ANABASIS 2 (2011)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

Eduard V. Rtveladze
(Tashkent, Uzbekistan)

PARTHIANS IN THE OXUS VALLEY. STRUGGLE FOR THE GREAT INDIAN ROAD[1]

Keywords: Parthia, Nisa, terracotta, Mithridates, Phraates II, Orodes II, Kampyrtepa, Amu Darya (Oxus), Khalchayan

It is impossible to appreciate how the Great Indian Road functioned without understanding the political situation and the cultural interactions of the peoples who lived along it from the Indus valley to the Caspian Sea in the period following the disintegration of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom and the foundation of the Kushan state.

In that period the most powerful groups were the Parthians and the Great Yuezhi, the immediate successors of the Greco-Bactrians, through whose territories the main land routes and the waterway along the Oxus either crossed or passed nearby. Closely linked to the Oxus route was a number of nomadic tribes, chiefly the Parni and Dahae,[2] who inhabited the vast region extending from the Caspian Sea to the Oxus and controlled the main route that ran across the Karakum Desert along the Kelif Uzboi and the Uzboi proper.

Moreover, by the end of the 2nd century BC, diplomatic and commercial relations had been established between Han China and the Parthian Kingdom, which inaugurated another transcontinental route – the Silk Road.

Mithridates I (171/170–138 BC), who was most responsible for the growth of Parthia as a dominant power with his conquests in the West, between 160 and 150 BC seized the Greco-Bactrian satrapies of Aspiones and Touriva, probably situated in the north-western part of present-day Afghanistan on the Oxus. One

[1] The editor thanks Prof. Jeffrey D. Lerner (USA) for invaluable specialist assistance with the English version of the text (MJO).

[2] Olbrycht 2000, 182–186.

cannot help but to regard Mithridates' war in Bactria as the first attempt by the Parthians to take control of one of the key stretches of the Great Indian Route along the Oxus.

Following the death of Mithridates I, however, the Parthians must have lost control of this territory as various nomadic tribes settled in Bactria. These tribes invaded in two waves: one from the region of the Aral Sea through present-day Turkmenistan (the Saka-Sarmatians) and another from Eastern Turkestan through modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (the Yuezhi [Tochari]). These migrations, predominantly military in nature, brought down the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom and threatened the Parthian state, especially on its north-eastern borders.

In the course of these incursions in c. 128 BC, the Parthian king Phraates II (138–128 BC) perished, leaving it to his son and successor, Artabanus I (128–124 BC), to combat these tribes. According to Justin (42.2.2), he, too, was killed by the Tochari in c. 124 BC.

It is conceivable that this war was waged in western Bactria, for along with the tribes of the Asii, Pasiani, and Sacaraucae, whom Strabo mentions as having overthrown the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom, were the Tochari. One may well assume that in the course of these wars the Yuezhi tribes, to which the Tochari belonged, conquered the Parthian satrapies of Aspiones and Touriva which Mithridates I had earlier subdued.

Subsequently, or even perhaps during the war, the relationship between the Parthians and those tribes that had settled in Bactria and composed the Great Yuezhi changed radically as a result of the Parthian victory.

According to Strabo, the Parthians, "after having driven out the Scythians, took a part of Bactriana" (11.9.2 C 515). Some scholars maintain that this occurred during the reign of Mithridates II (124/123–88/87 BC). M. Olbrycht holds that the Parthians under Mithridates II occupied not only western Bactria but the entire territory along the middle course of the Amu-Darya.[3] Justin 42.2.5 notes that Mithridates II "was successful on several occasions in wars against the Scythians which thus avenged the wrong done to his ancestors".

It is noteworthy that the earliest Parthian coins found on the territory of Bactria date from this period. These are drachms of Mithridates II, discovered in Mazar-i Sherif, Old Termez and Tillyatepa.[4] In this regard, the finds become central to identifying what part of Bactria the Parthians had seized from the Yuezhi.

There is an interesting group of Parthian coins whose reverse bears along with the inscription of ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑ – "campaign" the names of several regions –

[3] Olbrycht 2000, 183.

[4] Sarianidi, Koshelenko 1982, 307–308, fig.1.1. I examined the coin from Old Termez in the collection of Major Iu. Ermeshkov in 1989.

ΑΡΕΙΑ, ΜΑΡΓΙΑΝΗ, ΤΡΑΞΙΑΝΗ, ΝΙΣΑΙΑ, ΡΑΓΑΙΑ.[5] According to one opinion, they were issued as the result of the successful campaign of the Parthians in the East, that is, in Bactria.[6] According to another, these coins mark the progress of the Royal Court across the provinces of the Parthian Kingdom.[7] This derives from the fact that along with Margiana and Areia these coins feature the names of the provinces of Nisaia and Ragaia, which had long been subordinate to the Parthian Kingdom. A compromise between these two views, however, can be reached: some coins in this series might well record the actual conquest of the Parthians in the East or the formal entry of such regions as Areia, Margiana, and Traxiana into the Parthian Kingdom, while others simply record the progress of the Royal Court across the provinces of Nisaia and Ragaia. A. K. Markov argued that the coins in this series were issued by Phraates II (138–128 BC).[8] W. Ross and J. de Morgan thought that they had been minted under Artabanus II (10–38 BC).[9] E. Newell, dating these coins to the time of Gotarzes I (ca. 90–80 BC), nevertheless admitted that the issuer was Mithridates II's co-ruler in the East.[10]

Of the three eastern provinces featured on the coins of this series – Areia, Margiana, Traxiana – the location of the first two is beyond doubt. Areia is the region situated in the upper reaches of the Tedjen (Hari Rud), while Margiana occupies the lower reaches and the middle course of the Murghab.[11] The location of Traxiana remains controversial. A. K. Markov supposed that Traxiana was the city of Ταρσιανα in Karmania.[12] W. W. Tarn argued that following the conquest of the Parthian satrapies of Astauena and Apavarktikena as well as part of Parthia by Euthydemus they came to be known as the Bactrian satrapies of Traxiana and Tapuria.[13] In his view, Traxiana was situated in the Kashaf Rud valley in northern Iran with the city of Tus as its capital, which is *a priori* to Strabo's text in which he refers to Aspiones and Touriva instead of Traxiana and Tapuria (Strab. 11.11.2 C 517). The opinion expressed by V. M. Masson seems most preferable, for he believed that Traxiana must have been located near Areia and Margiana[14]. It cannot be excluded that it was situated on the borders of these regions in Bactria or in the Oxus (Amu Darya) valley.

[5] Markov 1892, 279–281.

[6] Masson, Romodin 1964, 119, note 50.

[7] Pilipko 1986, 80.

[8] Markov 1892, 279–281.

[9] Morgan 1923, 155.

[10] Newell 1939, 480–481. V. M. Masson agreed on this point with E. Newell. See Masson, Romodin 1964, 119, note 50.

[11] On the location of Areia and Margiana, see: Masson 1970, 14–19; Khlopin 1983, 180–195.

[12] Markov 1892, 281.

[13] Tarn 1984, 88–89.

[14] Masson, Romodin 1964, 119.

