should wait until she, the goddess, would take her on a celestial carriage to heaven. The hetaera gladly performs all this, and then amidst the beating of drums she goes to the sanctuary. There she humbly prays that the goddess should send her a carriage, which would take her to heaven. At this moment the parrot ridicules her relating mockingly in a strophe that he had her hair cropped in return to plucking his feathers out.²⁹ Then he tells the people gathered in the court of the temple, how the hetaera treated him. Upon this the indignant crowd drags her along in the dust.

²⁶ *Pañcākhyānavārttika* No. 43.

²⁷ HERTEL: *Das Pañcatantra*. 122.

²⁸ See HERTEL: *Das Pañcatantra*. 151 foll.

²⁹ This strophe of the *Pañcākhyānavārttika* is near the śloka of the *textus ornatior* of the *Śukasaptati*, cf. HERTEL: *Das Pañcatantra*. 238 note 1. See the not correct Sanskrit text of this śloka: HERTEL: *Pañcatantra*. 151 note 9.

In the collection of tales entitled *Kathāratnakāra*, too, written by Hemavijaya, a jaina monk in 1600/1,³⁰ a story³¹ can be found, which is similar to the preceding ones and obviously goes back to some adaptation of the Śukasaptati.³²

Another version of this story again can be read in the manuscript of a version of the *textus simplicior* of the Pañcatantra, in the so called Banaras manuscript;³³ where two stories otherwise not occurring in the Pañcatantra can be found. According to Hertel, the manuscript itself is a very early one, it is several hundred years old.³⁴ Of the two interpolated stories it is the second which is interesting for us presently and of which Hertel published the Sanskrit text, too.³⁵ This version differs from the previous ones inasmuch as the parrot of a merchant prevents a lustful hetaera by prohibitive words from enjoying the pleasure of love with other men, too. Therefore the hetaera one day, when the merchant went to visit one of his relatives, plucked the pinions of the bird out, and since she thought that the bird died, threw it out to the street. The parrot, however, with much effort reached the drain that belonged to the temple of Jāleśvara.³⁶ After a time the hetaera also goes to that temple. To her prayer to the god the parrot replies. He promises her the heavenly blessedness she asked for if she dispenses her goods to the beggars, puts on a white garment, has her hair cropped and on the seventh day comes back. Then a heavenly carriage will come for her — he promises to the courtesan — to take her to heaven. The he-

³⁰ HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 249.

³¹ See HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 237.

³² I summarize this story as follows:

A merchant has a wise parrot, which tries in vain to dissuade him from his love for a beautiful hetaera. The merchant tells the woman the parrot's warnings, who thereupon asks him for the bird, allegedly to play with him. No sooner has she got hold of him than she starts to pluck his feathers out and goes into the house to fetch a knife to kill him. Meanwhile the parrot hides and as the hetaera when she returns does not find him, she is led to think that some animal must have eaten him up. On the other hand, she tells the merchant that his parrot is flown. The bird, as his feathers grow again, hides behind the statue of Caṇḍikā, the hetaera's family goddess, and in the name of the goddess he promises the hetaera to fulfil one wish of hers. She does not suspect that it is not the goddess who is speaking to her and asks for everlasting youth, beauty and a lot of money for herself, and besides, the power to be able to compel every man to obedience. Then the parrot gives her the instructions to distribute all her goods, to clip her head, to mount an ass and to ride around the town to the beating of drums, and at last to come to the temple again wrapped up in rags. When the woman has done all this, the parrot coming forward publicly shouts a variant of the already known śloka at her.

*krte pratikṛtaṃ kuryān nyāyamārgo 'yam īritah |
bhavatyotpātūtau pakṣau mayā munḍāyitāṃ śirah ||*

«One should do a recompens in case of a deed:

this is proclaimed as the usage of the righteousness.

The pinions of my two wings were plucked by you, I had your head clipped.»

After this the parrot relates what has happened and the hetaera among a shower of abuses from the crowd has to move to another town.

³³ HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 92 foll.

³⁴ HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 92 note 3.

³⁵ HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 95 foll.

³⁶ Here Jāleśvara is a name of Śiva, according to Hertel. Cf. HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 97 note 2.

taera does everything, and on the seventh day she returns accompanied by an immense crowd. Then the parrot shouts the well-known śloka at her,³⁷ and it is himself who flies up in the sky.

Hertel, too, mentions the version³⁸ of the story to be found in an Old Marāṭhī metric elaboration of the Pañcatantra, the work of Nirmala Pāṭhaka³⁹ entitled Pañcopākhyāna (V. 11).⁴⁰

Vidagdhaçūḍāmaṇi, the parrot of the king draws upon himself the hatred of the hetaera, Kāmasenā, as he in a certain case advises the king to decide against her,⁴¹ and at the same time he tells a story (V. 12) which together with the other events about the arbitrament may be omitted. The hetaera meditates revenge. One day she amuses the king so much with her song and dance that the king tells her to ask for anything she wants to have. The courtesan then asks the king for the bird, then plucks his pinions out and orders a servant-maid to butcher him and make a dish of him for her. While the girl goes to fetch a knife, the bird creeps into a drain. The girl, who is unable to find him, buys a pigeon and makes a delicious dish of the pigeon instead of him. When his pinions have grown again, the parrot flies to the sanctuary of Bhavānī, before which Kāmasenā usually dances. Here hiding behind the statue of the goddess he promises the hetaera to take her to heaven if she dispenses her goods, crops her hair and paints her body black and white and dances naked before the statue of the goddess. The hetaera carries out the commands in the presence of a huge crowd, but then the parrot coming forwards shouts a little corrupt variant of the usual śloka at her.⁴² After this the parrot flies up, and the hetaera goes home ashamed.

And only now I come to discuss the concluding frame story of the *textus ornatior* of the Śukasaptati, which — as had been mentioned already — is very short and does not correspond to the introductory frame story. This concluding frame story means a fourth type of variant. According to this on the following

*37 kṛteḥ pratīkṛtaṃ kuryād dhīṃsīte pratihīṃsitam |
twayā lumcāpītau pakṣau mayā muṃḍāpūtaṃ śiraḥ ||*

«One should do a recompense of a deed

<and> a recompense of the harm in case of a harm!

You had the pinions of my two wings plucked out, I had your head clipped.»

³⁸ According to HERTEL the version of Nirmala Pāṭhaka can be traced back to the Sanskrit Banaras manuscript and it is not the other way round, because this story with Nirmala Pāṭhaka — HERTEL argues — is only a frame story of an other tale. Cf. HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 98. This argument of Hertel is not convincing for me, because the story of the parrot is just a frame story in the above cases as well.

³⁹ HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 23, 262.

⁴⁰ See HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 285 foll.

⁴¹ When namely someone tells a friend that he enjoyed Kāmasenā, the hetaera in his dream, Kāmasenā learning this demands the usual fee for this. As she does not receive the sum she lodges a complaint against the dreamer before the king. The king at last so to be able to judge the case correctly, consults Vidagdhaçūḍāmaṇi, who arbitrates the image of the fee, reflected in a mirror, for the enjoyment in a dream.

*42 śaḥasya pratīṣaṭhaṃ kuryāta ūdaraṃ pranīmādaraṃ |
twayā niluṃcate pakṣe mayā te muṃḍīte śiraḥ ||*

day, on the one after the seventieth tale, Vinayakandarpa goes himself to Prabhāvati. Prabhāvati receives him with an amorous glance. Meanwhile, the cat⁴³ observes the parrot in the cage, and begins to mew. Then the parrot says : «Why do you mew, cat ? Neither an enemy nor a thief, this is king Nanda's son, who does not touch the wife of someone else.»⁴⁴ Hearing these words, Vinayakandarpa goes away without a word.⁴⁵

In connection to this I must mention also Nirmala Śrāvaka's⁴⁶ story⁴⁷ written in braj bhākhā, which according to Hertel can be traced back to a Śukasaptati version. According to this king Nanda at night goes into the house of Mālatī. The parrot becomes indignant at the entrance of the king. The king gets angry, he mentions the cat, and when he sits down on the bed of the young lady, the latter prostrating herself before him speaks to him : «What has led you here, my father ? Why are you not sleeping at home ?» Upon this the king is overcome with shame.

The main motifs of the four versions of the parrot stories mentioned above are as follows :

Type 1 : The parrot guards the wife of a merchant on a trip, he hides her from adultery by his tales (introduction of *textus ornatior*, *textus simplicior* and Marāṭhi) then he reconciles her with her husband (end of *textus simplicior* and Marāṭhi).

Type 2 : The wife of the merchant who is on trip actually commits infidelity without any attempts of the parrot to hinder her from it. The husband learns the infidelity from others, but the woman suspects the parrot of denounce. When the woman in revenge for this wants to do away with the parrot and plucks his feathers off, he manages to escape. The woman lays the disappearance of the parrot at the cat's door, but her husband expels her for this. The parrot in revenge cunningly hides in a cemetery (or temple) and pretends to be a deceased soul (or even a god). He orders the woman to crop her hair, but at last he brings about a reconciliation between her and her husband (Naḥṣabī : 1/2, Qādirī : 1/2, Turkish version : 4/1).

⁴³ *jighāmsu-* i.e. «desirous of killing».

⁴⁴ More exactly : «the uterine brother of wife of another man». This whole śloka is as follows :

kiṃ tvaṃ roḍiṣi mārjāra na cārīr na ca taskaraḥ |

Nandabhūpakumāro 'yam paranārīśahodaraḥ ||

⁴⁵ This concluding part of the frame story in the *textus ornatior* is very short. The 300 line long introductory part may serve as a foil to these seven lines. And though the solution is definitive : Vinayakandarpa leaves Prabhāvati himself as a result of the humiliating poem of the parrot, and so there is no point any more to tell other stories in order to keep his mistress in her conjugal fidelity, this solution does not mention what happens to Madanasena and his wife when he returns home. The fact that the bird managed to keep Prabhāvati in her fidelity, may mean the dawn of happiness for the cursed birds, and that Madanasena and Prabhāvati will live happily hereafter, but not a single word mentions this, what the reader may rightly miss.

⁴⁶ HERTEL : Das Pañcatantra. 224 foll.

⁴⁷ See HERTEL : Das Pañcatantra. 228 foll.

Type 3: The parrot wants to dissuade a merchant from loving a hetaera. The hetaera wants to take revenge on the parrot. She plucks his p i n i o n s out, but he can escape through the d r a i n. Mostly it arises that it must have been a c a t that has taken him away. The parrot goes to a temple and gives the woman instructions to c r o p her hair, promising her an ascension to h e a v e n. The parrot in the end discovers himself and in an everywhere occurring, very similar ś l o k a declares publicly before the crowd that he took r e v e n g e on the hetaera for her wicked maltreatment.

Type 4: The prince or king g i v e s u p the seduction of the wife of a merchant (or a minister) under the influence of the w o r d s of the p a r r o t (or the woman). The c a t is mentioned also here.

Hertel believes that the variant of the Banaras manuscript is the basis of the above parrot stories, from which the others could be easily derive, and that in the original version of the Śukasaptati the parrot still wanted to prevent a merchant from intercourses with a hetaera, with his seventy tales. The one called by me type 2 would be an intermediary form, and the frame of the *textus simplicior*, on the other hand is the third phase in the transformation of the frame story.⁴⁸

Besides, on the basis of two lines of the commentary written to the Yogaśāstra⁴⁹ after 1160 A.D. by Hemacandra, born on December 1st, 1088 A.D., Hertel believes⁵⁰ that Hemacandra knew such a Śukasaptati version, in which the parrot is really caught by the cat. These two lines are as follows: «Although you are versed in moral science, you have been caught by this <hetaera>, like the parrot narrating seventy stories by the cat.»⁵¹ Actually Hertel holds it unlikely⁵² that there would be a lapse of memory to the detriment of Hemacandra.

As far as the remark of Hemacandra is concerned, this really is so surprising that it is quite understandable that even the possibility of a lapse of memory occurred to Hertel, which he, however, with due reverence marked improbable. We may regard this remark of Hemacandra as surprising because not only none of the extant Śukasaptati variants contain such a motif but besides there is no such adaptation from a later time which would indicate such a turn. The proximity of the parrot and the cat (in the fourth type of frame story), and the fact, that just at the end of the *textus ornatior*, the cat is mewing

⁴⁸ HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 238.

⁴⁹ Yogaśāstram. With the Commentary called Svopajñavivarāṇa by Hemacandra. Ed. by ŚRĪ VIJAYA DHARMA SŪRI. Vol. I. Fasc. III. Calcutta 1910. 444. 41.

