## THE HUNS

# Battle of Religions volume 3



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### BERSERKER



#### **FOREWORD**

This volume deals with the position of the Hephthalites in the **battle** of religions. This is a question that belongs to the subject matter of the previous volume. However, its importance made a separate treatment seem advisable. The connection between the extensive mis- sion of the 6th century in particular and the history of the Huns had not yet been recognised. The decisive step forward was made possible by the collection of Syrian, Arabic and Ethiopian news presented in the second volume. It was this that first made it possible to recognise the role of the Hephthalites in the overall history of the Huns.

The aim of the present volume includes the announcement that the scope of the work, initially set at two, then three volumes, will be exceeded. A fourth volume, dealing with the European Huns, and a fifth, with their descendants, are to follow. This expansion was prompted by a threefold circumstance.

Firstly, the inclusion of the overall historical situation required since the 4th century AD after detailed discussion. In particular, the circumstances of the late antique East - Sasanian and Arabian politics - had to be clarified and presented in a wider context. The Vedasserians considered themselves entitled to go into this. We

We live in an age of transition (perhaps the greatest known in history), and this must draw our attention to those centuries when antiquity went into decline and the Middle Ages were heralded. In addition, there is the struggle between two world powers that determine almost **everything**; the involvement of the outside and partly "underdeveloped" peoples in this struggle; their changing position and, in connection with this, the spiritual struggle for the souls of individuals and peoples as a whole. In other words: Eastern and Western Rome here, Sasanian **Iran** there; alongside them Germanic tribes, the first Slavs, but above all the nomads: Hephthalites and Huns, Arabs and Dromedamomen; the back and forth of alliances, of political combinations; the

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Alternation between defence and military use; finally, the battle of spirits and religions - they all had to be treated with the requisite single-mindedness.

Furthermore, the cataloguing of previously unconsulted sources meant that these were translated and explained. The authors have done their utmost to extend the circle of what is available. They have endeavoured to acquire Ethiopic and New East Aramaic in addition to the languages they have dealt with; on this occasion they would like to thank Maria Höfner and Johannes Friedrich for their support. The authors have repeatedly travelled to the Balkans, the Middle East and most recently to Sudan and Abyssinia. New sources were obtained everywhere.

Finally, it can be said that the present work has been echoed. From all over the world we have received papers, references and, once again, untapped source material. Most of what we received in this way proved to be extremely valuable. This uninterrupted flow has helped to build up our work on a broad basis. Italian, Japanese, Soviet and Hungarian scholars in particular have given us unceasing support.

It is with gratitude that the publisher has agreed to expand the original scope. It has shown unusual generosity in its co-operation with the authors.

Further thanks are owed to our esteemed colleague Konstantin G. Cereteli in Tbilisi for his permission to translate his now fundamental Neo-Eastern Aramaic phonetics. We are particularly indebted to Dr Norbert Reiter (Slavic Department of the Free University), a student of M. Vasmer, for his diligence and hard work.

K. Czeglćdy's essay "IX századi népmozgalmak a steppén", in: A Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság kiadványai 8Ą (i g5Ą), became known to us through the kindness of I. Trencsènyi-Waldapfel, albeit only after the manuscript had been finalised. The rich content is expressly referred to.

The dedication is to a man who has given us access to scientific literature and researchers in the USSR with an unrivalled willingness to help.

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#### INTRODUCTION

1

Asia as an object of historical observation is as old as historiography itself. Its beginning coincides with the realisation of the European spirit. The realisation that Europe was special in relation to the larger continent on its eastern flank arose at the moment when its independence was felt to be threatened by its overpowering neighbour.

Herodotus must be mentioned first at this point. For the father of history, the conflict between Asia and Europe, epitomised in Hellas, formed the reproach of his historical work. It begins with the presentation of an opposing point of view, and this is answered by the extensive exposition, interspersed with countless expansions, interludes and digressions, with which Herodotus justifies his own view. By means of which he demonstrates how the great conflict of the Persian Wars came about and how it proceeded.

Empedocles is the second whose I'same must fall. Ever since the Arabic rendition of his lost

"expiatory poem", we know that the Wragantine turned against the same point of view that had been opposed by Herodotus. Xanthos the Lydian, following Iranian views, had understood all events up to that point as the course of *line's* great, 6000 ordinary years. At the beginning of this aion stood Zara- thustra as the prophet of the new, true religion, while Xerxes' defeat at Salamis marked the dark end of the age. Light and darkness confronted each other in a metaphysical interpretation of history.

\What attracted Empedocles to this was that Xerxes' defeat had brought the end of one world year and the beginning of a new one. With the Aron that now began, a new herald had to appear: a

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Altheim-Stiehl, Porphyrios und Empedokles (ssh) zy I., b'esonders q3 f.

Prophet who had to replace Zarathustra. There is no doubt that Empedocles regarded himself as such. Conscious of its rank, Greek philosophy inherited the spiritual heritage of Asia.

The Greek language uses the same word to designate the temporal beginning and the supratemporal foundation. This means that both have something in common; that in the right beginning the form is also expressed which is to determine it and all that follows it. What is expressed in the present case is accordingly twofold. Firstly, that one is concerned with Asia as an aggressor, competitor or object of one's own striving for power, that one is threatened or is threatened oneself. The historical precondition then corresponds to the spiritual requirement that one should also take on the task thus set in a higher sense. That one does not merely dismiss the opponent as a stranger, but grasps him according to his inner lawfulness; that one thus appropriates and understands him. The world-historical situation is accompanied by the desire for an appropriate way of looking at things.

A universal view of history is a favour that is not won, but granted. Like all historical knowledge, it depends on the hour that **calls** for it. However, it cannot be denied that some ages seem to have been denied a comprehensive view. Not everyone is given, like Hegel in the victor of Jena, when he rode into the small Thuringian town after winning the battle, to see the world spirit on horseback.

recognise.

The end of antiquity and the centuries leading to the Middle Ages did not find the historian who grasped their essence. Prokopios and Agathias, Priskos and Menander (as far as the remains of such writers can be recognised) had a wide field of vision. Byzantine politics, which carefully wove its nets and included distant and ever more distant possibilities in its calculations, had to lead to far-sighted consideration. In colourful and at the same time sharply outlined images

The legacy of Ionian history and the Hellenistic description of peoples was to be renewed. Huns and Turks, the northern tribe of the Rhös and the future Hungarians, the Pechenegs, Chazars and Cumans attracted the attention of the Byzantines. And yet: how little was known at the Golden Horn about the \Velt, to which only Marco Polo opened the gates!

When the Mongols united their empire, which stretched from the Yellow Sea to Silesia and Hungary, the eye of the beholder appeared once again.

The Byzantine view called for a universal vision. But no Byzantine responded, and even the Venetians were unable to do more than present the wealth of countries and peoples to a mostly unbelieving world. Envoys travelled between East and West, but neither John of Rubruk and Pietro Carpino nor Rabban Saumä, who negotiated with the European courts on behalf of one of the Mongol Ilkhans, knew how to seize the moment. This time it was a North African

Arab who created what could only be achieved by someone who had met Timur face to face. Ibn Haldün, much mentioned and yet little explored, succeeded in summarising \\'erk, which even in the century of the early Renaissance a European was not yet able to do.

Today, we are once again experiencing the pressure that, coming from the depths of an unseen part of the world, seems to increase year by year. Directed against a world that has become old and rotten, it works towards the west and pressurises what is trying to assert itself there in an evershrinking space. An economic and governmental concentration of forces, the like of which the world has never seen before, threatens the survival of what has survived in Asia's western peninsula by its very weight.

What is special is that Africa is now also preparing to play its part. The giant on Europe's eastern flank is being joined by the one in the south. Rudolf Pannwitz was the first to say that today we are facing a migration of peoples on the largest scale. He was able to rescue from oblivion a phrase of Goethe's which, Z -3 spi "Ctchen, seerically described the pre

truppeTI announced the same hike, the 1 45 eEastern European

states and conquer and occupy Germany up to its centre. The loss of the eastern territories and the slow but steady emigration from the area between the Oder and Elbe rivers are the beginning of a development that is not yet complete. Added to this is the all-encompassing level of China's birth rate, which not only demands intensification of cultivation, but also expansion to the same extent. And already, returning migrants from abandoned colonial territories are beginning to stream into the motherland, increasing existing pressure with new pressure.

The migration of peoples today draws attention back to the great migration of peoples in the past. Germanic tribes, Turks, Slavs, Arabs and Berbers broke into the sheltered realm of a t<sup>r</sup> elt that considered itself the centre and sole bearer of culture. Large areas were also torn away from it and its inhabitants were pushed back into residual areas by the newcomers. This brings us to the people who are traditionally credited with the beginning of the great ¥'ölkerwanderung: the **Huns**. Whatever one's opinion, they and their successors set Ger- man and Sladeen in motion like an avalanche, led the Turkish migration, and accompanied the Arabs and Berbers with theirs. Under or at the same time as them, Asia and Africa turned against Europe, and in Hunnic succession, related

'ii1kcr, from the Turkish Bulgarians to the Mongols and Ottomans, stormed against Europe for over a year.

The course of Hunnic history on European soil is well known. These nomadic horsemen, coming from the east, overthrow the southern Russian Gothic kingdom of Ermanaric (3'51). The Visigoths evade the Hunnic advance, which reaches the banks of the lower Danube, by way of the Pluss, while the Ostrogoths submit to the victors. The Law'ine takes other Germanic tribes with it. They cross the Rhine (406), while the

\ Visigoths march through Italy and plunder Rome (4 io). Stilicho and Aütius, relying on the Huns who had been recruited, fought desperately to preserve the Roman western empire. Eventually, the Germanic invaders find a new home in Gaul, Spain and North Africa. In the forties of the s- century, Attila leads his people, who are now

in the thei0c plane, to the height of power. The Eastern Roman

The empire trembles under the blows of the strongman and has to be prepared to make ever tougher payments. Attila unexpectedly turns to Callia and thus against Western Rome. A quickly concluded alliance with the local Visigoths and Franks allows Aetius to counter the Hunnic invasion with army power, and for the first time, the supreme ruler is denied victory (45\*), concealing Attila's entire edifice in Italy

not that a relapse has occurred. \Venig- years after his death

(453) the Hunnic Empire collapses. Germanic subject tribes, above all the Gepids and Ostrogoths, remain victorious in the decisive battle.

The principles and details of these events have been known for a long time. What needs to be clarified is the prehistory of the people, who seemed to appear completely unexpectedly to their contemporaries in 375. In other words, the question of the origin and nature of the Huns.

The answer to this question tends to embarrass the historian. If he doesn't refrain from dealing with prehistory, he is confronted with the theory that the Huns were one with the Hiung-nu of the Chinese annals. They too were a nomadic equestrian people, notorious for their constant raids on the northern border of the Middle Kingdom.

Unified under Mao-tun towards the end of the 3rd century BC, they became China's most dangerous neighbours. Only after this, under Emperor Wu-ti (UI -82), had created a powerful cavalry army,

However, errors and internal conflicts in the Han state caused the Hiung-nu to rise again for a while. New wars were necessary, and from around roo A. Chr. their power collapsed, again and this time for good. Another

Nomadic people, the Sien-pi, took over the ruins of their rule. Around \*75, the Hiung-nu tribes from the north and west left their seats and turned westwards.