It is significant that the name Traxiana contains AΞIANH, which to a certain extent sounds similar to the name of the river Oxus. The name of Traxiana, denoting a province, is founded grammatically on the same principal as Bactriana, Margiana, and Sogdiana. Where was it situated? In determining the possible location of this region and in general the sphere of Parthian influence in Bactria, Parthian coins found in this region are of great importance. As was shown above, the earliest Parthian coins brought to Bactria were silver drachms minted by Mithridates II which are found in the western part of the country and the Oxus River Valley, or its immediate environs. If they are rejected as evidence of this region's political subordination to the Parthians under Mithridates II, then they most certainly attest to trade relations established along the Oxus. In this respect, two Chinese sources, *Shiji* and *Qian Hanshu* (*The History of the Former Han Dynasty*), are of paramount importance.

The *Shiji*, compiled by the historian Sima Qian, is based on a report for Emperor Wu Di (140–87 BC) by the famous Chinese traveler and envoy Zhang Qian, who visited Bactria sometime between 140 and 130 BC. It states that "along the river Guishui live traders and merchants who take their goods to their neighbours by land and water – reaching places as far as a few thousand *li* away" (Bichurin 1950, 151). The description of trade along the river Guishui, which is identified by all researchers as the Oxus (Amu Darya), forms part of a section on Anxi (Parthia) and not Bactria, and is suggestive that this area of the river fell under Parthian influence. While the *Shiji* does not directly mention that this section of the Amu Darya was controlled by the Parthians, the Qian Hanshu, compiled by the historian Ban Gu (32–92 AD) with the assistance of his father and sister, does.[15] The bulk of this work was written between 58 and 84 and was completed by c. 100 AD (Bichurin 1950, 183). It notes that "[Anxi] lies along the river Guishui. Merchants use land routes and waterways to conduct trade with neighboring countries" (Bichurin 1950, 183).

Judging by the reference to the river Guishui, the account was taken from Zhang Qian's report, because it repeats almost verbatim a similar description of the trade that was conducted along this river, with the exception that Anxi is situated along the river. Where exactly? No Parthian coins, especially those dating from the end of the 2nd to the beginning of the 1st century BC, have ever been found in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya in Chorasmia. They have only been found in western Bactria, the Bactrian section of the Oxus valley, or nearby. The reference to Anxi lying along the river Guishui must signify that in the second half of the second century BC the Parthians were already in possession of that portion of the Oxus valley which presumably extended from Chardzhou (South-

[15] Velgus 1978, 91–92.

ern Turkmenistan) to Termez and the region at Kelif which began the overland section of the Great Indian Road from the Oxus to Margiana and continued on to the Caspian Sea.[16] This explains what the Chinese chronicles mean when they state that merchants living along the Guishui transport their goods by land and by water as far as a few thousand *li*.

Some Parthian drachms, found in the Oxus valley at Mirzabek-kala[17] and Old Termez,[18] are attributed to Sinatrukes (77–70 BC). Prior to Orodes II (58–39 BC), no coin of any other Parthian king had ever been found in the Oxus valley, or for that matter in western Bactria.

The influx of Parthian coins into this part of the Oxus valley, especially bronze coins which was followed by imitations of them as well as countermarks, occurred during the reign of Phraates IV (38–3/2 BC). In turn, I have published information about a number of these coin finds, though without detailed descriptions. It should be noted that the number of Parthian coins and their imitations from the excavations at Kampyrtepa that have appeared in print continues to increase, since excavations produce new finds every year.

D. V. Biriukov and A. Gorin have each published an article focusing on these finds, but due to a variety of circumstances only six have been discussed.[19] So I would like now to provide a summary of the finds made at Kampyrtepa from the excavations of which I as the head of the expedition have participated from the very beginning (1979).

In all, twelve Parthian coins and their imitations have been found there. Three of them have not been precisely identified, but the details on their reverse, their weight, and their diameter leave no doubt that they can be classed as Parthian or imitations of Parthian coins. They are not mentioned in the articles by D. V. Biriukov and A. Gorin. One coin of Orodes II (identified by E. V. Zeimal) and one imitation of a Phraates IV coin are also not included in their articles and are now unfortunately lost. The imitation coin of Phraates IV was found in 1982 on the floor in the corner tower of the fortress wall of the ancient settlement together with a coin of Soter Megas; that is, in the first year that extensive excavations were carried out at Kampyrtepa, as work in 1979 was restricted to the suburban necropolis.

Thus two or three of these coins have proven to be genuine Parthian chalkoi of Orodes II and Phraates IV; the rest are classified by various scholars as imitations of Phraates IV's coins. There are also some poorly preserved coins, among which there may be some genuine Parthian chalkoi. It is also possible that those

[16] Rtveladze 1999; 2010a.
[17] Pilipko 1985, catalogue no. 32.
[18] Rtveladze 2010, 13.
[19] Biriukov 2010, 34–49; Gorin 2010, 107–134.

coins that are classified as imitations may well prove to be the products of a provincial mint, since they differ from Phraates IV's chalkoi in minor detail.[20]

Kampyrtepa remains the only settlement in Bactria where Parthian bronze, not silver coins, have been found, which is in itself quite significant. Without excluding their use in trade and commerce, I believe that they reflect a certain degree of political dependence in this part of the Oxus valley from the Parthian Kingdom in the second half of the 2nd century BC – early 1st century AD.

It should also be noted that Phraates III's drachms have been found at Mirzabek-kala[21] and in the Tillyatepa burial ground,[22] while an obol of his of the Margiana type (according to B. Ia. Staviskii) was found at Eagle Mound (Hodzha-Gul'suar)[23]. In addition, 69 silver imitation drachms of Phraates IV (38–3/2 BC) were unearthed in the Temple of the Oxus at the ancient site of Takhti-Sangin in Botros no. 3.[24]

The last stage of Parthian expansion into the East in Bactria occurred in the mid–1st century AD. In this respect, the information provided by the Roman historian Tacitus of the struggle for the Parthian throne waged by Vardanes (ca. 39–45/48 AD) against Gotarzes II (43–50 AD) is of great interest.

According to Tacitus, Gotarzes, after receiving support from the Dahae and Hyrcanians, undertook military operations in response to which Vardanes was forced to quit his siege of Seleuceia on the Tigris and to relocate his camp to the "fields of Bactria". In this confrontation, Vardanes proved to be the stronger and consolidated his position in the Parthian Kingdom, forcing Gotarzes to retreat to Hyrcania.

Subsequently, Gotarzes, encouraged by the nobility, resumed military operations against Vardanes. The latter went to the river Erindes and defeated Gotarzes' army. Then, after a series of successful battles, Vardanes conquered the nations inhabiting the area between the rivers Erindes and Sindes, the latter separating the Dahae from the Areians. This ended the campaigns as the Parthians were reluctant to wage war far from home. Somewhere in this region Vardanes erected monuments bearing inscriptions which purported that no Arsacid before him had ever levied tribute on these tribes (Tacitus, *Annals* 11.8–10).

Tacitus' information is extremely important for determining the location of the region between the rivers Erindes and Sindes as well as for identifying these rivers, since they can be used to determine the eastern borders of the Parthian Kingdom in the middle of the first century AD.

[20] This is the reason why in my article they are not identified as imitations.
[21] Pilipko 1985, catalogue no. 33.
[22] Sarianidi, Koshelenko 1982, 308–309.
[23] Staviskii 1985, 126–127.
[24] Zeimal 1983, 129–141.