⁵⁰ HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 235.

⁵¹ *kathāsaptatisaṃśaṃsī mārjāryyeva śuko 'nayā |
nīrijñō 'pi gṛhīto 'si jagādetyabhayaṃ ca saḥ ||*

And he <Caṇḍapradyaota> told Abhaya: «Although you are versed in moral science, you have been caught by this <courtesan>, like the parrot narrating seventy tales by the cat.»

⁵² HERTEL: Das Pañcatantra. 235.

'desirous to kill'⁵³ the parrot (what is actually beyond hope, because he is protected, being shut up in the cage) can, at best, be the ground for a variant (mentioned by Hemacandra) which spoils everything even more, where the protagonist (the parrot) after struggling for something shrewdly right through seventy tales, perishes so that the outward forces obviously carry out his intentions for all that.⁵⁴ If, however, there was a variant where — according to Hemacandra — the cat caught the parrot, this alone would be no evidence to prove that this variant must have been the original, and it could be — even if it existed — just a spoiled, clumsy, later one, but — in consequence of Hemacandra's date — written before 1180 which happened to be suitable for Hemacandra's sentence.

However, neither Hertel's opinion about the chronological evolution of the frame stories nor his assumption that it is the variant of the Banaras manuscript which may have given rise to all the other forms, can be accepted.

Hertel is at variance even with himself when he asserts on the one hand that the variant of the Banaras manuscript is the oldest one, and then he presumes on the other hand that the chronologically following version is that which we have introduced as type 3 (where it is still a merchant whom the parrot wants to bar from a hetaera). The development assumed by Hertel is hardly conceivable and it is by no means logical, as the following summary of his conception can clearly manifest it: 1. The parrot wants to ensure the fidelity of the hetaera to the merchant. 2. The parrot wants to bar the merchant from the hetaera by means of telling seventy tales, though it is a pity that here it is nowhere mentioned that the parrot would tell seventy stories, at best, one or two. 3. The parrot tries neither with tales nor even with a single word of prohibition to restrain the wife of the merchant from her lover. 4. The parrot telling seventy tales cunningly and shrewdly restrains the wife of the merchant from the infidelity.

Moreover, it is absolutely clear that the variant of the Benares manuscript only represents a different version of our third type. This fact convincingly shows that this manuscript is the result of contamination. The latter conclusion will also be corroborated by the observation that some motifs of all the other variants occur in it. The fact that this is a very old manuscript proves, at best, that at the time when it was written, all the parrot stories included in it (*i.e.* types labelled No. 1—3 respectively) were known to its author. In this, namely, the basic idea *i.e.* that the parrot attaches so much importance to keep the hetaera faithful to his master, is clumsy and illogical. Besides, actually in this version the parrot does not tell a tale, he simply forbids infidelity.

⁵³ See above note 43.

⁵⁴ In the variants of the third type if not the word 'caught' the expression 'has taken away' appears about a (there) non-existent cat, but only as a clever lie of the parrot or the servant-maid.

As to the chronological order of these variations of parrot-stories I am of the following opinion :⁵⁵

The shrewd parrot, which speaks and takes revenge (type 3), the parrot escaping cunningly, forbidding nothing, and who in the end noble-mindedly forgives (type 2), the parrot, who with his seventy tales and his shrewdness keeps the merchant's wife faithful to her husband (type 1) and the parrot who drives the seducer away himself with single humiliating *śloka* (type 4)⁵⁶ or the parrot of tragical fate⁵⁷ who is mentioned by Hemacandra could exist side by side,⁵⁸ and for us now it is all the same which one was earlier. On the other hand (in contradiction to the chronology of the sequence of frames according to Hertel) I maintain that the first and basic type of the parrot telling seventy tales was type 1. The sheer fact, that the different and dissimilar variants of the Śukasaptati keep without exception type 1 as the frame (except the end of the *t.o.*), and the different later variants, too, use it for the frame (even if they mention other variants, too), could be a decisive argument for this assumption.

However, we can still support it by the following considerations :

The variant (type 2) where the parrot does not even try to prevent the infidelity, nor does he tell tales cannot be the frame story of the story of the parrot telling seventy tales. Besides, I am of the opinion that type 2 is nothing else than the contamination of types 1 and 3. (The motif of the merchant who left and the wife who all the same became unfaithful⁵⁹ (as the parrot did not tell tales and did not forbid infidelity) may be taken from type 1, and the motif of revenge from type 3.) A situation where the parrot bars the merchant from the hetaera (type 3) may give opportunity to tell some wise tales but scarcely all

⁵⁵ A positive remark concerning an earlier work of mine about this subject, see J. HARMATTA: *Ant. Tan.* 10 (1967) 241.

⁵⁶ But, anyway, was the use of troubling himself with seventy tales before this?

⁵⁷ He is genially shrewd through seventy tales thereafter however a cat catches him!

⁵⁸ Though we think the types 2, 4 and 5 to be later than the types 1 and 3.

⁵⁹ A similar tale appears among the *Sindbād*-stories, too, cf. I. HAHN: *Ant. Tan.* 10 (1963) 249 foll. In this *Sindbād* variant (see F. BAETHGEN: *Sindban. Syrisch und Deutsch.* Leipzig 1879. 15 foll.) a man on leaving home entrusted a parrot to tell him what his wife did while he was away. She then committed adultery, what the parrot did tell his master when he returned. The woman suspected the handmaid first of betraying her, but later she found out that the parrot was her traitor. So she poured water over the cage covered with a cloth, made flashes and noises in the night, so as to make the bird believe that there was a thunder-storm. When the following morning his master asked him what happened that night, the parrot answered that he could not see or hear anything because of the lightnings and the thunder-claps. As in fact there was no storm his master took him for a liar and infuriated as he was, because he thought that the bird only slandered his wife, he slayed him.

Thereupon the following may be remarked: Firstly, as Hahn, too, mentions, this story is not a frame in its own place. On the other hand there are significant differences as opposed to our type 2. The parrot here, namely, betrays the woman, the woman's revenge here succeeds with the storm, here the parrot is slain and it is the husband himself who slays him. Consequently in this version the parrot is not shrewd, he does not take revenge on the woman or tell tales, he purely and simply squeals and plays the informer. However it is one of the innumerable parrot stories, standing nearest to type 2 after all, but this could not be used as a frame.

the seventy of them. Not to mention besides that the point of this variant is the revenge of the clever parrot, and the parrot is victorious by means of this revenge and not the shrewd tales. The type 4 is obviously a spoiled version of the basic idea by an copier, where the only fair thing is that a king voluntarily gives up the indecent love⁶⁰ under the influence of a single admonishment of the parrot or the woman, then in turn the seventy tales of the parrot are superfluous.

So only the first type suits the Śukasaptati as a frame. The stories of the Śukasaptati contain the success of the protagonists achieved by shrewd wisdom, as I have pointed it out at the beginning of this paper.⁶¹ So only that frame can suit the whole work where the parrot by means of his seventy tales attains successfully his goal, to guard the fidelity of the wife of his master. So only a happy end, relating absolute success, suits these seventy tales. The basic requirement, the occasion to tell the seventy tales, can be found only in the variants of this type, here it is practical and suitable to amuse the consort mediating on infidelity with seventy tales and to keep her on the right path while her husband is away.

The frames of the single stories of the Śukasaptati tally completely only with this frame story, too. At the inner frames⁶² we never see any instance of absentmindedness or inconsistency, which might indicate a later revision.

According to this opinion if there did exist different tale-variants about the parrot, this (type 1) is the first and basic variant of the story of the parrot telling seventy tales so that of the Śukasaptati. It is peculiar to the learned Indian writers that in connection with this they tell other parrot stories in their works, and the inconsistent or clumsy copying or revision can be accounted for the concluding part of the *textus ornatior*, the text of which I consider, on the whole, the most original.⁶³

For, as we have seen, in the *textus ornatior* of the Śukasaptati there are three variants of the parrot-story to be found. One (type 1) at the beginning, another one (type 3) in tales 68—70 and a third one (type 4) at the very end. This may embarrass the reader, as we have mentioned. To solve this problem my idea is the following:

This variant of the Śukasaptati, which according to me is the best of all and nearest to the original despite of being carelessly copied several times, started, as it is natural, with a parrot-story of type 1 at its beginning. To the

⁶⁰ It is possible that the king became so magnanimous with his renouncement as a result of a copying made to a royal order.

⁶¹ See above note 3 and Cs. Tórtössy: Ant. Tan. 15 (1968) 221 foll. and Acta Ant. Hung. 17 (1969) 433 foll.

⁶² Cs. Tórtössy: Ant. Tan. 10 (1963) 155 foll. and Acta Orient. Hung. 18 (1965) 227 foll.

⁶³ Cs. Tórtössy: Ant. Tan. 21 (1974) 59 foll. *id.*: and Acta Ant. Hung. 21 (1973) 273 foll.; *id.*: Ant. Tan. 23 (1976) 223.; *id.*: Acta Ant. Hung. 24 (1976) 285 foll.

end (probably from tale 65, and obviously not only from tale 68) up to tale 70 another parrot-story (perhaps then already known, but never used as the frame of such a long and large work; belonging to type 3) was inserted presumably by the author himself. However, this was not meant to form the closing frame of the whole work (as, according to me, it has never before functioned as the frame of the whole Śukasaptati). A copyist or adapter, under the influence of this other parrot-story, left out the earlier extant closing part of the frame of type 1, after tale 70, for after the long work of copying the vast collection of tales he no longer remembered the beginning of the work (or, provided there were two copyists, the one copying the end did not even know the beginning of the work). This copyist believed too much two closing parrot-stories after each another. A following step towards a corrupt text might have been the elimination of the gambits corresponding to tale 70, giving rise the lacuna of the beginning of tales 65–68,⁶⁴ so as to omit this second one of the two introductory parrot-framestories. A following copyist or adapter realized that tale 70 does not correspond to the beginning of the work, and so it can not stand as a closing frame. This copyist tried to take up the thread of the narrating parrot, who endeavoured to hinder his lady from the innocent love and of Prabhāvati wishing to go to his lover. So — being unacquainted with the original closing — he wrote a new parrot-story (of type 4) to round off the work. Even that is possible that he knew a variant similar to that of Nirmala Śrāvaka, which earlier had nothing to do with the Śukasaptati.⁶⁵

We must suppose that not only so many parrot-stories or variants of them might have existed in the course of time, as Hertel or ourselves know of. On the contrary it is obvious that there were several other parrot-stories, which, however, have not come down to us. So Hertel's attempt in his excellent book to relate the remaining variants chronologically, and to draw corresponding conclusions, does not necessarily yield correct results. It is possible that variants no longer extant underlied some variants that have come down to us, and so, because of the quondam existence of far earlier variants the whole situation may have differed considerably from the one extrapolated by Hertel from an incomplete material, leaving this incompleteness out of account.

⁶⁴ As the Pancākhyānavārttika follows the *textus ornatior* very closely [see Cs. Töttössy: *Ant. Tan.* 21 (1974) 63 foll. and *Acta Ant. Hung.* 21 (1978) 277 foll.], the lacuna in the *t. o.* can principally be amended on the basis of this variant. But Nirmala Pāṭhaka's story mentioned as the last one in the type 3 may probably be interesting that the king mentioned in the *t. o.* (tale 69) plays in this and only in this variant a role. It is possible that between this part of the *t. o.* and the variant of Nirmala Pāṭhaka other similarities and relationships may be established.

⁶⁵ The name of the king in the variant of Nirmala Śrāvaka is Nanda. In the śloka sited in note 44 Vinayakandarpa is mentioned as the son of king Nanda, while earlier this does not happen anywhere else, the name of his father has never been mentioned. The name of the king (Nanda) common to both of them may have appeared in a story, where both variants originated from.

The parrot occurs in countless other cases in the Sanskrit and in the Indian literature. It would be interesting to expound and to systematize the occasional relations to one another and the types of the other parrot stories, but our aim was to examine the parrot story serving as frame story of the Śukasaptati, to make an attempt to determine which one of them was the earliest variant of the frame story.

Budapest.



J. HORVÁTH

7. oct. 1911 — 3. fév. 1977

L'estime, l'amitié et la fidélité de souvenir nous engageant à rendre hommage à M. J. Horváth, notre confrère disparu, membre du Comité de rédaction des *Acta Antiqua*. En sa personne, le médiévisme hongrois a perdu l'un de ses spécialistes les mieux formés et ayant les plus larges connaissances, et dont le décès représente une perte pénible pour ses confrères, ses disciples et pour tous ceux qui travaillent dans la même branche de la recherche.

