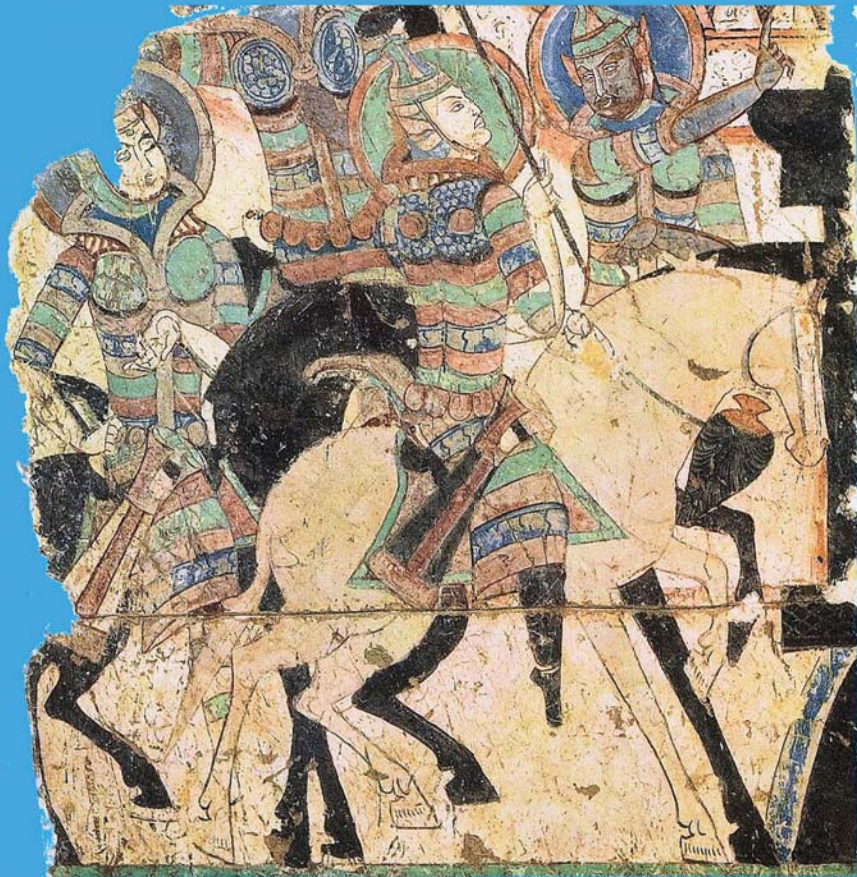


# THE HUNS

The Hephthalites in Iran  
volume 1



Franz Altheim

# **BERSERKER**

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## **BOOKS**

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ALTHEIM J HISTORY OF THE HUNS

T W O B A N D D

ED UARD NEUMANN

INVESTMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

## VORWORT

The first volume ended with the invasion of the Huns into southern Russia. The break that was made with it came before the events with which Hunnic history seems to have only just begun to fulfil itself: the battles on the Danube, the rise of Attila and the conflict with the Roman-Germanic West.

This border will not be crossed in the second volume either. It had been shown (above z, s+ : 52; 368 f.) that the Hunnic nation was formed in north-east Iran. The lands of the Hephthalites (also Chionites, Kidarites or White Huns; cf. z, AZ f.), formed an inexhaustible pool from which the Hunnic migration to the Don and others that followed it (i, 85 f. above) were fed. To gain further clarity about the history of the Hephthalites is to create the prerequisite for understanding the European Huns and their successors.

In historiography, the Hephthalites have long led a shadowy existence. Since E. Drouin wrote his "Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalites" (1893), no complete account of the Hephthalites was published until 1947, the year of publication of R. Ghirshman's "Les Chionites-Hephthalites" (sic). It was only after this date that the authors and co-workers of this volume came forward with their first works.

It is inevitable that a new attempt at an account will be based on an increased body of evidence. It will be presented in the first book. Once again we must regret that linguistic access to the Armenian and (with occasional exceptions) to the Chinese \Juellen has been denied. This leaves a gap which we hope will soon be filled by others. The mass of new and sometimes unexpected material gleaned from Syriac, Ethiopian and Arabic literature may serve for the time being to compensate for this disadvantage.

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, K. Enoki's valuable essay "On the Nationality of the Hephthalites" in: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 18 (1956), 1 f. could no longer be included.

After all, we have considered it advisable to refer everywhere to E. Chavannes' Documents sur les Ton-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux (Sbornik trudow Orchonskoj ekspedicii 4, 1903) and his: Notes additionelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux in: T'oung Pao z. Reihe, 5 (\*904), i f. to be added. These studies will be cited below as Chavannes z and z. The inclusion of the surviving fragment from Huei-ch'ao's Pilgrimage through Northwest India and Central Asia (c. 226) was postponed to the third volume.

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## I. KAPITEL

### SYRISCHE AFTERMATH

Life of St Aprem (quoted from C. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*<sup>®</sup>, \*95\*, 39. 22 f.).

"But in his (Aprem's) time the Huns came to Edessa, and the city was surrounded. No one went out against them (the Huns), who plundered and devastated the whole neighbourhood of the city. They climbed up into the mountains above the city, where there were many monasteries of monastic orders (40, i Brockelmann) of men and women. But they (the Huns) pursued the men who were there. Some fled, and some took them (the Huns) into captivity. They invaded the (literally: these) nuns, plundered their monasteries and persecuted them (the nuns). They committed fornication with some of them. They left nothing outside the city that they did not destroy. Then the holy Mar Aprem made a report of all that these cursed ones had done."

Explanation. This report and its presumed origin are discussed in i. 38 above. Presumably the event belongs to the year 361, as Constantius had organised himself to defend against Sápür II and those allied with him.

Chionites (Amm. Marc. 18, 6, 22 ; \*9. \*. z: z, 6) was in Edessa (Amm. Marc. ai, 2, 6 f.: \*3. \*) - the author of the report on the Hun invasion was 'Absimyä, Aprem's son-in-law; in addition Michael Syrus i69, 7 i -. Transl. Chabot, whose treatment can be compared.

Michael Syrus, Chronicle 8, i.

(i6Q, 2 f. syr.;•. 9 transl. Chabot) tr-bé8 *b-zabnä liänä mcli Ja' 'absimyä g "J'i'o #r jcleb d-mc "p "m m "l(l!pe a d-i!" z s "kib" c. hc-a sam mémre saggi yé 'al map paplä p-hiinä ye Ja-npap b-zabnä liänä. m-säm ennän Seh b-iii'i d-mär aprem.* "At the same time the presbyter was known

'Absimyā, son of Mār Aprem's sister, a teacher who was a writer. He wrote many *mëmr ë* about the invasion of the Huns who marched out at that time. He wrote them in Mār Aprem's verse."

Explanation. The remark supplements the sentence in Aprem's Vita, according to which he had a report written on the atrocities of the Huns: 4O, f. Brockelmann. About the seven-syllable *mëmrë* above I, -5I ; 4-8 and the literature. A. Baumstark did not cite the testimony in his literary history.

Michael Syrus, Chronicle 8, x.

(166, r. Sp. IOf. syr. ;•. 5 transl. Chabot) *l-sġilā yê d- ālên tran l-aryānti el pres ma-'baġ ġaššišë ma-mšamšān ë or-ġārōyë b-leššānliān ui-yab lhōn ë l t à. nut-bhōn ād l-bulléli 'ammā d-ġûlāyë* "Against the Scythians who had gone astray

to the Arians, he extended (his care), and he appointed presbyters and deacons and readers in their language, and he gave them a church. Through them he won all the people of the Goths."

Explanation. That St John Chrysostom (d. 4<sup>o</sup>7) had sent missionaries to the nomadic Scythians who were camped along the Danube, reports Theodoret, hist. eccl. 5, 3\* ; **Vol. 30. E.** A. Thompson, A History of Attila and the Huns 38 discusses this passage without mentioning ours. He doubts that this mission was successful. Michael, on the other hand, emphasises that it also encompassed "the whole people of the Goths". Scythians, separated from the Goths, can only refer to the southern Russian Huns, or at best their Alanian subjects and neighbours. The stone of Apsheron

kaja (above I, 4Z6f.) with its inscription of Christian content shows that not only the Huns and Goths, but also the Alans were covered by the mission of that time. The lectors in the Hunnic language are important, and let us compare what has been said above i, z88 on the Scriptures. **In addition** Theodoret, hist. eccl. p. 3<sup>o</sup> Ô[10JhJTTO\ yóp ixçÎVOI\$ -rrpctr|3mEpOo\$ x'xl βιοξόvouç x'xì zouç νό 8sio ùwovcrytyvfioxoirro hōyio wpoQaLLóqzvo9.

Ps. Joshua Stylites, Chronicles c. 2-I I ; 18.

y. (8, 14 Wright) "The Romans, in the year 6oQ (zQ8 AD), rebuilt the city of Nisibis, and it was under their rule for 6s years. After the death (of the emperor) Iulianus in Persia, in the year 6/A (3 63<sub>T</sub> . Chr.), Iovianus (ywòiiytits), who after him became emperor over the Romans, esteemed the

Peace more than anything. Therefore he c o n c e d e d to the Persians that they should rule over Nisibis for a period of Iz (9th -) years and that after that they should return it to its (former) masters. Thus were accomplished these (years) in the time of Zenon, emperor of the Romans. The Persians did not want to return the city and this caused a dispute.

(8) Now there was a treaty between the Romans and the Persians, that if they had need of each other, as soon as war arose between them and any nation, they would help each other by giving 300 strong men with their weapons and horses, or 300 staters for each man - but this according to the desire of the side that needed (the help). The Romans now, by the help of God,

Lord of the universe, did not need the help of the Persians. Believing emperors have ruled from that time until today. Through the help of heaven, their rule became strong. The kings of the Persians, however, sent envoys and received gold because of their need (for such help). It was not on account of a tribute that they received (the gold), as many believed.

g. In our days Pêrōz, king of the Persians, received gold from the Romans many times because of the wars he was engaged in with the Chionites of the Huns. It was not a question of demanding a tribute, but (it was paid) by making them (the Romans) compete as if he had fought his battles in their place: 'so that (he pretended to them) they would not come into your land'. The plundering and man-stealing that the Huns (to, I) had committed in the land of the Romans in the year γογ (396 AD), in the days of the emperors Honorius and Arcadius, the sons of Theodosius the Great, made the words believable. The whole of Syria was delivered into their hands through the treachery of ùwopyo\$ (not wporrcoíoQ) Rufinus and through the negligence of o-rpnzr;hóvr;ç Addai.

to. Using the gold he had received from the Romans, Pêrōs subdued the Huns. He took many places from their land and added them to his kingdom. In the end, however, he was captured by them. When Zenon, the emperor of the Romans, heard (this), he sent some of his gold, rescued him (Pêrōz) and reconciled him with them (the Huns). Pêrōz made a treaty with the Huns that he would not again cross the border of their land in war against them. He returned and did not honour his treaty, as Zedekiah had done, and went away to fight. Like him (Zedekiah), he (Pêrōz) was delivered into the hands of his enemies. His

His whole army was destroyed and scattered, and he was captured alive. He promised at his z'arnaà that to save his life he would

3 There would be mules carrying silver coins (øúzê). He sent for the land of his reign, and with difficulty gathered it zo burdens. For he (Përöz) had all the treasure of the king who had reigned before him.

emptied for the earlier wars. Instead of these to other burdens, however, he placed with the Huns as a pledge and opijpo his son Kavã6 until he sent them (the íehlenden to burdens). He made a treaty with them (the Huns) for the second time that he would not wage war again. it. When he returned to his kingdom, he levied a poll tax on all his land. He sent the to loads of silver coins and ransomed his son. And again he gathered for himself (it, i) an army and went out to fight. The word of that prophet who says: 'I saw the wicked rising like the trees of the forest, and when I passed by, he was no more, and I searched for him and did not find him' - was indeed fulfilled in him (Përöz). For when there was war and the armies began to fight against each other, his (Përöz') army was destroyed. He was searched for and not found, and to this day it is not known what happened to him. Not whether he was hidden among the corpses of the fallen; not whether he threw himself into a sea; not whether he hid in the bottom of the earth and perished through hunger; not whether he died in the forest. hid and was eaten by the wild animals.

18 (Z , 13) After he (Përöz) had been sought and not found, as I have said above, his brother Balãš ruled over the Persians in his (P'cöz') place. He was a submissive man and loved peace. He found nothing inside the Persian treasure, and his land was desolate ("ròd ; \Vright suspects (ierò1) of man-stealing by the Huns.").

Explanation. 2. the era referred to by the author did not begin as W. Wright assumes (The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, 1882, 6 note), with October 3i2 V. Chr. but with the i. Nisan 3- I. It is the so-called era of Alexander, that is to say: Alexander IV, the son of Alexander

the Great and Roxane. On this see Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum ramaicum 3of - Instead of the traditional *btiau*, Nöldeke elegantly conjugated ġtioø: "they took possession". But this taking possession was already pre-

as Petrus Patricius fr. z4 FHG. e14.

9 •g t *Bnā* here has the meaning "reaedificavit": C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac.° 2S r. The

The reconquest of Nisibis by Odainathos of Palmyra had led to a

extensive destruction: Zosim. I, 3t), I N i|3iv ... *Lhčov łç* tQófiou xœrcmnytv. Subsequently the city of *Artemis* was *jirmissimum clauslrum* (Amm. Marc. -5. 8, \*4) In between was the rebuilding by Diocletian in 2g8.

Q. Wright has changed the traditional áyztii' with reference to Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber* i2 note 5; kg note i: --5note z to šhy' or štršny (šúfdiidyè). However, the Chionites are undoubtedly meant in the present place: ètúiiyde, for which x. 53 above - Overdelivered is zaònin, and one must keep it. Wright's change to zaònd d is irrelevant, for *zabnin* is the correct plural of *zbatlā* "times" (C. Brockelmann, a. 0. i82 r.). The plural *saggiyātā* goes with the feminine. - *Ellā*

*Raj mat eti wā lhōn* is translated by Wright as "but exciting their religious zeal". If we see correctly, there is no mention of religious zeal. The ap'el of Ian(up means "studium alicuius excitavit" (C. Brockelmann, a. 0. 28i 1.). - On the invasion of the (Caucasian) Huns, which also reached Syria in 3g6, vg1. E. A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* 26 f. - The accusation against Rufinus is also found in Claudian, In Ruf. 2, t)2 ; SOkr., hist. eccl. 6, i, 2 ; Sozom., hist. eccl. 8, i, z ; cf. E. A. Thompson, a. 0. 26 Note 8.

to. *W-ešlaudi b-šabhrānūtēh* : Wright "he promised in his pride". But there was little reason for an "iactatio, superbia" (C. Brockelmann, a. 0. 61 r.) in a situation where it was a matter of "saving his life" for Pērōz. One would expect the captured king to have sworn a particularly sacred oath, since he had not honoured his first treaty. *Šubhārā* now means not only "superbia, ostentatio", but also "gloria" and "quo quis gloriatur". In Judeo-Aramaic *šab haz*, in Mandaean ò n' r is "splenduit". The abstract on -ú d therefore means the glory or splendour as a characteristic of the king, his majesty. Thus it will be the royal z\**arnali-*, and in this sense "splendour of happiness" may be understood in the translation (according to H. Lommel's translation). It is true that O. Hansen (in F. Altheim,

From Late Antiquity and Christianity. -95\*. 3) /arti on a Hephthalite coin. For the compulsion for Pērōz to swear by his x°*arnah-* presupposes that the victors also accepted this idea as binding. considered.

zi. The "poll tax" is *ksep rēšā*, i.e. the ġizyn, not the ardġ. As in the Talmud n' rōqd "lies on the heads of men" (Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber* zAx nm. i ; Altheim-Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache*

under the Achaimenids 2nd vol. [Ig60], -4 ), i.e. *arāğ* appears instead of *ğizy*", here it is the other way round. For *ørøtì kse:f rēšä 'al Lullāh ar'êh* shows that it is a taxation of the land ("solum, ager" C. Brockelmann, a. 0. I 1.). - Instead of ò- '**aura**, Wright surmises with Martin: *b-heprā* "in a cave under ground". But: "whether he hid in the ground ("solum, humus' : C. Brockelmann, a. 0. 539 )" makes satisfactory sense.

Church history of the so-called. Zacharias Rhetor z, -\* . 3 f. Brooks.

"When Pērōz, king of the land of the Persians, reigned in his land, in the \*3 year of Anastasius, the Huns went out from the gates which were guarded by the Persians, and from the places of the local mountains and reached the land of the Persians. Pērōz was frightened and gathered an army to meet them. When he learnt from them the intention (*'ntlādā* of their preparations (*@ay(y)būthōn*) and their coming to his (Pērōz') land, they (the Huns) said to him: 'It is not enough for us what the kingdom of the Persians gives us as a tribute to barbarian men - as to corrupting animals who live by God ( by God's providence) - in the north-western region. We live by weapons (*zeiuid*), (namely by) bow and sword, and by consuming (= every kind of) flesh we nourish ourselves. The emperor of the Romans has promised through his envoys to pay us double the tribute if we give up our friendship with you, the Persians. Since then (*tnsit ádrèd*) we have made a plan and have arrived here that either you will pay us, as the Romans (have offered), and we will confirm a treaty with you. Or (*aø*, overl. w), if you do not pay us, choose war!' When Pērōz had realised the Huns' arrangements, he wanted to deceive and mislead them, even though they were far fewer in number than his army. So he promised to pay them. Four men from the leaders of the Huns gathered, and with them was Eusthatios, a merchant from Apameia, a shrewd, and They consulted with him. But Pērōz and 400 men also gathered with him, and they went up on a mountain (22, i Brooks) and made a treaty. They (the too on both sides) ate together and swore, raising their hands to heaven. When (of the Huns) few remained with the 40 men to pay the tribute, which had been collected, and when the remaining Huns had dispersed to go home, then, after ten days, the



Pērōz signed the treaty. He prepared for war both against the Huns, who had dispersed, and against those (literally: these) Aoo, who But he, Eusthatios the merchant, encouraged the Huns so that they would not be frightened, even if they were very few. At the place where the oaths had been (sworn), they threw àfoschus and odours on the coals of a fire and offered (both) to God according to Eusthatios' advice, so that he (God) might destroy the liars. Then they made war with Pērōz and killed him and most of his army. They plundered the land of the Persians and returned home. Pērōz's body was not found, and they call him the liar in his country."

Explanation. Pērōz died at the beginning of 48A. Since Anastasios I. AŦI ascended the throne, the information does not apply. - The gates, which were guarded by the Persians, and the associated mountains initially suggest the Caucasus. But since the Arab tradition also refers to the gate of Derbend

(Čd/, T(oúp, cf. above I, g6) is confused with that of u (= fi7J) in Gurgān (Th. Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber iz3 note 2 ; 158 note I), one may assume that the gate of ül was meant here. Gurgān is also mentioned in other reports as the starting point of Pērōz's last endeavour and a place of refuge for those who had succumbed to defeat.

abari, ann. I, 880, I f. Sōhrā, in order to avenge this defeat, moves against the land of Hayā ila via Gurgān ; Th. Nöldeke,

a. 0. I3I 2Ânm. i ; Priskos bei Konstant. Porphyrog. de legat. 154. z8 de

Boor speaks of rō9yo, Prokop., Pers. i. 3. i 4. \*o VOn ropyĜ āls neighbour-city of the Hephthalites). The Huns of our place are also emphatically distinguished from the barbarians of the north-west, i.e. from the Caucasian Huns. - Gates", which the Persians guarded, mean

fortifications, and such Pērōz' in Gurgān is mentioned by abari, ann. I, 95. 7 : also the construction of the city of Rōšān-Pērōz between Gurgān and the gate of ūl 874. I5. - The Huns had reached the (/) land of the Persians. Pērōz learnt that there was an intention on the Hun side to

not to stay, but to advance further. On this occasion, the Huns named their demands. - The corrupting animals live "by God", that is to say: by God's providence and will (I to the An-

Nöldeke, Kurzgef. syr. Grimm. 'I 3 † °4 second paragraph). - Eusthatios is not counted among the "chiefs" of the Huns, but goes to negotiate with them. He is presumably the Eastern Roman agent,

In any case, he is the guarantor of our author, and the fact that Eusthatios knows a great deal about the negotiations and little about the battles speaks in favour of diplomatic use. - It is a false statement that Pêrōz's opponents lived *in ba-pnilā garbai ma'rab* ("regio inter septentriones et occasum solis spectans" : C. Brockelmann, a. 0. -3 r.). For not with the Caucasian Huns, but with the Hephthalites Pêrōz led his Campaigns. - When the Persian negotiators climb a mountain to reach those of the Huns, it is because, as mentioned at the beginning, they live in the mountains. At the time the story takes place, they have not yet descended from these mountains. This confirms the proposed translation, according to which the Huns had only just reached the borders of the Persian domain.

Michael Syrus, Chronicle q, 2.

(-5, 1. Sp. i f. syr. ; z, I34f. transl. Chabot) The story of Pêrōz's downfall is an extract from Zachar. Rhet. z, -\*. 3 Here, too, one encounters the false statement regarding Pêrōz's opponents: -5, 1. sp. iO. The fact that this is a later and incorrect insertion had already been pointed out by J.-B. Chabot, a. 0. z, -ss note I, observes.

Ps. Joshua Stylites, Chronicles c. iQ and -3-2A.

\*9 IZ6, 2). "They put (for 'ġymtr) in his (Balās') place Kavā 6, the son of his brother Pêrōz, whose name we mentioned above (r/ġarnati is written phonetically: 'ġertiti, instead of etymologically: 'tdbrnn. Cf. Th. Nöldeke, a. 0.° zo § z6 B), who lived as a hostage in the land of the Huns."

23 (-8. eo). "The great Persians secretly planned to kill Kavā 6 because of his impure way of life and his corrupt behaviour. Customs. When this became known to him (Kavā 6) (zg, i), he left his kingdom and fled to the land of the Huns to the king with whom he had been raised when he was held hostage.

°4 His brother J āmāsp ruled over the Persians in his place, but Kavā6 took a wife in the land of the Huns, who was the daughter of his brother J āmāsp.

' An envoy of the emperor Zenon was with Pêrōz and accompanied him on his first **campaign: ProkOp.**, Pers. I, 3, p ; i z. The Prokopian **report** probably **goes back to** this envoy, Eusebios, **as ours does to Eusthatios.**

was his sister. This sister of his had been taken captive there in the war in which his father was killed. Because she was the daughter of a king, she was among the wives of the king of the Huns, and he had a daughter by her. When Kavā 6 had fled there (to the royal court of the Huns), she (Kavā b's sister) gave her (her daughter by the king) to him (Kavā b) in marriage. But the latter, having become the son-in-law of the king (of the Huns), complained to him (*metbabLē ad*) every day, begging him (the king) to give him an army to help him, so that he might come (and) kill the great men and be restored to his kingship. He (Kavā fi) was given by his father-in-law an army that was not small, as he had requested. When the time came for him to enter the land of the Persians, his brother (Jāmāsp) heard about it and disappeared before him (Kavā 6). He fulfilled his request and killed the Greats. He also sent to the Amüräyē, threatening them ...(19,\* ) But they were afraid of the army of the Huns and surrendered to it. The Kādišāyē, who were camped in front of Nisibis when they heard this, surrendered likewise. But the Arabs, when they learnt that a war was being prepared (to wage it) with the Romans, gathered to him with great joy (Kavā 6)".

Explanation. zA. As a result of the marriage of the Hun king to the Sasanian princess, Pēr ōz's daughter, claims to the Persian throne could be made from the Hun side in certain cases. When Kavā 6 's sister gave him her daughter in marriage, such claims were returned to the Sasanian house. - *Melbabk ē changes* Wright to tñò'íséc for no reason. On the meaning C. Brockelmann, *Lexic. Syriac.*° 23 r. - The apostasy of the amfiràyc, Kādišāyē and the Arabs of Kavā 6 had been reported c. z2 (Ij, 21 f.).

Ps.-Josua Stylites, *Chronicle* c. zz.

(I2, 2i) "But again the Kādišāyē as a whole, who were under his (Kavā 6's) hand, rose up against him. They demanded that they enter Nisibis and install their own king there, and they fought over it (over Nisibis) for no small time".

Explanation. Kādišāyē are the Κερσμπούοι, last discussed by H.-W. Hans- sig (in Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* top). He attributes the *numerus Cadisianus* in Grado (CIL. Ş, I59o) to them. He is right to think of a part of the Hunnic federates called Massagetes

and in almost all of Belisar's armies (Procopius, bell 3. 9s :  
 zz, 8-10; I7. 3:18, 3i\*3i\*7 Iq, I8:33:4. 2z, z; z, 8; 5. IO, 2guam) .  
 These Massageten, originating from the far north-east of Iran, were  
 also used by the Persians as auxiliary troops in the fight against the Romans  
 (Procopius, bell. I, 2\* \*3) Like the Massagetes in general, the Kofimyvou  
 heyopšvoo OúvvvouS (loh. Antiochi. bei Konstant. Porphyrog., de legat. -  
 39. 6 de Boor) will be assigned to the Hephthalites or their immediate  
 neighbours. The Ko6icrpvol also appear among the Persian auxiliary troops  
 (Prokop., bell. I, 14. 3 .; Theophyl. Simok. ZI8, 2 de Boor; Zach. Rliet. z,  
 gz, z3 Brooks).

The derivation from Xenophon's Ko6ouoioi (Cyrup 5. 5. -5), as G. Mo-  
 ravcsik has argued (Byzantinoturcica 2 ', \*\*3 ' >°, 146), will be dropped  
 despite the form Kofioucroioi mentioned there. Besides this  
 Ka6nærJvol could lead to Old Turkish *çadaş* "relative by marriage, friend,  
 brother".

The Knbi voí in the Persian army were subject to an or-ruóEpcç  
 (Prokop., bell. I, IA. 3 ), i.e. a "deputy" of the Persian king (Altheim- Stiehl,  
 Supplementum Aramaicum 22 f. ; Die aramäische Sprache i. Lfg., 1959. 3f.  
 ; above I, zA8 note. AZ). Now they wish a øiafšd tnrii  
*dilhŌn*, a ruler of his own choosing.

Michael Syrus, Chronicle 9,

(zoo, middle sp. i f. syr.; z, ry8 Ubers. Chabot) *Raj ġaträd malLā d-fīārsā*  
*yē, lāba' mā 1-yus inyānā malkā d-rāma e s -s . -it1Indre d-dahbā, hāl ên*  
*d-inrfyeàbin can lēh me ul analōmā d-hailā* (so ChabOt í ?, 128 A n m 7.'  
 zltrm' try yl' überl.) *ġ-pārsāy ē ndlrai /'r'e ġ-b-ap par hūnā yē.* "When Kavā  
 6 (was) king of the Persians, he demanded from Justinianos, emperor of the  
 Romans, 5 and 5 (-550o)xsvzpvópier of gold, those that had to be given to  
 iñm because of the cost of the army of the Persians as guards of the gates  
 that (lay) in the face of the Huns".

Explanation. *Kağ* is omitted in Chabot's translation. In short  
 subordinate clauses, especially after *Raj*, not only the ilopula in general,  
 but also the (à)tr's denoting the time sphere can be omitted:

Th. Nöldeke, Kurzgef. syr. Gramm.° z36 î 3\*0 - "--- inyšitd 1st according to  
 Syriac reckoning the first of the name, thus lustinos ; vg1. J -B. Chabot,  
 Chronique de Michel le Syrien a (19°\*), 169 Arim. I.

The parallel passage in }. P.N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca* 3 (1820). 246, °4f. shows z6 *l.iamšä l.tamšä* ġeilitidrü and confirms z2 Chabot's improvement *analāmā*. Also Barhebraeus, *Chronic. Syriac.* 2 . 5 Bedjan also contains the *Nachrichtl.* *W-ğad\_ ām malkā d-ptirsā yē* at the beginning. - In addition, here is

is actually mentioned (6). - The number here in line 6 is 55° ^ m> P <- Prokop does not mention Kavfa fi's claim to *lustinos*.

Michael Syrus, *Chronicle g.* 2.

(-s6, middle sp. zi *l. syr.* ; -. -5 transl. Chabot) : *era-b-šaltā* ġ-8 *d-anas os d-ilch* :ŠztOII I *d-patrāğ malkā d-pārsč yē* Kavfi 6's expulsion, Jāmāsp's government and Kavfi 6's return are briefly discussed. It is not reported that the latter had fled to the Hephthalites, but the fact that in Michael's original is shown by the sentence that follows the reported **İOÍQt ! (2 ĵ**, middle column zof. *syr.* ; 2, \*54 transl. Chabot) *fīò ašāğ hūnō yē tra- iōes ġrābā 'am pārsāyč in-ezdbiu ;bdrsdye* "again the Huns went out and took up the battle with the Persians, and the Persians were defeated".

Explanation. Michael separated what belonged together because he did not understand the historical context. about the second year of Kavñ 6, which began on zo. July 4g8, vg1. Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber* (henceforth cited as: *Übers.*) 4\*7

Ps -Josua Stylites, *Chronicle c.* a8.

(44, 19) "But Kavā fi, Pürōz's son, king of the Persians, also gathered on that day when that light was seen (zz. ò \*3- ug 5 \*: -fī 43. 2Z f.), the whole army (4s. -) of the Persians. He came and went up He travelled north and entered the Roman border region with the Hun army that was with him. He camped in front of Theodosiupolis (*l'dstrpyls*) of Armenia (Erzerūm) and conquered it in a few days. The commander of that place, whose name was Konstantinos, had rebelled against the Romans and handed him over because of a certain enmity he harboured against the emperor."

Explanation. Cf. Prokop. aed. 3, 5. 3 \* ũro (the Qpoupiov Theodosiu- polis) Ko|366pç zózs ó HspcrUv šocrihsú , ijvíxn 6j 'Apífipç tū8ù tfzo, wcrpičov tĭhtv. The Syrian author narrates the siege and capture of Amidaso3 iii c. 50 and 53.

Ps.-Josua Stylites, Chronicle c. s-

From the account of the meeting at Tell Besmai (19th of the second Teérin 8z4 = Nov. 5 3; cf. 47. \*3 . and 45. )

(4 . 3) "When the Roman horsemen saw that the Persians outnumbered them, they turned to flee. The foot soldiers could not flee to save themselves, but were forced to fight. They gathered together and lined up to fight. They made that which is called  $\chi$ -\* vyv (tribe) or tortoise, and fought for a long time. Since the army of the Persians was stronger than they were, and they were joined by When the Huns and Arabs joined them, their (the Romans') ranks opened up to them (the Persian army) and they (the two opponents) were mixed together. They (the Romans) were mingled with the horsemen, and in the dust of the Arabs' horses they were trampled and thrown down. Many of the Romans were killed, and the rest were taken captive."

Explanation. fT/ar shows that the word had come into Syriac from the vulgar language, i.e. from the language of the army. The accusative  $\chi$ -""-tjv had already become the casus generalis : Alheim-Stiehl, Asia and Rome (-95-) 5 - *W-ellra* finds its equivalent in w-uf/gsl: it is thus an imitation of the Greek xci-xc( (Th. Nöldeke, Kurzgef. syr. Gramm.° - \* i 34 ) *nr-ellra léh sed\_raihön* : "es öffneten sich (C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac.<sup>s</sup> 3 r .) ihm (dem Jai/d der Gegner) their ranks (those of the Romans)". Wright's alternative: *w-ellra lhän seprailiön*: "their ranks were broken" or *tr-ettra léh sed\_rhän* : "their rank was broken" is unnecessary.

Ps.-Josua Stylites, Chronicle 55.

(5°. z2 f. ; in the year 8-4 - 5°3J4 A D , cf. 45. \*°) "Kavä fi, however, when he saw that Areobindos' people were few (in number) (s3. \*). He sent against them an army that had been with him in Sizar (Singara), (namely) 20000 Persians. Areobindos pursued them once and again . . (53. 4) But in the month Tammu- (J- 5°4) the Persians were joined by Huns and Arabs to advance against him (Areobindos), and Konstantinos was at their head . . (53. io) But when the Persians came up against Areobindos' men, he (Areobindos) was not able to fight with them (the Persians). But he left them (his and his people's)

camp and escaped to Tellā and Edessa. All their (the Romans') luggage was taken and led away."

Explanation. Cf. *procop. bell. I, 8, it-iz*. Konstantinos had been c. A8; A, if. had been mentioned. - 'bāḡā is "impedimenta". Wright's interpretation to this effect (*Ubers. p. aq note*) has been adopted by C. Brockelmann, a. 0. 5 5 l.

Ps. Joshua Stylites, *Chronicle c. 52*.

(54. Z3, inn year 8i4 = 5 3/4 AD, cf. 4s. to) "Again the game army of the Persians as well as the Huns, Kādišāyē and Armenians gathered in the month Āb (August). They came as far as 'mf'dn'. Patrikios and His men heard (it), and he rose up to advance against them (the Persians). While the Romans were still on the march and not arrayed for battle, the Persians met the foremost and put them to flight. When those who had been defeated fled to those who were following them, the rest of the Roman army saw that the foremost had been defeated, and they were terrified. Patrikios did not stay to fight, but fled first, with the whole army behind him. He crossed the river Euphrates and they escaped to the city of Šmiša (Samosata)."

Explanation. Cf. *Procopius, bell. I, 8, 13f*. For 'irp'dn' the explanations of G. Hoffmann and Th. Nöldeke, two excellent experts, are available (cited by Wright in his translation p. 46 note). Hoffmann is thinking of the Qpóυπιov 'Awó6v'x\$ *Prokop. aed. 2, A, zo* in the neighbouring city of Amida, which was already in Persian hands at the time.

This is also mentioned in *Zachar. Rhetor z. 3\**. zo Brooks: *liarzam d-appad\_nā (d-ā padnā)*. *Prokop* says *bell. i, 8, zo: tvX -pty 'Ap oøwv, øwJovzi Kmæero rívpç wóhsmç (Tellā) 6Qoiv ptp'xtv 66óv*. And *Ptole-mäus, geogr 5. x6, 8* has the form 'AQQófiære'. But there is something else. In addition to the aforementioned *A fadna*, which is under the *dux Mesopotamiae* (or., c. 3s), the late Roman *Notitia dignitatum* recognises another *Apadna* under the *due Osrhoenae* (or., 33) Nöldeke's suggestion for turning to it is to see the later *al-Judain* at Hābūr, between Mākisin and Karkisiyā, in the place meant in our passage.

A decision is difficult. Nöldeke's suggestion has linguistic marches in i t s favour. If one wanted to read traditional 'ušdti, then /ødaio, with Arabic metathesis at the beginning of the word, would be the corresponding /a'aid-formation. Old Pers. \*uf'a-dāna-, with the same second component as

Old Pers. *dai a-dāna-*, would be a place situated near the *\*dānam*. It would correspond to avest.vibe.;bad-, which denotes a place situated at the foot (in this case at the foot of a mountain) (Chr. Bartholomae, Altiran.

Wörterb. 39). On the other hand, it must be said that Old Pers. *\*ma-dāna-*, and also *\*dāna-*, are attested neither as an appellative nor as a place name. Also, the distance between the **place at Hābûr, in** whose neighbouring

The meeting took place in the centre of the city, and Samosata, where Patrikios took refuge, was probably too large. Thus one will opt for Appadnā, Awófiνç;ç, Apadna, 'A':pQó6crrcr with Amida. The peculiarity of the form 'trpdn', presumably as

*\*Aupağnā* or *\*Opad\_nā* may be explained as a vowel diminution under the influence of the following labial. Targûm Onkelos Jer., 43, ZO {gives *uğñēh* ('*mdnyli!* instead of an *ap pad\_nēli* (G.H. Dalman,

Aram. neuhebr. dictionary, i897, 3- r.). A similar contraction occurs in šûrsdyd "Persians" (old Pers. *Pārsa-!*, this time after Labial.

Ps. Joshua Stylites, Chronicle c. 59

(59. 2, inn year 814 - 5°3/4 A.D.; vg1. 45. iO) The Persians "left Areobindos in Edessa and went to fight Harrān. He sent all the Arabs (Kavā 6) to **Srûg** (Batnai). But the rişdyd, who were in Ijarrān went out of the city secretly and attacked them (the Persians) and killed 60 of them. They captured the commander of the Huns alive, and since he was a respected man and highly honoured by the king of the Persians, he promised the Ijarrānians that if they returned him alive, he would not fight with them (in the future). But they (the jarrānians) were afraid of war and returned that Hun, sending with him as his gift 15000Bocks along with other goods."

Explanation. *Bişāye* has been handed down and is to be changed to *rişōyd* with Wright, Ubers. 5o Note He thinks of Arabic ar-ri/iyø, derived from ar-ri/it "the low-lying, cultivated lands along a river". He wants to understand it singularly as "the Rifite", m e a n i n g an otherwise unknown commander in Ijarrān. Wright's interpretation requires no refutation; it needs it all the less as the correct one is offered. We know the Roman frontier troops, the *ri penses* or *ri parenses*, also called *ri pensis militia* (Th. Mommsen in: Hermes -4. 198 f. = Ges. Schriften 6 [igzo], zog f. ; I. Karyannopulos,

The emergence of the Byzantine thematic order [1959] 46). The Notitia dignitatum attests an *ala octaoa F'Ia "ia* under the *dux Mesopolamiae*



*Francorum* in Ripaltha (or. c. 3s). Prokop recognises a Qp00piov of the name 'PiwW8n\$ (aed. 2, 4, Z.). This riša *alba* ("Hanover") testifies to the occurrence of the name in our region, and rišdyd "ripensis" ("ripensis militia") is derived from rišö.

Ps. Joshua Stylites, Chronicle c. 6z.

(61, 2z, in the year 8i4 = 503/4 A.D., cf. 45, IO.) "Then Kavä 6 was furious, and made ready for battle the elephants that were with him. (6z, i) He set out, and all his camp, and set out again to fight with Edessa on the 4 day of the month Elul (September), on Wednesday. He surrounded the city on all sides, more so than before, while all their gates were open. But Areobindus had ordered the Romans not to fight with him (Kavä 6) (the reason for this order arose from the negotiations reported in c. 61) ... (6z, 6 W.) A few of the peasants who were in the city went out to meet him (Kavä 6) with slingshots, and many of the armoured men (*labbä4e* Wright, handed down föilé) who were with him (Kavä 6) damaged them. Not one of them (the sluders) fell. But his (Kavä 6's) legions dared to enter the city, and as often as (nid 'f-: Th. Nöldeke, Kurzgef. syr. Gramm.° zQ4 § z58) they approached its (the city's) gates, on the elevation of a high embankment of earth, they (the Persians) were humiliated and rendered powerless and turned back. But because of the swiftness of the charge of their horses (the enemy cavalry), the slingers (*pallä'e*: C. Brockelmann, Lexic. syriac.° 66g r.) were mingled with them (the horses or horsemen). As arrows the Persians shot and röaé swung the Huns and lances thrust against them the Arabs, they were unable to harm any of them (the slingers). But like those Philistines that went up against Samson, who, though (*chap täb* : C. Brockelmann, a. 0. 318 l.) they were many and armed, were not able to slay him ... (62, i8) so Persians, Huns and Arabs, as they and their horses fell down from the stones (hit) which the slingers shot, could not kill even one of these (63, \*)."

Explanation. *Ba-pmiil gallä zit:fä p-men jellä* translates Wright: "like an upraised mound of earth". He remarks in the note: "the comparison seems to be that of the compact mass of shieldbearing warriors in their charge to a moving mound of earth". This is grammatical and

equally improbable from a factual point of view. The earthwork that the Persians also erected at the sieges of Amida and Mai-parkat is probably the one described; it is discussed below in the explanation of Zachariah's rhetoric  $z, g_2, z f.$  Brooks.  $\beta f i c i \dot{a} l' i$  is not attested in the meaning "elevation" (C. Brockelmann, a. 0. J20 b "superbia") ; but it is readily conceivable. Also *raumä* means "superbia" and "altitudo". On the use of the

Stat. constr. Th. Nöldeke, a. 0.° 154 j zo3 A. - The Huns swing (nde Afel: "agitavit (manum)" : C. Brockelmann, a. 0. 4-i r.) Qmm'. This

The word is not otherwise attested. Nöldeke conjugated *rdaé, xop0vçn*, i.e. "iron-shod" or "iron clubs" (x. cri6tjþeirj), and Wright f 'äpä e "bipennes", which was assumed by Brockelmann (a. 0. 55 ). It is also conceivable that *käröpé* "fasciae" could meet "circumvolvit, circumdedit" (C. Brockelmann, a. 0. 345 b), i.e. lassos. Everything is possible with a change of letter, *paedä é* also possible with the realisation of a dot.

There are also factual arguments in favour of all three suppositions. The mace is found on the coins of the Kfiéän and the Hephthalites: R. Göbl in Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike z48 f. The "Mehrknaulszepter" of the Kfiéän mentioned there could also be an iron club, as the comparison with A. v. Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kultur- geschichte Mittelasiens (-925) tig. 2i (Bäzäklik) shows. From the stand

of Kaniska and other rulers of his house, one recognises the

long, straight and iron-studded leg: Archeol. Survey of India

\*9\*\*-12 Pl. 53; F. Alheim, Krise der Alten Welt i (iQ43) Taf. QI ; East and West 9 (\*9s ). 306 tig. -5: 302 fig. z6. Tabari, ann. i. 964. -i names the mace (gem), attached to the belt, among the weapons of the Sasanian

Ritters; cf. 86s, I and -3 as well as Th. Nöldeke, Übers. Q6 note 4 ; 2iwopiss drewnego Pjandkikenta (-954) \*£ff. XXXV on the right. On the horseman's iron club at the time of Darius I I see G. Widengren in : Orient. Suecana 5

(ig36), -5°: -3z. The club as a weapon of the nomads is well attested: F. Altheim, Weltgeschichte Asiens z. 3°: Ve . E. Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien 88 ;

A. v. Le Coq, a. 0. i8; in Zarathustra's Gäflä Y. 3z, io they raise the *vadar ü*, the club that also appears in Indra's hand: F. Alheim, Literature and Society i (\*9s°). In. In the already mentioned passage Tabäri I, £)64. \*i also encounters the battle axe (1ah "rsiii), and in the same context

it is called 'amiid "club, mace". Farruchzä 6 Yazdgard III uses an 'amN to defeat traitors: Tabari i, - 79 2 f.

*Ahlu 1-'amiid* are the nomads. The term "pillar" shows that the

weapon must have had a heavy stock to lean on in an emergency. Ammianus' phrase: *muûuis srcurio "i i'cl-'!--* (3\*. \*3. 3). from the melee of the Roman infantry with the Visigothic cavalry

in the Battle of Adrianople, shows that this force, mixed with Alans and Huns (i. 354 above), made use of the battle axe. The double axe is found on the rock carvings of the Yenissei and on the wall paintings of East Turkestan: A. v. Le Coq, a. O. fig. too; izA (Kara-šahr); i\*6 (Bäzäklik). The lasso among the Alans was discussed above I, z i; we learn of the Huns' lasso on the occasion of the miracles of the bishop Timotheos of Tomoi and Scythia (Sozomenos, h. eccl. 2, z6, g)

as well as the capture of Akum's, the evidence for which can be found in G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica z° (-95). §Q. The use of the lasso is depicted on the silk fabric of Antinoe: Recueil Kondakoff 94 fig. z;

F. Altheim, Krise der Alten Welt i (\*943) pl. 80; cf. Art Treasures of the Metropolitan (iQ3z) J9l. 2°9.

Michael Syrus, Chronicle g, 2i.

(z28, 1. Sp. \*3 : 2, 1 2 f. Ubers. Chabot) *ir-fñò bēh b-zabnā elā trā gvr-dios malēā ḡ-hiittāy ē la-md mat me/šū/d 'am Aailā saggiyā. in-etlalmad\_ wā ma-'maḡ. tr-jab(b)lēli Iiu malēā men ma'māḡitā.tr-had ezal 1-alrēh šarri mlabbar*

*1-salmē d-dahbā ma-d-sēmā ḡ-saçdin can 1-hān.tr-ḡaḡ hālēn zā a iii tr-ā:f ailatrātrātēh 'am L u m r ē, šal 'lan nbilā tr-ḡa liii. zr-bātarLēn kad\_ mennēli d-malka ḡ-rōmā yē dliel d-Iā netmaḡ jam meiliōn, 'raw 1-atrā rēnā.* "Again at this time Gurdios, king of the Huns, was able to come to the city of the empire with a large army. He was taught and baptised. The emperor baptised him (became his godfather). When he (Gurdios) was able to enter his country, he set about destroying the images (images of gods) made of gold and silver that they (the Huns) worshipped. When his brother and the army, together with the priests, saw this, they devised a ruse against him and killed him. Then, fearing that the Roman emperor would take revenge on them, they killed him, they fled to another place".

The same narrative in Johannes of Ephesus: Rev. de l'Orient chrét. i8£)ÿ. 474 f. (not accessible to us); Euagr., h. eccl. 4, zo; Iohannes Malal. 43\*, 16f. Bonn; Theophanes, chron. zô£), I2 Bonn; Georg. Kedrenos i, 6A£, \*3f. Bonn.; on the Ethiopic version in Iohannes' of Nikiu Chronicle vg1. below. The event falls in the year s22.

Explanation. Instead of Gordios or Gordes, loh. Malal. r n6, Theophanes ropfió , Xop6ō9 and the lat. Transl. Anastasius' : *Gorda*, lohannes of Ephesus: Gordienos. G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica <sup>z1</sup>, io8 surmises, according to others, \**oyurda*, also \**o ur-daš* "comrade of *oyur*" would be possible (A. v. Gabain, Alttürk. Gramm.° 63 § 68). In addition, Old Turk. girl "wolf" would be conceivable (i, z22 above), which G. Moravcsik, l. c. 2°. O. 2°. \*\*4

according to the process of H.-W. Haussig in: Byzantion -3 (I£)s3). 355: 43 ver- interpreted. Finally, Middle Persian *gurd* "hero" cannot be rejected in names such as *Gurdāb*, *Gurdō/rīd*, *Gurdānšāli*, *Gurdzād* and others. (F. Justi, Iran. Namenbuch xzi f.). According to the parallel passages, the Huns mentioned here must be sought in the Crimea. - *Hailā* probably refers less to the "army" than to the nobility, according to the Old Persian (ēāra-) and Aramaic usage: Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache z, 93f.

Church history of the so-called. Zacharias Rhetor z, Qz, ig f. Brooks.

"During the lifetime of the emperor Iustinus (overl. *yms ynyns*) (5- -z2), who had learnt that Tannfirin would be an aid to refuge (C. Brockelmann, l.o.- 2o 1.), in order that a city might be founded in the desert and An army would be placed there to protect the plain ('*arab* from the Arabs' føydye), sent by Thomas the Silentiary, the court official, to build it. When he had brought together a certain number of chṭj and labourers ('*abdē* , who began the work, they were made to stop (s ðaflaf) by the Arabs and Kādišāyē who (lived) in Singara and Tebbet".

Explanation. Tannúrīn is found in Prokop (aed. z, 6, IΛ-I5) <sup>ā\*</sup> O-ovvúpio βúo, plxpòv xoì piyct. Near the larger village was a place that the enemy Bedouins (Zctpctxpvol) used to cross the Hābfir ('A|3óppctç).

used them as ambushes. They could disperse in the dense and extensive forest (Öhp) and in the nearby mountains (ōpo ) and attack the population of the Roman towns unhindered. This description agrees with the information given by Ps. Josua Stylites about the amúrāyē

agree. They, too, sit on high mountains ( *īrē rāmē* i8, 3), plunder the villages in the neighbourhood, rob the merchants and climb up their mountains again (i8, 3). Moreover, the amfirāyē are always found united with the Hunnish Kādišā yē (Iy, 2Z f. ; iQ, i8 f.), like the faydye in our place. There can hardly be any doubt that with these

and Prokop's 'xpoxrJvoí m e a n the amúrāyē. Hābūr and

Singara let us recognise the Ğebel Singār as the mountain range mentioned both times.

The amúrāyê were in any case Arabs. By shifting a dot, the Syriac *r* becomes *d*, and one would have gained \* Tamúdāyd. Are they to be equated with the Arabic amfid? One could refer to Syriac lúrydġd 8pptoXóv alongside *tĕryaġĕ, tĕryapi, tûryaġi* 8rJ pico' (C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac.

°z8g 1. ; 83s r.). Or, assuming an early north-west Arabian change at the Aramaic border from *f*

to *f* (C. Brockelmann, Grundriß der vergl. Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen i, i g o 8 , 131f. 1 46 h |3) *a n* older \* *Tamtid*. The amúd are, of course, only attested up to the level of Dfimat al-Ğandal (modern el- Ğōf) (E. Littmann, Thamúd und afā, 194°. Z f.)°. However, the addition pciúrdyè ... *d-'āmriii b-ar'ā ġ-pûrsāyê* (i8, i) could be intended for this purpose.

The Persian amúd were separated from the other bearers of the name, especially in north-western Arabia.

G. Ryckmans, whom we asked for advice, wrote to us under the -3 59 "Il serait séduisant de souscrire à l'hypothèse selon laquelle il y aurait, dans le texte syriaque, confusion entre *d* et *r*; du point de vue de la critique textuelle, cette hypothèse est parfaitement plausible. Mais il y a la question de la présence de 'Thamoudéens' en Haute Mésopotamie, dans la région de Ğ. Singār. Il s'agit tout d'abord de distinguer entre 'Thamoudéens' et inscriptions dites 'thamoudéennes'. Nous avons relevé, dans les provinces méridionales de l'Arabie sa'udite un nombre de graffites 'thamoudéens' deux fois plus élevé que celui des graffites relevé dans le nord°. Le nom de 'Thamoudéen' has been given to these graffiti because the first ones that were discovered were located in the region inhabited by the 'Thamüd' and because this name has appeared in these texts ... The presence of 'Thamoudéens' in the Nisibe region would, I think, be difficult to establish; the Djōf is the extreme northern limit of their habitat. Et le fait que des inscriptions 'thamoudéennes' ou dont l'écriture se rapproches du 'thamoudéen' aient été relevées dans la région du limes de Transjordanie et de Syrie n'implique pas la présence de gens appartenant a Thamfid".

This information seems to rule out the possibility that Nisibis and Ğebel Singār were tribal seats of the amfid. But another explanation suggests itself. The Kādišüyê are, as will become clear, Huns. They served in the Roman army, as 'rtnnriis *Cadisianus*, and at the same time in that of Sasa-

° Most recently J Ryckmans in : be Muséon 2z (ig59), i 22 f.

nids. Both empires used people from this tribe as auxiliaries far from their seats in north-east Iran. The same applies to the Tamfid. In the late Roman army there was a mounted troop of the name: *sqoi/es Saraceni Thamudeni* (Notit. dign., or. z6, ry). The same may be said of Tamüräyê, i.e. Tamfidäyë, who stood alongside the Kädisäyë in the Singar gable. They too were an auxiliary force of the Sasanian army that served on the Mesopotamian border. Persian rule over the Ui äz, exercised by the vassal kings in Ijira (Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzge- history of late antiquity -4xf.), gave the opportunity to recruit these troops in their home country.

On 'arch cf. above i. -45. where our passage is discussed. - 'abdë not "slaves", but "operarii, fabricatores", so Brooks in the translation p. -4 note ii. But the word is not used in this sense. testifies. One should consider reading 'äbdê (Part. act. plur.). For this put man the /a'a/a (plural of /'i/i) "workmen" Tabari 2, 1188, z.

Church history of the so-called. Zacharias Rhetor z. 97, 2 f. Brooks.

"The villages that (were) in the land of Arznäyê belonged to the kingdom of the Persians. And no small bounty (was) collected from their (the villages') inhabitants for the king's treasure, and } the dignity of a eš/aJta (poor tštjS), who was employed there, an Öw-rx ' of the king. To this region, as ( was ) related above, Besas, the *dux*, added much The one who had captured (and) also held in Maiparkat the son of the sister of sš1shfd. King Kavä 6 was most bitter when he learnt from 'iš1'iJsd the devastation of the region, who had set everything in motion (literally: had moved all the stones) - he, this Hormizd - in the army and *nthërrvov* of his king against Maiparkat, so that he might conquer it, which was an ambush and refuge for the army of the Romans, in order to harm Arzün. And to say it (now): an army from the army of the Persians was made ready. Mihrgiröi was sent to recruit many Huns and bring them to their (the Persians') aid. They (the Persian army, for the time being still without the Huns) were present and came. together in front of Maiparkat at the beginning of 6fxêrvo (the io. year of the 3s. indic- tion = Sept. 532) and laid a moat, a 'mule' and many underground passages in front of it. They entered it (the city of Maiparkat) in battle and fought against it. There was a large army of Romans and Buzes in it, and many Persians threw them (the resisting garrison) into battle.

in the battle. Nonnos, the bishop of the city, had also died (which increased the difficulties of the defenders). But Belisarios, because he was in disfavour ('*edlā yā*) with the emperor, because the army of the Romans had been destroyed by the Persians in Tannürin and on the Euphrates, was deposed and went up to the emperor. He was followed in Dara Ísonstan- tinos. An army of many Romans g a t h e r e d , and Sittas was the o-rpærpyó\$. Ibn Ğabala, the king of the Arabs ( *ayyāyd*, defected. *yy*), (was)

with them. They came to Amida from Tešrin 6fxćrioo, and John, the hermit of Anastasia (g8, i Brooks) - a man distinguished for (impeccable) conduct of life - who had been appointed (bishop), accompanied them (the Roman army together with those enumerated by name). As they travelled to May parka and winter came - that region is northern and cold - the Persians clothed themselves with trousers because of the rain and mud and endured the hardship. However, they also feared the size of the Roman army. Moreover, their (the Persians') king Kavã 6 died while they were there. They (the Persians) made a treaty with the Romans to withdraw from the city (Maiparka ). When they had left, Maiparka had been conquered and the army of the Romans had returned, the Huns, who had been recruited by the Persians, came, a great people. They (the Huns) suddenly invaded the land of the Romans. They raided, killed many peasants (literally: peasants of the earth), burnt down the villages and their churches and crossed the Euphrates. They advanced as far as Antiocheia. No one stood against them and did them harm, except this Besas, *dux* of Maiparka , who attacked some of them (the Huns) when they returned home. He killed (them) and gained about 500 horses and great booty. The man became rich. At **Kitriz**, a castle, the due there chased away about 400 men from them and captured their cattle".

Ibid. z. 99. \*4 . Brooks.

"When Emperor Lustinianos saw what had happened in his province of Bë Nahrin (Mesopotamia), and his army, which had been destroyed again and again by the Persians, and his peasants, who had been killed and captured by the Huns, and the land, which had been burnt together with its villages, he became weary of it, which had been burnt along with its villages, he became weary of the fact that an army was to be sent to fight with Kusrō, who had become king after Kavã 6, his father" (Lustinianos decides to initiate peace negotiations).



Explanation. The content of the introductory sentence is discussed in Altheim-Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache* i (z959). 5 On *atrā* see G. Widengren in : *Orient. Suecana* 3 (xg36), iz6 f. ; on šsuš risk Ps.-Josua Stylites to, zo Wright. Arzan and Mayāfārikin (Maiparka ) brought in A, zoo,000 Dirhem in Kudāma's time (zA6.3 . de Goeje). Arzan (Armen. area), in Armenia

was the capital of the Arzanene (to be separated from Arzan in the Persis : I ahri 122, to de Goeje) or 'ApĒovtjvtj (Prokop., de aed. 3, >. 3) One hears of the aš a só only in our passage, which is not considered in the relevant article by Streck, *Encyclop. d. Islam* <sup>xl</sup> (Zt)I3, AgI. On the title vgI. the Compilation and etymology in Altheim-Stiehl, *Supplementum Aramaicum* 22 f. ; above i, z48 note 'AI ; G. Widengren, a. 0. I i I ; Inf.; x46. On *ksep rēšā* cf. Altheim-Stiehl, *Die aram. Sprache* I, 83 f. ; *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* 3s: 4- : is *rznāyē* means the population of the area called *Arzāin* below. The reading occurs in the apparatus to *abari*, ann. x, z6g9 , Iz, where Ibn al-Atir 3. 3 2,3 Tornberg:

*Arzanbān*, Bal'ami *Arzounbān* exist; but none of them can stand against the authority of the abari manuscripts. There is no doubt that E. Prym correctly placed *Ādarbi yān* (thus against F. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch* Az 1. s. v. *Arzanbān*). - Brooks translates the following: "qui idem Hurmizd in exercitu et palatio regis ( ?) sui omnes lapides movebat contra Maipherka ". This is a literal translation, but by no means a sensible one. First of all: *d-Jul èēpin mci'* wd, in which the stones are merely an image, means: "he put everything into

movement" (C. Brockelmann, *Lexic. Syriac.*- 3-5 a). *B- ailā* "to army" : on this meaning of ò vgI. Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgef. syr. gram.*° i85

ī \*4 last section. HctÄðzvov, mentioned next to the army, hardly means the royal palace, but refers to the royal guard, comparable to the šafafini: Th. Mommsen in : *Herrn.* 24 (1889), zz6 f. = Ge- samm. Schrift. 6 (IgOo), -34 . That such guards existed is beyond doubt

fel. Petrus Patricius fr. th (FHG. 4. 9 ) recognises a črw-PxOs -s-'=-s' - under Narsē. Michael Syrus s a y s : wa-Jøeø *rāmāy ē l-pārsāyē liānān*

*d-lō mā yāl ē metgrēn lmātliān* (UZ, middle sp. 8f. Syr.; Übers. z, z3 Chabot). The Romans made these "immortals" prisoners under Bahrām V. Gōr; they may have received their name in memory of the Achaemenid foot guard. *abari*, ann. i, 86A, i knows men of the rôdīfn of Bahrām V. Gör, i.e. a bodyguard, 300 men strong. The *sy'sgyzrn of Chusrō I. Anōšarvān*, which Kudāma calls z6o, I, must also have been a guard troop. *abari*, ann. i, 1043. -s Speaks under Chusrō II.



A|3arvêz from *man Lāna Ji ġasrihi mint arasihi*. Shortly before this, the bemoaner 'afā arasi bābihi 1- ā a is mentioned (z) and io62, Z2 VOIT1 fia - ten arasi ardašira. Accordingly, Maiparka used all available forces. The connection between the (ordinary) army and the guard is also evident when Sahrbarāz is simultaneously named commander of the

"lucky ones" and as general of the frontier troops against Byzantium ( abari, ann. i, io6i, Inf. ; cf. io6z, 2 f. and í|lamza I b. 6z, I GOttwaldt ;

Ya'kūibi i, ig6, -9 ). Chusrō II had specially entrusted the "lucky ones", also a guard or elite troop, to the general (IO6Z, 18). - After

According to the Procopius parallel account, the commander is called Benn He has captured the sister's son of *ap a šā* (cf. g6, 16 f.): *da-šbā āp ahid mā b-mai parġat*. The partiz. Pass. of the form *f'il* is used actively here: Th.

Nöldeke, Kurzgef. Syr. Gramm.° zrr §z8o. - Mihrgirōi is called Mcppcpóp in Prokop. Despite Th. Nöldeke, Persische Studien (Sitz.-

Ber. Akad. Wien Iz6, i8gz) it ; zz, and F. Justi, a. 0. zo3 r. ; -°5 1 . We see no possibility of understanding both names in their second component in a uniform way. - Maiparka , arab. Mayāfārikin, is the Byzantine

Martyropolis: V. Minorsky in Encyclop. d. ISlčŁm 3 (-936), zoo f., especially UZ. The Syriac form of the name can be read either *Mif'arġa* or 3fiišarġa; Brooks Maipherka is not conceivable. Our text speaks

of a conquest by the Persians, in contrast to Procopius, Pers. i, zi, z2. The poor condition of the defences i, zr, 8 corresponds to

what Procopius, de aed. 3, °. -O fii notes for the time of Anastasios I. The reinforced fortification under Justinianos, which is described in II-If above, must have taken place after the siege of 53a then. This confirms that the city was not evacuated by the Eastern Romans. - *Kāġanlā* "mula"

is understood by C. Brockelmann, a. 0. 3\*9], £tlS name of a siege engine. It also appears in Michael Syrus' description of the siege of Amida 5°\*J3 (J. B. Chabot, Chronique de Michel le Syrien z, 19°\*, 156 f.).

\*5 . 1. Sp. ry f., Syr. and that of Dārā see in John of Ephesus,

h. eccl. 3, ° 8. z8; z8g, i6 Brooks. It is to be equated with the hóØo described by Procopius (Pers. i, y, z4í.) on the occasion of the same event. In both cases it is an elevation overlooking the city wall; it is climbed by 500 men at Michael's, who walk from there to the wall.

Prokop speaks of "many Persians" firing at the defenders of the wall from the heights. The description given by Ps. Joshua Stylites of the same events is no less clear. Here too

The "mule" is also mentioned in the book (42, 2 syr. Wright), and again it is intended to tower over the wall. Amida's defenders bring it down through a passage underneath (47, 6 f.), and Procopius tells us the same thing about the hóQo (Pers. I, /, 14 I3). Although the expression *Lōōğatitā* only appears in the Syriac sources, there can be no doubt that Procopius means the same thing by hóQo. - Non us (sic), bishop of Maiparka, is also attested by Michael Syrus (z, I/A). - Belisarios' defeat in the Tannúrin desert was narrated in 93, II f. - The addition of *d\_anas asyā* to *ihi ġāyāā* can be explained as a reference to Anastasia, who

Wife of Pompey, one of the nephews of Anastasius I. Her ecclesiastical inclinations are summarised in E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas Empire* z (-949).

216, where, however, our passage is missing. - Brool's

Translation "Persae pluvia lutoque impediti sunt et graviter laboraverunt"

is incorrect. *Éstarbal* states that the Persians were clothed with trousers (saròð/d, cf. G. N. Knauer in *Glotta* 13, 1954. 100 f., especially I iz) (C. Brockelmann, *Lexic. Syriac.*° 806 r.) and therefore endured the rigours of the weather. For other names of the trousers, see O. Szemerényi in : KZ.

ǰ\* (\*959). 74 - Kitriz is the seat of a *dux*, which Procopius, de aed. 3, z, i iv QpoQpí ówep Ki8':xpí{mv xWoúoiv recognises alongside the *dux* of Martyropolis. - *d-lîib ba-ğrābā ġ - { i a i l ā* : via double relative-word *d* cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgef. syr. gram.*° ° 9f. § 36Q.

Michael Syrus, *Chronicle* g, 21.

(\*7 r. sp.36 syr.; z, I9• transl. Chabot) *ba-šna! 3 d-yus inyānos da-lrēn slew tñb pārsāyē in-hiināy ē ma-šrau 'al mai f'arğa in-lō ešLa d-nekbšünāh. tr-bālar* (z28, 1. Sp. I) *had etā 1-liōn š e m 'ā d-maut ēli d-ğatrād malēhōn, liāidēn šbau in-auğed 1-Lullêh atrā ta-hdārêli tr-tea/ I-alrhān.* "In the third year of Justinian II the Persians and Huns came up again and encamped before Maiparka, and they were not able to conquer it. When the rumour came to them of the death of Kavā 6, their king, they plundered and burned the whole region around and went into their country." Explanation. The news is important because it confirms that

Maiparka remained in Eastern Roman hands.

Iohannes of Ephesus, h. eccl. 3, 6, 2.

(3. °93. 2Aǰ. Brooks) "Therefore, when (as a result of Dārā's conquest sts) the **king** of the Persians (Chusrō I. Anōšarvān) **was** drunk with arrogance and his spirit was exalted because of the amount of booty and captives that

When he had taken them from the land of the Romans, he commanded that 2000 virgins should be chosen out of all the captives, full of youth and beauty: (or: figure) and beauty, of **w h o m**, when they had been chosen according to the command (2 A, z Brooks) and had come before him, he commanded that they should be adorned with everything like brides, with excellent and precious garments, with gold and silver, with precious stones and pearls, and that they should be sent as a gift of honour to the barbarians within his (the Persian king's) country, who are called Avars, so that he might show himself pleasing to them and appease them, so that he might take them into his pay. When this was done, as he had commanded, and they (the virgins) were magnificently adorned, he added to them an army of two *mazzbān*, commanded for them (the virgins) increased 6000 and sent them off, commanding that they should not be driven on the march, but should march with leisure and be glad, so that: 'they would not become emaciated and ugly.'" (The way in which the Christian virgins evade the disgrace that threatens them can be ignored).

Explanation. Excerpt from Michael Syrus, *Chronik to, i* (350, r. Sp 3 : \* . 3\*s Transl. Chabot) . —°94. *A f.1-barbrā yē fa-lyau men atrēh d-metprēn abarts* (V, om. B). Of the two manuscripts, B is the older (end of the 2nd century) and better (E. W. Brooks, syr. III). V may also belong to the Io. It is thus considerably older than the time of writing of Michael's *Chronicles*. It is therefore not methodical to favour his reading over that of V. In addition, Brooks, as a result of his chosen method of placing Michael's *urḡā yē* in the place of *aóør* is V and the gap in B, is compelled to put *da-lgau men atrēh* as "qui ultra regionem eius erant". Chabot also gives 5°. r. Sp. 6 *1-barbrā yē d-ilaihōn urpā yē fa-lgau men* jdrs with "turcs de l'intérieur (au-delà) de la Perse" again. On the other hand, correctly understood I-gun "intra" excludes the Western Turks who did not belong to Chusrō's I. .bnō\*sar ān empire, and conversely proves the value of the reading *abarls*. At best, *urḡōye* could mean the Hephthalites, and then they and *abaris* would have the same meaning.

For the Hephthalites had been mercenaries and auxiliaries of the Persians since the time of Kavā 6 I. After the fall of their empire, the western peripheral areas fell to the Persians. The Avars in north-eastern Iran, or more precisely the

Pseudo-Awaren. This is shown by Zacharias Rhetor z, 2T4. 23f. Brooks, where Avars, Abdel (above I, 4° : 0; 46) and Hephthalites stand side by side (on the *Usr* mentioned there cf. Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat i, zgi*).

Even after the main mass of the tribe had migrated westwards, some of them remained in their original seats: Menander in: Exc. de legat 45s, 6f. de Boor; H.-W. Haussig in: Byzantion -3 (\*953). 3\* . 338 f. ; 37\*: 3 3 f.

Haussig has stated that in the name Abarsahr the name of the *Abar, A par, Awaren* ("Abar-" or "Awarenstadt"), cf.

a. 0. 3-g note ryp. Of course, he did not take into account that the place lies south of the Oxos. Kudämä °43. s Abarsahr follows Tös and Päääb in the enumeration, both of which belong to Choräsän. And Tabari, ann. i, 28 5, -z says outright that Abarsahr is one with Nésäpfir (cf. Markwart-Messina, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eränsahr [i9s-] 5- f. ; H. H. Schaeder, Iranica in: Abh. Gött. Ges. Wiss. 3. F., ZO [1934]. - 73)* As will be shown later, the Oxos under Chusrö I. Anösarvän formed the imperial border. So if Haussig is right in his interpretation of the name Abarsahr, the *Abar* or Avars presumed there could be one with the aöaris who lived within Chusrö's borders.

Michael Syrus, Chronicle iO, 23.

(386, middle sp. 33 : °. 371f. transl. Chabot) *tr-5addar mauripi mät malbä pusrä iuiannis rés liailä da-trälfä yé b-'esrin al päye jailä m-1-anaslos Aad\_dbir 'ammeh armanyii tr-biipläryii 'esrin al pä yé*. "The emperor sent Maurikios to King Chusrö: lohannes, the commander of the army of the Thracians, with 20000 men and Anastasios, leading with him Armenians and at /'iryü 20 000".

The event coincides with the return of Chusrö II Aqarvéz to the throne: spring 3gi. Parallel passage is Barhebraeus, Chron. Syriac. Qz, ii f. Bedjan.

Explanation. *Biipläryii* is rendered by Barhebraeus as *bulgäryii*. DoCh could also mean *buccellarii*, |3oux7t aptoi: Ps.-JOSua Sty- lites 5-. ao Wright calls the *biipelläton* "buccellatum, |3ouxthherrov".

Michael Syrus, Chronicle io, z4.

(388, middle sp. i y I - \*. 374 f. Chabot) *tr-etb5el bul(I)hân yaltirâ'il bap bulgarâ yé 5arriu da-ngay(y)siin* (C. Brockelmann, a. 0.° 114 r.) *h-a/rñ fa-trälfî in-ezal 'laihân râmâyé 'am Lili f'pipos da-zpau 1-bulgarâyé ma-finau* "Es ent-

They all armed themselves even more when the Bulgarians set out to plunder the territory of Thrace, and the Romans marched against them (the Bulgarians) with Philippikos, who defeated them (the Bulgarians) and returned home".

The event falls in Maurikios' final year of 60z.

Explanation. The Bulgarians are those who, according to 3 z, r. Sp. zgf., had been accepted by Maurikios as *foederati* and settled in upper and lower Mösia and in the Dacia Ripensis. now they left the military border, which was entrusted to them to guard, and plundered Thrace.

The message is important because it confirms that the Proto-Bulgarians had already settled on the Danube border, south of the river, in 585. Michael Syrus' entire section 379. r. Sp. x2 f. was dealt with above I, 88 f. In the meantime we have a parallel version in Barhebraeus, Chron. Syriac. go, x8 f. Bedjan. It explicitly states Mauricius' fourth year, thus confirming our determination (i. 9 above). We give the wording in translation:

(go, x8 f. Bedjan) "In his (Mauricius') fourth year the hateful people of the Avars with braided hair emigrated and moved away from the east, while from the west the Slavs (*asplabeans* and Lombards. They came into servitude to the Chäqän, king of the Chazars (mistake for: Avars). They (the Slavs) conquered two cities from the Romans and a number of forts. If it had not been for the great moat that the emperor had built outside Adrianople, they (the Slavs) would also have focussed on Constantinople. But the Romans hired the people of Anten (atifiyti), and they *invaded*, occupied and plundered Slavia (*aspläbänyä*). But when the Slavs heard this, they wreaked great havoc in the land of the Romans and returned home. At this time, three brothers travelled from inner Scythia with 30,000 Scythians. (9\*. i Bedjan) They had come in a march of two months at the time of winter, due to the presence of water, namely from the passes of the Imaos ('inntrti) mountains. They reached the Tanais, the river that emerges from Lake Maiotis (ci'tilys) and pours into the sea of Pontos. When they had reached the border of the Romans, one of them, whose name (*da-lméh*, transl. *d-5emhän*) was Bul- garios, took io ooo (man) and crossed the Tanais. He set up camp between the two rivers, the Tanais and the Danube, which (the Danube) was also

pours into the sea of Pontus. He sent to Mauricius that he should give him land to live there and that he should form an auxiliary force for the Romans. He (Mauricius) gave him (Bulgarios) the upper and lower Moesia. They (Bulgarios' people) lived there and formed a defence force for the Romans. Although they (were) Scythians, the Romans called them: Bulgarians. But these two other brothers came to the land of the Alans, which is Berzylia *mbar säli yä*), that is: to the cities of Caspia, which gate of the Turks the Bulgarians call (interp. ; cont. Bedjan). The ;boqor'iyе *pangurä ye*), who had become Christians early on, were now called (£dfd corr. ; *m-häëä* Bedjan) Chazars after the name of their elder brother."

Barhebraeus goes back to the same source as Michael Syrus, namely to Lohannes of Ephesus. This confirms that the account of the Chazars also goes back to him, as we (above I, 82) have claimed in contrast to Brooks. The two components of the passage - the Slavic invasion and the migration of the Chazars - therefore belonged together from the beginning. Barhebraeus' extract gives less than Michael's, and to the errors in the spelling of names, which go back to the common source, he has introduced new errors. Brooks did not realise that Barhebraeus had a second version of the account. Bedjan's numerous suggested changes were mostly disregarded; it seems that he, too, was unaware of the parallel version. Finally, V. Minorsky's last statement seems to be about the beginnings of the Chazars (Oriens I z, -9 8, 124 f.) without knowledge of both Syrian authors and thus of the contemporary of the events, The text appears to have been written by St John of Ephesus. As a result, some of what was assumed there changes.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the narrative recorded in Kudäma °59. \*9 . as well as other reports of the Sasanian king's book (Tabari, ann. i. 94. 9 9 . \*5; 899, - I) presuppose that the Chazars had already appeared in the Caucasus under Chusrö I. Anösarvän (cf. Th. Nöldeke, Übers. -s7 Anm 3) According to Kudäma 260, s, the Sasanid and the king of the Khazars met in *h'irsn'iya* or *barsali ya* (cf. de Goeje's Annotatio z6oc).

Further news about the early appearance of the Chazars is discussed in D.M. Dunlop, The History of the Jewish Khazars (1954) z: zëif. who is inclined to consider them unhistorical.

Anonymous chronicle ("Guidi's Syrian Chronicle") in : *Chronica Minora I*, -s. i f. Guidi.

"Hormizd (IV., 57 -9 ) reigned twelve years, and he made hard the yoke over his great ones and over the whole people ('dJind overl. ; vg1. C. Brockelmann, LeXic. Syriac. ° 22 r.). One of the great men of his armies, who was sent by him to the gate of the Turks, fell away from him. And his name was Warahrān of Ray (reriḡdyô). He gathered many troops and prepared for war with the king. But when the great men who were at the gate of the kingdom (and) also hated Hormizd heard of Warahrān's apostasy, they conspired among themselves, deposed him from his throne, and his eyes also blinded them. In his place they put one Chusrō (II. Aqarvêz, 59CE-62a), his son. When came the rumour to Warahrān, he became very angry, not because he was Hormizd but because it was not he who had carried it out. He made his troops ready and prepared for war with Chusrō. And they set out (ašgrJ 3. **Plur.** Mask. Perl'), and he advanced against Chusrō. When Chusrō saw (*era-ḡ-yad da-hzā*, overl. *uibyḏ iz'*) that Warahrān's party was stronger than his own, he (Chusrō) fled from him (Warahrān) and quickly took the southern road, that is the one via Pērōz-Šāpīr (Ambār, cf. Th. Nöldeke, Transl. 5z note 5) and 'Anat and **Hit** (transl. Ctrl) and Kirkesion. He went (and) took refuge with Maurikios, the emperor of the Romans ... (16, 8 Guidi) Mauricius gave Chusrō many troops, and they moved eastwards. When Warahrān heard (this), he set out from Mähōzć (Seleukeia-Ktesiphon, cf. R. Payne Smith, *Thes. Syriac. z. \*9°\**, 2068) with his troops. And he fled to A burbaiyān, and Chusrō met him with the troops of the Persians and Romans, and the Romans were victorious, and the troops of Warahrān were defeated, and Chusrō returned with great joy ... (Z6, IQ Guidi) At that time the brothers Bindoi and Bis ām, who were imprisoned by Hormizd, came out of the house of the prisoners. They had helped Chusrō many times because they were of his mother's lineage. He then sent Bis ām with a large army to the gate of the Turks. He left Bindoi at his gate (court). And because Chusrō rebuked Bindoi because of things concerning his kingship, he thought of killing him. So Bindoi fled to join his brother Bis ām. When he passed through the land of Afiurbaiyān, the local Marzbān heard it, prepared a meal for him and caught him. And he sent him to Chusrō. But when his brother heard this, he gathered troops

of the Turks and Delamites (*dailīmāyè*) and reached Mähōzē, and a Turk betrayed him. He killed him (Bis ām) and sent his head (Iÿ, i Guidi) to Chusrō. As for Bindōi, the king ordered all his limbs on the right side to be cut off, sent him to Bē(t) **Lāpā** (Gundē-Šāpūr, vg1. Th. Nöldeke, transl. Aï mm. z) and had him crucified there. They also hung Bis ām's head on the **neck of Sāpfir**, the son of Warahrān, who had fallen away from him (Chusrō). And they put him (Sapūr) on a camel and led him round the king's gate."

Explanation. The basic edition of the chronicle is by Th. Nöldeke, the Syriac chronicle published by Guidi translated and commented, in: *Sitzungsber. Wiener Akad., phil.-hISt. Classe Iz8 (\* 93)* Reference should be made to this, as only a few things can be touched on here. Before

In this report, we have an account of Bahrām Ğöbin's uprising that is independent of the post-Sasanian "history" of the great rebel (Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat i, zo6 f.* ; extended English translation in: *East and West g, 1958, Z2t) f.)* is independent. It will be the task of a literary study to trace the changes made by the author of this work - one of the great poems of tragic content that characterise the transition from late antiquity to the Middle Ages in the East and West. Also the immediately to be mentioned

Chapters from Theophylact's historical work should be consulted. The author of the Bahrām novel (as it has been called since Nöldeke) has turned the fate of Bahrām into a hymn to vassal loyalty (its validity and its loss).

*Tar'ā d\_urbāy ê* (siC) *ĪSt Is. 3 and 16, zz f.*, for which compare the remarks above I, gô. Dinaivari gives an enumeration in the second case: it includes Chorāsān, Kōmis, Gurgān and Tabaristān (io2,

\*3f. Guirgass). This confirms once again that we are dealing with the Hephthalites or, more precisely, the remainder of their dominion, which was located north of the Oxos

had held. Here, in 597-59, Smbat Bagratuni, in the order of Chusrō II. A Qarvêz against the "Hephthalites and the Kīšān" (Chavannes

-. °5I). Further details in J. Markwart, *Vehrot und Arang (-938) 13 f.* In the present account, Bahrām is not given the epithet under which he went down in Sasanian history: Ğöbin. He is only called Ray after his place of origin, which is also attested elsewhere. Even Theophylact, who gives him a lengthy and knowledgeable excursus



only calls him B'xpöu Ulm Bsp(CtQJ/OUUCfÖ\$ 23 , 8 Bonn. It can be said that the epithet *böbin* only appears where Bahräm's novel, his previously mentioned "story", is based. This observation suggests that the epithet derives from circumstances that were present only there and nowhere else.

The main feature of his image is that, although a rebel, he was the representative of the best courtly manners. We have emphasised these traits in our analysis (Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. i, ao6 f.), and we shall confine ourselves to enumerating them. The evidence may be sought in our treatment. Bahräm is the faithful follower of Hormizd, the chivalrous opponent of the vanquished. He patiently endures unjust treatment and stands up for his betrayed and overthrown master to the end, just as he later sticks up for his host, the Chäqän, with his life. Everywhere he pays attention to ceremonial form: at the negotiating table and in duels, in enduring royal disfavour as well as physical pain. Bahräm's literary education is also explicitly emphasised, which manifests itself in his evening reading of the book *Kalila via-Dimna*.

A picture of what was demanded of courtly education is contained in the novel of the Sasanian founder of the empire, Artaxsir-i Pāpakän, also written in Islamic times (Th. Nöldeke in : Bezzenbergers Beitr. 4. 3

Note 3). In addition to hunting and the use of weapons (-. °3.-9 Nyberg), the polo game

(i, zQ *cä/3eyän*), furthermore writing (i. °3) and various kinds of chess\*. Acting with understanding (z, 42), abstinence from quarrelling and coarse words (I, 42 ; see H. S. Nyberg, Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi z [I 3\*J. zoo), docility and obedience (i, 46) are demanded and practised. This is described in the little book about King Husrav and his page

(*oäsfuhr*, on education H. H. Schaefer in : BSOS. 8. 737 f.). From high education (/r'thang, /*raliangistän ä hangäm* : I. Unvala, a. O. ii No. 8f.), the arc spans the knowledge of the finest foods, the best

Wines, singing and music, fragrant flowers and the most beautiful women.

All these demands dated back to the late Asanid period. At that time there was a *mii'addiö al-asäv'ira* at court (Taban, arln. Z. \*° 3. \*5).

\**ätzang u tt éu arlaxslz i, zg. Thus to be read in contrast to Nyberg's t\*ti artax:si "r; cf. J. M. Unvala, Der Pahlavi-Text "Der König Husrav und sein Knabe" (Heidelberger Diss. 9\*71 / No. i5 ; C. Salemann in: Mélanges Asiatiques g, zz6;°37: Chr. Bartho- lomae in: Indogerm. Forsch- 3 . iOi (H. J unker's reference).*

The polo game needs to be emphasised (see C.H. Becker, *Islamstudien* Z, 265 f.). It appears at a crucial point in Bahräm's novel when the hero's life is threatened. Bahräm Siyavüsän intends to kill him during the polo match, but is discovered by Bahräm Üöbin by means of the polo mallet and has to pay with his own life (Dinawari *gs.* 5 : Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. I, 2Z6). From there also explains the by-name.

*Käbin* means the "Hökerne". Th. Nöldeke (Übers. *zyz Anm* ) said that he did not know where the term came from. What has not been recognised is that it is one of the frequent readings of the Middle Persian script. In it, g, y and y are represented by the same sign. This means that the Arabic translator should have read *coQeyön* instead of *Üöbin*. Neupers. *tägän* from *!ä)e/än* is the polo game (P. Horn, *Grundriß der neupers. Etymologie*, - 93, too Nr. Sig ; H. S. Nyberg, a. O. z. 45) The adjectival ending *-dii* denotes the Belonging to the polo mallet (*\*ffiqey*) made of wood (*töb*). However, the same word can also refer to a person for whom the polo mallet is suitable or for whom it is characteristic. This is the case with Bahräm: he owed his life to the polo mallet.

Bahräm Üöbin is not the "wooden one". *Cä/3efän*, as he must be called, refers to him as the "owner of the polo mallet".

## I O H A N N E S F O R N I K I U

Chronicle c. 8g.

On the occasion of Vitalianos' revolt against Emperor Anastasios I. the province of Bulgaria is mentioned: *hOŞar- e!8\*!^2\*! \*45. °3 Zotenberg*. It is mentioned in the report of the province of Thrace (*Sagara tbröbi* 145. \*5. H. Zotenberg, a. 0. 322 note 5; cf. *£ignra a/rä#i* 26), that of the Scythians (*ébräd*, literally: "Iðurden", arab. *abräd* plur. ; H. Zotenberg,

a. 0. 328 note i) and Mö sien (*masibä*, misspelling of arab. *'nlsyä*, cf. H. Zotenberg, a. 0.3 note I) as well as the province of Illyricum (*hagara wäripän* i43, zo: arab. *al-märipän*, omitting the article ; cf.

H. Zotenberg, a. 0. 37 A<sub>1</sub> m. z) to the side. It is clear that the province of Bulgaria and the province of the Scythians are different names for the same area. It should be recalled that for lohannes of Ephesus, the Bulgarians settled by Maurikios south of the Danube were originally called the Scythians.

originally were s tif\_'iyé, which got their later name only after their

Bulgario's leaders received (above i, 88f. and previously p. \*9 )

The events fall in the years 5i4/-5, as is generally admitted. A province of Bulgaria is unthinkable for Anastasios' time. But this much is

It is clear that lohannes' of Nikiu w a s written at a time when the settlement of the Scythians or Bulgarians on the territory of the empire was known, i.e. under Mauricius or afterwards.

The closest relative is lohannes of Antiocheia fr. s-4 FGH 5. 32f., er- hold in the *Exerfta de insidiis* (and quoted thereafter). There it is said of the Huns as Vitalianos' allies (-45. 9 and iI de Boor), in particular of -r iv hsyoutvmv OGvvcovZo|3r;p(x46,\*3), of the troops-

parts and the fortifications in Moesia and Scythia (i43, Is : \*45. 3°) But whether the original loh. Ant. was available to the bishop of Nikiu is just as uncertain as the use of the original lohannes Malalas (see below).

But assuming a source that is later than Maurikios, but earlier than

the chronicle of Ioh.'Nik. written in the last third of the 2nd century, one would arrive at a time that predates the usual date of 62q/8o for the establishment of the Bulgarians on the imperial soil. This would correspond to the above

The fact that the Bulgarians settled south of the Danube as early as 55 is a fact.

From the table of contents for c. go.

(23, I Zotenberg ) "And the baptism ... of the kings of India and the Ijiiyyar (*tlémäritts*, Opppizol), and they are the Nubians (*nöbä!*. And of what faith they once were. And the [...] which is in the outer land. And the Indians, who are iJiiyyar (*tléniäbtiridés*), were once Jews (*ayhüdJ* "1)

Explanation. In *tlémäritts* one recognises an Arabic paraphrase, with a preceding Arabic article (C.F.A. Dillmann, Lexic. linguae AethiOpicae 218). The form *tlémäkiiridés* shows that ty in 'Opppizcti was paraphrased with Alif, which was read out to Käf. Incidentally, Iohannes

Malalas, Chron. 433, 6 ; Z2: \*4: : 434s 'Aptpizni. - In the gap there is an unintelligible *nadii* (*tra-iiadii* . A feminine must be expected, as the following pulse *yé'f/i* shows. Objectively, the Huns must be expected, thus *ftütés*. This designation of the Huns goes back to the Coptic form *funos*, literally "the (land) of the Huns" and is feminine. - The extension of the names 'lvfiioi, lv6i'x to Arabia Felix and Athiopia is found in Theodoret., hist. eccl. i, 23: +heOphil., ad Autolyk. x, 35;

Sozom., hist. eccl. z, z3 **r; ioyÖrr;** lvfiin (Wecker in: RE. 9, Z268) ; further examples below to 137, possibly Zotenberg.

Chronicle c. 90.

(-54, I f. Zotenberg) "Emperor Iustinos (*yiistyänös*) (asked) *zé 'i*, the king of the Huns (*tiints!*, that he come to his aid in the war (against the Persians), and gave him many gifts and made him swear an hard oath that he would go with him with justice and righteousness. He (the king of the Huns) did not keep the oath, but went to **Kavä6** (*pamädös* , the king of Färs, and with him zoooo warriors and

**\*** **The Ethiopic translation, which alone contains the Chronicles of Johannes, is from the year, i 6oz. After receiving** instructions from M. Höfner and J. Abfalg, we have decided not to normalise the Ethiopic wording, but to **retain** the **special spellings and forms.**

connected with him. And he was one with him. But the help of the Lord was with the Christians, as he defended them against their enemies at all times. When **Färs** rose up to war, Emperor Lustinos sent to the king of Färs. He began to speak as follows : 'Behold, it was fair to us that we should be brothers in friendship and that our enemies should not laugh at us. Behold, we desire to inform you that *Silyts* the Hun took from us much money, that he might be a help to us in time of war. And behold, now he has come to you with a plan of deceit. In the time of battle he will come to us and kill the Persians. And now, as you say, let there be no enmity between us, but peace.' And having heard Kavä 6, king of Färs, he enquired of *silbis* and said to him: 'Have you really taken money from Rome to help them (the Romans) in the war against Faroe?' And he (the king of the Huns) said: 'Yes'. Kavä b was angry and ordered them to cut off his head immediately, because it was obvious that he (the king of the Huns) had acted in deceit. He (Kavä 6) sent warriors to fight the zoooo (Huns) who had come with him (the king of the Huns), and they killed them. Only a few remained, and they turned to their country with great shame. From that day on there was reconciliation between Kavä 6, king of Färs, and Lustinos, emperor of the Romans."

Explanation. **In addition** : Iohannes Malalas, Chronik 4\*4. -2f. Bonn; Theophanes, Chronicle p. a32, g f. Bonn.

The name forms of the Ethiopian translation are remarkable.

*Silbis* -54. -5 corresponds to the manuscript variant §(hei in Theo- phanes, for which see G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica z', iz i ; z'. \*31 may be consulted. Then ze \* -54. 4 (vg1. fa-zé.\*\*\*54. -), in which the upper part of the f would have become indistinct in the original, could be misspelled for zé/ d or zélwä, -ilwä (with w instead of §). This would eliminate H. Zotenberg's assumption (a. 0. 382 note 3) of an incorrect rendering of Arabic *ri\_jfä* -

Chronicle c. 90.

(I36, I6 f. Zotenberg) "Fares was at mutual enmity with Rome, and they (the Persians) asked the Huns to send zoooo warriors to wage war with Rome. There was a mighty woman in the land of the outer Huns, whose name was Wäräks in

the language of the barbarians. She was a clever Witwe, had two young sons, and thousands of Hun warriors were under her command. And she was secure in power since the death of her husband, whose name was Bälk. The woman set out and went to the emperor Iustinus (*yñslyānōs*, the Christian, and brought him much gold and silver and precious stones. The emperor ordered her to confront the two chieftains who (*x57*, I Zotenberg) wanted to unite with Färs and wage war against Rome and whose names were Estērā and Aglānōs. This woman Jürwahr, when she confronted these chieftains who had allied themselves with Färs, fought them, defeated them and killed Aglānōs on the battlefield and those with him. Estērā took them alive, captured him, imprisoned him and sent him to Constantinople. They hung him on the cross and nailed him."