These Hiung-nu, who were forced to migrate from the Chinese

The Huns, who emerged  $3_{ZS}$  eSts of the Don, were equated with the x-visible circle. The originator of this view was Joseph de Guignes (i y2I - I8OO). With his scholarly "Histoire générale des

Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols et des autres Tartares occidentaux", which appeared in five volumes in 756/s, introduced these peoples into the European historical picture. Equating the Hiung-nu with the Huns, who seemed to be largely similar in time, nature and, moreover, in name, was the best that could be said at the time. While de Guignes' second favourite thesis, according to which Chinese writing originated from hieroglyphics and China was therefore an Egyptian colony, was consigned to the past, the connection between the Hiung-nu and the Huns has survived to this day.

Of course, there has never been a lack of \contradiction. In the meantime, the linguistic connection between the two people's names, which had long tempted people with its meaningfulness, has been proven to be a mistake. In other respects, too, there was no sense of humour towards what could not be proven,

failed. Neither historical information nor archaeological finds have been able to establish a link between the northern and western Hiung-nu and the Huns. The name of the Huns does appear, in various forms, since 300 AD. AD north of the Ordos Arc and 3-i as the conquerors of the Chinese capital, Loy-ang on the Hwang-lio (above i, z8f.). But even earlier, around the middle of the 2nd century, he appears north of the Caucasus in Ptolemy's Geography (r, 3 f.; 5 f. above).

In view of this, it is advisable to refrain from historical speculation.

and to place the emphasis there "-where a more dense emphasis presents itself. Such a turn of phrase initially means no more than a suggestion. Its justification depends on whether it leads to new results. Indeed, such seem to be emerging.

On the one hand, the appearance of the Huns can be linked historically - and that means both in time and in essence - with other nomadic advances that pushed towards the borders of the Roman Empire. This refers to the Arabs in the south-east (above i, i241 and the

flOrdafrican dromedary nomads (above x. -5) in the south. All three Movements emanate from the steppe belt, which mostly runs north, occasionally also north-east or north-west of those \desert areas that cross the Old World as an uninterrupted zone from the Gobi to the Sahara (above i, ioi f.; i i2 f.). It is the same or similar conditions that determine nomadic life everywhere. In the steppe, a fall in the climate curve means a deadly threat for \frac{1}{2} ieh and \tilde{i}lensch. It brings drought, sinking groundwater levels, sharp changes between summer and winter, reduced pasture yields and sudden famine. If the annual precipitation falls by half, livestock farming soon drops to a tenth. This steep drop in yield forces the nomads to break into the urban and rural districts and rob themselves of the food they need (above i, I iz f.).

The steppe dweller is subject to this law everywhere, and the rapid and disastrous effect of the falling climate curve explains why the nomads are so surprising, and also why they usually push against the borders at the same time. In fact, the timing of the Hun invasion of north-east Iran (357s uTld of the unforeseen

E INLE IT 7

The Huns can only understand the storm of nations of 3 s as the effects of a sudden change in climate (I, i Iz f. above). But also in the year 3 5, a long \vinter and drought in summer forced the Huns to cross the Danube and invade Asia Minor, which led them as far as Syria (i, I\*3 above). At the same time, the Dromedary nomads invaded Libya and large parts of Egypt and plundered what they found. For the decades that followed the rise of Attila and the wars of the Sasa-

nids with the White Huns, there is evidence of a steady decline in the climate curve.

Careful collection of all the news about remarkable weather events found among the contemporaneous authors has made it possible to recognise these connections. This made it possible to **explain** what had previously remained incomprehensible. In a second case, a result was achieved using the same procedure. In the case of the aforementioned White Huns, researchers were unable to say why they were labelled a Hunnic people. They were thought to be northern Iranian nomads and were forced to set aside this designation as irrelevant. Here, too, only the complete collection of all the evidence could be decisive. In addition to the Byzantine historians, the Arab historians had to be consulted; Syrian and Ethiopian literature also had to be consulted. It emerged that these White Huns, usually called Hephthalites, were the first people of their kind to be recognised on a larger scale. After the middle of the

When they broke into north-eastern Iran in the 4th century and soon occupied the entire Iranian east, they can be regarded as the Hunnic mother people. For all subsequent migrations were fuelled by them. It was not only the European Huns who broke away from the Hephthalites: the Avars, Chazars and Proto-Bulgarians were also once nothing other than tribes of the Hephthalite organisation.

With this statement, the White Huns or Hephthalites have gained a key position for the historical questions associated with the Huns. The Hun character, as it was to become known from then on, first developed in them. The traits that emerged at that time were not lost in the following period.

**8** E1 N LEI TUÜG

First of all, the Hephthalites, as with the Huns, are a Turkic language ¥'olk. In this, all reports are consistent, and Byzantines and Arabs alike often speak of "3'iir- ken" when they mean Hephthalites. You have preserved linguistic remains, preferably proper names and titles, without any indications. Even the x'apparitional names that are attributed to these I1st Huns can be explained as soon as one realises that these Turks were Turks. Hephthalites or \*va plíl is the name given to the royal house. They are the "strong, fi răf tigrn, brave": this is what the fi amr of the Huns expresses. Kidarites then mcint the \\"e.st1ichen, bc'says thesellie, what dix designation as "\\'ci13e" Huns in the eye fa Et. Our that this time the celestial direction, according to widespread smoke, is all colour'- yegc. The Chionites were originally the Iranian tnancs, who were the first to be assigned to the Hepht haliten x from the beginning. I3this has led to a second, not xs eniyer important ûler c h a r a c t e r i s t i c.

Conquering masters are always parasites when viewed from the outside of their subjects. The fiomads almost always need such a breeding ground, and this is particularly true of the Huns. As such, the Iranian h omadt n, Alans, in turn, have served their European clien ts 'bit; and at the hiilie point of the Mac ht one has versus ht to force the Ostrogoths into a similar stellun; The Hephthalites - Turks and Huns, in other words - had already established themselves as the ruling schiclit over a northern Iranian tribe nomadising on the Balkash Ice before they found their I kimat in eastern Iran. Together with this tribe, the Chionites, the Hephthalites travelled south via Ia.xartes and Oxos. They were able to extend their dominion as far as Lake Hâmûn and the vicinity of Kăbul; later still, they penetrated into I ndi"n. Lands of dense settlement, 'iltt r peasant' r and urban culture were now subject to nomadic rulers.

Fri:ilich, the common culture of tJstiran had to be able to use these hunn'-n, rlic Hephthalites, soon in their J3ann zichen. And the large number of settlers could only lead to the \'ersclime1zung with the Erol'erc'rn. They grew into the moulds of a life that was customary. they lived in towns and castles, began to dress and arm themselves like the natives, a dopted their language and writing. \\Only those tribes who remained nomadic even after the invasion of IOstiran were able to resist. Ilinen developed

INTEGRATION 9

The European Huns and their successors, the aforementioned Avars, Chazars and Proto-Bulgarians, originated from this region. Even after the settlement of the ruling clan and its members, they all continued to follow the way of life they had inherited.

Nevertheless, the loss of their own species among the settled Hephthalites was less rapid and all-round than it might seem. When the Arabs invaded these lands shortly before the middle of the 2nd century, according to the reports of their historians, Hephthalites had survived in many places in the area south of the Oxos. These reports are supplemented by what is stated by the Chinese pilgrim Huei-ch'ao, who travelled through eastern Iran around /26'. He never fails to inform his reader about the linguistic conditions in particular.

Among the lands that he assigns in whole or in part to the Hu, i.e. the Hephtha- lites, he includes Daiyän. Its king belongs to this ¥'olkstum, and the same applies to his subjects. They are not subject to anyone else, neither Arabs nor Turks, and it is said that "the language in this country is not the same as in other countries "\*. It stands to reason that this is the original Turkish dialect of the Hephthalites. The situation is similar with Hottal, which belongs partly to the Turks and partly to the Hu. The language is of three kinds°. On the one hand, the neighbouring Tochari language is used, which, however, is not attributed to the Hu of Huei-ch'ao. Then there is Turkish and the indigenous language, that of the Hu or Hephthalites.

Iranisation was most advanced in Sogdian. Huei-ch'ao links this to the Hu, but explicitly notes: "the language is not the same as that of all (other) countries". This can only refer to Soghdian, which had therefore already established itself restlessly at that time. In fact, Mas'fidi could not say any more about the Hephthalites, whom he placed in the area between Bukhaera and Samarkand, as to how they differed from the Soghdians. However, they had also retained the idea that they were at least politically close to the Huns. This is shown by the title or proper name of their ruler.

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1 W. Fuchs in: SBAW. 1939, 426f.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ebenda 449.

<sup>3</sup> Ebenda 452.

Ebenda 452.

It is preserved in Arabic script as tarpün. Recently

R.N. Frye° has put together everything achievable. But his combination® with *türxün* fails because of the phonetic relationships. Instead, Old Turkish /arzan' and farim can be compared. Here A. v. Gabain has succeeded in making a simple and therefore striking observation. She separated the denominal suffix -}- gen, -|-zar - originally representing a title (above i, zog f.; zzo) - in *burxan* to Old Chinese. - 'i'. \*öor "Buddha" in *fäuriéäti* "divine" to /äuri "C ott" and in *tar-zan*. The first component of the

The latter she placed /aritn, by means of the likewise denoninal suffix -{-"i,

-}- im, -1- itn formed. Just as far-man and dar-im stand opposite each other, so do the aforementioned *fdori-Attr* and fönri-tu "majesty". Accordingly, ler- 'lhr- would also denote a rank. The third word is

\* larzun. Again, the first component is ruled out. The second element can easily be \*xun "Hun", which occurs in this form several times in the Hephthalites, in Koüyyov (above I, 3Z; 36 f.), in OÜvvoi and hünäye (above I, 3) and chwärezm. hiin-zädek, hunän (above i, 39)

The fact that in Farjiia, \*/or\*en until the invasion of the Arabs the hame of the Huns and thus the awareness that the Soghdian kingship was based on that people, corresponds to another. The aforementioned report by the Chinese pilgrim Huei-ch'ao, who visited the East Iranian lands around 2z6, lists what was then still counted among the Hu or Hephthalites. While a quarter of a thousand years later Mukaddasi considered the land of the Haital to be limited to the area north of the Oxos, Huei-ch'ao listed: C andhära, Zäbu- listän, Jämijän, Käpisi, the six territories of the Sogdians, half of Hottal. has is all the land between the Indian northern border up to near h *inu iear''i a n-ii aha* (as the Arabs say). Even Andrä is hardly reilicli

something: the Turks (T'u-küeh) own Gandhära, K-risi, Zäbulistän, Hottal sosvie half of Feryäna. On the other hand, the Sogdians (although they have their own king there), then Tochäristän with Balch (Fu-ti-ya), the other half of Peryäna and Hottal are subject to Arab rule.

<sup>•</sup> The History of Rukhara ('954)' 3- Note i67.

<sup>^</sup> R. N. Frye in: Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies iq (i 95 i), i zq f.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Above z, 9z it turned out that Tabari once writes tazJän, z-enn !--h\*n is meant.

