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ORIENTIS SPLENDOR

Studies in Memory of Józef Wolski

edited by
Marek Jan Olbrycht



Professor Józef Wolski 1910–2008



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Marek Jan Olbrycht

(Poland)

JÓZEF WOLSKI (1910–2008); AN EPITAPH*

Höheres Leben

Der Mensch erwählt sein Leben, sein Beschließen,
Von Irrtum frei kennt Weisheit er, Gedanken,
Erinnerungen, die in der Welt versanken,
Und nichts kann ihm der innern Wert verdrießen.

Die prächtige Natur verschönet seine Tage,
Der Geist in ihm gewährt ihm neues Trachten
In seinem Innern oft, und das, die Wahrheit achten,
Und höhern Sinn, und manche seltne Frage.

Dann kann der Mensch des Lebens Sinn auch kennen,
Das Höchste seinem Zweck, das Herrlichste benennen,
Gemäß der Menschheit so des Lebens Welt betrachten,
Und hohen Sinn als höhres Leben achten.

Friedrich Hölderlin

Józef Wolski, the distinguished historian and excellent Polish scholar, died in Cracow (Kraków) on October 2, 2008. His long life, successful, but also tainted with bitter experiences, deserves to be remembered for many reasons, not least of which is that his death marks the end of the era of the great masters of Polish scholarship who were educated in the free Second Polish Republic (Druga Rzeczpospolita). Professor J. Wolski's achievements as a scholar are all the more

* The editor thanks Professor Jeffrey D. Lerner (USA) for specialist assistance with the English version of the text. Thanks are also due to Professor Tomasz Polański (Poland) for his remarks. Any shortcomings with the text remain the editor's responsibility (MJO).

spectacular when one considers that they coincided with the major events of twentieth century Polish history.

Józef Wolski was born on March 19, 1910 in Tarnów, Lesser Poland (Małopolska), in a house on Ogrodowa Str. (now J. Bema Str.), as a subject of the emperor of Austria-Hungary. Józef's Silesian-born father, Jan, was then a sales representative for the chemical company Fritze from Florisdorf near Vienna. His mother was a Cracovienne with family roots in Jasło and in the area of Rzeszów. Józef's godfather was Władysław Brach, known as the "Tarnów Rockefeller," the owner of a nationally famous drugstore.

From the time when the Wolski family moved to Kraków before World War I (1912), Józef's life and that of his adopted city became inseparable. In 1918 young Józef observed how Austrian black eagles were removed and replaced with the insignia of an independent Polish state. In Kraków the boy completed the famed King Jan III Sobieski gymnasium, where he acquired an excellent knowledge of Latin, Greek, and French. He began to learn German from the 22-volume work *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon* which he had received as a gift from his father and aroused his interest in history and in distant lands.

After graduating from Jagiellonian University (UJ; 1928–1932), Wolski became an assistant of Prof. Ludwik Piotrowicz. Born in Nowy Wiśnicz near Bochnia (between Tarnów and Kraków) in 1886, L. Piotrowicz studied classical philology at Jagiellonian University with Prof. Kazimierz Morawski and then in Berlin with Eduard Meyer and Otto Hirschfeld (1912–1914). E. Meyer, a historian of the Graeco-Roman world and of the Orient, largely influenced L. Piotrowicz. After his involvement in Poznań (the capital of Greater Poland), including the founding of Poland's first chair of ancient history, Piotrowicz took the Chair of Ancient History at Jagiellonian University in Kraków (1922). Piotrowicz's methodology and his broad perspective of historical processes made a strong impression on young Wolski's scholarly formation and his later attitude toward research.

J. Wolski's master's thesis titled, *Arsaces I, the founder of the Parthian state*, was accepted as a doctoral dissertation (1936). He published it in the journal *Eos* then issued in Lwów, in 1937–1938 (later, in 1974, it appeared in French).¹ Wolski's dissertation not only marks the real beginnings of Parthian studies in Poland, but it also represents a significant turning point in the study of Parthian history, because his work advanced scholarship to a level higher than had been traditionally practiced and set modern research in a wholly new direction. In his

¹ 'Arsaces I, założyciel państwa partyjskiego' ['Arsaces I, the founder of the Parthian state'] *Eos* 38, 1937, 492–513; *Eos* 39, 1938, 244–266 (= 'Arsace I^{er}, fondateur de l'État parthe' in *Com-mémoration Cyrus. Actes du congrès de Shiraz 1971 et autres études. Hommage universel* (Acta Iranica 3), Téhéran 1974, 159–199.

doctoral dissertation, Wolski disproved the beliefs then prevailing in scholarship, by employing a new methodology based on a rigorous philological analysis of determining the best source tradition of a given subject. By drawing on his creativity and skill as a scholar, Wolski was able to reconstruct historical processes which enabled him to establish their broad political implications. Wolski's method was reflected in his oft-mentioned motto: *non multa, sed multum*. The young, energetic scholar, supported by his mentor, worked hard on his habilitation concerning the collapse of Seleukid rule in Iran in the third century B.C. The 60–page dissertation was readied in 1938 and the first of two parts was published in 1939.²

Before the war in 1939, Wolski sent German translations of his doctoral dissertation and a portion of his habilitation to three distinguished scholars, W.W. Tarn (Cambridge), E. Bickerman (Sorbonne), and M. Rostovtzeff (Yale University). M. Rostovtzeff wrote Wolski in August 1939 acknowledging his achievements, and agreed with his new interpretation of Iran's history in the third century B.C. Wolski also propagated his findings among Polish scholars; a copy has been preserved of his 1937 article about Arsakes I in *Eos* dedicated to "His Honor Professor Dr. T. Sulimirski with the polite request for its acceptance."³

Wolski often reminisced about the Second Polish Republic (*Druga Rzeczpospolita*, 1918–1939) as a wonderful time, a period of flourishing scholarship in Kraków and in Poland, a formative time for him as a man and as a scholar. In the fall of 1939, Wolski was scheduled to leave on a scholarship in France. Tragically, Poland was treacherously assaulted on September 1, 1939, marking the catastrophic events of World War II. Germany and its allied Soviet Union partitioned the country and proceeded to engage in mass repressions and murders. Brutal acts also affected German-occupied Kraków, and in particular Jagiellonian University. On November 6, 1939, the Germans summoned almost 200 professors of Jagiellonian University and Kraków's other universities to the main UJ auditorium for a lecture by an SS officer, after which they were treacherously arrested ('Sonderaktion Krakau'). Wolski and other prisoners were first incarcerated in Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp and then in Dachau. Many professors died as a result of extreme exhaustion, torture, and humiliation. Those who survived were released on the intervention by Benito Mussolini. The chain of people linked to Mussolini was long, but the decisive contribution was made by Luciana Frassati-Gawrońska (1902–2007), the daughter of the founder of *La*

² 'Załamanie się panowania Seleucydów w Iranie w III w. przed Chr.' ['The collapse of Seleukid rule in Iran in the 3rd century B.C.'] *Eos* 40, 1939, 23–47.

³ Małopolska-born (near Krosno), Sulimirski was then a professor of archaeology at Jagiellonian University (until 1936 he had worked at the famous King John Casimir University in Lwów). After World War II, he was a professor of archaeology at the University of London.

Stampa, who risked her life by supporting Poland in World War II. Those released from the camps included Józef Wolski, who returned to Kraków (January 1941). From 1942/3 he taught at the underground Jagiellonian University, an activity which was punishable by severe repressions, including death. With the help of Ludwik Piotrowicz, then the chairman of the Krakow chapter of the charity known as the Chief Welfare Council, he found work at Bank Emisyjny. Shortly before the war, Wolski's mother had died, followed by his father's death during the German occupation. After the premature death of his sister caused by illness and exhaustion during the German-ordered deportation from Kalisz (in Greater Poland/Wielkopolska) and her husband's imprisonment in Auschwitz (1942), Wolski had to provide for his nephews.

While Wolski was in the concentrations camps, M. Rostovtzeff published his monumental work on the Hellenistic epoch in which he gave recognition to Wolski's findings concerning Arsakes I.⁴ Wolski did not learn about this until well after the war and often remarked that Rostovtzeff's opinion was a breakthrough in his career. In June 1946, Wolski published his habilitation dissertation in French and won habilitation at Jagiellonian University.⁵ In 1948 he married Anna Piotrowicz, a daughter of Ludwik Piotrowicz's brother Karol, who had been murdered by the Russians at Katyn together with thousands of other Poles in 1940. His family became for Wolski a source of inspiration and strength. At the height of Sovietization and terror (1945–1956), Wolski and his family shared the same fate of all Poles as their country fell under the despotism of the Soviet Union and its backers. Those around Wolski did not escape recrimination. The communists forced Prof. W. Semkowicz, the grandfather of Wolski's wife, to be dismissed from his job at Jagiellonian University leading to his death in 1948. Wolski explained: "that under the guise of discipline the Kraków scholarly community came under attack for its exceptional resistance to accept the Sovietization of Polish science."⁶ Repressive measures were also taken against Ludwik Piotrowicz. In 1948 the communists closed the journal he edited, *Wiadomości Numizmatyczno-Archeologiczne* [*Numismatic-Archaeological News*]. Harassed, Piotrowicz died suddenly in Zakopane in 1957.

Despite such obstacles, Wolski devoted himself to scholarly pursuits. As he remarked, after 1945 he followed the motto: *fortes fortuna adiuvat*. In 1945 he

⁴ *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 1941, 1425.

⁵ 'L'effondrement de la domination des Séleucides en Iran au III-e siècle av. J.C.' in *Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des sciences et des lettres. Classe de philologie – Classe d'histoire et de philosophie*. N° Supplément 5, 1939–1945, Cracovie 1947, 13–70.

⁶ J. Wolski in an interview by E. Dziwisz, 'Tak mogło być' ['The way it could be'] *Alma Mater* 61, Kraków 2004, 44.

became a member of the Historical Commission of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU). In 1952, communist authorities dissolved PAU, replacing it with the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), which was based on a Soviet model. In 2007, Wolski observed: “Today we are free, but back then it was captivity: Russia was all around, Rokossowski, Bierut. It was a harsh reality.”⁷ Unlike most of the academic community of the time, he never joined the communist party, because he was strongly critical over the new ideology, regarding it, quoting his words, as a “Marxist disease.” In 1946, Wolski started work at Łódź University (UŁ), which involved the heavy burden of having to make the long commute from his home in Kraków. Yet, this provided him with the opportunity to head the Department of Ancient History at UŁ, where he was appointed Professor Extraordinary in 1948. Wolski was removed from his post, however, and replaced by a member of the communist party in 1952. He next found himself at Wrocław University, where many scholars worked who had been deported from Lwów, a city annexed by the Soviet Union, and from other Polish centers (1952–1958). Wrocław University and its academic community provided Wolski with good working conditions, enabling him to publish many studies in *Eos*, the renowned journal moved to Wrocław from Lwów. Meanwhile, between 1947 and 1956 he continued to lecture in Katowice. In Wrocław, Wolski trained two students: T. Kotula and A. Ładomirski. In 1969, he recommended A. Kunisz (previously a student with L. Piotrowicz) and M. Salamon for work at Silesian University.

After L. Piotrowicz died, Wolski took over as Chair of Ancient History at Jagiellonian University (1958), which he headed until his retirement in 1980. He then supported the scholarly career of A. Krawczuk, also a student of L. Piotrowicz, who subsequently succeeded him as Chair, and who in turn was replaced by E. Dąbrowa. In 1962, Wolski became Professor Ordinary. He had an impressive record in research and teaching, serving as Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and History at Jagiellonian University (1965–1968) and as Chairman of the Committee for the Study of Antique Culture at the Polish Academy of Sciences (1977–1979). This did not always go smoothly, mainly due to political pressures.

Beginning in 1960, Wolski became deeply involved in direct international contacts, especially with scholars in Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, and Hungary. His first foreign visit was made possible by a scholarship from the Ford Foundation (1960). He traveled for three months in Italy, Austria, Switzerland, and France. It enabled him to make the personal acquaintance with such scholars

⁷ In *Starożytny Bliski Wschód w nowym świetle, Po drogach uczonych* [The Near East in a new light. Scholars' paths]. Members of PAU are interviewed by A.M. Kobos, vol. 2, Kraków 2007, 576.

as A. Simonetta, G. Le Rider, and A. Aymard. The tour ended with a visit in Germany, where Wolski was cordially welcomed by H. Bengtson at Würzburg. Among his other travels abroad, Wolski held fond memories of his visit to Israel in 1964, when he took part in the celebrations of the 600th anniversary of Jagielonian University by its Jewish graduates.

In the decades that followed, Wolski attended many international conferences and was invited to lecture all over Europe. He always published in excellent scholarly journals, including *Eos*, *Iranica Antiqua*, *Klio*, *Historia*, *Syria*, *Berytus*, *Tyche*, among others.⁸ Wolski's output comprises more than 200 papers, dozens of reviews, and several books.

Wolski and Franz Altheim, a German polymath active in Halle before the war and then in Berlin, established a long and fruitful working relationship. F. Altheim specialized (together with his adopted daughter Ruth Stiehl) in the history of the ancient world, Iran, and Central Asia. Although Wolski did not spare his friend criticism in academic terms, both scholars held the other in high regard. Altheim saw to it, for example, that Wolski's major works were published in German (1969).⁹ A moving testament of Wolski's close and cordial links with the German scholarly world after World War II appears in a letter by Professor Gerhard Wirth (now Professor Emeritus of Ancient History, University of Bonn): "Wolski gehörte ja in die Welt der polnischen Geistesaristokratie (...). Er hatte nicht nur große Bekanntschaft mit der deutschen Fachkollegenschaft gewonnen, ja hat zu dieser gehört. Die Freundschaftlichkeit, mit der er die alten Beziehungen wieder aufnahm und solche mit Jüngeren aufnahm, ergab für mich das Bild einer menschlichen Großzügigkeit, die über die Malaisen des Jahrhunderts hinweg half. Dort, wo ich mich mit ihm beschäftigen musste, habe ich mich immer als eins mit ihm gefühlt".¹⁰ A true friendship likewise developed between Wolski

⁸ See a.o.: 'The Decay of the Iranian Empire of the Seleucids and the Chronology of the Parthian Beginnings' *Berytus* 12, 1956–1957, 35–52; 'L'historicité d'Arsace Ier' *Historia* 8, 1959, 222–238; 'Les Iraniens et le royaume gréco-bactrien' *Klio* 38, 1960, 110–121; 'Arsace II et la généalogie des premiers Arsacides' *Historia* 11, 1962, 138–145; 'Le rôle et l'importance des mercenaires dans l'état Parthe' *Iranica Antiqua* 5, 1965, 103–115; 'Les Achéménides et les Arsacides. Contribution à l'histoire de la formation des traditions iraniennes' *Syria* 43, 1966, 65–89; 'Die gesellschaftliche und politische Stellung der großen parthischen Familien' *Tyche* 4, 1989, 221–227. For a comprehensive bibliography of Wolski's publications, see: 'Bibliografia publikacji profesora Józefa Wolskiego' by E. Dabrowa, M. Salamon, in *Hortus Historiae. Studies In Honour of Professor Józef Wolski on the 100th Anniversary of His Birthday*, Kraków 2010, 5–17.

⁹ 'Der Zusammenbruch der Seleukidenherrschaft im Iran im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.', 188–254; 'Die Iranier und das griechisch-baktrische Königreich', 255–274; 'Das Problem des Andragoras', 275–280, in F. Altheim, J. Rehork (eds.), *Der Hellenismus in Mittelasien* (Wege der Forschung, Bd. XCI) Darmstadt 1969.

¹⁰ I am most grateful to Prof. Sabine Müller (University of Kiel, Germany) who kindly sent me a text written by Prof. Wirth concerning his contacts with Prof. Wolski (November 2010).

and J. Harmatta, a Hungarian orientalist. He valued his friendship with the Belgian archaeologist, L. Vanden Berghe.

After the fall of Poland's communist dictatorship, Wolski enthusiastically joined in the work of a restored Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU) in 1989. This in part led him to publish his research in the form of books, which until now had appeared as articles. The first was *L'Empire des Arsacides* (Acta Iranica 32), Lovanii: Peeters 1993.¹¹ Its somewhat abridged version appeared in Polish as *Imperium Arsacydów*, Poznań 1996. These were followed by *The Seleucids: The Decline and Fall of Their Empire* (Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Dissertations of the Faculty of History and Philosophy, vol. 91), Kraków 1999, also published in Polish with supplements.¹² The last volume was *Seleucid and Arsacid Studies. A Progress Report on Developments in Source Research* (Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Dissertations of the Faculty of History and Philosophy, vol. 100), Kraków 2003. Wolski emphasized that this trilogy encompassed much of his life's work.

While Wolski's research tended to focus on Hellenistic and Parthian Iran, he also published studies on other subjects in ancient history. In his polyhistoric approach, he consciously followed the heritage of L. Piotrowicz and E. Meyer. He had a particular liking for the history of Athens and Sparta in the sixth and fifth century, especially in context of their relations with Persia.¹³ Many other works concerned the Hellenistic period, especially the roles played by Alexander the Great and the Seleukids,¹⁴ while others concerned the Achaemenids and the Sasanians.¹⁵ Wolski devoted much study to the history of the Greeks in Baktria

¹¹ See the reviews by A. Invernizzi, *Mesopotamia* 1994, 339–342; E. Kettenhofen, *Die Welt des Orients* 28, 1997, 252–266.

¹² *Dzieje i upadek Imperium Seleucydów [The history and fall of the Seleucid empire]*, Kraków: Enigma-Press 1999, with two supplements: M.J. Olbrycht, 'Seleukids and the culture of their epoch,' 135–208; J. Bodzek, 'The Catalogue of Seleucid coins in the National Museum of Cracow,' 209–235.

¹³ 'Pausanias et le problème de la politique Spartiate (années 480–470)' *Eos* 47, 1954–1955, 75–94; 'Les changements intérieurs a Sparte a la veille des Guerres Médiques' *Revue des Études Anciennes* 69, 1967, 31–49; 'Les Grecques et les Ioniens au temps des guerres médiques' *Eos* 58 1969–1970, 33–49; 'L' influence des guerres médiques sur la lutte politique en Grèce' in *Acta Conventus XI "EIRENE"*, Wrocław 1971, 641–647; 'Médismos et son importance en Grèce à l'époque des guerres médiques' *Historia* 23, 1973, 1–15; 'Thémistocle, était-il promoteur de la démocratie athénienne?' *AAntASH* 32 1989, 43–49; 'Thémistocle, la construction de la flotte athénienne et la situation internationale en Méditerranée' *Rivista di Storia dell'Antichità* 13/14 (1983/84), 179–192.

¹⁴ 'Alexandre le Grand et l'Iran. Contribution à l'histoire de l'époque séleucide et arsacide' *AAntASH* 31, 1985–1988, 3–11; 'L'hellénisme et l'Iran' in M.-M. Mactoux, E. Geny (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque. II: Anthropologie et société*, Paris 1989, 439–446.

¹⁵ 'Darius III's peace offer to Alexander of Macedon after the battle of Issus, 333 BC: an historical evaluation' in W. Kaczanowicz (ed.), *Studia z dziejów antyku*, Katowice 2004, 33–40; 'Ar-

(Afghanistan, southern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan), who were closely linked with his interests in the Parthians and the Seleukids.¹⁶ Another area of interest to him was Rome, including the formative process of annalistics,¹⁷ and the causes of the fall of Rome seen by analogy with the history of Iran (the concept of war on two fronts).¹⁸ Several articles investigated Roman political relations with Iran.¹⁹ Wolski's output also includes publications on Thrace, Palestine, Oriental chronology, Aegean culture, and the Linear B writing system. His academic handbook, *Historia powszechna. Starożytność* [*World history. Antiquity*], published in 1965, had a total of 11 editions by 2007. The *Atlas historii świata* [*The world's historical atlas*] (Wrocław-Warszawa 1974), which draws heavily from the work advanced by L. Piotrowicz, became a perennial throughout Poland as part of every curriculum on world history. Wolski often stressed L. Piotrowicz's contribution to the atlas, often remarking on his own early fascination with maps and cartography, inspired by the German *Meyers Lexikon*.

Wolski strongly accentuated a need to use various sources in historical research, including archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence.²⁰ It is little wonder then, that his former students include no small number of scholars who integrate into their craft such diverse fields as history, numismatics, epigraphy, and archaeology (T. Kotula, A. Kunisz, L. Morawiecki, M. Salamon, M.J.

sakiden und Sasaniden' in R. Stiehl, H.E. Stier (eds.), *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben: Festschrift für Franz Altheim zum 6. 10. 1968*, Bd. I, Berlin 1969, 315–322; 'Czy państwo Sasanidów było rzeczywiście 'nowoperskie?'" [= 'L'Empire des Sassanides était-il réellement néo-persé?'] *Eos* 78, 1990, 147–154.

¹⁶ 'Les Iraniens et le royaume gréco-bactrien' *Klio* 38, 1960, 110–121; 'Die Widerstandsbewegung gegen die Makedonenherrschaft im Orient' *Klio* 51, 1969, 207–215; 'La problématique de la fondation de l'État gréco-bactrien' *Iranica Antiqua* 17, 1982, 131–146.

¹⁷ 'La prise de Rome par les Celtes et la formation de l'annalistique Romaine' *Historia* 5, 1956, 24–52.

¹⁸ 'Le rôle et l'importance des guerres de deux fronts dans la décadence de l'Empire romain' *Klio* 62, 1980, 411–424.

¹⁹ 'Néron, politique réaliste' in J.-M. Croisille, R. Martin, Y. Perrin (eds.), *Neronia V. Néron: histoire et légende. Actes du V^e Colloque international de la SIEN* (Clermont-Ferrand et Saint-Étienne, 2–6 novembre 1994) (Collection Latomus, vol. 247), Bruxelles 1999, 11–20; 'Sur l'authenticité des traités romano-perses' *Iranica Antiqua* 27, 1992, 169–187.

²⁰ 'Formowanie się tradycji irańskiej w starożytności w świetle monet' ['The making of Iranian tradition in the light of coins'] *Wiadomości Numizmatyczne* 22, 1978, 186–189; 'L'archéologie et l'Iran parthe' in A. Lipska, E. Niezgoda, M. Ząbecka (eds.), *Studia Aegaea et Balcanica in honorem Lodovicae Press*, Warszawa 1992, 167–171; 'L'archéologie et l'histoire ancienne: l'Iran à la lumière des nouvelles sources archéologiques' in J. Śliwa (ed.), *Centenary of Mediterranean Archaeology, 1897–1997: International Symposium (Cracow, October 1997)*, Kraków 1999, 129–134; 'Znaczenie pewnych elementów epigraficznych i ikonograficznych na monetach partyjskich dla rekonstrukcji procesu historycznego' ['The meanings of some epigraphic and iconographic elements on Parthian coins for a reconstruction of the historical process'] *Notae Numismaticae* 3–4, 1999, 95–101.

Olbrycht). Wolski consciously chose to limit himself to the study of Graeco-Roman sources, while drawing on Iranian accounts to a limited extent. In this, he applied his professional principle that one should use sources one knows thoroughly. Wolski also stressed that our approach to the history of Iran must be free from exaggerated Eurocentrism.

Wolski was not an easy man to approach at first, especially with regard to younger people, but once “the ice was broken,” to know him was to partake in a spiritual feast. The Professor was aware not only of the importance of his many achievements, but also of his personal ability and erudition in which he continued the scientific tradition of the Second Republic so that he might serve as a role model for future generations of Polish academics: “The first blow to the Polish intelligentsia was struck by the Germans, then by the Russians. Murders, exiles, Sovietization of science. Such losses can only be undone after generations.”²¹ He frequently expressed the joy of having lived to see a free Poland, “The Most Serene Republic” (Najjaśniejsza Rzeczpospolita). Wolski reviewed more than 50 doctoral dissertations, 40 habilitations, and 30 professorial qualifications. His students are engaged in numerous learned bodies and institutions throughout Poland.

If I may be permitted, I would like to share some personal memories of Professor Wolski. I first heard of him when, in my high school library, I encountered a scholarly periodical which included his article about the Seleukids in Iran.²² When in the early 1990’s I undertook to write a doctoral dissertation on the Parthians and their relations with Central Asia and nomads, Wolski firmly supported my idea. He had just published several works about nomads and the relationship of the Parthians with Central Asia.²³ My thesis was written at Münster University (Germany); Wolski as my mentor and then reviewer supported me during the trying time before the defense of my dissertation at Jagiellonian University. His appraisal of my work left a lasting impression on me: “A work has been created which I can with full responsibility call a habilitation, of course even more so as a doctorate”. He also helped me through some rough times after receiving my

²¹ In ‘Tak mogło być’ [‘The way it could be’] *Alma Mater* 61, Kraków 2004, 45.

²² The article was ‘Geneza ruchów separatystycznych w Iranie w III w. p.n.e.’ [‘The origins of separatist movements in Iran in the 3rd century B.C.’] *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 88, 1981, 417–429.

²³ ‘Środkowoazjatyckie plemiona irańskie – nomadzi czy ludność osiadła?’ [‘Central Asian Iranian tribes; nomads or settled peoples?’] in A. Bursche, M. Mielczarek, W. Nowakowski (eds.), *Nunc de suebis dicendum est... Studia archaeologica et historica Georgii Kolendo ab amici et discipuli dicata. Studia dedykowane prof. J. Kolendo w 60-lecie urodzin i 40-lecie pracy naukowej*, Warszawa 1995, 261–264; ‘Les débuts de l’Etat parthe et ses contacts avec l’Asie Centrale’ in *Convegno internazionale sul tema: La Persia e l’Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo, in collaborazione con l’Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Roma, 9–12 novembre 1994)* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Atti del Convegno Lincei 127), Roma 1996, 179–185.

PhD. Later Wolski lent me much support in my research on the Parthians and the Hellenistic era in Asia, including the role of Alexander the Great in the Iranian world, which concluded with my habilitation (2005). During our private meetings, Wolski always showed interest not only in my academic pursuits, but also in my personal life. He was eager to talk about the need to maintain ethics and honor in scholarship, hinting at some painful examples he knew from personal experience when some academics resorted to slandering their colleagues. Wolski looked back on L. Piotrowicz as someone who had appreciated his work and gave him “his wings.” And just like his mentor, he considered not only a student’s knowledge, but also a student’s attitude as paramount. He was a man of great warmth and cheerfulness, which filled every conversation.

Wolski’s publications found readership in Iran, as I could see for myself encountering a book of his in a Teheran bookstore on Engelab-e Islami Street. The book *L’Empire des Arsacides* (Lovanii 1993) was translated into Persian (*Šāhanšāhi-ye Aškāni*, Tehran 1386/2007). In conversation with foreign academics his name often came up in entirely unexpected circumstances. During a meeting in Tashkent (Uzbekistan), Prof. Eduard V. Rtveladze, a member of Uzbekistan’s Academy of Sciences, showed me offprints of several articles by Wolski from the 40’s and 50’s. The Polish historian had sent them to Prof. M.E. Masson, E.V. Rtveladze’s mentor, who had headed the South-Turkmen Comprehensive Archaeological Expedition (YUTAKE). The author added a dedication hoping for good future relations. In Western Europe, Wolski’s name became a hallmark of advanced Polish research into the ancient world.

Wolski lived in extraordinarily harsh times, without ever sullyng his good name, whether during the German occupation or in the communist period, while some scholars bowed in conformity, if not in servitude, to the oppressive authorities, or could even zealously attack inconvenient persons. Despite his concentration camp experiences, Wolski succeeded in keeping very fit. Almost to the end of his days, he remained an active scholar. Wolski loved the province of Małopolska (Lesser Poland), particularly the Carpathians, and regularly traveled with family and friends to mountain towns like Rabka, Mszana Dolna, and Zawoja. The last-named health resort was donated to PAU by archduke Karol Habsburg (from the Polish Habsburg line), a fact which Wolski, who was attached to Austro-Hungarian tradition, often emphasized. Wolski visited Austria several times (until 2000), enjoying Vienna’s spiritual atmosphere and making trips to other regions, including the Mariazell pilgrimage center. He was a great lover of opera.

In 2003, Wolski received an honorary professorship from Jagiellonian University. A year later, he published his memoirs, *Kraków przede wszystkim* [*Kraków comes first*] (Wydawnictwo UJ, Kraków), an impressive work to conclude the life of an equally impressive man. In them, he portrayed past Kraków and the

splendid scholarly community it enjoyed before World War II, but he also describes the harsh years of occupation and the communist period, followed by those from 1989 to 2003. Quite remarkable are his warm words about his family, his beloved wife, who died in 1983, and his two daughters, Teresa and Elżbieta, who showed much devotion in caring for him to the end: “Mine was not an easy life, but I do not complain about the life I had. Domestic life filled it with radiance.”²⁴

I learned about the Professor’s death just as I returned from Rome, where I had spent some time on a Lanckoronski Foundation Grant in summer 2008. I had intended to meet him and tell him about my experience in the Eternal City and my planned expedition to Central Asia (Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan). The meeting never took place. At Kraków’s Rakowice Cemetery, the Professor was mourned by family, friends, and colleagues, in the golden rays of the Kraków autumn.

²⁴ In *Starożytny Bliski Wschód w nowym świetle, Po drogach uczonych* [Ancient Near East in a new light. Scholars’ paths]. Members of PAU are interviewed by A.M. Kobos, vol. 2, Kraków 2007, 578.



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ŠŪZUBU, A CITIZEN OF URUK IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B.C.

Keywords: Babylonia, Uruk, Eanna, Šūzubu

Cuneiform documents from the archives of the Eanna temple contain much valuable information about the inhabitants of the city of Uruk during Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid times. One of these inhabitants was a certain Šūzubu, son of Kudurru, descendant of the Shepherd of the Regular offerings¹ of the Eanna temple. Referring to the texts YOS 6, 32; YOS 7, 74 and 79 from the reign of Nabonidus, H. M. Kümmel showed that Šūzubu was head of the management of the regular offerings² in sheep to the goddess Lady-of-Uruk (i.e. Ištar) and other deities³. In all probability, he was not himself a shepherd (*nāqīdu*), but received sheep for offerings from herdsmen. The total number of cattle belonging to Eanna amounted to 5,000 to 7,000 head, while there were also about 100,000 or 150,000 head of small livestock, which were necessary, in particular, for the offering of sacrifices. The temple administration used the services of herdsmen who worked for a certain payment or were given the right to a certain share of the temple income (*isqu*, i.e. prebend). There were three overseers over the livestock on Eanna, at whose disposal were nearly 150 chief herdsmen. The majority day-to-day temple affairs were settled by three individuals: the chief manager of the temple estate (*šatammu*), his deputy, and the royal commissioner (*ša rēš šarri*). The aim of this

¹ LÚ *rē'u sattukki ginê*. In a number of texts this designation after the name of Šūzubu is omitted.

² Ša muḥḫi ginê.

³ Kümmel 1979, 85–86.

paper is to research Šūzubu's activities, which have not been taken into consideration in previous publications. For this let us consider all the texts where he is referred to in their chronological order.

The earliest known to us document where Šūzubu is referred to was written in the second regnal year of Nabonidus. This is YOS 6, 32 according to which he received 1 *kor* (180 litres) of barley as his food portion (*kurummatu*) for the period from the month Nisannu to Addaru, i.e. for a whole year (see line 54). In other words, he was paid 15 litres of barley for each month of that year. The document BIN 2, 133 was drafted in the third regnal year of Nabonidus (553 B.C.) and records that Šūzubu was issued 9 *kor* 5 *sūt* (c. 1650 litres) of grain and dates in order to pay to the shepherds of sheep (lines 21–22). In the same year he was issued some sheep (the number is destroyed) to distribute among several shepherds of the Eanna temple personnel (YOS 19, 288). YOS 19, 229 is a memorandum from the fourth regnal year of Nabonidus concerning 1 ¼ shekels of silver delivered to Šūzubu (he is named without patronymic but with the title the Shepherd of the Regular offerings) as salary for herdsmen. YOS 6, 77 contains an investigation concerning the embezzlement of some sheep (the number is destroyed) and five minas of wool of temple property. The audit was conducted by Eanna administration as well as by some persons admitted to all parts of the temple and citizens,⁴ including Šūzubu. As seen from TCL 12, 82 written in the same fourth year of Nabonidus' reign, Šūzubu received from Eanna storehouse 1 *pān* (?) 9 *qa* (45 litres) of barley as his provision (*kurummatu*).

YOS 19, 157 from the seventh regnal year of Nabonidus records the withdrawal of barley by the same person as well as by some other superintendents, including chief of the temple prison, in order to distribute it among their subordinates. In the same year Šūzubu together with his men (*šābū*) was sent at the disposal of the “chief of account” (*rab nikkassi*) in order to pick out sheep for regular offerings (GCCI 1, 311). The next text from the eighth year of Nabonidus states, in particular, that 1000 *kor* (i.e. 180 000 litres) of barley were given from the storage of Eanna for the monthly allotments and provisions for various persons and for diverse purposes and in a broken context Šūzubu is mentioned as a Shepherd of the Regular offerings (OIP 122, No 83:40).

YOS 6, 232 was drafted in the twelfth regnal year of Nabonidus, and in it Šūzubu is referred to among some witnesses (line 28). The text records that three persons were responsible for determining the size of rental payment from an Eanna field. In one more document from the same year he, together with another person, stood surety for a man. They were liable to the penalty if they do not produce him

⁴ Lines 27–28: *ērib bītuti, kiništi, mār banê*.

at the request of the administrator and scribes of the Eanna temple. When the administrator had summoned this man, they would have had to bring and deliver him to temple authorities or otherwise to pay six minas of silver to the Eanna temple (YNER I, No 3). YOS 19, 52 is a promissory note from the 14th year of Nabonidus reign which records the obligation of two persons to repay thirty shekels of silver and 8 *kor* (1440 litres) of barley to Eanna. In this text Šūzubu appears among witnesses. YOS 6, 219 drafted in the next year records that a certain person was in debt to Eanna and as security for his obligation had to place three female slaves. In this text Šūzubu acts as one of the guarantors.

YOS 6, 224 from the fifteenth regnal year of Nabonidus states that the governor of Uruk named Nādin, king's steward Silim-ili in the Eanna temple and many citizens (*mār banê*), including Šūzunu, were present when the administrator of Eanna and king's steward in the same temple charged a certain man that he was son of a temple slave woman and therefore was to be considered as a slave of the goddess Lady-of-Uruk.

YOS 19, 11 records lease of a boat in the 17th regnal year of Nabonidus by a certain person to the Eanna temple for one month for 6 ½ shekels of silver. The document was composed in the presence of Šūzubu and some other persons. OrAn 25, No 5 from the same year also states that a certain man has given to Eanna a boat which carried 30 *kor* (5400 litres) for a rent of three shekels of silver. Šūzubu and one more person acted as witnesses of the contract.

YOS 7, 8⁵ was drafted in the first regnal year of Cyrus on the 4th day of the month Ajaru and contains an audit of accounts of sheep offerings for the period during the 15th, 16th and 17th years of Nabonidus given at the disposal of Šūzubu. In particular, in one case from 4856 sheep 1473 were given at his disposal for regular offerings. In another case from 6816 sheep brought "from the shearing shed" 56 were left at his control.

The next four documents were also drafted in the first regnal year of Cyrus, and in three of them he is listed among witnesses. AnOr 8, 37 contains the obligation of one person to go to Babylon together with Eanna temple officials to attend a trial examination. YOS 7, 9 is a document regarding fifty sheep given at the disposal of two individuals. In YOS 7, 78 contains an acknowledgment of responsibility for disposition of wool. In AnOr 8, 41 from the same year he is mentioned among many citizens (*mār banê*) in whose presence the manager of the temple estate and royal commissioner declared to three Eanna overseers of the herds (*rab būli*) that nobody of their archers may leave the outpost of the king.

OrAn 25, 6 from the third year of Cyrus' reign records the rent of a boat to Eanna by two private persons for the sum of five shekels of silver per month, and

⁵ See for transliteration and translation San Nicolò 1949, 140–142.

Šūzubu is mentioned among the witnesses. He also appears as a witness in several other documents of Eanna everyday activities. TCL 13, 134 from the fourth regnal year of Cyrus contains the declaration of a herdsman that he had delivered a sheep to a certain man in order to pass it over to the Eanna temple but that person did not give it there. Šūzubu is mentioned among witnesses also in AnOr 8, 52 from the sixth year of Cyrus' reign which contains a certain obligation of three shepherds to Eanna administration.

The last dated text where Šūzubu is referred as a witness is YOS 7, 79 from the 8th regnal year of Cyrus.⁶ It records that the administration of Eanna gave to three persons eight-month prebend of dairyman in order to draw milk for soaking. These persons received from Eanna two cows together with their calves and were obliged to “draw milk for the sacred meal of the Lady-of-Uruk.” Šūzubu appears among witnesses also in YOS 19, 114 regarding assignment of a certain man to temple watch. The date of the text is broken off.

In a number of texts a certain Šūzubu is referred to without any patronymic but judging from the context in all probability he was the person under discussion since they record various transactions with Eanna sheep (see, for instance, AnOr 8,14 and 33; YOS 19, 295 dated to the reign of Nabonidus). Here can be mentioned also by two letters from Eanna archives sent by Šūzubu to temple administration. In one of them he informs his officials that two goats belonging to the temple were sold for 9½ shekels of silver (BIN 1, 37). In another letter he writes that a boat is ready to transfer barley to Eanna but a certain man detains it (YOS 3, 128).

As we have seen above, Šūzubu is referred to in thirty-five so far published documents, the first of which was written in the second regnal year of Nabonidus and the last one was drafted in the eighth year of Cyrus' rule. In other words, he was active as a member of the Eanna temple personnel and its functionary at least during twenty-third years, 554–531 B.C. He was an overseer of the regular offerings in sheep at Eanna. It is known that this service belonged to his family, at least, during three generations.⁷ The main functions of these officials were to organize regular offerings to the Lady-of-Uruk (i.e. Ištar) and to some other deities, including Nergal. Belonging to Eanna staff, he was a member of Uruk city society (*mār banê*, i.e. citizens with full rights) and consequently was active in its everyday economic and social life participating, in particular, as a witness of various temple business transactions and other documents. He also acted as a guarantor that persons who were in debt to Eanna would fulfil their obligations. For his service he received payment in barley.

⁶ See transliteration and translation Beaulieu 2003, 165.

⁷ See San Nicolò 1949, 140; Kümmel 1979, 85–86.

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Abstract

This paper is concerned with the activities of an official of the Eanna temple in the city of Uruk in Babylonia during the period 554–531 B.C. His name was Šūzubu and he was an overseer of the regular offerings in sheep to the Lady-of-Uruk (i.e. Ištar) and other deities. He also performed various other functions typical of the members of the temple personnel.

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**PROBLEMS OF THE HISTORY AND CULTURE
OF BAKTRIA IN LIGHT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL
EXCAVATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA[♦]**

Keywords: Bactria, Takht-i Sangin, Hellenistic period, Oxos, Central Asia

More than 8,000 items, including objects of high artistic quality, were unearthed during the excavations of the Temple of the Oxos. It can be safely surmised that this Baktrian temple's repository contained a great number of gold and silver items, most of which are now lost. Where can they be? I.P. Pichikian and I believe that the items from the famous Amu Darya hoard¹ used to be a part of the Temple of the Oxos treasure. The exact location of the discovery of Amu Darya hoard remains unknown, but T.I. Zeimal and E.V. Zeimal upon analyzing Russian travelers' reports concluded that it was found at Takht-i Qubad,² 5 km south of the fortified settlement of Takht-i Sangin and the Temple of the Oxos. When they reached this determination in 1962, how-

* The great orientalist, historian and archaeologist, Professor Boris Anatolievich Litvinskii passed away on August 20, 2010, at the age of 87. He submitted the present paper to *Anabasis* shortly before his death.

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

¹ It concerns the Amu Darya hoard, or the Oxos Treasure, in the British Museum (Dalton 1964; Zeimal 1979). The term "Amu Darya hoard" first appeared in Russian publications following the work of Tolstoi, Kondakov 1889, 129. The hoard was found not far from Kabul. Some of its purported contents are now on exhibit at the Miho Museum, Japan.

² Zeimal, Zeimal 1962.

ever, the Temple of the Oxos had not yet been excavated and thus could not have been taken into account.

In connection with these excavations, I reexamined Russian literature and old maps from the second half of the nineteenth century, allowing me to ascertain some new evidence. J. Curtis, a renowned British scholar, has recently published documents found in the British archives as well as in various Indian and British writings.³ These documents suggest that probably between 1876 and 1880, although a date as late as 1886 cannot be ruled out, near the confluence of the Pandj and the Vakhsh, local people found a great number of gold and silver items including coins. The following scenario will help us to reconstruct the origin of the Amu Darya hoard. As invaders, presumably nomads, approached, the temple's priests emptied repositories filled with gold and silver and buried them in the bank of one of the rivers (it is senseless to argue whether they buried this treasure nearby or at some distance from the temple). For whatever reason, the priests did not recover the treasure, so that some 2,000 years later when the river bank had eroded precious objects began to appear and were collected by local people.

Another concern that arises is why the temple was built in such a remote location, especially since the environment is so harsh. P. Bernard has pointed out that the temple's construction formed a constituent part of Seleukos I's religious policy and symbolically reflected the role of irrigation in this region.⁴

It seems to me quite possible that the site of the temple, where the Pandzh and the Vakhsh merge at which point the river becomes known as the Amu Darya (in ancient Greek it was called the Oxos, a derivative of Vakhsh), was selected not by chance. This junction of the two most important rivers in Baktria (personified by a Water deity and other similar divine beings) became the site of the Temple of the Oxos, because presumably nearby another temple dating from the Achaemenid period, which has yet to be found, was similarly dedicated to the great River Oxos. Since numerous votive offerings from the Achaemenid period formed part of the treasure from the Temple of the Oxos, it is likely that they derive from another temple that perhaps had been destroyed when the Temple of the Oxos was built.

The political history of Baktria in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods spans some four centuries from the late sixth to the second century B.C. As history shows, although these two epochs differed greatly, there existed in the Hellenistic era an inextricable connection and continuity of preserving Achaemenid traditions in political and cultural life, especially in architecture, the most monumental of all arts.

³ Curtis 1997.

⁴ Bernard 1992, 509.

As is known, the excavations at Takht-i Sangin resulted in the discovery of the Temple of the Oxos with its structures almost intact. They also revealed a portion of the ancient city's citadel fortifications and more than 8,000 items, not including ceramics, such as coins and other objects of high artistic quality dated from sixth to the second century B.C. The Temple of the Oxos, like the site of Ai Khanoum, is regarded as one of most important and representative monuments of Hellenistic Bactria, which has radically changed our conceptions of the architecture, art and religion in this area. The finds from these excavations have furthered our understanding of the nature of Bactrian and Greek interactions as well as the continuity of Hellenistic culture in later periods. This issue is important not only for the history of Bactria itself, but for all of Central Asia and even India. Many foreign scholars have incorporated these ideas in their works, the result of which has led to diverse approaches to the subject.⁵

The architectural traditions of the Near East, especially that of the Achaemenids, is easily detected in the architecture of the Temple of the Oxos. This is important for discussions that involve the nature of the Seleukid Empire. P. Briant, for example, has undertaken a thorough review of this subject. As he sees it, there are still historians who view Seleukid rule through the lens of colonial ideology and politics. Yet, he raises doubts about the validity of the concept of the "Hellenization of the East." For example, prominent scholars, like E. Will, believe that there is no historian who would seriously adhere to the idea a deep-rooted Hellenization of Middle Eastern society, while others emphasize the need for understanding cultural continuity and stable economic relationships in the Seleukid kingdom. In his work, P. Briant examines the retention of an Achaemenid heritage under the Seleukids⁶ and argues that not only is this based on an Achaemenid legacy but also one that draws on that of the Assyrians, Babylonians and Elamites. He cautiously concludes: „It seems that in the Hellenistic period Graeco-Macedonians simply added their own traditions to a multi-ethnic and a multi-lingual state, but did not know how, or did not wish, or were not able to achieve a unity (least of all a fusion) centred on their own socio-cultural values”.⁷ In this respect, the excavations at Takht-i Sangin have added new information about this highly complex process, which we intend to elucidate in future publications.

⁵ See Sherwin-White, Kuhrt 1993 and the articles by E. Will, A. Kuhrt, S. Sherwin-White, P. Briant, G. Le Rider, P. Bernard, O. Bopearachchi, A. Invernizzi, P. Leriche, B. Lyonnet, Cl. Rapin, M. Isamidinoy, J.-F. Salles, put in *Topoi. Orient-Occident*, vol.4, 1994, 430–610.

⁶ Briant 1977; 1978; 1982; 1990.

⁷ Briant 1990, 61.



Fig. 1. Takht-i Sangin. Sheath of dagger (*akinakes*). Ivory. Achaemenid period



Fig. 2. Takht-i Sangin. Alexander the Great's image on miniature makhaira sheath. Ivory

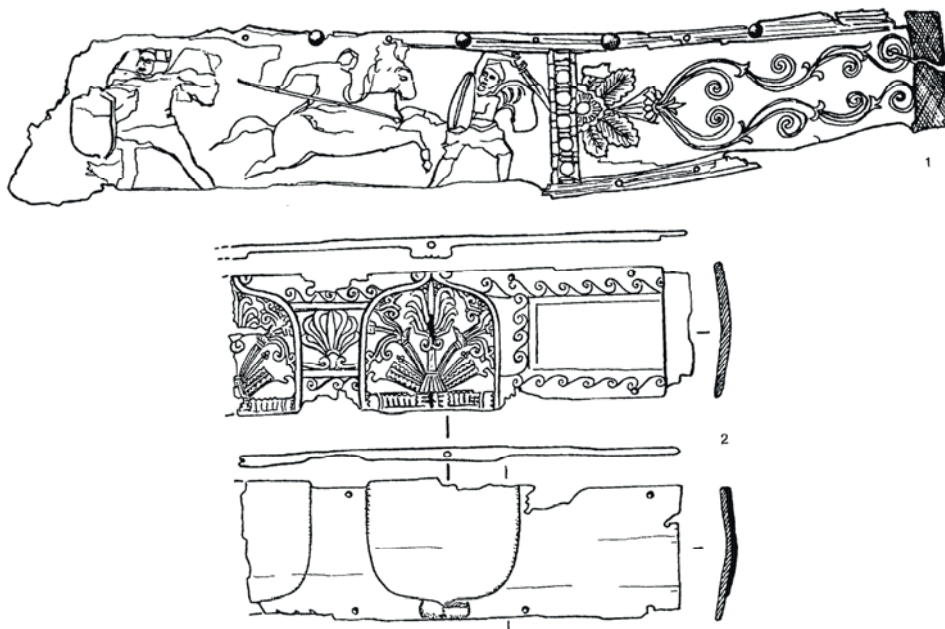
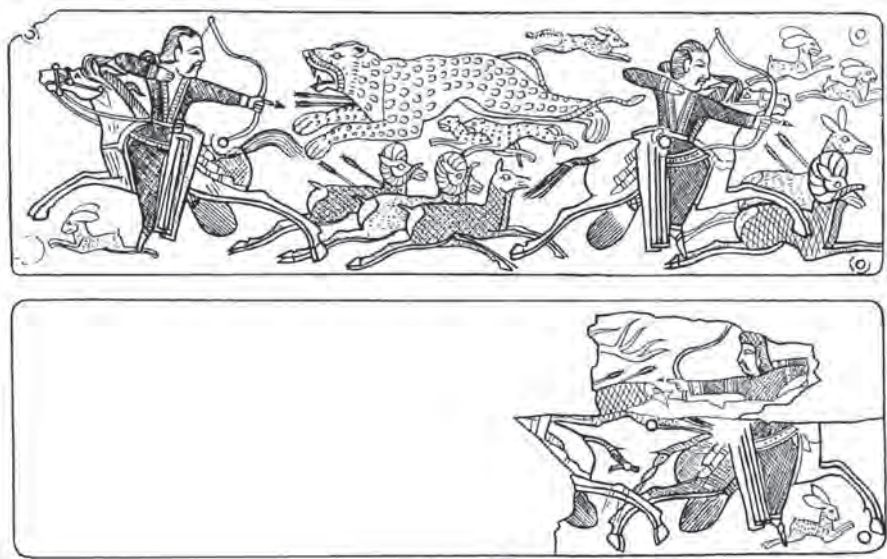


Fig. 3. Takht-i Sangin. Decoration on sheaths of ceremonial swords.
Drawing after B.A. Litvinskii



Fig. 4. Takht-i Sangin. Bone plate with hunting scene. Fragment



**Fig. 5. Takht-i Sangin. Bone plate with hunting scene. Dimensions 216 x 62 x 7 mm.
Drawing after B.A. Litvinskii and J. Ilyasov**

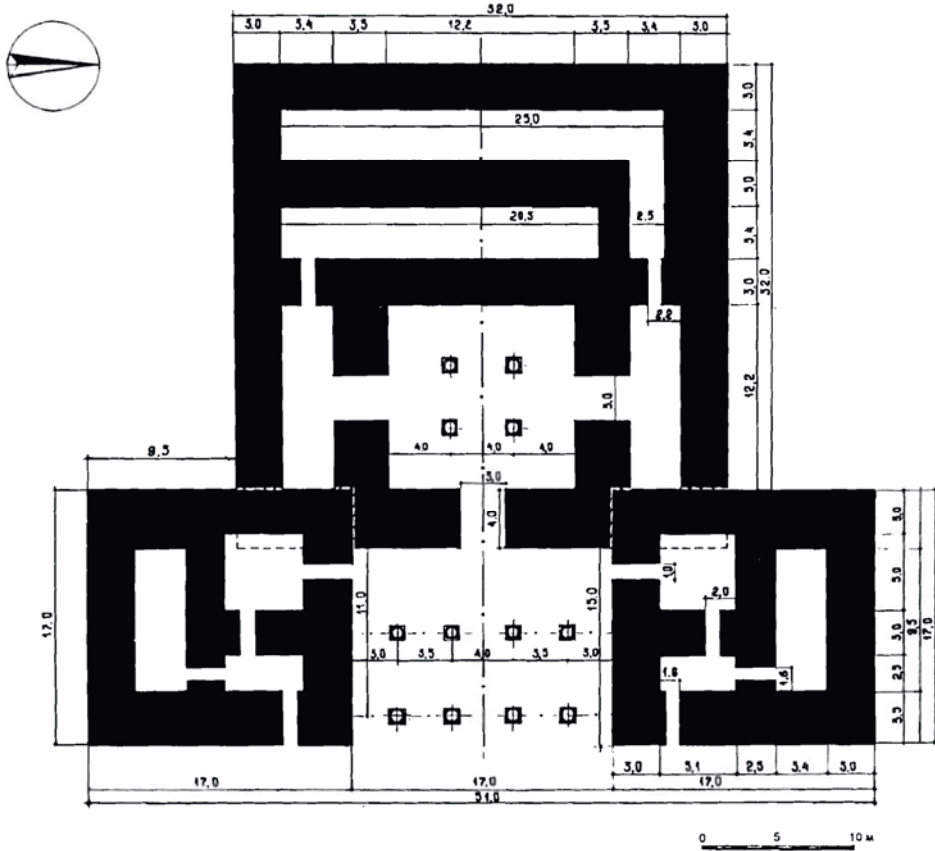


Fig. 7. Takht-i Sangin. Temple of the Oxos. Main building. Plan

As mentioned above, the discoveries from the Temple of the Oxos contain numerous objects. We shall not focus, however, on those items dated to the Achaemenid period, especially as many of them will be published in detail in volume III of *The Temple of the Oxos in Bactria*. We only note here that some of them are indeed masterpieces. Instead, we will focus our attention on objects attributed to the Hellenistic period and provide some necessary revisions of their interpretation that I.R. Pichikian and I had previously made. Thus among the Hellenistic objects found at the Temple of the Oxos are large clay sculptures, a small bronze portrait plaque, bronze reliefs, and ivory sculptures to list but a few.

One of the most striking works of art is an ivory relief depicting the head of Alexander the Great engraved on the mouth of a miniature votive sword sheath – *makhaira*.⁸ Alexander is portrayed slightly turned to the left, tilting towards his

⁸ Litvinskii, Pichikian 1983, 67–77; Pichikian 1983; 1983a; Litvinskii 2001, 251, no. 1134, pl. 71.

left shoulder; the shape of his face is round, with his eyes wide open. He sports a helmet made of a lion's skin with its upper jaw crowning Alexander's forehead, while its lower jaw forms the helmet's cheek-guards. Doubtlessly, the lion's skin was thrown over the figure's shoulders and its paws were arranged into a "Herakles knot" on the chest, but this fragment is not preserved below Alexander's head. The portrait is executed perfectly. The engraver was a talented artist, who modeled Alexander's features subtly and skillfully. We see here a young hero, who is strong-willed and determined. The whole iconographic tradition confirms that this figure is Alexander, particularly when one compares this image with those of a younger Alexander found at Vergina.

It is well known that most of Alexander's images in the Hellenistic period were created by Lysippos along with a multitude of other sculptors, painters, goldsmiths and die engravers.⁹ There are a great many images of Alexander depicting him in the guise of Herakles. The episode when Alexander allegedly slew a huge boar occurred in Central Asia, near Marakanda (Curt. 8.1.11–17), which presumably served as the impetus for associating Alexander with Herakles. The image of Alexander as Herakles was widespread during his lifetime. Although there are a great number of images similar to this one at Takht-i Sangin, their prototype remains unknown. We can date this Alexander-Herakles from the Temple of the Oxos to the third century B.C.

Alexander the Great and his achievements on the battle field are associated with another work of art found at the temple. It is a fragment on the side of a sheath of a miniature votive *makhaira* depicting in a meticulously engraved ivory bas-relief a battle scene between a horseman and a foot soldier. The rider mounted on a galloping horse to the right leans forward holding a spear in his right hand with his arm bent as he takes aim at the foot soldier before him, who, in his turn, raises his *makhaira* in his right hand above his head in a striking position as he protects himself with a shield in his left. Another foot soldier appears in the preceding panel, facing left, holding a shield before him. The faces of both foot soldiers are well preserved as they were intricately carved. Judging by their weapons and clothing, both are Persians, while the rider appears to be a Greek. These extremely expressionistic and dynamic images are the work of a skilled artisan and not merely that of a craftsman.¹⁰

The analysis of these figures enables us to conclude that they represent the standard motif of a battle scene between Alexander and Persians, portrayed in many works of art (Pliny, *N.H.* 35.93.110), such as the Sidon sarcophagus,¹¹ the Alexander Mosaic from Pompeii¹² and the painting on the Makedonian tomb at

⁹ Moreno 1995 (with detailed bibliography).

¹⁰ Litvinskii 2001, 262, no. 1170/1, pl. 72/1.

¹¹ Winter 1912; Von Graeve 1970.

¹² Winter 1909; Andreae 1977.

Lefkadia (Naossa), as well as others found at Vergina. On the basis of an iconographical analysis, I had earlier suggested that the Takht-i Sangin relief dates to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.¹³ A closer examination of some of the details has caused me to revise this date. For example, the Persian confronting Alexander holds an oval shield with a medial straight edge. This is typical of the *thyreos* type of shields, which originated in Greece toward the beginning of the third century B.C. As a result, this work could not have been composed before the middle of the third century B.C.¹⁴

In terms of clay sculptures, there are two significant heads. Each wears a diadem, is imbued with great expressiveness and portrayed in an elegant and fluid manner. They are confidently rendered in all their details. Yet, they differ from each other stylistically as one appears with more subtlety than the other. Clearly, both images realistically convey the personalities of two different individuals. A logical question naturally follows: who exactly do these sculptures portray? The opinions of the excavators differ, which appear in our previous publications. Eventually, I. R. Pichikian resolved that they are two kings, a father and son: Seleukos I and Antiochos I.¹⁵ For my part, I have undertaken a detailed comparative analysis of these sculpted heads from the Temple of the Oxos with those of the Seleukids as they are depicted on their coins, carved gems and sculptures in the round. I have concluded that the Takht-i Sangin sculptures are not portraits of any Seleukid king. Indeed, R. Fleischer even included one of these heads, whose photo he published, under the classification “keine Seleukiden”.¹⁶ Likewise, a comparison of portraits on Graeco-Baktrian coins reveals only superficial similarities: both groups are rather stylistic and there are some commonalities in hairstyle with the portraits of Euthydemos I (ca. 230–200 B.C.). As a result, the sculpted heads from the Temple of the Oxos depict either anonymous aristocrats or local Greek rulers, who lived at the end of the fourth or at some point in the third century B.C.

I.R. Pichikian believed that a Hellenistic sculpture of a naked youth standing with his head turned to the left represented Apollo, since a string slung across his right shoulder crossed his chest to the left, which he took to be from a bow, was commonly used as an attribute of the god.¹⁷ I, on the other hand, have reached a different conclusion. A closer examination between the iconography associated with Apollo and this sculpture reveals that there is nothing suggestive about this sculpture to warrant such identification. The sculpture from the Temple of the Oxos represents a boy, not a youth, who is not at all muscular. As is common in

¹³ Litvinskij, Pichikjan 1997, 17.

¹⁴ For more detailed information on the history of the “thyreos” type of shield, see Litvinskii 2000.

¹⁵ Pichikian 1991, 192–194.

¹⁶ Fleischer 1991, 90, 142.

¹⁷ Pichikian 1991.

Hellenistic sculpture, the head is disproportionately large. The string slung round his right shoulder is really a ribbon, ubiquitous for sculptural figurines of children to which various amulets were sometimes attached. Thus the statue is that of a boy or perhaps even of Eros datable from the third to the second century B.C. as is a series of female clay sculptures.

There is also a group of bronze and silver works of art. For example, there is a concaved circular bronze medallion. A hole pierced in its upper register, allowed the medallion to be hung up, or due to a pin fixed on the bottom the medallion could be mounted on a stand. It bears a relief consisting of the right profile of a male figure. He is helmeted with cheek-guards reminiscent of those on Boeotian helmets. His expression is stern and determined. At first glance, this image is akin to the iconographic tradition of depicting rulers on Graeco-Baktrian coins, but this example by comparison is rendered much less skillfully. Thus the face is far rougher, characterized by a heaviness atypical of Graeco-Baktrian coin portraits. Although one might be inclined to associate the portrait with the “barbaric” coin imitations of Eukratides I, there are enough differences to suppose that the image on the medallion is not so much an attempt to imitate Eukratides’ portrait as it is more likely made “on the basis” of a coin portrait of one or even a number of different Graeco-Baktrian kings with additional details supplied by the metalworker. We may date the medallion to the second or first century B.C.

Beside this apparently local artistic creation, there are also highly artistic works made by talented, professional artists. One such work is the figure of Marsyas who is depicted on an altar accompanied by a Greek inscription stating that the work is a dedication on behalf of a certain Atrosokes. The altar, inscription and figure date to the second century B.C. Marsyas is portrayed as a grotesque image of Silenus: a naked bald old man having a disproportionately large head and drooping belly, playing the double-barreled aulos.¹⁸

A gilded silver plate with the relief of Helios surrounded by a halo serves as another example of high artistry. The young man’s head is slightly bent to the right with curls falling below his ear. His eyes are portrayed in a non-descript manner, plump lips protrude above his rounded chin. The figure’s face is round, the neck corpulent. Long and short rays in the form of arrows, twelve in number, radiate from behind his neck. This type of Helios image originating in the fourth century B.C. became especially popular in 333–304 B.C. The Helios of Takht-i Sangin finds many counterparts in figural sculpture, architectural sculpture, toreutics, jewelry, and coroplastics. It is particularly similar to the images of the Helios on the terracotta “votive shields” from “The Tomb of Eros” in Eretria.¹⁹ A great number of similarities allow us to date our Helios to the first half of the third century B.C.

¹⁸ Litvinskii, Vinogradov, Pichikian 1985, 84–94.

¹⁹ Vollmoeller 1901, fig. 8; Cat. New York 1984, 153, fig. 93.

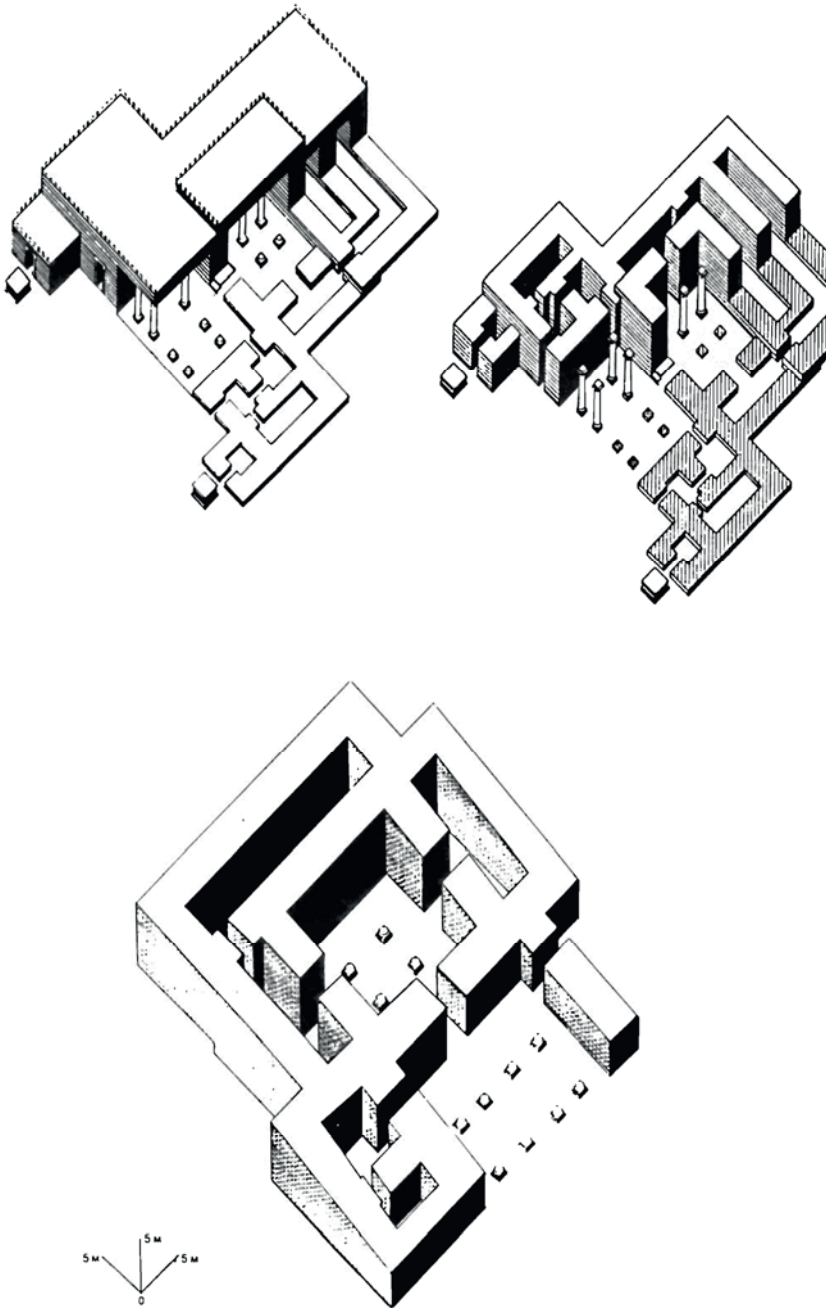


Fig. 8. Takht-i Sangin. Temple of the Oxos. Main building.
Reconstruction by I. Pichikian and G. Arzumanov

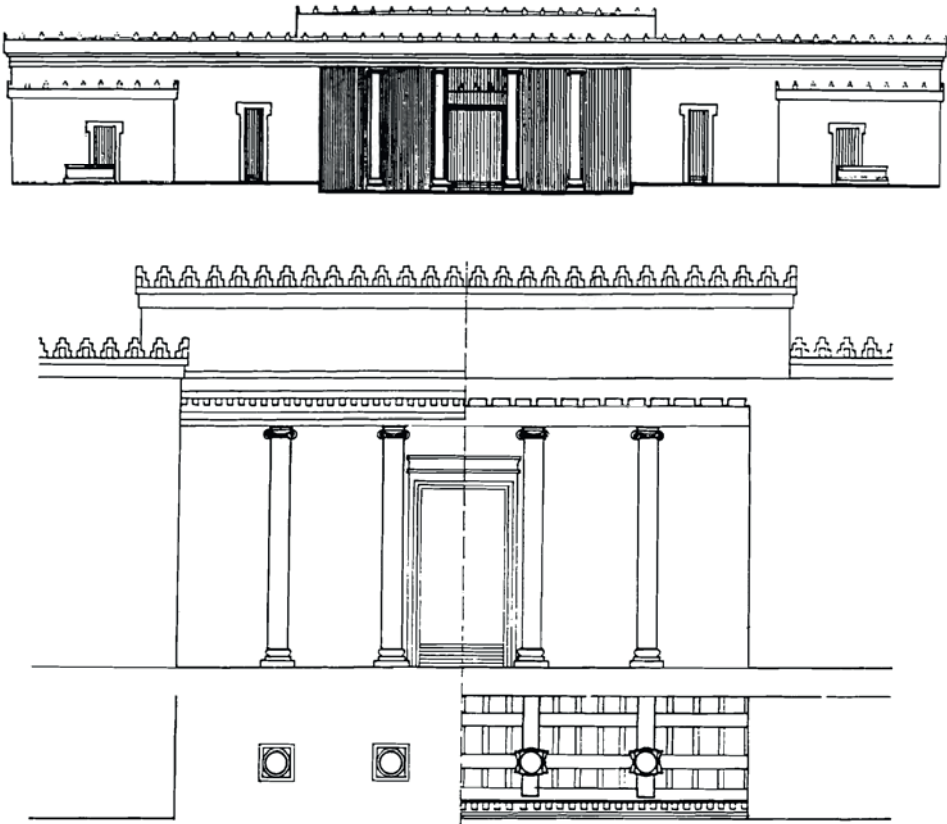


Fig. 9. Takht-i Sangin. Temple of the Oxos. Main building. Eastern façade.
 Reconstruction by I. Pichikian and G. Arzumanov

Other works of Hellenistic art have likewise been found at the Temple of the Oxos, but it falls outside our scope to describe each even briefly. We do note, however, that almost fifty fragments of composite bone flutes, all of them parts of Greek auloses, have been recovered suggesting that not only Greek tragedies but also beautiful Greek melodies were enjoyed in theaters like Ai Khanoum on the banks of the Oxos.²⁰

Thus Hellenistic art, imported or manufactured locally, was kept in the repositories of the Temple of the Oxos. The influence of the Lysippan school is evident in the local Hellenistic sculpture. A great number of Greek ceremonial sword sheaths found at the site provide us with new opportunities to study Greek weaponry, while others are reflective of everyday life, such as the ivory legs in the form of lion paws used in furniture based on Greek models.

²⁰ Litvinskii 2006.



Fig. 10. Takht-i Sangin. Temple of the Oxos. Columned hall (aivan) of the main building. View from the south

The magnificence of this great temple and the richness of its treasures naturally invoke associations with western Hellenistic temples and give rise to hypotheses about the sanctuary and the role that the Temple played in the religious, political and economic life.

The materials recovered from the Takht-i Sangin excavations are of considerable value when discussing issues of historical importance. For example, a comparison of what we have gleaned from the excavations of the Temple of the Oxos with the results achieved from the excavations at the site of Ai Khanoum reveal some striking differences. Ai Khanoum is a Greek city with a predominantly Hellenic population, thinking, speaking, writing and reading in Greek and worshipping Greek gods. The native Baktrian residents, though few in number,

were evidently utterly hellenized. The architecture of Ai Khanoum reflects a mixture of Greek, Middle Eastern, and Baktrian features, unlike the situation at Takht-i Sangin where Baktrians practiced their local indigenous religion alongside a minority of Greeks, who undoubtedly were bilingual. A combination of purely Greek and Graeco-Baktrian elements are noticeable in some spheres of spiritual and everyday life. Thus Near Eastern features, especially those of Achaemenid origin, are noticeable in the architecture of the Temple of the Oxos, while Greek influence is visible in stone objects, such as altars and capitals of columns.

The cults and rituals practiced in Hellenistic Baktria are just now beginning to be taken up by scholars. The problem of worship at the Temple of the Oxos is extraordinarily complicated. The existence of two *ateshgakhs* points to the cult of a water deity and to another devoted to fire. Nowadays Zoroastrians use only a fire altar in their temples, but in antiquity the situation was apparently different. The specific forms of this cult can be ascertained when considering late Zoroastrian writings, ancient and medieval sources, as well as the religious practice of modern Zoroastrians living in Iran and India. According to our research, the Temple of the Oxos was at the very least one of the most important fire temples in all of Baktria. The cult of fire, however, was not the only cult practiced at the sanctuary. At some point, Greek altars exhibiting typically Hellenistic forms were also installed as was the worship of Greek gods. Evidently, both religions peacefully coexisted.

Apparently, there were three *zones* of Hellenization in Baktria: one consisted of areas where compact groups of Greeks lived in *poleis* and military colonies with their life-style reflective of the kind enjoyed at Ai Khanoum; a second was composed of the area adjoining Greek cities in which Greeks and Baktrians maintained a vibrant ethno-cultural and religious way of life. The former was a fairly homogeneous culture, typified by the Greek language that was spoken and written widely throughout Baktria.²¹ The latter was more complicated, because it was connected with the internal transformation in varying degrees of the semantic meanings of particular images, customs and rituals. One of the variants of this model is the correlation of phenomenon of extraneous culture with the isomorphic phenomenon of the indigenous culture and its incorporation by the indigenous peoples in the same or in a slightly altered form, consisting of the same or hybrid meaning; Atrosokes' votive is one such example.²² The third zone had a few elements of Hellenism that are noticeable in the local culture. In Baktria and neighboring areas these elements were represented by architecture (primarily, stone bases of columns and roof tiles) and ceramics, not only as the result

²¹ Schmitt 1990, 53.

²² Litvinskii, Vinogradov, Pichikian 1985.

of direct importation, but also as the result of borrowing and spreading various forms and techniques. The kind of architecture and engineering techniques that were created in this type of zone, for example, is seen in Hellenistic fortifications.²³ Phenomena, such as the three noted here, occurred not only in Baktria, but in other parts of Central Asia as well, especially, as P. Bernard and C. Rapin have shown, in Sogdiana.²⁴ On the other hand, we are unaware of the location of these areas and lack even an approximate number of the Greeks who lived there. According to A.B. Bosworth, “we have no indication how many cities were established [by Alexander] in Baktria and Sogdiana, but they were clearly numerous and when combined with the garrisons in the native citadels and the satrapal army of occupation they amounted to a concentration of European settlers unparalleled elsewhere in the empire”.²⁵

In its broadest sense, the development of culture in Hellenistic Central Asia depended largely on how the Greek and Hellenized population retained its sense of ethnic identity. Although it is impossible to list all of the characteristics that made up this brand of Hellenism, we can consider a few of the more important aspects. After the decline of the Graeco-Baktrian kingdom, the Greek language fell out of use rather quickly, even though the Greek alphabet was retained as the basis of writing by the Kushans and the Hephtalites until the seventh century A.D. Recent discoveries of Baktrian,²⁶ however, indicate that the Greek alphabet continued to be employed by isolated mountainous communities in Baktria and elsewhere in Central Asia right up to the eleventh or even twelfth century. It has long been viewed that due to cultural interactions in Western Asia the Greeks influenced the early development of Islamic science and philosophy. This is no longer the case. The discovery of the philosophical text at Ai Khanoum²⁷ has made it clear that the writings of Greek philosophers had been available in Central Asia centuries prior to the advent of Islam either in the original or in translation. In terms of the survival of Greek religion and art, we may note that the Temple of the Oxos and its accompanying Greek stone altars were not destroyed by the Yuezhi or the Kushans as there is every reason to believe that it continued to function throughout both periods. Moreover, the Greek custom of placing “Charon’s obol” in the mouth of a corpse remained a common practice during the Kushan and post-Kushan periods.²⁸ In addition, Greek mythology became part of the Kushan and post-Kushan iconographic repertoire. Thus Zeus, Helios,

²³ Rapin, Isamidinov, 1994.

²⁴ Bernard 1996.

²⁵ Bosworth 1980, 248.

²⁶ Schmitt 1990; Sims-Williams 1997.

²⁷ Hadot, Rapin 1987.

²⁸ Litvinskii, Sedov 1984, 150–160.

Athena, Selena, the Dioskouroi (Kastor and Pollux), Herakles, Eros and others²⁹ gradually became “barbarized” even as they remained in use throughout Central Asian art for centuries. This is especially true during the Yuezhi and Kushan period when Hellenistic art intermingled and influenced the formation of local Baktrian and Kushan art. Such is the remarkable example of the Tillya-tepe complex with its resplendent display of Hellenistic motifs.³⁰

During the Kushan period, a steady flow of Roman goods, including works of art, appeared in both India and Central Asia, which is seen by the finds made at Taxila and Begram. The Temple of the Oxos, unlike Ai Khanoum, survived the Yuezhi conquest and existed throughout the Kushan period; indeed, according to my analysis of the votive finds, it did so until the fourth century A.D. Among the votive objects recovered from the temple is a series of bronze appliques of Eros, including one figure of Eros made of ivory. I would date the latter to the first century B.C. or first century A.D. I would date the former, composed of appliques of Eros naked or clothed, to the second or third century A.D. It is no coincidence that there are characteristics of late Roman art evident in this iconography of Eros. Late Roman art, well-known thanks to the monuments of Palmyra and Dura Europos, appeared throughout Central Asia as the paintings at Fayaztepa, Toprak-kala and Mirana demonstrate. Moreover, the affect that Hellenistic art had on the development of Baktrian sculpture is seen in the magnificent gallery of images at Khalchayan and Dalverzin-tepe.

Gandhara art, too, which spread throughout modern northwestern India, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and southern Uzbekistan, was influential. There have been debates among specialists about the origin of Gandhara art for a long time. In the first half of the twentieth century A. Foucher argued that the impact of Greek art on the creation of Gandhara art was due to an influx of Greeks into northwestern India after the fall of the Graeco-Baktrian kingdom. Later, these ideas were developed by D. Schlumberger, while other prominent scholars, including B. Rowland and G. Ingholt, asserted that there was strong influence from the Roman world and that it came by way of Palmyra and Dura Europos. Finally, there are still those who prefer to look for the origin of Gandhara art in India itself.³¹

The excavations at Ai Khanoum and the Temple of the Oxos considerably reinforce the position of those who hold that Gandhara art originated from Greeks who came from Bactria. However, as it has been mentioned before, the archaeological material, particularly from the Temple of the Oxos, contains a great deal of Roman influence as well. Thus Gandhara art is composed of all these elements that were combined and superimposed on a school of art that

²⁹ See, in particular, Rosenfield 1967, 14–26; Sarianidi 1989, 46ff.

³⁰ Sarianidi 1985; Pfrommer 1993.

³¹ Theories review offers Zwalf 1996, 67–69.

originated in India and did so within a Buddhist framework. The rapid standardization of Buddhist iconography took place between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. as evidenced by the materials recovered at Taxila and Butkara. Local architects, sculptors, and painters already familiar with the Hellenistic tradition, combined all these different elements to develop their own artistic repertoire, canons and models in a form that we easily recognize today as “Gandhara art.”

But Hellenistic and Hellenistic-Roman artistic influence did not end with Gandhara art as it continued well into the fifth and even eighth century A.D. as seen in the replicas of antique sculpture in the coroplastics of Sogdiana.³² At the same time, metalworkers in Central Asia manufactured bowls decorated with illustrations of Euripides’ tragedies, but did so probably without understanding their context which explains why there are so many distortions;³³ apparently, the art of Sogdiana, and in particular that of Penjikent, preserve purely Hellenistic motives in ornamental decorative works.

Hellenistic culture also indirectly influenced the development of ancient and early medieval architecture in Central Asia to a great extent. The architectural orders of the Kushan and early medieval periods descended from those of the Classical canon,³⁴ albeit with fundamental changes and transformations, as seen in the columns themselves and their elements. Such architectural compositions as the four-columned hall encircled by corridors or the columnated *aivan* in the Temple of the Oxos were developed and employed in subsequent architectural monuments. Many kinds of other material culture, like ceramics, in terms of appearance and the kind of technology used to produce them also date to the Hellenistic era.

It is plausible to assume that the Greek cities of the Hellenistic Far East influenced the development of local native urban areas in terms of fortification, city planning, the types of public and private buildings and facilities as well as the internal structure and notion of self-government. This is especially plausible when we consider the presence of Baktrians in the city administration of Ai Khanoum. We can also well imagine that there was interaction between social and economic classes of the Greeks and Baktrians, thereby forming a homogeneous cultural and historical phenomenon that we call “Graeco-Baktrian.”

The objects of artistic value from the Temple of the Oxos in Takht-i Sangin and those from Ai Khanoum provide us with a comprehensive idea not only about the monumental and applied arts, but also about the culture of Hellenistic Bactria itself. The Hellenization of art and culture in Bactria after 329 B.C. was

³² Meshkeris 1978; Marshak, Raspopova 1988, 49–51.

³³ Marshak 1978.

³⁴ Voronina 1977; Litvinskii, *Kalai-Kafirnigan* (forthcoming).

stimulated by the establishment of Makedonian political power and the foundation of new Hellenistic *poleis* and fortresses, whose architecture contained both local and oriental traits. During the Hellenistic period when Baktria was a part of the Seleukid Empire and in the succeeding period of the prosperous Graeco-Baktrian era, contacts with Mediterranean Greek cities were regularized. They were also encouraged by subsequent waves of colonists, as seen in those schools of art that contain influence from Seleukid art.

In summarizing the most important issues concerning the culture of Achaemenid Baktria, it should be emphasized that the information derived from archaeological excavations is relatively insignificant. For the most part, the presence of Achaemenid layers have only been detected, while the cities dating back to this period remain unknown due to the massive constructions of subsequent periods. Indeed our primary evidence of Baktrian cities in the Achaemenid period remains the writings of ancient authors, but even they are extremely few in number. On the basis of these sources, we can surmise a typology of cities, which is enhanced by archaeological research conducted in large metropolitan centers, small towns and frontier fortress-towns as well as by the presence of an occasional acropolis, palace or temple in the capitals of the Upper Satrapies. This urbanism that originated in the Achaemenid period was further developed by Alexander and, since the imperial authority relied on the *polis* structure for its political organization, additional architectural complexes were added.³⁵

The monumentality of the Temple of the Oxos, its perfection as a structure and the implementation of advanced building techniques to create it are outstanding testimony of the high level of older, indigenous Baktrian architecture that began in the Bronze Age and was infused with other architectural traditions from the Middle East and Greece.

To form a proper understanding of the Temple of the Oxos, we need compare it with the architectural and archaeological context of the fire temples at Susa, Kuh-e Khwaja and Persepolis, which are typologically closest in architectural composition, as opposed to other sanctuaries that housed a monumental statue of the deity to which they were consecrated and thus served a fundamentally different purpose, such as those at Ai Khanoum and Dilberjin. Of interest to us is the former group. As shown in our study, the distinctive features of these fire temples are the *ateshgakhs* on the facade and the sacred ash storage within the temple precinct.

The Temple of the Oxos is thus a classic example of the Baktrian fire temple. Compositional and architectural principles and ideas embodied in it played an important role in the further development of fire temples and temple architecture,

³⁵ Koshelenko 1979.

in Bactria-Tokharistan, Parthia, Khorezm, Sogdiana and other areas of Central Asia.

In the Sogdian building tradition, square bricks were used. Fortifications, for example, were strengthened thanks to recesses and platforms that were installed for ancient catapult artillery.³⁶ It was also in this period that city walls were decorated with pilasters set close to each other, a technique derivative of Near Eastern traditions.³⁷

Clay sculpture is of particular importance in this regard³⁸. Excellent examples of sculpture of non-fired clay, which date back to the end of the fourth century B.C., were found in king Nicocreont's cenotaph at Salamis (Cyprus). I should add that information about clay sculpture is also recorded in literary sources. For example, Pausanias (1.2.5) wrote that there were such sculptures in the building connected with a cult of Dionysios, while Pliny the Elder provided an observation about the manufacture of such statues (*N.H.* 35.155).

Fragments of sculptural objects found during the excavations at Ai Khanoum, Elkharas and Takht-i Sangin suggest that only after the Graeco-Makedonian invasion in Central Asia did this art form change, having first appeared in the Bronze Age. Subsequently, clay sculpture played an important role in the art of Bactria at Khalchayan and of Khorezm at Toprak-kala. The high quality of work evident in these sculptures speaks to the participation of Greek masters or their disciples. A comparison of the sculptures at Takht-i Sangin and Nisa suggests that the latter were of better quality. It is significant to note that Hellenistic sculpture is in harmony with the monumentality of the architecture which accompanies it.³⁹

Clearly, the Greek sculptors who came to Bactria brought with them their knowledge of creating large clay sculptures. The local masters who followed a tradition of producing sculpture made of non-fired clay that went back to the Bronze Age, were not only introduced to a more complicated technology of creating clay and alabaster sculptures, but also the aesthetics and other elements characteristic of Greek imagery. These artists of various Baktrian schools kept the spirit of Greek sculpture alive, but also interjected their own ideological content and different technical methods. At its inception Baktrian sculpture betrays a degree of influence unique to Gandhara. When these varied traditions finally matured, the result was masterpieces of Baktrian sculpture, the likes of which have been found at Khalchayan and Dalverzin.

³⁶ Chichkina 1986, 73–74, fig. 289, 290, 293–295.

³⁷ Chichkina 1986, fig. 289.

³⁸ In the chapter entitled "Sculptural portraits" that will appear in volume III of *The Temple of the Oxos in Bactria*, I provide information about the manufacture of clay sculptures in Classical Greece.

³⁹ Bongard-Levin, Koshelenko 2005, 46–49.

The study of the art from the Temple of the Oxos allows us to conclude that it is unquestionably a Baktrian inspired temple, whose adherents included both ordinary and elite Baktrians. In addition, a significant portion of the art assembled in the sanctuary's repositories originated in Iran, Asia Minor, and the Hellenistic Mediterranean. I conclude that in the Hellenistic era up to the first century B.C. large city centers, including those with temples, like the Temple of the Oxos, served as "melting-pots," where art, technology and ideas fused to create a new intense historical and cultural synthesis, thereby becoming the Baktrian school of Kushan art. This in its turn co-existed with the school of Indo-Gandhara art. Such is just one example of the diffusion of cultural traditions. Indeed, the range of these sorts of interactions was much wider geographically than is normally credited as the latest finds of Greek mythology and iconography from Ferghana show. Moreover, there are other spheres in which Greek culture had a significant impact on the evolution of culture in Central Asia, including architecture, toreutics, coroplastics, religious and mythological themes and musical instruments among many others.

As I have mentioned, during the excavations of the Temple of the Oxos over 8,000 artifacts, apart from ceramics, were discovered. Many are represented as multiples of hundreds of copies. That is why in the second volume of *The Temple of the Oxos in Baktria* (Moscow 2001) devoted to weaponry, and the third one in the series which is forthcoming, devoted to art, I was compelled to select as the focus of my study only those pieces that I felt represent the most characteristic works of art. The volume is intended less an inventory of archaeological objects than a general description of artifacts. For example, among the most important objects of the study are weapons, which bewildered some scholars, including F. Grenet.⁴⁰ I can only hope that my French colleague has acquainted himself with inventories common to ancient Greek temples in which weaponry composes a significant part of the inventory. Having anticipated that questions about many of the objects would be raised, in the second volume of *The Temple of the Oxos in Baktria* I drew upon data from ancient literary sources concerning military detachments associated with Zoroastrian temples and related vestiges still in practice among Zoroastrians.

The settlement, where the Temple of the Oxos was erected, was enclosed in the north and south by formidable walls. The temple itself is located inside the citadel surrounded by walls and towers. Researchers in my expedition have demonstrated that the Kobadian oasis on the lower reaches of the Kafirnigan downstream from the Vakhsh adjoining the Temple of the Oxos was protected from invaders from the north. In the fifth century B.C., at about the same time as when the Kalai-mir fortress was constructed in the Kobadian oasis, another for-

⁴⁰ Grenet 2005, 377–378.

treasury was built in the middle of the Kafirnigan, subsequently known as Kalai-Kafirnigan fortress, which remained in existence until the Arab conquest. Along the Kafirnigan River a direct route connected the Kobadian oasis to the lower Vakhsh. We can assume that one of the main tasks of this fortification system was to defend the temple of Takht-i Sangin⁴¹ against any possible invasion of nomads from the north.

It is imperative that I limit my conclusion to only a few monuments, for were I to do otherwise I would have to undertake an analysis of all the material gleaned from the temple and construct a history of the evolution of the fire cult in Central Asia while also defining the nature of temple life from the first millennium B.C. to the first millennium A.D. Needless to say, these considerations fall far beyond the limits of this study. I, therefore, leave them as the subjects of future investigations.

The formation of an eastern brand of Hellenistic architectural and artistic *koine* over a vast region of the Orient is seen in the development of fine arts and the subsequent “golden age” of art schools based on a common Achaemenid-Baktrian heritage. It is out of this cultural synthesis of Greeks and Baktrians that the phenomenon that we term “Graeco-Baktrian” emerged to dominate all spheres of everyday life.

My research of all the data obtained from the excavations of the Temple of the Oxos, along with data collected from other sources in Central Asia, the Middle East and the Greek world allows us to conclude the following:

1. It remains unclear as to when an identifiable Baktrian culture first formed. The Bronze Age graves on the west bank of the Vakhsh River, including the region of the Temple of the Oxos, which contain artifacts of “Vakhsh culture,” seem typologically to come from the Baktria-Margiana archaeological complex and might serve as the precursor of Baktrian culture. The enormous chronological gap, however, between this complex and Baktrian culture still needs to be bridged.