Explanation. In addition, Iohannes Malalas, Chron. 43 . 2Of. Bonn ; Theophanes, Chron. 26g. 3 . Bonn ; Georgios Kedrenos, Chron. I, \*44. I f.

Bonn. The outer Huns are described in Ioh. Malal. 438, 20 f. ix ζέδον Ζο[3σί]πμν Οὐννσφ, in Theoph. ζ6£). 4 \*UV ONvcøv why htyopcvmr Ζεξ p. - The variants of the queen's name are given by G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica 2',

\*3: \*°, ION f., where \*Bo-ariq is given as the Turkish form. But the Ethiopic form seems to show that Q was pronounced spirantically. Then Οὐπορξρ , Ούνπορξ\$, i.e. an extension of the middle-

pers. I "arahrān, Bahrām with è-suffix (F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, I9°4, 3 I r.). The same applies to r n ( G. àforavcsik. a. 0. 2', Io8 ; z-. \*4). which is encountered as a Persian name ; cf. also F. Justi, a. 0. ii6 r. 2Npoξ (G. Moravcsik, a. 0. z', zA2 f. ; z°, 2gz f.) would remain as the only Turkic name, if \*ö--luraq. The two chiefs are called pijycç, as in Ioh. Malal. pijycrwn ... Bio: appears. Connection of the Sabirs with the Persians was frequent: H.-\V. Haussig in: Byzantion -3 (I)53). 3o3 and note 3

Chronicle c. 9

(-57, 6 f. Zotenberg) "In the time after that an àíann, whose name (was) Yārōks, from (the land of) the Huns to the emperor Iustinianos, was baptised and became a Christian. His godfather (literally: protector) was Emperor Iustinianos at his baptism. He did him x uch honour and let him go to his country, and he (à'ārōks) submitted to the rule of Rome. Now when he entered his country, he l e t his brother know what gifts (it

The emperor gave them to him, and he (the brother) also became a Christian. He, Yārōks, took all the idols which the people of the Huns worshipped, and they broke and destroyed them, and he took the silver which had been placed over them (the idols) and burnt them with fire. Then all the people of the land of the Huns, who were barbarians, were enraged, and they rose up against him (Yārōks) and killed him. When Emperor Justinian heard this, he broke away and set out to fight them (the Huns). He sent many ships to sail the sea of Pontus and many warriors, Scythian (literally: Kurds and barbarians). He placed a strong commander over these ships, whose name was ūlilan, and he sent their horsemen on land and many forces with Wā ūryāris as commander. When the people of the land of the Huns heard of this, they fled and hid themselves, and the emperor took their land and made peace with them again."

Explanation. In addition, the information on Michael Syrus, Chronicle 9, \*- : -z . 1. sp. 13f. Chabot. The names correspond in detail: Yarōks = rop6ō\$, Xop6ō ; vgl. G. Moravcsik, a. 0. 2', 108 ; 2'. \*\*4: í i l i l a n = Icoóvv9ç loh. Malal. 43°. Z6; Theoph. z2o,; ... 'ro6íhæv Georg. Kedr. i, 645. i f. ; Wā ūryāris = Bo6oUópio\$ loh. Malal. 432, zi Bonn. ; Bcrfiúpio\$ Georg. Kedr. i, 64s.3 - 157, 18 f. *trabèzî an maslağâtlân ém'aLrād ma'ağém* corresponds to loh. Malal 432. **I2** [IETÒ O'F;8tíci\$ FoDixr;ç; Theoph. zoo, i8 ptzó |3op8tín\$ Zxu8ix nohhj ; Georg. Kedr. I, 45, 2 f. ptzó |3op8sín Zxu8ixíj\$ wont tjç.

Chronicle c. Qo.

(157,\*3f. Zotenberg) "In those days there (was) king in the land of the Huns a man whose name (was) Akraydès. He came to the emperor Justinian and became a Christian, he, his whole family and his feudatories. The emperor gave him a lot of money and let him go to his country with honour, as a sub-tan of the empire of Rome."

Explanation. On this, Iohannes Malalas, Chron. 42a, Inf. bonn. ; Theophanes, Chron. z68, 6f. Bonn. - Akraydès r9 "ç\$ loh. Malal. /, 19; rpoizç Theoph. z68, 7, who is there called ó píjE rUv 'Epoúhmv, ó |3ooihtù\$ why 'Ehoúpcov. - Subject of the **realm**: čwcrÿytihöptvo *ouqqa:fziv U* ,, hv off cv

|3ouky8rj Theoph. 268, \*3

## Overlooked facts about the history of Dii Nuwäs'

The Soghians are still recognised as the brokers of Chinese silk. Their country was the trading centre for this product, which was passed on to Khwarezm and south-eastern Europe on the one hand and to the Sasanians and Rome on the other. According to Procopius (bell. I, zo, g), it was suggested that the Abyssinians buy the silk in India and then pass it on to eastern Rome for a profit. The advantage of this was that the money did not go to

to have to pay the enemy, the Persians. Chavannes x, -34 and note z has seen these connections correctly. They are the reason why some more information about the battles of the Ijiiyyarites with the Abyssinians, damas - the allies of Rome. See our earlier explanations in: Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike -4- f. ; 3 4f.

Chronicle c. 9

(157, -2f. Zotenberg) "Under the reign of the emperor Justinianus, India (*fend*) waged war with the people of Solomon (sah' ; *alimän* , and it was the name (-58, I Zotenberg) of the king over the Indians (*hendüüiëyän* Endäs. He worshipped (as a deity) the star whose name (was) Zühal (Sa-urnus). Now this land of Solomon was not far from the land of Egypt. For in the land of Solomon there were three kingdoms of the Indians and four kingdoms of the Abyssinians, and they lay on the shore of the Salt Sea, to the east. It was a hard trial for the Christian merchants, who travelled through the land of the worshippers of the stars and of the every one (*ajzäb*, literally: peoples), which we have mentioned and named before. Jamnüs, the king of the Jews, when the Christian merchants came to him, killed them and took away their goods, saying: 'Since the Romans (*rämämeyän*) are the every (ayÄlid) and kill them, nothing prevents me from Kill all the Christians I find. Therein (lay) the cause (that) ceased and



the trade from the land of inner India was destroyed. When the king of the Nubians heard this, he sent to the king of the Jews (a zdò), saying: 'You have done a bad deed by killing the Christian merchants, and you have acted badly towards my kingdom and towards the kingdoms of others who are far or near to me'. When he (the king of the Jews) heard these words, he rose up to fight him (the king of the Nubians). When they were facing each other, he

his mouth proclaimed, and the king of the Nubians said: 'If the Lord grants me to defeat this amnú, the everyone (ayüiifdwi), then I will become a Christian. When he fought with this Jew, he defeated and killed him and gained power over his kingdom and his lands (or: cities). At that time he sent messengers (/è'úédtia) to the city of Alexandria to everyone and *anafäuiéyān* (with the message of victory), asking the authorities of Rome to send a bishop from a country of the empire of Rome to baptise and teach the holy Christian myste- ria (*méš irālaJ* all the people (*sab'a!* of the Nubians and all the people (a zdò) who were left of the luden (*aḡhūd* . And when Emperor Lusinianos heard (this), he commanded that everything they had asked for should be fulfilled, and that they should be sent priests and a bishop from the servants of St John the Patriarch (C. F. A. Dillmann, a. 0. z2). (I59, 1 Zotenberg) He was a pious and pure man. This was the beginning of faith for (the people of) Salomon(s) in the days of the emperor Iustinianos. - Still under his reign the king of Hiğāz, Mundir (amti- *tārās*, 'Ahopóúv6'xpo with incorrect separation of the Arabic article), rose up to the land of Fārs and Syria and carried off many spoils (from Syria), until he can to the city of Antiocheia (*ansāLi yā* , and killed many and burnt the city whose name was Chalkis (*Tallis*), and other cities which were in the district of Sirmios (ssrmyñs) and Kynegia (éJiisšyd). Immediately the forces of the east went out to meet them (/afardñòð/ōinú), and (Mundir's people) did not stop at the sight of them, but took with them much booty and went to their country."

Explanation. Parallel reports are: Iohannes Malalas, Chronik A33. 2 f. ; 43a. -Bonn; Theophanes, Chronicle z25, zif.: 346, 4f. Bonn. ; Georgios Kedrenos, Chronicle x, 656, 6f. Bonn. - 5 . - ZOteIlberg: *ma-Iiāna séma négüišāmü la-cndāiφéyān éndās* corresponds to loh. Mal. 434. tip zǐjv lvfiix v XNpær wpò5 "Avbov zòv |3c'pihie crii-rev (*sc.* why lv6ñv) ; Theoph. 346. -5 ó 'E{ovqiz'x'v |3noihtù ò 'A6áfi, cf. zo;

347, 4; 12; Georg. Kedr. 1, 656, 6 Ἀδάδ ὁ τῶν Ἀξουμιτῶν βασιλεύς. — 158, 3f. Zot.: *ēsma halawū wēsta hagara šalīmān 3 mangēštāt za-hēndāwēyān* ma 4 ǝiaigēffdf za- aǝaf corresponds to loh. M&Ī. 433. IOF. **ⲏⲉⲩⲓ / ⲀⲒ IV ⲀⲚⲚ** xcl Al8iówmv |3n tR "x čnzó, vpi'x pt lvfiñv, zéwønpø fii Al8iów': "v. On amnís-Afuvo\$ cf. below. -•5 , 20 f. Zot. **TO-ÍOŠǝfOIO Í à 'efO ǝfIOHHEŠfÑ NO-** *'ahgūrātihū* corresponds to loh. Mal. 434. 5<sub>n</sub>\* X p CtV KCtí **TÒ |3CⲉⲑÍⲏCf Ct̀TOU** éhç|3c. - i58, zi í. Zot. : /anawa /é'uñàtia aǝa Nagara èšnsadéryä èoǝa *ayhūd* era-Anita/desyhi corresponds to loh. Mal 434. 6f. č-rrcpyf oxryx p-rixou\$ Not 6úo xml piz' crù-rev 6imowíou\$ ev 'AhtEov6ptíct. At loh. Mal. are neither Jews nor comrades of Abraham (Arab. Java/i "one who is of the religion of Abraham" E. W. Lane, An Arabic-English Lexic. I, I, i863, 6s ; Buhl-Schaeder, Das Leben Mohammeds, -93 . 68 f.). loh. Nik. must have meant that the king of the Nubians had subjugated both population classes of Alexandria from his victory over the Jewish king. directed.

The general view that Zotenberg (a. 0. .9 39a nm. 4) cautiously, J <rumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur" (- 97) 328 in follow a highly simplified form, is that loh. Mal. formed the model for this as for many other sections of loh.' Nic. However, the few pieces that have already been treated are sufficient to rule out such a view. Certainly, almost everywhere there are far-reaching agreements between loh. Nik. and loh. Mal. exist almost everywhere. But a comparison of the proper names alone allows us to conclude that loh. Nik. at least as frequently as with loh. Mal. can be brought together with the later tradition in Theophanes and Georgios Kedrenos, which is based on it but differs from it. Silbis corresponds to the variant ših|3v in Theophanes, Wãrãks belongs to Bcocrpřš of the same, Bãlk to Bohóy, again in Theophanes, ùlřlan to ro6íhœç in Georg. Kedr., and instead of loh. Mal.' r, ",s we encounter Akraydēs, which agrees with Theoph.' Ppc'i-rig. This corresponds to the fact that 157, Z8f. Zot. *ma-bszihān maslapāllān ém'alirōd wa-'ağēm* only becomes when one is too loh. Mal. titzó šop8tíd **Ⲑⲟⲩⲏⲕⲏⲥ** understandable that through Theoph.

and Georg. Kedr. attested ptzó bop8sio\$ Zxuβizij\$ wohhiç. Of course, for reasons of time, neither Theoph. nor Georg. Kedr. for loh. Nik. could have formed the Ç}uelle. However, the reports preserved in loh. Mal. are available in a version that in some respects surpasses those of Theoph.' and Georg. Kedr.' already anticipate in some respects.

As far as the present passage is concerned, it also shows numerous touches with loh. Mal., especially in the names ("Endäs -- "Av6n ).

But loh. Nik. alone has the worshippers of the stars -s , I f. Zot. and, as already mentioned, the Jews and *liana/ämeyän* in Alexandria. Of particular importance is Z5 . ? 1a "inus-sa négiila *ajzäb* (cf. -58, xg) and loh.

Mal. 433, 13 Δίμνος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀμεριτῶν; 434, 1 Δίμνον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀμεριτῶν.

That the king of the name is one with the dfi Nuwäs of the Arabic tradition, Aouvc'a9 (Aouvo:dv is accusative) of the Arethas-Martyrium (Acta SS., October Io, 1869, 721f.) and the "Laws of the IJimyarites" (Gr. Fr. Boissonade, Anecd. Graeca 5, Z8 3, 7 : /4), shows the correspondence of his history. The affiliation to the Ijlimyar, the jü-

The confession of faith, persecution of the Christians and harassment of the Eastern merchants, the battle with the Abyssinians and their victory show that it is the king who called himself Yfisuf (for details Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgesch. d. Spätantike i36, 35? ). Th. Nöldeke

has recognised this factual agreement (transl. Iss note), but has not too succinctly expressed to be understood or even considered. Thus in J B.

Bury, E. Stein, A. A. Vasiliev and most recently in

R. Delbrueck's posthumous essay (in: Bonner Jahrbücher -55J6, 1955/6. z82 f. ; zgz f., where note 38s cites the literature) the king Dimnos or Dunnan. And yet Aipvo9-Tamnüs is nothing other than a easy to produce dfi Nuwäs.

loh. Mal.' Sources are difficult to determine; even the author's information does not help. So far, only Greek men of honour have been sought. But with an author who comes from Antiocheia and bears the Syrian surname ina/f'i/d, one can also ask for Syrian sources. Hardly will loh. Mal. would have been unaware of the historical works written in his mother tongue. After all, the 6th century is the time of the first significant representations in Syriac. At that time the Edessen Chronicle was written, Msi{iäzkä wrote his church history, Sem'on Barkäyä his chronology, a monk from Amida wrote the church history under the name of Zacharias Rhetor, and Iohannes of Ephesus and Kūra from Batnä wrote works with the same content. Should loh. Mal. really have remained untouched by all this?

In the present case, a Syriac original can be identified by a simple observation. Anyone who is familiar with manuscripts knows that in Sertō not only m and , but also he and "i are easily interchanged. The king Aipvo-Tamnūs may well be a Syriac

\**drums*, and this name would then have been the correct rendering of the Arabic dü Nuwäs. **This** would have solved the riddle of the king's name, assuming the easiest prescription.

More difficult to explain is the second royal name, which is found in loh. Nik: Lndäs, to which loh. Mal. "Av6o corresponds. At first, this king is difficult to categorise. In loh. Nik. he is briefly mentioned as one of the Indians and thus disappears from the narrative. The Indians live in the land of Solomon and have three kingdoms there. They are at war with the people of Solomon, i.e. with the Abyssinians. Whether Endäs has anything to do with Tamntis, the king of the Jews, remains uncertain. Nor can he be equated with the king of the Nubians. The battle of the Indians with the people of Solomon, to which Endes' name is linked, must have been different from the battle of the Jewish king with the Nubians, must have preceded it. This is still clear in Loh. Nik. still clearly.

In the Greek authors both wars begin to confuse each other. For loh. Mal. 434. i8 is 'Avfictf king of the lv6ixij, which lies on the Abyssinian side. Theophanes 346. -5 calls 'A6fi6 king of the 'Eşoupizoi (vgl. 20; 347. 4: Iz), also Georgios Kedrenos I, 656, 6. For all of them he coincides with loh. Nik.'s Nubian king. But the Ethiopian \Verk has undoubtedly preserved the original.

Nöldeke (transl. ry3 note) has already referred to a coin which, according to a reading at the time, yielded AiprJcrr as king of the Axumites and 'A'pi6n9 ( ?) as a second name. A connection between this and Endäs via Arabic did not seem impossible. Enquiry with J. Walker (British Museum, Cabinet of Coins and Medals) resulted in the following information (under tz 59): "In answer to your letter of the 4th August I think you want to consult Arturo Anzani's books on the A.xumite coins *Numismalica Axumila* published in Rivista Italiana di Numisniatica, Vol. **III**, igz6, p. 5z and *Numismalica e Storia d'Eliopia*, Vols. V and VI, I 26-I 2 , p. 6o where you will find that the proper reading of the coins is AG IAAC w BAC IA EYC//AZ UM IT IO N w BIC IA1M HA H which he interprets as King Aphilas of the Axumites of the family of Dimele. The date of the coin is the

second half of the third century A. D. It is quite possible that the name of the king Endas was a corruption of Aphilas-'/f's".

Difficult BIC Ifil M HAH may be left aside here. Despite Walker's agreement, the facts are a little different than we assumed at the time of the enquiry. ANAAC at loh. Mal. should, if the assumed equation is correct, be a reading from AG IAAC, which is at least possible. But loh. Nik.'s submission was not loh. Mal., as it turned out before, but a template that stood between the two. AG IAAC or AG IAAC was still preserved in it. The Arabic translator gave '/f's or '/d's, and the Ethiopian translator read /d's into 'nd's, which he rendered with *cnḏās*. The equation of 'AQiho\$ with Éndās confirms that he was older than dü Nuwâs and his contemporaries. The fact that he was a king of the "Indians", i.e. the Axumites, also proves to be correct.

M. Höfner, who has supported us with advice and assistance in the foregoing, refers to E. Littmann's remarks in: German Aksum Expedition i, A6f.

It remains to discuss the Syriac tradition preserved in Iohannes of Ephesus (the details in A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, IQ<sup>4</sup>. XXV note under zb; **XLII**). There corresponds first of all to *d ymntrn*, which is not an original Syriac tradition, but a rendering of the Greek accusative Ὀῖπρῶν. Then Ethiop. **Ēndās** and 'Avbo\$, 'Afió6 in Iohannes of Ephesus ydtrg. This also goes back to a Greek model. In both cases, n has become y, s has become eg. It was therefore 'Avfi'x\$. Both forms of the name are meaningless, while conversely Iohannes Malalas' Syriac Knelle in dtrntrs had received bias.

Deviating from loh. Mal. and its scribes, the history of Mundir **III** of Īlira is given in loh. Nik. is given. It lacks any mention not QpoQpóexoW'Apš8'x loh. Mal. 434. \*9 (vgl. Theoph. z23, II f.), who flees to the Romans and appeals to them for help. Conversely, only loh. Nik. of the visitation of the Syrian cities, which is the prerequisite for dü Nuwâs' letter reaching the Lahmid in Ramlä (thus the Arethas martyrdom and Mem'ôn's letter from **Bēt** Aršām). It is significant that the Syriac book of the {Jimyarites, as it has often survived older, is based solely on a letter from Masrûk (as he is called here) to Mundar bar Zkikā, King

of IJirtä d-Na'män (A. Moberg, The Book of the Himyarits, -924. XXXIV; 5ä Z. Iz f. syr.), without mentioning the Syrian campaign.

Finally, it should be noted that loh. Nik. refers to his Mundir **III** (*amüt.ärös*) directly as *ncgiil lic äz* (-s9. 3 ZOt.). Thus Nöldeke's doubts (transl. z38 note 4; cf. d6 note 4) about

Tabari's message of the same name (ann. -. 95 . 13f.). About this last G. Widengren in: *Orientalia Suecana i* (-952), 4 and Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgesch. der Spätantike i*43

### CHAPTER 3

## ARABI C H E L L S

In view of the extensive sections that Tabari devoted to Sasanian history, Abū Iḥianifa ad-Dinawari (d. a8z, cf. I. Kratchkovsky in the second volume of the edition W. Guirgass, 1918, 23) tended to take a back seat. Nöldeke dedicated his edition, translation and scholarly commentary to the younger of the two. On the other hand, he judged Dinawari to have drawn heavily from Romanised tradition and not to be particularly accurate (Übers. XXVI). And yet it is precisely in Dinawari that a good and in some places fully-fledged translation is evident.

drawn information. Much can be learnt about the tax legislation and taxation of the Sasanians: Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat* i, 8; 240; 24i note i; *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* izf. Above all, Dinawari has preserved by far the best and presumably original version of Bahrām Üöbin's novel (Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat* x, 206 f. ; English translation in: *East and West* g, 1958, 12t) f.). The Turks mentioned there, initial opponents and later friends of Bahrām 6öbin, are the same ones who defeated Péröz, i.e. Hephthalites, or at least a remnant of them (Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat* I, 220 note I). This will be confirmed in the following. In general, attention should be drawn to further passages in which Dinawari has preserved important information about the Turks, i.e. the Hephthalites'.

Dinawari 32, i8f. Guirgass.

"It was the first to rise (against Bahrām V. Gör after his accession to the throne Izo), the ruler of the Turks. He set out with the mass of Turks until he invaded Khorasan (38, I Guirgass). He let the horsemen roam far and wide, and news came to Bahrām. This

' The brief remark 6y, 6 f. Guirgass is left aside as it brings nothing new.

abandoned his penchant for pleasure (to which he had hitherto paid homage) and hurried against his enemies. He announced that he was going to Ä Gurbaiyän so that he could hunt there and enjoy himself on the way. He selected sooo men from the strongest of his people. He put them on dromedare and they let the horses run alongside. He appointed his brother Narse to succeed him as king. Then he moved towards Afiurbaiyän and ordered each of his companions he had chosen to take a falcon and a dog. No one doubted that his move was a flight from his enemies and that he was abandoning his kingship. So the mighty and great men gathered and consulted among themselves. They agreed to send an envoy to the Chäqän, ruler of the Turks, sending him money to dissuade him from plundering the lands. The news came to the Chäqän that Bahräm had fled and that the great men of Reirh were united in submitting to him. He (the Chäqän) was deceived, and he and his armies lulled themselves into a sense of security. He paused and awaited an envoy and money. It has been said: Bahräm had Sooo slaughter bulls and take their skins. He also drove Sooo's one-year-old foals with him. He began to march by night and hide by day, entered Tabaristan and travelled along the shore of the (Caspian) Sea until he came out at Gurgän. Then he marched from there to Nisä and on to the city of Merw, and the Chäqän camped there, at Kusmaihan. Finally, when Bahräm was about a day's march away from them (the Turks), while the Chäqän knew nothing of what he (Bahräm) knew, he had those skins blown up, and he had pebbles put in them; they (the skins) were left to dry. Then he had them hung on the necks of those foemen until he approached the army of Chäqän. They (the Turks) had encamped on the edge of the desert about six parasanges from the city of Merw. So they (the Persians) let those colonies go by night and drove them from behind. Then there arose from these hides (s9. I Guirgass) and the stones in them and from the running of the colts with them and from their striking against them with both forelegs a terrible noise (ytr'ituii), stronger than the crashing of the mountains and the lightning. The Turks heard that noise, and it frightened them, for they did not know what it was, and it (the noise) began to increase as they drew nearer. They rushed out of their camp and fled, while Bahräm was in pursuit. But the Chäqän's mount fell and he fell with it. Bahräm reached



and killed him by his own hand. He captured his camp and all the possessions therein; he took Chātún, wife of Chāqàn, captive. Bahrām hurried forward on the tracks of the Turks all night and the (following) day, killing and capturing until he could reach Amüya. Then he crossed the river of Balch, following their (the Turks') tracks, until, when he was near, the Turks surrendered to him and asked him to build them a border to mark between him and them so that they would not cross it. He set them a border at the entrance to their land and ordered them to build a tower there and made it their border."

Explanation. Parallel report to abari, ann. z, 863, f. Th. Nöldeke in his translation has seen that the latter deals with Hephthalites (a. 0. 9<sub>s</sub> nm. I). In the case of a b a r i , Nöldeke speaks of the "adventurous character of the narrative"; it is unreliable and uncontrollable. Dina-  
wart is cited as an explanation, but it is also included in the judgement. The story of the stratagem could be found in Polyainos (a. 0. ioi **note 2**).

This may have overlooked something important. Firstly, Dinawari has a series of precise location details, which Nöldeke also recognises and uses (a. 0. xoI mm. z). These details, which lead to Kušmaihan and the battle there, show that the author, or rather the version of the King's Book available to him, had formed an idea of the events. Bahrām had spent his youth with the Arabs in Ijlira. It should be clear that he had learnt the Bedouin way of fighting in war with the Hephthalites has applied.

One experiences a veritable *ğazma*, except that it takes place in the deserts and steppes of northern Iran. This includes: the deception of the enemy about one's own intentions; the long evasive march to attack the unsuspecting enemy from the flank; the concealment of one's own movements by day (in the cane thickets of the Seeuler; vg1. abari, ann. i, 3 . -9) and the advance by night; the surprising  
Attack on the Turkish camp (see G. Jacob, Altarab. Beduinenleben, - 97. Z2A ; I2\$ f.).

Nöldeke's criticism of the war also fits into this framework.  
list. In the case of the cattle hides (Dinawari 5 . - : ---ğø//i/ał) it is striking that the number of 7000 hides and the same number of one-year-old foals corresponds to that of the warriors. Accordingly, each Persian had a foal, which each

each wore a skin. They were water bags that were taken along to make the army independent of water sources when marching through deserted and waterless areas, i.e. through steppe and desert. Pompey also took water bags for his army on the march in Albania not far from Kyrnos, ποxpōç ού-ρόν **šx6t** otiEvrJf ðvú6pou xcrì **ó p y o h i** 'x\$ ò 6 o v , to 000 (Plutarch, Pomp. 35, from Posei- donios). Further precautions meant that they sat on dromedaries during the march - again in the Bedouin manner - and let the horses run alongside for their own protection. When Bahrām arrives in Kušmaihan, the long march has used up all the supplies; the water sacks are empty and dry. This sets the stage for the stratagem.

The fact that Bahrām claims to have killed Chāqān with his own hand is recorded in Sasanian tradition: above i. -5° Über den Turm Th. Nöl- deke, a. 0. Ion mm 3 - Über Ámûya (Guirgass) = Amul am Oxos  
M. Streck in: *Encycl. of Islam* i (1£)5z). s ; cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (x93 ) 43a: vg1. Balāduri, futúiy Pro, i de Goeje: *fa-ğātala ahla āmul, ma-hi ya āmīi yalu era-zamm.*

Dinawari 60, 4 Guirgass.

"After Bahrām (V. Gōr) died (43 ), they (the Persians) made Yazdgard (II. 43 -3y), Bahrām's son, king. He walked in the way of his father \_9 years (so P), and then death reached him. He had two sons, Pērōz and Hormizd, and Pērōz was older. It measured itself

Hormizd took over the rule, bypassing his brother Pērōz. Then Pērōz fled until he reached the land of the Hephthalites, which included Tochāri- stān, Ğayāniyān and Kābulistān as well as the lands beyond the largest river, as far as they are neighbouring the land of Balch. He (Pērōz) approached the king of that country and told him about his brother's injustice towards him and about his (the brother's) usurpation of the kingship in his (Pērōz') place, when he (Hormizd) was younger than he (Pērōz). He (Pērōz) asked him (the king of the Hephthalites) to come to his aid with an army so that he could regain the kingship. But he (the king of the Hephthalites) said: 'I will not grant you what you ask until you swear that you are older than he (Hormizd)'. Then Perez swore, and he

(the king of the Hephthalites) was able to come to his aid with 3 000 men, on condition that he set him a border at Tirmi6. Pērōz set off

with the army, and he was followed by the noblest of the great men of the empire. They thought that he was more worthy of kingship than Hormizd because of his harshness and ruthlessness. He (Pérüz) fought him until he had regained the kingship."

Explanation. Parallel report in abari, ann. i, 62z, i f.

Dinawari 61, f . Guirgass.

"He (Péröz) then prepared himself and got ready for a campaign against the Turks. Mōbafi and the other Wezirs left with him, and he (Péröz) took with him his daughter Perōzducht, treasures of the same kind and much money. As representative of his kingship he appointed a man from the great ones of his Wezirs, whose name was Šú{jar and whose rank was called Kāren (*ğārin*). He (Péröz) set out until he reached beyond the tower that Bahrām (V. Gōr) had built as a border between himself and the Turks. He destroyed it (the tower) and invaded their (the Turks') land. The king of the Turks at that time was Abšuw.an Chāqān, and the king of the Turks sent a message to Péröz letting him know that he had done wrong and warning him of the consequences of the offence. Péröz did not care. The Chāqān began to show aversion to (open) fighting and (began) his defence by digging a trench 20 cubits deep and 10 cubits wide. He dug out what was between its two edges. Then he covered it (the trench) with weak timbers. Then he threw reeds over it and covered it with earth. Then he went to fight Péröz and immediately attacked him. Then he (the Chāqān) was put to flight by him (Péröz) and Péröz pursued him with his army. But the Chāqān took (6a, x Guirgass) paths he knew between the edges (literally: backs) of that trench, and Péröz came in the dark night ('a/ô 'amyd'a). He and his army slipped into that trench. Ahšuwān and his tarchān bent over him and killed them with stones. Abšuwān seized Péröz's camp and all the possessions and women in it. He captured Mōba 6 and also Pērōzducht, Péröz's daughter. Those who escaped reached Sühar and told him of the misfortune of Péröz and his army. Sühar asked the people to take revenge for their king. All the people of the army and the country flocked to him and he set out with a large army until he entered the lands of the Turks. Abšuwān, king of the

The Turks shied away from open battle against Siihar because of the (numerical) size of his army and his equipment. He sent to him, asking for reconciliation at the price that he would return to him (Sfiabar) the Möba6, Perezducht and every prisoner in his hand, as well as the entirety of what he had taken from Perez's money, treasures and weapons. Sühar agreed with him and took it (the entirety) and returned to his territory and land."

Explanation. The independence of the report (which, incidentally, is one of the less exaggerated ones) is already evident in the forms of the names. Siihar as a variant (to the name Th. Nöldeke, Übers. izo Anni3) s t a n d s alone, as the compilation in F. Justi, Iran. Namenb.3 5 r., shows. According to Tabari, ann. i,\*74. \*9 , Péröz's opponent is Ahsunwär, king of the Hayätila; cf. above i,34 The name is based on the Soghdian title (a)xfd- vaadr: above z, 46 and note Ts. On the other hand, Ahéuwän can only be soghd. 'x£'uin "ruling power, realm" (I. Gershevitch, A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian, 954. 165 § 1084). The ruler was designated, corresponding to *sullän*, by means of an abstract noun. A special feature is also

the Tarchans. They are first attested in 56q by Menander, Exc. de legat. -95. 14: i8 de Boor. In contrast, the Tarchän in our place date back to 48d. Later they are encountered among the Turks (Hephthalites) in the history of Bahräm Üöbin: above i,49 Ibn iJurdä0beh So,9 f. de Goeje calls them "kings of the Turks", who bear the title *Isäpän*, and continues

Location: *ara-Unia multiki t-lurki s-si 'iri !-io\*\* (4\*. -)*

Whether the layout of the trench here and elsewhere should be taken literally remains doubtful. It is intended to s h o w the confrontation between the Hephthalites, who use cunning and disguised flight, and the heavily armoured army of knights under Péröz. K. Erdmann (in : Ars Islamica 4, 2g f. ; ZDMG. Z954. 53 f ) has given convincing reasons for his view.

the equestrian statue and the feudal scene of the Täk-i above it Bustän, as well as the hunting reliefs Chusrö II. A Qarvez and assigned to Peröz°. The clumsy mass of the knight, the stocky build of his stallion clearly contrasts with the sleek lamellar armour, the

° Last statement in L. Vanden Berghe, L'Archéologie de l'I ran ancien (i 95s)\*3 \*- who again does not know how to decide between Herzfeld and Erdmann, Chusrö I I I. A farvez and Peröz. It is hard to understand why this should be the case for a researcher who mälér himself and wrote an outline of Iranian archaeology should not be possible.

caftan cuirass" of the following period: A. von Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens tz ; A.I. Jaku- bowski in: Po sledam drewnich kultur (IQ3I) -5 ; Ziowpiss drewnego Pjandzikenta (-954) Taf. V; **XXV**; **XXXV**. The all-armoured and therefore less mobile army of knights from Péröz's time succumbed to the nomadic

This was a way of fighting that made skilful use of its possibilities. In view of this defeat, the army of knights was armed with less cumbersome weaponry and was given greater manoeuvrability.

Dinaxvari 6g, fy f. Guirgass.

(Chusrö I. Anöéarvän) "sent the army against the land of the Hephthalites and conquered Tocharistän, Zäbulistän, Käbulistän and Üayäniyän, and behold, the king of the Turks, Singibii Chäqän, gathered against him the people of (his) realm, made ready and marched towards the land of Choräsän until he occupied Aäs, Feryäna, Samarkand and **Kiss**. He marched and came to Bukh5rae. This came to Chusrö (2o, z Guirgass). He gave his son Hormizd, who ruled after him, the leadership of a strong army and sent him to fight the Turkish Khaqän. He (Hormizd) advanced until, when he (Hormizd) approached him, he (the Khaqän) abandoned what he had occupied and moved into his territory. Chusrö wrote to his son Hormizd that he was leaving."

Explanation. This passage describes the extent of the Hephthalite Empire shortly before its downfall. It extended in the south to the northern border of Sistän and into the neighbourhood of Käbul, encompassed the southern bank of the Oxos at Balch, extended with Üayäniyän (north of Tirmid) to the northern bank and went as far as Feryäna and Taschkend. Cf. Tabari, ann. I, \*9', lof. and Th. Nöldeke's remark: Übers. -56 Note i. Modern research has attempted to extend this impressive expansion. It has extended the territory of the Hephthalites in the \Vesten as far as Nééäpür and Gurgän, reaching as far north as Chwärezm. There she believes to have recognised the remains of a Hephthalite population in later centuries. However, \Vir believe that these are misunderstandings or translation errors by B. Spuler.

Spuler's remark to this effect can be found in his ¥Verk: Iran in Jrüh- islamischer Zeit (195-) >53 Arlm 5 There it says of the Hephtha- lites: "They were still sitting in the region of Balh in the 7th century and

Nēšāpūr (where in 651/52 the Arabs [ abari, ann. i, 2885] and around 660 Jazdagirds **III's** son Pērōz waged war with them: Ibn utaiba, 'Ujün z, 1462 Brokkelmann). In the to. Century they are still mentioned in Hvārizm and Gurgān: 'they differed from the rest of the population in appearance and language and resembled the Turks': Muqaddasī 4. 286 f., zgz." This is Spuler's statement, which we are responsible for verifying.

abari, ann. i, z885, 9f. reports an episode from the campaigns of 'Abdullah b. 'Amir in the year 3- h., 651/z chr. He went to Khorasan, (it "then he moved to a - abasain (in Kōhistān), where he wanted reach Abaršahr, and that is the city of Naisābūr. His vanguard was commanded by al-Ahna

b. **Kais. He** took his way to Kōhistān and went out in the direction of Abaršahr. On his way he came across the Hai al - they were the inhabitants of Herāt - and al-Alynaf fought them and put them to flight." It is easy to see that Spuler is mistaken. The Hephthalites are not in Abaršahr-Nēšāpūr, where neither al-Ahna nor 'Abdullāh nor the Hephthalites themselves had travelled to at the time of the battle with al-Ahna, but in Herāt and its surroundings. This agrees with Spuler's own statements, a. 0. z33 and note 6 (Hephthalites in Bādžēs)

and 3oz ; vg1. Chavannes i, 155: 158 ; \*59 °°A. Barhebraeus' statement (chron. Syriac. iO4, s Bedjan), according to which the miller of Merw, murderer of Yazdgard **III**, was a "Turk", could show that the Hephthalite part of the population extended even further.

Overlooked is a remark that comes from the history of Bahrām Čöbin (on this Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischer Staat z, \*954. 206 f.) ( abari, ann. -. 99\*, 8f.). Šāba, supreme king of the Turks, is Bahrām's opponent, whom he fights on behalf of Hormidz IV. 1/afiāa i-foréi /-a'zam shows that other and smaller ones existed alongside Šāba's rule (Th. Nöldeke, transl. z6g note I). This is due to the state in which the country north of

after the fall of the great Hephthalite empire. It is also true that Šāba moves to Bā Gyēs and Herāt, where there were still Hephthalites in the century.

This also proves that the "Turks" with whom Bahrām is dealing were Hephthalites (p. 32 above) - possibly even those who, after the decline and fragmentation of the Hephthalite empire, were still living there. of their empire were already under Western Turkish suzerainty.

Now to the seats in Khwārezm and Gurgān. We will summarise all of Mukaddasi's statements about the Hai al that can be found on the pages given by Spuler. Firstly, the sentences with which

the section "Description of the Oxos ( aiJiiii) and what lies along it" is introduced (284. 5 de Goeje). "This river distributes the climate (of the Masrik: 260, i f.) and pours into the lake of Chwärezm, and on it lie large districts (*kumar*) and several cities, and many rivers separate from it, and the six rivers flow into it. As for the districts

As far as the cities are concerned, it is Huttal, then Kuwädyän, then Huwärizm, and as far as the towns are concerned, it is Tirmid, then Kälif, then Ntrydli, then Zamm, then Farabr (Firabr), then Ämul. We will present the whole before we turn to the description of the districts of Haital, because there are people who call these places: ind ward'a *n-nahr* and the rest of Haital *balad al-'a;fam* up to the borders of the Turks, and others who include Huwärizm in the region of Haital. The largest of their (the Anwar) cities are located in Hurasan. We have been careful not to use such terms in this report, and in God is the help."

Mukaddasi devotes a separate section to the *daihu haila*: 26i, 4 °\*4. 4 Nowhere has Spuler used this extensive passage for statements about the residences of the Hephthalites. In the present passage, however, where Mukaddasi is concerned with whether Chwärezm belongs to Spuler believes he has discovered evidence of Haital seats in Chwärezm. He has undoubtedly not translated this passage correctly.

The second utterance is found in 286, 5f., where before. Chwärezm is spoken. Mukaddasi distinguishes there two ssöa from the corresponding cities. The second of the *jasba* mentioned is introduced 286, g f.: *tra-smu Jajba- /i£iiiiio f-hor'isdiiiya/i f- orgdniyn*. In contrast to *al-juräsäni yati, al- jfur;jäni'ya* nominative: Gurgäng(Urgän ) is meant. The first and larger one appears in 286.2f., where B gives: *ismu pa;batihä /-éohrd éöfo ca-nie mudunihä 1- haitali ya* with the following indication of the city names. In contrast, the second manuscript C gives at this point: *Jasbatuhä 1-bWbrä 1- häitali yotu bätu mO-mie muduniliä*. The two *Jasba* Chwärezms correspond to the two banks of the lower Oxos. The east bank with Kä# (soghd. Faith, éo#, cf. R.N.

Frye, The History of Bukhara, 1954. Ion Anm -4) lies in the direction of Mukaddasi's *jfänibu haital*, while the opposite bank looks towards Khorasan. This is why the eastern bank is called "the hephthalitic" and the western bank "the choräsänische". All are purely geographical indications. It is not possible to draw any conclusions about Hephthalites living in Chwärezm or Gurgän. Again, Spuler has misunderstood the text.

The third place where Haital is mentioned is Ego, zof. It reads: "al-Huttal is a spacious district (Jira), rich in cities, although there are those who attribute it (the aegis) to Balch, but this is incorrect because it lies *behind* the Oxos. Its connection with Haital is more compelling, and with regard to these designations we have separated what lies by the river". Again, this is a geographical designation. It is remarkable that the king as-Sabal of Hottal, who is to be called the same, bears the name of a place near Balch (B. Spuler, a. O. 312). We have discussed this method of naming the king after a place, whereby the name of the place becomes that of the ruler, in : The Aramaic Language x I\*959).

The fourth place reads: (zgi, gf.) "Kälif lies to the west on the shore (of the Oxos). There is a *masjfid* in Alexander's ribdf, which corresponds in Haital to a *ribät* of the one who possesses the counterpart (li//)". Whatever may be meant by Alexander's rihäl (on *ribät* cf. R. N. Frye, The History of Bukhara 113 Anm s5), Mukaddasi imagines two rih'il facing each other on both sides of the oxos, the second of which *b e l o n g s* to the 'inifiu *haital*. If Spuler draws conclusions from this about the seats of the Hephthalites, he shows that he has also misunderstood this passage°.

One last thing follows on from this. The quotation: "they (the Hephthalites) differed from the rest of the population in appearance and language and resembled the Turks" does not find any equivalent in the pages of Mukaddasi cited by Spuler. The misunderstandings noted have had consequences for Spuler's views which must also be rectified.

In two other places Spuler expresses a conjecture according to which the Üöl (Arab. Sü) were "a detached remnant of the Hephthalites" (a. O. \*4 note 6 ; cf. zg6 note 3). Since no other reason can be given for this, this assumption can only have arisen from the unimportant interpretation of the Mukaddasi passages cited, according to which Hephthalites would have sat in Gurgän. Spuler himself noted that the Üöl were "occasionally counted among the Turks by the Arabs". This should be supplemented to the effect that not occasionally, but always the Üöl belong to the Turks. In addition to the passages cited by Spuler, a. O. \*4 note 7, there are also Kudäma

° Nevertheless, it should be noted that we had to make similar observations with regard to Spuler's data on tax revenues, a. O. 4 54: 467. : cf. Die aramä- ische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden z (i g6o), i io f. ; I i z f.



z6Z, 2Z f. the Goeje as well as that of Th. Nöldeke, Übers. Iz3 note z, (the "Chord. Aī" is in: Ibn Hurdādbeh 4, 8f. de Goeje).

A second shortcoming, which has already been emphasised, is that Spuler has ignored Mukaddasi's extensive chapter on the *ġānibu hai al*. It must be admitted that the author does not mention the Hephthalites in it. It is all the more remarkable how he defines the boundaries of the treated area. According to z6I, 12 f., Mukaddasi counts six *štira* and four *nāhi ya* among the *ḡoniðø nāi a/*. They are Fargāna, Isbiḡāb (north of Šāš), 5āš, Ušrūsana (thus written a6I, \*3). uḡd, Bubārā on the one hand, Ilāk (near Samarkand), Kišš, Nasal (Nachšab, both south of Samarkand), aḡāā-niyān (Čayāniyān) on the other hand. It can be seen that, with the exception of Čayāniyān, which Dínawari counts among the conquests of Chusrō I Anōšarvān in the passage discussed at the beginning, the *ḡdiiiðø àai a/* correspond completely with the part of the Hephthalite kingdom that Siḡibū is prevented from conquering by Chusrō's brother Hormizd.

It was difficult to hold Čayāniyān. The bridgehead advanced northwards along the Oxos must soon have been abandoned. Nöldeke's assertion that the Sasanian Empire did not extend northwards across the river is correct (transl. -59 A<sub>TI</sub>. I and i62 note 3 in

Criticism of abari's data, ann. I, 99. 6ł). H. H. Schaeder, in his treatment of the Manichaean fragment M z showed that in the later 6. century the Oxos formed the border (Iranica in: Abh. Gött. Ges. Wiss. 3. F., IO \$I 34]. 68f., especially 23f. and 80). Now Muk.ad- dasi's testimony is added. For his limitation of the *ḡdniðti hai al* presupposes,

that they coincided with the rest of the Hephthalite kingdom. Here lived those Hephthalites ("Turks") with whom Bahrām Čōbin fought, to whom he fled and at whose court he died (above p. 32). Under Tulu çoyoi (638-33; Chavannes i, 4) the Western Turks rule about Točhāristān, Tashkend, Kišš, Samarkand and others. Chavannes I, 37: 58.

Mas'fidī, nør=8 °. \*95. barber.

"Hormizd (III), the son of Yazdgard, reigned after her (Yazgard II), but his brother Pērōz deposed him, killed him and took the kingship - he was Pērōz, the son of Yazdgard (II), the son of Bahrām (V. Gōr). Pērōz ruled until he died at the hands of the king of the Hephthalites Ahšunwār (overl. *all šunuiāz*) in Merw-i Rō fi in the land of

Chorāsān, z years. The Hephthalites are the Soghders, and they dwell between Bukhara and Samarkand. (I, 200, 2f. Barber) Hākān, king

of the Turks, married him (Chusrō I. Anōšarvān) to his daughter and his brother's daughter ... (2°3, f. Barber) Anōšarvān had travelled as far as (the land beyond) the river of Balch, and had come as far as Hottalān. He killed Ahšunwār, the king of the Hephthalites, because of his (Chusrō's) grandfather Pērōz, and he seized his kingdom (*mamlaĽatahu*) and joined it to his kingship (*iĽō øøi/éiài*)".

Explanation. The report does not bring much that is new. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that it carefully distinguishes between *al-hayātīla* and *at-tirá*, and contrasts the ruler of the already Iranised (above i, 4 f.) Hephthalites, who bears the Soghdian title *aSøtiwdr* (above i. 46; above p. 2), with that of the Western Turks with the Turkish title *hākān*. The remark about the residences of the Hephthalites is from the point of view and from the time of Mas-

'fidi's (d. 956 or 95a). This is supported by the fact that, although Chusrō I Anōšarvān seized the territories south of the Oxos from the Hephthalites, their seats are located north of the river. Of this remaining territory in Mas'üdi's time, the Hephthalites only inhabited the area between Bukhara and Samarkand. They are as far as the Soghdian population that it could be equated with it. Basically J Well- hausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (H)02) 268f.

The following extracts from Abari's annals contain only those passages that are not dealt with by Th. Nöldeke in his: *Geschichte der Perser und Araber* (z82g). It seemed justified to us to provide a translation of these reports, as they also contain much valuable information about the internal circumstances of the Hephthalites, Soghians and Western Turks. In conjunction with the Soviet excavations in present-day Tadzhikistan, they will make it possible to at least sketch a picture of the Hephthalite-Soghd culture in a later chapter.

Where reference is made to Naršabi's Chronicle of Buchārā in the explanations, this is done by citing R. N. Frye's translation (*The History of BukhĽtfä* \*954) This translation has proved to be reliable, apart from a few criticisms (Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* z6of. ; 366f.; *Supplementum ramaicum* ii2 f.).

ern'iesen. The situation is different with the use made of the following news in B. Spuler's "Iran in Early Islamic Times" (1952). As in the foregoing, it will not be possible to avoid correcting oversights.

Tabari, ann. i, 268o, ii f. de Goeje.

"In this year (2/643) -Og Bl-AJynaf b. Kais, according to the report of some, went to Khorasan and fought Yazdgard, and according to Saif's tradition, al-Ahnaf's exodus to Khorasan in the year 18 (639) was the Hi ra. mention of Yazdgard's move to Khorasan and what was the cause of it". From the following account up to Yazdgard's death, those pieces are emphasised which refer to the conditions in the former Hephthalite territories.

Tabari, ann. i, 268z, 43f. de Goeje.

"After al-Ahnaf had approached Merw-i (2863, I de Goeje) Sähiyän, Yazdgard moved from there to Merw-i Rö6 until he descended there. Al-Ahnaf descended to Merw-i Öähiyän. Yazdgard wrote to the Khaqän when he was in Merw-i Roefi, asking him for help, and also to the king of the Soghders. His (Yazdgard's) envoys went to the Chäqän and to the King of the Soghians. He also wrote to the king of China, asking him for help ... (26 3. 8 f.). He (al-Ahnaf) went out advancing against Merw-i Rö6 until, when this news came to Yazdgard, he moved to Balch. So al-Ahnaf descended to Merw-i Ro 6, he and the people of Kiifa advanced and moved to Balch .... Then God put Yazdgard to flight, and he and the Persians turned towards the river (Oxos) and crossed over. Al-Ahnaf joined the people of Kfifa after God had come to their aid. Thus Balch was among the conquests of the people of Kfifa."

Explanation. The narrative belongs to the year 2/643. The king of the Soghders is different from the Chäqän, which shows that the latter refers to the ruler of the Western Turks. This applies to everything that follows. The Soghdians include the Hephthalites who lived among them.

Tabari, ann. i, - 5 . 9f. de Goeje.

"After the two messengers of Yazdgard had come to the Chäqän and to Gfirak, his (the Chäqän's) assistance was not prepared

for pagans (envoys) until he (Yazdgard) crossed the river in the direction of them in flight. Then it (the help) was ready, and the Chäqän helped him, because the kings expect the help of the **kings** among themselves. He arrived with the Turks, and he gathered the people of Feryäna and the Soghders. Then he went out with them, and Yazdgard also went out, returning towards Khorasan, until he crossed over to Balch, and with him the Khaqän. The people of Kiifa withdrew to Merw-i Röb to al-AhnaI, and the pagans went out from Balch until they camped opposite al-AhnaI at Merw-i Rö 6."

Explanation. The narrative belongs to the year z-/ 43 6 iirak is after 2, \*°49. I6f. the \*äjibu s-su d, while the Turkish Chäqän is at home in Feryäna (i, z689, IO f.). According to Ibn Hurdädbeh 41, z de Goeje, 6firak is a Turkish title of lower rank. The gfirak is replaced in the

The "kings , so that it looks as if he is one of them.

B. Spuler, a. 0. 3 , suggests instead of Giirak: Uyrak. The Soghdian coin legend 'x'yr# *MLK*' probably plays a role in Spuler's reinterpretation (*O.I. Smir- nowa in : Trudy Tad2iskoj archeol. ekspedicii 3, -95 . -zOf. No. 9s-g2*) played a role. Spuler should certainly have noticed that Smirnova translates: "Ixsid Gürek". Of course, 'tr is the Soghdian demonstrative pronoun. Üiirak cannot be Turkish either. This is proven by the spelling with Eäf, which contradicts the Turkish vowel harmony. In Soghdian, *fuhr* means "sun", from which it is derived, with the suffix

-yäe: yu'ry'é "haughtiness" : I. Gershevitsch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* (-95'1 i69 § II IO. Du derivatives of x'-'ar- in middle Pers. x'!!arr,

?nrrömand refers to kingship, could also be ywr with suffix

-(a) (I. Gershevitch, a. 0. h2 f.) denote a ruler's title ; cf. middle pers. zSaray, x!'arab "shining, blazing, sunny" or similar.

That kings must give support to one of their own when he is in need is a principle that characterises Bahräm Cöbin's history everywhere. It is not only Horn4izd and Yiltägin, Yiltä- gin and Bahräm himself who hold this view. Chusrö Aqarvéz also receives protection and help from the Roman emperor Maurikios. Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat*, i, zio ; zi6 ; ziQ. The emperor of China formulates the same principle to the envoy of Yazdgard III: "I know", says Tabari, ann. I, 269\*. 3 . ...that it is the duty of kings to give kings to help those who have overwhelmed them". Even the last

Achaimenide had, J3owt7ts09 zopa ]3owihm\$, asked Alexander to return his mother, wife and children (Arrian., anab. 2. \*4. 3)

Tabari, ann. z, z686, fy f. de Goeje.

"But (al-Ahnaf) went out by night ... as a lookout for his companions, until he (z682, i de Goeje) was close to the camp of the Khaqän. Then he stopped. When morning was near, a Turk horseman came out with his neck ring and beat his drum. Then he stopped at a place in the camp where his own kind used to stand. It attacked him at al-Ahnaf, and they exchanged two lance thrusts, and it pierced him al-Ahnaf. He killed him, saying the mocking verses:

'Behold, it is the duty of every commander to colour the spear with blood or to break it.

Behold, we have an old sword beside it (the spear), with which the encounter is disastrous, the sword of Abü iJaf, which has stood firm.

Then he stood in the Turk's place and took his neck ring. Another of the Turks went out and did what his companion had done. Then he stood beside him (the fallen man). He attacked al-Ahnaf, and they exchanged two thrusts of the lance, and al-Ahnaf pierced him. He killed him and said the mocking verse:

'Behold, the commander is vigilant and appears and repels the foragers (Gloss. CCXXXII) when they enter fertile land'.

Then he stood in the second Turk's place and took his neck ring. Then a third Turk came out and did what the two men had done. Then he stood next to the second of the two (Turks). Al-Ahnaf attacked him, and they exchanged two thrusts of the spear, and al-Ahnaf pierced him. He killed him and said the mocking verse:

'O over the sound of the unruly (horse), swiftly rushing along, inexhaustible in its course, vying'.

(i, 2688, i de Goeje). Then al-Ahnaf turned to his camp, and not one of them (his companions) knew this until he had entered it (the camp) and prepared himself. It was the way of the Turks that they did not go out (to battle) until he had come out.

three of their riders were like them, each beating his drum. Then they used to leave (for battle) after the three had done so. Then the Turks went out that night after the three of them and came to their horsemen who had been killed. The Chāqān suspected and foresaw evil and said: 'Our stay has become long, and these people have been struck (by death) in a place where no one has ever been so struck. It is not good for us to fight with this people. Therefore let us withdraw!' And their (the Turks') leaders turned back."

Explanation. The story belongs to the year 2/643 The Tiirk or Hun rider with the drum (hand drum) is known from a terracotta from the Northern Wei period (386-534), illustrated in: *Ausstellung chinesischer Kunst*, Berlin 19-9. 2nd ed. \*05 fig. 227. further details above I, 218 f. Before the battle Tulu q'syaa says: "il fit battre les tambours" : Chavannes i. 59 In case of defeat: "ils prirent les tambours" 6 .

M. de Ferdinandy points out that Count Ladislaus Listius (Liszti), in his epic poem about the Battle of Mohács written towards the end of the second century, also mentions a miraculous timpani. It came from the hero of the Hunyadi period, Paul of Kinizsi, and was called òiša "Taurus." The job reads:

*Kinizsi Pál dob)a neoezte.Jék bika,  
mid0ii täräk liallotta, inindenét lsálráliagyła.*

Cf. A. Ipolyi, *Magyar Mitológia* x (- 53). 5 It is worth recalling what was said about the bull-like tone of the drum in contrast to the lion-like tone of the tuba (i, zzo above).

abari, ann. I, 2822, Z6 f. de Goeje.

"Yazdgard set out, and Barāz, *dēhkān* of Merw, who had decided to separate the *dēhkān* from him (Yazdgard), came to Sangān, his brother's son. Then the news reached Māhawaih, the father Barāz'. (z878, z de Goeje.) He plotted Yazdgard's death and wrote to Nēzak Tarchān, telling him that Yazdgard had come to him a beaten man. He asked him (Nēzak) to come to him in order to make common cause : to take him (Yazdgard) prisoner and to make sure of him, then to kill him or to make a deal about him with the

Arabs. He promised him as a reward that if he would give him (Māhawaih) rest from him (Yazdgard), he would guarantee him IOOo Dirhem every day, and asked him to write to Yazdgard (Nēzak), misleading him, so that he (Nēzak) would separate from him the mass of his army and he (Yazdgard) would come with a small band of his army and his friends, so that he would be weakened in his support and in his strength. He (Māhawaih) said: 'You let him know in your letter to him what you have decided for him of good advice for him and of help against his enemies from the Arabs so that he may conquer them, and you ask him to send you a title from the titles of the people of the ranks with a letter sealed in gold. You let him know that you will not come to him until he has removed Farruchzā b' from his neighbourhood. He (Nēzak) wrote accordingly to Yazdgard. When the letter reached him, he sent to the great Merw's and asked their advice. Sangān told him : 'I am not of the opinion that you should remove from you your army and Farruchzā6 for any reason'. And Barāz's father said: 'On the contrary. I think that you should join forces with Nēzak and grant him what he asks for. He (Yazdgard) accepted (28ÿ9, i de Goeje)

He (Mā hawaih's) **opinion** and separated from his army and ordered Farruchzā 6 to come to the reed thicket of Sarach. Then Farruchza 6 cried out and tore his clothes and took a mace in both hands, intending to strike Baraz's father, and said: 'O you murderers of kings! You have killed two kings, and I regard you as the murderers of this (king) too'. And Farruchzā fi did not rest until Yazdgard wrote him a letter with the writing of his hand: 'This is a letter for Farruchzā 6. Behold, you have handed over unharmed Yazdgard and his people and his children and his retinue and what was with them to Māhawaih, ò "rdz *dēhbān* of Merw, and I bear witness to this to her'. Nēzak came to a place between the two Merw (M.-i Šāhiyān and M.-i Rō6) called\* Ğahūdān. After Yazdgard had decided to meet him (Nēzak) and go to her, Barāz's father advised her not to meet her (Nēzak) in weapons so that he would be suspicious of him and keep away from her, but to meet her with flutes and (other) music, and he (Yazdgard) did so. He was accompanied by those whom Māhawaih had advised her and whom he had called her, and Bāraz's father left him, and Nēzak divided his comrades into squadrons. When both of them approached, Nēzak was able to meet them on foot, while Yazdgard

was sitting on his horse. He ordered a side-horse from his side-horses for Nēzak and he (Nēzak) mounted it. After he (Yazdgard) was in the centre of his (h'ēzak's) army, they stopped opposite each other. Then Nēzak said to him, among other things: 'Give me one of your daughters as a wife, and I would advise you and would fight your enemies with you.' Then Iazdgard said to him, 'How dare you confront me, you dog?' Then Nēzak struck him with his bullwhip, and Yazdgard cried out: 'The cheat has cheated!' and galloped off in a hurry. Nēzak's comrades used their swords against them (Yazdgard's entourage) and killed many of them. Yazdgard turned in his flight to a place in the land of Merw (z880, i de Goeje) and dismounted from his horse and entered the house of a miller." (Yazdgard's death follows.)

Explanation. The story belongs to the year 3xJ65- 52. Māhawaih is Marzbān of Merw: - 73. . He is also called Barāz's father. This is z827, Z6 *dēliLān* of Merw, if not, as E. Pri m, the editor of the volume (Adnotatio f to 282g), surmises that *barāz* is meant to be another of Māhawaih's titles. He compares z888, 8 nōrōz niarzōān mortr and indāawniā *abrāz marzbān mazui*, in which he understands *abrāz* as a prescription. *Barāz* is

"boar", Middle Pers. t ardz, gōrdz, and indeed, an inscription in Pahlavik from Kāl-i Jangal near Bir)and in Siidian Khorāsān shows a man who had himself depicted as a lion fighter. *Gurāz-A rlxšahr* has been recognised by us (Philologia sacra, 195 . a6 f. in contrast to a false

reading W. B. Hennings in : Journ. R. Asiatic SOC. 1953. I3<);

In addition, he calls himself "Nachūdār and Satrap". This could speak in favour of Prym's view. But *abrāz* is also likely to be a cautious prescription. After Ibn Hurdādbēh 39, Iz de Goeje called the king of Nisā (wrongly vocalised by de Goeje, cf. Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischer Staat I, 1954. zoo) nōrdz, which de Goeje combines in the Übersetzung p. 28 note z with Barāz, Varāz with reference to Th. NōJdeke, Übers. who note I.

Nēzak bears the title arhān, and this shows that it was once a Hittite dominion that continued to exist under the Sasanids after the fall of the empire. It is also true that Nēzak in Bābyēs, an area which, like the neighbouring Herāt, was inhabited by Hepthalites (provisionally B. Sr-ler.

- -53 mm. 6 and 3 \*). Bā 6yēs and IJerfit are also the source of the Kāren's teams, who raised sirh 32/G z-633 ; cf. zQo5, z f.



If As far as the name or title Nêzak is concerned, compare A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>o</sup> (-944) s - : Chavannes z, zoo note 2.

B. Spuler, Iran in early Islam. *Zeit zg*, has interpreted Nêzak as Tirek( ?) and surmised arhân. An ill-considered idea, for abari, ann. i, z828, I ; 2, I Z 4. il encounters *N êzak ar ân*, which rules out the possibility that the first designation can also be interpreted as ar jân. Moreover, Ibn Jurdâdbeh places AĪ, i de Goeje Nêzak as a title next to arhân, which confirms that shifting

denes was meant. Middle Pers. iidzaš is "lance", Neupers. *nizeh*, Syr. *naizhÆ* (C. Brockelmann, *Lexic. Syriac.* "Az2 r. ; F. Justi, *Iran. Name book* \*\*9 ). The Sasanian *nazdrnêlôč* "qui possède mille lances" (R. Ghirshman in : *Ars Orientalis* 2, 1957. 81) should also be remembered, as well as Mohammed's lance, which was carried before his successors (M. J. de Goeje in *Glossary to the abari edition CCCLXXX*). tiber die Lanze als Herrschaftszeichen hat A. Alföldi in: *Amer. Journ. Archeol.* 63 (-9s ). f., where, in addition to many errors and overlooked facts, these testimonies are not cited.

The 'auld was discussed above i8f.

The name of the place, which lay between the two Merw, is given by E. Prym (according to the custom introduced by de Goeje: J. Fück. *The Arabic Studies in Europe*, -955. --5) without diacritical dots. By changing two characters, however, one could read\* *ğahûidân*, "Jewish city", older name of Maimana on Muryâb (B. Spuler, a. 0. zx6 and note 3)' Gurgân was also such a city: B. Spuler, a. 0. 216, where, however, Barhebraeus, *chron. Syriac.* 3-. °4 Bedjan is overlooked.

Balâduri's parallel report is attached here.

Balâduri, /vlu ø 1-buldôh 3\*5. Z6f. de Goeje.

"He (Yazdgard III) went to Sigistân, and the king there honoured him and treated him as a great man. But when a few days had passed, he (Yazdgard) asked him about the Aorôğ. Then he took a dislike to him (Yazdgard). When Yazdgard saw this, he went to Khorasan. When he had come to the borders of Merw, he met Mâhawaih, his (Merw's)

- B. Spuler writes in the place indicated, also 3 z. "Maimänä". It does not seem to have become clear that this is an Arabic name ("the auspicious", cf. De Lacy O'Leary, *How the Greek Sciences passed to the Arabs*, i ga8, 158).

*marzbān*, honourable and respectful, and Nēzak Tarchān came to him. He (Yazdgard) treated him kindly and gave him a gift and honoured him. Nēzak stayed with him for a month. Then he left and wrote to him (Yazdgard), courting him (Nēzak) for his daughter. This angered Yazdgard and he said: 'Write to him: You are but a slave of my slaves. What has encouraged you to court me?' He commanded,

Māhawaih, *marzbā-* (316, z de Goeje) Merw's, to ask for an account, and asked him for the money. Then Māhawaih wrote to Nēzak and incited ant against him (Yazdgard), saying: 'This is he who has come fleeing and being chased away, and you have been favourable to him, and he has written to you what he has written to you. Then they both helped each other to kill him (Yazdgard). Nēzak approached in the midst of the Turks until he could reach al-Ġunābid (neupers. *šōiðød* arab. *ġiiðða*), and they fought him, and the Turks were equally strong. Then the hill (on which he stood) became a disadvantage to them (Yazdgard), and he (Nēzak) killed his (Yazdgard's) comrades and plundered his camp. Then he (Yazdgard) was able to reach the city of Merw, and he (Māhawaih) did not open i t . He dismounted from his mount and went on foot until he entered the Hans of a miller at Muryāb". (Yazdgard's death follows.)

abari, ann. **i, 2f)O2, IAf.** de Goeje.

"In this year (3-/652-6 3) peace was concluded between al-Ahnaf and the people of Balch. (°9°3. i de Goeje) Mention of the news of it. 'Ali said: It was reported to us by Zuhair b. al-Hunaid from Iyās b. al-Muhallab. He said: al-Ahnaf moved from Merw-i Rō6 to Balch and shut them (the inhabitants of Balch) in, and they made Peace with hern his (Balch's) people against payment of 400 000 (Dirhem), and he was satisfied with them therein. He *appointed* as '*Motif* the son of his uncle (his cousin) on his father's side, and he was Asid b. al-Mutašammis, so that he might take from them what they had agreed upon with them (al-Ahnaf). He (al-Ahnaf) went to Khwārezm and stayed there until winter came upon him. Then he said to his companions: 'What do you think? He said to them IJu ain : 'It had said to you 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib ...'. He said: 'What did he say?' He (Ijū ain) said: He said: 'If you do not achieve something, then leave it and go about it until you achieve it. He said: He commanded al-Ahnaf to set out.

Then he left for Balch, and his cousin had collected what he (al-Ahnaf) had agreed with them (the inhabitants of Balch). While he was collecting taxes from them, it was the festival of Mihrayan (the celebration of the beginning of autumn), and they brought him gifts of gold and silver vessels, denarii and dirhams, utensils and clothes. Al-Ahnaf's cousin said: 'This is what we have agreed upon with you'. They said :

'No. But we do this on this day with the one who is close to us, so that we may make him friendly. He said: 'And what is this day? They said : 'The Mihrayän'. He said: 'I do not know what this is. Behold, I may not return it, and perhaps I have a right to it.

But I accept it and save it for myself to contemplate (it) (z904, i de Goeje)". (This is followed by al-Ahnaf's rejection.)

Explanation. The payment of the 4 c i0o Dirhem is also the following recurring *Jid ya*, i.e. a ransom, the payment of which would secure the ransom of J Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich* 220 - The description of the Mihrayän shows that in the city of the

Naubehär Zarathustrism was still rooted. A second account of the MihraTan is given by Tabari on the occasion of his report on the death of Asad b. 'Abdilläh in i2oJ 38:

(z,1635, -2 f.) "It had come (the feast of) MihraT än, and he was in Balch. Then the amirs and the *déhbän* came to him with gifts. Among those who came to him were Ibrahim b.'Abdirrahman al-J'ianafi, his (Asad's) 'cmii/ about Herät (Z636, i de Goeje) and Choräsän, and the *déhliän* Herät's. Then both came with a gift that was worth i 00000 (Dirhem). Among the things with which they both came were two vessels, a vessel of silver and a vessel of gold, and pitchers of gold and pitchers of silver and plates of gold and silver. Both of them approached while Asad was sitting on the sarir and the most honourable Khorasan was sitting on the throne chairs (a/- éar'Isi). Then they both placed the two vessels. Then both of them placed behind them the jars and the plates and the brocade of merw, kohistän and herät and other than these, until the row was full. Among what the *Dedican* brought to Asad was a ball of gold". (The following is the eulogy of the *dehkän* Herät to Asad.)

Explanation. In i63 , 6 crest versus ?fardi shows the continuation of old pers. Aarstra-, jung-avest. Mardiua-: Chr. Bartholomae, Alt- iran. Dictionary (-904) i282 - Jasn in the meaning "pot, vessel" does not seem to be found in the lexicons. But it is used from the context

and by *fa sriya* (R. Dozy, Supplément aux dictionnaires Arabes °. \*97. 357 1.). They are unlikely to be replicas of castles (as one renowned Arabist suggested). At best would suggest that they are treated as something special compared to the jugs, the plates and the fabric.

abari, ann. z. -56, 4f. de Goeje.

"It was reported to me by 'Umar. He said: It was reported to me by 'Ali from Maslama b. Muhārib and from 'Abdurrahmān b. Abān al-Kuraši. Both of them said: ar-Rabi' (b. Ziyād) came to Khorasan (5xJ62I-622) and conquered Balch against treaty, and they (the inhabitants of Balch) had closed its gates after al-Ahnaf b. Kais had made peace with him. He (Rabi') conquered Kūhistān by force, and there were Turks near him, so he killed them and put them to flight, and among those who remained was Nēzak Tarchan. He was killed by Kutaiba b. Muslim **under** his governorship.

Explanation. Turks" refers to the Hephthalites of Nēzak.

R. Ghirshman, Les Chionites-Hephthalites gg, erroneously places the event in the year 62i and assumes, contrary to the wording, that Nēzak was in Balch.

abari, ann. z, i6 , I2 f. de Goeje.

"He said: There came (54/6y3 74) 'Ubaidullah (b. Ziyad) to Khorasan. Then he crossed the river towards the mountains of Bukhara on camels, and he was the first to cross the mountains of Bukhara to them (the people of Bukhara) in the midst of an army. He conquered Rāmiṣān and half of Paikand, and both belong to Bukhara. From there he reached the territory of Bukhara. 'Ali said: It was reported to me by al-IJasan b. Rašid from his uncle (on his father's side). He said: 'Ubaidullah b. Ziyād met the Turks (Hephthalites) at Bukhara, and with their king was his wife ḡḡ *qalun*. When Allah put them (the Turks) to flight, they prevented her from putting on her two shoes, and she put on only one of them. The other one remained, and the Muslims captured it, and the stocking was valued at zo000 dirhams. He said: It was reported to me by Muhammad (ryo, i de Goeje) b. ḡīāf from 'Ubaidullāh b. Ziyād b. Ma'mar from 'Ibāda b. Iḡī n.

He said: "I have not seen anyone stronger in courage than 'Ubaidullāh b. **Ziyād**. We encountered a (marching) army of Turks in Cho-rāsān, and I saw him fighting, then, attacking them, penetrating into his (the army's) interior and moving away from us. Then he raised his banner dripping with blood. 'Ali said: It has been reported to us by Maslama that the bearers with whom 'Ubaidullah b. **Ziyād** came to Batra were sooo, all excellent in pleil shooting. Maslama said: "There was an army of the Turks in Bukhara in the days of 'Ubaidullah b. Ziyād. Ziyād of the armies of Khorasan who counted."

Explanation. The name of the Poles, h , could also be read Stig, and then Chinese lang-che, Old Turk. *qunfuy* "princess" would be closest. - Naréahi also reports on the precious stocking of the qafii'i: R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* 38. A precious shoe of Nezak Tarchan :

Tabari, ann. 2, Z22 . 3 f. The treatment of East Iranian footwear of the post-Christian period given by G. Widengren in: *Arctica* ii (1956), z68f., the passages cited are missing. On the wall paintings

Pan ikant's and Chinese Turkestan we could not find any particularly expensive stockings and shoes.

Tabari, ann. 2, 104 , 8f. de Goeje.

"In this year (80/6gg-Zoo) al-Muhallab crossed the river of Balch and took up residence in Kiés. It has mentioned 'Ali b. Mohammed of al-MuIaddal b. Mohammed (= al-Madä'ini) and others that he was in command of al-Muhallab's vanguard when Abü 1-Adham Ziyād b.'Amr came to Kiss az-Zimmäni with 3 oo, and it was (actually) 5°OO, since al-Adham was sooo superior in valour and leadership and in giving good advice. He said: The cousin of the king of al-Hottal came to al-Muhallab when he had descended in Kisé and asked him to go to al-Hottal. He (al-Muhallab) sent his son Yazid with him. He had dismounted in his camp, and the king's cousin had also dismounted. The king of that time, named as-Sabal , was isolated in his camp. He took as-Sabal (IO4\*. I de Goeje) his cousin and held him up in his camp. But as-Sabal's cousin said that the Arabs had betrayed him and that they feared him because of the betrayal since he left their (the Arabs') camp. So as-Sabal captured him, took him to his castle and killed him. He said: Then

Yazid b. al-Muhallab around the castle of as-Sabal. They made peace with him in return for a ransom which they (as-Sabal and his people) brought to him (Yazid), and he (Yazid) returned to al-Muhallab. But the mother of the one whom as-Sabal had killed sent to the mother of as-Sabal: 'How do you hope for the survival of as-Sabal after the killing of his cousin, when he (the cousin) has seven brothers whom he (as-Sabal) has offended, while you are the mother of only one? She (as-Sabal's mother) sent her the message: 'The lions have few offspring and the pigs have many'. So al-Muhallab sent his son IJabib to Rabingan, and he

the Lord of Bukhara appeared with 4 **OOO**. A man of the pagans called for single combat, and Ülabala, IJfabib's squire, fought with him. He then killed the pagan and attacked all of them (the pagans) and killed three of them. Then he (al-Muhallab) returned, and the enemies returned to their land. A group of the enemies stopped at a village. Then Habib marched against them with Sooo, and he fought with them and defeated them. He burnt it (the village) and returned to his father. And it (the village) was called (since then) the burnt one. It is said that the one who burnt it was Oabala, IJabib's squire. He

said: Then al-Muhallab spent two years in Kisé. It was said to him: 'If only you had advanced against as-Sugd and what lies behind it! He said: 'May my share of happiness in this

Let the preservation of this army be the campaign, so that they return to Merw safe and sound! He said: One day a man went out from the enemy and asked him (al-Muhallab) for single combat. Then Huraim b. 'Adi Abfi Halid b. Huraim fought with him, wearing a turban (iO42, i de Goeje) which he had tied over his helmet (as a sign of his dignity). He turned to a ditch, and the heath immediately went to meet him. Huraim then killed him and took his spoils. But al-Muhallab rebuked him and said: 'If something had happened to you, I would have had to use horsemen as long as they (the enemies) were equal to you in my opinion. ... (io4z, 8) Then al-Muhallab made peace with the people of Kiss for a ransom.

Explanation. B. Spuler, a. 0. z8, places the battles in the wrong year: yoJ62Q (correctly 689 O) instead of 80/6gQ. Due to an incorrect page entry (z, io4o--°46 **Stätt IO40-104\***. cr. note Io), Spuler also names Abfi Mihnaf as a source. In fact, the latter is cited in Io43, 7, but his report refers to 'Abdurrahmän's campaign to Sigistan.

Hottal considers J Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich* z69, to be one with the name of the Hephthalites. In view of forms such as Old-Chinese. \*jag-/öf, Old Turk. \*ya;b-if-if, HACATAAA, this assumption still needs to be substantiated.

On the animal parable zz4z, 2f. cf. above i, 223 ; z8z f.

Tabari, ann. z, io8o, 3 f. de Goeje.

"Mention of the news about the cause of al-Muhallab's departure from Kiss. It has mentioned 'Ali b. Moiyammed of al-Mufaddal b. Muhammad that al-Muhallab ... returned from Kiss ... and left behind JJurait b. Kotba, the freedman from the tribe of Huzä'a. He said: 'When you have received the ransom, return the pawns to them'. He (al-Muhallab) crossed the river, and when he reached Balch, he stayed there and wrote to IJurait: 'Behold, I am not sure that if you give them the pawns give them back, they will change their attitude towards you. Therefore, when you have received the ransom, do not hand over the pawns until you have come to Balch'. Hurait said to the king of **Kiss**: 'Al-Muhallab has written to me that I should keep the pledges until I come to the land of Balch. If you quickly bring what you owe, I will hand over your pledges to you, and I will go and inform him that his letter has arrived and that I have received what you owe and that I have returned the pledges to you'. Then he hastened to make peace with them and returned to them those of them which were in their (the Arabs') hands. The Turks approached and stood in his (i; Jurait's) way and said: 'Buy yourself free and the one who is with you. We have met Yazid b. al-Muhallab, and he has bought himself free'. Then I; Jurait said: 'Let the mother of Yazid give birth to me (io8i, i de Goeje)'. He fought with them (the Turks) and killed them and captured some, and they (the Turks) ransomed them (the captives). He was kind to them and released them and returned the ransom to them." Explanation. The story belongs to the year 8zJ2oi. The Turks in the **Kiss's** neighbours are undoubtedly Hephthalites.

Tabari, ann. z, I I4s. 9\* , de Goeje.

"In this year ( 5/7 4) was killed **Mfisä** b. 'Abdilläh b. **Häzim** as-Sulami in Tirmib. Mention of the cause of his killing and his

train to Tirmi6 until he was killed there". From the extensive section, those pieces that refer to the internal conditions of the country north of the Oxos should be singled out.

Tabari, ann. z, \*47. Z2 f. de Goeje.

The story of how Mfisä takes possession of the city of Tirmib goes back to the same author as Baläduri 4\*7. \*9 I. Guidi has rightly recognised in this al-Madä'ini: iul Adn. 1. as Baläduri's report continues is fully translated below, it did not seem advisable to give Tabari's parallel version here.

Tabari, ann. z, i zyz, 2 f. de Goeje.

"He ('Ali b. Muhammad) said: He went from T\_äbit (b. Kotba) to Jar{;ün (of Bukhara) and complained to him about what had happened to him. T\_äbit was popular with the barbarians, and his reputation reached far and wide, as they honoured him and were wary of him. When one of them made a commitment that he intended to fulfil and swore (corr. ma-(iaJa/a) on T\_äbit's life, he would not break his allegiance. He (T\_äbit) took him (Tarhfin) into protection, and Nézak and as-Sabal and the people of Bukhära and Üyäniyän united with him, and they came with T\_äbit to Mfisä b. 'Abdilläh . . . (I 52, x6 de Goeje). Then T\_äbit and I;1urait said to him (Mfisä): 'Set out until you cross the river and throw out Yazid b. al-Muhallab from Khorasan and we will put you at the head. If Tar{;fin and Nézak and as-Sabal and the people of **Bukhara** are with you, see to it that it happens' "

Müsä confines himself to describing the 'utntn'if, which Yazid had in irrst war'i'a ii-  
-The first step was to remove the *food*. Then: (-°53. 2 de Goeje). "Tarbün and Nézak and the people of Buchära and as-Sabal returned to their land". A dispute arises between **Mfisä** and his comrades as to how to deal with T\_äbit and Hurait. It was still going on (i i53 , Ib de Goeje), "when the Hepthalites and the Tibetans (*a/-lubbitt*) and the Turks. They approached with 20000, not counting the unarmoured (*al-[iäsir}*) and not the owner of a helmet without a peak (or attachment: *söjiba baiMalin* am "id'a) and counting only the owner of a helmet with a peak (or attachment: *baipatin däfi lfaunas!*".



Explanation. On Tarhün - Dimitri R. N. Frye in: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies ii (iger), 124 f. and above i, zi3. In the meantime, the title has appeared on the coins: O. I. Smirnova in: Trudy Tad2iskoj Archeol.

Ekspedicii 3 (-95 ),22ONr. 8g-qd; fig. g.-To *baidatin päti paunas*: From the wall paintings, miniatures and sculptures of East Turkestan we know the helmet "with a crest-like top", which often takes the form of a spire.

takes: A. von Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens 12 ; fig. 5 : 53: 59 3: 62), which is contrasted by a helmet without such an attachment (a. O. fig. 64-h6). For the sake of the Tibetans, see also the Tibetan helmet in fig. 26.

Pangikant (east of Samarkand), dating from the years of the events discussed here, show helmets with a point or attachment: Ziwoptions drewnego Pjand2ikenta (-954) Pl. X ; XV-XVI ; **XXXV-XXXIX**;

A. M. Mandelsstam in: Ocerki istorii SSSR. **III-IX**. WW. (zg58) 37s Fig. 80; G. Glaesser in : East and West 8 (\*95 ). 99: I ; 202 ; 210 J 222.

Tabari, ann. **2, 1129**, sf. de Goeje.

"It has mentioned 'Ali b. Muhammad from al-Mufaddal b. Muhammad. He said: Nezak used to descend in the castle of Bä 6yes; Yazid did not succeed in his campaign and kept his eye on him. He learnt of his (Nezak's) departure, and unnoticed by him he entered it (the castle). Nezak learnt of this and returned and made a treaty with him (Yazid) that he (Nezak) would give whatever treasures were in the castle and he and his men would leave the castle."

Explanation. The event falls on 4/7 3  
Tabari, ann. z, 1144. 5 f. de Goeje.

"It has mentioned 'Ali b. Muhammad from al-Mufaddal b. Muhammad. He said: He deposed al-i;taggäg the Yazid and wrote to al-Mufaddal concerning his administration of Khorasan in the year 5 ( 4), and he (al-Mufaddal) administered it for nine months. He undertook a campaign against

Bä byes and conquered it and obtained spoils and x'distributed them among the people, and every man of them got 800 dirhem".

Explanation. B. Spuler, a. O. z8, summarises the conquest of the castle and the city as the same event, which he dates to 84 /203. The years given by Jabari show that the city (or the land) only fell a year after the castle.

abari, ann. 2, --53. Z6f. de Goeje.

"He said: Ibn Hāzīm went out to the suburb with 3 00 pedestrians and 3 armoured men (mounted), and a throne (*burst*) was placed for him and he sat on it. He said: Then arhún commanded,

that the wall of the suburb would be torn down. Thereupon Mūsā (Ibn Hāzīm's brother) (--54. i de Goeje) said: They (arbún's comrades) destroyed (the wall) and the first of them entered. He (Mfisā) said:

'Let them become more! He set about wielding the battle axe in his hand. When they were many, he said: 'Now hold them back! Then he mounted his horse and threw himself against them. He fought them until he threw them out of the breach. Then he returned and sat on the throne. The king (arbún) ordered his comrades to return (to expel Mūsā) under threat, and they refused. Then he said to his knights : 'This one is Satan! Whoever is pleased that he looks at Rustam, let him look at the owner of the throne, and whoever does not want to, let him attack him'. Then the barbarians turned to the neighbourhood of Caftan."

Explanation. The "r4òad of the city" will probably mean the city of Kaftān, which is mentioned zi54, 6 and already before i -5 , 8. When arhfin's people turn to the neighbourhood (on *ruslāğ* cf. B. Spuler, a. 0. 282) of Kaftān,

so they disperse after the measure against Ibn Hāzīm and Mfisā remains without success. - burst is syr. *kursyā*, altaram. *kuirs'* (Stat. constr.), which is known from the architectural inscription of Sengirli. The king of the Iberians (inn Caucasus) sent to Pompey dlvrjv zs x'xì zpérne{ov xoì 8póvvov, Ōwxpu'rñ (Plutarch, Pomp. 36 end). This alone shows that the royal throne need not always be meant. In the story of the martyrs of šarğd ā\_-bêt *Slōb*, ahmyazdgard sits on the "*kursyā* of the

Richtertums" (C. Brockelmann, Syr. Gramm.' . \*95a. 59\* While zx). *Kursyā* appears in the inscriptions and on the reliefs of Tang-i Sarvak (Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum gof.), again not as a royal throne. A painting from Panğikant should also be remembered; Živopiss drewnego Pjandžikenta (1954) Pl. XXXIX. When Ibn Hāzīm and then Mūsā sit on the throne, this means that they are claiming an office, and in Arhfin's eyes this is usurpation. That is why he intervenes, which, of course, fails.

arhfin's exclamation: *liād\_ā š-ša !/-* (-\*54. 4) finds its equivalent in i, 2AAI, Z, WHERE *dēoān āmad* is translated as *had ġā'a š-šai ān* (cf. Altheim-

Stiehl, *Philologia sacra* 2o). Thus the *laildn* meant by Tarhün was a dir or *deoän* (plural with a singular meaning like *yazdän* "god"). This shows that Tarbün and his people were Zarathustrians (cf.

z230, 7 ). The significance of Zarathustrism in the transoxanic realm (R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* ry; ZU note 84) has been emphasised by the Soviet excavations in Pan ikant confirmed: G. Glaesser in: *East and West* 8 (Z95r). **201 f.**

We had come so far in our conclusions when we were able to analyse the kindness of G. Frumkin's a communication from the "Tribune de Geneve" of 8 March 59. Frumkin had still in: *Etudes Asiatiques* Iz ('957/ ), 83 expressed doubts about the correctness of the previously stated view, insofar as this

referred to the excavations of Pan ikant. Now it says: "Deux orientalistes soviétiques, Wladimir Lifschitz et Olga Smirnova, ont finalement réussi à déchiffrer une vingtaine de manuscrits découverts il y a un quart de siècle dans les ruines d'une forteresse tadjike (it is, as Frumkin rightly surmises, Kalai Mugh [Kal'a-i Mut]). Ces manuscrits, dating from the huitième siècle de notre ère, faisaient partie d'une correspondance entre un seigneur de Sogdiane et ses agents.

According to Radio-Moscow, which reports this information, these documents ,apportent une lumière nouvelle sur la question de la religion qui était pratiquée en Sogdiane au début du huitième siècle'.

'They clearly show,' says Radio-Moscou, 'that the pre-eminent religion was Zoroastrianism and not Bouddhism or Manichism, as certain savants have said'.

Frumkin adds that Zarathustrianism was probably more widespread throughout the Transoxanian country than some archaeologists searching for Graeco-Buddhism have assumed.

The mention of Rustam also fits into this picture. It is not the oldest known. Nevertheless, our message has, as one may say, far-reaching significance.

It has been noted that the novel by Bahräm Üöbin already knows the heroic saga in the form in which it is found in Firdausi (Th. Nöldeke, *Übers.* 221 note z). The oldest version of this novel is found in Dinawari: it dates to the middle of the 2nd century or later (Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat* Z, 215f.; **222** ; 225f.). Perhaps a conclusion can be drawn to the time of the events described therein. Especially since such a is supported by other information.

In Dinawari 82, ZOf., Bahrām Čöbin refers to Rustam's example, opposite Hormizd IV and before the Turkish war. Rustam, Sasanian imperial commander and defeated in the Battle of Kādisiya ǝ37. was the son of Spāhbe6 of Chorāsān ( abari, ann. i, io65, 3 ; IZ f.). He bears the name of the legendary hero, as a Persian of the 6th century also called himself after Rustam's son Sohrāb (Th. Nöldeke, Ubers. 346 note i). An-Nadr b. al-IJārit, a contemporary of Mohammed, told the stories of the kings of Persia in Mecca, also of the strong Rustam and of Isfendiyā6 (Ibn Hišām >35. 13f.). An-Nadr had been in Íjlira and called

refers to old books, i.e. to written tradition (Ibn Hišām -35. I5)

He aroused the wrath of the prophet, whom he deprived of listeners with his fabulism (for which the victor of Badr then took revenge: Th. Nöldeke, Delect. veter. carm. arab. 62, Q with further details). The Soghdian fragment of a Rustam narrative has also been found in a manuscript of the 2nd century, i.e. from the time of our events (H.Rei- chelt, Soghdische Handschriftenreste im Britischen Museum z, 6z). In

older time, the Rustam mural on the Kuh-i Khwadscha (A. Stein, Innermost Asia z, Qi6) goes up.

The battle between Rustam and Sohrāb provided the model for the Old High German Hildebrandslied, the battle **between** Hildebrand and Hadubrand, father and son (G. Baesecke, **Das**

Hildebrandslied 5- 11nd in: Nachr. Gött. Gesellsch. WiSS. 194 . \*39 ) Hildebrand and Hadubrand admittedly bear names of Longobard coinage,

But the Old Norse song of the Battle of the Huns shows that these do not represent the original. There the old Gothic \Vaffenmeister is called Gizurr Grýtingaliði, and this epithet can only have been coined by Gothic poetry (H. de Boor in: Zeitschr. f. German Philology so, 191f;

New Year's Journal Literar. Gesellsch. Bern 9, . 3f.). It is derived from the name of the Greutungen, i.e. the Ostrogoths. It would, it has been said, a Middle High German *der Griutunge trösl*, xvie Hagen *der Nibelunge tröst*.

Our passage provides the missing link. Up to now, it has been possible to ask whether the Huns or the Ossetians (Alans) were the source of the legend of the south

Russian Goths (F. Altheim, Attila und die Hunnen -39) After the legend is established in the once Hephthälite area,

there can be no doubt that from the mother people in north-east Iran the tragic battle between father and son was brought to south Iran by the Huns.

Russia and thus to the Goths. Tarḫīn's statement in Tabari, the Soghdian fragment of Rustam and the fragment 6 of Khorasan join together. In addition, Ibn Hurdābeh's testimony that Sohrāb is a Turkish title should be cited. He mentions it alongside Tarḫān, Nezak and Öfirak, which is yet to be named, all of which are found among the Hephthalites (ii, x f. de Goeje).

Tabari, ann. z, i I54. iz f. de Goeje.

"The barbarians (the I -53. -4 named Hephthalites, Tibetans and Turks) came against them to fight, and their king stopped on a hill with IO Ooo in the best forest. **Mūsā** said: 'If you makes these soft, then the others mean nothing'. Hurait b. Kotba attacked them and fought with them in the first half of the day. Kotba and fought with them in the first half of the day, and he (the king) harassed them until they made them leave the hill. At that time Hurait was struck in the forehead by an arrow, and they desisted from fighting. Then Mfizah came against them (the enemies) by night, and his brother IJezim b. 'Abdillah b. Hāzim, until he reached the waxlight of their king. He pierced one of them with the hilt of his sword, knocked down his horse and carried him away (the man or the king?). He threw him into the river of Balch, and he (the person in question) was submerged, since he was wearing two suits of armour. He (Hāzim) killed the barbarians in swift slaying, and those who escaped escaped with damage. He died (--55, z de Goeje) Ijirait b. Kotba after two days and was laid out in his tent."

Explanation. The battle for the hill as a key strategic position corresponds to what is known of the opening battle of the Catalaunian battle: Iordan., Get. It)8 ; zoof. - Strangely enough, R. Ghirshman, **Les Chionites-Hephthalites ioz**, speaks of an "armée composée de **Turcs**, d'Hephthalites et de Persans" and allows them (who are not mentioned!) to participate out of hope for a restoration of the Sasanid Pērōz.