<sup>^</sup> Old Turkish gram.° ('o f. § 48 and<sub>SS</sub> "

W. Fuchs, a. 0. §qq f.; " 7-451-

INTEGRATION 11

The former affiliation to the Hephthalite Empire was therefore still present in eastern Iran at the beginning of the 8th century. In fact, the Hephthalite-Eastern Iranian mixed culture was still present when the Arabs arrived before the middle of the 8th century.

of the 2nd century, at their peak. The splendour of Bukhara and Samarkand and the prosperity of the trading city of Paikand are reflected in the reports of Arab historians. In the land of the Soghders, where the silk trade fed by China had its trading centres, considerable wealth had accumulated; the merchants were counted as kings and princes. Soviet excavations in Pan ikant have uncovered the residence of a local ruler with a castle, city palace and temples. \Well-preserved murals reflect the life of the city: the displays of royal power, the parade of the nobles and their wives, the battles of the armoured knights and the "contest of religions". The archives of the Lord of Pan ikant, found in a mountain castle in the neighbourhood, show that there was diplomatic correspondence not only with the prince of the neighbouring country, but also with the Arabian Emir of the country and with China.

Buddhist missions had once covered the whole of eastern Iran. From the valley of the H ilmend in the south to Samarkand, it was covered with monasteries and shrines. Since the first half of the 2nd century, Buddhism had declined within it. In the land north of the Oxos, people had returned to the national religion of Iran, to the preaching of Zarathustra. found. Iranian heroic legend, which has existed since ancient times, has now created its great figure: Rustam. He would one day occupy the centre of Firdüsi's epic. Father of a Turkish, that is to say: Hephthalite son, he was a true creation of this mixed culture. The eastern Huns regarded him as one of their own and passed him on to their European cousins. The duel between Rustain and Sohräb, between father and son, who remained unrecognised from each other, was then passed on to the Goths and

i o From H uei-ch'ao we also learn that the king of Waxan paid 300 bales of silk a year as tribute to the Arabs (W. FuchS, ä. 0. 454) \*\*'eit r that the inhabitants of li ynan made themselves known by raiding the wealthy Hu and the Ciesandtschaften. "Even i\*-ift h e y robbed silk, skin They store it in their storerooms. They let the silk spoil and don't even know how to make clothes out of it."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> A new ¥vandal painting from Pangikant shows armoured lancers and unarmoured men, also on horseback, with bow pouches, straight shafts and nagaj ka:
A. Mtl. Belenickij in 'h4ateriali vtorogo soweétanija archeologow i etnogralow Sred- nej A zit (959s 20 i.

12 EI h LE IT L'NG

were passed on to other Germanic tribes. Among the Langobards, who once lived in the neighbourhood of the Huns and the Avars (above I, h9; qz f.; z, zQ), the pair received the names Hadubrand and Hildebrand (above z, y4 f.).

What remained unnoticed until then was that the Huns in general, and the Hephthalites in particular, were the preferred object of Christian missions. Byzantium also sought to win over the Hun princes of the Caucasus to the Orthodox faith for political reasons. Christianisation was to be the

Volk to the üasanid €iegner and neighbour and deprive them of an important recruitment area. The Monophysites were even more successful than the Orthodox. Condemned by the Council of Chalcedon, they held their ground alongside the imperial church thanks to the intercession of powerful founders, not least Empress Theodora. Among the Hephthalites, among the population of the Persian provinces and among the Beduins of Arabia, the monophysite mission fell into disuse. N ubia and Abyssinia also fell to it, so that in the end it looked as if the Orthodox and the Monophysites would achieve by peaceful means what the sword had failed to do. The Sasanian empire was surrounded from north and south by a host of Christianised peoples, or at least peoples who had been touched by Christianity.

The Sasanians, pinned in this way, quickly realised the imminent danger. But they had nothing to counter it. Their Zarathustrian state religion, outdated and ossified, was incapable of mission and was now less so than ever. Vt'as instead of them

The local Judaism seemed to offer the Persians a special service, and indeed even now it remained unver briich to the Persians, as it had always done.

The Sasanians could count on a rich and close-knit Jewish community everywhere in their struggle against Rome and then against Byzanz. for a moment it seemed as if the numerous Jewish communities of the u est-

Arabia under the leadership of a convert to the same religion

Künigs x on \'cmcn against the Monophysites of the country. But the attempt collapsed under Abccssinian control, and Sasanian politics saw itself deprived of only one hope (above 2, of.).

<sup>\*</sup> Höb Ien gräber der Insel C li arg mit li ren xt\*s zeirhen, v gl. R. G h irsliman in : .Arts Asia- tiques 959- i i 3.

The Persian kings had already decided to make an exception to accommodate Christianity in their own country. They were prepared to grant toleration and state protection to the Nestorians who had fled to their kingdom to escape orthodox persecution. Fateful companions of the Monophysites and at the same time their fiercest competitors, these Nestorians became a kind of second state church in the Sasanian area. They thus became the instrument of a religious policy directed against Byzantium: all the more so as they were granted the mission everywhere. And here the Nestorian Church went from success to success. It was active in the Arab region, where Lilira south of the Euphrates became its centre. Above all, however, its emissaries travelled north and north-east. They covered Khorasan, then the whole of eastern Iran and thus the Hephthalite region with their communities and bishoprics; Nestorian tombs can be found from Sistän in the south to the neighbourhood of Lake Balkash in the north. After the fall of the Sasanians, the Nestorian mission by no means paused. It won over Turkish tribes, invaded China, and little did it take for Chingishan's descendants to embrace the Nestorian faith.

This triumphant advance of a Christian church is, it turns out, directly linked to the eastern Huns and their NacMolgians. However, history has taken even stranger paths. One of the great achievements of the Nestorians was the translation of the writings of Greek philosophers, physicians, mathematicians and astronomers into Syriac. These Syriac translations (and not the Greek originals) served almost everywhere as a model for the Arabic ones, and in this roundabout way \verke of Greek philosophy and medicine, which seemed to have been lost, came back to the medieval West. The aforementioned 1;lira, together with Nisibis and Gundeéäpfir, became one of the centres of Syrian and Arabic translation activity. But the capital of Khorasan, Merw, now had to take its place alongside it. From the soil of the former Hephthalite kingdom sprang the flower of medieval Arabic \\Fism, and its greatest exponent, Bérüni, came from neighbouring Chr ärezm. This beneficial activity has continued to this day. In Arabic and Syriac (translations are pieces of lost writings, such as Porphyrios' letter to Anebo° or his book against

<sup>°</sup> Al theim-Stiehl, Pliilologie sacra { i 938) i oo f.

the Christians, have been rediscovered. In addition, ethical speeches by Democritus that had long been thought lost. The fact that the Eastern Huns also left their mark on the history of a great humanist tradition was probably the most surprising result of the new study of their history and culture.

#### AFTER TRAG

correct one is shown by Ptolemy's

Recently, two researchers, L. I. Gumilew (Chunnu. xg6o) and 0. Pritsak (in : Central Asiat. JOu - 5 [\*959], 22 f.) have again argued in favour of connecting the Hiung-nu with the Huns. Pritsak has succeeded in determining a further number of occurrences of the name forms -£ua, -éiiti, -qiiti and -swi (especially a. 0. 3 f.). Beyond this, we see nothing to indicate a historical connection between the Hun people - whether in eastern Iran or eastern Europe - and the Hiung-nu. We concede that in both cases, many things are beyond our judgement. But where we are entitled to make such judgements, errors arise, of which only one is given here as an example. We encounter the Hun name "'rin", which is explained as going back to Zachar. Rhetor z, 208, I/ 'fitiöyé. Here there are four errors in a form containing only three sounds. P. writes Älaf instead of 'Ain, short instead of long vowel, gives a non-existent stat. absol. and adds the plural punctuation to a singular form, which he has taken over from the original 'uiiäyd (the same error can be seen in the form hin-i mentioned elsewhere). But that is not all, P. omitted to mention that the second manuscript has S uzäyc, and that this is the

Zoe §oioi in the appropriate place (geogr. 6, 4. 3), for the final part of Zacharias is known to go back to him. Ptolemy knew nothing of Huns in Persis or in the Susians, and Zacharias can can be cited as a witness to this.

<sup>°</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden, z. LU. 19) i \*-

#### FIRST BOOK

#### COMPETITIONOFTHERELIGIONS

#### 1. K.XI'I T I- I-

#### MISSIONANDHUNDERS

One of the first concerns of the present work is to analyse the sources. The aim is not only to complete the historical picture. Almost equally important is the correction of existing errors. One of these is that the Huns and Christianity are, so to speak, mutually exclusive. The idea of an anti-Christian Hun Empire is not anchored in the history of the European Huns; Attila as

/The "llagellum Dei" and the tirades of ecclesiastical writers have contributed significantly to this. \\'What is right and what is not will be said later. 4'orst of all, it has been shown that numerous attempts were made to convert the South Russian and Caucasian Huns to Christianity. The related news has so far been dealt with in a different context. Now it is important to see them in their interrelation'.

1

Up to now, only the ellission attempts undertaken around the \\extrm{\psi}\end{colored} endc of the 4th and 5th centuries have been considered. They took place in the closest and closest area; they sought to record what Huns had reached the northern bank of the Danube.

What we learn about Timotheos, Bishop x of Tonioi and Scvthia (z, i q2 f. above), remains in the shadows. Wundertaten attributed to him (TheOdoret., h. cccl.  $\dot{\zeta}$ ,3 " and 3- L laSseFI It can be concluded t h a t the brave man travelled to the north. How far away

is not said. His successes may not be overrated

<sup>&#</sup>x27; hese references have not been cited in the following, as they have already been dealt with and translated in the previous volumes. hese sources can easily be found, if you wish to have them, using the indexes. The first and second chapters of the first and second volumes have already been mentioned.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;- E. A. Thompson, A History- of Attila and the H us f.a7

<sup>2</sup> Alt heim, Huns I I I

evaluate. Our news is limited to the statement that the "God of the Romans" was held in high esteem by the Huns. They had invited the bishop himself to their feasts and presented him with gifts. At least a start had been made.

St John Chrysostom also focussed his efforts on "the Noinadic Scythians who were camped along the Danube". The reference to his success in finding presbyters, deacons and anagnostes who preached the word to the Huns in their own language makes us sit up and take notice. This presupposes that the previous mission had been successful insofar as it had captured some Huns and brought them into the clergy. The Syriac version of the message that is given knows of an earlier Arian mission; it mentions the Goths in this context. Wulfila as a historical figure confirms this reference and forces us to see the Gothic and Hun mission in context.

*Hunni discunl f'salterium*, exclaims Jerome in one of his letters (ION, z), and Orosius speaks of Huns filling the churches together with Suevi, Vandals and Burgundians (2, QI, 8). Jones V<sup>r</sup> ort could be linked to the news that the proclamation was brought to the Huns in their language. It must be admitted that Orosius does not mention the Goths among the Germanic tribes, unless one wants to assume that they are among the "countless" other peoples who follow the above-mentioned enumeration. Here the inscription of Apsheronskaya jumps

which c a n hardly be dated later than the end of the 4th century. In addition to five Greek words with Christian content, it contains two more in the Alanic language, but also in Greek script. Thus, in addition to the Huns and Goths, we have both neighbouring peoples,

the Alans, who lived north of the Caucasus, with Christian missionary work. And it is confirmed that they were also approached in their own language, as is proven for the Goths and at least attested for the Huns. The third factor is that the missionary field moved further eastwards from the northern bank of the Danube.