2. At the beginning of the first millennium B.C. the Elamite culture appeared in the territory of Central Asia (e.g., in Baktria and Fergana). According to P. Amiet, its appearance was evidently due to the penetration of Elamite vagrant craftsmen.

3. The Achaemenid conquest of Baktria and its organization into a satrapy resulted in the production of Achaemenid art and other forms of material culture in the region.

4. The Greeks whom the Achaemenids had deported from Ionia appeared in Baktria while it was still a satrapy. It was from this point that Greek culture rapidly spread in all spheres of everyday and spiritual life, stimulated as it were by

⁴¹ For a detailed discussion of the fortification system, see Litvinskii, *Kalai-Kafirnigan* (forthcoming).

two essential factors: a high standard of technology, especially in the realm of construction, and the interaction of Greek and Avestan mythology. Thus during the pre-Achaemenid and early Achaemenid period, two intense cultures appeared simultaneously in Baktria that greatly affected its cultural formation. This is a process that I have termed, “the Greek impact.”

5. The culture of Baktria from the pre-Achaemenid period to almost the end of the first millennium B.C. was heterogeneous rather than homogeneous in nature. For this epoch the term “the culture of the Baktrians” seems more appropriate than simply “Baktrian culture.”

6. The processes of adaptation, adoption and assimilation of Achaemenid and Greek culture began in the Achaemenid period and accelerated under the Seleukids and Graeco-Baktrians. The territorial and regional character of this process has already been discussed. It need only be repeated that Ai Khanoum and the Temple of the Oxos serve as excellent examples.

7. The degree of Hellenistic and Roman influence fueled by the popularity of Gandhara art in Central Asia increased during the Kushan period. In addition, we also see at this time the influence of Parthian and Palmyran art. By the beginning of the first century A.D., all these elements became so closely and creatively intertwined that it is possible to discuss a fully matured “Baktrian art.” In this context, the complexes of Khalchayan and Tillya-tepe are of paramount importance.

8. Certain elements of Hellenistic spiritual and material culture survived in Baktria and even in the whole of Central Asia throughout the period of the Kushans and the subsequent Hephtalite Empire until the Arab conquest, while architectural influence remained intact much longer.

It is clear from all this that the impact of Hellenism on Central Asian society and culture, despite the opinion of P. Briant and his supporters, consisted of many factors and was far deeper than they are prepared to accept. In conclusion, antiquity not only formed the basis of Western European civilization but it also formed the basis of a Central Asian civilization that drew heavily from its Hellenistic (and Hellenistic-Roman) roots.

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Abstract

The Achaemenid conquest of Baktria and its organization into a satrapy resulted in the production of Achaemenid art and other forms of material culture in the region. The Greeks whom the Achaemenids had deported from Ionia appeared in Baktria while it was still a satrapy. It was from this point that Greek culture rapidly spread in all spheres of everyday and spiritual life, stimulated as it were by two essential factors: a high standard of technology, especially in the realm of construction, and the interaction of Greek and Avestan mythology. The processes of adaptation, adoption and assimilation of Achaemenid and Greek culture began in the Achaemenid period and accelerated under the Seleukids and Graeco-Baktrians. Ai Khanoum and the Temple of the Oxos serve as excellent examples.

The formation of an eastern brand of Hellenistic architectural and artistic *koine* over a vast region of the Orient is seen in the development of fine arts and the subsequent “golden age” of art schools based on a common Achaemenid-Baktrian heritage. It is out of this cultural synthesis of Greeks and Baktrians that the phenomenon that we term “Graeco-Baktrian” emerged to dominate all spheres of everyday life.

The study of the art from the Temple of the Oxos allows us to conclude that it is unquestionably a Baktrian inspired temple, whose adherents included both ordinary and elite Baktrians. In addition, a significant portion of the art assembled in the sanctuary’s repositories originated in Iran, Asia Minor, and the Hellenistic Mediterranean. In the Hellenistic era large Baktrian city centers, including those with temples, like the Temple of the Oxos, served as “melting-pots,” where art, technology and ideas fused to create a new intense historical and cultural synthesis, thereby becoming the Baktrian school of Kushan art. This in its turn co-existed with the school of Indo-Gandhara art. Greek culture had a significant impact on the evolution of culture in Central Asia, including architecture, toreutics, coroplastics, religious and mythological themes and musical instruments among many others.

The degree of Hellenistic and Roman influence fueled by the popularity of Gandhara art in Central Asia increased during the Kushan period. In addition, we also see at this time the influence of Parthian and Palmyran art. By the beginning of the first century A.D., all these elements became so closely and creatively intertwined that it is possible to discuss a fully matured “Baktrian art.” In this context, the complexes of Khalchayan and Tillya-tepe are of paramount importance.

Certain elements of Hellenistic spiritual and material culture survived in Baktria and even in the whole of Central Asia throughout the period of the Kushans and the subsequent Hepthalite Empire until the Arab conquest, while architectural influence remained intact much longer.

Antiquity not only formed the basis of Western European civilization but it also formed the basis of a Central Asian civilization that drew heavily from its Hellenistic (and Hellenistic-Roman) roots.

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**BETWEEN THE ROYAL ADMINISTRATION
AND LOCAL ELITE: THE PĀḤĀTU IN HELLENISTIC
BABYLONIA AS EPISTATES?**

Keywords: Seleucid Babylonia, *pāḥātu*, *epistates*, polis, Hellenistic city

To rule a city, especially a city that has been used to independence or privileges, has always been a difficult task. The Seleucid rulers had it especially difficult. Their territories included traditional Greek cities, new foundations by Alexander the Great or the first rulers of the new dynasty and Oriental cities with a long tradition. In addition, the international political conditions (fights among Hellenistic rulers, later the advance of Rome) compelled them to favour, use, abuse and fight both the cities within their own empire or region of influence and abroad.

The position and status of a *polis* during the Hellenistic period has regularly been discussed in the past. We do not wish to go into details of this evolution, but a few general remarks concerning this topic are in place. In mainland Greece an important trend was the grouping of several *poleis* into a league or *koinon*.¹ In Asia it was especially the relationship with the Hellenistic empires and the degree of dependence from the Hellenistic rulers that was imperative for the status of a *polis*. Typologies have been proposed to classify the cities as “independent”, “dependant”, “subordinated”, “subject” or something similar depending on their relations with the monarch². These classifications must be

¹ Gehrke 2008, 70–74.

² Ma 1999, 150–172; Capdetrey 2007, 209; Dreyer 2007, 300–320.

regarded as general classes grouping cities with a similar status and not as a legalistic fixed system with the same rights and obligations for cities of one class. The Greek sources give us hints to the status of a city when they deal with the obligation of royal taxation or exemption of taxes, the installation of garrisons and military governors or freedom of royal garrison, the presence of royal interventions by ordinances (*prostagma*) or local autonomy for internal affairs, the use of the “regal formula” (name of the king, dynastic era) in date formulas or a local date formula mentioning city magistrates or a local era, the mintage of own silver coins (either Alexander coins with often a local mark or a local design) or the lack of it. The “free and autonomous” status has been reserved in the past for Greek cities, whereas local towns were considered to be simply part of the “royal land”. It is clear now that there was no rigid system of classification and that also local towns could be awarded some degree of autonomy.

Perhaps even more important for a ruler than a perfect city administration was to have the right (and loyal) person on the right place. Ideally, this person is not only a royal confidant, but he is also a member of the local community or has at least good contact with this community. To be able to control a city and to be sure that it acted according to the king’s interests, the Hellenistic rulers introduced one or more persons into the city to safeguard their ambitions and intentions. When Kassandros included Athens in his sphere of influence in 317 B.C. the democratic regime there was abolished and Demetrios of Phaleron was appointed to look after his interests in Athens.³ In Pergamon the Attalid kings appointed the local *stratego*i for the same reason⁴. The most common term to indicate such a person appointed by a Hellenistic king as his representative in a city within his territory or sphere of influence is “*epistates*” (“one who stands near or by” or “president”, “chairman”, “overseer”, “superintendent”, “governor” or “administrator”). Although the *epistates* normally is the interface between the local community and royal power, the term does not only indicate this function of royal confidant in a city. Sometimes they clearly had a more military function by controlling strategic strongholds.⁵

The exact authority and legal position of an *epistates* in Hellenistic kingdoms is not very well documented. The clearest example comes from the island republic of Rhodes in an inscription found at the end of the nineteenth century (IK 21 9) informing us about the Rhodian *epistatai* during the Hellenistic period, or in the words of the original editor:

³ Demetrius’ exact title is not known, see Habicht 1997, 54 and Dreyer 1999, 161–164; 180–184; concerning the title *nomothet/thesmotet*, see Dreyer 1999, 161 n. 205.

⁴ Hansen 1971, 188–189; Allen 1983, 167–168.

⁵ See Capdetrey 2007, 302–303 on the *epistatai* in Jerusalem and Mount Gerisim.

L'inscription nous apprend d'abord de la façon la plus claire que les ἐπιστάται étaient des officiers publics, choisis, sans doute à l'élection, par le peuple de Rhodes, pour être envoyés, hors de l'île, dans les possessions rhodiennes. (Holleaux 1893, 57)

The Rhodian *epistatai* were thus officials chosen from the body of Rhodian citizens to represent Rhodes in its overseas possessions and to rule these Rhodian territories outside the island. The few *epistatai* attested in the Seleucid empire⁶ make it clear that it was here rather a local citizen appointed by the king who acted together with the local council. As far as Babylonia is concerned, Polybius (5.48.12) attests the presence of an *epistates* in Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris when Molon arrived there in 221 B.C. during his revolt against Antiochus III⁷. As a Graeco-Macedonian city founded by the first member of the Seleucid dynasty it is no surprise to find the Greek title *epistates* here. As far as the traditional Babylonian towns are concerned the *epistates* is not immediately present: the cuneiform documents do not mention an *epistates*⁸ and only in Babylon a Greek inscription (OGIS 254) in honour of Demokrates who is called “*strategos* and *epistates*” was found.⁹

Greek titles were not always simply transcribed into cuneiform as shown above (see n. 8). Sometimes an Akkadian title, that still existed or that had not been used anymore for a long time, was used as the equivalent of a Graeco-Macedonian function. This use of originally Akkadian titles to denote a Graeco-Macedonian function is clear for *strategos*. When Antigonos Monophthalmos decided to put his own name in the date formulas instead of the Argead king Alexander IV, he was not king yet and he could only add his title *strategos* of Asia. In Babylonia the date formulas of the cuneiform tablets call him *rab uqi/a*.

⁶ See Capdetrey 2007, 302 for the *epistatai* in Seleukeia-in-Pieria, Seleukeia-Tigris, Jerusalem, Laodikeia-ad-mare, Laodikeia-Media.

⁷ Dreyer 2007, 240 and 256–258.

⁸ Greek technical terms were often simply transliterated into cuneiform; see e.g. pu-li-te-e for *politai* (see below), pu-ru-su-tat-te-su for *prostates* (Iraq 43 139 [AB 247]: 4) and e-pi-is-ku-pu-su for *episkopos* (OPSKF 14 257: 2).

⁹ Babylon as place of origin of this inscription is not certain. The date is not clear either; it probably does not date from the Seleucid, but from the Parthian period. The combination of “*strategos*” and “*epistates*” is also known from Niniveh (SEG 7 37) and Dura Europos (P. Dura 17 and 25) during the Parthian and Roman period. The multi-sided use of the term “*strategos*” makes it also here difficult to interpret the exact legal meaning and authority of the function. He could have been a local or an imperial official and both positions have been defended. Tarn (1951, 25) and Rostovtzev (1932, 6) interpreted the *strategos* as the chief magistrate of the Graeco-Macedonian community who was given general powers because of his appointment as *epistates* by the king. Another option, supported by Bengtson (1964, 300–301) is the *strategos* as a central official appointed by the royal authority, probably to enforce the *epistates*' authority, or to give him more military powers.

For the function of satrap, the title *muma'iru* (^{lu}gal.ukkin) was used in cuneiform tablets from the beginning of the Hellenistic period onwards. This title was previously used with the meaning “ruler, commander” for gods, kings and high officials only.¹⁰

If this was also the case for the *epistates*, Akkadian titles and their meaning and authority as they appear in the cuneiform documents must be researched. And indeed this has been done in academic research concerning Hellenistic Babylonia. The first to attract attention was Anu-uballit = Kephalon, the *rab ša rēš āli* in Uruk during the reign of Antiochus III. Since he played an important role in the Uruk society at that time according to the inscriptions his title was almost immediately interpreted as *epistates* (or *strategos*) in Uruk.¹¹ Doty¹² was the first to doubt this identification because also a religious function in the temple was according to him a possible interpretation. Van der Spek¹³ and Joannès¹⁴ finally proved beyond doubt that the *rab ša rēš āli* was the highest official in the temple hierarchy of Uruk; as head of the prominent Rēš temple dedicated to Anu he probably also had some authority over the other temples in Hellenistic Uruk.

Another Anu-uballit who was administrator in Uruk during the Hellenistic period lived in the middle of the third century B.C. In the building inscription YOS I 52 Anu-uballit explains that the Seleucid king gave him a second (Greek) name Nikarchos and he also mentions his title (*šaknu*). Since the original editor of the tablet¹⁵ interpreted the ideographic writing of *šaknu* (^{lu}gar-nu) as ^{lu}šá-nu (*šanû*) or “the second-in-command”/“minor officer”, the function of Anu-uballit=Nikarchos was interpreted as a minor local function.¹⁶ Doty interpreted it correctly as *šaknu* and since the *šakin tēmi* or *šaknu* was the governor of a province/city¹⁷ in the Neo-Babylonian period, it was Anu-uballit=Nikarchos who was interpreted as either an *epistates* or a *strategos* by Doty.¹⁸

¹⁰ See CAD M/II, 194–195.

¹¹ Rostovzeff 1932, 6 (either *epistates* or *strategos*); Aymard 1938, 33 n. 2; Tarn 1951, 25–26; Rostovzeff 1941, 436 (“who probably played at Uruk the same role as the *epistatai* and the *stratego* played in other cities of the Seleucid Empire”); McEwan 1981, 26. In his review of Heuss’s “Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus” Tarn (1938, 82) calls the treatment of the *epistates* hardly adequate and he notes that “the Babylonian *epistates* at Orchoi was merely omitted”. No reference to the person or his Akkadian title is made as if a Greek inscription mentioning an *epistates* was found in Uruk.

¹² Doty 1977, 22–24.

¹³ Van der Spek 1986, 80–83.

¹⁴ Joannès 1988.

¹⁵ Clay 1915, 82.

¹⁶ Without Graeco-Macedonian equivalent; Rutten 1935, 70; Aymard 1938, 33 n. 2.

¹⁷ Doty 1977, 21–22. For the small Babylonian provinces, essentially one major settlement and the immediately surrounding territory, see Frame 1992, 219–220.

¹⁸ Doty 1977, 24; also van der Spek 1986, 80.

Šakin tēmi/šaknu was not the only Akkadian term to indicate a Neo-Babylonian city governor. Also *bēl pīhāti/pīhātu/pāhātu* is attested for the same function and there is no clear distinction between the use of these words in Akkadian.¹⁹ At first also the *pāhātu* was relatively rare in the Babylonian documents from the Hellenistic period. CT 49 156, a temple account from the Raḥīm-Esu archive from Babylon during the Parthian period (beginning of the first century B.C.), mentions the *pāhātu* of Babylon in an entry of 1 ¼ shekel of silver for a sacrificial sheep provided for him. In the chronicle ABC 13 (=BCHP 10), called the Seleucid Accessions Chronicle by Finkel/van der Spek, another *pāhātu* is mentioned (BCHP 10 obv. 5'). The name of this *pāhātu* was Seleucus, but since the left side of the tablet is not preserved, it is not known where this Seleucus was *pāhātu*. According to a plausible reconstruction by Finkel/van der Spek it was the royal city of Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris.²⁰ Because the function of *pāhātu* was similar to that of the *šaknu*, also the *pāhātu* was immediately identified with the *epistates*.²¹

Thanks to the edition of the astronomical diaries and the preliminary on-line edition of new chronicles from the Hellenistic period, several new sources are at present available. Especially our knowledge of the *pāhātu* of Babylon has increased manifold thanks to the attestations in the historical notes of the astronomical diaries. The information on the *pāhāt Bābili* starts from the first half of the second century B.C., but it mainly dates to the Parthian period (especially second half of the second century and some concerning the first half of the first century B.C.):

AD 2 –187A: 'Rev. 9': *pāhāt Bābili* [broken] gold(en object?) offered to king Antiochus (verb in plural: gar.meš)

AD 3 –162: Rev. 14: *pāhāt Bābili* (and *rab sikkati*) did not dare to come out of the palace out of fear for the *šaknu* of the king

AD 3 –161 A₁ + A₂: 'Obv.' 21': with *politai* and *šatammu* Nabû-mušētiq-uddi²²

AD 3 –140A: 'Rev. 5': with *politai*, rest broken

¹⁹ Frame 1992, 226–227; Jursa 2005, 53.

²⁰ BCHP 10: Obv. 5': []^mSe-lu-ku^{lú}pa-ḥat

Obv. 6': [k]i^{l?} u íd lugal mi-šir-šú ki

Because of the presence of “and the royal canal” in obv. 6', the restoration “[^{ru}Se-lu-ki-^{ia}? šá ina muḥ-ḥi^{id}buranun^{kj}il[?] u íd lugal” for Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris-and-the-royal-canal is logical. Being on the confluence of the Tigris and the royal canal, Seleukeia-Tigris was often called like this in the historical notes of the astronomical diaries. The possible mistake^{id}buranun^{ki} (Euphrates) instead of the correct^{id}idigna is not unparalleled either (although the addition “and-the-royal-canal” does not appear there and Seleukeia-Zeugma is in theory a possible identification, see AD 3 –105A: 'Rev. 23' and AD 3 –93A: Rev.' 12).

²¹ Sherwin-White 1983, 268; van der Spek 1986, 64.

²² For the reading of this name see van der Spek 2000, 439.

- AD 3 –132B: Rev. 24: letter of the king to the *pāḥāt Bābili* and the *politai ša ina Bābili*
- AD 3 –129A₂: 'Obv.' 17'–18': someone among the *politai* in Babylon was appointed as *pāḥāt Bābili* in a letter from the king; the *pāḥāt Bābili* arrived in Babylon and was presented sacrificial animals by the *šatammu* and *kiništu*.
- AD 3 –124B: 'Rev.' 15' and 17': with *politai*; letter of the king was read in the theatre (*bīt tamārti*)²³ concerning the hostilities with the Elamite enemy
- AD 3 –119C: 'Obv. 11': with *politai*; letter from the king
- AD 3 –118A: 'Rev. 19': with *politai*; letter from the king was read in theatre
- AD 3 –90: 'Obv. 30': with *politai*; letter from the king
- AD 3 –77A: 'Obv. 26'–27': someone among the *politai* in Babylon was appointed as *pāḥāt Bābili* in a letter from the king; the *pāḥāt Bābili* arrived in Babylon and was presented sacrificial animals by the *šatammu* and *kiništu*

In none of these astronomical diaries the personal name of a *pāḥāt Bābili* is mentioned.²⁴ However, in the newly published chronicle BHP 11 or “Ptolemy III chronicle” describing the conquest of Babylon by the Ptolemaic king Ptolemy III at the beginning of the third Syrian War (246–245 B.C.) a Seleucus is mentioned as *pāḥātu* of Seleukeia-Tigris.²⁵

Although a lot of elements are still unknown, the situation of the *pāḥāt Bābili* is the best documented case of the *pāḥātu* because of the available astronomical diaries. At least from the first half of the second century B.C.²⁶ a second local institution came into being in Hellenistic Babylon next to the college of

²³ See van der Spek 2001, 445–456.

²⁴ Apart from a few exceptional cases (AD 3 –161A₁ + A₂: 'Obv.' 21', AD 3 –137D: Rev.' 23, AD 3 –119B₁: 'Obv.' 11' and AD 3 –77A: 'Obv.' 28' and 31') also the personal name of the *šatammu* never appears in the historical notes of the astronomical diaries (see Boiy, 2004, 198–199).

²⁵ Since the city of Seleukeia is clearly preserved, since the chronicle deals with the same period as BHP 10 mentioned above and the same personal name Seleucus is attested, it was probably the same person who appears both in BHP 10 and BHP 11 and the restoration by Finkel/van der Spek in BHP 10 Obv. 6' can be considered as correct (see n. 20).

²⁶ Either during the reign of Antiochus III or that of Antiochus IV. Van der Spek (1986, 71–78) concluded on the basis of several arguments that it was during the reign of Antiochus IV that the *politai* were introduced in Babylon. He found confirmation for his hypothesis in BHP 14, the so-called Greek community chronicle, because it mentions the *politai* who “had entered Babylon in the past at the command of king Antiochus” (BHP 14: Obv. 3; van der Spek 2005, 396). I have argued before on the basis of AD 2 –187A: 'Rev. 9' that the *politai* must have been present in Babylon already in 187 BC during the reign of Antiochus III. In the historical note in AD 2 –187A only the reference to the *pāḥāt Bābili* is preserved (see above), but because of the plural form of the verb another subject must have been mentioned originally in the broken part of Obv. 10. Because the *pāḥāt Bābili* is always mentioned together with the *politai*, I presume that the *politai* must be restored in the lacuna (see Boiy 2004, 207).

šatammu and *kiništu*.²⁷ Always the leader and the board are mentioned: the *pāḫāt Bābili* and the so-called “*pu-li-ṭe-e*”. Although the name of the function is always written in Akkadian, its link with the “*pulit e*” or “*politai*”, citizens according to Greek law, already indicates that the *pāḫātu* has got something to do with Graeco-Macedonian institutions. At least in the Parthian period the appointment as *pāḫāt Bābili* happened by royal approval: AD 3 –129 and AD 3 –77A explicitly mention that the king appointed someone from the *politai* as *pāḫāt Bābili*. This means that the official was a local inhabitant belonging to the group of *politai* and at the same time a royal favourite. Some more information concerning the appointment of a *pāḫāt Bābili* by the king can be found in AD 3 –129A₁ and A₂ on the situation in spring 130 B.C. On 4 Nisannu 182 SE (14 April 130 B.C.) the satrap of Babylonia arrived from the royal camp in Babylon bearing a letter of the king and because of this letter a delegation of the *politai* went to the king's camp (AD 3 –129A₁: 'obv.' 6–8'). AD 3 –129A₂: 'obv.' 16–18' mentions in a new historical note concerning the next month, dealing with 10 Ayaru (20 May 130 B.C.), the satrap of Babylonia again. The following passage notes that someone of the delegation of *politai* was appointed as *pāḫāt Bābili* by a letter of the king and he arrived in Babylon. Also in BCHP 19, a chronicle concerning an Arsacid king that can not be dated more precisely, someone is appointed as *pāḫāt Bābili* by a royal letter on parchment (Rev. 5'). No *politai* are mentioned here, although it is possible that this must be reconstructed in the broken parts of the passage. Remarkable is in any case that before the appearance of the word *pāḫātūtu* (governorship) in Rev. 5' the words “*ta kur Ma-da-a-a*” (from the land Media) was written. Was someone from the land of Media, i.e. not a local from among the *politai* in Babylon, appointed or was it someone from a delegation of *politai* from Babylon to the king in Media who was appointed in Media? Since visits to the king in Media are mentioned regularly in the historical notes of the astronomical diaries during the Parthian period,²⁸ the last possibility is in our view the most probable.

As a royal confidant in a local setting the *pāḫāt Bābili* had indeed a lot in common with an *epistates* in other cities of the Seleucid empire. Does this necessarily mean that a *pāḫāt Bābili* is identical to an *epistates* and that Akkadian *pāḫātu* can simply be translated as *epistates*? There is no straightforward answer to this question. Since the exact local autonomy differed from one town to another, also the authority of each *epistates* must have been different. Because of their different history, traditions and expectations, the traditional Babylonian cities probably were approached differently. In addition, we have to keep in mind

²⁷ Boiy 2004, 194–204.

²⁸ See e.g. AD 3 –132B: Rev. 22 for a visit of the strategos of Babylonia and AD 3 –77A: 'Obv. 31 for a visit of the *šatammu*.

that in Babylon the traditional leaders were the “*šatammu* and *kiništu*”, whereas the college of the “*pāhātu* and *politai*” represented only a part of the inhabitants of Babylon. Therefore the question itself is not to the point. In our view the identification of the *pāhātu* in a traditional Babylonian town like Babylon with a Graeco-Macedonian function is not fruitful if there are no other indications in the available sources that the Babylonians and/or Seleucid authority considered the *pāhātu* also as an *epistates*. Let’s consider him as a *pāhātu* who had a similar authority (or was treated in a similar way by the Seleucid authority) as an *epistates* in the Graeco-Macedonian cities of the Seleucid empire.

Are there any additional indications that the *pāhāt Bābili* was within Babylon or within the Greek community in Babylon also known as *epistates*? Again no straightforward answer is possible since no cuneiform tablet ever calls the *pāhāt Bābili epistates* and since we do not have any Greek inscription referring to the institution at the moment. Only if the above-mentioned OGIS 254 really originates from Parthian Babylon, the “*strategos* and *epistates*” Demokrates who is mentioned there,²⁹ might give us a hint to the presence of an *epistates* earlier in Seleucid Babylon who might be the *pāhātu* we find in the cuneiform sources from Babylon.

The appearance of a *pāhātu* in Seleukeia-Tigris is a different problem. In a royally founded Graeco-Macedonian city we might a priori expect an *epistates* rather than a *pāhātu* and we know from the passage in Polybius that there was indeed an *epistates* present in Seleukeia during the Seleucid period. The attestation of Seleucus as *pāhātu* of Seleukeia in two chronicle fragments therefore might indicate that the Babylonians used the Akkadian term for a Graeco-Macedonian function in the city of Seleukeia.

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²⁹ See above n. 9; also for Demokrates/Byttakos the remark made above that the difference between an *epistates* and a military leader is not always very clear is valid because he also was the leader of the citadel’s troops (*akrophylakes*).

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Abstract

The paper deals with the status of the cities in Hellenistic Babylonia and the nature of the offices called *epistates* and *pāhātu*. The exact authority and legal position of an *epistates* and a *pāhātu* is discussed.

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**REVISING THE CHRONOLOGIES OF THE HELLENISTIC
COLONIES OF SAMARKAND-MARAKANDA
(AFRASIAB II-III) AND AĪ KHANOUM
(NORTHEASTERN AFGHANISTAN)¹**

Keywords: Afrasiab, Ai Khanoum, Hellenistic, Marakanda, Samarkand

Afrasiab, the site of ancient and medieval Samarkand, is situated in the northern part of the modern city. The site is surrounded by the remains of ramparts and contains a citadel (90 m x 90 m) in the north. It is delineated in the east by an irrigation canal and in the west by a deep ravine, which in antiquity served as a moat. Although archeological excavations of Afrasiab began at the end of the nineteenth century, the site remains poorly understood. There is, for example, only a basic chronology of the site's history starting with its original inhabitants in the seventh-sixth centuries B.C.E. In western sources, the city was called Marakanda as a result of Alexander's Sogdian campaign in 329–327 B.C.E.² During the Hellenistic period, the city served as the capital of Sogdiana. The excavations of this epoch have been concentrated primarily along the city's walls adjacent to which were dwellings. The ceramics reveal numerous techniques derived from Mediterranean prototypes with one goblet even bearing the Greek name of *Nikias* (Νικίας), while other cultural remains attest to craftsmen famil-

¹ I wish to thank my colleagues, James Powell and Susan Rupp, for their helpful assistance and most especially to the anonymous reviewers of the journal for their keen insights and rigorous comments. Naturally, any shortcomings with the text remain my responsibility.

² E.g., Arrian 3.30.6; 4.3.6, 5.2, 16.2f.; Curtius 7.6.10, 6.24, 9.20; 8.1.7, 2.13.

iar with Hellenistic and Near Eastern traditions, including coins of Seleukid and Graeco-Baktrian origin.³

In 1950 Terenozhkin established a ceramic periodization of the different archaeological epochs of Afrasiab which ever since has served as the standard, albeit loose, chronology of the site: Afrasiab I (6th–4th century B.C.E.) designated the Sako-Achaemenid era, followed by both Afrasiab II and III (4th–2nd century B.C.E.) for the Sako-Hellenistic period, and Afrasiab IV (2nd–1st century B.C.E.) used for the Kangju-Yuezhi phase.⁴ What concern us in this chronological scheme are the designations Afrasiab II and Afrasiab III, because they lack a fixed chronological point for when Hellenized materials first appear in the archaeological record. For example, the pottery of the Hellenistic period was initially viewed as a sophisticated continuation of the earlier Afrasiab I epoch,⁵ but as more material was unearthed it became apparent that the thin tableware in red slip, usually polished, was derivative of Hellenistic models corresponding to those found at Aï Khanoum, unlike the older, heavier shapes that preceded them.⁶ Even so, our knowledge about Hellenistic Afrasiab and the succeeding period remains extremely limited with much of the archaeological record confined primarily to different sites excavated along the city's wall and observations about the city's material culture confined primarily to military affairs and ceramics.⁷ Consequently, features such as the masonry used in constructing the ramparts have come to serve as the basis for establishing much of Marakanda's chronology.⁸

B. Lyonnet's Chronology

Almost a half-century following Terenozhkin's work Lyonnet in 1998 published an article on the Hellenistic and nomadic phases of Marakanda (Afra-

³ For a succinct overview of the site's history in English, see Shishkina 1994, 81–99 and in French up to the Hellenistic period, Bernard 1996, 331–365. A fuller account in Russian can be found in Shishkina 1969a, 3–121 with Shishkina 1969b, 122–136.

⁴ Terenozhkin 1950, 153, 156–158, fig. 69; *cf.* Terenozhkin 1947, 128; Masson 1950, 157–158.

⁵ Nemtseva 1969, 165–172; Filanovich 1969, 210–216, 220; Terenozhkin 1972, 90–99; Kabanov 1973, 53–73; Buriakov 1981, 30, fig. 13.

⁶ For a general discussion on the matter, see Shishkina 1969c, 226–233, 238; Shishkina 1974, 28–30, 49–51; Shishkina 1975, 60–78; *cf.* Shishkina 1969d, 65–66, 68–75.

⁷ For a succinct overview of Hellenistic architecture unearthed from excavations at Afrasiab, see Kirillova 2005, 61–64.

⁸ The ramparts are divided into eight types conforming to three general building periods. They along with ceramics form the underlying basis for establishing the city's chronology. *E.g.*, Kabanov 1964, 83, 85; Kabanov 1969, 183–187, 196–197; Filanovich 1969, 210–216, 220; Kabanov 1973, 16–23 for an overview, 30–45, 53–68; Filanovich 1973, 90–94; Shishkina 1976, 101–104; Kabanov 1981, 23–59; Chichkina 1986, 73–74, 76–77.

siab II-III) based on her analysis of the ceramics found at the site coupled with the record of two obols issued by Eukratides I recovered in 1911. By drawing primarily on the typo-chronology that she and Gardin had established in 1978 for Aï Khanoum, Lyonnet attempted to create a similar arrangement by forming a comparison and contrast based on the ceramics from both sites.

While there was a tacit agreement that Afrasiab's Hellenistic stratigraphy corresponds to Afrasiab II, no private house or public building has ever been excavated apart from the city's ramparts to aid in support of this argument. Moreover, prior to Lyonnet's work, no one had ever succeeded in differentiating Afrasiab II from Afrasiab III. Lyonnet, however, has proposed to see in Afrasiab II two waves of Greek colonists who settled in the city which she denotes as Afrasiab IIA and Afrasiab IIB. Between Afrasiab IIA and Afrasiab IIB there is a "gap" in the archaeological record.

She designates Afrasiab IIA as the earliest Hellenistic phase based on excavations made along the city's walls at zone N and the potter's workshop at zone S. The ceramics of this phase are characterized by analogous ceramics attributed to periods I-III at Aï Khanoum as well as certain types associated with the preceding Achaemenid period. By synchronizing the typological and stratigraphical remains of Aï Khanoum's ceramic periods I-III with Afrasiab IIA, she concludes that they began during Alexander's Baktrian and Sogdian campaigns in 329–327 B.C.E. Moreover, she understands the monotonous, rudimentary nature of the material as evidence of what she would expect from a military garrison.⁹ As such, she uses the material from both sites to synchronize the histories of Samarkand and Aï Khanoum in the early Hellenistic period.

As for the period between Afrasiab IIA and IIB, she infers that this period may have begun at some point during the reign of the Seleukid king Antiochos I (c. 280–260 B.C.E.) and lasted until that of the Graeco-Baktrian king Eukratides I (c. 171/0–c. 145 B.C.E.). Since the ceramics of Afrasiab IIA evolved little from the preceding period, she speculates that either this stage only lasted for a relatively limited amount of time or that quite rapidly there were no longer any contacts between Marakanda and other territories under Graeco-Baktrian control. Moreover, she proposes that Afrasiab IIB should be associated not with Aï Khanoum's ceramic periods IV-VI (c. 280 – c. 170/1 B.C.E.) but with Aï Khanoum's ceramic periods VII-VIII (c. 170/1 – after 145 B.C.E.), the last two phases of the city's ceramic production. This leads her to conclude that there was a hiatus in the Graeco-Baktrian occupation of Marakanda between Afrasiab IIA and Afrasiab IIB, thereby implying that Sogdiana,

⁹ Lyonnet 1998, 143, 151–152.

or at least the region of Samarkand, had already become independent during the reign of Antiochos I in c. 280 B.C.E.¹⁰

Afrasiab IIB is associated with the second stage of Greek fortifications. Among the pottery identified with this period is moldmade bowls. Previous scholars found it impossible to delineate Afrasiab II from Afrasiab III, because the ceramics of both periods appear identical. Nonetheless, Lyonnet concludes that after more than a century of independence gained during the reign of Antiochos I in c. 280 B.C.E., Afrasiab IIB was conquered by Eukratides I at some point in his reign (c. 171/0 – c. 145 B.C.E.). The ceramics of this period are analogous with the two last ceramic periods of Aï Khanoum which she associates with Eukratides I, except that Afrasiab IIB lasted longer than periods VII-VIII at Aï Khanoum. That Eukratides I successfully reconquered Marakanda is tentatively indicated by two of his obols,¹¹ although their provenance remains speculative and there are too few to permit a better articulated theory. Lyonnet dates this period as having begun during Eukratides I's reign and probably lasting for a long time based on the introduction of nomadic shapes, such as a type of stemmed beaker (*goblet sur piédouche*) that she takes as the defining characteristic of Afrasiab III. She is unable, however, to determine whether Afrasiab came under nomadic hegemony before or after the abandonment of Aï Khanoum by its Greek inhabitants, since this particular type of nomadic stemmed beaker is rarely found in eastern Bactria but is ubiquitous to the north and west of it, especially in the nomadic cemeteries of the Zeravshan valley and Bishkent, whose late dates begin in the first century B.C.E. and extend into the second century CE.¹²

Lyonnet's reading of the material has become the standard basis on which to reconstruct the history of Hellenistic Marakanda and indeed the whole of the Samarkand region, if not Sogdiana itself up to the nomadic conquest by the Śaka and/or the Yuezhi.¹³ Chronologically, she dates Afrasiab IIA from Alexander's campaign in the region between 329 and 327 B.C.E. to the reign of Antiochos I in c. 280 B.C.E., coinciding with ceramic periods I-III at Aï Khanoum.¹⁴ A hiatus then follows in which the site was apparently abandoned by its Graeco-Baktrian inhabitants until Afrasiab IIB when the city was resettled by Graeco-Baktrian

¹⁰ Lyonnet 1998, 152–153. On the problem of coins attributed to the site, see n.64. She also concludes that Rapin's work on the Iron Gates at Derbent has shown that the first phase of its construction was in the Hellenistic period as he found ceramics characteristic of period IV of Aï Khanoum, but she does not rule out the possibility that an even earlier phase of the wall's construction might be found and dated to Antiochos I's reign. Cf. Rapin 2007, 45, 47, 48.

¹¹ See Lyonnet 1998, 157 n.75.

¹² Lyonnet 1998, 143, 147–151, 153–154.

¹³ See most recently, Widemann 2009, 163ff.

¹⁴ Lyonnet dates ceramic period I of Aï Khanoum as having lasted from 320 to 300 B.C.E. (Lyonnet 1998, 141–143, 144 *figs.* 1–1 and 1–2).

colonists as a result of the Sogdian conjectured conquests of Eukratides I. Afrasiab IIB thus began in Eukratides I's reign, after c. 171/0 and before c. 145 B.C.E., and extended throughout the epoch of the nomadic conquests in the decades that followed prior to the establishment of Kushan Empire by the first century C.E. This period also corresponds to ceramic periods VII-VIII of Aï Khanoum, which by comparison to Marakanda were short-lived. This reconstruction, however, raises a number of disquieting inconsistencies, not least of which concerns the proposed "gap" in the archaeological record amounting to at least a century that would have elapsed from the reign of Antiochos I (c. 280–261 B.C.E.) to that of Eukratides I (c. 171/0 – c. 145 B.C.E.) when the site was presumably abandoned by its Graeco-Baktrian inhabitants.

It is instructive to note that on page 147, when discussing the distinction between Afrasiab IIB and Afrasiab III she writes that in 1995 and 1996 on the backside of the rampart with a pebbled foundation in an older trench dug by Kabanov and Lebedeva, a second group of excavators, whom she does not name,¹⁵ unearthed a series of graves and a tomb through which a hut was subsequently constructed. This group also found material that she attributes to Afrasiab IIB, but notes that the excavators found no evidence of the nomadic type of stemmed beaker, which she regards as the hallmark of Afrasiab III. Yet, the positive features that serve as the evidence for establishing the chronology of Afrasiab IIB are the two obols attributed to Eukratides I, the building phases of the city's walls, and a variety of ceramic shapes and decorations which are new to the site, most notably ("Megarian") moldmade bowls. Ironically, while the obols of Eukratides I are treated somewhat dismissively, they serve as an important source for attributing this period to his rule and hence the synchronization of Afrasiab IIB with ceramic periods VII-VIII at Aï Khanoum.

Coins

Two obols of Eukratides I were found at Afrasiab.¹⁶ Apparently, the obverse of the two coins is different:

Obverse: Diademed bust of the king facing right; fillet border.

¹⁵ For an overview of the excavations conducted by Bernard and his team, see Bernard, Isamididnov, Rapin, Sokolovskaja 1990, 358–370 for the Hellenistic and Achaemenid walls, respectively; see the later excavations of the team in Bernard, Grenet, Isamididnov et al. 1992, 281–297, 299–300.

¹⁶ Shishkina 1969c, 245, fig.5; Ernazarova 1974, 162; Bernard, Isamididnov, Rapin, Sokolovskaja 1990, 359 n.5; Shishkina 1994, 87, fig.3 which contains a drawing of the second obol. Cf. Lyonnet 1998, 152 n.64.

Reverse: Two upright palms and the pilei of the Dioskuroi surmounted by two stars; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ//ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. Monogram, Mitchiner 1975: 180a.

Obverse: Diademed bust of the king facing right, wearing crested helmet adorned with ear and horn of bull.

Reverse: as above. Monogram, Mitchiner 1975: 181a.

In 1990 Zeimal published a short piece about the histories of the four largest numismatic museum collections in Central Asia, including the Samarkand Museum.¹⁷ Of interest to us is the museum's early history, which was founded in 1896. In 1911 amateur numismatist G.M. Ponomarenko gifted the obols he found at Afrasiab to the museum, which in that same year was "completely robbed" of its coins. The information compiled about the collection prior to the theft in 1929 cannot be trusted since the museum staff at the time was entirely new and presumably ignorant of what it originally contained. Moreover, the museum was again plundered, this time on 10 December 1919, necessitating for a second time in its brief existence a newly reconstituted numismatic collection. In 1920, when M.E. Masson was appointed acting manager of the museum, additional coins were added to the collection lacking information about the circumstances of their provenance. We simply do not know whether they came from donors, or from the confiscation of personal collections by various "investigative agencies," or from the common practice of museum directors exchanging coins among one another. Thus numerous entries that form the Samarkand Museum's archival inventory are almost always devoid of documentation regarding how a coin made its way into the collection. All of this is quite significant, because, even though Shishkina provides the archival citation of Ponomarenko's donation, she does not include each coin's inventory number. We are thus uncertain whether the coins that Shishkina published¹⁸ are intended to be the actual coins themselves or merely representations of what Ponomarenko might have given to the museum. On this point, she is silent, while Ernazarova sheds no light on the matter as she simply cites Shishkina. Thus we are uncertain as to whether or not the coins are still in the collection having survived two devastating robberies and exchanges with other museums.

For my part I was allowed to examine the collection for a few hours one day in the spring of 1990. I found recorded in the museum's inventory twelve obols attributed to Eukratides I. All were absent from the collection itself. The archive supplied no information about their types, provenance, or any other substantive information, save their weight, diameter, and monogram. I was, however, able to

¹⁷ The proper name of the museum is Museum of the History, Culture, and Art of the Uzbek People (Музей истории культуры и искусства узбекского народа in Russian). Zeimal 1990, 10–14 with p. 12 n.10 for information on the catalogue composed in 1920–1922.

¹⁸ Shishkina 1969c, 245, fig.5.

track down what I believe to be the whereabouts of one coin taken from the collection. It appears in the 1983 seminal work by Zeimal as an example of an “authentic obol” that he identifies as a likely “prototype” used in the production of imitative Eukratidean obols.¹⁹ As a result, were we able to identify indisputably the two obols in question, we would be in a better position to know if they are genuine or later “barbaric imitations.” We would also have a better notion of how to place these coins chronologically and thus assess more clearly what is believed to have been their context.²⁰ As matters stand, we are compelled to dismiss the value of these coins altogether for they obfuscate rather than illuminate the chronology of Afrasiab II.

Ramparts

Rapin²¹ has argued that the city’s walls have yielded evidence of a second wave of Graeco-Baktrians who resettled Marakanda in the wake of the presumed

¹⁹ Zeimal 1983, 106–107 no.1 (weight 0.65; diameter 10.2; axis 12:00; listed by Zeimal as inventory number CM H–89. I think, however, that this inventory number is mislabeled and should be CM H–87, not H–89. The coin corresponds to the second example listed above, including the monogram [Mitchiner 1975, no. 181a]). Apparently, Zeimal kept the coin in his office at the Hermitage. The following are my notes about all twelve obols listed in the archives as I have them:

Inv. No. KII–1026	Weight	Diameter	Monogram
79	0.55	10.20	not recorded or lacking a monogram
80	0.58	11.0	as in Mitchiner 1975, no. 180d
81	0.56	11.0	as in Mitchiner 1975, no. 180d
82	0.56	10.80	as in Mitchiner 1975, nos. 180a, 181a
83	0.55	10.0	as in Mitchiner 1975, no. 180d
84	0.44	10.30	not recorded or lacking a monogram
85	0.60	10.40	as in Mitchiner 1975, nos. 180a, 181a
86	0.62	10.0	as in Mitchiner 1975, nos. 180a, 181a
87			as in Mitchiner 1975, nos. 180a, 181a
88	0.62	10.10	as in Mitchiner 1975, nos. 180a, 181a
89	0.56	10.20	as in Mitchiner 1975, nos. 180a, 181a
90	0.51	9.20	as in Mitchiner 1975, nos. 180a, 181a

Without the coins themselves, let alone the obverse and reverse types or any comment about them, it is impossible to determine whether or not any of these coins could in fact be those deposited by Ponomarenko. Shishikina herself does not include any helpful remark about the coins that she lists in both publications that might otherwise lead to their identification. Recent finds from Afrasiab of Hellenistic coins and imitations of them have unfortunately not brought about any clarity to the matter (Atakhodzhaev 2005: 33–35, figs. 1–8).

²⁰ Lyonnet 1998, 154; cf. Lyonnet 1997, 148–149.

²¹ Rapin 2001, 76; Rapin 2007, 48.

reconquest of the city by Eukratides I. The reconstruction is based on his contention that the colonists as a first priority undertook repairs to the older Achaemenid and Hellenistic walls which in the intervening century had fallen into disrepair. Apparently, following the supposed first abandonment of the site by the Graeco-Baktrian population, the citizens who remained in Marakanda felt safe enough not to repair its walls even as they began to crumble around them. The city thus seemed to have enjoyed an unprecedented period of peace that lasted for about one hundred years while south of the Oxos in Baktria the same period is marred by political turmoil and warfare. That the work of this second group of colonists was short-lived is purportedly reflected by a gap in the northern wall²² “and in the rapid destruction of the most recently built sections” that Rapin and Isamiddinov had excavated.²³ The proposed date of these events occurred during Afrasiab IIB based on Lyonnet’s chronology of the site’s ceramics with the sole caveat that she prefers to date this period as extending to c. 130 B.C.E., while he prefers a date closer to the presumed death of Eukratides I in c. 145 B.C.E.

Lyonnet’s assignment of Afrasiab III, the nomadic occupation of Marakanda, stems from her work on ceramics found on the Dasht-i Qala plain in which she compared them with others from various regions in eastern Baktria and Central Asia. She extrapolated from this ethno-chronology that the ceramics reflect the region’s political history and thereby enabled her to postulate the identities of those who produced the ceramics, including the geographical region from where they originated. Of the two ceramic types that Lyonnet identified as nomadic are a stemmed beaker and tripod pots. She concluded that the former were produced by the Śaka or Sai, and the latter by Yuezhi tribes which invaded Baktria and settled in Ai Khanoum and the Dasht-i Qala plain, respectively.²⁴ All told, her analysis rests on twelve shards belonging to the former and twenty classed as the latter.²⁵ Since the nomadic type of stemmed beaker was not found in the excavations at Marakanda, she, therefore, attributed this period in the archaeological record to Afrasiab IIB, contending that the presence of the nomadic type beaker is indicative of Afrasiab III.

Although Gardin’s²⁶ skepticism of accepting Lyonnet’s attempt to formulate a system based solely on an ethno-chronological classification of these ceramics is directed toward her work in Baktria, it rings equally true for her classification of Afrasiab IIA-IIB. He views the material as representing an intermediary stage between the end of the Graeco-Baktrian epoch and the rise of the Kushan period,

²² Filanovich 1973, 86, 90–94.

²³ Rapin 2007, 48 and 50; based on his earlier work, Rapin, Isamiddinov 1994, 557.

²⁴ Lyonnet 1997, 147–149; 157–172; Lyonnet 2001, 143.

²⁵ Lyonnet 1997, 385, fig. 47.

²⁶ Gardin 1998, 25, 114–115.

because the archaeological record is neither complete nor is it clearly delineated. Indeed, he has maintained that nothing from their survey has ever yielded anything that could serve as a definitive chronological marker, since as a corpus the samples that he and his team recovered amount to a mere three ceramic types. He has been especially pointed in his remarks about ceramics of Greek origin, because they continued to be produced in this region long after the “Graeco-Baktrian” period had ended, while other ceramics whose origin is attributed to either the Hellenistic or Kushan periods, might in actuality belong to a different epoch altogether. Yet, it is precisely this analysis that Lyonnet and Rapin use to date the abandonment of both Marakanda and Aï Khanoum as well as in the case of the former the second period of its recolonization.

(“Megarian”) Moldmade Bowls

According to Rotroff, moldmade bowls were invented in Athens at either the Workshop of Bion or the Workshop A. Initially, she was inclined to date the beginning of their manufacture in 224/3 B.C.E., but now holds that they were first produced closer to c. 200 B.C.E.,²⁷ but “do not begin to become a substantial part of the archaeological record until as late as c. 180.”²⁸ One reason that the chronology of this ware has so far proven illusive is that it was extensively exported throughout the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions. This is especially true of various Ionian cities in Asia Minor whose height of distribution occurred during the second half of the second century B.C.E.²⁹

In order to understand the role that moldmade bowls (147, fig. 3 nos. 15–16) play in comprising part of Lyonnet’s Afrasiab IIB, we should note that by 1978³⁰ she and Gardin had worked out for Aï Khanoum a typo-chronology which, even though it has yet to be published, nonetheless has been used for years to establish the site’s chronology.³¹ They distinguished eight successive ceramic periods, each of which is linked to an architectural stage and is based on local models stemming from Achaemenid or Hellenistic types.³² Each period is set with modi-

²⁷ Rotroff 1982a, 6–13, 26–29; Rotroff 1982b, 329–335; Rotroff 1997, 38–43, 72–73; Rotroff 2003, 91–92; Rotroff 2006, 7–8.

²⁸ Rotroff 2005, 24.

²⁹ For the overall distribution see Guldager Bilde 1993, 195–206, figs. 1–3; Guldager Bilde 2008, 1987–188 with nos. 12 and 20 as addenda to the maps.

³⁰ Gardin, Lyonnet 1976, 45–51; Gardin 1985, 449 no. 4; Gardin 1990, 187; Lyonnet 1997, 147; Gardin 1998, 25.

³¹ For example, for the city’s walls, see Leriche 1986, 67–70, 105–106; and for the *gymnasium*, Veuve 1987, 95–101, 103–110.

³² For a concise overview, see Lerner 2005, 468–470.

fications arbitrarily at twenty-five years,³³ except in the article under consideration (144–146, figs. 1–4) wherein Lyonnet introduces two revisions to the Aï Khanoum chronology: she dates ceramic period I as 320–300 B.C.E. and ceramic period VIII as 160–145 B.C.E. In a subsequent publication, Lyonnet dates ceramic period IV at Aï Khanoum as beginning in 260 and extending to some point after 220, while the succeeding phase, ceramic period V, is placed at after 220–200 B.C.E.

Figure 1. Lyonnet’s chronologies of Marakanda and Aï Khanoum

Marakanda	Aï Khanoum	Date
Afrasiab IIA: First Hellenistic Period	Periods I-III	c. 320 – c. 280 B.C.E.
Second Hellenistic Period (Antiochos I [?]) to Eukratides I	Periods IV-VI	c. 280 – c. 170/1 B.C.E.
Afrasiab IIB: Third Hellenistic Period (Eukratides I), Nomadic Invasions, Downfall of the Graeco-Baktrian Kingdom	Periods VII-VIII – and afterward	c. 170/1 – after 145 B.C.E.

This is precisely the same kind of reasoning that she employs for establishing her revised chronology of Marakanda (figure 1). Thus Afrasiab IIA is dated from c. 320 to c. 280 B.C.E., that is from Alexander’s anabasis in the region to the reign of Antiochos I, thereby coinciding with ceramic periods I-III at Aï Khanoum. The period from c. 280 B.C.E. to the reign of Eukratides I in c. 171/0 B.C.E. is marked by the absence of Graeco-Baktrians in Marakanda. The last phase of Hellenistic Marakanda, Afrasiab IIB, begins with the reign of Eukratides I and lasts to some still undefined point during the nomadic domination of the region by the Śakas and Yuezhi/Kushanas until imperceptibly it became Afrasiab III. While this phase began in ceramic period VII of Aï Khanoum, it lasted beyond ceramic period VIII, because Aï Khanoum according to this scenario was abandoned by its population and resettled by nearby peasants and transient nomads, unlike Marakanda whose population never left it, save the presence of Greek or Hellenized citizens who disappeared for about a century.

In terms of the remains of the red moldmade bowls found in the excavations at Marakanda, we are confronted with myriad questions and uncertainties. We do not know, for example, whether they were made locally or imported. If the latter holds true, we do not know from where they originated – perhaps from another site in Central Asia, such as Aï Khanoum, or from some workshop in the eastern Mediterranean. If the former is true, we do not know the source from which the technology to produce these bowls derived –

³³ The use of the chronology has been uneven over the years, especially by Gardin. See Gardin, Lyonnet 1976, 45–51; Gardin 1985, 449–450; Gardin 1990, 187–188.

whether in Central Asia or some point further to the west, perhaps as far as the Mediterranean. We also lack a precise understanding of when these relief bowls appeared in Marakanda, how prevalent they were, who made them, or how long they continued to be manufactured among other unresolved problems. Adding to the confusion is our inability to know the answers to such basic questions as how long a mold lasted, as we might at least have some idea of the relative chronological range of their use.

On one point, however, we glean some insight. There is no doubt that the bowls first appeared in Aï Khanoum in ceramic period IV, whose dates unfortunately remain elusive.³⁴ Yet, even if we were to accept the implausible scenario that moldmade bowls appeared at the site in c. 200 B.C.E., Aï Khanoum itself would still have to have undergone four additional ceramic periods in about a fifty year span prior to its abandonment. Certainly, this scenario is unacceptable. We are left with only one real possibility: Aï Khanoum was inhabited far longer than currently imagined. In terms of Lyonnet's postulated chronology for Marakanda, we are left wondering why she perceives a hiatus of about a century in the archaeological record that she terms "Second Hellenistic Period" whose chief hallmark is, ironically, the disappearance of its Hellenic and Hellenized population. This is particularly worrisome given the nature of the characteristics of the first four ceramic periods at Aï Khanoum that form the basis of her comparison with the materials found at Marakanda. Ceramic periods I-III at Aï Khanoum correspond to the ceramics that compose her Afrasiab IIA. Likewise, one would think that the moldmade bowls of Aï Khanoum's ceramic period IV should be synchronized with Afrasiab IIB without interruption, but this is not the case because she proposes that more than a century had yet to elapse before they finally made their way into the city. The implication is that throughout this period there is no evidence of trade between both cities, even though each remained fully inhabited and Aï Khanoum maintained trade relations with the Mediterranean world as well as India and elsewhere. A simpler explanation would be to eliminate the conjectured lacuna in her chronological scheme and allow Afrasiab IIA to proceed directly into Afrasiab IIB without interruption. In doing so, we would still not be able to provide a date for the appearance of the moldmade bowls in Marakanda or know when Afrasiab IIB began or ended, but we would have the benefit of a relative understanding of the historical development of Hellenistic Marakanda based on a typo-chronology of its ceramics.³⁵

³⁴ For a full discussion with bibliography, see Lerner 2003–2004, 380–381.

³⁵ It is with apologies that I must pass in silence M. Kh. Isamiddinov's work published in 2002 (M. Kh. Isamiddinov, *Istoki gorodskoï kul'tury Samarkandskogo Sogda*, Tashkent 2002) as I have been unable to obtain a copy of it. I am thus unable to discuss why he dates Afrasiab IIA to

Aï Khanoum

It is apparent that the absolute dates assigned to the various stages of Afrasiab IIA-B are based more on conjecture than on incontrovertible evidence. The dates of Afrasiab IIA (c. 320 – 280 B.C.E.), corresponding to ceramic periods I-III at Aï Khanoum, are arbitrary. While it is reasonable to suppose that Greeks were in Marakanda following Alexander's campaign in 329–327 B.C.E. and quite possibly Seleukos I's attempt to reunite his eastern satrapies in 311–303 B.C.E., there is no compelling reason to associate 280 B.C.E. or any other date with the end of this period. The fact that it is made to coincide with the beginning of Antiochos I's reign is as meaningless for Aï Khanoum as it is for Marakanda. Elsewhere Lyonnet changed the end date of Aï Khanoum's ceramic period III and thus the beginning of period IV to 260 B.C.E., just as she has adjusted others as well.³⁶ Yet, the date for the beginning of ceramic period IV at Aï Khanoum needs further revision in light of the new date of c. 200 B.C.E. for the invention of moldmade bowls, while their appearance in large numbers at Athens did not occur until c. 180 B.C.E. and they were not manufactured elsewhere in the Mediterranean in great quantity until the second half of the second century B.C.E. In terms of Marakanda, the discovery of moldmade bowls attributed to Afrasiab IIB provides neither the beginning date of their production nor the end of their manufacture. We can only conclude that their presence is indicative of a date that lies somewhere in the second half of the second century B.C.E. when they should, according to the current theory, not be there. As a result, it is impossible to disentangle the three phases conjectured for Afrasiab II, because they do not exist. There is no chronological gap separating Afrasiab IIA from Afrasiab IIB. Indeed the archaeological record is quite clear: the ceramic typo-chronology of Marakanda follows that of Aï Khanoum for the first four ceramic periods.

Part of the reason that the chronology of Afrasiab II-III is so difficult to disentangle is due to certain conclusions that have been reached about Aï Khanoum and unjustly superimposed on the archaeological record at Marakanda. In addition to the problems associated with the two types of nomadic ceramic ware found near Aï Khanoum, the nomadic type of stemmed beaker and tripod pots, there are three other sources that have been used incorrectly to reconstruct the abandonment of Aï Khanoum by its Graeco-Baktrian inhabitants. In the mid-second century B.C.E., so it is believed, Baktria was overrun in successive stages by different nomadic tribes. The consequence of this influx presumably wrought

327–200 B.C.E. and Afrasiab IIB to 200–100 B.C.E., if it requires a correction, and why he has closed the temporal gap between both stages in the period of Afrasiab II.

³⁶ Lyonnet 1997, 127, 148; Lyonnet 1998, 143 n.24.

by the Śakas and soon afterward by the Da Yuezhi, or vice versa,³⁷ was the overthrow of Ai Khanoum and its resulting abandonment.

Bernard concluded that coins found in and around Ai Khanoum reflect the chronological history of the city and the country: the Graeco-Baktrian population abruptly left Ai Khanoum following the death of Eukratides I, the last Graeco-Baktrian king to have ruled a unified Bactria. A few years later in c. 145 B.C.E. his sons and successors were conquered by various nomads, perhaps Śaka tribes, who in their turn were overthrown by the Da Yuezhi whom the Chinese Han ambassador Zhang Qian would subsequently meet.³⁸ In 1980 two publications announced the discovery of a vessel with a text found in the palace's treasury stating that the contents had been of olive oil. The first line of the inscription, reads: [Ἔτους κδ' . [– –], "Year 24."³⁹ It was decided that this inscription was written just prior to the Greek abandonment of the site. Based upon their interpretation of the numismatic data, Bernard and Rapin concluded that the Greeks had left Ai Khanoum soon after the murder of Eukratides I, since none of the coins found in the city at that time were thought to have been issued by his successors. They, therefore, reasoned that the date must coincide with a passage in Justin⁴⁰ which they inferred implies that Eukratides I of Bactria and Mithridates I of Parthia ascended their respective thrones in the same year. By subtracting 24 from the first year of Mithridates' reign of 171/0 B.C.E., they arrived at the date of 145 B.C.E. for Eukratides' death.⁴¹

Unfortunately, there are a number of methodological difficulties associated with this historical reconstruction that make it unsustainable. The first concerns finds of net pattern ware in red glaze.⁴² According to Gardin,⁴³ the decoration of the dozen summarily relief-decorated shards of hemispherical bowls in red-slipped ware at Ai Khanoum testify that they were produced locally, including a local imitation of a hemispherical bowl with polygonal incisions in red-slipped ware.⁴⁴ Moreover, he⁴⁵ has proposed that the red-slipped barbotine decorated

³⁷ Bernard 1987, especially 759–760, 766–768.

³⁸ Bernard 1975, 65–69 and Bernard 1985. Cf. the Quduz Hoard that contains numerous specimens of Eukratides' sons and successors, Eukratides II, Platon, and Heliokles I (Curiel, Fussman 1965).

³⁹ Bernard 1980, 442–444, 448; Bernard, Rapin 1980, 23–27, 35–36, 38.

⁴⁰ Justin 41.6.1: *Eodem ferme tempore, sicut in Parthis Mithridates, ita in Bactris Eucratides, magni uterque viri, regna ineunt.*

⁴¹ On the dates of Eukratides' reign including references to previous works, see Bernard 1985, 97–99, 102–103; Rapin 1992, 96, 114, 281ff.; Boppearachchi 1991, 66–88.

⁴² Gardin 1973, 171, pl. 125 a-f; Gardin 1985, 453–454.

⁴³ Gardin 1973, 141; Gardin 1985, 454.

⁴⁴ Liger 1972, 629.

⁴⁵ Gardin 1973, 139, 170; cf. Bernard 1965, 682, fig. 24 no.81.

bowls found at Ai Khanoum and elsewhere in Baktria are imitative of Pergamene relief-decorated pottery.⁴⁶ According to Jones and Schäfer, production of these bowls in Pergamon began in the middle of the second and continued well into the first century B.C.E.⁴⁷ Given the unsatisfactory dating of both the invention and dissemination of the technology for manufacturing this ware, it seems reasonable to place its production at Ai Khanoum as having begun at some point either in the last quarter of the second century or more probably in the first half of the first century B.C.E. Thus in the first half of the first century B.C.E. there were still people in the city obtaining this new technology from the eastern Mediterranean and producing a local brand of this type of red-slipped ware, precisely at a time when the city was supposed to have been abandoned by its Graeco-Baktrian population.

Two further problems are associated with the inscription, “Year 24.” First, the date does not “refer to an era but to a year of an unknown reign” and this regal year cannot serve “as evidence for the existence of an era.”⁴⁸ We may understand it, therefore, as a reference not to Eukratides I or an unknown era, but to the reign of an unknown sovereign who was Ai Khanoum’s last king. Second, given that the inscription was written before the Greeks of Ai Khanoum left the city and that this abandonment may well have occurred in the first century B.C.E. and not in the middle of the second, it cannot refer to Eukratides I. On one point, however, there is agreement: the Greeks of Ai Khanoum abruptly and unexpectedly abandoned the city at a time of apparent economic prosperity. But to identify a particular group of pastoralists as responsible is – as Fussman has rightly observed – to do so without any “invertible evidence” that the city had been “attacked, burned, or sacked” and, while five arrowheads and two lance-heads were unearthed against the northern wall, they may well have belonged not to some enigmatic enemy but to Greek troops or Central Asians in the service of the city.⁴⁹

Finally, the coins found in and around Ai Khanoum should be extended chronologically beyond the reign of Eukratides I to include the emissions of Eukratides II and even of a later coin, an Indo-Greek drachma, produced by Lysias whose reign is thought to have ended around 110 B.C.E.⁵⁰ Moreover, the inscriptions found in the palace’s treasury detailing the kinds of coins that were stored there record that there were 70,000 Indo-Greek drachmas (*taxaênas* and *kasapana taxaênas*) and Indian punch-marked coins (*nandagachoragas* and

⁴⁶ Gardin 1973, 171 ns. 132–133.

⁴⁷ Jones 1950, 172ff.; Schäfer 1968, 64–89.

⁴⁸ Bopearachchi 1998, 179; cf. Bopearachchi 1999, 104.

⁴⁹ Fussman 1996, 247 with ns. 25–28; cf. Leriche 2007, 135 n.37.

⁵⁰ Narain 1982, 414 with n.159.

kasapana nandênas), but only 619 Greek drachmas.⁵¹ Clearly, the treasury was increasingly dominated by the influx of smaller denominations based on a non-Attic standard minted south of the Hindu Kush in Taxila and other locations in the Indian sub-continent. Since they were accumulated well after the reign of Eukratides I, we can only conclude that the city did not produce coins of its own at this time. By dating Ai Khanoum's abandonment toward the middle of the first century B.C.E., we may conclude that at least since c. 130, coinciding with the visit of Zhang Qian, the citizens of Ai Khanoum, like other Bactrian centers, paid tribute to the Da Yuezhi. If the inscriptions found in the city's palace treasury are any indication, the tribute was in the form of silver coins that originated south of the Hindu Kush.⁵²

As to the circumstances that precipitated the abandonment of the city, it is well known that the city's merchants were part of an extensive trading network that included Central Asia to the north, the Mediterranean to the west, and India to the south⁵³ and it is not difficult to suppose that their imports were of sufficient quantity as to satisfy the Da Yuezhi for purposes of trade and tribute. The problem for the city occurred when this trading network to the south collapsed and silver could not be obtained to pay tribute to the Da Yuezhi or to trade with them. The result was a crisis. Undoubtedly, there was socio-economic upheaval and turmoil among the ruling clans of the Da Yuezhi who competed amongst themselves for a swiftly disappearing supply of silver. It may well have been this event that propelled the Da Yuezhi to cross the Oxos into Bactria proper in search of new sources of revenue and caused the Greeks of Ai Khanoum to abandon the city in the mid-first century B.C.E., coinciding with ceramic periods VII-VIII of the city. For Marakanda this chronological revision of Afrasiab II means that it may well have lasted into the third quarter of the second century B.C.E. or even beyond and that there is no evidence that the city was abandoned twice of its Greek inhabitants. As for Afrasiab III, denoting the nomadic phase of its existence (second-first centuries B.C.E.), it undoubtedly began well before Ai Khanoum was ever abandoned and continued unabated until the early decades of the first century C.E. in the Kushan era. Consequently, we must continue using Terenozhkin's typo-chronology of Afrasiab until evidence compels us to do otherwise.

⁵¹ For an overview of the so-called 'economic labels' found in the Ai Khanoum palace treasury, see Rapin 1992, 95–114. The identification of these terms, however, is based on my analysis.

⁵² It is from these two denominations that elements of the Da Yuezhi produced, for example, imitations of Eukratides' obols (see Zeimal 1983, 93–109; cf. Rtveladze 2007, 390–391). One consequence of this new chronology is that Ai Khanoum continued to flourish well past the reigns of Eukratides II and even Heliokles I whose reign is believed to have ended about 90 B.C.E (Cribb 2005, 212–214; Cribb 2007, 364–365).

⁵³ Rapin 1992, 143–152.

Conclusion

By way of ending this brief essay, I would be remiss should I not reference the recent work by L.M. Sverchkov in which he has attempted to synchronize four Hellenistic sites – Kampyrtepa, Old Termez, and the fortress of Kurganzol in Uzbekistan and Dzhigatepa in northern Afghanistan – based on a comparison of their ceramics.⁵⁴ He chose these four, because in his view their stratigraphy is the best known for this period in Central Asia. He concludes that these sites at different stages in their ceramic, and hence historical, evolution overlapped one another chronologically. He demarcates four broad periods for when these points occurred. Imbedded in this analysis is the assumption that the chronology of the ceramic periods of Aï Khanoum are established well enough so as to serve as a backdrop for him to make his comparison. Yet, ironically he purposefully omits Aï Khanoum in his analysis without comment.⁵⁵ Nonetheless, there is one period in his synchronism that warrants attention. This is period three which encompasses three of the four sites under consideration: periods 2–3 of Kampyrtepa (KT-2 layers 16–20 and KT-3 layers 21–33), Termez-3, and period 3 of Kurganzol (KZ-3). Only the last two sites are provided explicitly with dates: the last quarter of the third century B.C.E. to the first half of the second century B.C.E. for Termez-3; and the second half of the third century B.C.E. for KZ-3. According to the table provided on page 108, these stages at all three sites definitively ended in 200 B.C.E.⁵⁶

Surprisingly, one ceramic type that he mentions only in passing here and elsewhere and could help in establishing the third stage of this chronological scheme is the appearance of (“Megarian”) moldmade bowls in period KT-2 of Kampyrtepa.⁵⁷ It is worth emphasizing that the dates associated with moldmade bowls have undergone serious revision in recent years: their invention at Athens is now placed as having occurred in c. 200 B.C.E., not becoming a substantial part of the archaeological record until c. 180 B.C.E., while the height of their dissemination in the Mediterranean was achieved only in the second half of the second century B.C.E. The implication for Kampyrtepa periods KT-2 through KT-5 is that their dates must be moved lower. It is simply impossible for the moldmade bowls found in layers 20–20a of Kampyrtepa KT-2 to be assigned a date prior to their invention. The same can be said of another locale where

⁵⁴ Sverchkov 2006, 105–124, for the chronological table, see 108.

⁵⁵ The work is a continuation of the previous article that appears in the journal (Sverchkov 2006, 105); for references to Aï Khanoum, see Sverchkov, Voskovskii 2006, 21ff.

⁵⁶ Dzhigatepa only figures in periods 1 and 4 of the table.

⁵⁷ The bowls were found in layers 20–20a. Sverchkov 2006, 107, figs. 2.30–34 and 3.14–16; Sverchkov, Voskovskii 2006, 25, fig. 8.18.

these bowls were found: the site of Erkurgan in Uzbekistan from complex EK-6, which Suleimanov dates to the first half of the second century B.C.E.⁵⁸ Here, too, the reckoning for their appearance likewise needs to be lowered. It seems more plausible to place the manufacture of moldmade bowls at Kampyrtepa and Erkurgan near the time when they began to be produced at Ai Khanoum and Afrasiab, for which the general date of the second half of the second century B.C.E. has been adopted. Thus Ai Khanoum ceramic period IV, Afrasiab II, Kampyrtepa KT-2, and Erkurgan EK-6 should all be regarded as contemporaries of the same stage in their respective ceramic development, a historical phenomenon that Sedov terms as a “moment” in his special study devoted to the typochronology of the ceramics of southern Central Asia based on pottery assemblages that he calls the “Ai Khanoum type.”⁵⁹ If Sverchkov is correct in his attempt at synchronizing Kampyrtepa KT-3, Termez-3 and Kurganzol KZ-3, within stage three of his chronology, thereby making them contemporaries of Kampyrtepa KT-2 (save KT-3 which would still follow), then it stands that the dates of each of these periods at these sites must also be revised downward to the second half of the second century B.C.E. It is important to note that the appearance of moldmade bowls in a particular ceramic period does not attest to its beginning, middle, or end. Rather they indicate a relative not an absolute date.

While it lies beyond the scope of this article to rewrite the ceramic history of Hellenistic Central Asia, we can consider as an example one site whose chronology might change due to this chronological readjustment: period KZ-2 of Kurganzol, a fort that Sverchkov proposes was founded by Alexander in c. 328 B.C.E. during his anabasis in Baktria and Sogdiana. He contends that the pale-slipped vessels of period KZ-1 lack parallels in any known assemblage save those that have a hand-molded shape which are found at a number of sites dated to a variety of periods. He favors, however, the so-called “transitional period” at Dzhihgatepa where red and black slips were used as a contemporary of Kurganzol. Although Pidaev had dated this period of Dzhihgatepa to the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century B.C.E.,⁶⁰ Sverchkov is inclined to date period KZ-1 of Kurganzol to 328 B.C.E. and to ascribe its founding to Alexander.⁶¹ Without evidence either to the contrary or in support, the assignment remains arbitrary. One might only add that a similar slip was used at Ai Khanoum in periods I-III whose dates have ranged from the end of the fourth to

⁵⁸ Suleimanov 2000, 165–166.

⁵⁹ Sedov 1984, 175–176. In subsequent studies, Gardin seems to have adopted this approach in his articulation of ceramic types at Ai Khanoum (e.g., Gardin 1985; Gardin 1990; Gardin 1998).

⁶⁰ Pidaev 1984, 112–117, fig. 1.1–35; cf. Pidaev 1991, 211, 222.

⁶¹ Sverchkov 2005, 84–85, 97–98; Sverchkov 2007, 35–36, 59; Sverchkov 2008, 127–134, 185. For a general overview of the site with superb illustrations, see Swertschkow 2009.

the third quarter of the third century B.C.E.⁶² On the other hand, he dates period KZ-2 of Kurganzol to 280–250 B.C.E. based on the obsolete and unclear system that Guillaume had employed for the Aï Khanoum *propylaea*.⁶³ According to Sverchkov, the pottery at Kurganzol now in black slip occurs at the same time as when it appears at Aï Khanoum in ceramic period IV, the same period in which moldmade bowls turn up in the second half of the second century B.C.E. Sverchkov, however, has period KZ-2 of Kurganzol coincide with period KT-1 of Kampyrtepa dated in the beginning of the third century B.C.E. and overlapping with Termez-1, the first half of the third century B.C.E., and Termez-2, the second half of the third century B.C.E.⁶⁴ Clearly, periods KZ-2 and KZ-3 of Kurganzol call for revision as do periods KT-1 of Kampyrtepa and Termez 1-2. For example, if the early date for period KZ-1 of Kurganzol is retained, then the interval between it and period KZ-2 might have to be increased, suggesting a prolonged period of abandonment. Similarly, if the date of period KZ-1 of Kurganzol is brought up into the third century B.C.E. and made into a Seleukid foundation under Antiochos I, then the duration of the fortress' abandonment until period KZ-2 might have to be shortened, and even more so should the fortress turn out to be a Graeco-Baktrian foundation. Naturally, this will also effect the early periods of Kampyrtepa, Termez, and quite possibly Dzhigatapa.

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⁶² For a discussion of the chronology of the ceramics, see Lerner 2003–2004, 377–381.

⁶³ Guillaume subdivides the archaeological stages of the *propylaea* into periods I and II, corresponding to ceramic periods IV–VIII (Guillaume 1983, 28).

⁶⁴ Sverchkov 2005, 85–94, 98; Sverchkov 2007, 37–49, 59–61; Sverchkov 2008, 134–147, 185–186.

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Abstract

The current dating system of Hellenistic Samarkand (Marakanda, Afrasiab II) and Aī Khanoum, two Greek cities in the Hellenistic Far East, stems from the 1998 work of B. Lyonnet. The present article questions the basis of her proposed chronology and introduces new evidence for revising it. The article relies primarily on archaeology, ceramics, numismatics, and epigraphy. The result is a different interpretation of how long both sites were under Greek hegemony. In the case of Samarkand, there is not sufficient evidence to warrant Lyonnet's notion that the Greeks abandoned the city on two different occasions with an interval of about a century separating each event. The archaeological record does not allow for the clear distinction between Hellenistic Samarkand (Afrasiab II) and Samarkand under nomadic control (Afrasiab III). As such, we are compelled to retain the chronology of the site as it was initially conceived in 1950 by Terenozhkin for Afrasiab II-III. In order to place this material in a wider historical context, I have followed Lyonnet's convention of drawing upon relevant comparisons from Aī Khanoum. The Greeks of both cities may well have enjoyed a political autonomy far longer than is currently believed.

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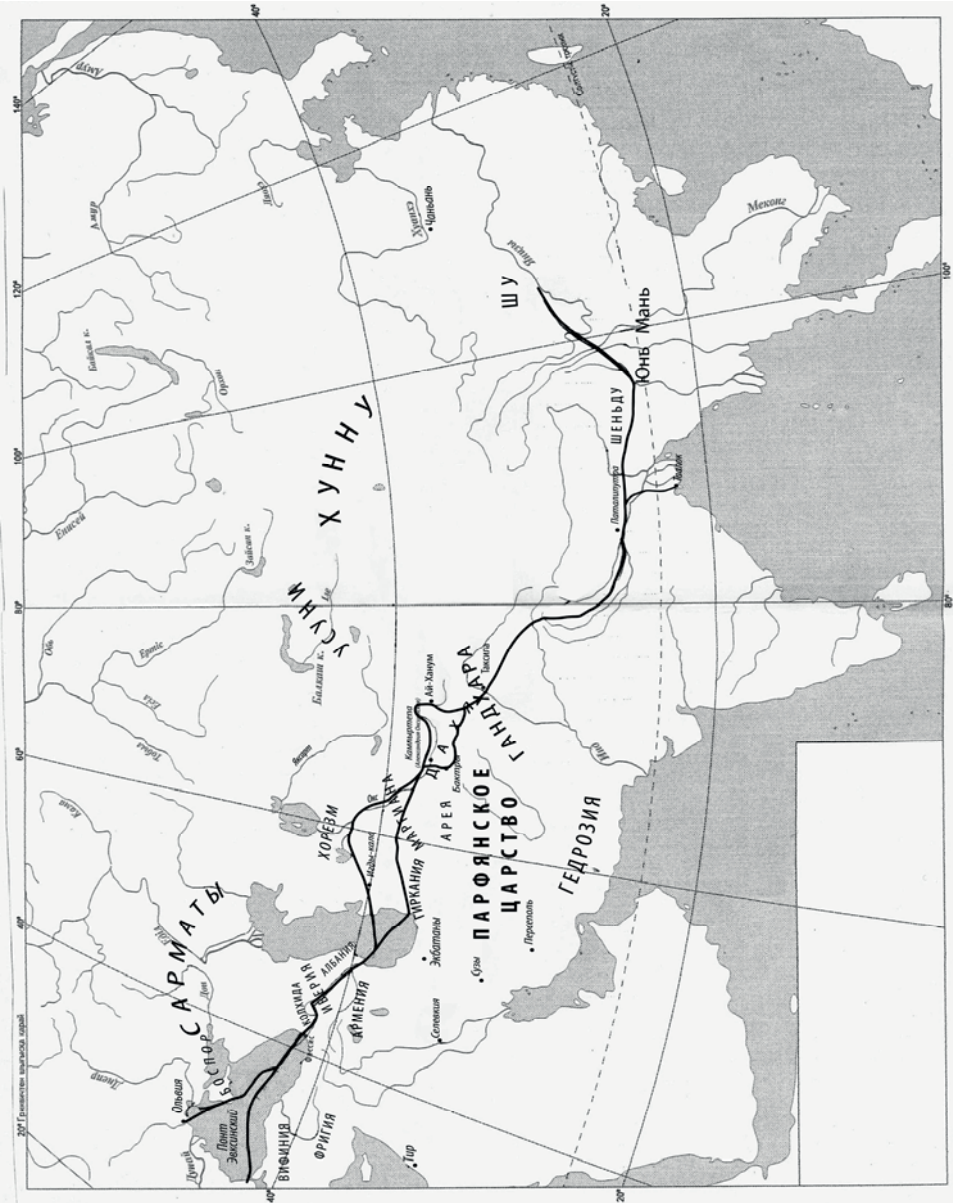
(Uzbekistan)

THE GREAT INDIAN ROAD: INDIA - CENTRAL ASIA - TRANSCAUCASIA

Keywords: Silk Road, trade, India, Central Asia, Transcaucasia

The Great Silk Road which in ancient times linked the countries of the Far East with the Mediterranean area by way of Central Asia is well known to the learned and general public. Much less known is the other great trade road, also through Central Asia, that ran from India to the Mediterranean shores. Unlike the Silk Road with its predominantly overland routes, the road from India was a compound of land and waterway routes, that is, parts of the road ran over land, others along rivers, and some parts across the sea.

This road started, in all likelihood, from Taxila, the capital of Gandhara, in north-western India, and crossed the Hindu Kush range into Bactria. After this it followed the Kokcha, Kunduz Darya, and Balkhab rivers to the Oxus (Amu Darya), and then down the Oxus toward Chorasmia. At Amul, or Chardzhou, a route branched off towards Margiana, Parthyene and the Atrek valley. From Chorasmia the main route continued along the Uzboi channel to the Caspian Sea, and crossing the sea, passed on to the mouth of the Kura river (ancient Cyrus); thence along the river and through modern Azerbaijan (Caucasian Albania) and eastern Georgia (Ancient Iberia) it crossed the Surami Pass to reach the valley of the Rioni river (ancient Phasis), where the ships, if we are to trust Strabo, were dragged along the ground. In the lower course of the Phasis (western Georgia, legendary Colchis), as reported by Pseudo-Scymnus, was situated a city bearing the same name and inhabited by people of various nationalities, including Bactrians and Indians (*Ad Nicomedem regem*, 934 [F 20]).



Thence by the Euxine the road led to the Greek cities of the Black Sea region and so ultimately to South-East Europe. No single or collective name for the entire trans-continental road in question has as yet been formulated. Scholars who have studied this route have given names only to separate parts of its long course, for instance, the 'Oxo-Caspian trade-route' (W.W. Tarn), the 'Caspian sea-route' (A.S. Balakhvantsev), or the 'Road of Strabo' (the last explaining neither the function of the road, nor its significance, or its considerable length).

In contrast to the Silk Road, the general direction of which, in Graeco-Roman sources, is always described as being from west to east (for example, in the itinerary of Maes Titianus), the description of our road, in the same sources, is given as east (from India) to west. From the same sources we also know that this road was used exclusively for transmitting Indian goods. It is in view of this that the name 'Great Indian Road' is here suggested.

There is good reason to believe that in the old days the road from Gandhara moved not only westwards, but also eastwards to south-west China. This is indicated by the report of Zhang Qian in which he says that during his mission in Central Asia (between 139 and 129 B.C.) he saw, in the markets of Baktria, bamboo and cloth from Shu, which, as the merchants told him, had been purchased in Shendu, not far from Shu. According to present knowledge, Shu corresponds to the province of Sichuan in China, whereas Shendu incorporated the territory of north-eastern India, parts of Burma, and Yunnan (a province in the south-west of China on the border with Vietnam).

There already existed, therefore, before the emergence of the 'Silk Road', a route between Baktria and south-west China that was used for commerce by Baktrian and Chinese merchants.

The Baktrian merchants seem to have travelled from Baktria through Gandhara and Kashmir, and then along the valleys of the Jumna and Ganges rivers to Burma, from whence they reached the Yunnan and Sichuan provinces in China.

Judging from a number of sources, the Great Indian Road took shape much earlier than the Great Silk Road. Hence it was the Indian Road that was the first trans-continental thoroughfare in the history of civilizations, which linked the Mediterranean world to Transcaucasia, Central Asia, Iberia, and possibly to China.

Like many other grand trade highways in antiquity, the Indian Road emerged only in sections, over several stages, the opening up which was the work of various ethnic peoples, those from Hindustan, Baktria, Chorasmia, as well as the peoples of Transcaucasia – Albanians, Iberians and Colchians.

The unification of all its parts into a single trade route seems to have been initiated by the Hellenes, starting with the legendary seafaring Argonauts' voyage to Colchis, the journey of Jason to the Caspian Sea, and the expedition of Alexander the Great with his army which opened up the riverine and overland routes from Central Asia to India, also the voyage of Patrokles commissioned by

Seleukos to explore the Caspian Sea. This paper presents the author's interpretation of some ancient textual and numismatic data which point to the relationship which existed between Central Asia and Transcaucasia in the Hellenistic and pre-Hellenistic periods.

Baktrian traders in the south of China

As mentioned above, Zhang Qian in his report made to emperor Wudi (140–86) on returning from a trip to the Western Regions, wrote that in Daxia (Baktria) he had seen bamboo staffs and cloth made in the province of Shu, which the merchants told him they had brought from Shendu. He continues by saying that if Chinese emissaries were to go through the lands of the Qiang people, the latter would get angry, and if they were to go along the north, Chinese envoys would be caught by the Xiongnu (Huns). Zhang Qian concludes that it might be better therefore to take the route direct from Shu, because this route was not subject to raid.¹

Shu, as mentioned before, is the ancient name of the present Sichuan province in south-western China, covering the Middle and Upper Yangtze areas, while Shendu, situated several thousand *li* to the south-west of Shu, occupied the territory of north-eastern India, the northern regions of Burma (Myanmar), and the western part of the Chinese province of Yunnan which is to the south of Shu (Sichuan) and abuts upon Burma in the west.²

Indeed, in view of the aggressiveness of the Qiang people who lived east of Tibet and the upper reaches of the Mekong and Salween rivers, and the threat of the Xiongnu hostility from the north, the best way to reach Daxia was to go direct from Shu to Shendu and thence on to Daxia, thus following the route used originally by Baktrian traders, from whom apparently Zhang Qian learnt about it.

It was quite natural therefore that the Chinese should have used the route by which the Baktrian merchants used to send their goods to north-eastern India and southern China.

Subsequently, Emperor Wudi ordered envoys to be sent from Shu and Jianwei, to search out and explore this route, from four different tracks passing over the domains of Di and Zuo in the north and Sui and Kunming in the south. It is reported, however, that the Chinese envoys failed to pass through Kunming, because its inhabitants, who had no king, were inclined to plundering and killing.³

Nonetheless, one thousand *li* from Sui and Kunming there was the kingdom of Dian/Dianyue, where the inhabitants rode elephants, and which was some-

¹ Bichurin 1950, 153.

² Bichurin 1950, 153

³ Liu 2006, 7.

times used by the merchants from Shu, going secretly abroad for trade.⁴ It would appear that the kingdom of Dian was to the east of India. Emperor Wudi was therefore seeking to first make contact with Dian, but after more than one fruitless attempts he decided to postpone this plan.

Meanwhile, Zhang Qian, who would seem to be the best aware of the routes leading from south China via India to Baktria, and probably of a track from Baktria westwards to the Caspian and Black Seas, persisted in exploring the routes from southern China into Baktria. Therefore, when he reported for a second time the possibility of entering Daxia (Baktria), attention was turned again towards the south-western neighbours.⁵ We can infer from all this that there were several old roads from southern China into Baktria, from Shu (Sichuan), through Burma and northern India, or across Tibet and along the Himalayas, which had been in existence since time immemorial, used by Baktrian and Chinese traders before the Chinese expansion into the Western Regions under the Han dynasty, and before Han China opened up a network of traffic and routes, both in the north and in the southwest, to make contact with the Western lands, and in particular with India and Baktria.

Products imported into Baktria from China along these roads, as Zhang Qian notes, were cloth and bamboos. Bichurin states that Sichuan cloth was made of water cane and that the kind of bamboo which Zhang Qian saw in Baktria, known in China as *xiang-zhu* (Bichurin's "зян-чжу"), grew in Ya-zhou Fu in the Xiaoxiang mountains in the south of China.⁶ A list of Chinese exports may have included other items as well, in particular those using silk. It is not impossible that the remains of garments made in Chinese silk, dating from the 6th century B.C., which have been found near Stuttgart in Germany,⁷ might well have arrived there along the Great Indian Road all the way from southern China, the principal silk-producing culture, by way of India and Baktria, and thence across the Caspian and Black Seas.