The identity of the river Erindes must be, as V. M. Masson surmised, the Hari Rud – Tedjen which flows across Afghanistan and parts of Turkmenistan.[25] But the identification of the river Sindes presents greater difficulties. It seems that this problem can only be resolved if we turn to medieval literary sources, which often preserve the names of ancient toponyms and hydronyms. In this respect, it is very interesting that there are several settlements and towns in the basin of the Murghab that bear the name Sinj, which sounds quite similar to that of "Sindes".

Thus, according to Samani, Sinj is a village located 7 parasangs from Merv (Samani 1987 (VII), 115). According to Istakhri, the settlement of Sinj was a one-day's march from Merv between the roads leading to Serakhs and Marvarrud, which does not contradict the evidence provided by Samani, for 7 parasangs represent a one-day's march – marhalla (*Viae regnorum*, 1870, 263, 283).

The village of Sinj is also mentioned by Baladhuri, who claimed that of all settlements of Merv it was the only one that resisted the Muslims (Baladhuri 1901, 412). It is well-known that the region of Merv was conquered by the Arabs in the middle to early second half of the 7th century, thereby testifying to the existence of this name at that time. According to Samani, in the region of Merv there was a settlement called Sinj al-Abbadi (Samani 1987 (VIII), 336). Yakut mentions a village called Sinj Abbad situated 4 parasangs from Merv.[26] It should likewise be noted that the eastern gates of the shahristan (walled city) of ancient Merv (Gyaur Kala) were called the Sinjan gates. The same writer knows the city ("balad") of Sinj in Garchistan – a mountainous region in the upper reaches of the Murghab.[27] According to Ibn al-Athiri, another town with the same name existed in Ghur, a mountainous region east of Herat (Ibn al-Athiri 1851, 62).

Thus in the Murghab basin, from its source up to Merv, there used to be several settlements bearing the name "Sinj", which originates from the more ancient name of "Sindh", which is spelled as "Sinj" in Arabic. Based on this evidence, we can surmise that in antiquity either the entire Murghab River or its headwaters were called Sindh or Sindes.

As a result I have arrived at the conclusion that the river Erindes should be identified as the Tedjen (following the opinion of V. M. Masson) and the river Sindes/Sindh as the Murghab. The latter claim was rejected by F. Grenet who identified the Erindes mentioned by Tacitus with the river Charindas listed by Ptolemy (*Geogr.* 6.2.2) and the Hirandu in the geographical treatise of the 10th century *Hudud al-Alam*, which is understood as the river Gorgan. Moreover, he argues that the Sindes/Sindh is an ancient name of the river Tedjen that flows

[25] Masson, Romodin 1964, 148.
[26] *Yakut's geographisches Woerterbuch*, s.v. Sinj.
[27] *Yakut's geographisches Woerterbuch*, III. 163.

through the Herat plain (ancient Areia), pointing (with reference to Gutschmid and Markwart) to the isolated example of a toponym called Sindh in the region of Abiverd.[28] But this city is situated rather far from the river Tedjen. Claiming the implausibility of identifying the river Sindes/Sindh with the Murghab, Grenet put forward the argument that Mukaddasi specifies the form 'Sink' instead of 'Sinj", and that the *Hudud al-Alam* mentions 'Sing', which cannot be derived from 'Sind". Yet it should be noted that the form 'Sinj' appears in all the Arabic literature cited above. Moreover, the term 'Sinj' is recorded all along the course of the Murghab from its headwaters to its lower reaches.

We should note that no matter how good these etymological endeavors may be, they remain largely subjective and frequently result in a mess, especially with regard to the localization of the ancient, medieval, and modern names of geographic toponyms. A more realistic method is to analyze all the available evidence, which, unfortunately, F. Grenet failed to do. Above all, there are a number of essential grammatical remarks that should be pointed out. Tacitus says that the battle between Vardanes and Gotarzes II was fought "between the Erindes and the Sindes." The preposition 'between' (*medius*) in a geographical sense was commonly used to denote the location of towns, rivers, seas, and the like, or in the middle of something, or within broader spatial boundaries affected by some activities. In this case, given that the Erindes (according to F. Grenet, the Gorgan) flows in a latitudinal direction and the Sindes/Sindh (according to F. Grenet, the Tedjen) runs in a longitudinal direction, F. Grenet places the battle fought between Vardanes and Gotarzes II in a small area between the headwaters of the Gorgan and the Tedjen situated precisely within the confines of Apavarktikena and Astauena that at this time were part of Parthia proper.[29] Incidentally, it was in the town of Asaak near Kuchan in the upper reaches of the Atrak that the first Parthian king Arsakes was crowned.[30] Does this location agree with the evidence provided by Tacitus? Let us arrange the data into individual segments:

1. Vardanes, having lifted his siege of Seleuceia on the Tigris, arrived at the "fields of Bactria" where he defeated Gotarzes.

2. Gotarzes retreated to Hyrcania, and, after receiving reinforcements from the Dahae, resumed his military operations against Vardanes.

3. Vardanes converged on the river Erindes, where he again defeated Gotarzes.

4. In a series of successful campaigns Vardanes conquered "the peoples inhabiting the region between the rivers Erindes and the Sindes; the latter is known to have separated "the Dahae from the Areians".

[28] Grenet 2000, 132, note 10.

[29] On their location see: Masson 1955.

[30] Diakonov 1961, 181; Dibvoiz (Debevoise) 2008, 35.

5. At this point, Vardanes' campaign ended, for the Parthian army refused to wage any further wars *so far away from home* (my italics – *E. R.*).

6. It is also here that Vardanes erected a monument with inscriptions that proclaimed that no Arsacid before him had ever exacted tribute from these peoples.

Points 5 and 6 are of greatest significance here. If one follows the suggestion put forward by F. Grenet, then – to put it mildly – we are faced with total absurdity: the Parthians refused to wage wars far away from home, whereas F. Grenet's location implies that the provinces of Apavarktikena and Astauena had always been part of Parthia. In addition, it would presuppose that Vardanes erected a monument in the region, which had been in the Parthian kingdom from its inception, whereas the inscriptions specify that no Arsacid had ever levied tribute on these vanquished peoples.

It is clear that the war between Vardanes and Gotarzes II was waged far away from the Parthian homeland (located in the foothills of the Kopet Dagh in southern Turkmenistan and northern Iran), possibly somewhere in western Afghanistan where the rivers Tedjen=Erindes and Murghab=Sindes in their upper reaches flow parallel to one other.

This region corresponds to the contemporary Afghan provinces of Firuzkuh and Ghur located hundreds of miles from the indigenous lands of the Parthians; that is, 'far away from home' where the Parthians had never been before.