This is followed by testimonies that have not yet been utilised. They show a new attempt at a Hunnic mission, which follows the previous ones at a greater distance in time. The beginnings fall in Lustinian's time. This includes the conversion of the Hun chieftain Gordas, whom the Syriac version calls U urdios, the Ethiopic version Yäröks. He not only succeeds in winning over the leader of the tribe, but also his brother. Of course

the event provokes a backlash among the priesthood, who are not willing to accept the destruction of the indigenous idols. Unfortunately, we are not told which gods were meant. Enough: the attempt fails and a subsequent punitive endeavour shows that the chieftain's territory lay on the shores of the Black Sea. Shortly afterwards, a second Hun prince, Graitis, whom the Ethiopian

Fassun6 Akraydös, converted to Christianity with his family and subleaders. It is not said where he lived. Further news shows that at the same time the mission across the Caucasus, which had begun earlier, was continued.

has resumed its journey.

The beginning is made by those who fell into Hunnic captivity. They are Syrians: lohannes of Rés'ainä and his comrade ThOmäS,

who begin their activities in 55. They are followed shortly before 55 by Cardii5at, Bishop of Arrän (south of the Caucasus, between the present-day cities of Baku and Tbilisi), with three and later seven companions. From them the

sacred scriptures into the language of the Huns. This also follows in the footsteps of earlier missionary activity°.

The information from the contemporaneous church history of another Syrian, Lohannes of Erhesos, whose significance has been emphasised for the first time, takes us one step further. They report on the first appearance of the Chazarians in western s 4/5- Both tribes were indigenous to northeastern Iran and once belonged to the Hephthalite confederation. The Chazars, obviously a remnant remaining in their homeland, are still mentioned between Feryäna, Käbul and Merw. For the first time, a new, also Hunnic area e m e r g e s . Soon after their

settlement south of the Danube adopted Christianity. No such thing is said of the Chazars. However, it is said that the Pügüräyü people, who lived in Berzylia, today's Daghestän, before the arrival of the new masters, were already Christian. The mission across the Caucasus had therefore had a broad impact (above i,  $8s\ f: 2$ . -

The latter events brought us to the end of the 6th century. century. It has been shown that missionary activity among the various Hun tribes was much more lively - and also more successful - than previously a s s u m e d. This result is s u p p o r t e d by the fact that the southern Russian and Caucasian Huns

<sup>°</sup> Cf. also E. Honigmann, Évéques et évèchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au <sup>VIe</sup> sîùcle (ig5 i i 99 (Bishopric in A ôutbaiyîn) ; i i 2 note 3. above i, 2®7 \*-

Heplithalites in north-east and eastern Iran at an early stage.

n the last Hcphthalite war of Sasaniden Peröz', which led to his death and the destruction of his army in 484, a Syrian merchant from Apameia is encountered, a man to whom one may perhaps attribute monophysical confession°. Eusthatios persuades the Hephthites to burn musk and other precious fragrances in honour of God, so that he may give the Persian impostors the punishment they deserve.

Mall does not know whether and to what extent the subsequent success impressed the HeP h-thalites. under no circumstances should a broader conversion be assumed.

be spoken. When 5oz Heplithalites came to the Mesopotamian-Armenian border in Persian serviceP ft cn, they met the Syrian hermit lakobos, who had built a godly house in Endielon, not far from Amida.

led his life. Through his miraculous power, the latter stopped the hands of these Huns when they had already drawn their bow against him, and it was Sasaniden Kavä6's I. speech that is said to have convinced the violent ones of their impregnability (Prokop., brll. i, y, 5 f.). The mission seems to have been more successful elsewhere.

Towards the end of the Sasanian period there was a separate bistum of Bét Ki3'önäyü, in the neighbourhood of Mosul and Bit Rcmniän. It was rightly seen as a settlement of Chionites: presumably less war captives than a military colony similar to the Caedusäyü. Once again, the Huns of the Monophysite mission were thus involved. The Kiyönäyc may be addressed with a € cwii3hcit as the home of the Mapryän s lohannes the Chionitcn from the monastery Mär Matthaeus°.

Hephthalite auxiliaries, referred to as such or as kädiéäyü, Kci6i and Chionites, were not only in persiscliem pay foc hten. They were also loved on the Byzantine side. Particularly in Belisar's armies, "ülassapeten" appeared, Eastern Hunnic tribes that had developed out of the Hertha-

lIc'rrsc.liaftsbcr' I recruited. Sunika's massage team u'ird

l'ezeiclinet, who was in Byzantine service (Prokop., bell. T. 3.\* -1 The Syrians explicitly f,juellen s•6 1 that he had become a Christian, and accordingly the previous view counted him among "those few svhom u e know

E. I-lonigmann, op. cit. O. 6; 3\*: 63.

<sup>^</sup> E. li onigmann, a. 0. i 6o.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;J \*3 Abbeloos and 'rh. J. Lamy, Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum \* (i87z), 39-9

to liax'e been converted". The circle has already widened, and in fact this mission also succeeded in reaching the homeland of dear Heph thalites.

Again, our knowledge is organised in contexts, and none of the

The testimonies are isolated. Under Chusrõ 1. .ßnõśarvän  $_{\rm S}44$  and then uńeder 6oQ, monophysite monks who came from Edessa's neighbourhood were settled in Chorãsăn and Sig  ${\rm Stàn}^7$ . The last

The 3rd year of Sasanian rule, the thirties of the 2nd century, saw the establishment of two enclaves in the Hephthalite East, in Herãt and Sigistãn. A third is mentioned at the same time. It was located in Àóurbaiyãn,

Thus, after dam Kaukasu.s (Darhebraeus, chron. eccl. 3, -7.3)  $I'^{11 \text{ må}*1}$  in the first two £ ăllen to the iist lichen Huns had advanced, so in the last to their Vettcrn in the north.

2

The Christian mission to the Huns and Hephthalites was not alone. Plan believed to know that the disciple and successor of Addai, Aggai, had preached to the Gelanites ((člá yc at the south-west corner of the Caspian Sea (Barhebracus, chron. cccl.3, 15, 6 D-n Arabs set about 600 Christian Stäimc in abaristãn crbitterten \Viderstand entgegen'. t-ülän and abaristãn bildr'n the link between the Caucasian Huns and the Heph thalites, at least in a geograp hic sense. One is confronted with a chain of missionary props stretching from the Black Mercer to the Oxos reicht.

The fiaciols of the Huns were also affected by such a mission. Iohannes of Ephesus reports that the Proto-Bulgarians who settled south of the Danube in 3Sq/5 quickly became Christians. Their cousins, the Chazars, met

- E. .A. J'liorr1pson, a. 0. 39.
- 'I\*arli' l'ra' us, chron. eccl. 3, 8 y, i f. ¡. Abbelo'is-I-ante-, a. 0. 3, i \* o mm. i ; a different l ussu n g ('ìoo Greeks and Armenians, all Jacobites, settle in Sigist.in, Heră t and t-i:rgàn) in the chronicle x on Se'''rt a, 5 5, 3 t.
- ^ Ilarh"t'raeus. ' hron. eccl. 3, i z5, z f. ; E. HOrligmann, a. O 99: i Oo ; Le convent de nariau ma ct le patriarcat J acobite d':1ntioche et de Syrie (i 95ql3 Mr. I'i ; i j 5
- '1-I. Sr' u l' r. I ra n in frii h-islamic times t t \* .4 n m. i 3 fiihrt dafür, a n Oer J. S. \*fisse- iuani , Ilil'l iot heca I Erie ntal is 11 I. z , 25, z xrt'i \'erke. tlic us not to gá n ÿ Iiu!i sin'1 : :\u lijñ' .-\ lläh .i inu li , l'a'r ih- i ftú jän ( cd. ':\ libñs H ali'lī i osi 137 •• --¹ H. Il'irn , I tit\* Ciesc liicht c 'Fiibarist an s ti nd der Scrl e'lare much t'he'ride in ir ( i 3 50} i o f.

According to the same source, the Caucasus was already inhabited by a Christian population, the Pügüräyé, who may have exerted their influence on the new arrivals at an early stage. In any case, the khazars and the Magyarcn, who still belonged to them at the time, were prepared to support Heraclius 6z in his fight against Chusrö I I. A,darv éz (above i, ')2). Here the mission in the Iiaucasus had paid off militarily. Once again: Caucasus, tlélän, Tabaristän, Choräsän, Sigistän ... One country seems to be missing from this list. And yet at that time it was a transit country for trade like few others: Chwärezm. The absence is only apparent. The most significant monument to the Orthodox mission known from this period was found in Chwärezm: a list of the Melkite feasts in Bérüni, chron. 288, 1 3 2, i Sachau. Despite its size, the abundance of mediated data and the scholarly declarations that the greatest scholar of the ara-This document has been as little recognised as its Nestorian counterpart, which will be mentioned later. However, S. P. Tolstow makes an honourable exception. In his last treatment, he refers to his previous essay°, according to which the New Year's festival of al-päLandas or uf-palandäs (the manuscripts offer both forms) corresponds to the Slavic éo/yoda celebration. Referring to Tolstov, Spuler' then claimed with regard to the metropolis of Merv that "there also came (Orthodox?) influences (probably from Eastern Europe) mediated by the Khazars and Hvärizm". It is difficult to believe that any of the views expressed in this context are correct, not even Tolstov's.

Firstly Spuler. He refers to the Metropolitanate of Merw to an author of the 14 . ,} century and to Barhebraeus, chron. eccl. 3, 37s. The second reference i s a misquotation. What is meant is z2Q, i f., where a Nestorian metropolitan is mentioned. No one would believe that this metropolitan had transmitted orthodox influences from Chwärezm to Merw. This would be even more likely in the case of a Melkite metropolitan, and indeed Bérüni mentions such a person (z8Q, 2). Of course, Spuler has overlooked him, which confirms that he does not know the festival catalogue^.

<sup>°</sup> Atit den Sp uren der altchoresmischen iiultur, ü bers. von 0. Mehlitz ( i 95 3) z46.

<sup>^</sup> Son jetskaja Etnografij a z ( i94 6), 8 y I.

a. 0. z 13.

<sup>°</sup> a. 0. z i 3 Note i i .

<sup>^</sup> Already in "Elie aramaic language" z. Lfg. ( i g6o) i ig we had to comment on spulers of the same.

Apparently, a Nestorian and a Melkite metropolis stood side by side in Merw.