La carrière scientifique de J. Horváth était le sort heureux et tragique du savant : heureux en ce qu'il pouvait consacrer toute sa vie à ses recherches scientifiques qu'il aimait, tragique aussi, en ce qu'il ne lui était jamais donné de trouver les cadres organisationnels, parmi lesquels son activité scientifique aurait pu se développer, en fonction de ses capacités. Il a repris la tradition des recherches abordées par J. Ábel et J. Huszti, chercheurs éminents de la littérature latine en Hongrie médiévale, quand, en adoptant les méthodes de la philologie du latin classique, il avait commencé, en 1941, sa carrière scientifique avec sa thèse de doctorat «L'évêque Calanus et la Vita Attilae». Ses connaissances en matière de philologie et de paléographie, furent complétées en 1941—1942, à Munich, chez P. Lehmann, qui fut, à l'époque, un spécialiste éminent de la philologie médiévale.

Son traité intitulé «Les sources du Commentaire d'Andreas Pannonius sur les *Cantica Canticorum*» témoigne d'une compétence et d'un esprit mûr, et montre en même temps que son cercle d'intérêt embrasse celui de l'humanisme également. Sa personnalité de savant est caractérisée par une profondeur étendue, l'étude détaillée des sources, une logique rigoureuse, et un esprit lucide, à quoi s'ajoutent encore un dévouement ascétique et le fait d'être intérieurement comme uni avec l'objet de sa recherche, traits caractéristiques dont un vrai savant ne peut pas se passer. C'est ainsi qu'il pouvait s'identifier, au niveau spirituel, à l'objet de ses recherches, avec Andreas Pannonius, «joueur de l'épée de Hunyadi», avec «le supérieur chartreux, échoué à la suite d'une vie mouvementée, de Hongrie en Italie» et qui «après avoir changé l'épée contre la solitude de l'ordre, la *vita activa* contre la *vita contemplativa*, trouve dans sa solitude des amis précieux et une société plus bavarde, découvrant pour lui des secrets . . . assis derrière une table modeste, il cause avec les prophètes, les apôtres, et les évangélistes . . . il contemple, au lieu d'un luxe artificiel, la beauté de l'immense univers . . . poursuit des études régulières sur des traités littéraires, — c'est là, la sagesse contemplative», écrit l'auteur de lui.

Oui, la sagesse contemplative et la découverte des secrets, déterminent l'éros du savant, tournant à ce temps-là ses regards vers les problèmes stylistiques de la littérature latine de l'époque arpadienne. Ce n'est qu'après de longues années de recherches que pouvait naître le manuscrit embrassant les résultats de ses recherches, poursuivies dans ce domaine et qui a servi, en 1948, de thèse de privat-docent universitaire. Mais l'habilitation, à cause de la suspension de la procédure, ne put avoir lieu. Ce n'est que plus tard, en 1952, qu'il devint candidat ès lettres.

Cette même année marque une autre date importante, même décisive de sa vie. Le Ministère de la Culture consentit à créer la Chaire de Philologie du latin médiéval, au sein de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université Eötvös Loránd, et la Faculté le présente en même temps pour le titulariser professeur. Ce n'était une faute ni à la Faculté, ni à l'Université, ni même au Ministère de la Culture s'il ne devint pas professeur et si la Chaire de Philologie médiévale ne fut pas créée. Mais cet événement ne resta pas sans le blesser pour toute la vie et sans faire reculer les recherches médiévales dont les cadres organisés n'étaient toujours pas assurés.

Mais, par l'étrange ironie du sort, en 1954, deux années plus tard, son ouvrage, intitulé «Les problèmes stylistiques de notre littérature latine à l'époque arpadienne» lui valut le doctorat ès lettres, et, en 1955, le 3^e degré du prix Kossuth. Cet ouvrage resta le plus important dans toute son œuvre, résumant et projetant ses recherches antérieures et postérieures. Théoriquement, le plus grand mérite de cet ouvrage était sa volonté d'adopter les méthodes de recherche stylistique, élaborées il y a longtemps par la philologie latine classique et appliquées à l'étranger même aux recherches médiévales, à l'étude de la littérature latine de l'époque arpadienne. Et qu'il voulait comprendre et interpréter les œuvres littéraires latines de cette époque du point de vue de l'évolution sociale et historique. «En franchissant le seuil d'une nouvelle époque de l'évolution sociale et historique, nos anciennes traditions historiques, orales et écrites, subissent, suivant les temps, de nouvelles appréciations historiques et critiques», dit-il, et il démontra, à l'aide d'une analyse minutieuse «comment la littérature écrite combat, dans une période ultérieure de l'évolution, les ouvrages littéraires, reflétant les idées et les buts d'une période antérieure de l'évolution féodale». L'adoption de ces aspects et de ces méthodes apporta ses résultats dans quatre domaines : 1. le rapport des deux légendes de Gérard, 2. le style des récits d'Anonyme, 3. le problème d'auteur de l'Histoire des Huns, 4. la figure de l'évêque Nicolas, auteur de la Geste de l'époque d'André I.

Sa personnalité savante était circonspecte et scrupuleuse et une fois convaincu de la justesse d'une affirmation scientifique, il était prêt à la défendre. Ainsi, les discussions provoquées par son livre, l'ont mené à se débattre et à poursuivre ses recherches. Il a élaboré en détail sa théorie concernant l'évêque Nicolas, étant, d'après lui, l'auteur de la première Geste (1955), la valeur de source des légendes de Gérard (1957), ses idées concernant l'Histoire des Huns et son auteur (1963), ainsi que ses recherches d'Anonyme, surtout en ce qui concerne sa personnalité et sa culture (1966) et, finalement, ses vues sur les historiens de l'époque des Anjou (1971). Les problèmes d'Anonyme et la légende de Gérard étaient repris en 1974, dans le cadre d'un traité. Pendant ce temps-là, il travaillait aussi pour éclaircir d'autres questions importantes, dont celle des Hongrois noirs (1967), de l'histoire du Sermon funéraire (1970) et les institutions politiques turques de l'Etat hongrois médiéval (1970).

En 1962, une époque nouvelle de sa vie commença : il devint professeur d'université à la Chaire de Philologie latine de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université Eötvös Loránd, mais son activité de professeur était partagée entre les latins classiques et médiéval. Déjà auparavant, à partir des années cinquante, il dut assumer de nouvelles charges : les travaux du Dictionnaire de la Latinité hongroise qu'il devait réorganiser et recommencer avec des moyens insuffisants et dans des conditions difficiles. Les blessures anciennes et récentes ainsi que le rythme tendu du travail, portèrent atteinte à son système nerveux. En 1966, il a quitté la direction des travaux du Dictionnaire de la Latinité hongroise et, malgré les sollicitations répétées, il ne voulait plus jamais la reprendre, même s'il suivit la marche de ce projet avec un vif intérêt aussi plus tard et il assista aux travaux de la Commission qui fut chargée de l'élaboration du plan définitif du Dictionnaire. Psychiquement, il se retira de plus en plus dans sa solitude chartreuse.

En 1972, une nouvelle ère s'ouvre dans sa vie : la charge de la direction de la Chaire de Philologie latine lui était confié. Ce devoir le rendit visiblement à la *vita activa*, mais lui coûta cher. Lui, qui était appelé pour représenter la philologie médiévale, devait consacrer toute son énergie pour organiser et garantir l'enseignement du latin classique et les recherches scientifiques qui y sont reliées. Quelle que fût la quantité de temps que ce devoir lui demandât, il traduisit et publia, après un travail zélé, la Chronique de Buda (1973), entreprit un nouveau travail scientifique, celui de la publication critique des œuvres complètes de Janus Pannonius. Ce travail a donné pour résultat un traité sur les genres de Janus Pannonius (1973), où il essaie de déchiffrer le secret du poète : «Le secret de Janus Pannonius consiste en ce que lui, écrit-il, enchanté par l'esprit de l'antiquité exprimant l'humanisme par des formes classiques, s'est laissé totalement pénétré du monde antique formant et formulant ses sentiments et son esprit tout à fait dans l'esprit de cette vie antique . . . La poésie de Janus Pannonius reste d'une grande valeur jusqu'à ce que le sens de l'antiquité reste vivant.» Ici déjà, il discerne nettement que sans le sens de l'antiquité, la poésie de Janus ne peut, elle non plus, présenter de valeur. Le chercheur du latin médiéval put saisir la base qui était de toute sa vie le sol, et sans quoi le secret de Janus Pannonius non plus, n'eût pu être déchiffré : le latin classique.

En 1972, son organisme fut atteint par une maladie incurable. Il vit les dernières années de sa vie pleinement conscient de l'issue probable. Devant la dernière certitude, le savant prudent, presque timide, devint héros, il regarda en face du sort, travaillant même les dernières heures de sa vie.

Il est disparu. Mais, il nous a légué ses œuvres découvrant les valeurs de la culture médiévale de Hongrie, ses buts que nous devons atteindre, l'éros du savant, son dévouement ascétique à la science et sa solitude du chartreux où le savant peut toujours trouver une société qui lui dévoile ces secrets.

J. HARMATTA



D. D. MOUKANOS: 'Ο τρόπος τοῦ εἶναι τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἀντικειμένων κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα καὶ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη (= DIE SEINSART MATHEMATISCHER GEBILDE NACH PLATON UND NACH ARISTOTELES). Dissertation. Athen 1979. 127 S.

Zuletzt hat sich die gelehrte Welt im Jahre 1978 im Rahmen von feierlichen Konferenzen und Zusammenkünften des *Aristoteles* gedacht, der gerade vor 2300 Jahren (in 322 v. u. Z.) gestorben war. Es wurden bei diesen Gelegenheiten die großen Verdienste des Stagiriten, sein ungeheurer Einfluß auf das Denken und Forschen der seitdem verflossenen Epochen in zahlreichen Vorträgen und Untersuchungen gewürdigt. Natürlich konnte dabei auch die Frage nicht unberücksichtigt bleiben: *Und wie steht es um Aristoteles und die Mathematik?* Was hat die *Mathematik* dem Aristoteles zu verdanken? — Es genügt diese Fragen zu formulieren, um der Tatsache gewahr zu werden, daß vielleicht auf gar keinem anderen Gebiet so sehr, als eben was die Mathematik betrifft, der Unterschied der beiden großen Philosophen der Antike, *Platon* und *Aristoteles*, in die Augen springt. Denn mögen sie zwar beide gleichermaßen die zeitgenössische Mathematik sehr gut gekannt, die Methode dieser Wissenschaft als Vorbild hingestellt — wie dies besonders *Platon* zu tun gepflegt hatte — und ihre erläuternden Beispiele häufig der Mathematik entnommen haben, dennoch war die Einstellung ihrer beiden dieser Disziplin gegenüber grundverschieden.

Das Hauptverdienst der tüchtigen Athener Dissertation von D. D. Moukanos, auf die ich hier nachdrücklich aufmerksam machen möchte, besteht in der gründlichen Kenntnis der einschlägigen Literatur — besonders der philosophiegeschichtlichen — und in der besonnenen, zurückhaltenden Behandlung des Themas. Die Methode ist philosophisch-historisch orientiert; gelegentlich nimmt sie auch die Hilfe der analytischen Sprachphilosophie in Anspruch.

Es würde wohl allzu weit führen, wenn ich diesmal die Ansichten des Verfassers im einzelnen schildern und besprechen wollte; anstatt dessen sei hier nur ein kurzer Überblick der Arbeit geboten.

Jenes Bild der antiken Mathematik, das der gesamten Arbeit zu Grunde liegt, geht auf den verdienstvollen griechischen Forscher unserer Tage, E. Stamatis zurück. Darum wird sein Name in der Einleitung, die in mehreren Abschnitten den bisherigen Stand der Forschung skizziert, unter den ersten genannt (S. 14, Anm.). Eine unmittelbare Anregung bedeuteten für Moukanos die Ansichten der sog. Tübinger Schule; er hebt besonders eine Arbeit von J. H. Krämer aus d. J. 1959, und eine andere von K. Gaiser aus d. J. 1968 hervor; diese hätten das Bild eines übermäßig mathematisierten *Platon* entworfen, das sich jedoch aus den Dialogen nicht bestätigen ließe. Solche Gedanken scheinen zuerst den Widerspruch des Verfassers ausgelöst zu haben. Erst nach einer kurzen Schilderung dieser Richtung der Forschung blickt er auf solche älteren Werke zurück, wie diejenigen von E. Frank (1923), J. Stenzel (1924) oder O. Becker (1927). Doch folgt der Rückblick keineswegs einer chronologischen Ordnung; es werden hier und da auch Veröffentlichungen der allerletzten Jahre früher als ältere Werke berücksichtigt. (Im zeitlichen Durcheinander kommt wohl auch jene bedenkliche Tatsache zum Ausdruck, daß unsere modernen historischen Ansichten sich keineswegs auseinander — oder auch nur nacheinander — entfaltet hatten.)