We have already demonstrated that the Parthian expansion of the 2nd – 1st century BC was directed towards western Bactria and the Oxus valley in order to capture the water and land routes of the Great Indian Road. G. A. Koshelenko and V. I. Sarianidi hold that not only western Bactria but all of western Afghanistan, including the oasis of Herat, formed part of the Parthian kingdom from the 1st century BC to the beginning of the 1st century AD. This argument is based not only on Parthian coin finds, including the area of Herat,[31] but also on the analysis of the information gleaned from Isidoros of Charax (early 1st century AD) about "The Royal Road" passing through the eastern provinces of the Parthian kingdom: Margiana, Areia, Anauon, Zarangiana, Sakastan, and Arochosia.[32]

As to the river Sindes mentioned by Tacitus forming part of the boundary between the Dahae and the Areians, its identification can be made on the basis of determining the whereabouts of the Dahae and Areians. The Dahae lived in the territory of southern Turkmenistan between the Caspian Sea and the Murghab,[33] while the name of Areia designates both the people who lived at the headwaters

[31] Hackin 1935, 287–292; Mac Dowall, Taddei 1978, 210.
[32] Sarianidi, Koshelenko 1982, 309.
[33] Masson 1955, 22–24.

of the Tedjen[34] and the name of the indigenous peoples of Bactria – Bactrians. According to the edict of the Kushan king Kanishka recorded in the Rabatak inscription, there was at this time something of a linguistic reform taking place in which the Greek language was in the process of being replaced by the Aryan language.[35] It follows from this that the name of the Bactrians (i.e., the natives of Bactria) was the "Areians." Thus everything is logically resolved – the Dahae inhabited the territory extending to the river Murghab (=Sindes/Sindh), while to the east of them lived Areians (=Bactrians).

Of the extensive Parthian-Bactrian connections and the probable advance of the Parthians into the Bactrian region of the Oxus valley, we have presented not only a vast amount of historical and numismatic evidence as discussed above, but we may now turn to archaeological artifacts discovered specifically at Kampyrtepa, Takht-i Sangin, and Khalchayan which are related in one way or another to Parthia.

Archeological finds of Parthian origin in the Oxus Valley

Among all the finds, special importance is placed on a sculptured head from Khalchayan (fig. 2), which differs from other sculptures found there by its peculiar hairstyle and its long, pointed wavy beard. G. A. Pugachenkova interpreted it as the head of a Parthian prince and noted that it is reminiscent of the Parthian king Phraates IV (38–3/2 BC).[36]

In a later publication, G. A. Pugachenkova argued that this head may well represent "a ruler whose territory may have encompassed a section of the Amu Darya which was inhabited by the early Kushans (for example, an Indo-Parthian in the Punjab)".[37]

I believe that on the whole G. A. Pugachenkova is right, erring only in identifying the place: it is not an Indo-Parthian ruler from the Punjab, but a Parthian ruler from the Amu Darya region in western Bactria. Still it should be noted that she was writing about it when there was no other evidence – either archaeological or numismatic – of a Parthian presence in northern Bactria. There is now an abundant amount of evidence indicating that the sphere of Parthian influence (if not of direct subordination) encompassed a large portion of the Oxus valley possibly extending as far east as far as Termez, a state of affairs which was most pronounced during the time of Phraates IV whose coins and their imitations are abundant in this area.

[34] Khlopin 1983, 180–194.
[35] Sims-Williams, Cribb 1996, 78.
[36] Pugachenkova 1966, 213, table 28.
[37] Pugachenkova 1971, 55.

By rejecting the Indo-Parthian hypothesis put forward by G. A. Pugachenkova, F. Grenet argued that the most likely candidates for the identification of the Khalchayan figure are the Parthian kings Vardanes I (ca. 39–45/48 AD) and Vologases I (51–79 AD), whose depictions share many details with this image: the hair style, shape of the beard, and absence of a tiara.[38] However, images of Phraates IV on his coins feature the same details. In accordance with the interpretation of the above-mentioned historical events related to the war between Gotarzes II and Vardanes I, F. Grenet conjectured that the Parthian king who appears in the scene of the Kushan triumph at Khalchayan could be Vardanes I, building his argument for his presence here on pure fantasy.[39]

Naturally, B. A. Litvinskii rejected outright the identification of Vardanes I as the Parthian ruler depicted at Khalchayan. Furthermore, he acknowledged that Phraates IV's coins and their imitations circulated in Bactria, and recognized that "the point is that the Khalchayan portrait of 'the Parthian prince' is undoubtedly closer to that of Phraates IV".[40]

B. A. Litvinskii, however, did not believe that this king is depicted in the Khalchayan sculpture, and, while considering as possible the strengthening of Bactrian-Parthian relations, he held that this element was included in the composition as "some kind of symbol testifying to the greatness and power of a Kushan king (ruler)".[41]

The Khalchayan image of a Parthian king or a ruler is not the only one of its kind that has been found in northern Bactria. I refer to a terracotta statuette from the citadel of Kampyrtepa in a layer dating to the 2nd – 1st century BC (fig. 4a-d).[42] It represents a man sitting on a throne with a high upright back, his beard is curled, his moustache droops reaching his beard, and his curly hair is covered by a diadem above his forehead. The hair on the back of his head hangs in a single long braid. The figure is clad in armor.

Stylistically – hairstyle, curled beard, moustache, diadem, and shape of the face – the character of the terracotta statuette resembles the image of the Parthian prince from Khalchayan and, correspondingly, those of the Parthian kings mentioned above. But K. Abdullaev mistakenly identified a braid that appears on the back of the head as a Scythian trait and thus associated the figurine as a nomad.[43]

[38] Grenet 2000, 131–132.

[39] Grenet 2000, 135.

[40] Litvinskii 2010, 284.

[41] Litvinskii, 2010, 284.

[42] The first publication is in *DIuU* 1991, fig. 180; *KIDU*, p. 115, no. 126. The dating in this publication of 1st century BC is not very accurate; 2nd – 1st BC is preferred with emphasis placed on the 2nd century.

[43] Abdullaev 2002, 30–31.

Upon closer examination, however, the sculptured braid is in actuality a diadem, a fillet composed of two ribbons tied at the back of the head, worn by Greco-Bactrian and Parthian kings as portrayed on their coins. It also bears strong resemblance to the one worn by Mithridates I (171/170–139/138 BC) as it hangs orthogonally, whereas other Parthian kings are portrayed with theirs hanging unevenly. Moreover, Mithridates I's diadem appears as a single ribbon, unlike later kings, beginning with Phraates IV and Phraates V, whose diadems are composed of three or even four ribbons.[44] The general appearance of the image on the terracotta from Kampyrtepa reminds one of the images of Mithridates I on his coins: he sports a rounded rather than a pointed beard, a single ribboned diadem, and a similar hairstyle. Finally, the date of the terracotta is very close to the reign of Mithridates I.

It is important to remember that Mithridates I was the first of the Parthian kings to have launched an invasion of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom in the mid–2nd century BC and annexed Eukratides' provinces of Aspiones and Touriva situated partly in the Oxus valley.