As far as Tolstow is concerned, it must be said that al- $\S{a}$ landas, al- $\S{a}$ landas is nothing other than Latin halendae, calendar, given in the vulgar Latin manner of the accenti.sative as casus generalis'. Bërûni's etymology - 2g2, inf. ma-ta/siru  $\S{a}$ landas àoireri Nama - is a misunderstanding. But the correct derivation, from the calare of the pontifex minor, still shines through when the children of the Christians on this day yaw îilîna  $\S{a}$ landas  $\S{a}$ landas  $\S{a}$ landas  $\S{a}$ landas  $\S{a}$ landas  $\S{a}$ landas bi- $\S{a}$ li'tin' $\S{a}$ /i't (zQz, iQ). The assertion that this is a list of festivals from the beginning of the izth century is also incorrect. The latest historical event mentioned in it is the sixth ecumenical council III KCinstantinop  $\S{a}$ -1 6fio (-96, 5). Up to this point, the testimony

quite close, as shortly before Sophronios, Patriarch of Jerusalem,

is called (z 4. \*s). With the year 680 everything breaks off, and this shows how it is to be understood. The Islamic conqueror of Khwärezm, K utaiba b. Fluslim, eliminated, according to Bérüni's vivid testimony (36, 2 f.), all those who knew how to write or read Khwãrezmian script and who were interested in history and

\Science of the country. As a result, there was no longer any knowledge of Chwãrezm's history in the Islainic (let alone the pre-Isla- mian) period. Nevertheless, Bêrüni had managed to find a document that had been saved from k utaiba's ravages. We have before us the plague calendar which the Orthodox community of Khwãrezm called its own in post-Sasanian times and presumably, at least in the main, already in pre-Sasanian times.

This invaluable document requires detailed treatment, which cannot be given here. Nevertheless, a few details should be pointed out.

Initially the Yerzeichnis was written in Syriac (zS8, Z ; 15: in addition the Syriac designations 28Q. 5:  $2 \in \mathbb{Z}$ , /;  $2 \in \mathbb{Z}$ , 3) It is celebrated:

288, >4: the martyrs of Neğrãn, who had succumbed to the persecution of the Persian-friendly dü Nuwăs;

F. Altheim, Geschichte der latein. Sprache (i 9s ) 396 f.

<sup>&</sup>quot;The apparent exception z9z, i 3 f. and 3oo, q f. will be discussed in the fifth chapter.

2f)A, Z f: I ohannes Chrysostomos, who had begun the Hun mission (above z, q)\*;

2tj, €)f.; x gl. 2q1, 23; the Catholicos Sis(in), who was the first to recognise the Christian faith.

turn to Cłioräsãn; 'łaz u:

ztj4, q: B/'su's'\* the blood-witness, bagged by the magicians; and

2QQ, IQ f.: Drs y', who between two and three years after the advent of Christ Christianity had brought to the world";

2),  $22 \hat{i}$ : the The Council of Ephesus, which was held by Storios;

z96, z f. . the Council of Chalcedon, which had s-crdammed the doctrine of the ülonophysiten; x gl. 3\*\*./:

2QQ, 12 f. K yrillos, Nesturios' t-egner; in addition:

3 -, zo f. : kabbùlã, also fiestorios' Cegner ;

zgO, 5 f. Constantine the ('great as founder of Constantinople';

zQe, z i f.: Thomas, Apostle of I ndicn 1.4:

30i, i 3 f.: the seven Närtvrcr x-on fi üśāpúr;

3 \*. \* I f. : €-regorios, Ar stc1.4rniens.

One recognises what the intention of this compilation was and what its aim was: great missionaries of the ¥'ülker; the proclamation of Christianity in C horasan. Missionaries of the \(\forall \) "ülker; the proclamation of Christianity in C horasan; opposition to the Slagier rind against Üestorios; the splendour of the city ant €ioldcnen Horn. C on the cntspecn- the Nestorian festival calendar will be discussed in a later chapter.

#### NACHTRAG

.but a few special features of the ealender should be briefly mentioned. 2€)Z, to f. ss'ird Jakob, ł3ishop of Aclia, is mentioned. This can only m e a n the I3rudc- J-su. Finding him as the bishop of Jcrusalem is a warning

• t "lirigens has imitated I ohannes Chrysr'stomos' hi'milies, in part up to 'lan \\\'ortlaut, and has extracted the entire XVendungt'n. \'ier Soher Honiilien are preserved in Syriac Cbersetzu ng, including three under I ohannes' Ramen. They are published by l'. -fiau in : l°atrol. Orient. i 3, z, i i 5 í. Accordingly, the fi' storiani'r gave their m \rchegeten to the 11cinamt-n )tpuøóororicr; xu. \*t' Slïl'żt wan ùl on. úryä in his H x-mnos on the Greek Lelir'-r: ibid. 3 i i

Z. ñ; x'yl. has'ù ilî, mutu ğ z. 3::8' z.

<sup>&</sup>quot; be lesi-s gilit E. Sachau in der Übersetzung 1 z I zS9; and ers a 3 ö. " On iliin cf. the fia' lit rag.

to the i z. Logion dr s koptische Thomasevangeliunis (A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Purch, I'. Till and Yassah 'Abd al-Masih, Evangeliuni nach Thomas,

\*959), in which Jakol'us **is** described as the one who will be great over the disciples after Jesus' death, to whom they should go as the righteous one and for whose sake heaven and earth were created.

 $2 \in \}$ tj, 1 A\$. İ?t 6rss", who, two hundred years after Christ's advent, is said to have broken Christianity to àlerw', zxs'cifcllos Baršabbã. \The chronicle of Se'ert describes him as having worked under Ëãpür I (-. \*s3. °); one therefore reckons those two hundred years after his death,

not from his tiebur t. In a later passage, Sapur I I is mentioned

i-. °55. - f.), whereas only the crste Träger des hamens can be the son of an Ardašür (x-gl. -53. ). Baràabbã preached Christianity throughout C.horãsän (i, z56, qf.), starting from Merxx (I, >55, Q f.). The chronicle relies atisdr ücklich on Daniel bar šlaryam (I, >55. 6) all (juelle.

3 . - f: this strange parr of the žI5rt\'rcrs Seleukos and his bride Stratonike may well belong to Antiocheia on the Brontes. Those who are more familiar with hagiography than we are will be able to judge whether Seleucus I. and St ratonikc, the late fat tin of Antiochos I and the heroine of a famous love story, were x'crbergen.

3

13a i the 13e return of the Siidrussian and Caucasian Huns, the only"lnc'n c1iri>tical becenntions - .lrians, Orthodo.xes and ñIon"physites - might at all events enter into \rrrrrrrrrrrrelation. Anders z'ar it inn li' plit halitic-

-Buddhism had begun its mission in eastern Iran early on, and the Stùpa's and H"iligtümer ranged from Gandhāra and the Ssvātgcbiet in the south via the fiaubehär of Dalch to the Af- rasyāb of Samarkand in the north, xvo one \Vandgemälde buddhistischen I nh'ilt"s has found'. Next to it was the Manichaean mission, which at the same time dated back to the Frihestc period. Following in the footsteps of Nani and his first apostles, they had founded an appendix in Chorāsān, then in the country beyond the Oxos his up to 1° ryāna and Ccnicinden. ¥'ergessen u is mostly the ncue .air bloomen of Zarathustrism. It will be shown that this has its significance for the contexts discussed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> S. Oldenbourg in: Journ. asiat. 215, 122f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> H. H. Schaeder, Iranica (Abh. Gött. Ges. Wiss. 3. F., 10, 1934) 71f.

If you look at a recent map showing the distribution of religions in early Islamic Iran°, you are in for a surprise. Take Khwãrezm: its capital, Kãf, is claimed to be a Christian confession; in the rest of the country, at least according to the map, no religious practice seems to be discernible. Moving on to Sogdiana, Paikand, Bukhara and Samarkand were distinctly Buddhist cities, while Panǧikant again remains without a documented religion. And yet the testimonies compiled in the previous volume have provided a completely different picture.

No one denies that Buddhist missionary activity gained an early foothold in eastern Iran. From the A4oka inscription of Pm-i Daruntah or Lampãka', written in Aramaic, we learn that shortly after the Uitte

of the 3rd x-orchristian century stood at the gates of Ostiran. The Greek-Aramaic Bilinguis of Kandahär, set by the same ruler, shows that he reached as far as Arachosia with his preaching.

had penetrated5. In its i6th stanza, the Young Avestian Fravardin-Yäšt speaks of the Buddha (here called gaoJatna) being defeated by a representative of Zarathustrian teachings or even Zarathustra himself. In his sixth verse, the Young Avestan Fravardin-Yäšt speaks of the Buddha (here called gaoJatna) being defeated in a contest of speech by a representative of Zarathustrian teachings or even Zarathustra himself. In fact, Aśoka's endeavour was not continued at first. In Hadda, the oldest finds date back to the end of the tenth century AD', and the same applies to Bãmiyãn. According to this, a new advance of Buddhism had begun at that time or shortly before. As four centuries earlier, the Khyber Pass, the valley of the Kãbul River and the Ghorbend, served as a gateway. Not only Hadda and Bãmiyãn, but also Daruntah (Lampãka) lie along the road that passes through there,

B. Sp uler, Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit ( i 95z) Kd.rte I I I; dazu zo6 f.; • ' 7

W. 3. Henning in: BSOS. i 3 (igig) 8of.; in addition A. K. Narain, The ludo-Greeks (957) z8.

b Most recently Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden i . Lfg. ( i g59), z t f. in discussion with D. Schlumberger, L . Robert, A . Dupont-Sommer and E. Benvenîste in : J ourn. Asiat. i 95ß, i f. Most recently in : East and West ( 95a), zq3 í. and above z, i6 y f.

Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum 33 f. In contrast to P. Thieme's interpretation of arch. Lola-..who is loved by wisdom" (bet A lthei m-Stiehl, l.c. 3f) now 11. szcmerün yi in: I'd Z 7C (i 9 j9), 68 .mm. j: "lux er ol era/", 'pihóooQo5; since to .\lthcim-Stielil, t\*ese h ic hte l1it te lits iens inn .\lthcim-Stielil, t\*9 yo) \* f-z 3: '5.

J. Hac kin, L'oeuvre de la délégation archéol. Iranç. en .Afghanistan i, 9 ; vg1. i o ;

The site of the first inscription mentioned belongs to the "Buddhist ruins of the post-Christian centuries".

But even for this stage of Eastern Iranian Buddhism

We must be warned against overestimation. R. Göbls has established on the basis of Ilaniika's coinage that it cannot be used as evidence for a "conversion to Buddhism". "The Buddhareverse belongs to a series of other coins, even rarer than these and, significantly, without ¥'ierteldenar'o." "What the coins say about Kaniska's policy is quite clear: ... religious tolerance through the joint inclusion of Iranian and Indian godlieites and Buddhas in the coinage, with the Iranian godlieites dominating." Göbl's statements have so far gone unchallenged.

What remains is still considerable despite these deductions. It is expressly attested that before the advent of Islam the masses of those who lived north of the Oxos adhered to the Buddha's teachings (Fihrist 345. 13 wing). Tirmi 6 and Balch, on the north and south banks of the river, are almost un-

The site, which is located directly opposite, reveals one of the gateways to the Buddhist mission. In Tirmi b, Soviet excavations have shown how deeply this mission had sunk its roots into the ground. Péröz, brother of Säpür I (239 -\*7z) and his governor in Khorasan, had btrld' *yzd y* inscribed on one of his coins'o".

- A. Foucher, La vicille route de 1' Inde i, i5 i ; i 33 ; Pl. 3z d. Cf. the report by Huei-ch'ao's in ¥ V . I'uchs in : SB.X\N'. ' 939- 44 7-
- In: Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschiehte der Spätantike i9o.