According to the Chinese researcher Zhijuan Liu, 'The earliest marine silk road across the South China Sea began with the land silk road in southern China. This started in Sichuan, and went through Yunnan via the region south of Yongchang (modern Baoshan) and ran along the Irrawaddy river until it arrived in Yangon (Rangoon). The route continued westward to India, and then crossed the Indian Ocean to either the Central Asian continent or to the Roman Empire'.⁸ O.P. Kobzeva believes that Sichuan was traversed by one of the

⁴ Bichurin 1950, 154.

⁵ Bichurin 1950, 154.

⁶ Bichurin 1950, 153, n. 1.

⁷ Liu 2006, 11.

⁸ Zhijuan Liu 2006, 79.

routes of the Silk Road, a route little known to European scholars, which ran across Yunnan, northern Burma and along the Brahmaputra river to India, and thence along the Ganges to the Iranian plateau. This route, as she suggests, came into being more than 3000 years ago.⁹

In Mauryan times (317–180), especially under the great king Ashoka (268–239), whose power extended from the Bay of Bengal in the south-east till as far as Gandhara and the Kandahar region in the north-west, the most important line of communication was the route which led from the Mauryan capital Pataliputra (Patna) on the Ganges river through the Gangetic plain to Taxila (capital of Gandhara), and thence to Baktria. According to the Indian scholar, R. Thapar, this road was called the ‘Royal Highway’, and is the ‘Grand Trunk Road’ of India today.¹⁰

The Mauryas are known to have developed intensive inter-relations with the Seleukid and Graeco-Baktrian kingdoms. An ambassador of Seleukos I Megasthenes, who wrote the work *Indica* partially preserved in Arrian, spent much time at the court of Chandragupta (317–293), the founder of the Indian Maurya dynasty, in Pataliputra.¹¹

If we now recall that under Seleukos I and his son, the first Antiochos (281–261), endeavours were made to have the road from India to the Caspian and Black Seas explored, we may assume that Megasthenes also surveyed the road from the south-east in the lower Ganges, where it met the road from Shu, China.

A number of scholars offer rather weighty arguments for the existence of early contacts between India and southern China. N. Barnard, for example, maintains that the lost-wax bronze casting technique was adopted in Yunnan from India. He relied on his survey of the bronze articles of the Zhou state of the 6th century B.C. that encompassed the central and southern parts of China. Another sign of these contacts are the finds of cowries unearthed in tombs in southern China.¹²

Another hypothesis gave rise to heated discussions. The hypothesis, as put forward by several scholars, including Cheng and Schwitter, is that the nickel which was used in the copper-nickel coins of the Baktrian Greek kings Euthydemos II, Pantaleon, Agathokles, and Eukratides was mined in Yunnan, China, and then transported to Baktria.¹³ The hypothesis has been severely criticised by S. Cammann.¹⁴ F. Widemann addresses the issue substantially in his funda-

⁹ Kobzeva 2009, 129.

¹⁰ Thapar 1973, 81–82.

¹¹ Bongard-Levin 2000, 36; Bongard-Levin, Bukharin, Vigasin 2002, 48–138.

¹² Widemann 2009, 80.

¹³ Cheng, Schwitter 1957, 351–365.

¹⁴ Cammann 1958, 409–414.

mental monograph, setting out the pros and cons of the arguments proposed by various scholars.¹⁵

Evidence, albeit indirect, of a passage from India to south-western China can be found in the biography of the famous Buddhist preacher, Kang Senghui, Sogdian by birth, which has been preserved in the chronicle by Huei-chiao. Here it is said that his ancestors had gone from Sogdia and settled in India; later Kang Senghui's father moved to Jiaozhi, i.e. northern Vietnam, where he did business. This leads to the conclusion that he reached northern Vietnam either by a long sea-route, or by the shorter land-route from India through south-west China.¹⁶

There is enough archaeological and historical evidence to suggest that communication between Central Asia and south-west China continued to be active in the early medieval period. In the first place, there is an inscription in stone written in vertical Sogdian script with carved depictions of crosses which was discovered in Ladakh, on the Kashmir and Tibet frontier, which states: "Year 210. I came from the interior. The Samarkand slave [of God] Noshfarn shall go to the Kagan of Tibet" (translation by V.A. Livshits). The inscription, dated to the Sasanian Era to King Yazdegird III, corresponds to the year 841/842 A.D.¹⁷

Another piece of evidence, of an even earlier date, which supports this assumption, is provided by a silver vessel with a Sogdian inscription recovered in the Chinese province of Canton near the border with Vietnam together with coins of Peroz (459–481). According to Y. Yoshida, the inscription on the vessel reads as follows: "This vessel belongs to [...] sp of the Chach people (Weight) 42 staters."¹⁸

Chach (Shash in Arab times) embraced the territory of the modern Tashkent region of Uzbekistan and the southern regions of modern Kazakhstan. It is noteworthy that a silver vessel, found in the village of Kerchevo in the Urals, also bears a Sogdian inscription affirming the direct association of the vessel with a Chach ruler named S'w.¹⁹ A tamga which appears on all these vessels is similar to the one on the coins of Chach of the mid-3rd–5th centuries A.D., including the coins of Zabbag and Wanun, the founders of the Chach dynasty.²⁰

Archaeological confirmation of the connection between Sogdia with southern China comes from a Nestorian inscription (707–709) found in Guilin (south

¹⁵ Widemann 2009, 75–101.

¹⁶ Huei-chiao 1991, 110–116; Rtveladze 1998, 21.

¹⁷ Sims-Williams 1993.

¹⁸ Yoshida 1996, 73–74.

¹⁹ Livshits, Lukonin 1964, 170–172.

²⁰ Rtveladze 2008, 64–75.

China) which mentions some 'An Cheng'. Judging from the first part of his name – 'An', he was a native of Bukhara.²¹

Manshu (a book on the Barbarians in southern China), compiled by Fan Chuo sometime during the Tang period (7th–10th centuries A.D.), contains a description of two routes leading into Burma and India which started from Yanshan on the Salween river in the province of Yunnan.

The northern route traversed the plains of Burma, from whence it went, after crossing the Black mountains, to the confluence of the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers. The southern route was down the Irrawaddy river and went first to the Pyū settlement in Mandalay, the royal capital of Burma under Tang rule. After Pyū it continued to the junction of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, where it joined the northern route. From there the road passed on through the Ganges and Jumna valleys and then via Mathura (Muttra) and Sagala (Sialkot)²² to Taxila (near Rawalpindi), following the old Royal Highway of the Mauryan period and what is now the Grand Trunk Road.

Indicomardana. The city of Indian men

The migration of Indians into the Oxus valley along the Great Indian Road is attested in Ptolemy, who mentions the city of Indicomardana among those situated between the Oxus (Amu Darya) and the Iaxartes (Ptol. 6.12), the name of which I.V. Piankov has translated with good reason as 'the city of Indian people'.²³ The name Indicomardana is derived from the racial name for the peoples of Hindustan, and the word 'mard' means 'man' in the languages of Iranian origin, with the suffix 'an' indicating the plural form of the noun. Consequently, it is possible to translate the name, on the strength of I.V. Piankov, as 'the city of Indian people' or rather 'the city of Indian men'. In this case, identifying Indicomardana with an ancient city-site requires that the name of the site should correspond to 'Indicomardana', and also that at least some or rather plenty of artefacts of Indian origin should have been found there. I.V. Piankov places Indicomardana at the site of Airtam, seemingly because certain Buddhist monuments have been uncovered there, of which the most striking is the famous relief frieze.²⁴

However, archaeological considerations alone propose a better candidate for the identification of Indicomardana. This would be Ancient Tarmita (Old Termez), a repository of Buddhist constructions, in particular the grandiose Karatepa and

²¹ Yoshida 1996, 75.

²² Widemann 2009, 86–87 (Carte figure 4–3).

²³ Piankov 1982.

²⁴ Masson 1933; 1935; Pugachenkova 1991/92, 23–43.

Faiaztepa monasteries, which surpass those at Airtam in both number and significance.²⁵ Yet the main point is that it is precisely at this place where a large number of inscriptions in Sanskrit and Prakrit were discovered, written in the Kharoshthi and Brahmi scripts, and which date from the first centuries A.D., i.e. the time of Ptolemy's *Geography*. The inscriptions have been thoroughly surveyed by V.V. Vertogradova,²⁶ and bear witness to the permanent establishment of people of Indian origin in ancient Tarmita, including members of a Buddhist religious community, laymen: traders, and also people from other social groups.

Nevertheless, all the cities of Bactria listed in Ptolemy's *Geography* have been identified, and Tarmita is not among them, although, as explicitly proved by W.W. Tarn, it was known by the name of 'Antiochia Tarmita' in the time of Antiochos I (281–261).²⁷ Ptolemy, in my opinion, depending on Marinus of Tyre who had relied in turn on Maes Titianus' itinerary, could hardly not have known the name 'Tarmita', but he used instead its other name 'Indicomardana', probably because it was widely used at the time, in the first centuries A.D., alongside the name 'Tarmita', because of the considerable Indian population dwelling in the city.

A parallel to the name 'Indicomardana', or 'the city of Indian men', has been detected in the 14th century. In texts and coins of this period, Termez was often referred to as '*madinat ar-ridjal*' meaning 'the men's city'²⁸ which reflected, according to M.E. Masson, the manly qualities of bravery and courage of the city dwellers. It is possible that the appellation of Termez as '*madinat ar-ridjal*', irrespective of whether the brave city dwellers were Indians or not, became the traditional name for Termez, handed on from generation to generation for centuries.

The Chorasmian king Pharasmanes and the ancient Georgian tribe of Colchians

There is a well-known story preserved in Arrian which concerns the Chorasmian king Pharasmanes (or Phrataphernes, in another account), Alexander the Great, and the Colchians – an ancient tribe of Georgian origin (their descendants being reputedly the Mingrelians), which inhabited the western part of modern Georgia known as Colchis.

The story goes that in 328 B.C. Alexander the Great received in his camp Pharasmanes, the king of Chorasmians, accompanied by cavalry numbering of one and a half thousand horsemen. Pharasmanes told Alexander that his lands bordered

²⁵ KT-1; KT-2; KT-3; KT-4; KT-5; Albaum 1976, 43–46; Albaum 1974, 53–58.

²⁶ Vertogradova 1995; Vorobeva-Desiatovskaia 1983, 22–97.

²⁷ Tarn 1940, 90–94.

²⁸ Bartold 1965, 507 (s.v. Termez).

on the Colchians and Amazons and that should Alexander wish, after defeating the Colchians and Amazons, to conquer also the tribes round the Euxine, he would show him the way to the sea and supply whatever forces were required. Alexander thanked Pharasmanes and concluded a friendly alliance, but refused to march to the Euxine, regarding this as untimely (Arr. 4.15). This story, as narrated by S.P. Tolstov, has long attracted the attention of scholars. A. von Gutschmid and V.V. Bartold held it to indicate that the Chorasmian dominion stretched as far as the south-eastern part of eastern Europe. Thus V.V. Bartold wrote: 'Chorasmia and the south-eastern part of present-day Europe of the time..., so also under the sway of Mongols, were parts of a whole'.²⁹ W.W. Tarn, however, treated this claim quite negatively.³⁰ S.P. Tolstov, on the contrary, developed V.V. Bartold's idea to an even greater extent, stating that Pharasmanes had extended his power over the countries along the Volga river, and saw in the great expansion of the Sarmatians in the 4th century B.C. 'a guiding hand of Chorasmian kings'.³¹ But these are a priori guesses, unconfirmed by literary evidence. Moreover, such a political position of Chorasmia, which in no way accounts for Chorasmia being contiguous with the Colchians, is definitely contradicted by the fact that the huge expanses of steppes, and the foothills and mountainous terrain of the Caucasus mountains which lay between Colchis and the Volga river were occupied by the Sarmatians in the east,³² and in the west by the Sindi and Maetotae who beyond any doubt had never been subject to Chorasmia.³³

We shall consider the testimony of Arrian in quite another way. Legend has it, as has survived in Pliny (born in 23/24 A.D.), that the Albanians were the descendants of Jason (Pliny 6.15/38–39) – a legendary hero, the leader of the Argonauts, who set out for Colchis in his quest for the Golden Fleece which he retrieved with the help of Medea, daughter of the Colchian king Aetes. Still earlier, Strabo (64 B.C.–c. 20 A.D.) wrote that Jason himself, when he travelled to Colchis, wandered as far as the Caspian Sea and visited Iberia, Albania, most of Armenia and Media, where was situated a temple of Jason which, as Strabo points out, is sufficient proof of his sojourn in the country. Subsequently Medea ruled with Jason in the region. Medus, her son, 'is said to have been her successor in the kingdom, and the country to have been called after his name' (Strab. 11.13.10). Incidentally, Strabo was one of the first ancient authors to mention the Albanians, whom he places between the Caucasus mountains and the lower Cyrus, just on the coast of the Caspian Sea. Pliny has the same geography for the Albanian dispersal.

²⁹ Bartold 1965, 28.

³⁰ Tarn 1985, 81, 83.

³¹ Tolstov 1949, 108–109.

³² Vinogradov 1979.

³³ *Istoriia narodov Severnogo Kavkaza* 1988, 72–84.

Legends cannot of course be taken to be authentic historical sources. However, a legend cited by an ancient author who lived close to the time of the events described, and which can further be underpinned by toponymical evidence, could well allude to an historical event associated with the advance of the Greeks and Colchians toward the Caspian Sea, which was only five days distant from Colchis (Strab. 11.7.3).

If even the Baktrians and the Indians, as Pseudo-Scymnus writes, could traverse great expanses and settle in the city of Phasis close to the Black Sea, what would it have cost the Colchians to cross much shorter distances and reach the Caspian? There is, to my thinking, nothing strange in this.

The words of Pharasmanes addressed to Alexander regarding his country bordering on the Colchians may well reflect the political situation of the times, i.e. in the second half of the 4th century B.C. Chorasmia at that time, as stated by A.S. Balakhvantsev, was a mighty and independent state which had already passed out of Achaemenid hands, at the end of the 5th century B.C., that is long before Alexander's campaigns of conquest.³⁴ Its sphere of influence extended as far west as the Caspian Sea, and Chorasmia was probably in control of the waterway linking the Oxus to the Caspian by way of the Uzboi channel.

The Colchian state in the 6th–4th centuries B.C., as the investigations of Georgian historians have shown, was the most powerful state in Transcaucasia. It embraced the whole territory of modern western and south-western Georgia in the west till the Surami range in the east which divided Eastern (Iberia) from Western (Colchis) Georgia inhabited by the Saspeirians and Colchians respectively.³⁵ It is no accident that Herodotus (5th century B.C.) names only three tribes – Colchians, Saspeirians, and Medes – as living in the territory between the Caspian and the Black Sea.

Among the notices of Herodotus, is one that says 'from Colchis it is not far to pass over to Media' (Herod. 1.104) which occupied by then the territory up to the Caspian. This testifies very clearly that there was a route between the Black Sea and the Caspian which was in use already in the 5th century B.C., and possibly even earlier (if one gives credit to the legends about Jason's journey: 8th–7th centuries B.C.). That is, at the same time that the waterway along the Uzboi from the Oxus (in Chorasmia) into the Caspian Sea was in use.

Present-day scholars propose that communication between the Oxus and the Caspian Sea was possible by way of the Uzboi channel, and which at that time and right up to the 10th century A.D. carried a great volume of water down to the Caspian and was navigable. The Chorezmian archaeological and ethnographical expedition, including the Turkmen archaeologist Kh. Iusupov,

³⁴ Balakhlantsev 2006, 376.

³⁵ Lordkipanidze 1989, 219–256; Lordkipanidze 1978.

revealed that both shores of the Uzboi were inhabited from the I millennium B.C. to the early centuries A.D. They also excavated the Parthian stronghold of Igdy-kala, which had been built in the extreme north of the Parthian state with a view, as Kh. Yusupov suggests, to control the river traffic.³⁶ That there existed a trade waterway from Central Asia down the Oxus into the Caspian and thence up the Cyrus river and down the Phasis to the Black Sea is further supported by the recent discoveries at Ichan-depe and Kalali-Gyr of pottery ware from Caucasian workshops.³⁷

Taken together, these facts prove, to my mind, that the Chorasmian king Pharasmanes, challenging Alexander to fight the Colchians and offering to guide him to the Euxine, knew of or intended to take the shorter and easier route to the Black Sea by way of the Caspian and Transcaucasia,³⁸ rather than the difficult and circuitous route which went from Chorasmia over the steppes, and thence, skirting the Caspian, to Ciscaucasia, and then crossing the Caucasus mountains to Colchis. The evidence also testifies that already in the mid-I millennium B.C. there was in existence the great waterway from Central Asia to Transcaucasia, the Black Sea, and the regions beyond.

The Baktrians and Indians in the city of Phasis

There is a very important piece of information in Pseudo-Scymnus, which has generally been omitted by scholars. The first scholar to take note of it was P. Leriche,³⁹ with reference to whom I have also used it as proof of the existence of the Great Indian Road.⁴⁰ P. Leriche kindly communicated to me that in the *Géographes Grecs* published in Paris in 2000, edited by D. Marcotte, which comprises Pseudo-Scymnus' work *The Circumnavigation of the Earth*,⁴¹ there is a description in particular of the territory from the Strait of Gibraltar till the eastern coast of the Black Sea. Pseudo-Scymnus dedicated this work to either Nikomedes II (149–127) or to Nikomedes III of Bithynia (127–97). It can thus be dated, as D. Marcotte concludes, in the period between 133–110/107 B.C.

According to Pseudo-Scymnus (*Ad Nicomedem regem*, 934 [F 20]), the Baktrians used to travel, in particular to the west, because at Phasis on the river Phasis there was a 'Greek city of Milesian origin, where men of sixty nations come

³⁶ Iusupov 1984, 77–97.

³⁷ Vainberg 1994, 67–81.

³⁸ Balakhlantsev 2005, 36.

³⁹ Leriche 2007, 122.

⁴⁰ Rtveladze 2009 (in print).

⁴¹ Marcotte 2000.

together, speaking different languages: men of Barbarian origin from India and Baktria would meet there'.⁴²

The testimony of Pseudo-Scymnus indicates that as early as even before the mid-2nd century B.C. in Phasis, the main city of Colchis, there appears to have been founded a trading station of Baktrians and Indians, which proves, in spite of the doubts proclaimed by many scholars, not only the actual existence but also the operation of a great trans-continental thoroughfare from India through Baktria to the eastern coast of the Black Sea prior at any rate to the mid-2nd century B.C.

Graeco-Baktrian coins in Transcaucasia

Graeco-Baktrian coins have been discovered in the Kura valley and other nearby sites. These finds, albeit extremely rare, have been recorded by E.A. Pakhomov; onwards their number increased insignificantly. Most of the Graeco-Baktrian coins are those reported from Kabala and Tbilisi.

Kabala – the capital city of Caucasian Albania. A hoard which included five Graeco-Baktrian coins (one tetradrachm of Diodotos and four tetradrachms of Eukratides) was found here in 1952.⁴³

Tbilisi. A hoard of six Graeco-Baktrian coins was found by accident while building a girls' high school in 1874. An analysis of the circumstances connected with the find and close examination of fifteen Graeco-Baktrian coins from the collection of the Simon Janashia Museum of Georgia led A.S. Balakhvantsev to conclude that the hoard comprised four tetradrachms of Euthydemos I, one commemorative tetradrachm of Agathokles, which was minted in the name of Antiochos II, and one tetradrachm of Eukratides.⁴⁴ The holdings of the Museum also contain nine Graeco-Baktrian coins⁴⁵ which could well have been found also in Transcaucasia.

Also notable in this connection is the private collection of a resident of Essentuki, I.D. Malyujenko, in which alongside a large number of Hellenistic coins there are also Graeco-Baktrian coins which he acquired from the locals of Azerbaijan and Georgia before the Russian Revolution, and which I examined in the 1960's.

Many explanations have been put forward to explain the presence of Graeco-Baktrian coins in Transcaucasia. S.A. Dadasheva, for example, supposed that they had found their way into Kabala through Media and indicated a military alliance between Eukratides and Timarchos, the Seleukid satrap in Media (whose

⁴² Leriche 2007, 122, n. 1.

⁴³ Dadasheva 1976, 106–109.

⁴⁴ Balakhvantsev 2005, 36.

⁴⁵ Bernard 1985, 55–71.

coins are similar to those of Eukratides) against the common enemy, the Parthian king Mithridates I. She also made a conjecture that Eukratides supported his ally financially, and that this eventually created the conditions for Timarchos to start minting his own coins imitating those of Eukratides.⁴⁶

A.S. Balakhvantsev, however, considered that the Graeco-Baktrian coins could have made their way into Transcaucasia by way of the route using the Caspian Sea, and not along the northern area and around the Caspian and Ciscaucasia, where none such coins have been found, that is, not through Media.⁴⁷

The appearance of Graeco-Baktrian coins so distant from their place of manufacture, in Transcaucasia in particular, was very likely bound up with the considerable actual value of the coins, which was due to their high silver content. They may have been used, in distant lands, not as money, but as trade-pieces or as a medium of exchange.

All the above instances offer evidence for doubtless contacts between the peoples of Central Asia and the peoples of Transcaucasia. The Chorasmians were fully aware of the ancient Georgian tribe of Colchians already in the last third part of the 4th century B.C., and probably from much earlier, and most likely because of the existence of the Caspian Sea-route. The Baktrians found themselves living in Phasis – the principal city of Colchis situated at the mouth of the Phasis river as it entered the Black Sea. The intercourse between the Chorasmians and the Colchians developed both via overland and maritime routes – using the Caspian route, which could be arrived at by three main routes along Central Asian rivers: 1) along the Kelif Uzboi and Oxus into Margiana where it joined the route from Amul; 2) along the Oxus up to Amul and then to Margiana (Merv), Parthyene and the valley of the Atrek river, which flows into the Caspian; 3) along the Oxus to Chorasmia and thence to the Caspian by way of the Uzboi.

Judging by the find-spots of Graeco-Baktrian coins, the major route from the Oxus to the Caspian was the first, and especially the second route, for on it have been found 24 Graeco-Baktrian coins (Old Merv/Gyaur-kala) – 20 specimens, Garry-Kyariz – 1 specimen, Nisa – 2 specimens),⁴⁸ while on the third route only three Graeco-Baktrian coins have been uncovered over all the years of excavation in Chorasmia.⁴⁹ The second route reached the mouth of the Atrek river, from where Turkmen seafarers set sail on the Caspian in the 18th–19th centuries.

⁴⁶ Dadasheva 1976, 108–109.

⁴⁷ Balakhlantsev 2005, 36.

⁴⁸ A portion of the route from Parthyene into Margiana is described in detail by Isidore of Charax (1st century A.D.), see Schoff 1914. The stations along the route are identified by M.E. Masson 1951, 27–31. On the Graeco-Bactrian coins found along the route, see Smirnova 1999, 246.

⁴⁹ Vainberg 1977.

I suspect that it was from this point that the maritime route of the Great Indian Road began to be used to cross the Caspian Sea and to continue along the Kura (Cyrus) valley to the Black Sea.

Everything stated above indicates the importance of the Great Indian Road, and calls for the need for further profound and thorough study of the history of the formation and the operation of this great thoroughfare on the basis of archaeological, literary, and other sources.

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Abstract

The Great Silk Road which in ancient times linked the countries of the Far East with the Mediterranean area by way of Central Asia is well known to the learned and general public. Much less known is the other great trade road, also through Central Asia, that ran from India to the Mediterranean shores. Unlike the Silk Road with its predominantly overland routes, the road from India was a compound of land and waterway routes. This road started from Taxila, the capital of Gandhara, in north-western India, and crossed the Hindu Kush range into Baktria. After this it followed the Kokcha, Kunduz Darya, and Balkhab rivers to the Oxus (Amu Darya), and then down the Oxus toward Chorasmia. At Amul, or Chardzhou, a route branched off towards Margiana, Parthyene and the Atrek valley. From Chorasmia the main route continued along the Uzboi channel to the Caspian Sea, and crossing the sea, passed on to the mouth of the Kura river (ancient Cyrus); thence along the river and through modern Azerbaijan (Caucasian Albania) and eastern Georgia (Ancient Iberia) it crossed the Surami Pass to reach the valley of the Rioni river (ancient Phasis). In the lower course of the Phasis (western Georgia, legendary Colchis) was situated a city bearing the same name and inhabited by people of various nationalities, including Baktrians and Indians. Thence by the Euxine the road led to the Greek cities of the Black Sea region and so ultimately to South-East Europe. The available data indicate the importance of the Great Indian Road, and calls for the need for further profound and thorough study of the history of the formation and the operation of this great thoroughfare on the basis of archaeological, literary, and other sources.

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THE TOCHARI - WHO ARE THEY?

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Scholarship has many problems related to the notion of Tochari, including a complex one – the problem of the Tocharian language. This article, however, will not deal with this problem. Instead, we will consider the question of what is hidden under the name “Tochari”? Is the common belief true that the Tochari emerged from the depths of Central Asia and eventually settled in Baktria? In fact, this kind of question has never been raised because even ancient authors who wrote about this people described them in exactly the same way. But, their reports contain a lot of mystery and contradiction.

Most information about the Tochari is provided by ancient Classical (Graeco-Roman) and Chinese sources. The name in Greek and Latin texts has two main forms (apart from the options and ambiguities of the writings): the early form that is associated with stories of the invasion of nomads into Central Asia – “Tachari” or “Tachori”; and a later and unified form – “Tochari”. Chinese sources respectively contain the same two forms: “Ta-h(s)ia” (current spelling “Daxia”, “Dakhīa” in Bichurin's translation) which is possibly “Ta-ha” in the ancient pronunciation (as the sound “r” did not exist in the Chinese language at the time), and “Tu-ho-lo”. The *Hanshu* explicitly states that “Tuholo” is the same as ancient “Daxia/Ta-hia”.¹ The phonetic form of these names is sufficiently close; the conformity of Tochari and Tu-ho-lo is indisputable, as is the conformity of Tachari and Daxia/Ta-hia. There would have been no doubt at all, if not for an amazing difference in the description of the role of Tochari

¹ Bichurin 1950, 321–322.

on one hand and the Daxia/Ta-hia on the other in the stories about the invasion of nomads. Nevertheless, many researchers, including sinologists, support the view of the identity of these names.²

The main mystery about the Tochari is that they had a “twin people group” who was their constant companion. According to Chinese sources, their twin people group is the Yuezhi (Yüeh-chih). Almost everywhere the Yuezhi is mentioned, we also find the Tochari. It is therefore not surprising that the view of the historical identity of the Tochari and the Yuezhi is almost universally accepted. But, attempts to also equalize the names of these people phonetically have not been convincing. The name *Yuezhi* has a match in another ethnonym, which in Greek sources is also mentioned close to and in connection with Tochari. This is *Asioi*³ or rather, “*Asioi* or *Asianoi*”.⁴ In a parallel Greek source, *Asioi* matches *Iatioi*⁵ – a form of the name that seems to be even closer to the Chinese name *Yuezhi*.⁶

The available evidence suggests that the roles of the Tochari and the Yuezhi are clearly divided. When it comes to relocation, the Yuezhi always act as mobile, nomad element; whereas the Tochari (with one exception) act as sedentary population, living in cities. Impressions of the Tochari as migrants are formed mainly because the Tochari invariably appear in every important movement of

² On the history of the problem, see: Umniakov 1940, 186–187; Herrmann 1937, 1633–1634; Gardiner-Garden 1987, 45–46. J. Marquart, for example, was of the same opinion (Marquart 1901, 204; Markwart 1946, 143, 147).

³ On the history of the problem, see Olbrycht 1998, 94. The same opinion is presented by Markwart 1946, 145 and Tarn 1951, 284, recently also by Liu 2001, 114. But on the whole, the question of the correlation of the Tochari and the Yuezhi still remains a mystery. A recent popular book about Central Asia says: “In what respect Tochari relate to the Yuezhi is not completely clear” (Baumann 2000, 203).

⁴ Strabo’s account 11.8.2 offers: “Ἀσιοὶ καὶ Πασιανοὶ: “Asioi and Pasionoi”. But a correction has long been suggested which is now broadly accepted: “Ἀσιοὶ ἢ Ἀσιανοὶ (where Η ΑΣΙΑΝΟΙ > ΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΙ) or “Ἀσιοὶ οἱ καὶ Ἀσιανοὶ (about this latter version see: Markwart 1946, 144). On the history of the problem, see: Umniakov 1940, 184–185; Gardiner-Garden 1987, 40–43. The Pasionoi are nowhere else mentioned, and to make a complex hypothesis, as it sometimes happens, on the basis of one of the controversial names, which most likely appeared as a result of scribal (spelling) error, is very risky. To link this name with the name of the Massagetaean tribe called Apasiakai is wrong, since the latter lived on their Central Asian territories long before the invasion of the nomads in the 2nd century B.C.

⁵ The identity of names of Asioi and Iatioi did not seemingly cause any reasonable objection from anybody. It is likely that they present themselves as two dialectal options of the same ethnic name, something like Asia and Yatia (Tomaschek 1877, 68). The initial y- in the second word is characteristic of the Eastern-Iranian language, an article merged with the word (Freiman 1951, 43–44).

⁶ There were many phonetic reconstructions suggested for this Chinese word. Perhaps the most accurate for this period would be something like Ywati. On the history of the problem see: Gafurov 1972, 131–132; Gardiner-Garden 1987, 39.

the Yuezhi tribes. Their name also then becomes firmly associated with the area under consideration.

Let us consider the most famous episode of the joint history of the Yuezhi and the Tochari – the migration of the Yuezhi from the depths of Central Asia to Baktria and Sogdiana. Chinese reports found in *Shiji*, *Qian Hanshu* and *Hou Hanshu* tell that the Yuezhi originally lived in the area of Gansu and were defeated by the Huns in about 160 B.C. They moved to the west through Fergana to the upper Amu Darya region after 140 B.C.; they settled to the north of the river, subjugating the area to the south of the stream called Daxia characterized by numerous cities⁷. That is where the Chinese envoy Zhang Qian found them in 128 B.C. Daxia is clearly the designation of Baktria.

Ancient testimonies, all of which date back to Apollodoros of Artemita⁸ who lived at the end of the 2nd and the 1st c. B.C.,⁹ have reached us in two traditions. The first of these is presented in Strabo and Klaudios Ptolemaios. Strabo (11.8.2) lists the nomadic tribes who migrated “from beyond the Iaxartes river region” and “deprived the Greeks of Baktria”: the Asioi or Asianoï, the Tacharoi and Sakarauoi. Traces of the same information are presented on the map of Ptolemaios (*Geogr.* 6.12.4; 6.14.14) where Iatioi and Tachoroi are placed south of the Iaxartes (i.e. as already moved across the river), and further south Augaloi, and further west Sagaraukai. The composition of the tribes according to both records is identical.¹⁰ Both records went through a common intermediary, who on several indications was Poseidonios of Apamea. The intermediary subjected Apollodoros’ evidence to a significant remaking, for example in replacing the name of the river *Tanais* with *Iaxartes*.¹¹

⁷ Kriukov 1988, 236–241; Benjamin 2006, 87–109.

⁸ Piankov 1997, 233, 272–273.

⁹ This is according to the majority of researchers. V.P. Nikonorov (1998, 109–110) suggests a different date which in our opinion is too late.

¹⁰ At first glance, this is not the case. The Strabo’s list of tribes does not mention Augaloi, but they are listed in Ptolemaios. Let us pay our attention to the name of another tribe in the same list of Strabo: Σακάρουλοι. The text here is clearly corrupt. This is evidenced by extra και after the mentioned name, usually excluded by publishers. It seems the copyist hesitated between the two possible endings of that name: -λοι and -και. The second option gives the standard form of the name. Where did -λοι come from then? Could it be a remnant of what is missing in the name of Αύγαλοι in Strabo’s current text? We think that the scribe became confused by Strabo’s original text “ΣΑΚΑΡΑΥΚΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΑΛΟΙ” with its repeating ΚΑΙ and ΑΥ, which he considered corrupt. He “corrected” the text by removing the “extra”, and thus it became ΣΑΚΑΡΑΥΛΟΙ. For the attempts to present the latter form, appearing nowhere else, as reproduction of a real ethnonym, see: Umniakov 1940, 185; Gardiner-Garden 1987, 50–60.

¹¹ Piankov 1997, 233–234, 272–273. There is unclear testimony (Plin. *N.H.* 6.22) about the crossing of the Tanais by Scythian tribes: Piankov 1997, 233; cf. Markwart 1946, 304–308.

The second tradition is reproduced in Pompeius Trogus (Prol. 41) who states that “Baktria and Sogdiana were captured by Scythian tribes of Saraucae and Asiae”. Trogus is perhaps closer to the original forms; he says nothing about crossing the river, nor does he mention the Tochari among the nomads who invaded Baktria and Sogdiana.¹² But, he knows the Tochari, and the context in which they are mentioned testifies in favour of greater proximity of the Trogus’ account to Apollodoros, and the latter one to the Chinese evidence.

Trogus’ historical context (Iust. 42.1–2) is the following: Parthian king Phraates II fought with certain “Scythians”, who then appeared in the sight of the Parthians and who came from afar. He was killed fighting them, and his successor Artabanos continued fighting and “attacked the Tochari”. These events took place in about 128–123 B.C., at the time when the Yuezhi established their dominance over Baktria-Daxia, the changes witnessed by Zhang Qian in 128 B.C.

The course of these events can be reconstructed something like the following: the clash between the Parthian king and the militant Scythians was the first encounter of Parthians with Asioi (Asianoi) = Yuezhi, and the attack of his successor on the Tochari was the invasion of the Parthians in Daxia = Baktria, the territory of the Yuezhi. The conquering pressure of the Parthians on the east before and after these events was always carried out on the outskirts of Baktria, and, according to coin evidence, Margiana was Artabanos’ offensive base at that time.¹³

Why then does the source of Strabo and Ptolemaios refer to the Tochari as nomads who along with Asioi - Iatioi seized Baktria? I think of the following explanation: Poseidonios knew that the name *Tocharoi* appeared in Baktria with the arrival there of the Asioi, and without clear understanding of the subtleties of Baktrian history, simply included the Tochari into the general list of nomad-conquerors.

Subsequently, the name of the Asioi - Yuezhi disappeared in Baktria, although the Chinese traditionally continued to use that designation when referring to the Kushan state, which was founded by the descendants of the Baktrian Yuezhi. The name of the Tochari became so deeply rooted in Baktria that it gradually completely replaced the former name of the country. Already Ptolemaios (*Geogr.* 6.11.6), drawing from Maes Titianus (most likely around the turn of A.D.), talks about the “Tochari who were a large people group” in Baktria, and were largely involved in agriculture.¹⁴ It is from the name of this people group that the medieval designation of the country Tocharistan originates. In China,

¹² As we can see, the absence of the Tochari in the list of Trogus is not the result of simple negligence of its epitomator, as it is usually considered (see, for example: Herrmann 1920, 1618).

¹³ Olbrycht 1998, 89.

¹⁴ Berthelot 1930, 186.

this name in the form of *Tuholo* came into use in 4th century A.D., and, as already mentioned, the Chinese knew that Daxia (Ta-hia) was the more ancient form of the same name.

It appears to be a very strange picture. In 141 B.C., Baktria acts as an independent state (Iust. 36.1.4), but already in 128 B.C., Zhang Qian, who visited Baktria himself, did not hear about any Baktrians, but only talks about the Tochari. How can this be explained? In a period of maximum 10 years did a complete change of the settled urban population of the state take place? Some scholars think that is exactly what happened. It may be that before Baktria was conquered by the Asioi - Yuezhi, the Tochari were already settled in Baktria (as a sedentary agriculturalist people!) around 135 B.C.¹⁵ These Tochari went there in a different and separate way from the Asioi - Yuezhi and took possession of the country with the agreement of the Baktrian Greeks after the latter had gone over the Hindu Kush into Northern India that they conquered.¹⁶ Of course, this entire intricate story is pure fiction of contemporary scholars. There is not even a hint of it in the sources. And this kind of story in itself is totally unrealistic.¹⁷

Therefore, another hypothesis was suggested: Zhang Qian, having reached the Yuezhi in the west, decided that Baktria, the country where they lived, was a semi-mythical country Daxia, placed by the Chinese on the western fringes of their ecumene in the 3rd-2nd centuries B.C.¹⁸ But even this suggestion is clearly far-fetched. In Zhang Qian's description of Daxia, there is not a single hint that he perceived the country as some kind of fairyland. When describing this country and other Central Asian regions, Zhang Qian's aspiration attempted to convey their true phonation and as accurately as possible. But in the absence of another convincing explanation specialists generally adopted this hypothesis.

The same Chinese sources that talk about a Yuezhi migration from Gansu inform us that not all the Yuezhi went to the west. Some of them called *Lesser Yuezhi* stayed in Gansu and mixed with the local Tibetans.¹⁹ Here, having retreated to the mountains of Nanshan and the area of Lake Koko Nor, they played an active role even in the 1st-2nd centuries A.D. Can the Tochari be found here as well? Undoubtedly. According to Ptolemaios (*Geogr.* 6.16. 2. 5. 8), drawing from the Maes Titianus's itinerary, the people of Thaguroi, or Ithaguroi lived in

¹⁵ On the history of the problem, see: Tarn 1951, 295-296; Puri 1974, 189.

¹⁶ Marquart 1901, 206-207; 1905, 240-241; Markwart 1946 I, 144-145.

¹⁷ It is clear that the previously assumed destruction of the Graeco-Baktrian city of Ai Khanum by two successive waves of nomads finds now another, more convincing explanation. I have devoted to this issue a big article for the Franco-Soviet book in the 1990's, which however never got published.

¹⁸ On the history of the problem, see: Umniakov 1940, 186-187; Herrmann 1937, 1633-1634; Tarn 1951, 296-297.

¹⁹ Kriukov 1988, 240-241.

these areas at this time of history. All researchers agree in identifying them with the Tochari, the city of Thogara with Ganzhou, and the Thaguron or Ithaguron Mountain with Nanshan.²⁰ Even the Buddhist monk and translator Kumarajiva (4th century A.D.) directly translated the word “Tochari” (Tukhara) as *Lesser Yuezhi*. And in their ancient history, the Yuezhi and the Tochari are inseparable, even before the Yuezhi left Central Asia under the pressure from the Xiongnu (160 B.C.). According to Chinese sources from the Han period, the Yuezhi first lived between the city of Dunhuang (which did not exist at the time) and Qilian Mountains. As to the location of the latter, there is no common agreement as to whether it is Nanshan or the Chinese Tian Shan.²¹ But in any case, it is clear that at that time, the Yuezhi’s dominance was spread on to large territories including the entire Kashgaria (Tarim basin) and Hesi (Gansu corridor).²² This is confirmed by Chinese sources of pre-Han times (7th – 3rd centuries B.C.), in which the ancestors of the Yuezhi are mentioned under the name Niuzhi (with options) as the “jade people”. They mined jade and controlled its export to China where it was always of outstanding value.²³ This means that the region of Khotan was already part of the Yuezhi ancestors realm.

In the same area east of Khotan, the Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang (7th century A.D.) saw the ruins of the settlements of “ancient Tuholo”²⁴, and an even earlier source (3rd century B.C.) knows ancient Daxia very well in these localities.²⁵ This shows that the people of ancient Daxia were, for the Chinese of the Tang era, the Tochari (Tuholo) who lived not only in Baktria, but also in Kashgaria. In both areas, they lived as a settled urban population. The ancient authors also talk about the Tochari in the same area when writing about the period prior to the Yuezhi migration to Baktria.²⁶ Their records go as far as to Apollodoros of Artemita (2nd – 1st centuries B.C.)²⁷ and Megasthenes (4th–3rd centuries B.C.), and the latter mentions that the Tochari mined jade.²⁸

The name Tochari is also mentioned in connection with the cities of northern Kashgaria located in the Tarim valley at the southern foothills of the Chinese

²⁰ This “Tocharian” nomenclature is seemingly communicated here in Tibetanized form. And if a reading with the initial “i” is correct, then it has the Eastern-Iranian article. This is a direct illustration of the message of a mixed ethnos of the Lesser Yuezhi.

²¹ On the history of the problem, see: Kriukov 1988, 237; Weinberg 1999, 242–243.

²² Kliashtorny, Savinov 1998, 172.

²³ Kriukov 1988, 236; Narain 1999, 4–5; Liu 2001, 117–118.

²⁴ On the history of the problem of ancient “Tuholo” and Daxia, see: Herrmann 1937, 1634; Umniakov 1940, 186–187; Puri 1974, 189.

²⁵ Marquart 1901, 207, 318–320.

²⁶ Tomaschek 1883, 205; Markwart 1946 I, 148.

²⁷ Piankov 1986, 16–18.

²⁸ Piankov 1987, 266–267.

Tian Shan. This area was historically populated by sedentary agriculturalists, such as *Tochri* (Тоҳри) and *Four Tochri* (Тўҳры), according to Uighur and Sogdian records (9th–10th centuries A.D.); *Five Taugara* according to Khotan-Saka records (8th–10th centuries A.D.); *Thokars* (*Tho-kar* with options), according to Tibetan records (5th–9th centuries A.D.), referring to them as an ancient people group who together with Chinese erected canals from Tarim.²⁹ The roots of this word usage in this region most likely go back to the era of the Yuezhi dominion in Kashgaria (before the Huns' supremacy). The Tochari appeared in the areas along the route taken by the Yuezhi during their migration to western Central Asia. Thus, it is considered that their name is contained in the designation of Fergana, the area of an ancient sedentary culture, which is recovered from the Chinese *Dayuan* as *Taxwar*.³⁰

I should note that I exclude from linking the names that are considered to be *Tochari* simply on the basis of phonetic similarity with the ethnonym *Tochari*. An example would be the Assyrian *Tuharru*. The same can be said in relation to linking the ethnonym *Yuezhi* (due to its highly hypothetical phonetic reconstruction) with well-known names such as *Massagetae* and *Scythians*.

These types of linkages are entirely unproven hypotheses, and a long way from the reality of the migrations of tribes and peoples. I also think that linking Akkadian names *Tukri* and *Guti* to *Tochari* is simply an unreliable assumption.

Therefore, in all the cases that we considered, the Tochari appear to be a sedentary “adjunct” to the nomadic Asioi - Yuezhi. This is quite accurately illustrated in the words of Trogus (Prol. 42): *Reges Tocharorum Asiani* – “Asiani Kings of Tochari”.³¹ Perhaps we can also add here a remark by a commentator to a poem by Dionysios Periegetes (Eustath. ad Dion. Per. 752): “some.... say, that Tochari – τριγενῆς”, if the last word is understood as “three tribes”. It seems that we have here a typical example of a complex society consisting of two main “tribes”: a normally dominant nomadic component (“kings”), and a sedentary farming component. The third component in such type of society is represented by a priestly corporation, which is also regarded as a tribe. It is the nomadic component, such as “Royal Scythians” or “Royal Sakas”,³² that always migrates, but the sedentary component remains settled on the spot.

²⁹ For a general overview of references about the Tochari related to this region, see: Herrmann 1937, 1633, 1636–1641; Umniakov 1940, 188–191; Gardiner-Garden 1987, 47.

³⁰ Gafurov 1972, 132.

³¹ Typically, these words are being interpreted as a reference to a certain event: “Asians (became) the kings of Tochari.” For an overview of the interpretations in this sense, see: Gardiner-Garden 1987, 37–40. But even Tarn pointed out that here we have in mind not an event, but a condition – an indication of the structure of a nomadic horde (Tarn 1951, 286–287, 533).

³² Piankov 1996, 38.

But the striking feature of this particular case that requires explanation lies in the fact that the settled component, wherever the Asioi - Yuezhi seem to appear, always happens to be the Tochari. It is hard to imagine that a sedentary people with an ancient urban culture would constantly move from one place to another and completely replace the existing sedentary population in their new location. The conclusion is clear: the term *Tochari* in the original sense is not an ethnonym, but a special term used for describing the settled component of nomadic hordes, although perceived as a people's name by the neighbouring nations. But the latter sometimes attached the term to the whole horde.

Perhaps the closest analogy for Tochari is “el” of the ancient Turks, a nomadic “empire” based on the military subordination of one part of it by another. The term “el” can mean “empire” as a whole, but mainly a subordinate part of it as the spoils of war.³³ In this regard, the researchers make an interesting observation. The kings from the Kushan clan – the heirs of the “royal” Asioi - Yuezhi tribe – never called themselves *Tochari*.³⁴ With this understanding of the word *Tochari*, it loses its significance and the old debate of whether or not Baktria-Daxia was divided into five principalities before the arrival of the Yuezhi or after.³⁵

It is most likely that the Asioi - Yuezhi themselves, judging by their language, belonged to the Saka tribes in a broader sense, that is they were the South-Eastern Iranians.³⁶ This does not exclude the possibility that the native language of the Kushan dynasty was a Central-Asian Indo-European language of a centum group.³⁷ So for the Asioi - Yuezhi, the Tochari were the local Baktrian Iranians and the remaining Greeks. But from the first centuries A.D., the Tochari already constituted a united nation with the predominating language being a direct successor of the Asioi - Yuezhi language for which Greek letters were adopted to render it. The local population called it *Tocharian* language and contemporary scholars call it *Baktrian*.

For the Lesser Yuezhi in Gansu, *Thagurs* were the local Tibetans, but subsequently these two nations got mixed up, and as a result the names Lesser Yuezhi and Tochari became equivalent. In earlier times, Tochari in southern Kashgaria possibly were the pro-Tibetan tribes who were occupying the area from Khotan to Lop Nor Lake³⁸ at that time. And in northern Kashgaria, near Turfan,

³³ Gumilev 1967, 101–102.

³⁴ Narain 1999, 6.

³⁵ About this disagreement, see: Puri 1974, 184–188; Narain 1999, 40–41; Staviskii 1977, 100–101; Litvinskii 1998, 409, 687.

³⁶ About the South-Eastern Iranian languages and people who carry them, see: Oranskii 1979, 119–127.

³⁷ Ivanov 1967, 118.

³⁸ Kriukov 1988, 273–274.

Karashar, and Kucha it was the people who spoke in Central-Asian/Indo-European dialects of a centum language group. In the 9th century A.D., the Uighurs called it *Tochri* and modern scholars now call it *Tocharian*.

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Abstract

The Tochari – Who are they?

In the article the author tries to explain contradictive information from different sources about the ancient people called the Tochari. He comes to the conclusion that initially the word 'Tochari' was the common noun (notion), meaning the structural part of a nomadic "empire", its sedentary factor. And only later this word became known as an ethnic notion.

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PARTHIAN COINS FROM KAMPYRTEPA *

Keywords: Parthian coins, Bactria, Central Asia, numismatic evidence, nomads

The ancient settlement of Kampyrtepa (“Hill of the Old Lady” in Uzbek) is situated 30 km south-west of the town of Termez, downstream the Amu Darya River. The history of Kampyrtepa’s exploration is 30 years old.¹ The settlement consists of the citadel, the main residential part – the “lower town” – and the two separate parts beyond the wall – a complex of constructions reserved for funeral rites and religious worship, as well as the ‘quay’. The archaeological discoveries have been examined in a number of articles and seven collections of the “Materials of the Tokharistan Expedition” (*MTE*).² The overall research into the history of the settlement of Kampyrtepa makes the following picture.

The first period, the Hellenistic, encompasses the span of the Seleukid and the Graeco-Baktrian times, from the late 4th to the early second half of the 2nd century B.C. (periods KT-1 and KT-3). During this period, the settlement area expanded onto the south-eastern part of the terrace, where the citadel stood, and the slopes of the opposite natural ravine. Archeologists discovered buildings inside the citadel and a complex of constructions at the gateway with an adjacent

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¹ Alpatkina 2009.

² Essential information on the excavations is provided by: Rtveladze 2000a; Rtveladze 2001; Rtveladze 2006; Rtveladze 2008, 79–80.

stretch of fortified walls³, as well as a pottery in the suburban area, dating from the late 4th – early 3rd centuries B.C.⁴

The second period, encompassing the Yuezhi phase – the second half of the 2nd – the first part of the 1st century B.C. – and the Parthian phase – from the reign of Orodes II (ca. 57–39 B.C.)⁵ to the early 1st century A.D. (periods KT-4 and KT-5). During this period the settlement was developing within the same area, the way it was in the first period, but the citadel walls lost their functional purpose. Utility rooms were erected in front of the walls.⁶

The third period, the early Kushan and the Kushan – the early 1st – mid 2nd centuries A.D. (KT-6 and KT-7). During this period the territory of the principal part of the residential settlement, the so-called “lower town”, was being settled.⁷ Defensive walls had been erected to surround the town where blocks of houses were springing up.

The Parthian period of the history of the settlement is the least explored. The discovery of coins of allegedly Parthian origin called for distinguishing it as a separate phase. According to the initial attribution, they are coins of Orodes II (ca. 57–38 B.C.), Phraates IV (ca. 38–2 B.C.), Phraatakes (ca. 2 B.C. – 4 A.D.) and Gotarzes II (ca. 40–51 A.D.). In various publications their number varies from 6 to 12.⁸ The same list appears in some other works too.⁹ Yet these coins from Kampyrtepa were published only but recently. Unfortunately,

³ Mkrtychev, Bolelov 2006,52; Rtveladze 2006, 6–7; Sverchkov, Voskovskii 2006, 26–28; Dvurechenskaia 2006, 113–115.

⁴ Rtveladze, Bolelov 200, 102; Bolelov 2001, 19.

⁵ Here and below in the text, all dates of the Parthian kings' reigns and the typology of their coinage are given in accordance with D. Sellwood's study (Sellwood 1980).

⁶ Rtveladze 2006, 7; Rtveladze 2009, 79.

⁷ The “lower town” is the name given by some researchers to the main residential part of the town surrounding the citadel on three sides where the site development followed a regular pattern of blocks of houses (Cf. Bolelov 2005, 37; Bolelov 2006, 15; Mkrtychev, Bolelov, 2006, 49; Dvurechenskaia 2006, 110). E.V. Rtveladze put forward a different description: he applies the term ‘lower town’ to the extinct part of the settlement, south of the citadel, assumedly washed away by the waters of the Amu Darya (Rtveladze 2008, 80). Yet, this description seems a little far-fetched since the very existence of the town development to the south of the citadel is deemed hypothetical. Despite the fact that a number of rooms located on the steep edge of the natural terrace do not have southern walls in the housing estates marked «Г», «Ж» и «З», S. Kurbanov (2000, 70, 1–5, 1–6, 1–7) holds that, considering the topographical specifics of the settlement, the area of the terrace occupied by the citadel premises allegedly washed out by the Amu Darya could not have been very large. If there indeed existed a ‘quay’ to the south-east of the citadel, it sat on the same axis as the citadel (Rtveladze 2001, 9, fig. 2). This indicates that the river was flowing close to the citadel, which makes the housing development southward impossible.

⁸ Cf. Rtveladze 1987, 61–62; 1993/94, 82, 87; 2000b, 89; 2001, 7; 2008, 80; 2010, 13.

⁹ See Litvinskii 2010, 91–92; Bongard-Levin, Koshelenko 2003, 391.

this first publication, presenting only six coins that are deemed Parthian,¹⁰ leaves a number of questions still unsolved: the attribution of the type, the date of issue and circulation, the archeological context of the finds, the reasons for issuing such coins. This called for having a closer look at the Parthian coins from Kampyrtepa.

Two of the coins examined in the first publication are totally corroded (fig. 5–6). The outlines of the design are damaged beyond recognition, so they are excluded from the list of coins examined below.¹¹

Table 1. Parthian coins from Kampyrtepa

Nos.	Weight (grams)	Size (mm)	Axes (hrs.)	Place and circumstances of the find ¹²		
				Unit	Room number	Layer
1	2.77	14.1x14.5	12 o'clock	Citadel	–	Surface find
2	2.69	16.2	ditto	ditto	–	ditto
3	2.94	18x18.2	ditto	ditto	107	Above the upper floor ¹³
4	3.2	16.9x18.9	ditto	ditto	46	Occupation layer above the 1 st floor

1. Phraates IV. Chalkous (fig. 1)¹⁴

Obverse: bearded bust of ruler left, with triple necklace round his neck, diadem on his head with three ends hanging loose behind back; star in outer left field; blurred image of crowned bird behind head; circular dotted border, partially preserved (at the stretch of 7 – 2 o'clock).

Reverse: deer with lowered head in square of blurred Greek legend; below it (at 5 o'clock) monogram Π.

No direct analogy with the coin no. 1 has been found; it must be a unique specimen. Analogous bronze coins of Phraates IV (king's profile bust left/deer

¹⁰ Biriukov 2010, 34–48.

¹¹ Biriukov 2010, 36–37, nos. 3, 6.

¹² The findspot for the coins nos. 3–4 can now be given as correct: the earlier published records were erroneous (Biriukov 2010, nos. 4–5).

¹³ S. Kurbanov in his report mistakenly indicates the findspot as above the second floor (Kurbanov 2000, 58).

¹⁴ The photographs were taken by G.A. Kogodin (Tashkent), to whom the author is sincerely grateful.

right) were struck at the Ekbatana mint (with a monogram representing a combination of Greek letters A, Γ and T).¹⁵ Copper coins of Phraates IV of similar type struck at the Margiana mint are unknown. The published records do not register any finds of Parthian copper coins struck at either the Margiana or any other mint. Thus, Kampyrtepa is the easternmost place of discovering Parthian copper outside Parthia. The monogram on the reverse side is noteworthy. Common opinion holds that Π on the reverse side of Parthian coins should denote the monogram of the Margiana mint.¹⁶ Yet Biriukov argues that this symbol is the abbreviation for the Nisa mint – “Parthaunisa”. He believes that before Phraates IV the abbreviation for the Nisa mint was rendered as NI, NICA, NICAIA, and starting with his reign and under his Parthian successors the product of this mint bore the symbol Π.¹⁷

This can be countered by the following objection. First, the coinage of a certain mint is characterized by typical monograms or abbreviations which stand for the name of the mint.¹⁸ Coins struck at the Nisa mint bear the letters NICA, NICAIA, NI, N.

The coinage of drachms at this mint continued not only under Phraates IV,¹⁹ but also under his successors Phraatakes,²⁰ Artabanus II (ca. 10–38)²¹ and Vardanes I (ca. 40–45).²²

The symbol Π is a distorted letter M, which represents the monogram of the Margiana mint and not “Parthaunisa”, as D.V. Biriukov believes. Initially the Margiana mint monogram was rendered as MAP. We know that there were issues of drachms of Phraates II (ca. 138–127 B.C.),²³ Artabanos I (ca. 127–124 B.C.),²⁴ Gotarzes I (ca. 95–90 B.C.),²⁵ and Orodes I (ca. 90–80 B.C.)²⁶ bearing the letters MAP. Drachms of Darius (ca. 70 B.C.) feature the monogram as a combination of letters M and A,²⁷ and starting with the reign of Phraates III

¹⁵ Wroth 1903, 129, nos. 242–245, pl. XXII, 16–17; Sellwood 1980, type 52.50. The design of a deer can be found on dichalkoi of Orodes II minted in Mithridatkirt (Sellwood 1980, type 47.38, 48.20). D.V. Biriukov relates this coin to the issues of Orodes II (Biriukov 2010, 36, no. 1), though he does not support his attribution with references to the appropriate literature.

¹⁶ Sellwood 1980, 13.

¹⁷ Biriukov 2010, 41–42.

¹⁸ Sellwood 1976, 11–16; Sellwood 1980, 12–15.

¹⁹ Sellwood 1980, type 52.17–18, 53.8, 54.12.

²⁰ Sellwood 1980, type 56.14.

²¹ Sellwood 1980, type 63.8, 63.14–15.

²² Sellwood 1980, type 64.32.

²³ Pilipko 1976, 116, ill. 2, no. 28.

²⁴ Sellwood 1980, type 20.5–6, 22.4.

²⁵ Sellwood 1980, type 33.7.

²⁶ Sellwood 1980, type 31.9.

²⁷ Sellwood 1980, type 36.16.

(ca. 70–57 B.C.), its type face turns into letter M (a variant of Π).²⁸ This variant of the monogram is also found on drachms of Mithridates III (ca. 57–54 B.C.),²⁹ Orodes II,³⁰ Phraates IV,³¹ Artabanos II,³² and Gotarzes II.³³ Thus, under Phraates IV and his successors, until the mid 1st century A.D., the issues of drachms at the Nisa and Margiana mints continued concurrently and almost without interruptions. Hence, it is wrongful to identify Margiana drachms marked with an M monogram with the issues of the putative “Parthaunisa”. It was not until the last quarter of the 1st century A.D. that the north-eastern mints of Parthia – Nisa and Margiana (also should be included the mint at Old Nisa/Mithradatkirt) – ceased to mint silver coins while the bulk of the emissions started to be produced at Ekbatana.³⁴

Second, silver coins and, predominantly, copper issues bearing the Π monogram minted under Orodes I,³⁵ Sinatrukes (ca. 75 B.C.),³⁶ Orodes II³⁷ and Phraates IV³⁸ were found at Gyaur-kala/Merv, the capital of Margiana. By the mid 1st century, the coinage here had ceased to be a state controlled matter, yielding the prerogative to lesser rulers, independent of the central Arsacid power, to carry out the mass issues of copper coins marked with a Π sign³⁹ (their number reaching hundreds of pieces). The first ones were the coins modeled on the type of Phraates IV’s drachms.⁴⁰ The local character of circulation of copper coins with the Π mark is not to be questioned: they circulated in the Merv Oasis; outside its frontiers such finds have been singular⁴¹.

²⁸ Sellwood 1980, type 38.10, 39.12.

²⁹ Sellwood 1980, type 40.13, 41.11.

³⁰ Sellwood 1980, type 43.8, 46.13, 47.11, 47.30.

³¹ Sellwood 1980, type 52.19.

³² Sellwood 1980, type 63.16.

³³ Sellwood 1980, type 64.37.

³⁴ Pilipko 1987, 125.

³⁵ Loginov, Nikitin 1996, 44, no. 15 (drachm).

³⁶ Loginov, Nikitin 1996, 44, no. 18 (drachm).

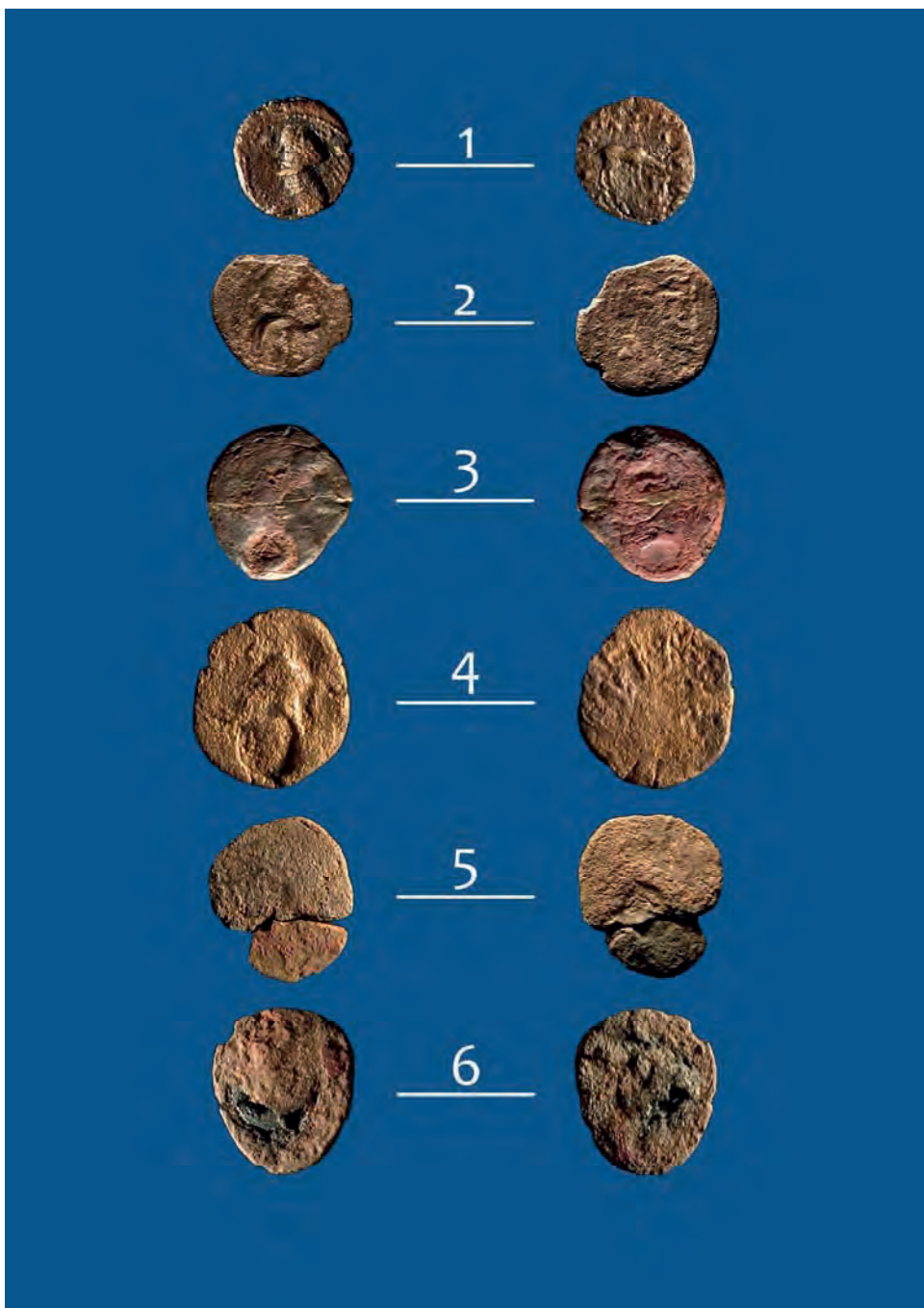
³⁷ Loginov, Nikitin 1996, 44, 47, nos. 19 (drachm), 22–23, 26–27, 29, 31–36 (chalkoi).

³⁸ Loginov, Nikitin 1996, 47, nos. 40–41, 43–45 (chalkoi).

³⁹ Occasionally, starting from the mid 1st century A.D., these coins bear different monograms – the letter A, combinations of Π and A, as well as Π and T (Pilipko 1980, 113–114, type III.5, IV.1, IV.2, V.1). V.N. Pilipko, who has examined the Merv local coinage in good detail, is very special in pointing out that though we are lacking of a satisfactory explanation of the appearance of these monograms, there is no ground to place this coinage at a different door. The mass finds of coins of this type in Margiana testify to this, as well as the typological relations with the coins of other series (Pilipko 1980, 118).

⁴⁰ Sellwood 1980, type 52.39; Pilipko 1980, 113, types I.1 and I.2; Nikitin 1998, 16.

⁴¹ Pilipko 1980, 106–107.



2. Imitation of Phraates IV's drachms with a countermark (fig. 2)

Obverse: bust of ruler facing left; details not preserved; coin flan rugged with upper edge partially chipped (at 11–1 o'clock); countermark in lower field; very blurred image on countermark – schematic head facing left.

Reverse: poorly discernible Greek legend in square arrangement; enthroned personage facing left with bow in outstretched arm;⁴² monogram Π below bow; badly worn surface opposite countermark.

3. Imitation of Phraates IV's drachms with a countermark (fig. 3)

Obverse: bust of ruler facing left; details not preserved; rugged flan; countermark in lower field; schematic blurred head facing left on countermark; clearly visible straight nose and eye; image executed in hachure mode.

Reverse: visible outline of seated person facing left; legend and monogram worn out.

4. Imitation of Phraates IV's drachms with a countermark (fig. 4)

Obverse: bust of ruler facing left; details not preserved; rugged flan; countermark in lower field; blurred, outlined helmeted head facing left on countermark.

Reverse: barely discernible Greek legend arranged in square; contour of seated man facing right; bow indiscernible.

The exact attribution of coins nos. 2–4 is impossible owing to their badly preserved state. The same factor prevents the establishment of authenticity of the countermark. This accounts for a series of indirect criteria determining our choice of attribution presented below.

The practice of overstiking of copper pieces is rather rare, which stems primarily from the physical properties of copper, which, unlike silver, is a less ductile metal. Before striking a countermark on the flan, one had to heat it. This always carried a risk of overheating the flan thereby causing a change in its initial shape and deterioration of design, making it completely “unreadable”, thus such a procedure proves pointless. Moreover, such practice shortens the life of a die.⁴³ Also, overstiking and – even more so – countermarking copper is not, as

⁴² For an interpretation of this scene, see Raevskii 1977; Zeimal 1982.

⁴³ Simonetta 2006, 41.

a rule, a big political issue.⁴⁴ We know of only two occasions of mass copper overstriking in Parthia. The first was conducted by Mithradates II (123–87 B.C.), who had the chalkoi of Hyspaosines of Charakene⁴⁵ overstruck as well as his own earlier issues that did not bear the legend “King of Kings”. The second group of overstruck pieces dates back to the 1st century A.D. when an attempt to regulate currency was made in Parthia. At that time, rulers used their own earlier issues as flans.⁴⁶ We must not forget that the issue of copper coins was not a very costly procedure owing to the cheapness of copper. Bearing this in mind, we are safe to relate the coins from Kampyrtepa to copper imitations of Parthian drachms. Their copper core must have been plated with silver, though not a trace of silvering has been preserved.⁴⁷

It is significant that the quality of silver coins struck in the eastern parts of Parthia started to deteriorate in the middle of the 1st century B.C. In the coins issued at the Mithradatkirt mint, from the collection of the national Museum of Iran, the ratio of fine silver to copper and other alloys was as follows: for drachms of Orodes II⁴⁸ – 85.7%, for the two drachms of Phraates IV⁴⁹ 40.2% and 28.2% respectively, for the drachms of Vardanes I⁵⁰ 32.5%⁵¹. In other words, from the mid 1st century B.C. to the mid 1st century A.D. the mint at Mithradatkirt⁵² used, at least for a certain number of drachms, an alloy with properties corresponding to those of billon. The quality loss in silver coins was also evident in the territories to the east of Parthia – Arachosia, Gandhara, Kabulistan (Kapisa) that constituted the kingdoms of Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians. Thus, the second period of coinage under the Indo-Scythian King Azes (according to D.W. McDowell) is marked by the quality loss in the metal and an introduction of a new one – billon. This process is referred to as “the great debasement of silver”.⁵³ The imitation of coins under the last Greek king Hermeias of Paropamisadae⁵⁴ reveals simultaneous

⁴⁴ Sellwood 1993, 104.

⁴⁵ Simonetta 2006, 43.

⁴⁶ Nikitin 1988, 86.

⁴⁷ On the plating of Roman coins in the Kushan period, see Zeimal 1967, 64–65.

⁴⁸ Sellwood 1980, type 47.31.

⁴⁹ Sellwood 1980, type 54.14.

⁵⁰ Sellwood 1980, type 64.33. Contrary to the opinion expressed by D. Sellwood, V.N. Pilipko, drawing upon certain stylistic features, relates this coin type to the first decade of the 1st century A.D. on the assumption that it was issued by one of the ephemeral Parthian rulers (Pilipko 1987, 119).

⁵¹ Khademi, Arkan, Arkan, Saffari 2006, 196, tab. 2.

⁵² The issue of coins at this mint continued until the rule of Vologases I (Pilipko 1987, 117).

⁵³ MacDowall 1996, 116–117; MacDowall 2007a, 102.

⁵⁴ The coins of Spalirises and Azes are known to have been overstruck from the earlier posthumous coins of Hermaios that had been minted circa 70–55 B.C. (Bopearachchi 1999, 126). The attribution of coin imitations of Hermaios is a controversial question. O. Bopearachchi argues that it was

changes in the composition of metal. Out of the 10 groups of coins issued on behalf of this king, the first three were made of silver with negligible alloys, groups nos. 4–7 were made of billon, groups nos. 7–10 of pure copper (classification according to O. Bopearachchi⁵⁵). Such high-standard coins as the tetradrachms of Heraios also revealed deterioration of silver. There is a unique silver plated billon coin minted under this ruler.⁵⁶

Thus, the issue of imitations of Parthian drachms was accompanied by the debasement of silver coins' quality.

The coins nos. 2–4 bear the countermarks of two types.

Type 1. Head facing left (coins nos. 2–3; noteworthy is the stylistic peculiarity of these countermarks). No other available Parthian coins and their imitations feature this peculiarity.⁵⁷ The countermark showing the head facing left surrounded by the legend OTANNHΣ can be found on coins of Orodes I, Sinatrukes, Phraates III and Orodes II.⁵⁸ There are drachms of Mithradates II, Gotarzes, Orodes I, Sinatrukes, Phraates III, Orodes II and Phraates IV with the countermarks showing a head turned left, wearing a peculiar headdress of a cap with a tassel and the legend TANAIC.⁵⁹

Type 2. Helmeted head facing left (coin no. 4). The countermark of this type can be found on drachms, admittedly related to the coinage of Orodes II⁶⁰ and imitations of drachms of Vardanes I (this countermark is smaller than that on the imi-

done by the Yuezhi (Bopearachchi 1999, 114–115). R. Senior attributes them to the Indo-Scythian rulers (Senior 2000; Senior 2004, xxxv). F. Widemann assumes that these coins were sequentially struck by Indo-Scythians (groups 2–4), late Indo-Greek rulers – Hermaios II and Hermaios III (groups 5–6), Indo-Parthians (group 7) and Kushans (Widemann 2009, 389–390, 395–400).

⁵⁵ Bopearachchi 1999, 132–134. He dates the 4–5 group issues AT 55 B.C. – A.D. 20.

⁵⁶ Widemann 2000, 239, fig.11. Here it is relevant to put a question: if the process of deterioration of the quality of Indo-Scythian coins of Azes, Azilises, Azes II (the reign of these kings encompasses the period of 57 B.C. to 20 A.D.; R. Senior argues that all these coins were struck by two or even one king who ruled for a very long time: Senior 2001: Vol. I, 89–90), Parthian drachms of the late 1st century B.C. and imitations of Hermaios' emissions was relatively synchronous, then the billon tetradrachms of Heraios may have constituted the final stage of this coinage, hence the beginning of their issue may be dated at the late 2nd – early 1st centuries B.C. Thus, D.V. Biriukov and E.V. Rtveladze, on the grounds of stylistic changes in the coinages of Heraios, assume that they were being issued during a long period of time and, possibly, by several rulers (D.V. Biriukov 1995, 18–28; E.V. Rtveladze 2005, 137–138). Yet, according to the well-known assumption made by J. Cribb, these coins were issued by Kujula Kadphises (ca. 40–90 A.D.) (Cribb 1993, 107–134). Here and below the dates of reigns of the Kushan kings are reconstructed according to IDK (the initial date of Kanishka) as 127 A.D. This date, based on a hypothesis put forward by H. Falk (Falk 2001, 126–136), is commonly accepted by most researchers.

⁵⁷ Cf. Sellwood 1980, type 91; Simonetta 2006, 46–47.

⁵⁸ Sellwood 1980, type 91.2–6.

⁵⁹ Senior 2001: Vol. II, 145, issue 195; Vol. III, 46.

⁶⁰ The attribution suggested by R. Senior is questionable (Senior 2001: Vol. II, issue 198.5D).

tations from Kampyrtepa).⁶¹ Among the most common group of imitations of Parthian coins in Baktria, the imitations of drachms of Phraates IV with a helmeted head turned right are more typical. The obols of Eukratides⁶² or their imitations⁶³ served as their prototypes. E.V. Zeimal pointed to a still unpublished case of a “copper drachm” of Phraatakes (or its imitation) discovered at Varryk-depe.⁶⁴

Thus, the countermarks of the two copper imitations of Parthian coins from Kampytepa represent a hitherto unknown type, while the countermark of the third coin correlates with the countermarks struck on drachms of Phraates IV (and on one drachm, presumably, of Orodes II). That the countermark is placed in the field to the advantage of the main image, which has already been noted in the literature, testifies to the acknowledgement of the authority of the Parthian king and also means that these coins were issued in the domains of vassals dependent on Parthia.⁶⁵

In the attribution of the imitation 2, the symbol Π, the monogram of the Margiana mint struck on the reverse of the coin, serves as a clincher. From out of the available imitations of Parthian coins, only one type has it – imitations of Phraates IV’s drachms.

Let us examine the reasons why coins of this type were issued.

The conquest of Baktria by the Sakas and the Yuezhi in the second half of the 2nd century B.C. was actually a migration of nomadic tribes to the territory of a sedentary and agricultural society.⁶⁶ They subdued the economically and socially developed areas. Baktria, from the time of the campaign led by Alexander of Macedonia, for over 180 years had been part of the Hellenistic states – the Seleukid empire and the Graeco-Baktrian kingdom (ca. 328–140 B.C.).

For many a time suffering a defeat, the exiles who had abandoned their home lands and who owed their initial success in conquering the Graeco-Baktrian kingdom, enfeebled by many wars, to favorable circumstances, the nomads had to adjust to the new surroundings. In theory, any forms of suchlike

⁶¹ Sellwood 1980, type 91.14. Prototype – drachms minted at Mithridatkirt (Sellwood 1980, type 64.33).

⁶² Rtveladze 2002b, 149–150.

⁶³ Diakonov 1950, 174; Zeimal 1983, 101–102, 135.

⁶⁴ Zeimal 1983, 134, note 53. D. Sellwood’s work provides information about a chalkous of Phraates IV struck at Ekbatana with a countermark showing a helmeted head turned right (Sellwood 1980, type 91.15).

⁶⁵ Sarianidi, Koshelenko 1982, 311; Zeimal 1983, 133; Simonetta 1974, 283; Widemann 2009, 361.

⁶⁶ On the Central Asian society in the Achaemenid, Seleukid and Graeco-Baktrian periods, see: Pugachenkova, Rtveladze 1990, 22–25, 29–33, 42–45, 62–67; Zeimal 2002, 549–550; Litvinskii 2004, 788–794; Piankov 2005, 600–620; Koshelenko, Gaibov 2007, 223–232; Bickerman 1983; Bernard 1994a, 88–97; Bernard 1994b, 99–129.

conquest are nothing but a manifestation of political adaptability to the outside world of the sedentary world. The conquest ensured most favorable non-economic conditions for the nomads to procure agricultural and artisan products. Such procurement was carried out by means of: 1) outright and unlimited looting; 2) tributary relations; 3) direct taxation; 4) establishment of agricultural and artisan structures in their own society; 5) seizure of lands and acquisition of income – rents and direct exploitation of peasants turned into leaseholders and sharecroppers.⁶⁷

This allows for the singling out of three patterns of forming nomadic empires: typical, tributary and aggressive. 1) “Typical” – nomads and tillers live far apart, the surplus product is acquired through remote exploitation: plundering raids, exacting ‘gifts’ (a racket of sorts) and so forth. 2) “Tributary” – peasants are subjected to nomads, the exploitation form being tributary. 3) “Aggressive” – nomads conquer the agricultural community and settle down on its territory; regular taxation of tillers and townspeople substitutes for looting and tributaries.⁶⁸

The formation of the Kushan empire must have followed the last pattern.⁶⁹ Yet, to turn nomads into sedentary communities was possible only when the living conditions allowed for this, which happened very rarely, especially in the western part of southern Bactria and Margiana (provinces of Djuzdjan, Fariab, Badghiz in the south-west of Afghanistan and eastern Turkmenistan) where there are large arid zones – the steppe, semidesert and desert areas. The following burial grounds are found in northern Bactria: Tup-Khona, Tulkhar, Kokum, Aruktau, Ksirov (Tajikistan), Babashov (Turkmenistan), Rabat and Airtam (Uzbekistan). The debate is still going on as to the dating of these burial grounds and the ethnicity of those who had left them, but their very existence testifies that the nomads had never settled down here, they had stuck to their traditional way throughout the whole history of the Kushan state.⁷⁰ It is not fortuitous that nomads would frequently come into conflict with their neighbours and, as often as not, acted there as a driving force. This served a pretext to claim gifts, money or simply to plunder their neighbours, for example, Parthia.

⁶⁷ Khazanov 2008, 245–248.

⁶⁸ Kradin 2003, 141.

⁶⁹ A comparison can be made with the early Arsacid state’s development, see, e.g. Bader 1989, 222–223.

⁷⁰ According to A.M. Mandel’shtam, the burial sites at Tup-Khona, Tulkhar, Aruktau and Kokum date between the last third of the 2nd century B.C. and the beginning of the 1st century A.D., whereas the necropolis of Babashov – between 2nd century B.C. and 2nd century A.D. (Mandel’shtam 1974, 193; Mandel’shtam 1975, 125–130; Mandel’shtam 1992, 114). B.A. Litvinskii and A.V. Sedov date the burial sites of the Bishkent valley at the 1st–3rd, or even 4th centuries A.D. (Litvinskii, Sedov 1984, 120–134). E.P. Denisov dates the Ksirov necropolis at the 2nd c. B.C. – 2nd c. A.D. (Denisov 2008, 184). The burial sites of Airtam and Rabat date to the 1st c. B.C. – 1st c. A.D. (Turgunov 2002, 125; Abdullaev, Annaev 2001, 24; Abdullaev 2007, 79–82).

During the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., Parthian kings were very efficient in pursuing their foreign policy in the East. The power of Parthian kings encompassed Margiana, Areia and Drangiana, and following the emergence of the Indo-Parthian kingdom they reached out to Arachosia and the Kabul valley. And the western part of Baktria proper may have fallen under Parthian control.⁷¹ At the same time the conquest of Baktria resulted in its splitting into separate domains – appanages. The western part of Baktria may have been occupied by the Saka tribes (Sakaraukai/Sakaraulai), while the eastern part by the Yuezhi-Tochar.⁷² The conquest of Baktria ended the regular minting of silver coins, which cause a coin deficit. This situation favoured the inflow of Parthian drachms. The ways the nomads acquired the necessary means are well covered in the ancient tradition.

The eastern nomads' first involvement in Parthian wars happened under Phraates II. This king had colluded with the "Scythians" promising to pay them in return for rendering him assistance in his war against the Seleukid king Antiochos VII Sides. It was not until the war ending in the defeat of the latter that the "Scythians" arrived. They were wrongly accused of failing to arrive on time. According to Justin 42.1.2, the Scythians "since they arrived on the scene only when the battle was over and were cheated of their pay on the pretext that they had arrived too late with their support, they regretted having made such a long journey for nothing and demanded either compensation for their inconvenience or another enemy to fight. Receiving a disdainful response, the Scythians took offence and proceeded to lay waste Parthian territory" (transl. J.C. Yardley). In the end, the fight against them cost the Parthian King his life.

Apart from Justin's account, there is new evidence for nomadic mercenaries hired in Baktria. Recently, a new Greek document on skin, deriving from northern Afghanistan, has been published. The text, dated to year 30 of a king Antimachos, is a contract mentioning Skythian mercenaries who received 100 drachmas in coined silver.⁷³

⁷¹ Pilipko 2003, 126.

⁷² Bernard, Abdullaev 1997, 68–86; Bernard 1987, 758–768; Enoki, Koshelenko, Haidary 1994, 181–182; Rapin 2007, 58–61. The period of an all-Yuezhi unity had lasted approximately till the 80–50s of the 1st century B.C. The recently discovered records from the Chinese province of Gansu testify to this. Here, in the vicinity of Dunhuang, a post office had been excavated, yielding administrative records on wooden sticks. Two documents dating from 87–49 and 84–73 B.C. (or later) mention ruler's missions to the Dayuezhi. Two other documents bear evidence of the already independent missions to a Dayuezhi *xihou* called Shuangmi dated 43 B.C., and another Dayuezhi *xihou* named Xiumi, dated 37 B.C. (Grenet 2006, 339).

⁷³ Clarysse, Thompson 2007, 273–277. Number "30" seems to indicate an era date which probably refers to the Yavana era, starting in 186/5 B.C. (Salomon 2005; Jacobsson 2009, 505–510) or in 175/4 B.C. (Falk, Bennett 2009, 206–211). Consequently, the text should be dated either at 156/5 or at 145/4 B.C.

The episode described by Justin lends us a key to understanding the events that led to the issue of coin imitations of Phraates IV. Justin's "*Epitome*" contains the information that after his victory over Marc Antony (36 B.C.) Phraates "resorted to wanton cruelty, so the people exiled him". During his absence, the Parthians elected a certain Tiridates the king (circa 30 B.C.), a henchman to the Romans. Phraates pestered the neighbouring states with appeals, the Scythians included, who sent a large Scythian army to have him restored as a king. Tiridates, learning about the approaching Scythians, fled to the Romans (Justin 42.5.4–4; Dio Cass. 51.18.2–3).⁷⁴ The silver drachms struck at the Margiana mint must have formed the donation that the grateful Parthian king granted to the "Scythians"⁷⁵ for his restoration to the throne.⁷⁶ One can only make guesses about the size of this donation, but the patent popularity of and trust in these drachms on the market was so great that this entailed a long typological series of imitations.⁷⁷ Let us examine the ranking of the coins from Kampyrtepa in this typological series by drawing upon the most accurate table of the chronology of imitation coinage, elaborated by E. V. Zeimal (Table 2).

⁷⁴ The evidence in the sources is contradictory. Dio Cassius dates these events at 30 B.C. – the time when Augustus was in Syria, and Justin dates them at the time when Augustus was waging a war in Spain in 26–25 B.C. We know of tetradrachms with the legend containing a Greek word ΦΙΛΟΠΟΜΑΙΟ issued in 26 B.C. (the date in the Seleukid era is given in Greek script – CΠΣ = 286) (Wroth 1903, 135, nos. 1–2, pl. XXIII, 8–9; Sellwood 1980, type 55). For various interpretations of the events of this civil war in Parthia see, e.g., Koshelenko 1963, 59; Debevoise 1938, 135–138; Nedergaard 1988, 105.

⁷⁵ G.A. Koshelenko identifies the „Scythians” with Dahai and Parnoi (Koshelenko 1963, 60), but A.S. Balakhlantsev sees in them the Sakai of Drangiana (Balakhlantsev 1998, 158).

⁷⁶ A similar episode happened during the reign of Artabanos I, when he managed to return to the throne during the internecine war broken out on Roman instigation, now with the help of the Dahai and the Sakai (Ios. *Ant. Iud.* 18.4.4/18.100). According to Flavius Josephus, during the reign of Vologases I (ca. 50–80 A.D.) the Dahai and the Sakai, taking advantage of the absent king, who was busy preparing for the war against King Adiabene Izates, invaded Parthia and plundered it (Ios. *Ant. Iud.* 20.4.2/20.91). It is significant that many a time had the Parthian kings to resort to the practice of buying off or paying tribute to the nomads. For instance, they had twice bought off the Alans: in 72 A.D. when the Median satrap Pakoros had to pay 100 talents to buy back his harem (Ios. *Bell. Iud.* 7.4.2; for this campaign of the Alans, see, e.g., Balakhvantsev 2009, 11–12), and in 136 A.D., when Vologases III bought them off with gifts under the threat of invasion (Dio Cass. 69.15.1; for the details of this event, see: Perevalov 2006, 318–335).

⁷⁷ There are several examples interpreted as the evidence that coins of a particular type and denomination were used to buy off the nomads. For example, the issue of coin imitations of Euthydemos (an analogy with the issue of imitations of drachms of the Sasanian king Peroz (459–484 A.D.), who paid a great contribution after his defeat in the war with the Hephtalites) A.I. Naimark interprets as a result of imitating the most popular coin type – the tetradrachm – paid to the nomads (Naimark 2005, 36–37; Naimark 2008, 68; see also: Smirnova 2008, 79). O. Bopearachchi does not exclude that the Kunduz treasure of Greco-Baktrian coins may have been meant to pay the nomads off (Bopearachchi 1999, 114). Another example – the issue of drachms by Bahram V at the Merv mint for the needs of the Sasanian army fighting its eastern neighbours – Chionites. Subsequently, it was these coins that became the prototype for the so-called 'Bukharkhudat' coins.

Table 2. Chronology of coinage of imitation drachms of Phraates IV

Stages of minting coins countermarking or imitating Phraates IV's drachms	Findspot ⁷⁹	Date of issue
Countermarking drachms of Phraates IV ⁸⁰	Tillya-tepe ⁸¹	Late 1 st century B.C. – early 1 st century A.D.
Striking imitations of drachms of Phraates IV and their countermarking ⁸²	–	1 st – 2 nd quarters of the 1 st century A.D.
Striking imitations with false countermark and squared legend ⁸³	Takht-i Sangin ⁸⁴	2 nd quarter – mid 1 st century A.D.
Striking imitations with false countermark and circular legend	Begram ⁸⁵	3 rd – 4 th quarters of the 1 st century A.D.

Prototype. *Obverse*: head of bearded king turned left, wearing diadem; bird holding wreath in its beak behind head. *Reverse*: enthroned figure facing right holding bow; monogram Π below bow; squared legend: above (in two lines) – ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, on the right – ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ; below (in two lines) – ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΟΥ; on the left (in two lines) ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ The literature contains information about two more coins. One was found in the settlement of Old Termez, the other on Eagle's Mount/Gora Orlinafa (Khodzha Gulsuar), see: Rtveladze 2000, 89; Staviskii 2001, 54. The exact location of these coins is unknown now.

⁸⁰ Wroth 1903, 114, no. 96, pl. XXI, 4 (British Museum), also see Dobbins 1971, 138–139, fig. 1/P; Mitchiner 1976, 411, type 612 (M. Mitchiner treated the specimen as an imitation with a false countermark, and all the other coins of this type likewise); Sellwood 1980, type 91.12.

⁸¹ Sarianidi, Koshelenko, 1982, 309–310, no. 2. E.V. Zeimal thought it was not a false drachm but an imitation (Zeimal 1983, 131, note 51; Zeimal 1984, 187, note 26).