Tabari, ann. z, I I/8, -5 . de Goeje.

"In this year (86/2o3) Kutaiba b. Muslim came to Khorasan as a ruler in Khorasan on the part of al-i;laggäg". Once again, from the surrounding account, which extends up to Kutaiba's death, those pieces are singled out which report on the conditions in the former Hephthalite areas.

abari, ann. z, **ii8ž**, 5 f. de Goeje.

"It was said that before Kutaiba crossed the river in that year (86/2 5), he was in the neighbourhood of Balch because some there had risen up against him and declared war on the Muslims.

He (Kutaiba) fought with its (Balch's) inhabitants, and among those he captured was the wife of Barmak Abfi Hälid b. Barmak. But Barmak presided over Naubehār, and she went to 'Abdullah b. Muslim, who was called at-/ağir, the brother of Kutaiba b. Muslim. He joined her, although he was suffering from a disease similar to elephantiasis. Thereupon the people of Balch made peace from the day after Kutaiba had fought with them. He ordered Kutaiba to return the prisoners. Then Barmak's wife said to 'Abdullah b. Muslim: 'O Arab, I have become pregnant from you', and death approached 'Abdullah b. Muslim. He declared in his will that what she had conceived came from him, and she was returned to Barmak."

Explanation. On the Naubehār in Balch vg1. B. Spuler, a. 0. zi8 with references in note 2; De Lacy O'Leary, How Greek Science passed to the Arabs (igA8) tag. The fact that Buchārā narh is mentioned in a similar stüpa on the basis of a Uighur form has since been settled: F. Altheim, *Ans Spätantike und Christentum* (Ig3z) I I Z f. ; Alt-heim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat I*, 227 nm. z ; otherwise R.N. Frye in :

Harvard Journ. Asiat. studies 19 (Z956), zo6f. ; in contrast Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* 366 f. - On /āzi ii8i, iz cf. M. J. de Goeje in *Glossary CXLVII*, see P. Horn, *Grundriß der neupersischen Etymologie* (-93) 8i f. N. 362.

About the origin of the name Barmak vg1. H. W. Bailey in: BSOS i i (-943 I Að), z. It is incorrect when B. Spuler, a. 0. IgO, for the claimed Zarathustrian origin of the Barmakids refers to Mas'fidi, mōrtit

4. 49. Mas'üdi describes the Naubehār as founded by Manúčihir in Balch (47. -xt. Barbier) and as a sanctuary of the moon, just as he describes the **Kāūsān** in Fer yāna as founded by Kāfis and consecrated to the sun (5-. '). The story of the silken flags (48, 2f.) takes the

awestische ðdxðiin *srirqm ørø buiä. drařšqm* Vend. i, 6, which in turn has its counterpart in the city name Drapsaka (F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens i, i g h t*, z62 ; about *bāz bim* ibid. 88f.). However, 49, . i.e. at the point cited by Spuler, an inscription of the **Büdäsf** er-

(they and their Arabic correction a l l u d e to the fall of the Barmaçids). And **Būdāsf** would then be none other than Buddha, for which G. Flügel zum Fihrist i. 34s. \*3 ( z, z8o of his edition).

Of course, it must be noted that Buddha inn Fihrist i. 3 p.- . 347. is called *at-budd*. In view of uigur. *bodisamat*, soghd. *pmbsl/3* (A. v. Gabain, Alttürk. Gramm.° 304 ) only skr. *bodhisattua* can be meant by *b dds/* (further readings of z63,9; 3 5, zo; zi).

abai, ann. 2, 1184, 61. de Goeje.

"In that year (82J2o6) Nēzak came to Kutaiba, and Kutaiba made peace with the people of Bā 6yēs on condition that Kutaiba did not come there. Mention of the news about it. It has mentioned 'Ali b. Muhammad that Abfi l-Ijāsān al-Ġušami reported to her from some of the elders of the people of Khorasan and from Ćiabalā b. Farrūh of Muhammad b. al-Mu annā that Nēzak Tarchan had in his power captives from the Muslims. Kutaiba wrote to her, when he had concluded the treaty with the king of Šūmān (north of Čayāniyān), about the Muslim prisoners he (Nēzak) had in his power, that he would release them by frightening him (Nēzak) in his letter. He (Nēzak) feared him and released the prisoners and sent them to Kutaiba. Kutaiba sent to her Sulaim an-Nā ih, freedman 'Ubaidu l-lāh'sb. Abi Bakra, who urged him (Nēzak) to make peace and to trust her ... (IZ 5, 5 de Goeje) Then Nēzak can go with Sulaim to Kutaiba. The people of Bā 6yēs made peace with her (Kutaiba) in the year 82 (2o6) on the condition that he would not come to Bā 6yēs."

abari, ann. 2, Z 5 . i8 f. de Goeje.

"It was mentioned by 'Ali b. Mohammed that Abfi D\_aiyāl told her about al-Muhallab b. lyās (ii86, i de Goeje) from his father of Ijūsain b. Muġāhid ar-Rāzi and Hārīn b.'Isā from Yūnus b. Abi Ishāk and others that Kutaiba, having made peace with Nēzak, remained until the time of the campaign. Then he took to the field in that year, the year \*7 (2o6), against Paikand (south-west of Bukhara, north-east of Amul). He set out from Merw(-i Sāhiyān) and can go to Merw-i Rō6. Then he kani to Amul, then he went to Zamm. He crossed the river (Oxos) and went to Paikand, and this is the next town by Bukhara towards the river, which is called the city of merchants, at the beginning of the desert of

Bukhara. After he (Kutaiba) had descended in their (the Soghders') neighbourhood, the Soghders asked their neighbours for help and support. They came to them in large numbers and occupied the road. Not one of Kutaiba's messengers got through, and not one messenger reached him, and not one message reached him for two months. His (Kutaiba's) message to al-Haggäg was delayed, and al-Ijia ä was concerned about the army and ordered the invocation of God in the mosques for his sake ... (xz86, ii) He said: Cutaiba had a scout who was called *tndr* by the barbarians. The people of Bukhara gave him the highest amount of money on the condition that he keep Kutaiba away from them." This is followed by the discovery and execution of the

man on the part of Kutaiba. (z182. 9 de Goeje) "Then they went to battle and met each other, and the swords set to their work, and God sent perseverance to the Muslims, and they

fought them (the enemies) until the sun sank. Then God gave the Muslims their backs (cf. Glossary CDXLVII), and they fled, striving for the city. The Muslims followed them and prevented them from entering. They (the enemies) dispersed, and the Muslims attacked them, killing and capturing them as they wished. Those who had entered the city defended themselves in the city, and they were few. So Kutaiba sent the labourers (al-/a'a/a) to its (the city's) core to destroy it. They (the Yer defenders of Paikand) asked for peace, and he (Kutaiba) made peace with them and appointed as 'ö "iif over them a man from the banü Kutaiba. He departed from them, wishing to return. But after he had travelled a day or two and was about five parasangs away from them, they broke the treaty and betrayed the trust. They killed the '*dinif*' and his comrades and mutilated their noses and ears. The news reached Kutaiba and he returned to them. They (the people of Paikand) had entrenched themselves and he fought with them (the Muslims) for a month. Then he sent the labourers to the heart of the city and they set fire to it with wood, and he (Kutaiba) wished (z188, I de Goeje) that when the setting of the fire there was finished, the wood would burn and it (the city) would be destroyed. It collapsed

the wall by setting it on fire and killed 4 of the labourers. They (the defenders) wanted peace, and he (Kutaiba) refused and

fought with them and seized it (the city) by force and killed all the fighters in it. It was among those they had in the city



a one-eyed man who had brought the Turkish army together against the Muslims. He said to Kutaiba: 'I will redeem myself'. Then Sulaim an-Nā ih said to him: 'What will you give? He said:

.500o piece of Chinese silk, the value of which is i oooooo (dirhem)'. It Kutaiba said (to his comrades) : 'What do you think? They said: 'We think that his ransom is an increase in the spoils of the Muslims, and it cannot be that he comes to it (his offer) with fraudulent intent. He (Kutaiba) said: 'No, by God, never shall a Muslim woman please you!' and he ordered him to be killed. It said 'Ali: it said Abū D\_aisyāl from al-Muhallab b. Iyās from his father and al-Hasan b. Rušaid of ufail b. Mirdās that when Kutaiba conquered Paikand, they captured there innumerable vessels of gold and silver. They were overseers of the spoils and the distribution of 'Abdullah b. Wa'lān a1-'Adawi, one of the back Malakān, and Kutaiba used to call him the Faithful, son of the Faithful, and Iyās b. Baihas al-Bāhili. Both melted down the vessels and the idols. They brought it (the melted) to Kutaiba and brought to her the dross of what they had melted, and he gave it (the dross) to both of them, and both of them were given it as a gift, as

it would be 4 000 (Dirhem). Both gave her an account, and he repeated (what he had said) and ordered both of them to melt it (the dross). There They melted them, and out came -5 000 (Dirhem) *mi ġāl* or 5 (Dirhem) *tii ġōf*. They took a lot of booty in Paikand, and it came into (-\* 9, i de Goeje) the hands of the Muslims from Paikand, the like of which they took in Chorāsān had not made. Kutaiba returned to Merw, and

The Muslims were strong and bought weapons and horses (both new), and the animals were driven to them. They craved the beauty of appearance and equipment and exaggerated the price of weapons until a lance came to 2o (dirhem). It said al-Kumait:

'By the day of Paikand! His deeds are not honoured, while  
Buchārā does not belong to that which lacks the honoured.

There were plenty of weapons and equipment for the war in the treasuries. Kutaiba wrote to al-JJaġġāġ asking him for permission to give these weapons to the army. He gave them permission, and they brought out what was in the treasuries of equipment for war and equipment for the (caravan) journey, and he (Kutaiba) distributed it among the people, and they equipped themselves. After the days of Rabi' had come,

he (Kutaiba) called the people and said: 'Behold, I will lead you to war before you have need to carry travelling provisions, and I will set you in motion (R. Dozy, Supplément z, \*9°7. /16 tia afa

**VIII-III)**, before you are in need of warmth' (before the coming of the cold season). He set out with good equipment of mounts and weapons and came to Ämu1. Then he crossed over from Zamm towards Bukhaera and came to Nümuska#, which belongs to Bukhaera, and they (the people of Niimuskaß) made peace with him."

Explanation. The events belong to the year 82/206. B. Spuler has discussed individual details of the text: a. O. zig Anna. z (Burning of the idols, theft of treasures) : 3-z note 2 (installation of the "in ) : 4°4 Note x (offer of Chinese silks worth i 00000 dirhams for release) : 4t)8 (demolition of the city wall by heat). But this by no means sums up the significance of our report. exhausted.

The inhabitants of Paikand are Soghders, and they are connected with Kutaiba's scout ('aiii), whom the barbarians, i.e. probably the Soghders, call *tnpr*. Thus the word C and B; P gives *tyd\_r* or *yld\_r*, IA *tndr* and Ibn Nobäta, len a/'uyiin ioo *bndr*. In other words, you have to abandon the punctuation and find your own way. The basis is *hydr*, i.e. a Soghdian -Qyd'r (with plene written a), to avest. \**dar-*, Old Ind. *ädri yale* "respects, observes". Avestic would be \**aiwi. dara-*, for which Neupers. *bidär* "alert, vigilant". The meaning is appropriate for a scout. Next to the Soghders appear the Turks, be they Western Turks from Feryäna or Hephthalites. They will be meant by the neighbours who block all roads. They also try z,IO8o, i6f. the way home I; lurait's b. Kotba of Kiéé are therefore more likely to be Hephthalites. Presumably they also provided the army and the defenders of Paikand. On the other hand, Soghdian merchants will have made the two peace offers, just as the silk merchant who wants to buy his freedom is not a Turk but a Soghdian.

The importance of Paikand as the centre of trade is evident everywhere. The merchants play the most important role, as *madinalu t-tu;fj;fär* 1186, 5 shows. The merchant was also valued in Samarkand: Chavannes i, -34 In Tabari, ann. 2, Idßd, 8, the "kings and merchants of the eastern regions" are mentioned side by side, i.e. approximately the same Ranges. Paikand is the transshipment centre for caravans travelling through the desert,

on the edge of which the city lies, to Chwārezm and further west. ( about relations with China vgl. R. N. Frye, The History of Bukhara

- i : \*33 Note -75 The merchandise is, albeit hardly exclusively, Chinese silk, which is sold in standardised bales (hence those 5 000 pieces; vgl.

A. Stein, On Ancient Central-Asia Tracks -3 ; Hirth Anniversary Volume 368). A bale is valued at 200 dirhams, i.e. 200, 40 gold francs. The Chinese sources recognise imperial gifts of 5 , 200, 5 000, to 1000 and 100000 pieces of silk: Chavannes i. -3: 39 (flowered) ; 20; z, = \*403. 4011 Naubehār in Balch flew flags of green silk, each of which was 200 cubits long (Mas'ūdī, *nnir-'Ā*4. 4 . 7 Barbier). On Mount Mui (Tadzhikistan), silk remnants were found in large quantities.

Tah1 were found, including brocade. They belong to the 2nd and the beginning of the 8th century (Trudy Tadžiskoj archeologičeskoj ekspedicii 3, \*93 372f.; 38i fig. 2).

It is worth mentioning that Attila's body is laid out under Chinese silk in the land on the Tisza (Priskos bei Jordan., *Get.*, \*56: *in/ra fōii/uria sirica* \*; the European Huns thus remained in trade relations with the Hephthalite mother-folk". The fact that on the Hephthalite and Soghdian side the connection with Khwārezm and southern Russia was cultivated was all the more obvious as the silk coming from Sogdia could sometimes not be sold within the Sasanian Empire (Menander in: *Exc. de legat.* 4s . 3 4si, it de Boor). The mention of brocade from Merw, Köhistān and Herāt ( *abRri*, ann. Z, 1 36, 3 f.) shows that the imported silk was re-spun and used to produce the incomparably more precious *dibāğ* was used.

The trade caravans that came over from China first travelled to Choğend. There was always a large number of merchants there.

(*luğğār*, as abari, ann. z. \*44a, 8 and -445. Z4 - both belonging to the year 20AJ2zz-ÿ23 - show. The caravans themselves were numerous in number and carried great values, as the last cited passage

says. It speaks of 400 merchants who had a lot of property with them and who had come from China. However, this meant the entrepreneurs alone. In addition to their *zalil*, there was also that of their employees,

\* On the name of silk F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens i* ( 947), 63 f. To be traced, Syr. *iēñyē* "Serer" in Bardesanes, *de fato* z6 p s83 Nau. To *toch. A iardl* differently H. W. Bailey in: BSOS. \*3. 39+

° The path that was taken will not have differed from that of the envoy Zemarchus (Menander in : *Exc. de legat.* a § 2, 29-'i'.3 de Boor).

of the camel drivers and the armed escorts of the same name.

The wealth of the trading town of Paikand can only be surmised, not calculated. A single merchant offered a ransom of 1 000 000 dirhams, i.e. 60z 000 gold francs. The slag of the melted down gold and silver jewellery is said to yield either 150000 or 5 000 dirhem i'ii1 df, i.e. 1zQ 000 or 43000 gold frai\*cs. The merchant lords also stored weapons, war equipment and gear for the caravan journeys in their treasure houses. Everything was needed to equip the caravans.

wans and their armed escorts. This is reminiscent of the Ahabis, who served the merchants of Mecca in the same way. The weapons of the Ababis also came from the armouries of the Kurais (Ka'b b. Mälik in Ibn Hisäm 6\*3, IQ f. Wüstenfeld). On the question see H. Lammens in : Journ. asiat. 1916, 2, 423f.; L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire 232 f. and the corrections in W. M. Watt, Muhammed at Mecca -54

and in Mohammed i;Iamidullah in : Studi Orientalistici in onore di G. Levi Della Vida i (-956), 434 f. The Chinese sources report: "(Cc pays) possede ... plus de mille petits postes fortifiés; on y enröle les hommes braves et ro- bustes pour former (le corps de) *Icho-Aie*; l'expression *fsçÄo-lie* est l'equi- valant de l'expression chinois 'combattants' ". Together with the an

The "caravanes de marchands" mentioned in the same place (Chavannes i, \*37) are believed to be consistent. It is explicitly stated that the Khwarezmian merchants assembled their caravans from oclisen wagons (Chavannes I, 145). In the case of weapons, one can also assume that chain mail (Chavannes i, -36) was produced in the country. Among the spoils, the most valuable for the Bluslim, as J. Wellhausen (Das arabische Reich zu) had already surmised, were such armoured shirts, of which only 350 were available in the Arab world at the time (ii80, -5) The importance of procuring such armour had already become apparent during Mohamed's efforts to establish a superior cavalry:

Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike --3 Now the wall paintings of Pan ikant have shown that the Soghdian horsemen had at their disposal a long, sleek "caltan cuirass" with an upward-pointing

was occupied by scales. In addition Zivopiss drewnego PjandZikenta (19541 Pl. XXV; G. Glaesser, East and West 8 (\*957). -xi3 Fig. ;

A. v. Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens fig 46; 49 5\*; 61.

abari, ann. z, Z194. I4f. de Goeje.

"In this year (88J2o2) Kutaiba made a campaign against Nûmuška# and Râmi#an. Mention of the news of what is known about this campaign of his. It was mentioned by 'Ali b. Muhammad that al-Mufaddal b. Muhammad reported to him from his father (i -95. i de Goeje) and from Mu 'ab b. Ij'aiyân of one of their freedmen who had been that had seen that Kutaiba made a move against Nûmuška# in the year 88 (2o2). He appointed Baššār b. Muslim as his deputy in Merw, and his (Merw's) people came to meet him and he concluded a treaty with them.

Then he (Kutaiba) went to Râmißan, and his (Râmißan's) people made peace with him. He moved on from them, and the Turks advanced against him and with them the Soghders and the people of Feryāna. They opposed the Muslims on their way and reached 'Abdurrahman

b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, who was at the head of the rearguard, with a mile (igry, 60 metres) between him and Kutaiba and the head of the army. After they (the enemies) had approached him, he sent a messenger to Kutaiba to inform him. The Turks came upon him ('Abdurrahman) and fought with him, and the messenger came to Kutaiba and he returned with the people. He came to 'Abdurrahman while he was fighting with them (the Turks) and the Turks almost prevailed over them. When the people saw Kutaiba, they were of good courage and steadfast and fought with them (the Turks) until noon. And Nēzak fought valiantly that day, and he was with Kutaiba. God put the Turks to flight and dispersed their mass. Kutaiba returned, striving for Merw, and crossed the river at Tirni6, intending (first) to go to Balch. The Bāhilites said: "The Turks met the Muslims, at their (the Turks') head Kōrba-ātūr the Tīrke, son of the sister of the emperor of China, with zooooo, and God gave the Muslims victory over them".

Explanation. on the Bāhilites (Kutaiba's tribe) H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquests* i3; R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* i35 Arim. i8I ; J Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich* z62. - Of the manuscripts have iiq3, i3 P *bmrbg'nmm*, B for *b'nien*. Further information is provided by I. Guidi in Adnot. h, aurh suggestions for reading here and in the Addenda et Emendanda II p. DCLXXXII. Lastly, R. N. Frve. a. 0. i 5,3 f. has compiled all that is attainable. Arim. i78. The second part of the name is

*ba/ātur*, the reading and meaning of which we have corrected from W. B. Henning (in K. H. Menges in: Byzantion zi.94) in: Ein asiatischer Staat Z, 2ÿ8 í ; see above í, zz note -5; 42 f.: 4°z. On the spelling ðayd/ørR. N.

Frye, a. 0. 134. with further details. for written with Käf, not Käf, must belong to Old Turkish èör- "to see, to look at". Comparable names are

G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica z'. -55: -' -75 . on. KiJpiy?;p is \**käre-är* "Man of beauty" (*bärb, börg'*. KQptzšty may be called \**kär-it-fi*

"one who is to be considered" or "will be considered", with the deverbal

Suífixes -°f and -ii: A. v. Gabain, Alttürkische Grammatik° 3 î s and ZI5f. § zaz. KupzoQxzou will accordingly be \*èör-to Edu, i.e.

"one who was born beautiful". For Air-ðeydfør(-it) the meaning is: "a hero to behold, a beautiful, handsome hero".

"Les hommes de ce pays sont de grande taille; ils sont habiles aux combats et aux luttes" : Chavannes i, i4o.

Both reports show that the Turks had considerable superiority. Kutaiba's enterprise undoubtedly failed. via B. Spu- ler, a. 0. 3 . weüter below.

The name form fidini atífi I Z£)s. 3 and elsewhere stands next to Rāmišan *wieargä--* \*9 , 8 next to Aargdii i Ig8, it (twice in Nahār's verse b. Tausi'a). Other forms in R. N. Frye, op. O. i i6 note 8o.

It is noteworthy that Kōrbayātur is the son of the emperor's sister of China. On this see R.N. Frye, a. 0. \*3s nm. - 9, where, however, important points are overlooked. The relationship of the Soghders to Chiua begins with the old Soghdian letters (W.B. Henning in: BSOS iz, iQ48, 6oi 1.Í and extend to the Chinese documents found in the archives of Mount Muy. The Sogdians were referred to as 'China' (*sin*) by Arab authors for a time, which was prompted by the fact that in the

6th century a Chinese overlordship seems to have existed;

Details can be found in H.-W. Haussig in : Byzantion -3 (\*953). °79: 335 note xt)2 ; 3 O; 390. \Probably *Kōrbayātur* already belonged to the Northern Turks, whose appearance has been established since the beginning of the 6th century: Chavannes i, 238 f. This would explain why, in addition to the people of Feryānā,

i.e. the Western Turks, the 'Turks' are listed separately. They are the northern Turks.

abari, ann. z, z ig , 3 . de Goeje.

"In this year (\*9/7 ) Kutaiba undertook a military campaign against Bukhaera and conquered Raizhan. It has mentioned 'Ali b. Mohammed of

the Bähilites that they had said this and that Kutaiba returned after he had conquered it (Rämissan) on the way to Balch. When he was in Paryaeb, a letter came to him from al-Haggä: 'Advance against Vardän Chu6äh!' Then Cutaiba turned back in the year 9 (2o8) and came to Zamm. He crossed the river, and he was met by the Soghder and the people of Kiés and Naclisab on their way through the desert. They fought with him, and he prevailed over them and moved on towards Bukhara. He stopped at Harkäna, the lower one, on the right of Wardän (the town). They (the enemies) met him (Kutaiba) with great force, and he fought with them for two days and two nights. Then God gave him victory over them. Nahär b. Tausi'a said: 'They came upon them from us in iJarkän one night, but our night was longer in Harkän'. He said 'Ali: Abü Daiyä of al-Muhallab b. Iyäs and Abü I-'Alä' of (i igg, i de Goeje) Idris b. i;lanzala reported to us that Kutaiba undertook a military campaign against Vardän Chu fiäh, king of Bukhara, in the year 8Q (2o8). But he did not succeed, and he did not seize any part of the country. He returned to ßlerw and wrote to al-IJag ä about it, and al-IJaggäg wrote to him: 'Draw it (Bukhara) for me! So he sent him its drawing (plan or map). Then al-tja äg wrote to him: 'Return to the object of your endeavour (*res gvaesita* Glossary CCLXXI II), then repent to God for what concerns you, and come there (to Bukharaeen) from that place! It is said: al-Ha äg wrote to him: 'Damage Kiss (*to öi-lissa*), and destroy Nachsab *Jura-nsi| nasaJa!*), and advance towards Vardän (*ca-rid uiardäna* , and beware of the enclosure, and leave me alone with the byways of the road!"

Explanation. R. Spuler, a. 0. zgf., thinks that the attack on Bukhaera, which led to its conquest, took place "after the Trans-Oxanian territory north of Tirmi fi had been occupied in 2o2 (88 H.)". In addition, in note i : Tabari, ann. i, ZI8Q f. ; I Z£)z[-II£)/ ; I Zt)8 f. are cited. Spuler has not read carefully, for xI 9, *ca-lam ya;far mina I-baladi bi-Iai'in* is clear. Also, Nfimuska#, with whom zI 9, Z3 is at peace was again on the other side (i -95. -), and the extent to which Rämi#an could have been retained after the failure against Wardän Chu 6äh remains an open question.

Moreover, al-i;faggä 's letters speak clearly enough.

On Nahär b. Tausi'a, see J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich* z2z note z. - For Wardän, Spuler, a. 0. 3 note z, to F. Justi,

' To write like that, even though Guidi put *nasafan* in the text.

Iranisches Namenbuch 353 (cf. 346 under Wälän) and A. Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides° son. One may leave aside the equation with Neupers. räfdti. Undoubtedly, R.N. Frye, The History of Bukhara i ii note 41, is right when he distinguishes Wardän Chu 6äh from the place Wardän (R. N. Frye, a. O. i6; ZI6 note 23). The "rose city" (to soghd. wr6 "rose") occurs in Tabari himself IiQ8, 8, and anyone who has not noticed this has hardly translated the passage correctly. Also i tig, 6 *rid mardäna* (next to **Kiss** and Nachsab) must, in contrast to Iig8, 6 *rid uiardäna jud\_äh*, mean the place, not the man. Here, too, it is a ruler-name after the place or tribe. *Bujärä j-éa!* \*°30, ifi is the counterpart; see J Wellhausen, Das arabische Reich 268 Anm. z.

The instruction al-1jaggä 'S 1199, f. is interpreted by J Wellhausen, l.c. z7-. O. z7- as follows: "urged by Haggag, who sent himself a map of the area and drafted the war plan". - *Bunai yälu* 1-1ari "The small roads that branch off from the main road" : E. W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon I, I (i863), e6i.

TabaM, ann. 2, I20I, jf. de Goeje.

"In it (the year goJ2og) Kutaiba conquered Bukhara and put to flight all the enemies there. Mention of the news about it. It was mentioned by 'Ali b. Muhammad that Abü Daiyäl reported to him from al-Muhallab b. Iyäs, and Abü 1-'Alä' from Idris b. Jlangala that the letter of al-iija ä 's, when he reached Kutaiba, had ordered him to repent for his repentance before Wardän Chu 6äh, king of Bukhaera, before he had defeated him, and (ordered) the return against him. (Further,) that he (al-Jaggäg's letter) had indicated to him (Ku- taiba) the place from which it would be easy for him (Kutaiba) to enter his (Wardän Chu 6äh's) country. It went out Kutaiba in towards Bukhara in the year 9 (log) for a military campaign. Then Vardän Chu sent 6äh to the Soghdians and Turks and those around them, by asking them (Vardän Chu 6äh's people) for help, and they came to them. But Kutaiba had arrived there (in front of Bukhara) and had shut them (the people of Bukhara) in. But when their auxiliaries (Soghder, Turks and their comrades) came to them, they (the Muslims) went out against them (the auxiliaries) to fight them. Al-Azd said: 'Leave it to us to open the attack, and leave to us the care of fighting them (the enemies) !' He said to Kutaiba: "Go ahead!" and they went ahead to fight them, and Kutaiba sat there, a yellow



outer garment over his armour. They (the Azd) held out for a long time. Then the Muslims turned to flee, and they attacked the pagans and threw them until they entered Kutaiba's camp. They rushed through until the women struck the front of the horses (of the enemy) and wept. Then they (the Muslims) attacked again, returning (from their flight). The two wings of the Muslims gathered against the Turks and they (the Muslims) fought with them until they drove them (**izO2**, i de Goeje) back to their position. The Turks were standing on a hill."

The following are the exploits of the *banû* Tamim and the *ðaoti* Kurai'. (-\* 3. \*zf.) "Châqân and his son were wounded that day. Kutaiba returned to Merw."

Explanation. B. Spuler, a. 0. 3 , interprets the processes as follows: "The call for help from Prince Vardânhudâh of Buhârâ to the eastern Soghders and the Turks came too late for them to reinforce the garrison of the city; on the contrary, the Soghders agreed to a treaty with the Muslims on hearing that the defenders had failed". Indeed, Buchârâ was surrounded before help arrived from the Turks, Soghdians and their comrades. They form a relief army that tries to break the siege ring softly. The garrison of the city, on the other hand, remains calm and does not take part in the battle, the main burden of which is borne by the Western Turks under their Châqân. The translation attempts to take account of the situation described. After the attempted escape has been repulsed, arhîin, king of the Soghians, concludes the treaty that Buchârâ signed. From this it can be seen that Wardân Chu 6âh has arhîin as his overlord and that his treaty with Kutaiba also includes the city of the subordinate ruler. J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich zòg f.*, had seen the political conditions correctly; in Spuler one misses a clarifying remark on this as well.

abari, ann. z, izoA, Af. de Goeje.

"In this year (9 /2og) Kutaiba renewed the peace between himself and arhfin, king of the Soghders. Mention of the news of this. It 'Ali said: Abû s-Sari al-Marwazi of al-Ĝahm al-Bâhili testified. He said: After Kutaiba had victoriously attacked the people of

The Soghdians feared him, and he had broken all of them. Then Tarbün, king of the Soghdians, came again, and with him knights, until they stopped near Kutaiba's camp, and between them was the river of Bukhara. He (Tarhfin) asked that he (Kutaiba) send him a man to whom he could address the word. Kutaiba ordered a man to approach him (Tarhfin). As for the Bähilites, they say: Tarhiin called to him IJaiyän an-Nabati. He came to him, and he (Tarbiin) asked them (the Muslims) for peace in return for a ransom that he would pay them. Kutaiba agreed to what he (Tarhun) wanted and made peace with him and took pledges from him until he sent him what he had become one with him about. Tarhün returned to his country, and Kutaiba returned, and with him Nezak."

Explanation. On the river of Bukhara, the Zarafsän, see J Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich* z68. - On iJaiyän an-Nabati see R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* z34 f. Note z80. -

Nezak's subsequent uprising in the same year (**izO2**, Ib-izo4, IG) and his downfall gi/2io (x2Z8, i-izz2, )) has recently been treated several times: B. G. Gafurow, *Istoriya tad2iskogo naroda i* (xQqq), i38 f. ; A(kdes) N(emet) Kurat in: *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Üniversitesi dergisi* 6, 5 (\*948), 395 ; J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (-93) Hof. ; R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites* ioz f. ; R. Spuler, a. 0. 3 . Apart from the following passage, a translation is not necessary.

The same is true of Kutaiba's enterprise against Khwärezm (\*\*36. I I24I, I). We have dealt with this elsewhere: *Finanz- geschichte der Spätantike* z64f. There you will find our discussion with S. P. Tolstow. B. Spuler's remarks still need a word  
a. 0. 3\*

For Spuler, Tolstow, according to his most recent statement (in : *Vierteljahrs- schrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 4s. 523), is "rich in hypotheses". It deserves to be remarked that this view has only been accepted since our statements are dated. In 1932 Spuler expressed himself differently. It is true that the class struggle claimed by Tolstov was rejected in the Khwärezm of the time (without justification). However, Spuler speaks of "fundamental differences

The author of this book is the Soviet researcher (a. 0. 3- note z), adopts his view of the role of the local Jewry (a. 0. 216 note ii) and the interpretation of the name Churraza 6.

Let us briefly recall our remarks: l.c. z68. The role of the Jews is unproven. Bērūni, Chron. z36, Q Sachau interprets /ğōryh or fğrbh as "taking off the Šāh's" (for the linguistic interpretation: F. Altheim, Literatur und Gesellschaft z, -9s0, 2i2 nm. 3 ). This shows that *ba f'piir* meant Chwārezmšāh, not his brother Churrazā 6 . Spuler's interpretation of tnaJiè hdni *ğird* (\*\*3 . iof.) is discussed in more detail. That this means nothing other than the "King of Chāmgird" has been shown a. 0. z68 f.. At best, W. B. Henning's remark on avest. *gōrø ba-*, altind. *grāa-* in I. Gershevitch in: Asia

Maior N. S. z (igs-). \*4° In Spuler it has become Ğangān, for which variants Ğanfar and Ğigān are available. It could not be

The origin of the name forms could not be determined, and the process by which this time an opponent of Chwārezm- šāh became Chwārezm- šāh himself also remained obscure.

abari, ann. z, 1204. Z8f. de Goeje.

"It has said 'Ali: it has mentioned Abī d-Daiyāl of al-Muhallab b. Iyās and al-Mufaddal ad-Dabbi (Z2\*5. 1) von his father and 'Ali b. Muğāhid and Kulaib b. HalaJ a1-'Ammi: Everyone has mentioned something, and I

and the Bāhilites have mentioned something, and I have added it to the news of those (previously mentioned) and have linked it - that Kutaiba went away from Bukhara with Nēzak. At that time he (Nēzak) was frightened by what he had seen of the conquests, and he feared Kutaiba. So he (Nēzak) said to his comrades and his entourage: 'I am suspicious (when I am) with her, and I do not trust her. It is so that the Arab is like a dog. If you hit it, it barks, and if you give it food, it wags and follows you, and if you fight it and then give it something, it is satisfied and forgets what you did to it. - It had fought him (Kutaiba) arhfin several times, but when he ( arbiin) offered her (Kutaiba) a ransom, he (Kutaiba) accepted it and was satisfied. - He is quick to act and unpredictable and if I asked his permission and returned home, it would be right. Then they (Nēzak's comrades) said: 'Ask him for permission', and when Kutaiba was in Ámu1, he (Nēzak) asked him for permission to return to Tochāristān. So he gave her permission. When he (Nēzak) had left his (Kutaiba's) camp, turning towards

Balch, he said to his comrades: 'Speed up the march' and they marched at full speed until they reached the Naubehär. There he dismounted to pray and took it as a good omen. He (Nézak) told his comrades: 'I have no doubt that Kutaiba has repented that we left his camp, contrary to the permission he gave me, and that his messenger will come immediately to al-Mu'ira b.'Abdilläh with the order to arrest me. Therefore, set up an outpost so that he may look out, and if you see the messenger coming through the city and leaving the gate, (then it is good). For he (the messenger) will not reach al-Barükän before we reach Tocharistan. Al-Mu'ira will send a man, but he will not reach us until we have entered the pass to Khulm."

Explanation. On the animal parable i, z3f. and z8of. and above p. Hof. On our passage R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites* g8; iO2 f. ; izo. However, the Naubehär was not plundered in 68, but in 662-663: Baläduri 409 \*1, cf. Tabari, ann. 2, Z2, z f. ; B. Spuler, a. 0. °\*9

Note z. On Balch's condition at the time, see Tabari, ann. z, izo6,

I. Al-Mugira is not in Balch, but in al-Barükän ; only io2J

•s-2z6 Balch was rebuilt and the residence of al-Barükän was moved there (Tabari, ann. -. \*49° . )

Tabari, ann. z, Z22/, 6 f. de Goeje.

"In this year, I mean in the year 9- (BIO), Kutaiba went to battle against Siimän and Kiss and Nachsab for the umpteenth time and made peace with Tarchan (i.e. Tarhfin). Mention of the news about it. It has said 'Ali (follows long Isnäd) ... (i22/, 15 de Goeje). (It is handed down that)

Kai Bistäsbän - and some say: Gustäsbän, king of Üümän, chased away Kutaiba's 'ätni/ and refused the ransom he had agreed with Kutaiba. Kutaiba sent to him 'Aiyäs al-Ganawi. and with him (Z228, I de Goeje) a man from the pious people of Khorasan, both of whom were to admonish the king of Üfimän that he should pay the ransom according to what he had agreed with Kutaiba. They both went into the country, but they (the inhabitants) came out to them both and threw (or: shot) at them. Then the man (of the pious) left, and 'Aiyäs al-Gan(a)wi remained and said: 'Is there a Muslim here? Then a man from the city came and said: 'I am a Muslim, and what do you want? He ('Aiyä\*s) said: 'Will you help me in the war (with the

Unbelievers) help against them ?' He said: "{a.' It said to hern 'Aiyāš: 'Be behind me so that you may protect my back. He stepped behind him ('Aiyās), and it was the name of the man al-Muhallab. He fought against sic (the disbelievers) 'Aiyāš and attacked them, and they fled from himi. Then al-Muhallab turned on 'Aiyāš from behind and killed him, and they ('Aiyāš' opponents) found 60 wounds on her. It filled them with grief that they had killed him, and they said: 'We have killed a brave man. The news (of this) reached Kutaiba. Then he himself set out against them and took the road to Balch. When he got there, he sent his brother 'Abdurrahman first and made 'Amr b. Muslim the 'Suit of Ralch. The king of Öümän was a close friend of ālih b. Muslim, and ŷālib sent a man to hern (the king) to ask him to obey and to assure him of Kutaiba's satisfaction in case he returned to peace. But he (the king) refused. He said to ŷālih's messenger: 'What are you doing to instil fear in Kutaiba, when I am the best of kings at defending a castle? Only try to shoot at its highest point. Act ðiii (namely) the strongest of men in drawing the bow and the strongest of them in shooting. But not even *mst'i* arrow reaches half the height of my castle, and I am not afraid of Kutaiba.' Then Kutaiba set out from Balch and crossed the river. Then he went to Shüman, where its king had entrenched himself, and he brought the siege engines (*al-mağaniğ*) against him and hit his (the king's) castle and broke it. When he (the king) feared that he (Kutaiba) would seize it (the castle) and saw what had come upon him, he gathered his possessions and his jewels and threw them into a well inside the castle, the bottom of which could not be seen. He said: Then he (the king) opened the castle and fell out against them (the Muslims) and fought with them. He was killed, and Kutaiba took the castle by force, killed the fighters and took the children captive. Then he returned (i2\*t), x de Goeje) to the Iron Gate and let (the army) cross over from it to Kišš and Nachšab. He wrote to him al-Ijāğ- ğāğ: 'Harm Kišš and destroy Nachšab (cf. i iQg, 6) and beware of enclosure'. He (Kutaiba) conquered Kišš and Nachšab, and Pàryāb resisted him. So he burnt it and it was called the burnt (city). So Kutaiba sent his brother 'Abdurrahman b. Muslim from Kish and Nakhhab to the Soghdians (and) to arbün ... (\*\*°9. -z de Goeje)

So 'Abdurrahman received from Tarhun some of what Kutaiba had agreed with him (Tarhun), and he (Tarhun) gave him ('Abdurrahman) the pledges that were with him, and 'Abdurrahman returned to Kutaiba, who was in Bukhara ... Then the Soghders said to Tarhfin : 'Behold, you were content to be humble, and you found the *gizya* right, even though you are a great **lord**. We have no need of you'. Then he (Tarhfin) said: 'Then appoint whom you will'. He said: Then they put a Gīrak and captured Tarbūn. Tarhiin said: 'There is nothing after the robbery of kingship but killing. And I would rather that this be done by my hand than that it be done to me by another than I'. He bent over his sword until (i23°. i de Goeje) it came out to his back. He said: They did this with Tarhiin when Kutaiba went out to Sigistān, and put Gfīrak at the head. As for the Ba'ilites, they say: "Kutaiba shut in the king of Sūmān, and he set up against his castle the siege engines, including an engine which he used to call the 'Krunim-legged' (al-/nJ ä') (E. W. Lane, Arabic-Eng-lish Lexicon i, 6, 182J.°3o). He threw the first stone, and he hit the wall. He threw a second one and it fell into the city. Then in The stones were thrown into the city in continuous succession. One of them fell on the king's throne room and hit a man, killing him. Then he (Kutaiba) conquered the castle by force. Then he returned to Kiss and Nach- sab. Then he travelled to Bukhara and stayed in a village where there was a temple of fire and an idol temple. There were peacocks in it, and they called it (the temple of fire or the idol) the dwelling place of peacocks. Then he went to Tarhiin in the (land of) Soghder, so that he might receive from him what he had agreed with him. After he had looked down on the valley of the Soghders and realised its beauty, he used the parable:

'A valley, fertile (and) covered with greenery - constantly repelled from it (the valley)

The fear of the day that brings the dust.

I descended into it (the valley) with swift steeds (E. W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon i. 5. 1874. °Z}O), which are marked by signs, who storm along with tangled-haired, bloodthirsty people'.

He said: He (Cutaiba) took peace with him from Tarhun. Then he returned to Bucliärä and made Bukhärä king.

chuhäh, a young man, and killed whom he feared might be his opponent. Then he took the road to Ämul; then he came to Merw. He said: The Bähilites of Baééär b. 'Amr reported about a man of Bähila. He said: The people did not stop destroying their (the inhabitants of Üfimän) buildings until they (the Bähila) conquered the castle."

Explanation. The names of the king are given in the Addenda DCLXXXIII after the production of J Mark- wart. According to Hüan- tsang, the

King Siimän's "de la race des **Turcs** appelés *Hi-son*" ; see Chavannes i, iQ3f.), i.e. Hephthalites. On the Iron Gate J Wellhausen, Das ara- bische Reich 22i note 3: Chavannes i, i46 All 3 ' \*93

The sections on the deaths of the two Soghdian (Hephthalite) princes, the King of Sfimän and Tarbün, have not yet received the attention they deserve. Their significance lies not so much in **what they say** as in their presentation and form. The two princes represent opposing attitudes. Üümän's king puts up heroic resistance against his overlords, Tarhün remains compliant, as he has always been. Both keep their ways to the end; both pay with their lives and die a manly death, even the compliant Tar{iiin. In all of this lies a historical judgement. The situation vis-à-vis the conqueror was hopeless, the counterpart should say, and the loss of freedom cannot be avoided. The path is marked out for those who want to preserve their inner attitude. This final battle is characterised by a tragedy that encompasses the people and the individual.

Obviously, history is repeating itself. Once before, the Sogdians had to defend themselves against an overpowering fate. What had characterised the fight for freedom against Alexander the Great corresponded to what happened against the Muslims. Even back then, cities were known to have defended themselves against the Macedonian conqueror with the courage of their convictions.

and to the bitter end (Arrian., an. q, 3. 3: Curt. 2, 6, zz). In addition, the great lords possessed their seemingly impregnable,

sky-high castles, usually described as wizpo (Arrian. 4. >Z. Z find z). There was a rock in the Sogdiane (Arrian. 4. 18, 4), and Cho- rienes called the castle in the Paraitakene his own (Arrian. §, 21, z).

These men also knew how to die bravely (Curt. 7. 4. 33f.), and their followers were not afraid to follow them (Curt. 2, io, ff.).

For further details see F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens I* (ipl2), I2of. ; \*74: 3-

Motifs from a great saga play a role everywhere. It provides the model for the behaviour of later generations. There is the case of 'Aiyäš', who dies covered with 60 wounds, betrayed by a fellow believer. The atrocity, neither instigated nor carried out by the king, does not yet put him in a hopeless situation. But fate "makes him guilty and then leaves him to his **torment**". It is in keeping with the tragic mood, and part of it is that the king's treasure, like the Nibelung's hoard, is sunk into the depths so that it does not fall prey to the greed of the victors.

The King of Súmān prides himself on being a mighty archer. Once again, Iranian legend comes into play, in whose imaginary world this descendant also lives. Three men shot a famous arrow in Iran, says abarî (I, 99°. Z2 f.) : Ariš "sā in, the Kawi Aršan of the younger Avesta (Yt. Z3, \*3\*; 19, z\*)<sup>®</sup> ; Sohrāb (cf. i, 822, 8f.) in the war against the Hephthalites after Pērōz's downfall; Bahrām Čōbin in the Turkish war (which also refers to a war against the Hephthalites). The famous shot of Bahrām V. Gōr or a second shot of Pahrām Ğōbin (Dînawari lot, zE f. Guirgass), repeatedly depicted in art, may be added.

For further details see Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*. 3°. sz ; Ūbers. Ayr f. ; F. Altheim, *Niedergang der Alten Welt i* (\*95\*). °5 f. ; Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat Z*, °°9

The words spoken by the king make his glory shine, before the end comes. The eulogy in abarî, ann. z, 1636, 2f. by the 'fëùšón Herāt's on Mihrayān IzoJ 3 to Asad b. 'Abdillāh also occurs immediately before his death. Both speeches are carefully stylised, especially as the of the king (which concerns us here): the castle at the beginning and at the end; framed by the marksman; the span and the meeting face each other. Added to this is the double use of out, emphatically placed at the beginning of the sentence. It is the solemn self-introduction in the first person, sacral anacalese of the type iyĜ slpi, as before at the bilingualis

<sup>®</sup> The manuscripts give I, 99', 4: 'ass' lyn . t 'rsys' yn ' P 'rsys' yr; BM 'rs yš' lyn , **cod. Sprenger 3o 'rššy' y ; 'ršš y ' yr.** Nöldeke (a. 0. -7I **Onm. z**) **remarks that** he cannot explain **the addition** *sālīn* or however it should be read. Should one think of soghd. *š't* "happy, rich", with suffix -yya (I. Gershevitch, *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* 16z § 1067) or -y (l.c. T44 f. § 960-920) ? Karā Ğúrīn, the founder of Buchār ā's, also had the epithet *bayayu* "rich, wealthy": Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanz- geschichte der Spätantike* z6of.



of Mchet'a (above i, 2ŞZ). It thus appears in the west as well as in the east of the Hunnic area (in the broader sense).

It decides that it is only in death that the greatness of the man, of the noble man, is revealed at all. This is what the story of the king of Šúniän and ar jün's has in common with the Serapitis epitaph. Here the lament for the dead of the fallen son of the Chionite king Grumbates

reported by Ammianus -9, \*, IOf. (above i, 247: >5°). Finally, one of Panġikant's wall paintings has the depiction of the laid-out

Ruler, surrounded by the lamenting men and women: Žiwopiss drewnego Pjandžikenta (Z954) Täf. Z 22 ; East and West 8 (- s ). 95. zoy (fig. i).

Naršahi tells how Afrasyäb killed his son-in-law Siyävuš and continues: "There are special songs of the people on the killing of Siyävush. The musicians called these songs Liu-i *Si yävush*" (Revenge for Siyävuš; translation by R. N. Frve in: *The History of Bukhärà i2*, niit explanations in note 86 p. I Iÿ). Elsewhere it says of Siyävuš: "He was buried in this citadel (the castle he built in Bukhara) in a place (located) as you come from the Eastern gate inside the gate of the straw-sellers, which is called the gate of the Ghúriyän. The Magians of Bukhara for that reason esteemed this place. Every year before the rising of the sun, on New Year's day, every person (brings) a cock there and kills it (in memory) of him. The people of Bukhara have lamentations concerning the killing of Siyävush which are known all over. Musicians have made songs out of them and they sing them. Singers rail them the 'lamentations of the Italians'." (R. N. Frye, a. 0. 23.1

The story of the death of the two so-called (Hephthalite) princes must be seen in this context. It may be surmised that the lament for Siyävuš provided the model for this and for the case of the Chionite prince. For everything leads into the Hephthalite realm. And the design and literary form of the narrative in abari show that it was once poetry. The song about the downfall of the two princes may also have been a dirge or originated from it, which became a heroic song, as it did everywhere in northern Iranian and Hunnic areas.

J Wellhausen, with his intuition for relationships of this kind, once remarks: "The stories of Madäini, which Tabari follows almost exclusively with regard to the Chura- san things, are partly reminiscent of the experiences of the

The book is a collection of tales from Arab prehistoric times, known from the *Kitab alAghani*. In many cases he gives only a loose fabric, tribal traditions, a collection of 'days' (-sx6, z6), with a predominant interest in the heroic, the predatory. The Khurasan Arabs, and especially the Tamim, proudly clung to their nationality and continued in the Far East the old tribal life and the old singing and legends about their own actions and experiences" (*Das arabische Reich* -57)

This also applies, with appropriate amendments and additions, to the opponents: Hephthalites and Soghders. They also experienced the present in mythical form and translated it into "songs and legends". The fragments of a heroic poem, which one still believes to recognise in Tabari's depiction, have their counterpart in the story of Bahräm (Öbin), which may have been written half a century earlier. everywhere the tragic mood is expressed which the upheaval of an existing world had to evoke among those who adhered to it. And there was no lack of greatness in the poetic composition here or there.

On verse i23°. -4 cf. the later description iz43, ii and what follows.

Tabari, ann. z, 124\*. s f. de Goeje.

"Abü Öa'far said: In this year (93/11-Hz) Kutaiba b. Muslim, on his way back from Khwärezm, against Samar- kand and conquered it. Mention of the news about it. It was preceded by the mention of the is'i'id of some of whom 'Ali b. Muhammad mentioned that he had taken over from them (what happened) when kutaiba made peace with the ruler of Khwärezm. Furthermore, he mentioned, categorising in this context, that al-Mugassir went to Kutaiba after he had accepted the peace with Khwärezm b. Muzähim as-Sulami. He said: 'I have something on my mind, so stay alone with me', and he stayed alone with him. He said: 'If you wish for (the land of) the Soghder some d a y, it is now. For, behold, they are lulled into a sense of security that you will come to them this year, and there are only ten days between you and them. He (Kutaiba) said: 'Has anyone advised you to do this? He said: 'No'. He (Kutaiba) said: 'Have you told anyone about this? He said: 'No.' He (Kutaiba ) said: 'By God, if anyone talks about it, I will cut off your head'. He (Kutaiba) waited for that day, and when

When the next morning came, he called 'Abdurrahmān and said: "Break aux with the horsemen and archers (Glossary CCLXX f.) and send the "rross ahead to Merw". The troop was sent in the direction of Merw, and 'Abdurrahmān left, following the troop, heading for Merw all day. When evening came, Kutaiba wrote to him: 'When morning comes, send (iz42, i de Goeje) the train to Merw and go yourself with the horsemen and archers towards (the land of) the Soghders and keep the news secret. Behold, I am in your footsteps. He said: When the news reached 'Abdurrahmān, he ordered the commanders of the troop to go towards Merw and set *out* where he (Kutaiba) had ordered them to go, and Kutaiba said to them

People ..." (follows the speech). (1242, 9 de Goeje) "He said: He (kutaiba) came to the (land of the) Soghders, and 'Abdurrahmān b. Muslim with zoooo had come there before her, and she was joined by Kutaiba with the

People of Chwārezm and Bukhārā three or four days later, when 'Abdurrahmān had descended with them (the Soghders). He (Kutaiba) said:

'Behold, when we descended to the courtyard (dwelling) of certain people, the morning of those who had to be prepared for it was terrible'. He shut them (the inhabitants of Samarkand) up for a month. While they were besieged, they fought with them (the Muslims) frequently from a certain side (from within). The Soghdians, fearing the length of the siege, wrote to the king of Aš-Šūš and the Ibšād of Feryāna: 'If the Arabs defeat us, they will repeat against you what they have done to us. Therefore, take care of yourselves! Then they (those called to help) decided to come to them, and they (the Soghders) sent to them: 'Send those who will harm them until we attack their camp by night'. He said: They chose horsemen (i zA3, I de Goeje) from the sons of the *marzbān* and the knights and the strongest (and) boldest and sent them and ordered them to attack their (the Muslim) camp by night. The Muslim scouts came and brought them news. Then Kutaiba chose 300 or 600 of the brave ones and placed Šālih b. Muslim at their head. He sent them to the road he feared people would come a long. ŠāliJy sent scouts to bring news of the (enemy) army, and they camped about two parasanges away from the camp. His scouts came back to her and told her (Šālib) that they (the enemy) were coming that night. So ũlih divided his cavalry into three parts and put

He set up an ambush in two places and stayed on the height of the road. The pagans came to them by night, not knowing where S'alih was. They thought they were sure that someone would meet them outside the Lager, and knew nothing of Jälih until they came upon him. He said: They charged at them until, when the spears were exchanged between them, the (teams of the) two ambushers came out and then they fought with each other. He said: A man from Baraim said: 'I was present with them and I never saw any stronger in battle than the sons of those kings, nor more steadfast. So we fought them, and no one escaped except a small band. We gathered their weapons and cut off their (the fallen) heads and made prisoners of them. We asked them about those we had killed. They said: 'You have killed only the sons of kings, or the great of the great, or the brave of the brave, and you have killed only men of whom one man was worth a hundred men. Then we wrote (the names ; so IA) on their ears (on the ears of the cut-off heads). Then we entered the camp (of the Muslims) when it was morning, and among us there was no one whose name was famous who was not hung with a head (E. W. Lane, a. O. ), 2133 r. and **2132** r.). We took the

good of the weapons and the value of what they had in them, and Belts of gold and the fast mounts. Kutaiba gave us all this as booty. This discouraged the Soghders, and Kutaiba raised the siege engines against them and fired at them by means of them, fighting them in this way (and not letting them go, and he was given good advice by those who were with him from the people of **Bukhara** and Khwärezm. They fought a fierce battle and tried hard. Then Gfirak sent to him (Kutaiba) : 'You are fighting me alone with my brothers and the people of my house, the Persians. So bring out the Arabs against me! Kutaiba was furious and called al-Üiadali and said: 'Muster the people and choose the men of valour' and he (al-Oiadali) brought them together. Then Kutaiba sat down and examined them personally and called the sub-leaders. He began by calling them man by man and saying: 'What do you think? Then the sub-leader said: 'A brave'.

And he (Kutaiba) said: "What is this one like?" Then he (the sub-leader) said: 'Mediocre'. And he said: 'How is this one? He said: 'Cowardly'. Then Kutaiba called the faint-hearted a stench and took away their horses and the good condition of their weapons, and he said, 'Cowardly.

He gave it to the brave and mediocre (Gloss. CCXXIII f.) and left them (the faint-hearted) the worn-out weapons. Then he advanced with them (the chosen ones) and fought them (the enemies) with them on horseback and on foot and bombarded the city with siege engines. Then he made a breach in it (the city and its wall, cf. ZZAA, 12), but they (the defenders) filled it with sacks of millet. A man came and stood on the breach and insulted Cuthah, and there were archers with Cuthah. Then Cutaiba said to them: 'Choose two men from among you,' and they chose (them). He said: 'Which of you two will shoot at this man? If he hits him, you will be 2000 Dirhem. But if he misses him, his hand will be cut off. Then one of them excused himself, and the other stepped forward and shot at him (the insulter), and he did not miss his eye, and he (Kutaiba) made her pay to 100 (Dirhem.). He said: The Bāhiites of Yabyā b. Hālid from his father Hālid b. Bāb, the freedman of Muslim b. 'Amr. He said: 'I was among the archers of Kutaiba, and after we had conquered the city, I climbed the wall and went to the place of the man who had been on it, and found him dead on the wall, the arrow having not missed his eye, so that it came out of the back of his head'. Then came the morning (i2A5, i de Goeje)

the next day, and they shelled the town and made a breach into them. Cutaiba said: 'Press them (the city) until you cross the breach! They fought with them (the defenders) until they were on the breach of the city. They shot at the Soghders with arrows, and they (the Muslims) held up their shields. The (single) man used to hold his shield in front of his eye. Then he used to attack until they came to the breach. And they (the Soghders) said to them: 'Keep away from us today so that we may make peace with you tomorrow'. As for the Bāhilites, they said: 'We will not make peace with them except that our men are on the breach and our siege engines are over their heads and over their city'. He said: As for the others, they say: Kutaiba said: 'The servants are unrestrained, therefore prepare for your victory'. They set about it, so he made peace with them (the Soghders) the next day against (payment of) 200 000 (dirhams) every year (and) on condition that they give her 30000 heads that year, including no young and no old and no one (with) faults.

He said: "I said to the people of Kutaiba that they should clear the city for him so that they would have no more fighters there, and that a mosque should be built for him in it (that year) so that he could enter it and pray, and that a minbar should be set up for him there so that he could preach, and that he should have breakfast (in the city) and then leave. He said: After the peace was made, Kutaiba sent ten of every fifth (of the army) with two men, and they received what they had agreed with them. Kutaiba said: 'Now they are demitig where their brothers and children are in your hands.' Then they cleared out the city and built a mosque and set up an ölinbar, and he (Kutaiba) entered it (the city) with Sooo whom he had chosen. After entering it, he came to the mosque, prayed and preached. Then he had breakfast and sent the following message to the Soghders: 'Whoever of you wants to take (1246, i de Goeje) his property, let him take (it). Behold, I am not going out of it (the city). I have done this to you, and I will not take from you more than what I have agreed with you. Unless the army remains in it (the city of Samarkand). He said: "As for the Ba'ilites, they say: Cutaiba made peace with them in exchange for (the position of) tooooo heads (cf. zz45. Qf.) and for (the delivery of) the fire temples and the jewellery of the idols and accepted what he had agreed with them. The idols were brought and stripped (of their jewellery). Then they were set up before him, and they were like a great fortress when they were piled up, and he ordered them to be burned. Then the barbarians said : 'Behold, among them are idols (such that) whoever burns them dies'. But Cutaiba said: 'I will burn them with my own hand'. Then Gürali came and fell on his knees before him and said: 'O prince, it will be my duty to thank you if you do not turn against these idols. But Cutaiba called for fire and took a window in his hand and went out and praised the greatness of God. Then he set fire to them (the idols) and to the people, and they (the idols) were set ablaze. They obtained from what was left of them in nails of gold and silver (the value of) 50000 (dirhem) rnitk51." (Further traditions follow, which do not give anything for the present purpose) - (iz5z, i de Goeje). "Then Kutaiba departed, returning to Merw, and appointed 'Abdullah b. Muslim as his deputy over Samarkand and left with him a large army and much of the equipment of war. (The following are sayings of Kutaiba and verses of Ka'b al-Askari) ... (1252, I

de Goeje). Then he left Samarkand and stayed in Merw. His 'ātnif about Chwārezm was lyās b. 'Abdillāh b. (1253, 1 de Goeje) 'Amr (namely) about his warfare - he was weak - and that heōğ stood there before 'Ubaidullāh b. Abi'Ubaidillāh, freedman of the ðaiiú Muslim. He said: The people of Khwārezm lyās thought they were weak and joined forces against them. 'Ubaidullah wrote to Kutaiba, and Kutaiba sent 'Abdullah b. Muslim in the winter as *'āmil* ... (IZ53. 8 de Goeje) Then, after the death of 'Abdullah, Kutaiba sent al-Muğira b. 'Abdillāh with the troops to Khwarezm, and the news reached them (the Khwarezmians). After al-Muğira had arrived, the sons of those whom Khwārezmšāh had killed withdrew and said : 'We will not support you'; then he fled into the hand of the Turks. Al-Muğira arrived and captured and killed him, and those who were left made peace with him. He took the ġizya and came to Kutaiba, and he m a d e ilin 'āmif over Néšāpūr".

Explanation. --42, -5, the reading *i šād* is soon offered by all manuscripts (B, IA, also P). On the other hand, P Z247, 6 has *i išeğ* against *i šāğ* of the others, which is significant, since P has a separate branch from B and IA.

of the tradition (cf. the stemma of Introductio LXII I). The Soghdian form is 'xšyd -= *ixšēd* to avest. *sfaê/a* - : I. Gershevitch, A Grammar of the Manichean Sogdian 42 § 26g. The word is used synonymously with *xtr/'w*: a. 0. °36 § i63s. Nevertheless, the form *i* could be *šāğ* --

*\*izšād* could have served as an etymon for Old Turk. *fad*, *la/*. It would then not be derived from *xšaēla-*, but from Old Iranian. *\*xšā yaPi ya-*. The initial phonetic development would be a shortening of *-ōya-* to *-aya-* (a. 0. Zÿ § 124). then an atrophy of *y* (a. 0. 3° † IQ8). Comparable is soghd. *äs-* from *\*ā-yasa* (a. 0. i8 § I2Q). On the Iranian origin of

*šad*, *šat* last 0. Szemerényi in F. Altheim, Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache (ig3z) 3 f. ; Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischer Staat i, z8I f. ; above i,

5°: °43- - 1244. \*. The good advice of the people of Buchārā and Chwārezm referred to the handling of the *pœyyovixó* (at-m'igōni/t) ; about this B. Spuler, a. 0. 3 and note 6, where our passage is overlooked. Naršahi recognises such machines in the Muslim sieges of Buchārā's inn Winter s6J623 on ssJ674 R. N. Frye, The History of Bukhara 37: the heavy ballista of a city of Chwārezm's mentions MukaddaSī 288, 6f. de Goeje (on this Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike z2i). "Ils ont des machines fort ingénieuses", says the Soghdern : Chavannes i,

\*35 Gfirak wrote to the Chinese emperor that the Arabs had set up balconies against Samarkand and had erected "grandes tranchées" on three stands.

Chavannes i, - s Chinese ballistae : Chavannes z, 2 f. - izaq, if. The method used for selection is also found in the armies of antiquity. Thus in the army of Hannibal (Polyb. 3, 71, 8) and in

the Samnites i year 293 (UV. IO, 3, 2), where from *air virø "i f "gzrs ge-* is spoken. In both cases, the choice is left to the jeveiligeri leaders. For details see F. Altheim, *Lex sacra* (Albae

Vigiliae i, -940) Z2f. - Z2, it 1. The insult from the wall also occurs elsewhere. Wāyidf 36t), 208 a Wellhausen states that when Muhammad first stopped in front of the castle of ā'if, the defenders

a witch who turned her bare arse to the Muslim army (absurd Wellhausen note z). Also worth mentioning are Leon Diakonos

-. 7 P \*4. \*9 Bonn. (siege of Kandia occupied by the Arabs) and Procopius, *Pers. z. 2, ry f.* (siege of Amida by Kavā 6 I.). - The insulter is struck by an arrow with a wooden shaft (iiufšdò),

which was used by the Iranian archers, in contrast to the Arabic cane arrow (*salim*). The fact that the archer was not an Arab also makes the unusually brutal alternative understandable.

which Kutaiba poses to the two chosen ones: izo. \*3 About bow protectors that shoot at the eyes or pupils (*rumātu I-pada p*)

cf. Littmann in: DLZ. \*939a 574- Z2A6, s shows that the images of the gods were made of wood. Only the jewellery and the nails (1246, I Z) with which it was attached to the wood were made of gold and silver. The report by lohannes of Nikiu c. qo, p. Z5z.6f. Zotenberg shows that the wooden images of the Hunnic gods had a coating of silver sheet. The use of gold foil on wood and

Leather in the South Siberian nomadic cultures above z, ioz ; zi6f. : 3 . On the Afrasyāb of Samarkand it can be observed that the Anāhita statuettes begin with the Achaimenid period and continue until the Muslim period.

mical conquest (G. Glaesser in : East and West S, \*957. 93; cf. 82). The description given by Yāšt p. 64; 28; zz6 f. of the *ar-ød "i siira anāliita* has long been assumed to be based on a cult image.

gehe (literature in: Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* -95) < -l- will also be able to think of images of this goddess in the present case. She still appears in the late Manichaean fragment M 2, second part,

as the "spirit of the Chorāsān border" "*āxš-i hvarāsān Armand*), in which H. H.



Schaeder recognised \**Ardväxs* (*ander* and *r'is*l "Oxus") (Iranica. Abh. Gött. Ges. WisS. 3. F., IO, 1934) 26 f.

Chavannes I, 23 assumes, according to J Marquart, Die Chronologie der alttürkischen Zuschriften 6, that Kültegin was among the fallen of the reserve army. This remains unprovable, because Tabari does not speak "d'un fils de Kagan, but withi a6n'i'i uU 'iéa fiftitftiÄ 1243. 121. But this much is true, that we are no longer dealing with Western Turks, but with Northern Turks (Chavannes i, -3 )

For the sake of its strangeness, B. Spuler's remark that the Muslims "succeeded relatively easily in conquering Samarkand (a. 32). It is even stranger that he does not c i t e any sources.

Tabari, ann. z, -°4 9. 14f. de Goeje.

"He said: as for the Bähilites, they say: Kutaiba set out and left the river on the right until he came to Bukhara, and drove his people with him and moved on until, when he was staying in the city of Arbingan - it was from there that the Arbingan (horse) blankets were carried out - 6iirak, lord of the Soghders, met them together with a huge crowd of Turks and people from Aäs and Feryänä".

Explanation. The blankets or horse blankets of Arbingan have not yet been recognised. On the wall paintings of Pan i k a n t one believes to recognise such saddlecloths: 2iwopiss drew Pjand2ikenta (-9s4) Pl. V; XVI ; East and West 8 (\*957); others in A. v. Le Coq, Bilder- atlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittelasiens fig 3>-33 - 65; 6g ; IoZ ; IO4; \*35 One might think that the predecessors of the buchä- rian carpet weaving industry (cf. Chavannes i, -38; °°3 ). This also produces excellent saddlebags and saddle covers: H. Roopers, Oriental carpets6 (-955) fig. z2g and p. z8i. Again, the carpets are not made in the city of Bukhara, but by the Noina- the tribes of the Turkmen region. On the fabric of the city of Bukhara itself: R. N. Frye, The History of Bukhara ig f. (Narsahi) and rig Anm. On 'ä "iif as a "tax collector" see Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spät- antike i49 . J Strzy- gowski, Altar-Iran und Völkerivanderung (-9\*7) \*55 f., has taken a far-sighted view of the carpets on the wall paintings of East Turkestan. always treated. L'ber names of the carpets 0. Szemerényi in: KZ. 26 (\*959). 75-

Excerpts from Balāduri's report on the conquest of Khorāsān in:  
*utu u I-buldà*\* 4 3-431 de Goeje.

s. f. de Goeje) "Ibn Āmir sent an army towards Herāt, at the head of which was Aus b. a'laba b. Rukkā stood at its head, and it is said: Hulaib b. 'Abdillāh al-iḡlanafi. Then this news reached the Lord Herāt, and he went to Ibn 'Āmir and made peace with them by order of Herāt and Bā 6yēs and Pušang with the exception of Tayün and Bayfin. Then both were conquered by force. At that time Ibn 'Amir wrote to them (the Lord Herāt): 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! This is what 'Abdullah b. 'Umir commanded the Lord Herāt's and Pušang's and Bā fiyēs'. He commanded them to strengthen Allah and to give good advice to the Muslim and to establish what is in his hand from the lands. And he (the Lord of Herāt) made peace with hern (Ibn Āmir) on behalf of Herāt, that is, his plain and his land, on condition that he pay ḡizya as he agreed with hern (Ibn 'Amir), and that he distribute what is to be paid in ḡizya among them (the farmers) according to the lands in a just manner. But whoever resists what falls on him, no contract or promise of protection shall apply to him. It was written by Rabi' b. Nahšal, and it was sealed by Ibn 'Āmir. It is also said that Ibn 'Āmir himself marched with the mass (of his army) towards Herāt and fought with its inhabitants. Then he made peace with hern his (Herāt's) rzòðii on behalf of Herāt, Pušang and Bā 6yēs' against I 0000O Dirhem".

(AOS, I f. de Goeje) "Then al-Ahnaf moved against Balch, which is the city of To- chāristān ( isdrā), and with them (the Muslims) his (Balcli's) inhabitants made peace against payment of A00000 (Dirhem), and it is said: too 000, and this is more believable. He set as "îmi/ over Balch Asid b. al-Mutašammis. Then he moved towards Khwārezm, and it belongs to the irrigation area of the river as a whole, and its (Khwārezm's) city (Kā#) is in the east. He did not become **master** of it and turned back to Balch, where Asid had collected what he had agreed with regard to it. Abfi 'Ubaida said: Ibn '**Amir** conquered what was on his side of the river (Oxos). When the news of his (Ibn 'A mir's) power came to the inhabitants of what is beyond the river, they endeavoured to make peace with him. So he did. It is said: He crossed the river until

He travelled from place to place, and it is said: "On the contrary, they came to him and made peace with him, and he sent one to collect it (the spoils). There came to him: mounts, young slaves, female slaves, silk and clothing ...".

(Top, g f. de Goeje) "Then Mu'ä wiya gave to 'Abdulläh b. 'Ämir Choräsän at the same time as Basra, and Ibn 'Amir placed at the head of Choräsän's Kais

b. al-Haitani as-Sulami. I's the people of Bä fiyés and Herät and Pusang and Balch were about to break their treaties. So he marched (4z/66z to 663) against Balrh and plundered its Naubehär. It was he who was entrusted with that task, 'Atä' b. as-Sä'ib, freedman of *baust* 1-Lait: it was ai-Malal (the rejected one), for he was called 'A *tä'* the rejected one. He took possession of certain bridges over three canals, a parasange away from Balch, and they were called Briicken of the 'Atä'. Then the people of Balch asked for peace and a return to obedience, and Kais made peace with them. Then he came to Ibn 'Amir, and he gave him **100** blows and imprisoned him. He set as 'Mini/ an 'Abdulläli b. Häzim. Then the people of Herät and Pusang and Bä 6yes' sent to him ('Abdullah) and asked for safety and peace. So he made peace with them and brought money to Ibn 'Amir."

Explanation. The events are listed ven B. Spuler, a. 0. -5 above, but our passage is missing among the sources.

t4ZO1, 6 f. de Goeje) "Then a Mu'äwiya set as"i "iif overChoräsän 'Ubai-dulläh b. Ziyäd (54/62d), and he was -5 years old. He crossed the river with -4 oo men and came to Paikand. It was the *qalun* in the city She sent to the Turks, asking them for help, and a large number of them came to her. The Muslims met them and put them to flight and conquered their camp. The Muslims came closer, devastating and burning them. Then *qatun* sent to them, asking for peace and security. So he made peace with her against payment of i oooooo (Dirhem), entered the city and conquered Rämibañ (*ränidi'n* falsely de Goeje) and Paikand, and between the two lie two Parasangen, and Rämibañ leads back to Paikand. It is said: he conquered Üayäniyän. At that time (the people of) Basra came with him together with a band of the inhabitants of Bukhara, and he enlisted them in his troops (Glossary p. 8z s. v. /rp). Then Mu'äwiya Sa'id b. 'Utmän b. 'Affän deployed over Khorasan, and he crossed the river and was the first to cross it with his army. (4\*\* 4 de Goeje). When came

When they received the news that he had crossed the river, they brought him what had been agreed in peace. But the Soghders and the Turks and the people of KiJss and Nasaf, that is Nachéab, came to Sa'id with izo 000 men." They kicked each other in Bukhara, for it had felt remorse qa/ttii for paying the tribute and had broken the treaty. There was (at first) present a slave from one of the people of that assembly, then he went z'eg with those who were with him, and the others disbanded. When *qatun* saw that, she gave him (Sa'id) the pledges and established peace, and Sa'id entered the city of Bukhara. Then Sa'id b. 'Utmän marched towards Samarkand, and *qatun* helped him with the people of Bukhara. He dismounted at the gate of Samarkand and swore that he would not refrain from conquering it or from firing on its castle (*o£niidiz*). So he fought with his (Samarkand's) people for three days. The battle was fiercest on the third day, and he (Sa'id) lost an eye, as did al-Muhallab b. Abi S'ufra. It is said that al-Muhallab's eye was lost at Tälükän. Thereupon the enemy remained in the city, for there were (many) wounds among them. A man came to him (Sa'id) and directed him to a castle where the sons of their (the people of Samarqand) kings and great men were. So he went against them and locked them up. When the people of the city (Samarkand) feared that he was taking the castle by force and killing its inhabitants, they asked for peace. So he made peace with them against payment of zoo 000 dirhem and on condition that they would give him pawns from the sons of their great men, and on condition that he would enter the city, he and whoever he wanted, and that he would go out of the other gate. So they gave him fifteen of the sons of their kings, and it is said forty, and it is said eighty. He (Sa'id) shot at the castle (of Samarkand), and the stone remained firm in its frame. Then he left, and when he was at Tirmi6, qufeit brought him what had been agreed upon in peace, and he remained at Tirmi6 until he took it in exchange for a treaty. Then, when 'Abdullah b. Jazim as-Sulami was killed, his son Müsä came to the king of Tirmifi. Then he (the king) protected Müsä and shielded him and those who were with him. But he (Miis.i) drove him (the king) from there (from Tirmi6) and seized him (Pia, i de Goeje) and was rebellious. After he was killed, it (Tirmi6) came into the hands of the governors. Then its inhabitants revolted and Kutaiba b. Muslim ... (412, -5 de Goeje). Sa'id went with

° Hardly the text is in order here and in the following.

the pledges he had taken from the Soghders until he could go with them to Medina. There he gave their clothes and belts to his

He took the freedmen and clothed them with coarse cloth jackets and put them to work in the irrigation fields and watering wheels and (other) labour. Then they entered his room and murdered him. Then they killed themselves".

Explanation. The castle of Samarkand resisted 62A Sa'id's ballists. Balāduri says: /a- aðø/a I- ağaru /i butrmatilii. This shows the construction of the wall: Korea is "fenestra, foramen". The stones sat in a frame, and this is confirmed by a wall painting from Panğikant: Trudy

Tadžiskoj archeol. ekspedizij 3 I\* 38) Fig. 45 after p. ZAA. At the city gate with the flanking towers, the mostly square veins are set in a frame of transverse and raised flat bricks.

set.

News about Sa'id's hostages has been compiled by R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* -3- nm. z6s.

(4\*3. 16 de Goeje) "Then Salm (b. Ziyfid) returned to Merw. Then he undertook a campaign from there and crossed the river and killed Bandún the Soghder, for the Soghders had turned against him (Salm) gathered together, and he (Salm) had fought with them."

Explanation. R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* no note 3z, has compiled what is available on Bandfin. In his translation of Nar-šahi's he consistently writes \*Bidfin, although the manuscripts are mostly *bnđtrn* give. Bcrüni, Chron. ioi, -4 Sachau calls the ruler of Kišà nyđtrn, and the same form is given by Ibn Hurdādbeh Aø, 2 ; next to it mdirn. abari, ann. 3, \*474. 3 has byđtrn. In Naršabi, the bearer of the name is Turk (R. N. Frye, a. 0. Aï) and his wife qa/oti of Buchārā.

(4Z6.18 f. de Goeje) "He ('Abdul-malik) placed Umaiya b. 'Abdillāh ... at the head of Khorasan and placed Bukair b. Wišāly at the head of Tochāristān. He then ordered him to undertake a campaign against the land beyond the river. Thereupon he ordered Umaiya in strict form to campaign against Bukhara. Then (o c c u r r e d) the arrival of Mfisā'b. 'Abdillāh b. Hāzim in Tirmi6, and Bukair returned to Merw, seized the son of Umaiya and took him prisoner" (the following is the return of Umaiya's of Bukhara and the death of Bukair: 22J6 6-69 , cf. abari, ann. z, iozz, x f.).

4Iÿ. 4 . de Goeje) "Umaiya marched against Hottal, for they (the inhabitants of Hottal) had broken the treaty after Sa'id b. 'Utmän had made one with them, and he (Umaiya) conquered it. Then al-Hağğäğ b. Yüsuf became governor of Khorasan together with the two Iräk, and he placed at the head of Khorasan al-Muhallab b. Abi Şufra, and his name was Zälim b. Sarräl; b. Şubh b. al-'Atik of the Azd, and his kunya was Abú Sa'id, inn year 28 (6g2-6g8)<sup>0</sup>. He undertook many campaigns and conquered al-{Jottal, which had fallen away, and conquered Choğand. The Soghdians paid tribute to her, and he marched against Kišš and Nachsab, returned and died of pleurisy in **Zàyúl** of Merw-i Rō b dun g . (4\*7. iz de Goeje). Al-íJağğäğ placed Yazid b. al-Muhallab at the head of (Khorñsän's) army, and 'Abdurrahmän b. al-'Abbäs b. Rabi'a b. al-íJäri b. 'Abdilmu alib marched against Herät with the remnant of (the) army of Ibn al-Aš'a and others; for he had gone forth with Ibn al-Aš'at (4i7, I6 de Goeje) Yazid marched against Khwärezm and took prisoners: the army put on the clothes of the prisoners, and they (the prisoners) died from the cold. Then al-Hağğäğ placed al-Mufaddal at the head of the army. b. al-Muhallab b. Abi Şufra (85/7 4), and he conquered Ba 6yēs, for it had fallen away, and Shfiman and Ahrûn. He (al-Mufaddal) obtained booty, which he distributed among the people. They said: It was Mūsä b. 'Abdilläh b. **Jäzim** as-Sulami in Tirmi6 and came to Samarkand. There ilin honoured its king arhfin. But one of his comrades attacked one of the Soghders and killed him. Then arhfin threw him and those with him out, and he came to the lord of Kiš's. Then he came to Tirmi6, and this was a **castle** (4- . i de Goeje). Then he dismounted at the *dēhbān* of Tirmi fi, and he (the *dēhkān*) prepared a meal for her. After he (Mūsā) had eaten, he lay down to one side. Then the *dēhēān* said to her : 'Go away! Then he said he (Mūsā) : 'I do not know a dwelling place like this'. He fought with the people of Tirmi6 until he prevailed over them. Then his (Tirmi6') *dēliLāān* and his (Tirmi6') people went out to the Turks, asking them for help. But they (the Turks) did not come to their aid and said: 'Allah has cursed **you**. Why do you hope for help? A man with a hundred (men) has come to you and thrown you out of your city and robbed you of it'. Then all **Muhammad's** comrades came **to** her from those who were with his father.

1° Balādu-\*4\*7. 7 gives de Goeje 99 h., **which is incorrect: abari, ann. 2, io32, to f. ; I°y3, 8 f. Was 79 \*oBālādur I**meant ?

and others. And the (former) **master** of Tirmib and his men did not let go of the Turks until they helped them and approached Mūsā and those who were with her. Then Mūsā attacked them by night and occupied their camp, and i6 men were captured by the Muslims. They were ābit and íJurai , the two sons of Ko ba, the two Huzā'ites, with Mfisā. Both of them requested an army of arbún and his companions for Mfisā, and he ( ar jún) brought her help and offered her much

army. Then the boldness of both of them ("protervitas" GlOssar 4-) towards her (Mūsā) became great and they were now the ones who commanded and forbade in his army. Then it was said to them: 'Only the name is still yours, and these two are the masters of the army and the command'. A number of Hephthalites and Turks came out against him (Mfisā) from the (expelled) people of Tirmi6 , and they fought a fierce battle. It they defeated the Muslims and whoever was with them. Then the news came to al-Ijāğgāğ. He said: 'Praise be to God, who has given victory to the undecided\* over the disbelievers'. **Mūsā** made two large vantage points ("belvedere" Glossary zq) from the heads of those he had fought. It was killed IJurait b. Ko ba by an arrow that struck him. **Mūsā's** comrades said to Mīsā: 'God has given us **rest** from íJurai , therefore give us rest from ābit . For behold, life with her is not good. It came to ābit what they were going to do. After he had ascertained this, he went to l;lušūrā and asked arbún for help. Then he ( arhún) came to brighten up their ( ābit), and Mūsā pounced on him ( ābit). He (Mūsā) seized the outskirts (raða'f) of the city. Then the auxiliaries of the Soghders became numerous, and he (Mfisā) returned to Tirmi6, entrenched himself there, and the people of Kišš and Nachšab and Bukhara helped her. ābit shut Mfisā in, and he ( ābit) had 80000 (men). Mūsā sent Yazid b. Huzail al-Mu 'azzi to Ziyād al-Ka ir

<sup>11</sup>A *l-munā fi purr* is an expression that goes back to Muhammad himself. Commonly referred to as Translated "hypocrites", it means precisely the "waverers" (nd/cfc "modo hoc, modo aliud professus est"). It does not yet seem to have been observed that the term translated as βίαιόπιπτόντοι (in New Testament usage "to doubt"), used by the followers of the Chalcedonense in relation to the Monophysites (Barhebraeus, Chron. eccl. i, 222, rz f., Abbeloos-Lamy: *diah'rinomu*), has given the prebilil. It deserves to be emphasised that the designation became native among ilen Christian Arabs learly. Barhebraeus, I. c. i,\*35. •• cites it in the mouth of the La tmid of HJÍra, IJärit b. Ğabala (Abbeloos-Lamy erroneously give "Hirath"): theġritiotiisø. Cf. also Michael Syru5 3} i , y Syr. ; transl. °- 344 \*nd 37a r. Z. i 3 syr. ; transl. -. 37'

al-Huzā 'i, and he had been hit by a mishap. (AṢt), I de Goeje) He (Yazid) spied an unguarded moment near ā b i t and struck him on the head with his sword, after which he ( ābit) lived for another seven days. Then he died. Yazid threw himself into the river of (ayāniyān : so he got away. He set out on arbūn in the matter of his comrades, then Mūsā attacked them (the Soghder arhfin's) by night, and the barbarians returned to their country. The people of Chorāsān used to say: 'We do not know anyone similar to Mfisā. He fought with his father for two years and never fled. Then he came to Tirmifi, conquered it, although he fought with small numbers, and threw his (Tirmi6') king out of it (Tirmi6). Then he fought with the Turks and the barbarians (Soghders) and put them to flight and defeated them. " (MEsā's downfall follows) ... (AṢQ, i8 de Goeje)

"They said: Then al-Iṣṭiāḡgāḡ Kutaiba b. Muslim placed the Bāhilita at the head of Khorasan. He set out, intending to go to Achrūn. When he was in Tālikān, the *dēhkān* Balchs met him and crossed the river with him. As he was crossing the river, the king of Čayāniyān came to her with gifts and a key of gold, offered her obedience and a s k e d him to stop i n his country. The king of Achrūn and Šümān had harassed the king of ČaTaniyān and had marched against him, and so he gave Kutaiba what he gave her (AṢO, z de Goeje) and asked him to do what he asked him to do. And the king of Kufin gave Cutaiba the king of Čayāniyān with the same gifts that he had given him. Both (kings) gave her (Kutaiba) their two countries. Kutaiba turned to Merw and appointed his brother Šālih as successor over the land beyond the river . . (4°°, 8 de Goeje) Thereupon Kutaiba moved to

Paikand inn the year 87 (2i36) and with her Nēzak. He crossed the river at Zamm in the direction of Paikand, which is the closest of the cities of Buchārā to the river. Then they (the inhabitants of Paikand) broke the treaty and called the Soghders for help. He fought with them (the inhabitants of Paikand) and attacked them and imprisoned them. Then they asked for peace, but he (Kutaiba) conquered it (Paikand) by force. Kutaiba marched against Nfimuška# (òñinøssa de Goeje) and Karminiya in the year 88 (7o2) . He made peace with them and conquered several small castles. Kutaiba marched against Bukhara and conquered it in exchange for a treaty. It has said Abū

'Ubaida Mi'mar b. al-Mutannā: Kutaiba came to Bukhara, and she



(the inhabitants of Bukhara) were cautious towards her. He said:

Invite me to enter it so that I may pray in its two counsels. So they allowed her into it, and he hid a crowd against her. When they entered, they outnumbered the gate's crew and entered. He (Kutaiba) found great possessions there and deceived the inhabitants. He said: Kutaiba attacked the Soghders, killed Nēzak in Tochāristān and crucified him and conquered Kišš and Nasaf, which is Nachšab (cf. al-Ya'kfibi, kitābu I-btildān

°93. 7 de Goeje), against treaty. They said: The king of Chwārezm was weak, and his brother Churrazād (42Z, I de Goeje) had turned hostile against him and was powerful against them (the king).

Then the king of Chwārezm sent to Kutaiba: 'Behold, I will give you such and such a gift, and I will give you the keys (of the cities) on condition that you help me to reign over my land against my brother'. Chwārezm consists of three walled cities: Arkin is one of them (de Goeje's text AžZ, 3 is incomprehensible. One has

according to abari, ann. z, Z23 . 2 : *fa-arǧīnu trāhidun era-madinatu*

*I- ili aft sanuhā*), and the city of al-Fil is the strongest of them. It has said 'Ali b. Muǧāhid: the city of al-Fil is Samarkand. So the king went to the strongest of the cities and sent to Kutaiba the money he had contracted with her and the keys. Then Kutaiba sent his brother 'Abdurrahman b. Muslim against Khurrazād, and he ('Abdurrahman) fought with her (Khurrazād) and killed him. He seized 4000 captives and killed them and reinstated the former king of Chwārezm according to what he had agreed with her. Then the people of his kingdom told her (the king) that he was weak, attacked him and killed him. Then Kutaiba appointed his brother 'Ubaidullah b. Muslim over Chwārezm. Then Kutaiba marched against Samarkand. The kings of the Soghders used to live there in ancient times; later they lived in Ištēchan. At that time, Kutaiba captured the people of Samarkand, and they met and fought with each other several times. The king of the Soghders wrote to the king of Šāš, who was staying in Tārband. Then he (the king of Sas) came to them (the king of the Soghdians) with a band of his warriors. They were met by the Muslims and fought the most difficult battle. Finally, Kutaiba attacked them and put them to flight. Then Ğürak made peace with them against payment of z 200 000 every year and on condition that he (Kutaiba) prayed in the city. He entered

and Gürak had prepared a meal for him. So he (Kutaiba) ate and prayed. He chose a place as a mosque and left an AnzaM Muslim there, including ad-Dahhäk b. Muzähim, the Qur'anic Expounder. It is said that Kutaiba made peace in return for the payment of zoo 000 dirhem and in return for the Muslim's defence for three days. Included in the peace treaty with him were the idol temples and fire houses. Thus the idols were brought out and their jewellery robbed and burnt, and the barbarians used to say that among them were idols (so that) whoever treated them disrespectfully would perish. But after Kutaiba had burnt them with his own hand, a number of them (the inhabitants of Samarkand) became Muslim. Said al-Mubtar

b. Ka'b al-Gu'fi about kutaiba:

'He humiliated the Soghders with the tribes (of the Arabs) until He left the Soghders as those who sat on the bare earth.'

Explanation. Some of B. Spuler's statements need to be corrected (a. 0. zi8 f.). There it is said that Bukhara owes its name to the Uighur form (öiiJär) of the word *riAdra-*, which was used to designate the Buddhist teaching centre. The inhabitants of Bukhara had converted from Islam to Buddhism four times before the city was taken by Kutaiba b.-Muslim. A mosque was built in place of one of the Buddhist monasteries, and the same applies to Rämissan. As far as we can see, all the information is objectionable.

Uyghur fiüsör (note the spelling!) does not exist. The word is *wisdr*, w(i)rsar. It is obvious that it bears no resemblance to the Arabic *Bujärä* and the Old Turkic form of the name *öyaraq*. Furthermore, we hope to have shown that there is nothing to the derivation of the name Buchärä from *vihära-* (Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte von Spätantike* 366 f. ;

cf. H.-W. Haussig, *ibid.* 3 s f.); this puts an end to all speculation. Narsahi does indeed say that the inhabitants of Bukhara fell away from Islam four times (R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* §8). But nowhere

It is said that they had returned to Buddhism or had previously belonged to it. The same applies to the construction of the mosque: *Narlaji* expressly states that Kutaiba thus removed the traces of the fire-worshippers' unbelief (R. N. Frye, a. 0. 48). Rämian notes that the daughter of the Chinese emperor brought a hei-zd'ia there and had it erected (R. N. Frye, a. 0. 8). So not a "pagoda", but a

Aedicula with Buddha, which could be brought along in the luggage. From the same Rämissan it is said that a fire temple stood there which was older than the fire temples of Bukhara (R. N. Frye, a. O. i2). It is incomprehensible that Narsahi, where there is no lack of information about fire worship and magicians in Bukhara, is cited for Buddhism there. As far as we can see, apart from this Auf-zdaa, no other Buddhist information has been preserved by this author. Needless to say, the passage by Mukaddasi cited by Spuler (282 de Goeje) speaks of Rämibaan (Z. \$1.), but not of a mosque or a Buddhist monastery.

or speaks of Buddhists there (B. Spuler, a. O. \*-9; it remains unclear to what the phrase "The same applies ..." refers). Should Spuler have confused the mosque of Zarmi#an (28z, 6f.) with Rämibaan?

have ?

## Dīvāiti(č) and Paṅgikant

abañ, ann. 2,\*4° . 3 f. de Goeje.

"In this year (io2/22 ÿ 2 i ) Sa'id Hudaina crossed the river Balch and went to battle against the Soghders who had broken the treaty and helped the Turks against the Muslims. Mention of the news of what Sa'id and the Muslims did in this campaign. It was the cause of Sa'id's undertaking this campaign that the Turks returned to the Soghdians. Then the people approached Sa'id and said : 'You have not bothered about warfare, although the Turks have made incursions and the Soghdians have been unfaithful. ' So he crossed the river and hurried to the Soghders. He was met by the Turks and some of the Soghders, and the Muslims put them to flight."

Explanation. The request for help from the Soghdian rebels to the Chinese emperor at Chavannes I, zO3

abari, ann. 2, 1439. s f. de Goeje.