"Last about this M. Mayrhofer in : Ztschr. für den tschcs Altertum 89 (+ 9J9L z8g f. ¹° E. Herzleld, i'i ushano-sasanian Coins 1 93°)•⟨ : z f.; 3of.; 2; R. ¥'asmer in . Zeitschrift für Numismatik qz (i932), 2§ t.; H. H. Schaeder, Iranica. Abh. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Yt'iss. 3 F., IO (\*9341, 73

\*\* R. Köbert reminds us by letter (under z9. 6. 59) of H. Kruse's suggestion that one should read zoi5 whttw-ror5 instead of Adxmv in losephos, ant. i8. i , 5: Zäxxv -rote IJo6i' reiß: Saken, die man Buddhisten genannt (in : 4'etus Testament um 9, i 9 jrj, 3 i f.).

<sup>&#</sup>x27;° a. 0. i9of.

<sup>&</sup>quot; a. 0. igi .

In the following, we are dealing with the centuries that belong to the beginnings of the Middle Ages. At that time, the image of a Buddhist triumph, which had already left the Oxos behind, changed.

had. Since the 2nd century at the latest, a change of direction can be observed. "I ls honourcnt la religion bouddhique; ils sacrifient au dicu du ciel" say the Chinese sources and mean in the second case

Ormuzd'"-. This could indicate a balance of 13c\*knowledge. However, around 62d Hiücn-tsang found only two abandoned Buddhist monasteries in Samarkand, which he tried in vain to provide with inmates'\*\* . The news does not stop with the appearance of the Arabs in Khorasan. They show hardly any remnants of Buddhism: everything that these authors state points to the decisive predominance of the tsarathustrisclian N'e.r- kündigung.

One could argue about whether the occasionally cited C-'itzen- temples we're not in fact Buddhist shrines. But the resemblance to the fire houses is clear, and it is from them that the idols are taken, their gold and silver jewellery falling victim to rapacity, their wooden core to the religious zeal of the conquerors - let us say: to the fire. From the Afrasyäb near Samarkand one has the long row of Anähita terracottes, from the Achaimenid to the Islamic period. After that, you can imagine those images. and our Yiisclit, 'ler 'ir a'l''i sitra air Ali ilu, stheint ' in s"Ir lit's I'ilcl 'It'r ('ültin to describe". Idolatrous temples and temples of the 1'ure sometimes demonstrably coincide, as is the case with the Zarathustrian sanctuary on which Kutaiba b. Muslim came across on his way back from Bukhaera to Oxos. It was particularly curious that peacocks were kept in the sacred precinct.

NarJsa hi, chronicler of his ¥'ater city of Huchärä, has drawn a picture that seems to be the only one to recognise Zarathustrism in pre-Islamic times. At one point he mentions a 13uddha figure with aedicula, who came from China; otherwise only fire liäuser, Slagians and derten Gesän6- The proselytising zeal of the

<sup>&#</sup>x27;- t. havannes i , i o5.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;- W. Barthold, Zw'ö1f \'orlesungen über die Gesc hie h te der Türken I\I ittelasiens. In .

\[ \frac{4}{2} \] Eur Gesc hichte des Christentums in Mittel- asien (i 90i ) i i .

<sup>&</sup>quot; Some examples in R. Hausc hild in: Mitt. d. Institu ts fü r Orientlorschung der Deu tschen Akademie y (i **959)**, i f. **Darstellung** der:tn ähita auf sasanidischen II ünzen: R. Göbl in: WZ UM. 56 ( ig60), 3fi f.

Muslim is turning against the fire whose traces have been erased, whose €-öttcrbilder were to be plundered and burnt. \As in Bukhara, so it was in Samarkand or in neighbouring Pan ikant. The western Sogdian region, together with Cliwärezm on the lower course of the Oxos, formed a c-region that was predominantly, if not exclusively, Zarathustrian in the yth and early sth centuries.

It was not only the victor over the Hephthalites, Bahräm Üöbin, who referred to Rustam, Isfendiyär and Kai- chusröi<sup>^</sup>. Tarhiin, king of the Soghdians, spoke of Rustam as if he were one of his own. Sobraeb, Rustam's son, was regarded as a Turk or Turkic ruler, thus as a Hephthalite, and was a glcichnis of what determined the Hephthalite culture. But Sölden also protected the king of Siim3n from the great booken of Iranian legend and history eyes, and in Buchärä the Slavs sang the death of the hero Siyäx'us and demanded revenge for the murdered man until Islamic times.

The Buddha's teachings lived on in sanctuaries and in the large urban centres far south of the Oxos. The neighbourhood of Gandhära and the Swätgebict with its abundance of stiipa's and other Buddhist places of worship may have provided a stopover. \Far to the north lay the Naubehär in Balch, whose rulers were the Barmakid dynasty. They bore the Buddhist origin in their name, even if they later denied it. In the fiaubehär, which had already been plundered by the conquerors, fi ezak J'archan performed his prayers before rising for his last \(\frac{1}{2}\)' ordeal. In Balch itself, it was not forgotten that it was the birthplace of Zarathustra. The festival of Mihray\*n was celebrated there with great fanfare right up to Islamic times, even if it was ultimately stripped of its Zarathustrian character.

The already mentioned pilgrim H uei-ch'ao also gives an impressive picture of this. he whole south of Ostiran is Buddhist around 726. ('andhära's capital Pu kalävati has a stüpa built by Kaniska crbautcn, has other shrines, K lüster and 6lünchc; Mahäyäna- rie Hinayäna teachings are practised. Käpisi adheres to the Hinayäna doctrine, has monasteries

<sup>\*^</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, kin asian state i ( i o5q), zo9.

<sup>&</sup>quot;W. Fuchs in: SBA\\\' 939. 44-i; 447 45 \*-u eit xs-ir, Huei-ch'ao's report remained unknown to B. Spuler. He only mentions Hiüen-tsang (l.c. z i 8).

and Buddha relics. Zābulistān, on the other hand, has adopted the Mahäyāna doctrine; there, too, there are monasteries and monasteries. Bāmiyān offers the same picture, only it has agreed to accept both doctrines. Tochāristān favours the Hinayāna doctrine: "no heretical doctrine is known there".

\Hottal is devoted to the Hinayana doctrine; again, monks and monasteries dominate the picture. The Sogdians, however, are different. In their six countries

"Zarathustrism is generally worshipped, and Buddha's teachings are unknown; only in Samarkand is there a Buddhist monastery with a monk. Nothing is known of reverence either". Marriage with sisters and mother in the Zarathustrian style2° is explicitly mentioned. The situation is similar with Feryana: "Buddha's teaching is unknown, and there are no monasteries or monks and nuns". V'eiter: "The T'u-küeh (meaning the Turkic peoples of the north) also do not know Buddha's law and have neither monasteries nor monks". This confirms our result. Another question is what led to the rebirth of Zaratłiustrism. The Turks contributed nothing. They orientated themselves towards their Eastern Iranian surroundings. In the north, where they were neighbours of the Soghders and Feryana's, they did not adopt Buddhism (although not Zarathustra's teachings either). In the south, the Turkish lords in Gandhāra, Kāpiśi, Zābulistān and also in Hottal became worshippers of Buddha. After the fall of the great Hephthalite empire, the nomadic tribes - Avars, Chazarcn and Bulgars - migrated to M'esten. In the land north of the Oxos, the Hephthalite people quickly disappeared. There was still a centre point: according to 61as'üdi, it can be found in the land of civilised Bukhara and Samarkand. But to separate the Soghders and Hephthalites, Iranians and Turkish Huns as ethnic components is only possible in special cases. The Hephthalites " were absorbed into their Soghdian subjects. South of the river, on the other hand, Hephthalite districts had remained comparatively untouched. This is explicitly stated of Bã6yës and Herät, and this is also where Tarchan, who may be described as the last Hephthalite. He adhered to the Buddhist doctrine, and the same can be assumed for his subjects, at least in Tochāristän. Then it could be that the Hephthalites, as long as they remained unmixed and unbroken.

<sup>°° \&#</sup>x27;gI. F. Altheim, H'eltgeschichte Asiens inn griechischen Zeitalter i 1 9471 i 6A; on the same practice among the Sasanids Ya'k übi i98, 3f.; i 99, a Houtsma.

favoured Buddhism and adhered to it to the end. NHowever, to the extent that the Soghdian people prevailed over the former conquerors to the north of the Oxos, the national religion of Iran regained lost ground. The Adel and the rich **merchants** of the cities may have played a well-measured part in this.

t'he religious conflicts that took place in the land north of the Oxos are visualised in one of the wall paintings of Pangikant. Published by A. 61. Belenitsky 19s (fig. i), its significance is has not yet been recognised.

The depicted scene takes place in a portico. Its architrave forms the upper end of the picture; one of the supporting columns with a conical base can be recognised on the left edge. Four male figures are seated on a sarir, the long side of which runs parallel to the picture plane. The gestures of their raised hands show that they are in animated dialogue. In appearance, the first, third and fourth figures (counting from the left) belong together. Dark-haired, they wear their hair, whether cut long or short, close to their heads, like a cap. Two of them are beardless, the third has a round trimmed beard, which looks under the chin on both sides, but leaves it shaved out. The upper garment, with a round neckline and long sleeves, fits close to the body; the undergarment, pulled up when seated, reveals trousers reaching down to the ankles. The main figure in this group is the third from the left, characterised by a richly decorated aureole crowning a pair of wings and a light-coloured upper garment with woven decoration. This figure is engaged in conversation with his counterpart, the second figure, and the sweeping gesture emphasises what he has to say. The opponent stands out from those already mentioned. The light-coloured, straggly hair grows luxuriantly; swept backwards and upwards, it is held together by a ribbon above the skull and falls down the back and sides. A moustache and long, tapered chin beard complete the contrast. The upper body is unclothed; a cloak only covers the shoulders. The undergarment only begins at the hips. Its stripes make it stand out, while its light-coloured

<sup>&#</sup>x27;In: Trudy Tad2iskoj archeologiceskoj ekspedicii3 t 94), "-i 5 fig. q8.

The **colourful** lack of decoration contrasts with the colourful borders and inlaid ornaments that adorn the clothing of the rest of the group. There is also a difference in the way they are seated: whereas the first three are crouching with their legs tucked under, the second figure is seated from left to European with his legs hanging down.

Firstly, it is clear that the latter figure depicts a 'Brhat in the manner familiar from Buddhist art in Afghanistan. The hairstyle and beard, the prayer chains, the 'parsamc and simple clothing show that we are dealing with a representative of the teachings of the Enlightened One°. The other three, with their trousers and brocade dress, show them to be representatives of an equestrian and knightly class. Again, it is Pangikant's nobility that is represented in this way, and the lack of weapons on the one hand and the aureoles on the other show that we are dealing with representatives of the clergy, teachers or priests. They are hardly Buddhists or followers of the Arhat who dwells in their midst. One has the impression that the other three are giving him speech and insistent discussion. The Buddha's teaching is under attack in its \representative, who is forced into defence and isolated not only externally but also internally.