As was shown above, the coins of Mithridates II (124/123–88/87 BC) found in the upper reaches of the Amu Darya are the earliest numismatic evidence of Parthian-Bactrian relations. The existence of such links, especially between Bactria and Parthian-dominated Margiana, is possibly corroborated by a round kiln found in the eastern suburbs of Kampyrtepa. It contains seven heating tunnels for the ceramic furnace. Its diameter measures 1.5 meters, the length of the channels is 0.6–0.7 meters, and its width is 0.15 meters.[45]

Upon excavating the kiln in 1982, I dated it to the 1st century BC – 1st century AD. Later, S. B. Bolelov conducted a closer examination and dated the ceramic material in the furnace to the 2nd century BC.[46] L. M. Sverchkov related the pottery from the kiln to the period designated by him as Kampyrtepa–5; that is, the late Greco-Bactrian epoch.[47]

The design of the kiln from Kampyrtepa is analogous to multi-tunnel kilns at Dzhin-Depe located 22 km north of Old Merv in Margiana. Another similar multi-tunnel kiln was found at the settlement of Munon-Depe, located about 10–12 km north of Dzhin-Depe[48]. L. N. Merezhin noted that the basic ceramic material of the five kilns at Dzhin-Depe belongs to the 1st century BC – 1st century AD.[49]

[44] Ghirshman 1962, 114, pl. 135, 136–155.
[45] Rtveladze 1999, 221.
[46] Bolelov 2001, 15.
[47] Sverchkov 2006, 107–108, fig. 5.
[48] Merezhin 1962, 12–26.
[49] Merezhin 1962, 35.

In Hellenistic Bactria, rounded kilns are typical, while in the Kushan period rectangular ones predominate. The existence of rounded ceramic kilns with seven or eight tunnels, similar to those in Parthian Margiana, suggests that they were introduced into northern Bactria from that region.

The excavations at Kampyrtepa have yielded a number of objects of Parthian origin or manufactured in Bactria under Parthian influence. Notable among them is a wooden statuette set in a silver frame, sealed at the corners with small nails (fig. 8a, b). The statuette seems to have been modeled after a monumental statue of a nobleman (?) wearing a knee-length coat and sash.[50] According to the clothing and the work's general appearance, it closely resembles the statue of a Parthian prince from Shami (Iran),[51] who also wears a coat with a right wrap over and trousers with draping folds.

Another terracotta statuette found at Kampyrtepa probably represents a Parthian nobleman wearing a high conical headdress and a close-fitting coat with a right wrap over, similar to certain sculptured figures from Hatra (fig. 3).[52]

An alabaster statuette of a Parthian, closely examined by B. A. Litvinskii, was found in the Temple of the Oxus and dates from the 1st – 2nd century AD.[53] In accordance with the archaeological and stratigraphic evidence, the statuettes from Kampyrtepa are dated to the same period, but I now believe that they can be attributed to the end of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD, for this was the most active period of Parthian-Bactrian interactions and is corroborated by the coin finds.

Recently, a number of ivory hairpins with finials in the form of anthropomorphic images have been found in the Oxus valley. Among them are two types that share a similar feature – a peculiar hairstyle in which the hair is arranged into a topknot.

Type I. The finial of the hairpin features an image of a naked female figure with her legs crossed, sitting on a low bench like a throne resembling an omphalos. Her right hand is raised to her shoulder in a gesture of instruction; her left hand rests in her lap. Her hair is rolled up in a bun, the back of her hair falls freely from the top of her head down to her shoulders. It is highly possible that she could have worn a veil. The head is crowned with a large bun rendered by slanting notches, or in a topknot if it is meant to be a headdress.

Two ivory hairpins of this type have been found in Kampyrtepa (fig. 5). One of them comes from a huge garbage pit at layer XVII, on the same level as a coin

[50] *DIuU* 1991, 287, fig. 166; Pugachenkova, Rtveladze 1990.
[51] Ghirshman 1962, 57.
[52] *DIuU* 1991, 286, fig. 159; Litvinskii 2010, 88–89.
[53] Litvinskii 2010, 84–87.

of Kanishka was discovered.[54] This pit, located in the southeastern corner of the Kampyrtepa acropolis, started filling up after the town had been seized by the Kushans under Soter Megas (Vima Tak[to]) and lies immediately above the Greco-Bactrian layers, destroying the ancient walls and part of the gates of the acropolis. As cultural deposits from subsequent occupations were dumped there, it is not surprising that there are artifacts of earlier periods, dating to the Yuezhi and Greco-Bactrian eras.

Another analogous hairpin found at the site in block no. 6 in the northern part of the ancient settlement is dated more accurately. According to the excavations undertaken by S. B. Bolelov, it was discovered on the floor of the room in Quarter "B" dated to the reign of King Kanishka (the first half of the 2nd century AD).[55]

Ivory hairpins with finials of the same type were also unearthed at a number of sites in the Oxus valley. For example, at a settlement near Ai Khanoum, a finely made ivory hairpin was discovered. Its finial portrays a naked female figure that is almost identical to the Kampyrtepa type – the figure has the same pose with eyes cast downward, is seated on a bench or a throne, and sports the same hairstyle (unfortunately, the bun has not survived).

The only difference is that the figurine from the vicinity of Ai Khanoum holds a cup in her right hand, and an object that looks like a scepter in her left. In accordance with other excavated artifacts, the French researchers date the figurine within a broad time span – from the late Greco-Bactrian period to the Kushan era.[56]

An ivory hairpin with a similar finial was discovered in the artisans' quarter near the northern gate of Gyaur-Kala at Old Merv.[57] The archaeologists describe it as an image of a naked female figure with her knees bent, seated on a throne, with one hand on her knee, and the other holding an object which they call a scepter. Unfortunately, the paper contains neither a drawing, nor a photograph of this hairpin, and to make matters worse, the head of the figurine has not survived. The hairpin was found in the same layer as a coin of Artabanos II (10–38 AD). The ivory hairpin discovered on the level of the second floor in Room 159 of the residential quarter in the settlement of Zartepa displays the same type of anthropomorphic finials. V. A. Zavialov describes it as an image of a 'goddess' in a long robe seated on a backless throne, her left hand – with her arm bent at the elbow forming a right angle – rests on her hip, her right hand raised to the shoulder holds an unrecognizable object. Her head

[54] Shagalina, Nikitenko 2003, 115–117; Nikitenko (forthcoming).
[55] Bolelov 2002, 41–67.
[56] Guillaume, Rougelle 1987, pl. 24,11.
[57] Buriakov, Katsuris 1963, 124.

has not survived. The author writes that the outline of the lower part of the figure reminds him of the seated figure of the goddess Ardokhsho on Kanishka III's coins.[58]

Type II. The finials of the hairpin take the form of a woman standing on a circular base, clad in a low-necked chiton, the folds of which are rendered by oblique lines. The figurine has a large straight nose with eyes shut. A flat cylindrical headdress or the lower part of the hairstyle is topped either in a bun or in a luxurious coil rendered by criss-crossing strokes. This elaborate hairstyle (or headdress), as well as the face, is common to both types of finials.

A hairpin of this type was first discovered at the ancient site of Toprak-Kala and dated by S. A. Trudnovskaia on the basis of the coins of Persis and the early Sasanians to the 3rd – early 4th century AD.[59]

The discovery of an identical hairpin with a finial at Kampyrtepa, however, proves that hairpins of this type were made much earlier (fig. 6). This hairpin was found in the northeastern corner of Kampyrtepa in block-quarter no. 6, which had been made habitable, judging by the coin finds of Soter Megas and Kanishka, at a much earlier time – between the 1st and mid–2nd century AD. Accordingly, this ivory hairpin sporting an anthropomorphic finial is dated to the same period.