"In thisJ ahr (I 3/7---ÿZz) the Soghders migrated from their land . and reached Feryāna and asked its king for their (the people of Feryāna's) help against the āfuslim. Mention of the news about what refers to sic and the ruler of Feryāna. It has mentioned 'Ali b. JYlohammed from his comrades that the Soghders had helped the Turks in the days of (Sa'id) Hudaina, and when (Sa'Id) al-Īlaraši (x-gl. 143. 3 ) came to govern them, they were afraid. Then came their great ones to emigrate from their country, and it told them their king: 'Do not do this! Remain and bring hern (al-Iĵlaraši) the *arāğ* of the time that has passed and guarantee hern the *arāğ* for the future. Assure him of the cultivation of your fields and that you will go with him to the field if he wishes, and ask forgiveness for your deeds and

Give him pledges that will be in his hands.' Then they (the great ones of the Soghders) said: 'We fear that he will not be satisfied and that he will not accept (this) from us (in a friendly sense). Instead, we will go to Chogand (*ju anda* and a s k its king for protection, then send a message to the ruler and ask his forgiveness for our earlier deeds and assure him that he has nothing to expect from us that is displeasing to him. Then he (the king of the Soghders) said :

'I am one of yours, and what I have advised you (-440, i de Goeje), was good for you. But they refused, and they went to Cho and Kär- zang and #Iyti and (the inhabitants of) Bayärkaß and T\_äbit with the people of Istechan (near Samarkand). They sent to King Fer yäna's *ll'r* those who asked him to protect them and settle them in his city. He was about to do so when his mother told him: 'Do not let these devils enter your city, but make them free a country district so that they may be there'. So he sent to them: 'Name me a district that I should clear for you and give me a respite of 4 days - and

it is said: from 20 days - and if you want, I will set you free

the ravine of 'Isaam'b. 'Abdilläh of Bähilite, whom Kutaiba had left with them. So they accepted the ravine of 'Isaam and sent to him: 'Make them free for us!' He said: 'Yes, but there is no treaty or protection for you on my part until you enter it (the gorge), and if the Arabs overtake you before you enter it, I will not defend you. They were satisfied, and he made the gorge free for them. It has been said: Ibn Hubaira sent to them before they left their land, asking them to stay and he would appoint over them as "int/ whomever they wished. But they refused and went to Khogand and to the gorge of 'Isäm from the district of Asfara, and Asfara was then the heir to the rule (w'iJiyti f-'end) of the king of Fer yäna Bilädä, and Bilädä was father 'nwJwr's (B; BM *'Inn jnun, O'lltrjfmti*), the king there. It is said: Kärzan said to them : 'I am giving you three choices. If you disregard them, you will perish. See 'Sa'id (al-Ijjarasi) is a knight of the Arabs, and he has placed at the head of his vanguard 'Abdurrahman

b. 'Abdilläh (\*44s, z de Goeje) al-Kusairi with the defenders of his comrades. So attack him by night and kill him. Behold, al-Ijjarasi, when the news of this reaches him, will not launch a campaign against you.

undertake.' Then they (the Soghders) refused him ( Kärzan )

opposite. He said: 'Then cross the river of Šāš (Iaxartes) and ask them (the people of Feryāna) for whatever you want. If they give you a favourable answer, (then it shall be good), and if not, then go to Sūyāb. They said: 'No'. He said: 'Then give them (the Arabs) gifts'. He said: "There migrated from Kārzang and Ġalanġ with the people of Kī and Abār b. Māhnún and ābit with the people of Ištēchan, and the people of Bayārka# and Sabaskaß with 1000 men who wore golden belts (possessed high rank) migrated together with the *dēhkān* of Buzmäġan, and it migrated from ad-Diwāšti with the people x-on Banġikaß to the castle of Abġar, and Kārzang and the Soghder go to Choġand."

Explanation. In Feryāna there seems to be a coexistence of different 'nōfūš, similar to the contemporaneous Chwārezm ; vg1. Alt- heim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike 26g. - With the golden belts (defence cloaks) of the nobles from Bayārka# and Sabaskaß, the Eḡiqicrr p of another Iranian should be remembered. Mithridates VI Eupator had spent 400 talents on it (Plutarch, ΠΟΙΤΡ 42). Golden belts among the Western Turks : Chavannes I, 25: 53; 2, 2£).

The tax pressure from the Arabs is described in the petition of the so-called Chinese princes to the Chinese emperor. The King of **Eumid** writes:

"Tout ce qu'il y avait dans mes trésors et mes magasins, tous mes objets précieux et mes bijoux, ainsi que les richesses du peuple qui m'est soumis, ont été réquisitionnés par les Ta-cds (Arabes) qui sont partis en les emportants" (Chavannes i, 20A). He continues: "J'espère humblement que la bonté impériale fera en sorte que les Ta-cnu recoivent l'ordre de renoncer aux taxes réquisitionnés dans mon royaume". In 227, the yaḡoyo of Tochāristān complains: "Comme les *Ta-che* m'ont imposé des taxes extrêmes, je ne puis trouver aucun objet de valeur pour vous l'offrir" (Chavannes i, zoo).

We do not dare to interpret the numerous place names and personal names in the section, as we lack knowledge of Soghdian. As far as the city of Kī is concerned, a Chinese report mentions *Kie*, but Chavannes i, -59 note 3 thinks of Kīšš. Only two names should be considered zaḡi, 2 ò @ ħi ġi š'i (according to D. H. Müller) is undoubtedly *banġika!* Adnotatio r shows that the vocalisation of the first syllable is not part of the delivered stock. According to this, Panġikant is meant; for the juxtaposition of soghd. *kn0* and šß see I. Gershevitch, A Grammar of Mani-

chean Sogdian so 1 34 . Only the first part of štičy appears on the coins: O. I. Smirnova in: Trudy Tadžhiskoj archeol. ekspediz' 3 (\*95 ), 223 nos. 2i - 222. Further, *ad-diuīāšni* (according to D. H. Müller), also delivered differently (cf. Addenda DCCI to the passage), is none other than *Divāsti(c)*, i.e. *ad-dimāšli*. He is known from the letter written in Soghdian to Amir al-Ġarrāb in 218-'9. On him and the other documents from Mount Muy, see A.A. Freiman, in : Sogdijskij Sbornik -934. 6 f. ; on the name itself W.B. Henning in: *Orientalia* 8

(I 39), 88. Spuler has not yet recognised the equation of Bunġikat, Banġikat and Panġikant and listed the names separately in the index of place names. Furthermore, as the table of contents p. 25a f. shows, he has not recognised the otherwise quite familiar Divāsti(c) (cf. s33 nm. 8 ; 434 mm. i2) in the Arabic rendering. It also remains unexplained why he says on p. 3z that this man had recognised the apostasy of the Soghder gs/hears. abari at least names Divāsti(č) among the leaders of the Auf- The first year of the emigration of 22 2zz, and among the leaders of the emigration of the following year he appears in seventh and last place, in the verses ābit Ku na's (iaq6, it) in fourth and penultimate place.

Panġikant was thus cleared of its ruler and inhabitants in 2zi-22z.

abari, ann. z, iO-. \*4 . de Goeje.

"It has been reported by 'Ali from his comrades that al-íjáraši went to battle in the year top (2Zz-ÿ23). He crossed the river (\*44a. z de Goeje) and scrutinised the people. Then he travelled on and may have come to the castle of the

Winds about two parasangs of Dabüsiya ... (Z4Až, 5 de Goeje) Nēlān, son of the uncle (on his father's side) of the king of Feryāna, came out to al-íjáraši when he had descended **in Muyün**. Then he said to her: 'The Soghders are in Choġandn and told her about them. He said:

'Seize them quickly before they reach the ravine ('I ām's b. 'Abdillāh of the Bāhi- lite). For they will not find shelter with us until the appointed time comes. **Then** al-Ījáraši **sent** with Nēlān: 'Abdurrahmān al-Kušairi and Ziyād b. 'Abdirrahmān al-Kušairi with a troop. Then he regretted what he had done and said: 'There has come to me a disbeliever of whom I do not know whether he is telling the truth or lying. I have led an army of Muslims astray!' He followed in their footsteps,

until he came to Ušrūsana, and made peace with them for a small sum ... (I 2, i6 de Goeje) Then he set out quickly and hastily until he reached al-Kaširi (-443. i de Goeje) after three (days), and travelled on (he reached Choğand) . . (-443. 2 de Goeje) He said:

Then a man of the Arabs arose and struck at the gate of Choğand with the mace. The gate was then opened. They had made a ditch in their suburb behind the exit gate, covered it with reeds and filled it with earth with cunning intent. They assumed that as soon as they (the Muslims) approached, if they (the Soghders in Choğand) were put to flight, they would know the way, but that it would be doubtful for the Muslims and they would fall into the ditch. He said: After they went out, they fought with them, and so they were put to flight. They let them stray from the path, and so they fell into the ditch. They

took 4 men from the trench, each of whom was equipped with two tanks. Al-Ijaraši shut them in and set up the siege engines against them. Then they (the Soghders) sent to the king

of Feryāna: 'You have betrayed us' and asked him to help them. Then he said to them : 'I have not betrayed you, nor do I help you, but help yourselves. For they (the Arabs) came upon you before the fulfilment of the appointed time, and you are not under my protection. When they despaired of his help, they wished for peace and asked for safety and that he would send them back to the land of the Soghders. Then he imposed on them the condition that they give back (i4AĀ, i de Goeje) whoever was in their hands from the wives of the Arabs and their children, and that they pay what they had interrupted from the Aardğ, and that they did not kill one of them and that not one of them remained in Khogand. But if they cause new trouble, then their (the Soghders') blood is due." A slain Arab woman is found, and it comes to

At the end of the conflict, 3000 or 2000 (i4 45. \*9 de Goeje) Soghder are slain and their possessions distributed as booty. (i4q6, q de Goeje) "Da said ābit Ku na, mentioning the losses they had inflicted on them (the Soghders) :

'Does not the eye feast? The battlefield of Kārzang and Kaššin and what **Biyār** suffered

And Divāšti, and what did Čialang suffer in the castle of Choğand: behold, they entered without permission and perished'.



. And it is also said: Divāšti was *the ehLān* of the people of Samarkand; his name was Divāštiġ, but they arabised it to Divāšti."

(ZĀĀÿ, z de Goeje) "He said: He sent al- Haraši: Sulaimān b. Abi s-Sarri, freedman of the *òonii* 'Uwāfa, to a castle that surrounds the valley of the Soghder from one side only, and with hern were Šúkar b. Hunaik and the Chwārezmšāh and 'Ūram, Lord Achrün's and Šümān's, **in** the quickest way. Sulaimān b. Abi s-Sarri sent to his vanguard al-Musaiyib b. Bašar ar-Riyāhi. Then they (the Soghders) confronted her from the castle a parasange away at a village called Kūm, and al-Musaiyib put her to flight until he threw her back into the castle. Then Sulaimān imprisoned them and their (the castle's) *dêhLān*, whose name was Divāšti. He said: Then al-Ijaraši wrote to him (to Sulaimān) and offered to help her. Then he (Sulaimān) sent to him (al-Ijaraši) : 'Our gathering place has little room, so go to Kishos. For behold, we are in God's protection, if God wills. Divāšti wished that he should take up residence under the authority of al-Ijaraši and that he (Sulaymen) should send him together with al-Musaiyib b. Bašar. Bašar to al-Ijaraši. So Sulayman agreed and sent him (Divašti) to Sa'id al-Ijaraši, and he (al-Haraši) was kind to hern and honoured him cunningly. The people of the castle asked for peace after his (Divāšti's) departure on the condition that he (Sulaimān) would not be hostile to the hundred nobles of them and their wives and sons and that they would leave the castle. Then Sulaiman wrote to al-'Iaraši that he sent trusted men to receive what was in the castle. He said: Then he sent Muhammad b. 'Aziz al-Kindi and 'Ibā b. Ahmar al-Yaškuri, and they sold what was in the castle in an auction, and he (al-i;íaraši) took a fifth and distributed the rest among them (the besiegers). They (the people of Kišíaraši) made peace with hern against 1000 heads, and it is said: the *dêhkān* of Kišš made peace, and his name was wyś, against 2000 heads, whereby he fulfilled it (the imposition) to hern (al-Haraši) in to days under the condition that he would not come to hern. After he left Kišš, he went to Rabinġan and killed Divašti "

Explanation. About Divāšti(č)'s downfall, according to the process W. A. Kračkowskaja's and I. J Kračkowski's in: Sogdijskij Sbornik (1934) 54 , R. Ghirshman traded: Les Chionites-Hephtalites 5 f. All three researchers assume that the castle into which Divāšti(č) had thrown himself was built on

located on Mount Mui. There seems to be no proof of this for the time being. The various titles given to this Soghder also cause difficulties. He is addressed as "King of the Soghders" and "Lord of Samarkand" in an Arabic letter addressed to him from Mount Mui. He is the leader of the emigrants from Pangikant iqaī, 2 ; *d ähbān* of the people of Samarkand iqa2, 13; *dehkān* of the besieged castle -445. 7 The coexistence of Divāšti(č) as king of the Soghians and Ğirak is also unexplained. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that a similar coexistence of kings previously encountered in Chwārezm and Feryānā (above p. 97: -Zÿ), that there were also several kings in Samarkand (Balādilfi ATI, 14) and four rjytpovtol among the Western Turks (Menander in: **Exc. de** legat. 45\*. 3s de Boor).

In B. Spuler, a. 0. 3y and z3A, the events discussed are left aside without giving a reason. Contrary to his statements, the Soghdian emigration was successful.

The authors thus conclude the chapter on the Arab Quellen :

"immensa raccolta di tradizioni piu antiche, redatte nella vigorosa e sapo-rosa prosa dei due primi secoli, intramezzate di brani poetici, ricche di modi proverbiali, di allusioni ad antiche costumanze" (Giorgio Levi Della Vida)  
\*.

' The Muiún mentioned in abarĪ, ann. z, i qa2, 6 (above p. i ig ; cf. D. H. Müller on the above passage Adnot. i) may rather claim to be equated with Mui. This is based on soghd. \*toy- 'aMagian', cf. neupers. inliydtie and I. Gershevitch, A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian i 58 § ioqo, plus the suffix -wn, -ōn : ibid. i 6 § io85 ; cf. 8 § 66.

° Aneddoti e Svaghi Arabi e Non-Arabi (i g5g) 23a.





## PROSKYNESES IN IRAN

### Introduction

1

Greek ἄλλοι render the Persian custom of paying homage to the Great King with *προσκύβειν*, a verb that also denotes a Greek custom of greeting gods and divine beings. While Greek proskynesis was the subject of a number of detailed studies, Persian proskynesis was usually only dealt with in passing.

Older works<sup>1</sup> had tried to show that the Greek proskynesis, but also the Roman *adoratio*, consisted of a kissing hand directed towards the honoured being or object, whereas the Persian one consisted of a foot fall<sup>2</sup>.

Based on the correct consideration that the Greeks could not have designated two such different gestures with the same word, H. Bolkestein<sup>3</sup> also interpreted the Greek proskynesis as 'footfall'.

<sup>1</sup> M. Brouërius de Nyedek, *De veterum ac recentiorum adorationibus dissertatio*, Amsterdam 1733 (not accessible to me); J. H. Schulze, *Observationes philologicae de verbo προσκύνειν* (\* 73<sup>o</sup>) §§ 7-10; E. Voullième, *Quomodo veteres adoraverint* (\* 7) 6 f.; g f.; C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* (1890) 129 f.; 5/ t.; 59-7. < -

<sup>2</sup> E. Voullième, a. (9. 6, understands the footfall before the Great King only as an additional adoration. Similarly Cremer-Kögel, *Bibl.-theol. Wörterbuch der neutestamentl. Graecität* (1891. Auth 9\*3) 4\*

<sup>3</sup> Theophrastus' character of the Deisidaimonia as a religious-historical document, in: *RVV. z I*, (1899) 13

<sup>4</sup> H. Bolkestein's approach is summarised in A. Alföldi, *Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremonielles am römischen Kaiserhof*, in: *Röm. Mitt.* 49 (1934) 9\*. - a 7 mm. i, was taken up again. A. D. Nock, in: *Gnomon* 8 (1935) 5 i ἄ note ἄ.

He endeavoured to prove that the Greeks had knelt in prayer, especially before the chthonic gods, and that the falling of the foot was therefore entirely in keeping with Greek forms of worship. This would also **explain** the Greeks' resistance to the Persian proskynesis, since, according to their view, they must have felt that falling before humans was unworthy. Against the explanation as a kissing hand

H. Bolkestein's objection that *wpooxuvciv* originally had no other meaning than "to honour", and on the other hand that the gesture of the kissing hand was only described as such in later, but not in classical times. J. Horst has rightly rejected these assertions in a fundamental work on *wpo xuvsvv*. From a theological point of view

J Horst treated proskynesis as a preliminary form of the New Testament use of the word, but gave a detailed description of its meaning and development<sup>^</sup>. Starting from the basic meaning

In his analysis of the verb, he comes to the conclusion that *mqoonuvziv* is to be understood as a complex process. An essential component is the kissing hand, which, in relation to a direct counterpart, can be connected with certain body postures, which are usually characterised by corresponding affixes'. J Horst also associates the proskynesis of the Persians with the falling of the foot, but endeavours to follow the basic idea.

meaning of the word. He therefore considers whether

the Persian proskynesis is to be understood as the kissing of the feet or the kissing of the earth at the feet of the ruler<sup>8</sup>.

The interpretation as a kiss of the earth had already been advocated by P. Schnabel<sup>®</sup> in the discussion about the organisation of the ceremonial at the court of Alexander the Great, in an effort to find the basic meaning of the word in the Persian custom, but at the same time to set it off against the Greek custom of the kissing hand. The Greeks would have understood the Persian football as a kiss to the earth goddess<sup>1°</sup>; Alexander, however, when he intended to introduce proskynesis, chose not the Persian but the Greek form in order to express the deification of his own person.

<sup>^</sup> **Proskynein (ig3a)**, I.

° a. 0. i f.

' a. 0. 8 f.

® a. 0. 55 f. ; **cf. on this B. Meissner**, *Der Kuß im Alten Orient*, in: SBAW. **i9**, 3 9 ij f.

° **The foundation of the Hellenistic royal cult** by Alexander the Great, in :

Klio ig (i 9-i) \*\*3

io a. O. i I9.

to bring". However, at the well-known symposium in Baktra, which formed the starting point of the "ceremonial staging", the proskynesis was not performed before Alexander himself, but before a **to-rlo**<sup>o</sup> mentioned in the report of Chares of Mytilene. This type of homage had been paid to the god Alexander, while the subsequent kiss, which the king received and returned, had been paid to the man Alexander.

H. Berve<sup>o</sup> argued against this with the pertinent objection that in this case an altar would be superfluous, since the god (Alexander) had been present in his own person. Hp';øwúwjfrt\$ could, H. Berve further argues, have been interpreted both as a kissing hand and as a footfall at the time of Alexander<sup>^</sup>. Here it was not intended to honour Alexander's divinity; his demand should rather be understood as an attempt to introduce the Persian court ceremonial. Unfortunately, neither P. Schnabel nor H. Berve were able to clearly state whether the proskynesis in Baktra was a footfall or a kissing hand. According to H. Berve <sup>1</sup>, it is only clear that a Persian custom was adopted, since Herodotus" already cites kissing and proskynesis as Persian and the participants in the banquet at Baktra, like the relatives of the great king, had the right to kiss the king".

Taking the differences in judgements as an opportunity  
B. M. Marti<sup>oo</sup> proved wpoo "úvplç as a kissing hand on the basis of a large number of passages from Greek and Latin literature.

" a. 0. i i y.

<sup>10</sup> In **Plut., Alex. 5a**, a f. ; **more details below p.5<sup>o</sup> f. Note 3.**

<sup>13</sup> In: **Klio 20 (1926) 179f.**

\* a. 0. i82. Berve initially used this argument to delete the èo-rla from Plutarch's text altogether, but later admitted its presence in :

<sup>o</sup> 3 (\*937) \*53-

<sup>15</sup> a. 0. i82. On the Kallisthenes fragment she refers to (FGrHist i z4 F 3i) F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens* 2 (igiI \*35 with note 5z.

<sup>is</sup> In addition\* Jacoby, FGrHist 11 D a35 f. ; L. Deubner in H. Berve, *Klio* zo I 9-\*) 3  
Note i ; 0. Kern in P. Schnabel, *Klio* zo (z 9z6)4<sup>o</sup>7 • >. P. Nilsson, **Geschichte der griechischen Religion z (r95o) no Anm.7: H. Bengtson, Greek History**  
(+95<sup>o</sup>) 3<sup>o</sup>}f AIII.B. 3 Ølt. It.

<sup>17</sup> The Alexander Empire i (Ig26) 3dO.

<sup>18</sup> \* . \* 34 . \* .

<sup>iø</sup> Arrian, an. 2, i i, 6f. ; cf. Xen., *Cyrop.* 4. 2.

<sup>zo</sup> **Proskynesis and adorare, in : Language iz (19 36) z7 z f.**

Similar to P. Schnabel, she also understands the Persian proskynesis as a footfall and kiss of the <sup>earth</sup><sup>1</sup>.

More recently, F. Altheim<sup>oo</sup> took up the discussion. Persian testimonies<sup>oo</sup>, especially the audience reliefs of Darius I, were included in the discussion for the first time. It was surmised that the Persian proskynesis was a kissing hand and that Alexander had demanded nothing other than this. F. Schachermeyr<sup>o-</sup>, on the other hand, maintained the explanation as a footfall, but is of the opinion, on the basis of the reliefs mentioned, that a kissing hand was also thrown to the Achaimenids after the footfall was completed<sup>o-</sup>. W. W. Tam<sup>o-</sup> considers the Persian proskynesis to be a pure "prostration", which he also claims for the court ceremonial of Alexander. Recently, E. Visser\*<sup>o-</sup> rejected this view and concurred with the supposition expressed by F. Altheim.

Following on from the work mentioned above, A. Delatte<sup>o-</sup> has once again carried out an investigation of the Greek custom and attempted to establish when the gesture of the kissing hand is accompanied by certain postures and how its origin can be explained. The linguistic usage of *wpooxurtiv* is not uniform. The word denotes both the kiss on an "object sensitive" <sup>o-</sup> and the kiss on one's own hand. Where the worship is witnessed more fervently, prostration or "prosternation" could be <sup>added</sup><sup>o-</sup>. In addition, he tries to prove a special variant of the Greek custom<sup>1</sup>. Referring back to a Xenophon passage<sup>oo</sup> which contrasts Greek and Persian proskynesis, he believes that the Greeks, when unexpectedly intervening

<sup>o1</sup> a. 0. z8z.

<sup>oo</sup> *ÄVeltgesch. Asiens i (i gq2) ig8 f. ; Alexander und Asien ( 953)\*3: • Skyflesis, in : Paideia 5 (i s°) 3°7 f. ; in : Gnomon -3 (+95 +1 9-3*

<sup>2a</sup> *Literatur u. Gesellschaft z (i95°)°74 ; in : Paideia 5 (i g5o) 308.*

<sup>24</sup> *Alexander the Great (ig'9)3°° f. ; in : Gymnasium 631 956) 34. See below P. i 5d note, i 6.*

<sup>25</sup> *Alexander the Great (i g49) 3 i i .*

<sup>26</sup> *Alexander the Great 2 (195°) 35g f.*

<sup>27</sup> *In : Atti del 8th Congresso Internale di Storia delle Religioni 8 (19s5/57) 3° '*

<sup>28</sup> *Le baiser, l'agenouillement et le prosternement de l'adoration (wpoo-x0vrj'ri5) chez les Grecs, Acad. Royale de Belgique, Bull. de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques 5, I37 Ich ' ) z3 f.*

<sup>29</sup> *ä. 436 ; x-gl. H. Bolkestein, a. 0. z5.*

<sup>zo</sup> *a. 0. 43\* "*

*a. 0. 435*

*" An. 3, \*, 3*



of the gods had carried out a proskynesis, which - as he assumes for the Persians ^ - consisted of a prostration.

The last statement on the question of proskynesis can be found in the theological dictionary of the New Testament by G. Kittel<sup>6</sup>. The question of whether or not the kissing hand belongs to the process of proskynesis is regarded here as unresolved. The only thing that is certain is that the meaning element of throwing oneself to the ground cannot be explained from the composition of the word *wpoo uvtiv* alone. But if the proskynesis did not include this meaning of falling to the ground, then "the Greeks would have described the ceremonial (of the Persian court), which was offensive to them, in a way that concealed the actual offence". Here, too, it seems to be assumed that the Persian proskynesis was nothing other than a footfall.

The interpretation of the Persian proskynesis as a footfall can essentially be based on Herodotus, who actually expresses it clearly in some places by *wpoo-rrlwrtiv*. Furthermore, the widespread custom in the Orient of throwing oneself to the ground in front of higher-ranking persons and the accounts from the imperial period <sup>1</sup> of the introduction of proskynesis by Alexander the Great seem to justify this opinion.

But the explanation as a footfall leads to difficulties as far as the Greek and Persian evidence is concerned. The audience reliefs from Persepolis lack any depiction of a footfall. The Greek writers use the verb *wpouovtiv*, whose etymological meaning has nothing to do with a footfall, wherever they speak of the formal obeisance to the great king. Herodotus makes no exception to this. For where he speaks of a *wpoo-rrivr-rtiv* before the great king, this verb is always participium coniunctum to *wpo tiv*. In addition, the Greeks used the verb *vrpooxuvtiv*, whose

°° A. Delatte, *op. cit.* O. 26f.

^ The work by L. Cerlaux and J. Tondriau, *Le culte des souverains (iq5 y)*, is not accessible to me.

°° vol. 6 (- s8) 759 -. " -- "pooxuvèm (Greeven). ' P.

Schnabel, in: *Kl O 9 di g25* -\*3 i Iz6.

t Atheloi, Huns II

according to etymological meaning, a separate branch, the execution of a kissing hand°.

Consequently, if the Persian proskynesis had indeed consisted in a footfall, a double meaning would have to be ascribed to the Greek verb°. Efforts have therefore been made to eliminate the contradiction by trying to prove that the Greeks also understood *wpo':r uvziv* to mean a footfall, but these attempts have not led to any satisfactory result. In the eyes of the Greeks, footfall was reserved solely for women and *6tlo1fi'xipovt\$*, unless it was a question of chthonic cults^ . The derivation from these, which found expression in the earth kiss in <sup>Homer®</sup>, is countered by the fact that the oldest testimonies not only speak of a proskynesis to the earth, but also of a proskynesis to the heavens, the sun and the stars'. There is no plausible explanation as to why the kiss to the earth should have been transferred to the heavenly bodies". On the other hand, philological observation° shows that in all unambiguous passages the postures that are added to the proskynesis, which are quite different in <sup>nature</sup><sup>10</sup>, are also specially designated, i.e. they differ from the actual process. It cannot therefore be assumed without further ado that they are included in the meaning of the verb -rrpoo "uvtiv.

Since these attempts to harmonise the accounts of the Greek and Persian proskynesis did not lead to a satisfactory

<sup>2</sup> More details below p. -4°-

<sup>3</sup> Thus F. Taeger, *Charisma i I 9s7l g5*, relying on M. P. Charlesworth, in : *Harvard Theol. rev.* 28 (1935) i 6f.

<sup>4</sup> C. Sittl, op. cit. O. 115 \*- :77: J. HorSt, *ã. O. 23 f.* ; M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. der griech. Rel. I°* (1955). - eg u. Arim. q.

<sup>5</sup> Last A. Delatte, a. O. 43 \*- -d. -

<sup>6</sup> J. Horst, a. O. i 8 f. ; A. Delatte, a. O. *azg.*

<sup>7</sup> See below p. iaz f.

<sup>8</sup> The assumption that it was possible to reach the earth, but not the stars, and that the earth's globe was therefore replaced by a kissing hand, is based solely on a consideration of the technical side of the process, but not on its religious motives.

\* J. Horst, l. c. O. j8 ; A. Delatte, *6. O. 436: a § I.*

\* e.g. : *xo0tzvol kZXpt xou youvo-roS -r1'jv geipo, wpo-rrlzt rctv, xUn-rrtv, èwtxúrt-csiv, EvEfoz ès γῆν τὸ γόνυ καθίεναι, χείρας ἐπαλλάσσειν, τοὺς ἀντίχειρας ὑποτιθέναι τοῖς xol roÜç 6cncTúAov\$ è"-rE(vEiv, zçc sipc wpo-rsfyEtv xol -rfjv 6E tòn šzrl 6o-rzpy*

result, the question arises as to whether a false idea of Persian proskynesis had been formed. For this reason, instead of trying to prove correspondences to Persian proskynesis in the Greek area, an attempt will be made to scrutinise the evidence of Persian customs for correspondences to Greek custom.

### Achaimenids. Pictorial evidence 1

Excavations in the treasure house of Darius I in Persepolis have brought to light two large wall reliefs, identical in object and structure down to the last detail.

In the centre of the depiction, the Great King sits on a throne without armrests°. He is wearing a wide, pleated robe, his hair and beard styled in elaborate curls. His head is covered by a flat, round cap, the kidaris, and his feet rest on a stool. In his right hand he holds a long sceptre, his left grasps an I.tos flower^.

Directly behind the throne stands a figure in the same costume, apparently the heir to the throne. He touches the back of the throne with his right hand and also carries a lotus flower in his left. The king and the heir to the throne are raised above their surroundings by a flat podium.

Two thymiateria or fire altars° stand at ground level in front of the group of rulers - on the right in the picture - with a subject in mediæval robes on the right in front of them.

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed report see E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis Bd. i. z* (ig53-ig5 y).

<sup>2</sup> E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis z*, i 6z f. ; pl. i i9-123 ; Fig. 63 ; 68 A ; y6 F. Further illustrations in : Herodotus, *Histories*, German Complete Edition, ed. by H.-W. Haussig, ! +955) 22s ; A. T. Olmstead, *History of Persian Empire* (ig 8) ]3 3°; R. Ghirsh- man, *Iran* (iggf) pl. ig b ; L. Vanden Berghe, *Archaeologie de l'Iran Ancien* 1 959) 35; p 4- d. - The originals are in the museum in Tehran.

<sup>3</sup> According to Herakleides of Kyme (FGrHist 68g F i), the throne of the Great King was made of **Gold**.

<sup>4</sup> E. F. Schmidt, a. O. i, I63 i Ut.

<sup>5</sup> E. F. Schmidt, op. cit. O. i, 83 note g8.

<sup>6</sup> R. Ghirshman, in : *Art. Asiae zo* (957). z26, sees in them containers of the sacred fire of the Achaimenids ; F. Schachermeyr, *Alexander der Große* (is'9l 5z 2 Anm. Aoi ; Täf. -3 Cf. A. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (-939) P 37 e. An Achaimenid seal here shows a richly dressed, seated female figure, in which one sees less

The figure is depicted in a 'traditional costume', bringing his right hand to his lips with a slight bow to the rulers, while his left holds a staff, which he lowers in front of the kings, following his own posture.

In the picture on the left are two other subjects standing behind the heir to the throne and also facing the Great King. The first, clad in a Persian robe and wearing a bashlyk over his head, holds a finely folded scarf in his right hand while placing his left hand over his right wrist. He is followed by a weapon bearer in meć(ish costume; he carries a bow wrapped in the  $\gamma\epsilon\omicron\pi\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$  over his left shoulder and a battle axe in his right. The  $\acute{o}\chi\iota\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omicron'\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ , a short dagger, hangs from his belt.

A canopy<sup>®</sup> stretched over the figures described, its supporting poles touching the ground behind the armour bearer on the left and the staff bearer on the right. Such a canopy can still be recognised on the long known, similar reliefs on the gates of the "Hundred Pillars Hall" of Xerxes".

The scene ends on the left with two  $\sigma\omicron\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\theta$ , spearmen, in Susian costume. One half concealing the other, they both rest the lower end of their spears on the foot shown. On the right side of the picture stands a man in the same costume, again half concealing a third spearman. He holds a small cauldron in his left hand and, like the figure with the bashlyk, places his right hand over his left wrist.

E. F. Schmidt has given a plausible interpretation". The two rulers are Darius I and his son Xerxes. Xerxes

a "noble lady" (A. Frankfort, a. 0. 22 i) as the queen herself. Her throne, footstool and thymiaterion bear a striking resemblance to those of the two reliefs. In later times, Ardašér I's investment relief in Firúzábād shows a similarly designed small "fire altar" between the king and the god; K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden* I 943)

Fig. +9:sql. also Herodian i, i 6, a.

<sup>7</sup> To the brought: P. J. Junge, in: *K 33 I 94*<sup>9</sup>\*3 : •• etz L. Vanden Berghe, a. 0. 32.

<sup>8</sup> Probably the  $\omicron\Gamma\pi\nu\tau\omicron\chi$  mentioned by Plutarch, *Alex* 37, i. ; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (9 I 4-; cf. also Heracl. of Kyme, *FGrHist* 689 F i.

<sup>9</sup> E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* (953) I 6y; pl. 9g; Sarre-Herzfeld, a. 0. 43: F. Sarre, *The art of ancient Persia* (9><1"-  
I<sup>o</sup> Hdt., 136, i ; Herakl. von Kyme, *FGrHist* 68g F z.

" In : *The Oriental Institute Communications* z i (i9 3g) Sof. ; *Persepolis* i, i 67f.

was, as he himself emphasised in inscriptions <sup>16</sup>, designated as heir to the throne during his father's lifetime<sup>16</sup>.

The figures directly behind Xerxes can be interpreted as high dignitaries of the empire from the still legible inscriptions on the side figures on the tomb of Darius I in Nakš-e Rostam<sup>17</sup>. They also accompany the king on other depictions<sup>18</sup>.

Particular attention must be paid to the scene in front of the Great King. The ruler sits on the throne, surrounded by his son, the highest officials of the realm and part of his bodyguard, the "Ten thousand", also called the "immortals"<sup>19</sup>. He is completely turned towards the staff-bearer who is paying homage to her. The bowing of the subject, his right hand raised to his lips - the whole character of the depiction bears witness to the fact that a special moment of the appearance before the king was to be captured here in exemplary form.

It is presumably the *tiwæyythtúš*, who had to open the audience<sup>20</sup> and introduce all arrivals to the king<sup>20</sup>. The large rings in his ears make him stand out from the rest of the staff.

<sup>16</sup> E. F. Schmidt in: *OI C zi (i g3g) z i ; Persepolis i, iGy.* <sup>16</sup> Hdt }, 2-3: Ktesias, *FGrHist 688 F 13.*

<sup>17</sup> Sarre-Herzfeld, a. O.\*43: - J. Junge, a. O. ig f.

<sup>18</sup> E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis i*, pl. 25 f.; cf. the relief of Bīsutūn, Sarre-Herzfeld, .w. O. Taf. 3: A. Christensen in: *Handb. der AltertumswisS. 3, 3 1 933*) Fig. 3A; R. Ghirshman, *Iran (ig5a) pl. i-i b.*

<sup>16</sup> Hdt7• 4°. • @3, i; Heracl. of Kyme, *FGrHist 689 F i.*

<sup>17</sup> This interpretation is based on the above-mentioned similar gate reliefs in the "Hundred-pillared hall", on which Artaxerxes I (E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis i, 33 : L. Vanden Berghe, a. O. 35 f.*) alone receives the described homage. - On the audience in the gates see W. Otto, in : *Hermes 55 (i gzo) z2 z I. and 56 (i gz•) •°4 f.*

<sup>18</sup> Hdt. 3, . i f.; 8A, 2, cf. 3 }2, 2 : 77 - - J. Junge, a. O. \*5- - After Hesych ( )3. 52 Latte) are ó (ape-rræ-rti5: the *tlwoyyġtiç uapó flEppaiç*, and according to Xenophon, *Cyrop. 8,3. \**, staff-bearers deliver the messages of the Işönig. J. Marquart, in: *Philologus 86 (i 8g6)••7*; all later authors, especially P. J. Boy, agree with his interpretation. He has the - *hazârapatiš* - - *clw'yxythtúç* was equated with the *ç • ç i*, the head of the bodyguard. According to Diodorus i 6, 4y, 3, the *clooyycRüç* was also equated with the command of five thousand *łwłhmzoi*

entrusted. - R. Ghirshman, in : *Art. Asiae zo (957) 2ý6 f.*, sees in the honoured. He assumes (against E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis i*, 168) that Darius I was the king's chief treasurer in the room of the treasury in which the reliefs were found, *r e c e i v e d* the gifts from the festive legations of his realm. As plausible as this interpretation is, it remains unclear whether the supreme treasurer introduced these legations to the king himself or whether this was not done by the *tlcreryychtúç z ukam*. Perhaps the Treasury Tablets will also provide further information in this regard. Cf. \V. H inz, in : *ZDUG 108 ( 19j ) I 2ðf.*

The 'bearers of the palace', who escort emissaries from all the peoples of the empire with their gifts into the palace at the staircase to the Apadaena of Xerxes".

There has been no lack of attempts to interpret the gesture that the slwrcryfhc09 makes with his right hand before the king. It has been suggested that it could be interpreted as a sign of the report that was made daily to the Great King<sup>oo</sup>. But a hand held in front of the mouth would hardly have been conducive to the presentation of such a report.

The interpretation of P. J. Junges srhien to penetrate deeper<sup>oo</sup>. He was of the opinion that the hand held in front of the mouth was intended to keep the person's breath away from the king. Nor could a gesture of prayer be intended, as figures on the right-hand side of the tomb of Darius I, who also brought their hands to their lips and "held a corner of their arm in their hand", had nothing in common with the depictions of Iranian worshippers. According to reports from those who have seen the monument, the figures on this side of the tomb are so badly damaged that Junges' statement can no longer be verified.

These interpretations have the drawback that they cannot be substantiated by written evidence. Moreover, they prove to be unfounded as soon as two further groups of reliefs are included in the analysis.

Above the castle terrace of Persepolis, two tombs are carved into the rock face in the form of rectangular niches, which are attributed to Artaxerxes I I and Artaxerxes III'. \Like the other Achainlenian royal tombs, they are modelled on the tomb of Darius I in Naks-i Rustam, apart from a few differences.

The burial chamber is set deep into the rock. Its entrance, in the centre of the back wall of the niche, is flanked on both sides by two half-columns supporting a richly decorated entablature. Above the entablature, a two-storey throne rises in relief, covering almost the entire width of the back wall.

\*° E. F. Schmidt, Persepolis I,P \*7 : A. Christensen, a. 0. fig.3°—3 ; A. T. Olm- stead, a. 0. pl. 3 -33

oo A. T. Olmstead, a. O. z i y ; similarly already Sarre-Her zfeld, a. 0. i q3.

oi This is only documented for the time of Alexander the Great: P. J. Junge, a. 3•

oo a. 0. i8 f.

<sup>1</sup> Sarre-Herzfeld, op. cit. O. i 5 f. ; 6o f. ; E. Herzfeld, „Altper. I nschriften (-3\*i 5° : \*. \änden Berghe, a. 0. 36.

wall. Between his two columns<sup>o</sup> supporting the platform stand subjects, representing the peoples of his kingdom, and support the ceilings of the two storeys with their arms outstretched high. The Grand King stands on the throne on the left - raised even higher by a three-tiered pedestal - and raises his hand to the symbol of the god Ahuramazda hovering above the throne. On the right, also on a three-tiered pedestal, is an altar of fire; in the corner above it hovers the moon<sup>o</sup>.

On the side walls of the northern tomb, three uniform, superimposed frieze zones depict men in Persian costume, the highest dignitaries of the empire <sup>3</sup>. The zones run, without stepping down, over the corners of the niche into the frame of the main relief, so that the first figure of each strip, standing on the surface of the back wall, conveys the relationship of the side wings to the main depiction. The height of the two lower frieze zones corresponds to the storeys of the throne, the upper one is at the height of its platform. The three-tiered platform on the base of the throne means that the king towers above the figures on the upper frieze of the side wings. They are thus in a similar relationship to him as on the treasure house relief of the staff-bearers. They are all turned towards the king praying to Ahuramazda. However, only those who are on the right side of the tomb, i.e. face to face with the king, bring one hand to their lips while the other is placed on their knee. It is striking that the gesture here is made with the left hand, whereas the reliefs in Persepolis emphasise the right. The slight inclination of the upper body is also missing here, but here as there the gesture is directly related to the king.

The same relationship also applies to the gestures of a series of figures on the staircase reliefs. Persian and Mede great men ascend the stairs to the Apadaena of Xerxes and the "Council Hall" in long trains. Persians and Medes move in alternating succession into the palace on the reliefs of the Apadaena ; inside, on the stairs to the Council Hall,

<sup>o</sup> On the pillar throne: F. Altheim, *Literatur und Gesellschaft* (1950), I§O ; the translation is disputed by H.-P. Schmidt in: *Indo-Iranian Journ.* i (i ggf.), i6y f.

<sup>o</sup>- H.-P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* 1953s 8of., understands the king as the earthly image of the cosmocrat Ahuramazda. Cf. 39 : i-

<sup>o</sup> Sarre-Herzfeld, a. O. i5 ; fig.5 : F. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (ig22) , Taf. 33- s If he had used his right hand, it would have been difficult to recognise him from a distance.

<sup>^</sup> E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* i, 8z f. ; 5 i f. ; 57 f. ; 66-y4 ; A. Christensen, a. O. fig.

<sup>3</sup> 3 ; A. T. Olmstead, a. O.

3 ; . Vanden Berghe, a. O. 3' : P- 33ä

34 ä.

they are divided by tribe. The Persians take the shorter route along the inner wall, the Medes walk up the outside. While in the Apadaena reliefs only Medes raise their hands to their lips', in the interior this gesture is also performed by Persians". The strict posture of the figures mentioned distinguishes them strikingly from the others, who sometimes turn towards each other as if in conversation, sometimes place their hand on the shoulder of the person next to them or walk along in a relaxed posture".

The bow also features here. Apparently it was only required immediately before the face of the Great King, while the simple gesture of the hand raised to the lips could already be performed on the way to him, i.e. from a greater distance. The appearance of the gesture at this point clearly shows that it can be just as little a "reporting gesture" as a holding back of breath.

F. Altheim has given a different interpretation<sup>o</sup>. Since the Greek *proskynesis*, according to its basic meaning, means "to kiss", i.e. "to throw a kiss to someone", nothing else is meant on the reliefs of Persepolis than the execution of such a *proskynesis* before the Great King". This raises the task of examining the numerous references from Greek and Latin literature more closely; in them *proskynesis* is the form of deference owed to the Great King by his subjects at every encounter.

<sup>6</sup> E. F. Schmidt, a. O. i, pl. 66-74

<sup>7</sup> Survey of Pers. A2't. s (+938) p1. go; E. F. Schmidt, a. O. i, pl. s - \* - : si f.

<sup>8</sup> E. F. Schmidt, a. O. i, pl. 66 f.; 68 A.

<sup>9</sup> The gesture appears in various forms, which may perhaps be interpreted as individual phases of execution: the hand is sometimes on the tip, sometimes on the curls of the beard. The interpretation of A. T. Olmstead's interpretation, a. O. i8o, that the intention was to ascertain whether "the curls were still in the proper order" may be left to one's own devices; moreover, it does not apply to all figures. - A detailed description and interpretation of these features is still pending. Where the gesture is executed with the left hand, reasons for the depiction presumably also play a role, such as the parallelism of the features. Cf. F. Schmidt, a. O. i, pl. 68; 69.

<sup>10</sup> World History of Asia i (x g 2) ig8; Alexander and Asia ( 953) 83; Paideia 5 (i95o) 3<sup>o</sup>7\* : his interpretation was recognised as a possibility by W. v. Bissing, in : Hist. Zeitschr. i 2z (ige-) 557: differently F. Schachermeyr, in : Gymnasium 631 -g56) 134-

<sup>11</sup> On the gesture of the kissing hand in the ancient Near East B. Meissner, in: SBAW. 9 +94•3s.

- :

A. Delatte, op. cit. O. §3i note z; H.-P. L'Orange, a. O. 5j, fig. z8; E. Herzfeld, Am Tor von Asien (i920) Tat. z; E. Diez, Iran. Kunst (ig ) i i, fig. 2z; L. Vanden Berghe, a. O. pl. i z5 c; W. Otto, Handb. d. Archaeol. i(•933) i; 6, i (1939) pl. i g 5, i; F. Altheim, in : Paideia 5 3<sup>o</sup>9-(• s i



## Achaimenids. Written testimonies

In the 86th chapter of the third book, Herodotus tells how Darius receives his first homage as king of the Persians after the murder of the false Smerdis. The conspirators, six in number<sup>1</sup>, ride outside the gate at dawn. The first horse to neigh towards the rising sun is to be elevated to king. Darius succeeds in being the first to elicit the promised sign from his stallion through a trick of his stable master. Thunder and lightning sound in the same glance, revealing the approval of the heavens. The companions leap out of the saddle and show Darius a proskynesis<sup>2</sup> : or  $\delta\tau\ \chi\epsilon\rho\omicron\delta\omicron\rho\omicron\nu\text{-}z\iota\ \$\ \delta\omega\acute{o}$  why way  $\wp\omicron\epsilon\chi\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\ \nu\acute{o}\nu\ \text{A}\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ .

If here the proskynesis is a visible sign of recognition of the great king at the moment of his exaltation, elsewhere it is a royal decision and judgement. Xerxes, son and successor of Darius, announces to the convened war council, despite the dream that impels him to march against Greece, that he wishes to desist from his resolution. Full of joy, the assembled great men pay the same homage<sup>3</sup>:

$q\tau\nu$  :  $\wp\text{zouwcr}r\ \text{zc}r\acute{i}\zeta\text{ro},\ \text{xxx}\ \text{r}\tau\acute{i}\nu\acute{o}\zeta\text{y}$

$\tau\tau\acute{i}\text{z}\omicron\epsilon\tau\tau\acute{\upsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$ .

Herodotus reports some Πέρσας similar about Astyages, king of the Medes. Harpagos, one of his most trusted subordinates, proves the proskynesis to her when the ruler had apparently absolved him of guilt<sup>4</sup> : 'A $\wp$ wc $\rho$ yo\$ piv 'i\$  $\wp$ xouwt zc $\acute{i}$  re,  $\wp$ pooxuv wo\$ ... is i z $\acute{o}$  olx $\acute{i}$ x.

In a fourth passage, Xerxes receives the proskynesis from the great men of his neighbourhood, who, about to sacrifice themselves for his salvation, testify their devotion to it for the last time<sup>5</sup> :  $\nu\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\zeta\ \text{fiE}\ \wp$ poom véomo\$  $\text{RwrJ6}\acute{\nu}\ \ @\ \text{zrjv}\ \delta\acute{o}\chi\epsilon\text{'r'r'xv}$  (to lighten the king's ship).

It can be inferred from the passages quoted that the honouring designated by  $\wp\omicron\alpha\nu\nu\text{z}\acute{i}\nu$  has found visible expression. But how to imagine the execution in detail,

3. 86, z.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly Pint, mor. i C.3

<sup>4</sup> 7' 3. 3.

<sup>4</sup> 1, 119, 1.

<sup>5</sup> 8, 118, 4.

is not clear from them alone, since Herodotus does not give any further details. but rather presupposes knowledge of the <sup>process</sup>6.

In two other places, however, Herodotus combines the verb *wpow-* *xuveiv* with *wpo'rrrī-rrtiv*. In the first case, two Greek envoys are instructed by the king's palace guard on how they should behave when they appear before the ruler'.

Sperthias and Bulis, two noble Spartans, have gone to Xerxes to atone for the murder of Darius' envoys in their hometown. When they arrive at the great king's palace, they are ordered by the doorkeepers to perform the proskynesis at the sight of him and fall to the ground: *ii'ε̄ ÒrE|3pwcr̄r̄ i9* Notice: *xct̄i |3owiht̄i it òqnv Èh8ov, w̄p̄ñzn piv w':øv 6opvQópmv xthfuóvzmv xcl òvòyzijv w';n w̄pow- Qcpóvzmv -rrpomuvst̄iv |3ooihio w̄pocrrr̄imovzn\$ **oúx šQoæcrr** ú8tóptvoi v̄pòç crú "rččv šzr̄i xegazijv noi oeW za ma oū6apó oērr̄e yóp ogt šv vópy *zlvai ó v 8 p ' :nuov* v̄rpoo uviciv one xeró **zic' íjxsiv**.*

Both came from respected families in their town and had went to the king on the basis of a divine command. For them, it was not a question of submitting to the person of the Persian king, but of fulfilling a commission given to them. This results in a double interpretation. On the one hand, both are defending themselves against the demand of the *wpoærrī-rrciv*. The Greeks, who always invoked their freedom before the Persians and considered all Persian subjects to be slaves because they obeyed only one, had to reject the request to prostrate themselves because it would have humiliated them<sup>8</sup>.

The main emphasis of the Spartan rejection, however, lies on the second part of their speech: for them it is of *iv vópy o:v8p':øwov wpo':rxuvittv*. This phrase shows that for them proskynesis belongs to the sacred realm; their opposition is thus explained on religious grounds. By proving a proskynesis, the Great King would have been elevated to a rank which, in their opinion, did not belong to them as human beings. For the

- In contrast, z, to, where he adds an explanation for Egyptians: *wpooxúvou i xer-*  
• *t s rfie • r v\* °s fi• x◀• •*; see A. Wiedemann z. St.

\* 7. \*36. z.

- Aisch., Pers. 2q2 ; Plut., Them. z7, < : cf. A. Alföldi in : RÖm. Rlitt. ag (i g3A) 9 f., with references to the recurring reference in later literature to the

The Greeks knew the foot fall only as a gesture of supplication: M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. der griech. Rel.*, i° (95s) •59: "Kneeling down occurs ivie the striking of the earth only in the cult of the dead and in superstitious rites".

The completion of the proskynesis follows from the fact that there was an external similarity between the Persian and Greek forms.

The second place where *wpomuvtiv* is connected with *wpoærriv* is found in Herodotus' description of Persian greeting customs. A distinction is made between three types of greeting, which depend on the status of the people they meet<sup>10</sup>: *ñvowrt5fi' óXXrjhoiwi* (sc. of *Bápoa*) *śv zgot ð6oioi zØ6e ðv zç 5oyvo@ e ópotoi em o( ouv- 'uyXó'o"ç ó rĭ yòp zoú wpoocryopeúziv ðÀÀžjÀovç q n Ā (ovoi zoîç o rópooi (Z), íjv 6t oNtpo5 ùwo6téærcpo\$ óhíyy, vóç w'xptið\$ 'nhš- owrat (z), v 6è no76\ oçrrepoç óyevvśærzpoç, apoæcí ccv ppooxvvvšet zò'v žzcpov (3ĭ*

In place of the *wpooyopzùziv*" customary in Greece, the Persians use the kiss as a greeting. Equals (i) or near-equals (z) kiss each other on the mouth or cheek, the *woy ðycvśn-ztpoç* (3), however, proves a *wpo "úrpoiç* by *ĭä1lt* to the ground. Instead of "kissing" as a direct touch, *Qthtiv*, *wpomuveiv* belongs to the third and lowest level.

This cannot possibly be understood here as a footfall, because this is expressed by *-rrpoærríozcov*. As has been shown above, a certain action is to be thought of at the stands where *wpo'wuvziv* was used alone. If this action had consisted of a foot fall, it would not be clear why the addition of *wpo-rríwzmv* was needed at this and the previously discussed point. For if *wpocrxuvziv* were indeed to be understood as a footfall, the combination of the two verbs would amount to a tautology.

This makes it necessary to distinguish between *wpo Uvtiv* and *wpo- oí try*. But what does *wpomuvziv* mean then?

Herodotus himself already provides an indication of this. At the lowest level of greeting, the *wpomuvtiv* takes the place of the *qihiv*. Strabo, who bases his description of Persian greeting customs on Herodotus, describes the first two stages fairly accurately, but in the third he writes: *oì 6' rrv zærtti- vóztpov wpooxvvoùwi póvov'*.

<sup>10</sup> I, 134, 1.

" Cf. ed. z, 80.

734 End.

The objection to the version that Strabo would have summarised Herodotus'  $\omega\pi\omicron\epsilon\acute{\rho}\iota\mu\mu\nu\ \omega\pi\omicron\mu\nu\acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}$  in  $-\text{rr}\omega\omicron\upsilon\chi\nu\omega\upsilon\omega\tau$  and thus wanted to designate the execution of a footfall is that the  $\iota\acute{\omicron}\nu\upsilon\upsilon$  in Strabo's work only makes sense if  $-\text{rr}\omega\omicron\upsilon\chi\nu\tau\nu\iota\nu$  means something similar to  $\text{Qi}\eta\epsilon\iota\nu$ . Herodotus also clearly parallels  $\omega\pi\omega\omicron\upsilon\chi\nu\acute{\sigma}\tilde{\iota}\nu$  with  $\text{Q}\eta\theta\eta\iota\nu$ . The etymology of the word leads further.

$\text{fl}\omega\omicron\upsilon\chi\nu\tau\nu\iota\nu$ , formed from the verb  $\chi\nu\tau\nu\iota\nu$  "to kiss" by means of the preposition upon-, is accordingly understood as "to kiss" °, further interpreted as "to show a kissing hand", also as "to kiss on, against" °. A. Delatte' ascribes an intensifying function to the preposition and translates it as "baiser avec ferveur". In principle, all of these meanings are possible<sup>6</sup>, but the translation "to kiss" is preferable, as it corresponds most closely to the Greek branch.

Homer generally uses the simplex in the following sense "to kiss". Thus Penelope kisses her returning husband's head and shoulders ( $\gamma\ \text{zo}8$ ), the aged Priam the hands of Achilles ( $< 4\ 8$ ) or Odysseus the native earth ( $\nu\ -54$ ). Subsequently, this meaning is transferred to  $\text{Qi}\eta\tau\nu\iota\nu$  and  $\chi\epsilon\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta\text{Qi}\eta\tau\nu\iota\nu$ , while  $\chi\nu\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$  survives only in the compound  $\omega\pi\omicron\mu\nu\tau\nu\iota\nu$  and is reserved exclusively for the sacred sphere<sup>®</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> E. Boisacq, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque (3) 535 with lit. ; in detail-J Horst, Proskynein (- 32) i of. ml lit. ; so also J. H. Schulze, Observationes philologicae de verbo  $-\text{rr}\omega\omicron\upsilon\chi\nu\epsilon$  (\*730) § 7<sup>10</sup>

<sup>2</sup> C. Sittl, Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer (i 8go)•s7 : '7' : • i f. (the wordplay "anhü ndeln" proposed by her for the Persian proskynesis, a. 0. -57 An3. has already been rejected by H. Bolkestein, in : RVV. z i, e [i gzg) z5 note i, has been rejected) ; P. Schnabel, in : Klio i 9 (19°5) -9 ; H. Berve, in : Klio zo (i gz6) r 8z ;

J. Horst, a. 0. aq f. ; B. M. Marti, in : Language i z (ii\*1 •7• \* : F. Altheim, Welt- gesch. Asiens i (i gig) ig8 note °36; O. Treitinger, Die oström. Kaiser- und Reichs- idee (956) 86f. ; F. Taeger, Charisma I (9J71 95 -2 IO f.

<sup>3</sup> H. Bolkestein, a. 0. °3

<sup>4</sup> Bull. Acad. Roy. Belg. p. 37 (- 5-) i-\*

<sup>5</sup> The etymological meaning "to kiss on, against" corresponds, for example, to the usage in Polyb. 3°. 18, 5 ; Cass. Dio s9. 7. ! WHERE direct contact is to be assumed.

<sup>6</sup> J. Horst, a. 0. i 6f. ; z z f. ; the German version carried by H. Bolkestein, a. 0.3° • rgetragene Deu-

The idea that  $-\text{rr}\omega\omicron$  "uvtiv refers to the execution of a foot fall is of

J. Horst, a. 0. 5 f., was rightly criticised.

In Latin, *wpomuvtiv* corresponds to the verb *adorare*\*. Varro's derivation from *Es* "mouth"<sup>10</sup>, which would be the closest, is questioned<sup>o</sup>. In this case, *osk. ums/*, which is generally used today for the derivation, would be a loan word from Latin, which is possible but cannot be proven<sup>10</sup>. Varro's derivation, however, shows - however one evaluates his interpretation - the context of meaning with *wpomuvtiv*. *Adoralio*, in Latin connected with *os, osculum*\* and related rightly or wrongly, has thus been perceived as a translation of *wpo'r- xuveiv*. An example is given to illustrate this.

\Venn Plinius I<sup>o</sup> describes the process of *adoratio* with *iti adorando dezteram ad osculum rc/aritnus /o/uzripor corpus circvmagimus*, this corresponds exactly to Plutarch's description<sup>10</sup>: one ydp s8o5 Ecrrl 'P': "potoi\$ wpoo "uvtiv zolS 8to0 wtpio rptQoptvois.

The execution of the *wpo':rxüvpwi\$* and *adoralio* is clearly described by some writers of the imperial period<sup>1</sup>. Thus Minucius Felix<sup>o</sup> tells of the pagan companion of Octavius: *Æscifios simufacro Serapidis denolato uf oulgus superstiliosus solet, manum ori admouens osculum impressit*. Caecilius brings his hand to his mouth and presses a kiss on it with his lips. This custom is described as a custom of the people, so it must have been widespread.

Apuleius<sup>o</sup> describes the same gesture. He ironically characterises a despiser of God with the words: *si /atiiiim ... praelcreal, ncJas habct ado-*

<sup>1</sup> So already C. Sittl, a. 0.57 note ; i 2z note 6 ; zgi f. In detail B. M. Marti, a. 0. 229 f.

<sup>o</sup> De I. I. 6, 26; otherwise Festus z i8, 6 Lindsay (ig8 b •3 <1

<sup>o</sup> Walde-Hoffmann, Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Lateinischen z (i95#) 22#.

<sup>10</sup> Walde-Hoffmann, a. 0. zz .

" According to W. Kroll, in : RE Suppl. 5, 5i i, *osculum* is the usual term for the ceremonial kiss.

<sup>1o</sup> N. h. z8, z, z5.

<sup>1o</sup> Marc. 6, i i ; cf. cami s. s-

<sup>1</sup> Since the proskynesis of the Greeks and Romans has been dealt with from many different angles, only those passages are cited here that summarise the process. clearly recognisable. For everything else, see the index in J. Horst, ä. 0.3\*7 3\*\* The imperial cult and the Byzantine period were not taken into account.

<sup>1</sup> Octav. z, .

<sup>o</sup> Apol. 56.

*randi gralia manum labiis admo "ere*. If Minucius Felix merely offered a description, here the process is explicitly described as *adorare*. Jerome\* also calls the kissing hand *adoralio* when he says: *q̄oi adorant, solent deosculari manums*.

In Greek, Lucian offers something similar. According to his account, Demosthenes is said to have committed suicide by using the proskynesis in front of a temple as an opportunity to "bring poison to his lips", deceiving those around him:  $\chi\tau\lambda\grave{\alpha}\bullet\ \chi\bullet\text{P}\bullet =\grave{\gamma}\text{ crr}\acute{o}\rho\alpha\epsilon\text{ri w}\rho\omega\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\omicron$  (sc. **Aijpooθivou**) *oiiθén óhh' -rrpomuciv ù w c h ó p | 3 o v o v*. Lucian had thus has the same idea of proskynesis as Apuleius and Minucius. Nothing else can be inferred from a second passage in which he speaks of the poor man's worship of God':  $\acute{o}\ \delta\text{E}\ \acute{w}\acute{c}\acute{t}\acute{v}\acute{j}\ \text{i}\acute{h}\acute{o}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\acute{r}\acute{o}\ \prime\ \acute{o}\nu\ \delta\acute{\tau}\acute{o}\nu$  'pilhwo póvov zrJv ord-rot fieËiòr.

The passages quoted show with sufficient clarity that the proskynesis consisted of a kissing hand. There is no question of "throwing the kiss with the hand, as E. Voulliéme assumed". As already J Horst<sup>o</sup>, the custom consisted solely of pressing the kiss on one's own hand.

Various "postures" or movements can be added *to* this gesture, but these are explicitly labelled as such<sup>o</sup>. The Roman proskynesis is particularly special in this respect. In the *naluralis historia*, Pliny<sup>o</sup> reports that the *adoralio* of the Romans was associated with a clockwise rotation of the whole body.

\* In Ruf. i, i g.

^ The ct ce9ite *submittere*, which he adds, denotes the attitude of the adorant.

• Dem. enc. 49

' De sacrif. i z ; J. Horst, a. 0. q6 Arim. 5 ; A. Delatte, a. 0. §3i mm. i .

^ Quomodo veteres adoraverint (188y) g ; similarly P. Schnabel, in : Klio i gI• •s) •• and F. Altheim, Weltgesch. Asiens i (i g y) i g8 ; Alexander und Asien (i 953) 83.

" The Kul3 hands that were thrown to one another in Rome (C. Sittl, a. 0. i 2i) (Cass. Dio 6a, 8 Emperor Otho to the people, cf. Tae., hist. i. 36) are, at least in historical times, to be distinguished from the sacred custom. One cannot, therefore, as A. Delatte, a. 0. 43-., regard the throwing of the kissing hand as the Roman form of proskynesis, especially as Pliny clearly describes the Roman custom.

<sup>o</sup> a. O. 45-

" see above p. - 33 a

<sup>o</sup> e.g. Theophr., char. i 6 ; Luc., Alex. 30 (football) . In general, the football is

**Characteristics of deisidaimonia: M. P. Nilsson, Gesch. d. griech. Rel. i<sup>o</sup> (i9 55) i 59. 1 28, a, z5.**

wesen<sup>14</sup>: *in adorando dextezam ad osculum rō/sriōtōs totumque corpus circim-agimus, quod in laevum jecisse Galliae religiosius credunt.* Plutarch<sup>15</sup> associates the clockwise rotation with a proskynesis to the sun. The Roman general Marcellus turns his horse round in the face of the enemy (wepio-priyoc zón imrov) and performs a proskynesis towards the sun (zón kiov o rō5 wpowtxúnvōt).

Proskynesis (*adoratio*) thus proved to be the simplest form of homage offered to gods (or their saints) among Greeks and Romans. A proskynesis was also performed in the event of their unexpected intervention or invisible activity<sup>16</sup>. It was also dedicated to the stars, especially the sun<sup>17</sup>. Again it is Lucian<sup>18</sup> who offers a vivid description. He contrasts the Indian honouring of the sun with the Greek way of greeting the sun<sup>18</sup>: x'x1 zi not zōuc

"pXripē' zōv "HZiōv ócrzró owroi.

"Ἕλληνας λέγω, ὅπου καὶ Ἴνδοι ἐπειδὰν ἕωθεν ἀναστάντες εὐχώνται τὸν Ἥλιον, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τὴν χεῖρα κύσαντες ἠγουμένθα ἐντελεῖ ἡμῶν εἶναι τὴν εὐχὴν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν στάντες

These relatively late testimonies<sup>19</sup> are contrasted with those from earlier times, which do not emphasise a detailed description of the process; the basic meaning of the word was still immediately present<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Thus also Plut., Numb i4, 4 f., where explanations are given for the clockwise rotation. Cf. Voulliéme, op. O. i i f. ; C. Koch, Gestirnverehrung im alten Italien. Frankf. Stud- 3 (933) i g f. with bit.

<sup>15</sup> Marc. 6, i i ; vg1. Camill. 5, g ; Liv. 5, e i, x6 ; C. Sittl, a. 0. xgā f.

<sup>20</sup> A. Delatte, a. 0. 35. However, he explains proskynesis in this context as "prostration" and refers to Xen. an. z, §, i g, where the army performs **proskynesis** at the sneeze of a soldier, and also to a sentence in Xenophon's speech, an. 3, z, 13, in which the Persian and Greek custom of proskynesis are contrasted: οὐfiivv γὸρ Ὀv8pō rov βιο-rtó-rivv Ξi δ zōuc 8eouuc wpoieJvtl-rt. The conclusion of A. Delatte's conclusion is based on the premise t h a t Persian proskynesis consisted of a footfall.

<sup>17</sup> Testimonies bet A. Stanley Pease, Comm. to Cicero, de nat. deor. (i g55) Δ07 mlt Alt.

<sup>18</sup> De salt. 12.

<sup>19</sup> A. Delatte, l. O. 43° Arim. 2, wrongly understands the kissing hand as the conclusion of the prayer. Cf. J. Horst, a. 0. 6f. ; F. Dölger, Sol Salutis (+9<7) \*3

<sup>20</sup> They caused H. Bolkestein, a. 0.°4. to dispute the kissing hand in early times. In contrast, J. Horst, a. 0. q5 f. ;4 8 f. It should be added that passages such as Hesych s. v. npoo "uvci = Trpoo-rriw-rci, or Suda S. v. youuwrijwni = wpooxoviē'xi cannot be used as evidence that wpo vtiv originally meant a foot or knee fall. Since - rpoθxopci needed an explanation here, its original meaning was no longer known.

<sup>19</sup> J. Horst, a. 0. q g.

Plato<sup>oo</sup> mentions a proskynesis that was performed in front of the tombs of the dead. That he meant the gesture of the kissing hand is clear from another passage. In the laws<sup>o</sup> - he speaks of -rrpooi Ettl- to fipo xcl wpo'wuvrjoci\$. 'EUR pv'x'v et xcl |3op|3öpvmv at the rising and setting of the sun and moon. The idea of giving the sun a prosky- nesis p a r a l l e l s Plutarch<sup>o</sup> and Lucian, who both understand it as a kissing hand. Apart from this, Plato could not have meant a proskynesis<sup>oo</sup> as this is already expressed by wpoo "uhl<sup>oo</sup>-.

Proskynesis is also found in the tragedians. Sophocles speaks in several places of a *wpo'n'xivziv* before gods<sup>o</sup> and divine beings<sup>oo</sup>, before heaven<sup>oo</sup> and earth<sup>o</sup>. The word occurs less frequently in Aischy- los. It also remains within the framework of Greek ideas. In the Per-<sup>sern<sup>o</sup>1</sup> the messenger reports that there was no-one in the army of the defeated Xerxes who did not perform a proskynesis to heaven and earth at the sight of the thundering Strymon.

As far as we know, Euripides was the first tragedian to stage a proskynesis which, in Greek terms at least, did not belong in the sacred realm. A Phrygian falls to the ground in front of Orest and performs a proskynesis with the words-<sup>o</sup>: opo x v'iii ö : von v6poiwt

|3op|3Öpoicri -rrpoo-rriwmv. Orest rejects this: öix év 'lhn zöfi' Harry, öO' ev 'Apye -, x -i: "We are not in Ilion (i.e. Asia), but on Argivian earth". At the same time as leaving the sacred

Here, the proskynesis is joined by the footfall. It becomes clear in this

-<sup>o</sup> Respubl. 46g a-b; Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des antiquités x (i877).<sup>o</sup> : fig. i i 8,- cf. fig. i ig; rzo.

^ 7 e ; cf. Aristoph., Plut. y2z.

<sup>oo</sup> See above p. i§3.

<sup>oo</sup> Whether, as A. Delatte, a. 0.43 . surmises, one may infer from the cited passage from Plato that the Greeks prostrated themselves to the stars at the proskynesis, seems to be a question of fact.

questionable to me, since there is talk of Hellenes and barbarians at the same time.

-<sup>o</sup> To understand wpooxÜvr}wi\$ here as worship is also unacceptable. In any case, the "veneration" required a visible expression.

<sup>oo</sup> Phil. 65d ; El. I3}§ ; cf. arse, prom §36; Aristoph., eq. i56.

<sup>oo</sup> Phil. yy6.

<sup>oo</sup> O. C. i 655.

<sup>oo</sup> Phil. §33; I§O9 ; O. C. i 655.

-\* He does not mention the proskynesis as an obeisance to the great king. Only a later scholion overwrites wpoo-frlzym of verse i 53 with -rrpooxviii. On the scholia see U. v. Wilamowitz, Aeschylu- t\*941 XXVII.

<sup>oo</sup> Or. i 5oy f.



connection is described as a custom that is not Greek<sup>oo</sup> (νόποιwi |3op-Εἰόpolwi). The description of the event corresponds to Hero-dot's account of the appearance of the Spartan envoys Sperthias and **Bulis** before Xerxes. Euripides' description should therefore be placed alongside those of the Persian form of homage.

The best information on proskynesis within Persian court ceremonial is provided by passages that report on encounters between the Greeks and the Great King.

In the biography of Themistocles, Plutarch recounts how the exile is received by the Great King'. Going back to Phainias<sup>o</sup>, he has interwoven a conversation that the chiliarch Artabanos has with Themistocles about Persian court ceremonial. Although Themistocles does not give his name, but only identifies himself as Greek, Artabanus remarks that he is no ordinary man. Pointing out that it was one of the noblest laws of the Persians to honour the Great King as the image of the all-sustaining god<sup>o</sup>, while the Greeks valued freedom above all else, Artabanos declares that Themistocles, when he appears before the Great King, has to pay him a proskynesis'. Themistocles replies that he will comply, as it pleases the god who made the Persians great<sup>^</sup>. In contrast to Herodotus' account<sup>o</sup> of the Spartan legation, there is no mention of a foot fall. Rather, the only sign of veneration is said to be the prosky- nesis, which is dedicated to the divinity of the great king'.

On the case of the Greeks *al- enp plicatio* cf. Delatte, a. 0.43 6 f. ; ΑΑ I f.

' 07. °.

' \*7. . On this, R. Laqueur in: RE i9, 1567 f.

\* zy, 4 : fj3tív 6è "rroMóvov nó zccv xOI xcéckóv 6rrecv xóÀÀto-roç oç-róc áD-rt zlkÖv |3ootÀso

4 27, 5 : εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα προσκυνήσεις, ἔστι σοι καὶ θεάσασθαι |3oot?tso xal rrpoo'tzreiv- el 6' áÀÁo -ri epoveíç, óyyóMocç z-rzpolS jtpfjo l TrpòS ou-rón. |3nwi Tf yòp ou wó-rpiov òv6pòç óxpooño8ni tirJ npolwnu-ros . Cf. ael, v. h. i, z i.

° z7, ô: ... wtlwopoi zoic ùprróçoiç nópoiç, lwcl &y zÿ pey'xñúvov-ri Htp°of on-re

LOItU l3TÄ.

\* 2, i36, i f.

Whether the Achaemenids claimed divine rank is an open question. On this see G.

Widengren, in : Numen Suppl. 4 ( 959) 2§2 f.

Themistocles' behaviour stands in sharp contrast to other accounts that describe the appearance of Greeks before the Great King. According to Herodotus, the Spartans refused to perform the proskynesis on the grounds that "it was not their custom to show it to a man". Konon preferred not to appear before the king because he wanted to avoid the same gesture<sup>ft</sup>, and Xenophon<sup>10</sup> addresses his army with the words: οὐδὲνο γὸρ οὐδὲμῶν ἴσοῦντι τὸν βασιλῆα. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ἴσοῦντι τὸν βασιλῆα. Isocrates<sup>11</sup> means the same thing when he says in the Panegyrikos: ἄλλοτε δὲ τὸν βασιλῆα ἀποκροῦντες οὐδὲν ἴσοῦντι τὸν βασιλῆα (sc. οὐδὲν ἴσοῦντι) ... *zfi'v 6'e 6Eččv püĀhov by zčův 6v8p':i'wcv 6 h r y m p o í h r r c \$*.

The aloyp'ov in Plutarch's account<sup>10</sup> of the audience granted by Artaxerxes to the Thebans Ismenias and Pelopidas also points to resistance on religious grounds. While Pelopidas, held in high esteem by the Great King<sup>10</sup>, does nothing that could offend Greek sensibilities (οὐδὲν ἴσοῦντι τὸν βασιλῆα) despite the request to carry out the proskynesis, Ismenias tries to evade the execution by means of a ruse<sup>11</sup>. The passages cited make it clear what the Greeks are resisting. They reject the execution of a gesture which, according to Greek opinion, would have elevated the person to whom it was directed to the divine realm. It goes without saying that the verb wpooxuvtív, when used by the Greeks to characterise a foreign custom, only made sense if it meant precisely what they themselves understood it to mean. There can therefore be no other gesture in than the kissing hand.

However, in Plutarch's and Aelian's narratives, the verb xtímrtiv or éwixúw-reiv<sup>12</sup> appears alongside the verb wpomuvttv. As in Herodotus the wpočerrí-rrrciv<sup>13</sup>, so here the (I-rrri)x try indicates the body-

<sup>7</sup> 36, i.

<sup>8</sup> Nep., Con. 3, 3; cf. Iust. epit. 6, z, i3.

<sup>10</sup> An. 3, 2, 13.

<sup>11</sup> an. i 51.

<sup>12</sup> Art. z z, 8 - cf. Alex. 5A, 3 (OICQ(Úvt) !). - A parallel report is available in Aelian,

v. h. i, z i. Dinon, Heracleides of Kyme or Ctesias may be considered as sources: E. Schwartz in: RE 5, 65a: JScOby in: RE i i, zo69\*-; E. Rudolph in: Leipz. Stud. 2 i 884) 85.

<sup>13</sup> Plut., Art. z 2, 8; Pelop. 30, A.

\*\* 3 z z, 8: 'lokqvlas 6ē τ τ τ p o o "vvíjoai xelcuóksvoç éĒš|3oXe yapü s x6v 6ccctú7|tov, about xú'PaS óve(Àc-ro xat wopže 66Ēav wpooxuvoúv-rod.

<sup>14</sup> Plut., art. z z, 8, Ael., v. h. r, 2 i. i3 i,

i3, i.

The gesture reflects the posture to be adopted during the homage. Ismenias uses the bow, which he performs particularly deeply, to avoid the gesture of proskynesis. If the proskynesis consisted solely of a drop of the foot or a bow, he would have performed it by bending down towards the ring and not concealed it.

Most of the testimonies to the proskynesis of Persian subjects before the Achaemenid great king usually describe a more or less spontaneous reaction to the king's appearance or pronouncement, i.e. a proskynesis that stands outside the firmly defined ceremonial at court.

In *Cyropaedia* <sup>2</sup>, Xenophon describes the departure of the elder Cyrus from his palace. A chariot dedicated to the sun moves in the magnificent procession, drawn by four white horses. The bearers of the sacred fire<sup>o</sup> walk directly in front of the king. Cyrus himself appears larger and more powerful than usual. All the subjects, who thus see him for the first time, perform the proskynesis, either, as Xenophon writes, carried away by some who had previously been instructed to do so, or out of sudden astonishment at the sight of the king. Xenophon adds that none of the people had previously performed a proskynesis to Cyrus.

In the *Vita of Artaxerxes*<sup>o</sup>, Plutarch describes the proskynesis as a spontaneous expression of astonishment at the severed head of the younger Cyrus, which the great king holds up by his hair. When the younger Cyrus tries to kill his brother at the battle of Kunaxa, impetuously pushing his way through the masses of the army, he creates free space for himself.

Railway with the cry: ἐξίο-rci<- -- xpoi. The Persians disperse and show their respect with a proskynesis\*.

<sup>1</sup> 3. 12 f.

<sup>o</sup> Xenophon refers here to the "altar" on which the fire is carried before Cyrus as *teryōpa*. Curtius 3,3. 9 \*priCht of *argentei allaces* ; Ammian -3, 6, 3§ VOn

<sup>3</sup> 13, 2 οἱ δὲ ἑθαύμαζον καὶ προσεκύνουν.

<sup>'</sup> Plut., Art. i i, g: οἱ πτῖν teln-rau-ro wpoox voiiv-red. This passage shows particularly clearly that wpoowovEiv cannot mean a football. For it is difficult to imagine that the Persians were throwing themselves to the ground when they kicked out.

Just as in Herodotus the assembled council of state approves Xerxes' decision with a proskynesis<sup>o</sup> or Harpagos responds to his king's favour, in Xenophon' the Hyrcanians express their respect for the words of Cyrus with a proskynesis. Another parallel to Herodotus is a story by Plutarch. If in Herodotus the companions of Darius recognised him as king through a proskynesis, in Plutarch Ariamenes recognises his brother Xerxes.

Passages which, as far as I can see, point to a proskynesis on the part of the Persian subjects before the Great King in connection with a foot fall<sup>10</sup> are found in Plutarch and Isocrates. After the battle of Marathon, a simple Persian soldier (-nd ... zéov |3crp|3'apcov) falls to the ground in front of the torch-bearer Callias and offers her proskynesis in the belief that he is a king". Isocrates' <sup>o</sup>, who contrasts the free behaviour of the Greeks with the slavish attitude of the Persians, emphasises that the latter, when they made their expectation of the king, threw themselves to the ground.

If we look at the passages cited in this section <sup>13</sup>, a similar picture emerges as in Herodotus: a large number of testimonies that mention wpomueiv alone are contrasted with those in which a footfall is added to this verb. Here, too, the same applies as in Herodotus: if wpoerí rr-rtiv or the like would make no sense. Rather, in accordance with Greek custom, the proskynesis of Persian subjects before their ruler consisted of a kissing hand. flpoo-rrí-rt-rtiv in conjunction with wpoerxuvfiv thus denotes a footfall that was added to the gesture performed with the hand. Since

\* γ, 13, z.

o\* . ' \* 9 . \* .

<sup>7</sup> Συγορ. 4, 4. 13: οί δὲ προσεκύουον τε καὶ ὑπισχνοῦντο ταῦτα ποιήσειν.

<sup>^</sup> 3, 86,z.

<sup>1</sup> Mor. 173C érrro6ei) t8t v+oS 61 TOO Zepf;OU |3':xcr fhEcoç Ö 9iv 'Ap u:xt tVTJ9 EUØÛS iTpO':rExÚvrij:rE

K'xl vò ðtófiripn wepii8rJxtv, 6 6ç Zsp8tJç txclvy zrJv ðeu-répon pt8' tcozòv ifimxe zó8iv.

<sup>1o</sup> To Aisch., Pers. i 53, see above p. i44 Arim. 3 I.

xi Plut., Arist. 5, 7: zotrr':p (sc. Kallias) yóp zt 'iç dou'e why |3opJ3ópcov wpon8wswtv, olrl8tlç |3owihéo ðió Jv xóprJ v xmi zò crzpó'piov elvø-i wpc "wuvjer'xç 6t ... é6ci8t woÄ XP°OÍOv

<sup>1o</sup> Pan. th i.

<sup>1o</sup> On the evidence of the Book of Esther see F. Altheim, Weltgesch. Asiens i (-947) •

- \*36.

However, since the proskynesis was carried out both with and without a footfall before the Great King, the question arises as to how this difference is to be understood.

## 6

Herodotus' description of Persian greeting customs may provide a clue. A hierarchy clearly emerges there that depends on the status of those greeting each other'. It is reasonable to assume that a similar order of precedence was observed at the royal court.

We know from Xenophon<sup>o</sup> and Arrian<sup>o</sup> that the relatives of the king had the right to greet him with a kiss, which would correspond to the highest level in Herodotus. The simple Persian soldier, on the other hand, throws himself to the ground before the supposed king and pays him proskynesis in a way that can be compared to the lowest level in Herodotus. In the same way, the Spartan envoys were to show their honour to Xerxes'. They are thus equated with *afi wohh érytvvtmrtpo\$*. This is explained by the situation in which they find themselves. As envoys of a city that was in debt to the Great King, they could expect no other treatment. In addition, as Herodotus<sup>6</sup> reports, the Persians respected the peoples all the less the further they lived from the centre of the Persian empire. The Greeks, who lived on the edge of the world known to the Persians, were therefore at the lowest level in their eyes and had to greet the Great King in the same way as he expected from his lowest subjects.

In contrast to this, it appears that Themistocles, Pelopidas and Ismenias were not required to fall on their feet. However, as is noted in detail, they were held in high esteem by the Great King on account of their deeds<sup>o</sup>. They thus honoured the king with proskynesis alone with an inclination that also appears on the audience reliefs from Persepolis. Since it is the *fiçrcryths0\$* there, a high dignitary of the empire, the form of his appearance before the king may be interpreted as a sign of the king's power.

<sup>o</sup> Cyrop. i, q, <sup>o</sup> j.

<sup>^</sup> An. 2, i i, 6.

' 7. \*36, i.

<sup>5</sup> 2, 13 z, 2.

<sup>^</sup> Plut., Them. c R, : \*9, 3 ; Pelop. 30, S.

The king's relatives, on the one hand, and the lesser subjects, on the other, are allowed to see a level between the m. Gadates', a close friend of the elder Cyrus and, according to her, the first in the kingdom, greets him with a proskynesis, which corresponds to the nomos. There is as little mention of a footfall as in the above-mentioned testimonies. The situation is similar with the king's wethhoxífítç, who had to pay a proskynesis to his lawful wife. As a result, it can be stated: Persian proskynesis consisted of a kissing hand, which was either combined with a bow or with a foot fall". If the prostration is added to this, then this combination must be seen as the form of homage in which the Persian great paid his respects to the king. The footfall performed at the same time as the proskynesis, on the other hand, is reserved for the lower classes, or less respected peoples.

In any case, the proskynesis was a sign of recognition of the great king for all subjects. Even Ariamenes, who as a relative of the king had the right to kiss the ruler, offered him the proskynesis at the moment of his brother's elevation to great king.

## 7

In view of the similarity between Greek and Persian proskynesis in their external form, the question arises as to whether the Persian gesture also has sacred significance.

Xen., Cyrop. , 3, S : êÊÿJZ6c wpÔç xòv Kúrov, xat zÿ vóurp ττροoxvvoaç eÿrrr Xaipc, Kúpe.

8 Dinon, FGrHist Ggo F ° y.

9 In addition to those discussed here, various other stands were used, but these cannot be regarded as evidence of proskynesis within the Holzeremoniell3 . They cannot be reconciled with each other or with those listed here; moreover, their nature hardly allows any conclusions to be drawn about a court ceremonial. - The Skolion of Hybrias (Anthol. lvr. z, i zS f. Diehl) speaks, apart from the uncertain tradition (cf. \'. Schmidt, in: Phil.

ÄVochenschr.7 I +9\*7i 9 g f ; J. Horst, a. 0.7 nm. z) apparently from an Išniekuss, which in this context is without parallel for Persian \\*erhältnisse. - The proskynesis clç zò flcpwixòv in Luc., Náv. 30, which is connected with a \bowing,

The person concerned wants to hold his hands behind his back when performing this task. - If ten, Cyrop. 2, 5, 3\* x speaks of an *ito-ro9ihciv* of the hands and feet of Cyrus by Gadates and Gobrj-as, one has to see in this an expression of joy twohhò óøupúomtç ópø ynpğ tt'xl iú9p'xivópcvot), which is clearly set off against the preceding wponxúvr;piç x-or the gods (u-as to what is meant by this must remain open). Incorrect J. Horst, a. 0. 56 note3 — Also the

The footfall that a eunuch (Plut., Alex3°. ) performs before the king is explained by the situation and cannot be regarded as proskj-nesis.

If Plutarch's account is to be believed, the proskynesis that Artaxerxes II bestowed on the sun is clear evidence of this'.

The situation is different with the proskynesis shown to the Great King. The almost unanimous refusal of the Greeks to perform it before her shows, as the ancient Greeks repeatedly emphasised, that in their view the Great King was nothing more than a human being°. As far as the Persians were concerned, however, the Greeks were convinced that they either saw the Great King as a god or at least elevated him to the divine realm'.

In the Persians, Aeschylus calls Xerxes' mother, Atossa, Scorn cúvórtip'x ... nnì p?Jztjp, but with the qualification cí zi diy 6c'ípmv wnhcñò vGv pe8terpxç o-rpærÿ. Aristotle° reports that the Persian king was called 6scrró ç and 8tóç, and according to Isocrates' he was also addressed as be:ípmv. In a conversation with Themistocles, Plutarch has the chiliarch Artabanos refer to the king of the Persians as ciz'I'v of the all-sustaining god. According to Xenophon and Herodotus, Cyrus the Elder is said to have derived his descent from the gods. Strabo <sup>10</sup> tells of divine worship of the Persian kings, which had been adopted by the Medes.

<sup>1</sup> Art. zg, i z ; s-g1. Xen., *Cyrop.* 2, §, 32 ; - PIUtâfCÛ, 1 "t. z3. 7 We also know of a proskynesis of Artaxerxes to Hera. This testimony cannot be dismissed without further ado, since Berossos (FGrHist 68o F i i) reports precisely about this king,

he was the first Achaemenid to erect statues of gods in human form.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Hdt.7, 136, i ; Xen. an. 3, \*. 3 : Isocr., pin. 5 : see Hdt. /, 203, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Differently A. S. F. Gow, in : J HSt.4 i gz8)•35 : also L. R. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* ( 93 +) -4 Anm--s

<sup>4</sup> 57: A. S. F. Gow, op. cit. O. 33 . ; L. R. Taylor, a. 0. -5 Note - 5-

<sup>5</sup> De inundo 398â 22.

<sup>6</sup> Pan. th i.

<sup>7</sup> Them. zy, a. - The *6aløtøv* |3aøihimç mentioned by Plutarch in two places (Art. • 5. 7: Them. zg, z) seems to be an ingredient of Plutarch. This is because the statement by the otherwise unnamed chiliarch Rosaries (Them. -9. -) cannot be attributed to any historical reference.

R. Laqueur, in: RE Ig, i 567. 6elp'"v Q'xøiñšmç, mentioned by Plutarch, Art. IS.7. , is not mentioned in the original, Ctesias (FGrHist. ò88 F i6 § 66). For everything else, we should refer to the dispute between

L. R. Taylor and W. W. Tarn, see below p. i5z Anni-3-

• *Cyrop.* A, I, za.

However, this view of the Greeks cannot be confirmed by Persian evidence for the Achaemenid period. The cuneiform inscriptions<sup>1</sup> offer no indication of the divinity or divine worship of the king. What is certain, however, is that both the Parthian and the Sasanian kings were regarded as divine<sup>o</sup>, and perhaps one could draw a conclusion about the position of the Achaemenid king from this. However, as long as the darkness that lies over the religious ideas of the Achaemenids remains unresolved, the Greek evidence eludes a final judgement.

### Alexander the Great

The results obtained for the Persian proskynesis call for a renewed examination of the question of what kind of proskynesis Alexander the Great attempted to introduce in the year 3-s/3-8 on the occasion of a banquet in Baktra.

The discussion that took place about this will not <sup>be</sup> dealt with in detail here. It should only be noted in this context that the proskynesis handed down by Chares of Mytilene<sup>o</sup> applied to Alexander himself -.

<sup>1</sup> F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achaimeniden* (igi I) ; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian, Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (i g5o).

<sup>1o</sup> H. P. L'Orange, *Stud. on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship* 1 953) °

<sup>1o</sup> Most recently Altheim-Stiehl, *Supplementum Aramaicum* ( 9571 z I f. ; *Die aramaische Language i. Lfg.* (i95g) y5 f. ; 86 f.

<sup>1</sup> Cited in H. Bengtson, *Griech. Gesch.* (ige ) 3- y note 3 ; 332 note4; 3< note q ;

A. Alföldi in: *Röm. Mitt.* 49 t+ 93s) I3 note 6; to this should be added F. Jacoby, *FGrHist.* 435 (CO mm. du 1 z5 F i ).

<sup>2</sup> *FGrHist.* i z5 F n j (Plut., *Alex.* 54 , q ; *Arrian., an.4.* °. 3 - 5); also F. Jacoby, a. 0.435 f. - The versions in *Curt. Ruf.* 8, 5, 6 and *Iustin. epit.* i- 7. I may remain aside: P. Schnabel in: *Klio* z9 (I g25) i z6 f. ; M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. d. griech. Rel. z* (I98O) fiCO Allm7: \* J acoby, *FGrHist.* II D 4 i 3 ; H. E. Stier, *Vom Sinn der griech. Hist.* ( 9451 \*99 and note 3<sup>o</sup>3

<sup>3</sup> A 6'x(pav of Alexander as described by P. Schnabel (in : *Klio* zo [i 92öj qoq), L. R. Taylor (in: *y HSt. d/ [I 27) 53\** ; *Cl. Phil.* 2z [I g2]) i 6z f. ; *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor t* 932] i f. ; z56f.), F. Altheim (*Weltgesch. Asiens i [I gby] ig8 ; Alexander and Asia t* 9531 <sup>o</sup>3. cf. F. Taeger, *Charisma i [- s l I Note 3 )* is not attested in any of the available texts. The presence of the to-rl'x can also be deduced from M. P. Nilsson, *I.c.* O. 2 9 O(\*5) -qo note7. ä-f its existence cannot be inferred either. Cf. H. Bengtson, a. - 33-, note 4 - III of Plutarch's



This is shown with sufficient clarity by the words of Plutarch: of-rod (sc. Kallisthenes) γόψ ws tíovoc oū opowsxúvwc -.