Der Kern der Arbeit besteht eigentlich aus zwei Teilen. Der dritte Teil — mehr ein bloßer Anhang — ist nur eine neugriechische Übersetzung einiger Abschnitte

der Metaphysik: 1076 a 8 — 37; 1076 a 38 — 1077 b 16; und 1077 b 17 — 1078 b 6.

Der erste Teil ist in fünf Abschnitten (S. 27—71) Platons Ansichten von der mathematischen Existenz gewidmet. Vorausgeschickt wird in zwei kurzen Kapiteln (S. 28—31) die pythagoreische Lehre, für die die Entdeckung der Inkommensurabilität ausschlaggebend gewesen sei. Platon sei jedoch von dieser älteren Lehre abgewichen. (Es ist wörtlich von einer ἀπόκρισις die Rede.) Erst Platon hätte nämlich die eindeutige Scheidung des «*aistheton*» und des «*noeton*» eingeführt. Es wird hervorgehoben, daß nach Platons Auffassung die Existenz mathematischer Gebilde — der Zahlen und der geometrischen Figuren — *ontologischen Charakters* sei. Moukanos widerlegt dabei nicht bloß Ansichten der Tübinger Schule, sondern auch eine Stellungnahme von R. M. Hare (1967), und eine andere von H. Cherniss (aus d. J. 1945 bzw. 1966). — Die beiden letzten Abschnitte des ersten Teils behandeln die sog. «Überschätzung der Mathematik in der Alten Akademie» und das «Mathematisieren der Natur im *Timaios*», sowie die Stellungnahme des *Aristoteles* dagegen.

Die abschließenden Erörterungen des ersten Teils führen schon zur Abhandlung der Aristotelischen Theorie über die Seinsart mathematischer Gebilde hinüber. Was hat nun den *Aristoteles* veranlaßt — fragt Moukanos — zu seiner Abänderung der Platonischen Lehre? Offenbar erwies sich der Stagirit kritisch (um nicht zu sagen: «skeptisch») nicht nur der Lehre von den Ideen, sondern auch der ganzen *Dialektik* — oder mindestens *der in platonischem Sinne aufgefaßten Dialektik* — gegenüber. Darum *entmathematisierte* er die Physis, und so entstand seine rein *logisch* orientierte Lehre von der Mathematik, an Stelle von Platons *ontologischer Lehre*.

Es geht wohl auch schon aus dieser knappen Zusammenfassung der Gedanken von Moukanos hervor, daß seine Dissertation vorwiegend «*Aristoteles-orientiert*» ist. Man wird es dem Philosophen natürlich nicht übelnehmen, daß seine Stärke gerade in jenem Verständnis liegt, das er dem *Aristoteles* entgegenzubringen vermag.

Es bleibt dabei eine offene Frage, ob angesichts eines solchen Aristotelismus *Platon und die Mathematik* nicht notwendigerweise zu kurz kommen müssen? Aber diese Frage soll nicht als Vorwurf ausgelegt werden. Zweifellos werden auch Platoniker und solche, die für die Mathematik leidenschaftlicher interessiert sind, als der nüchterne Stagirit, die schöne, gründliche und sorgfältig zusammengestellte Arbeit von Moukanos dankbar und mit Nutzen in die Hand nehmen.

Á. SZABÓ

R. LIVER: DIE NACHWIRKUNG DER ANTIKEN SAKRALSPRACHE IM CHRISTLICHEN GEBET DES LATEINISCHEN UND ITALIENISCHEN MITTELALTERS. Bern, Francke Verlag, 1979. 434 p. Romanica Helvetica 89.

R. Liver's Vorhaben war die Beziehungen der antiken Sakralsprache — wie sie sich aus den spärlichen authentischen Sprachdenkmälern der Vorzeit, bzw. religiös inspirierten dichterischen Texten des Goldenen Zeitalters rekonstruieren läßt — zu den dichterisch gestalteten lateinischen und altitalienischen Gebeten des Mittelalters (Dante einschließlich) aufzuhellen und zu erörtern.

Das Werk gliedert sich in zwei Hauptteile. Der erste ist beschreibenden Charakters: es werden darin die stilistischen und syntaktischen Formen des Gebets aufgeführt, vorwiegend an mittelalterlichen Beispielen. Der zweite, aber kürzere Hauptteil ist der Aufgabe gewidmet, die Nachwirkung der antiken Sakralsprache im Mittelalter zu mustern und bewerten.

Die zweiteilung, wie sie uns vorliegt, scheint ungünstig zu sein. Im zweiten Teil sollte nämlich die Verfasserin, um die antike Tradition sichtbar zu machen, alle Angaben wiederholen, die sie im ersten schon aufgezählt hatte — und zwar einem überflüssig komplizierten System folgend. Anstatt ihrer Wiederholung aber begnügte sie sich mit Verweisungen, womit dem Leser eben das Bearbeiten des theoretisch-bewertenden Teiles erschwert wird, auf diese Weise ist er zum ständigen Vor- und Rückwärtsblättern gezwungen. So haben wir den Eindruck, daß der Verfasserin, die zum Sammeln und Gruppieren des Materials noch Lust hatte, wenig Kraft zur Ausarbeitung der Hauptaufgabe geblieben ist. Es wäre zweckmäßiger gewesen, das Werk zu aufzubauen, daß die sprachlichen Erscheinungen, alphabetisch, bzw. thematisch gegliedert, einzeln der zum Ziel gesetzten komparativen Prüfung unterzogen worden wären, und die nötigen Folgerungen in einem knappen Schlußkapitel ihren Platz gefunden hätten; auf solche Weise stünde uns jetzt ein nützliches Nachschlagewerk zur Verfügung.

Auch im Zusammenhang mit dem scheinbar imponierenden Material erheben sich zwei Einwände; daß nämlich im ersten Teil viele Angaben angeführt werden — ohne jedoch Vollständigkeit zu erstreben —, deren antike Parallelen fehlen und die auf diese Weise zur Komparation, zur Verwirklichung der Hauptaufgabe des Buches, von vornherein ungeeignet zu sein scheinen. Andererseits ist das Ausschließen der Prosagebete theoretisch beanstandbar. Denn so wird ein beträchtlicher Teil der *liturgischen* Texte — der offiziellen Gebete der katholischen Kirche — der Prüfung völlig entzogen; diese Tatsache verringert den Wert des Werkes und nimmt uns die Möglichkeit, seine Ergebnisse unmittelbar zu benutzen.

Trotz unserer kritischen Bemerkungen geben wir den Schlußsätzen der Verfasserin völlig recht: «Schon eine Zusammenstellung gebetssprachlichen Materials im hier abgesteckten Rahmen zeigt, wie gefährlich es ist, die Formulierungen einzelner Autoren als originale Leistungen zu erklären oder sie auf den Einfluß eines bestimmten einzigen Autors zurückführen zu wollen, wie das gerade für Dante immer wieder versucht wird. Kaum in einem andern sprachlichen Bereich (ausgenommen vielleicht den der Rechtssprache) ist die Macht der Tradition derart augenfällig wie in dem der Sakralsprache» (S. 409).

I. BORONKAI

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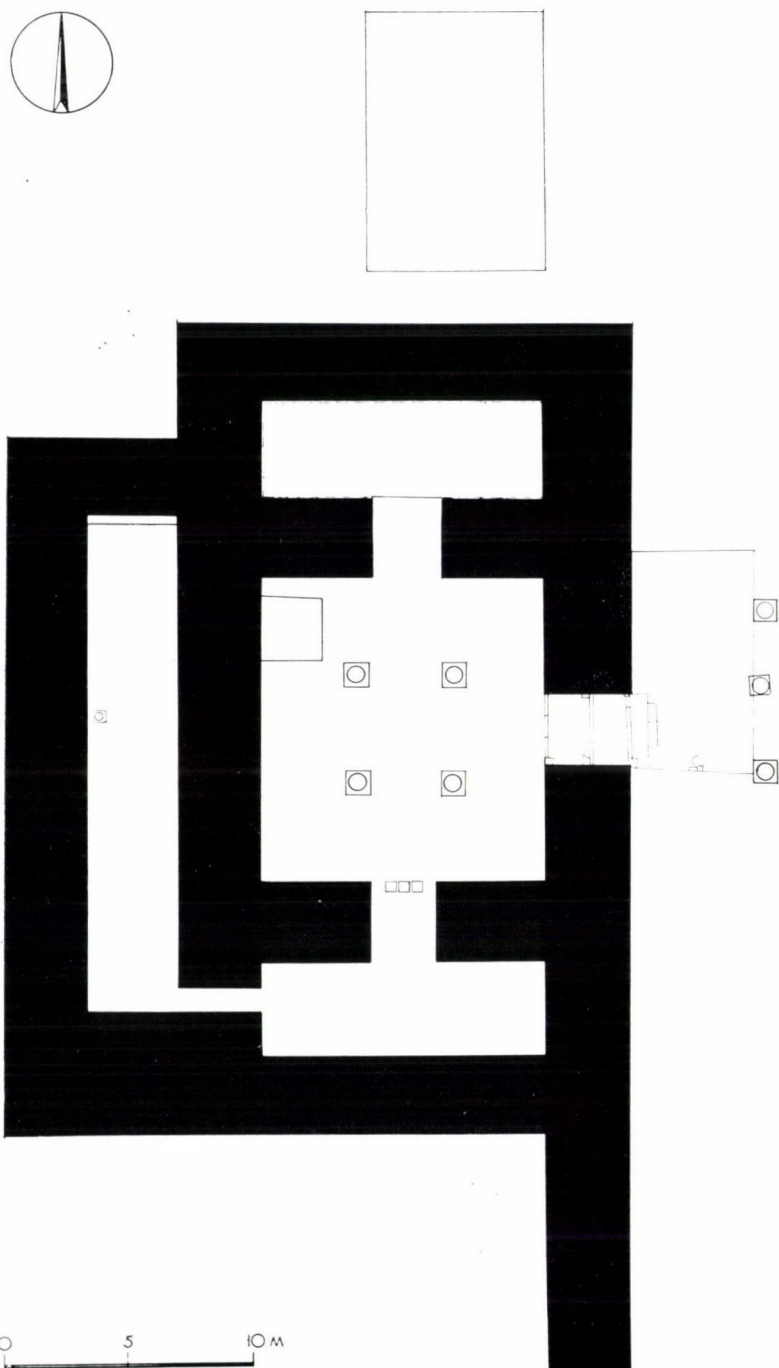


Fig. 1. Takht-i Sangin. Ground plan of the temple of the Oxus. 3rd century B. C.



Fig. 2. Sheath of akinakes, ivory, 5th century B. C.