⁸² Simonetta 1958, 166, pl. I, 7; Simonetta 1974, pl. I, 5; Simonetta 2006, fig. 10–12; Zeimal 1983, 131 (State Eremitage, inv. no. 20928; for a Picture, see Nikitin 1998, pl. I, 10); Senior 2001: Vol. I, 106; Vol. II, 146, issue 199.1D; Vol. III, 46.

⁸³ Wroth 1903, 114, nos. 97–102, pl. XXI, 5–6 (British Museum), see also Simonetta 1958, 166, pl. I, 8–15; Dobbins 1971, 138–139, fig. 2/P; Mitchiner 1976, 411, type 612; Sellwood 1980, type 91.13; Mitchiner 1976, 410–411, type 611–1 (according to Mitchiner these are imitation of Orodes II's drachms; cf. also Callieri 2005, 361, fig. 1–2), 612; Zeimal 1983, 131 (State Eremitage, inv. no. 20929; for a picture, see Alram 1998, Taf. 4, 46); Senior 2001: Vol. I, 106; Vol. II, 146, issue 199.2D; Vol. III, 46.

⁸⁴ Zeimal 1983, 135–139, table 16–17.

⁸⁵ Girshman 1946, 197, pl. XXII, 7.

⁸⁶ Sellwood 1980, type 52.19. As Simonetta has observed, such a stylistic feature as a long beard allows for dating the issue of this type at 27 B.C. at the latest (Simonetta 1958, 166). G.A. Koshelenko and V.A. Gaibov note that the subject of Nike with a wreath behind the king's head represented at the earlier types of drachms of Phraates IV (Sellwood 1980, type 50) is replaced by an image of a bird crowning the king (the Vargna bird with the royal *far*) (Sellwood 1980, type 52–54). The change in iconographic images, they believed, must have been connected with the political strife in Parthia during the civil war between Phraates and Tiridates (Koshelenko, Gaibov 2010, 193).

So, during the reign of Phraates IV, Bactria receives a large number of drachms struck in Margiana. To establish the legitimacy of their circulation within the borders of the domain, the rulers, who were dependent on Parthia, had to countermark them.⁸⁷ The striking authority (authorities) who countermarked the drachms of Phraates IV must have been located on the Parthian – Baktrian border.⁸⁸ During the period between the end of the 1st century B.C. and the early 1st century A.D. – the time of a sharp deficit of silver – these coins were in great demand on the market. Apparently, the emission of imitations was related to the production of the north-eastern mints of Parthia, whose quality had noticeably deteriorated. The production of imitations with countermarks and imitations with false countermarks showed a gradual degradation of the legend, weight and iconography.⁸⁹ About the middle of the 1st century A.D. the north-eastern mints of Parthia cease to issue the all-Parthia coinage, but the mint of Margiana continues to produce copper coins for the local use. With the influx of silver receding, the rulers issuing imitations of drachms of Phraates IV must have been compelled to resort to plating copper flans with silver. Although one cannot exclude the fact that the issue of plated imitations was a conscious measure aimed at profit. Distinguishing silver imitations from the copper coins plated with silver was possi-

⁸⁷ See also Widemann 2009, 359.

⁸⁸ The researchers who drew attention to the matters of ethnic attribution of the imitation issues differ in opinions on this issue. V.I. Sarianidi, G.A. Koshelenko, E.V. Rtveladze and S.A. Yatsenko hold that the imitations of Phraates IV's drachms were countermarked by the Yuezhi ruler Sapadbizes (it was W. Wroth who noticed the similarity of the rulers' images on countermarks and coins minted by Sapadbizes, see Wroth 1903, 114) and preceded his rare silver issues (Sarianidi, Koshelenko 1982, 315–316; Rtveladze 2002, 161–162; Iatsenko 2006, 177–178; Rtveladze 1993/4, 92–93). The obverse shows the ruler's head facing right, wearing the Attic helmet; the reverse represents the lion facing right. These typologically close issues (which may allow us to code name them “coins of the Sapadbizes group”) differ only by the legends rendering the name of the ruler on the obverse: Sapadbizes, Arseiles (the other version being “Agiseles”) and Pulages (Mitchiner 1975, 303, type 509–511; Senior 2001: Vol. II, 214, issue A4.1–A6.1a). On the contrary, G.A. Pugachenkova and L.I. Rempel' assumed that imitations of Phraates IV's drachms had been issued by the Sakai rulers in the border territories of western Bactria and Sakastan (Pugachenkova, Rempel' 1986, 6–8). According to P. Bernard and K. Abdullaev, the Parthian drachms with countermarks were “the coinage carried out by minor chiefs of the nomads of non-Yuezhi origin” (Bernard, Abdullaev, 1997, 73). F. Grenet had a similar opinion (Grenet 2000, 133–134). M. Mitchiner argues that it was the Sakai who struck imitations of the drachms of Phraates IV, while the Yuezhi were responsible for the coinage of Sapadbizes and Agiseles (Mitchiner 1975, 303; Mitchiner 1976, 411). F. Widemann argues that they were countermarked by later rulers in Kapisa and Arachosia (Widemann 2009, 363). The latter assertion is speculative: such location contradicts the topography of coin finds.

⁸⁹ The weight of drachms in the reign of Phraates IV averaged to 3.70–3.95 grams (Wroth 1903, lxiv), while the average weight of 69 imitations of drachms with false countermarks, which were found in Takt-i Sangin, is 2.15 grams, the maximum weight being 2.32 grams (Zeimal 1983, 130). The weight of the six drachms from the British Museum is 3.62, 2.54, 3.03, 2.75, 2.92 and 3.62, respectively (Wroth 1903, 114, nos. 97–102).

ble only after the thin layer of silver had worn off. The new types of countermarks on these coins testify either to the growing number of issuers or to the emergence of new domains issuing them.

The coins nos. 2–4 from Kampyrtepa, if they really derive from the imitations of drachms of Phraates IV, must be placed at the bottom of the typological series represented in Table 2. These issues may be dated at the mid 1st century at the earliest, but they could have been in circulation until the monetary reform of Vima Kadphises (ca. 100/105–127 A.D.).

Apart from the above-mentioned data, the archaeological context of the finds serves as a factor of the dating. The coins nos. 1, 2 were surface finds; the coins nos. 3, 4 were found in the rooms on the top construction level of the citadel at Kampyrtepa. In room no.107, where coin no. 3 had belonged, a Vima Kadphises coin was discovered in the top layer.⁹⁰ The coin no. 4 was found in room 46; here, among the debris, an imitation of the coins of Heliokles was discovered;⁹¹ moreover, two coins of Kanishka are reported to have been found on the floor of the same room (ca. 127–150 A.D.).⁹² S. Kurbanov, taking part in the excavations of the citadel at Kampyrtepa, dates the archaeological complex of rooms on the top construction level at the 1st–2nd centuries A.D.⁹³ It is significant that the imitations of Parthian coins from Takht-i Sangin and from Tillya-tepe are dated at the same time. Thus, imitations of the drachms with false countermarks of Phraates IV from Takht-i Sangin belonged to the pit (“botros”) no. 3 lowered from the second level above the virgin soil. The ‘youngest’ coin dating the floor from which the ‘botros’ was lowered is a copper didrachm of Kanishka I.⁹⁴ The burial ground of Tillya-tepe, which yielded an imitation of a Phraates IV’s drachm with a countermark, is dated at the mid – last quarter of the 1st century or even the early 2nd century A.D.⁹⁵

Thus, both typologically (considering the composition of metal) and also stratigraphically, the coins discovered at Kampyrtepa are dated, at the earliest, at the beginning of the 1st century A.D. and they cannot be used to reconstruct the hypothetical Parthian period in the history of the settlement. It is significant that single pieces of Parthian art at Kampyrtepa were either chance finds, or belonged to the layers of the Kushan time. A hairpin with a design showing a nude figure of a woman sitting cross-legged with her hair styled in a peculiar Parthian fashion was found among the debris finds in the eastern part of the citadel. Another similar hairpin was excavated

⁹⁰ Gorin 2002, 69, table 1, no. 22. In the article by S. Kurbanov, the findspot of this coin is mistakenly indicated as being above the second floor (Kurbanov 2000, 58).

⁹¹ Aiupova, Gorin 2001, 129, table 1, no. 9.

⁹² Kurbanov 2000, 50.

⁹³ Kurbanov 2000, 66. Yet the ceramic complex from a number of rooms is dated at 1st century B.C. – 1st century A.D. (Mkrtychev, Bolelov 2006, 55).

⁹⁴ Zeymal 1997, 93.

⁹⁵ Zeymal 1999, 239–243; Iatsenko 2006, 172.

from the residential block in the “lower town” that was fully functional there in the 2nd century A.D.⁹⁶ A terracotta statuette representing a figure of a man in a style closely related to that of the Parthian portrait, also originates from the excavations of the “lower town” and dates from the 1st–2nd centuries A.D.⁹⁷

Table 3. Finds of coins imitating Heliokles’ issues in northern Bactria

Southern Uzbekistan			
<i>Sherabad Darya valley</i>	<i>Surkhan Darya valley</i>	<i>Amu Darya's right bank (Termez region)</i>	
Akkurgan – 2 specimens	Barattepa – 1 specimen	Ayrtam – 4 specimens	
Dzhandavliattepa – 3 specimens	Dalverzintepa – 5 specimens	Mirzakultepe – 9 specimens	
«Iron Gates» – 1 specimen	Zang – 1 specimen	Kampyrtepa – 16 specimens	
Paenkurgan – 1 specimen	Zartepa – 15 specimens	Termez – 4 specimens	
Talashkantepa – 2 specimen	Khairabadtepa – 1 specimen	Fayaztepa – 1 specimen	
Khudoidottepa – 1 specimen	Khalchayan – 6 specimens	Khatyn-rabat – 2 specimens	
Shortepa – 4 specimens	Sheralitepa – 2 specimens	–	
–	Ialangtushtepa – 1 specimen	–	
14 specimens	32 specimens	36 specimens	
Southern Tajikistan			
<i>Vakhsh valley</i>	<i>Kafirnigan valley</i>	<i>Hissar valley</i>	<i>Kulyab</i>
Takht-i Sangin – 3 specimens	Tepai-Shoid – 1 specimen	Shahrinau – 4 specimens	Saksanokhur – 1 specimen
Ushtur-mullo – 2 specimens	Dushanbe – 2 specimens	Chimkurgan settlement – 3 specimens	–
Yavan settlement – 4 specimens	Kalai-Shadmon – 1 specimen	–	–
Turtkul settlement – 1 specimen	–	–	–
10 specimens	4 specimens	7 specimens	1 specimen

On the citadel, a wooden statue of a “Parthian” in a silver case was found; it may be dated to the 2nd century A.D.⁹⁸ A potsherd with a fragment of hypotheti-

⁹⁶ Nikitenko, Shagalina 2002, 115–117; Bolelov 2005, 74, drawing 25.

⁹⁷ *DiuU* 1991, no. 159; Iliasov 2000, 101; the figure was found in room no. 74 together with two coins of Kanishka I (Kurbanov 2000, 47).

⁹⁸ *KIDU* 1991, 120, no. 137; *DiuU* 1991, no. 166; Khakimov, Giul, Yagnos 2001, no. 75.

cal Parthian inscription is a chance find.⁹⁹ As we may well see, there is no evidence of a lengthy presence of the Parthians at Kampyrtepa and the ceramic complex of the Parthian times has not been discovered yet at the citadel.

The geographic range of coin imitations circulation lay within the frontiers of political communities or ethnic groups issuing them. The very fact of “barbarian imitations” circulating within a certain territory shows that it lay beyond the jurisdiction of the states with their well-developed monetary system and that imitations circulated at the prescribed rate.¹⁰⁰

So the typology of their finds allows us to single out, though, naturally, rather vaguely, particular numismatic provinces of Baktria. It is noteworthy that although all researchers place the issue of imitations of countermarked drachms of Phraates IV in the territory of western Baktria, the actual context is in eastern Baktria (with the exception of the coins from the burial ground of Tillya-tepe and Begram situated in the neighbouring Kapisa region). The major sites of finds are situated along the narrow strip on the right bank of the Amu Darya: Kampyrtepa, Old Termez (?), Khodzha Gulsuar – “Gora Orlinaia” (?), Takht-i Sangin. The same goes for the Parthian drachms of Sinatrukes and Phraates III that were found at the settlement of Mirzabekkala¹⁰¹ on the bank of the Amu Darya.¹⁰²

An analogous conclusion can be made for coins of the Sapadbizes group, typologically related to the imitations of drachms of Phraates. Registered finds are attributed to the following settlements: Zartepa – a hemidrachm;¹⁰³ Khairabad-tepa – a chalkous;¹⁰⁴ Kampyrtepa;¹⁰⁵ Dilberjin (Afghanistan, 40 km north-west of the town of Balkh) – an obol.¹⁰⁶ The rest of the coins belong to museum collections.¹⁰⁷ The total number of Sapadbizes’ coins is 20.¹⁰⁸ Significantly, the

⁹⁹ Rtveladze 2002a, 104, 107, drawing 12.

¹⁰⁰ Zeimal 1975, 56, 58. For Phraates IV’s coin imitations, this was specifically noted (Zeimal 1983, 132).

¹⁰¹ Pilipko 1985, 189, table LII, nos. 32–33.

¹⁰² M.E. Masson (Masson 1928, 285, no.4) mentions a “Sinatrukes’ drachm” with a countermark featuring “a head (or a deer) with traces of corrupted circular legend” found in the town of Kerki in 1927. E.V. Rtveladze gives the particulars of drachms of Mithridates II and Sinatrukes found in Old Termez (Rtveladze 2010, 13). Yet the location of these coins is currently unknown. No Parthian coins were found during the excavations of Old Termez (personal communication by Sh.R. Pidaev).

¹⁰³ Albaum 1960, 37–39, drawing 22,3.

¹⁰⁴ This is a unique specimen. Copper coins of Sapadbizes are not attested to in other publications, see Rtveladze 1987, 94–95, no. 19; Rtveladze 2002b, 146; Rtveladze 1993/94, 82; KIDU 1991, 83, no. 57.

¹⁰⁵ On this unpublished and fragmented coin, see Rtveladze 2002b, 146.

¹⁰⁶ Vainberg, Kruglikova 1976, 179, no. 54.

¹⁰⁷ E.g., in the Eremitage (Zeimal 1978, table IV, 10), in the Herat Museum (MacDowall, Ibrahim 1979, 48, pl. I, no. 25), and in the British Museum (Mitchiner 1975, 303, type 509–510; Rtveladze 2002b, table XV, Cribb 2007, 352, fig. 74).

¹⁰⁸ Rtveladze 2002b, 146–147.

findspots of these coins partly coincide with the area in which finds of the imitations of Heliokles' issues occur.¹⁰⁹ And, as the topography of finds of the major group of imitations of the coins of Heliokles in northern Bactria (Southern Uzbekistan and Southern Tajikistan) shows, they were most frequently encountered on the sites in the valley of the Surkhan Darya and its tributaries, the valleys of the Kafirnigan and partially the Vakhsh rivers. The Surkhan Darya region in Uzbekistan boasts 21 sites where 82 imitations of coins of Heliokles were found.¹¹⁰ Southern Tajikistan boasts ten sites with 22 coin finds¹¹¹ (Table 3).

Registered finds of imitations of Heliokles' coins are very rare in northern Afghanistan. One imitation was found at each site of Ai Khanoum, Dilberjin, and Djagat-tepe.¹¹² These coins had circulated, at least in northern Bactria, until the early 2nd century B.C., as testified to by the stratigraphic distribution of coin finds at Mirzakultepe and Kampyrtepe. At Mirzakultepe, excavations revealed two construction horizons with layers which constituted the ceramic complex of the early Kushan period. Rooms were erected directly on the virgin soil.¹¹³ The site excavation produced 27 coins, including: imitations of Heliokles' issues – 9 pieces; coins of “Soter Megas” (ca. 90–110 A.D.)¹¹⁴ – 16 pieces; one piece of Vima Kadphises

¹⁰⁹ E.V. Zeimal has elaborated the most accurate classification and chronology of the issues of coin imitations of Heliokles. He divided the available material according to the iconographic type and nomination into the following groups: I) rare silver imitations of tetradrachms (imitations), II) silver imitations of drachms (imitations), III) copper imitations of tetradrachms of Heliokles (the obverse shows the figure of standing Zeus; the most numerous group – six series), IV) copper imitations of Heliokles' drachms (the obverse has the figure of standing Zeus), V) copper imitations of Heliokles' tetradrachms (the obverse has a walking horse turned left), VI) copper imitations of Heliokles' drachms (the obverse has a walking horse turned left). Zeimal subdivided the whole issue of these imitations into eight successive chronological periods with a matching issue of a certain group or a series within it: the first period – groups I and II; the second – group III, series 1; the third – group III, series 2; the fourth – group III, series 3; the fifth – group III, series 4; the sixth – group III, series 5; the seventh – group III, series 6; the eighth – groups IV, V, VI. The choice of the eighth group is hypothetical and its typical modifications cannot be classed only as chronological (Zeimal 1983, 111–116).

¹¹⁰ On the findspots, see Albaum 1960, 37, drawing 22, 1–2; Pugachenkova 1966, 111–113, drawing 74, b; Pugachenkova 1967, 75, no. 3, table I, 4; Rtveladze 1974, 75, 79; Pugachenkova, Rtveladze 1978, 228, nos. 2–5, drawing 159, 1–2; Rtveladze, Pidaev 1981, 25, 47–56; Rtveladze 2002b, 117–118; Pidaev 1990a, 32–33; Pidaev 1990b, 54; Zavialov 2008, Appendix no. 2, 247, no. 3; Albaum 1990, 26; Abdullaev 2000, 369, 375, n. 16; Abdullaev 2004, 12; Abdullaev, Stancho 2004, 23; Abdullaev, Stancho 2006, 14; Aiupova, Gorin 2001, 129, table 1, nos. 1–15; Rtveladze, Gorin 2003, 159, 167, nos. 16, 83–84; Gorin 2008, 91.

¹¹¹ Zeimal 1983, 126–128, table 13–15; Zeymal 1997, nos. 158, 263, 369; Dovudi 2006, 48.

¹¹² Bernard 1985, pl. 10, TF–51; Vainberg, Kruglikova 1984, 125, 129, no. 161; Kruglikova 2004, 561, Appendix III, no. 107. In Afghanistan, 23 imitations of Heliokles' coins were found, all of them without details on the circumstances of finds (Zeimal 1983, 117, n. 36).

¹¹³ Pidaev 1978, 34–35, drawing 5.

¹¹⁴ There is no unanimity in the attributing of these coins. Thus, according to J. Cribb, the coinage of “Soter Megas” was carried out by Vima Taktu (ca. 90–113 A.D.) (Sims-Williams, Cribb

(ca. 110–127 A.D.) and one of Kanishka I (ca. 127–150 A.D.). The coins of Vima Kadphises and Kanishka I were found in debris layers of the desolation period; the coins of Soter Megas and imitations of Heliokles – in the layers filling the rooms and on the floors, which evidences their one-time circulation.¹¹⁵

Considering the narrow geographic range of the topography of the finds of coin imitations of Heliokles in Southern Uzbekistan and coin imitations of Eukratides in Southern Tajikistan, we may assert that there simply was no room left in northern Bactria for any principality to issue silver imitations of Parthian drachms of Phraates IV. We may assume that during the period of a severe shortage of silver, rare Parthian drachms and their silver imitations may have been used as the agents of trade.¹¹⁶ The penetration of Parthian coins is all the more possible since the Amu Darya, which in ancient times flowed near the settlement of Kampyrtepa, served as a busy commercial waterway.¹¹⁷ This waterway connected Bactria, Parthia and Khwarezm.¹¹⁸ It served as an agent of exerting cultural influences between the two neighbouring cultural and historical regions of Parthia and Bactria. Their contacts

1996, 99–100, 118–123; Cribb 2005, 222–223, tab. 6). O. Bopearachchi is of a different opinion: he relates the coins of “Soter Megas” (ca. 92–100 / 97–110 A.D.) to the coinage carried out by a “usurper” of the Kushan throne, who had seized power after a short reign of Vima Taktu (ca. 90–95/95–100 A.D.) (Bopearachchi 2007, 43–50; Bopearachchi 2008, 49–52). On the name of Vima Taktu, see Falk 2009, 105–116.

¹¹⁵ Pidaev 1990a, 32–37; Pidaev 1991, 96–97. In all probability these coins were removed from the market after a monetary reform of Vima Kadphises. 157 coins of Soter Megas, Vima Kadphises and Kanishka I (without any imitation specimen) were discovered in the area of the Kampyrtepa “lower town” in secured stratigraphic layers: in the stucco coats covering the walls, in flooring layers and on the virgin soil (Gorin 2009, 116–117).

¹¹⁶ Cf. Litvinskii 2010, 92–93. Yet we cannot exclude the fact that imitations of drachms of Phraates IV with a countermark could have penetrated Bactria under different circumstances. For example, the coins from Takht-i Sangin may have been the offering of pilgrims to the Oxus temple (Grenet 2000, 133, note 14). Such an explanation does not strike us as something impossible, for they were found in the votive pit (“botros”) no. 3 together with chalkoi of Antiochos I, Euthydemos I, obols of “Heraios” and coins of Vima Kadphises. The assortment of coins from other “botroses” is no less wide; in fact, all the coins constitute treasures that took a long time to accumulate. The “botros” no. 4 contained 97 copper Kushan coins of Soter Megas, Vima Kadphises and Kanishka I; “botros” no. 6 – 41 countermarked Indian coins and an obolos of Eukratides (Zeimal 1983, 294–295, annex, treasures nos. 16–17).

¹¹⁷ At present, the Amu Darya flows 2–3 km south of the settlement.

¹¹⁸ Sherkova 1991, 25–26; Peters 1996; Balakhlantsev 2005, 35–36; Rtveladze 2010, 17–22; an account of classical evidence concerning the trade along the Amu Darya water way, is given by Piankov 1997, 46, 60, 282. A reference to this trade can be found in Chinese records, especially in the *Shiji*: “Near the Wei river, there are markets where people who do business and trade use carts and boats, and they travel to neighbouring countries, sometimes journeying several thousand *li*”. Cited after Tao 2007, 90. Bichurin’s Russian translation (1950) is as follows: “По реке Гуй-шуй живут торговцы и купцы, которые сухим путем и водою развозят свои товары по соседним владениям – даже за несколько тысяч ли” (Шицзи. 123.7). A similar description is given by the *Hanshu*, see Tao 2007, 94 (cf. Bichurin 1950: Цань Хань Шу 95.54).

can be traced, for example, to their burial rites.¹¹⁹ Yet the available numismatic evidence is surely not sufficient to assert that the Parthians in the 1st century B.C. – 1st century A.D. exercised a direct control over the bulk of Baktria. Apart from scarce publications, the records of finds of Parthian coins in the valley of the Amu Darya are still classed among ‘the mentioned ones’, for these coins remain unobtainable for researchers as their location is unknown. Moreover, one cannot be too careful when using the records of the geographical range of circulation of these silver coins to reconstruct various political events, for these issues are apt to ‘travel’ very far in time and space from their original mint and date of production. Imitations of the Parthian drachm type were struck and circulated beyond the borders of Parthia proper. According to their typology and the archaeological context, imitations of Parthian coins found in Baktria belong to the 1st century A.D. at the earliest. This, in turn, allows us to speak only about the spread of the Parthian political dominance to the adjacent areas of Baktria before their annexation to the Kushan state.

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Abstract

The ancient settlement of Kampyrtepa ("Hill of the Old Lady" in Uzbek) is situated 30 km south-west of the town of Termez, downstream the Amu Darya River. The history of Kampyrtepa's exploration is 30 years old. The Parthian period of the history of the settlement is the least explored. The discovery of coins of allegedly Parthian origin called for distinguishing it as a separate phase. In various publications their number varies from 6 to 12. These publications leave a number of questions still unsolved, including the attribution of the types and the issue and circulation dates. This calls for having a closer look at the Parthian coins from Kampyrtepa.

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MITHRIDATE I^{ER} ET SUSE

Keywords: Mithradates I, Susa, Seleucia on the Tigris, Philhellenism, Arsacid empire

La conquête et l'occupation de vastes territoires par les Parthes sous Mithridate I^{er} (v. 165–132 av. n. è.) et ses successeurs, n'ont été rendues possibles que parce que ceux-ci n'ont jamais négligé la prise et le contrôle des cités. Cet état de fait n'est certes pas propre à la dynastie arsacide et à sa politique impériale, mais il revêt un caractère bien particulier lorsqu'on y regarde de près. La présente étude a pour objectif de lancer des pistes de recherches quant à la manière dont les Arsacides ont investi les cités, avec en exergue l'exemple de Suse. Contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait croire, il n'y a pas de pratique prédéterminée à l'égard de la mainmise sur les centres urbains de la part de la monarchie arsacide. Nous sommes peu informés sur ce phénomène, à la différence de la période sassanide¹, mais nous pouvons tout de même constater que les Arsacides choisissent au cas par cas tantôt l'option militaire, et tantôt la négociation. Qu'en est-il de Suse? Nous ne saurions apporter une réponse catégorique face à l'aspect lacunaire des sources, mais quelques indices peuvent toutefois orienter notre analyse.

* * *

A partir de leur berceau d'Asie Centrale, les Arsacides ont étendu leur influence de manière significative à partir du règne de Mithridate I^{er}. En effet, c'est

¹ Pour ne citer que deux exemples, sur la conquête d'Europos-Doura et de Hatra par les Sassanides, voir respectivement les derniers résultats de la mission franco-syrienne Leriche, de Pontbriand, Coqueugnot (éds.), *Europos-Doura Etudes*, vol. 6, (sous presse) 2011, en particulier sur le chantier concernant la rampe d'assaut, et Hauser, Tucker 2009, 106–139.

autour de l'année 155 av. n. è. que le roi assoit son emprise sur les terres de Parthie, de Margiane, et de Bactriane occidentale au moins². Son regard se porte alors vers l'occident, et en 148/7, il se rend maître de la Médie, faisant d'Ecbatane³ le symbole de sa progression⁴. Les centres urbains sous l'autorité arsacide sont alors déjà nombreux. Parmi eux, on peut penser à Hécatompylos ou Rhagae, Merv (?), mais également à des sites de moindre importance comme Syrinx, Tambrax, Asaak, Dara, Nisa (?) etc⁵. Or, nous ignorons comment les Arsacides se sont imposés à ces villes, et même en ce qui concerne Ecbatane⁶, notre connaissance sur sa mainmise reste réduite à des suppositions. Les combats pour la conquête de la Médie semblent toutefois avoir été longs⁷, sans pour autant que cela puisse justifier d'une soumission armée de la capitale mède. Les sources numismatiques qui pourraient nous orienter dans ce débat demeurent sujettes à des discussions dont on ne peut tirer sûre matière à commentaire⁸. En 141 av. n. è., les Arsacides s'emparent notamment de Séleucie du Tigre et de Babylone⁹. Les documents babyloniens apportent des indices importants quant à l'arrivée officielle des Arsacides dans ces cités: ainsi Mithridate entre dans Séleucie, puis dans Babylone tel un nouvel Alexandre¹⁰. Mais nous ne connaissons pas la méthode employée par le roi pour s'y imposer: pour parler avec les autorités de ces villes ou assaut armé ? Difficile de répondre, encore une fois. Soulignons que si des combats ont bien lieu en Babylonie entre armées arsacides et troupes au service des Séleucides, sans qu'on en connaisse les détails, il ne nous est pas parvenu de sources – épigraphiques, littéraires ou archéologiques-, faisant clairement état d'une opposition militaire dans ou face aux remparts des cités de Babylone ou de Séleucie du Tigre (cf. *infra*). Cela dit restons prudents, le quasi silence des sources à ce propos peut légitimement laisser perplexe.

* * *

En ce qui concerne Suse, des indications précieuses nous sont fournies par la numismatique connue par l'incontournable étude de G. Le Rider¹¹. Nous savons que la ville est prise par les Arsacides au plus tôt à la fin de l'année 140

² Olbrycht 2010, 229–245.

³ Voir Boucharlat 1998, 173–186.

⁴ Olbrycht 2010, 238.

⁵ Chaumont 1973, 197–222; Bernard 1994, 499, note 51.

⁶ Sur Ecbatane et la Médie, voir désormais Boillet 2009.

⁷ Justin 41.6.6.

⁸ Dabrowa 2006, 38.

⁹ Gaslain 2011b, 89.

¹⁰ Sachs, Hunger 1996, 134–135.

¹¹ Le Rider 1965.

av. n. è., probablement en 139–138 av. n. è. Les troupes arsacides engagées dans la conquête de la Susiane ont fait face à une résistance importante¹². Mais il semble possible de croire que les habitants de la cité sont entrés en négociation avec les représentants arsacides, sans pour autant engager dans ces pourparlers l'ensemble de la Susiane, et surtout plus largement l'Elymaïde.

Les deux premières émissions monétaires susiennes de Mithridate I^{er} sont en bronze et dévoilent sur leur droit des divinités grecques (Tyché ou Héraclès¹³). Sur leur revers, on trouve comme décor toujours la Tyché ou la Niké aptère dans des scènes de couronnement¹⁴ avec la légende ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ. Dans cette série de bronzes, la troisième émission attire particulièrement l'attention. Elle montre sur son droit un portrait barbu de face et non de profil, probablement celui de Mithridate I^{er}¹⁵, alors que son revers dépeint Apollon qui, semble-t-il, prend de la main droite la même main d'un personnage un genou à terre, décrit là encore comme l'Arsacide¹⁶.

L'utilisation de ces divinités sur les droits et revers des frappes inaugurales de Mithridate à Suse avec tout la symbolique qui s'y développe, et non pas le portrait du roi que l'on retrouve sur les droits de la troisième émission, a permis d'y voir d'une part, une volonté première du souverain d'être conciliant à l'égard de la population grecque de la cité et d'autre part, d'en conclure que les Parthes se sont imposés à la ville sans violence¹⁷. A en suivre cette hypothèse, les Arsacides auraient donc négocié avec les Susiens leur mainmise politique sur la ville¹⁸. Toutefois, trois questions se posent si l'on suit cette interprétation. A) Faut-il croire à une sincérité arsacide quant à l'utilisation de ces divinités grecques et à son message supposé, ou faut-il davantage y voir une manœuvre bien orchestrée à l'égard des Grecs après la conquête de la cité? B) Sur le revers de la monnaie à l'effigie supposée de Mithridate, s'agit-il véritablement du roi arsacide agenouillé, et pourquoi un personnage de son rang serait-il dans cette posture? C) Le fait que les Arsacides soient restés en guerre pendant longtemps en Susiane/Elymaïde après la prise de Suse et qu'ils aient aussi momentanément perdu le contrôle de la cité sous l'usurpateur Tigraios¹⁹, peut-il laisser croire à l'impossibilité de négociations²⁰? Tentons de répondre

¹² Sachs, Hunger 1996, 150–153 et 168–171; Le Rider 1965, 356; Hackl, Jacobs, Weber (éds.), 2010 (3), 49sq.

¹³ Martinez-Sève 2002 (II), 773–774.

¹⁴ Le Rider 1965, 78–79, n° 95–96.

¹⁵ Vardanyan 2001, 53.

¹⁶ Le Rider 1965, 79, n° 97; Sellwood 1980, 41 (S. 12.28).

¹⁷ Le Rider 1965, 374. Nous avons formulé, avec prudence, une même hypothèse en ce qui concerne la prise de la cité d'Europos-Doura par les Arsacides: Gaslain 2011b.

¹⁸ Le Rider 1965, 375.

¹⁹ Will 2003 (II), 410; Dabrowa 2006, 39; Assar 2006, 93.

²⁰ Assar 2004/5, 47.

à ces questions en commençant par la dernière. Un accord entre les habitants de Suse, ou certains d'entre eux (les Grecs seulement?) semble tout à fait possible sans que la Susiane tout entière soit pacifiée: Kamnaskirès qui contrôle Suse alors n'est pas battu mais simplement chassé de la ville²¹. Ce traité n'aurait concerné que certaines autorités municipales²², ce qui pourrait expliquer, en partie du moins, la poursuite des hostilités par ailleurs. Il n'y aurait rien de surprenant à cela. Prenons l'exemple de la conquête de Séleucie du Tigre ou de Babylone qui n'entraîne pas la pacification de la Babylonie, au contraire même, puisque la région est de surcroît attaquée par les troupes de Kamnaskirès lui-même dès 141–140 av. n. è.²³, et qu'il faut dix ans au moins pour qu'un calme relatif y règne²⁴.

La seconde question est celle de l'identification du personnage agenouillé devant Apollon qui l'intronise, dans une sorte de proskynèse. Se peut-il qu'un roi soit présenté un genou à terre face à ce dieu grec ? A priori cela paraît difficilement crédible car s'il s'agit du souverain arsacide, comment se fait-il qu'il porte une tiare que l'on ne retrouve jamais dans son monnayage ? De plus, cette scène n'apparaît pas ailleurs dans la numismatique arsacide²⁵. On connaît la Tyché de Séleucie qui se prosterne devant le roi, signe de la soumission de la cité à la monarchie, à plusieurs reprises dans l'histoire de la numismatique parthe au I^{er} siècle av. n. è.²⁶. Mais, en dehors de la monnaie en question ici, le roi domine toujours la situation dans ce style de représentation. Que devons-nous croire à propos de ce bronze ? Il apparaît en fait nécessaire de lier droit et revers pour saisir le message que les graveurs ont développé. Sur le droit, l'affichage du portrait de Mithridate est difficilement contestable: il s'agit bien d'une monnaie royale arsacide, stylistiquement proche des premiers portraits de Mithridate à Séleucie, datant donc de la période juste postérieure à la conquête (v. 141–140 av. n. è.)²⁷. Les habitants de Suse ont alors dans leurs mains la matérialisation officielle du nouveau pouvoir central sous le sceau duquel ils vivent désormais. Le fait que ce même roi soit représenté un genou à terre face à Apollon, et que les deux personnages se serrent la main n'a alors rien de dévalorisant pour le souverain, mais va bien dans le sens d'un accord entre

²¹ Le Rider 1965, 356; Will 2003 (II), 409; Schuol 2000, 272.

²² Boucharlat 1985, 75.

²³ Potts 1999, 387–388.

²⁴ Clancier 2007, 61.

²⁵ Ce sont les arguments de Assar 2004/5, 47 qui parle d'un « curious design ».

²⁶ Sellwood 1980, 138 (Orode II), 173 (Phraate IV); Gaslain, Maleuvre 2006, 180, note 110; Sinisi 2008, 238 sq.

²⁷ Ce que conteste Mørkholm 1965, 151 qui pense que ce portrait appartient au règne d'Artaban I^{er}. Nous sommes enclins à croire qu'il s'agit bien d'un portrait de Mithridate I^{er}, les éléments iconographiques entre les émissions susiennes et séleucéennes se rapprochant nettement. De plus, il nous paraît difficile de croire que Mithridate n'aurait pas fait frapper son effigie à Suse.

l'élément grec de la ville et la monarchie orientale. Qu'Apollon domine le roi sur le revers trouve une réponse appropriée sur le droit avec le portrait du roi seul. Cela sous-entend que ce dernier a bien obtenu son autorité sur la ville par la ville, par le biais de ceux pour qui ce dieu évoque une référence incontournable, autrement dit les Gréco-Macédoniens ou des Susiens hellénisés. Alors que la Babylonie est toujours en proie à des combats, que l'Elymaïde représente un danger réel pour la stabilisation du pouvoir des Arsacides, et que la situation reste instable en Asie Centrale, les représentants de Mithridate ont probablement préféré nouer des liens avec les autorités de la cité en la personne de l'épistate et/ou du satrape/stratège²⁸(?) en établissant une mutuelle reconnaissance vis-à-vis de laquelle l'assemblée des citoyens de Suse n'a alors pas pu être inactive. Ainsi, les Arsacides auraient privilégié l'option pacifique, après quinze ans au moins d'engagement militaire et l'agrandissement d'un royaume devenu plus difficilement contrôlable.

De plus, n'oublions pas que la frappe de bronzes est destinée à une utilisation locale, s'adressant plus spécifiquement ici aux habitants de Suse. En réalité ces premières frappes ne sont pas seulement le témoignage d'une marque de bienveillance à l'égard de la population de la cité conquise, mais il s'agit d'un geste politique bilatéral, faisant suite à un accord passé entre le nouveau pouvoir central et une autorité municipale. En d'autres termes, le personnage du revers porte une tiare, il est donc roi, et ce n'est pas le fait qu'il apparaisse ainsi coiffé pour la seule fois qui doit nous surprendre et donc nous empêcher de croire qu'il s'agit de Mithridate I^{er}. En effet, les graveurs de l'atelier susien ont dû rompre avec le style des frappes précédant celles de l'Arsacide, qu'il s'agisse des monnaies de Démétrios II, d'Okkonapsès, ou de Kamnaskirès qui apparaît à la mode séleucide, imberbe, les cheveux courts et ceint d'un diadème²⁹, bien différent donc du Parthe barbu sur le droit et coiffé d'une haute tiare sur le revers.

Liberté municipale admise par l'autorité arsacide elle-même habilitée par les habitants (grecs) de Suse, telle semble être le schéma iconographique qui devait alors correspondre aux accords politiques passés.

Des bronzes à mettre en parallèle avec ceux de Suse ont aussi inauguré les frappes arsacides à Séleucie du Tigre (Tyché de Séleucie/Apollon assis sur l'omphalos)³⁰ et pourraient également indiquer un processus identique de conquête³¹. Mais cette hypothèse reste fragile sans preuve supplémentaire. Des bronzes municipaux, émis vers 140 av. n. è., eux aussi frappés à Séleucie, appor-

²⁸ Capdetrey 2007, 365.

²⁹ Le Rider 1965, pl. LXXII et pl. VIII; Vardanyan 2001, 40. Voir Alram 1986, n° 429-446. Sur les monnaies d'Elymaïde, voir aussi Van't Haaf 2007.

³⁰ Le Rider 1965, 153 et Le Rider 1998, 14 et 82 pour le commentaire.

³¹ Le Rider 1965, 373.

tent d'autres indices³². Sur leur droit, se trouve une tête de Tyché couronnée de tours et sur le revers on distingue un trépied. Ces monnaies municipales ont vu le jour à la demande des citoyens de Séleucie du Tigre, comme le prouve la légende encadrant le trépied³³. Il s'agit d'une attestation évidente de l'autonomie accordée par les Arsacides à Séleucie, et ce pour de nombreuses années. Cette autonomie semble encore plus prononcée qu'à Suse sans que cette dernière ne soit dénuée de certains avantages, en particulier avec le maintien des principales institutions³⁴. Cela n'éclaire pas directement la manière dont les Arsacides ont pris ces villes, mais il y a là de quoi se poser des questions quant aux raisons pour lesquelles les Arsacides ont laissé autant de libertés. Un accord entre les cités et le pouvoir central ne peut donc être exclu.

L'absence de drachmes/tétradrachmes d'argent frappés alors à Suse par les Arsacides est aussi remarquable, car elle tranche avec les pratiques enregistrées par exemple à Séleucie du Tigre juste après que cette cité ne tombe dans les mains parthes. Les monnaies d'argent témoignent de la mainmise véritable du pouvoir arsacide sur la cité tout en laissant cette part d'autonomie évoquée plus haut, leur absence à Suse tendrait à prouver que la situation fut quelque peu différente. Or entre 138 et 132 av. n. è., l'usurpateur Tigraios fait frapper, non seulement des bronzes mais aussi des monnaies d'argent dans l'atelier susien³⁵. Preuve que Mithridate n'a pas souhaité (pu ?) disposer de l'atelier de Suse à sa guise, ou du moins n'a pas profondément bouleversé les usages, comme en témoigne par exemple l'utilisation du portrait de face³⁶. Des négociations ont peut-être joué un rôle en ce sens, avec une affirmation limitée du contrôle arsacide qui ne passe alors pas par des frappes monétaires autres que celles d'unités de bronze. Dans cette perspective, Tigraios a, quant à lui, voulu montrer son autorité sur la cité de manière plus franche, à l'instar de ce que réalise Mithridate à Séleucie après la première série de bronzes.

Enfin, revenons sur la question de la sincérité arsacide face à l'utilisation de ces divinités grecques sur les premières monnaies susiennes de Mithridate I^{er}. Cela correspond-il à une démarche culturelle sincère, à un acte politique bien pensé, ou peut-être un peu des deux ? Avec cette interrogation, c'est tout le dossier du philhellénisme arsacide qui mériterait d'être ouvert. Dans ce cas précis des bronzes initiaux arsacides à Suse, la négociation supposée a probablement empêché Mithridate de faire autrement que de conserver la représentation de divinités communes pour les Grecs. L'apparition d'Apollon aux côtés de

³² Vardanyan 2001, 52.

³³ Le Rider 1998, 82; Vardanyan 2001, 64, fig. 4.

³⁴ Comme à Babylone par exemple: Clancier 2007, 60.

³⁵ Alam 1986, n° 447–453. Schuol 2000, 273.

³⁶ Le Rider 1965, 360.

l'Arsacide revêt de surcroît un caractère politique symboliquement fort. Mais il ne faut pas se contenter de cette vision réductrice, et croire que les Arsacides étaient détachés de toute forme honnête de philhellénisme³⁷, avant même que Mithridate ne se dise philhellène sur ses monnaies³⁸. Depuis les débuts de la dynastie, les rois parthes sont plus ou moins imprégnés de culture grecque, et ils font preuve d'un certain savoir-faire en la mettant sagement au service de leur idéologie royale³⁹. Autrement dit, il s'agit bien ici d'un geste politique mais dont la teneur culturelle n'est pas anodine.

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Nous l'avions indiqué en introduction, cette contribution n'a pas la prétention d'apporter des réponses sûres quant à la prise de Suse par les Arsacides. Il y a cependant quelques éléments qui doivent remettre en question la manière dont on saisit la conquête arsacide, au-delà même du seul Mithridate I^{er} et de Suse. Les Parthes ne sont pas les guerriers farouches, culturellement insignifiants, assoiffés de terres et de richesses ainsi décrits pendant si longtemps dans les études modernes. Les rois arsacides sont des conquérants politiquement aguerris, jouant fort bien des ficelles de la diplomatie comme des ressources de la stratégie militaire, perception que J. Wolski a ardemment défendue tout au long de sa carrière⁴⁰.

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³⁷ Vardanyan 2001, 107; Hackl, Jacobs, Weber (éds.), 2010 (1), 132.

³⁸ Curtis 2007, 11; Dabrowa 2008, 27.

³⁹ Muccioli 2009, 91.

⁴⁰ Sur Mithridate I^{er}, voir les remarques de Wolski 1993, 99.

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Abstract

Mithridates I and Susa

During the reign of Mithradates I (165–132 B.C.), the Arsacid kingdom became a great empire, after its conquests in Central Asia, Media, Mesopotamia and part of Iran. This expansion had only been possible because the Arsacid king paid much attention to the method used to lay hands, either militarily or diplomatically, on the cities of these territories. The seizure of Susa offers a good illustration of this point.

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THE EARLY REIGN OF MITHRADATES II THE GREAT IN PARTHIA

Keywords: Mithradates II, Parthia, Arsakid coinage, Baktria, Babylonia, Media

Mithradates II (122–88/87 B.C.) is among the greatest Parthian kings, and because of his attainments, some ancient accounts call him “the Great.”¹ Unfortunately, sources supply little information about his achievements, especially for his policies in the east, i.e., on the frontiers of Iran and in Central Asia. Accounts refer to Parthia’s adversaries there under the general term of *Scythae/Skythai* or *Guti*. Specific names and locations are few.²

According to Iustinus’ (42.2.3) explicit information, Mithradates II rose to the throne after the unexpected death of his paternal uncle Artabanos I. Although Artabanos I had died fighting nomads (Tochari), the Parthian state passed to Mithradates II without much disruption.³

A hypothesis has recently been put forward that Artabanos I was immediately succeeded by one Arsakes X, a hypothetical son of Artabanos I, to whom should be attributed type S23 coins with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ.⁴ The title ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ had not previously ap-

¹ Iust. 42.2.3: *Mithridates (...) cui res gestae Magni cognomen dedere; quippe claritatem parentum aemulatione virtutis accensus animi magnitudine supergreditur.*

² On Mithradates II, see Debevoise 1938, 40–50; Wolski 1980; 1993, 88–96; Olbrycht 1998, 96–104; Olbrycht 2009; Olbrycht 2011. The first comprehensive analysis of Mithradates II’s eastern policies was made by Daffinà 1967, 69–75.

³ On the Tochari, see Enoki, Koshelenko, Haidary 1994, and Piankov, ‘The Tochari’ in this volume.

⁴ Assar 2006, 129–134. Coin types are cited according to the catalogue by Sellwood 1980 (=S).

peared on Arsakid coinage, but was regularly used on coins of Mithradates II (S24.1, S27.1, S28). Similarly, the mint magistrate marks TY on tetradrachms S23 are identical with those on coins S24.4 and S24.6–7 which were certainly issued by Mithradates II. Such circumstantial evidence speaks for attributing type S23, including tetradrachms, to Mithradates II. Yet the image on S23 tetradrachms is somewhat different from that on type S24 coins: the obverse shows a relatively young, short-bearded king. In contrast, the characteristic image of Mithradates II is a bust of a man with a long beard. Precisely such portraits are seen on S23 bronzes from Seleukia on the Tigris dated at the year 191 of the Seleukid era (Macedonian style; 122/121 B.C.): the king is wearing a fairly long beard and moustache.⁵ This, no doubt, is a picture of Mithradates II. The bronzes began to be issued in fall 122, i.e., at the outset of Mithradates II's reign.

Despite the difference in portraiture, type S23 coins, including tetradrachms, should be thought to have been issued by Mithradates II. The difference probably stems from the fact that this king, in the difficult moments immediately following Artabanos I's sudden death, had not yet had time to define his own iconography (the images on tetradrachms S23 stylistically resemble those on coins of Phraates II). Mithradates was probably accompanying the Parthian army engaged in the far east, in Baktria, when circumstances forced him to assume power. However, Mithradates II quickly developed his own uniform style and had images made which depicted him with a long beard. This style included fewer Greco-Macedonian elements than was the case with Phraates II.

Mithradates II's first monetary issues include, next to other denominations, tetradrachms (S23–24) which, in Parthian coinage, were issued predominantly in Seleukeia on the Tigris (in isolated cases also in Susa).⁶ Tetradrachms produced in Seleukeia on the Tigris, which circulated only in the western parts of the empire, were usually initiated by the kings themselves, for it was they that supervised royal monetary supply. When the king departed from Babylonia and Media for an extended leave, tetradrachms were not normally issued, or if they were, it was only sporadically so. Based on this circumstance, it may be surmised that in his first years on the throne, Mithradates II devoted much attention to western satrapies, especially to Babylonia. But this does not mean that he ignored prob-

⁵ S23.4: Le Rider 1965, 387–388, pls. LXXI.12–14.

⁶ It was McDowell 1935, 158–177 who first pointed out that Parthian tetradrachms were only struck at Seleukia on the Tigris. Exceptions are some issues of Phraates II at Susa (Le Rider 1965, 79–80, pl. X, A-B), and of Artabanos I (Simonetta 1975, 151–156). See also Mørkholm 1980, 34. Sellwood (1980, 65–66) ascribes type S23 solely to western Parthian mints (Seleukia, Susa, Ekbatana, and perhaps Niniveh).

lems in Central Asian fringes of the empire. Iranian mints turning out types S23 and S24 worked strenuously. In the early years of his reign, Mithradates II resided primarily in Media and fought in eastern Iran as well as in Baktria, but it is not impossible that he also spent some time in Babylonia, then plagued by Arab looting raids. Following types S23 and S24, the king's ample issues (S25–29) did not include tetradrachms; rather, their chief denomination was the drachm which circulated especially in Iran.⁷

* * *

The British Museum keeps a drachm of Mithradates II with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ.⁸ On the obverse, the monogram is an M turned 90 degrees right. This is probably short for ΜΑΡΓΙΑΝΗ, indicating the place of issue (some numismatists associate the monogram with the fortress of Mithradatkirt/Old Nisa which seems improbable). The supposition is confirmed by a stylistic similarity between the reverses of a S22.4 drachm of Artabanos I, showing the obverse monogram ΜΑΡ (= ΜΑΡΓΙΑΝΗ), and the Mithradates II's coin S23.3 mentioned above.⁹ Thus, on his early drachms issued in Margiana, Mithradates II used the title *philhellen* (φιλέλληνην), which had appeared under Mithradates I after a conquest of Babylonia, but later remained unused until on coins of Artabanos I (S21.1–3). Later types of Mithradates' coins only sporadically bear the title φιλέλληνην. Exceptions include S27.6–8 tetrachalkoi produced after 111/110 B.C. The title φιλέλληνην reappears regularly on S29 coins which were the last type of drachms issued by Mithradates II. Introducing the title φιλέλληνην on type S23 coins involved abandoning that of μέγας (just as for Artabanos in type S22).

The use of the title φιλέλληνην on coins produced in Margiana was designed to enlist the support of Greeks and Macedonians inhabiting north-eastern satrapies of the empire, including the Merv oasis,¹⁰ and Greek centers in Baktria. But another potential target group of such propaganda were soldiers of Antiochus VII: Greeks and Macedonians fighting alongside nomads who had betrayed the Parthians ca. 127, thus contributing to the defeat and death of Phraates II (Just. 42.1.4–5). Those Hellenes formerly in Phraates II's army were probably seeking a chance to return to Syria or at least to settle in a safe city under Arsakid control. It

⁷ It cannot be ruled out that Mithradates II, like Mithradates I and Phraates II before him, briefly issued drachms also in Seleukia – Simonetta 1979, 363–4; Assar 2006, 135.

⁸ S23.3; BM, inv. no. 1920–6–11–314.

⁹ Cf. Loginov, Nikitin 1996, 40–44, fig. 1, nos. 5 and 6; Nikitin 1998, 14–15, 18, pl. I.3–4.

¹⁰ Loginov, Nikitin 1996.

is doubtful that they could lead peaceful lives on Baktria's or Sogdiana's territories under nomad rule.

During his first decade as king, Mithradates II used titulature little different from that of his predecessors. His coins display the titles ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ. What is innovative is the title ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ – of the “Manifest.” Almost identical titulature is known from inscriptions from the time of Mithradates II.

One inscription, found at Babylon and stored in the British Museum, was made in the year 191 of the Seleukid era (Macedonian style), or between Oct. 7, 122 and Sept. 25, 121 B.C. It opens with the following titles: “*Of the Great King Arsakes, the Manifest and the Philhellene*”:

[Βασιλεύον]τος Μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου[υ | Ἐπιφανοῦ]ς Φιλέλληνο[ς (...)]¹¹

What with the absence of the title *Theopatoros*, which was frequently used on Artabanos I's coins, and the use of the epithet *Epiphanes*, the inscription should be attributed to Mithradates II.

Another inscription, found at Babylon, is doubly dated at the year 202 of the Seleukid era (Macedonian style) or 137 of the Arsakid era (= Oct. 6, 111 – Sept. 24, 110 B.C.). This poorly preserved inscription cites identical titulature as the previous one – “*Of the (Great) King (Arsakes), the Manifest and the Philhellene*”.

[Βα]σιλεύοντος [Μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου] | Ἐπιφανοῦς Φιλέλληνο[ς (...)]¹²

Both texts include the title *philhellen*, a gesture toward Hellenes. On coins of Mithradates II, this title appears relatively rarely, in issues from very early and very late in his reign.

* * *

Following Artabanos I's and his generals' attacks on Charakene and Elymais, the situation in southwestern regions of the Arsakid empire was relatively stable. In Charakene, after Hyspaosines died in June 124, coins were still produced in his name.¹³ We know of posthumous tetradrachms dated 190, 191, and 192 of the Seleukid era (Macedonian style) with legends ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΥΣΠΙΔΩΣΙΝΟΥ.¹⁴ It seems that such issues were made with the consent of the Parthians, who deliberately left their vassals a large degree of freedom.¹⁵ The

¹¹ Haussoullier 1909, 353–354; Minns 1915, 36; SEG VII 40; Le Rider, 1965, 37–38; Canali De Rossi 2004, no. 106.

¹² Haussoullier 1909, 352–353; Minns 1915, 36; SEG VII 39; Le Rider, 1965, 37; Canali De Rossi 2004, no. 107.

¹³ See Schuol 2000, 294–300. Cf. Newell 1925; Bellinger 1942; 1944.

¹⁴ Such coins were discovered in a 1998/1999 hoard together with pieces of Mithradates II. No coins later than S24 tetradrachms were present in the hoard (Assar 2006, 133–134).

¹⁵ Cf. Bernard 1990, 41–43.

year 121/120 B.C. saw issues of Mithradates II struck from dies of type S23.4 on bronzes of Hyspaosines dated 191 SEM.¹⁶ This procedure is often thought to be proof of a vassal status of Charakene/Mesene under the Arsakids.¹⁷ But overstriking was a natural process at a time when monetary circulation in Babylonia was stabilizing under Mithradates II. After Hyspaosines' death, the domain did not have a strong leader, and the memory must have lived of Artabanos I's military overwhelming might in 126–125 B.C. Under the circumstances, the vassal status of Charakene was unquestionable.

Meanwhile, Babylonia continued to be harassed by Arabs who plundered the country almost on a yearly basis. The story is told in a Babylonian document from the month of Nisan (Apr. 20 – May 19) 120 B.C.:¹⁸

A₂15: That month, there was [...] in Babylon.

A₂16: [That month, I hea]rd that the general who was above [the four generals from] Babylon] entered Seleukia

A₂17: [which is on] the Tigris. [...] this [gener]al (who) before

A₂18: [...] was appointed as general in [...]

A₂19: [...] and] his [troo]ps? went out to Media [to the side of] King [Arsak]es.....

B₁13: [...] That [month], plundering by the Arabs in Babylonia [...]

The text seems to imply that the Parthian commander-in-chief in the west, i.e., “the general who was above the four generals,” traveled from Seleukeia on the Tigris to Media to see the king. Apparently, the king residing in Media was gathering his forces to deal with nomads in the east, but repeated plunder in Babylonia troubled him greatly. Arabs were a troublesome enemy, but their raids were not meant to separate Babylonia from Parthia. This allowed Mithradates to dispatch his main force to the east, entrusting defense from the Arabs to Babylon's commander-in-chief.

Another diary from the month of Ayyar (May 20 – June 17, 120 B.C.) supplies more specific details:¹⁹

C11':..... That month, the 4th, a leather document of the king which was written to the governor of Babylon and the (Greek) citizens who are in Babylon [...]

C12': [...]]na, son of Bagaya'aša who was above the 4 generals, and Urrahšu, the general, [were removed?] from the (position) of general [...].²⁰

¹⁶ Newell 1925, 11–18.

¹⁷ Debevoise 1938, 40; Le Rider 1965, 387–388.

¹⁸ Sachs, Hunger 1996, no. –119A₂+B₁, p. 311; Del Monte 1997, 147.

¹⁹ Sachs, Hunger 1996, no. –119C, p. 313; Del Monte 1997, 148.

²⁰ Regarding line C12, Sachs, Hunger 1996, 314 comment that the text is to be restored “were removed from the position of general”.

The reference, therefore, is to two senior officers, one, the son of Bagaya'aša "who was above the four generals," and Urrahšu, the general. They were probably dismissed and the decision was officially announced. The first commander was honored by his patronymic *son of Bagaya'aša*.²¹ The official *Bagaya'aša* was a familiar figure in Babylonia since he played a key role in Parthian politics from ca. 148/7 B.C., when he became satrap of Media, to the 130's²². That his son held a high office after him implies that offices in Parthia had effectively become hereditary.

In spring 119 (month Nisan = April 9 – May 8), Parthian forces intervened in Babylonia successfully enough to ensure that Arab attacks ceased for a time. This is mentioned in an astronomical diary:²³

A19 (...) the troops which [...]

A20 [...] Borsippa Went to Borsippa. The 13th, [he] entered Babylon from Borsippa. The 18th, [...] new canal [...]

A21 [...] 10 days he removed his camp there. The 25th, when he withdrew, he did not enter Babylon. In the temple of Nergal Which is below the temple? [...]

A22 [...] of the Arabs went out. The people went out from Babylon to the rivers and fields which were without Arabs.

It is not certain who commanded the Parthian army – whether the king or a satrapal commander. Characteristically, the Parthian force fighting the Arabs did not enter Babylon, but probably immediately departed for Media. Apparently the force was in a hurry to join the fray in the empire's east. Meanwhile, the defeated Arabs had left and Babylonia's situation improved. Although Babylonian accounts have extensive gaps in them,²⁴ it still seems that Arab raids after 119 (when they attacked again in fall) were rather sporadic.²⁵ Overall, Babylonia entered in the decade 119–111 B.C. a much more peaceful phase than the tumultuous 120's, when it was under attack from Seleukids, Charakene, Arabs, and even Sakan hosts.

²¹ Assar 2006, 138 conjectures the name Artabanos for the person in question and maintains that the patronymic was used to distinguish that Artabanos from another who was the young King Arsakes X, who "probably perished in some tragic circumstances barely a year earlier while defending his realm." Yet Arsakes X – Artabanos is a purely hypothetical figure. Likewise, the reconstruction of the name Artabanos in the diary is not plausible.

²² Del Monte 1997, 55–57; Olbrycht 2010, 238–239.

²³ Sachs, Hunger 1996, 320–321, no. –118A, Obv'; Del Monte 1997, 149.

²⁴ Sachs, Hunger 1996, 328–347.

²⁵ An Arab raid was repulsed in the month Ab of 200 SEB = July, 20 – Aug. 18, 112 B.C. Cf. Sachs, Hunger 1996, 342–343, no. –111B.

In 121–119 B.C., Mithradates II concentrated on the empire’s east. His military efforts culminated in struggles in fall 119 during which the Parthians routed a host of the “*Guti*,” i.e., Tochari, in Baktria. A recently published Babylonian text supplies some valuable details on the subject:²⁶

A18: That [month], the 15th, a leather document of King Arsakes

A19: [which] was written to the governor of Babylon and the (Greek) citizens who were in Babylon, was read in the House of Observation; accordingly, many troops assembled and went to fight against the son of the king and his troops of the [remote] cities

A20: [of the G]utian (country) who killed my brother Artaban, and I set up (troops) opposite them, and fought with them; a great killing I performed among them; except two men [...]

A21: [...] were not killed; and the crown prince and his troops fled from the fight and withdrew to the difficult mountains. That month, the general who is above the four generals for damming?

A22: [...] departed. That month, the Arabs became hostile, as before, and plundered. That month, King Arsakes [went] to the remote cities of the Gutian country in order to fight.

The struggle was fought in month Tashrit (Oct. 4 – Nov. 2, 119 B.C.) on a grand scale. Characteristically, the text speaks of “remote cities of the Gutian country” and of “difficult mountains.” The reference is no doubt to Baktria, a highly urbanized country, where the Tochari had their bases. It was not for no reason that Baktria was widely called the “land with a thousand cities” (Strab. 15.1.3; Iust. 41.1.8; 41.4.5).²⁷ All around Baktrian plains extend mighty mountain ranges of the Hindukush and the Hissar, with summits reaching 7000 meters above sea level. Driven back by Parthian thrusts, the “son of the king” of the Guti fled into the mountains. The Tochari probably withdrew from the cities and plains into the Hissar Mountains in Baktrian northern fringes and on its frontier with Sogdiana. The fleeing troops were pursued by “Arsakes” himself, at the head of his force. It seems that battles must have been fought not only in Baktria proper, but also in its neighboring Sogdiana, where the Tochari or their allies might flee.

The text tells of Artabanos, apparently a “brother” of Arsakes killed by the Guti. Does this refer to king Artabanos I (127–122) or perhaps to someone else?

²⁶ Sachs, Hunger 1996, 326–327, no. –118A; Del Monte 1997, 149–150.

²⁷ The same phrase is used in some recent publications, see Masson 1982 (*Das Land der tausend Städte*); Leriche 2007 (*Bactria, Land of a Thousand Cities*).

Iustinus (42.2.2–3) says that Artabanos I was an uncle of Phraates II (*patruus*, father's brother, paternal uncle). Mithradates II is for the historian a son (*filius*) of Artabanos I. If Mithradates II were a son of Phriapatios, i.e., brother of Artabanos I, he would be at least 50 years old in 119 since Phriapatios died no later than ca. 170 B.C.²⁸ While not impossible, it is historically unlikely since Mithradates II's natural contestants for the throne would have been the sons of Phraates II and Mithradates I. On his coins, Mithradates II dispenses with the title *Theopatoros* (ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ), as opposed to Mithradates I (S10.17) and Artabanos I (S19), who undoubtedly were sons of Phriapatios. All these circumstances imply that Mithradates II was not a son of Phriapatios, but of Artabanos I. In this case, the Artabanos from the Babylonian text was not king Artabanos I, but Mithradates II's brother, a senior official who died in combat. Notably, he is not called king in the text.²⁹

Most of our information about Mithradates II's eastern policy comes from Iustinus (42.2.4–5): *Multa igitur bella cum finitimis magna virtute gessit multosque populos Parthico regno addidit. Sed et cum Scythis prospere aliquotiens dimicavit ultorque iniuriae parentum fuit.* Although laconic, this report contains many important details. According to Iustinus 42.2.5, Mithradates II became an avenger of his parents or ancestors – *ultor iniuriae parentum* – if so, he must have engaged mainly the Tochari with whom his father Artabanos I had fought. Iustinus' evidence leaves no doubt that Mithradates II's campaigns were successful and resulted in the subjugation of many areas.

In his brief description of the Parthian-Baktrian conflict, Strabo 11.9.2 says that the Parthians “*also took a part of Baktriana, having forced the Skythians, and still earlier Eukratides and his followers, to yield to them*”.³⁰ The mention refers to the situation in the aftermath of the fall of Eukratides' successors and after a short-lived occupation of Baktria by *Skythians*, i.e. nomads. This must be a reference to the time of Mithradates II as he was the one who defeated the “Skythians” and reconquered Baktria. Strabo emphasizes that Skythians were forced to recognize Parthian rule and he adds on the same breath that the vastness of the Parthian empire equaled that of Rome.

Study of Parthian coin finds and of what fragmentary source evidence is available may lead to the conclusion that Parthian dominion in Baktria indeed extended to Baktra/Zariaspa (Balkh), Kampyrtepa, and Termez. Mithradates II

²⁸ Assar 2006, 88.

²⁹ Assar 2006, 138 believes that the reference might be to the Artabanos who was relieved of his command in 120. Perhaps he was killed fighting the Guti. But then he should be called the brother of the king, like Bagaya'aša in 133 B.C. (Del Monte 1997, 125). Yet the description used for him was “son of Bagaya'aša”.

³⁰ ἀφείλοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς Βακτριανῆς μέρος βιασάμενοι τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοὺς περὶ Εὐκρατίδαν.

recaptured what had been conquered by his great namesake in between 163 and 155.³¹ Arsakid coins appear in western Bactria and in the middle Amu Darya region until the time of Gotarzes II (died 51 A.D.).³²

It was essential for the Parthians to control the middle Amu Darya area including Amol in order that they might forestall any attempted attacks by nomads from Transoxiana, especially from Sogdiana. For more than two centuries, up until the Kushan era in the latter half of the 1st century A.D., no major threats to Parthian rule visited this area. The Parthians are certain to have occasionally ventured as far as Transoxiana, whether into northern Bactria or Sogdiana, and especially into the Bukhara region. There is no question that for a time, Khalchayan in the Surkhan Darya valley (northern Bactria) saw not only cultural, but also political influences of the Parthians. The same may be said of western Sogdiana. Chinese records say that Parthia, or Anxi, bordered on the land of Yancai located on the lower Syr Darya and the Aral Sea.³³ A zone of mutual contact between Parthia and Yancai must have been in Sogdiana. Control over the strategic route Samarkand – Bukhara – Merv was a necessity for the Parthians if they had any understanding of elementary military and political strategy to ensure the Arsakid empire security on its north-eastern frontiers. The region of the middle Amu Darya was probably called Traxiane.³⁴

In Transoxiana settled vast numbers of steppe people during the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Their burial places were located, among other places, on the middle Amu Darya itself, as is shown by the Babashov necropolis, and on the Zerafshan river. Sogdiana and the middle Amu Darya area was inhabited by Sakai and Sakaraukai,³⁵ who for a time posed a grave threat to Parthian hegemony.

From the 1st century B.C., in the province now called Sistan (Sīstān) in eastern Iran and south-western Afghanistan, there were powerful Sakan domains, as monetary evidence clearly demonstrates.³⁶ Yet coins suffer from many limitations as source material to reconstruct political events. In this case, it applies in particular to early Sakan presence in Sakastan, i.e., in Drangiana and the land of

³¹ For details, see Olbrycht 2010.

³² Coins of Mithradates II were discovered in Tillya-tepe (S27.3), Mazār-e Sharīf and in Old Termez, see Rtveladze 1992, 33; 1994, 87. On Parthian coin finds in Bactria and in the middle Amu Darya region, see: Pilipko 1976; Koshelenko, Sarianidi 1992; Zeymal 1997; Rtveladze 2000; Biriukov 2010; Litvinskii 2010. The most recent treatment is Gorin, 'Parthian Coins from Kampyrtepa' (in this volume).

³³ SJ 123: Watson 1961, 268; Olbrycht 1998, 101–102. Some scholars presume that Mithradates II was active in Chorasmia and his attacks on the country may have caused the fall of centers like Koi-krylgan-kala, Kalaly-gyr 2, and Giaur (Vainberg 1992, 37). However, archaeological dating in Chorasmia is far from accurate; hence the hypothesis quoted cannot be considered well founded.

³⁴ Rtveladze 1992, 34.

³⁵ Olbrycht 1998, 122–123.

³⁶ Senior 2001.

the Ariasprians. The Sakai appeared there in connection with major nomad migrations and their conquest of Bactria ca. 130–120 B.C. Faced with strong resistance from the Parthians under Artabanos I and Mithradates II, the steppe people probably wended their way south along the Areios (Harirud) and Margos (Morghab). The man who pacified them and included them in the Arsakid empire was certainly Mithradates II.³⁷ It may be thought that Arsakid rule under Mithradates II reached as far as the eastern frontier of Arachosia, and this status continued throughout the entire 1st century B.C. In an account by Isidoros of Charax (*Stathmoi*), which chiefly covered the time of Phraates IV (38–3/2 B.C.), Sakastan (like Arachosia) was an important part of Parthian possessions in the east.

* * *

Mithradates II's full involvement in the east coincides with the production of type S24 coins (legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ), issued in numerous mints. The type includes tetradrachms from Babylonia, but the output of drachms circulated in Iran rose rapidly. In addition to the old mint in Ekbatana, another mint became highly active in Rhaga near the Caspian Gates.³⁸ Coins from Rhaga bear monograms usually combining the letters PA, but on occasion a full name of the city appears in Greek, ΡΑΓΑ (S24.15 and 24.16). Coin iconography, which included horses and gorytos, referred to military preparations and operations. Type S24 was in production for probably four years,³⁹ perhaps in about 120–117 B.C. It became necessary for two large mints to operate in Media because of the extensive needs of the Parthian army and Mithradates II's court. It was Media where the forces chiefly concentrated which would march further east.

It seems that the sporadically confirmed type S25 with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ was produced in parallel with series S24.⁴⁰ The reverses showed a Parthian archer. Such coins were produced in Ekbatana and Rhaga (PA monogram). On these coins, for the first time in Parthian coinage, there appeared the title "Saviour" (σωτήρ), which must have referred to propaganda efforts by Mithradates II: the Arsakid presented himself to his subjects as a savior from attacks from steppe peoples. Babylonian accounts

³⁷ Olbrycht 1998, 96–100. A trophy from the Parthian fight against the Sakai is perhaps a silver, gold-plated ax in the treasury in Old Nisa (Koshelenko 1977, ill. 52, 53). In its shape and style, it is akin to axes seen on Indo-Sakan coins of the 1st century B.C., see *NPIIN* 948, 951.

³⁸ Details of the Rhagae mint are given by Nikitin 1983. Dichalkoi and chalkoi of type S24 are the most common coins among Mithradates II' early bronze issues.

³⁹ Nikitin 1983, 97, bases his supposition on the use of four types of monograms on the reverses of S24 coins.

⁴⁰ According to Nikitin 1983, 97, production of S25 preceded S24 issues.

speak of great victories of Mithradates II over the faraway “Guti” people in 119 B.C. Perhaps, therefore, S25 issues were produced about 119 during fights against nomads and after their final defeat.

Mithradates II’s presence in Iran itself and in its north-eastern frontiers is confirmed by the chronologically following type S26 (drachms and bronzes) which was clearly struck for the needs of the army and the court. The output of the Ekbatana and Rhaga mints greatly surpassed that of other sites.⁴¹ Nisa in central Parthia joined the list of major mints since coins began to bear N and NI monograms (S26.19, S 26.27). A significant innovation appears on type S26 coins: on their reverses, the omphalos was replaced with a throne, clearly a curtsy to Iranian tradition. A throne without a back appeared on coins of Arsakes I, but in its place Phriapatios introduced an omphalos, an item subsequently replicated by successors. Coin legends remained typical: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. New titulature, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, appeared on the following type S27. If the use of the title King of Kings in Babylonian texts (ca. 111/110 B.C.) coincided with its appearance on type S27 coins, then production of type S26 continued until ca. 111/110.⁴²

That a mint operated in Nisa in Parthia proper has been confirmed by the discovery of a hoard of Parthian coins in Ashkabad, Turkmenistan, a few kilometers away from the sites of Old Nisa and New Nisa, with which the mint can be identified.⁴³ One more single find is known of a type S27 coin of Mithradates II, from Garry-Kyariz, ca. 55km west of Ashkabad.⁴⁴ It seems that Mithradates II tried to stabilize the economy of Parthia proper, hence the activity of the Nisa mint. Another significant fact is that the Parthian archive in Old Nisa fortress contains documents dating, in their vast majority, to the reign of Mithradates II and his successors in the 1st century B.C.⁴⁵ It seems, therefore, that he was the one who renovated Old Nisa and showed care for economic figures as part of his efforts to expand his fortresses and other royal sites.

Mithradates II must be accredited with similar actions in Merv. On that location were found several coins of this king. Five coins come from the International Merv Project excavations in the 1990’s.⁴⁶ Most of those coins were struck

⁴¹ It is rightly argued by Pilipko, Loginov 1980, 82, that type S26 follows S24. The monogram of the Rhaga mint was then modified, see Nikitin 1983, 96, fig. 1.

⁴² Nikitin 1983, 96–978 suggests the period 115–110 B.C. for type S26.

⁴³ All the known coins from the hoard were of type S26, and one bore the monogram NI, short for Nisā/Nisaia. Originally, the hoard numbered about 70 drachms, but only eight were described in detail, see Pilipko, Loginov 1980.

⁴⁴ Pilipko 1976a.

⁴⁵ Almost all texts come from after 100 B.C. Cf. Bader 1996.

⁴⁶ Herrmann, Kurbansakhatov et al. 1994, 62; Smirnova 2007, 382–383.

in Rhaga and Nisa mints, but some specimens come from Merv. This means that the Parthian mint in Merv was working again. Mithradates II would have been wrong not to try to strengthen the defenses of Merv. Even earlier, under Mithradates I, the Parthians had reinforced Merv's defense walls.⁴⁷ But it was probably Mithradates II who made the most substantial contribution here as he bore in mind the turbulent years 130–119, when Parthia's eastern borders stood in flames. Merv continued to be a bastion of Parthian rule on the frontier of Iran and Central Asia, and still made an excellent base from which to launch Parthian attacks on Baktria and Sogdiana.

The above discussion proves that Mithradates' monetary production in ca. 122–111/110 concentrated in northern-Iranian centers: in Ekbatana, Rhaga, and to a lesser extent in Nisa and Merv. Rich Media, and also native Parthia as well as Margiana, became bases of operations for Mithradates II's great offensives in Central Asia.

Media, the richest land on the Iranian Plateau, played a decisive role in Parthian policies under Mithradates II.⁴⁸ Even under the Achaemenids, the Medes held a status nearly equal to that of the Persians. That was not only because of the affinity between the two tribes but also because of Media's imperial traditions and its riches, as many sources emphasize. Both linguistically and ethnically, the Medes and the Parthians had much in common; both nations were neighbors. Importantly, a record of Iustinus (41.1.1) says that the Parthian language was somewhere between Scythian and Median. Owing to its strategic, political, and economic potential, Media was of key importance to the Parthians and was subjected to their direct rule. Ekbatana was one of the Parthian empire's capitals (Strab. 11.13.1). Under Mithradates I (165–132), this city became the residence of a king's brother Bakasis (Bagaya'aša), controlling the western provinces of the Arsakid kingdom.⁴⁹ Median mints (Ekbatana and Rhaga) struck an overwhelming majority of Parthian drachms and the country possessed rich silver deposits.⁵⁰ Massive striking of Parthian coins in Media culminated under Mithradates II: the bulk of S23-S29 coins were produced in the Median centers. All this combined to make Media a land of exceptional importance to the Parthians, a land whose culture – a repository of old Iranian tradition as it was⁵¹ – they amply drew from, also in their political ideology. It seems that the Arsakids from Mithradates I onwards reached back into the store of old Achaemenid traditions mainly through Median heritage.

⁴⁷ Cf. Zavyalov 2007; Olbrycht 2010, 238.

⁴⁸ Media's wealth: Strab. 11.13, 7; Amm. Marc. 23.3.5; 23.6.29; 23.6.31.

⁴⁹ Olbrycht 2010, 238–239.

⁵⁰ Nikitin 1983.

⁵¹ For more on this, see Olbrycht 1997. Cf. Koshelenko 1963, 64–65.

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Abstract

Mithradates II (122–88/87 B.C.) is among the greatest Parthian kings, and because of his attainments, some ancient accounts call him “the Great.” Mithradates II rose to the throne after the unexpected death of his paternal uncle Artabanos I. In his early reign, Mithradates II routed a host of the “Guti,” i.e., Tochari, in Baktria, and managed to halt Arab raids in Babylonia. Faced with strong resistance from the Parthians under Artabanos I and Mithradates II, the Sakai wended their way south along the Areios (Harirud) and Margos (Morghab) into Drangiana and the Ariaspian land. Mithradates II pacified and included them in the Arsakid empire. Mithradates’ monetary production in ca. 122–111/110 concentrated in northern Iranian centers: in Ekbatana, Rhaga, and to a lesser extent in Nisa and Merv. Rich Media, and also native Parthia as well as Margiana, became bases of operations for Mithradates II’s great offensives in Central Asia.

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THE AVROMAN PARCHMENT III IN PARTHIAN

Keywords: Avroman, Parthian language, parchment, Arsacid Iran

The Avroman parchment III in Parthian (fig.1) was discovered by peasants in a sealed stone jar near a cave at the bottom of the Kūh-i-Sālān mountain ridge (locally pronounced as Kosalan), near the village of Palangan (south-western Kurdistan).¹ The jar contained several other parchments, among which were the two parchments – Avroman I and II in Greek; figs. 2, 3). The parchments had changed hands, and only three survived – Avroman I, II in Greek and Avroman III in Parthian. Mirza Saʿīd Khan, an English-trained doctor in Sinna, came to know about the find. He took great pains to urge the peasants to give him the documents. In October 1913 he arrived in England and sent them to E. Brown, who passed them on to E. Minns. On the latter's advice, Mirza Saʿīd Khan offered the documents for sale at Sotheby's and they were purchased by the British Museum. The reverse sides of the Greek parchments dated 225 of the Seleukid era (the year 88/87 B.C.) for the Avroman I and 291 of the Seleukid era (21/22 B.C.) for the Avroman II contain the deeds of sale of Dadbagabag (Δαδβαγαβᾶγ) vineyard, "a plot of land (or a garden) created by a god", and Dadbakanraz (Δαδβακανράς), a "vineyard created by gods" located in southern Kurdistan,² as well as several almost illegible, poorly preserved lines in the Parthian script of Aramaic origin.³

¹ See Minns 1915, 22; Schmitt 1998, 172.

² For their locations, see Edmonds 1952.

³ Nyberg 1923, 209–211, fig. 4.

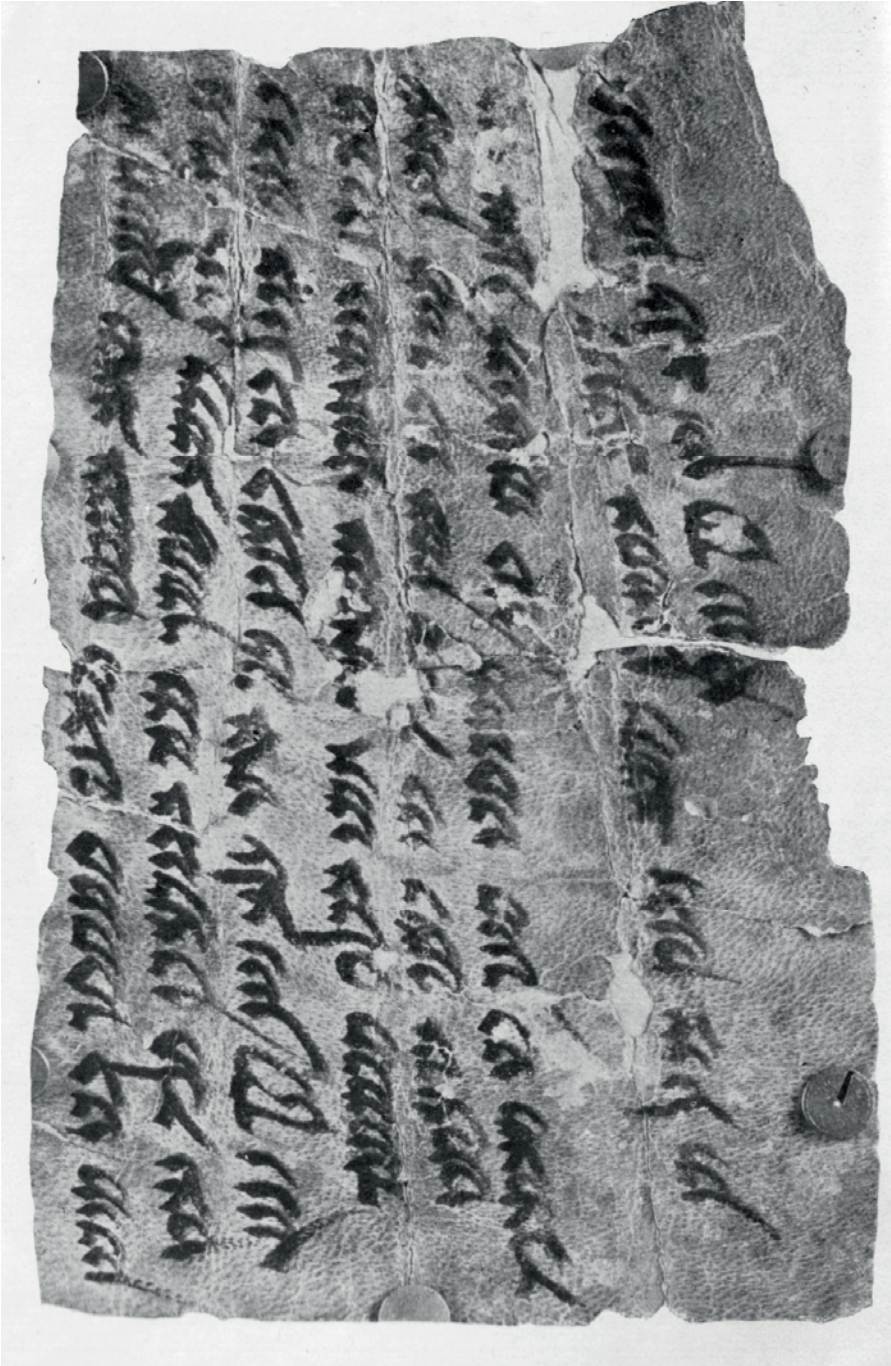


Fig. 1. Parchment III from Avroman (in Parthian, after Minns 1915)

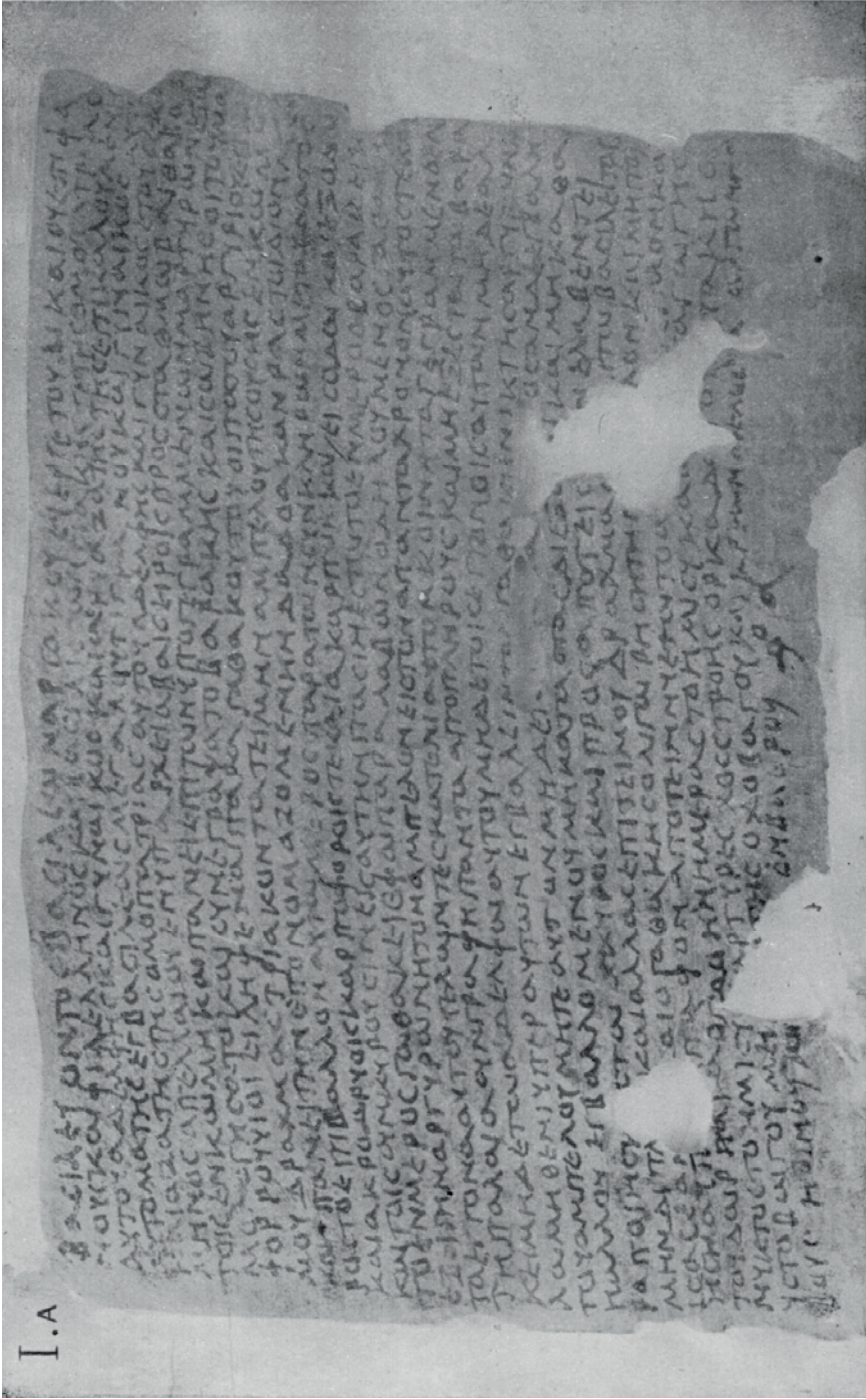


Fig. 2. Parchment I from Avroman, dated to the year 225 of the Seleucid era (after Minns 1915)

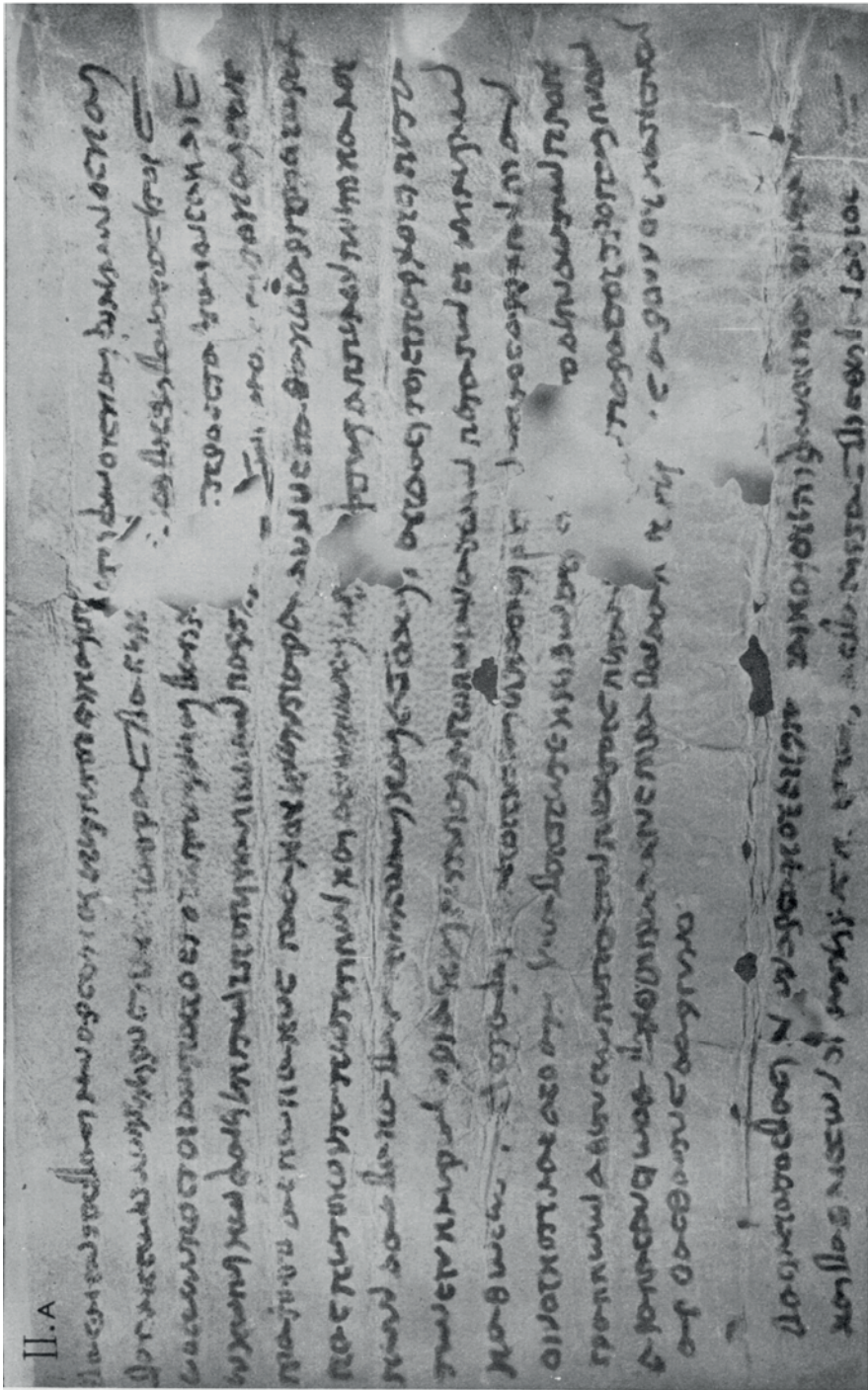


Fig. 3. Parchment II from Avroman, dated 291 of the Seleucid era (after Minns 1915)

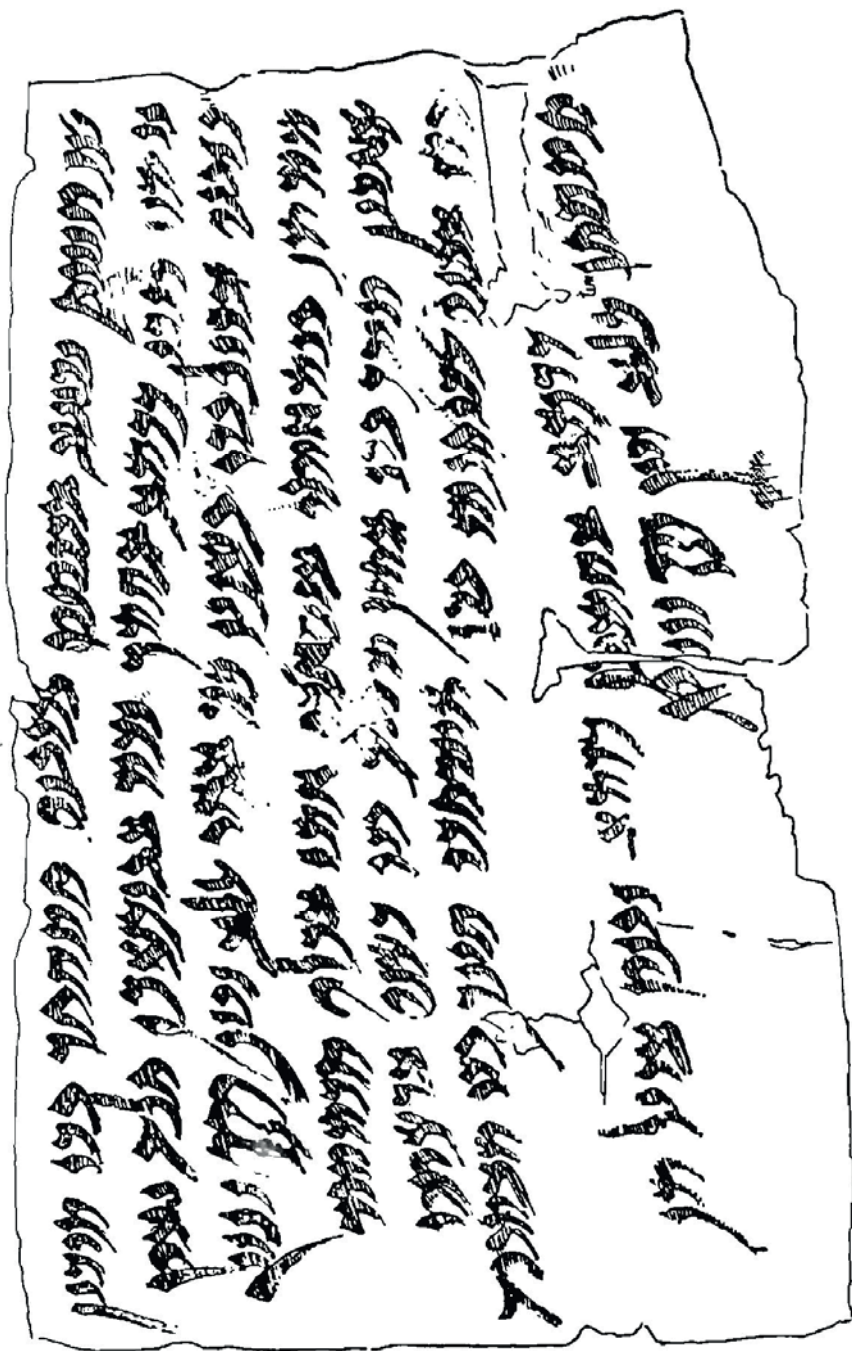


Fig. 4. Parchment III from Avroman, dated 300 of the Arsakid era (drawing in Herzfeld 1924, Fig. 38)

E. Minns published the Greek parchments Avr. I and Avr. II.⁴ The Parthian deed of sale Avr. III (fig. 1, 2) was first published by A. Cowley.⁵ In 1920 the document was published by J.M. Unvala, who analysed several proper names mentioned in Avr. I and Avr. II in their Greek transliteration.⁶ H.S. Nyberg scrutinized the Parthian document.⁷ In 1924 E. Herzfeld published the transcription and the English translation of Avr. III in his work on Paikuli.⁸ M. Mayrhofer published a complete list and the analysis of Parthian proper names and toponyms from Avr. I and Avr. II in their Greek version.⁹ W.B. Henning dated Avr. III placing it between the 7th January and the 5th February 53 AD and suggested Parthian equivalents for Aramaic ideograms denoting verbal forms with –w and –t complements.¹⁰ A.G. Perikhanian published the reading and the Russian annotated translation of Avr. III.¹¹ The latest, to my knowledge, edition of transliteration, transcription and its English translation of Avr. III was performed by S. Haruta.¹² F. Altheim, R. Stiehl as well as M.N. Bogoliubov tried to interpret Avr. III as an Aramaic text with Parthian common words, proper names and toponyms.¹³

Transliteration of the Avr. III text¹⁴

- (1) ŠNT 3×100 YRH' 'rwtt MZBNw ptspr BRY tyryn
- (2) ZY MN bwdy KRM' 'smk MH 'bykškn PLG y't
- (3) WZBNw 'wyl BRY bšnyn KZY 'HYKL' ZWZN 20+20+20+5
- (4) MH MN bwmhwtw '(ty)h̄rw h̄my 'KLw QDMTH
- (5) ŠHDYN tyrk BRY 'pyn (m'...)n BRY ršnw 'ršt
- (6) BRY 'pnk grypnhy B(RY) mtrp̄ry synk BRY m'tbwg
- (7) KRM' 'sm(k)n KRM' ZBNt 'wyl MN
- (8) ptspr KL' ZWZN 20+20+20+5

⁴ Minns 1915.