Since Alexander wanted to adopt the Persian custom<sup>5</sup> of paying homage to the ruler with the proskynesis, it can, according to the results obtained above, only have been a kissing hand". This is confirmed by the speech delivered by the philosopher Callisthenes in Arrian' against the introduction of proskynesis. Even if it is to be regarded as unhistorical in this form, it nevertheless reflects Arrian's view, or more precisely: that of his sources<sup>6</sup>.

Callisthenes contrasts divine and human honours. While humans are greeted with a kiss (zoū pEv òv8p'íwoQ QihtioBni wπό wçòv óo-rròšopšvcov)<sup>10</sup>, the gods are honoured with proskynesis, as their statues are elevated and it is not permitted to touch them: vò 8eiov 6ί, özi even noQ ì6pQpšvov xni oiit̄ ycrùwoi crirvoū 8špiç, iwì zÿ fit òpn -rÿ wpoò-xuv wct ycpçrìczoi.

The emphasised juxtaposition of gihtiv and opomweiv and the reason given would make no sense if the meaning of both

he vāh nten to-net has \'. Otto recognised the lying fire of the Archaimenides (Epi- tymbion H. Swoboda [9• 71 +9< ) ; vg1. F. Altheim, Weltgesch. Asiens i (i gā y) igg Note zaq; otherwise L. R. Farnell in : JHSt.4 g (i gz9) 29 f., following her M. P. Nilsson, a. 0. z (i g5o) iāo Note7 (hearth cult) . - A parallel to the two stands with a conical top in front of the king's throne on the reliefs from Persepolis

F. Altheim, Alex. u. sien (53) 3. Also R. Ghirshman in : Art. Asiae zo (- s7) "7\*: associates these with the sacred fire.

<sup>4</sup> F. Schachermeyr, Alexander d. Gr. (i 949)3 . with reference to the discussion mentioned above (p. i 5z note I ). - The proskynesis was carried out, albeit at some distance, before Alexander himself. Apart from the de-

In my opinion, the text in Plutarch also speaks in favour of the Persian custom. For the juxtaposition of wpcžzov and tLz'x in a chiasmus lwpoò "uvj'rx̄i wpcžzov - elect Qihi}wni zòv 'Ahčš"vřipov) separates the two hand lungcn, but seems to bind them grammatically to zòv 'Ahčš'xv6pov as a common object.

<sup>5</sup> Thus already H. Berve, in : Klio zo (i gz6) i 85 f. ; Das Alexanderreich I (1926) 3dO.

<sup>6</sup> Thus already F. Altheim, Weltgesch. Asiens i (i gā2) Ig8 ; Alexander and Asia 3: in : Paideia s 1 951 3°7 ; similarly also E. Visser, in : Atti del 8. Congresso Intern. di Storia delle Religioni 8 ( s5/s6)3° - Kern (in P. Schnabel, in : folio zo [i gz6j ā o 2 ) had d r a w n attention to the fact that a footfall according to Greek would have meant a *sup plicatio*, for which there was no reason at all.

<sup>7</sup> In. 4. - -, z f.

<sup>8</sup> On his attitude and his motives F. Altheim, V/eltgesch. Asia z (i g48) I 3A f.

" F. Jacoby, FGrHist. I I D q I3 (Comm. to i 2 T S) ; F. Altheim l. c. \*35

\*° AT. A, 8 I, -3

verbs would not be comparable. Here, too, we see the same distinction as in Herodotus' : Eih tiv means the kiss as a direct touch, wpooxu tiv the kissing hand, which is shown from a distance<sup>o</sup>.

However, the proskynesis before Alexander must have been performed in conjunction with a bow<sup>o</sup>. For the laughter that Leonnatos<sup>2</sup> and Cassander<sup>2</sup> burst out at the sight of the barbarians performing the proskynesis can only have referred to their attitude, but not to the kissing hand itself. This alone could not appear ridiculous to them as Macedonians 1-. Confirmation can again be gained from Arrian. There Leonnatos mocks the attitude (oyίjpo) of a noble Persian when performing the proskynesis fiç zœrrcivÿ". This phrase can only mean that the Persian in question had assumed an overly inferior posture, meaning that the bow belonging to the proskynesis was too low. The reliefs from Persepolis show how the gesture and posture of çr xówpÿ were realised.

## Parthians

### 1

A description of Parthian proskynesis can be found in Cassius Dio'. In Book 63, he reports on Tiridates' elevation to Armenian client king by the Roman emperor Nero.

<sup>o</sup> Top p. 37 \*-

<sup>o</sup> Plutarch means nothing else when he says, mor. ö5 D, that Alexander had the Proskynesis receive tiio-rrip Öyahao |3op|3npixón. <sup>o</sup>

Top p. z35 t.

<sup>2</sup> rrian, an. A, i2, 2 .

<sup>1</sup>Plut., Alex 74th -

<sup>o</sup> In this respect, F. Schachermeyr's objection, in : Gymnasium 63 ( I §6)' 34• against the interpretation put forward by F. Altheim that the proskynesis consists solely in a KuO hand, is quite justified, except that the mockery of Leonnatos cannot be interpreted as a can be concluded without further ado that there was a foot fall.

i' An. a, i2, z : Acóvvœrov Gi ... çwciöri; ziç ébózu zéðv Htperñv ouÿ òux iv t'óru'p **προσκυνῆσαι, τὸν δὲ ἐπιγέλασαι τῷ σχήματι τοῦ Περσοῦ ὡς ταπεινῶ.**

<sup>o</sup>F. Schachermeyr's interpretation, in : Gymnasium 63 (i g56) i 3a ; the bowing of the clpoythcùç points to a foot fall that preceded the kissing hand is untrue. If the kissing hand is depicted on the reliefs, it must be regarded as the decisive component of the homage, for it is not understandable why only a subsequent gesture should have been recorded in an official depiction.

63, \*, A.

Tiridates, brother of the Parthian king Vologeses I, had agreed to accept the Armenian crown not from his brother but from the emperor. He travelled to Italy with great fanfare and greeted Nero in Naples:  $i\$, yqv\ z\delta\ y\acute{o}vU\ x\omicron\delta\epsilon\iota\$, x\grave{n}\iota\ z\delta\zeta\ E\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha\zeta\ \acute{\sigma}\rho\omicron\tilde{A}\tilde{X}\acute{o}\ \omicron\ ,\ \delta\epsilon\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{r}\tilde{z}\tilde{r}\tilde{o}\tilde{z}\tilde{q}\tilde{v}\ \text{"rE}\ \epsilon\tilde{\zeta}\acute{\upsilon}\ \text{"r}\acute{o}\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\zeta\ \chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \nu\omicron\omicron\omicron\tilde{x}\tilde{v}\ \epsilon\tilde{r}\alpha\zeta\.$

It goes without saying that at this point  $\omicron\omicron\omicron\tilde{x}\tilde{v}\tilde{t}\tilde{i}\tilde{p}$  is not a "down-throw" can be meant, because this is already in  $i\$\ y\acute{\iota}\tilde{v}\ \acute{z}\acute{o}\ \acute{y}\acute{o}\nu\upsilon\ \chi\omicron\delta\acute{\iota}\ \omicron\.$  Rather, the proskynesis here is the last and highest stage of homage: Tiridates lowers himself to one knee, crosses his arms in front of his chest, addresses the emperor as  $\delta\tau\omicron\text{-}\tilde{r}\tilde{r}\tilde{o}\tilde{z}\tilde{p}\tilde{\zeta}$  and finally pays her proskynesis. What is meant by this other than a kiss?

The same event is repeated on the day of the coronation celebrations in Rome in front of the assembled people. Tiridates and his entourage appear before the emperor, who is enthroned on a  $\{\acute{z}\acute{\iota}\tilde{j}\tilde{\rho}\omicron\}.$  Once again he, and those around him, perform the proskynesis:  $\text{-}\tilde{r}\tilde{r}\tilde{o}\tilde{\zeta}\ \text{\$}\ \{\acute{z}\tilde{E}\tilde{\zeta}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{r}\tilde{i}\ \omicron\tilde{p}\tilde{o}\tilde{n}\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{r}\tilde{o}\tilde{v}\text{-}\tilde{r}\tilde{t}\ \text{-}\ \tilde{r}\tilde{p}\tilde{o}\tilde{w}\tilde{f}\tilde{x}\tilde{u}\tilde{v}\tilde{r}\tilde{j}\tilde{w}\tilde{o}\tilde{v}\ \tilde{c}\tilde{r}\tilde{u}\text{-}\tilde{r}\acute{o}\nu\ ,\ \text{harp}\ \chi\omicron\iota\ \tilde{w}\tilde{\rho}\tilde{z}\tilde{f}\tilde{p}\tilde{o}\tilde{v}'\}.$

It should be noted that Dio summarises the execution of the homage here with  $\tilde{w}\tilde{p}\tilde{o}\tilde{w}\tilde{x}\tilde{u}\tilde{v}\tilde{p}\tilde{w}\tilde{o}\tilde{v}.$  The prostration, the crossing of the arms in front of the chest and the solemn address to the emperor as  $\delta\tau\omicron\tilde{e}\tilde{r}\tilde{r}\tilde{o}\tilde{z}\tilde{p}\tilde{s}$  are only hinted at in  $\tilde{c}\tilde{o}\tilde{e}\tilde{r}\tilde{r}\tilde{c}\tilde{p}\ \chi\grave{n}\iota\ \tilde{w}\tilde{\rho}\tilde{z}\tilde{e}\tilde{p}\tilde{o}\tilde{v}.$  Obviously the proskynesis is the most important part of the homage. Everything else refers to the preceding attitude that Tiridates adopts, and the position of the defeated in which he finds himself can therefore not be regarded here as belonging to the proskynesis itself. The following description shows in what sense Dio wanted the  $\backslash$ Vort to be understood.

There is a great clamour among the people, a sign that something unusual has happened. Affected by this, Tiri- dates gives an explanation of his actions, which Dio, of course, belittles with the words  $\tilde{z}\tilde{i}\tilde{n}\tilde{n}\ \delta\tau\ \chi\tilde{n}\tilde{i}\tilde{p}\tilde{y}\ \tilde{z}\epsilon\ \chi\grave{n}\iota\ \text{-}\tilde{\zeta}\ .\ \chi\epsilon\text{-}\tilde{i}\tilde{p}\ \tilde{i}\delta\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\tilde{h}\tilde{e}\tilde{u}\tilde{w}\tilde{f}.$  Again

Tiridates addresses the emperor as  $\delta\tau\omicron\text{-}\tilde{r}\tilde{r}\acute{o}\ \zeta,$  as his absolute master, and describes himself, after enumerating his ancestor and his

- The same applies to Tigranes before Pompey, Cass. Dio 36,5 2, 3:  $\acute{z}\acute{o}\ \tilde{z}\tilde{s}\ \tilde{f}\tilde{i}\tilde{i}\tilde{\delta}\tilde{f}\tilde{i}\tilde{r}\tilde{i}\tilde{u}\ \acute{\omicron}\tilde{w}\tilde{o}\tilde{p}\text{-}\tilde{p}\tilde{i}\tilde{\zeta}'\tilde{x}\tilde{i}\tilde{r}\tilde{r}'\tilde{x}\ \tilde{\theta}'\tilde{x}\tilde{l}\ i\$\ \tilde{v}\ \tilde{y}\tilde{j}\tilde{v}\ \tilde{w}\tilde{i}'\tilde{r}\acute{o}\nu\text{-}\tilde{r}'\tilde{x}\ \tilde{w}\tilde{p}\tilde{o}\tilde{o}\tilde{x}\tilde{u}\tilde{v}\tilde{o}\tilde{f}\tilde{i}\tilde{u}\text{-}\tilde{r}\acute{o}\ \tilde{z}\tilde{z}\ \tilde{l}\acute{6}\text{'}\tilde{l}\tilde{v}\ \tilde{r}\tilde{t}\tilde{h}\tilde{i}\tilde{p}\tilde{w}\tilde{e}\ (\text{sc. Pompeius}).$  or the Dacian Dekebalos before Traian, Cass. Dio 68, g, 6:  $\tilde{w}\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\zeta}\ \text{-}\tilde{r}\tilde{t}\ \text{-}\tilde{r}\acute{o}\nu\ \tilde{T}\tilde{p}\tilde{o}\tilde{i}\tilde{n}\tilde{v}\tilde{o}\tilde{n}\ \mathbf{t\grave{h}\tilde{t}\tilde{G}\tilde{v}\ \text{ital}\ \acute{\epsilon}\tilde{\zeta}\ \mathbf{J}\tilde{v}\ \tilde{y}\tilde{j}\tilde{v}\ \text{went:}\tilde{l}\tilde{v}\ \tilde{w}\tilde{p}\tilde{o}\tilde{o}\tilde{x}\tilde{u}\tilde{v}\tilde{j}\tilde{w}\tilde{o}\zeta\ \acute{\epsilon}\tilde{i}\tilde{r}\tilde{r}\tilde{o}\tilde{v}\ \mathbf{xct\grave{l}\ \acute{z}\acute{o}\ \delta\tilde{w}\tilde{h}'\tilde{x}\ \acute{\omicron}\tilde{w}\tilde{o}\tilde{p}\tilde{p}\tilde{l}\tilde{y}\tilde{t}\tilde{x}\zeta};$  cf. also

5 I, 12, 3'  $\tilde{I}\tilde{s}\tilde{l}\tilde{e}\tilde{o}\tilde{p}\tilde{a}\tilde{t}\tilde{r}\tilde{a}\ \text{kisses Caesar's letters, then falls down before the statues and}\ \text{t h r o w s}\ \text{them a kiss.}$

Cass. Dio 63, 4. 3

Brothers, as  $\beta\omicron\iota\eta\theta\omicron$  of the emperor. Then he continues:  $\text{Κνὶ Ἐηδόν} \text{ zt } \omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma \text{ we } \text{z}\delta\text{v } \text{τρ}\delta\text{v } \text{8f}\delta\text{v}$ , *wpoavuv o':nv ct ncii z\delta\text{v } \text{ΜΙ}8\text{pov},  $\text{no}\iota \text{ ewopni } \text{zoG-ro } \text{o } \text{zi } \text{cv}$  of  $\text{hrix } \text{Ncrij}\varsigma$  of  $\text{y}\delta\text{p } \text{pot } \text{poipo } \text{eI } \text{xoi } \text{p}^\wedge$ .*

Tiridates sees the emperor not only as his  $\beta\text{t}\epsilon\text{rr}\delta\text{z}\theta\varsigma$  but also as a god. As a *solcliem*, he gives her proskynesis, "as is also due to  $\text{u}\acute{\iota}\theta\text{tra}$ ".

This is not the place to go into the <sup>ideas5</sup> behind these words, nor into the influence they may have had on Nero himself". What is certain is that the Sasanian received divine honours "as brother of the sun and moon". G. Widengren has tried to show that the Parthian king was already worshipped as a cosmic ruler and regarded as an incarnation of Mithras. According to this, Tiridates would have transferred this view here to the Roman emperor and given it visible expression through  $\text{wpow- } \text{x}\acute{\upsilon}\text{rpoi}\$$ . The verbum upon  $\text{uvciv}$  was used here by Dio in precisely the sense in which it had always been understood by the Greeks.

Another scene, which preceded the one described above, completes the picture. Tiridates had not yet confronted the Roman emperor himself. Instead, a conversation with Corbulo had previously taken place within the Roman camp. The statues ( $\text{eix}\delta\text{vc}$  ) of the emperor were set up here. Tiridates approaches them, offers them a proskynesis, sacrifices and then takes the diadem from his head to lay it down before them:  $\text{ö } \text{zt } \text{Τιριδ}\delta\text{-rp} . .$

$\text{προσ}\eta\lambda\theta\acute{\epsilon} \text{ τε } \text{α}\acute{\upsilon}\text{τα}\iota\varsigma \text{ κα}\iota \text{ προσεκ}\acute{\upsilon}\text{νησεν}$ ,  $\text{θ}\acute{\upsilon}\text{σας } \text{τε } \text{κα}\iota \text{ ἐπευφημήσας } \text{τ}\delta \text{ διαδ}\eta\mu\alpha \text{ ἀπ}\delta \text{ τε } \text{τ}\eta\varsigma \text{ κεφαλ}\eta\varsigma \text{ ἀφείλε } \text{κα}\iota \text{ παρέθηκεν } \text{α}\acute{\upsilon}\text{τα}\iota\varsigma$ .<sup>9</sup>

In contrast to the scene described above, there is no mention here of a foot fall<sup>10</sup>.  $\text{H}\rho\text{o}\text{o}\text{x}\text{m}\text{t}\text{i}\text{v}$ , put together with  $\text{8}\acute{\upsilon}\text{eiv}$  and  $\text{io}\epsilon\text{Q}\text{Q}\text{r}\text{i}\text{p}\text{t}\text{i}\text{v}$ , seems rather to belong to the sacred realm. The footfall

\* 63,5 2 ; Sueton's account (hero i 3, e) gives nothing for the X'organg der Proskx-ncsis. hían compare with it Tae., ann. i 5, zg, 3.

\* On Tiridates compare Plin, n. h. 30, 2, 16 f.

• On the Domus Aurea of Nero: H. P. L'Orange, Studies of the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient \Vorld (1953I °\* \*- i For further information seeF. Altheim, Decline of the Ancient World z (i g 5z) , 33A.

AmIRläd. 2§' '5 -

^ Numen Suppl. ' (- used -'s f., mid the a'on hern work announced there.

° 6z, 2§, 3.

°° -Such Tacit us (ann. I , 2g, 3) u-ei β of a foot fall nothing.

is a sign of the defeated". It demands the immediate counterpart, the person of the opponent with whom one had measured oneself. At the same time, the visible expression of one's own submission demanded an equally visible sign of the victor's favour or disfavour in response. This was expressed in the encounters in Rome and Puteoli: Nero ordered the kneeling person to rise and put the diadem back on their head in response to the homage offered.

When Tiridates pays proskynesis to the statues of the emperor here, he is not paying homage to the victor, but to his new ruler, whom he is meeting for the first time and who will henceforth stand alongside the Iranian "I(king of kings)" for him. The statues of the emperor, erected like those of a god, elevate the ruler into the realm of the gods and, as it turns out, this is in keeping with Tiridates' own views.

A message in Suetonius' <sup>o</sup> says nothing else. Here it is the Parthian king Artabanus III who pays a proskynesis to the *imagines* of the Eaisers: *Artabanos Parlliorum re.x ... nquilas el signa l'omaiia Caesarumque imagines adora it.*

Conversely, the Parthians demanded footfall and proskynesis from a defeated king. This is shown by the treatment of the Diadochi king Demetrios II by Phraates II. Demetrios was forced to feed on the scraps from the victor's table like a dog, fall at the king's feet and offer her a proskynesis<sup>o</sup>. Proskynesis and falling at the feet cannot therefore have belonged together internally. This is confirmed by evidence x-on the sun worship of Persian kings.

As already mentioned, Artaxerxes I is said to have kissed the sun when he escaped an attack by his son<sup>o</sup>. The Parthian king Artabanus V is also said to have greeted the rising sun with his army<sup>5</sup> : ὄρο δΕ ἱκίγ ὀνίoyomt iQόvp 'Apzó|3ovo οὐν psyiaer':p oh 8ei æ r p æ r o ù . ὀærowópevoi 6i zòv ἱjhiov ἠ9 I8o\$ oic, οἱ |3óp- bnpoi ... iwtópnov. With ὀo-rróçto8æi a kissing hand must also be given here.

<sup>o</sup> Cass. Dio go, it, z ; Polyb. i5, i, 6 and others. <sup>o</sup> Cal. ы.

<sup>1o</sup> Poseidonios, FGrHist. 7 .s

l- Plut., Artax. s9, i \*

<sup>^</sup> Herodian , i5, i.

because in Sasanian times the verb  $\omega\pi\omicron\upsilon\chi\upsilon\zeta\iota\nu$  is used for this purpose. In Procopius, the Sasanian king Pēröz escapes a proskynesis before the Hephthalite king only by kissing the rising sun rather than his opponent, on the advice of the magi".

What had emerged for the Achaemenid period is thus confirmed: Proskynesis and footfall are by no means one, and not even necessarily connected. Just as proskynesis in Greece was reserved for the god alone, among the Parthians it was also reserved for the divine appearance of the ruler. Moreover, the king not only received the proskynesis as a divine honour for his person, he also turned to the sun and Mithra, as he received the splendour of his lordship from them. Plutarch, who even passes on this view for the Achaemenian period, would therefore be right when he has a Persian say ' ;  $\tau\text{J}\pi\text{iv } \acute{\alpha}\epsilon \text{ wohh':}\acute{\alpha}\nu \text{ } \omega\text{p}\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu \text{ x'xl xct}\acute{\alpha}'\acute{\iota}\acute{\epsilon}\nu \text{ om':}\acute{\alpha}\nu \text{ nd}\acute{\alpha}\text{h}\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \text{ om}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \text{ io-riv,}$

$\text{T}\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\nu \text{ |3':x':r}\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}':\text{x K':x}\acute{\iota} \text{ TrpO}\acute{\theta} \text{ "UV}\acute{\tau}\acute{\iota}\nu \text{ } \acute{\epsilon}\theta\text{\$ } \acute{\tau}\acute{\iota}\text{K}\acute{\alpha}\nu':\text{x } \text{\$}\acute{\epsilon}\text{O}\acute{\cup} \text{ TOO } \acute{\delta} \text{ IT}\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{VT':x } \acute{\iota} \text{ '(Ov+O .}$

## Sasanians

### 1

Ardašēr I had a relief placed in Nakš-i Rostam showing his investiture by Ahuramazda<sup>1</sup>. Coming from the house of the fire priests in the heart of Persis, the king claimed to be a descendant of the Achaimenids<sup>o</sup>. So he chose a place that was sanctified by the burial places of this family. However, it was not his farewell and final legacy, but his claim to power and divine consecration that he had recorded here.

King and god, both on horseback, ride towards each other, over two opponents lying on the ground, represented by the hooves of their horses. The god, coming from the right, carries a bundle of barsman in his left hand and with his other hand holds out to the king a ribbon-decorated

<sup>o</sup> De bell. I, 3, Igf.

<sup>2</sup> Them. zy, q. On this G. Widengren in : Numen Suppl. i (-ss) -2

<sup>1</sup> Sarre-Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (9 ) Tal. 5 ; *Survey of Persian Art* q (i 938)P \*54 A ; Hz C ; K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (i943 fig. zo ; L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran Ancien* ( 959) \*1 : 1 . z8 C.

<sup>o</sup> K. Erdmann, a. 0. ij ; H. S. Nyberg, *The Religions of Ancient Iran* (- 38) q o y .

diadem, which he touches with his right hand<sup>o</sup>. At the king's back, a standing figure, half concealed by his horse, carries a kind of frond or umbrella, like those held over the king's head\*.

While the Achaemenid raises his right hand to the god hovering above him, the Sasanid, himself "divine", stands on the same level as his god. The only sign of his worship is the peculiar position of his left hand: raised at mouth height, the hand is closed, the index finger rests on the upright thumb, while its tip seems to point towards the god.

A similar scene can be found on two other reliefs by Ardašēr, but only on the one in the Battle of Nakš-i Ra}ab are details recognisable". This time, the king and the god are on foot. Ardašēr again grasps the diadem he is holding up and performs the described gesture with his left hand. A figure, added at a later date to the left outside the relief, raises his right hand in the same manner'.

In Firūzābād there are three figures standing behind the king, holding their right hands up at mouth height. Since the hands, as well as the king's left hand, have been destroyed, the hand position is no longer recognisable. However, it can be assumed that it was the same as on the rock carvings of Nakš-i Ra}ab and Nakš-i Rostam.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, this gesture no longer appears on the part of the king in similar depictions of later kings". Perhaps Ardašēr's gesture can therefore be explained by the special situation of this king. He had pushed the last panther from the throne and was now the first Sasanianid to receive royal power from the hands of Ahura- mazda.

Similar ideas seem to have existed in Achaemenid times. The depiction of the king who, riding over his downed opponent, pays homage to the god,

<sup>o</sup> On this F. Sarre in: Survey of Persian Art - (+93) J Å mm. I.

<sup>^</sup> E. F. Schmidt, Persepolis i I 953) P - 99 ; Cf. 3 t .

<sup>o</sup> Sarre-Herzfeld, op. O. 69 ; F. Sarre, l. O. . set ; on the inscription on the relief Th. Nöldeke, Geschichte der Perser und Araber (- 79) 45\* mm. a ; vgl. mmian. i y. 5. 3 of Šāpūr II : res rrgøin Sapor, šerficeQs s\*deztirri, ratør solis ct lunae.

<sup>o</sup> Sarre-Herzfeld. a. O. 9 ; Taf. i z.

'L. Vanden Berghe, a. O."3 f. ; pl. z6 a.

<sup>^</sup> K. Erdmann, a. O. Fig. 9 : L. Vanden Berghe, a. O. 5o; pl. Job.

It rests on the sword pommel instead.

is reminiscent of a story from Plutarch's Artaxerxes<sup>10</sup>. Here the king forestalls an attempt on her life by his son Darius by killing him with his own hand in the palace. Immediately afterwards, he goes into the courtyard, turns to the sun and pays her a proskynesis. At the same time, he says who he has to thank for his salvation: Ormazdes (Aliuramazda) himself has carried out the judgement".

The period after Ardašér only recognises the gesture described in the king's succession<sup>11</sup>, most clearly on the largest relief of Šāpūr I in Bišāpūr <sup>2</sup>. The king triumphs over the Roman emperor Valerian, who was captured by him. Four superimposed frieze zones divide the semicircle of an indented rock face, but leave an open space in the centre. This is filled only in the second lowest zone by the image of the Sasanian king. On horseback, he turns to the right, towards the emperor, who bends his knee before him and raises both hands in supplication.

The entire left side belongs to Šāpūr's followers on horseback. They ride up behind the king in four tightly packed ranks. Facing her, the riders in the two upper frieze zones raise their right hands to their mouths in the manner described, while holding the reins with their left hands.

The same charge appears a second time in Bišāpūr, but limited to two superimposed friezes. On both zones of the left-hand side, the arrangement and posture of the royal horsemen correspond in every detail to the depiction described above <sup>14</sup>.

This gesture has usually been labelled a "gesture of respect" and l e f t at a mere description<sup>15</sup>. As a gesture of homage, the

<sup>10</sup> \*9.\*\*.

<sup>11</sup> Similar to Darius I after his victory over the false Smerdis: Bīsutūn i, z6: "Ahuramazda brought me help".

<sup>12</sup> Sarre-Herzfeld, op. cit. O. Pl. 5, the fourth figure from the left on relief z ; Pl.7. the figure added later behind Šāpūr I. ; Pl. g ; in addition F. Sarre ibid. 2g ; 85 with Fig. 39: Survey of Persian Art 4 (Ig38) pl.57 • 5 : I6z B ; L. Vanden Berghe, a. O. J91. 29 a ; 3ob ; 8z.

<sup>13</sup> Sarre-Herzfeld, a. O. zoo, fig. io9 ; Td.f4j ; Survey of Persian Art i ( 938) p1. i58 ; L. Vanden Berghe, a. O. pl.7\* : sql. the relief of Chusrō II, in BÜāpūr ; Sarre-Herzfeld, a. O. z i 3 fig. ioi, by L. Vanden Berghe, a. O. s6, as Šāpūr II. means.

<sup>14</sup> K. Erdmann, a. O. 5s ; fig. zz ; L. Vanden Berghe, a. O. 5s ; pl. y7 b.

<sup>15</sup> Sarre-Herzfeld, a. O. 68 ; K. Erdmann, a. O. q8 ; F. Sarre, Survey of Persian Art i (+93 ) s9a speaks of 'a gesture of adoration'.



Sasanian court ceremonial in dealings with the Great King, according to an Arabic source, was considered to be the footfall<sup>8</sup>.

Four of Oepür I's rock paintings do indeed depict a footfall<sup>11</sup>. But each time it is the defeated Roman emperor Valerian who bows his knee to the king. Since he is also raising his arms in supplication, the posture and gesture are clear: the defeated man is surrendering to the victor and asking to be spared<sup>10</sup>. Due to the uniqueness of the situation, it is hardly possible to draw conclusions from this scene about the Sasanian court ceremonial.

In the triumphal depictions of Biéäpfir, Valerian's prostration is contrasted with the gesture of the Persian subjects. As it is intended for the king, it cannot be understood in any other way than as a gesture of homage. The other Sasanian rock carvings also allow no other interpretation. None of them depict Persian subjects falling on their feet. Instead, the right hand raised to the mouth is the only sign of homage to the great king.

The question arises as to how this fact can be reconciled with the report of the Arabic sources received. In two places at the beginning of the audience with the king, Tabari gives the footfall of the subject as the only form of homage. Ann. i, \*59. f. he reports that Öwänöi, head of Yazdgerd I's chancellery of letters, failed to present himself to Bahräm V at the audience. "to prostrate himself", because the beauty and splendour of the king had put him in such confusion. But Bahräm, recognising his confusion, nevertheless graciously spoke to him.

In the second passage, ann. i, Q46, 20, Tabari adds the remark to the description of the crown and throne of Chusrö I: "Whoever saw him (Chusrö) for the first time sank to his knees in awe"<sup>10</sup>.

The use of the last-mentioned position as a certificate for the Persian court ceremonial speaks to the fact that in it alone a psychological

<sup>11</sup> - A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides* (i 9qq) 3 J f. ; more details below.

<sup>8</sup> Sarre-Herzfeld, a. O. zzo Fig. i og; z z z Fig. 110 j Taf7 : 43 : *Survey of Persian Art* (13 ) P ••s A ; I55 B ; i58 ; K. Erdmann, a. O. s' : so ; Fig. z z ; L. Vanden Berghe, a. O. 25: es: +9 : 77 ä, b ; 7

<sup>11</sup> C. Sittl, *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* ii 6; +96; L. Vanden Berghe a. O. 25 ; K. Erdmann, a. O. ss (-ÖmfScher Einflul3).

<sup>10</sup> Th. Nöldeke, a. O. g3. The Arabic text reads: tun-a /aJ/a s-su üd. This like the I owe the following to R. Stiehl.

<sup>10</sup> *illä baraba haibalan lahu*; translation according to Th. Nöldeke, a. O. zzz.

moment is emphasised. It is the emotion at the srstii sight of the ruler that brings the subject or stranger to his knees. In addition, as Th. Nöldeke notes, the narrative is not of Persian <sup>origin</sup><sup>1</sup>. The aforementioned report, ann. i, 859, indicates that a footfall was prescribed at the audience,

However, the narrative is inaccurate according to the process described. This is confirmed by another passage from Tabari that has not yet been consulted<sup>o</sup>.

Again it is about an audience. Aspä b-Gusnäsp, a high royal official, appears before Chusrö II. "As soon as he (Aspä 6-Gusnäsp) saw him (Chusrö), he prostrated himself before him, humbling himself<sup>oo</sup>. Then Chusrö ordered him to stand up, he then rose up and showed

his reverence before him"<sup>^</sup>

The footfall is clearly expressed at this point. This is followed by an unspecified form of obeisance, clearly set off by the raising of the subject and the request made to him. It goes without saying that this must have found a visible expression.

The form in which this took place can be seen from the rest of the report. After the homage has been paid, a quince falls from the king's throne. Aspä 6-Gusnäsp picks it up and, in obedience to the king's command, puts it aside. He then "returned to his place and paid homage with his hand"<sup>o^</sup>. Since Tabari here is the same word for "to pay homage" as above, one must assume that such homage was also expressed there by a gesture that Aspä 6-Gusnäsp performed with his hand<sup>o-</sup>. What kind of gesture should this have been, if not the one shown in the rock paintings?

Thus the following picture emerges. Anyone who came before the Great King first had to prostrate himself before him. When the king addressed him, he stood up and raised his right hand to his mouth as an expression of reverence. In contrast, it is striking that the depiction of the foot fall is missing from the rock carvings. In some cases, this may be due to the special way in which the

<sup>r</sup><sup>1</sup> I.c. zzz Note i. It comes from Ibn I s h a k 9<5. +4-

<sup>oo</sup> Ann. I, i oj8, i6f. ; Th. Nöldeke, l. O. 367.

\*\* Hac "a lahu sä idan.

\*\* **1Pe-#eJJara baina yaidaiki. Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. 367 incorrect: "he proved to him with the Hands his reverence". Baina yaidaili is "before him".**

-\* Ann. i, i org, 8 : wa-kaJ Sara bi -yadilii.

<sup>o-</sup> Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. 36d "made his reverence with his hands" (sic) .

The two forms of honour - investiture or triumph - can be explained. However, it will only be possible to obtain exhaustive information if one attempts to determine the respective meaning and the relationship between the two forms of homage.

Since the reliefs only show the gesture performed with the hand, but these are to be regarded as highly official depictions, it was clearly the most important part of the homage. As Tabari clearly shows, the footfall expressed the subject's own humiliation before his ruler. However, this gesture must have pointed beyond this. Its meaning can be gleaned from the investiture reliefs of Ardašr I, in which the king in turn pays homage to the god with his right hand raised to his mouth. Since the Sasanian kings prided themselves on their divine descent and described themselves as divine in their inscriptions, this gesture can only have been intended to honour their divinity.

Some special forms must be added. The kissing hand<sup>o</sup> of barbarian peoples recorded by Hesych can be compared with the gesture performed by the figure of a Persian (?) on the right behind Valerian on one of the rock reliefs of Šāpūr I in Bišāpiir<sup>o</sup>. Although the thumbs are not under the chin, both hands are held up at mouth height and in the finger position described by Hesych\*. This indicates different forms of proskynesis. The same applies to the gesture of *adoratio* described by Apuleius<sup>o</sup>, which can be compared to the hand position of the king and his entourage described above.

Heliodorus describes a "homage of Sasanian times" in detail. Orontes, a Persian of high descent, appears before the king of the Aithiopes and

<sup>1</sup> S. v. ἀντίχειρες: ἕνια τῶν βαρβάρων ἔθνων τοὺς ἀντίχειρας ὑποτιθέεντα τοῖς  
 ycvcloi\$ ant zol5 6oxNhou\$ htztlvom'x wpooxuvti zol\$ f}yovutvou\$ oirriiv (p. iB9 Latte).

<sup>o</sup> So already B. M. Marti, in: *Language* i z (1936) • 7-5

<sup>o</sup> L. Vanden Berghe, a. 0. pl. 22.

<sup>'</sup> Cf. C. Sittl, a. 0. i 5o.

<sup>^</sup> Met. , z8, z : edtnorstifes *oribus sure* (sc. cites et 'idreiiioe) d :xtram pcimore digilo ie erecluin  
 Qolficsiii *residents ul i psaiti* (sc. *Psychen*) 9rorsus *dram enerabant religi osis adorat*  
*ionibus*.

• Aithiop. g, z2 ; on the dating of Heliodorus F. Altheim, *Helios und Heliodor von Emesa*, in  
 : *Albae Vigiliae* i z (i gqz)<sup>o</sup>\*—3 : go-q2 ; *Literatur und Gescllsch.* i (i g 9) g5 f. ; <sup>o</sup>5 : ' 13  
 - - - iz f. (against R. Helm).

offers her his homage. Heliodorus writes:  $\zeta \chi\text{-ir-} \text{apozcivoc} \chi\alpha\dot{\iota} \zeta \nu$   
 $\bar{\sigma} e E \dot{i} \dot{\alpha} : \nu \text{ } \acute{\sigma} a i$  Oo "ršpav aapoX?δΕαϕ **xúyoç** npooExčvqot, -rrpóy Ja ou̇  
 vevopioþsvov napò ĩšpoaiç |3aoi7tšo tzcpcov zoúzov zoú zpópcov þepazreútiv.

Three stages can be recognised: Orondates first stretches out his arms and crosses them in front of his chest, placing his right arm over his left. He then bows and finally pays a  $\omega\mu\acute{o}\mu\acute{u}\rho\omega\iota\varsigma$  to the king enthroned before her. This cannot consist of a footfall or a bow, as Orondates' posture is specifically marked with **xúyoç**. Rather,  $\omega\mu\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\upsilon$  must also be understood here as the throwing of a kissing hand or the execution of a gesture with the hand. In any case, Heliodorus recognises the distinction between the adoption of a certain posture and a gesture performed with the hand when paying homage. Accordingly

e l s e w h e r e ' h e e x p r e s s e s the refusal of a Greek to honour a noble Persian woman with the words:  $\circ \acute{\epsilon}$   
 $\acute{o}\chi X\acute{o}\omega\omicron\varsigma \acute{o}\check{c}\rho\epsilon \omega\pi\omicron$  "uv cro\$.

So far Heliodor agrees with abari. Even if Heliodorus'  $\chi\acute{u}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  or  $\acute{o}\chi\eta\acute{o}\nu$  does not correspond exactly to abari's "prostration", it is clear that both recognise the adoption of a certain posture before the gesture is performed. In all other respects Heliodor differs from abari: the latter knows nothing of "stretching out and crossing the arms". Although his report is based on a good source, Heliodorus' description should not be dismissed either, as it is supported by corresponding depictions on 6th-century silver <sup>bowls</sup>, a Relief of Šapfir I. in Bišāpfir<sup>0</sup> and the fragment of a Manichaean  
 In abari, this position of the arms cannot be meant, because he describes the gesture as "performed with the hand". Whether and how this contradiction between the two sources can be resolved must remain an open question. It is probable that a special form of ceremonial is present, similar to the cases mentioned above.

<sup>7</sup> 7, 19.

<sup>^</sup> Cf. Th. Nöldeke, l. O. 362 note i.

<sup>©</sup> K. Erdmann, Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden (143) fig. 67: 68. <sup>°</sup> L. Vanden Berghe, a. O. pl. 80 b ; Sarre-Her zfeld, a. O. z i3 ; fig. i o i.

<sup>°1</sup> More details below.

## 3

Like Heiiodorus, the aforementioned fragment of a Manich'bian cosmogony seems to know the crossing of the arms and the kissing hand as an expression of honour. The gods there pay homage in this way to the "supreme of light beings", and perhaps one may see in this description a reflection of earthly conditions. First the text: *liandémän oi aliittö 5ahri yär dasllia5 istäd hénd äsän tityfifed Sid zum namäE burd älön\**.

"Before the Lord of Paradise, their hands under their armpits, they bowed down and offered a kiss of adoration". This refers to the gods Mihr, the creator of the goddess "whose body radiates beauty", Ohrmuzd, the "sweetest of the beings of light" and the "creator of a new world". The *éa1* is rendered by W. Henning as "crossing arms". G if

interpretation is correct, there is a parallel to the *z x-'c- -c-\*\*\*i-* of Heliodor. In *ni yätéd*, "they bowed down"<sup>o</sup>, there is a parallel to *xürrvevv*. The third parallel is *nacdt*. I owe the following interpretation to O. I-fansen.

The combination of Middle Pers. *namdJ* "worship, prayer" with Old Iranian. *\*natns£-* can, on closer examination of the material, no longer be justified. For old Pers. *-itatna/i-* (avest. *nomah-*) in Middle Persian would only be *\*being*. The Middle Pers. Translation of Avestan texts renders *namaÄ-* partly with *nydyisn*, partly with *tiamöJ*. The Middle Pers. The Middle Persian pronunciation *-if* remains unexplained when traced back to the Old Iranian word cited. word remains unexplained. Another interpretation must therefore be sought.

The dialectical parallels give hardly any indication of the meaning of the older form, but *-rrpom0vpov\$* does. The Greek word formation suggests that the second part of the Persian word is an equivalent for the Greek *-xWvrjwv\$*. Now in New Persian "kiss" is not only *büsa*, but also *mit*. According to this, a Persian compound with

'\'' published from the estate of F. C. .Andreas' by X\'. Henning, in : SBA\Y  
93 2' 76 f.

° \V. Henning, a. O. i 2S, Z z i f. ; F. lltheim, Lit. und Gesellsch. z (i g5o) z yq mit Über-  
set to ng.

° W. B. Henning in : Forlong Fund Publication z i ( i g o) \*\* f. : differently F. lltheim,  
a. O. z yq, according to P. Thieme: "hand-pulling".

• For *nanifiJ* see below.

° On the translation g1. F. Altheim, a. O. 2/ .

° \V. Henning in: Ztschr. I nd. Iran. 9, i ßz.

-tii'if in the second part: for example -iiain-mdl, where tiam- would be the continuation of an Old Iranian. \**namah-* would be. \*Nan-exile would then mean "kiss of adoration", a meaning that fits well with the Greek description of cere- monia. Simplification of mi'i to m is quite conceivable in Persian. The forms of the other Iranian dialects do not seem to contradict this derivation, as far as I can see: sogd. iim'f(y)w, Middle Parth. nm'f, Middle Pers. im'f, Pae. natn'if, New Pers. iiamdz, Jewish.pers. titrin'z; pasto iinoti (fmiiti , -dz, in the Kandahäri dialect) - Morgenstierne, EVP 52 derives the nasalised forms from -iatnöiic \*natnöf -, bal. n'imdJ, nstr'i1. The secondary form oi "io1fim Yaghnobi next to *nimot* is not entirely clear: perhaps it is influenced by another word for "to kiss": cf. yaghn. *mus* "kiss" (daily. biisa!, sogd. çtrJ- "to kiss" ( ?).

The etymology of neupers. maß has not yet been clarified; if -f is dialectical in it, the genuine neupers. form -mdz can be assumed. Form -mdz can be assumed. Perhaps the latter is in Neupers. hagtndz "banquet" with öng- from Old Pers. öaga, if it is allowed to be connected with the Christian-Sogd. hy'n§J-qfy

"wedding feast" : öy'it plural next to the singular *bag-* in New Persian, and sogd. §f- for plural Wirf- "to kiss" next to Neupers. **M'iz**. Sogd. -gt y is only an imitation of Syr. **öff** as the first constituent of numerous compounds. But this interpretation remains uncertain.

## TO THE BILINGUI S OF KAN DA HÄR

After the first publication of the inscription', in which G. Levi Della Vida had taken over the editing of the Aramaic part, we felt compelled to propose our own interpretation. It first appeared in English at the end of 1958 and in German at the beginning of the following year.<sup>o</sup> Between our two publications, likewise still

At the end of 1958, the editing of the French scholars D. Schlumberger, L.

Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer and L. Benveniste - was added. In addition to the contributions of the aforementioned scholars, it provided a good reproduction of the excellent latex print, which is owed to J.-M. Casal. This made it possible to improve the reading in a number of cases. The following also deals with the Aramaic version, i.e. with Dupont-Sommer's and Benveniste's contributions. Both, but especially the second, like Levi Della Vida's interpretation, give rise to a number of additions. The knowledge of our earlier essay is

provided'.

i. *yfr*. The identical word in the Ar'säma letter 3, 4 has since been changed to *ptstm* by G. R. Driver in his abridged edition (1952). The reprint shows that the new reading corresponds to the previous one.

better than the earlier one. *Ptstni*, again understandable only as an Old Persian word, is explained by W. B. Henning as \*ša/isfdva-

' G. Tucci, U. Scerrato, G. Pugliese Carratelli and G. Levi Della Vida, Un editto bilingue Greco Aramaico di Asoka (Serie Orientale Roma XXI) 1958.

\* In : East and West g ( 1958), igz 1.

o Above i, 397 \* cf. acta ant. Hung 7 (- 1959). 7 \*

• In : Journ. Asiat. 1958, i f.

ibid. 9 and 36 f.

• Ibid. z Note i.

" A plaster cast of the inscription in the possession of the ISMEO in Rome was available for re-examination.

o Rei G. R. Driver. Aramaic Documents. Abridged and Revised Edition (1952) 8y.

or \**patislu-* to *sin-* "to praise" and *Kali* "to". It means "praised, praiseworthy" or similar, although Henning admits that the corresponding Middle Iranian verb means "vow" or "promise". G. R. Driver, who quotes Henning's remark in his abridged edition, translates it differently: "and I am pleased with thee". Even *plslm* instead of the expected \*§JJ/w makes Henning's suggestion seem unconvincing. There is an additional decisive objection. In Avestan, adjectival root nouns as rear compositional elements are always nomina agentis, i.e. they have an active, not a passive meaning. *Vohmarzz-* "doing good" ; *fravazš* Nom. Sing. "stalk, penis, horn", actually "growing forth" and others, which H. Reichelt<sup>10</sup> has compiled. *Plslzr* belongs to avest. *pai/i.a-stay-*, *part yā-sáy-* "obedience, obedience" " and *Haiti. astö.-vac* "ah- "whose word finds obedience" <sup>10</sup>. In the present case, one would have -;*ba/i-d-s/e-*, -§oJy'is/e-, derived from a compound of *slā-*<sup>11</sup>, namely after the ending -tr a nom. Sing. \*;bafydsfd. After that it should be translated : 'nf šgy ; bfsfw "you (were) obedient in many ways (literally: one standing close by)". The passage shows that -tr is indeed capable of rendering the nom. Sing. of an a-stem. It speaks in favour of our proposal to use §/yfzr of the bilinguis as nom. Sing. \**galilō* to avest. *failita-*.

This result would be remarkable in several directions. The Nom. Sing. §fs/tr and §/yfw are both found in Aramaic texts. However, the writing of case endings can only be found sporadically in the Elephantine papyri and in the Aršāma letters. It is limited to *drymliš*, *dryhmš*, *drywš Dārayavahuš*. Otherwise the rule laid down by Schaefer<sup>12</sup> applies that the Old Persian loan words and proper names are either written without endings or with the -d of the Aramaic stat. emphat. On the other hand, it is a peculiarity of Bi-linguis that not in all, but in the vast majority of cases, the pronunciation of the Avestan and Old Persian loanwords can be interpreted as case endings or, as in the present case, must be interpreted as such. This will become clear on the basis of the further

<sup>10</sup> ā. 37-

<sup>10</sup> Awestisches Elementarbuch (igO9) Iq8 f. § zS i.

<sup>11</sup> Chr. Bartholomae, a. O. 8z7.

<sup>10</sup> Chr. Bartholomae, l. c. O. 8z8. But cf. corr.-h'ot. to p. i yy.

<sup>10</sup> Chr. Bartholomae, a. O. i Goo : °sfa-, cf. altind. °slā.

<sup>12</sup> **Iranische Beiträge** i (Schriften der **Königsb. Gelehrt. Gesellsch. 6, I 30**), z63 f. ; egg f.



This contrast would prove significant in a concluding historical discussion.

The spelling of the case ending has neither been seen nor interpreted in all cases so far. Benveniste was no exception, and so his explanation of 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 is different. He leaves 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 aside, mentions the parallel *palitay-* in passing and decides in favour of \**ḡafifare-* (to \**pali-lap*, cf. avest. 𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬀/i. favaà-). The Avestan meaning would be "to resist", but Benveniste, referring to Middle Persian, prefers "to last". ANN IO 𐭪/b/y/tr would then be: "(après une) durée de dix ans", which would correspond to fišxn izñv whijpp8[Ev]- zmv^'. Benveniste himself notes, however, that the construction remains difficult with such an assumption. The decisive "aprcs" would have to be added, which makes it unclear what the syntactic function of the Iranian word should be.

Of course, 'B YD can be drawn to ḡ/yJtr: "for tenJ years (was) pt yini made". Then one would have, in Aramaic guise, an anticipation of the Middle Persian and New Persian periphrasis by means of šArfAił, bcrden<sup>o</sup>. The oldest example to date was KB YR 'rtrst 'B YD W' = zoo -rrohhó\$ vcíxoç -rroi wcrv-rod of the inscription of Mc iet'a". But victories can be "done, made", but can the same be said of duration? Surely it can only be "debt settlement" = *palltō* "made" or "completed". This once again advises us to maintain our view.

Then 6txo Arty -rrhpr;8 Ev]zcov would have been rendered as !ŠNN xo flytm 'B YD within the Aramaic version. It would have been added, with which theseJ ears were fulfilled. As with whr;pmpr' and with wXppouv, whpp'fwoosoi'- more often, a religious fulfilment and fulfilment of the filling.

On the other hand, Dupont-Sommer seeks to understand 'B YD ZY as "il fut fait que", "il advint que". But he rightly remarks that the interpretation remains

<sup>10</sup> So we believe we can read with certainty on the plaster cast. On this L. Robert, l. c. O. 13 f. <sup>10</sup> But cf. syr. *passās ā 'b\_ad " ocrozñ':tar fecit" Zachar. Rhetor z.93. z Brooks. <sup>10</sup> Altheim-Stiel, Die aramäische Sprache i. Lfg. ( 959). §2 f. See our fig. 7.*

<sup>10</sup> F. Dornseiff, Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie<sup>o</sup> (19 2 6) ; R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres z56 f. ; A. Dupont-Sommer, La doctrine gnostique de la lettre "Waw" i5 f. ; Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischer Staat i (ig5a), zo<sub>1</sub>. In addition : f;htc zò whjpcopin -rofi xróvoU Gal. a,a.

<sup>10</sup> In addition whr;Jpoiñ-r'xi f} ypn\$FJ Joh. i 3, 18 ; Matth. i, zz. With battle- "guilt comparison", may be compared whr;Jpoiñ or whr;Jp': n "n8ni, zóç ürro-x•• c •\* x -\*v.

doubtful. We are also not aware of a corresponding meaning of *'bad*, not even within the branched usage of Syriac.

With the rejection of Dupont-Sommer's interpretation, the causal function of dY, which we advocated and justified in our earlier article, remains for the time being.

Dupont-Sommer correctly read the second-last word of the first line as *KS V T* instead of *JS T'*. This does not change the meaning of the passage.

z. Dupont-Sommer considers understanding *Z'YR* as *za ar Pa el*. The spelling with Yöd is explained like the parallels *YHW TYR* and *THHS CNN* discussed below. The fact that *pa'el* is only attested in Syriac as "rendre petit, amoindrir" is not too important in view of the Jewish-Aram. *Af 'el* of the same meaning. And *za "ar* next to *häpep* repeats the juxtaposition of the two stems. Both times the "king" would be the subject, thus avoiding a change of subject: "Since then he has minimised the illness and removed the unlove".

Our suggestion *'duiky* <sup>\*o-dnufya-<sup>o</sup></sup> is also considered by Benveniste, but rejected because of the Old Persian phonetic form (avest. *zeola-*). This is unfounded, because the Asoka inscription from Taxila contains the Old Persian *ni5tä "an-* alongside its Avesti words, and the mortar inscription from Persepolis discussed above<sup>o</sup> gives avest. *haoana-* alongside a number of Old Persian appellatives and proper names.

Since the passage has not been considered so far, it is worth recalling Darius I's words in the Inscription of Bisutfin 4, 67 f. recalls. Here the king admonishes the one who will hold this dignity after him not to be a friend to a man who lies or uses violence: *do dau5tä by y}ä*. And in the epitaph of Naks-i Rüstam it says: "by Ahuramazda's grace I am such that I *am rästam dau[kt]ä ami y*, "ii#a *naiy daustä s "iiy* (2 f.). And a little further: "a lying man *tiaiy dau5t(ä] amiy*" (iz). One could say: *adaukyä* is passively turned into what Darius says: *naiy dauklä*

3 According to Dupont-Sommer's new reading, the beginning reads: *W-B-KL R fi r'm sly*. It eliminates the syntactic difficulty that Levi Della

\*<sup>o</sup> The form *\*adaus yä* could be understood as acc. pl. Mask. could be understood. Then it refers to persons whom the king has eliminated. Alternatively, the ending of the Aramaic stat. emphat. could, as is also attested elsewhere, have been added to the h'om. acc. sing. neuter. -ada "iyarn. A decision can hardly be made.

<sup>1</sup> > . 4<9 \* ; cf. Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. - 7

Vida and us *W P* had meant. But it also raises a new difficulty. Benveniste suggests avest. *räman-* "calm, peace, joy", and Dupont-Sommer agrees with him. In fact, *räman-* would go well with *fäifi* Inf. (it is unnecessary to construct a \**I'i/i-* with Benveniste). To justify the spelling *r'in*, one could use

to the nom. Sing *räma* Y. 68, -5. Nevertheless, objections arise, and they are of such weight that Benveniste's interpretation must be dropped.

For one thing, the spelling of the inlautende *i* by means of *Älaf* in this inscription would be unheard of. Nowhere in it or in any of the other Aramaic Asoka inscriptions can such a spelling be found. This objection alone was sufficient to eliminate the suggestion. Also, a spelling *r'm* or *rm* could only mean avest. *rd'na-* "cruelty". It turns out that the Asoka inscription from Taxila writes *nfl ut = niétävan-*, and in the present case \**rtnii* would be expected. This form appears as a proper name on the mortar inscription from Persepolis (Z. z).

An interpretation from the Aramaic is inevitable. *fi 'ff = rd'sm* would be part. Perf. act. to *r'iin* "to rise up". Accordingly: *W-B-KL 'R fi R'M St y* "and joy arose in all the earth".

The following section, from 3 *ZY ZHN* to 6 beginning *šrhs/y*, must be considered in context.

Firstly, new readings are to be noted. Line 3 end *£'Yfi* is secured by the new copy. Our proposal *W ii ID* is therefore no longer applicable.

Line 4 Dupont-Sommer reads *£V* instead of the previous *UZf*, but has to admit that this form does not yield an acceptable interpretation. The new impression shows that Dupont-Sommer has succumbed to a deception. The Steinmetz gives *the final niin* a strongly protruding upper part, clearly in *z 'D AN; 3 MR'N; 6 'NHN; 7 QSYN.4 THII YNN* has something similar: its final *niin* has joined with the upper part to the following *niin*.

The word "*Wäw*" is pushed into the centre of the story and thus creates the appearance of an *Alaf* (which, however, does not otherwise recur in the assumed form). So it remains with *AND*, which Levi Della Vida had read.

The syntax is more difficult. Dupont-Sommer has made understanding the period 3 II *P JV ZNS-4 THII YNN* more difficult for himself by adopting Benveniste's idea,<sup>3</sup> *P ZV* with the so-called ideogram, the he assigns the meaning "en outre", "et. It is not clear how in a

inscription, which does not and cannot contain any ideographic writing (see above I,39\*: 4°9 ), an I deogram should be possible. Nor do we see how, alongside Avestan and Old Persian, both of which know no ideograms, a so-called ideogram would be conceivable. Dupont-Sommer also remarks: "quant à la particule ZY, elle nous semble être ici un mot purement explétif, n'ajoutant rien pour le sens à la conjonction WP". In reality, it turns out that with3 JV "and also which", 4 +<V "and which" and5 KNM Z¥ "likewise which" three parallel sentence structures are introduced. All three consist of a relative antecedent clause and a postcedent and main clause that takes it up by means of a demonstrative. Namely:

*W P ZV ZNH ... K TLN, ZNH ... 'TH HSYNN.*  
*WZV N WN V ' IIDN, 'LK 'NON §iybff.*  
*KNM ZY prbst\* H W YN, ' LKTH IIS YNN MN ġrbst y.*

In the second and third sentences, Dupont-Sommer's view agrees with our own. This applies first of all to the syntactic structure: JV and 'LK together with the corresponding verbal forms correspond to each other in both cases. We are also pleased with the concordant interpretation of THHS YNN, which had caused Levi Della Vida considerable difficulties. Finally, both sentences deal with certain groups of people - the fishermen and the ó "pœrti\$ - each in both the first and last sentence. In contrast, according to Dupont-Sommer, within the first sentence structure one would be faced with a counterpart of the king in the first sentence and all the people in the second sentence. T h e r e is a further difficulty. If

<sup>21</sup> That *prbst* is -- /ra-ðas/a-, as Benveniste ix'ill, is unlikely. Admittedly, the preposition /fe- means "séparation, rejet, éloignement". But then you can still sense the old meaning "forwards, forth, in front" as "away, away". *Fra-strā-* is "to wash away", *fra-mark-* "to drive away", *fra-uardk-* "to pull away, xveg - to drag". Also wþóppi(oc, m-as Benveniste x ergleicht, means "uprooted" in the sense that the ÁV ur zeI comes forth, and lat. *prädere* means that one betrays someone by "giving him away" and handing him over. It is significant that in Middle Pers. *fcaband-*, *fzauand-* "contenir", parth. /zðst "retenu, contenu" this meaning x'on /r'i- is not present. Such a - *fza-baud-* would be a "fortbinden" in the sense of "wegbinden", but not an "entfesseln". The explanation of 9rbsf must therefore be sought in another direction. - The inscription writes *uāš In* as 'A'Ši\, *i Iha sanūn aIs ' TH IIS V N L'*, thus leaving the long vowel without àtater lectionis. Defective spelling of the ifurz vowel i should therefore not come as a surprise. The ðxp ' s are "ring-bound" by the ieidenschaften, i.e. \**fari -lasta-*. - .Such x on *prhsl y* as instrument. Sing. see no reason to depart f r o m the same explanation for *huip15'sl ' 6*.

ZV, as we have tried to show, introduces the first clause and forms its subject, it cannot be taken up in the second clause by *KLHM 'NŠN*. Of course, *'LK* is also missing, which one should expect in relation to £Y according to the analogy of the second and third sentence structure. So the only possibility is that *ZNH* of the preceding clause corresponds to the same word in the following clause. Of course, this creates a new ambiguity.

It concerns the word group *ZNH BM'KL LMR'N MLK'*. Firstly, *ZNH* could be used substantivally, as later in the Palestinian Talmud *ausschließlich*<sup>oo</sup>. Then the prepositions *ð* and *l* are separated. What is needed for the (material) purpose of the meal stands alongside what is used for the (personal) needs of the king. The parenthesis should read: "And even those who killed what was (needed) for food for our lord the king as a small thing were weaned from it in the face of all men". *ZNH* in the preceding clause is taken up by the same word in the following clause; *Z'VR* is used predicatively. Dupont-Sommer quotes from an edict of Aśoka that originally hundreds of thousands of animals were killed for the royal kitchen, then three more animals (they are meant by the I'VA), and these were also to be omitted in future.

4 *NH THHS ANN* separates from s *THHS YNN MN ÿ r ò s f y* .

In the first case, we are talking about a weaning that grasps its object: the killing stops. In the second, one weans oneself "away from the *prbst y*". The same could be meant when the Greek version reads: *wćno\rrroi wrįç óxpçtřćř xeró búropiv* (line 8-Q). It would then be unnecessary to state that "indulgent moderation" is only found on the Greek side (which in any case has the probability against it).

6'-2. Ranches has also been overlooked here. Prior to this a number of details.

For the sequence *L'MWH Y WL'BWHO*, Benveniste recalls Šāhbāz- garhi: *sadliu matapitusu* (*inōiarica fītarica* Girnar) *sušru a*. But in an Iranian setting, Dar. Beh. • 3 *hatnó/ð\* ñ a m 'i*; bifō should be remembered,

<sup>oo</sup> G. Dalman, *Gramm. des jüd.-paläst. Aramaic* (i 8ga) 8z § i y, g.

<sup>oo</sup> M. Mayrhofer in : *Annali Istituto Univ. Orientate Napoli* i (ig5g) z3 f. From the point of view of stylistic gradation (increase or decrease of successive terms), H. Th. Bossert in : *Bibliotheca Orientalis* i z (i55). 5Of. dealt with the question. The Ileilschr.-Hittite with decreasing gradation is contrasted with six Asia Minor languages with increasing gradation (reference by J. Friedrich).

which has the same order. Herodotus 2, 30 turns it into  $\tau\acute{o}m'x$   $\omega\epsilon\rho\rho\acute{o}$   $\xi\mu\lambda$   $\rho\pi\zeta\rho\delta\$\$$   $\zeta$ , thus making the same change as the Greek version of our inscription.

That *msyfy* can be interpreted in two ways - as acc. plur. Mask. of a \**mazištya-* to be placed after *zaviffya-<sup>o\*</sup>* and as an Avestan word with the Aramaic plural ending *-nyyā* - has already been said. There is no doubt that *cizyf/y* corresponds to *'N!ŠN: -c'ioṽ wptṛ|βu-ršpçov*. But in Avestic *inazifta-*, *masiffa-* and in Old Persian *mašif/a-* never means the "oldest", but always the "greatest"<sup>5</sup>. So the change in meaning is based on the Semitic: Syriac, Jewish-Aramaic *raððê*, Arabic *ráðir* mean the "great" as well as the "old"; Arabic *aððar* is the "greatest" and "oldest". *Nwš/ys/y* is Instrum. Sing. equals *šròs/y*, thus *huğat yāsti*, which is confirmed by the syntax: "By good <sup>admonitionS®</sup> in the interest of (or: on the part of) his mother and his father and the elders ... (is) *HLKW T'*". The latter cannot simply be equated with syr. *sfğō* "destin, fatum". As an otherwise unattested neologism for /t/ağ "attribuit, distribuit", the word must have served a special purpose. It becomes avest. *òaga-*, *baya-* "favourable lot, allotment". The ideogram shows that this is the case. *IILKWNln -- bāxtan\*\** and will be confirmed by *D IN*. This raises the question of translation.

According to Dupont-Sommer, it should read: "Et (règne) l'obéissance à sa mère et à son père et aux gens âgés conformément aux obligations qu'a imposées à chacun le sort". And then he continues, with a new sentence: "Et il n'y a pas de jugement pour les hommes pieux". It is noticeable that the *verbum finitum* "règne" and further that "conformément" must be added without finding an equivalent in the Aramaic wording. The fact that by adding the copula when reading *nošø/yās/i* as Instrum. Sing. the construction is corrected has already been shown. The correct reading '*SRH Y*' is due to Dupont-Sommer. Unfortunately, he has it with a

<sup>54</sup> Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Dictionary* (94) 169

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid* i ass: s-

<sup>98</sup> A study of the meaning and derivation of *pailyāstay-* is given by H. Humbach in: *Indogerm. Forsch.* 63 (i g58), z i6f. The meaning of "Entgegen-schießer (= emitter, externaliser)" that she advocates cannot be applied either to the Taxila inscription or to that of Kandahār. In the latter, *tXooi* corresponds to *úø-9atyāsti* Instr. sing. *Öieses* can only mean in Bartholomae's sense actively: "good admonition, good inculcation" or passively: "good admonition" and the obedience thereby effected (a. O. 840 f.).

<sup>27</sup> H. F. J. J unker, *The Frahang-i Pahlavik* (i g55) i5.

grammatical error. The suffix -ái shows that the verbal form GIS 3rd Plur. Mask. Perf. is to be understood. Thus *asrîhi*\*<sup>°</sup> with a defective spelling of the ending -ii. The equivalent is gray to *grh*\*\*<sup>°</sup>, which Bauer-Leander paraphrase as *gerdġi*. 'YK is not to be added after 'yń sy

zen : hikar 3 . shows that before a short but complete sentence, as also in Syriac<sup>°°</sup>, mere 'yš is possible: *lmhzli yb yt'bd* "to see how it would be done". Thus: "how they (the elders) bound him". Closing

*L' Y TY DYN'* is not a sentence, but *LTD DYN'* forms, as the ending of the first member shows, a constructus compound: "existence of judgement" and as such is to be equated with *HLJW T'*. In *HS YN* Dupont-Sommer has brilliantly recognised syr. *[iasyā* "saint, pieux, religieux". We had already established that *LKLHM 'NOY* should be read; this is confirmed by the plaster cast. *IISYN*, although Stat. absol. belongs to a determinate noun. However, the inscription no longer distinguishes between '*NOY* "the people" and '*NON* "āvḅpt\$ nonnulli". Stat. absol. in *HS YN* should therefore not come as a surprise, all the less so as the word is to be understood as an apposition rather than an attribute<sup>°°a</sup>.

Accordingly, the translation should read: "And by good exhortation on behalf of (or: on the part of) his mother and father and the elders who bound him, (is) good allotment ( happiness) and not passing judgement for all people, (that is:) for pious (people)". In the Greek text, ζέειν corresponds to wpcw|3u-rtp'ov -rrpó -ró wpoztpov, dependent on iv xooi. Robert pointed out the special feature of -rrpó

(p. x2). But Cassius Dio 62, 3, 4 (p. 6x Boiss.) shows in : -rrc'pó zò vtvoiiicrpevov the meaning "according to" (G. Rohde's note). 'Ev xoo\$ is constructed with the same genitive as ἄχοίμ and ἐροχοίκο in the LXX, but nevertheless has -rrœrpt and pdzpl next to it, which in both cases can only be dativus commodi. The Greek has thus divorced: "obedient to the interests of father and mother and obedient to the al-

test". To put it more freely: you should honour your father and mother as your ancestors commanded. A similar divorce could also exist in Aramaic. *Hupat yāslay-* is an /i-Abstractum, which is used as a

°- Bauer-Leander, a. O. i z6 h'.

°- A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century (ig-31<sup>3</sup> to line g.

°° Th. Nöldeke, Ilurzgef. syr. Grimm.° z - § 364 E.

°°- Isa, in defective spelling, or syii as an adverb, and in the meaning "strictly" occurs in the Aršāma letters i. 3: 7 - - ā

such morphologically to Part. Perl. Pass. on -fe-. Like the latter, the word must originally have had a widespread meaning: "good admonition" was once a being admonished, a letting oneself be admonished. J Friedrich<sup>91</sup> has shown that the common construction of Part. **Pass.**

with / (Hi/ /i "he was killed by me" - "I killed him") from the Old

Persian (iina /ya mand éyfain = "this [is] what [h a s been] done by me"). This transfer from Iranian syntax into Aramaic seems to be observable in execution. For £w\$fyf

. . *Lmzykly' 'NHN YK 'Sfi?f* Ycould mean: "by being well admonished ... on the part of the ancestors, as they have bound him". There, therefore, a letting oneself be admonished in the interest of (with regard to) the parents, here such **on the part of** the ancestors according to their commandment.

8 The new sentence therefore only begins with *ZNH*. The reading *WY'WS P* suggested by us has not been confirmed on the basis of the copy. It remains *W WSP*. But Dupont-Sommer's *y'hälir* is also incorrect: it must be read *y'£dfar* because of the following *r*<sup>92</sup>. We have shown how the *y* in the last syllable is to be explained <sup>^</sup>. Plene spelling of short *s* and *i* is not unusual in later Aramaic <sup>^</sup>, and in Mandaean it is regularly used<sup>93</sup>. Such spellings are also found in the verbal ideograms of the Book of Pelevi: *YL VDWN -- zälän, Y T YB WN -- niéästan*. In an inscription of the 3rd century BC is as surprising as it is revealing. This is all the more true as the Haf'el of *ytr*, as already mentioned, is not *\*liäter*, but *hätar*. Nevertheless, if *HW* is written *TVR*, then *y* must have been transferred by analogy from cases in which *e* was spoken in Haf'el. This corresponds to the fact that also in

Jewish-Aramaic *tu.'t yr* (a. Sing. Mask. Impf.) and *iitr/yr* (i. Plur. Impf.) was written<sup>94</sup>. And this corresponds further to the fact that on our inscription in *THHS YNN* the same spelling of Haf'el *\*H IISVN -- \*halisen*

(where it is legitimate) was transferred to the reflexive stem form. This, too, can only be understood analogically, because, as I said, it was spoken:

*\*i!liajsaniin*.

<sup>91</sup> In : Archiv für Orientforschung i 2 (i g56), z zq f.

<sup>92</sup> Bauer-Leander, a. O. i 32 b.

<sup>93</sup> Above i, Doz f.

G. Dalman, Gramm. des jüd.-palästin. Aramaic<sub>3</sub>: F. Schultheiß, Gramm. des christl.-palästin. Aramaic (i gzq) 8 ; Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum 8z.

<sup>94</sup> Th. Nöldeke, Mandäische Gramm. (-zs) 3 Note i.

<sup>95</sup> G. Dalman, op. cit. O. 5



Such analogous spellings were intended to illustrate grammatical relationships. They were therefore also used where there was no phonetic equivalent in the language. In the cases presented here, it is clear that the inner connection between Hat'el or Af'el and Ithaf'al could thus be grasped. Until now it has not been observed that the same thing, undoubtedly with the same intention, also occurs in the Avesta. This observation is all the more significant because, in our view, the Avesta was also originally written in Aramaic.

Avest. *flaéla-* masc. "teaching" and *féaéfa-* masc. "teacher" belong to the verbal root °éaé1- "to teach". In contrast to *tbaéI-*, *dvaeL-*, *dabaeI-* as well as *tbaékah-*, and *d "aeIali-* and cognates, the proposed f- of both nouns is without etymological meaning. However, all forms of Ralf- were palatal: féil-, Evt-, Pinan-. In order to keep the etymological and at the same time semantic connection den- alive, *tkaéla-* was given that dental sound which, under the given circumstances, produced the closest graphic resemblance to the palatal and at any rate reminded us of it (cf. Old Persian ÜiJšif, Tslo-rrij\$). This explanation of the Avestan spelling is due to an oral reference by P. Thieme.

Dupont-Sommer considers whether 'WSP should be taken as an adverb: "encore" and translates: "Cela a été profitable par tous les hommes et sera encore profitable". But the verbal construction, which is the closest, emerges when one considers the meaning of both verbs: "May this give abundance and may it increase by giving abundance" : A wish at the end, intended for this world, after the promise for the hereafter was given in the previous sentence.

Korr.-Not. au p. i67 0. Szemerényi reminds us by letter that avest. *\*pot yäst ä* in the inscription must correspond to \*9iysim, not §fsfa'. This objection is correct. The reading and interpretation of the word therefore remain open for the time being. Concerning the reading, J Harmatta had already expressed reservations to us verbally, which we have unfortunately also ignored.

## CHAPTER 6

# TO THE BILINGUI S OF MCH ET'A

### 1

The authors are in a position to propose a new and, they hope, definitive explanation in place of the one proposed above I, z<sup>34</sup>: z66; 43\* with regard to the form *M'Y DIN Z*. iI. It makes the adoption of a The prescription of J to yti is unnecessary and also eliminates a grammatical impossibility (participle ending in the 3rd plural: W. B. Henning in: *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 4. \*958, 3Q).

The deceased speaks in the first person: i 'NH. The change to the third person from line 2 onwards was previously assumed by all interpreters and also by us. It is omitted, because *L' GMYR WHK AN TB WT PYR Y?fiPH* does not refer to Serapit, but, as the masculine forms show, to the masculine PRNWS. Accordingly, *£V BR YN\$ L' DM' Y?fiP üfN TBIF T* must be translated: "that no one (was equal to PRNW\$ in excellence". This opens up the possibility that Serapit is still speaking in the first person in the last line. In fact, *WM'Y TYN BIN T z i* means nothing other than: "and I (am) dying in the year zi".

*MT* 'etis Part. Mask. P<sup>e</sup> 'al as 3 f. *'B ID -- 'öbep, N j Y H* nöscJ. Closing - *AN* would then be - according to the usual formation in the Eastern Aramaic dialects (in Syriac, New Syriac, Talmudic and Mandaean) - the enclitic personal pronoun of the i. Sing. The original form should read: *ff'V TT 'NH*, enclitic *\*M'Y TTN* \*in'iy/alaö. But in Mandaean in such cases the feminine participle is replaced by the masculine (Th. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, i87s· z3I above). This is also the case here, where *M'VT* is used instead of the expected *3f'ATT* has. In Syriac, the enclitic pronoun of the i. Sing. can be simplified to -sir, -n, which is due to confusion with the object suffix of the

I. Sing. is usually written *-ny* (Th. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefaßte syrische Grammatik*<sup>o</sup> 45 § 64 Anm.). This **form** occurs above all in poets of the older period and derives from the stems *tertia infirmae* (Th. Nöldeke, a. O. 45 § 64 note; *Mandaean Grammar* -3<sup>o</sup>). The same expression is found in New Syriac : *f'ärpen* "I end", *jaddejen* "I

renew" i. Sing. Mask. and Adr 'iii "I end" I. Sing. Far. (Th. Nöldeke, *Neusyrische Grammatik*, z868, 215: C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergl. Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* i, x . s -). In addition there are now y. Friedrich's remarks on the New Syriac *verbum* (language samples from Nestorians - "Assyrians" - of the USSR) in: *ZDMG*. iog (-959]. 6z f.

According to this, the i. Sing. Praes. in Mask. *kom-in*, in Fern. *Iafr-an*. *M' Y TAN* would therefore be ind'ef-Str, with the masculine participle instead of the feminine

corresponding to Mandaean and with *-cii* as an enclitic personal pronoun of the i. Sing. corresponding to Syriac. According to the manner of the inscription, *e plene* would have been written (Altheim-Stiehl, *Das Aramäische unter*

the Achaimenids i. -959. 4> f.). The Aramaic of the Achaimenids is thus in contact with the Eastern Aramaic, but among its dialects an independent position.

Raimund Köbert of the Pontificio Istituto Biblico informs us by letter that he has found a similar reading independently.

In the proposed solution, the peculiarity remains that in *M' Y TYN* the ending would have ended up in the Syriac manner, while the replacement of the feminine participle by the masculine would correspond to the Mandaean manner. This is not unthinkable. But one would prefer a standardised solution, and certainly one that would allow all occurrences to be interpreted from the Syriac. Not only for the sake of its early attestation and geographical proximity, but also because the Aramaic part of the Dilinguis had also come into contact with Syriac in other ways. This applies to the language (Altheim-Stiehl, *Supplementum Aramaicum* 8f. ; *Die aramäische Sprache* i. 42f.), but especially to the metre. The second part of the Aramaic inscription proved to be a *mümra* in seven syllables, the metre of *Aprem* 's (above i. -5-: *Die aramäische Sprache* i. 49 )

Th. Nöldeke (Kurzgef. syr. Gramm.° 32f. § 86) has pointed out that within Syriac the phonetic analogy has transferred words with a root *f* into the feminine gender. As examples he mentions, among others: *r1/ä* "ground", *effä* "glue", *#effä* "little dust", *fhsffä* "aniseed" (foreign word), *Mjtä* "rust", *lo fi* "sediment", *y'ifd* "being". The same expression is found in Mandaean: Th. Nöldeke, Mandäische Gramm. Ifil § Z3°. This provides a confirmation which is welcome, but the previously desired unified explanation from Syriac is not affected by it.

Consequently, *MVT-mä'eJ* could be explained by the fact that the third radical *w a s* (erroneously) understood as a feminine ending. This confusion was all the more obvious as the inscription gives all feminines the ending *-t*, regardless of whether they are stat. constr. or emphatic: *'N T T*, *TBW T* (Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum 3: Die aramäische Sprache I, 43f.). Incidentally, the inscription from Susa from 215 AD (Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum 8f.) has the feminine participle Pass. P<sup>c</sup> 'al *BN Y T* (Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache I, q8).

## OSTROM AND THE SASANIDEN

The three centuries before the appearance of Muhammad coincide with the history of the two great powers Rome and the Sasanians. Even the emergence of new peoples - the Germanic tribes and Arabs, the Dromedary nomads, the Huns and other Turkic peoples - as revolutionary as it was, can only be grasped insofar as it took place on the borders of both powers. These are like the axes of a coordinate system on which everything that happened at that time had to be plotted in order to become a historical event. It is only to the extent that such an entry is made that the events gain context and shape, that they can be understood in terms of cause and effect. Otherwise, even the discoveries and excavations of modern research will remain a mystery.  
often shadowy.

If we take the most important discovery made in the last two decades in the field of late antique history - we mean the discovery of the culture of pre-Islamic Khwārezm - what has been said soon becomes clear. Only where the country emerges from its seclusion and enters into a relationship with the powers that be does a historical picture. This applies above all to the centuries after the Arabian conquest up to the Mongol invasion, while conversely the\* thousand years before, between this conquest and the appearance of Zarathustra, are much more difficult to grasp, even if the second half of the period can claim to be regarded as the great time of Khwārezm.

The above also applies to the history of the Huns and to the special case presented here: that of the Hephthalites. A review of the evidence collected in the previous book leaves no doubt about this. The bulk of it comes from the Eastern Roman tradition in Greek, Syriac and Ethiopian, as well as from what has been preserved in Arabic translation from the Sasanian Book of Kings.

Now that the Roman Empire has been replaced by Eastern Rome and Byzantium, and the Sasanids: Umayyads and 'Abbasids, this situation is at best presented in a new guise, but has not fundamentally changed. The excerpt of Hephthalite history that presents itself under such conditions is arbitrary and often says more about the reporters than those to whom the report applies. Nevertheless, one must accept what is offered in this way and try to make the best of it.

Hephthalite mouths hardly ever utter a word, and only little reveals how the image of the two great powers emerged for this people. Nevertheless, it seems to be clear that both, despite all the wars and

The Huns were not too different from the nomadic tribes on Iran's borders, as they were from all of them. Hephthalites, like the Huns in general, were without partiality. They played both parties off against each other, and if they often found themselves on the side of the Sasanians, it was only because they were immediate neighbours and quicker to respond to requests for help. That one

It is not clear whether one of the powers was held in higher esteem. For the

Hephthalites, both were empires that were alternately fought against or supported in return for generous payments. And monetary gain was important in both cases. In fact, Ostrom and the later Sasanids had largely harmonised with each other, as was customary in battles that lasted for hundreds of years. Such rapprochement had begun in the areas in which the

Hephthalites were involved with the great powers: in fact and in the organisation of the army.

## 1

Both authors have tried to prove on various occasions that Chusrö I Anösarvân (53\*-57) modelled his comprehensive tax reform on the late Roman *iugatio* and *caſi/a/ia*'.

In the Roman Empire, Diocletian (284-305) introduced this new form of taxation, which combined a tax on land with a tax on labour.

' Altheim-Stiehl in : La Nouvelle Clio 5 (1953), 107\* ; An Asian State I, 33 i. ; **Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike** 3; f. ; F. Altheim, Utopie und Wirtschaft (1955) 92f.

The late Roman property tax is based on a measurement unit, the iugom. It is not the yield that is taxed, but the sum to be collected is determined in advance by the amount of the *indictio* and then allocated to the individual plots of land. The Persians also wanted to calculate with fixed amounts in advance and therefore levied an amount on the measurement unit, the darth, that was independent of the respective harvest. When Chusrö levied a land tax (jamie) of eight times the amount of a field planted with wheat or barley on vineyards, this corresponded exactly to the Roman approach. In the Sasanian Empire it was only simplified somewhat. Instead of three classes of arable land, an average rate was calculated. And just as a distinction was made on the Roman side between first and second class olive trees, a distinction was made here between Persian and common date palms, with the latter being equated with olive trees for tax purposes.

The peculiarity remains that the crops were taxed according to one underlying measurement unit, while the fruit trees were taxed according to groups of four to six. This corresponds to the fact that Chusrö had the arable land measured but the trees counted. Here too, late Roman practice provides the equivalent. Through the discovery of an economic archive, the "Tablettes Albertini"<sup>o</sup>, we know the agricultural conditions of Africa in the Vandal period, which in turn were based on the late Roman order. Under the Mancini law, those who had planted fruit trees on uncultivated land that did not belong to them were granted a right of ownership. Once again, the tax treatment of land and trees diverged. The planter of the trees had a right of use vis-à-vis the owner of the land and had to pay the landowner a fee, which according to the aforementioned law was one third of the yield. The Syrian-Roman law book shows that, at least in the Roman eastern provinces, trees were taxed independently of the land. This is confirmed as soon as the poll tax and caşifa/io are taken into account. Under Chusrö this tax was graduated. One had to pay twelve, eight, six and four dirhams, depending on whether one had a larger or smaller tree. performed labour. Those who were over fifty years old and had a reduced capacity for labour were exempt from the poll tax. The same applied to those who had not yet reached the age of twenty.

<sup>o</sup> ? for the following see J. Lambert in : *Revue Africaine* 97 (+ 953). \*96 I.

had. Diocletian's *capitatio* also recorded the labour force by means of graduated rates.

In addition, all those in public service were exempt from this tax. Again, Chusrö's tax system can be compared. His poll tax (*gizya*) did not, as is expressly stated, extend to the highest nobility, the army, the priests and whoever else was in the service of the king.

Of course, Chusrö knew nothing of Diocletian and his achievements in Roman taxation. What he and his counsellors did know were the Eastern Roman *iugatio* and *caşi/aJio* of their own time. Since Chusrö's reform, land and poll taxes were assessed in money, not in kind, and levied accordingly. This shows that he was aware of the later practice of converting the two late Roman taxes into money (*a'laeratio*), which had already been used from time to time since Constantine.

Finally, payment in three instalments, recurring every four months, goes back to the Roman model. It is first encountered in the levying of the *aïnoïia* under Gallienus, in the year 266°.

Our view, the main features of which have thus been outlined, was presented twenty years ago. Unfortunately, because we were completely cut off from Soviet research at the time, we had to remain unaware of it. In two works\*, N. Pigulevskaya had emphasised the similarities between the measures of Chusrö I Anö- éarvân's tax reform and the late Roman *iugatio* and *cafitatio*; she had

also recognised the borrowing on the part of the Sasanian. We regret to have learnt of this agreement only recently, but are pleased to have it confirmed. We agree with the honoured researcher that the tax systems of the two great powers of late antiquity are closely linked and exhibit largely similar features. The evidence in detail often takes different paths.

° D. van Berchem in: *Mém. Soc. Nat. Antiquaires* 6<sup>s</sup>37. ; J. Karayannopulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (1958) 2.

\* Cf. the review of our book by N. Pigulevskaya herself in : *Woprosi istorii* 5Ji q58, i yq f. and the essay by I. Hahn's.



The two works by N. Pigulevskaya and ours are the subject of an essay by the Hungarian scholar I. Hahn. Unfortunately, it appeared in a rather hidden place<sup>1</sup>; it only became known to us through a reference<sup>o</sup>. The author is well versed in the relevant languages of the East - not a very common advantage among ancient historians - and has contributed important information from his knowledge of Talmudic literature. We gladly recognise these merits, but must add that most of what has been compiled here in an honest effort is based on misunderstandings.

The starting point is Tabari's remark, ann. i, g6z, Hz f., that graduated rates had to be paid for the *jfzya: ka-padri iktäri r-raguli ma- i fi/iÄi*. In contrast to Th. Nöldeke's translation: "depending on the man's greater or lesser wealth", we had suggested: "depending on whether the man was able to contribute much or little". Hahn disputes the correctness of this rendering by pointing out that the two verbs in intransitive use always refer to the objective facts of wealth or income and not to the subjective circumstance of ability to work. Hahn refers to A. Dozy's *Supplément des dictionnaires arabes*<sup>o</sup> (igz2) z, §j3 l. under *Tatara*, *aé/ara* (admittedly not under *af/a*, *a nJfa*).

Dozy's lexicon is, as the title says, a supplement, "in which he has recorded all the words and meanings found in Freytag and Lane that he had encountered during four decades of collecting. The basis of this ... dictionary is based on three medieval glossaries from Spain, the *Glossarium latino-arabicum*, the *Vocabulista iii aräico* and the *Vocabulista* of Pedro de Alcalá, whose vocabulary Dozy used for the most part. To this he added a gleanings from dictionaries of modern written Arabic, in whose vocabulary much post-classical linguistic material lives on. From the literature of European

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Acad. Paedag. Agriensis (Eger in Hungary)* 5 (i 95g), z65 f. ; **au1 the meanwhile**

German version published in: *Acta Ant. Hung.* 2 (i 9s ), +49\*- has us

J. Harmatta **pointed out.**

We would like to thank Dr J. Andor in Pécs. He was kind enough to provide a translation of the **ungar-essay written in a written form.**

He also took over many explanations from travelogues. His main sources, however, were numerous Arabic medieval texts, especially from the Spanish period ... Since the classical vocabulary written by Freytag and Lane was generally disregarded, the post-classical element came to the fore, whereby the Maghrebi language province in particular was taken into account" -.

It may therefore be risky to infer from Dozy that a word usage noted there may claim exclusive validity. In fact, a glance at the lexicons, which Dozy's supplement claims to supplement, shows that in *aätara* and *a af/a*, apart from the intransitive meaning

"to be rich" and "to be poor" are also intransitive "to do much, apporter beaucoup" and "to do little, fournir peu". Moreover, the assumption of an intransitive meaning is by no means necessary. In Arabic, the accusative object can be omitted from transitive verbs if it is self-evident (*jad\_fu l-ma'tili biAi*), about which

H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax* (Zg2I) 349 f. § I/5, 3 . in detail. Reference should be made in particular to the example he cites

Tabari, ann. z, 1680, Io'. The basic meaning of "doing much" and "doing little" can therefore be taken as a basis and both can be understood as a measure of labour performance.

The deciding factor as to how to translate is the factual. And here it should be clear that if all under 20 and over 50 years are exempt from *izya* (Tabari, ann. -. 963, Z2 f. ; Dinawari 3. 5). this refers solely to labour power. For a man over 5 years of age has, at the present rate of mortality<sup>^</sup>, already lost his power of labour, while it is hard to see why he should have fewer or no assets since this year.

This has settled what Hahn calls a lexicographical objection. Another is based on logical considerations. He believes that the tax burden on landed property arose from the endeavour to count on a fixed income. In this Hahn agrees with our view, but believes that the principle of labour cannot be reconciled with it. For this is based on a variable factor.

\* . Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa* (i955) i8q f.

<sup>^</sup> In addition H. Reckendorf, a. O. 35°

<sup>^</sup> An investigation by F. Szilagy is to be expected.

On the other hand, if the land was divided into different classes according to the type of cultivation, which paid different rates, this corresponds exactly to what we hear about the gradation of rates in the *izya*. In other words, if the *ifarib* wheat and barley was taxed at 2 dirhams, the *šarié* vineyard at 8, the *arié* lucerne at 2, the *arifi* rice at 3J6^, this corresponds to the *izya* rates, which are 8, 6 and 4 dirhams'. Obviously, not only the yield of the country with a debit, but also the labour force, and how The same was true for labour. The fulfilment of this labour obligation placed the risk of fluctuating crop yields on the landowner, just as the risk of fluctuating performance was placed on the worker in the case of labour. Regardless of how much labour he actually performed, he had to pay his due to the *izya*. Here, as there, the state secured a constant income from the outset, and the principle of the tax debit, which underlies the *ifizya*, is confirmed by the *ifizya*.

Hahn again agrees with us that the *ifizya* was limited to the years between 20 and 50. He provides evidence that a similar limitation existed in Syria, only it was limited to 10 and 66 years; further, that the same experience was common for the Egyptian *h'xoypnQict*, Hahn's objections begin elsewhere.

In his opinion, the labour force does not change between the age of two and 3. The labour force does not change between the ages of two and three in such a way that a graduated tax system can be based on it. This objection is again based on the misconception that the *ifizya* was based on actual performance. However, if one assumes that it also created a taxable target, then the question of the extent to which fluctuations in the labour force tend to occur between the two annual limits can be left aside. Here, too, the legislator set a taxable target for certain annual classes without having to determine the actual labour force.

to ask a lot about their performance. And this procedure corresponded exactly to that, which was customary on the Roman side. *Aestimabantur aelates singulorum, parvulis adiciebantur anni, senibus distrahebantur*, says Lactantius when describing the tax abuses (Lactant., de mort. pers. 23)<sup>8</sup>. The age classification was thus made by the tax officials, without much

<sup>8</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* 4 i. ' Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. qs.

<sup>8</sup> I. Karayannopoulos, *The Finance of the Early Byzantine State* 28.

to ask about the circumstances at hand. They were solely concerned with placing the worker in a bracket that guaranteed the highest amount of tax for the state.

Another of Hahn's objections is based on the news that the highest rate, namely 4 dirhams, was the most widespread<sup>e</sup>. These taxpayers were drawn from the broadest social group of the smallest owners.

and the progressive taxation of these assets is disguised in two ways.

Firstly directly through the Jarä and then indirectly through the izy'i.

However, there is no justification for this. The Chinese report that every family pays a poll tax of 4 dirhams per person fails to recognise the facts.

Faced with the question,

whether one should accept Tabari's graduated rates or the aforementioned uniform set, one has to decide in favour of Tabari. Hsüan-

-tsang only asked those who had 4 Dirhem. What is more important is that it speaks of a family. This means that, like the Roman caşof, female and juvenile labour was offset against male labour and thus the unit (ar-ra u f) of the poll tax was calculated. Here, as there, it was an "unreal tax unit": *jur singulos uiros, per binas vero mufirres capitis norma sit c*<sup>10</sup>. Furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that the payers of the *izya* were owners, nor can it be shown that jar'i constituted a direct, *irya* an indirect or even "disguised" form of taxation. One can only say that the jaräg was liable for the property without asking about the person, and that accordingly the \$izya, if it was liable for the person, disregarded the property. The testimonies contain nothing else, and they also show that this exclusivity necessarily led to the combination of both taxes (cf. below).