In other words, a religious debate' one of the favourite disputations of the \representatives of zz'eier religions at that time; this will be dealt with later. The 'Brhat here, three opponents on the other side - but w hat doctrine would they have to represent. It has been shown that they are not I3uddhists, but neither are they hlanichaeans; their costume proves this. If they claim to be Panyikant's nobility, they can only be Zarathustrians. The temples of the city belonged to them, and Divä1sti("), lord of Mount Muy and Pan ikant, was of the same confession.

N'äét -3, 16 already reported on a dispute between *gaol "ma* (Buddha) and Zarathustra, when the founders of the religion themselves confronted each other, and what they did may have been repeated countless times by their followers in the following period. Dat3 a true teacher and

The first time that a preacher of the Zarathustrian religion appeared with shiilern, xeigt dt r gleic he Yäét, when Qk speaks of the *Nraraii* "the sauna, the .4/iu-praying, the Asa-believer (aéaonö), . . who first appeared with a hundred disciples".

• There is no need for special instructions. For the J3arttraclit, please refer to Slénioircs r1t- la dél'ig. arch'i'il. Fran9aise en Aighanistan 6 (i 93) pl. 6 x-cru iescn.

Let us return once again to the mural. Between the two central figures and leaders of the conversation lies a rectangular object, divided into fields of contrasting colour and divided by a vertical central strip and two transverse chains. It is reminiscent of a box or container, whose valuable contents correspond to the rich decoration on the outside. A figure further down, between the first two with its upper body protruding into the picture field, is holding a leaf the size of which corresponds to that of the container. Obviously this was intended to hold those leaves and already contained them, like the wooden box in which the Coptic Mani manuscripts, also consisting of stacked papyrus leaves, lay. (The Talmudic tractate **Bäbä mSi'ä** 73 b also mentions documents in the box of the

King: muhr- pe ... b-si piä d-malkä. j There the boy holding the leaf,

If the box and its contents, the box and the scriptures it contained must have belonged to the Zarathustrians. They had brought their sacred scriptures with them to the dispute with the Buddhist and referred to them.

The mural, if interpreted correctly, leads right into the centre of the conflict in which Zarathustrism remained victorious. Painted around the turn of the 7th - lffl 8th century or in the first two years

the tenth of the last, it may have been a dispute that was

had taken place over the past hundred years. As an episode from the victorious struggle of the indigenous religion against the invader who had come over from north-west India, it was considered worthy of being portrayed. Another Zarathustrian

gcz'ordenes Pangikant and the ruling dynasty there,

by having the ficschehnis depicted, professing the religion that now had to withstand the Muslim conqueror.

5

The Christian Hun mission on the one hand, and on the other the Vülkian shifts in the once Hephthalite area and the Zarathustrian rebirth among the Soghdians, which was probably based on this, may appear to be localised events. A historical

#### 3 Altheim, Hunnen III

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>o</sup> The same applies **to two** famous **Hebrew parchment manuscripts from the** late eighth and early i **th century:** the Prophet's Iyad, **which** is now preserved in the **Karaer** Synagogue in Cairo-'Abbäsiye, and the Leningrad Dibelkodex B i 9 a: I'. Utah le, Der hebr. **Bibeltext** seit I°. Delitzsch (i.-\*+). 7:7\*-

The historiography of antiquity, which refuses to take note of the change in our world view, is anyway little inclined to include the countries between the Caucasus and the Balkan Sea, Egypt and the Hindu Kush in its considerations. And yet it becomes clear every day that in the area of tension between two opposing world powers, every shift, even if it occurs in the most remote place, has an effect on the whole. It was no different at a time when the opposition of Eastern Rome and Sasanian Persia dominated events.

As fate would have it, the Sasanian policy was primarily affected. Mission among the Huns had to give Eastern Rome a preponderance to the extent to which it was noble and extended. Germanic and Hun tribes each formed the basin from which the recruitments of both armies, the Eastern Roman and the Persian, were fed. Since the Er

The events that began in 375 and reached their first climax in Attila's reign ended the previous favourable position of the Germanic tribes.

shaken. Ostrogoths and Visigoths, Vandals, Heruli, Gepids and Lombards had felt the hard fist of the Huns and Avars. Those who were able to escape the terror had fled to Gaul, Spain and North Africa, to northern Italy or to the south bank of the lower Danube. Under Belisar's and Narses' leadership, the Huns and Massagetes had driven the Vandals, Ostrogoths and Franks into pairs. The Eastern Romans and Persians had still divided the mass of mercenaries who had flocked to them from the vast Hun territory. Kadisians, Massagetes and Caucasian Huns liked both sides and did not hesitate to change sides when the opportunity arose. If the Hunnish ruling class or even the masses could be won over to Christianity, the Sasanians' prospects of winning over Hunnish and Hephthalite auxiliaries were bound to diminish noticeably.

The story of the T §óvoi or Zòvov reported by Prokop (bell. I, rs. 2--°5) may serve as an example for others. Living in the estuary of the Phœsis, not far from Colchis, they sought the Roman territory with their plunder.

home. Attempts to persuade them to keep quiet by making payments failed. The barbarians did not honour the treaties they had signed and once again devastated Armenia and the Roman territory. Even though they had been defeated, they could not be left alone. Eventually they were won over by being incorporated into the Roman army (tç xœr'x ó y o ø ç iorypóxpov-ro). From then on, they formed a troop and became accustomed to a settled way of life

and abandoned not only their previous customs, but also their religion. Conversion to Christianity sealed the turning point.

On the Sasanian side, there was no question of attempting a Zarathustrian counter-mission. One occasionally hears that Zarathustra wrote his Avesta in seven languages: Greek, Hebrew, Hyrcanian, the language of Merw and Zarnak, Persian and Sakish. Others also mentioned Aramaic and Arnian. This might have resembled a mission in the most diverse languages, as Christians, Manichaeans or Buddhists did. But this statement was not true: apart from the Avestan original, there was only the Middle Persian translation. There could be no question of a movement that would have led beyond the borders of Iran.

Perhaps this would have been considered if the Zarathustrian rebirth in the Sogdians had occurred earlier. As it was, it only began when the power of the Sasanian Empire was already in decline. At the time when it was first rumoured that Fiarathustrianism had gained ground in Bukhaera, Chusrö I I A|3arvéz had been ousted, the war against Herakleios had been lost and anarchy was at the gates. A year later they were fighting with the Muslim conqueror for their own survival, and soon the latter was preparing to conquer the entire east as far as Feryäna and Käbulistän.

But even if one possessed the peace and security that was lacking in reality, it was questionable whether one would be successful with a Zarathustrian counter-mission among the Huns. This rebirth north of the Oxos, if the previously expressed view is correct, coincided with the strengthening of the Soghdian nation. Again, it was not about a mission outside Iran's borders. The Hephtha- lites in particular, wherever they had remained unmixed, i.e. the parts of the population of Hun descent, had x-preferred Buddhism. Even in their own country, the Zaratliustrians did not succeed too often in winning over proselytes. Pcröz had the Christians called upon to worship the sun as a god, but fire, \\'water and stars'' as children of the gods fChronicle from Se'ert z, i \* . 31 It took extreme pressure to get your commandment to have a limited effect. In most cases, the effort also failed

<sup>\*</sup> Bidez-Cumont, Les mages hellénisés(+93\*) , , So; 2, fr. p 5 note i ; p ö note 5 ; S 9ä ; F. Altheim, **Niedergang** der **Alten** Welt z **(i 95z), zqz.** 

<sup>\*- &</sup>quot;Great God, sun and fire": loh. Ephes. 3, 280, z Brooks.

of all means of power. Once we learn that a priest, through a tendency to worldly \pleasure to be persuaded to convert (Chronicle of Se'ert

-. 4 7. 3; similarly z, i39, 8f.: Biogr. des Mär Abba" >49.4 Bedjan). A special case was Paul the Persian, author of an introduction to Logic° dedicated to Chusrö I. Anösarvän, who "in ecclesiastical knowledge and philo-

sophic discipline" (Barhebraeus, chron. eccl.

3. 97. \*5 1 It was created out of disappointment over a metropolitical dignity as a magician (ibid. Qy, i6f.; Chronicle of Se'ert 2, I4y, Z f.). Otherwise, however, the opposite was more likely to happen. Conversions coincided with turning away from Zarathustrisinun, and it will become clear how much the ruling classes of the Sasanian Empire favoured this through their attitudes.

There are numerous examples of conversion. A later catholicos or even a metropolitan had originally been a magician°. They were z-under the \temptation to profess Zarathustrism, even if they had to pay for their refusal with death (Barhebraeus, chron. eccl.3, 41, 6 f.). Magi were baptised in small or large numbers (ibid.

3. \*° . z f. ; Michael Syrus z6z l. Z. z9 syr. ; 2, 165 i. Transl. uain.). Even Members of the royal house or the high clergy dared to take the step lironik(fi von Se'er t 2, Ib-{, 3 f.). V'eitcre l'alle (Cliron. min. I , 23, I I J.

Ciuidi ; Hist. d'.ßli'iu deinmeh p33. 12 f. Nau) must be dealt with separately werde'n.

Among the inscriptions in the synagogue of Dura-Europos, all of which are dated to the second regnal year of Säpür I (23 . September 253),' appears in B. Cieiger's edition no. )s as follows:

- i LZL'H ' Z]DH 'B1 "DV'L' 'YK I'ly z Y HWWN V'yzd'n K'L' 'RM 1" TN
- 3 ¥L' S WM?,m)'ii QDkI
  "This make ye known, that joyous ye are, and to God's voice listen; then peace upon us [will be)."
- '\* A d'i: Payne Smith : A fo : Baumstarlr. But öQQo, Abbo, j üd. -aram. E.N. .4  $bb\ddot{a}$  are unambiguous.
- Altheim-Stiehl, Porphyrios and Empedocles (954) •i
- \*Barhebraeus, chron. 3, 59, 18 f.; 60 note z; 8q, 6; Biogr. of Mar Abba a t o, 3 t. Bedjan; J.-B. Chabot in: J oumal asiat. i Sq6, ß f.
- Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia S a C f i ^ 79
- ^ In : The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report \$"I11 Part I (i9s6) : The Synagogue 3i 2 f.

We have said the following about Geiger's readings°. Before In this case, we hold LZk'H i, then 'fZ jDH and \(\frac{1}{2}\) then ¥'fflFlVA' and K'L' 2, SChließlicli 'DVIV S WM m)'n for readings. They are all the more serious because they sometimes result in the annalisation of grammatical oddities. 'PM Y TN should, since Geiger erroneously reads 'Ain at the beginning (he remarks: "not even Polotsky has noticed, that this word begins with a w = 'Ain"), be read as a form of '. $\dot{S}$ . VHWh' --  $\tilde{a}$ šnulan,  $\dot{S}$ it' If(øt)'ii as \$LLI'n. The first assumption does not require

6 \Vider1cgung, the second is settled by the fact that although a spelling of I niittelst 'e is found in the book pehlevi, it is not in the I nschriften. The fact that a reading K'L' with s instead of g is excluded by the OD V (not MD 'I) of the God of J uden, moreover on an inscription in the synagogue, is unlikely to be a \'first-hour overcrowd. Geiger's solution can be taken on its own merits.