Fig. 3. Sheath of akimakes, bouterolle, fragment

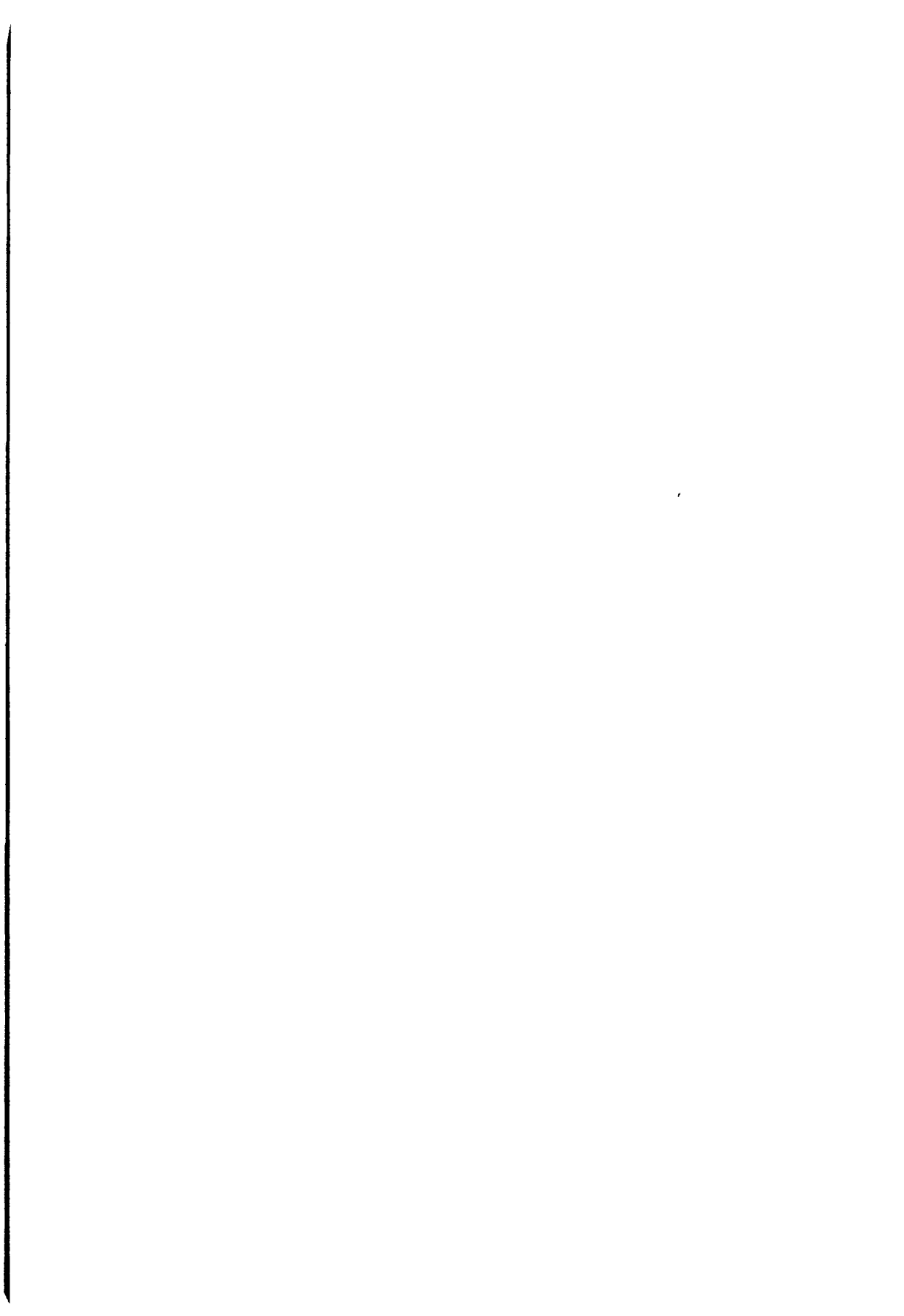




Fig. 4a. Altar of Atrosokes with dedication to Oxus, limestone, bronze, 2nd century B. C.

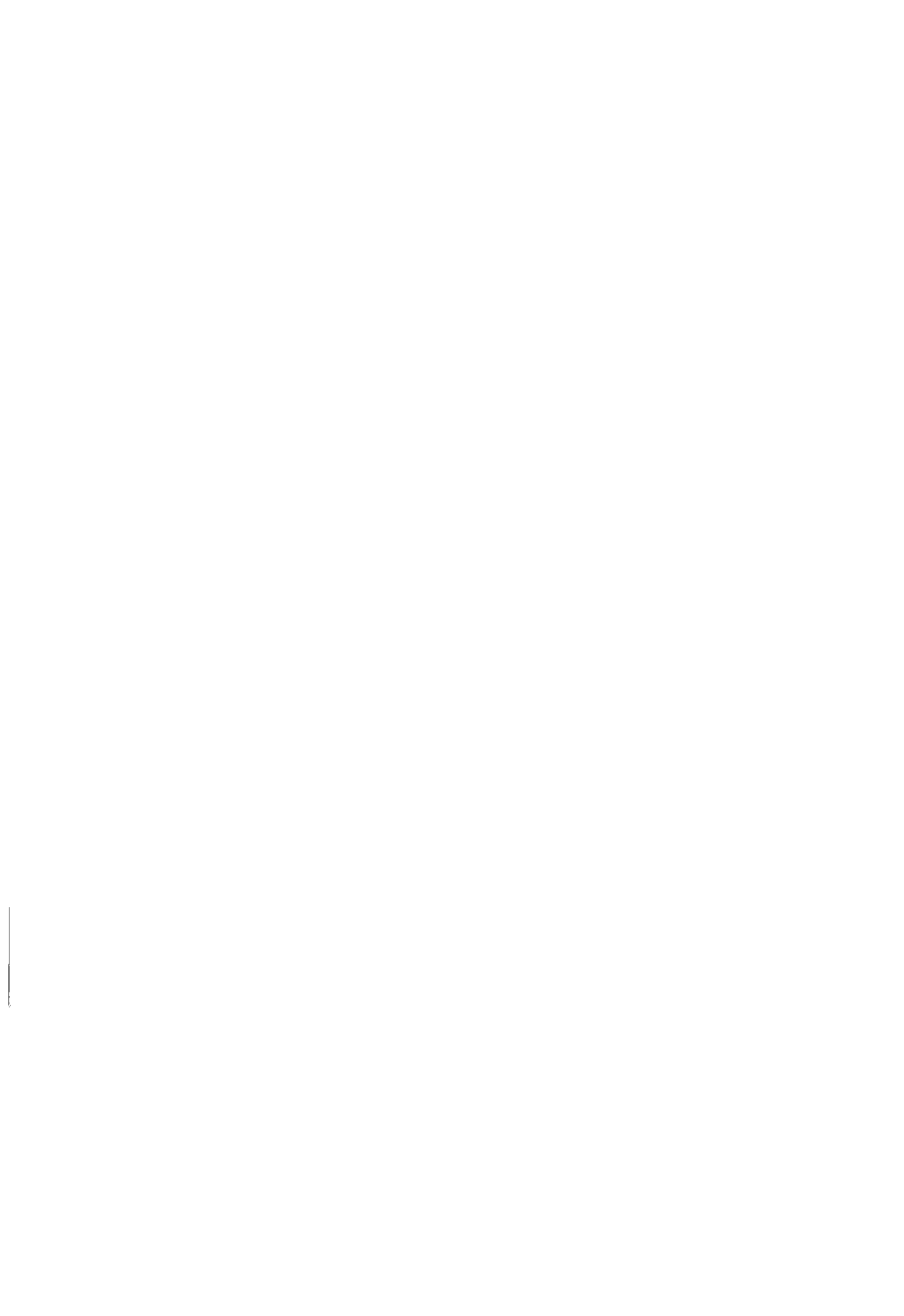




Fig. 4b. Altar of Atrosokes with dedication to Oxus, limestone, bronze, 2nd century B. C.





Fig. 5. Silenus-Marsyas, playing on a two-branched flute. Bronze

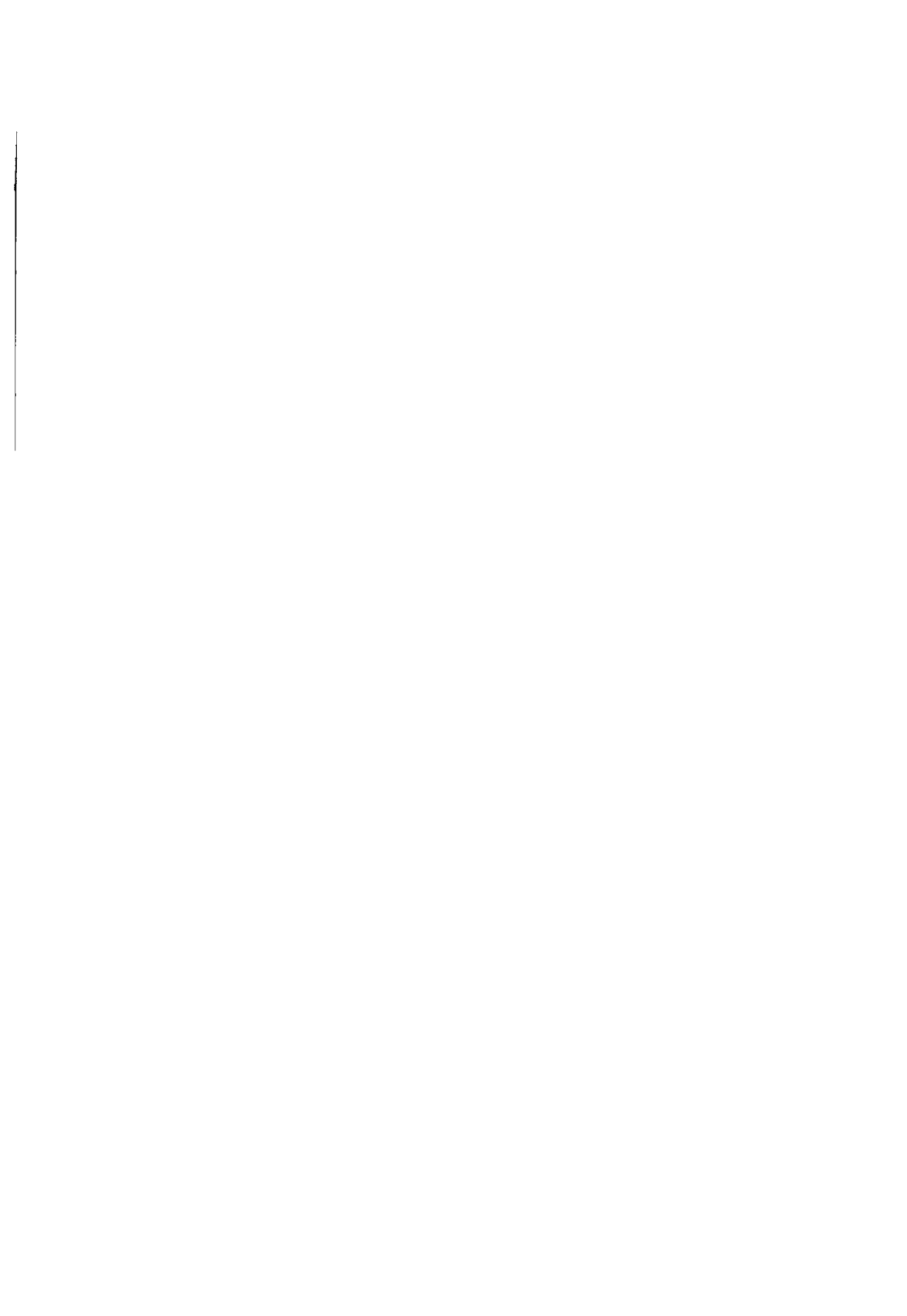




Fig. 6. Head of a Hellenistic leader. Unbaked clay. 3rd century B. C.





Fig. 7. Head of a local aristocrat. Alabaster



Fig. 8. Torso in belted chiton. Unbaked clay



Fig. 9. Alexander the Great in lion helmet. Ivory. 3rd century B. C.



Fig. 10. Heracles striking down Silenus. Ivory. End of 4th century B. C.