Thus in Bactria, Margiana, and Chorasmia a specific group of ivory hairpins with anthropomorphic finials (the figure of a seated or standing woman (a goddess?)) has been identified, which, regardless of their postures, have similar faces and are adorned with an intricate hairstyle wrapped in a luxurious coil (or wear a headdress with a topknot). They are dated between the 1st century AD and the 3rd to early 4th century AD; however, it is highly likely that they had been made much earlier, namely, in the pre-Kushan period. In Chorasmia and Zartepa they appear much earlier than the 3rd or mid–4th century AD, and they must have been carefully preserved by several generations. Most of them have been found in northern Bactria (three specimens at Kampyrtepa, and one each at Zartepa and Ai-Khanoum). We can surmise, therefore, that they were produced either in northern Bactria, or, considering the Parthian-Margianian hairstyle with the luxurious coil, in the Parthian-Bactrian borderland – that is, in western Bactria or Margiana.

It is remarkable that S. Ia. Berzina did not include the anthropomorphic hairpins from Kampyrtepa, Toprak-Kala, and Gyaur-Kala, with which she is well acquainted, in her general overview of ivories of Egyptian origin found in Central Asia.[60]

[58] Zavialov 2008, 111, 112, fig. 7.
[59] Nerazik, Vainberg, Lapirov-Skoblo, Trudnovskaia (red.) 1981, 185–186, fig. 20.
[60] Berzina 2007, 79.

At the beginning of the 20th century, an ivory plate depicting a Parthian noble with braids of hair wrapped in three coils was found at Olbia (northern coast of the Black Sea) (fig. 7).[61] Parthian kings as depicted on their coins feature the same hairstyle. V. N. Pilipko notes that this hairstyle is typical of the images of Osroes and Vologases V (190–206 AD), even though they ruled seventy years apart from one another, as well as on coins minted in Margiana imitating those of Vologases V.[62]

There are also images whose hair is styled in a topknot as on an ivory statuette found at the site of Shashtepa in the southern outskirts of Tashkent.[63] Among the finds made at Margiana, V. N. Pilipko has identified a group of terracotta statuettes with coiffure arranged in three coils as well as one with a topknot.[64]

While characterizing the group of terracotta statuettes and comparing them with the carved ivory plates from Olbia and Shashtepa, V. N. Pilipko concluded that they are the products of one school of art, whose center was located in Merv.[65]

This conclusion put forward by V. N. Pilipko deserves special attention, even though only one ivory hairpin of this type was ever found in Merv, as has been noted above.

Thus the settlements in the Oxus valley have yielded a number of Parthian objects or perhaps objects produced in Margiana, which was subordinate to Parthia. This group includes following objects:

1. Parthian coins and their imitations.
2. Works of applied and minor art – ivory hairpins, alabaster and clay figurines, and a wooden statuette in a silver frame.
3. A statue of a Parthian nobleman from Khalchayan.

Other monuments include:

1. The kiln in Kampyrtepa and those in Dzhin-Depe (Margiana).
2. Sepulchral monuments – burials in earthen graves in northern Bactria that are similar to those in Parthia.[66]

Such an array of similar objects testifies not only to the existence of commercial relations and cultural contacts, but perhaps also to the direct subordination of parts of Bactria in the Oxus valley to the Parthians, which we have considered in great detail. The diffusion of the above mentioned objects can also imply that Parthian, Bactrian, and Indian merchants had set up trading stations

[61] Farmakovskii 1909, 42–44, fig. 41.
[62] Pilipko, 2010, 109.
[63] Filanovich 1986, 46–48, fig. 1–2.
[64] Pilipko 2010, 109, fig. 9.
[65] Pilipko 2010, 114.
[66] Pilipko 2010, 114.

along the Oxus that were used for shipment of ivory and other articles on their way from India to Bactria and Margiana. From here these goods were shipped to Chorasmia along the Oxus, and from Margiana they were transported along the Great Indian Road across the southern Caucasus and the Euxine Pontus to the northern Black Sea region. The finds at Olbia of carved ivory bearing the image of a Parthian nobleman and imitations of Greco-Bactrian coins along the northern Black Sea coast, and Sanabares' coins minted in Margiana found in the Kura valley in Georgia are links in a chain and testify to the movement of goods along the Great Indian Road.

Captions to plates

Figure 1. Map. North-western boundary of the Kushan state under Kanishka I (first half of the 2nd century AD).
Figure 2. Sculptured head of a Parthian ruler. Khalchayan. End of 1st century BC – beginning of 1st century AD.
Figure 3. Fragment of statuette. Kampyrtepa.
Figure 4a. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Front view.
Figure 4b. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Front view.
Figure 4c. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Side view.
Figure 4d. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Rear View.
Figure 5. Hairpin top. Ivory. Kampyrtepa.
Figure 6. Hairpin top. Ivory. Kampyrtepa.
Figure 7. Carved ivory depicting Parthians. Olbia (North Black Sea).
Figure 8a. Wooden Parthian figure in a silver frame. Kampyrtepa. 1st century BC – 1st century AD.
Figure 8b. Wooden Parthian figure in a silver frame. Kampyrtepa. 1st century BC – 1st century AD.
Figure 9. Drachm of Sinatruces (77–70 BC). Old Termez. Collection of Iu. Ermeshkov.

Bibliography

Abdullaev, K. 2002: 'Transformatsiīa grecheskikh obrazov v terrakotovoī plastike Kampyrtepa' in *MTE* 3, 27–36.

Baladhuri 1901: *Futuh al-Buldan* (in Arabic), Cairo.

Berzina, S.Ia. 2007: 'Koptskie kostīanye izdeliīa v Tsentral'noī Azii' in *Vostok – Zapad. Dialog kul'tur i tsivilizatsiī Evraziiī* 8, Kazan.

Bichurin, N.Ia. (Iakinf) 1950: *Sobranie svedeniī o narodach obitavshikh v Sredneī Azii v drevneīshe vremena,* vol. 2, Moskva-Leningrad.

Biriukov, D.V. 2010: 'Pandakheion i Parfavnisa (evristicheskoe znachenie arshakidskikh monet s Kampyrtepa)' *NTsA* 9, 34–48.

Bolelov, S. 2001: 'Goncharnaīa masterskaīa III-II vv. do n.e. na Kampyrtepa (k voprosu o keramicheskom proizvodstve v organizatsii remesla v Severnoī Baktrii epokhi ellinizma)' in *MTE* 2, 15–30.

Bolelov, S. 2002: 'Keramicheskiĭ kompleks epokhi pravleniĭa Kanishki na Kampyrtepa (raskopki 2000–2001 godov)' in *MTE* 3, 41–66.

Buriakov, Iu.F., Katsuris, K. 1963: 'Izuchenie remeslennogo kvartala antichnogo Merva u severnykh vorot Giaur-kaly' in *TIuTAKE* 12, Ashkhabad, 119–163.

Diakonov, M.M. 1961: *Ocherki istorii drevnego Irana,* Moskva.

Dibvoiz, N.K. [Debevoise, N.C.] 2009: *Politicheskaĭa istoriĭa Parfii* (perevod i redaktsiĭa V.P. Nikonorov), Sankt-Peterburg.

Farmakovskii, B.V. 1909: 'Raskopki v Ol'vii v 1902–1903 gg.' in *Otchet Imperatorskoĭ Arkheologicheskoĭ Komissii za 1906 g.*, Sankt-Peterburg, 42–44, fig. 41.