⁵ Cowley 1919.

⁶ Unvala 1920.

⁷ Nyberg 1923.

⁸ Herzfeld 1924 I, 83.

⁹ Mayrhofer 1974.

¹⁰ Henning 1958, 29–30.

¹¹ Perikhanian 1983, 72–75, 314–316.

¹² Haruta 2001.

¹³ Altheim, Stiehl 1954; 1954a, 229–235; 1957, 64–85; 1970, 483–491; Bogoliubov 1987.

¹⁴ In transliteration, Aramaic ideograms are rendered with capital letters; () shows that letters are partially damaged; [] – a gap in the text or restoration of totally lost letters

Transcription

- (1) sard hr̥esad māh Arwatāt fr̥āwaxš (?) Patspar puhr Tīrēn
- (2) čē(?) ač Bōdī raz āsāmak čē(?) ab(i)kašakān nēm yāt
- (3) ut xr̥īn(?) Awīl puhr Bašnēn ōwōn brāt harw drahm 65
- (4) čē(?) ač bumxwatāw at(i)harw ham xwarānd(?) parwān
- (5) wigāhān Tīrak puhr Āpēn (M?...n) puhr Rašn Arštāt
- (6) puhr Āpānak Gar(i)panāh puhr Mihrfriy Sēnāk puhr Mātbōg
- (7) [] raz āsāmakān raz xr̥īt Awīl ač
- (8) Patspar harw drahm 65.

Translation

- (1) The year 300, month of Arwatāt. Sold by Patspar, son of Tīrēn,
- (2) who is from (a village of) Bōdī, half of the vineyard located on a waste plot of land (?) which is (near) (fields?) in cultivation.
- (3) And Awīl, son of Bašnēn, as a co-owner¹⁵ bought it for 65 drachmae.
- (4) The remainder (of the revenue from the vineyard, which will be left after the payment) is for the owner (= Patspar), let (the seller and the buyer) use it jointly (?). In the presence of
- (5) witnesses: Tīrak, son of Āpēn; M(?)..., son of Rašn; Arštāt,
- (6) son of Āpānak; Gar(i)panāh, son of Mihrfriy; Sēnāk, son of Mātbōg.
- (7) [] vineyard, āsāmakān vineyard Awīl bought from Patspar (for) 65 drachmae.

Commentary

In Avr. I, as a brother, Βαράκης (Greek transliteration of the Parthian *Bahrak, see Mayrhofer 1974, 209) and Σωβήνης (Greek transliteration of the Parthian Čōbēn)¹⁶ sold Gahak (Γαθάκης, in Avr. II Γαάκης)¹⁷ Bahrak's share

¹⁵ Literally, "as brother".

¹⁶ Cf. name Š'hb(y?)n in the Parthian endorsement on the reverse side of the document Avr. I. See Nyberg 1923, 210sq; Mayrhofer 1974, 209, Anm. 19. Unvala correlated Σωβήνης with Persian names Čūbīn, Šūbīn, Middle Persian Čōbēn – nickname of the Sasanian King Bahram VI (590–591); cf. Justi 1985, 167.

¹⁷ On rendering of the Parthian name *Gāθak/*Gāhak see Mayrhofer 1974, 211.

of the Dadbaganraz vineyard (Δαδβακανράς) left to him by co-owners and co-heirs (τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος παρὰ τῶν συνκλήρων).¹⁸

In Avr. II, Den (Δήνης, cf. Middle Persian feminine name Dēnak; Old Iranian *Dainaka in Elamite transliteration Dānakka¹⁹), son and heir of Gahak, sells a vineyard located on the waste plot of land and comprising part of the Dadbaganbag vineyard (Δαδβακαβάγ).

The Avr. III is a much later document as compared with the Greek documents. As to paleographic peculiarities, worthy of note is the usage of the letter <ḥ> instead of <h> in the Aramaic ideogram ŠHDYN “witnesses”, Aramaic šāh^adīn |Parthian-Manichean wyg’h’n |wigāhān| (Boyce 1977, 95) and in Parthian words ḥmy |ham| “together”, but not at the end of a word and not before the final –y: line 6, name grypnhy|Gar(i)panāh²⁰. Some ideograms in Avr. III are the same as in other Parthian texts: QDMTH |Parthian parwān| “before, in the presence of”, Aramaic qodām “before”,²¹ BRY |Parthian puhrl| “son”, Aramaic bārī “my son”, Cf. Middle Persian BRH |pus|, Aramaic bāreh “his son”, Sogdian BRY |pišē, zātē|, Khwaresmian BR |pur|; ’HY |Parthian brāt|, Aramaic ’āhī “my brother” (Beyer 1984, 506–507); KL’ “everything, of everything” (Parthian |harw|), Aramaic kōl, st. emph. k(w)l’ (Beyer 1984, 606); L’ |Parthian nē| “not, no”; MN (Parthian |ač| “from, of”, later až; KZY (Parthian ōwōn| “thus, here”, Aramaic kdy|kzy (Beyer 1984, 551).

’rwt|Arwatāt or Arotāt| is the name of the 3rd month and 6th day in the Zoroastrian calendar, Cf. hrwt|Harwatāt| in the document No. 2593:1 discovered at the excavation site of wine vaults at Old Nisa, Avestan hauruuāt-, hauruuāt – “integrity, wholeness”, Middle Persian Harwatāt, Parthian –Manichean hrwd’d |Harwdād|, New Persian Xurdād (Nyberg 1984, 97).

MZBNw, an ideogram for Parthian frāwaxš(?) “he sold”. Cf. Middle Persian MZBNWtn |frōxtan|, MZBNWyt |frōšēd| “to sell, he sells” (*Frh. Pahl.* XXI, 13), Aramaic mzbn, the infinitive of zbn |zabān| (Beyer 1984, 566). Manichean texts, according to the glossary compiled by M. Boyce (1977) and the dictionary by D. Durkin-Meisterernst (2004) feature only the Middle Persian verb frwxš- |frōxš-| “to

¹⁸ A.G. Perikhanian (1983, 73–74) assumes that the sale here, likewise in Avr. III, means emphatic general tenancy since, when purchasing this plot of land, Gahak not only pays its value and receives the title of perpetuity but also commits himself to pay Barak (and his posterity) fixed annual rents: both money (τὸ ἔμβροτον, one drachma) and natural rents.

¹⁹ See *On.P.* 8.352; Cf. Justi 1895, 84–85.

²⁰ Gar(i)panāh, literary, “(possessing) a happy shelter”, Cf. gry’rthštr|Gar(i)ardaxštr| in the Parthian petroglyph in Kāl-i Jāngāl I (Henning 1953, 134), grprn |Garfarn| “(possessing) a happy farm in the Nisa documents Nos. 445, 5; 787, 3 and in 4 others. Old Iranian *graθ- “bind”, Middle Persian glyh |grih| “knot”, New Persian girih (MacKenzie 1971, 37), Parthian-Manichean gryh |grīh| (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 164), Khotanese grantha- (Cheung 2007, 122–123).

²¹ *Frh. Pahl.* XXV: 1c; Beyer 1984, 679–680.

sell”. Cf. L’ MZBNw – “not sold, has not sold” in the Nisa document No. 2714:2. W.B. Henning suggested that ideograms with the –w complement (Henning has – W) – in the Avr. III ZBNw, MZBNw, ’KLw – can be explained as the Aramaic forms of the 3rd person plural or the 2nd person plural of the imperative (Henning 1958, 30, 66). In the second half of the 3rd century B.C., scribes at the Arsakid chancelleries and at the priests’ and scribes’ community invented the Parthian script with Aramaic ideograms inherited from the “imperial Aramaic” of the Achaemenid Era, while correlating the Parthian verbal forms with the Aramaic ones, may have reasoned by analogy with Parthian verbal forms derived from forms ending in –w, for example, k’mywṭ |kamī/ēwt| “he wished” (NPi Parthian 3a6, 03; 30e 13,06; 32f 7,02; 3/3f 6–7, 03; in the Middle Persian version YCBHt;²² Cf. Parthian-Manichean k’m-|kām-|: k’m’d, q’m’d |kāmād| “to wish” (Boyce 1977, 51). Cf. also Parthian ḤZYWm (NPi 9/8 b56, 04) |wēnām| “I see”, pt’pywnt (NPi 20d 14, 02) |Parthian pattābwand(‘)| “burnt”. One may assume that ideograms with the –w complement, apparently derived from the Aramaic perfect forms of the 3rd person plural are rendered in the Parthian texts by the forms of the 3rd person singular of the imperfect with the augment, the form derived from the Old Iranian imperfect as well as the conjunctive; the ideograms with the –t complement render the Parthian forms of the preterite derived from the Old Iranian forms of participles of the perfect with the –ta suffix (Cf. Old Persian taya mana kṛtam “what I had done, what had been done by me” Darius-Bisotun 4.1ff.; hamiçiyā ha(n)gmatā paraitā “the rebels had gathered and started” Darius-Bisotun 2.32; 38; 43; 52; 57–58; 3.65); Pārsahyā martiyahyā dūraiṯ arštiš parāgmata “the spear of the Persian warrior had gone a long way” DNa 43–45 (Kent 1953, 88). In the Old Nisa documents both types of ideograms express actions completed before the time of drafting the documents, for example, Q’YlW “taken into account” and Q’YlT “id”, Cf. Middle Persian ošmurdan: ošmār-, New Persian šumurdan, šumār- “count”, Parthian-Manichean ‘šm’r |išmār| “number” (Boyce 1977, 24), Middle Persian – Manichean ‘šm’r- |āšmār-| “count” (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 57); YTKYNw |Parthian patī saxt(?)| “be meant”, YTKYNt Parthian patsaxt(?)| “id”; HN’Lw |Parthian ap(e)aspart or ap(e)aspurt| “included”, HN’Lt |Parthian ap(e)spart or ap(e)spurt| “id”.²³ In Avr. III almost all verbal forms with the –w and –t complements denote actions completed by the time of drafting documents; with the exception of ’KLw |Parthian xwarānd|, the 3rd person plural of the conjunctive “let them use”; Cf. Parthian - Manichean wāžānd “let them speak”, pāyānd “let them guard” (Rastorgueva, Molchanova 1981, 224).

bwdy |Bōdī| “frAGRant” (see Diakonov, Livshits 1966, 145, note 36). Cf. bwdyš |Bōdič| “id”, the name of an “estate” and a village in the Nisa documents Nos. 483: 3, 484: 2 and in 11 others.

²² Skjærvø 1983, 133; 1983a, 29.

²³ Cf. Haruta 1992; 2004.

KRM' |Parthian raz|, Aramaic kārəm, st.emph. kārəma (Beyer 1984, 610), Middle Persian raz “wine, vineyard” (MacKenzie 1971, 71).

'smk |āsāmak|, Cf. line 7 'smkn |āsāmakan| “located on a waste plot of land”, from Old Iranian root *sam- “become quiet, drowned; rub/rub oneself, wipe; cultivate”.²⁴ Cf. Greek ἄμπελον τήν ἐπικαλομενεν Δαδβακαβάγ in Avr. II A6–7, B7.

MH |Parthian čē or ya?| “which; what”; conjunction “as”, Aramaic mh(mā) “what, which” (Beyer 1984, 620–621), Middle Persian čē, Parthian-Manichean čy, tšy |čē].²⁵

'bykškn |ab(i)kašakān| “(located nearby) the cultivated fields”, from Old Iranian *abikṣakānā-, Avestan karša- “furrow”, from ³karš- “to furrow”, Old Indian kṛṣāti.²⁶ Nyberg read 'gndškn=|Ganjakān| “near Ganjakān” |ā Ganjakān| (Nyberg 1923, 287, 291).

PLG y't |Parthian nēm yat| “a half”, Aramaic pāləg (Beyer 1984, 668). Cf. Parthian-Manichean nym |nēm| “half”; y'd, y'dg |yād, yādag| “part”, Avestan yāta-;²⁷ Sogdian nym |nēm| “half”, nym nym |nēm nēm| “half-and-half”; Yagh-nobi nim, níma “half”; Avestan naēma-, Old Indian néma “id” (AWb, 1036); Middle Persian, New Persian nēm “id”, Middle Persian nymk |nēmag|, New Persian nēma “half, side, direction” (MacKenzie 1971, 58).

ZBNw |xrīn(?)| “he bought”, Aramaic zbn |zabán| “to buy” (Beyer 1984, 566). Cf. Middle Persian ZBNWtn, ZBN- |xrīdan, xrīn| “to buy”, *Frh. Pahl.* XXI, 15, Parthian-Manichean xryn- |xrīn-| (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 365), the Old Iranian root *xraiH- (Cheung 2007, 447).

The name Patspar, from Old-Iranian *Patišpāra-. Cf. Armenian patsparem “protect, give shelter”, the Armenian noble family Patsparuni; Middle Persian spar “shield”, Armenian aspar (Perikhanian 1983, 317, note 62).

The name Tīrēn from Old Iranian *Tīr(i)aina-, <Parthian tyry |Tīr| – the name of the 4th month and the 13th day; Middle Persian Tīr, Middle Persian-Manichean tyr |Tīr|, New Persian Tīr;²⁸ Cf. Middle Persian - Manichean *tyr rwč 'y wzrg |Tīr rōz ī wuzurg| “the 2nd day of the solemnity of Tīragān”. Parthian names tyry |Tīr|, tyrybm/tyrbm |Tīr(i)bām|, tyryd/t |Tīr(i)dāt|, tyrydtk |Tīr(i)dātak|, tyrymtrk |Tīr(i)mihrak|, tyryn |Tīrēn|, tyrynk |Tīrēnak| in the documents of Old Nisa. Elamite renderings Tiridada, Tīradauda of the Old Iranian *Tiridāta-, Greek Τῑριδάτης “Created by (god) Tīri” (*On.P.* 8.1641); Tiriya, rendering of Old Indian *Tiriya-, hypocoristic of *Tiridāta; Greek Τῑραίος, Armenian Try (*On.P.* 8.1643). Middle Persian names Tīr, Tīrād, Tīrag, Tīrdād, Tīrēn, Tīr-Hudād, Tīrīg, Tīr-Māh, Tīr-Mihr, Tīr-Ohrmazd,

²⁴ See Perikhanian 1983, 314; Cheung 2007, 330.

²⁵ Boyce 1977, 32. On relative pronouns in Parthian, see Boyce 1964.

²⁶ Henning 1958, 30, Anm. 1; AWb. 457.

²⁷ Henning 1958, 29, Anm. 6; AWb. 1283; Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 372.

²⁸ MacKenzie 1971, 83; Boyce 1977, 88.

Tīrōy, Tīrōs (Gignoux 1986, 167–168, Nos. 896–907), Tīr-Husraw, Tīr-Wahman (Gignoux 2003, 63, Nos. 329–331).

'wyl |Awīl| – Semitic name of the buyer, cf. Aramaic 'wl, 'yl “be stout, strong” (Gesenius 1886, 18–19), Arabic awwalu “first”, awila “precede, be the first”, āyil “fat, stupid”.²⁹

bšnyl |Bašnēn?|. the name of Awīl's father must be also Semitic, formed with the suffix ēn (<*aina-) from *bašn или *bašn. I failed to detect such a stem in the Semitic languages.

Aramaic 'HY |'āhī| “my brother”, Parthian brāt “brother” in the Avr. III means “partner, co-owner” (Henning 1958, 29, Anm. 5).

Aramaic ZWZN, plural of zwz |zūz| (from Akkadian), Parthian |drahm| “drachma” (Cf. Beyer 1984, 562).

Aramaic MN, Parthian ač “from, of”, later važ, Parthian-Manichean 'ž (Boyce 1977, 8).

bwmḥwtw |Parthian būmxwatāw| “land-owner/lord”, Middle Persian, New Persian būm “land, country” (MacKenzie 1971, 20), Middle Persian, New Persian xwadāy “lord” (MacKenzie 1971, 95), Middle Persian- Manichean, Parthian-Manichean xwd'y |xwadāy| (Boyce 1977, 100). Cowley (1919, 150) and Nyberg (1923, 187, 202) read bwmḥwtu.

'(ty)ḥrw “remainder”. S. Haruta read it as '(py)ḥ(wz) and translated as “unpretentious”; A.G. Perikhanian (1983, 72) interpreted it as 'p(y?) ḥrw “with/by water everyone” [“водой же каждый”]; Bogoliubov – 'w[š]ḥ[dw] “be called to witness”(1987, 126). The closest to the true interpretation of the term was Herzfeld: 't(.)ḥrw (Herzfeld 1924 I, 83). 'tyḥrw appear in the Old Nisa documents – Nos. 1546:5; 2584:4; 2693:1; 2694:4 meaning “surplus, remainder”; this term may correspond to the ideogram Š'RY (šə'āri?, cf. Beyer 1984, 699) in the Nisa documents Nos. 644:9; 1610:6; 1560:3; 2563:5; 2564:3. To exemplify the usage of the word 'tyḥrw I will refer to the document No. 2693: 1('ty)ḥrw ḤMR mry 100 2+20+20+20+10+6 MN'H 3('TYQ) Lmdwsny³⁰ ḤMR 4(m)ry 20+3+3+2 κ 2 “1-2Remainder: 176 mari of wine. Part of it is 3old [wine]. In the vaults [had been put] 28 mari 2k. of wine”.

The etymology of the term is not quite clear. There is a possible connection with the Old Iranian *har- “to pay a tribute; trade; exchange, change”, Middle Persian hlg |harg| “tribute, tax; work, effort” (MacKenzie 1971, 43), whyl-|wihīr-| “exchange” (id.: 91), Middle Persian- Manichean hr'g |harāg| “tax” (Boyce 1977, 47), khotan. hāra- “thing, possession”, Sogdian 'rkh |ark| “work; job”, Yaghnoibi ark “id.”; arkkārna “farm hand” (ĪaT: 226), Khwarezmian 'rk

²⁹ Baranov 1976, 50. I am much obliged to N.O. Chekhovich and M.M. Iunusov for their semitological consultation.

³⁰ Misprint, must be *mdwstny*.

(fem.) |ark| “job, work”, Bactrian *uapγo* «land rent; employment», *iepo, iepo, epo* “thing, job” (Sims-Williams 2000, 195, 228), Wakhi (y)ark “work, job”, Ishkashmi *ari*, Munji *arg*, Yigdha *hory* “id.”; New Persian *gahūlīdan* “exchange, change”; Armenian (from Parthian or Middle Persian) *hark* “land tax, property tax (from the Middle Persian **harāg*). W.B. Henning showed that Iranian forms derive ultimately from the Imperial Aramaic *h^{al}lāx-* “type of tax” (Biblical Aramaic *halāx* Ezra 4:13; 4:20; 7:24).³¹

’pyn |Āpēn|, from Old Iranian *Āpaina- “(related) to the God of waters», Avestan *āp-* “water; sacred water; god of waters” (*AWb.* 325–329). Cf. Middle Persian, Middle Persian-Manichean *Ābān* – name of the 8th month and 10th day of Zoroastrian calendar.³² Middle Persian names *Ābāndād*, *Ābčihriy*, *Ābdānag*, *Ābdōstar*, *Ābiy*, *Ābōy*, *Ābxwar*, *Ābzōhr-Gušnaspān* (Gignoux 1986, 25–27, Nos. 1, 4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 15, 16), *Āb-Ādur*, *Ābāndān*, *Ābānmard*, *Ābiy* (Gignoux 2003, 19, Nos. 1–4). Elamite renderings: *Apdadda* of the Old Iranian *Āpdāta- “Created by the God of Waters”,³³ *Abuzana* of the Old Iranian *Āpaujana- “Salvation by the God of Waters” or “Revelling in the (God) of waters”.³⁴ The Elamite rendering, *Hapidanuiš*, of the Old Iranian toponym *Āpidāna – “Water Storage; reservoir” (Hinz 1975, 32).

ršnw |Rašn|. Avestan *rašnau-* “right, righteous; god of righteousness, justice” (*AWb.* 1516–1517); Middle Persian, New Persian *Rašn* “god of justice; the name of the 18th day in the Zoroastrian calendar” (MacKenzie 1971, 71), Middle Persian – Manichean *Rašn* (id). Parthian names *ršnw* |Rašn|, *ršnwdtk* |Rašndātak|, *ršnwmtr* |Rašnmihtr| in the Nisa documents Nos. 1669: 4; 1339: 5; 2757: 4; 168: 5 and in 5 others. Middle Persian names *Rašn*, *Rašnag* (Gignoux 1986, 153, Nos. 804–805), *Rašndād* (Gignoux 2003, 57, No. 285), *Rašnmihtr* (Gignoux 2003, 57, No. 286). Elamite renderings *Rašnudadda*, *Rašnuka* of Old Iranian **Rašn(u)dāta-*, **Rašnuka-*,³⁵ *Rašnuizza*, *Rašanuizza* of the old hypocoristic **Rašnuča-* (Hinz 1975, 200); Elamite *Rašnuqa*, *Rašnuuqa* – renderings of Old Iranian **Rašnuka-* (id.); Elamite **Rašnumautiš*, *Rašnuutiš* – renderings of Old Iranian **Rašnuwati-* (toponym) (id.).

’ršt̄t |Arštāt|. Avestan *arštāt-* “God of truth, righteousness”, ²*arštaii-* “id” (*AWb.* 205); Middle Persian, New Persian *Aštād* “God’s righteousness; name of the 26th day in the Zoroastrian calendar” (MacKenzie 1971, 13).

’pnk |Āpānak|, from Old Iranian hypocoristic *Āpānaka-, Avestan *āp-* “water, sacred water; god of waters” (*AWb.* 325–329). See above (under ’pyn |Āpēn|)

³¹ See Henning 1935; Cheung 2007, 131–132.

³² MacKenzie 1971, 1; Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 8.

³³ Gershevitch 1969; *On.P.* 8–80.

³⁴ Gershevitch 1969, 182; Hinz 1975, 32.

³⁵ *On.P.* 8.1421; 1422; Cf. Justi 1895, 259.

Middle Persian proper names, calendar term and Elamite renderings of Old Iranian names with *Ap-

'mtrpy |Mihrfriy| “Loving Mitra/god”, or “Friendly to Mitra”. Cf. Parthian names mtrbrzn |Mihrbarzan|, mtrbwḥt |Mirhbuxt|, mtrbwzn |Mihrbōžan|, mtrdt |Mihrdāt|, mtrdtk |Mihrdākat|, mtrḥštr |Mihrxšahr|, mtrk |Mihrak|, mtrḥwšt |Mihrxwāštak|, mtrprdt |Mihrfadāt|, mtrprdtk |Mihrfādātak|, mtrprn |Mihrfarn|, mtrprwrt |Mihrfawart|, mtrssn |Mihrsāsān|, mtrssnk |Mihrsāsānak|, mtrssnznk |Mihrsāsānanak|, mtršk |Mihričak|, mtry |Mihr|, mtryn |Mihrēn|, mtrynk |Mihrēnak|, name of the 16th day – mtry |Mihr| in the Old Nisa documents (see Diakonoff, Livshits 2001, 197). Old Persian names Mihr, Mihr-Ādur-Wišnasp, Mihr-Ādur-Xwar, Mihrāfrīd, Mihrag, Mihrān, Mihrān-Tīrdād, Mihr-Aspiyān, Mihrāwēz, Mihrbādag, Mihrbān, Mihrbed, Mihrbōzīd, Mihrbuxt, Mihrdād, Mihrdād-Frawardīn, Mihrdānaxš, Mihrēn, Mihr-Gušnasp, Mihr-Husraw, Mihriy, Mihrizēn, Mihrmehīg, Mihr-Narseh, Mihrōg, Mihr-Ohrmazd, Mihrōš, Mihrōy, Mihrōzan, Mihrpanāh, Mihr-Sāsān, Mihr-Šābuhr, Mihr-Šāhag, Mihr-Šāhbag, Mihr-Tahm, Mihr-Uruspar, Mihr-Wahrām, Mihr-Warāz, Mihr-Wīrōy, Mihr-Xwar, Mihrxwāst, Mihryazdxwāst, Mihrpādēn (Gignoux 1986, 123–132, Nos. 613, 665), Mihrād-Ohrmazd, Mihr-Ādur, Mihr-Ādurdād, Mihr-Ādur-Farbay, Mihr-Ādur-Šābuhr, Mihr-Ādur-šnōhr, Mihr-Aštād, Mihrayār, Mihrbōzēn, Mihrdār, Mihrēn, Mihrēn-Šād, Mihr-Faryazd, Mihr-Pērōz, Mihr-Šābuhr, Mihr-Wehād, Mihrxwāst (Gignoux 2003, 48–51, Nos. 221–246).

synk |Sēnak|. Avestan ¹saēna – “bird of prey; eagle” (*AWb.* 1548); ²Saēna – proper name (id.). Middle Persian sēn murw, New Persian sīmury – majic bird (MacKenzie 1971, 74). Middle Persian names Sēn, Sēnag, Sēnbuxt, Sēnweh (Gignoux 1986, 158, Nos. 828-841), Sēn-M... (Gignoux 2003, 59, No. 303). Akkadian Senainni – rendering of the Old Iranian *Sainaini- (Schmitt 2009, 140, No. 123).

m'tbwg or mrtbwg |Parthian Mātōg or Martōg| “Salvation by mother” or “Salvation by man/warrior”. Avestan baog “save” (*AWb.* 917), Middle Persian bōxtan: bōz-, “save, atone” (Mac-Kenzie 1971, 18), Parthian-Manichean bwj-|bōž-|: bwxt |bōxt|, bwj'd |bōžād| “id” (Boyce 1977, 20).

Middle Persian mād, mādar “mother”, New Persian mādar, Middle Persian-Manichean m'dr |mādar| (MacKenzie 1971, 53); Middle Persian, New Persian mard “man” (MacKenzie 1971, 54), Middle Persian-Manichean myrd |merd| “id” (Boyce 1977).

Figures

1. Parchment III from Avroman (in Parthian, after Minns 1915)
2. Parchment I from Avroman, dated to the year 225 of the Seleukid era (after Minns 1915)

3. Parchment II from Avroman, dated 291 of the Seleukid era (after Minns 1915)
 4. Parchment III from Avroman, dated 300 of the Arsakid era (drawing in Herzfeld 1924, Fig. 38).

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Abstract

In 1913, three ancient parchments found in a cave near Shahr-e Awrāmān (Avroman), were acquired by the British Museum. Two of the documents, dated 225 and 291 of the Seleukid era (88-87 and 22-21 B.C.) are written in Greek (one with a poorly legible Parthian endorsement). The third, dated 300 of the Arsakid era (A.D. 53), written in Parthian, is a deed of sale of a half part of a vineyard. Several witnesses are named. This article presents a number of new readings and etymologies for Parthian terms used in the document.

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TILLYA-TEPE GOLD JEWELLERY AND ITS RELATION TO THE SARMATIAN ANIMAL STYLE OF THE NORTHERN BLACK SEA AREA

Key words: Ancient Bactria, Sarmatian culture, nomads, Animal Style

A remarkable collection of gold jewellery was discovered in the hill of Tillya-tepe (fig. 1), Northern Afghanistan, in six graves of the highest social level by the Soviet-Afghanistan archaeological expedition in 1978/79.¹ These burials are of principal importance not only for the history of ancient Bactria, but also for that of many neighbouring and sometimes quite distant regions.

The graves are dated from the 1st c. B.C. to the mid 1st c. A.D.² They contain many objects, but the most splendid are those of gold with colour inlays. As soon as the collection was found, even before it was first presented in public, the term “Gold-turquoise Style” was coined, due to the turquoise inlays lavishly decorating different images on the gold jewellery and toreutic objects. Once again it gave rise to the discussion about the origin of the Sarmatian Animal Style. To understand the matter of this discussion, let us shortly review the history of the study of this phenomenon.

¹ Sarianidi 1985; 1990–92; 1987; 1989. This collection has been newly presented in many exhibitions worldwide: see, e.g.: Cat. Paris 2007; Cat. New York 2007; Cat. Bonn 2010.

² Sarianidi 1985, 54–55.

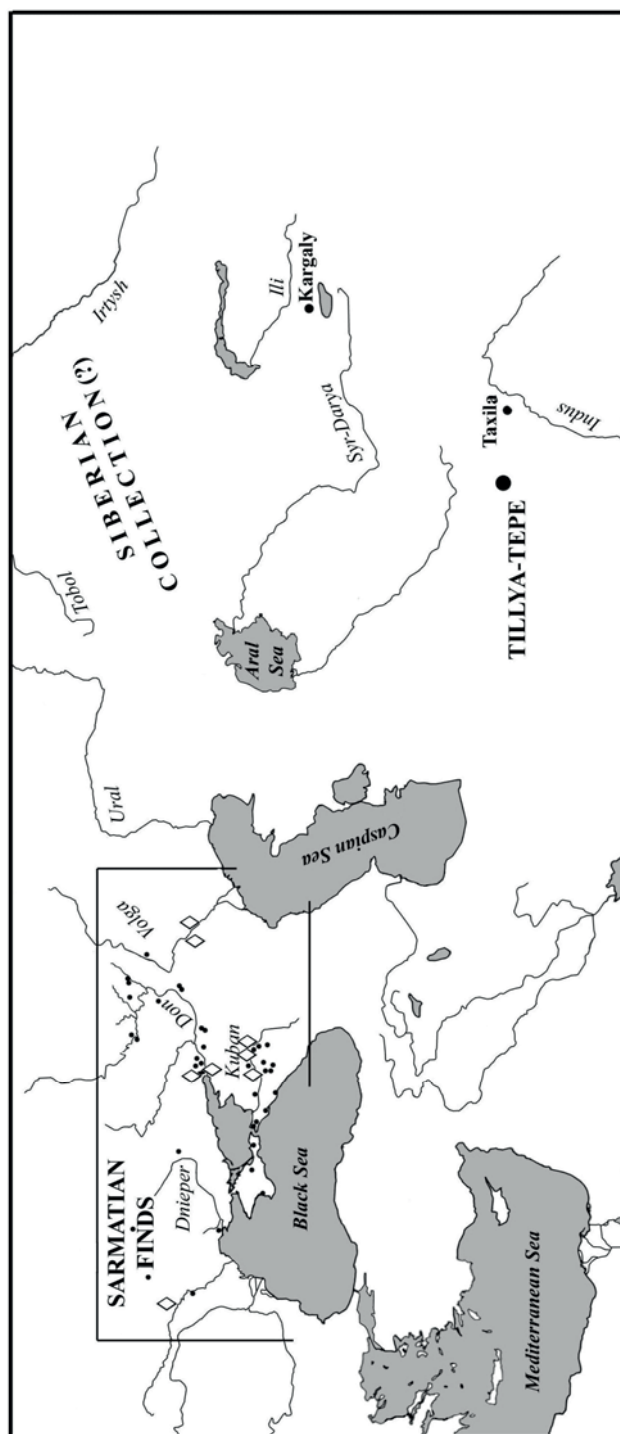


Fig. 1. Map of the principle sites

The term “Sarmatian Animal Style” was suggested in works of Prof. M. Rostovtzeff in the 20-s of the 20th century to make it distinct from the well-known Scythian Animal Style because he thought there was a fundamental difference between these peoples.³ “Sarmatians” he understood as being new Iranian-speaking peoples, who came to the Northern Black Sea region from the East, apparently from the northern boundaries of ancient Bactria, and subdued the Scythians. He mentioned two waves of the Sarmatian migration westwards: those of Saka and Yuezhi. To support his idea with archaeological material he illustrated the first movement by the silver phalerae of horse harness and polychrome brooches, and the second movement by the objects of Sarmatian Animal Style. Having made a detailed description of features of the Scythian Animal Style⁴ Rostovtzeff, however, gave only a general and not very clear characteristic of the Sarmatian Animal Style. As a formal feature of the style he mentioned only the polychromy produced by the colour inlays.⁵

At this point it is necessary to mention that the Animal Style, from the very beginning of its study, was understood as a feature characteristic of the Iranian speaking nomads.⁶ Even a genetic way of transferring of the Animal Style was expressed in some works.⁷ Although many parts of the concept of Rostovtzeff were criticized and revised in Soviet times, the inextricable link of the Animal Style with the culture and history of the Sarmatians remained steadfast.

In the 30s of the 20th century a new concept of the Sarmatian culture has appeared in the Soviet Union. It was no longer connected with its origin with the distant eastern lands, but should have developed in the Ural-Volga area. However, the burials found in this territory did not provide many Animal Style objects. In spite of several attempts to ascribe some poor finds of the Hellenistic period to that of the Animal Style⁸ it was clear, already before the time of discovery of the Tillya-tepe burials, that the Ural-Volga region could not be defined as a land of its origin. Therefore, after the finds from Tillya-tepe came to the

³ Rostovtzeff 1929, 57.

⁴ Rostovtzeff 1922, 51; 1929, 28.

⁵ Rostovtzeff 1929, 55–56.

⁶ Borovka 1928, 5–6, 30; Schefold 1938, 4, 64.

⁷ «Присматриваясь к этническому типу современных кочевников Хор, мы различаем несколько разновидностей, среди которых наиболее выделяется тип *homo alpinus*, свидетельствующий о значительной примеси иностранной крови, по всей вероятности, иранской или скифской. Присутствием этой иностранной примеси, быть может, объясняется сохранение «звериного» стиля среди кочевников Хор» „Looking more closely at the ethnic type of the modern Khor nomads, we can distinguish several varieties between them, among which the most distinguished type is *homo alpinus*, indicating the significant admixture of foreign blood, most likely the Iranian or Scythian. The presence of this foreign admixture, might perhaps explain the preservation of "animal" style among the Khor nomads” (Rerich 1930, 19).

⁸ Malovitskaia 1971; Smirnov 1976.

State Hermitage Museum (Leningrad) for restoration, the ideas of Rostovtzeff about the distant roots of the Sarmatians and the Sarmatian Animal Style immediately surfaced again.⁹

Since then any publication of a rich Sarmatian grave with gold objects ornamented with coloured inlays has referred to the Tillya-tepe items as the closest stylistic analogies. The usual model of interpretation of this phenomenon was migration. According to the ideas of Rostovtzeff, the gold-turquoise items were brought to the North Pontic area by the nomadic tribes from the northern boundaries of ancient Bactria.¹⁰

As I do not share the idea that all objects of Animal Style should be necessarily brought with a wave of migration, I think it is important to find out which items from the Sarmatian graves may be compared with Tillya-tepe jewellery. Afterwards one may try to explain why such objects should appear in the area, so distant from the ancient Bactria.

Stylistic features of the Tillya-tepe collection¹¹

Despite the fact that the motifs depicted on the Tillya-tepe jewellery are quite diverse and presumably may have different origin,¹² the entire collection might be characterized as a stylistic unity.¹³ To find criteria which might be used to define the Tillya-tepe pictorial tradition and for the further comparison with Sarmatian finds, we should try to look for what is “really there”, to “see the shape apart from its interpretation”.¹⁴ To be able to do this it is necessary to analyze formal features of the represented images, making a distinction between the “significant” and “insignificant” elements.

“Significant” and “insignificant” stylistic features. Stylistic features, which serve to express the meaning of representation, are “significant” for the depicted motif. By these “significant” features one gets an impression of what kind of a person or animal species, or whatever is represented. Thus, one recognizes Athena by her attributes – the aegis, a helmet, weaponry spear, and the deer after the type of its antlers. If the “significant” features of an image are

⁹ Zasetskaia 1980; 1989; Raev 1984.

¹⁰ Raev 1979; Skriplin 1997, 56, 60.

¹¹ The stylistic analysis of Tillya-tepe jewellery was first done in the book: Mordvintseva 2003, 10–22.

¹² V. Sarianidi pointed out the “Bactrian”, “Hellenistic”, “Graeco-Roman”, “Siberian-Altai”, and “Scythian-Sarmatian” groups of subjects (Sarianidi 1985, 53–54).

¹³ Sarianidi 1987, 72.

¹⁴ Gombrich 1980, 5.

not very clear, it could lead to the confusion in its interpretation.¹⁵ Distinctive shapes and elaboration of the “significant” elements of an image could serve as characteristic features of a particular pictorial tradition.

There are other stylistic features, which are “insignificant” to the type of represented motif. To these elements belong parts of human and animal bodies, which are not important for their recognition, as well as the additional ornamentation: secondary motives and boarder decoration.¹⁶ We shall try to analyze the Tillya-tepe collection according to these principles.

For analysis I have chosen 20 gold items (figs. 1–4)¹⁷ representing anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images decorated with colour inlays.¹⁸ Functionally these items are represented by two pairs of arm-rings (fig. 3: 6–7), three pairs of temple-pendants (fig. 2: 1–3), four pairs of collar buckles (fig. 3: 2–5), shoe-buckles (fig. 3: 1), plaques (fig. 5: 2–4), a belt and belt fittings (fig. 5: 3, 5–6), a dagger and dagger-sheath fittings (fig. 4: 1–7), a knife-sheath (fig. 5: 1).

Representation of human figures. The main subjects with anthropomorphic figures are: “Mistress of animals” (fig. 2: 1); “Master of animals” (fig. 2: 3); “Carriage drawn by dragons” (fig. 3: 1); “Dionysus and Ariadne” (fig. 3: 2); “Eros on a dolphin” (3: 3–4); “Warrior” (fig. 3: 5); “Bust of the Parthian prince” (fig. 5: 2); “Man with dolphin” (fig. 5: 4); “Goddess on a lion” (fig. 5: 6).

The anthropomorphic characters depicted on the Tillya-tepe objects belong obviously to different pictorial traditions, which may be seen in their costume and attributes. In most cases they are the central persons of the subject. Therefore it is rather hard to trace any “insignificant” feature in the way of their representation. But some observations could still be made.

¹⁵ Gombrich 1980, 4 fig. 2.

¹⁶ Marshak 1971, 16; 1976.

¹⁷ These items were chosen as the main subjects of this study. However, plenty of other objects from Tillya-tepe, plaques and other pieces of jewellery, were also taken in account during the analysis.

¹⁸ On some pieces there are no inlays, but there are sockets, which might be used for inlays. On the illustrations both inlays and sockets are marked with grey colour to show the pattern better.

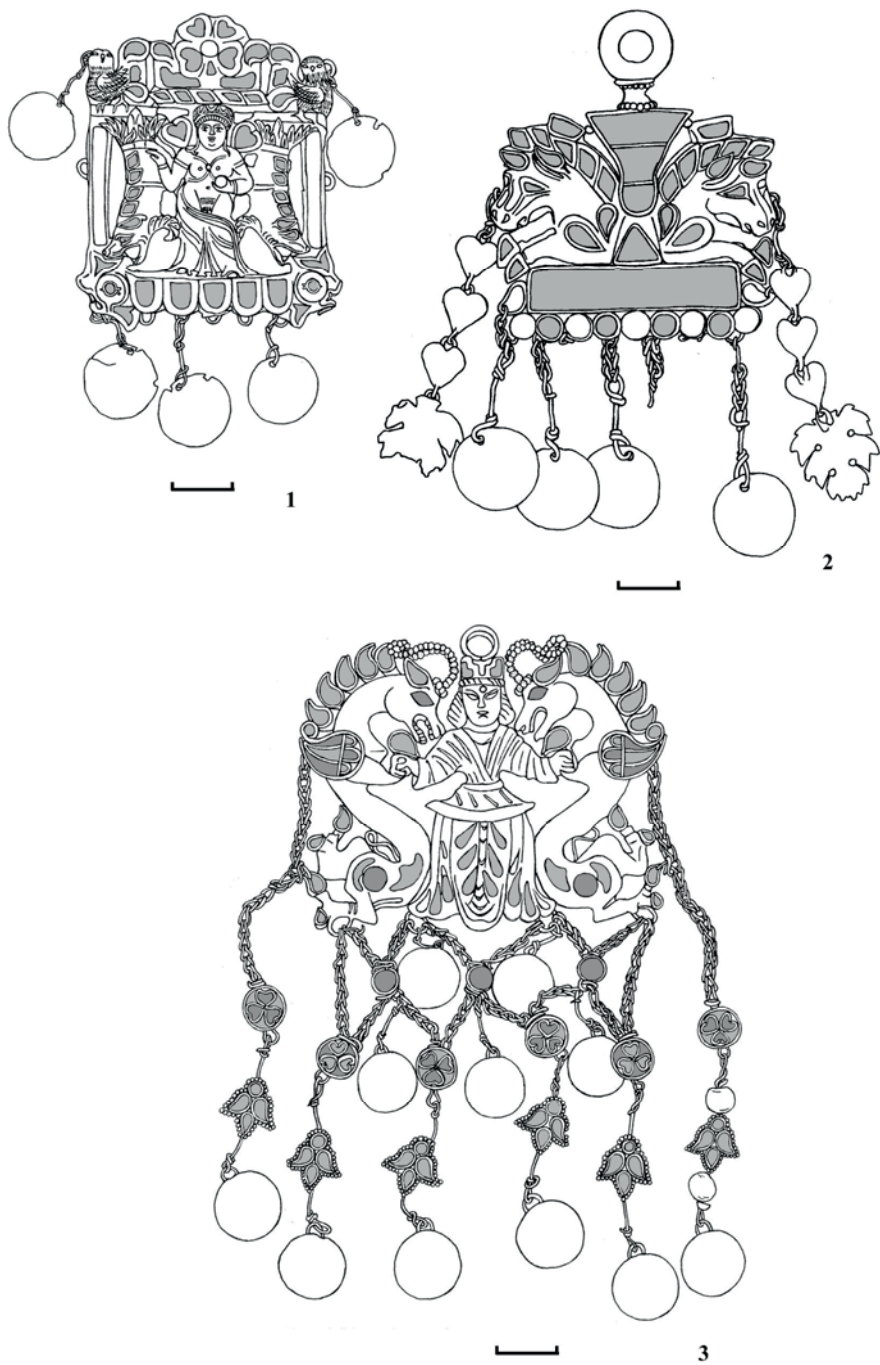


Fig. 2. Tillya-tepe. Temple-pendants. 1 – Burial 6. 2 – Burial 3. 3 – Burial 2



1



2



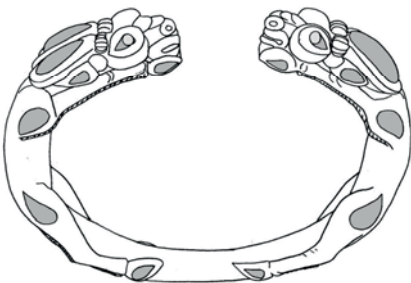
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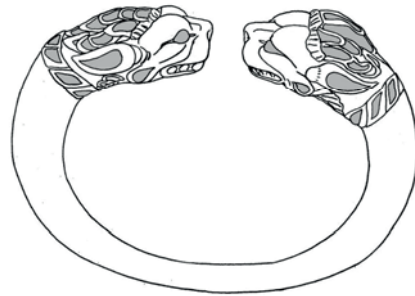
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6



7



Fig. 3. Tillya-tepe. 1 – Burial 4. 2, 7 – Burial 6. 4, 6 – Burial 2. 3, 5 – Burial 3.

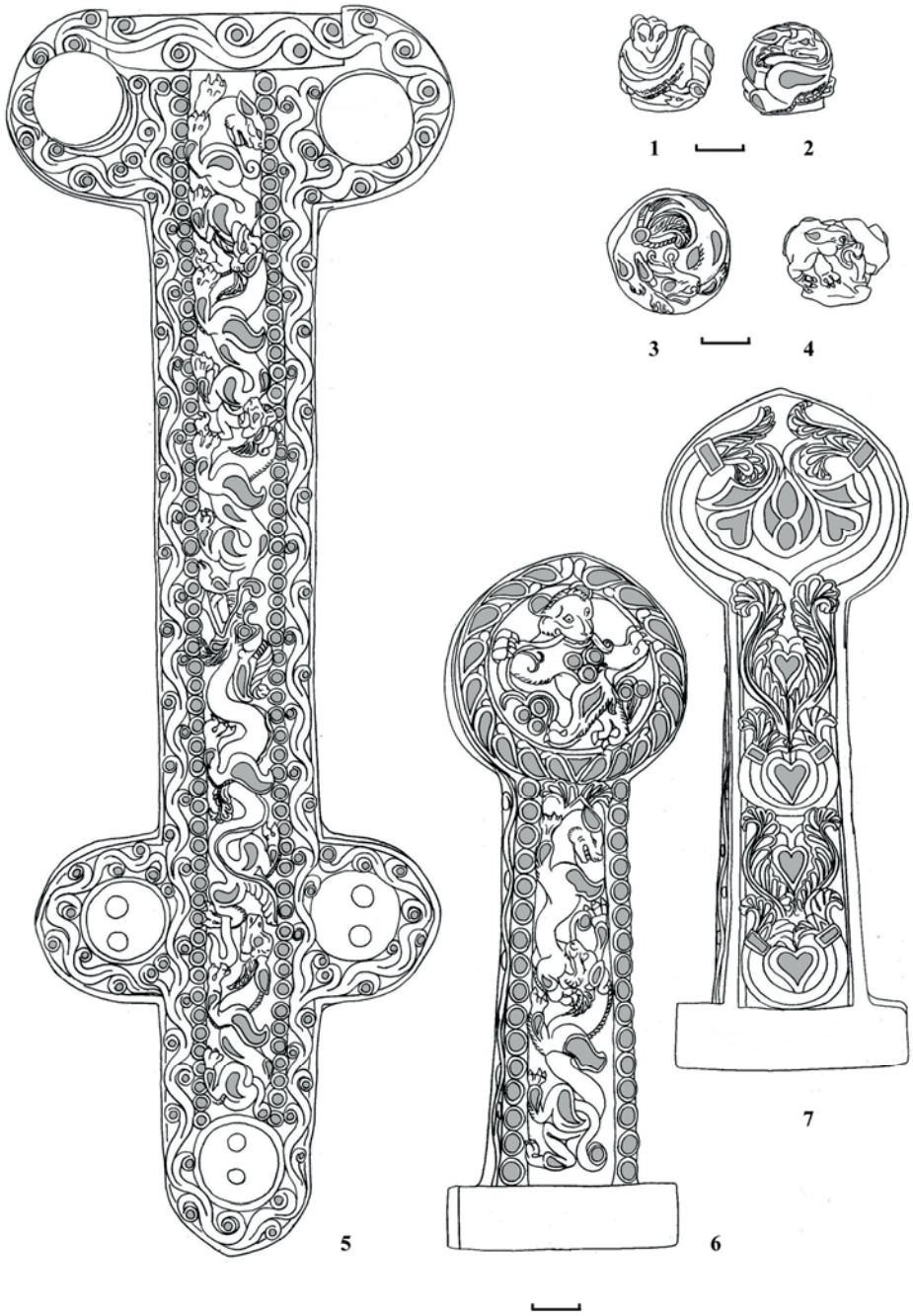


Fig. 4. Tillya-tepe. 1-7 – Burial 4.

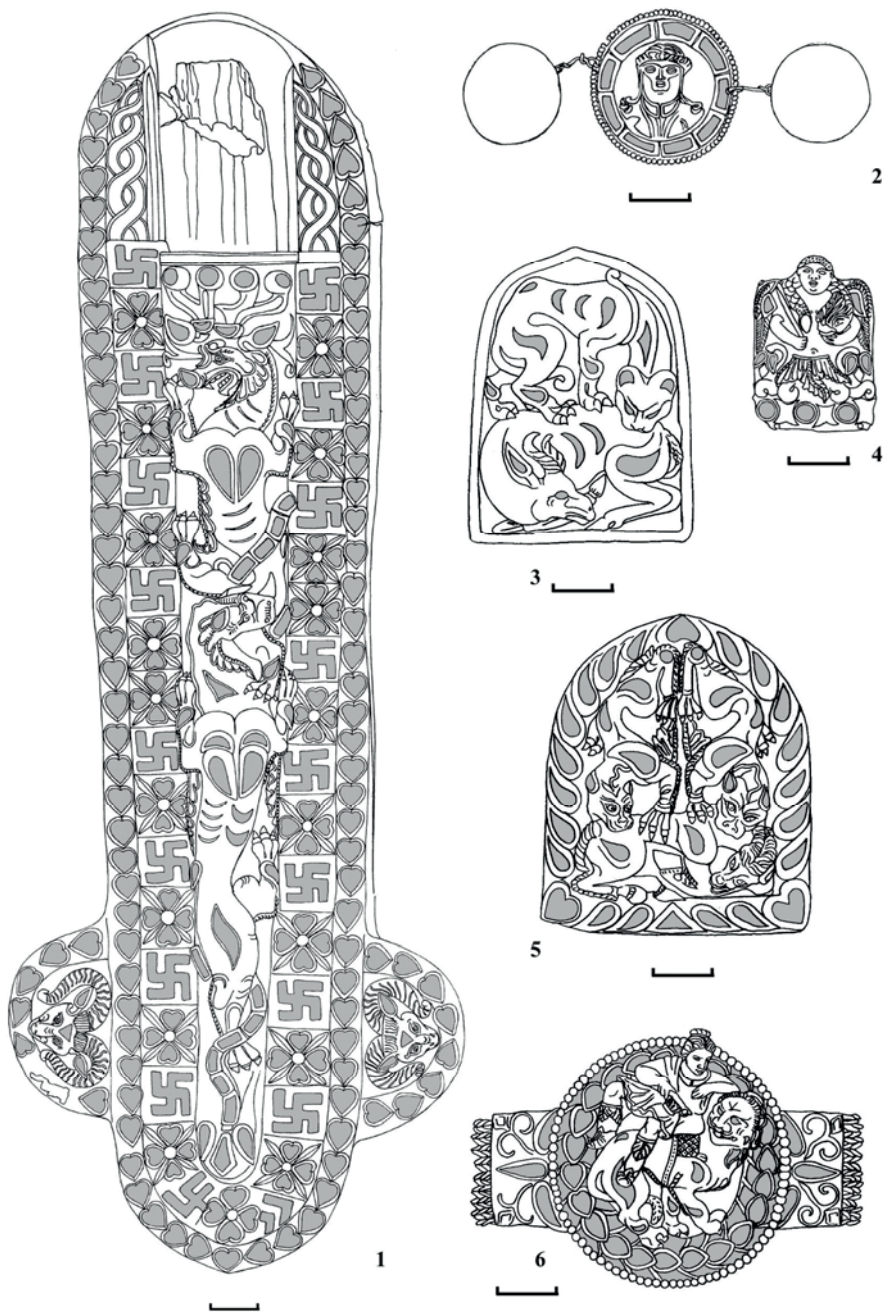


Fig. 5. Tillya-tepe. 1, 3, 5-6 – Burial 4. 2 – Burial 3. 4 – Burial 1.

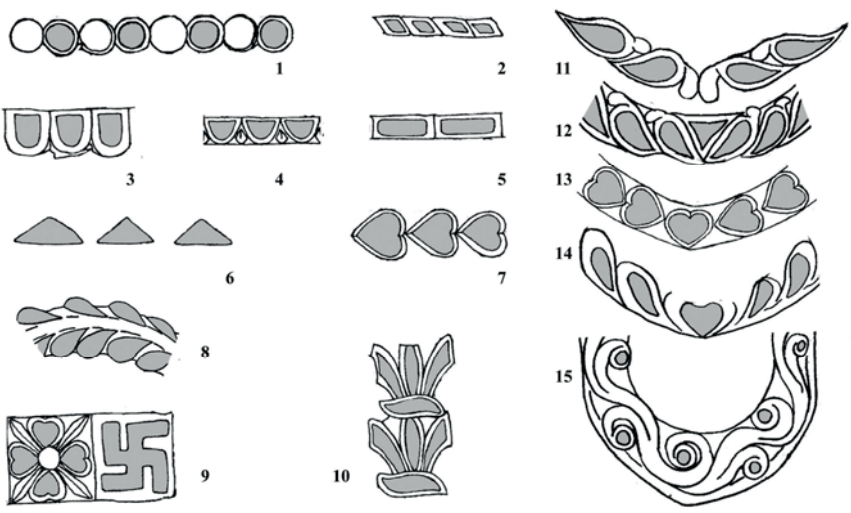
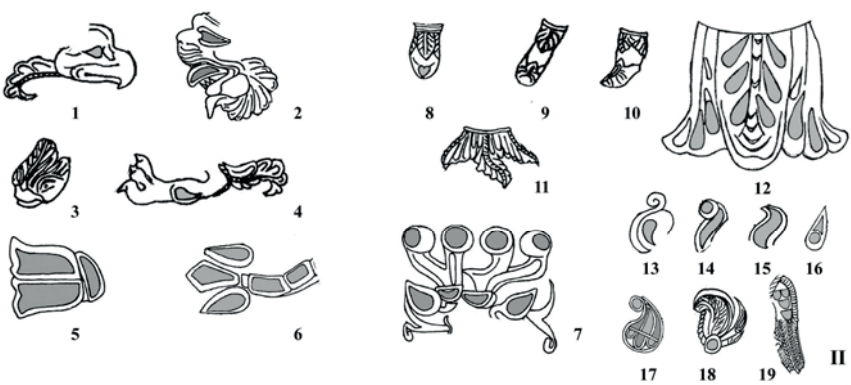
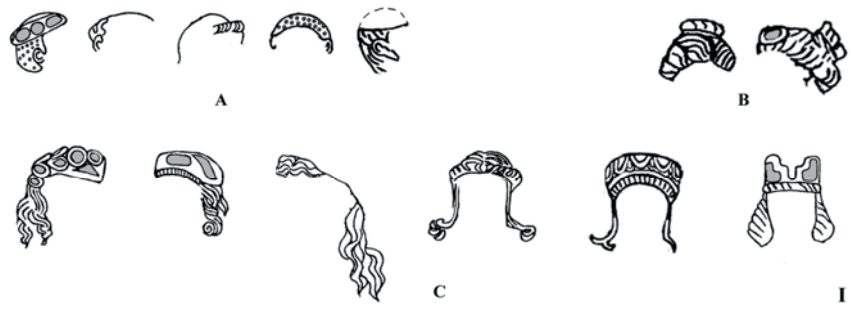


Fig. 6. Tillya-tepe. I – Variants of the hair-style of anthropomorphic images. II. 1–12 – Floral elements of the zoomorphic and anthropomorphic images. 13–19 – Variants of the representations of wings. III – Variants of the border ornamentation.

The naked or half-naked bodies of anthropomorphic figures are not ornamented with inlays, a characteristic which makes them stand out from the representations of animals. Their navels and nipples are represented by a punched circle.¹⁹ Most persons are wearing neck- and arm-rings, also the Greek deities. There are some distinctive types of hair-style which are not necessarily connected with the cultural origin of the depicted subject: (A) a bald or close-cropped head; (B) a hair-dress tied in a bun on the nape; (C) a roll of hair over the forehead and curls hanging down to the shoulders (fig. 6: IA-C).

Many human figures include floral elements in their representation. Thus, the deity with a dolphin has acanthus leaves and tendrils underneath; the lower part of the costume of the “Master of animals”, shoes of the “Goddess on a lion” and “Dionysus” are also treated as acanthus leaves (fig. 6: II8–12).

Representation of animal figures. Animal figures are represented both as main subjects as well as secondary motifs. All these figures are ornamented with coloured inlays, which in most cases are used to distinguish different parts of their bodies.

The majority of depicted figures are fantastic beasts of prey with bodies constructed from different parts of animals: winged lions (fig. 3: 1; fig. 4: 3, 5–6; fig. 5: 3); “lion griffin”: horned winged lions (fig. 2: 3; fig. 3: 5; fig. 4: 5–6), “eagle griffin”: an eagle-headed winged lion (fig. 4: 1–2, 5), a winged beast with a horned wolf’s head and a snake’s body with fins (“dragon”) (fig. 3: 5), a beast of prey with a horned wolf’s head and fins (fig. 5: 1, 5), a lion with fins (fig. 5: 1, 5), a lion with a griffin’s crest (fig. 3: 2). Animal-shaped columns, with a floral capital and the base treated as a wolf’s head, are represented on the temple-pendants with “Mistress of animals” as the main subject (fig. 2: 1). A lion’s head, possibly horned (fig. 3: 7), a bear (fig. 4: 6), and a lion (fig. 5: 6) also belong to the class of beasts of prey. Apart from two secondary figures (fig. 2: 1; fig. 3: 5) most of the beasts are represented as main subjects.

Hoofed animals are depicted in five cases, four times as a main subject (fig. 2: 2; fig. 3: 6; fig. 5: 3, 5) and once as a side decoration (fig. 5: 1). In four cases there are images of dolphins (fig. 3: 3–4; fig. 5: 4) or their heads (fig. 2: 1), and in two cases – images of birds, both as secondary motifs (fig. 2: 1; fig. 3: 5).

As one can see, the main classes of animals represented are fantastic beasts of prey and hoofed animals. These two classes are usually shown as symbolic antagonists, representing different parts of the universe.²⁰ They have several common “insignificant” stylistic features: shape of body, form of ears, and indication of shoulders and thighs with a comma-shaped inlay. In two cases the eyes of hoofed

¹⁹ The same way of depicting human figures is visible on the rhyta from Old Nisa (Masson, Pugačenkova 1982, pl. 41) and on some items from Taxila (Marshall 1951, pl. 191: 96–98).

²⁰ Perevodchikova 1994, 28.

and fantastic animals are constructed from two kinds of stones: the pupil is made of carnelian, and the white of the eye is made of turquoise (fig. 3: 1, 6).

A number of representations of the beasts of prey enables us to point out several “insignificant” stylistic features.

Their paws are ornamented with a comma-shaped inlay at the place of the metacarpal bones (fig. 6: II, 4). Hairs under the jaws, known on earlier pictures of animals as the “Achaemenid collar”,²¹ take the shape of an acanthus leaf (fig. 6: II, 1–2). Hairs under the belly and the fins are interpreted in the same way (fig. 6: II, 4). The highest point of the back is often ornamented with a round inlay, and the belly – with a comma-shaped inlay.

The class of birds is represented only by two quite different figures: probably an eagle (fig. 3: 5) and a dove (fig. 2: 1), both are side figures. These few images are not enough to make a conclusion about the usual way of their representation. However, many other depictions have some features which are characteristic for birds. Thus, there are several ways to represent wings (fig. 6: II, 13–19) and beaks.

The fins, a “significant” stylistic feature of dolphins, are represented as floral-shaped inlays (fig. 2: 1; fig. 3: 3–4). Their scales are shown as “egg”-shaped inlays. The fin on the head of another dolphin (fig. 5: 4) is treated as an acanthus leaf shown in relief.

Floral and geometric motives. Floral and geometric elements are very characteristic for the Tillya-tepe pictorial tradition, because in most cases they concern the side decoration.

Abundant variations of acanthus leaves and tendrils are the core of the floral motives (fig. 2: 1–3; fig. 3: 2–4, 7; fig. 4: 5, 7; fig. 5: 5–6). Apart from the acanthus there are many other single plant motives: lotus buds (fig. 2: 3), rosettes (fig. 2: 1, 3; fig. 3: 1; fig. 5: 1); ivy leaves (fig. 2: 2; fig. 4: 7; fig. 5: 1). These elements can be reproduced in relief, decorated with inlays, or simply cut out of gold foil. Particularly interesting is the already mentioned usage of floral motives, primarily the acanthus leaf, as elements of costumes and parts of animals’ bodies (fig. 6: II, 1–12).

Among geometric motives there are few graphic elements: a mesh pattern with dots in the cells (fig. 3: 1, 5; fig. 5: 6) and a running wave pattern (fig. 3: 5). The majority of geometric elements are represented by rows of inlays (fig. 6: III). Usually these rows consist of inlays of one kind. But there are also rows with alternating elements (fig. 6: III, 1, 9) or with an intermediate inlay of triangular or ivy-shaped form (fig. 6: III, 13–14).

²¹ Sarre 1923, fig. 44, 48; Culican 1964, fig. 26, 33, 49, 56, 61, 69, Perevodchikova 1994, 131–133.

The abundance of inlays, made of stone or coloured glass, constitutes the most characteristic feature of the Tillya-tepe jewellery collection. The most popular shapes are: comma (fig. 6: III, 8), drop (fig. 6: II, 12), circle (fig. 6: III, 1), ovolo (fig. 6: III, 3), ivy leaf (fig. 6: III, 7, 9, 13), triangle (fig. 6: III, 6), rhomb (fig. 6: III, 2), and rectangle (fig. 6: III, 5). They are used both as rows of inlays as well as single motives. There are also other shapes, but they were made in form of different parts of a particular image, f.e., details of head-dresses and costumes (fig. 2: 3; fig. 3: 2).

Generally, all inlays, often very minute, are accurately cut to suit the sockets, which they were intended to fill. As a rule they are set in a relief socket. The cloisonné cells and wire frames are rarer. The main colour of the inlays is light blue (turquoise). For contrast deep blue (lapis lazuli) and transparent red (almandine, garnet, and carnelian) are also used.

Many of the observed features correspond with the jewellery and other works of art from North-Western India, Northern Afghanistan and Central Asia.²²

Comparison with the finds from the North Black Sea area

The first step in the comparison should be the search for items, which provide stylistic features similar to those from the Tillya-tepe collection.

For comparison with the Bactrian finds archaeological complexes were chosen from the territory between the Danube Delta and the Lower Volga region. To the period from the 3rd c. B.C. to the 2nd c. A.D. belong altogether 179 items, decorated with animal images, which should originate from 132 complexes. 44 complexes one can place in the period from the 3rd to the 1st century B.C. (fig. 7), 60 complexes are to be dated in the period from the 1st to the 2nd c. A.D. (fig. 8). The rest are chance finds.

Not very many complexes with objects which might be manufactured following the Tillya-tepe pictorial tradition belong to this number of finds (fig. 8: 1–8).

(1) Several items, which could be ascribed to this tradition, are found in the hide-place of the Dachi Barrow 1, in the vicinity of Azov.²³ The archaeological context is dated to the third quarter of the 1st c. A.D.²⁴ Several items from this find could be ascribed to the Tillya-tepe Style: the sword in a gold sheath, a bracelet, and some belt fittings (fig. 8: 1; fig. 10: 1–4; fig. 11: 6).

²² Marshall 1951, pl. 190: 2, pl. 191: 96–98 fig. 71: 9–10; Hackin 1954: Nos. 328, 332, figs. 523–525; Ingholt 1957, pl. IV: 3; Pugachenkova, Rtveladze 1978, 41–42; Pougatchenkova 1978, Cat. 80; Masson, Pugačenkova 1982, pls. 21, 30, 41; Pitschikjan 1992, Abb. 155: 40; Invernizzi 1999: tab. A.

²³ Bespalyi 1992.

²⁴ Bespalyi 1992, 190.

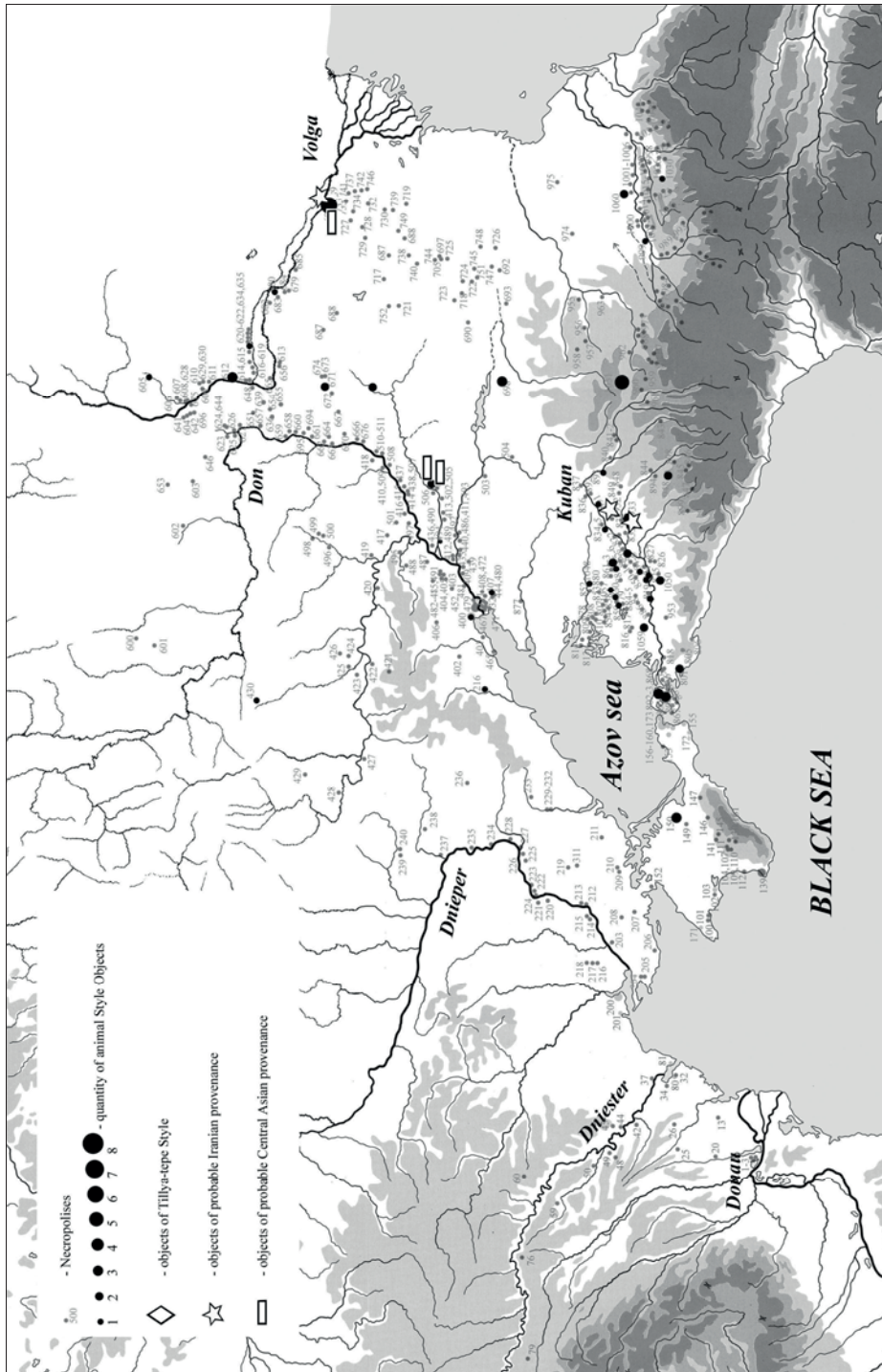


Fig. 7. Distribution of the Animal Style objects in the Northern Black sea area in the period from the 3rd to the 1st c. BC.

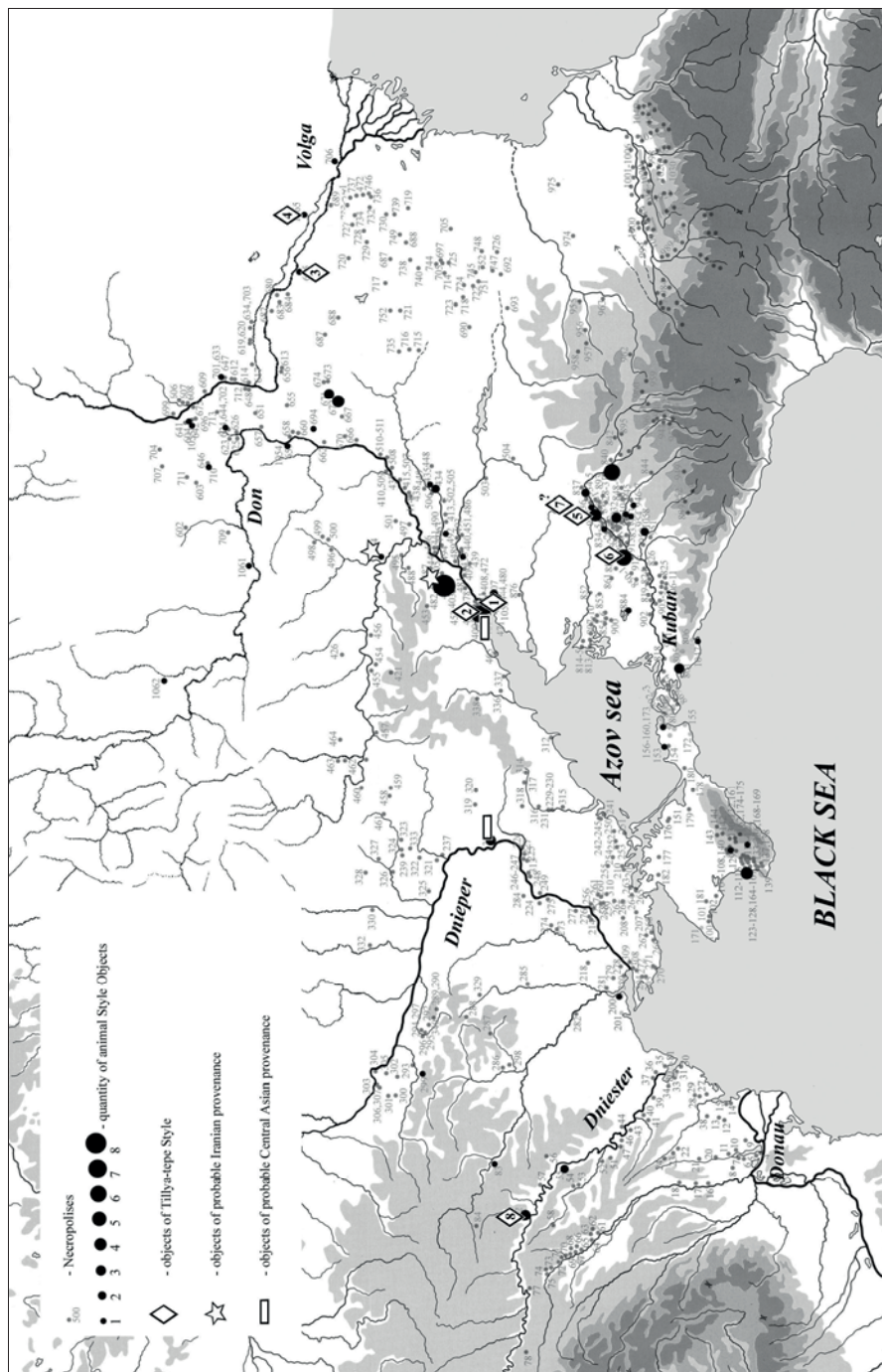


Fig. 8. Distribution of the Animal Style objects in the Northern Black sea area in the period from the 1st to the 3rd c. A.D. 1 – Dachi. 2 – Kobiakovo. 3 – Nikolskoe. 4 – Kochkovatka. 5 – Tiflisskaia. 6 – Ust-Labinskaia. 7 – Kuban region. 8 – Porogi.

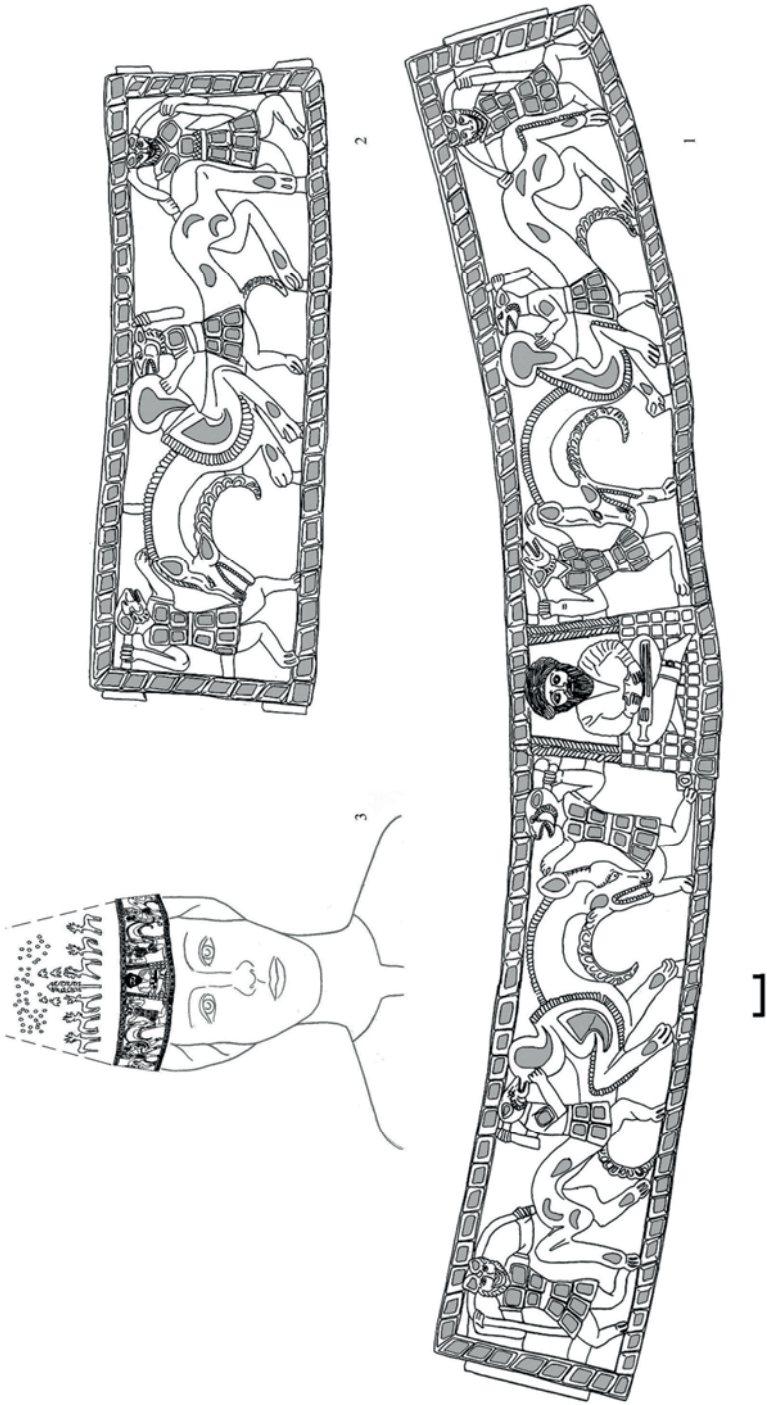


Fig. 9. 1, 2 – Parts of the Kobiakovo crown. 3 – A variant of the reconstruction of the head-dress from the Kobiakovo grave.

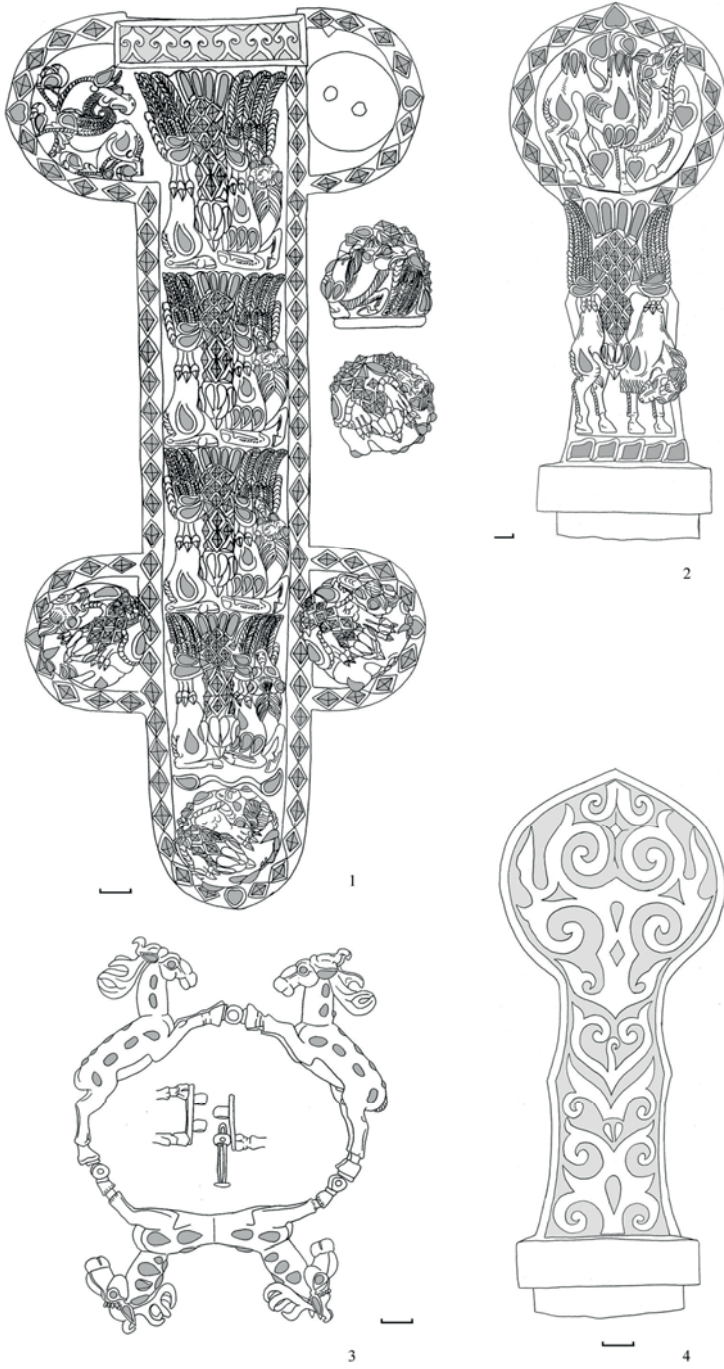


Fig. 10. Dachi Barrow 1. 1-2, 4 – The sword and the sheath. 3 – The bracelet.



Fig. 11. Belt fittings from the Sarmatian graves. 1 – Nikolskoe. 2 – Kuban region. 3 – Kochkovatka. 4 – Tiflisskaia. 5 – Ust-Labinskaia. 6 – Dachi. 7–9 – Porogi.