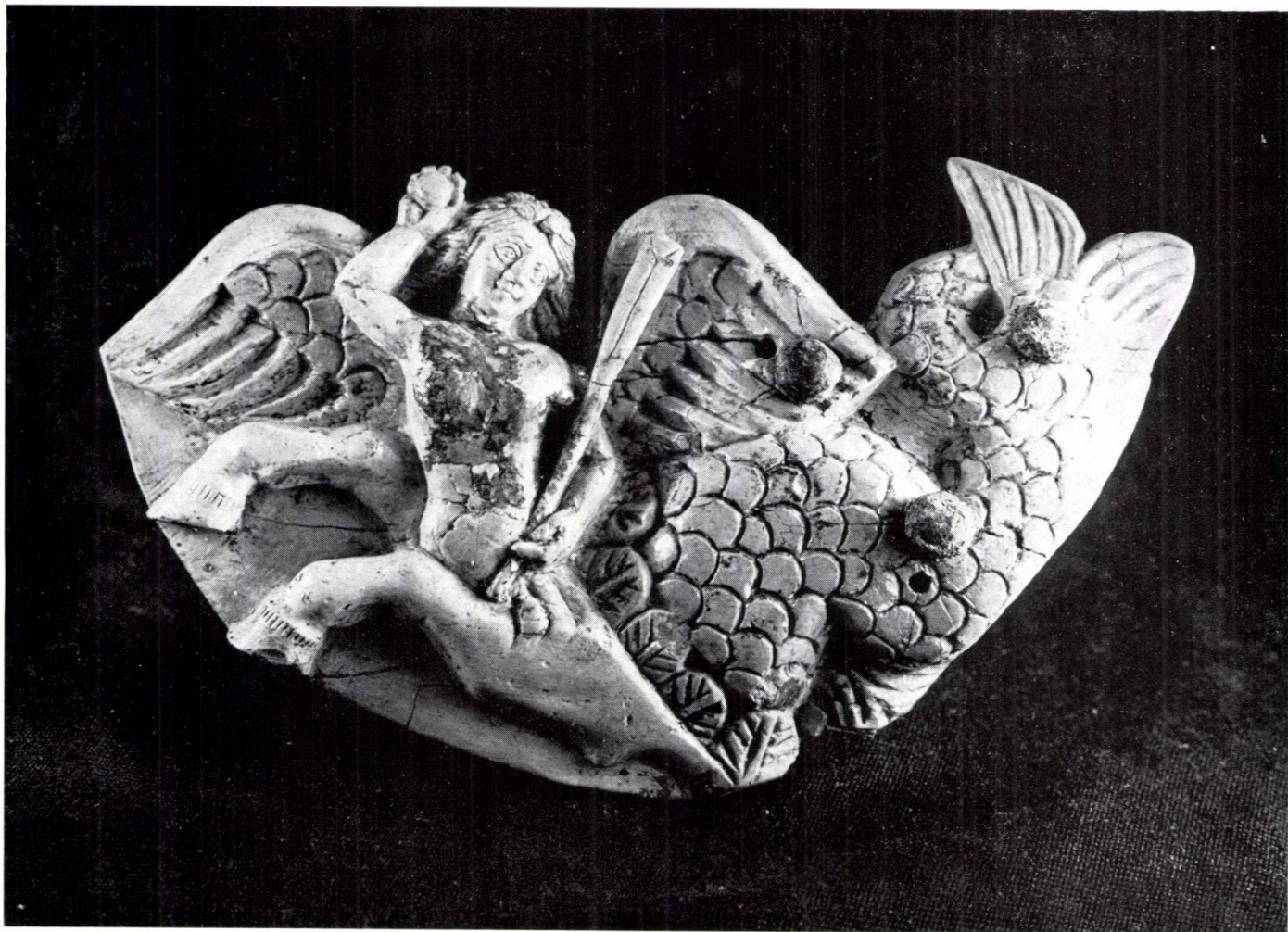


Fig. 11. Bouterolle of sheath with representation of hippocampus. Ivory. 2nd century B. C.



Fig. 12. Bactrians on hunting. Wall of a casket. Ivory

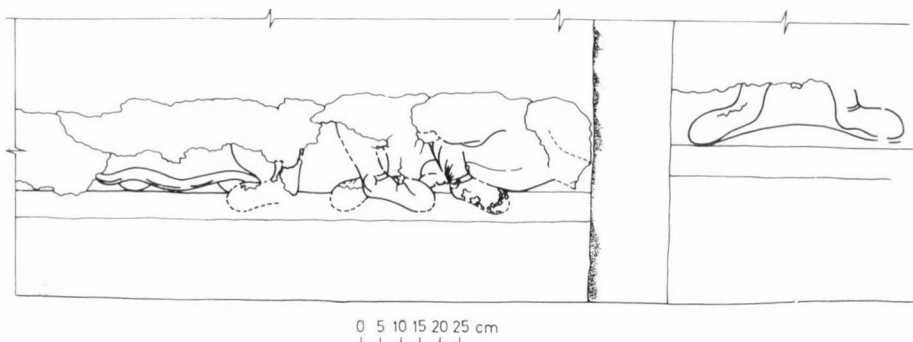


Fig. 10. The fragment of the wall painting composition of the donators



Fig. 11. The donator. Detail of the wall-painting



Fig. 12a. The fragment of the wall-painting with the Buddha and monks

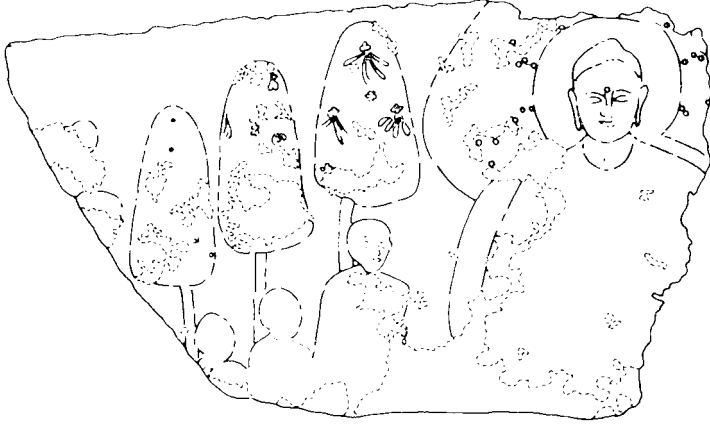


Fig. 12b. The fragment of the wall-painting with the Buddha and monks



Fig. 13a. The first stone capital from Kara tepe



Fig. 13b. The first stone capital from Kara tepe



Fig. 14. The second stone capitel from Kara tepe

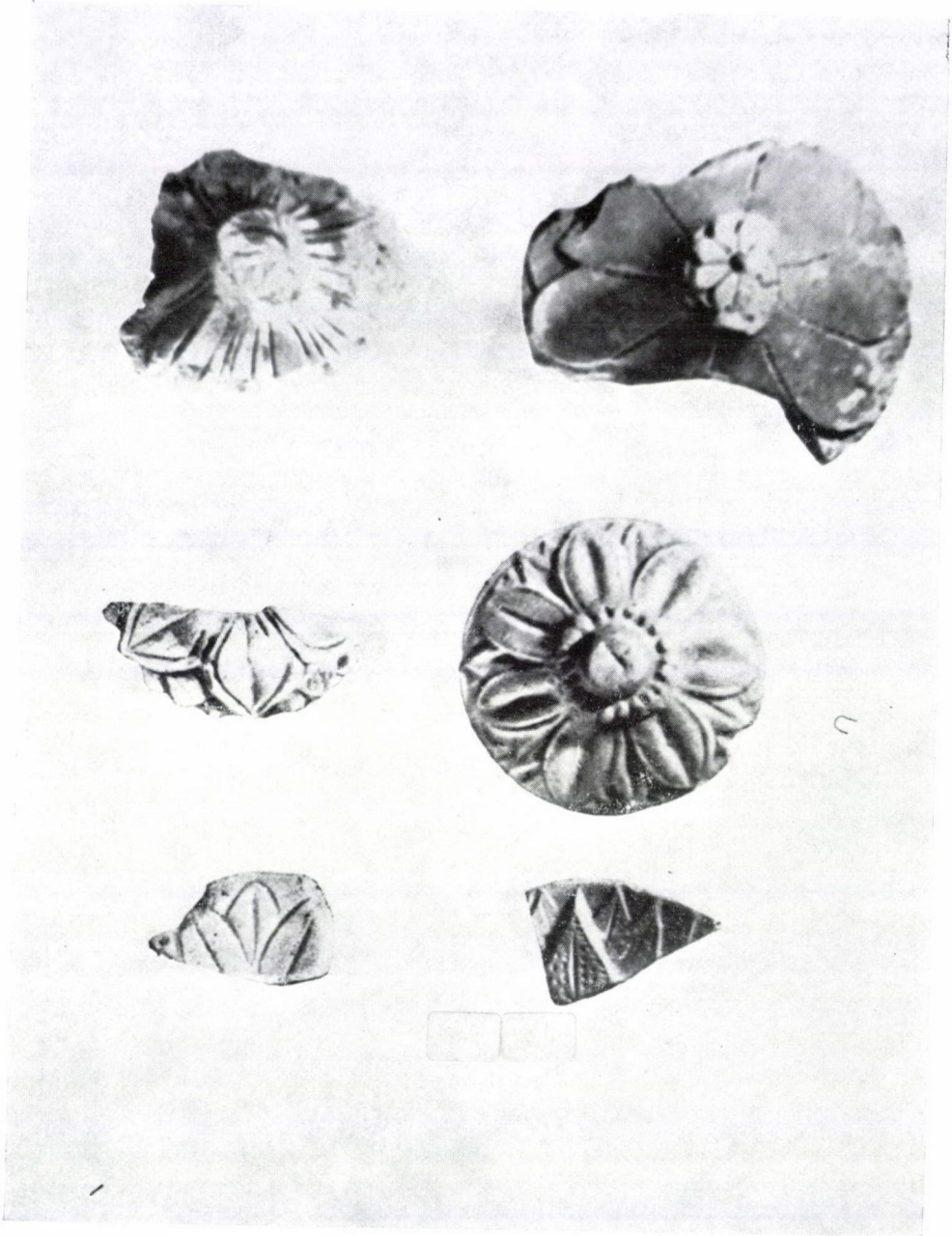


Fig. 15. Stone and baked clay discs



Fig. 16. The lamps

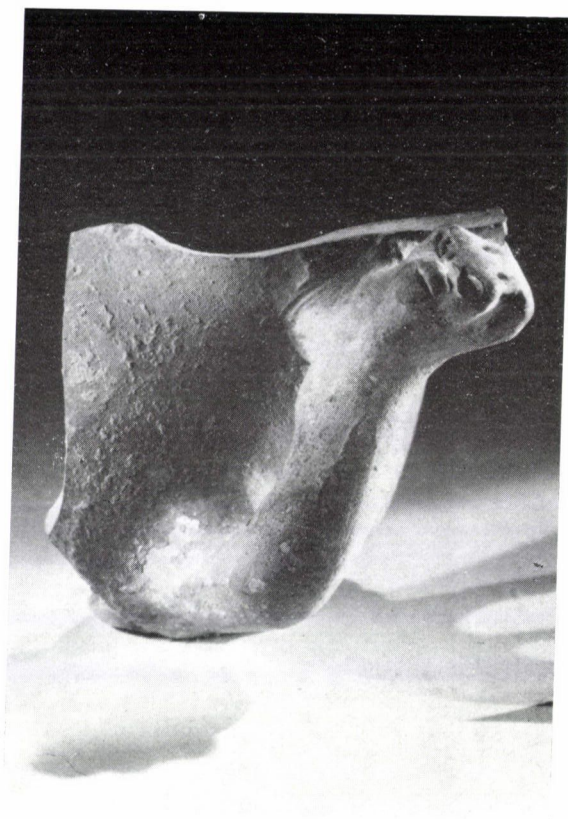


Fig. 17. The fragment of the vessel with the handle in the shape a monkey



Fig. 18. The vessels from the burials



Fig. 19a. Post-Kushan coin, averse



Fig. 19b. Post-Kushan coin, averse



Fig. 19c. Post-Kushan coins, reverse



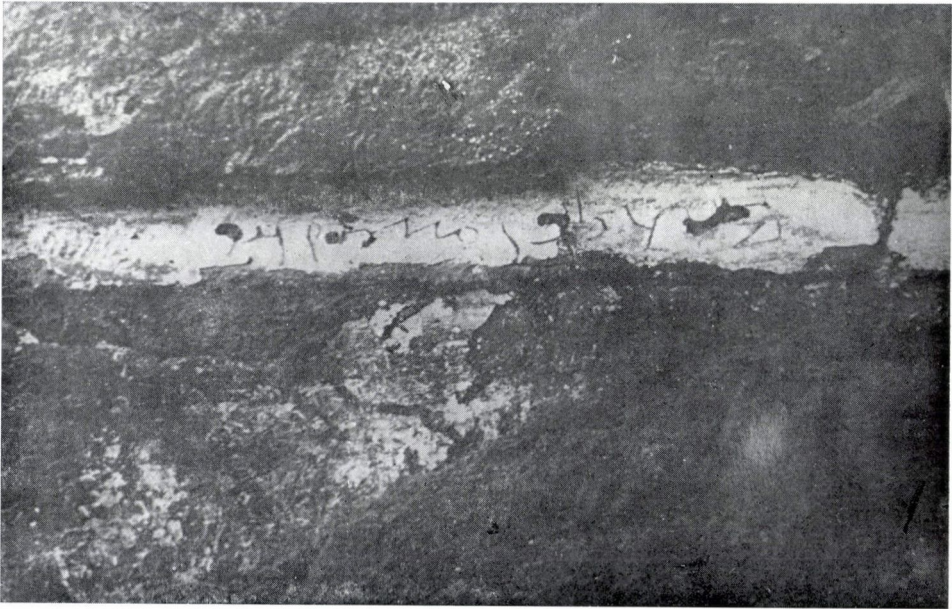
Fig. 20a. An Early Hephthalite coin, averse



Fig. 20b. An Early Hephthalite coin, reverse



a



b

Fig. 21. Graffiti: *a* — in Kushan script; *b* — bilingual (in Kushan and Middle Persian scripts)