Filanovich, M.I. 1986: 'Dve nakhodki na Shashtepa v Tashkente', *IMKU* 20, 46–48

Ghirshman, R. 1962: *Parthes et Sassanides*, Paris.

Gorin, A. 2010: 'Parthian Coins from Kampyrtepa' *Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia* 1 (Rzeszów), 107–134.

Grenet, F. 2000: 'Novaĭa gipoteza o datirovke rel'iefov Khalchayana' *VDI* 2000/2, 130–135.

Guillaume, O., Rougelle, A. 1987: *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum VII: Les petits objects* (*MDAFA* 31), Paris.

Hackin, J. 1935: 'Répartition des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan' *JA* 226, 287–292.

Ibn al-Athiri 1851: *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C.J. Tornberg. XI. Upsaliae et Lugduni Batavorum.

Khlopin, I.N. 1983: *Istoricheskaĭa geografiĭa ĭuzhnykh oblasteĭ Sredneĭ Azii,* Ashkhabad.

Litvinskii, B.A. 2010: 'Parfiano-baktriiskie perekrestki' in *Problemy istorii, filologii, kul'tury,* Moskva-Magnitogorsk, 1 (27), 84–103.

Litvinskii, B.A. 2010: *Khram Oksa v Baktrii*, vol. 3, Moskva.

MacDowall, D.W., Taddei M. 1978: 'The Early Historic Period: Achaemenids and Greeks' in F.R.Allchin, N.Hammond (eds.), *The Archaeology of Afghanistan from the Earliest Times to the Timurid period*, London – New York – San Francisco.

Markov, A.K. 1892: 'Neizdannye arshakidskie monety' *ZVORAO* 6, 279–281,

Masson, M.E. 1955: 'Narody i oblasti ĭuzhnoĭ chasti Turkmenistana v sostave Parfianskogo gosudarstva' in *TIuTAKE* 5, Ashkhabad, 7–70.

Masson, M.E. 1970: 'K voprosu o Margiane v sostave Greko-Baktriĭskogo tsarstva' *Izvestiĭa Akademii Nauk Turkmenskoĭ SSR, SON,* 1970/5, 12–23.

Masson, V.M., Romodin, B.A. 1964: *Istoriĭa Afganistana*, vol. I, Moskva.

Merezhin, L.N. 1962: 'K kharakteristike keramicheskikh pecheĭ perioda rabovladeniĭa i rannego srednevekov'ĭa v Mervskom oazise', *TIuTAKE* 11, Askkhabad, 12–40.

Morgan, J. de 1923: *Manuel de numismatique orientale*, 1, Paris.

Nerazik, E.E., Vainberg, B.I., Lapirov-Skoblo, M.S., Trudnovskaia, S.A. (red.) 1981: *Gorodishche Toprak-kala (raskpopki 1965–1975 gg.)* (*TKhAEE* 12)*,* Moskva.

Newell, E.T. 1939: 'The coinage of the Parthians' in A.U. Pope and Ph. Ackerman (eds.), *A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present. Vol. I. Text: Pre-Achaemenid, Achaemenid, Parthian and Sāsānian Periods*, London – New York 1938, 475–492.

Nikitenko, G.N. (forthcoming): 'Arkheologicheskie issledovaniĭa v ĭugo-vostochnom uglu akropolĭa Kampyrtepa' in *MTE* 9.

Olbrycht, M.J. 2000: 'Srednĭaĭa Aziĭa i Arshakidy' in *Vzaimodeĭstvie kul'tur i tsivilizatsiĭ,* Sankt-Peterburg, 182–186.

Pilipko, V.N. 1985: *Poseleniĭa Severo-Zapadnoĭ Baktrii,* Ashkhabad.

Pilipko, V.N. 1986: 'Baktriia i Parfiia. Problemy granits i kul'turnykh kontaktov' in G.A. Pugachenkova (red.), *Gorodskaĭa sreda i kul'tura Baktrii-Tokharistana i Sogda (IV v. do n.e. – VIII v. n.e.). Tezisy dokladov sovetsko-franuzskogo kollokviuma (Samarkand 1986)*, Tashkent, 79–81.

Pilipko, V.N. 2010: 'Ob odnoī gruppe «muzhskikh» terrakot iz Merva' in *PIFK* 1, Moskva – Magnitogorsk.

Pugachenkova, G.A. 1966: *Khalchaian (K probleme khudozhestvennoī kul'tury Severnoī Baktrii)*, Tashkent.

Pugachenkova, G.A. 1971: *Skul'ptura Khalchaiana,* Moskva.

Pugachenkova, G.A., Rtveladze, E.V. 1990: *Severnaīa Baktriīa-Tokharistan*. *Ocherki istorii i kul'tury (drevnost' i srednevekov'e)*, Tashkent.

Rtveladze, E.V. 1999: *Velikiī Šelkovyī put'*, Tashkent.

Rtveladze, E.V. 2010: 'Nakhodki monet na Velikom Indiīskom puti' *NTsA* 9, 5–25.

Rtveladze, E.V. 2010a: 'The Great Indian Road: India – Central Asia – Transcaucasia,' *Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia* 1, 80–96.

Samani 1987: *Kitab al-Ansab* (in Arabic), VII-VIII, Beirut.

Sarianidi, V.I., Koshelenko, G.A. 1982: 'Monety iz raskopok nekropolīa, raspolozhennogo na gorodishche Tillya-tepe (Severnyī Afganistan)' in G.M. Bongard-Levin (ed.), *Drevnīaīa Indiīa. Istoriko kul'turnye svīaziī,* Moskva, 307–318.

Shagalina, N.D., Nikitenko, G.N. 2003: 'Novye nakhodki iz raskopa īugo-vostochnoī chasti tsitadeli Kampyrtepa' in *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniīa v Uzbekistane 2002 g*., no. 3, Tashkent, 115–117.

Sims-Williams, N., Cribb, J. 1996: 'A new Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great' *SRAA* 4, 75–142.

Staviskii, B.Ia. 2001: 'Gora Orlinaīa – Khodzha Gulsuar' in E.V. Rtveladze, Sh.P. Pidaev (red.), *Drevnīaīa i srednevekovaīa kul'tura Surkhandar'i,* Tashkent, 52–54.

Sverchkov, L.M. 2006: 'Opyt sinkhronizatsii keramicheskikh kompleksov epokhi ellinizma (Kampyrtepa, Termez, Dzhigatepa, Kurganzol)' in *MTE 5 (Arkheologicheskie issledovaniīa Kampyrtepa i Shortepa)*, Tashkent, 105–124.

Tarn, W.W. 1984: *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Third edition updated with a preface and a new introduction by Frank Lee Holt, Chicago.

Velgus, V.A. 1978: *Izvestiīa o stranakh i narodakh Afriki i morskie svīazi v basseīnakh Tikhogo i Indiīskogo okeanov,* Moskva.

Viae regnorum. Descriptio ditionis moslemicae auctore Abu Ishak al-Farisi al-Istakhri. *BGA,* I. Ed. M.J. de Goeje. Lugduni Batavorum 1870 (1927).

Yakut's geographisches Woerterbuch, aus den Handschriften zu Berlin, F. Wustenfeld (Hg.). Bd. III, VI. St. Petersburg – Paris – London – Oxford – Leipzig, 1866–1877.