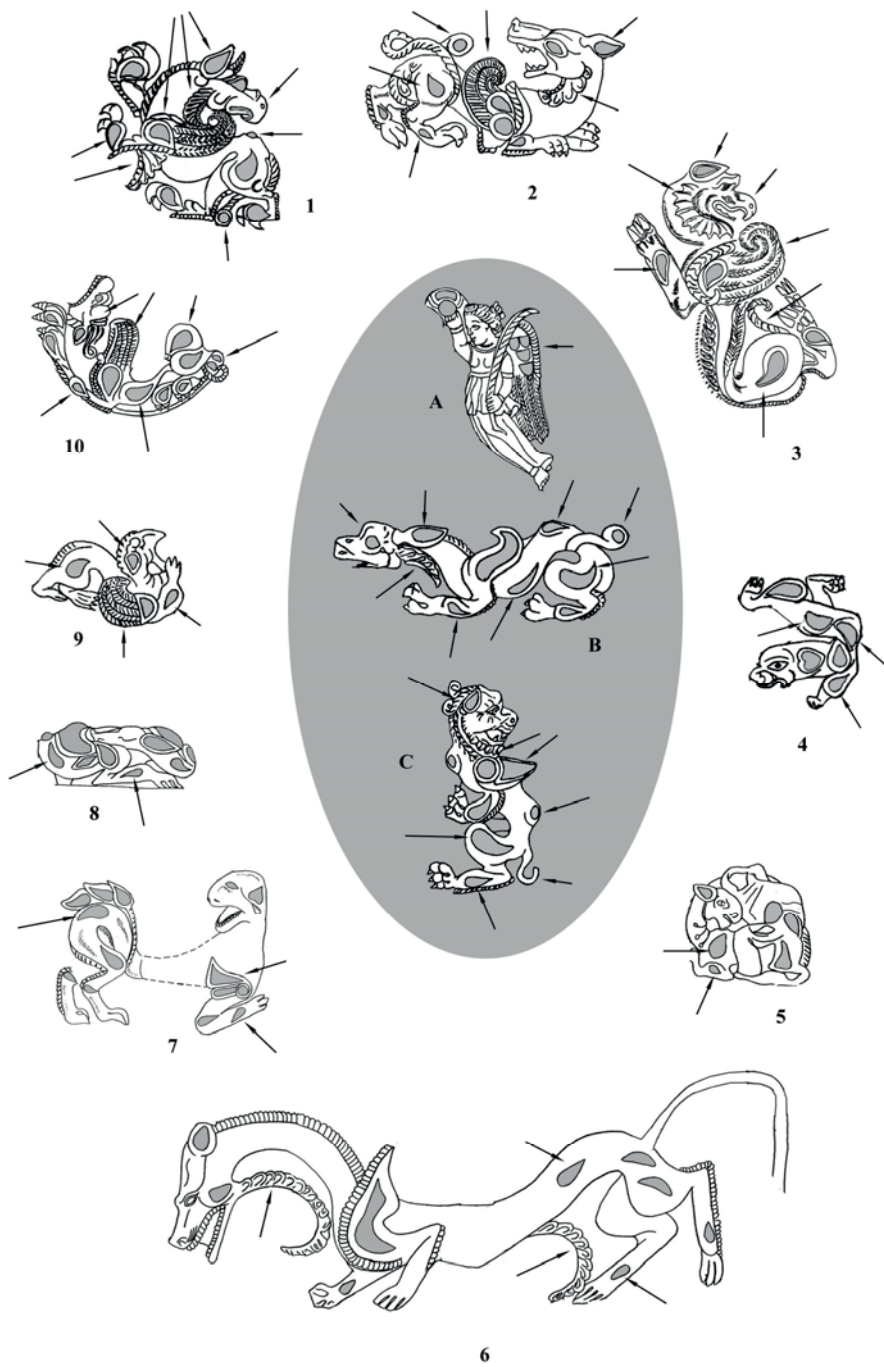


Fig. 12. Comparison of the Tillya-tepe Style features (A-C) with the Sarmatian images (1-10).

The sword and sheath from this assemblage (fig. 10: 1–2, 4) belong to the same type as those from Tillya-tepe, being, however, slightly larger in size. Their decoration is most relevant to the stylistic features of the Tillya-tepe collection. This may easily be demonstrated because of the complexity of the motifs pictured on the sheath.

The image of an eagle-griffin is represented by the same elements, which have been noted for the fantastic beasts from Tillya-tepe (fig. 12: 1). These are: 1) a form of the body with the head turned back, 2) an accentuation of the shoulder and the thigh as well as at the place of metacarpal bones with a comma-shaped inlay, 3) an inlay at the highest point of the back, 4) an acanthus leaf under the jaws, 5) the tail ending with a round-shaped inlay.

Other subjects also show some features of the Tillya-tepe images. The type of wings of the eagles and the eagle-griffin is one, which is well represented on the Bactrian items: with inlays and a thickened ridge with slanting strokes along the upper edge of the wing, and two kinds of feathers (fig. 12: A). The eyes and ears of all animals are shown by comma-shaped inlays.

The representation of the border also correlates with the decorative principles of the Tillya-tepe: it consists of inlays of one kind with an intermediate inlay of ivy-shaped form.

The bracelet from the same assemblage (fig. 10: 3) is shaped in the form of hoofed animals (deers), of which we do not have as many observed stylistic features as of those of beasts of prey. But the form of eyes and ears, shapes of inlays, the way of their setting in cells, enable one to ascribe them to the Tillya-tepe pictorial tradition.

The belt-pendant in the shape of a coiled dragon (fig. 11: 6; fig. 12: 8) has many similarities with Tillya-tepe finds, i.e. shape of the body, setting of comma-shaped inlays in the ear, on the shoulder and the thigh, and at the place of the metacarpal bones. The edge of the pendant is ornamented with a row of rectangular inlays.

Judging by the forms of inlays and their pattern²⁵ some other belt fittings from the Dachi Barrow could also be connected with Tillya-tepe tradition.

(2) The kurgan 10 of the Kobiakovo necropolis, located in the vicinity of Rostov-on Don, is another complex containing an item comparable to the Tillya-tepe collection. It is dated from the second half of the 1st to the beginning of the 2nd c. A.D.²⁶

The female burial contained much gold jewellery. But the only item comparable with Tillya-tepe objects was found lying on the neck of the dead (fig. 9). It was interpreted as a torque.²⁷ In that case the shape, size and construction of

²⁵ Bepalyi 1992, fig. 4: 2–4.

²⁶ Prokhorova, Guguev 1992, 159.

²⁷ Prokhorova, Guguev 1992, 143–146.

this torque would be rather unique, in fact without analogy among known finds. However, the construction of the jewel enables us to suggest its other function. The object, of a slightly conical shape, consists of two parts, a long and a short one, joined by hinges (fig. 9: 1–2). They were found disconnected because of the fall of earth into the chamber. Whereas the short part was found under the neck, the displaced and disconnected forepart was found lying on the neck. However, it might have fallen from the forehead. Additionally, there are gold appliquéés found near the head and, if put together, constitute a conical shape. Therefore one may interpret the whole item as a head-dress in the form of a conical cap, probably made of felt or a similar fabric, which was fixed by a gold crown (fig. 9: 3). The size of the crown matches well with the size of a human head (D – 21 cm, L – ca. 54 cm). A comparable crown was found in the Kargaly Pass, in the vicinity of Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan²⁸ (fig. 1).

The Kobiakovo crown has two different subjects (fig. 9: 1). The central represents a man sitting with crossed legs, holding a bowl in his hands, and a sword on his knees. The other scene shows a dragon surrounded by three anthropomorphic beings, probably monkeys, repeated three times.

There are obvious stylistic similarities between the images on the Kobiakovo crown and the Tillya-tepe jewellery. The main character, a man sitting with crossed legs, does not have any inlay. The dragon (fig. 12: 6) is represented with a wavy body covered with drop-shaped inlays, also at the place of the metacarpal bones. Under the jaws and belly there is an acanthus-shaped element. The edge of the crown is ornamented with a row of equal rhomboid inlays. However, the shape and size of inlays on the dragon's body differ from those in the Tillya-tepe collection. The paws are much smaller. In some cases the inlays, which should appear at the metacarpal bones, are missing. It seems probable that the crown was made in a different workshop, repeating elements of the Tillya-tepe tradition. This coarser style might appear as a development of this tradition.

(3) In the Lower Volga region there is one complex containing a belt buckle of the Tillya-tepe Style. The male burial 1 in the kurgan mound 12 near Nikolskoe village is dated by the Roman bronze patera to the first half of the 1st century A.D.²⁹ I.P. Zasetkaya has suggested a later date.³⁰

On the belt buckle there is a representation of an eagle-griffin (fig. 11: 1). It provides many features similar to those of the Tillya-tepe collection. A drop-shaped inlay decorates the hip, the wing and the metacarpal bones of the beast. Under the jaws there is a collar in shape of an acanthus leaf. The wing belongs to

²⁸ Bernshtam 1940.

²⁹ Shilov 1975, 152–154.

³⁰ Zasetkaia 1979, 112.

the type with an inlay and a thickened ridge with slanting strokes along the upper edge of the wing (fig. 12: 3). The edge of the buckle is ornamented with a row of rectangular inlays.

(4) From the village of Kochkovatka, Lower Volga region, comes a belt-buckle, unfortunately without context (fig. 11: 3). A single combat between a man of mongoloid type and a winged beast of prey is represented. The human figure does not have inlays. The body of the beast (fig. 12: 7) is decorated with comma- and drop-shaped inlays, also at the metacarpal bones. The ear of the beast is treated as an ivy-shaped inlay. The border of the buckle is ornamented with a row of identical five-sided inlays. All this makes it close to the Tillya-tepe items.

There are several complexes in the Upper Kuban region containing objects, which might be imports from the workshops of the ancient Bactria.

(5) In the burial of the barrow 2 near Tiflisskaia village³¹ an arc-shaped belt-plaque was found with representation of a coiled beast of prey (fig. 11: 4). This form of belt fittings is well represented in the Tillya-tepe collection (fig. 5: 3, 5). The body of the beast is covered with comma- and drop-shaped inlays, also at the metacarpal bones (fig. 12: 5). The border of the buckle is ornamented with a row of rhomboid inlays with an intermediate inlay of triangular form. As there was no dating material in the grave, the stylistic features point to a date roughly from the 1st to the 2nd c. A.D.

(6) The male burial in the barrow 35 near Ust-Labinskaia village³² also contained an arc-shaped belt-plaque representing a single combat of two felines (fig. 11: 5). This plaque provides the same stylistic features as the previous example (fig. 12: 4). The grave is also dated from the 1st to the 2nd c. A.D.

(7) There is one more find without provenance, which is ascribed to the Kuban region (fig. 11: 2).³³ It is a buckle's cover representing a wolf-like winged being. The image of the beast is rendered with elements characteristic for the Tillya-tepe fantastic animals. The animal (fig. 12: 2) is represented with the head turned back, the thigh and the metacarpal bones are accentuated with the comma-shaped inlay, and an acanthus leaf is shown under the jaws. The tail is ending with a round-shaped inlay. The wing is also of the Bactrian type, with inlays and a thickened ridge with slanting strokes along the upper edge. The border of the buckle is decorated by a row of comma-shaped inlays with an intermediate inlay of triangular form.

One more archaeological assemblage with Tillya-tepe Style objects was found quite far from the complexes mentioned above.

³¹ Gushchina, *Zasetskaia* 1994, 76 No. 541 pl. 55.

³² Gushchina, *Zasetskaia* 1994, 67 No. 395 Pl. 45.

³³ Tolstoi, *Kondakov* 1890, 131 fig. 151.

(8) The male burial 1 in the barrow 2 near Porogi village, Western Ukraine,³⁴ contained two pairs of belt-buckles, which can be regarded as that of the Tillya-tepe Style. The burial is dated from the middle to the third quarter of the 1st c. A.D.³⁵

The first pair of buckles shows a man of mongoloid type (“Master of animals”) holding the tails of eagle-griffins, who attack a feline in the centre of the composition (fig. 11: 7–8). The second pair of buckles represents a single combat between two lion-griffins (fig. 11: 9). Both pictures show many features of the Tillya-tepe Style: the usual type of wings, a comma-shaped inlay at the place of ears, hips, belly, and at the metacarpal bones (fig. 12: 9). The first couple of buckles have also a border made of rectangular inlays with an intermediate inlay of triangular form.

Thus, only these eight finds, out of 42 Sarmatian complexes dated from the 1st to the 2nd centuries A.D., represent objects which might be manufactured in ancient Bactria. But how should these finds be interpreted?

If we would take a “migration” as the model of interpretation, the Sarmatian burials containing Tillya-tepe Style objects should also provide similarities in the burial rite and burial goods with the Tillya-tepe graves. Let us make this comparison.

Comparison of the Tillya-tepe and Sarmatian burials

In the case of Tillya-tepe the burial rite is represented by graves of a simple rectangular form, which were inserted in the natural hill. In three cases the heads of the dead were laid in a gold or silver bowl.

Five of six burials were female. They show quite similar burial rite and contained similar grave goods.³⁶ They consisted of gold and silver jewellery: a crown or a head-dress (burials’ Nos. 2–3, 6), ear-rings (Nos. 1, 5–6), massive temple-pendants (Nos. 2–3, 5–6), a pair of hair-pins (Nos. 1–3, 6), chin bands (Nos. 2–3, 5–6), finger-rings (Nos. 1–3, 5–6), collar clasps (Nos. 1–3, 6), beads and pendants (Nos. 1, 3, 5–6), chains and necklaces (Nos. 1–3, 5–6), a torque (No. 3), arm-rings (Nos. 2–3, 5–6), foot-rings (Nos. 2, 5–6), shoe-buckles and fittings (Nos. 3, 6), two foot-soles (No. 3), plaques (Nos. 1–3, 5–6), threads (Nos. 1, 5). Apart from the personal jewellery were found gold and silver pyxides (Nos. 1, 3, 5–6), silver bowls (Nos. 2–3, 5–6), gold and silver foreign coins

³⁴ Simonenko, Lobai 1991.

³⁵ Simonenko, Lobai 1991, 8–14.

³⁶ Burial 1: Sarianidi 1985, 21–23, 230–234. Burial 2: Sarianidi 1985, 23–29, 234–240. Burial 3: Sarianidi 1985, 29–38, 240–250. Burial 5: Sarianidi 1985, 49–51, 256–258. Burial 6: Sarianidi 1985, 51–58, 258–263.

(Nos. 3, 6), a silver or gold staff (Nos. 5–6), Chinese mirrors (Nos. 2–3, 6) and mirrors of another type on a stand (Nos. 3, 5–6), knives (Nos. 3, 6), an ivory comb (No. 3), ceramic vessels (Nos. 3, 6), glass flasks (No. 6), a bronze bell (No. 5), an iron hook (No. 5).

The male burial 4³⁷ consisted of personal gold jewellery: parts of head-dress, a torque, a belt, belt plaques, two arm-rings, shoe buckles and fittings, plaques. Apart from that there were found other gold objects: two chin-bands, a bowl, a long sword in sheath, a dagger in sheath, a knife in sheath, six phalerae³⁸, an Indian coin, two quivers. There were also an iron folding chair and two bows.

As one can see from the description of Bactrian graves, there were some types of object, which are characteristic for both “male” and “female” sets of burial goods. These are gold chin-bands, torques, arm-rings, shoe-fittings, plaques, bowls (also as a stand for the head of the dead), coins, knives. The “male” set differs from the “female” one by containing numerous weapons and a belt. The “female” set consists of more distinctive costume details (crowns, earrings, temple-pendants, finger-rings, collar-clasps, and foot-rings), amulets and cosmetic objects (mirrors, pyxides, glass flasks etc.).

It is interesting to note that, despite the stylistic unity of the Tillya-tepe jewellery, only some items may be characterized as objects of Animal Style representing the “classical” Scythian or Sarmatian Animal Style motifs³⁹: rows of animals, a coiled animal, and a feline attacking a hoofed animal. Such motifs are depicted only on the belt equipment and weapons from the male grave 4.⁴⁰

Now we review the burial rite and the content of the Sarmatian graves containing the Tillya-tepe Style objects.⁴¹

(1) Dachi Barrow 1, probably male burial,⁴² Lower Don Delta (fig. 8: 1). A big square-shaped grave-pit in the centre of the kurgan was completely

³⁷ Sarianidi 1985, 38–49, 250–255.

³⁸ V. Sarianidi, the director of the excavation, suggests that these six roundels belong to the horse harness (Sarianidi 1985, 39). However, there is no sign of any horse harness (bits, or any other functional parts). Therefore it is quite probable that these phalerae belong to the sword and dagger decoration.

³⁹ By the term “Scythian Animal Style” we take in account not only the stylistic features of representation, but also its motif (Perevodchikova 1994, 19–20). One of the popular definitions of the Scythian Animal Style is: “It is representing the particular animals by distinctive means” (Chlenova 1962, 3). The canonic motifs of the Scythian and Sarmatian Animal Style were defined in works of Rostovtzeff and other researchers (Rostovtzeff 1922, 201f; 1929, 28, 55f; Borovka 1928, 31ff; Perevodchikova 1994, 28ff).

⁴⁰ Two pairs of bracelets with animal-shaped endings from the female graves 2 and 6 follow the Achaemenid tradition (Rehm 1992, 20, 38; Pfrommer 1996, 92).

⁴¹ Two of the finds (from Kochkovatka and from the Kuban region) are not discussed, because they have no archaeological context

⁴² Bespal'yi 1992, 175–187.

robbed in antiquity. There were at least twelve broken amphorae in the kurgan mound. In the robbed grave there are found fragments of amphorae, fragments of a glass cup, a knife, fragment of a bone pyxis, gold appliquéés, a bead, fragments of gold wire and threads. A separate hide-place in the kurgan-mound contained a width of material (a “banner”) embroidered with gold appliquéés, gold phalerae and other fittings of horse harness, a bracelet, and a sword in gold sheath.

(2) Kobiakovo Barrow 10, female burial,⁴³ Lower Don Delta (fig. 8: 2). A big square-shaped grave-pit was placed in the centre of the kurgan and covered with a mound. The grave goods were found on the skeleton and in three separate groups. Zone of skeleton: head-dress, plaques, two arm-rings, a finger-ring, amulets, and a gold flask. Group 1: a bell, a Chinese mirror, a silver spoon, a knife, an axe, a ceramic bowl, and two incense-burners. Group 2: a red-slip vessel in the form of a ram, a glass goblet, a whetstone, three bells. Group 3: horse harness plated with gold.

(3) Nikolskoe Barrow 12, male burial 1,⁴⁴ Lower Volga (fig. 8: 3). A big square-shaped grave-pit was placed in the centre of the kurgan and covered with a mound. In the earth-filling of the grave there were found a phalera decorated with gold leaf, bronze belt-fittings, three bronze lamellar rings and a wire ring.

The buried person was placed diagonally on the floor of the grave-pit. On the skeleton and nearby were found: a sword, a gold arm-ring, gold threads, a gold belt-buckle, a spear-head, an incense-burner, horse bits and psalia, a gold phalera from a harness. In one corner were found a bronze Roman patera and a gold plaque, in the other corner stood a clay jug.

(4) Tiflisskaia Barrow 2/1908, probably male burial,⁴⁵ Upper Kuban (fig. 8: 5). The grave is described in the publication as a wide chamber.⁴⁶ It was robbed in antiquity. Only gold objects are known from this complex: a plaque, a roundel with bronze backing, a belt-plaque.

(5) Ust-Labinskaia Barrow 35, probably male burial,⁴⁷ Upper Kuban (fig. 8: 6). The burial was made in a catacomb grave with an entrance-pit covered with bricks. The burial was robbed in antiquity. In the grave were found: a gold belt-plaque, gold, stone and glass beads, a gold buckle, a gold frame, a bronze ring, a bronze arrow head.

(6) Porogi Barrow 2, male burial 1⁴⁸, Middle Dniester, (fig. 8: 8). The catacomb was dug in a kurgan mound of the Bronze Age. In the burial there were

⁴³ Prokhorova, Guguev 1992.

⁴⁴ Zasetskaia 1979, 98.

⁴⁵ Gushchina, Zasetskaia 1994, 76 Nos. 539–541 Tab. 55.

⁴⁶ Gushchina, Zasetskaia 1994, 92.

⁴⁷ Gushchina, Zasetskaia 1994, 67, 89 Nos. 395–403.

⁴⁸ Simonenko, Lobai 1991, 8–14.

found two amphorae, a gold torque, a gold bracelet, gold beads, a silver goblet, a knife, a bow with bone linings, a quiver with more than thirty arrows, a sword in a sheath decorated with gold, gold and silver belt fittings, silver shoe-fittings, a silver and a bronze brooch.

Most of the Tillya-tepe looking objects from the Sarmatian graves belong to the belt equipment from the male burials. The represented subjects, scenes with a griffin attacking a hoofed animal, scenes of single combat, single representations of a beast of prey or a hoofed animal, are characteristic for the Animal Style repertory. The crown from Kobiakovo is the only Animal Style object comparable with the Tillya-tepe pictorial tradition coming from a female burial. However, the rather narrative scenes represented here do not belong to the usual motifs of the Animal Style.

When comparing the Bactrian and Sarmatian burials we observe obvious differences, both in the burial rite and in the composition of the grave goods.

None of the Sarmatian burials with Bactrian imports were placed in a simple rectangular pit. Neither is the distinctive custom of placing the head of the dead in a precious bowl represented, nor are coins and funeral chin-bands found in the Sarmatian graves.

Some differences concern particularly the “female” set of grave goods.

If we compare the set of goods of the female burial in the Kobiakovo Barrow 10 with the Tillya-tepe female burials, the difference will stand out clear by. First of all, the Kobiakovo burial contained burial goods usually characteristic of the “male” set: parts of a horse harness, weapon, and a whetstone. The Tillya-tepe female graves do not provide any items of the “male” burial set. On the other hand, the collar-clasps and large-size temple-pendants, characteristic for the Bactrian female complexes, are not represented in the Sarmatian context.

On the contrary, the male Sarmatian graves, although different in the burial rite to the Bactrian graves, show many similarities with the Tillya-tepe “male” set of goods. These are weapon and belt equipment representing motifs, which are canonical for the Animal Style. Only the apparent absence of a horse harness should be pointed out as a distinctive feature of the Tillya-tepe burial 4.

As a conclusion, the female burials of Tillya-tepe and North Pontic region are different both in burial rite and grave goods, and the male burials are different in the burial rite, but close in the content of burial goods showing a similar concept of values. This indicates that the observed link may concern only a distinctive part of population in both Bactria and the Northern Black Sea area, namely that of warriors of the highest social level.⁴⁹ This may also explain the reason for the appearance of such objects in the Tillya-tepe royal grave.

⁴⁹ Kossack 1998, 14.

Distinctions between different local cultural groups of the Sarmatian Animal Style objects. The cultural context, in which the Tillya-tepe Style objects appeared, may also vary according to the region of the find: Volga-Don area, North Caucasus, Dnieper-Dniester region (figs. 6–7). Sarmatian burials from these regions show differences in the burial rite and in the content of the grave goods. This should mean that the appearance of Tillya-tepe Style objects in these graves may demand different interpretations.

To determine the role played by the Tillya-tepe objects for peoples of the North Pontic region, we should review the general pattern of the Animal Style objects in this area.

In Sarmatian times, i.e. from the 3rd c. B.C. to the mid 3rd c. A.D., the number of Animal Style objects was reduced significantly in comparison with the 4th c. B.C., when the classical Scythian culture flourished in the North Pontic area. The pattern of their distribution in the region also changed.

In the Dnieper valley, which provided the most prominent examples of Animal Style in the Scythian period, they do not appear in the Hellenistic period (3–1 c. B.C.) at all.

In contrast, the Kuban region, including the territory of Asiatic Bosphorus, and the North Caucasus show, in principle, no interruption in the appearance of Animal Style objects in rich graves. The categories of such objects remain in the Hellenistic period, mainly the same as in the Scythian time. They are represented mainly by neck-rings. Arm-rings, plaques, drinking-vessels and horse decorations of the Scythian type are rarer. A new type of Animal Style objects in the form of ear-rings or temple-pendants shaped as a reclining goat or ram appeared in the Upper Kuban region, probably influenced by the Hellenistic fashion.⁵⁰

In the Lower Don and Lower Volga region the Animal Style objects first appeared at the end of the 2nd c. B.C. And while in the Lower Don area the gold objects of Animal Style were well known in the Scythian period, it looks to be a completely new phenomenon for the Lower Volga region. Among these novel objects are bracelets, ritual staffs⁵¹ and belt buckles.

The latter are of particular importance, if we bear in mind that the majority of Tillya-tepe Style objects in the North Pontic region are represented by belt buckles or belt fittings. The graves of Scythians, apparently, did not contain belt-plaques or buckles decorated with zoomorphic images. Some of the belt-plates and buckles, which appeared about the mid 2nd c. B.C. in the graves of

⁵⁰ Mordvintseva 2010, 54.

⁵¹ There are wooden, plated with gold elongated plates with carved zoomorphic representations, which might be found near a hand, on the sword or on the quiver (Mordvintseva, Khabarova 2006, 39–42 figs. 10–11).

Lower Don and Volga area,⁵² might be of Central Asian or Iranian provenance.⁵³

From about the mid 1st c. B.C. the pattern of distribution of the Animal Style items changed once more.

In the Volga-Don area appeared a new kind of prestigious object ornamented with images of animals, namely goblets or cups with zoomorphic handles and sets of phalerae of the Iranian type (including the saddlery phalerae with three loops on the reverse side⁵⁴). The belt plaques are represented now by those comparable with the Tillya-tepe Style, but also by the belt-plates of local production imitating “eastern” forms.⁵⁵ The most prominent archaeological complexes contain also daggers in a sheath with four side-conches.⁵⁶ Several female graves in the region contain jewellery (crowns, necklaces, torques and bracelets) and perfume flasks made in Animal Style.⁵⁷

In the Kuban region the following changes in the pattern of Animal Style objects could be observed.

There appeared a considerable number of small roundels with representations of a coiled animal – beasts of prey and goats, the purpose of which, however, is not always clear. In some cases these items may be interpreted as brooches, in others – as belt ornaments.⁵⁸ Judging by the technique and some stylistic features⁵⁹ they were locally made. But at the same time the central images of these roundels represent a coiled beast, which is characteristic for the “eastern” pictorial traditions.⁶⁰ But instead of a three-dimensional, high-relief image, which is intended to be seen from the side, these images are usually made in a low relief, designed to be seen from above.⁶¹

Big belt-plates like those from the Volga-Don area do not appear in the region. The silver belt-plaque from Vodnyi, which repeats a P-shaped form of big

⁵² Verkhnepogromnoe 2–2: Shilov 1956; Mordvintseva 2003, Cat. 45; Novyi 46–4: Iliukov, Vlaskin 1992, 60–61 fig. 12: 24–27 fig. 13: 1–6; Novyi 70–5: Iliukov, Vlaskin 1992, 80–82 fig. 20, 7–19; Cat. Paris 2001, 182 No. 201.

⁵³ These Stylistic groups of objects of Sarmatian objects were discussed in the book: Mordvintseva 2003, 51–52.

⁵⁴ Mordvinceva 2001, 43, 48–49.

⁵⁵ E.g., Vodnyi 1–1 (Mordvintseva, Khachaturova, Iurchenko 2010, Cat. 61), Zaporozhskii Barrow 1 (Mantsevich 1982), Mekhzavod (Cat. Paris 2001, No. 199).

⁵⁶ Like those of Dachi Barrow 1 (fig. 9: 1).

⁵⁷ Khokhlach Barrow (Tolstoi, Kondakov 1890, 132–140) and Kobiakovo Barrow 10 (Prokhorova, Guguev 1992).

⁵⁸ In the Don area such roundels belong to sets of horse harness.

⁵⁹ Particularly indicative are their borders shaped as a relief line, often with parallel strokes.

⁶⁰ Like those from Tillya-tepe (fig. 3: 1–4); See also: Mordvintseva 2003, Cat. 26–28, 30–31.

⁶¹ Mordvintseva 2003, Cat. 49, 50, 81, 88–89, 93–95, 97.

belt-plates, is quite small in size and made in another style (Pontic Graphical Style⁶²), very far from the “eastern” originals.

Phalerae, although decorated with zoomorphic images, are also made in the Pontic Graphical Style. They have never been found as sets in the Lower Don-Volga region.

Cups with zoomorphic handles are known in the Northern Caucasus, but only in the Upper Kuban region. This may indicate certain particular connections of this region with the Don-Volga area.

Rich female graves of the Kuban region also show a remarkable difference to those from the Volga-Don region. Crowns, perfume flasks and pyxides with zoomorphic ornamentation are not represented.

The observation made for the Kuban region may partly be applied to the Crimea, although fewer categories are represented. The Animal Style objects in this area are represented mainly by brooches with pictures of a coiled feline⁶³ and by zoomorphic handles from cups or goblets.⁶⁴ There are no Animal Style objects in the female graves at all.

In the Dnieper-Dniester region the objects with zoomorphic images do not in general show any definite pattern. The only “true” Animal Style objects are those from the Porogi male burial. It is noteworthy that the female burial of the same barrow provides jewellery of usual Hellenistic type. According to its content the Zaporozh’e Barrow⁶⁵ is close to the Don–Volga group. The Mokra burial with a fingerring⁶⁶ and the Gordievka burial with the Kuban-type goat-shaped earrings⁶⁷ are isolated cases in the vast territory. In two cases⁶⁸ bracelets with ends ornamented with animal heads are very much in the Hellenistic tradition and cannot be recognized as Animal Style objects.

Therefore the appearance of Tillya-tepe Style objects in various regions of the North Pontic area may call for different interpretations.

In the Don-Volga area such items appeared at the time, when Eastern-type objects were already customary in that culture. In the previous period the male burials of the region provided not only precious belt-fittings, but also bronze and jet belt-plates.⁶⁹ There were also other features, which indicate the close relationship of this region with the nomadic world of the Eurasian steppe belt. The Tillya-tepe Style objects, along with these innovations, might bear witness to

⁶² Mordvinceva 2001, 37–38.

⁶³ Mordvintseva 2003, 208 fig. 93: 1–3.

⁶⁴ Loboda, Puzdrovskij, Zaicev 2002, 299 No. 6; 301 fig. 4, 1–2.

⁶⁵ A set of phalerae, a bracelet, 2 belt plates (Mantsevich 1982).

⁶⁶ Kašuba, Kurčatov 2005.

⁶⁷ Mordvinceva, Treister 2007, Cat. A61.

⁶⁸ Chance finds from Olbia and Petriki (Mordvinceva, Treister 2007, Cat. B/1.13, B37).

⁶⁹ Korolkova 1999; Mordvintseva, Shinkar 1999, 141 fig. 4: 17, fig. 6: 7.

a certain cultural movement from the East, including infiltration of some new ethnic groups.

The picture looks different in the Kuban region, where the Animal Style tradition was familiar. However, whenever external influence came there, the local tradition developed it further in its own way. It was also the case with the Hellenistic jewellery tradition, which came from the neighbouring Bosporan kingdom. It was apparently so with the far-eastern nomadic tradition, which may have come via the Eurasian steppes. When foreign elements like the Tillya-tepe Style objects appeared in the Kuban region, they were regarded as especially valuable status objects which the local artistic tradition adopted and reworked as 'quotations' from a foreign pictorial language.

For a long time, at least from the 3rd to the 1st c. B.C., the Dniester-Dnieper region was alien to the Animal Style tradition. The appearance of Tillya-tepe Style objects in the burial of Porogi should probably not be interpreted as a sign of migration from the Far East. The isolated assemblages with such objects may reflect mutual social relations between elites of different peoples in the vast North Pontic area.

Thus, the distribution of the Sarmatian Animal Style objects in the North Pontic area enables us to suggest different ways, in which the Tillya-tepe Style objects occurred in various local cultural groups and their different functions in the respective cultures and societies.

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Abstract

Since the Tillya-tepe necropolis was excavated, the Gold-turquoise Style seen on its objects has always been connected with the Sarmatian Animal Style of the North Pontic region. A comparison of the stylistic features of both Tillya-tepe and Sarmatian items, however, shows that only few Sarmatian objects may have Bactrian provenance, and not all of them may belong to the Animal Style. The “true” Animal Style images are represented on prestigious items connected with social status of a warrior. The distribution of the Sarmatian Animal Style objects in the North Pontic area enables us to suggest different ways, in which the Tillya-tepe Style objects occurred in various local cultural groups and their different functions in the respective cultures and societies.

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**ARMENISCHE ARSAKIDEN ZUR ZEIT
DER ANTONINE
EIN BEITRAG ZUR KORREKTUR DER ARMENISCHEN
KÖNIGSLISTE**

Keywords: Parthia, Rome, Antonines, Armenia, Arsacids, Caucasian history

Seitdem 1725 der *Elenchus Regum Armeniae Majoris* des 1706 verstorbenen Dr. med. Jean Foy Vaillant erschienen war,¹ hat eine Vielzahl von Arbeiten die Kenntnis der armenischen Königsliste bereichert. Eine Tabelle des Verfassers sollte den Wissensstand kurz nach der letzten Jahrtausendwende zusammenfassen und insbesondere erstmals nachvollziehbar zwischen den Machthabern von Westarmenien / Sophene, Ost-, bzw. Groß-Armenien und Klein-Armenien unterscheiden.² Es gibt jedoch noch immer manche dunklen Punkte in der Abfolge der betreffenden Fürsten. Dies gilt besonders für die Epoche der armenischen Arsakiden, die offiziell 63/6 n. Chr. begann, als die römische Regierung zustimmte, einen Angehörigen des parthischen Herrscherhauses als König von Armenien zu bestätigen.³ Diese erstmals auf Tiridates I. angewandte Regelung wurde freilich

¹ Vaillant 1725, 398–405 (eine narrative Herrscherfolge Groß-Armeniens in Gelehrtenlatein).

² Schottky 2004, 91–96 (Armenia). Zu Armenien als Nebenkriegsschauplatz in den römisch-parthischen Konflikten vgl. allgemein *DNP* 9 s.v. Parther- und Perserkriege, 375f.

³ Die Bestimmungen des Vertrages von Rhandaia (63) sind anscheinend am besten von Josef Markwart (damals *Joseph Marquart*) erkannt und formuliert worden. Markwart 1905, 222: „Auf alle Fälle wird jetzt klar, dass das Königreich Armenien seit Nero keineswegs eine eigentliche Sekundogenitur einer arsakidischen Nebenlinie in dem Sinne bildete, dass sich dasselbe einfach in der Linie des Tiridates vererbte..., sondern dass der römischen Regierung bei jedem Thronwechsel

von den Großkönigen nicht wirklich verstanden, die spätestens seit dem frühen 2. Jh. immer wieder in die armenischen Verhältnisse eingriffen. Bei der Betrachtung jener Vorgänge wollen wir uns für dieses Mal auf die Epoche der Antonine (138 bis 192 n. Chr.) beschränken.

Aurelius Pacorus

Wie eine schon einige Jahrzehnte alte, aber zuweilen übersehene Untersuchung von Franz Schehl ergeben hat,⁴ stand das Römische Reich unmittelbar nach dem am 10. Juli 138 eingetretenen Tod Hadrians kurz vor einem Partherkrieg. Auf diesen Konflikt bezieht sich SHA Pius 9,6: *Parthorum regem ab Armeniorum expugnatione solis litteris reppulit*. Armenischer König zur Zeit Hadrians war ein Vologaises gewesen, der zuletzt im Zusammenhang mit einem Einfall der Alanen erwähnt wird, die 134 bis 136 Armenien und seine Nachbarländer verheerten.⁵ Wie es aussieht, ist Vologaises in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 138 von den Parthern vertrieben worden und hat den Verlust seiner Krone wohl nicht überlebt.⁶ Weiter gingen die parthischen Erfolge jedoch nicht. Zwischen 140 und 144 vermochte Antoninus Pius einen römischen Kandidaten auf dem armenischen Thron zu platzieren,⁷ dessen Namen wir leider nicht erfahren.⁸

Von einem Pakoros, bzw. Aurelius Pacorus, der 164 seine Krone verlor, wird gewöhnlich angenommen, dass er erst drei Jahre vorher von den Parthern installiert wurde.⁹ Gerade sein Wirken ist durch eine Anzahl von Quellenzeugnissen belegt, die einmal zusammengestellt werden sollen. Beginnen wir mit einer 1934 oder 1935 in Dachovska (Region Majkop, Nordkaukasien) gefundenen Silbertasse. In ihren Boden sind die Worte ΠΑΡΑ ΒΑCΙΑΛΕΩC ΠΑΚΟΡΟΥ eingeritzt.¹⁰ An die Nordwestgrenze Armeniens führt SHA Pius 9,6: (Antoninus Pius) *Pacorum regem Lazii dedit*. Im verlorenen Geschichtswerk des Asinius Quadratus wurde berichtet, wo genau sich der König in seinem Reich aufzuhalten pflegte:

in Armenien vom König der Könige ein oder mehrere geeignete Kandidaten aus dem Arsakidenhause präsentiert werden mussten.“

⁴ Schehl 1930, 177–193.

⁵ Cass. Dio 69,15,1–2. Der Zeitpunkt ergibt sich aus dem Stillstand der Münzstätte Seleukeia in den genannten Jahren: McDowell 1935, 195. Vgl. *DNP* 12/2 s.v. Vologaises 7, 310.

⁶ So sinngemäß Schehl 1930, 192–193.

⁷ Sesterzen des Pius mit der Revers-Legende REX ARMENIIS DATUS S. C., *RIC* III, 110, Nr. 619. Die Münzen registrieren das zweite Consulat des Kaisers von Anfang Januar 140.

⁸ Diese Lücke der Überlieferung hatte uns veranlasst, in der Epoche des Antoninus Pius von einem unbekanntem Herrscher auszugehen: Schottky 2004, 94 (Groß-Armenien) Nr. 28.

⁹ So zuletzt Schottky 2006, 20 (ohne Namensnennung).

¹⁰ Moretti 1955, 45.

ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀρμενίας βασιλεὺς Πάκορος ἐν τούτῳ περὶ Ἀρτάξατα καὶ τὴν Ὠτηνῆν τῆς Ἀρμενίας δίαγων.¹¹ Als einzige zu datieren ist die Nachricht Frontos (epist. 5,127 N) über die von L. Verus vorgenommene Absetzung des Königs im Jahre 164: (...) *vel quod Sohaemo potius quam Vologaeso regnum Armeniae dedisset; aut quod Pacorum regno privasset* (...). Sein letztes Lebenszeichen stellt die Grabschrift dar, die er seinem Bruder Merithates¹² in Rom setzte: Θ · Κ | ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ | ΠΑΚΟΡΟΣ · ΒΑCΙ|ΛΕΥC ΜΕΓΑΛΗC · ΑΡ|ΜΕΝΙΑC · ΗΓΟΡΑΚΑ CΑΡ|ΚΟΦΑΓΟ · ΑΥΡ · ΜΕΡΙΘΑ|ΤΙ · ΑΔΕΛΦΩ · ΓΛΥΚΥ|ΤΑΤΩ ΖΗCΑΝΤΙ | CΥΝ ΕΜΟΙ ΕΤΗ | Νϛ · ΜΗ · Β (IG XIV, 1472).

Pakoros hat demzufolge nach seiner von Fronto berichteten Absetzung in Rom gelebt, dort seinen Bruder begraben und ist zweifellos auch selbst dort verstorben und beigesetzt worden. Weniger leicht lassen sich die ersten drei Erwähnungen deuten. Dass sich ein von den Parthern eingesetzter König in den angenommenen drei Jahren seiner Herrschaft um die Anschaffung und Kennzeichnung von Wertgegenständen gekümmert haben sollte, ist nicht sehr wahrscheinlich. Das Fragment des Asinius Quadratus über die Gegenden, die Pakoros zu seinen Lieblingsaufenthalten wählte, klingt ebenfalls nicht so, als ob es aus der kurzen Herrschaft eines gegen den Willen der römischen Schutzmacht installierten Königs stammen würde. Zunächst verwirrend ist schließlich die Nachricht über den an die Spitze der Lazen gestellten König Pacorus. Man könnte vermuten, es habe sich um einen anderen, mit dem armenischen König nicht identischen, aber etwa gleichzeitigen Pakoros gehandelt, der König der Lazen geworden sei. Es ist aber eher zweifelhaft, ob die Lazen ein Königtum hatten, bzw. ob die Römer den betreffenden Stammesfürsten als solchen anerkannt hätten. Der Text scheint auch weniger zu besagen, dass irgendein Pacorus König der Lazen wurde, sondern dass ein offenbar als bekannt vorausgesetzter König dieses Namens zusätzlich die Herrschaft über den Stamm in der Kolchis erhielt. Falls dies zutrifft, müsste man annehmen, dass es eben Pakoros war, der einige Jahre nach dem Regierungsantritt des Antoninus Pius zum König von Armenien ernannt wurde.¹³

Bevor wir dieser Vermutung weiter nachgehen, sollen noch einige Überlegungen über die Herkunft dieses Mannes folgen. Der Name *Pakoros* war bei den Arsakiden nicht ganz selten, aber auch nicht allzu häufig. Es erscheint daher

¹¹ *FGrH* Nr. 97, Fr. 9 (aus den *Parthica*).

¹² Vielleicht eine zeitgenössische phonetische Wiedergabe von *Mithradates*. So auch schon Markwart 1905, 226: **Mehrdat*.

¹³ Ganz neu ist diese Ansicht nicht. Vgl. Chaumont 1976, 147–148 mit dem Verweis auf ältere Literatur in Anm. 424. Die Autoren gingen (in der Nachfolge von Mommsen 1904, 109–110, Anm. 54 Ende und 111 unten) aber meist von zwei Pakoroi aus: Von einem parthischen Arsakiden, der 161 von den Parthern installiert und 164 von den Römern abgesetzt wurde, und dem Klientelkönig (Aurelius) Pacorus, der von Antoninus Pius eingesetzt worden sei.

vertretbar, nach einer verwandtschaftlichen Beziehung zwischen Aurelius Pacorus und dem letzten Namensträger vor ihm zu suchen, dem Großkönig Pakoros. Zwei von dessen Söhnen hatten zwischen 110 und 114 den armenischen Thron beansprucht.¹⁴ Von ihnen kommt der unglückselige Parthamasiris, der durch Traian Krone und Leben verloren hatte, freilich nicht ernsthaft als Vater des jüngeren Pakoros in Frage. Anders sieht es mit Axidares aus. Dieser scheint nicht nur der Machtübernahme durch Parthamasiris noch einige Zeit Widerstand entgegengesetzt zu haben – auch von seinem Ende ist nichts bekannt. Vielleicht hatte er sich mit dem legitimen Thronerben Vologaises geeinigt, als dieser den Kampf um die Krone aufnahm. Axidares selbst mag sich nach 117 auf seine Besitzungen zurückgezogen haben und Vater des Pakoros und des Merithates geworden sein.¹⁵

Dass um oder bald nach 140 Pakoros (und kein Abkömmling des Vologaises) König wurde, mag mit Vorbehalten der Römer gegenüber Letzterem zusammenhängen, der sie 116 zur Anerkennung seiner Herrschaft genötigt hatte.¹⁶ Da nun einmal die Verpflichtung bestand, Armenien von einem Arsakiden beherrschen zu lassen, mag die kaiserliche Regierung gern nach Alternativen innerhalb dieses weit verzweigten Geschlechts Ausschau gehalten haben. Gegen Axidares hatten seinerzeit wohl keine Bedenken bestanden, jedenfalls richtete sich Traians Feldzug nicht gegen ihn.¹⁷ Daher mag man es eine Generation später für sinnvoll gehalten haben, es noch einmal mit einem Herrscher aus seiner Linie zu versuchen. Offenbar bewährte sich Pakoros so weit, dass ihm Antoninus Pius auch die Oberaufsicht über die Lazen übertrug. Der von Vologaises III. (IV.?) befohlene Angriff auf Armenien im Jahre 161 führte demnach nicht zur Einsetzung, sondern im Gegenteil zur Vertreibung des Pakoros.¹⁸ Er und sein Bruder Merithates sind anscheinend auf römisches Gebiet geflohen.

Dies waren die Voraussetzungen, als nach dem Sieg über die Parther offenbar lebhaft über die Wiederbesetzung des armenischen Thrones durch Kaiser L. Verus

¹⁴ Vgl. *DNP* 9 s.v. Pakoros 3, 157; *DNP* 2 s.v. Axidares, 373; *DNP* 9 s.v. Parthamasiris, 361.

¹⁵ Vgl. das oben zitierte Fragment aus Asinius Quadratus. Wenn von einem König, der das ganze Land beherrschte, gesagt wird, dass er sich besonders gern in der Landschaft Otene (Uti) aufgehalten habe, darf man wohl annehmen, dass er dort Güter erworben, bzw. von seinen Vorfahren geerbt hatte.

¹⁶ Cass. Dio 75,9,6 (in den Ausgaben jetzt nach 68,30,3) lässt erkennen, dass sich Vologaises den Thron noch zu Lebzeiten Traians in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Statthalter L. Catilius Severus erstritt. Seine offizielle Anerkennung durch Hadrian (SHA Hadr. 21,11) war danach wohl mehr eine Formsache.

¹⁷ Nicht die Einsetzung des Axidares, sondern erst seine Absetzung zugunsten des Parthamasiris hatte den Partherkrieg ausgelöst. Leeres Gerede ist die Behauptung des Großkönigs Osroes bei Cass. Dio 68,17,3, *Exedares* (= Axidares) habe weder Römern noch Parthern genügt.

¹⁸ Etwas anders Chaumont 1976, 148, wonach ihn die Parther vielleicht im Besitz der Herrschaft gelassen hätten, weil er ein Arsakide war.

diskutiert wurde. Dabei sind die Argumentationshilfen, die Fronto seinem Schüler anbietet, geradezu entlarvend. Er sagt eigentlich nichts anderes, als dass vom römischen Standpunkt kein vernünftiger Grund bestand, Pakoros überhaupt abzulösen. Dies ist das wichtigste Indiz dafür, dass er gar kein erst 161 von den Parthern eingesetzter König gewesen sein kann. Ein solcher nämlich wäre von den Römern entweder sofort beseitigt oder zumindest als Staatsgefangener in strenger Haft gehalten worden. Die Grabschrift des Merithates beweist indessen das Gegenteil. Er und Pakoros wurden in die gens Aurelia adoptiert und hatten eher den Status von Staatsgästen. Vor allem aber konnte es Pakoros wagen, sich weiterhin „König von Groß-Armenien“ (zu ergänzen „außer Diensten“) zu nennen.

Sohaemus von Emesa

Über die Identität des 164 von L. Verus eingesetzten Klientelkönigs besteht kein Zweifel. Es war der von Fronto lateinisch *Sohaemus* genannte Mann. Zwei griechische Zeugnisse treten hinzu. Der Romanschriftsteller Iamblichos erzählt aus seinem Leben (bei Photios, bibl. 94):

(...) ἀκμάζειν ἐπὶ Σοαίμου τοῦ Ἀχαιμενίδου τοῦ Ἀρσακίδου, ὃς βασιλεὺς ἦν ἐκ πατέρων βασιλέων, γέγονε δὲ ὁμῶς καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ὑπατος δέ, εἶτα καὶ βασιλεὺς πάλιν τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας.

Schließlich berichtet Cass. Dio 71,3,1¹:

ὅτι Μάρτιος Βῆρος τὸν Θουκυδίδην ἐκπέμπει καταγαγεῖν Σόαιμον εἰς Ἀρμενίαν· (...) (sc. Martius Verus) ἀφικόμενος οὖν εἰς τὴν Καινὴν πόλιν, ἦν φρουρὰ Ῥωμαίων κατεῖχεν ἐκ Πρίσκου καταστάσα, νεωτερίζειν πειρωμένους λόγῳ τε καὶ ἔργῳ σωφρονίσας, ἀπέφηνε πρότῃν εἶναι τῆς Ἀρμενίας.

Dios Worte sind immer so verstanden worden, dass Sohaemus, der vorher bereits armenischer König gewesen war, irgendwann seine Krone verlor und unter militärischem Schutz erneut eingesetzt werden musste. Als Usurpator, der seine Herrschaft unterbrach, wurde gern der angeblich erst 161 von den Parthern nominierte Pakoros betrachtet. Schon Th. Mommsen hatte an jener Sicht der Dinge Zweifel geäußert.¹⁹ Zum einen nämlich wurde die Einsetzung

¹⁹ Mommsen 1904, 113, Anm. 64.

des Klientelkönigs von 164 erneut durch Münzen mit der Legende *Rex Armeniis datus* bekannt gemacht.²⁰ Hätte es sich um denselben Thronanwärter wie unter Pius gehandelt, wäre ein Text wie *Rex Armeniis redditus* angemessener gewesen. Vor allem aber stellen die Worte Frontos diejenige der drei Erwähnungen des Sohaemus dar, aus der sich durchaus keine *Rückkehr* dieses Mannes in sein Königreich herauslesen lässt,²¹ die demnach in eine spätere Zeit fallen muss. Daher seien hier zunächst die Umstände beleuchtet, unter denen er erstmalig König wurde. Fronto lässt durchblicken, dass sein Thronanspruch bestenfalls drittrangig war. Wenn man schon Pakoros nicht mehr wollte, hätte auch noch ein Vologaisis zur Verfügung gestanden. Er dürfte der Sohn und Erbe des gleichnamigen Königs der hadrianischen Zeit gewesen sein,²² der schon 140/4 zugunsten des Pakoros übergangen worden war und nun zum zweiten Mal den Kürzeren zog.

Wer aber war Sohaemus? Sein Name erscheint nirgends sonst bei den Arsakiden und ist nicht einmal iranisch. Diese offenkundige Tatsache hatte wohl Iamblichos veranlasst, nicht nur die arsakidische, sondern sogar die angebliche achaimenidische Abstammung seines Königs zu betonen. Ob die letztgenannte Aussage fünfhundert Jahre nach dem Untergang Dareios´ III. einen konkreten Anspruch beinhaltet, darf bezweifelt werden. Immerhin könnten sich die Auftragsgenealogen des Sohaemus darauf bezogen haben, dass auch die Arsakiden selbst achaimenidische Abkunft reklamierten.²³ Bei einer der Ahnfrauen des Sohaemus könnte es sich nun um eine arsakidische Prinzessin gehandelt haben.²⁴

In väterlicher Linie stammte er ohne Zweifel aus dem bereits seit einigen Jahrzehnten nicht mehr regierenden Haus der Stadtkönige von Emesa (Homs). Der letzte amtierende Fürst dieser Linie, der ebenfalls Sohaemus hieß, hatte seit 54 v. Chr. sowohl seine Heimatstadt Emesa als auch das neu errichtete westarmenische Königreich Sophene beherrscht. Während sein sophenisches Königtum möglicherweise mit der Einsetzung des römischen Kandidaten Tigranes VI. als Fürst von ganz Armenien im Jahre 60 endete, ist sein Wirken in Emesa bis 72 nachweisbar.²⁵ Wohl unter Domitian wurde das Stadtkönigtum eingezogen und

²⁰ *RIC* III, 255, Nr. 511–513 u. 322, Nr. 1370–1375.

²¹ Selbst die Darstellung des Iamblichos ist nicht so eindeutig, wie man zunächst denken könnte. Vgl. Premerstein 1913, 90, Anm. 3 (Ende): „in diesen Worten scheint mir *παύλις* lediglich adversativ gebraucht, bildet also nicht (...) ein weiteres Argument für die ‚Wieder‘einsetzung des Soimos.“

²² So auch Chaumont 1976, 149.

²³ Arrian, *FGrH* Nr. 156, Fr. 30–31 (fiktiv).

²⁴ Man mag z.B. an die 116 gefangengenommene Tochter des Großkönigs Osroes denken, die dreizehn Jahre später von Hadrian ihrem Vater zurückgegeben wurde (SHA Hadr. 13,8, vgl. *DNP* 9 s.v. Osroes 1, 88). Sie könnte in der Zwischenzeit zur Einheirat in ein Herrscherhaus der ehemaligen römischen Klientelstaaten im Orient veranlasst worden sein.

²⁵ Vgl. Schottky 2004, 93 (Westarmenien/Sophene) Nr. 11 u. 98 (Emesa) Nr. 7 sowie *DNP* 11 s.v. Sohaemus 3, 672.

der Provinz Syrien zugeschlagen. Mit seiner Dynastie verfuhr man ähnlich wie mit den Herrscherhäusern anderer orientalischer Klientelstaaten. Ihre Mitglieder wurden nach Rom geholt und mit den nunmehr inhaltsleeren Ämtern der Republik ausgezeichnet. Dabei blieb stets die Möglichkeit offen, Nachkommen der früheren Dynastien auch kurzfristig wieder als Landesfürsten zu verwenden.

Sohaemus, vielleicht ein Urenkel des gleichnamigen letzten Stadtkönigs,²⁶ stellt ein typisches Beispiel für dieses Schema dar. Dabei ist aufschlussreich, was Iamblichos mitteilt, der sich als einziger zur Vorgeschichte seines Königs äußert, bzw. was er nicht sagt. Denn mit den königlichen Vorfahren sind sicher keine parthischen oder armenischen Arsakiden, sondern die emesenischen Fürsten gemeint, von denen einer auch einmal einen Teil Armeniens beherrscht hatte. Nur war es nicht ratsam, dies allzu deutlich zu machen und Emesa *expressis verbis* zu erwähnen. Sohaemus selbst war in den Senat aufgenommen worden und bis zum Consulat gelangt, als er König von Groß-Armenien wurde. Für die Argumentation den Parthern gegenüber war es sicher unwesentlich, ob seine Abstammung von den Arsakiden (in der weiblichen Linie) tatsächlich bestand oder fingiert war. Die Nominierung eines Mannes aus kleinfürstlichem, nicht einmal mehr regierenden Geschlecht zum König von Armenien war ein klarer Affront. Man kann demnach fragen, was sich L. Verus, bzw. seine Berater, davon versprochen haben. Allgemein ist zu beobachten, dass unter Marc Aurel, nach dem Stillstand unter Hadrian und Pius, in mancher Hinsicht wieder auf die außenpolitische Konzeption Traians zurückgegriffen wurde.²⁷ Wie 114 hatte sich 161 ein Partherkrieg an der Frage der Oberhoheit über Armenien entzündet. Nach dem römischen Sieg wäre die erneute Provinzialisierung des Landes möglich gewesen.²⁸ Marc Aurel und L. Verus wählten dagegen ein Verfahren, das zumindest etwas eleganter aussieht. Man ging dennoch bis hart an die Grenze der vor hundert Jahren mit den Parthern getroffenen Vereinbarung, indem man ein Mitglied der in Rom lebenden Dynastien zu einem Arsakiden erklärte.

König Sohaemus und der Satrap Tiridates

Wie instabil die 164 gefundene Lösung war, zeigt die Vertreibung des Sohaemus einige Jahre später. Sie steht offenbar im Zusammenhang mit Vorgängen, über die Cass. Dio 72[71],14,2 berichtet: (sc. Marc Aurel) Τηριδάτην σατράπην τὰ τε ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενία ταράξαντα καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἡνιόχων βασιλέα

²⁶ Schottky 2004, 97 (Emesa, Einleitung).

²⁷ So schon Mommsen 1904, 114.

²⁸ Ähnlich Wilkinson 1982, 243: „Marcus Aurelius proceeded to the virtual annexation of Armenia.“ Ob es eine Rolle spielte, dass Marc Aurel ein Urenkel des L. Catilius Severus war (SHA Marc. 1,4), des armenischen Provinzstatthalters unter Traian, soll dahingestellt bleiben.

ἀποσφάξαντα, τῷ τε Οὐήρῳ ἐπιτιμῶντί οἱ περὶ τούτων τὸ ξίφος ἐπανατεινάμενον, μὴ κτείνας, ἀλλ' ἐς Βρεττανίαν πέμψας. Hinsichtlich der Zeitstellung dieser Nachricht haben niemals Zweifel daran bestanden, dass sie an den Anfang der 170er Jahre gehört. Erst Anton v. Premerstein aber hat zwischen der Rückführung des Sohaemus und den Aktivitäten des Tiridates einen logischen Zusammenhang hergestellt.²⁹ Ein starkes Indiz hierfür ist die jeweilige Erwähnung eines *Verus*. Bei ihm handelt es sich sicher nicht um den 169 verstorbenen Mitkaiser, sondern um den Feldherrn P. Martius Verus, der zwischen seinen Consulaten von 166 und 179 Statthalter von Kappadokien war und als solcher gegebenenfalls die Möglichkeit hatte, in Armenien einzugreifen.

Unter dieser Voraussetzung können die armenischen Angelegenheiten seit dem parthischen Angriff von 161 wie folgt rekonstruiert werden: Die römische Gegenoffensive führte unter M. Statius Priscus Anfang 163 zur Einnahme der Hauptstadt Artaxata.³⁰ Schon damals wurde an der Stelle des heutigen Etschmiadsin eine neue Stadt (*Kaine Polis*, armenisch *Nor K'alak'*) angelegt, die zur Aufnahme einer römischen Garnison bestimmt war. Dios Bericht, der eine echte Neugründung suggeriert, verschweigt, dass dort bereits eine Niederlassung bestanden hatte, das von Vologaises (Valarsh) von Armenien erbaute Valarshapat.³¹ Doch mag sich die von ihm angelegte Siedlung in den folgenden Jahren nicht über die Größe einer Kleinstadt hinaus entwickelt haben.³² Um 172 sah sich der seit drei Jahren allein regierende Marc Aurel an der Euphratgrenze und in Britannien einem drohenden Krieg gegenüber: *imminebat et Parthicum bellum et Britannicum* (SHA Marc. 22,1). Wie weit der Konflikt mit den Parthern mit den Vorgängen in Armenien zusammenhing, ist dabei eher unklar.³³ Als Unruhestifter wird ein als „Satrap“ bezeichneter Mann namens Tiridates genannt, der einen Stammesfürsten getötet hatte und Martius Verus persönlich bedrohte. Er wurde festgenommen und auf kaiserlichen Befehl nach Britannien geschickt. Seine Energie sollte wohl zur Dämpfung der dortigen Unruhen nutzbar gemacht werden.³⁴

Um Armenien kümmerte sich Martius Verus selbst. Die Garnison von Kainepolis, die kurz vor einer Meuterei stand, vermochte er zu beruhigen. Erst jetzt erhob er die Lagerstadt zur armenischen Metropole. Wem der Ort als Residenz dienen sollte, ergibt sich eher am Rande: Martius Verus ließ Sohaemus, dessen Ver-

²⁹ Siehe zum folgenden Premerstein 1913, bes. 87–91 (Abschnitt Armenia).

³⁰ SHA Marc. 9,1: *Gestae sunt res in Armenia prospere per Statium Priscum Artaxatis captis* (...). Vgl. auch SHA Ver. 7,1.

³¹ Die Identität von *Nor K'alak'* und Valarshapat ergibt sich aus M.X./Thomson 2,65 (211).

³² So spricht Markwart 1905, 226 für die Epoche des Vologaises von einem „Flecken“.

³³ Vgl. aber Premerstein 1913, 90 und den Abschnitt Parthia (91–92).

³⁴ Premerstein 1913, 88 erwägt, dass Tiridates die Stellung eines Befehlshabers eines armenischen Bundeskontingentes innegehabt haben könnte.

treibung nirgends ausdrücklich berichtet wird, durch einen Thukydides in sein Reich zurückführen. Dieser Gang der Ereignisse, wie er von A. v. Premerstein skizziert worden ist, hat weitgehenden Beifall gefunden.³⁵ Der Emesener scheint nur noch wenige Jahre „geherrscht“ zu haben und mag nach seinem Tode in dem um 175 errichteten ionischen Gebäude von Garni beigesetzt worden sein.³⁶

Im Folgenden sollen noch einige Überlegungen zur Person des Tiridates mitgeteilt werden, dessen Umtriebe möglicherweise die Wirren zu Anfang der 170er Jahre auslösten. Sein Name weist ihn eindeutig als Arsakiden aus. Die Ansicht, der Satrap habe sich auf Großkönige dieses Namens berufen,³⁷ erscheint dagegen nach heutigem Forschungsstand weniger glücklich. Es gehört zu den wichtigsten und mittlerweile nahezu allgemein akzeptierten Erkenntnissen Jozef Wolskis, dass die 37-jährige Herrschaft eines Tiridates in der Entstehungsphase des Partherreiches Fiktion ist.³⁸ Zwei weitere Namensträger, die sich um die Großkönigskrone bemühten, müssen aufgrund ihrer Erfolglosigkeit als reine Usurpatoren betrachtet werden.³⁹ Dagegen ist Tiridates (griechisch auch *Tēridates*,⁴⁰ armenisch *Trdat*) unbestritten der Leitname der armenischen Arsakiden, der zwischen der Mitte des 1. und dem ersten Drittel des 4. Jhs. bei vier Herrschern dieses Geschlechts erscheint.⁴¹ Diese Art der Namengebung lässt erkennen, dass Tiridates I. ein beachtliches Renommee erworben hatte, das seine Nachkommen in direkter Linie immer wieder dazu veranlasste, ihre Erben nach ihm zu benennen.⁴² Dabei füllt der Satrap Tiridates auch die Lücke zwischen

³⁵ Eine bemerkenswerte Ausnahme stellt Toumanoff dar, der stets unbeirrt an einer ersten Regierung des Sohaemus von 140 bis 160 und seiner Rückführung bereits 163 festhielt: Toumanoff 1969, 233, Anm. 5; Toumanoff 1987, 544.

³⁶ Diese bei Schotky 2006, 20 ausdrücklich als „Spekulation“ bezeichnete Annahme fußt auf R.D. Wilkinson, der den „Tempel“ von Garni erstmals als Grabmal gedeutet hatte. Wilkinson 1982, 243 nennt als mögliche Nutzer Sohaemus und Aurelius Pacorus. Letzterer kommt hierfür jedoch nicht in Frage, da er 164 aus seinem Königreich entfernt worden war und wie sein Bruder Merithates zweifellos in Rom bestattet wurde.

³⁷ Premerstein 1913, 90: „... wird sich... Tiridates der Abstammung von den gleichnamigen parthischen Königen und von König Tiridates von Armenien... berühmt haben und als Prätendent aufgetreten sein.“

³⁸ Von den zahlreichen Arbeiten des verstorbenen Gelehrten zu diesem Thema vgl. hier insbesondere Wolski 1978, wo der Frage nachgegangen wird, wie diese Überlieferung überhaupt entstehen konnte.

³⁹ *DNP* 12/1 s.v. Tiridates 3–4, 611–612.

⁴⁰ *Zon.* 12,21.

⁴¹ *DNP* 12/1 s.v. Tiridates 5–8, 612–614 (der Satrap ist hier nicht mitgezählt).

⁴² Interessant ist die Überlegung bei Wolski 1978, 74, Anm. 31, der erste armenische Trdat könnte das Vorbild des fiktiven eigentlichen parthischen Reichsgründers Tiridates gewesen sein. Während nämlich der Kampf eines Arsakes (Sohn Artabans II.) um die armenische Krone nach kurzer Herrschaft scheiterte, war Tiridates (kein Bruder, aber ein Vetter ersten Grades dieses Arsakes) eine langjährige Herrschaft vergönnt, durch die sein Geschlecht in Armenien etabliert wurde.

dem Ende Tiridates´ I. und dem Auftauchen eines Tiridates´ II. unter Macrinus. Wie er selbst mit dem Begründer der Dynastie verwandt gewesen sein könnte, ist nicht schwer zu erraten. 164 hatte sich Sohaemus noch mit dem Anspruch eines Vologaises auseinandersetzen müssen, des mutmaßlichen Sohnes des gleichnamigen armenischen Königs.⁴³ Acht Jahre später hören wir von Vologaises nichts mehr, während Sohaemus´ Krone durch Tiridates in Gefahr gerät. Es scheint logisch, in Letzterem den Erben des jüngeren Vologaises zu sehen, der nach dem Tod des Vaters seinen Herrschaftsanspruch geltend machte.

Dass der Mann „Satrap“ genannt wird, wirft ein Schlaglicht auf die Vorgehensweise der Römer, die zwar einen Arsakiden in Armenien herrschen lassen mussten, dabei aber möglichst mehrere Linien der Dynastie gegeneinander auspielten. Zum König war der bestenfalls von der mütterlichen Seite her mit den Arsakiden verwandte Sohaemus ernannt worden. Aurelius Pacorus wurde unter Belassung des Titels nach Rom geschickt. Damit blieb die seit 138 nicht mehr regierende Linie Tiridates´ I. übrig, die dennoch fest im Lande verwurzelt gewesen zu sein scheint. Möglicherweise hielt man es daher von Seiten der römischen Regierung für sinnvoll, ihren derzeitigen Repräsentanten mit einer Art Vizekönigtum, der Statthalterschaft von Armenien, auszustatten. Von dieser Position aus konnte der Satrap in Gegenden tätig werden, die für ein direktes römisches Eingreifen unerreichbar waren. Hier wären die Heniocher zu nennen, deren König er aus unbekanntem Gründen getötet hatte.⁴⁴ Wie weit die sonstigen Schwierigkeiten in Armenien (die Flucht des Sohaemus und die drohende Meuterei der Garnison von Kainepolis) von Tiridates selbst verursacht worden waren, lässt sich nur vermuten. Man darf aber annehmen, er wäre sofort hingerichtet worden, wenn er tatsächlich Hochverrat begangen hätte.

Ein zweiter Vologaises zur Zeit des Commodus?

Es gibt kaum eine neuere armenische Königsliste, die nicht einen Vologaises II. mit den Herrschaftsdaten 180 bis 191 n. Chr. enthält.⁴⁵ So hatten auch wir angenommen, es gebe Indizien dafür, der bei der Nominierung des Sohaemus übergan-

⁴³ König Vologaises selbst war der Sohn eines Sanatrukes (Cass. Dio 75,9,6). Letzterer scheint der direkte Nachfolger (und damit wohl ein Sohn) des Dynastiegründers Tiridates I. gewesen zu sein. Siehe zu ihm zuletzt *DNP* 11 s.v. Sanatrukes 2, 30.

⁴⁴ Das Eingreifen des Tiridates bei den Heniochern wirkt wie eine (wenig erfreuliche) Parallele zu der oben erwähnten Oberherrschaft des Aurelius Pacorus über die Lazen. Beide Stämme werden bereits bei Plin. n.h. 6,12 im Zusammenhang genannt.

⁴⁵ Was die etwas ältere Literatur betrifft, sei z. B. auf Moretti 1955, 46 hingewiesen, der einen Vagharsh II mit der Regierungszeit 188–208 erwähnt, der auch der Gründer von Vagharshapat gewesen sei.

gene Prätendent Vologaises könnte nach dessen Ende doch noch zum Zuge gekommen sein.⁴⁶ Diejenigen Forscher, die von zwei armenischen Herrschern dieses Namens innerhalb eines Jahrhunderts ausgingen, bezogen sich jedoch nur am Rande auf das klassische Material. Exemplarisch verfuhr dabei Toumanoff, der die Existenz eines Valarsh II. in der fraglichen Zeit bereits als gegeben ansah und sich nur noch darum bemühte, seine Regierungszeit möglichst genau festzulegen. Seine Überlegungen sollen daher im Folgenden kritisch geprüft werden.

Auch die armenische Überlieferung kennt für das 2. Jh. nur einen König Valarsh. Hierbei begnügt sich die wohl aus dem 7. Jh. stammende „(armenische) Urgeschichte“ damit, ihn als Sohn des Königs Tigran und Vater des Königs Khosrov vorzustellen und ihm eine zwanzigjährige Herrschaftsdauer zuzuschreiben.⁴⁷ Ausführlichere Informationen finden sich in der „Geschichte der Armenier“ des Movsês Xorenac’i (Moses von Khoren) aus dem späten 8. Jh. Von Valarsh, der ebenfalls ein Sohn Tigrans und Vater Khosrovs ist und zwanzig Jahre regierte, werden im wesentlichen zwei Tatbestände berichtet. Zum einen trat er als Städtegründer hervor, der Valarshavan in Basean und insbesondere Valarshapat erbaute. Später musste er erleben, dass Stämme aus dem Norden (Moses spricht von Chasaren und Barselt) durch den Pass von Derbend in sein Reich eindringen. Valarsh konnte zwar die Räuber zurückwerfen, erlag aber selbst den feindlichen Pfeilen.⁴⁸

Wie deutlich zu erkennen ist, beziehen sich alle konkreten Informationen auf den Herrscher der Zeit Hadrians. Er war der (Neu-)Gründer von Valarshapat, das uns als Kainepolis unter Sohaemus schon begegnet ist. Der Einfall der Chasaren und Barselt wiederum ist die sagenhafte Umsetzung des Alanensturms von 134 bis 136. Von einer „Sage“ sprechen wir deswegen, weil der Bericht im einzelnen stark verändert und dabei insgesamt heroisiert worden ist. Der historische Vologaises hatte die Alanen durch Tribute zum Abzug bewogen und ihren Einbruch immerhin so lange überlebt, um sich in Rom über den Ibererkönig, der sie aufgehetzt hatte, beschweren zu können. Moses’ Valarsh dagegen hat mit zwei im 2. Jh. noch gar nicht belegten Stämmen zu tun, bei deren erfolgreicher Abwehr er untergeht. Doch mag in der Information, sein Ende sei zeitnah zu dem Nordvölkersturm eingetreten, ein Rest guter Überlieferung verborgen sein. Auch die, wie noch gezeigt wird, abgerundete Zahl von zwanzig Regierungsjahren passt nicht schlecht zu dem erschließbaren Herrschaftszeitraum des Vologaises. Versuchen wir noch festzustellen, zwischen welchen absoluten Daten unserer Zeitrechnung

⁴⁶ Schottky 2004, 94 (Groß-Armenien) Nr. 31. Dagegen sollte mit dem Artikel *DNP* 12/2 s.v. Vologaises 8, 310 zunächst der von Fronto genannte Thronanwärter prosopographisch erfasst werden. Dass er im Jahrzehnt nach 180 an die Macht gekommen sein könnte, wird als reine Möglichkeit betrachtet.

⁴⁷ Urgeschichte, siehe Thomson 1980, 366–367.

⁴⁸ M.X./Thomson 2,65 (210–211).

die Regierung des Valarsh in der kaukasischen Überlieferung eingefügt ist. Moses datiert die armenischen Könige sekundär nach den Herrscherjahren der parthischen Großkönige und berichtet von Valarsh, dass er seine Regierung im 32. Jahr eines iranischen Namensvetters antrat.⁴⁹ Der einzige parthische Vologais, der mit Sicherheit sein 32. Herrscherjahr erlebte, regierte von 147/8 bis 193. Der armenische Valarsh könnte demnach 180 König geworden sein und – wenn man nur volle Jahre zählt – bis einschließlich 199 amtiert haben. Dass man so aber nicht rechnen darf, ergibt sich allein schon aus dem Antrittsdatum seines Nachfolgers. Der „letzte Parther“ Artabanos IV., in dessen drittem Jahr Valarshs Sohn Khosrov König geworden sein soll, machte sich nämlich erst seit etwa 213 bemerkbar.⁵⁰ Damit bestätigt sich, dass allein nach der von Moses selbst verwendeten Chronologie der Großkönige vorzugehen ist, wenn man schon derartige Berechnungen anstellen will. Als Gründungsjahr des Partherreiches galt den antiken und den ihnen folgenden armenischen Autoren das Jahr 250 v. Chr.⁵¹ Um die absoluten Jahre eines Partherkönigs der armenischen Überlieferung festzustellen, müssen daher von der Basis 250 v. Chr. aus die angegebenen Regierungszeiten der parthischen Arsakiden zusammengezählt werden, bis man bei dem gerade gesuchten angekommen ist. Im vorliegenden Fall ergibt sich aus den Herrscherjahren der Vorgänger des parthischen Valarsh und 32 seiner eigenen eine Summe von 406 Jahren: 250 v. Chr. + 406 J. = 156 n. Chr. Der armenische Valarsh hätte nach Moses' Chronologie von 156 bis 175 regiert.⁵² In seinem Werk ist die Herrschaft des historischen Vologais demnach um vierzig Jahre verschoben worden und umfasst etwa die Spätzeit des Pakoros und die Regierung des Sohaemus.

Cyril Toumanoff freilich hat nicht einmal erwogen, dass so zu rechnen wäre. Sein Vologais/Valarsh II. gelangt, als erster „echter“ Arsakide nach Sohaemus, genau 180 zur Macht. Was sein Regierungsende betrifft, wird eine überraschende Lösung gefunden. Hier kommt nämlich wieder der Vologais Frontos ins Spiel, ohne dass Toumanoff sich dessen bewusst geworden ist. Schon Josef Markwart hatte in aller Vorsicht die eher unglückliche Vermutung geäußert, der Prätendent von 164 könnte ein Sohn des damaligen gleichnami-

⁴⁹ M.X./Thomson 2,65 (210).

⁵⁰ Vgl. M.X. 2,65 (211–212) und *DNP* 2 s.v. Artabanos 8, 43.

⁵¹ Das Consulatsjahr des L. Manlius Vulso und C. Atilius Regulus: *Iust.* 41,4,3. Im *Iustin-*Text ist irrtümlich M. Atilius Regulus angegeben, der 256 mit demselben Manlius Consul war. Doch führt *Eus. II* p. 120 *Sch.* ebenfalls ins Jahr 250. Die *Urgeschichte/Thomson* 1980, 363 setzt die Entstehung des Partherreiches ins 62. Jahr der Seleukidenära vom April 311. Die Angaben bei M.X./Thomson 2,1 (129–130) sind verwirrt, lassen aber erkennen, dass er demselben Schema wie die *Urgeschichte* folgte. Die Regierungszeiten der parthischen Könige sind M.X./Thomson 2,68–69 (215–216) genannt.

⁵² Faktisch indessen bis 176 (21 Jahre), da sein Nachfolger Khosrov im dritten Jahr Artavans (177) König wurde. Vgl. die Berechnung bei Schottky 1994, 231 mit Anm. 52.

gen Partherkönigs gewesen sein.⁵³ Toumanoff hielt dies bereits für eine feststehende Tatsache und kombinierte sie mit einer Nachricht aus dem einem Agathangelos zugeschriebenen Geschichtswerk wohl des 5. Jhs., das in armenischer und griechischer Fassung vorliegt. In Kapitel 9 der griechischen Version (und nur dort) wird der armenische König Chosroes als „Bruder“ des Großkönigs Artabanos IV. bezeichnet. Nach Toumanoff geschah demnach ungefähr Folgendes: In seinem 32. Regierungsjahr (180) gelang es dem Parther Vologais III. (IV.?), seinen gleichnamigen Sohn zum armenischen König zu machen (dort Valarsh II.). 191 habe sich der jüngere Vologais von seiner armenischen Machtbasis aus gegen den betagten Vater erhoben und ihn innerhalb von zwei Jahren niedergekämpft, sodass er als Vologais IV. (V.?) seine Nachfolge antreten konnte.⁵⁴

Es gibt mehrere Beispiele dafür, dass ein Großkönig einen nahen Verwandten in Armenien einsetzte. Der Aufstieg eines Arsakiden vom armenischen Unterkönigtums aus zum König der Parther ist aber offensichtlich niemals vorgekommen. Ebenso gewagt erscheint es, von einem Thronstreit in den Jahren 191 bis 193 auszugehen. Wir wissen allein, dass die Münzen des Vologais III. (IV.?) bis 193 reichen, während die des Nachfolgers schon 191 beginnen. Dies wird jedoch häufig so gedeutet, dass der Vater den Sohn zum Mitregenten annahm.⁵⁵ Ob die Mitteilung des griechischen Agathangelos, Chosroes sei ein Bruder des letzten Partherkönigs gewesen, besonderes Gewicht hat, bleibt fraglich, da sie in der armenischen Fassung eben nicht auftaucht. Was könnte sie auch groß besagen? Doch wohl nur, dass der Armenierkönig als Arsakide ein Blutsverwandter der parthischen Großkönige war.⁵⁶

Zur Stützung seiner Vorstellungen zieht Toumanoff schließlich noch die mittelalterliche georgische Überlieferung heran. Leonti Mroweli (12. Jh.) berichtet, wie König Amasasp von seinem Neffen Rew gestürzt wurde, dem Sohn eines nicht namentlich genannten armenischen Herrschers und Amasasps Schwester.⁵⁷ Letztere und ihr Bruder werden als Kinder des iberischen Königs Parsman III. vorgestellt, der nach Toumanoff 135 bis 185 regiert haben soll. Eine um die Zeit seines Besuches in Rom (ca. 154) geborene Tochter habe als etwa Fünfzehnjährige Valarsh II. von Armenien geheiratet. Sie sei gegen 171 Mutter des Khosrov, später auch des Rew geworden, der 189 seinen Onkel

⁵³ Markwart 1905, 227, Anm. 1: „Vielleicht ist der gleichnamige Sohn und spätere Nachfolger des Partherkönigs Vologases III gemeint.“ Hierauf beruft sich Toumanoff 1969, 244, Anm. 57, ohne direkt auf Fronto zu verweisen.

⁵⁴ Toumanoff 1969, 242ff. Ihm folgend, zumindest was den Regierungsantritt eines armenischen Valarsh im Jahre 180 betrifft, Thomson 1980, Anm. 1 zu M.X. 2.65 (210).

⁵⁵ Zuletzt *DNP* 12/2 s.v. Vologais 4–5, 310.

⁵⁶ Ähnlich bereits Markwart 1905, 227.

⁵⁷ Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch, 113–116.

Amasasp entthronte und die Linie der iberischen Arsakiden begründete.⁵⁸ Methodisch dürfte es indessen einigermaßen bedenklich sein, georgische Nachrichten des 12. Jhs. heranzuziehen, um die genealogischen Verhältnisse in den kaukasischen Herrscherhäusern tausend Jahre zuvor aufzuklären. Dies beginnt schon mit der Zählung des Pharasmanes als „Parsman III.“. Sie ist offensichtlich dem Bericht des Leonti geschuldet, der einen Parsman im 1. Jh. kennt, aber zwei Namensträger (Großvater und Enkel) im darauf folgenden.⁵⁹ Die geringe Glaubwürdigkeit der Darstellung ist mit Händen zu greifen – u.a. angesichts des Namens, den der Sohn des zweiten und Vater des dritten Parsman getragen haben soll: *Adam*.⁶⁰ Wie es aussieht, ist der historische Pharasmanes II. in der späteren Überlieferung in zwei Individuen geteilt worden. Ein näherer Blick auf die Erzählung bestätigt dies: Adam soll nach nur dreijähriger Herrschaft gestorben sein. Für seinen erst einjährigen Sohn übernahm dessen Großmutter, die Witwe des zweiten Parsman, die Regentschaft. Dies ist ein kaum verhüllter Hinweis darauf, dass es sich bei den Regierungszeiten Parsmans II., Adams und Parsmans III. in Wirklichkeit um die Herrschaft *eines* Königs handelt. Was dessen historisches Wirken betrifft, befand sich Toumanoff schon 1969 nicht auf dem Stand der damaligen Forschung. Pharasmanes, Sohn und Nachfolger eines zur Zeit Traians belegten Königs Mithradates,⁶¹ pflegte ganz eigenartige Beziehungen zu Hadrian.⁶² Diese werden aber kaum das Ergebnis des Alaneneinfalls gewesen sein, sondern diesem vorangehen und spätestens in die endzwanziger Jahre des 2. Jhs. fallen. Selbst wenn wir diese Nachrichten nicht hätten, wäre 135 n. Chr. als Regierungsbeginn des Pharasmanes unmöglich. Die Alanen verheerten seit 134 Armenien und seine Nachbarländer. Nachdem der Ibererkönig sie dazu angestiftet hat, müsste er spätestens 133 König gewesen sein. Wieso Toumanoff glaubt, dass er erst um 154 nach Rom gekommen sei, ist ebenfalls unklar. Jener Besuch lässt sich nämlich durch eine Inschrift ziemlich genau innerhalb der Anhangsphase des Pius datieren.⁶³ Ob es möglich ist, die Herrschaftsdauer Pharasmanes' II. bis 185 auszudehnen, erscheint dagegen sehr fraglich.

Ebenso wichtig wie die Chronologie sind die Bedenken gegen die innere Wahrscheinlichkeit des mittelalterlichen Berichts. Die iberischen Könige, und

⁵⁸ Toumanoff 1969, 273–274.

⁵⁹ Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch, 101–102 (Parsman I.) u. 108–113 (Parsman II. und Parsman III.).

⁶⁰ Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch, 112. Mittelalterliche Autoren hatten erkennbar Schwierigkeiten damit, sich die kulturellen Verhältnisse vor der Christianisierung vorzustellen. Die Verwendung eines alttestamentlichen Personennamens bei den „heidnischen“ Iberern des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. steht sicher nicht ernsthaft zur Debatte.

⁶¹ Vgl. *DNP* 9 s.v. Pharasmanes 2, 739 u. *DNP* 12/2 (Nachträge) s.v. Mithradates 23, 1060.

⁶² SHA Hadr. 13,9; 17,11–12; 21,13.

⁶³ *AE* 1959, Nr. 38 (von 141 oder 142, vgl. *PIR*² P 342).

dabei besonders Pharasmanes I. und sein Urenkel Pharasmanes II., gelten gemeinhin nicht als Freunde und Wohltäter der Armenier. Noch bei Moses hat sich die Information erhalten, dass auch der erste Einbruch der Alanen (etwa 72–75 n. Chr.) im Zusammenwirken mit den Iberern durchgeführt wurde.⁶⁴ Erst aus den Worten Leonti Mrowelis könnte man den Eindruck gewinnen, dass Armenier und Iberer, bzw. deren Herrscherhäuser, über Jahrhunderte hinweg gute Beziehungen unterhielten, die auch zu Eheschließungen führten. Im 2. Jh. dagegen wäre eine Heirat zwischen einem armenischen Arsakiden und einer Ibererin wohl allen Beteiligten als Absurdität erschienen.

Chosroes I.

Wahrscheinlich wird nur deswegen so hartnäckig an einem zweiten Valarsh im 2. Jh. n. Chr. festgehalten, weil ein Arsakide benötigt wird, der als Stammvater der späteren armenischen Könige aus diesem Hause angesehen werden kann. Unmittelbar nach dem Untergang des Commodus tritt uns nämlich ein armenischer Herrscher entgegen, der offensichtlich Arsakide war. Er hieß Chosroes⁶⁵ und war der Vater Tiridates´ II., in dessen lange Regierungszeit der Untergang des Partherreiches und der arsakidischen Hauptlinie fällt. In der viel späteren armenischen Überlieferung ist, wie wir gesehen haben, Trdats Vater Khosrov ein Sohn des Königs Valarsh. Toumanoff hatte diese genealogischen Angaben wörtlich genommen und war, angesichts ihrer chronologischen Unmöglichkeit, von einem zweiten Vologaises/Valarsh ausgegangen. Da dies u. E. nicht richtig ist, wäre zu überlegen, wer Chosroes´ wirklicher Vater war, und ob dieser überhaupt regierte. Eigentlich spricht nichts gegen die Vermutung, dass der 214 oder 216 von Caracalla gefangengenommene Chosroes direkt auf Sohaemus gefolgt sein könnte. Dies umso mehr, wenn man annimmt, dass es sich (zunächst) um das Titularkönigtum eines Kindes handelte.

Daher möchten wir folgende Sicht der Ereignisse zwischen 172 und 192 zur Diskussion stellen: Die Linie der Stadtkönige von Emesa starb nach der Mitte der 170er Jahre mit Sohaemus von Groß-Armenien im Mannesstamme aus.⁶⁶ Nun musste ein Thronanwärter gefunden werden, der der armenischen

⁶⁴ M.X./Thomson 2,50 (191). Siehe auch *DNP* 9 s.v. Pharasmanes 1, 738–739.

⁶⁵ Siehe zu ihm bisher z.B. *DNP* 2 s.v. Chosroes 2, 1149 und Schotky 1994, 225–231. Dort konnte, aufbauend auf den Arbeiten anderer, ein Chosroes als Vater und Vorgänger des 217 König gewordenen Tiridates II. identifiziert werden. Hier wollen wir einige Überlegungen über Abstammung und Regierungsbeginn des Chosroes nachtragen.

⁶⁶ An dieser Stelle kann nicht der Frage nachgegangen werden, ob es verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen gab zwischen dem emesenischen Herrscherhaus und der Familie der dortigen Baal-Priester. In ihr begegnet der Name Sohaemus in der weiblichen Form *Soaemias*.