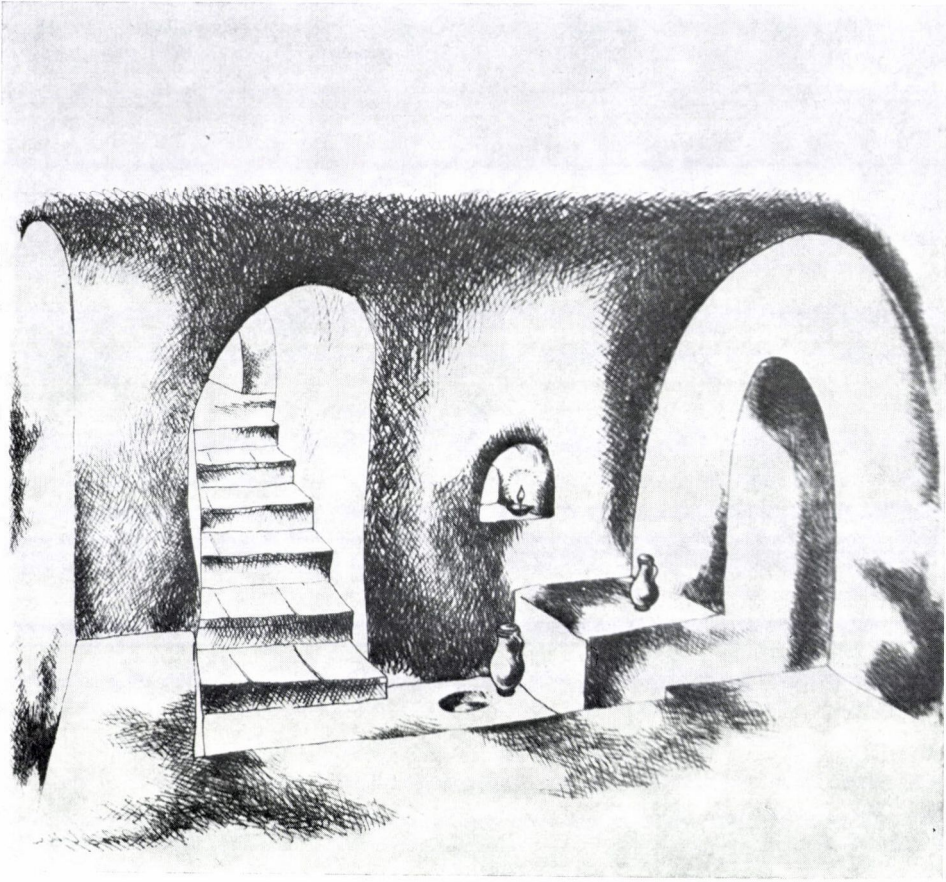


Fig. 22. The upper cell in the B complex. Reconstruction by W. Donchik

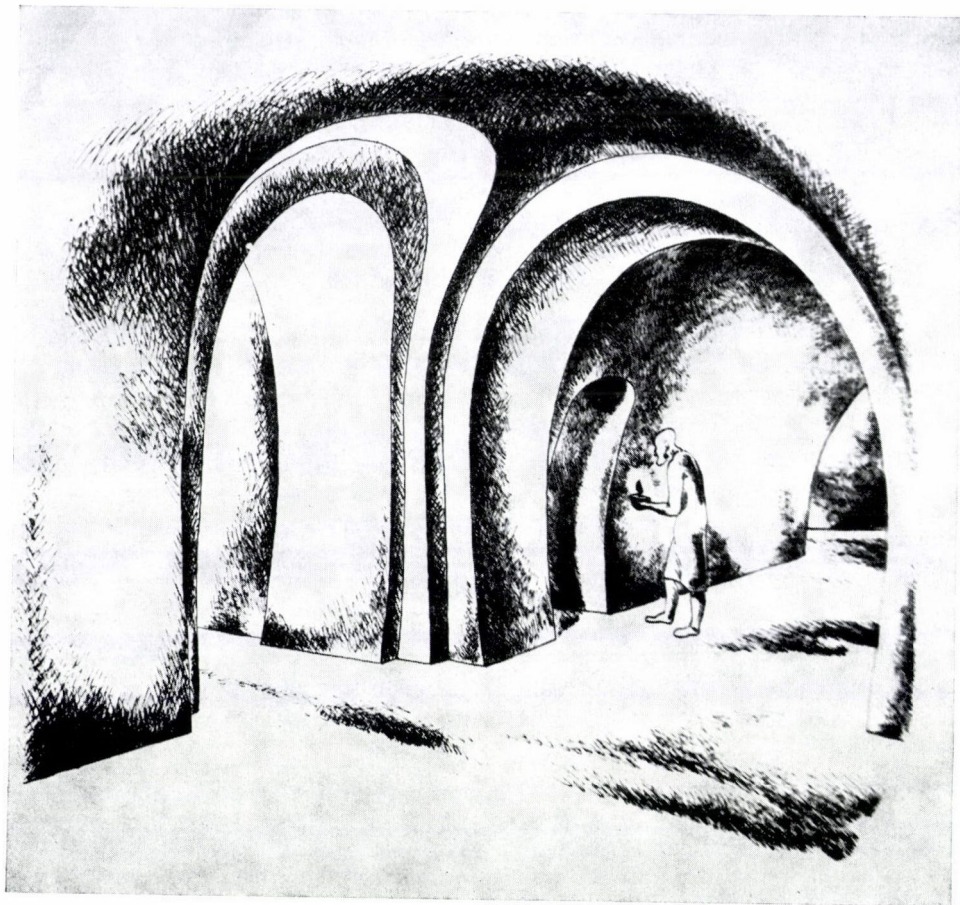


Fig. 23. The northern corridor of the P-II cave-temple, *a* — view from entrance.
Reconstruction by W. Donchik

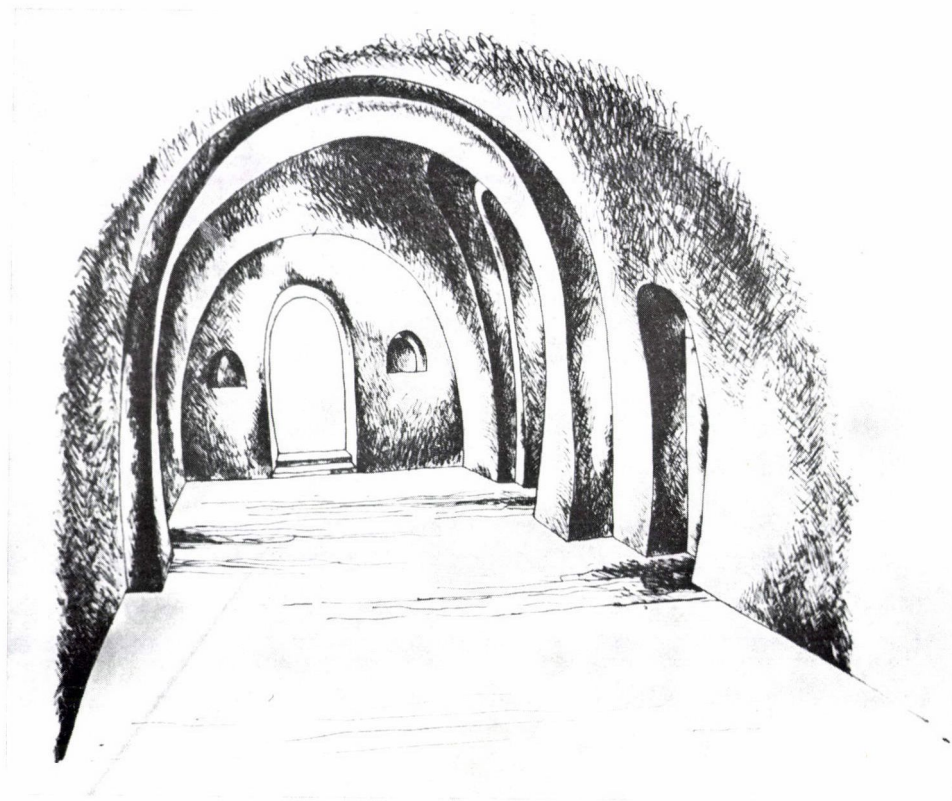


Fig. 23. The northern corridor of the P-II cave-temple. *b* — view within.
Reconstruction by W. Donchik

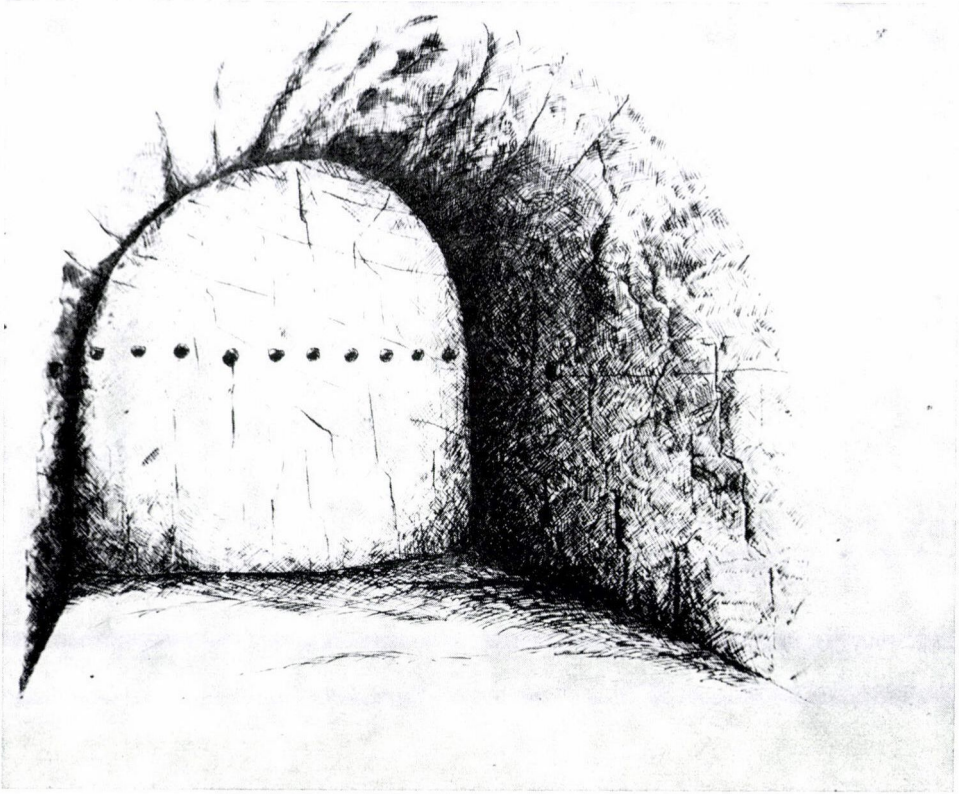


Fig. 24. The cell of the P-II cave-temple, *a* — view from the entrance.
Reconstruction by W. Donchik

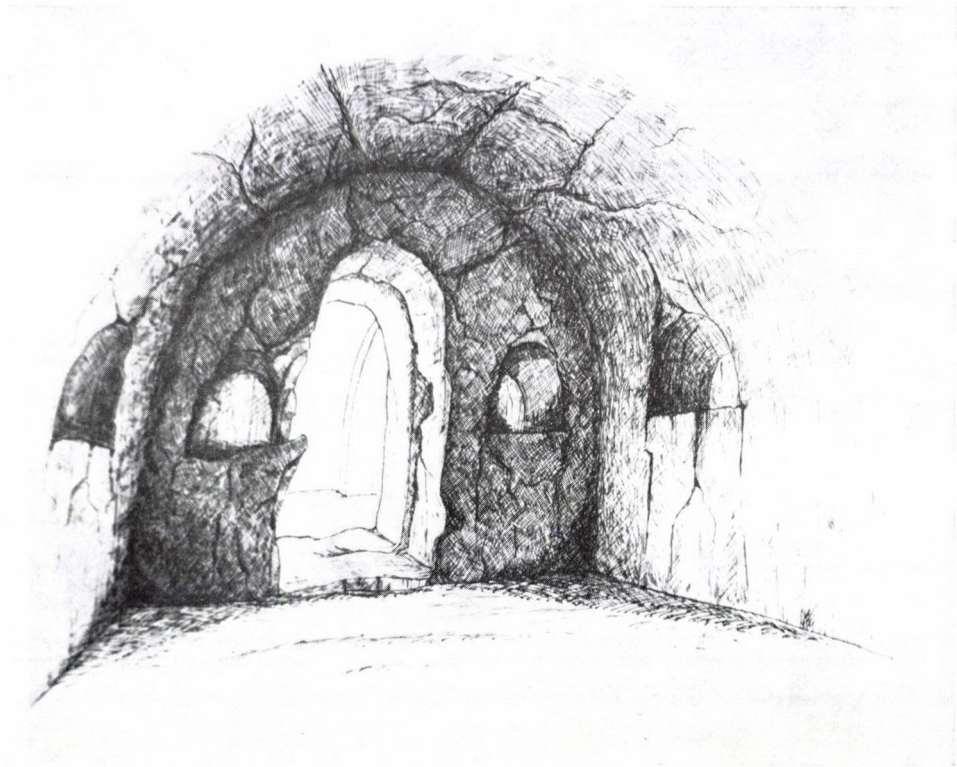


Fig. 24. The cell of the P-II cave-temple, *b* — view from within.
Reconstruction by W. Donchik