Hahn believes that an essential difference between the late Roman tax system and the reform of Chusrö I is that the latter contained a predetermined tax target, while the latter contained a predetermined tax rate.

The late Roman system was incomparably more flexible. The *indictio*, which took place every five years, and the *reoisio*, which began every five years, only had to determine the assets and group of persons that formed the tax base. On the other hand, the tax assessment, which changed year by year

• Th. Nöldeke, transl. 2 6 .Sum. z.

<sup>10</sup> J. Karayannopoulos, a. 0. 3o f. Further examples in A. H. M. Jones in : Journ. Rom. Stud. §3 (+953). 53 -

(*delegatio*, βιὸ-ροεϋπν) and the associated instruction on tax collection (ἰ3ποσούϊοv) made it possible to increase or decrease the sum as required.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that the question raised by Hahn as to whether the late Roman and early Byzantine taxation was a repartition or a quotation taxation can hardly be decided for the time being. The last author of the question<sup>1</sup> has stated that there is no clear evidence in favour of one or the other view. He himself, however, favoured the interpretation as a reparation tax, and we would like to agree with this, as I said, provisional formulation.

After all, Hahn recognises that tax revenue could also be increased in the late Sasanian Empire. However, he believes that such an increase was not due to "elasticity within the system", but was based on an increase in tax titles. Here, it seems to us, there is a lack of the necessary elaboration of the Arab Çjuellen. On the one hand, the Sasanids also experienced a temporary reduction alongside the increase in revenue. Dinawarī (102, 6) reports that at the beginning of Chusrō's reign

11 Agarvĕz the ardġ had been reduced by half°. According to Hahn, such a reduction would have to be based on a reduction in tax titles. This is not the case. The statement refers to the ardġ, which proves that the system was elastic like the late Roman one, without having to resort to means that were foreign to it.

This observation is confirmed by the increases in tax revenue. For Ibn Hurdādbeh, the i8th year of Chusrō II. In the eighth year of Chusrō II's reign, Ibn Hurdādbeh again refers to an increase in what the Aardġ and only he had brought in (i5, 6 de Goeje). On the occasion of a second increase, Ibn Hurdādbeh mentions the ġibāya, i.e. arāġ and ġizya together. Incidentally, Kudāma also speaks of the ġiðä - (-s-, i de Goeje) on the occasion of the tax increase in the 18th year. In no case does it appear that no ver-  
increase in tax titles. The late-Sasanian system was also elastic like the late Roman one and could be adapted to the respective need with the same effect.

But Hahn is trying to work out even more differences. *lugalio* and *cašiiøJio* had been assigned to each other from the outset, so that one

<sup>1</sup> I. Karayannopoulos, a. O. 88f.: 7

1° Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike 44.

could speak of "a unity penetrating the duality". *Zōga* and *capita*, *yr̄ç* (uyō and ó:v8pcđomv xcQcih'xí could therefore merge terminologically into *cešil*" *iugorum*, *šuyoxiQohcrl* and be added together mathematically in the assessment. On the other hand, the late Saasanid tax code did not recognise this "double scale". *fnrđg* and *ğizya* were treated as independent institutions.

Hahn's view of the mutual assignment of *iōga/io* and *caš'i/itio* is correct. Not so what he says about the Sasanian order. Once again we see that there is a lack of knowledge of the Arabic sources, especially of their linguistic usage. The corresponding terminology is repeated there. The superordinate term, the *crtšifa iugorum* and the

According to *šuyoxeQoXoi*, it is called *ğibāya* , it includes *arōğ* and *ğizya*. There is another one. On the late Roman side we know the extended term *capitalio*, which includes *iōga/io* and often refers to the entire tax system <sup>1</sup>. The same occurs on the opposite side, only this time *Aardğ* has expanded its meaning. Previously it has been shown that one can say *lsarāğ* where in reality *ğibāya*, i.e. *arāğ* and *gizya*, was meant. On the other hand, *Pērōz* could throw *šsrğ rdJō*, as Ps. Joshua Stylites says (to, Sof. Wright), i.e. the *ğizya*, 'at èo/èñ ".r'cù. It is also significant that *al-liaràğ wa-l-ğiz 'a* (Mas 'údi, iniiru 2, '99. 4 Bar-

bier) and could speak of *ğizya zrø- arōğ* ( abari, ann. i. 949. 20),

The question therefore arose as to which of the two terms was to be preferred. All the evidence shows that the two taxes were just as closely linked in the Sasanian period as in late Rome.

Hahn's attempt to grasp the Parthian tax system does not need to be considered here". Only there, Evo he contrasts his result with our

<sup>15</sup> I. Karayannopoulos, a. 0. 38:t.

<sup>J\*</sup> His comments are astute and remain **worthy of consideration**. But any attempt is **premature until** two preconditions **have been met**. **Firstly**, we **must** await **the** complete treatment of Nisā's ostraca. Hahn has not even treated the pieces that **have** been published (**Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum** Aramaicum 5q f.). He has furthermore ignored the two Greek documents and the aramaean from Avrōmān (Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. 6 f. ; Die aramäische Sprache I.37 f.). The second prerequisite is a study of **Achaemenid** finance, about **which there** is considerable material. **We have them in:** The **Aramaic** Language L:tg. z, Iog f. supplied. This **makes marches in Hahn's** information, especially **that** in the fourth section, **is outdated**.

view, a correction is necessary'<sup>1</sup>. Hahn believes that the exemption from the *ġizya*, which Chusrō's I reform provided for, was intended for the landowning nobility and therefore differed from what had been determined on the Roman side. For there all those in public service, i.e. civil servants and the army, were spared the *cafitatio*<sup>2</sup>. This remark shows that Hahn has read the chapters on tax reform, but not those on the new feudal constitution in our books. The second characteristic of Chusrō I's reform is the creation of an 'official nobility'. And it is precisely this nobility that is exempt from the *ġizya*. abari (ann. i, g6z, IO f.), lists: "the members of the 'houses', the great ones, the army, the hêrba6, the scribes and who else was in the king's service" (similar to **Dinawari** z3. 3 ) Again, there is complete agreement on both sides.

A second comment must be made on the defence constitution of both empires. I. Karyannopulos has dealt with this most recently, in a section in which he discusses the views of those who claim that the Byzantine thematic constitution was modelled on the Sasanian'. He takes issue with E. Stein<sup>3</sup> and E. Darkó<sup>4</sup> by referring, among other things, to our discussion of the reorganisation of military relations under Chusrō I Anōšarvān'. The objections he raises against both scholars are correct. Although nomadic influences undoubtedly had an effect on the organisation of the Eastern Roman and early Byzantine army, the same nomads could not have been the model for the

<sup>1</sup>- Hahn's remark that we have not recognised the struggle of the Sasanians against the landed nobility and their involvement in taxation under Chusrō I is somewhat astonishing. We refer to: **An Asian State** I,3 34: 35 38 ; a6 f. and: **Financial History of Late Antiquity** y-35 ; g . All the actual an-Hahn's statements originate from our explanations. No less astonishing is Hahn's assertion that this disproves that Chusrō I resorted to the late Roman system.

<sup>2</sup>- H. Bott, *Die diokletianische Steuerordnung* (Frankf. Diss. i gz8) 25\*- : s8.

<sup>3</sup>- Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat* i , gof. ; *Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike* f.4\*

<sup>4</sup> The emergence of the Byzantine thematic order 5 f.

<sup>5</sup> In : *Byzantine-Neo-Greek Jahrbücher* i (igzo), 5o f.

<sup>6</sup> In: *Byzantion* Io (i g35), q.j3 f. ; 12 (+937). ' 19 . '

*Financial history of late antiquity* \*9 f.

have given a thematic order as such. One would also agree with Karyannopulos' objections to E. Stein. The social difference on both sides is unmistakable. "The Persian organisation concerned the impoverished lower nobility", while "the owners of the Byzantine military estates in no way represented a noble class"<sup>o</sup>. It should also be recognised that the thematic order was not created by Heraclius.

Admittedly, some corrections must be made in detail. They apply above all to what Karyannopulos remarked on the work of the two authors. ^ Far be it from us to claim that the Persian army organisation was merely, as Karyannopulos puts it, a "measure on the frontier".

There were undoubtedly border troops and border garrisons, not only on the Roman military frontier and on the Caucasus, but also, as will be shown shortly, in north-east Iran, not far from the Oxos border. From Prokop we know of the Qpo0pvov Sisauranon in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Nisibis, where a garrison of 800 knights of the nobility (Öptcrroi) lay (bell. -. \*9. 3) Similar figures can also be found elsewhere in the same troop.

Zacharias Rhetor<sup>9</sup> 6, iz f. Brooks mentions a Persian -irt-ridšrJš who commanded Zoo's armoured horsemen. When Yadzgard fled to the north-east of his kingdom, the knighthood (asdirira) of Merw supported him against the Turks (Tabari, ann. i, z8/3, Z3f.) Since he then had 1000 knights at his disposal (Tabari, ann. i, z826, I), this must have been the number of the heavy cavalry regiment stationed there. Presumably 1000 horses were the target strength of such a troop, which was not reached in the two previously mentioned barrels. The fact that this was the case is confirmed by the Sasa- nid title *hazämetat* "qui posséde mille lances"<sup>o</sup>, apparently the designation of the commander. The name of the town of Hazärasp in Chwä-

- I. Karyannopulos, op. cit. O. 8 f.

His objections are based on the fact that he has not read our book in its entirety. In addition, he only knows the Arabic sources from our book, not first-hand, and he has completely ignored the Syriac sources. Above all, it must be said that we have not thought of claiming that Herakleios created the thematic order. Karyannopulos makes this false assertion (a. O. i i note i), although H.-W. Haussig's contribution (Finanzgeschichte 8z f.) refutes this view. Karyannopulos also did not take our remark a. O. i 6z f. into account. He did not consider it necessary to inform himself about the simultaneous events in iJišáz.

- a. O. g.

" R. Ghirshman in : Ars Orient. z ( 9J 7). -



rezm "thousand horses"<sup>o</sup> will belong in this context. If in loh. Ephes. 3, 81, 2t)f. Brooks has a marzhdii sooo horsemen, he commanded two regiments of horsemen.

The detachments that were in garrisons lived there with their wives and children. In Ijira there was still --/633-63d a garrison of horsemen on the border (Tabari, ann. z, 2OI , z f.). After the battle of Madär, the victor, iJälid b. al-Walid, took the members of the Persian soldiers captive and all those who had supported them (Tabari, ann. i, z - . -s: Children of the soldiers also 203\*. 7). No doubt these troops and their dependants had been assigned estates. At the allocation ooo knights were deployed to defend the wall against the Chazars, each of whom <sup>had</sup> a village as a fief. However, the Sasanian army did not only consist of such standing divisions. In the event of war, the *déhbän* were also deployed, and these were by no means limited to the border areas, but extended to the whole country. They were particularly prominent during the reign of Yazdgar III.

Andarzgar had commanded in Khorasan before he was entrusted with the defence against the Muslims in 'Iraq. Here he mobilised the Arabs of the region and the *déhAän* to fight Hälid b. al-Walid at Wa ala together with them (Tabari, ann. I, ao3o, z f.). Mähawaih, as *marzbän* of Merw, claimed to have not only *a/-asöwirn*, but also *i/ä d-dahäkini nia- d-diliiéläzin!*\* (Baläduri, *futiihu 1-bitldä*-408, Ig). As long as the *delibän* supported the last Sasanian, the latter could hope to resistance against the Arab conquerors. But even after the defeat at Nihävend, a *dehliän* turned against continuation of the battle (Tabari, ann. i, - 75. 3 ) And the previously translated passage of Tabari, ann. I, 28//, 16 f. shows that the downfall of the king was preceded by the apostasy of the *dehbän*. The significance of this knightly layer in the interior of the empire also results from the fact that the *Délicans* raised the yard until the very end (Tabari, ann. z, ZO2 , 6). Since they did not equip themselves,

<sup>o</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike zwo; above i, 65. <sup>o</sup>

G. Widengren in : Orientalia Suecana i l- s-1. --

<sup>l</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. 6of.

<sup>l</sup> **We have not been able to determine what a *dihisluc* was. Since he is mentioned together with knights and *dehbän*, the "gift" in his name (Neupers. *diliis*, Arabic 'etd') can only have been the monetary support that the **king** advanced to impecunious knights for their equipment (**the details** Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. 6z f.). So to read *dihisdär* ? Or I from *d t***

but received a state subsidy for the procurement of heavy armour and all associated weapons and spare parts<sup>10</sup>, this could have consisted of an instruction on the proceeds of the *jarü*.

It must also be noted that the creation of soldiers' estates, which were issued as equestrian fiefs, was, as far as we know, first common on the Sasanian side<sup>11</sup>. The system of *asawira* and *déhbän* is nothing else, and it was finalised with Chusrö I. There is nothing to prevent the Byzantine side from taking it as a model, and there is just as little reason to doubt that Byzantium adopted the foreign system in an entirely individual way, in accordance with the particular circumstances. Adoption of foreign ideas never excludes independence, but is rather apt to awaken it in the competitive zeal that tends to follow imitation. Thus it happened that the Byzantine organisation was adopted by Mohammed when he set about creating a heavy cavalry army. And just as little as the owners of Byzantine equestrian fiefdoms were the partisans of Mohammed who lived on the estates of the conquered

Jaibar, a noble class. On the other hand, the déÄÄdti system had an effect not only on early Byzantium, but also on the Sasanids' eastern neighbours, the Hephthalites. They even adopted the word *dehkän* in the form *iägiii* and passed it on to the other Turkic tribes<sup>12</sup> (above i. 5of.).

The mutual give and take in the wide open space will be between the Pamir in the east and the Aegean in the west, the Caucasus and the Danube in the north and the *iügäz* in the south. Admittedly, a decision as to who was the giver and who the taker in individual cases can probably be made less decisively in the case of the army than in the case of the adoption of the late Roman tax system by Chusrö I. This was a one-off act, while the wars on all sides hardly ever ceased, and thus gave rise to a constant exchange of experiences. In view of this fact, it is advisable not to commit oneself from the outset and to emphasise the investigation of new facts.

<sup>10</sup> See the previous note.

<sup>11</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. 69; i6z f.

<sup>12</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. 7 : I6z f.

<sup>13</sup> Tägün bei den Westtürken : Chavannes i, z i ; 200 und Anm.3 ; soz.

The texts presented in the first book, which we have translated and clarified, have already made some things clear. There were also guard troops on the Sasanian side, and when a Syrian author referred to them as *wthčrriov*, she was aware of the correspondence with what she knew from her surroundings. When speaks of *sp':xt-z':øpton* in the neighbourhood of the Persian king, the comparison with the *praefectus* *šrnstorio* must have suggested itself to the reporter. In addition, there are reports that Persian troops were taken over on the eastern Roman side, so to speak, *str ðfoc*, and this fact throws light on other things that would remain incomprehensible without it.

Once again we are reminded of Prokop's report (bell. z, ig, i-z), which deals with the conquest of the castle of Sisauranon. When the garrison surrendered, the 800 knights captured there, together with their commander Bleschames, a *ðvījp* *fióximo* (2, Z£), 3), were sent first to Constantinople and then to the Italian theatre of war, where they were to Ostrogoths (z, zg, z --5; vgl. hist. arc. z, 28 ; aed. lust. z. 4. 3-) However, the case does not seem to stand alone.

On the Persian side, the *Koñi'rrJvoí* (bell. I, Z4. 3 39) are known as allies who were under the command of a *-rrruóEçç*. In addition, Syrian *quell*s mention the *Kāgiēā yē*, who lived in Nisibis' neighbourhood. lay. The eastern Hunnic tribe, possibly belonging to the Hephthalite organisation, thus provided the Sasanian army with a standing force. H.-W. Haussig" has seen that the *numerus Cadisianus*, which in Grado (CIL. 5, \*59), was recruited from the same tribe. This *iiii*merus had also been transferred from the east to Italy.

Other Hunnic (Hephthalite) auxiliary peoples, whom Procopius calls Massagetes, played an important role in Belisar's armies. Not only the Persians, but also the Eastern Romans recruited mercenaries from the same area in addition to their standing auxiliary troops. While the Sasanians deployed these journeymen on the Roman border, the other side considered it advisable to use them in the African and Italian theatres of war. Experience gained with the Hun king Silbis may have prompted this view.

The *Zfād\_īšāyē* are always mentioned in the Syriac sources together with the *Tätiioräyč*, who gamisoned in the immediate neighbourhood. Previously it was shown that one has to read *Tamûğāyê*: niem and anderes

°° In *Althei* m-Stiehl, op. cit. top.

than the Arab T<sub>amüd</sub> must therefore have provided a standing force for the Sasanian army. This realisation is not only proof that Sasanian rule extended to the **I:iiġāz'**: it is also confirmed by the existence of a similar division of the late Roman army, the *equites Saraceni Tiamudeni*. Perhaps we can go one step further. Numerous double formations are known from the *Notitia dignitatum* (cf. I, 338f. above). Should the coexistence of f%ifäyé and tempi 'type testify to their presence in the Sasanian army as well?

<sup>18</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. ig if.

## BYZANCE ET LA ROMANITÉ SCYTHIQUE

### PREVENTION

One result of the first volume was the finding that the Proto-Bulgarians first mentioned around 480 (Constant. Porphyrogenn., de insidiis \*35. 16 de Boor; Erinodius IGH. AA. 2, 203f.; B. von Arnim in : Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie i . 35\*; G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica 2', 300 f.) in the main mass as part of the Chazars from north-east Iran to the west. and were settled as early as 5 s \*s \*outh of the Danube. The evidence that the Syrian Michael's (3 9 r. Z. ry f. syr. Chabot) report to this effect goes back to his contemporary, Iohannes of Ephesus, has been previously p. 3f.; 35 confirmed by further Syrian and Ethiopian testimonies. The following two chapters, contributed by Eugen Lozovan, outline the historical contexts in which the events include,

The tableau, high in colour, of the linguistic differentiation of Romania Orientale would not be complete, with all its nuances, until the day when all the factors that played a role in favour of or against the unity of Latin civilisation in the Danube provinces were taken into consideration.

biennes, qui ont précipité on retardé le processus commencé an III<sup>e</sup> siècle. It is quite astonishing that one could have argued that a unique criterion (substrate, colonisation by means of provincial elements, geographical position, etc.) could explain this difference satisfactorily.

' **Il faut cependant remarquer** que la recherche **d'une** formule **unique, brillante, n'est pas caractéristique** des seuls historiens de la Romanité orientale. La chute **de l'Em-** pire **et ses causes ont inspiré**, depuis Ed. Gibbon, bien **des théories simplificatrices**. Cf. **la critique dans le livre fondamental de M. H.-I. Marrou, De la connaissance histo-**

It is also necessary to reiterate a few received ideas, which have only the merit of having been formulated by illustrious masters. Moreover, this re-evaluation of the hypotheses that the XIXth century transmitted to us is well on track. Il est hors de doute, après les travaux de V. Pârvan et de ses élèves" que la période latine de la Dacie ne commence pas avec la date officielle de la conquête de Ioi . D., but auparavant, au deuxième siècle

av. J -C. After N. Lorga and S. Puscariu, one can no longer affirm that "romanisation has been slow and complete": ce fut un processus lent, avec des

highs and lows, successes and setbacks. Finally, we share the point of view of G. I. Brătianu on the political and administrative changes of

" - s, lui n'en fut pas un sur le plan de la cohésion sociale. ' '\* Sinon, logiquement, on serait obligé de crier, avec F. Lot, au 4miracle" de la survie d'un groupe ethnique que tout condamnait à rejoindre ce que M. C. Tagliavint a appelé de façon suggestive la "Romania perduta". It is also important to correct the idea that the Romans Orientaux had known a total of almost twelve centuries". It is true that the great historical trajectory of Romania Orientale is in the sense of regression, but the stages of regrouping alternate with those in which the peripheral regions are sacrificed. In addition, despite the fact that Rome was not present, it manifested itself almost without interruption at the second and third levels, through interposed agents: Byzantium^, Venise, Gênes, Huma-

rique. Paris, 1958 (3- éd.) i Aux éditions du Seuil i, p. igo ss. Cf. aussi le substantiel chapitre i Dottrina della decadenza s ... du livre de M. S. Mazzarino, Aspetti soeiali del quarto secolo. Ricerche di storia tardoromana. ROM&., +95 +. PP- 7 3\*-

On the other hand, Mr Knud Togeby clearly poses the problem in his article: Désorganisation et réorganisation dans l'histoire des langues romance. Miscelânea Homenaje a André Martinet. La Lagu-- f\*9571 PP °77 z87.

° B. Mitrea, Penetrazione commerciale e circolazione monetaria in Dacia prima della conquista. Ephemeris Dacoromana XI (19'51PP- \*54 + 3 C-ârteS. - id. Le trésor de Fârcasele (O4p. de Romana{i). La pénétration du commerce romain dans la petite Valacfiie avant la conquête de la Dacie. Dacia IX-X (194+ ++944) PP- 359-397 -{- IV pl.

° \*- But s'il y a en iretrait - celui-ci ne concernait que les fonctionnaires et une élite restreinte. Cf. la démonstration convaincante de M. D. St. Marin, I t provinciales i ritirati dalla Dacia sotto Aureliano. Revue des Etudes Roumaines 3-q (iq52) pp. '7° >+9'

\* Ct. Alf Lombard, Tradition latine et tradition slave. Le roumain résultat de leur fusion. Acta Congressus Madvigiani. Ksbenhavn, 1958, vol. V pp s- --

^ Dont l'esprit devait survivre jusqu'au XIXe siècle dans les Principautés Roumaines. Cf. N. lorga, Byzance après Byzance. Bucuresti, **Ig3§**, spécialement le chapitre VI pp. iz6- s': L'impérialisme byzantin par les princes roumains.

nisme polonais, latinité médiévale hongroise, Phanariotes, etc. Si tous ces éléments ne peuvent pas égaler la tradition latine du Moyen-Âge occidental, ils sont loin d'être négligeables. There was therefore no such thing as a Romanesque atmosphere, but there were a few pockets of rare air - in the midst of the Slavic period, which was not to be found anywhere - that were not lacking over the course of the centuries that followed the abandonment.

We have tried, on several other occasions, to analyse the value of some of the negative aspects of the history of Romania Orientale: the destruction of urban life and social reconversion, the dismantling of the Roman system\*. This time, we will try to identify one of the positive factors that have freed Romanisation. Voici notre hypothèse de travail:

After the rupture of relations with Italy - a rupture that lasted for several centuries and was repeatedly cancelled by attempts at reconciliation - when the Danubian region returned to the Empire of the Orient from all points of view - cultural, ecclesiastical, military, etc..., ne pourrait-on pas supposer que Byzantium constitué, pendant un certain temps, non seulement un frein à l'anarchie politique et, partant, aux forces centrifuges mises en branle, mais même un facteur de consolidation et de renouvellement de la vie latine?

A positive conclusion is, in this respect, possible if one reussit à démontrer que: 1° avant de se gréciser vers le VII<sup>e</sup> siècle Byzantium a constitué, à l'aide de ses institutions, un véritable Courrier de la vie latine, 2° son emprise politique fut suffisamment forte dans la région danubienne pour la marquer de son cachet, 3° il y a continuité ethno-linguistique sur la partie du territoire où son influence s'est exercée.

¶ **Le village s dans la toponymie et l'histoire roumaines.** *Time. rom.* P73 t\*957) pp-

¶ **Les montes de la Romania Orientale.** *Revue Int. onom.* 9. 3(\*957) pp \*\*3 2z6. ¶ **Effort visible dans les titulatures impériales. Chaque salutatio est consécutive à une tentative de reconquête: Dèce, restitutor Daciarum (CIL 111 i i y6), Dacius Maximus (CIL III §957); Gallien, Dacius Maximum (CIL III z200, CIII i§30); Aurélien, Carpius Maximum (CIL III rz 's6, II 5o6).**

¶ **P. Skok a seulement énoncé cette idée dans un article: Byzance comme centre d'irradiation pour les mots latins des langues balkaniques. Byzantion VI (-93\*1 PP 37\* \* 378, cr. E. Petrovici Dacoromania VII (\*93\*-\*933)PP -si--sg. Il n'a jamais réalisé l'ouvrage de longue haleine auquel il songeait sans doute.**

Some six centuries after Rome became the centre of Greece and after it had realised the blissful spiritual enlightenment that one says, la survie de cette *šairia diuersis gen/iö "s "sa*, que chantaient, avec une serueur toute horatienne, les poètes extra-italiques, était mise en cause sur le plan politique aussi bien que linguistique. Mais le disciple en imposait maintenant à son ancien maitre. At the same time as the unity of the Mediterranean, the creator of the vast state had forgiven the instrument of expression to which none of the people, politically speaking, was willing to oppose. The linguistic struggle took place throughout the Empire, and there the local idioms were not balanced, they were at least envied by the legal, administrative, literary, etc. terminology. Le grec was no exception. The battle it is waging has a special significance in the Danube region, in part and in part because of this

ligne, toute approximative, que traça C. Jireéek10<sup>b</sup> pour séparer les deux mondes. Mais avant de revenir à la surface <sup>1</sup>\*, l'hellénisme se laissa aussi submerger.

° Cf. A. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine*. Paris, 95\* (6° éd.), Hachette, pp- 9+ -z26. H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*. Paris, • s8 (ç- éd.), - Aux éditions du Seuil s, p. zzg ss. P. Boyancé, *La connaissance du grec à Rome*. *Revue Et. Lat.* 3q (i g56) pp. i i i -I 31. J. Bayet, *Histoire politique et psychologique de la religion romaine*. Paris, 957. Payot, of whom one of the maltresses' ideas is that imème à travers l'hellénisation, la religion romaine se différencie avec une puissante originalité i ( •3)

<sup>10</sup> A. Cameron, *Latin words in the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor*. *Am. J.ourn.*

- s ( 93 ^l PP-"3z-762. G. Nencioni, *La lingua latina nell' antico Egitto*, dans le vol. : *Egitto antico e moderno*. Milano, ig#-. PP 3°5-3°9 G. Wessely, *Die lateinischen Elemente in der Gräzität der aegyptischen Papyruskunde*. Vienna

*Studien zç (+9) PP- 99- 5 : \*5 (\*9°3) PP 44 47-*

D'une façon générale, pour le problème de l'opposition anti-romaine, cf. H. Fuchs, *The intellectual resistance against Rome in the ancient world*. Berlin, 93- - Par une bien curieuse extrapolation les savants soviétiques ont déplacé le problème sur le terrain de la s lutte des classes i. Ils ont même identifié des ipartisans " dans les latrones de la basse époque! Cf. N. A. Maskin, *Istorija drevnogo Rima* (s *Histoire de la Rome ancienne s*). Moskva, iggg. Le périodique *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii* a publié, surtout depuis i g 5 o , un grand nombre d'études orientées dans le même sens. Cf. also: **Etat et classes dans l'antiquité esclavagiste**. *Structure - Evolution*. Paris, 957, dans la série i *Recherches internationales à la lumière du marxisme s* (no. z), éd. i *Nouvelle critique t*, là-dessus A. Aymard *Revue Et. Lat.* 3§ t+957) PP- 4°3 4 5- - For Roumania, where, unfortunately, one failed to do so and adopted the légère des thèses aussi peu vérifiées, cf. *Studii si cercetări de istorie veche*, depuis ig5o et, en dernier lieu D. Tudor, *Răscoale si atacuri i barbare s tu Dacia romană*. Bucuresti, ig5 y, ioo p. -)- io fig.

<sup>10</sup> \*\*-. Cette ligne de partage a été sensiblement rectifiée par M. H.-I. Marron, *Hist. p.* 3§2.

<sup>21</sup> Pour la Pannonie, cf. A. Alföldi, *Vorherrschaft der Pannonier im Römerreich und die Reaktion des Hellenismus unter Gallienus*. *Ber . -93°*, dans le vol. : -s *Jahre Röm.-Germ. commission*.



Aux V-VI<sup>e</sup> siècles après J.-C. les inscriptions grecques de la Scythie Mineure foisonnent de termes latins: Λζαεῦν, ὄην, χ\*Ρμ, Kohoviín, ζπf3oíivo, wπnrtrówp, xfmouπicòv, hi\$úpío, πcpiáepcero\$, \$ijziópio, kÁówwp, o-rrphoGyæ, ἑτpóβiov<sup>10</sup>. Vers la même époque une grande partie de la toponymie de la péninsule balkanique, consciencieusement enregistrée par Procope dans son livre *De aedificiis* IV,4-7 est latine. Voici les exemples les plus caractéristiques<sup>12</sup>: Κοερśhhiov, Bixvcopic', Ktwí'xvo, KeMtpovó, Bixzcopicivó, Mopziερό, Bfpiviovó, Knærchho|3pEzopo, KomrhUvn, 'Apis, Oúhwióvo (Dardanie) ; Mopxíoepo, 'Pmpoviovó (region de Serdica) ; TouúπMo, Touyoopíoç, Bixouúhfn, *KaærihΛiov, Mon-r(iavixórcvcΛΛov* (région de Stobi) ; Z rrihoγxo, Aoyúovet, Ao oOovzòro (région de Remesiana) ; ZxouhxóQovpyo, Κοερthhóvo|3o, Ghcoptvziævo, 'Pmpuhíovo, Tpt6εvt-zihíovç, 'Apyémopt\$, Aùpihíævo, Bixóvo|3o, Kovopzióvo, 'louhió|3Whni, ÖOUKÉTrQÖTOV, Kerwoúv|3oe, Zóvcç (region Ad Aquas) ; No|3'x í, Arrepaó (region de Viminacium) ; Boopyovó|3opf, BoupyouóhzoQ (region Aquae) ; Kóæzpo l'-lópztç, ÏïAærióXov, Aouxepvapia|3oupyo, *Kavβiθiàva, Πάλαματις* (le long du Danube) ; r.>ihhouóvztç, Gowwčçrov, Movzcptyivt (Mésie), etc.ri

Mais la source la plus riche sur l'ampleur de l'influence exercée par le latin sur le grec est constituée par les œuvres des écrivains byzantins, principalement les historiens<sup>13</sup>. In a good synthesis study, M. F. Yiscidi<sup>14</sup>, which made an important contribution (the relevé porte sur

<sup>12</sup> Relevé fait par M. R. Vulpe, *Histoire ancienne de la Dobroudja*, dans le vol. La Dobroudja. Bucuresti, Ig38, p. ząz.

<sup>13</sup> éd. Loeb, vol. VII. - Cf. P. Skok, De l'importance des listes toponymiques de Procope pour la connaissance de la latinité balkanique. *Revue Int. et. Bålk.* 3, I (1932-+93) PP- 47-5 -

Les listes procopiennes sont judicieusement commentées par Al. Philippide, *Originea Romnilor. Ias,i, i 925, \** pp 4-7-437- Par contre G. Popa-Lisseanu tire, des mêmes passages, des conclusions linguistiques trop audacieuses, dans son étude: *Limba română In svoarele istorice medievale. An. Ac. Rom. mem. Sect. lit. s. III* vol. 9 (i9ao). CA. lâ-dessus G. Giuglea *Dacoromania g, i (i 9} D* . I 09-I 13.

<sup>14</sup> Nous n'avons pas retenu les toponymes hybrides, ni ceux dont l'étymologie latine était douteuse. Al. Philippide, op. cit. Ipp 437-43 donne également les noms de lieu de la partie méridionale de la péninsule et reprend toutes les attestations dans une liste alphabétique, *ibid.* PP 467-47\*

<sup>25</sup> Il n'est que de parcourir: Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lugduni, i 688, pour avoir une récolte très riche de termes.

<sup>16</sup> **I prestiti** latini nel greco antico e bizantino. Padova, ig j. Cf. également: H. Zilli- acus, *Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen inn Oströmischen Reich. Helsingfors, 935. °39 P- Lâ-dessus F. Dölger, Byzant. Zeitsch--3\* 1 936) pp. io8-i i 2. - L. Hahn, Rom*

\*9 O mots, dont 54\* figurent dans l'index de son ouvrage), arrives aux conclusions suivantes. La période qui connaît le plus grand afflux de mots latins dans le grec littéraire se situe aux IV-VI<sup>e</sup> siècles (p. 22). The catégorie de mots la mieux représentée est celle qui a trait aux choses militaires (p. 9. II-18). In second place are the terms concerning the government and administration (pp. 15).

diques (pp. 9) · Il est clair - comme le remarque l'auteur (p 35) - que les mots latins donnaient à la cour de Constantinople un lustre particulier: la romana maiestas survivait encore dans les formules. Aux cours deux siècles suivants - VII-VIII<sup>e</sup> on assiste à un net recul des emprunts latins, this was the reaction. D'après M. Viscidi, le VI<sup>e</sup> siècle doit être considéré comme l'époque au cours de laquelle le grec a accompli l'effort maximum de latinisation (p. 52). On assistera à une nouvelle *óxpñ* au X<sup>e</sup> siècle, à l'époque de Basile I<sup>er</sup>, de Léon VI et de Constantin VII - tentative de renouvellement latin qui rappelle presque la belle tradition justinienne. Peu de temps après ce sera le déclin abrupt de la fortune des mots latins (P 54)"

The fact that the laws and military regulations of Justinian were written in Latin is evident from my own experience. Et si les soldats, d'origine divers, qui constituaient l'armée byzantine avaient la liberté de préférer leurs cris

and Romanism in the Greco-Roman East. With special reference to the language. Up to the time of Hadrian. Leipzig, 1906, XVI-278 p. - id. On the linguistic struggle in the Roman Empire down to the time of Justinian. Philologus, Suppl. vol. 10 (1897) pp. 675-700. \*d. Zum Gebrauch der lateinischen Sprache in Konstantinopel, dans le vol.: **Festgabe für M. von Schanz.** Würzburg, 1912. - Pour toute la littérature antérieure ct. K. Krumbacher, Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur. München, 1897 (2<sup>e</sup> éd.) p. 136.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. le diagramme établi par l'auteur p. 57. Et ainsi que la statistique des mots attestés en grec byzantin et néo-grec: domaine militaire 43/30; -ernement 383/4; domaine juridique 3 di/e; meSufeS 76/10; calendrier 30/10; Cour 6y/4; religion romaine q/o; religion chrétienne 37/1; animaux 73/9; spectacles du cirque 7 / ; plantes 113/5; vêtements 48/-z; etc. etc. cf. p. 3 - >me Si l'on n'attache pas une valeur absolue à la statistique, d'autant plus que la disparition de certains mots et notions en compagnie d'un monde qui mourait (religion romaine, spectacles du cirque) n'est pas pour nous surprendre, la tendance générale est visible: elle va dans le sens de la délatinisation.

Ct. N. Iorga, Histoire de la vie byzantine. Empire et civilisation. Bucureşti, 1934, \*o. P. \*4\*.

<sup>18</sup> Godex Iustinianus. Ed. P. Krueger. Berlin, 1897, vol. II pp. +W-1s. a. rara. \*z, 38-38 - Digesta Iustiniani Augusti. Ed. Th. Mommsen. Ber. 1877. • 1. II pp. 893- 97-

de guerre dans leur langue maternelle <sup>1</sup>, les ordres étaient certainement donnés en latin<sup>o</sup>. And this under the reign of the Emperor Maurice (58z-6oz). The attempt to introduce Greek into the public services six years later failed, because "bien que les habitants fussent des Grecs ils parlaient tous le latin i<sup>^</sup>.

Ç ue do-on retenir, en toute prudence, de ce qui précède ? Les inscriptions contaminées ne sont certes pas décisives; le lapicide ne reflète pas toujours fidèlement l'atmosphère linguistique de l'endroit ou il exerce son métier. Because the official language of a grave text is just a command and the beneficiary can, in extreme cases, ignore it completely. But if the details are precise<sup>o</sup>, there is no need for a rigorous discernment of the general legal trend. Once the part of snobbery and pure technique is discarded, there is still plenty of material to support the thesis according to which the Greek spoken and written in the Danubian region was replaced by Latin<sup>^</sup>.

The toponymic argument also has its faults, because the names of places can be imposed by an administration that is linguistically different from the population living in a given region. The bureaucratic nature of the measure is particularly evident in the Procope<sup>^</sup>. It lists the

<sup>1g</sup> Arriani Nicomediensis Scripta Minora. Rec. R. Herscher. Leipzig, Teubner, i 85d.

**Τέχνη τακτική**, pp. 104—139, parag. 44: **καὶ ἀλαλαγμοὺς πατρίους ἐκάστῳ γένει**,  
 99WO V WOW TOC( ΠΙΜΒΕΘ3, rwixoçç bē zoïç Fezaïç, \*Prrwixouç bē ooot šx  
 P'xrřč6v ... mls employaient les errs nationaux caractéristiques de chaque peuple,  
 celtiques - les cavaliers celtes, gétiques - les Gètes, rhétiques - les mêtes ... s.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. là-dessus Z. v. Lingenthal, Wissenschaft und Recht für das Heer von 6 bis zum Anfang des to. Century. Byz. Time 3 (i 894) pp- 437 547-

<sup>21</sup> Ioannes Lydus, De magistr. 3, 68 ; éd. Bonn p. z6z: fiið zò zoùç [SC.Eiip': Trřçç]  
 olttf; zop'xç, xslecp 'EXXpvoç šit not wñtlovoç 6poc, vi , why 'Inc t'2iv Ø8čycto8'xi

<sup>22</sup> La condition linguistique de cette région est inextricable, à Tomes comme à Olbia, depuis Ovide (Tr. 5, z, 62-68), Dion Chrysostome (Boryst. g, éd. Loeb vol. III p. 43 ) et même avant. Il y avait: z<sup>o</sup> des colours grecs dont la langue subissait l'in- fluence latine ou indigène, z<sup>o</sup> des indigènes qui apprenaient le latin à travers le grec on parallèlement à celui-ci, 3<sup>o</sup> des envahisseurs Strangers qui possédaient des rudiments des deux langues. In one word - a veritable sabir pontique, linguistically as well as culturally, of a population balloted for centuries between various appurtenances. 11 Don't be surprised if the testimonies of antiquity are not discredited in its favour. Ce qui l'emporta en fin de compte fut le facteur agrégatif, celui qui itira les conclusions politiques et spirituelles i - comme disait V. Pärvan.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. al. Philippide, op. cit. I pp. to-6i.

<sup>24</sup> 11 It is quite strange that almost all the commentators of the passages in question have attempted to give very precise indications about the Latin Danubian. They omitted the fact that: i<sup>o</sup> Procope de Cesarée was a light-hearted man, z<sup>o</sup> qu'il a composé son livre loin

fortins et les cités que son seigneur et maître, Justinien, avait fait réparer ou construire. How much more normal that the decision on the subject of place names and toponyms was made by administrative means? But if the majority of the names carry the cachet of Byzantine military terminology (xc'o-rchhiov, |3o0pyo , mo0hxo, etc) there is often an intervention of popular imagination. Certains d'entre eux ont même un caractère agraire ou pastoral (Aouwo- *Qavrôva*, TouyOU Îcr\$, OUK8wp&roy, Kærrouz|3ocç, etc.<sup>25</sup> . D'où l'on peut déduire que l'autorité impériale, tout en intervenant par ses décisions, ne respectait pas moins une réalité populaire dont elle se faisait souvent l'interprète et le codificateur<sup>26</sup>".

The attestations of the writers pose the problem of the value of the texts provided by an elite, especially at a time when there was no conception of linguistics that recommended the enrichment of the literary language by means of popularised texts. That the Byzantine writers were nourished by Latin culture is a matter without doubt, that their big-headed style does not pose any difficulties for the intellectual milieu is obvious. But what interests us is to find out what was the attitude of the community, which, far from the Blachernes, certainly did not read the *Enéide* in the text. Qu'un Jehan li Blaks ait entendu parler du

des régions qu'il y décrivait et, peut-être, assez tard après les voyages qu'il y fit. Selon B. Rubin (RE s. v. Prokopios), qui combine les opinions de Sommer et Moravcsik, le livre De aed. date de 553-555. Il est donc postérieur de près de 10 ans aux voyages that Procope made in Italy, in 544.<sup>25\*</sup> il accompagna Bélisaire à Ravenne. A-t-il traversé la région à laquelle il devait s'intéresser, y a-t-il rassemblé des renseignements ? C'est possible. Et vraisemblablement il a utilisé en plus des catalogues administratifs, comme le remarque H. B. Dewing, préface à l'éd. Loeb, vol. VII p. XV - W. Thomaschek croyait que Procope avait fait la description d'après des cartes locales. cf. Zeit. österr. Gymn. (171) p. 659.

One must not exclude the possibility that the Latin popular phenomena may be glossed in the transcription of Procope, mais la chance est minime. Cf. p. ex. : Τοῦπιζην, qui pourrait bien figurer dans l'Appendix Probi: turricula non turicla.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Caput Bubali de la Table de Peutinger, éd K. Miller, Ravensburg, 1888, segment 2, sur la route Viminacium-Tibiscum. Située trop à l'intérieur de la Dacie, cette localité n'est pas la même que chez Procope, comme le croyait Y. Pärvan, *Castrul dela Poiana si drumul roman prin Moldova de jos*. An. Ac. Rom. Mem. Sect. Ist. S. II t. 36 (i 9rq) p. 15. Cf. là-dessus Al. Philippide, op. cit. PP 43\* 43°

<sup>26</sup> Nous n'avons pas tenu compte des noms latins de personne, car, plus que la toponymie, l'anthroponymie is sujette à caution. Prestige culturel, fashion, snobisme - are just some of the decisive factors. The reality of ethnicity or linguistics cannot be taken into account at all. Al. Philippide, op. cit. I pp. 5-6, néanmoins retenu les noms latins des commandants des armées d'Orient.

Roman de Troie - aux dires de Robert de Clari<sup>o</sup> - est un fait assez intéressant qui mérite d'être cité en bonne place; néanmoins on ne saurait le généraliser pour tirer des conclusions sur l'état culturel des "Vlaques s (Romans balkaniques) au début du deuxième millénaire. And then there are still the historians and writers who enlighten us. Almost every time they introduce a word, an expression, a glamour in their reports.

latins, ils prennent le soin de l'accompagner de l'explication: rJ 'x\*P' s yhU wo ... fj wcrp o Qcov { ... wcrpty 'Pmpolmv Qcovij. Dans les milieux populaires, as in the Court, it was probably the least decisive - cette zone d'ombre du domaine bilingue<sup>o</sup> - où les deux instruments d'expression livraient bataille et s'influençaient réciproquement. The authority was also intended to put a stop to the confusion that could become serious, especially in the legal field, as this stipulation attests: *utrum autem Latina an Graeca uel qua alta lingua stipulatio concipiatur, nihil interest, scilicet si uterque stipulantium intellectum huius linguae habeat: nec necesse est eadem lingua utrumque uti, sed sufficit congruenter ad interrogatum respondere: quin etiam duo Graeci Latina lingua obligationem contrahere possunt* (Inst. 3, i3 ; cf. Dig. 5o, 16).

At the point of encounter of these two convergent courants, who envahissaient le terrain du grec telles des nappes de charriage, l'un venant d'en haut, chargé de tout le prestige que lui conférait une élite pénétrée d'esprit romain, the other coming from the bottom, no less important because it was fuelled by a reality that was even more alive - the army played a role that was just as important as the administration. 11 It is probably no exaggeration to say that until the VIIth century the Byzantine army was a veritable Latin linguistic school. Bien plus, une certaine contrainte n'y manquait pas. Amongst the slurs that the officiers had to subjugate to the sans-grades, the apostrophe méprisante de "Grec" was the most common.

<sup>^</sup> La conquête de Constantinople. Paris, iqzq, 6d. Ph. Lauer, chap. io6. Cf. 16-dessus G. I. Brătianu, *Trăditia istoriei despre întemeierea statelor românești*. București, +945- PP- 76-77-

<sup>oo</sup> Cf. N. Iorga, *Hist. byz.* I pp. 63-64

<sup>oo</sup> N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains et de la romanité orientale*. București, 1937. II )3. 32#: i Formée de provinciaux, elle (l'armée) porte avec elle, d'un bout de la péninsule à l'autre, le romanisme t.

<sup>oo</sup> Procope, *Anecdota* z<sup>4</sup>. 7 ted. Loeb vol. VI p. e8o). Et l'auteur d'ajouter: i comme s "il était impossible pour quelqu'un originaire de Grèce d'être un homme honorable t.

It is true that the army did not touch a small part of the population -, and even more so, with very poor means, because the commands and regulations did not excel in terms of splendour and stylistic beauty. Le langage du *xôerpov* ne devait pas être bien riche - une espèce de "Pidgin-Latin " qui d'ailleurs continuait une situation ancienne. Il ne faut pas faire un très grand effort pour s'imaginer ce qu'étaient les rapports linguistiques entre Daces et Sycambres que le sort réunit, sous le règne de Trajan, en Mésopœ tamie, dans les rangs des mêmes uexillationes (CIL III 600). (In modern times, the recruits of the Légion Etrangère do not learn the language of the Comédie Française because they are given the orders in French). Nonetheless, these relations were sufficient, because the military service can make a linguistic mark on life, especially in the lower ranks, without much instruction. And it is not by pure chance that modern dialectology is trying to find out whether the subjects of enquiry served in the army.

The elements that we are about to mention tend to group together and give us an image of what was the linguistic condition of the Byzantine Empire.

zantin aux VI-VIIesiùcles, principalement dans la péninsule balkanique. Si elle n'a pas la netteté qu'on souhaiterait c'est que la situation n'était pas simple.

Justinien, moved by the rêve de la reconquête de l'Occident, ardemment être un empereur latin<sup>oo</sup>, mais la réalité linguistique populaire

g<sup>1</sup> Le caractère multinational de l'armée byzantine est connu. Cf. N. Iorga, *Hist. byz. PP 7s-8o.* et généralement tout le chapitre II : élément romain (pp. 34-4 ), élément grec (pp. q2-y ), barbares (pp. y5-9o). This armée était alimentée d'un côté par la conscription (M. Gyóni affirms that i les indigènes des thèmes balkaniques étaient tenus de se battre dans les ranks des troupes régulières ". *Byz. Period. 44 (195 i) PP <49-25o*) et de l'autre par l'engagement volontaire, dans lequel le mirage d'un sort meilleur entrainait pour beaucoup. See in this respect the report we make in Procope, *Anec. 6, a-q p. 68*, of the departure for Constantinople - with the promise of fortune - de trois jeunes paysans illyriens de Bederiana (Dardanie) : Zimarchus, Dityvistus et Justinus (le futur empereur, successeur d'Anastase et oncle de Justinien). Finally, there was another factor that ensured the renewal of the cadres - a certain racial solidarity of all this monde danubien, of which a few elements of the elite, par- venus to important posts, did not omit their "pays". But rather, they often appealed to them. Cf. à cet égard Nov. z6: *si quis Thracuwi nominauecit regionem, mos simul aggredilur rri#iifi et quaedam forfifudo et niilitaris niultitudinis atque bellorum pugnaeqz cogitatio.* C'est le descendant des Thraces de Dardanie qui s'exprime dans ces termes hautains par la bouche du basileus Justinien. Sur les i Vlaques " qui combattaient en ioz5 dans les rangs de l'armée byzantine en Sicile cf. M. Gyóni, *Vlaxi Barijskoj letopisi (i Les Plaques des Annales de Bari s).* *Acta Ant. Hung. I (1951—52) pp. 235—245.*

82 F. Lot, *La fin du monde antique et le début du Moyen-Age.* Paris, 9J +, Albin Michel, p- 3 9-

réclamait ses droits. The legislator made concessions and published a large number of novels in Greek so that they could be recognised by all through the ease with which they could be understood (Nov. 2, i). The dispute between the two linguistic domains was not only the result of the milieux cultivés, but the accusation of a lack of purism, whether in Greek or Latin, was a matter of course<sup>^</sup>. It went as far as an inextricable confusion among the peoples who were found at different levels of homogenisation or romanisation. An anecdote, reported by Procope, deserves to be signalled as

a  
exemple vivant de cet état de choses. Un guerrier slave tente vers 53- de se faire passer pour le général byzantin Chilbudius 4car il parlait la langue "latine" (xo(wep v -rz Aœr(vccv ôg4v-ro gccvfjv) ^).

It is almost impossible to recognise the changing profile of a world in formation, and the Oriental Party was one at the height of the VIIth century. But for the question that interests us here, the facts cited are assez probants: nourrie

N. Iorga, Hist. byz. IPP 3°—33. 230-200, oit l'auteur remarque au sujet des titulatures de Justinien : fil porte le titre de toutes ses victoires comme ne l'avait fait aucun des empereurs d'Orient qui l'avait immédiatement précédé s. Cf. aussi La pensée byzantine sous Justinien, pp. i 63-ZOO.

**33** St J ér8me nous rapporte le fait suivant au sujet de l'évêque de Styrie: IZicforinus, *Pitabionensis episcopus, non 'zeq s latins ul gracca nouerat. Vnda opera eius grandir sznsibus uiliora uidentur cotipositione uerborum* (De nir.74. éd. C.A. Bernoulli, Freiburg i. Br. i 89y). En revanche, Gennadius, qui a continué le petit livre de St Jérôme, écrivait: Rufinus, Aquil(e)nsis ecclesiae presbyter non m(i) nima pars doctorum ecclesiae, et in transferrendo de gr(a)eco in latinum el(e)gans ingenium habuit (ead. ed. s--l

Dans sa leHre à l'empereur Michel III (842-862), le Pape Nicolas I n'est que reproches: *Eccl goofidic, immo uero in pzaeci puis Jastiuitatibus it@er Gzaecom linguom ueluti quiddam pretiosum haoc* (st. *Latinamj, quam bazbazam zl Scyflcam fingoam appellatis, miscentis, quasi minus d "c'n'i estco Jasilis, si hac miam non bzeæ ac es toto intellectu in uestris oâr#çtitiis, ec oJficiis non iifamini ... 2tomooi quifpe mac lingua, guam barbaram nos at Scythicom uocatis, utuntur ... Sam ttero si idco linguam barbaram décrits, quondam non intzlligilis, nos considerale quia ridiculum est nos appz/- lari Romanorum imperialorz, zt lamem linguam non nossz Romanam*. Mansi, Sacrorum concil. noua et ampliss. coll. Venetiis, i 22o, vol.8. cOl. \*9- - Ce dernier texte est

très important; outre qu "il nous révèle chez le Pape Nicolas un certain sentiment linguistique, il nous apporte la preuve, claire comme une définition, que i Seytbe i était simplement un terme arehafsant, pas très batteur, servant à désigner l'idiome roman corrompu. Cf. also R. Vulpe, Dobroudja3 i note q. M. G. bœoravesik énumère dans le long article consacré aux Zxù8ai (Byzantinoturcica. Budapest, +943.° ° PP °35—°39l P•• moins de io peuples que, du V- au XVI° siècle, on a désignée sous le noms de i Scythes i. Seuls les Romans danubiens manquent. Curieuse omission.

**34** De bello goth. 2.4. 36 {éd Loeb vol. IV p. z 2 ).



d'esprit romain, Byzantium could constitute a reléve linguistique latine assez puissante pour pouvoir agréger et appuyer, pendant un certain temps, les Romains de la péninsule balkanique.

In order to understand well the continuity of Byzantium in Scythia Minor, it is necessary to analyse in depth the importance of the strategic ensemble of which the Empire of the Orient became the patron, measuring its strength and solidity. Unfortunately, our points of reference are very different in time and space. Moldavia, including the area between the Prut and the Dniester (Bessarabia), as well as the plaine valaque, have not been the subject of systematic archaeological research, as this was the case for more than a century for the Scythian Mining, the Trans-Carpathian Dacia (Transylvania) and, to a lesser extent, for the cis-Alutine region (the East and the modern Banat). Or the development of what V. Pàrvan called "tromanité scythique" could not be explained independently of the regions situated to the north and east of the Danube. Because one is not really concerned with a còtière frange attached to the Empire by the sea or by the south, but with a pièce maitresse, enchassée dans un dispositif Sud-et Est-carpathique.

V. Pàrvan wrote a few fundamental pages on this subject which it is useful to clarify<sup>85</sup>. En se basant sur les fouilles de Bãrbosi, Jendreni et Poiana il était arrivé à la conclusion qu'au temps de Marc-Aurèle la Moldavie méridionale était aussi romaine que la Dobroudja (op. cit. p -38). Les inscriptions attest à Bãrbosi, dès les premières années du règne de Trajan, la présence de la cohors II Mattiacorum et de la legio I Italica; elles sur-veillaient vraisemblablement la route Séreth-Danube<sup>86</sup>. De même toute la plaine valaque et toute la région de Tyras (l'actuelle Cetatea Albã) ont été romanisées (ibid., p)9. Z3 -14<sup>o</sup>) Des briques découvertes dans cette dernière ville y attest la présence de vexillationes des legio V Macedonica, legio I Italica, legio XI Claudia, enfin de la cohors Commagenorum<sup>87</sup>. La

<sup>85</sup> Inceputurile vietii romane la gurile Dunarii. Bucuresti, 19<sup>o</sup>3. \*47 p. -I- z cartes. - id. rédaction résumée: I primordi della civiltà romana alle foci del Danubio. Au-sonia Io (z gz i) pp. i82-zog.

<sup>86</sup> Sur les ramifications du réseau routier romain dans cette région cf. V. Pàrvan, Castrul dela Poiana ...

<sup>87</sup> P. Nicorescu, Scavi e scoperte a Tyras. Eph. DR II (+9<4)PP- 37 4• §. - id. O inscriptie a împãratului Traian găsitã la Cetatea Albã. Bucuresti, i ggh, io p. -[- i pl. h. t. - An. Ac. Rom. s. III t. z6 PP- 5<sup>o</sup>—5<sup>o</sup>-

It is clear that these garrisons were in liaison with the Roman camp of Crimée.

An assez exacte idée de la pénétration romaine dans cette région nous est fournie par la présence des monnaies. Entre le Dniester et le Dnieper, et le Ripet au Nord,



thèse de V. Pärvan a été confirmée par des recherches ultérieures: la 4Dacie scythique " a réellement été une terre romaine--. Commercialisation was very far from the interior of the country, as far as the sources of the Lalomita<sup>o</sup>; the military fortifications were also very far away. Et ce n'était sûrement pas un territoire clientelaire, comme on l'a cru pendant longtemps", mais bel et bien une région provinciale où l'on faisait des recrutements, comme le montre une inscription découverte récemment et qui concerne ce: C. VAL(ERIVS) [HER]CVLANVS VET(ERANVS) EXTATORE [PRAEFE]CTI ALAE II ARAVACORfVM] ... NATVS VICO RAMID[AVA] "".

The organisation of the military defence of this veritable reduction constituted a permanent souci from the III<sup>e</sup> to the VI<sup>e</sup> century, and even later. On the territory of the Soviet Union, the imperial presence did not rupture;

The treasures brought to light are extremely numerous; the isolated discoveries cover almost the shores of the Baltic and the Volga region. The majority of the coins are from the III<sup>e</sup> century, but they date from Augustus to Justinia. Cf. V. V. Kro- potkin, Klady rimskix monet v Vostočnoj Evropi. (t Trésors de monnaies romaines en Europe Orientale i.) Supplément à Vestnik Drevnej Istorii no. ç tess i ppm z4 i -z8 i -[- i tableau -1- i carte. CeHe importante étude n'est pas mentionnée dans l'ouvrage, très bien informé par ailleurs, de Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Rome beyond the imperial frontiers. London, 954

L'article de M. Gumowski, i Les monnaies romaines en Pologne s (en polonais), Sprawozd. Tow. Nauk. w Toruniu VI, I -4 f-ss-) çj i\*-7s, ne nous a pas été accessible. D'après M. C. H(yart), Revue Belge Phil. Hist. 35- 3-4 ( 937)pp. i zoi -i zoz, l'auteur signale la présence en Pologne de monnaies i assez nombreuses et datant de toutes les époques de l'histoire romaine par suite du commerce de l'ambre ".

38 Cete thèse, qui lui fut chère, a été reprise et développée par M. S. Lambrino, Die Scythia Minor und der dako-getische Romanismus, dans le vol. Transylvania. Bucuresti, i9'3. I pp. i86-+94

39 I. Mititelu, Dona tezaure de monete imperiale romane gâsite la gura lalomitei. Studii si cercetări de numismatică I (+9571 PP \*33--'i. - Une cinquantaine de monnaies de Valentinien et de Valens, enfouies ver- 37

40 Rien que sur la ligne Flămânda-Râsnov on a identifié i3 castra construits après zoo A. D., sous Septime S6vAre. Cf. V. Christescu, Istoria militară a Daciei romane. Bucure ti, 937. pp- 'o3 \*o7

41 Cf. V. Christescu, op. cit.p 36. - M. D. Tudor semble **partager** encore la **mame** opinion. Cf. Consideratii asupra unor cercetări arh,eologice făcute pe Liines Transalutanus. Stud. cercet. ist. veche VI, i -z (i g55) pp. 87Mi. sp6cialement p. g6. id. Oltenia romană. Bucuresti, +9s8, pp. 2o9-z iz.

42 Gh. Florescu, Un nou doucruient epigralic referitor la teritoriul dela nordul Dunării moesice. Stud. cercet. ist. veche II, z (ig5 ) Pp- -s- 35 - A noter aussi que c'est la premiAre attestation 6pigraohique de Ramidava (Ptol4m6e 3, 8).

43 La constance de l'effort d6fensif a dt6 d6crite en dtail par M. R. Vulpe, Dobroudja. 11 n'y pas lieu d'insister. Cf. pp. 158-i 64(• us Trajan), i y--'76 (sous Hadrien), 76-i 2g (sous Antonin-le-Pieux), °43 26i (sous Marc-Aur4le et les S6v6res),

Between Rome and Byzantium there was a tacit transfer of power. At the time of the tetrarchy, a system of defence was put in place that functioned for several centuries, and in this way Constantine continued Diocletian's work. And this presence has never been separated from the purely juridical foundation. Justinien was profoundly pénétré par l'idée de la succession légale

lorsqu'il offrait aux barbares Antes la ville de Turrus et la région avoisinante pour qu'ils s'y installassent<sup>45</sup>.

On the grande carte de l'Empire, the attempt to defeat the Scythia Mine appeared to be a logical operation commanded by the strategy. With the loss of the Dacie, the centre had been reached and there was nothing left but to defend the ailes. In n'était plus question de poursuivre le plan impétueux de Maximin le Thrace qui voulait ... usque ad Oceanum septentrionales partes in Romanam ditionem redigere (S.H.A. MCX. 13, 3)

In order to reprise the mottos of St. Jérôme, Rome would have to - in gremio suo, non pro gloria sed pro salute pugnare (Epist. ->3. Iÿ). Le pendant occidental du réduit scythique était constitué par les provinces du Moyen Danube<sup>46</sup>. Le besoin de renforcer cette partie se fit sentir dès z6 z68 lorsqu'on déplaça en Pannonie supérieure des legions stationnées en Dacie, comme en font foi cinq inscriptions de Poetovio<sup>47</sup>.

z6i -z8o (au temps de l'anarchie militaire), 280-318 (de Dioclétien à Théodose), 3 i8 ss. (sous Justinien) .

To add the fact, mis en lumière ces derniers temps, que la ligne Gala ti-Isaccea était défendue au IV- siècle par la legio I Iovia. Cf. Gh. Stefan, La legio (' Iovia et la défense de la frontière danubienne au IV- siècle de notre ère, dans le vol. : Nou- velles Etudes d'Histoire. Bucureşti, -955. up. i6i -i 67.

\*\* En zoo, lors de l'évacuation de la Dacie, la legio XI II Gemina est transférée à Ratiaria et la legio V Macedonica à Œscus. Cf. R. Vulpe op. cit. p. zyy.

Cf. aussi Ch. Stefan, Un miliario dell'epoca di Diocleziano scoperto a Garvăn (Dinogetia) . Dacia n. s. I (i95 y) pp. zz I -22 .

<sup>45</sup> Voici le texte de Procope (De bello goth. '4 3°-33 éd. Loeb vol. IV•7•) ' i cependant l'empereur Justinien avait mandé des envoyés chez ces barbares (Antes), par l'intermédiaire desquels il a exprimé son désir qu'ils s'installassent dans cette vieille cité du nom de Turrus sise au bord du Danube. This city was built by the Roman emperor Trajan in the old days, but for a long time it remained inhabited after being sacked by the barbarians of the region. It is precisely this city and the lands all around it that the Emperor Justinien wanted to cede to them, in favour of or because they had originally belonged to the Romans ('Nova-riviavk\$ |3ooiZeùç ô-rE zrpooI xoúo j x6 s 6pjtijç 'Pccpolotç č c p o ?tó ci 6c6écpÇoso0a' . .).

<sup>46</sup> Pour la défense de la ligne du Danube cf. F. Altheim, Niedergang der Alten Welt.

Frankfurt a. M. i g 5 z, vol. IIP s'-56.

<sup>47</sup> F. Horowitz, Prezenta In Pannonia, In vremea lui Gallienus, a Legiunilor V Macedonica i XIII Gemina i Inctetarea stăpinirii romane In Dacia. Stud. cercet. is. veehe VIII, i -4 (\*957) PP 333-338.

Mais la position ne fut pas défendable pendant longtemps. As G. Dobiàs<sup>48</sup>, en faisant état d'un passage d'Ammien Marcellin (3, 10, 2), the demolition of the bridge over the Danube in 315. at the death of Valentinien, revêtait une signification symbolique. L'Empire effectuait un repli stratégique, as one says, pudiquement, aujourd'hui. This replica can be followed almost pas by pas to the south. A Vicemilice, en Moravie, la dernière céramique romaine a le caractère du III<sup>e</sup> siècle; not loin de là, à Kostelec na Hané les dernières monnaies sont de Gordien III (>3 ->0)" Plus au Sud, en Pannonie, les monnaies arrivent jusqu'en 395. enfin à Sirmium, jusqu'en 565-582. The reorganisation of the road network and its destruction partielle aux VI-VII<sup>e</sup> siècles donna un coup de grâce à l'aile After the unsuccessful attempts at reconquest - because the proliferation of the Carpicus maximus titulatures cached as many reverses as "victories" - this was the final victory, which could only result in the consolidation of the oriental front. Guarding and fortifying the Scythia Mineure after the loss of the provinces of the Middle Danube did not mean anything other than turning the Iront barbarian.

A la lumière des faits qui précèdent la présence byzantine en Dobroudja nous apparaît plus clairement. La tradition romaine, solidly ancrée jusqu'au flanc des Carpathes, l'impératif stratégique - tout appelait Byzance - pour laquelle héritage n'était pas un vain motif, mais une notion juridique<sup>49</sup> avec tout ce qu'elle comporte de droits imprescriptibles - à se maintenir sur le Bas-Danube. And she arrives.

<sup>48</sup> G. Dobiàs, Il limes romano nelle terre della Repubblica cecoslovaeca, ed i tentativi di portare le frontiere dell'impero sui monti Sudeti e Carpati. ROMà, 93, Ist. di studi Rom. Quaderni dell'Imp., Il limes rom. VII, . 3z.

<sup>49</sup> F. Kalousek - M.R. Pernicka, The Riimer Age settlement near Vlcemilice in Mäliren. Sborn& Pracl Fil. Fac. Brnèske Univ. s. E. 1. arch. Cl. V (\*9s6) pp. pz-9o

<sup>50</sup> A. Alföldi, The fall of Roman rule in Pannonia. Berlin, iqz z, pp. <7-3 - 9

<sup>51</sup> E. Lozovan, Les i routes i ... pp. z i8-zzz. - A ajouter aux témoignages qui y sont cités un passage d'Ammien Marcellin (2 I, 3 -{ éd. Loeb Vol. II p. I3 ) qui met en évidence la valeur stratégique de la clausura de la région de Serdica. Pour l'occupation de la région de Sirmium par les G4pides cf. auasi Procope, Anec. i 8, i6-iq . 2 i6 ed. cit.

<sup>52</sup> It is in the Bas-Empire that one assists in the extension of the notion of csuccessioi up to the universality<sup>4</sup> of the rights of the deprived. Et c'est précisément Justinien qui détermina l'extension de la notion de +heresr. Cf. R. Monier, Manuel élémentaire de Droit Romain. Paris, iqç2, vol. I (6- éd.)PP- 45°-45\*

About 4 years ago, N. Iorga, basing himself on several passages by Byzantine historians, put forward the idea that, under the auspices of Byzantium, "the first crystallisations of the Roman state" took place on the Bas-Danube in the XIth century. L'hypothèse fut reprise et développée par M.N. Bănescu

dans une série d'études <sup>54</sup>. We do not have to discuss whether the three leaders of this political group, mentioned by the sources, Tatòs, Sesthlav and Satzas, were "vlaques" or belonged to another nation --. Furthermore, what could well have been the "national conscience" in the year 2000, among this very small population, fighting for survival in the face of the invasion that was the Scythian Mine? What interests us - let's say - is to know if we can talk about: 1° the permanence of a population in this region, 2° a rudiment of political organisation that is present in assurer la cohésion, 3° de l'emploi plus ou moins général de l'idiome roman. Le reste constitue des à-côtés d'une controverse qui égare <sup>55</sup>.

The Iorga-Bănescu thesis, even though it is based solely on texts that are very obscure, seems to us to be convincing, especially because it was confirmed in part by recent journals. Que paristrion ait été un "poste avancé de Byzance" aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles<sup>56</sup> est chose vraisemblable, but this cannot satisfy us. Between the abandonment of the

Que l'on place dans ce contexte la thèse de M. André Piganiol, selon laquelle "l'Empire a été assassiné". (If this idea does not become expressis verbis sous la plume des deux grands témoins de la chute que furent St Augustin et St Jérôme, elle est infuse dans leurs œuvres). Le basileus pouvait revendiquer l'héritage romain avec les mots mêmes des lois qu'il avait fait promulguer: in uniuersum ins defuncti.

<sup>54</sup> N. Iorga, Les premières cristallisations d'état chez les Roumains, Acad. Roum. - Bull. Sect. Hist. V-VIII, 1 I +9<0) PP- 33 46.

<sup>54</sup> D'abord dans: Les premiers témoignages byzantins sur les Roumains du Bas-Danube. Byz. Ngr. Jb. 3 (+ 922) [3]3. ° 7 3 . Suite: An ethnographic problem on the lower course of the Danube from the XIth century. Byzantion 6 ( 93 I PP ° 7 3 7 Refonte: Les duchés byzantins de Paristrion (Paradounavon) et de Bulgarie. București, i gâ 6, 1 3 . - Le chapitre III de cette dernière étude a été également publié dans: Acad. Roum. - Bull. Sect. Hist. 25, 2 (Z944a

<sup>55</sup> Pour la question onomastique et la critique des sources cf. N. Drăganu, Români în veacurile IX-XIV pe baza toponimiei și a onomastice. București, 1933. PP- 57' 574-

<sup>56</sup> Cf., par exemple, M. Gyóni qui avait adopté une position en flèche: t'Es gehört eine The Roman settlers in the Scythia Minor, later Paristrion, which from the beginning of the migration of peoples was a "road of peoples", can be said to have been continuous \*: On the question of Romanian state formation in the XIth century in Paristrion. Archivum Eur. Centro-Or. I X-X ( 943+944) pp. 83-188.

<sup>57</sup> N. Bănescu, Duchés. p. top.

Dobroudja in the VII<sup>th</sup> century, under Héraclius, and this new Byzantine organisation on the Danube there is a great historical gap that must be bridged. We are obliged to ask ourselves whether this human presence is not the result of reconquest rather than continuity. M. R. Vulpe 1 wrote about this first thesis: "The history of the Dobroudja during the three centuries of the first Bulgarian Empire is equivalent to nothing ... Presque entièrement dépeuplée, l'ancienne Scythie Mineure devient un désert. It is no longer mentioned in the chronicles of the time ... ". Pareille vision des choses était possible, voire normale en 93 (encore que l'argument a silentio soit loin d'être convaincant) lorsque, comme le remarquait l'auteur, les constatations archéologiques étaient "décourageantes ". But let's go back to the discoveries of recent years. Nous nous bornerons à énumérer les trouvailles les plus intéressantes de Histria et Dinogetia.

Située sur la route des invasions Histria est détruite dès 4 A. D. par les Carpes; Iulius Capitolinus semblait catégorique à cet égard: sub his pugnatum est a Carpis contra Moesos, fuit et Scythici belli principium fuit et Istriae excidium eo tempore, ut autem Dexippus dicit, Istricae ciuitatis (S.H.A. Balb. 16, 3)

Jtais Cd. S. Lambrino a tranché depuis longtemps le problème: sous le règne de Probus (-76-a82) la cité se relève et s'entoure de fortes murailles, construites sur les débris mêmes des incendies<sup>58</sup>. Although the evidence is such that the statements of contemporary authors must be accredited with prudence, one still doubts that the traces of life that one trouve dans la ville aux XII-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles soient en rapport avec la période ancienne<sup>59</sup>. Or il apparaît que, entre les IV-VII<sup>e</sup> siècles, la zone d'habitation

<sup>58</sup> Dobroudja. j3. 385. - Cf. l'opinion de M.D. Adameşteanu, Pontica e Dacica. Archeologia Cluj. 7. 1951 p- 21-6. Il ne s'agit pas de "pays transformé en désert", mais tout au plus de l'isolement de certaines régions - telle Dinogetia - avec lesquelles Byzance réussit à renouer le contact au X<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>59</sup> S. Lambrino, La destruction d'Histria et sa reconstruction au III<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C. Revue Et. Lat. i i (1943) PP 457-63. La ville durera encore, selon l'auteur, au moins jusqu'au temps de Justinien I. - id. Histria romaine à la lumière des fouilles. ibid. t 939) PP 72-83.

Cl. également E. Condurachi, Scurt istoric al cetăţii Histria, dans le vol. Histria, monografie arheologică. Bucuresti, 1954, p. 58 (ainsi que la dernière mise au point de l'auteur: Histria à l'époque du Bas-Empire d'après les dernières fouilles archéologiques. Dacia n. s. i (1957) PP 453-3 + 9 P)

<sup>60</sup> M. C. Preda incline vers une réponse négative, cf. Urme de viaţă la Histria din secolul XII-XI II Stud. cercet. ist. veche 5, 3-4 t- si) PP 53\* 53

s'élargit<sup>1</sup>. It is also true that the construction system is the most modern in the world. destes et reflète une crise économique aiguës°. Les monnaies histriennes autonomes cessent au III° siècle après J -C., mais on trouve en revanche le monnayage byzantin jusqu'à Phocas (602-610)-°. La céramique tardive de facture romaine peut être suivie jusqu'au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle également^ . Do we have to deduce from there that from that time onwards "all organised life lacks

Histria" and that the city is no longer just a seasonal establishment of mountain huts and travellers. Il est vrai que dès 3<sup>e</sup> millénnaire Marcellin écrivait avec une espèce de regret rétrospectif: Histros quondam potentissima ciuitas (- \* . . 43 éd. Loeb vol. II p. 23 ), mais ce n'est là que le signe d'une déchéance que l'on ne conteste pas^^. Waiting for the next fouilles nous renseignent gardons-nous de tirer une conclusion extrême sur l'effondrement des villes du littoral\*\* et souvenons-nous des généralisations que, depuis G. G. Tocilescu, on fit sur cette région et qui ont dû être révisées. Before the Slavs were ruled, a part of the population was clearly dispersed in the surrounding area^; it began to speak of it again at the beginning of the Middle Ages, when the Italian Portuguese began to mention Stravico. Ce qui ne veut pas dire que pendant l'époque du "Silence" this population had disparaged in favour of reparations for the future. Several fortuitous discoveries and sporadic excavations, moreover in the interior of the country, already speak in favour of the continuity of a population that was engaged in a certain commercial activity: the Byzantine miroirs of double glazed plumb, a Roman balance, an amphora at Petra-Camena, all of them

<sup>et</sup> E. Condurachi, Histria i p. 60.

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.* p. i og. Encore faut-il remarquer qu'à partir d'iveSiècle c'est Byzance qui inspire le style et non plus Rome. Cf. Gh. Florescu, *Sisteme constructive romane la Histria*. Stud. cercet. ist. veche d. 3-4 (-953) PP 597-60g.

<sup>es</sup> Histria i pp. 6s-i -

<sup>64</sup> *ibid.* p. 5q.

<sup>eg</sup> Cf. le rapport de fouilles: *Santierul arheologic Histria*. Stud. cercet. ist. veche 5, I-2 (+954) - 7-

<sup>65o</sup> in fact this déchéance s'annonçait dès le }<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. Chr. En l'an 5o on signale à Histria une véritable öwðivun économique ; ses habitants vivaient presque exclusivement du revenu que leur rapportait la vente du poisson salé (cf. l'Horothesis de Laberius Maximum publiée par V. Pàrvan, *Histria IV*. An. Ac. Rom. s. II - Mem. Sect. Ist. t. 38 p. 556 ss, lettre de Flavius Sabinus, lignes zo-zz). Là-dessus, les pénétrantes considérations de M. D. M. Pippidi, *Contributii la istoria veche a Romaniei*. Bucures,ti, - s Pr 'ss-i96. - Ce qui déterminait Strabon (Geogr7. 6, i), un demi-siècle plus tôt de qualifier Histria de w o h x • •

<sup>ee</sup> Cf. R. Vulpe, *Dobroudja* p 382.

<sup>67</sup> E. Condurachi, *Histria* i p. 62 ; p. 566.

dating from the VI<sup>e</sup> siècle\*<sup>86</sup>. Finally, an église possédant de nombreuses inscriptions, a été découverte dans le village de Basarab (Medgidia, Constanta). The probable date of its construction was QQz A. D. But in full invention, the faith found the means to express a servant who did not want to die in partibus infidelium<sup>87</sup>. Signalons que vers la même époque Constantin Porphyrogénète fait figurer Histria parmi les villes qui constituaient la préfecture de Mésie (De them. II éd. Bonn vol. III p. 42).

The situation of Dinogetia and the neighbouring villages, Garvăn and Bisericuta, is now a little better. Les briques et les tuiles, datées du nom de l'empereur Anastase (Agi-)i8) nous renvoient d'abord au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. It is of particular importance for the coins that date back to Justin (565-528). Il est probable que la cité eut beaucoup à souffrir lors de l'invasion des Avars au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Afterwards, between the VII-IX<sup>e</sup> centuries, as at Histria, there is still a lack of definitive evidence on human continuity. However, the investigations carried out in Isaccea and Niculitel, i.e. outside of the urbanised areas, provide some indications of the existence of communautés modestes. Il y a plus, aux X-xie siècles les témoignages de all sorts of developments on the life of the Danube river are becoming so permanent that one is entitled to assume a development in the future. The establishments atteignent leur apogée dans la première moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle.

<sup>86</sup> Pour les sondages de Petra-Camena cf Stud. cercet. ist. veche 5, i - (+954)pp. 108-110. Cf. also: Gh. Stefan, O balant- omdnă din sec. VI e. n. descoperită In Dobrogea. ibid. I, 1 (+95\*)pp. \*52-162. - D. Tudor, Miroirs byzantins de verre doublé de plomb trouvés en Roumanie. Dacia i i -j- t\*943 \*9441 PP- °43 °55

<sup>86</sup> Nous ignorons if l'on a publié un rapport scientifique sur l'église de Basarab. nous en avons appris la découverte par "n" t. elilet du magazine bucarestois La Roumanie d'aujourd'hui no. 8 1 957)P - . ITous reprOduisons, sous toute réserve, les renseignements qui y sont donnés.

Christian ethics is an important part of the history of this region, a key element in all research on the permanence of the population. It is out of the question to mention it here. Le travail fondamental, quoique muvre de jeunesse, de V. Pârvan est depuis longtemps dépassé: Contribu{ii epigrafice la istoria cretinismului dacoroman. Bucureqti. +9+- - Cf. R. Vulpe, Dobroudja, pass., et surtout la planche XLIV. - Dernièrement: I. Barnea, Creqti- nismul lu Scythia Minor după inscriptiî. Studii Teologice no. i -zj•9541 PP- 64-112. - id. Quelques considérations sur les inscriptions chrétiennes de la Seythie Mineure. Dacia n. s. i t 957)• 65-z88 + 9 fig.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. les rapports de fouilles: Stud cercet. ist. veche z, t 95 ) PP- \*9-49: 3 (95°) PP- 349-4+ : 4- -\* i 9J3) PP- °4°-- ': s. - -e (i g5 ) pp. i6i- 97

<sup>71</sup> Cf. le riche inventaire domestique de Bisericuta: céramique, moulins à main - en un mot, outillage modeste d'une population d'agriculteurs et de pêcheurs. Cf.



Dans le passage de Constatin Porphyrogénète, cité ci-dessus, toute la série de villes septentrionales (Noviodunum, Agyssus, Halmyris) figure, au même titre que celles du littoral, comme faisant partie de la préfecture de Mésie". The local artisanship was so important and the commercial relations so extensive that one could speak of small medieval towns in the true sense of the term <sup>101</sup>. The period of stagnation - or considered as such, in the absence of discoveries - is over. The circulation of the Byzantine monarchy resumed at a more favourable pace: at Isaccea one finds the pièces of Jean II Comnène

(zZI8-IZ43) et d'Andronic II Paléologue (Iz82-Z3°8); après, aux XIII-XIVesiècles, ce sera le tour du monnayage vénitien<sup>10</sup>. In Garvăn-Dinogetia, the commercial relations are documented even two centuries later by the monnaies de Jean Tzimiskés (96 y6) et par une céramique émaillée, caractéristique de la même époque". The reconquest of this territory seems complete on all les plans, not only commercial, but also and above all militaire, juridique et spirituel.

A la suite de M. N. Bănescu, M. I. Barnea<sup>10</sup> cites, à juste titre, deux témoignages de Cedrenus (éd. Bonn vol. II p. FOI, ligne -5 ps.) et de Cinnamus (même éd. 93. ligue. i6 SS). Le premier rapporte que, lors de l'assaut de Dorostolon, en 9 -, les représentants "de Constanteia et des autres for-

Gh. Stefan & alii, Piitrunderea Slavilor la Dunărea de jos. Stud. cercet. ist. veche i (+95 1 PP W 74 - Cf. aussi le rapport des fouilles de ig55 : S antierul arheologic Garvan (Dinogetia). Materiale și cercetârîde arheologie4 1• ôs ) op 95—>°9- On aimerait savoir quelles sont les raisons strictement scientifiques qui ont déterminé M. A. P. Kařdan à inclure ceHe région dans la Russie kievienne. Cf. his étude: Vizantijskie goroda v VII-XI vv. (t Les villes byzantines aux VII-xJe siècles "). Sovetskaja Arxeologija 2 i (ig5 ) pp. i 6#-i88, spécialement la carte p. i y5. - On sait, naturellement, que les couches archéologiques - souvent remuées accidentellement - bouleversent la chronologie historique, mais là nous avons affaire à une de ces surprises que la science engagée ne nous épargne pas: un vœu du XX- siècle projeté au VI<sup>le</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> I. Bamea, Meșteçugurile lu așezarea feudală de la Garvăn (sec. X-XII). Stud. cercet. ist. veche 6, i -z I-sssl ss-i z i. - id. Amforele feudale de la Dinogetia. ibid. 5, 3-4 (+954) PJ- 5 3 53°-

<sup>78</sup> E. Condurachi, Un non tezaur de monete bizantine. Acad. RPR. Bul. Știit. I, 3-d (iqq) pp. i 63.\*°7

<sup>74</sup> T. Barnea, Re1a{iile dintre așezarea dela Bisericută-Garvan și Bizant 1+ Secolele X-XII Stud. cercet. ist. veche q. 3-4 (-9ss) pp. 6 i -6y i .

<sup>75</sup> I. Barnea, Byzance, Kiev et l'Orient sur le Bas-Danube du J<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans le vol.: Nouv. Et. Hist. pp. i 6g-i8o -]- 5 fig.

Cf. also chez Michel Attaliatès (Hist. . **302, ligne** i ss., éd. Bonn), sur la soumission des "Scythes i **paristriens**. Pour la définition du terme cf. ci-dessus note 33. in fine.



teresses sises au delà de l'Ister" (ix Kmvmrovvf ícr , xní mtv óhLmv Qpovpi'nv mtv wépcvtv **i6Uplvov** sob T':rrpoU) firent acte d'allégeance devant Jean Tzimiskés. The second transcribes the plaintes of a Danubian pêcheur, who, having accused the emperor Manuel Comnène of not having sufficiently defended the region of which she had been pillaged by the barbarians, even failed to fulfil the "duties" of the imperial authority. But there are more than just allusions that have been skilfully interpreted and this is, perhaps, one of the most important de- covers les of these recent years: a Byzantine sigillary plate, brought to Dinogetia, or it probably accompanied some official document. It bears the legend "Mon Dieu, aide Siméon, vestis et katepan de Paradounavon "" and shows, as one has not failed to notice, the administrative dependence of the region of Dinogetia on the temple of Paristrion. The Iorga-Bănescu thesis thus receives an éclatant confirmation.

Finally, face to face with the times, we realise that spiritually, at the same time, the Christianity "scythique" was established in Constantinople by l'évêché de Dorostolon". After the dislocation of Samuel's tzarat and the victory of XoI8 won by Basil II over the Bulgarians, the Bas-Danube was once again an imperial territory.

Ainsi, en faisant nôtre la thèse développée par Henri Pirenne pour l'Occident", nous pouvons affirmer que les Barbares n'ont pas anéanti la vie en Scythie Mineure. Hs ont disloqué pour un certain temps tout l'appareil étatique - car l'Orient ne connut pas de Théodoric éclairé qui eût l'ambition de faire fonctionner le système romain'. Hs ont amené une dégradation du niveau de vie, dont le tournant social le plus important fut l'abandon des villes: Destituae ministriis ciuitates splendorem quo pridem nituerant amiserunt, plurimi si quidem collegiati cultum urbium deserentes, agrestem

'- **Santierul Garvan (Dinogetia). Stud.** cercet. ist. veche 3 t s - ) - §0}.

" Nil Doxapatri. Patr. gr. vol. 3\*. Col. I O88, I IO§, i i og (no. dz).

<sup>10</sup> **Dans le bel ouvrage posthume: Mahomet et Charlemagne. Bruxelles, 937 Nous renvoyons à l'édition anglaise, que nous avons sous la main : Mohammed and Charlemagne. New York, ig58 (z - éd.), Meridian Books ", pp. ito ss, z8ç-z85.**

**Cette thèse des destructions relatives par œuvre des barbares a été également développée par M. L. W. Laistner dans son livre: Thought and Letters in Western Europe. A. D. s o to goo. London, ig5y (2<sup>e</sup> éd.), Methuen & Co., cf. spécialement le parag. i, pu•s—°-5 - Là-dessus les remarques de M. P. Courcelle Gnomon 2g (ig52) pp. 63o-63°**

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Procope, Anec. z6, 2/p 310 éd. cit. Anonymous. Vales. 11 6o; 6i ; yo éd. Loeb. PP. 544. 55-. Et d'une façon générale, avec les références: H.-I. Marrou, Hist. éduc. pp. 455—456.

uitam secuti, in secreta sese ac deuia contulerat (Cod. Theod. IZ, xƒ), I)\*<sup>o</sup>. Mais la civilisation qui survécut en Scythie Mineure fut, dans ses aspects généraux, méditerranéenne. But, decidedly, ce ne sont les hordes avares, slaves et péthchénègues qu'aurait quelque chose à apprendre - dans les conditions psychologiques que l'on imagine, parmi les pillages et à la lueur des incendies - aux successeurs de Milet, de Rome et de Byzance. What's more, the new comers were forced to conform to certain demands of a civilisation that they were certainly testing (see the anti-Roman attitude of Atahulf, Orose Ad. pag. 7. 43). mais qu'ils n'avaient pas les moyens de remplacer. Cependant, s'il y eut contact, on ne doit nullement parler de "fusion des traditions"<sup>1</sup>. Car, culturellement, les Slavo-Bulgares des VI-IX<sup>e</sup> siècles n'étaient pas les contemporains des Romano-Byzantins de la Scythie Mineure. This population - even though deprived of its former splendour - had to seek

<sup>80</sup> Cf. là-dessus F. M. de Robertis, *Il tramonto delle corporazioni da Teodorico a Giustiano*. Orpheus (Catania) z, i -- (Vss) - es - s'

Le texte de Procope, cité ci-dessus note ƒ5, retrace nous précisément les phases principales de ce processus: pillage des villes par les barbares, abandonnement, repeuplement. After the disappearance of the large communities, a tentative local organisation on an episcopal basis took place in the region of Nubia. The most modest centres give themselves their evangelisation, which represents more than the only religious power. Cf. N. Iorga, *Hist. Roum.* z p. i26. - C'est un essai d'autarcie limitée, de repli sur soi-même, une opération-hérissaison - pour l'appeler d'un nom emprunté à la stratégie moderne.

Pour le pillage des cités danubiennes par les Huns et les Slaves cf. St. Jérôme, *Com. in Soph. Patr. lat. vol. a6 col. -34°-34 I*; Procope, *nec. z i, 26-2Q. zsz éd. cit.*; *ibid.* 23, 6 p. z 68.

Cf. en dernier lieu S. Mazzarino, *op. cit.* pp. 28-26g qui, reprenant la suggestive expression ambrosienne sur les semirutarum urbium eadauer, tire des conclusions d'une grande importance sur la régression démographique du Bas-Empire. The author has endeavoured to give them a reminder by encouraging many families. Cf. *cod. Theod. iz. 7 et z z, i, 55.*

<sup>81</sup> Si, au contraire, les diadoques d'Alexandre, établis dans la Transoxiane, finirent par se dénationaliser - mais non sans avoir marqué à jamais l'Asie des traits du Bouddha apollinien - cela est dû au fait que le monde indien contre-balançait l'hellénisme et, surtout, parce que cette Hellade extérieure fut complètement isolée après la révolte parthe. And from there one can make another argument against the alleged isolation of the Carpatho-Danubian region. It is incompatible with survival because, deprived of their sources, the small communities do not survive in the long term. Thus, the Latin kingdom of Constantinople, the kingdoms of Edesse and Tripoli, the Chypre of Lusignan, the Morée of Villehardouin - all of the most audacious French constructions, even more muscular from a military point of view than the Dacia and the Scythia Minor - were lost to romance. Cf. René Grousset, *L'empire du Levant. Histoire de la question d'Orient*. Paris, ig g, Payot. - id. *Bilan de l'Histoire*. Paris, ig 6, Pion, pp. i 88-i9i.

ailleurs que parmi les compagnons de chevauchée d'Asparuch ses interlocuteurs spirituels®. The new moral, political and economic integration into the Mediterranean world, after - in the worst case - a hiatus of three centuries, was easy for them who, in order to move towards the Mediterranean, had turned their backs on the Pontic steppe, this land to the north of the Mediterranean that remains extra-European. Et cela dès le premier millénaire au . J.-C. when - as V. Pàrvan, in one of these raccourcis of which he had the secret, pointed out - the Carpatho-Danubian region had répudié le monde scytho-sarmate et choisi le Sud^.

Mais démontrer une permanence humaine sur le Bas-Danube, faire ressortir le renouveau des contacts avec Byzance qui reprend en charge, après une interruption plus ou moins longue, une partie de l'Empire qu'elle considèrerait sienne, ne signifie pas pas autant avoir prouvé une continuité linguistique romane. Des substitutions de langage auraient pu y avoir lieu pendant les siècles obscurs qui se dérobaient à notre curiosité "6. Un Michel Attaliatès dit seulement nous sujet des habitants des villes danubiennes qu'"ils parlaient toutes sortes de langues ": ix wôw9ç yh':I'crwpc ouvtjypévov •xouwoi whj8oç (Hist. p. zoé, éd. Bonn). Et c'est ici .qu'intervient la géographie linguistique, qui peut nous aider à voir plus clair.