Zavialov, V.A. 2008: *Kushanshahr pri Sasanidakh. Po materialam raskopok na gorodishche Zartepa,* Sankt-Peterburg.

Zeimal, E.V. 1983: *Drevnie monety Tadzhikistana*, Dushanbe.

Abstract

The paper deals with the Parthian conquests in the East, including the eastern borders of the Parthian state. The author provides a range of evidence in favor of the idea that the middle Amu Darya (Oxus) River formed the eastern boundary of Parthia. It is possible, therefore, that for a period of time the Oxus valley as far east as the site of Kampyrtepa was in Parthian hands. According to the numismatic evidence, a section of the Amu Darya valley extending from Kampyrtepa to Kerki demarcated a portion of the Kushan state during Kanishka's reign (i.e., the first half of the 2nd century AD).

Figures

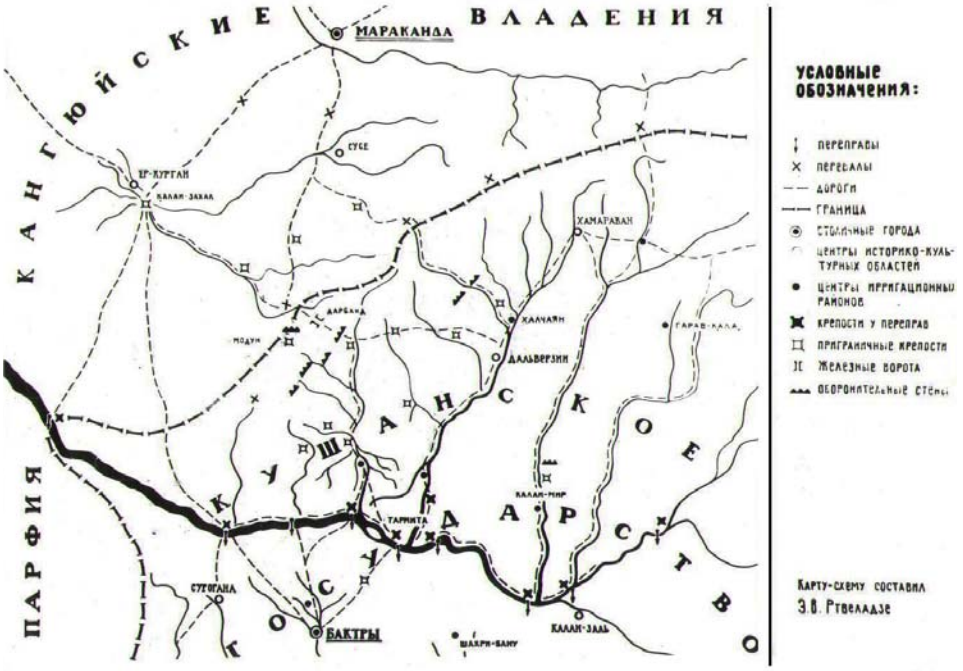

Figure 1. Map. North-western boundary of the Kushan state under Kanishka (first half of the 2nd century AD)

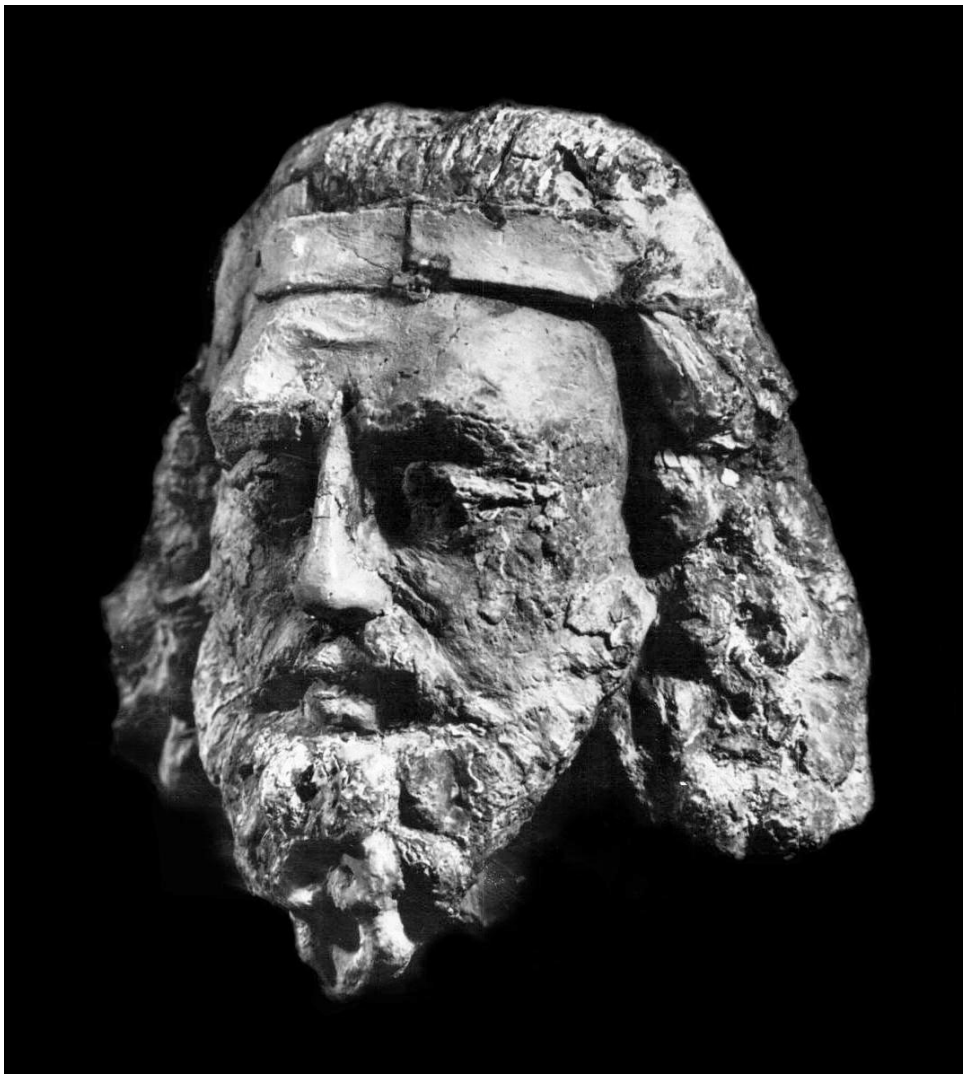

Figure 2. Sculptured head of a Parthian ruler. Khalchayan. End of 1st century BC – beginning of 1st century AD

Figure 3. Fragment of statuette. Kampyrtepa

Figure 4a. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Front view

Figure 4b. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Front view

Figure 4c. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Side View

Figure 4d. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Rear view

Figure 5. Hairpin top. Ivory. Kampyrtepa

Figure 6. Hairpin top. Ivory. Kampyrtepa

Figure 7. Carved ivory depicting Parthians. Olbia (North Black Sea)

Figure 8a. Wooden Parthian figure in a silver frame. Kampyrtepa. 1st century BC – 1st century AD

Figure 8b. Wooden Parthian figure in a silver frame. Kampyrtepa. 1st century BC – 1st century AD

Figure 9. Drachm of Sinatruces (77–70 BC). Old Termez. Collection of Iu. Ermeshkov