Fig. 25. Three western vaulted aiwans on the southern fringe of the C complex courtyard

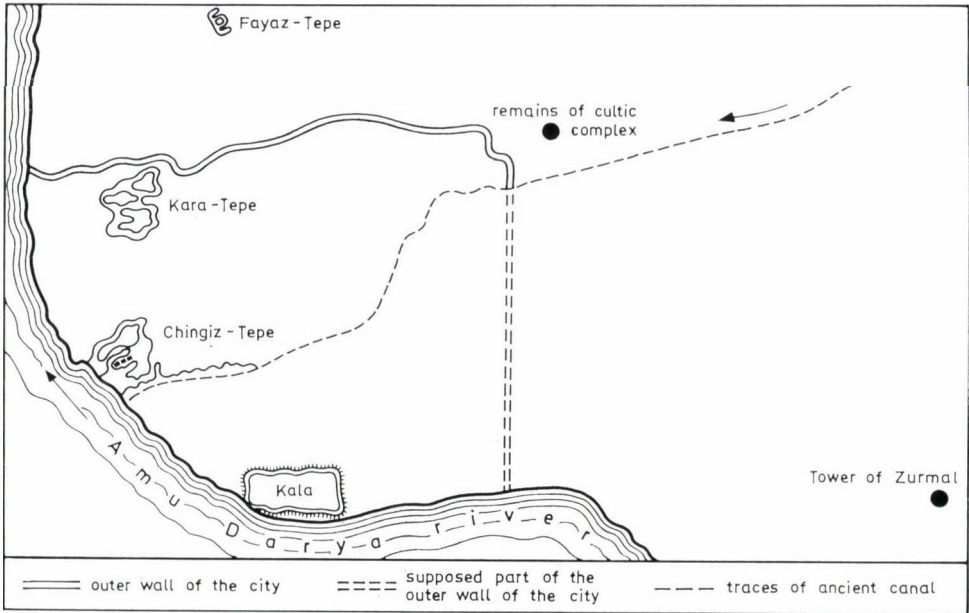


Fig. 26. Schematic plan of Kushan Termez



1

0 1 2 cm



1

0 1 2 cm

Pl. I. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuşāṇa «Heraios» — coin No. 1



2



2



Pl. II. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuşāṇa «Heraios» — coin No. 2



3



3



Pl. III. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» — coin No. 3



Pl. IV. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» — coin No. 4



0 1 2 cm



0 1 2 cm

Pl. V. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kusāṇa «Herakles» — coin No. 5



6



6

Pl. VI. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuzgına «Heraios» — coin No. 6



7

0 2 cm



7

0 2 cm

Pl. VII. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» — coin No. 7



0 2 cm



0 2 cm

Pl. VIII. First hoard of the tetradrachmas of the Kuşāna «Heraios» — coin No. 8



0 1 cm



0 1 cm

Pl. IX. Obol of the Kuṣāṇa «Heraios» coin No. 9



Plate I

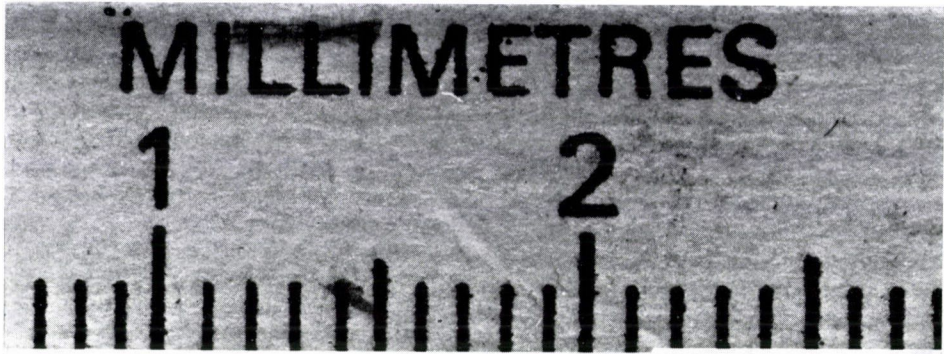
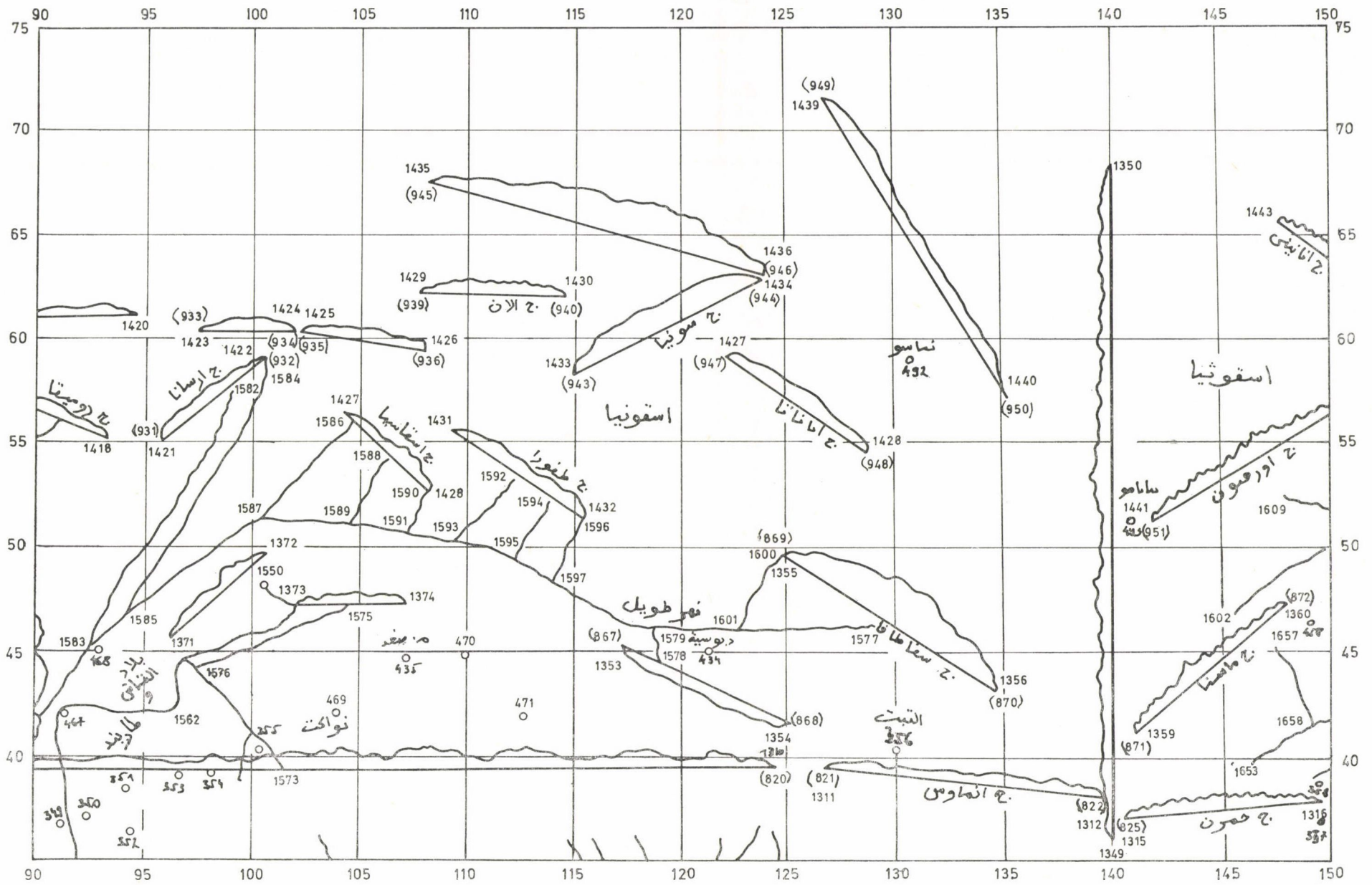


Plate II

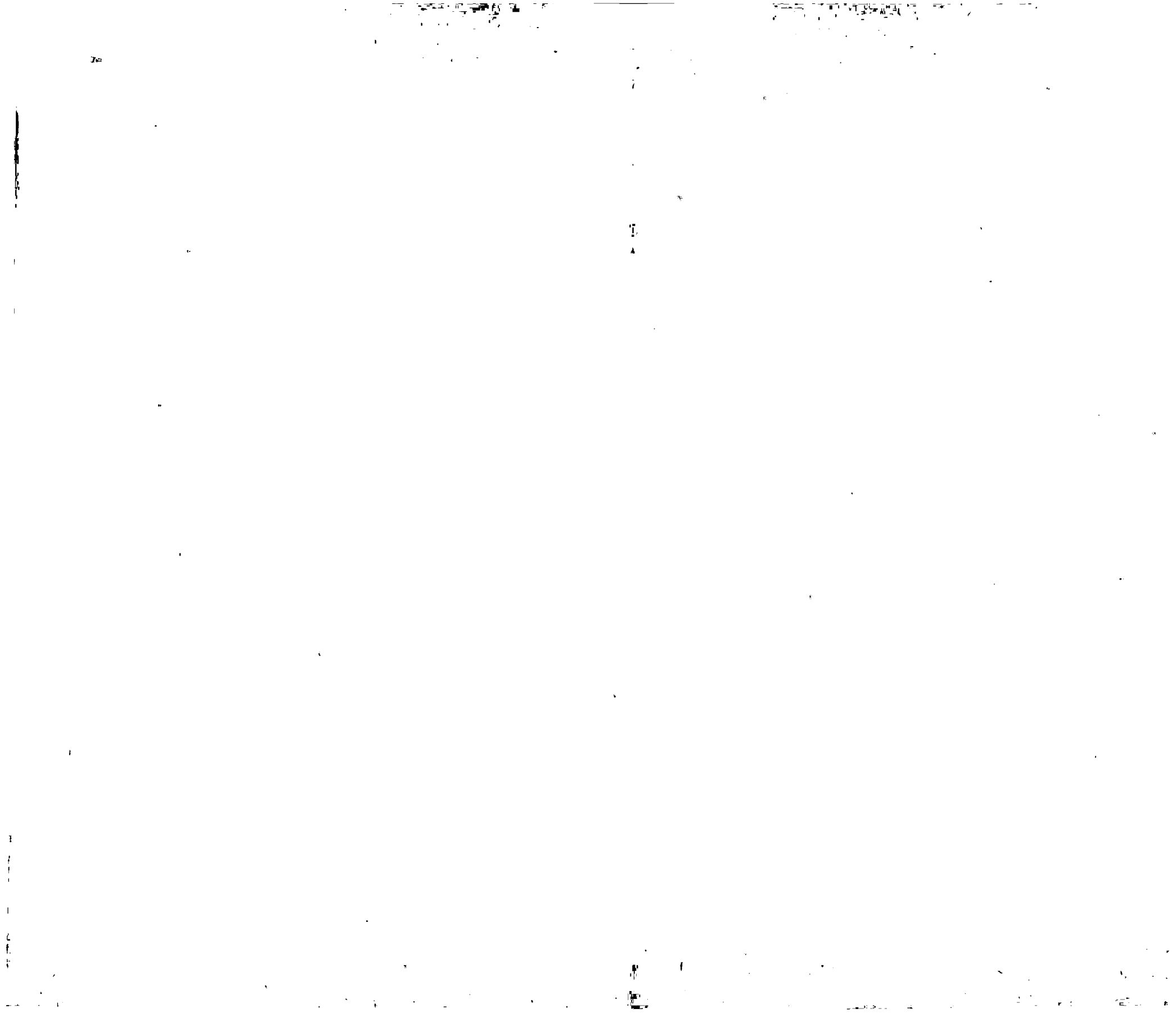


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Plate III



Map. 2. Central Asia according to the Rewriting of Ptolemy by Suhrahb



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