More than two years ago, on the basis of a few cartes from the "Atlas Lingui- stique Roumain" - at the time it was published - S. Puscariu came up with the idea that the

<sup>82</sup> Car cette Scythie chrétienne fut un des territoires extrêmes qu'atteignit la vague de l'augustinisme. Cf. H.-I. Marrou, *Saint Augustin et l'augustinisme*. Paris, es i. i Au éditions du Seuil ", p. i 5 6. - *Les s moines scythes* ", qui en 5 ig-52o se permeHaient d'avoir de vifs dialogues christologiques avec Rome, en fournissent un exemple élatant. Cf. H.-I. Marron, *Hist. édu.* p394: A Cta Concil. Œcum. ed. E. Schwarz, *Argentorati*, ig i q, vol. q, z pp. V-XV; *Hormisdæ Papæ Epist. & decr. Patr. lat.* vol. 63, COI. 475 -§/8 ; N. Iorga, *Hist. Roum.* vol. z p. z 68.

<sup>85</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*. Oxford, i 9zz, pp. VIII -I X. Dion Chrysostome is catégorique quant à l'incapacité des Scythes du Borysthène de s'adapter à l'hellénisme. When in the I<sup>o</sup> siècle ap. J.-C. Olbia fut pillée, les marchands grecs cessèrent d'y aller i car il n'y avait plus personne parlant une langue commune pour les recevoir. Quant aux Scythes, ils n'avaient, eux, ni l'ambition ni le savoir-faire nécessaires à l'équipement d'un emporion sur le modèle grec i (BorySt. 5. d. Loeb vol. 3 P 4-4)

<sup>84</sup> *Getica. O protoistorie a Daciei. Bucureşti, Igz6, p. 2zq. - id. Dacia. An outline of the early civilisations of the Carpatho-Danubian countries.* Cambridge, Ig28, p. Id8. Cf. aussi l'opinion de M. F. Altheim ... one sought to be Roman ... This became decisive for the entire Danubian territories. op. cit. VOI. 2 . 3 \*3

<sup>85</sup> M. N. Bănescu has endeavoured to solve the difficult problem of the ethnography of Paristrion aux XI- et XII- siècles op. cit. p. g8 ss.

isoglosses archaïques se croisaient dans l'Ouest de la Transylvanie, qu'il Jaudrait considérer comme un centre de rayonnement, le Kerngebiet, le t'foyer" de la langue (daco-) roumaine". Developing this idea, and using the same method, M. E. Petrovici arrived a little later at the conclusion that it was necessary to take into account for the period of formation of the Roumanian language cinq "foyers" semblables, grouped along the Carpathes<sup>81</sup>. La théorie ne tarda pas à soulever une vive controverse<sup>82</sup>". One should, quite rightly, remind S. Puscariu that his study was at least premature and that before the publication of the integral ALR and, above all, before a large number of cartes were interpreted, it would be wise to refrain from developing theories on the "foyers" of the Roman language. And this for the even stronger reason that a principle of methodology is still far from being rigorously clarified, namely: is it possible to do diachrony with the help of a material that is no more synchronous than the one we provide in the "atlas linguistiques"? A défaut de respecter cette prudente expectative

- <sup>86</sup> S. Puçcariu, Les enseignements de l'Atlas linguistique de la Roumanie. Revue de Transylvanie 3, (+936) pp. 13-22 (- il cartes. Cf. là-dessus D. Macrea DR g {ig3 6-\*938)PP- 372-3ÿ . Cf. également: Le rôle de la Transylvanie dans la formation et l'évolution de la langue roumaine, dans le vol. La Transylvanie. Bucuretti  
\*938.PP 37-W -|- 8 cartes, ainsi que: Limba română. Privire generală. Bucureți, i g O, . 33g ss -|- cartes• 7-3J-
- <sup>87</sup> E. Petrovici, Transilvania, vatra lingvistica a românismului nord-dunăean. Transilvania 7- t -' -\*943)PP ion -i o6. - id. Transylvania as the heartland of the Romanian dialects spoken north of the Danube, dans le vol. Transylvania. Bucureți, 943. PP- 3°9-3 7 + 2 fig. -|- ç cartes.
- <sup>88</sup> However, the regretté K. Jaberg, who gave us one of the most luminescent interpretations de l'ALR, semble partager le point de vue Puçcariu-Petrovici. Cf. The Romanian language atlas and the structure of the Daco-Romanian language area. Vox Rom s l- ' 1 pp. dg-86 -|- z cartes.
- <sup>8g</sup> Cf. L. Tamàs, Sur la méthode d'intérprétation des cartes de l'Atlas Linguistique Roumain. Archivum Eur. Centro-O-- 3 t 93 7) P . 228-2q3. - Cette étude contient nombre de critiques justes, à l'exception d'un parti-pris rœslerien qui ne recule pas devant des affirmations comme celle-ci: "il n'y a pas lieu d'établir des rapports de dérivation continus entre le latin et le roumain d'un même point géographique ... ni dans les Balkans, ni au nord du Danube " (p. z o). Il faut alors avouer que le hasard arrange bien les choses.  
CJ. également les interventions de MM. Sever Pop, Les aires phonétiques et lexicales du nord et de sud du domaine daco-roumain. Bull. Ling. io (i gaz) suppl. p. 5 (résumé, repris dans Rev. Port. Fil. i (1947) PP 336-332) et Al. Rosetti, Sur la méthode de la géographie linguistique. BL I z (i g4 4) pp. i o6-i iz (réimprimé dans Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie. Ksbenhavn, Bucuretti, 947. PP- 4 7 4°3)  
E. Lozovan, Diachronie et géographie linguistique roumaines. Soc. -head. Dacor., Acta Phil. II (i iso-1

one is exposed to surprises that can (aire crouler des constructions apparemment logiques et solides. But, in the face of the cartes conservatrices de l'Ouest transylvain on peut en dresser d'autres oii, au contraire, c'est la region au Sud-Est des Carpathes qui apparaît tout aussi archaïque". Thus, the idea according to which one can search for other linguistic "4foyers" outside Transylvania has taken its course.

After MM. Pop et Rosetti"° pay attention to the cartes ALRM 135, 9th \*3, I57 and ALRM II 161, which oppose very archaic valaque zones to innovative transylvanic airs (/a d en face de oðraz;

/icøf en face de *tnai*; *suspîn* en face de *oJlez*; *nebun* en face de *boli "nd* etc.), M. E. Gamillscheg précisait la notion d'un "foyer" linguistique danubien :

'iTales regiones (sc. de tradición latina) se encuentran en Transilvania, en las montañas occidentales llamadas Munii Apuseni, en las dos orillas del Danubio inferior, entre las ciudades de Giurgiu y Cernavodă, comarca que más tarde adquirió una importancia decisiva en la constitución de los rumanos del norte del Danubio ..."-°.

Il semble donc que, tout en réservant les conclusions définitives sur la structure linguistique du territoire daco-roumain jus à la publication

<sup>00</sup> Let us just recall for memory's sake that B. P. Hasdeu, who had a great deal of intuition about history, believed that the Roman people were born in the marshy Danube region. He cites à l'appui deux passages d'Ovide, à notre sens très peu contain-cants (Tr-3. to et Pont.3, ). Cf. Istoria critică a Românilor. București, 1 73, VOL.

' P °73- - Sur la valeur des renseignements Soumis par le poète latin cf. E. Lozovan, Réalités pontiques et nécessités littéraires chez Ovide. Atti del convegno int. ovidiano (Sulmona, i 958) vol. z pp. 355-320, Roma, i g59.

<sup>g1</sup> L'étude de N. Grămadă, Ozolimna. Codrul Cosminului 2-3I 1925-i92 6) pp.

3 97. mérite d'être mentionnée. Si l'auteur fausse Route en ce qui concerne l'étymologie de l'attestation d'Anne Comnène (AleX- 7. 5 vOl. I PP °53 354 éd. Bonn) : 'Oșohíuvrj Ezerele lalomitei, et veut en tirer un argument en faveur d'une continuité romane dans la région. son identification topographique est juste. La bonne étymologie a été donnée par M. G. Moravcsik (Byzantinoturcica. vol. z p. igy) : oüşoi -)- h(pvrj t Uzenteich t. Il suit d'ailleurs l'explication d'Anne Comnène (loc. cit.).

<sup>g2</sup> Toutefois, par son raisonnement, qui ne vise qu'à corriger les erreurs de S. Pușcariu, M. Rosetti does not believe that there is a continuity of the Romanesque South-Carpathian period. Bien au contraire, il n'y croit pas: "Mais on sait, d'autre part, que la Valachie n'a pas été romanisée " (Mélanges p. 4 ig). Precisely, it has been; archaeology proves it. The only point to debate is the extent of this romanisation.

<sup>ea</sup> Romanidant oriental y romanidant occidental. Cahiers S. Pușcariu z, i (i9,§3) . i -i i. L'auteur y reprend les idées qu'il avait exprimées ailleurs. Cf. Originea Românilor. Cetatea Moldovei (Iași) z, article qui nous est resté inaccessible, et Zur Frühgeschichte des Rumänischen, dans le vol.: Gedächtnisschrift für Ad. Hämel. Würzburg, I952, pp. 65-7-

intégrale de l'ALR, on peut dès maintenant isoler une aire sud-carpathique qui nous montre la persistance d'un phénomène roumain commun (Urrumänisch), à savoir les formes *rio*, *r'íz*, *auz*, remplacées dans le rest du territoire par les formes analogiques *rád*, *ãd*, *and*. An XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, ce phénomène s'étendait plus au Nord; il est attesté dans la partie septentrionale de la Transylvanie (dans les textes à rhotacisme) et en Moldavie (chez Dosoftei)<sup>95</sup>. The regression is therefore from the north to the south. According to M. Pop<sup>96</sup>, this southern Carpathian territory "remains the last remnant of the old area of iotacisation". On consultera à l'appui des cartes purment lexicales qui, par superposition, nous délimitent à peu près la même zone: *celar* (ALRM II 305). *^-gea* (id. 306), *vaira salului* (id. 3\*6), *cuptor* (id. 336). Ce sont des termes humbles, latins ou thraces (ergsa, nfró) se rapportant à l'habitat d'une population stable. One has recourse, in the first place, to the toponymic argument. The region stretching along the left bank of the Danube is called Vlasca, so named by the foreign immigrants who found a "Romanesque" population there; it appears under this name in the tous premiers textes slavo-roumains. La crainte de M. I. Iordan (loc. cit.) que ce toponyme n'ait le sens secondaire de "père", comme dans beaucoup de cas sur une grande aire dans le Sud-Est européen, n'est pas justifiée. This is not qu'après le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle que ἰθύο prit ce sens en grec et dans les autres langues balkaniques; before this date it was an ethnic name, and in the north of the Danube it has always remained so. In sum, the linguistic geography and toponymy not only do not oppose our hypothesis concerning the existence of an archaic Danubian zone, or that a Romani population has survived, but they also favour the delimitation of the frontiers of a small zone.

The topography is also favourable to this hypothesis. Abrisée d'un côté par *codrii P/dsici* ("forêts de la plaine valaque") concentrée autour des

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Al. Rosetti, *Istoria limbii române. Româna comună. București* 1941, vol. pp. 3-26, où l'auteur discute amplement les opinions de Al. Philippide et de S. Pușcariu. Pour les formes analogiques dans la conjugaison de ces verbes, cf. en dernier lieu : Alf Lombard, *de verbe roumain. Etude morphologique*. Lund, 1955. pp. 9-17.

<sup>96</sup> La iotacisation dans les verbes roumains. *Mélanges M. Roques, Gâtina* 1958, VO1.3 pp. 208-209. - Le même auteur avait signalé (loc. cit. RPF 1, pp. 336-337) le vestige du pluriel latin /re(i) (ALRM II 186) qui couvre la même zone.

<sup>97</sup> I. Iordan, *Nume de locuri românești în Republica Populă Română. București*, 1952, pp. 261-262. - N. Drăganu, *Români ...* pp. 338-339, s. -

<sup>98</sup> M. Gyóni, *Le nom Bihoyi dans l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène. Byz. Period.* (1951) pp. 211-212.

deux grandes voies de communication, le Danube<sup>o^</sup> et la route DINOGETIA-CARSIVM-PARISTRION<sup>o^</sup>, une communauté de pêcheurs et d'agriculteurs<sup>oo</sup> pu traverser silencieusement les siècles d'épreuves, en laissant s'écouler autour d'elle le flot des envahisseurs<sup>o^</sup>. One can even affirm that all the centre of the Dobroudja could have been set on fire and sunk - the cisterns found in the fouilles are very well known in this respect - and that survival was even possible on the Danube. It is assez significatif que parmi les villes énumérées par Constantin Porphyrogénète (loc. cit.) comme constituant la préfecture de Mésie seule Tropaeum soit sise plus à l'intérieur de la province, les autres occupent les bords du Danube ou le littoral de la Mer Noire.

Il a suffi qu'une force organisée fit de nouveau son apparition pour que ces éléments épars, qui peut-être avaient gardé le souvenir nostalgique de l'ancien ordre, s'agrégassent à nouveau. (C'est là le véritable sens du re- proche formulé par le pêcheur de Cinnamus: *ti Qaoiht i civxo8' ypñ ipthcv ...*

"Sil'empereur avait prêté plus d'attention à nos affaires! ") Et sur cette voie, dorénavant ouverte, de l'organisation politique du Bas- Danube, Byzance ne fut qu'un relais; les étapes suivantes furent: la création des Principautés Roumaines et l'extension de la souveraineté du prince valaque Mircea en -3 7. "jusqu'à la grande mer ". C'est peut-être dans ce

<sup>o^</sup> Car le bras méridional du fleuve (Balta lalomitei) était navigable. Anne Comnène wrote (loc. cit.) about the many lourdement chargés bateaux that circulated there. C'est par là que sont passés les vaisseaux de Jean Tzimiskès, d'Alexis Comnène et de Manuel Comnène. Cf. N. Gramadã art. cit. p. go.

<sup>oo</sup> Qui faisait partie de ce réseau que Byzance avait tant à cœur de bien entretenir qu'elle ne manqua pas de légiférer: A uiarum munitione nullus habeatur immunis (God. Theod. 5. 3. 31)

<sup>oo</sup> Pour l'année 59d A. D. la présence d'une population agraire est documentée au bord du Danube par Théophane (Chron. i p. *çz* éd. Bonn). L'empereur Maurice avait l'intention d'y renouveler les annones de ses troupes *ix--"-r •\*i •r +\*d* pour ne pas être forcé de toucher aux provisions publiques. Gomme le remarquait judicieusement G. Popa-Lisseanu, ces agriculteurs ne pouvaient appartenir qu'à la population romane sédentaire et non pas aux -bandes de Slaves, sans feu ni lieu, à peine arrivés de la steppe. Cf. Continuitatea Romănilor In Dacia. Dovezi nouă. To. Ac. Rom. - Mem. Sect. Ist. s. t. °3 (\*94| PP 47 49-) (On corrigera facilement l'erreur de date chez cet auteur qui place l'événement en 6oz A. D.). - Pour les Slaves, qui ne ne connaissaient pas l'agriculture, cf. N. Iorga, Hist. Roum. vol. z pp. 3 O6-30/.

<sup>oo\*</sup> Bien plus, les envahisseurs eux-mêmes y trouvaient refuge. En io87, les t Scythes r (Pétchénegues) écrasés par les Comans se retirèrent US *zj v x'xñouptvrtv 6(ohlprtv* (Anne Comnène, loc. cit.). Ils y ont laissé des traces dans la toponymie - fait impossible si la région avait été inhabitée.



sensi aussi qu "il faudrait chercher la conciliation entre la légende et la réalité historique. Il y a probablement une "descente" (descălecare) de seigneurs transylvains vers le pays cis-carpatique, mais leur rôle fut celui d'une élite qui groupa des communautés pré-existantes<sup>10</sup>.-.

Que l'on parcoure maintenant à nouveau les trois paliers ci-dessus: hellénisme pénétré d'esprit et d'expressions latins, présence politique byzantine sur le Bas-Danube, continuité humaine et linguistique au Sud-Est des Carpathes. Nothing opposes the conclusion that, through the work of the Basileis and their institutions, the Romanisation of the Scythian Mining and the surrounding region continued after the fall of the city that inspired St.

Jérôme les accents grandioses du désespoir. For a long time, Byzantium was not only a factor of political cohesion, but also a centre of linguistic influence. Through the administration, the army and the church, it was opposed - both simultaneously and inconsistently - to centrifugal tendencies de déromanisation, à une époque on sa grécisation n'était pas complète, ou mieux, au moment où son grécisme était fortement entaché de latinité. For Roman Catholicism, this meant a solid appointment to its fight for survival.

Nous pouvons donc partager l'enthousiasme poétique de Sidoine Apollinaire qui, après avoir proféré un éloge d'une belle envolée à l'adresse de la sc"§/rortim co/timeti, *regina Orientés* conclut: *fi/ tent son qpaçrimtr: ualeat diuisio regni* (Pan. Anth. z, 65) Byzance réussit à sauver une partie de ce qui lui échut de la promesse faite à Enée et, en cela, elle a bien rempli sa mission de Nouvelle Rome, qui ne fut certes pas une simple métaphore<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> C'est là une des idées maîtresses de l'œuvre du regretté G. I. Brătianu. Cf. An enigma and a miracle of history: the Romanian people. Bucureşti, 1943, j3. zi i s5. et pass.

<sup>11</sup> One could perhaps affirm that the destiny of the Danube region - that of surviving with the help of the Orient - had been signed for a long time. More precisely il{e çiecle, lorsque la Dacie et la Mésie sont attribuées à la zone militaire orientale. The soldiers of l'Est méditerranéen are stationed there; in turn, the regions levées dans ces mêmes régions parcourent tout l'Orient. C'est pourquoi nous pouvons conclure avec M. G. Forni: " I limiti delle due aree di reclutamento venivano cosl a coincidere con quelli linguistici e culturali . . . ." (Cf. Il reclutamento delle legioni da Augusto a Diocleziano. Milano, ROMà,\*953) — PRAS d'un siècle avant Théodose, le partage était virtuellement accompli.



## . CHAPTER

# ROMAINS ET BARBARES SUR LE MOYEN - DANUBE

La première question qui surgit lorsqu'on on serre de près le problème de l'abandonnement par la population latine de Dacie et des autres provinces danubiennes de tout un style de vie auquel elle s'était habituée-vie urbaine, artisanat majeur' - est de savoir si cet abandon représente la cause ou bien la conséquence de son déclin. According to M. A.-J Toynbee Pla civilisation qui s'en rend coupable, depuis longtemps décadente, entre en désagrégation "°.

We realise that this is not the case for the Roman Danubian provinces. There is no need to emphasise - although it has been recognised - the role they played in the economic, political and military development of the Empire since the beginning of the crisis of the **Third** Century. Que ce soit par la long lignée d'empereurs illyriens et thraces qui, grâce à leur énergie, ont rétabli un équilibre chancelant°, ou par les centaines de milliers d'obscurs légionnaires, levés dans cette région, qui combattirent vaillamment sur toutes les frontières\* - les provinces romaines danubiennes ne donnaient

<sup>1</sup> **This process is synthesised by V. Pàrvan, in one of those éclatantes formules that characterise it: i Since Rome left us, we have lived, my dear, as Daces in the countryside and not as Romans in the city. Memoriale. București. +9-3. P- +9**

<sup>2</sup> Cf. **L'Histoire. Un essai d'interprétation. Paris, ig5 i, NRF, p. z88.**

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Piganiol, **Histoire de Rome. Paris. \*954.pp. 439-458: L'oeuvre des empereurs illyriens.**

<sup>4</sup> Al. Philippide, **Orig. Rom. I pp. i -io. G. G. Mateescu, I Traci nelle epigrafi di Roma. Eph. DR I t+9°3) PP- 57-2gO. R. Vulpe, Gli Illyri dell'Italia imperiale romana. Eph. DR 3 (-9°5)pp -°Q-258. F. Altheim, Niedergang, z pp. i i9 ss, z8Q Ss, 3 -\* ^S- In thèse de I. I. Russu, **Tracü si frigenü lu istoria çi civiliza{ia Greciei antice, Sibiu, ig4 z, mss., n'a pas été publiée. En attendant, cf. id. Limba traeco-dacilor. Bucu- resti, \*959. p i5 pp., avec la bibliographie antérieure.****

pas de signe de fatigue à la veille du grand assaut des peuples barbares°. More than the thesis of M. A. Piganiol confirms: the Empire is not dead of its own death; it has been assassinated.

We are convinced - by always applying the criteria formulated by M. A.-J. Toynbee - que l'abandonnement d'un mode de vie majeur a constitué la riposte de la population romaine au défi que lui avait jeté le monde extra-romain. The postulate of this historian, according to which 'plus le défi est grand, plus puissant est le stimulant' à condition qu'il n'atteigne pas un de vigueur stérilisante^ se vérifie dans ce cas de la façon suivante. The choc of the envois was so violent that it exceeded the margin of a mild stimulant; the excess of rigour made an energetic response impossible.

In these conditions, the only possible solution would be to return to a minefield on a historical plan, which would give the inhabitants a better chance of survival. It is almost certain that they did not seek their way for a long time; the return - after the brilliant urban intermezzo - to agricultural and pastoral life, before Romanisation, was the most normal choice for a

<sup>5</sup> Lorsque, en 260, après le désastre d'Edesse, l'empereur Valérien est fait prisonnier par le Sasanide Êpûr I., on dénombre dans son armée des troupes du Norique, de Dacie (òwò Aoxslos ètvous), de Pannonie, de Thrace, etc. cf. Res Gestae Divi Saporis, 9-- gr.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit. pp. rol ss., s8.

<sup>7</sup> In this respect, the information provided by St Jérôme is extremely accurate, especially if one accepts a few exaggerations that could have inspired him with the emotion of seeing his father devastated:

*Horret atitnits temporum nostrorum ruinas persequi. Pigitifi sf eo amplius avui sunt quod Unter 6onstetHino9o/im, et Al pes fulias, quotidia Romanus sanguis cf Jundifuz, Scyihiam, Thiraciam, Macedoniam, Dardanium, Daciam, Thessaliani, Acliaiam, E pi- cos, Dalmafiam, cunctasque Pannonias, Gothus, Sarmata, Quadus, Alanus, Hunni, Wandali, Marcomani vasfant, traiiunt, rapiuntl ... (EpiSt. 7'. ' )*

*Cerfero farao, tie rideor de Dei despecare clementia. Olim a mare Pontico usque ad A I pes Julius, nom erant nostre, quae nosfca sunt. Et per etinos trig\*tifa fraclo Danubi i fitiife, in mediis Romani im9rrii cegionibus pugiiabatur ... Acuerunt uetuslate la- crymae ... (EpiSt. 123, i-i*

*. et iialstalis u r b i b u s , hominibusque iritefectis, solitudinem el raritatem bssfierum guoque firri el uolatilium pi sciunufue lestis Illyricum est, leslis Thracia, usque ad muros longos sum solum, ubi 9recfer st costum et terrani et crescentes uepres, et cotifsiise siI- iiarum, cuncta peciecuul (Conitn. iii Soph. PL z5, i 3 o-134q).*

A note that, in the first two passages, the Julian Alps are mentioned by St Jérôme as constituting the western limit of the destructions. La vague des envahisseurs se brisa en effet sus l'A Ipium Betlem, sous les murs de Tarsia. Cf. le témoignage d' Andrea Dandolo sur ces mêmes événements: Ctim A uares Sirmium inliasisseHt, usgue ad muros longos pecltefferunl inci pientes a /iti\*6us Istriae ab urbe Tersie (Chron. 6, z, 6 dans: A. Muratori, *Rer. It. Script. rz*). là-dessus cf. A. De- grassi, *Il confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana*. Diss. Bern. i, 6, p. 132, 144 pp.

population, which has been struggling to keep up for two generations. la terre-

This division of the population into transhumants and farmers had major consequences for the survival of Romanticism. Above all, it provokes, between the two couches, what Rene Grousset called a "chronological calage". The social and economic opposition that results - in addition to the moral transformations that provoke different *mentalities* - leads to a veritable rivalry that is not about to end. Le folklore roumain actuel résonne encore des echos lointains de cet antagonisme entre le pâtre transhumant et l'agriculteur<sup>10</sup>, lequel, en dernière analyse, ne fait que répéter un cliché primitif.

La tradition ancienne sur la vie rurale du territoire carpatho-danubien est assez explicite. Since the expedition of Alexandre le Grand<sup>11</sup> to the Scythian mines, the name of this region had almost become synonymous with the border of Greece and, more recently, the border of Rome. This agriculture required an extremely sophisticated technique. Ce qui a frappé

<sup>8</sup> Cf. N. Iorga, Hist. Roum., pp. 35-37. Cf. surtout les témoignages antiques: [Mesimitus] *Data zero sublatus nuper a pecoribus et silois* (Lactance, De mort. pers. i g). Galerius antem fuit ..., ortus parentibus egremis, *9esior armentozum* (S. Aur. Victor, Epit. caes. A. i, i 5). [Liciiius] *agrarius plane ac cuscifantibus, quod at eo genere ortus* nfmstque rrmf (ibid. a z, g). cf. id. De Caes. 3g, c6.

Pendant des siècles la région darinienne a constitué le réservoir par excellence d'hommes de guerre, sous les Byzantins (cf. Pro'ope, Anec. 6, 2 -a; Nov. a, 25) aussi bien que sous les Turcs. Cf. N. Beldiceanu, La région de Timok-Morava dans les documents de Mehmed II et de Selim I. Revue Et. Ron - 3-4 I +9J 7) PP ' - -\*\*9' qui présente le système juridique d'incorporation des *wojnitiq* valaques, au XV- siècle, dans l'armée ottomane.

<sup>9</sup> CA. A la source des invasions, dans le volume: Bilan de l'Histoire. Paris, 1946, p.75. L'auteur y discute la situation en Haute Asie, terre d'anticyclones, d'où cette opposition allait peser de tout son poids sur l'histoire européenne. For the question that interests us here, the analogy applies for the most part.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. O. Densusianu, La vita pastorale nella poesia popolare romena. ROMã, +936, pp. 22-2.

<sup>11</sup> Arrien, Anab. - 3 a; V. Pär van, Getica, pp. #3, A. \*3° \*33-

<sup>12</sup> La Scythie Mineure connaît une crise économique, au début de notre ère, due, en premier lieu à une certaine déchéance de l'agriculture, entravée par les invasions. Lã-dessus, en dernier lieu cf. D. M. Pippidi, În jurul relat - agrare din cetã ile pontice In epoca preromanã, dans le volume: Contribute. Pr- SA-I 12.

Cf. the témoignage postérieur de Michel le Syrien (to, z i, z), dont on peut étendre la portée: Ils (sc. les Slaves) ailment assiéger deux villes des Romains et d'autres forteresses. They are telling the inhabitants: "Sortez, semez et moissonnez; nous prendrons de vous seulement la moitié de l'impôt". This simply proves that, as a result of the invasions - in the VI-VII° centuries as before - there was a stagnation of agriculture.

Varron and Pline, these were the traditional depots for the grains, the *sirus*<sup>10</sup>. These pits have also been brought to light by the fouilles in the Valais plains. The agricultural tools, especially the faucille - which would have been an invention in itself - found in considerable numbers in Dacie bear witness to the practice of agriculture and the existence of workshops that even exported the instruments of labour to the French regions. The eyewitness account of the life of the Gètes portiques that Ovide gave us in this respect provides us with precise, if somewhat contradictory, information, which is also explained by the "state of mind" that existed in Tomes: Le développement de l'artisanat de la céramique est en étroite liaison avec la vie agricole car on ne saurait imaginer sa floraison chez un peuple de nomades. In present-day Roumania, there are two distinct zones that maintain the old traditions: in the east, the Romanesque tradition and, in the east, in present-day Moldavia, the prehistoric one". Les fouilles confirm the continuity of the technique; at least in Piatra Rosie, in Transylvania, the vestiges appear on a grand day". N. Lorga was therefore not at fault for noting that "the paysans of this South-East continue, under the Latin form, the most ancestral, the rural life of thrace"<sup>11</sup>. This réalité populaire paysanne gagna jusqu'au vainqueur, selon l'exemple de la Grèce ... *capla /aruin*<sup>12</sup>. In fact, the arrival of the Illyrian and Thracian emperors, who appealed for the defence of the state to the men of whom they were the subjects, then the construction of the Palais de Dioclétien at Salone, and, finally, the transfer of the capital to Con-

**culture était assez relative ; les barbares eux-mêmes avaient besoin de s'approvisionner. Lâ-dessus cf. L. Hauptmann, Les rapports des Byzantins avec les Slaves et les Avars pendant la seconde moitié du VI - siècle. Byzantion d t 9>7-+9-8) pp. i32-xyo. F. Altheim, Huns, i p. 8g.**

<sup>10</sup> Varron, Rer. rust. i, 5y, z ; Pline, Nat. Hist. i 8, 3. 3<sup>o</sup>6. <sup>11</sup> V.

Pârvan, Getica, p \*36.

<sup>12</sup> V. Pârvan, Getica, pp. z94--97 **Pour les fouilles récentes cf. C. Daicovicu, Cetatea dacică de la Piatra Rosie. Bucharest,+9s4. pp 28-80, 122, 131.**

\*<sup>10</sup> TriSt. V IO, °3 °5: ont. III 8, -s-i 6, etc. Lâ-dessus cf. N. Lascu, Pâmîntul si vechii locuitori ai târii noastre in opera din exil a lui Ovidiu, dans le volume: P. Ovidius Naso. Bucuresti, 957. PP- \*5'-^53 "

E. Lozovan, **Réalités pontiques**, p. 367.

\*<sup>10</sup> B. Slătineanu, **Ceramica românească. Bucuresti, 1938**, p. i 6y.

<sup>10</sup> C. Daicovicu, op. Clt. p °3°

<sup>10</sup> N. lorga, Hist. Roum. z . 3§.

<sup>10</sup>\* V. Pârvan, Memoriale, p. i8i. De ce processus psychologique et social de "gétisation i des colons latins, Ovide donne nous, par avance, un exemple frappé en médaille: **El discem Getici quae norint iiecba iuuetici ... (Pont. 1 8, Jj-J6).**

stantinople, par oeuvre de ce natif de Naissus, visionnaire et fortuné, ne sont que les jalons d'une orientalisation progressive de l'Empire<sup>oo</sup>.

This rural life is fixed in the toponymy, even less comfortably than one has noticed. We also advance<sup>oo</sup> the hypothesis that *Fossalum* and *Piminaciini* ne seraient que designations latines appliquées à des réalités gétiques. In the same category we could probably classify: *Ulmetum*, *Cafut*

*BubaJi*, *O ila "a*, and certain of the localities given by Procope:

ΑομοQ'xρzÓrn, Δαρδάπαρα, Τουροxfpóhmν, Τουρόχμρον, Καβοτούμβρα, Γεμελλομοῦντες, floQhίρονβρν.

Ces attestations ont un caractère de date-limite. This is explained by the fact that, on the one hand, there was the progressive encroachment of the Byzantine administration (cf. chapter 8 p. zoo ss.) and, on the other, the struggle of the Roman population against the new forms of life; in the midst of the ethnic and social changes of the Peninsula, it was becoming increasingly difficult to speak of elite. 11 It will take several centuries for the development of this community to be recognised so that the appellatives will once again find their place in the toponymy. En dehors du quartier des *Blachernae* à Constantinople<sup>o4</sup>, les Vlaques apparaissent

dans les sources byzantines en 6ry-6ig ,sous la désignation de Bh•x opp -xρ• i. As X- siècle, Cedrenus les signale entre les lacs de Prespa et de Castoria<sup>oo</sup>. A partir de cette date les sources byzantines, turques, hongroises, russes foisonnent de renseignements - il est vrai sommaires -- sur la présence des Romains orientaux devenus *Vlaques*.

It is important to specify that if one examines Roman toponymy, which has agricultural and pastoral life as its theme, one risks extrapolating. One should not pretend that the ethno-linguistic situation of south-eastern Europe, as it appeared at the beginning of the Middle Ages in the light of toponyms, is the exact image of the VI-VIIIth centuries, but it cannot be far removed from reality. Whether one considers this situation as reflecting the maximum extent of the Roman expansion, or whether one reduces the frontiers to those of previous eras, one cannot consider a population that has reached the Beskid and Moravia to the north, Thessaly and even the Péloponèse to the south, Friuli to the east, the Dniester and the

<sup>oo</sup> N. Iorga, *Hist. Roum.* z p. go. F. Altheim, *decline 2* . ig9 ss., z48 pp.

<sup>^</sup> Le "village ", p. iz5 et pass.

<sup>o1</sup> Bh-x• 'xi; chez Genesisios, *Reg. lib. d.* p. 85 éd. Bonn.

-^ Cedrenus, *Hfst. comp.* z p. q2§, éd. Bonn. Cf. également G. Popa-Lisseanu, *Continuitatea Românilor in Dacia*. Dovezi nouă. *Arial. Acad. Rom. Mem. Sect. ist. S.* 3

t. 23 (1941) pp. 52—54.

Crimée à l'Est - dans l'étroit triangle Naissus-Serdica-Scoplje, comme le préconisaient W. Thomaschek et G. Weigand<sup>o^</sup>. Le choix de cette region est d'autant moins plausible qu'elle a constitué la *ria grnlioci* de la péninsule balkanique. Quelle fantaisie peu pratique aurait pu élire comme lieu de l'ethnogenèse roumaine un véritable volcan ?

Le nom ethnique de *Vlaque\*\**, attribué par les populations non-rosaries aux Romains de la péninsule, constitue pendant des siècles le repère le plus sur de leur présence sur un espace immense. According to the attestations of the VI-I<sup>e</sup> siècles, the Vlaques appear with Anne Comnène in I iiA, avec tous les honneurs dûs à un facteur militaire important<sup>o</sup>. Their number était suffisamment grand pour que l'empereur Basile II organisât en iozo, à leur intention, un évêché à Bptovóvp ; il y subsistera jusqu'en i i83. According to this charter, the Vlaques, who were subject to the imposition, lived dispersed "throughout Bulgaria t: xoì zc'cv óvov vōwov Boøhynpíœr Bhòycov<sup>o</sup>". Une autre charte de l'empereur Alexis I<sup>o</sup> Com- nène, en date de janvier x io5, signale une communauté vlaque sur le terri- toire du Mont Athos<sup>o</sup>. At the foot of other Balkan populations, they combattent dans les rangs de l'armée byzantine en Sicile en II-5<sup>o</sup>. Le rabbin Benjamin de Tudèle les rencontre entre i i6 Zzz3 en Thessalie<sup>o</sup>. Les grands poèmes médiévaux la Chanson de Roland et le *Nibelungenlied*, as well as the chronicles of Villehardouin and Robert de Clari. également mention ^.

<sup>o</sup>- Cf. la critique de Th. Capidan, *Simbioza albano-română i continuitatea Românilor tn Dacia*, dans le volume: *Limbă i cultură*. Bucure ti, 1943. . i 6§ ss.

<sup>27</sup> Pour l'étymologie (cf. Volcae, Welsch, etc.) : C. Tagliavini, *Origini delle lingue neolatine*. Bologna, i 95a, pp. i zA-I z5, n. 2.

<sup>g8</sup> La littérature se rapportant à ces attestations est immense. Cf. A. D. Xenopol, *Une enigme historique. Les Roumains an Moyen-Age*. Paris, i 885, pp. 38-55 A. Sacer- do eanu, *Considérations sur l'histoire des Roumains au Moyen-Age*. Mél. Ec. Roum. France 2 (i g28) 3]3. I\*4—\*3 \* . N. Iorga, *Hist. Roum.* z pp. 40i -jz . G. I. Brătianu, *Ein Rätsel*, pp. i i 5-i 3. Cf. également M. Gyóni, *La première mention historique des Plaques des monts Balkans*. *Acta Ant. Hung.* i, 3 - ( 9s-1 PP- 495 5\*5

<sup>20</sup> M. Gyóni, *L'évêché vlaque et l'archevêché bulgare d'Achris aux XI -XIV- siècles*. *Et. Slav. Roum.* 1 948) pp. i 48-i kg, 22§-233.

<sup>80</sup> M. Gyóni, *Les Plaques du Mont Athos an début du XII<sup>o</sup> siècle*. *Et. Slav. Roum.* i, i (\*94 ) PP 3<sup>o</sup> 4<sup>o</sup>-

<sup>D1</sup> N. Iorga, *Hist. Roum* 3 p 78. M. Gyóni, *Vlaxi Barijskoj letopisiť* S Vlaques des *Annales de Bans*). *Acta Ant. Hung.* I (i g5 i - i g5z) pp. z35-z43.

<sup>32</sup> D. Găzdaru, *Referencias medievales a los Latinos de Oriente en monumentos germanicos y romanicos*. Homenaje a J. C. Probst. Buenos Aires, 1953. PP < —s•

<sup>33</sup> H. Grégoire - R. de Keyser, *La chanson de Roland et Byzance*. *Byzantium zq* (IQjg) . RgO-2Q I. F. Schuster, *Her zog Ramunc aus dem Walachenland*. Southeast

Sur le vaste territoire compris entre l'Adriatique et la Mer Noire, 'Janina-Larissa-', three centuries after the dislocation, romance is still present. "Les Vlaques - remarquait M. Gyóni - n'apparaissent pas plus tôt dans les sources historiques qu'ils sont déjà mentionnés, en hoo, comme des éléments ethniques nombreux ... It is evident from the historical sources of the XIth and XIIth centuries that the Vlaquean establishments, grouped around certain centres, marked not only the ethnographic map of Bulgaria, but also that of the whole of the Balearic Peninsula.

The social reconversion of the III-VI centuries seemed to have been successful. The demographic expansion was accompanied by a certain increase in political importance which, however, was not to last. This population today has an elite leader in the person of Nixohrrşōš and the rois Assénides<sup>o</sup>. (The analogy with the illyro-thracian peoples, the great spectators of emperors and soldiers, seduces the mind).

But this romanité sud-danubienne<sup>o</sup>, which, at the end of the X- century, recalls the whole of the peninsula in its displacements, could not resist the demands of the Middle Ages: urbanisation. Although rural conversion was an excellent response to the assault of the envoys, the perpetuation of this state of affairs had disastrous consequences. Brisée en morceaux, absorbée ethniquement, la romanité sud-danubienne laissa un vivant témoignage de son expansion dans la toponymie et l'influence linguistique

**Forsch. I i (ig 6-+952) pp. z8 -z9o. D. Găzdaru, Les plus anciennes allusions aux Roumains dans la littérature provençale, dans: I-<sup>\*</sup> Congrès Int. de langue et litt. du midi de la France. Actes pp. io7 -i i z, Avignon, 957**

Sujette à **doute est** une attestation du Codex **Cumanicus** Cf. **V. Bogrea, Karaulah = valah**, In "Codex Cumanicus i ? An. Inst. Ist. Cluj z (9°3) P- 35 '

**Quant à la forme Blakumen d'une inscription suédoise** munique du XI- siècle, **elle doit être placée dans un cadre plus-large: celui des rapports entre Vikings-Varègues et Valaques.**

**34 In fact, one finds the traces of vlaques as far as the Taygète, the Tsacones and, finally, en Créte. Cf. N. Iorga, Hist. Roum. z pp. ç I y-ç18.**

<sup>95</sup> if. Gyóni, L'évêché vlaque, p- -53-

<sup>8</sup> N. Iorga, Hist. Roum3 PP \* -, roy-i z I. G. I. Brătianu, **Traditia istorică despre întemeierea statelor românești. Bucuresti, i9 5, pr i 77**

**37 Nous adoptons la thèse de Th. Capidan, selon laquelle toutes les branches actuelles de la romanité balkanique (Aroumains, Méglénites, Istro-Roumains) sont d'origine sud-danubienne. Même s'il y a eu un apport ethnique nord-danubien il n'a pas eu un caractère massif. Cf. Româanismul balcanic; Româniî din peninsula balcanică, dans Limbă sí CULT. \*57-z86.**

qu'elle a exercée sur les autres peuples de la péninsule --.Ç) quelques îlots survécurent dans la région de Salonique et de la haute montagne macédonienne, là où l'élevage des moutons était double par l'exercice de l'agriculture qui imposait une vie plus stable, solidement enracinée - du moins pour une partie de l'année. On trouvera dans l'ouvrage sûr et riche de Th. Capidan -- un grand nombre de toponymes roumains sud-danubiens ayant un caractère essentiellement pastoral. As the majority of them, relevant to the XXth century, have not yet been attested - and this is the main criticism that any study that is carried out would have to address - it is difficult to conclude that the toponymy of the most recent periods is unique. Il ne faut pourtant pas négliger les faits suivants: i° Les Roumains (Plaques) sont signalés par les chroniqueurs byzantins à partir du Xe siècle, plus fréquemment, en grand nombre dans toute la péninsule, z° Les topo- nymes d'origine roumaine - ° ayant un thème pastoral se rencontrent en dehors des îlots actuels sud-danubiens et correspondent en grand à la nappe ancienne. Par conséquent, si une conclusion ne peut se fonder uniquement sur l'argument toponymique - dont voit le côté critiquable - elle ne saurait toutefois y renoncer lorsque celui-ci peut corroborer d'autres éléments historiques.

The current Roumanian establishments in southern Danubia represent a major regression - and, in some places, a geographical displacement - in relation to the attestations of the Xth century. If expansion was the result of the victorious riposte of the first century, the destruction of urban life, the current regression is due, in part, to the perpetuation of this equilibrium, which no longer corresponded to the new conditions of the Middle Ages and the modern era. The response to the second challenge - the new urbanisation and the organisation of national states in the Balkans - was unsuccessful. And yet the signs of a victorious issue were emerging. The development of commerce and high-quality artisanship led to the emergence of the Macedonian

<sup>58</sup> Th. Capidan, *Români nomazi. Studiu din via a Românilor din sudul Peninsulei Balcanice*. Dacorom. a, i 1-9°4 '9°>lpp. 3 °52. G. Pascu, *Rumänische Elemente in den Balkansprachen*. Genève, i g z a, i i i p.

<sup>39</sup> *Toponymie macédo-roumaine*. *Langue et Litt.* 3 (194 6)pp 5-\*3°. Cf. also S. Pop, *Măgură t hauteur, montagne s dans l'Europe Centrale*. *Rom. Phil.* 3, I (1949-\*95°1 PP-'7 \*3 + i i cartes.

<sup>40</sup> Les chiffres cités par Th. Capidan, op. cit. p. i j-th, sont instructifs' 3B tO 0- nymes macédo-roumains actuels sont latins, 22 slaves, iz grecs et z albanais. tParmi les noms de lieu slaves du Pinde il ne s'en trouve aucun rappelant la vie pastorale i ibid. p. i y.



Roumains des éléments de première importance économique et politique". The flourishing life of the urban centres of Gramostea, Aminciu and, above all, Moscopole<sup>o</sup>, where the only typography of the Balkan Peninsula operated for some time on the initiative of the Macedo-Romanians, suggests that the first Macedo-Romanians were preparing to tackle the challenge. But the choc de l'histoire was once again violent: Moscopole was destroyed, this crystallisation roumaine south-danubienne, anihilée -<sup>o</sup>. The situation is almost the same as in all of south-eastern Europe, with the exception of the Dacie.

A deuxième zone occidentale must be distinguished in the south Danubian part of Romania Orientale. Due to the occupation of the Maritza-Vardar couloir and the noeuds routiers of Singidunum-Viminacium-Naissus, since the VI-VII centuries Pannonia and the eastern part of Peninsula were condemned to evolve separately. This isolement - which was not absolute, of course - was accentuated by the installation of the Hongrois in the Pannonian plain and the progressive advance of the Slavs. Les Romains sont chassés en bordure de la côte dalmate, en Istrie et au Frioul, en Autriche et Moravie ou, enfin, ils sont dénationalisés sur place<sup>^</sup>. The fatal blow was struck by the Turks: the last compact groups of Western Romans were dispersed. The reinforcements from the north of the Danube did not change the situation; the affaiblissement of the Romansh south of Danube continued unabated.

Voyons, brièvement, quel fut le sort des Romains occidentaux après le VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, à la lumière des données historiques et onomastiques<sup>\*^</sup>. Le nom et la nationalité des Vlaques ne fait point de doute; le Presbyter Diocleas écrit **au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle**: [*Bulgarie ceperunt totam Macedoniam, post haec lolam Provinciam Latinoriim, qui i/fo tempore Romani oocabanl ur, modo*

<sup>41</sup> Th. Capidan, *Les Macédo-Roumains*. Bucaresti, 1933, j3. 12s-II I.

<sup>4S</sup> *ibid.*, zob--<sup>o</sup>7

<sup>4J</sup> *ibid.*, pp. zij-z i 2.

<sup>\*4</sup> W. v. Wartburg, *Les origines des peuples romans*. Paris, i gji, p. 18z. **D'ailleurs dès les V-VI - siècles la population romane commença à se réfugier à Salone**. N. Iorga, *Hist. roum. z* \*-3

<sup>1S</sup> Dans ce qui suit nous ferons souvent appel à l'ouvrage de synthèse de S. Dragomir, *Vlahfi si Morlacü* (Studii din istoria romànismului balcanic). Cluj, 192 , 13d . Il prend **la suite de l'ouvrage déjà ancien de C. Jireéek et le remplace en grande partie, cf. Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmatiens während des Mittelalters**. Vienne, 9<sup>o</sup>3

*vero Morovlachi, hoc est, tiigri Lalini*\*<sup>®</sup>. L'anthroponymie signale nous d'assez bonne heure la présence roumaine dans la partie occidentale de la péninsule: *Ozanulo* enç• à Spalato, *Negulus* en todo à Zara Vecchia, *Draculus* en io84 à Spalato, etc. Aux **XIII-XIV**e siècles les attestations sont de plus en plus nombreuses <sup>41</sup>. Il est certain que, avant l'expansion bulgare au IX- siècle, toute cette population romane - qu'on peut déjà appeler roumaine - et qui vivait dispersée "dans toute la Bulgarie ", en Serbie, Bosnie, Herzegovine et Croatie, avait gardé un contact assez étroit. It is only after this last push to the East that continuity is in question". It is therefore in the IXth century that we must fix the second dislocation of the Oriental Romania. Les Roumains de la vallée de la Drina sont chassés sur le littoral dalmate, par suite de la cession des provinces de Mésie supérieure et Dardanie faite par les Byzantins aux Bulgares". Les rescapés n'avaient gagné qu'un répit. The advance of the Turks amena un nouveau bouleversement. Following the loss of Kossovo (-3 9), there was another mass exodus from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the direction of Croatia. Finally, the issue de la bataille de Mohàcs (i526) provoqua une dernière dispersion des Roumains vers la Slovénie, la Carniole, la Carinthie et l'<sup>I</sup>strie<sup>°0</sup>.

Les Vénitiens connaissaient bien les Roumains du littoral dalmate, constitués en bloc compact entre Üetinie et Fiume, sous le nom de Morlaques-'. Contre eux, à l'envahissement slave, à la pression turque, s'ajoutèrent les brimades des républiques dalmates"<sup>°</sup>. In fact, in view of their important economic role, the Morlaques did not resist; towards the end of the XVIth century, they disappeared from the region"<sup>°</sup>. Following the traces of rou-

Cf. I. Lucius, De Regno Dalm. 6,§ (*De Kfe/iisj. Vindobonae.*•7\* : *Cum igilur i9si Slaiii Zfiyricu'n occii9eocrint, Romanosque inibi incofz'@re in servitutzm redagarint ... Vlolii igitur apud Slauos en lingua liomines Romanos, Latinos, mml Ilalos signi ficat en condiliona 9esiorrns, montana incolentes. Vlahos outzm per montes Rosciaa, Bosiiæ et Ccoatiæ degenfes eliamsí nicht Romanorum asse 9rogen\*etti arbitrabantur.*

<sup>41</sup> S. Dragomir, op. cit. pp. 6i -6 .

<sup>48</sup> i b i d . pp. io6-io8, i i 6.

<sup>48</sup> i b i d . p. i ii.

<sup>50</sup> ibid. pp. y6-77. \*°9-

<sup>51</sup> **L'origine byzantine** est Evidente: Moupó3hoyoi, **les Nigri** Lnfittii du Presbyter **Diocleas. Venise** ayant supplanté **Byzance** dans l'**Adriatique an XII - siúcle** a hérité du nom des Morlaques.

<sup>52</sup> **cf. cette stipulation: Item quod nulli Vulahi cum eoru "i animalibus possint venire ad** stetiduín el pasculandum iiii diclam contcatam tiostram Gatiialis (apud S. Dragomir op. cit. p. z).

<sup>53</sup> ibid. p. 8o.

maines plus à l'Ouest, on trouve des Vlaques au XIV<sup>e</sup> dans l'île de Veglia. In a document of the monastery of St Ambroise de Dobrinje, de I3<sup>-\*</sup>. is question of "la terre que l'on nomme vlaque": i do ss y\*. áe se zoou clarke^ Plusieus toponymes subsistent à l'époque actuelle: Margurov, Vlaliooa\*\*. Les Roumains d'Istrie<sup>o^</sup>, of which an extra branch is signalled in the XII<sup>th</sup> century in Frioul and on the banks of the Tagliamento"', constitute the last Western Jews. At the beginning of this century they numbered 3 00, in -9-i il en restaient 1644 Leur dénationalisation complète ne fait plus de doute aujourd'hui<sup>o°</sup> . They survived 60 years in the Dalmatians; the process that began in the III-IV<sup>e</sup> is over.

Revenons à la romanité pannonienne et remontons au-delà des VI-VII-siècles lorsque, coupée de la Dacie et de la Thrace elle évoluait vers l'Occident, tout comme la romanité dalmate et istrienne.

The strategic importance of Pannonia - especially after the loss of this "peripheral defence" that was the "Dacie<sup>o</sup>" - is in the air. It's not superfluous to report a few figures. On the -5r diplômes of CIL XVI, 33 are from Pannonia, of which 22 concern the troupes auxiliaires - which represents a proportion of 20%-<sup>o</sup>. This is to be criticised, in view of the general nature of the statistics. Les frontières de cette province.représentaient, d'après les calciils de M. J. Szilágyi"', la 35<sup>e</sup> pÉtrtie du pourtour total de l'Empire. And indeed, on the basis of a très raisonnable estimation, the i6e de l'armée impériale y fut stationée (3 légions et 10-12 Corps auxiliaires). That's all to say. Mais à bien regarder la carte du times"<sup>o</sup>, avec sa suite

ininterrompue de cos/#/a serrés entre Aquincum et Carnuntum, puis avec le grand vide entre cette dernière localité et Ridda, Carnuntum on est vite tenté de songer à un véritable ' appel de l'invasion " dans la direction

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>55</sup> P. Skok, Studi toponomastici sull'isola di A<sup>e</sup>glia. Arch. GlOtt. It. 3 t<sup>e</sup>936) P- 59: *ibid.* 39 (937) PP- II, i 18.

<sup>56</sup> S. Puscariu, Studii istro-române. Bucuresti, igo5- 92 , - 3

<sup>57</sup> D. Găzdaru, Romeni occidentali stanziati in Italia nel medio evo. Cult. Neol. 6-, (I §6-+947) PP- '41 -i63-

<sup>58</sup> S. Puscariu, Limba română. Bucuresti, 940, p. 228.

<sup>59</sup> M. Macrea, Apărarea grani ei de vest si nord-est a Daciei pe timpul Impăratului Caracalla. Stud. Cer. Ist. Veche 8, I-4 (-RJ 7) PP- \*\*5 °5.\*

<sup>40</sup> A. Radnóti - L. Barcóczi, The distribution of troops in Pannonia Inferior during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A. D. Acta Arch. Hung. i (i95i) p]3. 191 -230.

<sup>01</sup> J. Szilágyi, Roman garrisons stationed at the northern Pannonian-Quad frontier sectors of the Empire. Acta. Arch. Hung. zt• os •) ap. i 89 -22 2.

<sup>o°</sup> dressée par A. Radnóti et L. Barcóczi, loc. cit.

N-S. The occupation avare, sarmate, hune et hongroise d'entre le Danube et la Theiss aux V-XI- siècles était déjà inscrite dans la réalité des choses au III- siècle. La Pannonie, la Dacie et la Scythie Mineure ne forment, en dernière analyse, qu'une série de vases communicants. La perte de la Dacie déterminait le renforcement de la Pannonie, comme le retrait de Moravie commandait les tentatives de reconquête de la Dacie Inférieure sous Constantin et Justinien ; enfin, l'insuccès sur ce dernier terrain rendait indispensable la sauvegarde du littoral pontique.

Les tentatives constantiniennes de reconquête de la Dacie Inférieure constituent un chapitre des plus attachants <sup>63</sup>. About a half-century after the soi-disant évacuation, the Empire returns to the charge. And Constantine repeats the facts and gestures of Trajan<sup>64</sup>: construction of a pont between Sucidava and Oescus, rebuilding of the route over the Olt valley, construction of a new fortress at Sucidava, rebuilding of the *castrum* of Drobeta, raid on the city of Daphne in the face of Transmarisca.

Pointe de lance, enfoncée en territoire barbare, la Dacie Inférieure sous Constantin aurait pu compenser l'affaiblissement du front pannonien, et surtout, couvrir la brèche méridionale. But this, on condition that it would have created a united front with the Scythia Mineure, across the plaine valaque. Or, it seems that this part, if it has not been neglected, has, to all intents and purposes, played a role of

<sup>63</sup> Relation détaillée chez D. Tudor, avec renvois à la littérature antérieure: Oltenia romană. Bucuresti, -9s8, z- éd., p 337 ss. Cf. de plus, id., Garnizoane romane pe malul bănăţean al Dunării in sec. IV e. n. Stud. Cer. Is. Veche g, z (1988) pp 373 379- Première attestation de la présence à Projejena (Timisoara), au IV - siècle, d'un détachement de la Regio FiZ *Claudia*, stationnée à Cuppae.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. la réplique mise par l'Empereur Julien dans la bouche de Constantin : Quant à Trajan ... ce serait juste qu'on me considère à son égal puisque j'ai recouvré le pays qu'il avait ajouté à l'Empire (Caes. 3 2g c, éd. Loeb vol. z . 396).

<sup>65</sup> D. Tudor, Oltenia, Supplementum Epigraphicum no. riz: milliaire de Constantin sur cette route qui, d'ailleurs n'est que le vieux trajet de la deuxième guerre contre les Daces, ibid. PP 3<sup>o</sup> 3-\*

This route will also be the one of the invasion carpe in the direction N-S, jalonnée par les trésors enfouis. Cf. B. Mitrea, L'incursion des Carpes en Dacie sous le règne de Philippe l'Arabe, à la lumière des découvertes de trésors de monnaies. Nouv. et. Hist. pp. img-i 60 -} - i carte.

<sup>66</sup> La céramique mise au jour est caractéristique de la IV-V siècles. Les troupes qui furent stationnées là - as attested by the mouldings of the briques - are from the IVth century. Certain parts of the construction advanced, by their technique, up to the VIth century. D. Tudor, op. cit. )3 S344 \*. Et }3ESS.

Sucidava reste romaine, sans interruption, de Trajan à Théodose ; elle est à nouveau refaite après l'attaque d'Attila de 477 Cf. Procope, De aed. IV, 6. D. Tudor, op. cit.

<sup>67</sup> Reconquête par Valens en 367 -ur les Goths.

solutions de fortune. It is certain that the *limes transalulanus*\*<sup>68</sup> is not known in depth and that only explorations have been carried out in the valleys. Surprises in the future, following systematic investigations, remain possible. It is, however, reasonable to assume that the defence of this part of the anti-barbarian front was far from perfect - which is why it was céda<sup>10</sup>.

But the insertion to the south and east of the Danube of the Bulgarians from one side and the Avars, Sarmatians and Huns from the other also raises the problem of the permissibility of this region for the Romano-Byzantines. Has it really been lost since the VIth century? The situation is full of nuances; no precise characterisation can be made. Even the legal affiliation would be difficult to determine. D'après Priskos, Attila prétendait avoir des "droits " jusqu'à Novae: xcrro zó ptUuo zoW 'lo-rpoQ Ôwó z S H'xiómvv ðypt No|3iiv mtv O-p í m v . Le duel de la région danubienne entre Roméens et Barbares n'a d'égal qu'à l'autre bout de l'Empire chrétien, du côté de l'Iran sassanide. This "remnant of European civilisation" that was Byzantium was fighting on two fronts and this was not without concessions and solutions of fortune - especially at the time when the great restorers, Héraclius and Bélisaire, were in defeat. The accom- modements went from simple cohabitation, as at the court of Attila, to a veritable "collaboration", made - it must be said - of Roman tragedy.

<sup>68</sup> D. Tudor, op. cit. p. yoy ss.

se i b i d . p. z iz ss. A retenir, dans le *castrum* de Jidava, sur le fines *Izansalutanus*, la **présence des monnaies allant de Nerva à Justinien.** <sup>70</sup>

Cf. les considérations de D. Tudor, Op. cit. p."54 SS.

<sup>71</sup> R. Grousset, 'Empire du Levant, pp. 67-- s-

<sup>72</sup> Priskos, éd. Bonn p +9 ' šúy "hUbcç y'ap ουτε ( . πρὸς τῇ σφετέρᾳ βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ ζηλοῦσιν ἢ τὴν Οὐννων ἢ τὴν Γότθων, ἢ καὶ Αὔσονίων, ὅσοις αὐτῶν 'Pmp'xlouç trqnš'l'x. Cf. E. Condurachi, Ausones d'I talie ou Ausones du Danube? Bul. Inst. Fil. Rom, Iàš i y (+937)pp Q8-ioi.

Cf. also le caractère multinational de l'armée d'Attila, évident du moins d'après **une légende du XIII - siècle**, rapportée par Niccolò da Casola : **assiégés, les soldats de Menapus, fi rois de A quilee . . abatoint Gumanz, Blach, Otigre e Bolgre . . . Or les Blach e Gumanz iienoient de toutes parc ...** Là-dessus D. Gàzdaru, Referencias,

Cf. Salvien: *Una el consentiens retri rorrianaz plebis oratio, ut iicsef eis rifam quam agunt ageca com òrdèris. Et miramur si non uincuntur a noslris partibus Golhi, cum t'ielitif aQud cos esse qoem ešod nos Bohemi ? Itaque non solum frans@gefe nò cis ad nos /zofrrs nostri om'iitio nolunt, ssd cd cos confugiant, nos reJitiqouiif. De gub 5, 8 I J3- \*°z), ibid. 5, s (go) et pass.*

Les Avars s'emparent de Sirmium, s'installent en Pannonie en 520, selon Ménéandre et Théophane<sup>79</sup> et, vraisemblablement se répandent au long des voies romaines du finss en forçant le passage de Dunaszekcsó. One constates a circulation monétaire byzantine ininterrompue aux V-VI-siècles, plus exactement de Justinien jusqu'à Constantin IV Pogonat<sup>80</sup>. Between the VIII-IXth centuries, the Byzantine monnayage disparated from the Aventine establishments. Do we conclude that the creation of the Bulgarian state had an *impact* on the relations between Pannonia and Byzantium?" Il semble qu'il n'en soit rien. Les Bulgares n'ont pu empêcher les rapports avec le territoire avar pour la simple raison qu'ils n'étaient pas à même de les intercepter: la route impériale Constantinople-Sirmium ne fut occupée par eux qu'en 806, après la chute de l'état avar. Le point de Philippopolis ne tomba entre leur mains que plus tard, au coirs des années '3 du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle ". An eloquent example of the permissibility of this region, in particular under the regime of occupation, is given to us by the Priskos embassy in 44

<sup>79</sup> ë d . Bonn. itlénandre pp. 336-3, . 42d-q z§ ; Théophane vol. I . 38g.

<sup>74</sup> T. Kovrig, Contribution au problème de l'occupation de la Hongrie par les Avars.

Acta Arch. Hung. 4 t 955)PP i 63--gz. Les Avars suivirent les traces des Sarmates, comme les Hongrois suivirent les leurs.

M. Pàrducz, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sarmaten in Ungarn im I I. und III. Jahrhundert. i b i d . 2 (i 956) pp. i 39- 18z. P. Lipták, Avars and Magyars in the Danube-Tisza Interfluve. (On the anthropology of the VII-XIII centuries.) i b i d . 8 (igd y) pp. i g g - z 6 8 . N. Fettich, Archäologische Beiträge zur Ge-

The history of Sarmatian-Dacian relations. i b i d . 3 (+ 953) PP 12 ý 7 -

A. Möcsy, K voprosu o periodizacü rannesarmatskoj epoxi (" Au sujet de la périodi- sation de l'époque sarmate ancienne. -) i b i d . 4 ( I95 q) pp. i i 5-1 28. G. Fehér, Bei- träge zum Problem des Ungarisch-Slawischen Zusammenlebens. i b i d . 8 ( 957) pp. z69-3

<sup>75</sup> D. Csallány, Vizantijskie monety v avarskix naokdax. (" Monnaies byzantines dans les dép8ts avars ".) Acta Arch. Hung. z (i g5z) pp. 23s-750.

<sup>76</sup> *ibid.* p. z50. Do we also agree with the author that the influence of the Occident was already felt in a vegetal ornamentation of moulages? (*ibid.* pp. zç8-2 §9) C'est peut-être prématuré. En tout cas la Pannonie occidentale gravitera vers l'Ouest deux siècles plus tard, comme l'attestent les monnaies. cf. L. Huszár, Das Münzmaterial in den Funden der Völker wanderungszeit im Mittleren Donaubecken. Acta Arch. Hung. s l test pP 6i -rog -|- i carte.

<sup>77</sup> Là-dessus cf. la discussion pertinente de M. G. Fehér, Avarovizantijskie snoënija i osnovanie bolgarskoj der Eavy. (" Les rapports avaro-byzantins et la création de l'état bulgare ".) Acta Arch. Hung. 5 (i 9ss) pP ss-s9

Ainsi la remarque de S. Dragomir, Vlahii p. I i 5, garde toute sa valeur: c'est aux IX-XI - siècles when the Byzantines were forced to cede the Mésie Supérieure and the Dardanie to the Bulgarians, the mission of /improving the Roman elements of this region ceased. And that is why they are on the move to the east.

It has, if one wants, the value of an "experience-pilote" ^ and one has every reason to believe that it will repeat itself in the following centuries, on a less official plan, even though the equally picturesque descriptions have not yet reached us "

Changeons d'éclairage. En 9 s. Theotmar, évêque de Salzbourg, écrit : of *in tola Pannonia nostra maxima* şroriicia fenton una *non ap pareal* ecclesia ... *lola lerram desolatam* "iderunt"\*. This témoignage ne saurait être considéré comme une preuve de la disparition de la population romane. In order not to be organised, spiritual life did not continue any longer. Without the existence of a neo-Latin population, it would be difficult to explain - without pointing out anything - the transmission of toponyms to the new masters of the country, Slavs and Hongrois, after the Sarmatians, Avars, Huns, etc. La plupart sont disséminés dans les comtés autour du lac Balaton

<sup>78</sup> Sur le trajet de l'ambassadeur byzantin cf. I. I. Russu, Nume de rîuri din vestul Daciei. Cercet. Ling. Cluj z (ig52) pp. z5i -z58. L'auteur identifie les rivières suivantes: *Tigas -- Tisas*, *Ti phesas Tibisis*; *Dre[ri]* con = *Bega*. B. P. Hasdeu - que nous ne voyons pas figurer dans les références très complètes de M. Russu - avait bien identifié *Ti phesas -- Timi*, en revanche, il s'était trompé en proposant *Dre(n)con = Tisa* et *Tigas -- Bega*. Néanmoins il mérite une mention. cf. *fi'o'iidiüi bânâteni* ... An. Ac. Rom. Mem. Sect. lit. s. II vol. i 8 (i 8Q§) . 36 ss. -| i carte. Déjà à la fin de IVe siècle les difficultés de voyage n'étaient pas insurmontables. Voir la participation des évêques au Concile d'Aquilée, en 38i : *nullus setircfti/is gfeuoftis arritis ... et concilio nihil de futé* ( St Ambroise, Epist. io, z), Dans le Geste *Gorici/i* il y a la signature d'A nemius *e piscopus Sizmiensis Z/fyzici*. Pour des raisons personnelles, l'évêque de Poetovio *emm esset pro imus, declinauit sacezdo- la/s corici/iium* (EpiSt. i , 9).

<sup>79</sup> En s6s Venantius Fortunatus fait allusion à des difficultés de voyage dans la région danubienne:

*Si tibi barbaricos conceditur ice per amnes  
Uî placide Rhenum Iranscendere possis et Hisfrum ... Si  
uacat ice miam, hegte ie Baiuarius obstal,  
Qua vieiie sedenf Breonum loca purge per Al pem ...  
(Yita S. Mart. j, 6e§ ss)*

D'autre part, Sidoine Appolinaire affirme que ... *Nocicum Oslzogottum* ... cotititi#f (°- 377-)

In all cases, passage was free in Iog5 from Belgrade to Andrinople; the croisés francs le parcourent, il est vrai, non sans difficulté. cf. Alberti Aquensis, Hist. Hierosol. 7 •z; 11 6 dans **Gesta Dei per Francos**. En I Iii, selon Edrisi (Geogr. trad. A. Jaubert z p. ego) la route Durazzo-Belgrade était également praticable.

<sup>80</sup> Joannis Papae I X (tipist. 6), P L i 3. 37 Cf. N. Drăganu, Români., p. dz.

<sup>81</sup> I. Melich partage ceHe opinion. cf. N. Drăganu, loc. cit. - Nous ne discuterons pas la controverse qui oppose ces deux savants, à savoir si les toponymes en question étaient romans ou roumains. For the question that interests us here, whether one or the other appellation is the good one, is of little importance. We only consider



(Somogy, Tolna, Fejér, Veszprém, Vas, Zala) and tout particulièrement dans les villages appartenant aux abbayes de Tihany, Bakony et Pannonhalma<sup>80</sup>. La majority de ces toponymes sont d'origine pastorale: *Cliula* (< ciufñ

< xvXhóç), *Slirêa* (< *sfirá* < o répigos). *Bacs*, *Csul*, *r-af's'sa*, *r-áf'acs*, *Kelba*, *Furk 6*, *Murga*, *fiop(p)a*, *Kàs*, *FI ôra*, *Klld*, *Mura*, etc. Puisque les toponymes énumérés sont attestés entre 5 et 105s nous pouvons conclure avec N. Drăganu - car les objections de I. Kniezsa do not support the conviction that, on their arrival in Pannonia in the Xth century, the Hongrois found the remnants of Latin Pannonia, already well established. It is also signalled, in non-equivalent terms, by the historian of the conquest, the Notaire anonyme du roi Béla: *El laiidabant ers terram Pannonie ultra modum esse bonam ... Quam terram habitarent Sclaoi, Bulgarii el Blachii ac fastores Romanorum. Quia frost mortem Alhile regis lerram Pannonie Romani dicebant pascua esse, co guod greges eorüm in terra Pannonie pascebantur.*

*Et ture lerra Pannonie pascua Romanorum esse dicebatur, nam et modo*

ment la preuve linguistique, de portée plus générale, qu'à leur arrivée en Pannonie, les Slaves, puis les Hongrois - et à plus forte raison tous les peuples qui les ont précédés - ont trouvé une population qui parlait un idiome néo-latin.

Cf. cette remarque: "jusqu'au VIII - siècle, lors de la tempête avare, la langue romane de Pannonie s'est formée sur tes mêmes influences illyriques et mésiennes (donc thraces) que la langue roumaine des deux Mésies et de Dacie ... Nous pouvons donc supposer d'une manière Evidente que la langue romane de Pannonie a été identique au romain, ou au moins qu'elle a eu des ressemblances très proches avec la langue roumaine, qu'elle en a été - peut-être un dialecte t (pp. dz8-4zg) :

N. Drăganu, L'ancienneté et l'expansion du peuple roumain d'après la toponymie, l'onomastique et sa langue: le territoire de formation du peuple roumain et de la langue roumaine. *Balcania i* (ig38) pp. -s -46: 6 ( 943) PP- 4°3 463.

It is, of course, difficult - for the time being - to negotiate the division line t dialectal " for this epoch, but, in their broadest sense, the above considerations are pertinent. En revanche, on ne saurait accepter cette autre opinion (ibid.) : i ceHe langue n'a pas été isolée de la romanité orientale ni avant le VIII - siècle, ni ultérieurement ". But everything invites us to believe - the archaeological evidence first and foremost - that the great and real coup in the Romanesque Oriental had taken place precisely between the Danube and Tisza valleys.

Il y aurait lieu de faire une autre distinction dans les vestiges toponymiques de la Hongrie médiévale - celles ayant pour origine la latinité occidentale (tranque, p. ex.). Là-dessus cf. L. Gàldi, Noms de lieu d'origine romane en Hongrie. III - Congrès Top. Bruxelles, ctes z P 360-3\*4

<sup>82</sup> N. Drăganu, *Români*, tout le chapitre I-\* pp. ii -i69 sur t es Roumains de Pan- nonie ". Lã-dessus I. Kniezsa, *Pseudorumans in Pannonia and in the Northern Capathians*. *Arch. Eur Centr. Or. i* (193s) pp- 97--- : t +936) pp. 8d-I y8. cf. id., *Ungarns Völkerschaften im XI. Jahrhundert*. Budapest, i 93 . S-rOut le Chapitre V, qui nie le caractère roman de la toponymie pannonienne. Là-dessus cf. la réponse de M. E. Petrovici *DacorOm. X, 2* (+943) pp 5\*7-5i6.



*Romani pascuntur de bonis* futigsrie<sup>o</sup>. Une branche occidentale de cette population est signalée dès 800 et, sporadiquement même avant, dans les "ici ro "iaiiisci d'Autriche. Les *Slrass#walchen* apparaissent au Nord-Ouest de Salzbourg en 2gg et 3' ; après cette date les attestations sont de plus en plus nombreuses: *Walchlsöfen*, en Bavière (E iO4), *Walchshoven* (\*\*3f). *de Walhe*, dans le Pinzgau (iry6), *Walehen* (ii5i-ii62), etc.<sup>®</sup>.

The situation of the Norique is similar to that of the Dacie. Eugyppe, who wrote in the VIth century on the "massive emigration of the population" in Italy and thus confirmed, in particular, the evangelist of Salzbourg, had no more reason than Eutrope, Pseudo-Vopiscus and Sextus Rufus, who had published the thesis on the "evacuation of the Dacia". Mais ce sont les Hongrois qui ont provoqué une nouvelle dislocation - la troisième - de la population romane. According to the Notaire du roi Béla, the anonymous geographer described this very clearly in his *Descriptio Europae Orientalis* in -308: *Notandum est hic quod inter Machedoniam, Achayam et Tessalonicam est quidam populus oalde magnus et sfaciosus qui oocantur Blazi, qui et o/i "i Juerunt Romanorum paslores, an in Ungaria, ubi erant pascua Romanorum, profiter nimiam lerrae oiridilalem et /sr/ifiiafsm olim*

<sup>83</sup> Anonymes, g. Pour les controverses cf. N. Drăganu, Romăni, pp. i-<sup>o</sup>. 5 7-58g. CI. de plus: *Rev Athilo ... de terca scithica descendons cum valida ma'nu in ferrom Pannonie meurt, et Jugatis Romanis, regnum obtinuit*. Anon. i.

Ges passages sont d'ailleurs confirmés par les autres chroniques hongroises. N. Drăganu, ROMă pp +9 20. Cf. au moins Simon de Keza, Chron. Hung. : *Remanserunt quoq e de Hunis uirocum fric millia et proelio Gcimildino erepti per jugaa inlerJugium, qui timentes occidentis nationes, in campo Chiglz usque Arpad permanse-miit. qui se ibi son Hutios, sed Zafulos iiocai'ecu il. Isti enim Zatuli Hutiorum sunt -zsidui, qui dum Hungaros iiii Pannoniam iterato cognouecunt zemzasse, rsf#otifibus in Rutheniae minibus occurrerunt, insimulgue Pannonia conquestata, pactem in en sunt adapti, non tamen in plano Pannoniae, sed cum Blacliis in montibus coti/iuiii sortem habuerunt ...* (éd. A. Horányi p. 6z).

L'origine hunnique des i Sicules " est sujeHe à controverse ; retenons cependant la vie que ceux-ci menèrent en commun avec les Valaques dans les montagnes de Transylvanie. Là-dessus G. Popa-Lisseanu, Gontinuitatea, pp. 63-74

<sup>84</sup> E. Schwarz, Walchen- und Parschalkennamen ion alten Norikum. Time. ONames. ForsCh. i. " (+9-6) pp. gr -9g.

<sup>85</sup> Vita S. Severini, 55: *A onulJus zero pcccepto Jralris admonitus, universos iuss'it ad iielietri e "iigrerr fiomenos*. Là-dessus cf. les considérations de M. Friedwagner, Über die Sprache und Heimat der Rumänen in ihrer Frühzeit. Time. rom. Phil. 5f\*9341 . 6ç8. Cf. le même raisonnement chez M. G. Capovilla, Studi sul Noricum. Fontes Ambf. zs (+95') p 4-<sup>o</sup>: F. Miltner, Zur **F**rage der Kontinuität römischen Settlements 1s Austria. i bid. vol. z6 p. -s

*morabanlur. Sed tandem ab Ungaris rude expulsi, ad partes illas fu-*

Chassée de Pannonie, la population romane se répand en deux directions: vers le Sud-Ouest et vers le Nord-Ouest, en Moravie<sup>®</sup> '. The courses of expansion are distinguishable according to the chronology of the toponyms: from Poland there is a course towards the north, to Nitra, where it bifurcates towards Valašska (in Moravia) and Silesia - to the east towards Galicia, the Hutsul region and the district of Łemki<sup>®</sup> ". Les premières attestations de toponyms romans dans la région de Nitra sont du début du XII- siècle :viffa *Staul*

est mentionné en I x-3. \* - >!aul *Tavarnicorum in paludibus* en zz68, dans le comté de Poszony; au siècle suivant (en -3ZI, \*33\*, I34Z) *Staul* devient de plus en plus fréquent. Le monastère de Gran reçoit, en zz6z, comme dotation une *Terra Barbata*, etc. L'existence d'un (Kis-) *Magura* aux sources de la Nitra prouve la présence romane dans cette région avant le XII<sup>e</sup> siècle". Le caractère de ces traces linguistiques est essentiellement pastoral. A quarantaine de mots - appartenant à ce même domaine - sont connus de nos jours aux peuples des Carpathes septentrionales, Slovaques, Polonais, Ukrainiens"<sup>o</sup>.

En survolant haut, aux quatre coins de l'horizon, la Romania Orientale on peut discerner avec assez de netteté les lignes de force de tout un cycle historique.

<sup>80</sup> Sur la dispersion des *i* Daces et des Besses *s* qui habitaient la région de la Sava, cf. Cecaumenos, *Strat.* (éd. B. Vassiliewsky p- 74)-

<sup>87</sup> Le souvenir de cette dispersion est aussi rapporté par les *i* Annales primitives de Kiev (*Povest' vremennyx let*). M. Gyóni a voulu identifier les *Yolochs*, dont il y est question, avec les Francs. cf. *Les Yolochs des Annales primitives de Kiev*. Et. Sl. KOllm. 2, I (1949)pp- 56-9z. L'hypothèse n'est pas soutenable. The presence of the Romans in Moravia au XI - siècle est une preuve suffisante de leur départ de Pannonie un siècle plus tôt. La thèse des B. P. Hasdeu reste valable, cf. *Stratú și i sub-stratú. Genealogia popórelorú balcanice*. An. Acad. Rom. Mem. Sect. Lit. s. z t. ia, spécialement p -s3 et la carte a .

<sup>88</sup> Cf. also: S. Dragomir, *La patrie primitive des Roumains et ses Jrontières historiques*. *Balcania* 2, i (I9aa) pp. 63-<sup>\*</sup> -]- 3 CãNØS.

<sup>89</sup> N. Drăganu, *Românú*, p. ryo ss., tout le chapitre t*Les Roumains des Carpathes occidentales* -. Cf. also Sever Pop, art. cit. p. 120, la earte z : mägurã.

<sup>90</sup> En dernier lieu cf. D. Crãnjãlã, *Rumunské vlivy v Karpatech se zvlãáitim zretelem k Moravskému Valašskú*. Praha, -938, surtOutPP 433 438. Là-dessus I. Bãrbulescu, *On the question of Romanian influences on the Western Carpathian region*. *Southeast Research ' (\*9391pp- \*55-163. . Brückner, Karpato-Slavica. Zeit. slav. Phil. i Ö I'9391pp- °°3-zo6.*

Pastoral life - one of the two solutions sought by the inhabitants in order to ethnically and linguistically secure themselves - has not followed a royal path: at all times and in all places it has dwelt on the néant. To retrace history is to make the chronicle of a hemorrhage. The transhumanist père roman has lost its vigour in the expansion of the distant: a logical and natural consequence. The small communities, fragile in mor ceaux, are assailed from all sides by anti-Roman forces, in Dalmatia, as in Norique, en Pannonie ou en Moravie, du III<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle ne purent résister. Les vestiges relevés sur leur passage ne sont, en somme, que des feux de camp aux cendres refroidies, éteints aussitôt que la caravane a disparu dans la nuit. Where pastoral life was combined with the practice of agriculture, anchored in solid establishments (Macedonia, for example), the process of denationalisation was slowed down. Romannisation had to be eliminated in Dacie by the farmers, the inhabitants of *Jossala* and the *ci itales*. It was also among those who, blinded under the protection of Byzantium in Scythia Minor, found the continuity of a defence that Aurélien refused them in 220.

And in this light, a certain Roman theory - without Roesler d'ailleurs, since his arguments are now caducs - seems to us to be quite contradictory to elle-même-'. Les Romains orientaux n'ont survécu parce que nomades - le lot inéluctable de ceux-ci est la dénationalisation - parce qu'agriculteurs établis, ancrés au sol.

At this turning point in **the third** century, the Danubian world, in the desertion of the cities, sought ways to survive without the help of Rome. Tentative which could not be solved without costly sacrifices and which, all things considered, were less dramatic than elsewhere. In this way, Africa **was** lost to Romanity by a cent per cent, as **was** - a millennium later - this other extraordinary work of the Latin Orient. Why and how did Latin life survive in the Carpathians and not in Aures or St Jean d'Acre? Voilà a question that awaits an answer. The parallel can reveal a lot of things; in any case, it is part of the great challenge of forces of which the pages below are only a brief enquiry.

<sup>1</sup> E. Darkö, *Landnahme der Ungarn und Siebenbürgen*, Budapest, 1941. L'auteur ne voit dans les Romains orientaux que rein nomadisierendes Hirtenvolk, ohne irgend- welche nationale Unterscheidung (- 031) 11 serait difficile d'être plus simpliste.

Romanité, Byzantium, Barbaricum sur le Bas et le Moyen-Danube - trois volets d'un même retable. 11 It would be impossible to separate them, but two millennia of common history have never made them separate.

*Maxima fars hominum nec le, pulcherrima, curant  
Roma, nec Ausonii mififis areia fi "iuiif.*

(Ovide, Pont. I z, 83-84)

It was then that the challenge of the world's civilisation was thrust superbly into the face of the city, a century before the conquest. Revanche de l'Histoire: Galère, fils de vaincus, monté sur le trône impérial ... *hostem se Romani iio* "iiiiis rraf *processus, cuius fifo/iim ii'imufari vofsóaf, ul tion fio* "iaioni imšcriii'ri, ssf *Daciscum cognominaretur* (Lactance, *De mort. pers.* z , 8). Et pourtant, cette *stulla barbara arroganlia* - comme disait César - se mua en ferveur pro- romaine. Les descendants de ces mêmes Dalmates qui comi -ttirent avec

tant de rage à Arduba (Dion Lassius 56, -5) défendirent l'Emp .e sur toutes les frontières. Et l'hémistiche de Claudien devint devise: *cuticJi gsnis viu sumus* (*Cons. Stil.* 2, 159) cruel haut symbole que la présence des Daces à Edesse, en z6o, aux côtés des autres Danubiens. Dix ans à peine séparent nous de la décision lourde de conséquences - l'abandon de la province dont les fils illustraient l'honneur des aigles dans les sables brfilants du Moyen-Orient. Cette lois l'ingratitude est du côté de Rome.

Then there was this millennium of terrible attempts at "coexistence", of dreams of *reconquest*, of "projects of colonisation", of successes that were both ephemeral and long term, more supportable. And, while this matin fatal du 09 mai, Constantin XI Dragasés expirait près de la Porte Saint-Romain il ne se doutait pas qu'il y aurait une "Byzance après By- zance ", qu'un jour l'Infidèle serait en quelque sorte son fondé de pouvoirs, que Justinien triompherait au Nord du Danube sous Bajazet et ses successeurs, que les Cantacuzéne monteraient sur le trône de Valachie sous l'oeil bienveillant de la sublime Porte.

This seems to be the lesson that one must learn from this terrible chapter of l'histoire: the revival of the Roman spirit, which does not allow itself to be submerged. *Illud te reparat quod caetera regna resolvit*, proclamait Rutilius Namatianus et, avec lui, à travers les siècles, tous les serviteurs de l'idée romaine, flamme d'éternelle liberté européenne qui, en fait, s'alluma à Salamine pour ne jamais s'éteindre"<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>oo</sup> L'expression se trouve chez Eugyppe: [Les habitants de Lauriacum] ... *paci ficis dispositionibus, beniuola cum Angie societate ui sezunt* (Vita S. Sever. 39)

<sup>oo</sup> R. Grousset, Bilan, p. 186 ss.

to. CHAPTER

## SOVIET RESEARCH

Zelik I. Jampolskij (Baku), an expert on the early history of the Caucasus, has agreed to provide us with a critical bibliography on the history of the Caucasus.

graphy of the works on the history of the White Huns, Hephthalites, Kidarites published in the Ud SSR between the years 1955 and 1959 and Chionites. It seemed advisable to us to leave the compilation in its linguistic form and the order given by the author.

### МАТЕРИАЛЫ К СОВЕТСКОМУ ИСТОРИЧЕСКОМУ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЮ "ИСТОРИЯ Кавказа, Кавказских народов и их культуры"

СОСТАВИТЕЛЬ: А. А. МЕЛЮКОВ  
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оказана помощь, со стороны М. Родичева В. Аухеева.

### СОКРАЩЕНИЯ

- АН - Академия Наук  
Вост. Муз. - Музей Востока  
Г. - год  
143В. - 143В  
И.И. - И.И.  
Кн. - Книга  
КСНМК - Мухоморов "Краткое сообщ. об ист. исслед. в СССР" (М.-н.)  
Л. - Ленинград  
ЛГУ - Ленинградский университет  
М. - Москва  
М.-Л. - Москва-Ленинград

- ПІДО — журнал "Проблемы истории дохалхалистических обществ" (М.-Л.)
- СА — зборіігіаі "Советсаан археологііе" (М.-Л.)
- СВ — турнао "Советсаое Восзоаове, qeнііе" (М.-Л.)
- Стр. — сзранііqm
- СЭ — турнап "Совецзчас ознографіія" (М.)
- Т. — com
- ТР. — Тр а-
- УЗ — Уоенііте аапііскіі

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## TIMETABLE OF EXTERNAL EVENTS

In the first book we have presented an extended collection of sources. The task now is to make what we have discovered fruitful for the history of the Hephthalites in Iran. It must be said at the outset that the main part of the enrichment of our knowledge is devoted to the description of internal circumstances. The external history of the Hephthalites has also been enriched. But what is available is still not enough to create a coherent picture.

What is known comes from the historians of the Sasanians, Ostrom or the Arabs. No one wishes to present a history of the Hephthalite events; all confine themselves to remembering the people when they come into contact with their own. That is why one still feels compelled to give a more or less detailed history of the Sasanids, the Eastern Roman-Persian battles, the Muslim conquest, in order to include the occasional mention of the Hephthalites within this broad framework. This is how E. Drouin proceeded in his "Mémoire sur les Huns Ephthalites" (1893), and more recently R. Ghirshman did no different in his fundamental work "Les Chionites-Hephthalites" (1948).

It seemed advisable to draw conclusions from this. All emphasis has been placed on the discussion of the origin and nationality of the Hephthalites on the one hand (i. 3\*-56 above), and on the internal circumstances on the other. With regard to external events, we have limited ourselves to a chronological table. It summarises what has been established in the first volume and on the preceding pages. Evidence has only been added where it was not previously available. The procedure adopted has at least the advantage that it has been possible to restrict the book strictly to what really belongs to the Hephthalites in the history of the period under discussion. Perhaps the aridity of the presented re

It is not always easy for a later researcher to fill in the gaps by means of new finds or lucky guesses.

The utilisation of the Hephthalite coins had to be omitted because the hoped-for new edition of them was not yet available when the manuscript was completed. A catalogue of the Umayyad governors of Khorasan and their coinage can be found in ). Walker, A Catalogue of the Arab-Sasanian Coins (Oggi).

First decade of the q. century.

Hormizd **II** (302 309) connects the northern part of the Kfisan Empire with that of the Sasanids (R. Göbl in: Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike 224f.).

First half of the ' c e n t u r y .

In the steppe between the Balchash and Aral Seas, the Turkish-Hunnish Hephthalites settle over a Sakish nomadic tribe, the Chionites. Winter 35 35

Säpiir II (30 37) keeps to the borders of the Chionites and **Kiisän** on. Säpür II describes himself on his coins as the "Kidarite and **Küsän** King", thus claiming supremacy over both. The name of the Kidarites, the "western" Huns, appears for the first time.

359-

The Chionite king Grumbates fights in the army of Säpür II against the Romans in front of Amida.

361.

Hephthalites devastate in Persian services the neighbourhood of Edessa.

60s of the §. century.

The Hephthalites are settled in Sogdiane, initially under Sasanian overlordship. They quickly become independent.

End of the 4th century.

Bahräm IV (388-399): the last Sasanid on the throne of Kiisän who can be traced numismatically (R. Göbl in: Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. 2321.).

Early years of the 5th century.

Bahräm V. Gör 142 438) defeats the Hephthalites at Kusmaihan not far from Merw. He pushes them back to the Oxos. TributiaMon

of the Hephthalites. On the other hand, "the capture of Balch and the installation of his (Bahrām V's) brother Narseh there as governor of Chōrāsān ... cannot be grasped numismatically" (R. Göbl in: Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staat Z*, 113)

Middle of the 5th century.

Yazdgard II (438-4s7) VOTI defeated the Hephthalites (Th. Nöldeke, *Übers. I-3* note 4; cf. R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites s f.*). Aulhören der Tributzahlungen (cf. Priskos in: *Exc. de legat. I53, 3 . de Boor*). - Kouyyoç, ruler of the Kidarite Huns = Hu-yr, Old Chinese. \*ytia-iigisi. Under them the Hephthalites already lived in the Sogdian for three generations.

July 459

e-o- (45 or 4s9-4 4) at2wins the crown against his brother Hormizd III with Hephthalite help (R. Göbl in: Altheim-Stiehl, *Ein asiatischer Staftt I*, 115) The kingdom of the Hephthalites includes Tochāristān, Čayāniyān and Kābulistān as well as the land north of the Oxos. Disputes with the Chāqān of the Hephthalites, because instead of the promised sister Pērōz' is sent a lady-in-waiting (Priskos in: *Exc. de legat. I)A, 8f. de Boor*).

End J-\* A65.

Pērōz's first Hephthalite war ends with his and his son Kavā 6's capture. Kavā b remains a hostage at the Hephthalite court until the ransom is paid in full. Pērōz is forced to proskynesis before the Achšunvār.

Beginning 4 4

Pērōz's second Hephthalite war ends with the destruction of his army of knights. The king himself remains missing.

A66.

Kavā 6 I. (A8W53i) goes to the Hephthalite court for the second time, this time expelled from his kingdom. A Hephthalite auxiliary force, the Jōdifāyê, who are in the neighbourhood of Nisibis, rise up and demand the appointment of their own king.

July 4Q8.

Kavä 6 I returns to his kingdom with Hephthalite help (see R. Göbl in : Altheim-Stiehl, I. O. Z, 116 f.). Subsequently, **Kavä 6's** Hephthalite auxiliaries defeat his Persian opponents.

5oz.

Kavä6 I conquers Theodosiupolis with Hephthalite auxiliaries.

5 3-5 4

Kavä 6's I. Hephthalite and Arabian cavalry scatters the Eastern Roman infantry at Tell Besmai (NOV. 5 3) They defeat Areobindos (July 5<sup>o</sup>4) and put Patrikios to flight at Öpadnä after he destroyed an advance party of 800 Hephthalites (Procop., bell. i, . \*3) The Ijlarraeans capture a Hephthalite commander, but leave him free against promise of own protection. Battles before Edessa, using Hephthalite cavalry.