Führungsschicht genehm war und gleichzeitig auf der Linie der römischen Politik zu bleiben versprach. Der 164 abgesetzte Aurelius Pacorus war mittlerweile wohl ebenfalls verstorben, nachdem ihm sein Bruder Merithates 56-jährig im Tod vorangegangen war. Somit richteten sich die Augen der Römer von selbst auf die Linie des Tiridates I., die 172 von dem gleichnamigen Satrapen repräsentiert wurde. Wie erwähnt, dürfte es sich bei dessen Mission in Britannien um keine eigentliche Verbannung gehandelt haben. Er mag jedoch dort gefallen oder zumindest auf seinem Posten festgehalten worden sein, bis er starb. In Armenien hatte er vermutlich eine Gemahlin und einen kleinen Sohn namens Chosroes zurückgelassen. Letzterer könnte zunächst zum Thronfolger ernannt worden sein. Als dann aus Britannien die Nachricht vom Tode seines Vaters eintraf, wird man ihn, ohne dass viel Aufhebens darum gemacht wurde,⁶⁷ als König bestätigt haben. Wer das Sagen im Lande hatte, zeigen die Inschriften der römischen Schutztruppe aus Etschmiadsin deutlich genug.⁶⁸ Obwohl diese Texte für die Herrschaftsgeschichte der Zeit nicht viel hergeben, machen sie doch deutlich, dass der damalige armenische Fürst mit Sicherheit kein „Vasall“ des parthischen Großkönigs war.⁶⁹ Die Situation des Chosroes wird anfangs nicht sonderlich verschieden von der seines Vorgängers Sohaemus gewesen sein. Dies änderte sich erst, als nach der Ermordung des Commodus am 31. Dezember 192 langwierige Kämpfe um dessen Nachfolge ausbrachen. Der nunmehr herangewachsene Chosroes erkannte seine Chance und setzte frühzeitig auf Septimius Severus. Als dieser gesiegt hatte, zeigte sich der armenische Klientelfürst weiterhin so offen als dessen Gefolgsmann, dass er den Kaiser sogar auf dessen Reise nach Ägypten begleitete und sich im ägyptischen Theben (ohne Königstitel!) mit einer Besucherinschrift verewigte: XOCPOHC APMENIOC IΔΩN EΘAYMACA (CIG 4821).

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⁶⁷ Es ist immerhin auffällig, dass nicht noch einmal Münzen mit der Legende REX ARME-NIIS DATUS geprägt wurden.

⁶⁸ CIL III, 6052; *AE* 1910, Nr. 161; Moretti 1955, 45 (unten).

⁶⁹ Vgl. zur Frage eventueller Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse z.B. Toumanoff 1969, 274 (am Anfang der „chronological table“). Seiner Meinung nach blieb nicht nur der (unhistorische) Vologais II. immer ein „iranischer Vasall“, sondern auch dessen Sohn Chosroes bis auf einen kurzen Zeitraum zwischen 197 und 200.

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Abstract

Armenian Arsacids in the epoch of the Antonines

After Hadrian's death in mid-138 A.D., the Parthians tried once again to assert their influence in Armenia. King Vologaeses, appointed by Hadrian himself in 117, was driven out and perhaps killed. Hadrian's successor, emperor Antoninus Pius, was able to repulse the Parthian attack in a diplomatic way and to appoint a new client-king for Armenia. This new ruler was Pacorus, possibly a grandson of his name-sake, the former Parthian great-king. Pacorus' reign came to an end, when the Parthians seized Armenia in 161 A.D. Following the Roman reconquest, several candidates tried to seize the Armenian throne; their rights were discussed by Marcus Cornelius Fronto, teacher of the new co-emperor L. Verus. Finally, the Roman government neither restituted Pacorus (who later lived at Rome and was adopted into the imperial family), nor respected the hereditary right of Vologaeses, no doubt a son of the king in Hadrian's time. As a result, there was found one Sohaemus, a scion of a no longer ruling dynasty from Emesa/Homs, whose relationship to the Arsacids (and even to the Achaemenids) was more or less faked. Sohaemus, who is at last mentioned in 172 A.D., may have died in the middle of the decade. Many scholars maintain that his successor may have been Vologaeses II, father of the Armenian king Khosroes in the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. This additional Vologaeses is however completely unhistorical. Even the Armenian historical tradi-

tion knows only one king Valarsh during the second century A.D., who is moved from Hadrians' time to the period of Pius and Marcus Aurelius. So we have to delete this fictitious second Vologaeses from the Armenian king-list and must look for a real Arsacid successor of the pseudo-Arsacid Sohaemus. This was apparently Khosroes himself, a descendant of Vologaeses I., who had disappeared in 138. At the date of his nomination (between approximately 175 and 180) he was still a child and got a bit of sovereignty only after Commodus' assassination.

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ARSAKIDEN UND ANDERE PARTHISCHE FÜRSTEN ALS ANHÄNGER FREMDER RELIGIONEN

Keywords: Arsakids, Parthian Iran, buddhism, manicheism, christianity

Aus europäischer Sicht ist das Partherreich¹, wie Józef Wolski² mehrfach und zu Recht kritisierte, lange als Randkultur gesehen worden. In offenerer Perspektive wird es aber gerade durch seine Mittellage – zeitlich wie räumlich – bestimmt. Denn in universalhistorischem Kontext entfaltet es seine Macht zwischen den um das 5. vorchristliche Jahrhundert blühenden Kulturen der Achsenzeit³ und den zentralistischen Imperien der Spätantike, geographisch zwischen dem hellenistisch-römischen Westen und dem buddhistisch missionierten Osten einerseits und andererseits den Steppennomaden Zentralasiens⁴ im Norden sowie den Beduinen und Stadtstaaten der arabischen Halbinsel und der afrikanischen Anrainer des Roten Meeres im Süden, die in beiden Großräumen jeweils wichtige Agenten auf den interkontinentalen Routen des Luxusgüterhandels sind, die ja zugleich als Wege kulturellen Austauschs über Händler-Missionare auch religiöse Ideen transportieren. Den Zeitgenossen ist diese Großräumigkeit bewußt, wenn etwa Strabon (1.2.1 C14) feststellen kann, dass durch die Machtausübung der Römer und der Parther sich die geographischen Erkenntnisse bedeutend erweitert haben, oder wenn Mani, auf den hier als ersten einzugehen sein wird, in seinem bekannten Gleichnis von den vier Welt-

¹ Jüngste Publikation: Hackl, Jacobs, Weber 2010.

² Wolski 1985, 1993. Vgl. Altheim-Stiehl 1970, 4.

³ Metzler 2004, 565–576 und 577–600; 2009, 169–173.

⁴ Olbrycht 1998.

reichen seiner Zeit spricht. Er nennt Babylon und Persis, Römer, Axumiten (Äthiopien) sowie Sinis (China).⁵ Dieser Weite des Blicks entspricht in Iran, wenn auch negativ formuliert, die religiöse Vielfalt, die spätestens am Ende des 3. Jahrhunderts durch Karter/Kirdir, den Obermobed der zoroastrischen „Kirche“ beendet wird. In seiner Inschrift rühmt er sich, unter anderen Juden, Christen, Buddhisten, Hindus und Manichäer vernichtet zu haben.⁶ Da wohl kaum anzunehmen ist, dass diese Gruppen erst zu seiner Zeit im – seit 224⁷ sasanidischen – Reich angekommen sind, ist mit den meisten von ihnen also auch schon in parthischer Zeit zu rechnen. Neben den seit der babylonischen Gefangenschaft in Mesopotamien verbliebenen Juden⁸ gilt das etwa auch für die Christen. Sie sind so verbreitet und gut organisiert, dass die zu Unrecht geschmähte „Chronik von Arbela“ 17 bzw. 20 Bistümer im Jahre 224 kennt – verbreitet bis nach Qatar und Bahrain. Arbela selbst ist schon seit dem Jahre 104 Bischofssitz.⁹ Auch für buddhistische Mission im Iran gibt es gute Argumente.¹⁰

Soviel zur Andeutung religiöser Möglichkeiten, die sich Mitgliedern der Oberschicht im Partherreich bieten – denn meist nur über sie geben die einstweilen vorhandenen Quellen¹¹ Auskunft. Dass gerade auch Angehörige des fast ein halbes Jahrtausend das Reich regierenden Arsakidenhauses sich neuen religiösen Erfahrungen öffnen, scheint mir eine zusammenfassende Darstellung wert zu sein.

Der bekannteste und wirkungsmächtigste unter solchen religiös gestimmten Arsakiden ist **Mani** (216–276), der Stifter des Manichäismus,¹² jenes synkretistisch-gnostischen Erlösungsglaubens, dessen Anhänger vom Nordafrika in der Epoche Augustins bis in die Umgebung von Quanzhou in Südchina noch zur Zeit der Ming-Dynastie,¹³ von Südsibirien¹⁴ über das zentralasiatische Reich der Uiguren bis ins koptische Ägypten verbreitet waren und dessen esoterischer Rigorismus und Dualismus im europäischen Mittelalter in den Lehren und Lebensweisen der

⁵ Metzler 2004, 584ff.

⁶ Gignoux 1991; Mosig-Walburg 1982, 77ff.

⁷ Altheim-Stiehl 1985, 13ff.

⁸ Neusner 1958.

⁹ Kawerau 1985, 19ff. Eine weitere Begründung ihrer Echtheit erfuh die Chronik von Arbela durch Gerhardt, Hartmann 2000, 135 und 139.

¹⁰ Bulliet 1976; Facenna 1981. Zur Frühphase buddhistischer Mission im Iran: Fussman 1987, 780f.

¹¹ Die Onomastik gibt Auskunft: Zahlreiche zoroastrische Namen bei frühen Christen belegen relativ weite Verbreitung der neuen Religion auch im Iran (Braun 1915, VII).

¹² Klima 1962; Ries 1988; Sundermann 2009.

¹³ Lieu 1985, 212.

¹⁴ Maenchen-Helfen 1951, 311ff.

Katharer¹⁵ weiterlebten. Die überlieferten Biographien Manis sind höchst heterogen.¹⁶ Allgemeines Vertrauen genießt der arabische Bericht im Fihrist des al-Nadīm (Ibn Ishāq) vom Ende des 10. Jhds.¹⁷ Dort werden sein Vater Futtuq – entspricht in anderen Quellen Patek, Fātik, Pattikios – und seine Mutter Mays – auch Utākhim und Marmaryam – beide ausdrücklich als Angehörige der Ḥashkānīyah respektive Ashghānīyah; den Ashkanī = Arsakiden des Shahnamē genannt. Die Mutter stammt nach einer chinesischen Quelle aus der Linie der Kiem-sat-gion,¹⁸ in denen W.B. Henning die armenisch-arsakidischen Kamsarakan erkannt hat.¹⁹ Der Vater stammte aus Hamadan und lebt in al-Madain/Ktesiphon. In einem dortigen Tempel habe er ein Erweckungserlebnis gehabt: Eine Stimme ruft ihn zu Askesse auf und er schließt sich einer Täufersekte an.²⁰ In diesen Kreisen wächst sein Sohn Mani – geboren im mesopotamischen Dorf Mardīnū (nach al-Bīrūnī) – auf. Schon der Vater entscheidet sich also für einen eigenen religiösen Weg! Mit zwölf Jahren erlebt Mani eine Offenbarung: Der Engel Taum (Zwilling, Gefährte) fordert ihn im Namen des „Königs der Lichtgärten“ auf, diese Gemeinde zu verlassen und nach weiteren zwölf Jahren erscheint der Engel erneut, um ihn zur Verkündigung aufzufordern.²¹ Das ist das Jahr 240, in dem der zweite Großkönig der neuen Dynastie, Shapur I., auf den Thron kommt. Das Wirken des Arsakiden Mani fällt folglich in die Epoche der Sasaniden. So also auch das seiner Missionare, von denen einer, Mar Ammo, zusammen mit einem Maler – Manis bekannte Hochschätzung der (Buch)malerei! – und dem Prinzen (*vispur*) Ardabān, dem Namen zufolge ebenfalls ein Arsakide, nach Abarshahr/Chorasan, eines der parthischen Kerngebiete, geschickt wird.²² Während dies in einem manichäischen Text zu lesen ist, geht die Nachricht von der arsakidischen Abkunft des Stifters wie erwähnt auf eine spätere, arabische Quelle zurück und ist deshalb gelegentlich nicht ernst genommen oder auch als Topos der Nobilitierung angezweifelt worden.²³ Dazu besteht aber kein Anlass, wie noch aus der hier vorzuführenden Reihe vergleichbarer Fälle einsichtig werden kann.

Dass Mani selbst seine hohe Herkunft in den heute vorliegenden Quellen nicht erwähnt, ist wohl auch als missionspolitisches Stratagem zu deuten: unter den Sasaniden wären jegliche Bezüge auf die besiegte Vorgängerdynastie natür-

¹⁵ Sproemberg 1971, 85ff.

¹⁶ Sundermann 2009.

¹⁷ al-Nadim 1970, 773ff.

¹⁸ Henning 1943, 52, n.4 aus dem Taishō Tripitaka Nr. 2141a vol. 54, 1280A.

¹⁹ Henning aO.

²⁰ al-Nadim 1970, 774. Klima 1962, 218f.

²¹ al-Nadim 1970, 774f. Klima 1962, 223.

²² Andreas, Henning 1933, 12: M2 RII 3.

²³ Scheftelowitz 1933, 403f. Klima 1962, 159 n. 17: „zweifelhaft“ und 284 n. 9: „vermutlich“.

lich denkbar kontraproduktiv. Und dass Mani bei Shapur I. sogar eine geachtete Stellung einnahm, hat wohl eher etwas mit der interessierten Offenheit dieses Herrschers zu tun, die er ja auch gegenüber Samuel, dem Oberhaupt der Juden zeigte. Im Übrigen war seine Mutter bekanntlich eine arsakidische Prinzessin. Es geht hier um die arsakidische Abstammung Manis, auf seine Lehre einzugehen und gar Neues dazu beizutragen, würde meine Kompetenz überschreiten. Manichäische Religion ist von Berufeneren traktiert worden.²⁴

Um aber den „Sitz im Leben“ dieser synkretistischen aus buddhistischen, verschiedenen christlichen, mithräischen und zoroastrischen Elementen gestalteten Lehre in der Oikumene der spätparthischen und frühsasanidischen Epoche zu umreißen, sei hier eine Zusammenfassung von O. Klima zitiert: In Manis „Lehre nehmen wir die Widerspiegelung der politischen Verhältnisse, der wirtschaftlichen Krisen, der sozialen Mühsale sowie der kulturellen Unebenheiten, in seinem Leben und in seinem Schicksal die Unsicherheit der Zeit wahr. Deshalb ist seine Lehre so universalistisch, um den Raum und die Zeit der zeitgenössischen Tragik zu überbrücken und die zeitgenössische Sehnsucht nach Erlösung mit der der folgenden Generationen zu verbinden, deshalb ist sie so finster und schlimm, um den Menschen von der Zeit des Leidens wegzuführen und ihn der geheimnisvollen Sphäre der Eingeweihten, in der er zuletzt die Ruhe und das Heil finden könnte, zu übergeben.“²⁵

Arsakidische Abstammung ist auch für **Gregor** den „Erleuchter“ (vor 253 – ca. 325)²⁶ überliefert, der als Bekehrer Armeniens zum Christentum gilt und der noch eine Generation später als Mani ebenfalls schon in sasanidischer Zeit wirkt. Nach der „Geschichte Armeniens“ des Moses von Khorene, einem der großen Texte der nationalen Frühgeschichte, ist Gregor – und darin sind sich auch die übrigen Quellen einig – trotz seines griechischen Namens parthischer Abstammung – einer von zwei Söhnen des Anak aus der Familie Suren.²⁷ Dieser Anak hatte auf Betreiben Shapurs I. um 253 den arsakidisch-armenischen König Khosrov ermordet, so dass seine Söhne fliehen mussten. Während der eine – nur unter dem Familiennamen Suren bekannt – zu den Sasaniden geht, um von dort mit Hilfe seiner Tante Khosrovuhi, der Gemahlin eines „Hephtaliten“ (Kushan?) – Königs, bis nach China geschickt zu werden,²⁸ gelangt Gregor noch im Kindesalter nach Kappadokien, wo er in Kaisareia von Sophia, der christlichen Gattin des Persers Burtar aus dem Gefolge Anaks, in ihrem Glauben erzogen wird. Ob das armenische Königshaus bis dahin schon mit dem Christentum in Berührung ge-

²⁴ Widengren 1961, 48ff. Puech 1972.

²⁵ Klima 1962, 198.

²⁶ Chaumont 1969, 131ff.

²⁷ Chaumont 1969, 132.

²⁸ Chaumont 1969, 132.

kommen war, darüber geben die Quellen keine Auskunft, die allerdings die Bekehrung des Tiridates (302) und damit die Christianisierung Armeniens eben durch Gregor zum einschneidenden Ereignis der Nationwerdung stilisieren, obwohl seit der Apostelgeschichte in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten mehrfach von Missionierung in Armenien berichtet wird.²⁹ Der arsakidisch-armenische Fürstenson Gregor wird also durch Erziehung im Exil zum Christen.

Noch eine Vermutung sei hier gewagt: Wegen seines Namens **Vologaises** könnte dieser Dionysos-Priester³⁰ im thrakischen Stamm der Bessen möglicherweise ein ausgewanderter Arsakide sein. Denn sechs dieses Namens sind im ersten und zweiten Jahrhundert Könige in Parthien und in der iranischen Form Balaš/Valgash begegnet er in den fiktiven Stammbäumen der Arsakiden bei den arabischen Historikern.³¹ In sasanidischer Zeit findet er sich erst seit dem Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts. Justi gilt der Namensbestandteil – *gaises* als gotisch. Goten gelangen aber erst später nach Thrakien, während arsakidische Kontakte zu den benachbarten Dakern – Gabentausch zwischen Dekebalus und Pakorus II. – nachweisbar sind.³² Dieser Vologaises führte im Namen des Dionysos von Prophezeiungen inspiriert 11 v. Chr. aufständische Bessen zunächst gegen den König Rheskuporis und dann gegen dessen Onkel Rhoimetalkes bis nach Chersonnesos auf der Krim, um ihm schließlich kampfflos (*amacheî*) die Truppen abzunehmen. Wo und warum sich Vologaises dem bessischen³³ Dionysos zuwandte, bleibt unbekannt.

Keine Arsakiden aber im arsakidischen Reich regierende Könige arabischer Herrschaft sind der Christus verehrende **Abgar V.** und **Abgar VIII.** in Edessa,³⁴ das wegen seiner iranisch geprägten Kultur – einer seiner Bischöfe beispielsweise trägt den Namen Uštap = Hystaspes – den Beinamen „Tochter der Parther“³⁵ trägt. Diese parthische Kultur bleibt ebenso wie seine syrische literarische Tradition für Edessa/Orhai/Urfa auch noch nach der römischen Eroberung unter Septimus Severus prägend. Während Abgar V. Uchama durch den apokryphen Jesusbrief³⁶ und die ebenfalls legendäre Vera Icon³⁷ mit Christus verbunden ist, hat es unter Abgar VIII. eine christliche Kirche – in der Nähe seines Palastes? – gegeben, deren Existenz in der Nachricht von ihrer Zerstörung durch eine große Flut im Jahre 201 belegt wird.³⁸ Christliche Gruppen verschiedener Observanz und bedeutende christli-

²⁹ Yevadian 2007.

³⁰ Dio Cassius 54,34,5.

³¹ Justi 1895, 345.

³² Olbrycht 1998, 187 n. 67.

³³ Ovcharov 2005, 78ff.

³⁴ Segal 1970.

³⁵ Widengren 1960, 6. Segal 1970, 65.

³⁶ Desreumaux 1993.

³⁷ Segal 1970, 76ff. Belting 1990, 233ff.

³⁸ Segal 1970, 24f.

che Schriftsteller wie etwa Bardesanes wirken in Edessa unter der Herrschaft der Abgare. Was die christliche Traditionsbildung betrifft, so bezieht sie über die Legende vom Jesusbrief an Abgar nicht nur den äußersten Westen des Arsakidenreiches in ihren Wirkungsraum ein, sondern bekanntlich auch über die Huldigung der Magier, die sogenannten Heiligen drei Könige bei der Geburt Jesu, den iranischen Osten.³⁹ Als Magier kommt übrigens auch der armenisch-arsakidische König Tiridates bittflehend zu Nero, um ihn als Gott zu verehren – und ihn in die Mithras-Mysterien einzuweihen.⁴⁰

Ein jüngerer Zeitgenosse Abgars V. ist ein weiterer Lokalkönig im parthischen Westen, **Izates**⁴¹ von Adiabēnē mit der Hauptstadt Arbela. Er konvertiert im Jahre 36 n. Chr. zum Judentum. Sein Name verweist auf persische religiöse Vorstellungen: nach Justi gibt die griechische Form Izates iranisches *yazata* = göttliches Wesen, Genius wieder.⁴² Seine Geschichte berichtet Flavius Josephus (Ant. Jud. 20,17–96): Um ihn vor Nachstellungen der älteren Brüder zu schützen, hat sein königlicher Vater Monobazos den Izates, seinen Lieblingssohn, in die Obhut des Königs Abennērgios von Charakene nach Spasinou Charax geschickt, dem Fernhandelshafen zwischen den Mündungen von Euphrat und Tigris am Golf. In dessen kommerzieller Weltoffenheit, von wo auch andere Konversionen überliefert sind,⁴³ wird er von dem Händler Ananias zum Judentum bekehrt, nachdem dieser schon die Frauen des charakenischen Königs missioniert hat (Josephus § 34), und durch ihr Beispiel auch Izates beeindruckt. Nach dem Tode seines Vaters Monobazos nach Adiabene zurückgerufen erfährt er, dass auch schon seine Mutter Helena zum Judentum übergetreten ist. Trotz politischer Bedenken seines mitgereisten Mentors Ananias und seiner Mutter, besteht er darauf, sich auch der Beschneidung als endgültigem Beweis seines Religionswechsels zu unterziehen (§ 46). Als auch noch sein Bruder Monobazos mit seiner Familie den Übertritt plant, trifft das auf die Opposition des Adels in Adiabene, weil die Konvertiten die Sitten des Landes hassen (§ 77). Doch alle Verschwörungen und Angriffe kann Izates – so schreibt Josephus – fest im neuen Glauben überstehen. Der Haß der heimischen Eliten auf den Abweichler hat seine Parallele in den Reaktionen der Skythen auf die religiösen Sonderwege des Anacharsis (Herodot 4,76) und später des Skytes (4,78). Deren Hinwendung zu griechischen Mysterienkulten wird als individualistische Ablehnung traditioneller Werte verstanden und mit dem Tode bestraft. Ein Beispiel mag andererseits illustrieren, wie eine Wertschätzung überlieferter Traditionen im parthischen Babylonien auch aussehen kann: der Lokalfürst Adadnadin-aḥḥe läßt

³⁹ Justi 1895, 369.

⁴⁰ Dio Cassius 62, 5,2. Lerouge 2007, 327ff.

⁴¹ Neusner 1958, 58ff.

⁴² Justi 1895, 145f.

⁴³ Segal 1970, 66 n. 3; Schuol 2000.

im 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. in seinem Palast in Girsu über einem längst verschütteten sumerischen Tempel die dort ausgegrabenen 2000 Jahre alten Statuen Gudeas ausstellen⁴⁴ – „binding the past to the future and preserving evidence of divine sanction and authority“⁴⁵. Die religiöse Bindung fand Izates in seiner Hinwendung zum Gott der Juden.

Und nun last but not least **An Shigao**, einer der bedeutendsten frühen buddhistischen Missionare und Übersetzer in China. Sein Namensbestandteil An ist bekanntermaßen die chinesische Bezeichnung für das Arsakidenreich = *Anxi*. Seit einem Jahrhundert durch einen Vortrag von P. Pelliot 1911 ist er zwar der Forschung in der damaligen Schreibung Ngan Che-kao bekannt,⁴⁶ bleibt aber zu Unrecht für das allgemeine historische Interesse eher am Rande. Ich selbst wurde 1976 auf ihn aufmerksam, als ich auf einer Reise durch Ladakh/West-Tibet im buddhistischen Kloster Shankar bei Leh unter den Wandgemälden der Andachts-halle in der Reihe der Arhats einen mit dunklem Vollbart und iranischem Baschlyk-Kopftuch sah und auf meine Frage von einem Mönch seinen Namen und seine Herkunft erfuhr. Die einschlägigen Fakten zu seinem Leben und Wirken behandelt umfassend und quellenkritisch A. Forte in seiner 1995 in Kyoto erschienenen Monographie „*The Hostage An Shigao and his Offspring. An Iranian Family in China*“. Die früheste Nachricht über ihn, eine buddhistische Anweisung für Novizen, erwähnt ihn um 200 als „Bodhisattva, der aus Anxi kam und dessen *zi*-Name Shigao ist“.⁴⁷ Im Jahre 148 erscheint er am Hof der Späteren/Östlichen Han-Dynastie in Luoyang, übersetzt in den nächsten zwanzig Jahren – wohl kaum allein, eher mit einheimischer Hilfe⁴⁸ – nach Ausweis eines Bücherkatalogs des 4. Jahrhunderts dreißig buddhistische Lehrschriften sowohl des Hinayana wie des Mahayana ins Chinesische aus dem Prakrit, wobei unerkant bleibt, wo er diese Literatursprache des Buddhismus gelernt hat. Muss er deshalb aus einer der ostiranisch-nordindischen Nebenlinien der Arsakiden stammen, die im Verbreitungsgebiet des Prakrit herrschten?⁴⁹ Oder ist er – wie wenig später Mani auch – nach Indien gereist und hat dort Prakrit erst gelernt? Warum verlässt er den (welchen?) Arsakidenhof? Die buddhistische Tradition bietet seit der Mitte des dritten Jahrhunderts dafür als Erklärung an, dass „er auf seine Thronrechte verzichtet habe, um sich ganz dem religiösen Leben zu widmen“⁵⁰, wobei er seinem Onkel oder seinem jüngeren Bruder die Herrschaft überlassen habe.⁵¹ Dass er von Hofe ist, kann er

⁴⁴ Kose 2000, 414 und 416 mit weiteren Beispielen der Partherzeit.

⁴⁵ Kose 2000, 425 nach P.O. Harper.

⁴⁶ Pelliot 1912, 106.

⁴⁷ Forte 1995, 66ff.

⁴⁸ Forte 1995, 72.

⁴⁹ Forte 1995, 69 n. 13; De la Vaissière 2002, 84.

⁵⁰ Forte 1995, 66.

⁵¹ Forte 1995, 68 n. 9.

seinen chinesischen Gastgebern zumindest einsichtig machen. Am Kaiserhof gilt er nämlich als Herrschersohn (*zhizi*) von An, erhält den Titel „Marquis“ (*hou*) und wird hofrangmäßig zum Kommandeur in der Kavallerie ernannt.⁵² Er ist also nicht nur ein offensichtlich geachteter buddhistischer Lehrer, sondern auch eine hochrangige Geisel von außenpolitischer Bedeutung. Dem entspricht auch die Parallelität der Quellen: neben der Traditionskette buddhistisch-hagiographischer Texte läuft die der politisch-administrativen. Für seine Nachkommen, die – meist in sehr hoher Stellung – sich bis in das achte Jahrhundert seiner erinnern⁵³, ist die profane Überlieferung wichtig, während in der buddhistischen Erinnerung diese Nachkommen des Mönches An Shigao keine Rolle spielen. Er ist zwar nicht der einzige Buddhist mit der Herkunftsbezeichnung An, aber sein etwas jüngerer Glaubensgenosse An Xuan, der vor 189 in Luoyang eintrifft,⁵⁴ in der Überlieferung ohne jeden Bezug auf königliche Abstammung auskommen. Das gilt auch für andere Iraner, die in der gleichen Zeit als buddhistische Missionare in China genannt werden: Die drei Sogder des Namens K’ang,⁵⁵ der ihre Herkunft aus Samarkand bezeichnet, und die in der Nachfolge An Shigaos in China wirken, können sich nicht auf königliche Abstammung berufen. K’ang Seng-hui (222–280) gehört vielmehr einer Kaufmannsfamilie an, die von Indien aus weitergezogen ist nach Jiaozi (nördliches Vietnam).⁵⁶

Es geht also nicht an, königliche Abstammung religiöser Führungsgestalten – Stifter oder Missionare – nur als ein Epitheton zu verstehen, das erst die Proselyten ihren Heroen beizulegen pflegen. Buddhas königliche Herkunft oder Jesu davidischen Stammbaum als nobilitierenden Topos ihrer jeweiligen Hagiographien zu begreifen, mag also im Kontext modischer literaturtheoretischer Wendungen interessant scheinen, bleibt aber im jeweiligen Einzelfall unzulänglich. Diesen historischen Ansatz zu fördern, dient auch die hier vorgelegte Beispielsammlung königlicher Personen des Partherreiches, die sich fremden Religionen zuwenden. Konversionen sind natürlich kein Privileg von Fürsten. Aber eben sie haben das Privileg, in unseren Quellen zu erscheinen, denn nur selten befassen sich – wie eingangs erwähnt – hagiographische Texte mit Individuen oder Gruppen der Unterschichten. Wobei einschränkend festzustellen ist, dass diese christlichen Märtyrer-Akten erst aus sasanidischer Zeit berichten. Andererseits hat gerade der Adel in feudalen Systemen wie dem Partherreich Mittel und Wege, Fernbeziehungen aufzubauen – durch Gastfreundschaften, Prinzenziehung an befreundeten Höfen und dynastische Heiratsbündnisse. Dabei sind die Arsakiden nicht per se aufgeschlossener für

⁵² Forte 1995, 81.

⁵³ Forte 1995, 22 und 107.

⁵⁴ Forte 1995, 82. Tajadod 2002, 374.

⁵⁵ De la Vaissière 2002, 77ff.

⁵⁶ De la Vaissière 2002, 78.

Fremdes, aber sie haben qua Feudalstruktur politische und kommunikative Möglichkeiten individueller Schritte, die das zentralistische Römische Reich mit seiner dominanten Einheitskultur so nicht zu bieten hat. Nicht zuletzt ihre geographische und chronologische Mittellage trägt zu dieser multikulturellen Offenheit bei.

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Abstract

The Arsakids and Other Parthian Princes as Supporters of Foreign Religions

The paper deals with several personalities of the Arsakid and post-Arsakid periods known as representing or supporting different religions, including Mani, Abgars in Edessa (followers of Christianity), Gregory the Illuminator in Armenia (called the Apostle of Armenia), Izates in Adiabene (a convert to Judaism), An Shigao (a Buddhist missionary in China), and Vologaises (a mysterious priest in Thracia).

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ARDAXŠĪR AND THE SASANIANS' RISE TO POWER*

Keywords: Ardaxšīr, Sasanian Iran, Sāsān, Fars, Istakhr

Who was Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān, how did he come to power and what was the origin of his family which came to be known as Sāsān? These are questions that cannot be given definitive answers at the moment. There are avenues of inquiry, however, which allows to shed some light on the mysterious background of this upstart in the province of Persis / Fārs in the third century CE. We always should be weary of late Sasanian – Early Islamic sources reflecting on the early Sasanian period. But if these sources vary in their judgments on the third century CE, especially in regard to Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān and the house of Sāsān, then we might conclude that there were varied constructions of the history, story, and myth of origins and personage of the founder of the Sasanian dynasty.

G. Widengren long ago presented a detailed version of the rise to power of Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān and the Sasanians in the third century CE.¹ His study was based mainly on the Arabic and non-native Sasanian sources, especially taking into consideration the *Nihayat al-'arab* which gave some alternative narratives to that of Tabarī. In this article I intend to do the same by particularly taking into consideration three Persian sources which, however late, do provide interesting information on Ardaxšīr. The first is the medieval Persian translation of *Tajarib*

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¹ Widengren 1971, 711–782.

al-Umam fi akhbar mulūk al-‘arab wa al-‘ajam,² second, *Zainu’l-Akhbār*,³ and more importantly the recent edition of *Tārīkh-e Bal‘amī*⁴ which provide important observations not found in al-Tabarī and other texts. These sources juxtaposed by the iconographic and the numismatic evidence which have been the subject of an excellent study by M. Alram and R. Gyselen can provide us with a new look at Ardaxšīr’s rise.

R.N. Frye made the important observation that, in Iranian history, we are usually faced with sources that tend to fit facts into a preexisting pattern. Thus, in the sources on Sasanian history, Ardaxšīr is given an epic treatment which may not be close to “actual” history.⁵ Recently J. Wiesehöfer has given a much more sober image of Ardaxšīr and his career by counterbalancing the Classical sources with the Syriac, Armenian and Perso-Arabic sources.⁶ This has been followed by M. Alram’s reconstruction based on the numismatic evidence.⁷ I tend to agree with Frye’s observation and would like to emphasize that the Perso-Arabic sources must be read and used with the utmost care for the early history of the Sasanian Empire through the time of Khusro I in the sixth century CE. The same must be said for the Middle Persian texts, such as the *Kār-nāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* (The Vitae of Ardaxšīr, the Son of Pābag).⁸ This is not so much due to the lack of the quality and importance of these works, rather it is because during the time of Khusro I much of Iranian history was constructed by the court and the clergy to fit the world-view of the late Sasanian world. Thus, an ideal image of the past was created to fit the aspirations of Khusro I, and Ardaxšīr was given treatment in this light by the Sasanian authors.⁹

Naturally, the Perso-Arabic historians relied on these late Sasanian sources so they could not have done any better than to relate a ready made image and narrative on the history of Ardaxšīr and the early Sasanians. Still, we can see certain disagreements among the sources for this period which can help us decipher the mysteries of the house of Sāsān. On the other hand, the corroborative evidence of the Middle Persian and Perso-Arabic sources can also provide us with some clues into the historiography of Ardaxšīr. I am inclined to believe that while there was a single *Book of Kings* (*Xwadāy-nāmag*) in the Sasanian pe-

² *Tajārīb al-Umam fī akhbar mulūk al-‘arab wa al-‘ajam* 1994. I should like to thank Mrs. F. Jahanpour for her kindness in providing this hard-to-find text in Mashad.

³ Abū Sa‘īd ‘Abdul Ḥayy b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Mahmūd Gardīzī, *Zainu’l-Akhbār* 2005.

⁴ *Tārīkh-nāme-ye Tabarī: A 963 AD Persian Translation attributed to Bal‘amī* 2004.

⁵ Frye 1975, 237.

⁶ Wiesehöfer 1987, 371–376.

⁷ Alram 1999, 67–76; and more recently and in more detail his 2003, 21–31.

⁸ Grenet 2003.

⁹ For how Ardaxšīr’s memory may have been manipulated by Xusrō I, see Daryaeae 2003, 33–45.

riod,¹⁰ by the early Islamic period there were variety of the historical tradition of ancient Iran (*Siyar al-mulūks*).¹¹ This means that alternative traditions and stories about the Sasanians and the history of the past was put to writing by authors with varied contents and lengths.

In this essay I will look at the evidence for the early history of Ardaxšīr in the province of Persis / Pārs / Fārs in the third century CE and his usurpation of the throne at Istakhr, and the province of Persis / Fars. That is, I will situate Ardaxšīr and his relations with the kings of Persis who ruled over Istakhr and the Arsacids; his father Pābag who rose from Khīr, and the brother of Ardaxšīr, Šābuhr and Sāsān, the protogenitor of the dynasty. Thus, I hope to strip down the epic and ideal view of Ardaxšīr, as much as one can with late sources, and give a more sober picture of Ardaxšīr, however epic-like his feats may have been in the early third century CE. The central problem of this task is that our sources are either late (Perso-Arabic), or foreign and hostile (Greek and Armenian), or concerned with external religious matters (Syriac) which tend to be helpful mainly for chronology. Material culture, specifically coinage along with the rock reliefs are of the utmost importance to this investigation, and it is these sources that need to be juxtaposed with the literary documents to achieve a more balanced view of the origins of the Sasanians.

The Rulers of Istakhr

After Alexander the Great's death, the province that Ardaxšīr I eventually came to control was in the hands of a series of rulers who had their seat at Istakhr. Their coinage bears such names as Baydād, Ardaxšahr / Ardaxšīr I, Wāhbarz, Wādfradād I, and Wādfradād II.¹² Wiesehöfer has shed much light on this dark period of Persian history and has given us a perspective on the relations between these kings and their Seleucid and, eventually, Arsacid overlords.

These early rulers in Persis minted coins with the legend *prtrk' zy 'lhy' / fratarakā ī bayān*. As later Persis coinage has rulers who call themselves MLKA / *šāh* we may assume that the Fratarakā were not independent rulers and were probably subordinate to the Seleucids.¹³ The meaning of this legend has been subject to several important studies by Wiesehöfer,¹⁴ Skjærvø,¹⁵ and Panaino.¹⁶

¹⁰ Shahbazi 1990, 208–229.

¹¹ Rozen 2004, 50–52.

¹² For the list of kings see Wiesehöfer 1994, 114.

¹³ Most recently see Wiesehöfer 2007, 37–49.

¹⁴ Wiesehöfer 1994, 105–110.

¹⁵ Skjærvø 1994, 93–104.

¹⁶ Panaino 2002, 265–288.

Panaino takes the legend to mean “the governor (for the sake/for the account=in the name) of the Gods,” referring to the gods, namely Ahuramazdā, Mithra and Anāhitā, who were upheld by the Achaemenids.¹⁷ Skjærvø, with whom Panaino agrees in principle, takes the legend to mean “the one (set) ahead (of others) of = by the god.”¹⁸ For now let us take the legend to mean “Fratarakā of the Gods.” These Fratarakās were protectors of the *bayān* “Gods,” but these *bayān* I believe were not Ahuramazdā, Mithra and Anāhitā as Panaino believes, but the Achaemenid kings themselves. Callieri, in an important article on the iconography of the coinage of the Fratarakās, has made the very important observation that the paraphernalia, namely the banner, the funerary monuments and the gesture of the person standing before it all, emphasize a tie with the Achaemenid kings. D. Potts also takes this line of reasoning, but believes that the Fratarakās may have been ignorant of the original function of the funerary monuments of Ka’ba and Zendan, but they still had an ideological significance for them.¹⁹ I believe, as Callieri has rightly pointed out, that the *bayān* are none other than the Achaemenid kings who after their demise were deified by the Seleucids.²⁰ This may be the reason for which we may read the title *bay* on the coinage of Ardaxšīr and the early Sasanians as “divine,” in its Hellenistic sense.²¹



Wahbarz

On the coins of the Persis lord Wahbarz, for example, we find the legend *whwbrz prtrk' zy 'lhy' br prs* “Wahbarz, Fratarakā of the Gods, son of a Persian.” This is important because the early Sasanian legend *MNW ctry MN yzd'n / kē čīhr az yazdān* “from the race of gods” is reminiscent of the Fratarakā’s title. Thus, the Sasanians combined both the Fratarakā and Persis kings’s traditions

¹⁷ Panaino 2002, 283.

¹⁸ Skjærvø 1994, 102.

¹⁹ Potts 2007, 270–271.

²⁰ Callieri 1998, 35–36.

²¹ Daryae 2008, 68.

into one. This is significant since it suggests that the Persians were influenced by Seleucid propaganda and were not so reactionary in regard to Hellenism.²² In fact, the *Fratarakā* supported the Seleucids, even when the Arsacids stepped onto the Iranian Plateau to take their place.²³ When the Arsacids took control, they also continued the Seleucid tradition and adopted the existing titles, namely θεοπάτωρ, i.e., “of divine descent.”²⁴ Even the title later used by the Sasanians, *xwadāy* “lord,” may have been a calque from Greek ἀυτοκράτωρ.²⁵

The later kings of Persis had the title of *MLKA* / *šāh* “king.” One of these rulers by the name of Dārāyān II made substantial changes, not only in linguistic matters, but also to the iconographic and the religious traditions.²⁶ Consequently, it appears that the Sasanian historical memory placed this ruler in the formulaic period of *Dārāy ī Dārāyān*, that is, the time between the two Dariuses. These kings of Persis included Dārāyān I, followed by Wādfradād, Dārāyān II, Ardaxšahr / Ardaxšīr, Wahuxšahr, Wādfradād, Manūčīhr, Ardaxšahr / Ardaxšīr, Manūčīhr,²⁷ and Nāmbad. These kings all in all seem to have been subservient to the Arsacid kings, as Strabo (15.3.24) tells us and no real disturbance appears to have taken place in Persis.²⁸ Only once we hear of a revolt in Persis against the Arsacids, and that is contained in the *Chronicle of Arbela*²⁹ whose factuality is dubious at best.³⁰



Dārāyān II

²² Boyce and Grenet 1991, 110–111. Of course whether the Persians adopted these Hellenic ideas consciously or unconsciously is difficult to ascertain.

²³ Wiesehöfer 1994, 105–108; Wiesehöfer 1999, 335.

²⁴ Gariboldi 2004, 367, 374, 375.

²⁵ Chaumont 1975, 93, footnote 17; for the latest study on *xwadāy* see Shayegan 1998, 31–54.

²⁶ Skjærvø 1997, 93–104.

²⁷ Frye has made the observation that on the coins the reading of *mnčtry* is uncertain and that it is possible to read it as *Gōčīhr* / *Gōzīhr*, Frye 1975, 241. If this would be the case, then our Perso-Arabic sources may be referring to the following subsequent Persis king who was overthrown by Pābag!

²⁸ Wiesehöfer 2007, 45.

²⁹ Wiesehöfer 2007, 41.

³⁰ For a criticism of this passage see Kettenhofen 1995, 287–319.

The onomastic and iconographic evidence furnished by these coins suggests a remembrance of Achaemenid kings and an attachment to the cult of fire which is basic to Zoroastrianism. Standing on the ruins of the city of Istakhr, one can almost see the Ka'be-ye Zardošt, the image which is struck on the reverse of the coins of the *Fratarakās*, and on the other side, Persepolis looming over both sites. The fact that the coinage of Ardashīr I, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, is similar to the later Persis coins should tell us of a vibrant Persian tradition and the attachment of the various local rulers to it. Yet this does not necessarily suggest that Ardashīr was in any way related to these kings of Persis.

The House of Sāsān

While there is much that can be said about the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, the origins of the house of Sāsān and of Ardashīr himself is still a mystery. There are so many different stories and legends in regard to the origins of Ardashīr and his family lineage that it makes one hesitant to readily accept any of the versions. One must be mindful that in order to gain legitimacy, an upstart would likely claim descent from the ancient rulers. If he was from a noble house he would have emphasized one version or one lineage, but stories about Ardashīr's origins are so varied that they suggest a search for legitimacy via every tradition that had been passed down by the Persians, some constructed and perhaps those unknown. Foreign sources are mostly unanimous of regarding Ardashīr's unknown lineage. Agathias mentions that Ardashīr's mother was married to Pābag whose lineage was obscure, but whose profession was a leather worker, while Sāsān is made to be a soldier who stays at the house of Pābag and Pābag gives his wife to Sāsān.³¹ Syncellus states that Ardashīr was an unknown and undistinguished Persian,³² while George of Pisidia mentions that he was a slave by station,³³ and the account of Zonaras who says he was from an unknown and obscure background,³⁴ should be taken into consideration.³⁵

Ardashīr of course claimed Sāsān as the patriarch of the dynasty. V.A. Livshits brought to light an ostraca from Central Asia which contained the

³¹ Agathias 1.1.1.

³² Syncellus 440–441.

³³ Heraclius II, 173–7.

³⁴ Zonaras XII, 15.

³⁵ All of the Classical sources including the four mentioned above are found in Dodgeon and Lieu 1994, 9–15.

epigraphic form *ssn* designating *Sāsān* as a deity. But because of its absence in the *Avesta* and the Old Persian documents, it is difficult to know how it was related to the Zoroastrian religion.³⁶ Recently, Martin Schwartz has shown that the deity represents *Sesen*, an old Semitic god which is found in Ugarit as early as the second millennium BCE.³⁷ Be that as it may, in the first century CE we find coins in Taxila with the name *Sasa*, which may be connected to *Sāsān* because the emblem on the coin matches the coat-of-arms for Šābuhr I.³⁸ We also have coinage from a certain Farn-Sāsān in Arochasia who may have been living in the third century and belonged to the Indo-Parthian clan in the East.



Farn-Sāsān from Arachosia (after Alram 1999)

Ph. Gignoux has suggested, *Sāsān* may very well have been known throughout Asia as a protective deity invoked against sorcery. This fact is shown by the existence of a seal which reads in part: *sāsān ham sāsān ī bay ud sāsān pāsbān* “O Sāsān, the same Sāsān who is god and Sāsān the protector.”³⁹ Whatever or whoever Sāsān was, he was not native to the province of Persis and Sāsān’s origins appears only to the east and west of the Iranian Plateau. Then why would Ardashīr trace his lineage to Sāsān who was not very well-known in Persis? Thus, as far as it can be gathered Sāsān is not native to Persis and appears to be a foreign element.

As mentioned, the stories vary about Ardashīr’s origin and his lineage vis-à-vis Sāsān.⁴⁰ Most scholars tend to take Ṭabarī’s account as authentic or more acceptable, where Pābag was the son of Sāsān,⁴¹ while the *Kārnāmag ī Ardashīr ī Pābagān*,⁴² like the *Šāhnāme*⁴³ states that Pābag’s daughter married Sāsān. I believe the *Bundahišn* tradition which may draw on older and non-royal traditions provides a much more interesting lineage (*Bundahišn* XXXV.36): *ardaxšīr ī*

³⁶ Livshits 1977, 176.

³⁷ Schwartz 1996, 253–257; Schwartz 1998, 9–13.

³⁸ Frye 1984, 200.

³⁹ Gignoux 2001, 72

⁴⁰ For all the existing suggestions see Frye 1989, 298–299.

⁴¹ Ṭabarī 1999, 4.

⁴² Grenet 2003, I.20, 58–59.

⁴³ Ferdowsi 2005, 142.

pābagān kē-š mād duxt sāsān ī weh-āfrīd ... “Ardaxšīr the son of Pābag, whose mother (is said) to be the daughter Sāsān, son of Weh-āfrīd ...”⁴⁴

In the ŠKZ inscription Sāsān is mentioned not as a king, but simply as a *xwadāy* “lord,” or “nobility.”⁴⁵ But Pābag, Ardaxšīr’s father is mentioned in the very same inscription as a *šāh* “king.” Then why would Ardaxšīr claim descent from Sāsān who seems not to have had an illustrious lineage or be of royal stock? Tabarī mentions our mysterious Sāsān as the ruler and custodian of the Anāhīd fire-temple at Istakhr, while his son Pābag became king of Istakhr. This seems to be in accordance with the ŠKZ inscription and so it represents the official position. Early Islamic sources based on Sasanian tradition emphasize the religiosity of Sāsān and his devotion and even mention him as an ascetic.⁴⁶ In fact Sāsān’s lineage is located in India,⁴⁷ the bastion of asceticism. Only in this way could Ardaxšīr claim to have both priestly and royal lineage, meaning the story of Pābag as the king of Istakhr marrying the daughter of the priest (Sāsān) of the most important fire-temple at Istakhr.⁴⁸ It is in this manner that Ardaxšīr could manufacture the double (king-priest) lineage topos which is very much part of Sasanian religio-political tradition.⁴⁹ But it is perhaps not surprising that in the priestly tradition the religious origin of Ardaxšīr is emphasized, becoming connected with royalty, while the epic / royal tradition such as the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* emphasizes the royal origin and then its connection with the religious tradition of Ardaxšīr.

Some iconographical features of Pābag’s coinage and imagery may provide us with some clues. On the earliest coinage of Pābag with his elder son, Šābuhr, his headgear is unlike any of the Arsacid or Persis kings. It is only Šābuhr who presents himself on the obverse (first) wearing the cap symbolizing kingship or political power.⁵⁰ The royal narrative informs us that Pābag dethroned the king of Istakhr, Gozīhr.⁵¹ Pābag however, had designated his elder son, Šābuhr, and coins were struck showing the two on either side.⁵² Ardaxšīr did not accept this

⁴⁴ *Bundahišn: Zoroastrische Kosmogonie und Kosmologie* 2005. Pakzad, I believe correctly deletes <*ī pābag ud pid*> from the passage, p. 398. One may make a comparison with the Carolingians in Germany who are maternally descendant of Pipin of Heristal, see Geary 1988, 190. I owe this reference to Khodadad Rezakhani.

⁴⁵ ŠKZ 1; Huyse 1999, 22.

⁴⁶ Ḥamza al-Isfahanī 1363, 19.

⁴⁷ *Tarīkh Bal‘amī* vol. I, 599.

⁴⁸ *Tarīkh Bal‘amī* vol. I, 599.

⁴⁹ For all passages where the idea of the relation between religion and royalty see Gignoux 1984, 73–75.

⁵⁰ For these early coins, see Gyselen 2004, 88–89.

⁵¹ Agathias 2.27, 61. For Pābag and his relationship to Ardaxšīr see Frye 1985, 445–455; also see Shaki 1990, 78–80.

⁵² Lukonin 1987, 268–269.

and removed his brother and those who stood before him and subsequently had coins minted in the image of his father and himself. But in the coinage of Ardaxšīr-Pābag, the father has the kingly crown of Persis.



Graffito of Pābag at Persepolis Image of Pābag on Ardaxšīr's coinage

In our sources Pābag is said to have been the priest of the fire-temple of Anāhīd at the city of Istakhr and this must have been a stage for the rallying of the local Persian warriors who were devoted to the cult of this deity.⁵³ Pābag's priestly function can also be seen from a graffito at Persepolis.⁵⁴ Or could it be that the inability of the Persian royalty in the face of Arsacid power caused a priest-king to take the lead and revolt? This is a difficult question to answer, but it would not be the only time in the history of Iran that a holy man or religious leader rose up and attempted the conquest of the Iranian Plateau. Sāsān and Pābag were the priests/care-taker of the Anāhīd fire-temple at Istakhr and so

⁵³ For a study on the cult of Anāhīd see Chaumont, 1965, 168–171; and also 1958, 154–175. Tabarī 1994, 4 also gives further information.

⁵⁴ Herzfeld 1988, 309; Callieri 2006, 129–143. The electronic version of the article is also available online in Transoxiana, 2003, <http://www.transoxiana.com.ar/Eran/Articles/callieri.html>.

Pābag's function vis-à-vis the fire-temple may have given backing to Ardaxšīr's claim to rulership after the initial civil wars.⁵⁵

Anāhīd is important, since she is an object of devotion for heroes, warriors and kings in the Zoroastrian sacred text, the *Avesta* (see Yašt V, *Ābān Yašt*). During the Achaemenid period, in the beginning of the fifth century BCE, Artaxerxes II also worshipped Anāhīd (Anahita) along with Mīhr (Mithra) and Ohrmazd (Ahurā Mazdā). Thus her cult must have been an old one in Persis and the temple may have been a location where the Persian tradition was kept alive. Her warlike character was the symbiosis of ancient Near Eastern (Ištar), Hellenic (Athena/Anaitis) and Iranian traditions which legitimated kingship in the Sasanian period.⁵⁶

We may never know who Sāsān was but his dual function of priest-king of Persepolis-Istakhr is a nice topos. I would suggest that if Pābag was anyone of rank, he was a local ruler at best, taking Tabarī's suggestion that he ruled a small area by the salt lake of Bakhtagān in the south called Khīr.⁵⁷ And it is Pābag who first aspired to rule of Istakhr and took it over with his elder son Šābuhr, and not by the order of Ardaxšīr as Tabarī leads us to believe. This is made clear by his coins with his elder son, Šābuhr.



Obverse:

bgy šhpwhry MLKA

bgy šābuhr šāh

Divine Šābuhr, King

Reverse:

bgy p'pky MLKA

Divine Pābag, King

Pābag playing on the religious persona is made manifest from his graffiti at Persepolis which match his early coinage. One should also mention his name as an important pointer to his religious function as Pābag is a hypocastic from Pāb "father."⁵⁸ Furthermore, Ardaxšīr at the time may have been in the south far away from the Pābag-Šābuhr takeover of Istakhr. Could it be that Ardaxšīr was an usurper in his own family who upon seeing his father taking charge of Istakhr and nominating his elder son and the brother of Ardaxšīr,

⁵⁵ Razmjou has mentioned to me that he has identified the Anāhīd temple at Istakhr and has shown the location based on the pictures from Herzfeld's excavations which were kindly provided to me by Ali Mousavi.

⁵⁶ Piras 2004, 251.

⁵⁷ Khīr is mentioned to be around the southeastern tip of Lake Bakhtigān, Tabarī 1999, 4.

⁵⁸ Gignoux 2003, 54, hence Papa / Baba as father or head, leader is of importance. I would like to thank B. Mokhtarian and M. Schwartz for the discussion in relation to the etymology of Pābag.

began his campaign initially not against the Arsacid king Ardawān, but his own father and then brother? This scenario, I believe seems most likely. M. Alram has made the ingenious suggestion that Šābuhr and Ardaxšīr may be portraying the dead image of Pābag on their early coinage.⁵⁹ If so then Ardaxšīr is only rebelling against his own brother. This may also explain why Ardawān did not send troops at first to meddle in the family feud. Again, these are only points of speculation and it goes to show that whoever Ardaxšīr was, he probably did not have a strong claim to any throne and was not in line for rulership.

Ardaxšīr: Divine Lineage and Rise

When Ardaxšīr came to power, he constructed an elaborate genealogy which is captured in the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* (IV.19): *ardaxšīr ī kay ī pābagān ī az tōhmag ī sāsān nāf ī dārā šāh* “Ardaxšīr the Kayānid, the son of Pābag, from the race of Sāsān, from the family of King Dārāy.”⁶⁰ When looking at this line, however late, one gets the sense that every possible connection to divinity, royalty and nobility is being exploited by Ardaxšīr, which likely suggests that he was heir to none of them! The Kayānid dynasty in the *Avesta*, the mysterious protective deity Sāsān, and the connection to Dārāy (probably the conflation of the Achaemenids, Darius I and Darius II, and the Persis kings, Dārāyān I and Dārāyān II) all suggest falsification of his lineage.

Who else would have been better-informed about protective deities and the gods other than the care-takers of Anāhid fire-temple at Persis? Ardaxšīr’s eventual connections, however, would have given him the prestige of being the first human to be shown receiving the diadem of rulership from Ohrmazd, something that was not even shown in the Achaemenid reliefs. Perhaps a noble Persian would not have needed to be shown receiving the diadem from Ohrmazd; only an upstart needed to make the claim of being from the race of the *yazdān*. Looking at early Sasanians rock reliefs, A. Gariboldi has observed that they show the king and the gods as having similar physical features, size, clothes, horse and harnesses.⁶¹ In terms of proportion, the Sasanian king is an exact mirror image of the *yazatas* / *yazdān*. One has to wonder about the power and belief of the early Sasanian kings about themselves and where they stood and what their function and relation to gods and men were. It is in this vein that we can understand

⁵⁹ Alram 1999, 22.

⁶⁰ *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān*, in Nyberg 1964, 6.18–19; and most recently *Kārnāmg ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān* in Grenet 2003, III.19, 68–69.

⁶¹ Gariboldi 2004, 32.

Dēnkard IV⁶² and *Nāme-ye Tansar*⁶³ questioning Ardashīr's legitimacy and his attempt at changing the tradition.⁶⁴ I believe Ḥamza al-Isfahanī has an important observation which makes sense in this context when he states: "Ardaxšīr the son of Babak also when he killed the Arsacids (*mulūk al-twayif*) and became established and the people took obedience to him, he, in the manner of Alexander (Iskandar) recorded his life and orders and history and wars, he deleted the events that took place before and forgot them so that the popularity of his life and events become greater..."⁶⁵ This is why even the priestly tradition questions Ardashīr's legitimacy and he has to construct a super-natural lineage.

The inscription of Šābuhr I does, however, mention that Pābag was the father of Ardashīr, but Ardashīr was neither the only son, nor the eldest. Even here we see an ambitious man who was contemplating an empire from the fringes of the province of Persis. Perso-Arabic sources state that Ardashīr was the *argbed* of Dārābgird in eastern Persis when he began his campaign. However, we find the earliest physical evidence for Ardashīr at Ardashīr-xwarrah (Fērōz-ābād also known as Gōr), on the southern (fringes) of the province of Persis. I suggest that it is from here, far from Khīr, the stronghold of Pābag, and Istakhr, the stronghold of the kings of Persis, and still further away from the king of kings, Ardawān, that Ardashīr began his campaign.⁶⁶



Fārs/Persis after Grenet 2003

⁶² Adhami 2003, 226–227.

⁶³ Boyce 1968, 47.

⁶⁴ Also Ḥamza al-Isfahanī, 93; for Ardashīr's use of time reckoning and millennial activity set by Tansar, see Ḥamza al-Isfahanī, 92–93.

⁶⁵ Ḥamza al-Isfahanī, 176.

⁶⁶ Alram suggests that after the conquest of Istakhr he went to Ardashīr-Xwarrah.

Thus, whenever he is mentioned in his early career, Ardaxšīr is farthest away from the center of Persis, *i.e.*, Istakhr and the center of power. We do not have any evidence that the kings of Persis were antagonistic towards the Arsacids. Thus, there may have been an amicable relationship between the imperial center and the province of Persis.⁶⁷

I would like to suggest that Ardaxšīr moved from the far away Dārābgird to Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah which was behind the mountains and still defensible, but closer to the center of power in Persis, Istakhr, when Pābag's revolt took place. However mountainous the road from Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah is to Istakhr, it is still an easier route to traverse than from Darabgerd to Istakhr. It is very important to note that the earliest rock relief portraying Ardaxšīr receiving the diadem of Rulership in a crude style with only a small retinue is from Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah. Following Tabarī and contrary to Alram, he could not have taken control of Istakhr and then moved to Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah and placed such a relief. Otherwise, if he had taken Istakhr, he would have first placed a much cruder coronation scene than the one that exists of him at Naqš-e Rajab. Ardaxšīr placed the first rock relief at Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah, the center of his revolt and then placed more elaborate one at Naqš-e Rajab, showing his family and retinue right after his take over of Istakhr in 211/212 CE.



Ardaxšīr-xwarrah after Alram & Gyselen

Naqš-e Rajab after Alram & Gyselen

Ardaxšīr's beginnings may be connected to his first rock-relief which shows him receiving the diadem of rulership from Ohrmazd in front of his retinue at Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah. Based on the date supplied by Šābuhr I's inscription at Haj-

⁶⁷ Interestingly, both cities connected with Ardaxšīr, Dārābgird and Ardaxšīr-xwarrah, are similar in layout (round cities). Did he create Ardaxšīr-xwarrah based on the Dārābgird plan or vice-versa? Our sources do tell us that Ardaxšīr had to go back and forth between Ardaxšīr-xwarrah and Darabgerd to subdue uprisings when he came to power. Thus, the similar fortifications could have taken later.

jābād,⁶⁸ I tend to agree with Wiesehöfer that that the year 205/206 CE⁶⁹ does not suggest the date of Ardaxšīr's uprising but rather Pābag's rebellion and movement from Khīr to Istakhr. This date coincides with the Arsacid king Walaxš's rule (192–207 CE) and the wars with the Roman emperor Septimius Severus.⁷⁰ We should remember that the Arsacids were not only involved in a bitter war with the Romans, but also with dynastic squabbles and provincial revolts. Septimius Severus, first in 196 CE, and then again in 198 CE invaded the Arsacid realm when he was able to sack Ctesiphon.⁷¹ At the same time we hear of the revolt by the Medes and the Persians against the Arsacid king which caused internal problems.⁷² I believe that in many ways the rule of Walaxš was the turning point in Arsacid history, in that the dynasty lost much of its prestige. The kings of Persis could not rely on their Arsacid overlords anymore to support them in the face of local uprisings, such as that of Pābag.

The troubles for the Arsacids did not subside with the death of Walaxš V, and his son Walaxš VI who assumed the throne contested by his brother, Ardawān V in 213 CE, ruling in Media.⁷³ Thus, all attentions was turned to the north of the Iranian Plateau and the Roman nemesis to the West. The reigning Arsacid king was not or could not pay much attention to the province of Persis. When Caracalla invaded Armenia and Mesopotamia, but more importantly in 216/217 CE he exhumed the bones of the Arsacid royals in Arbela the reigning Arsacid king of kings could not do anything.⁷⁴ One has to wonder how the population as well as the local and minor rulers and potentates of the Iranian Plateau perceived such a calamity and blow to the imperial prestige of the Arsacids.

Conclusion

One should be reluctant to accept the “official” version of history where according to Tabarī, Ardaxšīr was the *argbed* of Dārābgerd at this time and told his father Pābag to revolt against the Arsacids in 211/212 CE. It is more probable that between 205/206 and 211/212 CE Pābag had taken the throne at Istakhr and chosen his eldest son Šābuhr as the heir. Ardaxšīr as an act of rebellion had moved from Dārābgerd to Ardaxšīr-xwarrah and built himself a fortification from where he could launch his attack against his elder brother when Pābag died.

⁶⁸ Back 1978, 379.

⁶⁹ Altheim-Stiehl 1978, 116.

⁷⁰ Wiesehöfer 1987, 372.

⁷¹ Frye 1975, 243.

⁷² Colledge 1967, 168.

⁷³ Colledge 1967, 171.

⁷⁴ Colledge 1967, 171; Rawlinson 1873, 356.

His rock-relief at Ardaxšīr-Xwarrah was the symbol of his rebellion either against his father, but more probably against his brother. Pābag must have died sometime before 211/212 and so by this date both Ardaxšīr and Šābuhr minted coins with the title of MLK' "king," with the image of their recently deceased father on their coins.⁷⁵ Here one must cite the important notice in *Zainu'l-Akhbar* which tends to corroborate the thesis that Ardaxšīr indeed proclaimed to be a king in 211/212 CE. According to *Zainu'l-Akhbar* when Ardaxšīr began his conquest Ardawān came to face him. What is noteworthy is that the text states "and twelve years had passed from the rule of Ardaxšīr when he killed Ardawān."⁷⁶ This clearly places Ardaxšīr's claim to kingship and local coronation (at Istakhr or Ardaxšīr-xwarrah) in 211/212 CE. The event of 211/212 CE which is the defeat and death of Šābuhr also most probably coincides with his coronation relief at Naqš-e Rajab and his coinage without his father's image (phase 2a).



Type I/2 BRE bgy p'pky [MLKA] Coin of Ardaxšīr after Gyselen 2004

Between 211/212 CE and the defeat of the Arsacid ruler Ardawān in 224 CE Ardaxšīr consolidated his power in the province of Persis and the adjoining region. In 216/217 CE he would certainly begin his propaganda and campaign against the Arsacids as their prestige had been marred by the Roman actions at the Arsacid family sanctuary. How could a dynasty who can not protect their own family be able to defend the Iranians? The kings of Persis were defeated by 211/212 and others a bit later as they may have been involved in aiding the Arsacid king of kings and therefore would have been ill prepared to fight the upstart. Ardaxšīr might have felt that a new house had to wrest away control of the royal throne, as the old one (Arsacid) had been soundly humiliated. It seems that other brothers of Ardaxšīr were also worrisome to him and he had them killed at this time.⁷⁷ Once he had the province of Persis and the adjoining region in hand he called himself *MLK' 'yr'n / šāh ī ērān* "King of Iranians," as is apparent from his coinage (phase 2a).⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Alam (2003, 22) has made this ingenious suggestion that Pābag was already dead when his image were struck on the two brother's coinage.

⁷⁶ *Zainu'l-Akhbar*, 85.

⁷⁷ Widengren 1971, 725–726.

⁷⁸ Alam, Gyselen 2003, 93, 118.



mzdysn bgy 'rthštr MLK' 'yr'n Phase 2a (after Alram 1999)

The Type IIa(2)/2(2a) coinage of Ardaxšir which carries the legend: *mzdysn bgy 'rthštr MLKA 'ry'n*⁷⁹ indicating that he is a “king” and not the “king of kings,” which we find in his next coinage type, *mzdysn bgy 'rthštr MLK'n MLK' 'ry'n*.⁸⁰ The *šāh ī ērān* would probably refer to his conquest of Persis and wresting Istakhr from the hands of local rulers and those in his family who contended for its mastery. It is then that he had his rock-relief at Naqš-e Rajab, close to Istakhr, carved. Thus, one may surmise that the Naqš-e Rajab relief represents his victory over the kings of Persis and the control of Istakhr as the center. The familial coronation scene is at the center of this event. That may well be the reason that Ardawān is not under the hoof of Ardaxšir’s horse on this relief, as he is at the Naqš-e Rostam relief. The importance of the local kings also made Ardaxšir mindful to respect them as seen in the iconographical remains of this period. He also co-opted them into his genealogy and adopted their characteristic dress and cap, thus representing himself as the continuer of the old Persian tradition existing at Istakhr.



ArdaxširArdaxšir mzdysn bgy 'rthštr MLK'n MLK' 'yr'n mzdysn bgy 'rthštr MLK'n MLK' 'yr'n MNW ctry MN yzd'n Phase 2b Phase 3 (after Alram 1999)

Having consolidated his power in Persis and having subdued the *kadag-xwadāyān* “petty-lords” he conquered adjoining regions which would have alarmed Ardawān. Then the fateful battle of Hormozgan in 224 CE brought the

⁷⁹ Alram, Gyselen 2003, 118.

⁸⁰ Alram, Gyselen 2003, 119.

defeat and death of Ardawān and brought about a new phase of Ardaxšīr's rule. The Battle of Hormozgan was carved in the location where he rose up in Persis, at Ardaxšīr-xwarrah. By then he could claim to be the *king of kings* of the Iranians. This event till his capture of Ctesiphon and his official coronation brought about the carving of the Naqš-e Rostam relief as well as the variations in his imperial coinage (phase 3).

History of men like Ardaxšīr is fascinating in that not only were they able to change the course of history, but they were also able to imagine where they came from and how they came to acquire power. Darius, the great Achaemenid king was able to do this in the sixth century BCE by creating an Achaemenid empire on the heels of Cyrus the Great and Cambyses. Ardaxšīr built an empire on the heels of Pābag and Šābuhr. Both men created a lineage which connected them to more authoritative lines. But that is how one makes himself matter and legitimate in the eyes of those who were present, as well as and the historian who is trying to sift through these constructed ancestries, codified three centuries later and then translated into Arabic three centuries after that.

Chronology

Date	Event	Relief	Coinage
205/206	Pābag leaves Khīr to Istakhr Ardaxšīr in Dārābgerd	No Relief	No Coinage
207–210	Pābag dies holding Istakhr Ardaxšīr's challenge to Šābuhr	Pābag's Graffito Ardaxšīr-xwarrah I	No Coinage Šāb/Ard Persis
211/212	Ardaxšīr takes Istakhr	Naqš-e Rajab	phase 2a
213–223	Ardaxšīr fighting local kings		phase 2a
224	Ardaxšīr defeats Ardawān	Ardaxšīr-xwarrah II Naqš-e Rostam I	phase 2b
226	Ardaxšīr crowned at Ctesiphon	Naqš-e Rostam I	phase 3

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Abstract

The author deals with the rise to power of Ardašīr ī Pābagān and his family origins. The sources are either late (Perso-Arabic), or foreign and hostile (Greek and Armenian), or concerned with external religious matters (Syriac) which tend to be helpful mainly for chronology. Material culture, specifically coinage along with the rock reliefs are of the utmost importance to this investigation, and it is these sources that need to be juxtaposed with the literary documents to achieve a more balanced view of the origins of the Sasanians.

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A NEW COLLECTION OF SASANIAN COINS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRAN

Keywords: Sasanians, coinage, Sayfi collection, Tehran's National Museum

The Sayfi Collection¹ is one of the most important collections in the National Museum of Iran, Tehran. It contains more than 80 thousand objects from pre-historic times to the modern period of Iran's artistic tradition. The Iran's National Museum started a comprehensive digital registration of all the objects in the Museum that concerns also the Sayfi Collection. After that it will be possible to provide an exact number of objects belonging to the Sayfi Collection. Part of it is an important collection of coins numbering about 500 specimens from the pre-Islamic period. The bulk of them date to the Sasanian period (300 to 350), and the rest comes from the Parthian period (100 to 150). Most of the Sasanian coins belong to the reign of Khusro II in the late sixth/early seventh century CE. This coin collection arrived at the National Museum in 1993 when the Police of Tehran arrested a smuggler who possessed many ancient objects. The Conservation Department kindly prepared the coin collection for photography after the objects were cleaned.

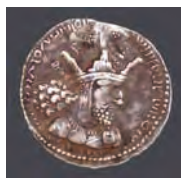
¹ I plan to study and publish the collection together with its curator, Mr. Sayfi. He kindly supported me and prepared the data concerning weight and diameters of coins. I would like to thank my colleague, Ms. M. Gorji for her kindness to prepare the collection's objects. I also thank Mrs. Fekri, who kindly photographed a number of objects. I appreciate my colleague, Mrs. S. Piran who took pictures of the rest of the collection.

Key to plates

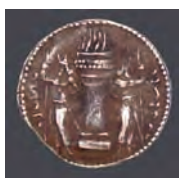
Number	Obvers	Revers (mint; year)		Diameter (mm)	Weight (gram)
		3	4		
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	mzdysn bg šhpwhry Mlk'n MlkA 'yl'n MNW ctry MN yzd'n	NWRA ZY	Šhpwhry	2.3	4.2
2	hwslwb'	PL	pn-chl	3.3	4.6
3	hwslwb' 'pzwt	YZ	chly	3.1	3.9
4	hwslwb' GDE 'pzwt' 'pd	ŠY	hšt-wyst'	3.2	4.8
5	" " " "	DA	syh	3.2	3.7
6	" " " "	DA	hpt-syh	3.1	4.1
7	" " " "	GD	šš- syh	3.1	3.7
8	" " " "	GD	šš-wyst'	3	4.1
9	" " " "	WYH/WH?	nwc-wyst'	3.3	4.2
10	" " " "	AT	ch'l-dh	3.1	4.1
11	" " " "	GD	šš-syh	3.1	4.1
12	" " " "	AHM	hšt-wyst'	3.2	3.6
13	" " " "	BYŠ	ch'l-syh	3.1	3.6
14	" " " "	BYŠ	šš-syh	3.2	4.1
15	" " " "	BYŠ	pnc-wyst'	3.1	4
16	" " " "	ŠY	hpt-dh	3.1	4
17	hwslwb' GDE 'pzwt'	AHM	hpt-syh	3.3	4
18	" " " "	GD	hpt-syh	3.1	3.5
19	" " " "	YZ	hpt-wyst'	3.2	4.1
20	" " " "	ŠY	pnc- syh	3.2	3.9
21	" " " "	LD	y'c-syh	3.1	4.1
22	" " " "	AY	hpt-syh	3.2	4
23	" " " "	LYW	pnc- syh	3.2	4
24	" " " "	GD	ASLA	3.1	4
25	" " " "	MY	syc-dh	3.3	3.9
26	" " " "	WYH	pnc- syh	3.3	4
27	" " " "	WYHC	pnc- syh	3.4	4
28	" " " "	WYHC	TŠA?	3.4	3.8
29	" " " "	YZ	y'c-syh	3.2	4
30	" " " "	ST	hpt-syh	3.2	4
31	" " " "	BYŠ	TWMNA	3.2	4
32	" " " "	AT	nwc-wyst'	3.2	4.1
33	" " " "	AY	hšt-syh	3.2	4
34	" " " "	AW	y'c-wyst	3.3	4
35	" " " "	MY	syh	3.2	4
36	" " " "	YZ	nwc-wyst'	3.1	4.4
37	" " " "	WYHC	syc-syh	3.2	4
38	" " " "	AHM	hšt-wyst'	3.1	3.6
39	" " " "	AY	hpt-syh	3.1	4.3
40	" " " "	MY	pnc-wyst'	3.2	4
41	" " " "	ART	TŠA?	3.2	4
42	" " " "	LAM	TLYN	3.1	4

1	2	3	4	5	6
43	'hlmzd'pzw'n	WYHC	ŠBA	3.1	3.9
44	" "	LYW	ASLA	3.3	4
45	" "	WH	dw'c-dh	3.4	3.9
46	AWML Y AWBYTALAH AL HMD LLH	B'CLA	šš- šst	2.9	4.3

Sayfi Collection



1A



1B



2A



2B



3A



3B



4A



4B



5A



5B



6A



6B



7A



7B



8A



8B



9A



9B



10A



10B



11A



11B



12A



12B



13A



13B



14A



14B



15A



15B



16A



16B



17A



17B



18A



18B



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Abstract

The Sayfi Collection is one of the most important collections at the National Museum of Iran, Tehran, consisting of over 80 thousand Iranian traditional artistic objects from pre-historic times to the modern period. The collection includes about 500 coins from the pre-Islamic period; the bulk of them is datable to the Sasanian period (300 to 350) and the rest comes from the Parthian period (100 to 150). The Sasanian coins mostly belong to the rule of Khosrow II in the late sixth/early seventh century CE.

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**‘LIKE A CERTAIN TORNADO OF PEOPLES’:
WARFARE OF THE EUROPEAN HUNS IN THE LIGHT
OF GRAECO-LATIN LITERARY TRADITION***

Key words: European Huns, Greek and Latin sources, arms, armour, strategy, tactics, poliorcetics, military organization, Attila

In the early 370s, from behind the Volga river certain nomads, who were named Huns (Hun[n]i and Chuni in Latin, Οὐννοι in Greek)¹ in the Late Classical tradition, had invaded the steppes of the Northern Pontic area. Their invasion delivered a mighty impulse to the great movement of tribes within the western part of Eurasia, which has been called ‘The Great Migration Period’. Shortly after, in the first half of the 5th century, the Huns, thanks to their superiority in warfare over local peoples (Sarmato-Alans, Eastern Germans and others), turned into the strongest military and political power in South-Eastern and Central Europe. The Hun domination lasted there until the fall of the empire created by the great king Attila, which occurred under his sons, c. 470 A.D. That, not so long, a space of time (just about one century) had,

* This paper is a reduced English version of a monograph published in Russian, see Nikonorov 2002a. Research for this work was undertaken mainly within the group project ‘Warfare of the Barbarian Peoples of South-Eastern Europe in the 2nd – 6th Centuries A.D. (as described by the Late Classical Authors)’ sponsored by the Research Support Scheme (RSS), grant no. 1721/841/1998. Some additional data included in it resulted from the author’s scholarly stay in the United States in 2000–2001 as a Fulbright Program lecturer at the University of Houston Department of History.

¹ See, e. g. Budanova 2000, 209–210.

nevertheless, a considerable influence upon the world of Late Antiquity. Indeed, Hun hordes led by Attila, who was nicknamed the 'Scourge of God' by his European contemporaries, did threaten more than once the existence itself of the Western civilization.

The present paper deals with all the basic components of martial practices of the European Huns, such as arms and armour, horse equipment, armed forces, strategy and tactics, siegecraft and the structure of military organization. The main data to be analysed are the available written records from surviving Late Roman and Early Byzantine literary sources, among which the most principal ones come from the works of Ammianus Marcellinus, Olympiodorus of Thebes, Zosimus, Sozomenus, Priscus of Panium, Claudian, Merobaudes, Sidonius, and Jordanes. The majority of these authors were contemporaries of the Huns. True, unfortunately, not all of their writings (in particular, those of Olympiodorus and Priscus) have survived as a whole.² When necessary, the literary evidence is supplemented with archaeological material to shed more light on the matters in question.

First of all, in order to reveal as better as possible the chief peculiarities of Hun warfare, a reply must be given to an old problem of correlating the eastern Central Asian people called Hsiung-nu, who were from the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. constant and dangerous enemies of Han China, on the one hand, with the European Huns, on the other. This very complicated matter has been discussed very much, but answered differently.³ However that might be, an analysis of various data, such as written sources, archaeological finds and anthropological observations, enables the present author to share a point of view that the Hun horde intruding in the West must have consisted, at least in a large part, of the descendants of those Hsiung-nu who had departed in the 2nd century A.D. westwards from their homeland in Mongolia after the defeats caused by the Chinese and the Hsien-pi. Ethnic-cultural links between the Hsiung-nu and the European Huns are well confirmed by such categories of Hun material culture as: 1). iron arrowheads having no parallels in armament of the previous, Sarmatian-Alan, culture of the Northern Pontic area, but obviously going back to military antiquities of the first centuries A.D. left by the Hsiung-nu and other steppe peoples of Central Asia; 2). the noted bronze cauldrons that were very characteristic just for the Hsiung-nu culture. Besides, classical descriptions of the Huns' outward appearance give no doubt that these newcomers belonged to the Mongoloid race.⁴ Running ahead, it should be

² General surveys of the ancient written tradition concerning the European Huns are adduced in Thompson 1948, 4–14; 1999, 6–18; Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 1–17; Nikonorov 2002a, 228–232.

³ See Sinor 1990, 177–179; 1993, 4–7; Bell-Fialkoff 2000, 215–217; Golden 2002, 108–109, n. 14; de La Vaissière 2005.

⁴ See in detail Zasetskaja 1994, 151–155; Zasetskaja, Bokovenko 1994.

stated that one more strong evidence of genetic relationship of the Hsiung-nu with the Huns comes from the sphere of warfare. If one compares martial practices of the former⁵ with those of the latter to be brought to light below, one can see many common features in weaponry, tactics, strategy, etc.

It is to be added that the name 'Huns' applied to the entire Hun horde also covered some peoples of the Finno-Ugrian and Middle Asian (Iranian) origins, who were involved in the movement of the departing Hsiung-nu on their long route to Europe.

As it follows from the available source data, the main body of Hun armies consisted of light-armed cavalry. Its troopers were equipped with big (120–150 cm long at average) and powerful, composite, bows ('arcus': Sidon. *Carm.* II, 266; Iord. *Get.* 128; 255; Land. Sag. XII, 187) that were the Hun principal weapon of offence. They had the shape of two arches joined by a straight handle; their wooden stave, as a rule backed with sinew, was necessarily reinforced with bone and horn laths on its ears and handle to make the entire construction more flexible and, therefore, much more long-range. Bows of this type (which is only conditionally called by researchers 'Hun' or 'Qum Darya' or even 'Hun-Parthian') had originated in the eastern part of the Central Asian steppes during the last centuries B.C. and subsequently spread far westwards, including through the instrumentality of the Huns themselves.⁶ The appearance of such mighty, bone- and horn-reinforced, bows revolutionized very much ancient mounted warfare.

In all likelihood, each Hun warrior had more than one bow at his disposal. We may suppose this, for instance, being told by the Arabic literary tradition of the 9th century A.D. that an ancient Turk rider, i. e. a warrior originating from the same Central Asian milieu as the Huns, carried with himself two or three bows together with a respective number of strings.⁷ The Huns, including their leaders, were particularly noted for their great skill of archery (εὐφνεστάτη τοξεία: Olymp. *fr.* 18 D = *fr.* 19 B; Zosim. IV, 20, 4; Sidon. *Carm.* II, 266–269; Iord. *Get.* 128; Land. Sag. XII, 187). The bow served, too, as a badge of power in the midst of the Huns. This is confirmed by the fact that among their high nobility there were in use models of the arm outfitted with golden end laths, the so-called 'golden bows', playing a very prestigious social role. Such laths have been discovered in Hun princely burials at Jakuszowice in Poland, Pécs-Üszögpuszta and Bátaszék in Hungary.⁸

⁵ Khudiakov 1986, 25–52, 243–246; see also Laufer 1914, 223–229.

⁶ Werner 1956, 46–50; Rausing 1967, 68–69, 110–111, 115–119, 122–128, 143–144, 150; Khazanov 1971, 30–35; Coulston 1985, 242–243; Khudiakov 1986, 26–30; Bóna 1991, 167–170; Zsetskaia 1994, 35–36; Gorelik 1995, 364–371; Lebedynsky 2001, 176–177.

⁷ Harley Walker 1915, 667.

⁸ László 1951; Harmatta 1951; Bóna 1991, Abb. 47, 50, 54, 55, Taf. 47, 50, 54, Farbtaf. XVII.

In reports of the Classical writers the arrows figure as well ('missilia tela' = 'spicula': Amm. Marc. XXXI,2, 9; βέλη: Prisc. *fr.* 1b D = 6, 2 B; 'sagittae': Hier. *Ep.* 60, 17; Iord. *Get.* 128; 249; 261; Land. *Sag.* XII, 187; σαγίτα: Malal. p. 358, 21; 'spicula': Sidon. *Carm.* II, 266; 'iacula': Sidon. *Carm.* VII, 236; 'tela': Merob. *Pan.* II, 80; Iord. *Get.* 206). It is interesting that Ammianus Marcellinus, when speaking of Hun arrows (XXXI, 2, 9), refers solely to those provided with bone heads skilfully attached to shafts and variously produced ('acutis ossibus pro spiculorum acumine arte mira coagmentatis et distinctis'). It does not mean, of course, that these were the only ones applied by the Huns at his time. He rather simply paid attention to this, very exotic, kind of arrowheads. For sure, Huns made use of metal (iron) arrowheads too, especially as solely they have come from graves of the Hun epoch in South-Eastern Europe, whereas ones of bone have not been found yet.⁹ This fact, by the way, cannot be employed to call Ammianus' information in question as this is sometimes done,¹⁰ because it is well known, in particular, that bone arrowheads were widespread among the Hsiung-nu of Central Asia, i. e. the European Huns' forebears.¹¹ True, arrowheads made from bone, the manufacture of which did not require any complicated technology, were suitable only to hit the enemies bearing no armour. And so, when the Huns came in Europe into collision with safely protected foes, such as the Romans, they were forced to limit the use of bone arrowheads and give preference to iron ones. As it has been said above, the Huns even brought with themselves new types of the latter. There is an opinion that arrows shot from Hun bows could pierce through armour at a distance of 100 m.¹²

Of other articles of Hun archery equipment there is a mention of gilt quivers ('auratae pharetrae') in Latin literary tradition (Merob. *Pan.* II, 80).

For close fighting the Huns used the sword ('ferrum': Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 9; cf. Sidon. *Carm.* II, 298; VII, 249; ξίφος: Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 13, 1; 15, 1 B; cf. *Ibid. fr.* 8 D = 12, 1 B; 'ensis': Merob. *Pan.* II, 83; see also Iord. *Get.* 183 and Greg. *Tur. HF* II, 6: 'gladius'; Malal. p. 359, 5: σπαθάριος, i. e. 'a σπάθη-bearer'). According to archaeological data, Huns employed two kinds of swords: one with a long (until 90 cm) double-edged blade and the other with a shorter (50–60 cm) single-edged blade. The latter discovered in a less number are thought to have appeared in South-Eastern Europe just with the Huns.¹³ It cannot be ruled out that Hun riders did have such a sword set. In this connection deserving attention is the fact of the combined being of a long double-edged

⁹ Zsetskaia 1994, 36–39, 208–209.

¹⁰ King 1987 [1995], 81–82, 89.

¹¹ Khudiakov 1986, 34–37, 39–42, 214–216.

¹² Laing 2000, 130.

¹³ Werner 1956, 38–46; Zsetskaia 1994, 23–34; Bóna 1991, 175–176.

sword and a shorter single-edged broadsword in some burials of the Germanic nobles in Western Europe.¹⁴ Another interesting evidence comes from the ‘Waltharius’ – a Latin heroic poem of the 9th century A.D. which is based on a lost, much elder, Germanic legend related to the famous Nibelungen epic dealing, in turn, with the destruction of the Burgundian realm by the Huns in 437. There is a reference to ‘the custom of the Panonians’ (these were, according to a historical context of the narrative, rather Huns) to belt oneself with a double set of bladed arms – a long two-edged sword (‘ensis’) on the left side and a short one-edged broadsword (‘semispata’) on the right.¹⁵ Is it an echoe of the Huns’ martial habit to carry both such weapons?

Besides, we are spoken by one of our informants (Merob. *Pan.* II, 79–80) of a Hun heavy, adorned with gold, belt (‘gravis... auro balteus’), to which a sword with no less rich ornamentation seems to have been suspended.

Like the bow, the sword was esteemed by the Huns as a sacral object personifying a god of war (Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 12, 1 B; Iord. *Get.* 183; see also Maenchen-Helfen 1973: 278–280).

It is important to notice that none of the written sources lists javelins or other kinds of spear in the composition of Hun armament. This fact finds support in archaeological materials: so, only one spearhead has been uncovered at Hun-epoch sites of the Northern Pontic area by now. These circumstances allow to agree with a conclusion that ‘this type of weaponry did not spread in the Hun host’.¹⁶ On the other hand, one should reject a point of view that the Huns had even lances.¹⁷ By the way, this ill-grounded opinion has been, unfortunately, reflected in modern reconstructions of the Hun warrior’s aspect.¹⁸

One more important offensive arm, very typical for nomadic peoples of Eurasia at all, was the lasso,¹⁹ which the Huns threw on their opponents at a middle range (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 9: ‘lacinia’; Sozom. VII, 26, 8: βρόχος = σχοινίον).²⁰

Heavy armour did not spread to any considerable degree in the bulk of Hun troops because of their tactics consisting in both heightened mobility and preference to fight from a distance, not in hand-to-hand combat (see below). As body

¹⁴ Kazanski 1991, 132–133.

¹⁵ Nickel 1973.

¹⁶ Zsetskaia 1994, 35.

¹⁷ Bruhn Hoffmeyer 1966, 116–117, 120; Hildinger 1997, 64.

¹⁸ See, e. g. Ferrill 1991, 143.

¹⁹ Khazanov 1971, 50–51; Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 239–240; Sinor 1981, 141–142; Golden 2002, 151.

²⁰ Cf. Olymp. *fr.* 17 D = 18 B, where this device under the term σόκκος figures as used by rather Hun mercenaries of the Gothic chief Athaulf than by his own soldiers (see Baldwin 1980, 226).

protector Hun rank-and-file men bore the shield (ἀσπίς) referred to by the church historian Sozomen who tells, in particular, how one of Huns raiding the Roman province of Moesia made use of his lasso with the object of capturing Theotimus, bishop of Tomis. In order to cast it he ‘leaned upon the shield, like he did so usually, when dealing with the adversaries’ (ἀσπίδι ἐπειριδόμενος, ὥσπερ εἰώθει τοῖς πολεμίοις διαλεγόμενος: Sozom. VII, 26, 8). Since our author speaks nothing of whether the Hun was mounted or dismounted, some scholars have believed him to have been on foot at the moment of casting, and so his shield was too large to be used on horseback.²¹ However, this conclusion is rather incorrect. The fact is that the lasso, above all, was an arm just of horsemen, as the technique of mastering it includes the use of horse traction to draw the caught victim away. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine that the Huns were raiding – and the cited passage of Sozomen should be considered solely in such a context – as pedestrians: really, it would be a nonsense! Taking into account these considerations, one may conclude that the protective arm in question must have been a comparatively small and light shield manufactured from wood and covered with leather or skin, and so quite suitable to be employed in cavalry.