Autumn 5O3.

Xavä6 I repels a Hun invasion in northern Iran after a protracted battle (Procopius, bell. I, \*9)

First half of the zoer years of the 6th century.

Under Justinos' government (5- 5-?) prevent Arabs and *Kädikäye* the **construction** of the Eastern Roman fortress of Tannürin.

Sept s3\*

While the Persians besiege Maiparkat (Martyropolis), they recruit a Hephthalite army. This army only arrives on the theatre of war after the truce has been concluded. It holds itself harmless by laying waste to the enemy territory between the Euphrates and Antiocheia.

55-

Singibu, Chäqän of the Western Turks, decisively defeats the Hephthalites. While Chusrö I Anösarvän (s3\*-579) as ally and son-in-law of Chäqän conquered the land south of the Oxos - Tocharistan, Zabulistan, Kabilistan - and Üyänian, the Chäqän seizes the territories of Aäs, Feryäna, Samarkand and Kiss. Chusrö tries to take them from him. The tribes of War and Chuni, belonging to the Hephthalites, move westwards, where they appear under the name of the Avars (pseudo-Avars)<sup>1</sup>. A remnant of the Avars is mentioned in eastern Iran.

<sup>1</sup> On the dating H.-W. Haussig in: Byzantion z3 (+ 9531. 334 (with misprint 5s3 instead of §§8) - 36/; 37 !- : 3 3-

Before 568.

Renewed strikes by the western Turkish Chāqān against the Hephthalites (Menander in: Exc. de legat. 45\*. 3s . de Boor).

5 4/58s

From the former Hephthalite area, further tribes move westwards, the later so-called Bulgars and Chazars. A remnant of the Chazars can still be found near Merw in 651. Both tribes appear in the rear of the Avars. The Chazars settle in the Caucasus, the Bulgars as Byzantine *oedcrati* south of the Danube.

5 -58g.

IUTI I I. Year of Hormizd IV (379 59°) Invasion of the Hephthalites (cf. Th. Nöldeke, Übers. z6g note x) into the Sasanian Empire, which penetrates as far as Bā 6yēs and Herāt ( abari, ann. I, 991, 9 f.). The invasion is also evident from the coinage (R. Göbl in: Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischer Staat I, Izo).

The Hephthalites are defeated by Hormizd's commander Bahrām (ōbín).

Spring 59\*

Bahrām Čöbin, who usurped the Sasanian throne (late summer Ago), is defeated by Chusrō II. Ašarvēz (5go-6a8) with Byzantine support and finds refuge at the Hephthalite court. There he is murdered at Chusrō's 11th instigation. According to one report, the army that leads the Sasanians back also includes Bulgarian auxiliaries. 6oz.

Uprising of the Bulgarians settled south of the Danube.

643-

Yazdgard II I (633 5\*/52) asks the Chāqān of the Western Turks and the King of the Soghdians, among others, for help against the Arabs. He evades the Arabs from Balch, crosses the Oxos, but returns with Western Turkish and Soghdian help. Balch falls away from the Arabs.

65 I}6§z.

Yadzgard III succumbs to the Hephthalite prince Nézak Tarchan, who rules south of the Oxos. While fleeing, the last Sasanid is murdered by a miller at Muryāb who, according to one report, was also a Hephthalite.

6s\*/6\$3.

Balch submits to the Arabs again in exchange for Zoo ooo Dirhem (or Zoo ooo). Herät, Puéang and Bä 6yes also submit to the Arabs in exchange for i oooooo dirhem.

662J663.

Waste from Bä byes, Herät, Pusang and Balch. Plundering of the Naubehär of Balch. Balch submits to the Arabs anew.

62z.

Rabi' b. Ziyäd conquers Balch.

6y /6374

'Ubaidulläh b. Ziyäd crosses the Oxos and moves against Rämibän and Paikand. The qafiiti of Bukhaera submits after a long period of wavering against payment of x oooooo dirhams, Samarkand against payment of 100 000.

696/6gy.

Train Umaiya's b. 'Abdilläh against Hottal.

6g8.

Al-Mufaddal b. al-Muhallab conquers Bä byës and Sfimän again.

6gg;/oo.

Al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra moves against Kiss, which submits. His son Yazid accepts the submission of as-Sabal of Hottal. Battles with the Bukhari.

COI.

Gravel is cleared after payment of the ransom.

\$03.

Nëzak Tarchan hands over Bä fiyes Castle.

7 4-

Al-Mufaddal conquers the city of Bä 6yës. Müsä b. 'Abdillah b. Häzim, w h o had "previously" wrested the city of Tirmi6 from the *dehAän* of the city, finds

According to Baläduri4 i i , zof. this happened in 6yq or later, according to4 i 8, z i f. and Tabari, ann. z. • \*47. ^z L in the same year 2o . Incorrect R. Ghirshman, Les Chionites-Hephtalites ioz.

his downfall. Arišfin of Bukhara, Nēzak and as-Sabal of Ḥjattal and the people of (ayāniyān, Kišš and Nachšab, as well as an army of Tibetans, Hephthalites and Turks, intervened in the inner-Arab battles.

ṢOṢ-GIS.

Kutaiba b. Muslim in Khorasan.

75-

Balch falls away and is subjugated.

06.

Peace treaty with Šfīmān, then with Nēzak and Baḡyēs. Conquest and sack of Paikand.

Stiffening of the resistance. Kutaiba's futile move against Rā-mi#an.

208.

Conquest of RāmiPan, unsuccessful advance against Wardān Chuḡāh.

709.

Kutaiba preempts Wardān Chuḡāh and locks up Buchārā. Conquest of Bukhara. Peace concluded with arljīin. Apostasy and downfall of Nēzak.

CIO.

Conquest of Šūmān. Kišš and Nachšab also conquered, Paryāb destroyed. arhūn deposed by the Soghdians, Ğfīrak becomes his successor. arhfin falls on his sword. A Bukhara Chuḡāh is appointed by the Arabs in Bukhara.

DII 12.

Chwārezm subdued. From there, march against Samarkand and conquer the city. A revolt in Khvarezm is put down.

## INTERNAL RELATIONS

1

The Sasanians and Western Turks jointly brought the empire of the Hephthalites to an end. What survived after that remained a shadow of its former greatness, constantly threatened by both neighbours. In general, it can be said that the external history of the Hephthalites was stretched between the poles that may be called Iran and Turan. Iran is represented exclusively by the Sasanids, while the Turanian relations are more diverse.

There is a give and take that hardly comes to rest. Large parts of the population were constantly being transferred to the eastern and south-eastern European plains. This flow began with the Huns, who, expanding what they already had, occupied all the territory between the lower reaches of the Volga and Don on the one hand and the Caucasus on the other. The increase in population led to a narrowing of the food space, and a hard

Winter 375 brought the violent eruption to the west (above z, 349) Further outflows, resembling aftershocks, can sometimes be surmised rather than proven. But the land north of the Caucasus, next to the Hephthalite north-east Iran, the other basin, from which all movements and migrations were fed, remained filled to the brim even after the enormous bloodletting that was the rise and fall of the European Hun Empire. Neighbouring Armenia, Media and Mesopotamia or the vast plains as far as the lower Danube were constantly threatened by invasions. There was also a constant supply of mercenaries for the wars waged by Eastern Rome and the Sasanians, and when the Hephthalite Empire collapsed, new masses were freed up to advance westwards and make history - great history - in their own way. Avars, Bulgars and Chazars, all Turkic tribes who belonged to the wider area of that empire, began the migration that would henceforth determine their fate.



What flowed out was matched by others that flowed in. The migration of the Turkic peoples to the west had begun with the Huns, and it was not to stop until the Mongols became their successors. Since the rule of their Hephthalite cousins came to an end, the Western Turks in particular took their place, and in the end it is not always possible to say whether one is dealing with Hephthalites or Western Turks in the case of the many-named princes of the Transoxanian land and also with the Chäqän themselves. The Hephthalites themselves had already appeared under a variety of names, the apparent diversity of which can only be unravelled, the uniformity of which first had to be shown (i. 3>45 above). In addition, the Arabic sources, apart from the unambiguous *al-hayätıla*, the comprehensive term *at-titr̄b* was applied to this people from the beginning (above i. 4<sup>of</sup>.) as well as to the Western Turks. This circumstance often prevents a clear distinction for the second half of the 6th century, the 2nd century and the beginning of the 8th century.

It remains to be asked whether this distinction was not already difficult for contemporaries. It may have been the case that the demise of the Hephthalite people and its replacement by the Western Turks actually meant a rebirth from related blood. After all, it is a special feature of the Turkish migrations that every people that emerges and takes on the role of its predecessors is once again a Turkic people. The demise of one historical individuation coincides with the emergence of a new and related one. Such constant renewal gives these shifts, which seem to have no end, confuse today's observer and sometimes cause him to lose track, duration beyond all change. The fact that for a full millennium the flow, overlapping, intermingling and onward flow of new Turkic peoples did not cease resulted in an unusual and otherwise unheard-of constancy.

The result is reflected in the linguistic development. Here, too, the change reveals the persistence. Anyone who has studied the Turkic languages is struck by the close relationship between most of them and the unwavering preservation of the original language structure. Thus, the linguistic comparator is faced with an unusual situation. In areas where the ethnic groups followed each other and overlapped - in western Turkestan, for example, or on the north and west coasts of the Black Sea - mixed dialects are usually spoken. "tlber-

The main thing," says P. Grönbech <sup>1</sup>, "is that since the earliest expansion of the Turkic peoples, there has been a constant overlapping and intermingling of closely related dialects throughout the steppe region, which has contributed to the blending of peculiarities and specialisations. This is the explanation for the ... almost legendary conservatism of the Turkic languages". And yet, this expert adds, such peculiarities were by no means a given from the outset. Rather, the same possibilities existed with the Turkic languages as with others. "As soon as ... a Turkic language escapes the influence of neighbouring languages, it is capable of a rich special development within a few centuries, as is most clearly demonstrated by the Yakut and Chinese languages.

prove the "waschic".

If we turn to the internal relationships, what previously seemed comparatively simple becomes more complex. Once again, the Hephthalites are caught between the poles of Iran and Turan. This time, however, it is the Iranian side that shows the greater diversity of historical possibilities and forms.

Sasanian influences were present from the beginning and increased in size and weight within the few centuries that the Hephthalites were granted. In addition, this time the Hephthalite ruling class, which was hardly numerous from the beginning, was always located above northern and eastern Iranian subjects. This was already the case at Lake Balkash, when the Chionites or *hyaona* were subjugated and incorporated into the organisation (above i. 5- ). After the invasion of north-east Iran, the richly developed Soghdian culture was encountered north of the Oxos, and south of the **river** the former territory of the Kiiëän, who in turn had succeeded the Sakic Tocharians. Two decisive

Areas of eastern Iran, separated in language, ethnicity and culture and yet having much in common, both looking back on a long and glorious past, were now under Hephthalite rule. The Sogdians and Eastern Iran, primarily comprising Bactria and then the rest of Khorasan, had entered history in great form since the 6th century BC with Zarathustra°. Alongside Media and Persis, they formed the second historical centre, which had its

<sup>1</sup> **The Turkish** language structure i,8.

° **On dating, see most recently Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum** z i f. ; Die aramäische Sprache i (i g5g), 86f.; above i, Mio.

The new era was characterised by a special character in all areas - religion and art, legend and literature, in the urban and rural way of life, in social stratification and in the economy - and was able to assert itself.

The Hephthalite conquerors were unable to hold their own against what confronted them. At least the ruling class quickly and completely melted into what proved to be invincible. For Mukaddasi and Mas'údi there was no longer any difference between *al-hayā ila* and *a - uǧd*, and in the case of abari it only appears in one place. One of the urgent questions that will be attempted to be answered in the following is whether Turkic folklore asserted itself alongside it and where this happened.

In the case of the Hephthalites, the first question is what nomadic heritage they possessed and what they retained when they entered the realm of East Iranian culture. The sparseness of the sources makes it necessary to limit ourselves to the compilation of details.

Like all of their kind, the Hephthalites are also great drinkers, and so their tribal heritage may include the feast <sup>1</sup> in which the prince and noble lord participates together with his followers. Prokop, who preserved this trait, speaks of them as *ῥαυωῶνοι ... Ἰ . . ὀτί* (bell. Z. 3. 6), for after the death of their lord they must carry theirs to the grave.

follow. The drinking bouts are familiar from Attila's court, and the word *noš*, This word, denoting the morning drink, is also found in the Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions on the treasure of Nagy-Szent-Miklos°. The inscription on the two silver bottles (*baklalda* of the Novocherkash Museum should also be mentioned (above i, -74 f. ; z26).

It had previously become a p p a r e n t that, contrary to all other custom, the European Huns had refrained from using the drum, especially to open the battle (above i, z18 f.). It is all the more important that, according to an Arab report, the 'Turks' did not start a battle without having it initiated by three drummers. However, it remains questionable whether Hephthalites are really meant and not rather Western Turks, who are known to have opened battles with drums and horns.

<sup>1</sup> R. Bleichsteiner in : Archiv für Völker kunde 6-y, i 81 f.

° F. Altheim, Literature and Society i (iǧa), zoo.

The parable of the animal and thus the "thinking and living in animals" (Frobenius) is still a constant in the Hephthalites. The number of observations that draw parallels between animals and humans and thus become the basis for evaluation or behaviour in private and public life is considerable. The animal style is encountered far less frequently in the visual arts. You really have to search if you want to find an example. In other respects too, the Hephthalites still bear a Hunnish character when they first appear. Zacharias Rhetor (aA, 24f. Brooks) or his Knelle still knew that Abdel and the Hephthalites had once inhabited them. Fighting is the noblest occupation of men, and in it lies their strength. As Persian auxiliaries they prove themselves 359

before Amida, where after a fierce battle the son of the Chionite king Grumbates (ällt (above x, zip). These Huns were also encountered elsewhere in the service of Šāpīr II; in 36i they devastated the neighbourhood of Edessa. They invade the Persian Empire under Bahrām V. Gōr, are defeated, but half a century later they inflict defeat after defeat on Pērōz until he succumbs to them in A84 eİldgültig. The proud Sasanian Empire falls into dependence

from his Hephthalite neighbour. Kavā b I had to seek help from his neighbour, fought all his battles with Hephthalite cavalry, defeated the greats of his empire and defeated the Eastern Romans. For the first time, a troop of Eastern Hunnic, i.e. Hephthalite origin, is encountered in the Sasanian army. They are stationed at the military border in Mesopotamia, not far from Nisibis. These *Kāḡišā ė* on the Persian side correspond to a *nutieris Cadisianus* on the Roman side (which, however, was transferred to Grado). Just like the Arab amfid in the Persian army, the double formation of *fiād\_išā yě*, the *egiiiles Saraceni Tliamudeni* of the Notitia dignitatum.

In all battles and sieges fought under Kavā 6 I, the Hephthalite horsemen are encountered, and they usually bring about the decision. They helped to conquer the city of Theodosiu- polis 5°-. In the following year, they scattered and destroyed the Roman infantry at Tell Bešmai, defeated a number of Roman commanders in Mesopotamia and prevented the construction of Roman fortifications at Tannūrin. The fear of these Hephthalites is such that when the i;larrānians fall into the hands of a leader of the same origin, they kill him with glimpses of the Roman army.

° Kratkie soobštenija instituta istorii material'noy kultury 55 (ig5a), aq Fig. 8, z (M. Beleniki).

They release the Persians on favourable terms and send them home to the Persian king with gifts of honour, both with the intention of obtaining protection from invasions. For their part, the *kings of* the Persian army pursue their own policy, demanding settlement in Nisibis and the appointment of a king of their choice. If the Hephthalites arrive too late to take part in hostilities and these have already been concluded by a truce, they do not refrain from waging war on their own account. They ravage all the land down to Antiocheia, return home almost unmolested with their booty and thus get their money's worth.

The Hephthalites are all horsemen. Horses are therefore their most welcome prey, and one raid brings home no less than 5 animals. It is noticeable that the use of the bow is mentioned only once is used. The most common weapons are the sword, lance (I, 2/ above), club or battle axe. This cavalry must indeed have possessed few adequate long-range weapons, as they were no match for slingers. But otherwise their fighting style proves successful. With a surprising thrust, they shattered the Roman infantry; even when the latter tried to cover themselves with their armour, they succumbed to their equestrian impetuosity. A disguised escape lures the ponderous knightly army of the Sasanian Péröz into a trap; it is destroyed and the king falls. In general, the Persians were rarely successful against the Hephthalites before Chusrö I Anösarvân brought about a change. Only Bahräm V Gör achieved a victory. His success was due to the fact that he countered his opponent's nomadic fighting style with a method he had learnt from other nomads, the Bedouins.

The behaviour of the Hephthalites is initially as one might expect from true Huns. They rage and burn, rob men and hunt slaves, maltreat the clergy and ravish the nuns. Brave in battle, the brunt of which they bear and whose losses they suffer (Procopius, bell. I, 8, \*3), they remain defiant against their servants,

and are not afraid to pit Persians and Romans against each other. play. The occasional betrayal does not weigh on their conscience, and if they forget to pay their wages, they know how to hold themselves harmless.

The sources speak of Hephthalites or *Käpisäy e*, Κηπίωπνοι; but they also speak simply of Huns or Turks (i. 36f. above). However, already in the last year of Péröz it is important to distinguish them from the other Huns, especially the Caucasians. The latter are described as

"corrupting animals", "who live through God". In contrast, the Hephthalites emphasise that they live by weapons, bows and swords and by "eating every kind of meat". It should be remembered that the Parthians only multiplied meat if it came from hunted animals.

game (Apollodoros of Artemita' in Justinus 4. 3. 3) Correspondingly, Procopius (bell. I, §, °-5) says that the Hephthalites or Whites Huns have no contact with the other Huns and no common borders. Furthermore, they are not nomads, but, being firmly settled, have cultivated the land since time immemorial. They do not live like animals, like the other Huns, but have a king, know justice and law, which they respect both among themselves and towards their neighbours. In this respect they are in no way inferior to the Persians and Romans, according to the Greek, and what we know of the Hephthalites shows that this judgement was correct.

Everywhere they are representatives of the legal point of view, which they assert with vigour. When Péröz turns to the Chäqän with a request to help his claim to the throne against his younger brother, who has usurped the throne, he finds a sympathetic ear. But the Hephthalite does not grant his support until Péröz has sworn to him that he is indeed the elder and has a well-founded claim. Later, when Peröz goes to war against the Hephthalites, the Sasanid and his entourage are prepared to constantly deceive him, while the Hephthalites believe for a long time that the oath of the defeated and captive, to which he owes his freedom, will be honoured. Finally, Bahräm Üöbin, the former conqueror of the Hephthalites, finds his legal attitude towards the vanquished rewarded by the fact that they later grant him asylum and protection after his <sup>fall</sup>6.

The picture is repeated when Hephthalites and Soghdians united to fight their last battle against the Arabs. It was almost always the latter who secured advantages for themselves by cunning and breaking the agreement or hospitality, which would not have fallen to them by force of arms alone. The decades-long war in the countries on both sides of the Oxos may have dulled their spirits, and the indomitable longing for freedom and independence shown by their opponents right up to the end must have made the Arabs consider backing down if they had succeeded,

^ F. Altheim, Weltgeschichte **Asiens** i, z f.; z, z i f.; 3i f.

° Altheim-Stiehl, An Asian State i, z io j z ig.

to be put behind. But the procedures by means of which Mfisä seized Tirmi6', Kutaiba **Bukhara** and Samarkand, or the brurh of promise practised on Nezak Tarchan (Tabari, ann. z, izzo, z ff.), are difficult to justify from a moral point of view.

The original image of the European Huns has therefore changed. Prokop's sources already describe the Hephthalites who had already been Iranised and settled. The new style that developed among them was preserved until the downfall of the people. Elsewhere, however, the Hunnic heritage was stronger. Alongside those who adapted to the ways of life of their Bactrian and Soghdian subjects, there must have been those for whom this was less or not at all the case. The warlike strength of the people, far from diminishing as a result of settlement and urbanisation, reached its peak at that time. Péröz was defeated, Kavä 6 I was led back into his kingdom with Hephthalite help and held there, and Hephthalites undeniably formed the core of the Sasanian armies thereafter. The eastern Roman army increasingly included 'Massagetes', who, also known as Huns, could only be tribes from north-east Iran. These Massagetes fought in the armies of Belisar and Narse and helped them to defeat the Vandals in North Africa and the Ostrogoths on Italian soil.

There is no need to prove that their power and military success were not due to the Hephthalite lords, but to the nomadic tribes, who, also of Hunnic and Turkish origin, belonged to the clientele, subjects or neighbours. In contrast to the actual Hephthalites (although also referred to as such: Procopius, bell. i, 2, 8 ; 8, i3; i6) preserved their nomadic nature and thus their martial prowess. Procopius emphasises the bravery of the Massagetes in the battles they initiated (bell. 3, i8, i4 ), *their* meagre way of life (bell. /, 14. 28), but also the dubious faithfulness and rebelliousness (bell. \*. °\*. \*3: 4. \*. 5 : 9 I I ; >. 3: 3. 7 ; 16 ; 4. °/, 8). Enough: these nomadic tribes had remained true Huns, unlike the Iranised lords. The people of the village were a part of the middle class, who had become accustomed to sedentarism, law and order and the forms of a regulated life.

These tribes included those who moved westwards after the collapse of the Hephthalite Empire, primarily Avars, Proto-Bulgarians and Chazars. Parts of them also remained

after the migration of the main mass of their people to eastern Iran. Accordingly, Chazars 63i encounter Merw's neighbourhood (above x, 86). Chusrö I Anösarvân considers it advisable, even after his victory over the Hephthalites, to send 2 000 Christian virgins as booty to the Avars remaining in Khoräsän in order to keep these fellows in a good mood.

When the Hephthalite rule succumbed to the push from East and West, Western Turks and Sasanids, Chusrö I Anösarvân of the urban-  
-The Hephthalites were assured of the existence of a rural area south of the Oxos. There, under foreign sovereignty, lords continued to exist whose titles reminded us that they were once counted among the Hephthalites. These may have included the lords of Bä fiyés, who sat in the neighbourhood of the Hephthalites of Herät and bore the title Nezak Tarchan. The nomads were unable to rush to the defence of the Khorasanian territories. For it was against them that the Western Turks had launched their attack. Their Khaqän boasted that they had driven the Avars into pairs^, and the same can be assumed of the Bulgarians and Khazars, who came from the

"inner Scythia", beyond the Imaos Passes, s 4 moved westwards. After all, the Pamirs and Tien-san' were in the immediate neighbourhood of the western Turkish territory.

After that, the Hephthalite territory was limited to the land north of the Oxos. When Bahräm Üöbin made his move there, a Hephthalite chäqän still ruled. Subsequently, minor princes such as the Sabal of Hottal, the Tarhün, the Buchärä-Chufiäh or the Warän-Chu 6äh, the Gürak, appeared. The dignity of the Chäqän, who intervened in the battles until the beginning of the century, seems to belong to a Western Turk. In addition to Hottal, where Hephthalites were recognised because of the name the mass of the people, no longer differentiated from the Soghdians, sat between Bukhara and Samarkand. The townspeople were rich; as good merchants, they traded in caravans to the east and west. Within the walls of their cities, they defended themselves against the Muslim rulers with desperate valour. But for fighting in the open field they used only the 'Turks', although it remains unclear whether this refers to western Turks or tribes formerly belonging to the Hephthalite Empire and under western Turkish sovereignty. The fact that such tribes existed is shown by

For details see H.-W. Haussig in : Byzantion 23 (1953). 307 ' About this H.-W. Haussig in: ZDMG. i og (i g5g), ii i.



The mention of the Hephthalites in connection with Tibetans and Turks in 2 4 Still around 9 ' A Chionite is mentioned as a Mapryan:

**Yöjannän #yön'iy'i** . Until the end, *Ä'tiJaf* and *al-hayätilo* remain a geographical term that exists in Mas'iidi and Mukaddasi.

The state and social structure must be considered next.

The king appears as the head of the Hephthalites (|3 "rth0 : Prokop., bell. z, 3, 5) In the Arabic sources he is called **Iläpän** (zagati) in Turkish or *Al Sunmär* or *Alsüwän* in Soghdian. On the Hephthalite coins, as far as we know, there is nothing of the same kind. And yet both titles must be historical. Ibn Hurdäbeh So, g f. de Goeje lists a large number of Turkish chaqaean, mostly from eastern Iran. The Old Turkish zaqan, *zayan* shows, if the earlier

The Iranian legend traces back to the Kävyänians or to the descendants of the blacksmith Kfiva, middle Pers. **Kävak**, of the Iranian legend. In favour of A bsunwär is the fact that it can be clearly identified as a Soghdian

\*( z5üoan "är can be interpreted. In addition, there is the title Gfirak, which will be discussed later, and a Soghdian yz/'w preserved in *Wardän-ffupäh*, *Bujärä-jupäli* and *Kczbän*(*Güza an-! jud\_äh* (Ibn Hurdäbeh So, z). The ruler's wife is referred to everywhere as qafitn, *zalun*, which we have discussed elsewhere.

As far as the coins are concerned, they alone show *5ähä\**. Ibn Hurdäbeh(39. I6f. ; So, Qf.) lists the *Tirmid-Häh*, *Kii5än-Häh*, *HotlaIän-Häh* from eastern Iran, and Tabari contributes the Jirörssm-fdÄ. From the same etymon

must be Old Turk. *Bad*, *hat*, and if in Tabari's *i jšäd* (next to *ijké'f*)

If we had been able to rely on it, we would have found a direct role model.

The Old Turkish fägin can also be traced back to an Iranian etymon°. This is based on *dehbäR*, i.e. the name of the name given by Chusrö's I. Anösarvän reforms of newly created rural fiefs ^ . This

^ Cf. Barhebraeus, Chron. eccles. i. 3"7. \*7 AbbeIoos-Lamy.

° Barhebraeus, I. C. 3, I §, I z ; i / f.

' Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum - -3 \*-

° R. Ghirshman, Les Chionites-Hephtalites i i f. ; corrections are given by O. Hansen in F. Altheim, Aus Spätantike und Christentum 8I f.

\* Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischer Staat i, z8 i f. ; above - . s \*-

' Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. i. \*34\*.; Financial History of Late Antiquity 6of.

The Hephthalites' name was widely used to describe the social structure of the entire country, and beyond Iran's borders, the name was also used to describe the institution. Bahrām Čöbin's novel tells of his settlement as *dēhbān* in the land of the Hephthalites<sup>^</sup>. A city is built for him and his companions and a castle is erected in its centre. Furthermore, they are all listed in a register and the individuals are allocated "gifts", i.e. the means to equip themselves<sup>^</sup>. The Hephthalites had thus created the same organisation as in the Sasanian Empire and, as fagiii testifies, also gave it the same name.

The fact that Bahrām Čöbin is settled together with his companions corresponds to what Procopius reports of the Hephthalites (bell. i, 3, 6 f.). According to this, the túfí':xípove had b e e n joined by twenty or more followers (crrroiq QíhoQ R'xipí(ov'xi). These took part in the drinking parties, lived at the expense of their masters and were buried alive with them when they died. The castle that Bahrām Čöbin receives can also be placed in a larger context. Mukaddasi explicitly mentions the *dēhbān* in the land of the Hai al and reports on the castles in which they lived or still lived in his time (í. 5I above). There were also *dēhbān* in neighbouring Chwārezm, and their burgers, in some places up to zti Z2 OOO, covered the whole country. Tolstov's excavations have confirmed this description'. In general, the castle began to conquer its future place in the east". In Wāšğird (near Šúmān) there were castles too and in Ištēchān (Ištēchang) there were others. Nēzak Tarchan had his castle in Bā byēs, as did as-Sabal in al-Hottal. The castle of the king of Sümān succumbed to Kutaiba's ballistae after a heroic battle. In Tali Barzu, south of Samarkand, Soviet excavations have uncovered a castle complex with over 500 vaulted rooms<sup>l°</sup>.

To this world of wood and castles, of kings and lords, of *dēhLān* and knights include the best forms, moulded ideas and a ceremonial, all of which are again of Iranian, mostly Sasanian origin. Royal happiness, idōq *gut* or /ōngri gal, from the ancient Turkish orchon

° Altheim-Stieh 1, An Asian state i, z i g ; above i, g , 5 i.

° Altheim-Stiehl, An Asian State i,35 f. ; '37

' Altheim-Stiehl, Financial History of L a t e Antiquity \*7

^ Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. 3 +9 ; IlāChzutragen Abū Yūsuf, *bitābu 1-harāğ* zz i in the Über-

E. Fagnan's translation (igz i) ; above i, i 38 l.

' Al-Ya'kúbí, *Litābu 1-buldān 2g2*, E ; 2g}, i 3 de Goeje.

l° G. Glaesser in : East and West 8 (i gs i). 93

The *qōf*, well known from the Hephthalite inscriptions, changes to *s\*artiaà-*. While that *qōf* is still found in the Attila song as */rfici/as* of the great dead (above I, 24°). the coins of the Hephthalites speak of */arii* (Int) ". This *z\*orn* "á-

had already depicted their predecessors, the Kūšān, on their coins <sup>1</sup>. On his release, Pērōz must swear to the Hephthalite victor by his own *šībhārā* that he will make the required payments. This 'glory', too, can only mean the royal *x* "*arnali*. In addition, there is the *opooxúrpoi* , which is demanded of the defeated Pērōz (Procopius, bell. Z. 3. U f.). The king of the Hephthalites offers her the

Freedom on, *íjv ye oNòv ... . ó flfpó§9ç wpomuvftv |3oúhorro*, be *6z ózlv ytytvĒtiévov*. This, too, is a Persian practice that has survived throughj hrhunderte (above p. iz3-Iòð). Pērōz escapes dishonour by throwing his kissing hand to the rising sun on the advice of his magicians according to Persian custom (I. C. 19) ' °. Worship of the sun is a common feature that the European Huns (above I, \*3 ) with the Persians are connected <sup>1</sup>. The middle link is formed by the Hephthalites, as has been shown with certainty (above I, zI4 ). We may also recall the title *Gfirak*, which undoubtedly contains the Soghdian word for "sun". The Hephthalite desire for *wpooxúvtjwi\$* on the part of the victor presupposes that this people was aware of the significance of the act and that it was customary among them.

Public appearances were part of the ceremonial. Among the Hephthalites, too, if one occupied a high office, one sat like the Sasanian judge, the official in general, ant the *li'ursi*. Presumably he would not have differed from the otherwise attested *sarir*^'. Like the reliefs of Tang-i Sarvak <sup>1</sup>, the wall paintings of Panğikant <sup>1</sup> show him. These also depict aristocratic gentlemen in long, almost dandyish caftans, with curly hair and carefully groomed goatees. There are caps of various cuts: flat ones and those that end in a peak that is folded over the head.

" O. Hansen in F. Altheim, *Ans Spätantike und Christentum* 3- <sup>10</sup> R.

Göbl in Altheim-Stiehl a. O. i8o ; i8§ Arim. 30 ; 2a6 f. ; z68.

<sup>10</sup> *wpoøxúvrjoiç* before the imperial edict: Chavannes i, i6; such before the emperor himself: i g .

" Cf. Chavannes i, i g .

" Altheim-Stiehl, *Supplementum Aramaicum* 9i.

1- W. B. Henning in : *Asia MaiOf* 9+5. Pl. z-3.

" Žiwopisö *drewnego Pjand žikenta* ( 954) Pl. XXX IX ; East and West 8 ( 957). 99: z 15.

In addition, there is no lack of crown-like structures, striped and top-knotted turbans, and helmets with vertical points or spouts. The king of Samarkand has a felt hat with gold and jewellery. Wide and short swords, descendants of the old Persian 'xztvöxrJ\$, are worn on the armour. But the narrow, straight sabre (the "narrow long sabre" : above I, zOO f.) is preferred, sometimes with an attached pistol grip. The armour ("caftan cuirass") has upright scales to allow the lance thrust from below, i.e. from the foot fighter, to slide off<sup>8</sup>. Under the scale armour one wears a chain mail shirt <sup>10</sup> (the double armour is also attested in literature), on the head the pointed helmet crowned with attachments. This crest indicates that its owner belongs to the nobility. The main weapon is the long equestrian lance, sometimes decorated with a pennant; the lance is also the favoured form in the literary Q,ue11s.

The story of the qafua of Bukhaera shows that women held a special position among the Hephthalites. Having outlived her royal husband, she took over his reign after his death, and there is nothing to suggest that anyone took offence at this. She dressed so elaborately that a single one of her stockings was valued at 200000 dirhem. Female depictions are common in art. The aristocratic woman rides on her own horse next to the man; she wears a long robe and an elongated headdress that tapers backwards. "Les femmes se font un chignon ; elles portent un bonnet auquel elles cousent des fleurs d'or", report the Chinese news<sup>oo</sup>. The mural painting from Pan-gikant with the harpist and the ivory figure of a dancer, both with their upper bodies exposed, show the intrusion of the Sasanian way of life<sup>oo</sup>. It happens that the king {Jottal's offers the Chinese emperor a complete female orchestra as a gift --.

<sup>18</sup> Chavannes I, -3'

<sup>19</sup> The explanation was given orally, many years ago, by A. v. Le Coq. (A.) .

<sup>oo</sup> Cf. Chavannes i, •3\*

<sup>o1</sup> 2iwopisö drewnego **Pjand zikenta Taf. XXXI I ; XXXI II.**

<sup>o2</sup> Chavannes x, -34-

<sup>o3</sup> 2iwopisb Pl. XXX II ; A. M. Mandelétam in: Ocerki istorii SSSR. I II.-IV. ww. (- s ) 373 : 376 ; also Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike 3 f. ; also D. Schlumberger in : Syria•s (-g 6-8), 881 ; R. Ghirshman in : Ars Orientalis -- (i g52), 2y f. ; K. Erdmann in : OLZ. i gig, i 8z.

<sup>o4</sup> Chavannes i, i 68. The question of hephthalitic polyandry (R. Ghirshman, Les Chionites-Hephthalites i z5 f.) may rest on its own.

The Hephthalites were beautiful people and knew it. This explains the splendour of the silk and woollen clothes that Hsüen-tsang praises<sup>°^</sup>. *Körbayātur* as a name means that its wearer was not only a hero, but as such a 'spectacular' appearance. *Móvoi fie Ouvvcøv omoi hcvxoi ze zóxnì oiix npopQoi zós optic z Aviv*, says

Prokop (bell. Z, 3. 4) The custom of deforming the skull (i, y2 f. above), which was adopted by the Sakish subjects at the time when they were still sitting at Lake Balchash (z, 5- above), can still be seen on the <sup>coins<sup>°</sup></sup> for a while. Then it either disappears or is concealed under the crown, the developed forms of which originate from the Sasanian neighbour.

It is a highly cultivated and refined world that presents itself in the final stage of Hephthalite-Soghdian coexistence. *Panğikant's* wall paintings bear witness to this, and the painful atmosphere of what is destined to perish lies above their displays and festivals, their *joie de vivre* and their ability to shape it. Nonetheless, these princes, lords and knights had remained at heart what they were by origin. They were Huns with their fierce bravery and fearlessness, their confidence in their own strength and the awareness that the world was theirs if they knew how to grasp it in the right place.

There is the hero and rebel who keeps changing sides and whose deeds fill the second half of the 2nd century. *Nëzak Tarchan*, at home in the mountains and castles between *Kōhistān*, *Herāt*, *Bā 6yēs* and *Chulm*, brought about the downfall of the Sasanids in his youth. He fought the Arabs or fought at their side, together with the other Hephthalite lords of *Saš*, *Kišš*, *Čayāniyān* or *Hottal*. He always distinguished himself, and his valour on *Kutaiba's*

The campaign against *Bukhara 9* is explicitly commemorated. It occurs to her to rise up against the Muslim conquerors one last time. What makes him may have moved him, the wording has been preserved. His thoughts made use of the animal parable, as was Hunnic heritage. *Nëzak's* fate, however, was that he misjudged the Arabs. His comparison with dogs shows how little this man was able to recognise what lay behind the fanatical bravery of the Muslims. A second fate manifested itself in the fact that he confronted a man who believed in harmlessness.

<sup>°</sup> G. Glaesser in: *East and West S* ( 957). +99-

<sup>°^</sup> R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites* i9 f. ; 3o l.

could compete with this Hun in terms of strength, vigour and cunning.

Before Nezak began his final battle, he visited the flattened and devastated Naubehär in Balch. He prayed at the place where his ancestors might have prayed and received a blessing for his endeavour. Then the battle began in the mountainous terrain of Chulm. Nézak fought with fierce valour, but he was no match for Kutaiba. Betrayal thinned the ranks, and in the end Nézak had to surrender to his superior opponent. Kutaiba had secured his life. But in breach of his promise, he had this restless and unreliable man crucified.

Nezak's example shows that Hephthalites knew how to fight and die, and this observation is confirmed wherever you look. No one shied away from duels, in battle and at court, if it was for personal conflict. The novel Bahräm Üöbin's (*Dinawari* 100, 6f. Guirgass)<sup>o1</sup> describes how this took place, taking all forms into account. The ceremonial of a knightly conflict unfolds, and courtly custom shines all the more brightly as it has to prove itself in the face of death. The fighter renounces blood vengeance, he lets his opponent take the kick, he bites back the pain. The decision is on a knife's edge. Bahräm draws his bow as only he can. His opponent falls, and the Chäqän of the Hephthalites, at whose court the battle took place and whose brother has succumbed, recognises the decision. One of Pangikant's wall paintings depicts the duel between knights armed with bows<sup>oä</sup>.

Bahräm was one of the three men who famously shot arrows. He was also assigned a book on marksmanship<sup>o-</sup>. The king of Sfimän also boasted to Kutaiba's envoys of his skill as an archer. Buchärä had 623 -62d a staircase of 2000 excellent archers. But in the end, one has the impression that the aristocratic fighter increasingly dispensed with the long-range weapon. He preferred to succumb to the arrows of the commoners rather than use them. What remains unforgettable is how an army consisting of kings' sons and lords rushed to relieve the besieged Samarkand. How, after having been

<sup>o1</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, *An Asian State* i, z i9.

<sup>o2</sup> **Ziwopisß drewnego Pjand Zikenta Taf. XXXV.**

<sup>o3</sup> **Fihrist** 3 ii, z r Flügel ; Th. Nöldeke, übers. 27. **Note i.**

had fallen into an ambush, no one thought of fleeing. Almost everyone falls in battle, brave to the last, and this death is crowned by a gruesome triumph. The Muslim victors have hung the severed heads of the dead around their necks, labelled them with names and brought them back to the camp as booty.

It is evident everywhere that these people had an attitude. Hostages of the previous generation preferred death to humiliation; they knew how to take revenge on the culprit beforehand. Large sections of the people emigrated in the face of Arab rapacity and oppression and tried to find a new home.

## 4

The landscape on both sides of the Oxos encompassed very different forms of life. There were the nomads, who confined themselves to the steppe and desert and only occasionally raided the fertile land. Next to them stood a rural and urban world that was organised in many different ways. Above the peasant serfs and villeins rose a class of noble landowners who led, or at least sought to lead, a lordly life. The country's defence force was based on them and their retinue. Finally, we must remember the cities, some of which were built on high ground. Like the Nile Valley and Mesopotamia, the area around Oxos and Laxartes has been a centre of urban culture since ancient times<sup>1</sup>.

Zarathustra's Gäßä's know the predatory nomads<sup>o</sup> and address their preaching to the great and small nobility<sup>o</sup>. The prophet himself belonged to the second, and with the first he found support and ultimately a family connection. The chariot still seems to have been used alongside the horse on horseback. The Gäßä's speak only of cattle breeders, and yet we know that there was developed agriculture. The Soviet excavations in Chwärezm have confirmed this for the neighbouring area. The Gäßä's also say nothing about the cities, and again there can be no doubt about their existence in Zarathustra's time -.

<sup>1</sup> F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens* i, 3s; now V. M. Masson in : *Westnik drevnej istorii z/gjy*, 381.

<sup>o</sup> F. Altheim, *Literature and Society* a, iso f.

<sup>o</sup> F. Altheim, a. O., z. - 38\*.

\* F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens* i, i66 f. ; *Literatur und Gesellschaft* z, i3 f.

Alexander the Great's conquest shed new light on these lands. Almost two centuries have passed, but the organisation of the country still exists. The nomads are among Alexander's most dangerous opponents. The large and small landed aristocracy is not inclined either,

to submit. His  $\text{-#x}^v$  and  $\text{çrmpö-rri}$  are still the leading class. Some of them own castles; they live off the labour of their

Farmers who live in walled villages. The chariot cavalry has disappeared. The army is divided into squadrons of nobles, with armoured men and horses, and mounted archers recruited from the peasantry. Farming is the main focus, with cattle breeding taking a back seat. The urban system is well developed. This applies to the satrapies of Bactria and Areia, but also to the Sogdians; no fewer than seven cities surrounded the edge of the steppe with walls as a defence against the nomads.

Among the Hephthalites, the picture has shifted a little, but the basic forms of social and economic life have remained. The nomads were discussed, as were the aristocratic classes in terms of their gradation and origin, their defence and their way of life. Sogdia was still a prosperous and well-watered land. Hsüan-tsang praises the almond, <sup>peach</sup> and plum trees, the plantations of wine, pomegranates, rice and wheat. Of course, we learn nothing about the situation of the farmers and small people, but there are reports of carpet weavers in Bukhara's neighbourhood. At least we hear something about the towns. Maniak, the envoy of the Western Turkish Khaqän in Byzantium, explicitly refers to the Hephthalites as  $\text{60-rvxof}$ .

Balch, once a stronghold of Zarathustrism, now has its mighty Stfipa, and the Barmakids rule over this Buddhist sanctuary. However, Zarathustrism has survived or has regained a foothold: the festival of Mihrayän is celebrated with many precious gifts. Balch falls into Muslim hands, revolts and is subjugated again. In the end, it was devastated by the acts of war and payments ( $\text{652 } 53^* \text{ } \text{f01 } 4^\circ \text{ } \text{i3t3}$  or  $\text{zoo000}$  dirhem) to such an extent

<sup>^</sup> F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens* i, i66f.

- <sup>v</sup>gl. still Chavannes i,95 ; R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* 64.
- Menander in: *Excerpta de legat.* q5z, q de Boor.



that the Muslim *"ini/* moved its seat to Barfikän (Tabari, ann. z, **1206**, i).

We learn a little more about the cities of the Transoxanian land. Quite a number are mentioned: in addition to the two main cities of Bukhaera and Samarkand, Nümuskaf and Wardän, **Kiss** and Nachéab, Öfimän, Aäs and others were the targets of Muslim conquests. Of course, most of this remains a shadow. This even applies to Samarkand, which was one of the oldest foundations. When the bitter end came and the conqueror took possession for good, there was a mighty wall that had to be breached with ballistae. The city prince bore the Soghdian title of 6firak and, like the inhabitants, was of the Zarathustrian faith. The Muslims were struck by the number of fire houses and the multitude as well as the rich jewellery of the images of the gods, and they did not harm him.

While Samarkand resisted to the last, Bukhara knew how to submit in time. The city did not exist as such at the time of the Hephthalite Empire. It was founded in 63s or 63s. A western Turkish **prince** brought together the Soghdian inhabitants of the neighbourhood and built the city. As a result, it had a Turkish name: huqeroq, derived from hoga "bull"; he translated an Avestan gäbe *yim su ybä. éayanom* (Vend. i, 4; cf. Yast io, ii) into the language of the new lords. The city prince bore the Turkish title *tarh.rin*, but next to it on the coins is huzdr suQ mdvi <sup>10</sup>. This is reminiscent of the legendary dynasty of the Caevyeans. The Arabic tradition also mentions *Bujärä-judäh*, belonging to soghd. *tut's*.

Bukhara's predecessor was Paikand, and there, before the successor was founded, Abriii had established his regiment, which was based on the lower classes and forced the *déhkän* and the rich to temporarily leave the city <sup>11</sup>. When Kutaiba moved in, Paikand was the "city of merchants". It had a wall, and the conqueror did not have an easy game here either. Paikand, built on the edge of the desert

n On the following Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike z52 f., especially z6z f.

© Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. 366 f. v. R. N. Frye in: Harvard Journ. Asiat. stud. \*9

(+95)-\*° -

<sup>10</sup> Top i, pulled f.

<sup>11</sup> **R.N. Frye, The History of Bukhara**7 line g f. "

Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. z5y f.

was the starting point of the trade route to the eastern part of Chwàrezm with Kã#, on the right bank of the lower Oxos. The source of wealth was the caravan trade, for which Paikand was the transshipment centre. These caravans, numbering up to 400 traders and accompanied by armed crews<sup>10</sup>, brought Chinese silk in standardised bales to the west, including to the European Huns. Great wealth was amassed in this city. A single merchant owned a stock of 5000 silk bales, the value of which was estimated at 1 000 000 dirhams (600 000 gold francs). No wonder that here too the rich jewellery of the images of the gods stung the Muslim's eyes. 150000 dirhem mi ġãJ (or only 30000), i.e. 150 000 (or 43000) gold francs, were obtained from the slag of the melted gold and silver.

Varaxšãh was also a predecessor of Bukharã. Naršahi<sup>10</sup> reports in his chronicle that this city (which is also called Raġfundún in some manuscripts) was just as large as its successor, but a thousand years older. He describes its walls and its royal palace, the excellent irrigation of the surrounding area. The palace, whose splendour was proverbial, was rebuilt again in Islamic times after being destroyed and rebuilt several times. Soviet excavations have uncovered a complex from the 6th-2nd century and an associated city, the layers of which date from the beginning of our era to the 10th or 11th century<sup>11</sup>.

Once again, Hsüan-tsang provides the supplement to Chinese news in general<sup>16</sup>. He describes the wealth and beauty of the Soghdian cities, their palatial houses with halls and courtyards, the jewellery of the statues. And drums, flutes and stringed instruments resounded in the squares<sup>1a</sup> - the oblivious enjoyment of a \Welt at whose door the conqueror was already waiting. The results of the Soviet excavations in Panġikant have been added. So far, a large square has been uncovered in the north-east of the city, surrounded by public buildings. These include two temples from pre-Islamic times, as well as the palace of the lord of the city and his family, all built in brick.

<sup>10</sup> In addition Chàvannes i, - 37

<sup>10</sup> R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara* i 2 ; cf. 8 ; g ; i i. ^ G.

Glaesser in: *East and West* 8 ( i gs ), 93

<sup>10</sup> G. Glaesser in: *East and West* S I- 9sbl. \*99-

<sup>10</sup> Chavannes i, - 34-s

Elsewhere, private houses have been uncovered that contained brick staircases with sloping vaulted ceilings, decorated with niches and halls. Everywhere the walls were painted with depictions of religious and secular content, and it is these paintings that still have a strong and immediate appeal today".

In addition to the above, the payments imposed on them by the Arabs testify to the economic power of the cities. Some of what has emerged from working through the sources is summarised below. It is all the more urgent to visualise these figures as the last treatment of the question only provides one indication '.

Balch: It had to pay 63z-653 400 000 Dirhem (Tabari, ann. i, zgo3, 3 f.) ; Bñtläduri 408, i f. calls 4 000 or 60000 Dirhem.

Herät, Pusang and Bä 6yês paid to Baläduři 4 5. U Ĩ. z 000000 Dirhem. At the conquest of Bä fiyês dead, each man of the army received 800 dirhem, according to Tabari, ann. z, I Z44. 8 f.

Paikand: The value of the molten gold and silver that you get from The amount taken from the idols was 5 000 or 30000 Dirhem *mitpäl*, according to Tabari z, i i89, 16 f. °. The value of a single idol made of silver was 4000 dirhem °.

Buchärä: InJ ahre 624 00000 Dirhem, after Baläduri no, mof. ; cf. al-Ya'kfibi, *èi/öéo* 1-huldäii 293, 2 f. de Goeje. Later it had to pay 200 000 Dirhem annually to the caliph, 10 000 to the dair Choräsän's -.

Samarkand: InJ year 62d, 600 000 dirhams were imposed on it, according to Baläduri 411, 15 In the year 2iI-2zz, the gold and silver jewellery of the idols was used to make 5 000 dirhams mi l df, Tabari, ann. z, Z246, tof. zufoJge. According to the same author (2, Z245, 8 f.), z 200000 dirhams were due each year; likewise Baläduri4•\*. -z f., who adds a one-off payment of 600 000 (a. 0.5 ). The second figure perhaps stems from a confusion with the payment of the year 6 4

" G. Glaesser, a. 0. zog J. ; cf. 2iwopisö drewnego Pjand Zikenta Taf. I -I V.

' B. Spuler, Iran in Early Islamic Times j7 6. This isolated statement is all the more strange as Spuler constantly cites the 9 sources we use.

° it. N. Frye, The History of Bukhara 45.

° R. N. Frye, op. O. i 6.

' R. N. Fr ye, a. 3 : -J3

The linguistic issues largely coincide with those of literature. As they are complex, they require further elaboration. What did the Hephthalites encounter in the East Iranian regions, what did they themselves bring with them, and how did the components of different origins come together?

That the language of Zarathustra somehow belonged to eastern Iran is probably generally recognised. Where it was spoken in particular is much more difficult to determine. Bactria, the Sogdians, Chwärezm **and finally** Sistän have been suggested in succession, without any firm evidence being found<sup>1</sup>. That the language of the Gäßä's was a colloquial language or grew out of such a language has little chance of convincing a person of understanding. If there are touches with Soghdian or with the later Chwärezmish of the 3rd-4th century, if, on the other hand, Vedic expressions are repeatedly echoed, further developed or bent, then it should be undisputed that a poetic and artificial language is present. This means that the Gaulish language can no more find its place on the dialect map of Ostiran than the Vedic language on an Indian one or the Homeric language on a Greek one. The language of the younger Avesta is already assigned to certain literary genres in such a way that it was probably only used in **books** and in the cult, but never in living dialogue. It is significant enough that when Avestan words are encountered in the Asoka epigraphs to be mentioned immediately, they were always those of religious speech, never those of practical use.

As everywhere in the Achaemenid Empire, Aramaic became the language of administration in eastern Iran. The inscriptions of Taxila°, Pul-i Daruntah° and Kandahär' show the continued existence of this administrative language under the early Maurya. ¶It is not yet possible to say how long it was retained. Soghdian coins bear Aramaic <sup>legends</sup><sup>5</sup> until well into the imperial period, and the ideograms

<sup>1</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache i, 32; above i, 4 i o .Anm. i .

° Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum g f.

" V/. B. Henningin: BSOS. ' 3 .

• Above I, 937\*- ; in this volume i 67 f; Schlumberger-Robert-Dupont-Sommer-Benveniste in: Journ. asiat. i g 5 8 , z f. ; Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache z , z i f.

^ Altheim-Stiehl, op. cit. O. . 54 \*

of the Soghdian literary language follow. Iranian languages were reproduced in Aramaic script. Between 3r2 and 3O6/JO5 aeSChah did this for the first time with the Persian language. The ascendancy goes higher. This is the most recent drawing of Zarathustra's legacy; it may already date from the end of the 6th century.

The aforementioned inscriptions from Taxila and Kandahär contain a number of Avestan words in addition to a few Old Persian words. They are not written without endings or with the pronunciation of the Aramaic emphatic, like the Old Persian words of the Aramaic papyri and parchments. Rather, they bear case and personal endings in the Iranian manner, an unmistakable sign that the Iranian East had preceded the West with the transcription of related Iranian texts into Aramaic alphabet. In addition, the inscription from Kan- dahär brought something new in that it contains a Greek text before the Aramaic text. Alongside the administrative language of the Achaimenids was that of the western conquerors. It was retained in Arachosia under Asoka in the same way as Aramaic.

The coins of the Greek-Bactrian kings show only Greek legends. The Kösän only followed them in this under Vima Kad- phises. Since Kaniska, the Iranian inscription in Greek characters has taken its place. Similarly, the Greek gods and their names are replaced by the local ones, but again in Greek script. The excavations at Surx Kotal in eastern Bactria have provided further information. The most important and most extensive one is still unpublished. But another one shows in its first line an Avestan octosyllable; in the second the same Sakian dialect used by the Kiiéän inscriptions; in the third two Greek words. Everything is written in Greek characters -.

This inscription confirms the deep cut that the Greeks' lordship for eastern Iran. Not only is the Saka dialect of the No- mad conquerors of i29/128° recorded in Greek, but the Greek vowel alphabet is also used in order to make use of its

• Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. i, zof. ; above i. 94

7 Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum i9 f. ; Die aramäische Sprache i, 86 ;

^ Altheim-Stiehl, am zuletzt gen. O. i. °3 ; I Oj f.

° Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra (ig58) zg f.

1° F. Altheim, Weltgeschichte Asiens 2, i o3.

to rewrite the sacred writings of the Zarathustrians<sup>11</sup>. Finally, the Greek language is still used on this inscription from the 2nd century AD, but in third place compared to the indigenous language moved. The Aramaic script, in which the Avestan texts were originally recorded, has also survived. Even before the end of the 2nd century<sup>11</sup> it entered into a unique connection with the Greek script. The Avestan vowel alphabet, in which the Zarathustrian writings are presented to us, unites the Aramaic consonant script with the principle of Greek vowel reproduction.

The ancient Soghdian letters from the beginning of the 4th century AD are written entirely in Aramaic. The later Soghdian texts use a more recent variant. On the other hand

the Greek alphabet remains common for recording the Saki within the Buddhist translation literature<sup>10</sup>. In Eastern Iran, the Achaemenid and Alexander legacies are still opposed to each other. In terms of the big picture, the Oxos forms the border for both systems. The countries in the north fall under the Aramaic alphabet, those in the South of the Greek cursive. In the sixties of the 4th century, the Hephthalites conquered eastern Iran, both the area between Laxartes and Oxos and the Siids: Tocharistän, Zabulistän and Käbuistän. The invaders did not bring any writing with them. It was obvious that north of the Oxos the Aramaic, south of the Oxos the Greek cognates. In fact, both are found on the Hephthalite coins<sup>1</sup>.

There are no coins of the Arab governors from the area north of the Oxos from the Umayyad period. The local coins bear Soghdian legends. But from Rabi' b. Ziyäd and 'Abdullah b. Häzim, at least in the years Ltg h . . , were located south of the Oxos Coins minted with legends in Hephthalite script<sup>\*</sup>.

The Turkish language of the Hephthalites is just barely comprehensible (above \*, 32f. : 3 f. ; 4\* ). A few names and titles: that is all. Of the titles, qayaii, Bad and Uf as well as fägiii are of Iranian origin, but phonetically transformed in Turkish. This shows that Iranisation was of

<sup>11</sup> On the concept of ge3-' : rypn\$ fj cf. Altheim-Stiehl, *Philologia sacra* g f. "- F. Altheim, *Literatur und Gesellschaft* z, ige f.

<sup>10</sup> O. Hansen in F. Altheim, *Aus Spätantike und Christentum* 85 f.

<sup>\*</sup> Last O. Hansen, a. 0. 7

<sup>\*</sup> J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sasanian Coins LXV* I. j '7

in progress right from the start. It can be explained when one considers that the ruling tribe, the Hephthalites, had already overlaid the Sakish Chionites (Jyaotia-) at Lake Balkash, even before the invasion of eastern Iran. And that further south they entered a land in which Iranian language and culture had been rooted since time immemorial. Of course, this fate only affected those who settled down. Tribes that retained the nomadic way of life, such as the Avars, Proto-Bulgarians and Chazars, have, according to their later legacy, preserved the Turkic language and folk tiim in the Hephthalite confederation.

It can be said that the Oxos formed a border. South of the river people had remained predominantly Buddhist, but in the north of the river Zarathustrism had regained ground. If the Barmakids in Balch professed the doctrine of the Enlightened One, the lords of Bukhaera and Samarkand, of Paikand, Pan ikant and Sümän adhered to Zara- thustra. A corresponding division had become apparent in the scriptures, and now it also emerged in the language. The Hephthalites south of the Oxos may have learnt Sakish and studied a little Middle Persian. V'as to the north of him fell prey to Soghdian. The complete and early loss of the Turkish mother tongue had the effect that in the end it was no longer possible to distinguish between Hephthalites and Soghdians.

A word about the literature. You shouldn't expect anything Turkish. The marked over-foreignisation makes it necessary to set the accents differently. One has to ask what has been adopted and what has not. Something like a continuation of the original Turkish character could be observed in the selection and decision.

If Tar{;ün had the hero Rustam in his mouth, then he lived in the legend. The episode reported by Tabari takes place in the year Death. It is preceded by the Soghdian tale of Rustam in a manuscript by the The legend of Rustam became known in Mecca in the early days of Muhammad in the 2nd century. Its narrator referred to old books and thus to written tradition. The fact that Eastern Iran was the home of this legend is confirmed by the following considerations.

Rustam's **homeland** is Sistan. His son Sohräb and bore a Turkish title as his name (Ibn Hurdädbeh 4-. z de Goeje; Tabari, ann. 2, \*566. ZZ: \*569, lz). Turkic blood possibly flowed in the veins of the family: at least as a legendary figure, Rustam must have been created where Turks and

Iranians sat next to each other. This suggests that Rustam was not only at home in Sistān for the legend, but that his descent was invented there or in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the fact that both names Sohrāb were already used by members of the Persian nobility in the 6th century and Rustam at the beginning of the 2nd century suggests that the legend was formed when Hephthalites or Western Turks were living in Eastern Iran. When a Sohrāb<sup>73</sup> took over the government of 𐎧𐎡𐎴𐎠𐎫, he had been born about forty years earlier. He had already received his name before the Western Turks invaded Eastern Iran. At that time, the legend of Rustam and Sohrāb was already well known, and it is true that his predecessor Kabūs b. Mundir (56g-5 3) also bears a name of the Iranian heroic legend<sup>1°</sup>. This proves that that Turkish blood was in reality Hephthalite. And Hephthalites would have given their cousins and descendants, the European Huns, the legend of Rustam and Sohrāb. They then passed it on to the Ostrogoths, for whom the battle between father and son was modelled on that of Hildebrand and Hadubrand, or more precisely, on that of their Ostrogothic predecessors.

Again, it is in the realm of legend and legendary history that the king of the city of Šūmān boasts to Kutaiba's emissaries that he is the best archer. In the novel

Bahrām Čōbin's, after the middle of the 2nd century, encounters the story of the three best arrow shooters, beginning in legendary prehistoric times and ending with the pagan of this novel". Here the king wishes to join them.

He lines up with these arrowmen. The king of Šūmān proclaims his glory before he meets his bitter end, and in this he resembles Virgil's Dido (Aen. 4, 655f.). The Carthaginian queen, "in the full sense of her own dignity", gives herself the sJogiøm, through which she is "elevated to the majesty of the greats of Roman antiquity"<sup>®</sup>. Both speakers choose the first person instead of the usual third person. The epitaph of Serapitis, the bilingual of Mc 𐎧𐎡't'a<sup>1°</sup>, is of a similar nature. While the Greek version of

<sup>18</sup> **abari**, ann. i, 1038, 2; Th. Nöldeke, Übers. 3 6 note i.

<sup>19</sup> abafīl, ann. I, 1038, 6f.; Th. Nöldeke, Übers.-3 5 Note a.

<sup>20</sup> Th. Nöldeke, transl. Ayr f.

<sup>21</sup> E. Fraenkel, in: Das Problem des Klassischen in der Antike 6A, F. Altheim, Röm. Religionsgesch. z 1 953). °34

<sup>22</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, St:pplementum Aramaicum ya f.; Die aramäische Sprache i, a i f.; top i. -47



Mchet'a speaks in the third person, the Aramaic again uses the first - and indeed consistently-<sup>0</sup>. Here, too, the deceased holds the s/ogiotn for herself. Significantly, 'oA "I am" is prefixed and taken up at the end with *m'yty'n* "I have died" <sup>o</sup>. The king of Öümän also begins with such and repeats it in the course of his speech. We are therefore looking at the sacral speech type *éy'i' tlpí*, which originated in Semitic literature and was later adopted by the Iranian, Greek and Latin aretalogies<sup>oo</sup>.

The members of the Iberian house to which Serapitis belonged bear Iranian and, therefore, Alanian names<sup>oo</sup>. But in Mchet'a, in addition to the Bilinguis and other inscriptions, the gem with the Hun name 'A':rrrrnvpoiixi was also found (above i, gf.; 242). <sup>o\*</sup> One is there not only in Alanian territory, but also in that of their neighbours, the Caucasian Huns. The speech of the king of Sümän also leads into an Iranian-Hun border area, only this time it is the Soghdian-Hittite one. Contact between the two peoples led to the use of the same type of speech, the same literary form, in both the West and the East.

Lamentation for the dead, which occurs both with Serapitis in Mec{iet'a and with the king of Siimän, was expressed by the European Huns in the Attila song (above i, z4of.). Again (indenden sich bei den Hephthaliten Entsprechungen. There is the wall painting from Pan ikant (fig. I), which shows the king or hero being laid in state and mourned by men and women<sup>o6</sup>. One of the mourners is scratching his cheek bloody with a knife, <sup>o</sup>- as reported by Attila's Huns. The lamentation over the son of the Chionite king who fell before Amida in 359 should also be remembered.

Grumbates (above i. -46 f.). Again, it is men and women who

<sup>20</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. I, 6f, above p. 79 \*<sup>21</sup>

Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. I,47. above p. i y9 f. <sup>22</sup>

Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. i, 9; above i, -s-

<sup>23</sup> Above i,•47 and note So.

<sup>24</sup> The gem is depicted in the book published by the Graz Academy of Sciences.

**Mzcheta I (19§8), -9 and Fig. 4: Pl. XLV I.** The name is 'A':rrr'nJpoiixi\$, not - Aow'xpoiixi5. **We would like to take this opportunity to thank Academician A. Schanidze for presenting us with this powerful work.**

<sup>25</sup> Ziwopisö drewnego Pjand **Zikenta Pl. XIX-XXIII** ; also **G. Glaesser in : East and West 8 ( 957). 95: °o7: °o9**

<sup>o^</sup> **Ziwopisö drewnego Pjand Zikenta Taf. XXII.**

lament for the fallen<sup>o</sup>. There are also connections to Bilinguis of Mchet 'a. Above all in the fact that in both cases it is a question of those who have passed away early and that this contemplation is put into a female mouth (above i, ed2). The last member of this group are the songs known as *Arn-i Si yä 'u5*, in which the magi of Bukhara sang of the death of this hero. The fact that revenge was demanded for his death is implicit in the name of these songs, and this possibility is also echoed in the Attila song. There it is said that the ruler's death was painless and that revenge should therefore be sought. The renunciation of revenge is something new, the significance of which was previously recognised (above Z, 246). But this renunciation presupposes that in older times revenge for the fallen was an integral part of the lamentation for the dead.

The choice of religion is of historical significance for every people, especially an Asian one. This also applies to the Hephthalites, the Huns in general. The position they occupied - at a crossroads of the great trade routes, the most diverse ways of life and on the border of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages - has meant that the Hephthalites, together with their neighbours and successors, have become of unique importance for the history of the mission. Previously unseen, let alone understood, this observation will be presented in detail in the third volume.

<sup>o</sup> Expressions such as that the **heart tears** (*we A viriiJur*) or that the healed wound tears open [*yälmis hast y yactadi*], occur in Alp Är Tonga's lament:  
C. Brockelmann in: Hirth Anniversary Vol. q f..

# AN HANG



# NA CHTRÄG E

## TO THE FIRST VOLUME

P. i i Arim. 23. The inscription is illustrated in Mzcheta ( i 958) I Tal. LXI ; details can be found on p. § \* f. The publication by G. Crcrteli is imminent.

p. i 2 l. Pritsali's listings were last criticised by J. Benzing in : ZDMG i o8 ( i 958), 4\*7.

S. 47- About Yiltägin : Chavannes i , ipß.

P. 53- Barhebraeus, h. eccl.3- 83, z ldOt Ixav..6 T. zti go into exile to the Greeks instead of to the Hephthalites. But instead of y'in'iy, without Zwicfel, the correct (§ ydridy is to be used; cf. 3, i 25, i z ; i p.

p. 58 f. On the name of the Alans vg1. H. \V. Bailey in : Trans. Philol. Soc. i g i g , g2 f.

p. 6j. On the name of the Tocharians most recently J3uddah I-'rakash in : Central Asiatic Journal3. 220 f. and B. Ph. Lozinski, The Original Homeland of the Parthians (i959) z9. Unfortunately, the question is still unresolved. Lozinski refers to osset. foe "war" and tower "warrior". W. Miller, Osset.-russ.-deutsches Wörterbuch3 (ig3 ), I z i lists foz "war", *loxän* "fight" and toz'iiiiti "kämpfen", but not *lobar*. In response to my question, G. Vernadsky under the i a . 5g: "Now, to answer your question about Alanic *loxac*, warrior: G. Vernadsky and Dzambulat Dzanty, The Ossetian Tale of Iry Dada and Mstislav, Journal of American Folklore, i g 5 6 , pp.

• -\*-°3s. Verse z8 : *Mstislav toxar aTsar læg* (p. z33). Engl. transl. Mstislav, a brave warrior (p. 2z6). I must say, howcwer, that recently both Henning, BSOAS z i ( 95 ).

PP 3 5 -3 I8, and Abaev, Izvestia Akad. Nauk, Otdel. litre. i iazyka, XVII, No. i 1\*95 ì .PP 7° 74. violently attacked the 'Iry Dada' claiming that it has been invented by the late Dz. Dzanty. Henning's and Abaev's arguments are not convincing, in my opinion. However, if we disregard the 'Iry Dada', the existence of the word *lobar*,

warrior, in Alanic is not only possible, but I would say, certain. Tom, war, survived in Ossetic, while the suffix -sr is not used in modern Ossetic, it still occurs in Modern Persian. The only Mod. Persian grammar I have at hand right now is V. S. Rastorgueva, *Kratkii ocherk grammatiki Persidskogo iazyka* = supplement to B. V. Miller, *Persidsko-Russkü* slowari. (MoscOw, +9531 -ar is mentioned there on p. 66s " Cf. G. Vernadsky in: Amer. Slavic and East European Review i g 5 9 , 28 i f.

p. 96. *barsälyä*, Bep§Uhlñ and Bnp'rfjh' -J Marquart in: Izv. Russkogo .Archeol.

**Inst.** Konstant. s (•)1. •7 **with** the Hunnic *Zónoi* in Menander, Exe. de legat.

443. 9 de B oor. He writes (Bupa{,óñoiç, undoubtedly incorrectly, since the

alHürkic plural ant -I must be held. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* z°, 9 points out that *zónoi* already occur in Ptolem., geogr. 3, §, 2z. -

àezerdÿe, also Barhebraeus, *Chronic. Syriac* 9b, i Bedjan.

On the alliance of the Chazars with Herakleios: Barhebraeus, *Chronic. Syriac*. 96, i f. Bedjan. - On the situation of Etelkü, see most recently E. Moór in : *Acta ling. Hung.* 6 (^95 ). z86 ( = - *Tengic-Etel-büzü* "Sea-Don Intermediate Land").

S. I i 2. about climate history and its significance for nomadic society.

history vg1. E. Moór, a. 0. zg5 f. \Vichtig p.•97: Steppe turns into semi-desert,

if the precipitation remains below 280 mm; below 200 mm it turns into a real desert.

I 13\*. On the significance of natural disasters for the late antique economy, see G. Schrot in: *Acta antiqua Hung.* z (+959)- ° 3-

S. \*3' Kudfima z60, i z de Goeje mentioned in Chusrö's camp I. Anōšarvān "Huts of hen and wood" : /t 1-aAiuā i allatī itu idat tn\*ti al-liašiši wa-'aidāni s-sağaz. From the Neue Zürcher Zeitung of - - 3 5s. Fernausgabe p. 3 is quoted after an article "Desert journey to Aqaba": " In winter the high plateau is bitterly cold. An icy wind whistles ... The Bedouins ... layer grass and undergrowth around their hard houses to keep the wind out."

G. Ryckmans writes to us under the - 3- \*- s : "À propos de *ssfn*, je ne vois pas bien, comment l'arabe §5 pourrait être un nom d'emprunt araméen. L'araméen ne connaît pas le , et l'arabe devrait être qš. De plus, dšd signifie 'gravier' (la poussière de pierres se répandant dans la plaine à la suite des pluies, et qui peut former de larges étendues à surface unie). The 'sable' is not included; 'sable and pierraille', does it correspond to this term? Enfin *al-Wra* is à l'araméen 5iz d ( 'rl, de Jr, com me "r'd de *are*) . Mais je ne vois pas la trace du *d* dans *irtā* araméen ?"

On the other hand, it should be remembered that the Aramaic and have coincided. So we cannot say that it does not know fi. On the contrary, it differentiated the sound that was created by the collapse, which we write by chance. West Syriac spoke , and East Syriac *h*. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergl. gram. der semit. Sprachen* i (1908), °5 † 4s ref. South Aramaic could well be an East Syriac loanword. - To Jewish-aram. -šā a "sand, gravel" vgl.

G. H. Dalman, *Aram. neuhebr. dictionary* (1892) - 5° a ; but I. Levy, *Dictionary of Talmudim and Midrashim* z (i gza), to i f. " gravel, small stone". - Finally, as far as *êrtā* from 'r is concerned, the etymology is probably certain; as far as we know, it has never been disputed: G. Hoffmann in: *ZDMG*. 3\*, 7s3 note 3: C. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* i, zAž § 8g i §, which can be added to our information above i, i 3o note3j . may comply.

S. \*33 On 2z. 2. šg between Kairawān and Enfidaville we heard the greeting from the Bedouin: *yalsyā*, ye yd òurgiòe.

S. i 4a. In the Aramaic Ahikar-Roman (A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*, 1923, z i g), z08 contains the saying: "Do not show to an Arab (ròy) the sea or to a Sidonian the desert". Here 'rby can already be used for the Bedouin.

S. \*45 \*In Syriac, *arbāye* and *layyāy ê* are separated: Barhebraeus, *Chronic. Syriac.* IOI, 7 : *III-saā'dar pārsā yê gāš òšā* (a scout) *arbāyā d-negges I- ay yāye*. Or gg, i g: Abū Bakr sends an army leader *I-arabiā* (to the province of the name) fitkdef *layyāye krest yānê*. Or i oo, th: 'Umar sent a raiding party (geisā) *I-acbāye* and conquered Bostra, i.e. against residents and not nomads. But it is g6, z0: *arbāyê ,ay yāyê* and for,9 in the Greek way: *b-lesšātīā sun ayā* "in Saracenic language".

S. 7-3 According to popular legend, the *kāhina* is located in the Roman amphitheatre of el-Item against the Arab conquerors (Les guides bleus: Algérie, Tunisie, i g55, 6A5 f.). Cf. Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique Byzantine* 2 (i 8g6), s s

P. 2I I. To be added syr. Adgdii Barhebraeus, *Chronic. Syriac.* g6, i.

S. °\*3 0. I. Smirnova in: *Trudy Tadžikskoj archeolog. ekspediz*Ū3 I +958), zzo no. 8g-9a coins with fzytnn MLff' ,thus *tarzult*. - On the connection between seer and Schמיד should be reminded of the "mosquée des sabres" in Kairawān. Built shortly before 1860, it contained the tomb of a marabút who was also a sclimied, like those in the Heiligtuo

sabres and other metal implements (1.es guides bleus: Algérie, Tunisie 6a0J . When we arrived in ICairawān at • s , we were refused entry. Everything had been cleared away and the mosque had been converted into a madrasa. Locals said that Marabú was a prophet whose predictions had all been fulfilled. A recording of the ban in : E. Stephens-S. Charléty, En Tunisie (i 95 i) N-- -3

P. 2zo. Before the battle, Tulu qa yan says: "il fit battre les tambours et sonner les cornes" (Chavannes i, 59-)

P. 2 23 f. The breeding storks in Aquileia aroused the interest of the ornithologist E. Schüz in Stuttgart. Under 23. 9- s9 he remarks briefly: "Storks did indeed occur in Italy in ancient times, but the question is precisely this irsi/ south tr'2ris. Storks are upwind sailors over warm ground and avoid migration over the high seas, which is why the migration leads eastwards around the Mediterranean and a very small population of western storks takes the Strait of Gibraltar; it is apparently 'just barely' managed, while the route from Sicily to Africa is too great an obstacle and the effect to be eliminated is too significant for a stork population to ever have been able to survive in (lower) Italy (excluding, of course, the very old times when there was a land bridge). Northern Italian storks can, of course, migrate across the French Mediterranean coast, as the Bessaronic storks do in order to avoid the open Black Sea. - It would now be very important to know more about the former southern limit of stork breeding, and I am interested in the sources. There are already some works in the literature that show that Virgil, Ovid, J uvenal, Horace, Dante, etc., the ancient writers, knew storks very well, but almost always without specifying the location; Geyr von Schweppenburg in OrnMber. 939

p. 9 also cites Aquileia and relies on Otto Keller, which is not enough for me. - I specialise in stork problems of various kinds and intend to tackle the question raised in the near future." In individual cases, young storks released in Rositten have arrived in the immediate neighbourhood of Aquileia; E. Schüz in: Die Vogelwarte **z/IQ49**, 63 f.

S. z2g f. According to Bèrfinĭ, Chronol. i z, z Sachau, Jafoltlines (plural ġeġn "iis) of the Kināna had a name that meant: *al-bahr al-ġazġr* "the surging sea". Cf. on zA3 f. For further information, see G. Vernadsky, The Mongols and Russia ( 953) 93 \*-

S. z3of. On the Aryan language remains in the Near East: M. Mayr hoter in : The Language 5 (+959). 77- Against the immigration of I ndians from South Ru Oland W. Schmid in: IF. 6a (+959) - \*9\*

-43 The Chinese emperor says: "mon autorité gouverne les Q, quatre mer s" (Chava ones z, Hz f.) .

S. 47 and z65 f. On the bilġnguis of Mc et'a cf. also Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache i. Log. aġ ġ. ; East and West to (ig5g), zoof. G. Levi Della Vida writes us under the zy° 59: "Ero persuaso che l'iscrizione di Mchet'a fosse ideografica fin da quando vidi l'articolo di Tseretheli in America, nel igā5 ; ma la Sua argumentazione in Suppl. Aramaic 2a-85 e ora in: The Aramaic Language aġ-to mi ha persuaso del contrario. La prova decisiva è data dalla brillante scoperta che le linee y-i i sono in versi eptasillabi. Q,uesto non è l'esenipio più antico di un'is- crizione funeraria aramaica metrica: tale è anche la famosa Stele di Carpentras (CIS II th, v. Rosenthal, Die aramaistische Forschung z6), dall'Egitto, anch'essa di una donna e anch'essa in versi eptasillabi (ricordo che Torrey ha cercato di dimostrare, retrovertendo il Pater Noster in aramaico, che anch'esso è metrico, ma per il momento non ricordo dove il suo lavoro sia pubblicato). Credo tuttavia che i versi vadano divisi diversamente: *bl @lyk* (nōġ in principio di iscrizioni funerarie e Irequente in palmireno; non vedo la necessità di cambiare -ā in -it: l'esclamazione è rivolta al lettore, come in

altre iscrizioni funerarie semitiche, e anche, se ricordo bene, classiche) va considerata come un'esclamazione isolata, ifitroduttiva del testo che segue, appunto come nelle iscrizioni palmirene ; e non appartiene alla serie metrica neppure l'ultima clausola *wm'yI yn* ecc.) che, contenendo la semplice indicazione dell'età della defunta, esula del carattere elegiaco di ciò che precede. Rimangono così quattro versi (una quartina!) che devono naturalmente coincidere colla membratura sintattica, come e sempre nel mêmrd siriano, costituendo anche una specie di 'parallelismus membrorum' : una spezzatura come /ä / *dāme* mi sembra impossibile. Dividendo *øiÖ ft" parnûis /é Amir / re-ãöketi aġ w-šap pin yihwĉ / lich zi her tidJ fs amê J yiliwø min tâbüil*, i vv. i e a hanno una e rispettivamente due sillabe di meno - evidentemente il testo è guasto. Secondo me, i versi non sono stati composti appositamente in occasione della morte di Serapi (non so se alla corte del rè Parsman si trovasse qualcuno capace di poetare, sia pure modestamente, in aramaico), bensì appartengono a un formulario standardizzato (una analogia- un poco 'far-fetched' è vero, si ha nei versi delle iscrizioni funerarie arabe, che si trovano ripetuti in luoghi e tempi diversi), e forse l'ordinator dell'epigrafe non lo ricordava esattamente (facili emendazioni sarebbero *gin z (ldc)* oppure (fiu'd) 8 e *yihwê (hält) ĩnri /abûil êāh*) Io-i i, ma, per quanto io sia interamente d'accordo con quanto è detto Suppl. 80 in fine, non mi sento il coraggio di proporle). *My pacnus lā* gmir credo possa significare soltanto: 'Ciò che era stato preordinato (sia o non sia che priis - che si trova, una volta, anche in palmireno - sia un prestito dal greco *wpbvooç*: la forma con u' è oscura: dev'essere un aggettivo con significato di ptc. pass.) non è stato compiuto', e mi sembra necessario che il soggetto del secondo verso sia proprio Serapi . But come mai i due aggettivi e il verbo sono al maschile ? La sofa spiegazione possibile mi sembra essere che il formulario era destinato in origine a un **uomo**: l'ordinator ha trascurato di adattarlo a una donna, o non ha saputo".

We shall confine ourselves to reproducing these statements without presenting other possibilities. Before commenting again, we would like to await the publication of the second Aramaic inscription from Mchet'a (cf. addendum to p. i in Arim. 23). Only one hint is permitted. Tal. LX of the work: Mzecheta i (ig58) and our illustration § (which we owe to the kindness of Z. I. J ampolskij 's in Baku) show the w written over 'B ID'. The left edge is sharp, the right one chipped.

p. z68 f. To be added Dinon FGrHiSt. 90 Ū 3 : **TO{fç 3òVTt\$ Qf}oI Ñ ŐOU\$**  
(uupixrjS2 §óJ36oiç pnvveútoßcti.

Kudāma z5g, i g says that the borders of the Khazars were light from Armenia to Khwārezm. - To be added to note i 3: Kudāma z6o, i f.

P. 3°3. The *brulis* corresponds to when the bridegroom is called *mtre* ( - mi/rs) in Romanian. Cf. G. Reichenkron, *Völker und Kulturen Südosteuropas* ( Vorträge der i. to 3rd University Week of the Southeast Europe Society i g 5 8 ) z 6y Note a z .

S. 33°- \*on the fresco and the clay statue of Fondukistan now J. Hackin in : Hackin-Carl-Meunié, *Diverses recherches archéol. en Afghanistan* (- 36-\*94°). >\* - délég. archéol. Franç. en Afghanistan 8 ( 959). 49 f. ; fig. i 8g-igā ; cf. i g g .

S. 333\*. UgrO-Finnish and Sasanian women's costume: I. A. Mernert in : *Očerki istorii SSSR. II I.-IX.* ww. (i g58), pl. to p. 66o; ð64 fig. i.

P. 3s - mm. 22 According to Barhebraeus, *Chronic. Syriac.* i or,7 z the Sasa- nid princesses, in captivity of the Arabs, accused Šahrbarā z' of misdeeds against the royal house.

S. 3s3 Anns 38. Recently R. Vulpe, *Le Valium de la Moldavie inférieure et le "Mur" d' thanaric I 9.571* : in addition H.-W. Haussig in : *Histor. Zeitschr.* i g5S, Aaof.



S. 37 On the name of Persepolis cf. Altheim-Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache* i, i 8. Istaxr explained as "dammed pond" by W. Eilers in : *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.* NF. ig (i g59) z5i Arim. 6.

p. 388 f. F. Bernhard in G. G. Cameron in : *Journ. Near East. Stud.* 17 (1958), i y6 1. gives the following statement: i dñiieAe = /ø šeğe/ ; - \*-s"- r- \*- s units, where 5 units = i 9e ičttše = i *sepel*. Thus *dānaka* : *partMuka* behave like i : 8. For elam. Jan-sø-lvi cf. J. Harmatta in: *Acta ling. Hung.* 4 (is'). 3<sup>o</sup> I f.

p. 3 I f. New treatment in Altheim-Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache* i, 65 f. ; y i f.

S. 408 f. For further information, see Altheim-Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache* i, 33 ; East and

West Io ( 959). -i7 -

The last section of p. 4z6 (on p. i o) should be deleted.

S. A27 \*II p. zoof. The Hephthalites fight with doge and sword: Zachar. Rhetor z, - . 3f. Brooks.

#### TO THE SECOND VOLUME

p. 3f. On 'Absimyā and his Hun poetry: *Chron. Min.* i, 6, i 3f. Guidi (*Chronicle of Edessa under i-s Alex.*) ; Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccles.* i, 33. q f. Abbeleoso-  
**Lamy.**

See Agathiās 20, 31 on the Avars' hairstyle. Niebuhr and index p. for "Avares.

S. 40. In HTra they worshipped the star *az-zuhara* : *Chronicle of Se'ert z*, i 33, 8 f. Scher ; va- 478. 9.

p. 5i f. The chronicle of Se'ert z, top, i f. Scher gives a further account of Pēröz' end. The words ct-fork and eī-āeyñ ifa are used alternately : z. <sup>io7</sup>, - : 8; io8, i ; cf. i za, g niaJilii *I-ha tarāni yin* 'iz8, i ; q *I. baladu I-tur!* . 443. 3. allusion is made to Pēröz's campaign two years earlier, which had ended with his capture; it is not reported in the chronicle. The king's breach of contract and his previous betrayal of the Christians are emphasised <sup>io7</sup>, 8: "When the Hephthalites saw his (Pēröz's) actions and his return and betrayal, they fought a fierce battle with her. They killed most of his men and the rest fled. Pēröz feared (io8, i) that they would take him prisoner. He leaned over his sword and killed himself as Saul had done (i. Sām 3 . '). The Hephthalites did not know of this until they found him stretched out among the dead".

P. 6A. On *bar āz* as a title, see Prokop. bell. i, i z, to : o-tpcrtjyòv övfipci flépwfjv, ouápf{qv Pèv zó ó Ē í w p o , Bórtjv 6è 6vopo.

p. 29. *bodistw* -- Bodhisattva in A. v. Gabain, *Briefe der uigurischen Hüen-tsang-Biography*, in: SBAW. i g38, 388.

S. i25-i66 were submitted as a dissertation to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Free University of Berlin during the winter semester ig5g-Oo.



DESCRIPTION PARTICIPLE





Abb. 1. \anr1d"mii1'le mrs 1-an3ikant. After: liu opis6 'men nego 1-jancl2ikanta {193 }  
'T'af. zo. :; ulnalımc H. Strichholdt.



:Ybb, z, The Inscrif t drs t'eiä des on Lad än y bnc oden i , uq3 f, and At'b. I'-j) . New A ction J. H armat ta's.



Fig. 3. overcsric htsski zzc des- onlyd eastern Iran.

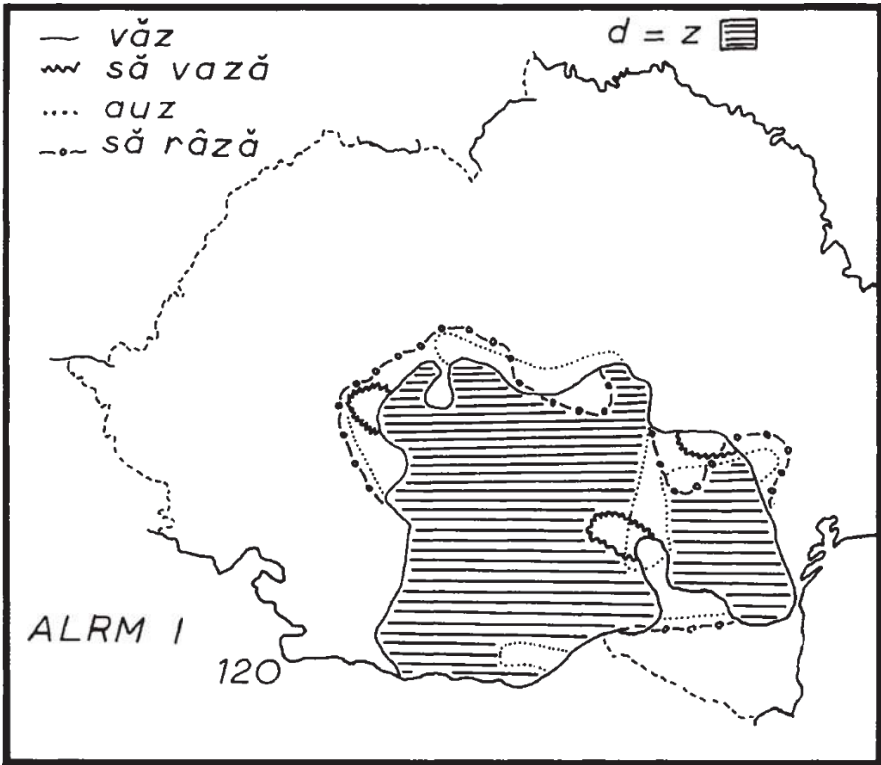


Fig. Language map for chapter eight (E. Lozovan).

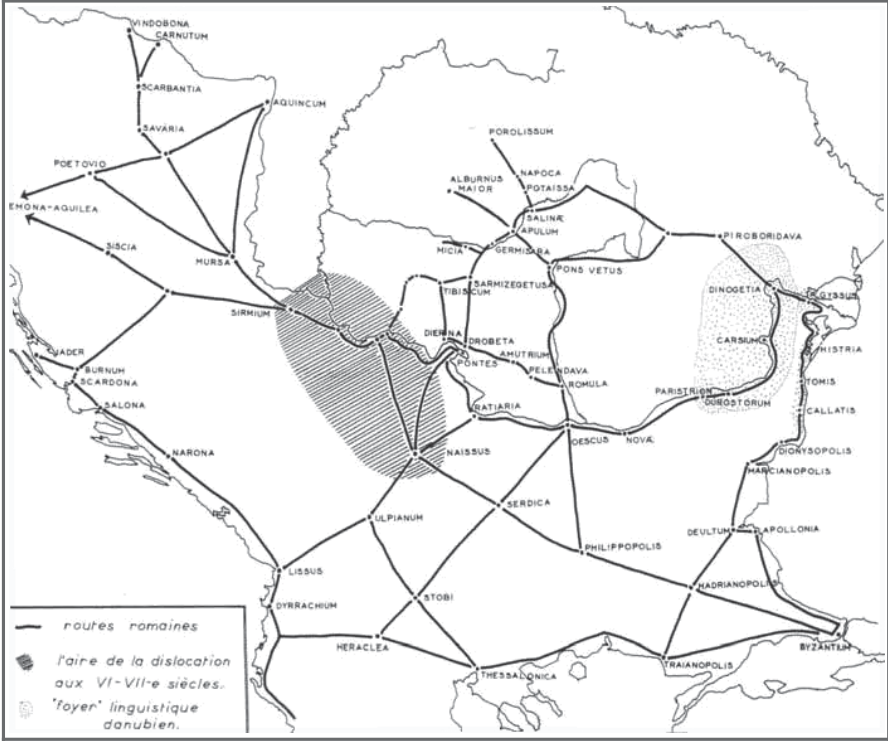
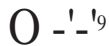


Fig. 5. overview map to the eighth chapter (E. Lozovan).





Fig. 6 Map of Sarmatian and Avarian finds in the Tisza plain and Pannonia. To the ninth chapter (E. Lozovan) .



5 °4



squelettes avars (Liptak)

1 objets sarmates: fibules, agraphes, épées courtes (rsiducz)

étriers, pointes de lances, plaques de garniture, harnais avars ( Kovrig)

\$' \tpassage de Dunaszékcső

zone dense d'occupation



Fig. 2 Gricchisch-aramüis'he Bilinguis by Uchet'a. .Xufnalimc K. I. J ampolskij.

## REGISTER



i. GP LAYER REGI STER

*Herrscher und Dynastien*

- 'Abbäsiden I8z  
 'Abdü 1-malik io9  
 Abriii z8i  
 Achaimeniden öi. roy. i - - 37 '5\* 53  
 Note 3. is +59 z8 f. z86  
 Akum i9  
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