In addition, Hun ordinary soldiers had curved fur-caps (‘galeri incurvi’: Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 6) that served as protectors to their heads. The same caps seem to be meant under the word ‘tiarae’ by St Jerome (Hier. *Ep.* 60, 17) who contrasts them with the Roman helmets called by him ‘galeae’.

Warriors from the Hun aristocratic milieu could wear costly metal armour, doing so rather under Roman inspiration. So, we are told twice about Hun metal helmets. In one case they figure as being gilded, under the term ‘cassis’ (Merob. *Pan.* II, 83), in the other they are named ‘galea’ (Sidon. *Carm.* II, 255). A context of the second report, concerning the Hun practice of intentional disfigurement of men’s faces with the object of fitting them to needs of war, as if allows to come to a conclusion that such helmets were provided with nose-pieces. If so, they may have rather belonged to the well known Late Roman ‘ridge helmet’ type,²² especially as a similar headpiece made from iron and covered with sheet silver was discovered in 1812 in a grave of a ‘Hun prince’ at Conțești in Moldavia.²³

There are several references to corselets of the Huns. Some body armour was worn by a certain ruler, probably a Hun by birth, who, c. 400 A.D., had been controlling a region within the Northern Pontic area.²⁴ Our source, the bishop Asterius, points out that it was ‘a martial corselet (θώραξ πολεμικός) strewn with treasures (so long as the barbarian weaponry is boastful and pretentious)’ (Aster.

²¹ Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 254; Lindner 1981, 8.

²² See on it James 1986; Bishop, Coulston 1993, 167, 169–172; Southern, Dixon 1996, 92–95.

²³ Matzulewitsch 1929, 125–126, Taf. 49; Zsetskaia 1994, 175, pl. 20/4.

²⁴ See Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 249–250.

Hom. 9). One of the preserved fragments from Priscus' historical work informs us about Zercon, a Moorish jester, who accompanied everywhere in campaigns his lord, the Hun king Bleda, being encased in a full armour set (πανοπλία) specially manufactured for him in order to amuse more the people around (*Prisc. fr.* 11 D = 13, 2 B [= *Suid. s. v. Ζέρκων*]).

The last reliable evidence concerning Hun corselets²⁵ is present at Sidonius' description of an equestrian single combat between Avitus, the future Western Roman emperor, and a Hun from the army of the Roman general Litorius in the course of the campaign of 436 in Gaul. In the final of this duel, in his third charge the Roman transfixes the foe so that the latter's corselet ('thorax') proved to be pierced through from the front and back (*Sidon. Carm.* VII, 289–294). This body armour, covering both the chest and back, might have been a corselet of the chain-mail type ('lorica hamata'), especially as two finds of such armour – by the way, the only actual testimonies of the Huns' application of corselets at all – have come from burials of the Hun epoch in the south of Russia.²⁶ Nevertheless, it equally might have been of other constructions also spread in Europe in Later Roman times, viz. scale-armour ('lorica squamata') or (what is less probable) even muscle-cuirass ('thorax').²⁷

Proceeding from the scarce literary evidence of Hun armour and from the fact that articles of defensive armament are very rare finds in Hun-period sites, one cannot be in agreement with a point of view²⁸ assuming the presence in the European Huns' troops of heavy-armed cavalry units.

It should be necessarily taken into consideration that the Huns, like the Alans and the Goths, after having defeated the Romans collected and then used their arms (*Oros.* VII, 34, 5; *Paul. Diac. HR* XI, 15; *Land. Sag.* XII, 188).

Some words should be spoken of Hun horses. Indeed, they played a considerable role in everyday life of this nation, not only in warfare but also as a draught force and in religious beliefs as well, etc. Our literary sources assert that the Huns did everything being on horseback: fought, contracted, took counsel with each other, ate and drank, and even slept (*Amm. Marc.* XXXI, 2, 6–7; *Zosim.* IV, 20, 4; cf. *Prisc. fr.* 1; 8 D = 2; 11, 2 B; *Iord. Get.* 128; *Mauric.* XI, 2, 19 M = XI, 2, 68 D). The Latin writers, contemporaries of the Huns' invasions, compared them with the centaurs (*Claud.* III, 329–330;²⁹ *Sidon. Carm.* II, 262–266; cf. *Amm. Marc.*

²⁵ True, O. Maenchen-Helfen adduces three passages more – those of Pacatus, Merobaudes and Procopius of Caesarea – referring, in his opinion, to Hun corselets (1973, 248–251). However, perhaps with the exception of the second one (*Merob. Pan.* II, 82: 'incendant gemmae chalybem'), they have to do nothing with Hun armour proper.

²⁶ Zsetskaia 1994, 39.

²⁷ See on all the types in question Robinson 1975, 147–173.

²⁸ Khazanov 1971, 90; Zsetskaia 1994, 39.

²⁹ See Levy 1971, 97.

XXXI, 2, 6). There was so widespread an opinion that the Huns hardly went on foot at all (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 6; Zosim. IV, 20, 4; Hier. *Ep.* 60, 17; Suid. s. v. ἄκροσφαλεῖς; cf. Mauric. XI, 2, 19 M = XI, 2, 68–70 D). However, this notion was exceptionally grounded on some awkwardness of their step, quite peculiar to all the other nomadic peoples, for whom the horse was the main means of conveyance (Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 207).

Ammianus Marcellinus names Hun horses outwardly deformed, but of great endurance (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 6). St Jerome (Hier. *Ep.* 60, 17) opposes Hun jades ('caballi') to Roman horses ('equi'), although he notes, nevertheless, swiftness of the former (Ibid. 77, 8). But the fullest information concerning them is given by the Roman military theorist Vegetius (late 4th – former half of the 5th century) in his treatise on veterinary science. In particular, he points out that the horses of the Huns are more suitable for war than others because of their high endurance, efficiency and staunchness to cold and hunger (Veget. *DAM* III, 6, 2). Also, especially mentioned is their exceptional suitability to winter pastures, brought up from the infancy, and stableness to frost and snow (Ibid. II pr. 1–2). In another place of his work Vegetius describes in detail the Hun horses' outward appearance: they have 'the big and hook-like head; prominent eyes; narrow nostrils; broad jaws; mighty and hard neck; manes hanging down below the knees; large ribs; curved spinal column; thick tail; very firm tibial bones; short legs; dense and broad hooves; hollow abdominal cavity and the entirely bony body; no any fat in their buttocks; no any prominences in their muscles; stature more inclined to length than to height; scraggy belly; solid bones. Their thinness is attractive, and in their deformity itself their beauty comes to light. They have the reasonable and wound-patient nature' (Ibid. III, 6, 5). Our sources underline the Hun horses' longevity to have exceeded 50 years (Veget. *DAM* III, 7, 1; Isid. *Etym.* XII, 1, 44).

It is to be thought that the mounts of the European Huns were not so small as their relatives of the Mongolian stock, whose withers height does not exceed, as a rule, 127 cm.³⁰ The former seriously underwent a modification in the course of the long Hun migration from the eastern part of Central Asia towards Europe. As a result of 'infusions of new blood' from different breeds, horses of the Huns had to increase their size.³¹ Their distinctive features, like those of other horse breeds of the Central Asian steppe origin, which were born and brought up in the very severe climatic conditions on the basis of pasturable herd keeping, always were exceptional endurance, unpretentiousness and sufficiently high speed. All this made them a formidable factor of the military might of ancient and medieval nomads, whose hordes periodically and all-overwhelmingly fell upon Europe.³²

³⁰ Nesterov 1990, 15, 36.

³¹ Hyland 1996, 3.

³² Sinor 1972; 1981, 137.

Among Hun horse-harness our sources refer to breast phalerae adorned with precious stones ('falerae vario gemmarum fulgore praetiosae': Iord. *Get.* 258), a bridle (τοῦ ἵππου ὁ χαλινός: Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 13, 1 B) and a hook-like bit ('crispata lupata') covered with sheet gold ('aurea lamna': Merob. *Pan.* II, 81). Under the last article it appears to have been meant the curb, cheek-pieces of which did have the shape of curved bars. It was intended for taking, in comparison with the simple two-part bit, the more severe control of a horse. Such a complex bridle, normally consisting of two parts – a cheeked bit and a drop noseband/muzzle, was in use in Iran and Roman Europe as far back as the first centuries A.D.³³. True, all of those bits that have been uncovered in burials of the European Hun culture belong to the simpler type, made up of two straight pivots, to the ends of which ring- or pivot-like psalia were attached.³⁴

Of riding equipment of the Huns we hear of whips (φραγέλλια: Callin. *VH* VI, 2), pieces of which have been discovered in funeral complexes of the epoch under review.³⁵ It is important to note that this obligatory article of every nomadic warrior's accoutrement, being trimmed frequently with metal details, could be employed not only as means of controlling the horse, but also as a weapon of close combat.³⁶ One more function of whips was to give the prearranged tactical signals (Callin. *VH* VI, 2; Veget. *ERM* III, 5). Besides, according to P. O. Harper's convincing conclusion grounded on analyzing appropriate pictorial and actual data, in the midst of the horse-riding and horse-breeding nations the whip was also esteemed as a symbol of high social status and power.³⁷

Some authors mention Hun saddles (Iord. *Get.* 213: 'equinae sellae'; Paul. Diac. *HR* XIV, 7: 'equitatoriae sellae'). Thanks to archaeological data, it is well known that such saddles certainly were of rigid, wooden, construction provided with the high front and rear arches.³⁸ It is particularly important to emphasize that regardless of the assertions in modern scholarship that the Huns were acquainted with the stirrups³⁹ they did not have them for sure. The fact is that this important cavalry device was invented in the Far East no earlier than in the end of the former half of the 1st millennium A.D., i. e. already long after the Huns had moved west-

³³ See Herrmann 1989, 758–763.

³⁴ Zasetskaia 1994, 40–42; Kazanski 1991, 137–139.

³⁵ Werner 1956, 54; Lebedynsky 2001, 200–201. But cf. Harper 1982, 186, n. 21, where some doubts are expressed concerning the correctness of J. Werner's interpretation of fragments of the gold cylinders from Hun-epoch burials as just whip details.

³⁶ See Borodovskiĭ 1987; 1993.

³⁷ Harper 1982.

³⁸ Werner 1956, 50–53; Zasetskaia 1994, 45–50; Kazanski 1991, 137; Kazanski et al. 1990, 53, 57–62; Bóna 1991, 68, 177, 179.

³⁹ See Clark 1941, 53; Howarth 1994, 20; Bruhn Hoffmeyer 1966, 115; cf. Werner 1956, 53; Littauer 1981, 104.

wards from their homeland. In return, the aforementioned arched saddles allowed the Hun riders to have a firm seat on horseback when riding at full speed and shooting arrows both forward and backwards without any problem.⁴⁰

Written records testify to the use by the Huns of gold and precious stones to beautify their weapons and horse-harness (Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 13, 1 B; Aster. *Hom.* 9; Merob. *Pan.* II, 79–83; Iord. *Get.* 258). This is confirmed as well by numerous finds of articles of everyday consumption, including arms and horse-harness, adorned with gold and silver and ornamented in the so-called ‘polychromy’ style, which have come to light from sites of the Hun epoch in South-Eastern Europe.⁴¹

Of special importance in the Hun strategy there was the factor of surprise attacks. Huns led a charge against the enemies ‘like a certain tornado of peoples’ (Iord. *Get.* 126: [Hunni] quasi quaedam turbo gentium). Owing to the high speed of their horses they made robbery raids so impetuously that even left behind any rumour of their approaching.⁴² As a rule, their raids were well planned with the obligatory employment of intelligence information (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 3, 6).⁴³ In the course of their invasions the Huns aimed at penetrating into the hostile territory as deep as possible. Huns did not shun treachery as well, by attacking, for instance, the nothing suspecting Romans during a fair which took place somewhere within the Danube valley in the reign of Attila (Prisc. *fr.* 2 D = 6, 1 B).

In their tactics the Huns gave preference to fighting at a long distance with keeping permanent high mobility and manoeuvrability. The Hun cavalry always charged first and did that with swift movement, being about to decide the outcome of the battle as soon as possible (cf. Iord. *Get.* 204–205). However, they did not go ahead at breakneck speed: their generals prepared military operations with great care, even thinking out the hour when to start the concrete action so that to have a possibility of saving in case of a failure (Ibid. 196).

The Huns attacked in loose formation, literally ‘by wedge’ (‘cuneatim’: Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 8), which seems to have had nothing with the real wedge-shaped order.⁴⁴ To all appearances, this term conforms to an expression ταῖς κατὰ κούνας τάξεσι τουτέστι ταῖς διεσπαρμέναις (‘[to charge] by wedges, i. e. by dispersed detachments’) from Maurice’s ‘Strategicon’ as a designation of battle formations which were drawn up by the ‘Hun’ (in the very broad sense of this

⁴⁰ See Nikonorov 2002b.

⁴¹ Zsetskaia 1975; 1994, 50–97; see also Lebedynsky 2001, 81–84.

⁴² Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 12; Ps.-Aur. Vict. XLVII, 3: omni pernicie atrociores [sc. Huni et Alani]; Auson. XXVI, 26, 8: Chunique truces; Claud. XXI, 110: vaga Chunorum feritas; Hier. *Adv. Jovin.* II, 7: et Hunnorum nova feritas; cf. Sidon. *Carm.* VII, 248–250: qui proxima quaeque discursu, flammis, ferro, feritate, rapinis debebant (here Sidonius speaks of the Hun horsemen in the army of Litorius).

⁴³ Bachrach 1992, 210.

⁴⁴ Ferrill 1991, 30.

ethnic name) peoples (Mauric. XI, 2, 15 M = XI, 2, 54 D). The word *κοῦνα* in it (= ‘cuneus’ in Latin) must be understood as a detached unit composed on the basis of tribal or clan consanguinity of its members, like the detachments-cunei of the ancient Germans.⁴⁵

From the report of Ammianus Marcellinus (XXXI, 2, 8–9) one can mark out the two main phases of the Huns’ tactics that were characteristic of them, at least, for the early stage of their conquests:

1. initial charge by the deep loose formation under the accompaniment of a terrible war cry and with intensive shooting bows at the enemies from a distance;
2. middle-range and hand-to-hand combat, when the Huns, moving fast throughout the battle field, threw the lassoes on their foes and, approaching them face to face, fought with the swords.

Very usual for the European Huns was the employment of various stratagems. The most important of these was a feigned retreat intended to deceive and fatigue their foes, which was then followed by a sudden counterattack (Claud. III, 331; Zosim. IV, 20, 4; cf. Hier. *Ep.* 77, 8; Agath. I, 22, 1). While retreating, they shot the bows backwards with so high accuracy (the so-called ‘Parthian shot’) that their persecutors, not expecting that, had serious losses in killed and wounded. Two other favourite stratagems of the Huns were surrounding the enemy order (Zosim. IV, 20, 4; Chron. Gall. p. 652, 52; cf. Agath. V, 19, 8) and laying ambushes (Iord. *Get.* 188; Prisc. *fr.* 2 D = 6, 1 B; cf. Claud. V, 270; Agath. III, 18, 4–9; V, 18, 10). All these tactical tricks were very typical for the Eurasian nomadic military.⁴⁶

It is to be underlined once again that the Huns preferred to fight from a distance, not in close combat. Beyond any doubt, their strategy and tactics went back again to military practices of the Hsiung-nu.⁴⁷ Although many Oriental peoples had been fighting since olden times with the bow on horseback, it was the Hsiung-nu and the Huns following them who developed horse-archery into the best form, viz. fighting mainly at a long distance, when the outcome of battle was decided not in hand-to-hand-combat, but in methodical and very efficient shooting at the enemy from afar, i. e. with the least losses for themselves.

However, it should be noted that Hun tactical methods had become quite different under Attila, as one can see this in case of the famous battle on the Catalaunian Fields in 451. It was caused by those changes which occurred by that time in the army of the Huns themselves. Even earlier already (in 370s – 380s), their rulers began to rely, although on a very small scale, upon infantry that was

⁴⁵ Todd 1988, 106.

⁴⁶ Golden 2002, 135–136.

⁴⁷ See Khudiakov 1986, 50–52.

very needful, especially for siege operations and fighting in forests and mountains, etc. It was then that some Goths, Scyri and Carpo-Dacians are mentioned to have supported, as soldiers on foot for sure, Hun raids into the Lower Danubian valley (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 8, 4; 16, 3; Ps.-Aur. Vict. XLVII, 3; XLVIII, 5; Zosim. IV, 34, 6). Since the early 5th century, having firmly established themselves on the banks of the Middle and Lower Danube, the Huns passed on to a practice of the more active recruitment of infantry forces from the midst of subdued Eastern Germanic tribes. As such the sources refer to the Scyri (Sozom. IX, 5, 5; CTh V, 6, 3), as well as to the Ostrogoths and the Gepids, the last two having formed the flower of the national host allied to Attila (Iord. *Get.* 199; 200; 209; 217). It seems undoubted that their bulk fought dismounted. However, this transition to the wide employment of warriors on foot marked a decline of the Hun military might initially rested on cavalry warfare. In an open battle like that on the Catalaunian Fields, when large masses of infantry played a significant role and, on the other hand, cavalry was hardly able to make the whole volume of their favourite stratagems (ambushes, simulated retreats, etc.), the Huns lost their advantage before the foes, unlike what had taken place in previous times.

Owing to Jordanes' description (Iord. *Get.* 198), we are aware of the battle order of the Hun army ('Hunnorum acies'), viz. the one taking place on the Catalaunian Fields (451): the supreme ruler 'together with the bravest' (i. e. picked) warriors (undoubtedly, Huns by birth) stood in its centre ('in medio Attila cum suis fortissimis locaretur'), whereas levies recruited from the midst of many peoples subject to him were placed on the flanks ('cornua vero eius multiplices populi et diversae nationes, quos ditioni suae subdiderat, ambiebant'). Evidently, such had to be the optimal battle order composed of ethnically very different contingents.⁴⁸

Almost thirty years ago R. P. Lindner suggested an original theory about the cardinal transformation of the Hun army. In his opinion, the majority of the Huns who came to Europe in the latter half of the 4th century could, indeed, be mounted warriors. Nevertheless, some time after, as a result of the Huns' occupation of the Great Hungarian Plain (Alföld), they had to fail there in getting a necessary amount of horses for war, because the plain is not so large enough, compared to the vast steppe spaces of Central Asia, that to graze very numerous herds of horses. And so, as a matter of fact, by the mid-fifth century the Hun mounted troops had to turn into those on foot similar to the Roman armies of that time. To support his theory R. P. Lindner adduced literary and archaeological data and as well mathematical calculations on the pasturable resources of the Alföld.⁴⁹ Many scholars have agreed with his conclusions.

⁴⁸ Golden 2002, 133–134.

⁴⁹ Lindner 1981; 1982, 701–706.

Nevertheless, in spite of its outer logicity and attraction, it seems difficult to accept R. P. Lindner's opinion entirely and unconditionally. Firstly, his analysis of the available written evidence concerning the Huns acting in a military context looks very straightforward. Since there the Huns in many cases are not mentioned as warriors on horseback, Lindner concludes that they fought on foot. However, from a methodological point of view it is hardly correct to ground the transformation of the Hun mounted troops into dismounted on the basis of the absence in sources of any direct references to their horses. To say nothing of what any argument 'ex silentio' is more than doubtful, one should note that these sources do not state at all that the Huns were exactly pedestrians! For instance, one should bear in mind the information that having failed at the battle on the Catalaunian Fields, Attila blocked up himself in his camp and ordered a fire of saddles (!) to be built inside so that to fall into it if he sees a real danger to be captured by the enemy (Iord. *Get.* 213; Paul. Diac. *HR* XIV, 7). It is to be supposed that such a fire, which would have been monumental in accordance with the highest rank of the Hun king, required a lot of saddles and, therefore, a big number of riders had to part with them. Let us speak as well of 'the picked cavalrymen from the entire Hun people' who partook in the funeral ceremony of Attila (Iord. *Get.* 256) and seem to have been the best against a background of other, for sure very numerous, Hun horsemen.

Most likely, the mounted nature of Hun warfare was so evident to our authors that they even decided not to lay emphasis on this circumstance once more. Take notice as well of the fact that Lindner considers, in particular, the aforementioned episode from Sozomen's story of the Hun trying to lasso the bishop Theotimus (Sozom. VII, 26, 8) as an additional argument in favour of his theory.⁵⁰ But, as we have seen, such an interpretation of this passage is in fact defenceless and so cannot be accepted.

Secondly, as regards the claimed impossibility to keep a sufficient number of horses for the numerous Hun cavalry in the conditions of the Great Hungarian Plain. Here it is obligatory to bear in mind the fact that the lands between the Danube and the Tisza rivers, where Attila's headquarters were plausibly situated, were not the only ones of his domains. The realm of Attila did embrace regions to the east of the Carpathian mountains, including at least Scythia near the Pontus (= the Black Sea), i. e. the Northern Pontic area, where the elder son of Attila ruled (Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 11, 2 B).⁵¹ And in this case the pasturable resources in the east of the Hun empire were quite sufficient to graze a very big number of war horses. Therefore, Attila when intending to undertake a serious campaign was

⁵⁰ Lindner 1981, 8.

⁵¹ See also an opinion that the bulk of Huns even in the age of Attila dwelt to the east of the Hungarian plain (Sinor 1990, 203).

able to recruit in his eastern possessions a quite considerable reinforcement for his cavalry.⁵² This is another matter that, as D. Sinor has rightly pointed out, the invasions of Gaul and Italy by the army of Attila in 451 and 452 respectively could not be successful because their territories lacked sufficient natural resources to maintain for a long time huge hordes of the Hun riders and their horses.⁵³ Perhaps, these campaigns were lasting much longer than Attila planned himself, and there was the problem of supplying his army strongly aggravated with the military failures (as it did occur in Gaul) that forced him to go back where he came from.

Thirdly, some doubts are as concerning the correctness of R. P. Lindner's appraisal of the pasturable resources of the Hungarian plain. In his opinion, there simultaneously 150,000 horses could graze and at a rate of 10 mounts per one rider at average the Hun troops numbered only 15,000 men. For comparison this scholar adduced the pasturable means of Mongolia, where in the Middle Ages a nomadic warrior had until 18 horses at his disposal.⁵⁴ However, as J. Keegan has written on this occasion,⁵⁵ it is needful to take into consideration the fact that the climate and natural conditions of the Great Hungarian Plain are much more mild and favourable for pasturable horse-breeding than those of the steppes. Thanks to that the Alföld Huns were able to breed a considerable quantity of horses and, therefore, provide a large mounted force.⁵⁶ The figure of 10 horses per one Hun cavalryman, calculated by R. P. Lindner at will as understated, is possibly even overstated. So, for instance, it is well known that in 1914 in Hungary a cavalry force was recruited that numbered 29,000 men at a rate of one horse per rider and, 'though the horses would have been larger than Attila's and partly grain-fed, such differences are not sufficient to explain a tenfold diminution of requirements. Hun horses must have thrived in the seventy years they were there and it is most unlikely that Attila was short of them when he set out

⁵² See also Lebedynsky 2001, 72–73.

⁵³ Sinor 1993, 10–11.

⁵⁴ Lindner 1981, 14–15.

⁵⁵ Keegan 1993, 187.

⁵⁶ On the other hand, J. Keegan thinks that a considerable portion of the horses in Attila's army 'were ridden to death and that they could not be replaced down his line of communications. Cavalry campaigns kill horses in huge numbers if they cannot be regularly rested and grazed. During the Boer War of 1899–1902, for example, the British army lost 347,000 out of the 518,000 that took part, though the country abounded in good grazing and has a benign climate. Only a tiny fraction, no more than two per cent, were lost in battle. The rest died of overwork, disease or malnutrition, at a rate of 336 for each day of the campaign. Attila, moreover, had no means of moving his horses by waggon or ship, as the British transported theirs to and within South Africa. The likelihood is, therefore, that any remounts he received along the overland route from Hungary arrived in little better shape than those his men were already riding, and that the retreat to the grasslands finished off many of the survivors' (Keegan 1993, 187–188).

for the west in 450'.⁵⁷ Of course, it remains only to guess what was such a ratio in reality at the days of Attila, but with all differences in horse-breeding practices of both the epochs it does not seem so evident that in the mid-fifth century a Hun warrior from the Great Hungarian Plain needed the amount of horses which was in 10 times more than that required by a Hungarian cavalryman in the early 20th century.⁵⁸

It is needful as well to take into account such plausibility that under the Romans' influence those Huns who took up their residence on the Alföld could transfer at least some portion of their herds to the indoor maintenance with an additional fodder in winter. In turn, this had to be favourable to a state of their horse resources. At last, not the least of the factors is that the Huns, in addition to breeding their own horse population, made also use of the horses captured as booty from the Romans (Oros. VII, 34, 5; Paul. Diac. *HR* XI, 15; Land. Sag. XII, 188).

To sum up this discussion,⁵⁹ it should be said that the army of Attila did differ in its organizational structure from the Huns' one-and-all mounted troops of a period of their earlier conquests in Europe. It is possible even to speak of a certain degradation of the European Hun warfare as a whole, caused by the inclusion of large numbers of the Germanic warriors into Attila's host. However, it was an objective corollary of the completion under him of the transformation of the Hun tribal confederation into a barbarian despotic state of imperial type. It was then that the primary mono-ethnicity of armed forces as the most important principle of preserving traditions in the sphere of art of war could not be already intact. Besides that, the Huns could have had serious problems when keeping a horse population in the west of their domains, as well as when supplying their cavalry with forage in the course of military operations within the hostile territory. All these factors had to exert negative influence upon the efficiency of the Hun war machine. At the same time, it seems that there are no sufficient proofs, contrary to the widely accepted theory of R. P. Lindner, to assert that Attila's properly Hun soldiers were transformed in a considerable degree from cavalrymen into combatants on foot:

⁵⁷ Keegan 1993, 187.

⁵⁸ By the way, through looking, for instance, at what is told in literary sources of another equestrian people inhabiting the Northern Pontic steppes in Antiquity – the Sarmatians – we get to know that each of them while undertaking military campaigns and raids had only two (or even one) reserve horses at his disposal (Polyaen. VIII, 56; Amm. Marc. XVII, 12, 3; cf. references to the Alans and the Moesians – see Ambros. *De excid. urb. Hieros.* V, 50 and Val. Flacc. VI, 161–162 respectively).

⁵⁹ Additional criticism of Lindner's theory, which is some later than my own thoughts on this point originally expressed in 2002 (Nikonorov 2002a, 267–270) may be found in Sidebottom 2004, 79–81.

quite apart from other considerations, so entire a transformation would obviously have contradicted the Huns' martial mentality.

The Hun horde of mounted archers, which would seem to have been invincible, had, however, its weakness. Above all, they experienced much difficulty to fight enemies who were, like the Huns themselves, mobile and well-trained in shooting from afar. Such were, in particular, the Persians who had proved to be able in the late 4th century to overwhelm invading Hun troops by firing a huge number of arrows (Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 11, 2 B). Of no small importance was the fact that the Huns were then heavily burdened with the captured booty. The same case always limited to their mobility (Max. Tur. *Hom.* 94),⁶⁰ sometimes forcing them to stop even successfully advancing offensives (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 3, 8). And what is more, while coming back from a campaign the Huns could lose vigilance to such a degree that their not so numerous adversaries in the course of a surprise attack not only inflicted heavy losses on them, but also deprived them of the loot. It was such an event that occurred in the early 440s, when after an unfortunate siege by the Huns of Asemus, a strong Roman fortress on the Danube frontier, its defenders brought themselves to pursue the retreating foes who were both burdened with the booty and absolutely careless (Prisc. *fr.* 5 D = 9, 3 B).⁶¹

By the way, the Huns' insufficient watchfulness adversely affected as well their organization of sentry service. So, it is known that the Hun soldiers, who were serving in the guards of the Western Roman General-in-Chief Stilicho, were treacherously annihilated in their sleep by Sarus the Goth, one of the same Stilicho's military leaders (Zosim. V, 34, 1). Another instance is the defeat of the Huns by a host of the Burgundians c. 430, when the latter, only 3,000 in number, in consequence of a surprise attack won a victory over 10,000-man Hun troops (Socr. Schol. VII, 30, 6; Cassiod. *Hist.* XII, 4).

The Huns made active use of psychological warfare. Among its means a particular place was occupied by their loathsome outward appearance which terrified very much their Roman and other opponents. Ancient authors paid considerable attention to the fact that the Huns had a custom of scratching all over the faces of new-born male children, although, in their opinion, these aliens were ugly even without this brutal operation (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 2–3; Claud. III, 325–327;⁶² V, 270; Hier. *Comm. in Is.* III, 7;⁶³ Sidon. *Carm.* II, 245–257; Hier. *Ep.* 60, 17; Iord. *Get.* 127–128; 206; Land. *Sag.* XII, 187; cf. Synes. *DR* 15).

Besides, the Huns strove for impressing the foes on battle-field by blowing the trumpets ('tubae': Iord. *Get.* 212; Paul. Diac. *HR* XIV, 7) and, at the same

⁶⁰ See Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 138–139.

⁶¹ See also Thompson 1948, 85; 1999, 93.

⁶² See Levy 1971, 96.

⁶³ See Syme 1968, 17.

time, by uttering the terrible war-cry ('variae voces sonantes torvum': Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 8).⁶⁴

A distinguishing feature of Hun psychological preparations for military actions were consultations with soothsayers on the outcome of the forthcoming battle and the performance of pagan rites before fighting (Prosp. *Chron.* 1335; Isid. *HG* 24; Paul. Diac. *HR* XIII, 13; Iord. *Get.* 195–196; 209).⁶⁵ There is evidence that the Huns sacrificed their captives to the victory ('litavere victoriae': Iord. *Get.* 125); however, this bloody custom perhaps took place only at the initial stage of their conquests in Europe. It is to be supposed that the shamans-soothsayers ('haruspices': Prosp. *Chron.* 1335; Isid. *HG* 24; 'aruspices': Iord. *Get.* 195; 209; Paul. Diac. *HR* XIII, 13; cf. μάντιες: Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 13, 3 B) were always attached to the Hun army, and their duties included as well a witchcraft with the object of directing damage at the enemies.

Beyond any doubt, the European Huns had the code of military valour and honour, which they were ready to follow in fighting at the price of their own lives. This is directly pointed out by Jordanes in his story about the heroic death of Ellac, the son of Attila, at the battle of Nedao (Iord. *Get.* 262): 'he is known to have perished with such fortitude, having killed a multitude of the enemies, that [his] father, if he would have been alive, would have wished [himself] so glorious an end' ('nam post multas hostium cedes sic viriliter eum constat peremptum, ut tam gloriosum superstis pater optasset interitum'). There was a custom in their milieu to sing of victories and brave deeds of their rulers. So, Priscus informs us as a witness (Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 13, 1 B) that in a banquet at Attila's court two Huns stood before their overlord and performed songs composed in his honour (ᾠσματα πεποιημένα ἔλεγον νίκας αὐτοῦ [sc. Ἀττήλα] καὶ τὰς κατὰ πόλεμον ἄδοντες ἀρετὰς). During the funeral ceremony of Attila (Iord. *Get.* 256–257) the most picked Hun horsemen, when riding around a silk marquee in which his body was lying, commemorated his exploits by singing a dirge ('lectissimi equites... facta eius cantu funereo... referebant').

It is reported in the so-called 'Story about the Battle of the Goths with the Huns' preserved in the Old Scandinavian 'Hervararsaga' that mounted forces of the European Huns were organized in hundreds and thousands.⁶⁶ In other words, they continued to follow, undoubtedly after the Hsiung-nu model, the 'Asiatic decimal system' that was characterized by a division of troops into tactic units numbering

⁶⁴ Cf. Paul. Diac. *HR* XIV, 7: 'clamore perstreperere'; Paulin. Petric. *VM* VI, 93–94: 'Chunorum soni... atque minantium murmura et... fera'; Hier. *Comm. in Is.* III, 7: 'sed per feras gentes, ... quarum... sermo terribilis est'.

⁶⁵ See Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 267–268.

⁶⁶ Wolfram 1993, 13.

10, 100, 1,000 and 10,000 men.⁶⁷ In this respect worthy of note is the fact that Sozomen's story about the invasion of Thrace by the Hun ruler Uldin in 408/409 refers to λοχαγοί in his troops (Sozom. IX, 5, 4). They were rather junior officers, each of whom is supposed to have been in command of a hundred soldiers.⁶⁸

Now as to numbers of Hun troops. Some figures are cited by Zosimus and Philostorgius who both must have derived these from the lost history of Olympiodorus. The former, in particular, speaks of a small, 300-man, elite contingent composed of Huns in service of the Western Roman emperor Honorius in 408 (Zosim. V, 45, 6). Further, he lets us know that in 409 Honorius hired 10,000 Hun warriors to withstand the Visigoths in Italy (Ibid. V, 50, 1). According to Philostorgius, in 425 Aetius brought to Italy 60,000 (!) Hun mercenaries (Philostorg. XII, 14), however, this number is certainly grossly exaggerated and needs to be diminished approximately in 10 times.⁶⁹

As more deserving confidence looks a report of the church historians about 10,000 men in the army of the Hun king Uptar, who fought the Burgundians in c. 430 (Socr. Schol. VII, 30, 6; Cassiod. *Hist.* XII, 4). On the contrary, one should consider as very exaggerated the strength of Attila's army in the course of his campaign in Gaul in 451 – 500,000 soldiers (Iord. *Get.* 182). In fact, it seems to have numbered roughly 100,000 fighters.⁷⁰ It is known that at the battle of Nedao in 454 the Huns and their allies lost about the 30,000 killed (Iord. *Get.* 262); but it was hardly the total annihilation, and by the start of the action they might have had in 1,5–2 times more warriors in their ranks.

It must be stated that the nature of power of the leader as a commander-in-chief among the Huns had been changing radically, developing since their invasion of Eastern Europe onwards. At first, such was some clan elder ('primas') chosen occasionally from among other 'primates' (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 7) as a provisional general ('rex': Iord. *Get.* 130; 248; 249; κρατῶν: Sozom. VI, 37, 4–5; ἄρχων: Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 11, 2 B; Aster. *Hom.* 9) acting to be in charge of a raid or campaign. Next, we hear of the chief of a single tribe (φύλαρχος: Joan. Ant. *fr.* 187; ῥήξ: Olymp. *fr.* 18 D = 19 B; 'dux': Oros. VII, 37, 12; Paul. Diac. *HR* XII, 12; Land. Sag. XIII, 193; cf. Sidon. *Carm.* II, 241) and, afterwards, of the

⁶⁷ Khudiakov 1986, 49–50, 225. An additional evidence is adduced by the Byzantine historian of the first half of the 7th century, Theophylact Simocatta. Speaking of the Bulgars, i. e. representatives of the people descending in some part from the former Hun population of the Northern Pontic steppe area (see Artamonov 2002, 100–122; Golden 1990, 258; cf. Klyashtorny, Savinov 2005, 60–64), who were serving the Avars in the very late 6th century, he defines a strength of their contingent as 'ten hundreds': ἑκατοντάσι δέκα Βουλγάρους (Theophyl. Sim. VII, 4, 1). In turn, this clearly points at the Bulgar troops to have been organized in accordance with the same 'decimal system'.

⁶⁸ Harmatta 1952, 291.

⁶⁹ Thompson 1948, 49; 1999, 55.

⁷⁰ Cf. Bachrach 1994, 63–67.

supreme (often just nominal) chief of a tribal confederacy (ὁ τῶν ρηγῶν πρῶτος; Olymp. *fr.* 18 D = 19 B). Finally, the Huns were led in war by the absolute monarch like the noted Attila (βασιλεύς; Prisc. *fr.* 3 D = 9, 1 B; Evagr. I, 17; ‘rex’: see *LSNEE* I: 66–77).

By the way, the nature of Hun high leadership in war is well seen in the following instance. When the king Uptar (Octar) died in the course of his campaign against the Burgundians in the Rhine area (c. 430), his 10,000 soldiers, having suddenly found themselves without their commander-in-chief (ἀσπρατήγητοι; Socr. Schol. VII, 30, 6 = sine duce; Cassiod. *Hist.* XII, 4), were so demoralized that were routed by the enemies numbering only 3,000 fighters.

In Attila’s reign, some important military functions were performed by the most powerful representatives of the supreme Hun aristocracy called in our sources ‘picked’ (λογάδες; Prisc. *fr.* 7; 8 D = 11, 1; 2; 13, 1; 14 B) and ‘royal companions’ (‘ministri regii’: Iord. *Get.* 254). Two of them stood out against a background of the others – Onegesius and Edeco, the king’s ‘nearest companions’ (ἐπιτήδαιοι; Prisc. *fr.* 7; 8 D = 11, 1; 2 B) playing the main role in his military actions, who most likely were just those proclaimed as the ‘generals having the greatest fame’ in the Scythians’ (i. e. Huns’) midst (στρατηγοὶ μέγιστον παρὰ Σκύθαις ἔχοντες κλέος; Ibid. *fr.* 5 D = 9, 3 B). Some indirect data from Priscus (Ibid. *fr.* 8 D = 11, 2 B) would hint at the presence of personal bodyguards at the disposal of Onegesius and Edeco, and of Attila himself too (see also Iord. *Get.* 198; 256; cf. Malal. p. 359, 5: a reference to a certain σπαθάριος of Attila, who was in all likelihood a guard of his lord).

In addition to the λογάδες, Attila’s closest retainers were as well two rulers of the subject Eastern Germanic peoples – Ardaric, the chief of the Gepids, and Valamer, the chief of the Ostrogoths. They both were very loyal to their sovereign and – the only from all other foreign princes – enjoyed his love and confidence (Iord. *Get.* 199–200). Their own forces constituted a considerable part of Attila’s army,⁷¹ and so their real influence upon his military policy had to be ponderable enough.

Some words should be said about technical services in the Hun forces. For capturing fortresses and fortified towns, according to literary evidence (Prisc. *fr.* 1b D = 6, 2 B; Iord. *Get.* 221; Paul. Diac. *HR* XIV, 9; Greg. Tur. *HF* II, 7), the Huns had in their army, at least under Attila, special units to attend to missile engines (μηχαναί, ‘machinae’, ‘omnia genera tormentorum’) and battering rams (κριοί, ‘arietes’). Except for archers placed on the μηχαναί timbered platforms and shooting bows, under the shelter of willow-woven screens additionally covered over with rawhide and leather shrouds, at the defenders fighting from the walls (Prisc. *fr.* 1b D = 6, 2 B), crews of such siege devices appear to have been

⁷¹ Bachrach 1994, 63–65.

recruited from foreign prisoners and deserters, not from the Huns themselves. These machines must have been built by Roman engineers in Hun service. The available testimonies of how the European Huns stormed enemy fortifications allow to assert that they had at their disposal practically all the means of the contemporary high-developed siegecraft and were able so to take even well-fortified strongholds.⁷² According to the ancients' opinion, none of stone fortifications could stand up against Attila (Iord. *Get.* 210), speaking nothing of those not intended for opposing serious siege operations (Proc. *De aed.* IV, 5, 2–6).

The Hun forces included another auxiliary unit, viz. a stock of the heavy wagons (ἄμαξαι) carrying pontoons (σχεδίαι) to get over any water and marshy obstacles (Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 11, 2 B). With their assistance there could be constructed a bridge (διάβασις) over a river to move the siege engines up to the fortifications to be assaulted (Ibid. *fr.* 1b D = 6, 2 B). To cross water streams there were used, in addition to the pontoons, boats made of single tree trunks (σκάφη μονόξυλα, μονόξυλα πλοῖα), served by special boatmen (πορθμεῖς; Ibid. *fr.* 8 D = 11, 2 B).

As a whole one may conclude that in Attila's days the special technical equipment of the Hun army was in keeping line with that of the Romans (cf. Veget. *ERM* III, 7; IV, 15; Amm. Marc. XXIII, 4, 8–13; Proc. *Bell.* V, 21, 6–13).⁷³

Deserving attention is also such a method of Hun warfare as the employment of wagons to make a fortified camp by placing them as its fences ('septa castrorum, quam plaustris vallatum': Iord. *Get.* 210; 'plaustrorum munimenta': Paul. Diac. *HR* XIV, 7). Its erection was intended for finding shelter at night time and in case of the defeat in battle. Apparently, the surrounding wagons (generally called 'plaustra' and 'carpenta') were, on the one hand, the aforecited carriers of the pontoons, and, on the other hand, individual light carts—*kibitkas* ('carpenta': Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 10; cf. 'plaustra': Max. Tur. *Hom.* 94) serving normally as means of transportation to contain both the Hun warriors' families while wandering and various supplies and booty.

Without any doubt, the original idea of the military use of fortified camps belonged to nomadic peoples, in everyday life of which wagons played a very significant role. Such a kind of field fortification was able to protect from the enemies on open terrain, and it was intended not against infantry well trained to storm fortified objectives, but against cavalry. The history of the camp surrounded from every quarter by wagons and carts (English *wagon laager*, German *Wagenburg*, Czech *vozov hradba*) in Eastern and Central Europe goes back to the Scythian epoch and is traced up to the Late Medieval Ages.⁷⁴

⁷² See Tausend 1985/1986.

⁷³ See also Southern, Dixon 1996, 160–167; Tausend 1985/1986, 268–269.

⁷⁴ See in detail Golubovskii 1902; Pletneva 1964; Chernenko 1984, 64–66; Żygulski 1994; Golden 2002, 137–138.

It seems quite plausible that Huns surrounded the besieged towns with the complete ring of wagons and carts for the purpose of their total blockade: such a method of Hun poliorcetics appears to be implied by Jordanes' use of the participle 'circumvallans' in his report concerning the siege of the Pannonian city Basiana by the king Dintzic, Attila's son (Iord. *Get.* 272).

Hun warriors very willingly served the foreigners for pay, sometimes even both hostile sides at one and the same time (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 3, 3; Zosim. V, 37, 1; V, 45, 6; cf. V, 50, 1). But especially far-famed they were in service of the Romans, taking the part of allies hired for money, most probably as 'comitatenses' – soldiers of the imperial field army.⁷⁵ It is to be thought that exactly so was the status of the Hun soldiers participating in campaigns on the Roman side, which is hidden in Greek sources under the terms συμμαχικόν (Zosim. V, 26, 4), συμμαχία (Zosim. V, 50, 1; Synes. *Ep.* 78; Socr. Schol. VII, 23, 8), βοήθεια (Socr. Schol. VII, 43, 1), ὁμαχμία (Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 11, 2 B), ἔνσπονδοι (Proc. *Bell.* VIII, 5, 16) и μισθωτοί (Philostorg. XII, 14), and in Latin authors – 'auxilium' (Oros. VII, 37, 12; Prosp. *Chron.* 1310; Chron. Gall. p. 658, 112; 659, 587), 'auxiliantes' (Prosp. *Chron.* 1326; Isid. *HG* 24; Paul. Diac. *HR* XIII, 12; 13), 'auxiliares' (Chron. Gall. p. 652, 52; Prosp. *Chron.* 1335; Cassiod. *Chron.* 1232; Iord. *Get.* 176; idem. *Rom.* 358), 'auxiliari' (Iord. *Get.* 177), 'auxiliaris manus' (Hyd. *Chron.* 116), 'auxiliatores', 'socii' and 'foedus' (Paulin. Petric. *VM* VI, 219–221).

Worthy of note is that until the fall of the power of the Huns in South-Eastern Europe their rulers kept up active allied relations only with the Western Roman empire, the generals of which set their big hopes on Hun contingents acting in Gaul.⁷⁶ As regards Byzantium, the Huns concluded with it just the peace treaties which did not contain any points concerning military co-operation (Zosim. V, 22, 3; Prisc. *fr.* 2; 5; 6; 8; 13; 14 D = 6, 1; 9, 3; 10; 11, 2; 15, 3; 4 B). This fact must be explained by the fear of the Eastern Roman authorities, whose Danubian provinces were constantly under the threat of Hun invasions, to accept these barbarians for military service on the northern frontier. The main reason of that were so characteristic features of the Huns' behaviour as inconstancy and inclination to break the arrangements already signed, as well as their indefatigable passion for plunder.⁷⁷ Such apprehensions were quite just, indeed, because, as it follows from the testimonies of contemporaries (Sidon. *Carm.* VII, 248–250; Paulin. Petric. *VM* VI, 218–223; cf. *Ibid.* VI, 93–94; Salv. *GD* IV, 67; 68), the Hun mercenaries conducted themselves in Gaul, i. e. in the province of the Western empire allied with them, like in a conquered country, committing every possible excesses there.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Elton 1997, 89–97.

⁷⁶ See Salv. *GD* VII, 39: 'nos [sc. Romani] in Chunis spem ponere'.

⁷⁷ See, e. g. appropriate testimonials in Amm. Marc. XXXI, 2, 11 and Sidon. *Carm.* VII, 248–250.

⁷⁸ See also Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 257–258.

However, it appears that the Eastern Romans did not wish to employ the Huns as allies only in the northern, Balkan, provinces of their empire, where those would have been an additional factor of instability. Otherwise it was in the far, overseas possessions of the Byzantine empire. The matter is that a small elite troop composed of στρατιώται Οὐννίγαρδαι was disposed in the early 5th century in Lybia Pentapolis. Judging by its denomination, these warriors were Huns by origin (Suid. s. v. Ὀυννίγαρδαι: ὄνομα ἔθνους; Zonar. *Lex.* s. v. Οὐννίγαρδαι. ἐθνικόν). According to our only source, Synesius who saw them as a witness (Synes. *Ep.* 78; *Catast.* I, 2; *Catast.* II, 2), the Οὐννίγαρδαι were in service of the Roman military commander of the province and were provided with remounts, martial outfit and pay by the emperor himself. They fought in accordance with the warfare peculiarities characteristic of them – as mounted archers, and were praised as the best warriors of all the provincial forces. Often acting without assistance, these Huns were able to vanquish, despite their small number (just 40 men!), much more numerous enemies.⁷⁹ Worthy of note is the fact that the Οὐννίγαρδαι occupied an independent place in the composition of the provincial forces, being not mixed up with other units in one battle array (Synes. *Catast.* II, 2). It is interesting that approximately 120 years later the ‘Huns’ (= ‘Massagetae’, i. e. those recruited from the midst of various alien nomadic peoples of Central Asian origins, including the remainder of the former Hun population of South-Eastern Europe) who served in the army of Belisarius fighting against the Vandals in the same Northern Africa assumed their own formation separately from the rest of the Byzantine troops, like they had done so ‘before’ (πρότερον) (Proc. *Bell.* IV, 3, 7). In other words, it was necessary most likely from the point of view of the use by them of their specific tactical methods.⁸⁰

Seemingly, the Hun sovereigns tried to control the process of recruiting mercenaries from their own soldiery. And what is more, having become a sole ruler of the Huns, Attila, planning to be on the wide offensive against both the Roman empires, prohibited his subjects to fight against himself at all (Prisc. *fr.* 8 D = 11, 2 B).⁸¹ This situation changed only after the battle at Nedao in 454. Since then, after the break-down of the state created by Attila, an initiative in hiring Hun mercenaries was taken up by the Byzantine authorities (Iord. *Get.* 265–266),⁸² and very soon in their service there appeared even Hun-birth officers like a certain Chelchal (Prisc. *fr.* 39 D = 49 B).

⁷⁹ See Roques 1987, 68, 77, 165, 236, 237, 240, 244, 245, 247–250, 256, 262, 264, 270, 282, 289–292; Maenchen-Helfen 1973, 255; Elton 1997, 92–95, 107.

⁸⁰ Darkó 1935, 468.

⁸¹ Täckholm 1969, 270.

⁸² Sinor 1982, 487–488.

It is to be underlined that the Huns influenced very deeply, by their introduction into European fighting practice of the powerful and long-range bows first and foremost, both offensive armament and tactics not only of the peoples subject to them, but also – through battling against imperial armies and providing them with mercenary forces from their own midst – of the Late Roman and Early Byzantine military.⁸³

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⁸³ Darkó 1935, 463–469; 1948, 87–89; Bivar 1972, 281–284; Coulston 1985, 243–244; 1986, 70; Bishop, Coulston 1993, 195, 205.

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Abstract

The paper deals with the art of warfare of the Huns, who invaded Southeast Europe in the last third of the 4th century A.D. and dominated there through the third quarter of the 5th century. It is described on the basis of all the available Greek and Latin written sources. Matters of the author's consideration are arms and armour, horse equipment, armed forces, strategy and tactics, siegecraft and the structure of military organization. Some part of the paper contains critics of R. P. Lindner's theory about the "dismounting" of the majority of Hun cavalry troops at least by the time of the great ruler Attila.

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**EIN KOPF DES DARIUS AM EHEMALIGEN
POSTFUHRAMT IN BERLIN****Keywords:** Achaemenids, Darius, Persia, post, modern art

Unter den 25 Bildnismedaillons, die das Erdgeschoss des ehem. Postfuhramts in Berlin zieren, sind drei Persönlichkeiten dem Altertum vorbehalten. Am Anfang (an der Oranienburger Straße) steht Darius, Sohn des Hystaspes (522–486 v.Chr.), den Kopf geradeaus gerichtet, d.h. frontal dargestellt, gefolgt von Herodot, dem „Vater der Geschichtsschreibung“, im Profil, der dem Römer Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, ebenfalls im Profil, gegenübergestellt ist.

Die Wahl eines Perserkönigs an erster Stelle eines Zusammenhanges, in dem in historischer Folge herausragende Persönlichkeiten auf dem Gebiet von Verkehr und Kommunikation dargestellt sind, ist einmalig und soll daher hier Gegenstand einer eingehenden Untersuchung werden. Die achämenidische Kunst hat kaum, weder in Europa, noch an anderen Orten in der Welt eine Rezeption gefunden, insofern kommt diesem gegen 1881 entstandenen Kopf (Abb. 1) besondere Bedeutung zu¹.

Der Perser Darius, der Grieche Herodot und der Römer Vipsanius Agrippa stehen hier also stellvertretend für das gesamte Altertum. Der auf diese Gruppe folgende Marco Polo² markiert das Mittelalter und zeigt zugleich die hohe Bedeutung der Reisens und Erkundens für die Entwicklung von Post und Kommunikation an. So gesehen ist hier Herodot nicht so sehr als der Historiker, sondern als der Erkunder bis dahin wenig bekannter Länder im Schwarzmeergebiet und

¹ S. hierzu die grundlegende Publikation von Nitschke 2002, 80–129.

² Nitschke 2002, 83, Abb. 71.

im Vorderen Orient zu verstehen und wird Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa vor allem deshalb aufgenommen worden sein, weil er eine Streckenbeschreibung des römischen Reiches hinterlassen hatte, nach der eine Karte der damals bekannten Welt konstruiert werden konnte.

Der am Anfang der Bildnisse stehende Darius, Sohn des Hystaspes, repräsentiert daher kaum den Herrscher und Eroberer, sondern für die Gesamtheit der Perser stehend, vor allem den Erbauer der sog. Königsstraße neben anderen Leistungen für den Verkehr³. Auf dieser Königsstraße, deren Verlauf von Susa nach Sardes, und von dort weiter an die damalige Küste nach Ephesus von Herodot (5.52–54) genau beschrieben wird, konnte ein normales Heer in hundertelf Tagesmärschen von der persischen Hauptstadt nach Kleinasien gelangen. Nach jedem Tagesmarsch stand eine Station für Rast und Pferdewechsel zur Verfügung. Dieses System ermöglichte einen Kurierdienst von erstaunlicher Schnelligkeit⁴, den Herodot an anderer Stelle (8.98) ebenfalls beschreibt:

„Es gibt nichts Schnelleres unter den sterblichen Wesen als diese persischen Boten, so klug haben die Perser ihren Botendienst eingerichtet. Es heißt, es stehen für jeden Tag des ganzen Weges besondere Pferde und Leute bereit. Von Tagereise zu Tagereise findet sich ein neues Pferd und ein neuer Bote; sie lassen sich weder durch Schnee noch durch Regen, weder durch die Tageshitze noch durch die Nacht abhalten, die vorgeschriebene Wegestrecke aufs schnellste zurückzulegen. Der erste Eilbote übergibt die Nachricht dem zweiten, der zweite dem dritten. So geht sie von Hand zu Hand (...)“

Dieser Vorgang war in dem etwa zehn Jahre älteren General-Postamt in Berlin auch bildlich dargestellt auf einem von 12 Gemälden, die *„die Verkehrsmittel der Post und ihren Entwicklungsgang von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart durch symbolische Kriegergruppen darstellten“*, wie es in einer zeitgenössischen Beschreibung heißt. Auf dem vierten dieser von H. v. Stephan selbst entworfenen und von dem Historienmaler Schütze ausgeführten Gemälde, das „Persien“ zum Inhalt hat, erkennt man noch auf einer erhaltenen Zeichnung zwei reitende Putti, von denen einer dem anderen eine Nachricht von Hand zu Hand übergibt⁵.

³ Zu denken ist hier vor allem an den in Ägypten gegrabenen Kanal, der als Vorläufer des modernen Suezkanal anzusehen ist, und der vom Unterlauf des Nil in das Rote Meer führte, vgl. Haussig 1965, 689, Anm. 42 zu Herodot 4.39 vgl. 2.158. Zu den Großtaten des Verkehrs zählen auch die Brücken über den Bosphorus, die Darius für seinen Feldzug gegen die Skythen (Brücke des Mandrokles, Hdt. 4.87–89) und Xerxes für seinen Griechenlandfeldzug (Hdt. 7.34–35) hatte errichten lassen. Da es sich dabei um Schiffsbrücken handelte, waren sie Stürmen gegenüber sehr gefährdet und hatten dementsprechend keine lange Lebensdauer.

⁴ Haussig 1965, 703 Anm. 57 zu Hdt. 5.50, gibt an, daß die Kuriere des Großkönigs für die gesamte Strecke der Königsstraße 7 Tage gebraucht hätten, leider ohne Stellenverweis.

⁵ Nitschke 2002, 53 – 55 Abb. 36–47, Szene mit Persern Abb. 39.



Abb. 1



Abb. 2.



Abb. 3.

Fraglos haben wir es hier mit einer Veranschaulichung der Schilderung in Herodot 8.98 zu tun, wenn auch in jener altertümlichen Allegorisierung durch Putti oder Eroten, die auf dem späteren Postfuhrant durch Porträts der jeweils maßgeblichen Persönlichkeiten ersetzt worden waren. So gesehen steht der Darius des Postfuhrantes auch für „die Perser“ allgemein, die, was an diesem Platze entscheidend ist, das erste bekannte Postsystem der Geschichte entwickelt haben⁶.

Der besonderen Stellung des Darius entspricht auch die große Sorgfalt, die man, bzw. der Bildhauer Steinemann⁷, bei der Ausarbeitung dieses Porträts hat walten lassen (Abb. 1). Die Krone, die Tiara, ist reich verziert und trägt einen oberen Abschluß von kleinen Kugeln, während der zylinderförmige Hauptteil aus einem Rapport von Kreuzen und diese einfassenden Rankenelementen besteht. Am unteren Saum, ebenso wie zwischen den Ranken befinden sich Perlenreihen unterschiedlicher Form.

Dieser Dekor ist die genaue Übernahme der Anordnung wie wir sie auf dem farbigen Rekonstruktionsvorschlag von Charles Texier aus dem Jahre 1852 finden (Abb. 2)⁸. So wie schon Flandin legte Texier seiner Zeichnung das Schema der Laibungen der Nord- und Südtür des sog. Tripylons in Persepolis zugrunde, auf denen der Großkönig von zwei Dienern mit Sonnenschirm Fliegenwedel und Tuch gefolgt wird⁹. Er trägt hier eine ungegliederte Krone mit glattem oberem Rand, die Dekoration auf der Zeichnung Texiers ist also reine Phantasie. Auf allen achämenidischen Darstellungen, die wegen der Beischriften zweifelsfrei Darius darstellen, dem Felsrelief von Bisutun (Abb. 3), den Reliefs des Darius-Palastes in Persepolis, den nicht mehr vorhandenen Stelenfragmenten vom Suez-Kanal und auf dem Relief des Darius-Grabes in Naqsh-e Rostam, trägt dieser König eine Reihe von Stufenzinnen als oberen Abschluß der Krone¹⁰. Allerdings ist dieser Umstand erst durch die Grabungen und Untersuchungen in Persepolis und Naqsh-e Rostam seit den dreißiger Jahren des 20. Jhs. allgemein bekannt geworden.

Bei dem Berliner Darius-Porträt ist die Übernahme der Zeichnung Texiers nur auf die Tiara, beschränkt, während die Frisur mit dem frei gelassenen Ohr und der kurze eckige Bart assyrischen Vorbildern entlehnt zu sein scheinen. Dem entspricht auch die Königsbinde, deren Enden zu beiden Seiten des Kopfes zu erkennen sind. Hier hatte der Bildhauer Steinemann offenbar Darstellungen assyrischer Herrscher zu Rate gezogen wie sie in der 1849 erschienenen und mit Zeichnungen von E. Flandin versehenen Publikation von P.E. Bot-

⁶ Vgl. Brosius 2006, 57.

⁷ Nitschke 2002, 106. Thieme- Becker 31, 553 s.v.

⁸ Texier 1852 Taf. 111, 111 bis u. 111 ter.

⁹ Flandin/Coste 1851, Taf. 147, danach Perrot/Chipiez 5, 1890, Abb.191. Schmidt 1, 1953, Taf. 75, 76.

¹⁰ S. ausführlich v. Gall 1974, 145–161, Taf. 31–36.

ta über die Ruinen von Khorsabad zur Hand waren¹¹, das Diadem, die Königsbinde, ist auf den Reliefs von Persepolis und Susa (vgl. Anm. 10) nirgends festzustellen. Die Übernahme von Antiquaria assyrischer Reliefs darf nicht Wunder nehmen, da in dieser Zeit kein einziger freiplastischer achämenidischer Kopf zur Verfügung stand, den man für eine Vorderansicht hätte heranziehen können.

So ist letztlich die Wiedergabe des muskulösen Gesichtes mit kräftigen Lidfalten und breiten Lippen eher assyrischen als persischen Gepräges, für das achämenidische Profil wie wir es inzwischen von den Ausgrabungen von Persepolis und Susa¹² kennen, wäre demgegenüber ein kleiner, schmaler Mund und eine lange schmale Nase charakteristisch. Bei aller Kritik am Detail ist es dem Künstler des 19. Jhs. jedoch gelungen, eine überzeugende und glaubwürdige Vorstellung von einem achämenidischen Herrscher zu geben und zugleich eine Form zu finden, die uns auch heute noch, nach nunmehr hundertdreißig Jahren anzusprechen vermag.

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¹¹ Botta/Flandin 1849 I passim. Ein Teil der assyrischen Reliefs von Khorsabad wurde 1846 im Louvre in Paris der Öffentlichkeit vorgestellt, das damit das erste Museum der Welt wurde, in dem assyrische Reliefs zu sehen waren, vgl. K. Schippmann, in: *Sumer, Assur, Babylon* 1978, 39.

¹² z. B. Walser 1966 Taf. 31–80. In der damaligen Zeit lagen neben den Zeichnungen Texiers (Anm. 8) von demselben Relief, der östlichen Leibung des Nordtores des sog. Tripylons in Persepolis auch die etwa gleichzeitige Zeichnung von Flandin-Coste 1851 Taf 147 vor. Wegen des starken Zerstörungsgrades des Reliefs an Ort und Stelle konnten diese Vorlagen aber für die Wiedergabe der Physiognomie nur wenig hergeben.

Sumer, Assur, Babylon. 7000 Jahre Kunst und Kultur zwischen Euphrat und Tigris. Ausst.-Kat. Hildesheim 1978, Mainz.
Texier, Ch. 1852: *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* Band 2, Paris. Walser, G. 1966: *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis* (Teheraner Forschungen 2), Berlin.

Abstract

A Head of Darius on the Former Postal Carriage Office at Berlin

The article is dealing with the reception of Achaemenid art and history in modern European art. Starting point is a relief medaillon with the representation of Darius, son of Hystaspes (522–486 B.C.), which is part of the sculptural decoration of the Postfuhramt (postal carriage office) in Berlin, erected about 1881. The sculpture is placed at the beginning of 25 relief portraits of famous discoverers, explorers and scientists, which have intensively promoted traffic and communication by their work from the earliest times until the that-time present period. The choice of Darius I. at the beginning of a series of historical personages is unique and unprecedented in European art of the 19th century and after and needs a specific explanation. Since in regard to the other personages represented political and military achievements can be ruled out, one has to look for a motivation in the field of culture and communication. In a representation in the General Post Office in Berlin, which was about ten years older than the Postfuhramt but is, unfortunately, no longer existing, the contributions of the different peoples to the development of the post were shown in 12 paintings. The fourth of these figured two Persian horsemen in the act of passing a message from one to the other. This was evidently an allegorical rendering of the courier system carried out on the royal roads and described by Herodotus 8.98. This 'effectively earliest postal system in the world' (M. Brosius) was evidently the reason for placing the Persians, personified by Darius, son of Hystaspes, at the beginning of an ancestral gallery of the men who promoted the progress of post and communication through the ages. Consequently the artist, in relying partly on a reconstruction proposal of Charles Texier (1852) and partly on Assyrian reliefs from Khorsabad put considerable efforts into the representation of the Persian Great King Darius I. as exactly as this was possible in his time.

REVIEWS



EDWARD DĄBROWA (ED.), *STUDIES ON THE GREEK AND ROMAN MILITARY HISTORY (ELECTRUM. STUDIES IN ANCIENT HISTORY - 14)*, JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY PRESS, KRAKOW 2008, 155 S., S/W ABB.; ISBN 978-83-233-2578-9

Der vierzehnte Band der von Edward Dąbrowa herausgegebenen Reihe *Electrum* enthält (neben drei Besprechungen von der Hand des Herausgebers) acht Aufsätze, die sich im engeren oder weiteren Sinne mit dem griechisch-römischen Kriegswesen befassen. Die Beiträge sind dabei nach der Chronologie der behandelten Themen geordnet. Die ersten beiden Aufsätze beschäftigen sich mit unübersichtlichen Vorgängen im griechischen Mutterland zu Beginn der Diadochenzeit. Dabei wendet sich Sławomir Sprawski, der sich in *Electrum* 3 mit Iason von Pherai befasst hatte, einmal mehr der Topographie Thessaliens zu: „Leonnatus's Campaign of 322 BC“ (S. 9–31). Insbesondere wird versucht, den Schauplatz von Leonnatos' letztem Gefecht zu lokalisieren. Nicht nur antike Parallelen werden bemüht, wie z.B. die Schlacht bei Pharsalos. Unter dem Gesichtspunkt vergleichender Geschichtsschreibung besonders interessant ist der Hinweis auf Vorgänge im griechisch-türkischen Krieg von 1897.

Der Beitrag von Tomasz Grabowski („Ptolemy's Military and Political Operations in Greece in 314–308 BC“, S. 33–46), in dem die Griechenlandpolitik des Ptolemaios Soter im dritten Koalitionskrieg und den ersten Jahren danach untersucht wird, verdeutlicht noch einmal, dass der erste Ptolemäer zu dieser Zeit und auf diesem Schauplatz relativ erfolglos gewesen ist. Der in gut verständlichem Englisch geschriebene und übersichtlich gegliederte Aufsatz des sonst deutsch publizierenden Peter Franz Mittag („Blood and Money. On the Loyalty of the Seleucid Army“, S. 47–56, 1 Abb.) enthält als einziger eine Zusammenfassung („Summary“, S. 55). Der Haupttext konzentriert sich einerseits auf die Zeit

von Seleukos II. bis Antiochos III., andererseits auf die seleukidische Niedergangsperiode von Demetrios II. bis Antiochos VII. Die in englischer Sprache gehaltenen Untersuchungen zur griechischen Militärgeschichte werden abgeschlossen durch den Beitrag von Everett L. Wheeler („Anti-Deceit Clauses in Greek Treaties: An Apologia“, S. 57–83). Er bildet den vorläufigen Endpunkt einer langen Reihe von Veröffentlichungen Wheelers zum genannten Thema. Von ihnen wäre besonders auf „Sophistic Interpretations of Greek Treaties“ (*GRBS* 25, 1984, S. 253–274) hinzuweisen. Der vorliegende Aufsatz besteht zum Teil aus einer zuweilen etwas grimmig geführten Diskussion des Verfassers mit seinen Kritikern. Für Leser, die sich noch nicht genauer mit dem Thema beschäftigen konnten, mögen besonders die Seiten 68 bis 71 erhellend wirken: Sie enthalten eine Auflistung von Staatsverträgen aus dem 6. bis 2. Jh. v. Chr., deren betrugsabwehrende Bestimmungen jeweils in Griechisch zitiert werden.

Der erste der der römischen Geschichte gewidmeten Beiträge ist gleichzeitig der einzige in italienischer Sprache geschriebene: Elisabetta Todisco, „La strategia dei presidia romani nelle città italiane“ (S. 85–93). Sein Thema sind demnach die im Verlauf der römischen Eroberung Italiens in die einzelnen Städte gelegten Besatzungen. Dabei konzentriert sich die Verfasserin besonders auf Vorgänge des 4. und 3. Jhs. v. Chr. Im Unterschied zu manch anderem Aufsatz dieser *Electrum*-Ausgabe zieht Frau Todisco ausschließlich literarische Quellen heran, da es ihr um die grundsätzliche Erforschung der Methoden geht, derer sich die frühere Republik bei der Herrschaftsausübung bediente.

Es folgt der einzige Beitrag in deutscher Sprache: Oliver Stoll, „How to get to my regiment? Die *tirones Asiani* – einige Gedanken zur Praxis der Aushebung und zur Kommandierung von Rekruten in der Römischen Armee“ (S. 95–118). Die anspruchsvolle Abhandlung fügt sich organisch in eine Serie von Aufsätzen ein, mit denen sich Stoll seit etwa zwanzig Jahren um die Aufklärung des gesellschaftsgeschichtlichen Hintergrundes der Streitkräfte in der römischen Kaiserzeit bemüht hat. In einer „Vorbemerkung“ (S. 95–97) werden interessante Querverbindungen zur neuzeitlichen Rekrutierungspraxis seit dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg gezogen.

Ausschließlich auf epigraphischem Material fußt der französisch geschriebene Beitrag von Mihai Popescu: „Notes sur les prêtres dolichéniens en Dacie“ (S. 119–128, 5 Abb.). Lesern, denen die betreffenden Inschriften-Corpora nicht zur Hand sind, werden die auf den Seiten 119 bis 121 abgedruckten neun Inschriften aus Ampelum, Apulum, Drobeta und Porolissum viel Neues bringen. Der Aufsatz ergänzt im Übrigen einen 2006 erschienenen Beitrag Popescus, in dem dieser nachweisen konnte, dass der nach dem Ende der Severer in Verfall geratene Kult des sog. Iuppiter von Doliche (Kommagene) unter Gordian III. eine Renaissance erlebte.

Der letzte Aufsatz stammt von Jean-Baptiste Yon und trägt den Titel „Documents sur l'armee romaine á Palmyre“ (S. 129–147, 6. Abb.). Palmyra ist einer breiten Öffentlichkeit meist nur als Hauptstadt eines kurzlebigen Teilreiches bekannt, wobei die berichtenswerten Ereignisse gern auf das Wirken der Zenobia reduziert werden. Um all dies geht es in Yons Beitrag höchstens am Rande. Im Mittelpunkt stehen Offiziere verschiedener Truppengattungen, deren Laufbahn und vor allem deren Verbindung zu Palmyra durch Inschriften nachgewiesen werden können. Dabei häufen sich Beispiele, die dem 2. Jh. n. Chr. zuzuordnen sind.

Der gesamte Text dieser *Electrum*-Ausgabe enthält nicht wenige Versehen. Auf einige von ihnen wollen wir hinweisen, da sie bei manchen Lesern möglicherweise Irritationen auslösen könnten. Zuweilen finden sich Bastardformen von Eigennamen, die weder die korrekte griechische noch die lateinische Schreibweise wiedergeben: S. 13, Anm. 11 ein „Antipatrus“ (statt Antipatros oder Antipater), S. 38, Z. 8 ein „Heracles“ (statt Herakles oder Hercules) und schließlich S. 39 in der fünften Zeile des zweiten Absatzes ein „Seleucos“ (statt Seleukos oder Seleucus). In zwei weiteren Fällen könnten Personen wegen der fälschlichen Einfügung eines Konsonanten für völlig andere Individuen gehalten werden: So handelt es sich bei dem S. 38 am Anfang des zweiten Absatzes auftretenden „Ptolemaios“ nicht um den in derselben Zeile als Ptolemy erscheinenden ersten Ptolemäer. Gemeint ist vielmehr dessen kurzzeitiger Bundesgenosse Polemaios. Ebenso wäre der „Iamblichos“ am Anfang des zweiten Absatzes von S. 52 besser wie S. 51, Anm. 30 Iamlichos zu schreiben. Relativ häufig treten Irrtümer in den Literaturverzeichnissen und im Zusammenhang mit der Zitierung der Sekundärliteratur auf. So ist die Abteilung „Principat“ des Sammelwerkes *ANRW* eine Reihe, keine „Rheie“ wie im Abkürzungsverzeichnis (S. 7) angegeben. Fritz Geyers von Sprawski mit Nutzen herangezogener Leonnatos-Artikel der *RE* wird als „L. (2)“ zitiert (anstatt richtig (1)). Im Literaturverzeichnis Grabowskis ist die zweibändige Geschichte der hellenistischen Welt von E. Will angeführt. Aus den ebenfalls angegebenen Titeln der Einzelbände kann man auch bei mehrmaligem Lesen nicht klug werden. Offenbar ist der Titel des zweiten Bandes vollständig an den es ersten angehängt worden, um dann separat noch einmal zu erscheinen. Stoll nennt in seiner Bibliographie eine Arbeit von T. Hauken, die in englischer Sprache in Norwegen herauskam. Der Erscheinungsort wäre allerdings Stavanger zu schreiben, nicht „Stavangar“. Einige Irrtümer, bzw. Lücken enthält schließlich die Bibliographie J.-P. Yons. Der von ihm herangezogene *RE*-Beitrag Legio von E. Ritterling gehört zu den wenigen Artikeln, die sich über eine Halbband-Grenze erstrecken. Der Hinweis in der Bibliographie auf: Legio, *RE* XII/2: 1186–1829 von 1925 ist demnach missverständlich. Angegeben werden hätte müssen: Ritterling, E. (1924/5) Legio 1) A.-B., *RE* XII/1: 1186–1328; XII/2: 1329–1829. Wie oben erwähnt, geht es Yon nicht vordringlich um Verhältnisse des palmyrenischen Teilreiches. Dennoch wird an einer

Stelle (S. 140, Anm. 44) auf die neueste Abhandlung zu diesem Thema verwiesen („Hartmann 2001“). In der Bibliographie sucht man sie freilich vergebens. Da uns das betreffende Werk bequem zugänglich ist (vgl. die Besprechung in *Plekos Online* 3, 2001), seien die bibliographischen Angaben hier nachgetragen. Zwischen den Beiträgen von Hajjar und Herzig/Schmidt-Colinet wäre einzufügen: U. Hartmann, *Das palmyrenische Teilreich* (Oriens et Occidens 2), Stuttgart 2001. Auf die Registrierung weiterer Versehen wollen wir verzichten, da sie im allgemeinen klar als solche erkennbar sind (den Wortlaut von Diod. 20,27,3 sollten interessierte Leser am besten gleich in einer Ausgabe nachschlagen und sich nicht auf den S. 38, Anm. 33 abgedruckten Text verlassen).

Insgesamt bleibt festzuhalten, dass die acht in *Electrum* 14 erschienenen Aufsätze eine Fülle von Denkanstößen liefern, auch und gerade für diejenigen Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die sich nicht primär mit der eigentlichen Militärgeschichte befassen.

Martin Schottky
(Pretzfeld, Germany)



**V.A. ZAVIALOV, KUSHANSHAHR PRI SASANIDAKH.
PO MATERIALAM RASKOPOK NA GORODISHCHE
ZARTEPA (KUSHANSHAHR UNDER THE SASANIANS.
ON THE RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS OF THE ZARTEPA
SITE), FAKUL'TET FILOLOGII I ISKUSSTV
SANKT-PETERBURSKOGO GOSUDARSTVENNOGO
UNIVERSITETA, SANKT-PETERBURG 2008
(295 PP.; ISBN 978-5-8465-0799-9).**

The book *Kushanshahr pri Sasanidakh. Po materialam roskopok gorodishcha Zartepa* by V.A. Zavialov is a summary of archaeological research conducted at Zartepa in today's southern Uzbekistan in 1975–1986. It must be said, the author is an excellent archaeologist, a member of expeditions at sites in Khorezm, Parthia proper, and Bactria. Among his special achievements in recent years was his model research of the fortification at Merv (Gyaur-kala) in which he identified its chronological phases.

The fortified city of Zartepa, in the Surkhan Darya valley, established in the 1st century B.C. on a square plan, occupied an area of ca. 16.9 hectares. It is the third largest known Kushan site in southern Uzbekistan, after Old Termez and Dalverzintepa. The book spans mainly the period from the mid-3rd to the mid-4th centuries A.D., when the once powerful Kushan state was subordinated to the Persian Sasanians. The nature of this dependence and its exact chronology still causes much controversy.¹ What with historical sources being fragmentary, archaeological research becomes greatly important.

¹ For the chronology of the Kushan-Sasanian period, see: A.D.H. Bivar, *Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian Seals and Kushano-Sasanian Coins. Sasanian Seals in the British Museum* (Corpus Inscr. Iran. III, VI, portf. I), London 1968; 'The absolute chronology of the Kushano-Sasanian governors in Central Asia' in J. Harmatta (ed.), *Prolegomena to the sources on the history of pre-Islamic Central*

Until the mid-3rd century A.D., the Kushan empire was the dominant power in Central Asia and northern India. It was created as an end result of migrations and population shifts beginning in the 2nd century B.C., when this Indo-European tribe, identified with the Tocharians and called Yuezhi in Chinese sources, was pushed out of Xinjiang province in today's western China by the Xiongnu people. The Yuezhi subsequently migrated across Central Asia to Afghanistan. About the year 130 B.C., the Yuezhi crushed the state of Baktrian Greeks. In Baktria, they created five separate tribal states of which one, Guishuang, conquered the remaining four in the 1st century A.D., giving rise to a powerful Kushan realm. The Kushan kingdom combined elements of several cultures and traditions: Baktrian, Indian, Greek, and Parthian. Sasanian rule in Kushanshahr, begun by Shapur I, ended in the mid-4th century, as a new nomadic people, Chionites, arrived in Baktria.

In his introduction, V.A. Zavalov presents the first archaeological findings at Zartepa. The site was first explored by L.I. Albaum in 1950. By 1952, a plan had been developed and the site had been provisionally described. More than 300 coins had been found, as had zoomorphic and anthropomorphic statuettes, and a large number of ceramics. Further expeditions in 1972–1973 and 1973–1974 directed by V.N. Plishka brought more discoveries. Remnants were discovered of a palace and defense walls.

The next chapter outlines further findings by Zavalov in 1975–1986. Despite the lengthy research, only a part of the site was explored. Zartepa was surrounded by a wall reinforced with protruding semicircular towers placed every 37 meters. The researchers found a 120 meter-square citadel in a north-eastern quarter of the city, and another, much smaller, measuring 60 x 60 meters in the south-eastern part of the site. Apart from defensive structures and living quarters, the archaeologists uncovered a palace belonging to a local ruler, together with two adjacent structures having platforms thought to have been temples of fire. The palace's floor plan, with a central hall, complete with a throne, and two temples arranged in a straight line formed a letter T, was a very popular design in Kushan-Sasanian Baktria. Similar arrangements are known from early medieval Sogdiana, which suggests that this type of building was in use long after the fall of Kushanshahr.

The site yielded large numbers of small terracotta human figurines. Another type of finds were everyday items, including an array of bone needles, metal scissors, a spearhead, a round belt buckle, and many others.

Asia (= Collection of the sources for the history of pre-Islamic Central Asia), Budapest 1979, 317–332; J. Cribb, 'Numismatic evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology' *Studia Iranica* 19, 1999, 151–193; N. Sims-Williams, 'From the Kushan-Shahs to the Arabs. New Bactrian documents dated in the era of the Tochi inscriptions' in M. Alram, D.E. Klimburg-Salter (eds.), *Coins, art and chronology. Essays on the pre-Islamic history of the Indo-Iranian borderlands* (Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften, 280 = Veröff. d. Numismat. Kommission, Bd. 33), Wien 1999, 245–258; Gorin, 'Parthian Coins from Kampyrtepa' (in this volume).

The last chapter in the book is devoted to ceramics. Finds show, for the Sasanian phase, a preponderance of old, Kushan types of vessels, but also appearance of new kinds produced to follow Persian designs. The Russian scholar who identified and described several sets of vessels believes it to be another proof that Kushan Baktria was under Sasanian dominance.

The book contains general plans of the site, a comprehensive collection of drawings showing respective types of artifacts discovered, and some color photographs. At the end, the book lists the hundreds of coins discovered on the site.

Yet V.A. Zavalov's book is more than a publication of the material discovered at Zartepa. The archaeologists were able to cast a new light on a poorly known period in the history of Iran and ancient Baktria, only referred to in a handful of mentions in historical sources. Sasanian rule in the territory was relatively brief, no longer than 120–130 years. Contrary to older, erroneous views about centralizing efforts by the first Sasanian kings, Kushan territories were not, strictly speaking, included in Eranshahr. They were ruled by a Kushan-shah, even if he obeyed Ktesiphon. His freedom of movement must have been large, as is suggested by Kushan-Sasanian coins imitating Persian money. Whenever the Sasanian power waned, Kushan independence obviously grew.

V.A. Zavalov noted that Persian political dominance was reflected in many items of material culture. As the site was explored, many artifacts were found which had clearly been influenced by Sasanian art. The most characteristic are ceramic plates made to imitate silver and gold-plated Sasanian ware, centrally decorated with a portrait or a hunting scene. Such plates were popular in Iran throughout the Sasanian period. Other Persian vessels were imitated, too. The most common designs included deep clay bowls decorated with a lion mask, following similar designs on metal and glass vessels. Such designs were very popular in the entire Kushan-Sasanian period and are also known from other sites: Old Termez, Karatepa, and Ak-kurgan. Interestingly, vessels bearing a lion mask also appear in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire in the 4th century.

Another category in the ceramics found at Zartepa were zoomorphic plates, also discovered in Susa, Merv, and many other Baktrian sites. In Iran, they appeared in the late Parthian and early Sasanian period. Therefore, their presence at Zartepa must be linked to its political dependence from the Sasanians. Other than the above types, there were other kinds of ceramics displaying Sasanian or even Parthian influences. In the case of Zartepa, the presence and time span of Sasanian-influenced ceramics coincides with the Kushan-Sasanian period.

Zartepa digs revealed the remains of living quarters. Popular in Sasanian Iran, the technology of decorating buildings, including monumental royal palaces, with terracotta tiles was adopted in Kushanshahr, as is shown by evidence discovered at Zartepa. Such examples clearly demonstrate the dominance of Persian imperial

culture, as distinct from previous Parthian influences at the time of the Great Kushans. Kushan-Sasanian elites, composed of immigrant Iranians and members of the local population, regardless of the degree of their political dependence from Eranshahr, made up a relatively uniform cultural model with other countries within Ktesiphon's sphere of influence. It was so not only due to Iranian hegemony, but also the attractiveness of the Iranian culture, parts of which were even adopted by Persia's greatest political rival, the Imperium Romanum.

Zavialov's book is one of few publications to present such a comprehensive and orderly survey of archaeological findings in ancient Bactria. The work is an important contribution to studies not only on Kushan-Sasanian Bactria, but it also points out the multiple contacts between Eranshahr and Kushanshahr which far exceeded any usual schemes of political dependence. New tendencies in studying the early Sasanian period place emphasis on continued Parthian administrative patterns and a far stronger status of local powers than was thought previously.² One example are the new discoveries at Kampyrtepa, a fortress on the north-eastern fringes of the Parthian empire. Even 15 years ago no one thought that the site would alter our understanding of eastern Parthia and western Bactria. For the early Sasanian period, the same applies to Zartepa. A great majority of writings on the relations of the Sasanian Iran with neighboring countries focuses on contacts between Persia and Rome.³ The empire's eastern frontier in Bactria, then so important in the political history of the Sasanian state, is only given perfunctory treatment, mostly in terms of military conquest or dangers from nomads. The Russian scholar shows us archaeological findings which permit a new, deeper insight into relations between Sasanian Persia and its dependent Kushanshahr by highlighting cultural and commercial relations. The reader will appreciate the book's excellent editorial quality, with fine photographs and drawings. Zavialov's opus will remain a fundamental publication for the archaeology and history of Bactria and Central Asia.

Marek Jan Olbrycht, Sebastian R. Wójcikowski

² Their role was so important that P. Pourshariati even speaks of Sasanian-Parthian confederacy. Cf. P. Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire. The Sasanian-Parthian Confederacy and the Arab Conquest of Iran*, London-New York 2008.

³ Very rich literature exists on the subject of such contacts. Examples of newer publications include: W. Ball, *Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire*, London 2000; B. Dignas, E. Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity. Neighbours and Rivals*, Cambridge 2008; J.D. Howard-Johnston, *East Rome, Sasanian Persia and the End of Antiquity: Historiographical and Historical Studies*, Abingdon 2006.



ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations of periodicals adhere here to *L'Année Philologique*. In addition, the following abbreviations are used:

<i>AAntASH</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</i>
<i>AArchASH</i>	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</i>
<i>ACSS</i>	<i>Ancient civilizations from Scythia to Siberia.</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année épigraphique.</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.</i>
<i>AMIT</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan.</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	H. Temporini, W. Haase (eds.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i> (Berlin 1970-).
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia.</i>
<i>AOASH</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</i>
<i>ASGE</i>	<i>Arkheologicheskii sbornik gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha.</i>
<i>BAI</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute. New Series.</i>
<i>BARIS</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports. International Series.</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i>
<i>BÉFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.</i>
<i>BSOS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Central Asiatic Journal.</i>
<i>CHI</i>	<i>The Cambridge History of Iran.</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</i>
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.</i>
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorium Christianorum Orientalium.</i>
<i>DiuU</i>	G.A. Pugachenkova, E.V. Rtveladze, K. Kato (eds.), <i>Drevnosti Iuzhnogo Uzbekistana</i> (Tashkent 1991).

DNP	<i>Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike.</i>
EncIr	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica.</i>
ESA	<i>Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua.</i>
EV	<i>Epigrafika Vostoka.</i>
EW	<i>East and West. New Series.</i>
FAKh	<i>Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum.</i>
FGrH	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. F. Jacoby.
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . Collegit, disposuit, notis et prolegomenis illustravit C. Müllerus. Vol. I-V (Parisiis 1868–1884).
HGM	<i>Historici Graeci Minores</i> . Ed. L. Dindorfius, vol. I-II (Lipsiae 1870–1871).
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae.</i>
IMKU	<i>Istoriia material'noĭ kul'tury Uzbekistana.</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique.</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.</i>
KIDU	K.A. Abdullaev, G.V. Shishkina, E.V. Rtveladze (eds.), <i>Kul'tura i iskusstvo drevnego Uzbekistana. Katalog vystavki. Kniga I</i> (Moskva 1991).
KSIIMK	<i>Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta istorii material'noĭ kul'tury ANSSSR.</i>
LSNEE	P. Aalto, T. Pekkanen, <i>Latin Sources on North-Eastern Eurasia</i> . Pt. I-II (Wiesbaden 1975–1980).
MDAFA	<i>Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan.</i>
MGHAA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctores antiquissimi.</i>
MIA	<i>Materialy i issledovaniia po archeologii SSSR.</i>
MMAI	<i>Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran.</i>
MTE	<i>Materialy Tokharistanskoĭ ekspeditsii.</i>
NAV	<i>Nizhnevolzhskĭ arkheologicheskĭ vestnik.</i>
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle. New Series.</i>
NTsA	<i>Numizmatika Tsentral'noĭ Azii.</i>
ONU	<i>Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane.</i>
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy.</i>
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Patrologia Graeca</i> . Accurante J.-P. Migne.
PIFK	<i>Problemy istorii, filologii i kul'tury.</i>
PIR ²	E. Groag, A. Stein et al., <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I.II.III. Editio altera</i> (Berlin 1933).
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Patrologia Latina</i> . Accurante J.-P. Migne.
PZ	<i>Prehistorische Zeitschrift.</i>
RA	<i>Rossiiskaia arkheologiia.</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i>
REArm	<i>Revue des Études Arméniennes, Nouvelle Série.</i>
RIC	H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham et al., <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> (London 1923–1994).
SA	<i>Sovetskaia arkheologiia.</i>
SGE	<i>Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha.</i>

<i>SRAA</i>	<i>Silk Road Art and Archaeology.</i>
<i>TAVO</i>	<i>Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.</i>
<i>TGE</i>	<i>Trudy gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha.</i>
<i>VDI</i>	<i>Vestnik drevneī istorii.</i>
<i>ZOrA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie.</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</i>
<i>ZVORAO</i>	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniā Rossiiskogo arkhelogicheskogo obshchestva. Novaīa seriā.</i>



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33. Roxana 1998, 77-79.

47. Ehlers 1955, 151, fig. 12.

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