Previously, P.J de Menasce' (whom Geiger does not cite) had correctly stated 'Don wx, YK and f.XI Y TO' and attempted an interpretation. Based on Š-H Y TO' -- nizan.d "détruit" he said: "On peut penser que cette inscription non datée a trait à quelque accident de travail

'}ui a oblige nos peintres ù effectuer un replitrage". His interpretation6 is quite different from Geiger's; of course, it also goes in the wrong direction.

Firstly, our reading and translation:

L'I'N V 'YL'H 'B 1 "DWN 'YK Š RR T ZY yliu dv V'yzd'n 'HL' PM Y TU-1" T US" W'Š 4Il:Ih ODM "He looked to where the truth of the

J uden ('s'ar), and the other God he destroyed, came and listened".

Firstly, 'B V DW.¥ does not refer to manufacturing work. As "periphrase verbale" it belongs together with 'YNH and is represented by  $L'IN \not\equiv$ 

^ Altheim-StiehI, Supplementu m Aramaicum i i ff. ; Finanzgesch. der Spätantikei 77 f. ; Philologia sacra 59 f. - B. Geiger has referred to this in: East and \\extreme est i o (959a. 86f. and repeated his previous "readings" without giving any new reasons.

Our response can be found ibid. 8 y.

J . asiat. i 95 z, 5 i 8 f. First published in : Zeitsc h. f. Relig.- u. Geistes- gesch. 7 (st i), 35° f. dealt with the inscription.

^ S. Telegd y: in Acta Arch. H ung. i (i 93 i), 3 i 5 f. (the knowledge of the record is owed to J. Harmatta).

strengthened. The subject remains unnamed, but the object is paraphrased with a subordinate clause that begins with the relative  $I^*K$  -- kei. The subject of this subordinate clause is the \Vort following YK, which initially remains unspoken. In the second line, followed by II and written as

To understand the rider of the main sentence: "the other Scott destroyed er".

The spelling 'JL' stands out. It replaces the familiar ideograms 'Jf-, 'HLN. The form does not correspond to aram. uJrs "other" and recurs on the second inscription of Tang-i Sarvak in the second line as 'Jr'®, HL' is undoubtedly set to mark the corresponding yzd'n as singular.

The same subject to be recognised for 'BYDWN and YMY T.1 is present in 'SMHN QMM. The unnamed looked to where etc as was, and then he listened. What might it have been? The solution is given by S fiR 7"° JV yhu dy. The form SfifiT is known (also there a speciality) from the A rsäma parchments and still from the Dura parchment i z". The cries HTML TN instead of MMV TWN, '.KMHN instead of 'SMHWh' have parallels in the synagogue inscription: V' TN instead of Y'TWN, Y.WY T.Sf instead of YMY TWW'.

The "destruction" of the "other" god was a process that took place within the unnamed person, of whom the scripture reports. In other words, it was a conversion or the beginning of one. It took place in a non-Jew who converted to the Jewish faith. *1 "zd'ii* shows that he was a Zarathustrian.

It has been noted that participation in Jewish worship did not imply that one shared in the privileges and obligations of the Jews or that one "fell into contempt" for them. In the

J ews of the Pisidian Antiocheia appear on the Sabbath except Jews Even those who "fear God" (Acta•3, I) or "God-fearing Jewsenjoyed" l-3. 43-1 Arn next Sabbath in the same school "almost the whole city" to "hear the word of God" i-3. 44)

<sup>°</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum 9Of. ; Q3 f., with correction of the **Readings** W. B. Hennings in : **Asia** Major N. S. z ( 9J <L i '° We abandon our earlier reading *Iyct*.

<sup>\*&#</sup>x27; Most recently Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache i. Lfg. 1 9591. 4'-

<sup>\*^</sup> A. D. Nock, Conversion (i 93 z) 6z.

Our unnamed person also limits himself to listening to the "\\'ahrheit" of the Jews in the synagogue.

¥"orheretofore however he had "destroyed" "the other god" within himself. p.4f1' *TS'* is aram. fm/, syr. i "iaf "eripuit", which can be compared to what Apuleius says of a woman (met. Q,ii): *s§rc/is et calcatis divinis numinibus in vicem cerlac religionis mentila sacrilegia praesum plione* bei, gern *firacdicarct* unicum!'. However, Ibn Hisäni's account of the Persian Salman (z, -36, zö f. Wüstenfeld) bears the strongest resemblance to our text, even if he did not convert toJ udentism but to the Christian faith'-.

Salmän came from the village of Gaiy near Isfahän. His father was *dchkän* of the village. According to him, Salmän was zealous in the religion of the magicians and in the maintenance of the sacred fire. One day he went to

"a church of the churches of the Christians" and heard the f-prayer in it. "I entered," it says literally, "to see what they were doing, but after I saw them, their prayer pleased me, and I desired what they were doing, and I said, 'By God, this is better than that,

what we have', and, by God, I did not leave them until the sun went down ... Then I said to them: 'Where is the origin of this faith? They replied '. 'In Syria'.

The instruction of Izates I I by Adiabene and his mother Helena to Judaism may also be cited (loseph., ant. 20, z, z4 f.)<sup>18</sup>. The change of religion had already taken place before the king's accession, but only now did Izates allow himself to be circumcised. The nobility of Adiabene complained that the ruler was abolishing custom and favouring other peoples (meaning the Jews) (ibid. zo, 4. 75: - ). The rebellious nobility first sought

the Arab king Al'ias, then the Arsacid Vologeses I against Izates in to incite war.

\Vas were za w'f-rpict, which Izates violated? The king triumphs a zarathustrian name: i.Bad, as'est. yazala-! ®. So the ancestral

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ A. D. Noc k, a. O. z83.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ The job has remained unknown to Nork.

<sup>^</sup> P. liahle, The Cairo Geniza (i947) i 8 f.; in contrast, F. Altheim, Literatur und Gesell - schalt z (i g50), zz8f.

<sup>\*^</sup> On the name P. Kahle, a. 0. i 8 note \( \phi \); on the other hand F. Altheim, a. 0. z, zz8 note y; most recently A. D. Nock. in: Amer. Iourn. Arch. 949,\*7 note z\( \phi \) end.

Iteligion to which our report alludes was Zarathustrism. It is also understandable why \"ologeses I in particular was incited with the reference to that xc-rohiicrcti zö oOrp "x, while in the case of the .'Arab one was content with payments and promises of help. For the Arsacid appears here or" in the tradition as a zealous and bcsvuDter \'crtreter of the zarathu- stric religion.

7

Even if he looks back, he must recognise that Zarathustrian mission has always been under a special \'sign. It is advisable to read what J. Bidez and F. Cumont have said before their öleister- u'erk on the basis of the results so far. There was the original honour of Zarathustra, which exalted Ahuramazda, condemned Ahramanyu and 'lie daéra, and with them all magic that turned to the demons; which was based on moral decision and the commandment expressed in it. Nothing was known of primal theology and astrology. The change was all the stronger in Hellenistic times. Zarathustra associated himself with the Chaldeans and their science. Chaldeans and magicians - or as they were now called: magusüers - donated to the demons and offered nightly sacrifices to Aliramanyu. Zurx-än stood aside Ahuramazda and became the supreme principle from which he and his dark Cegen- part c'rst originated.

The younger, syncretic form of Zarathustrism was able to spread ss'eithin. It made its conquests in the \Vest, spread from Bab3lonia across Asia Minor to the Aegean; it produced numerous apocryphal writings in Greek. Expansion and influence on other peoples and religions, according to both researchers, can hardly be overestimated. The original doctrine was different: its triumphant advance in Iran itself was indisputable, but it rarely succeeded in having an effect beyond its borders. Armenia, as well as Cappadocia and Pontus, remained the only areas that could be categorised as

<sup>&#</sup>x27;' The evidence in F. .A ltheim, a. 0. 2 29 .' Les mages hell6nisés i , V f.

<sup>^</sup> Altheim-Stich 1, Die aramäische Sprache i . Ltg., 89 f. ; F. Altheim, Zarathustra and Alexander (i  $9*^{\circ}i$  39

the Achaimenids\*. Otherwise they had to refrain from proselytising among the subjects of the vast empire. Pagan developmental stages of Zarathustrism were in sharp contrast after their spread.

The Sasanians had not hesitated to push back Hellenistic Magusaeanism and all kinds of Hellenistic-Oriental syncretism. They wished to restore the purity of the original ¥'er proclamation. What had characterised the Achaimcnid period was immediately repeated. Iran's religion was no longer able to find followers; it had to limit itself to the preservation of what was distinguished. A Christianised Armenia, Christian communities in the two tribes and in the neighbouring provinces put up fierce, mostly insurmountable resistance to Zarathustrism. Even the Sasanian state church and its bloody persecutions did not fail to make the impossible possible.

There was no lack of other attempts to remedy the situation. Ëäpčir I (239' - 2/2) chose the path of using if anichaeism as a mission in the empire. The founder of the religion Mani himself

was in Sãplir I's *comitaliss* when he led his campaigns in the \west5. It can be traced back to the mission of the Manichaean bishop Addã in Egypt, which fell before Sãpür's z-J . Searching eastwards, the ñlanichaeans were given a free hand for a while. 6íãr 'Ammü, Aramaean like Addã', moved to Abar-àahr, the capital of Chorãsãn. Pürõz, Săpür's brother and governor als

- IV. liilers in: Relig. in Gesch. u. Ciegenwart- Art. Iran p. li So. 19ie hlithrasreligion has nothing to do with Zarathustrism. On the other hand, the later kingdom of Pontos to mention. Persian magicians mentioned there by

  And alongside the cult of Strabon 73-3

  Anaitis is the '(i)p'xvoG xcl 'Avn66-rou: Strabon 5 i z. -d -i-d-dä-ia- is: "who is without
  - home payment" *Lies* hlakellose fits the "good sense". Other Iranian influences mention Bide z-Cu mont, Les mages helléflisés (193\*), 3° It should be added that the six **horsemen who** escape from A ntigonos' camp with MithridateS **I I. KtistT8** (302/ i -zöö/3), the **founder of the** Dvnastie, correspond to Darius' co-conspirators against Gau- mâta (A ppian., Mithr. 2, 9). The flight on horseback is an anticipation of Ardaśur's 1st flight from the court of I-arth, **a simultaneous** parallel **to** SeleuLos' I **flight** from Babylon: 1'. Altheim, decline of the ancient world i! 952), -5\*--7
- Altheim-Stiehl, l'hilologia sacra y9 f.
  - A lex. Lycop. j, i 9f. Brinkmann; Kephal. i 5, 33 f.; about a morirt'i comitatøn St s (legend B B') of the Sasanids cf. R. Göbl in Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischen Staat
  - . 7 f.; Nu mismat. Zeitschr. 27 ( i 9571, 18.
- H. 14. Sch aeder, IraniCã 7 \* , >İt falsified conversion.
- <sup>7</sup> 11. II. Schaeder, a. 0. \* i Arim. 3.

*lb' ku1'n mlk'®*, belonged to Mani's oldest followers". However, since the founder of the religion and the majority of his followers had succumbed to the Zarathustrian priesthood under Kartir's leadership, the Manichaean mission was no longer an option for a Sasanian.

Mär 'Ammö had moved ziiQeyäti *tiigär* aQ'iy "together with the scriptures (and) the image" to the East. The Manichaean mission never renounced the aesthetic effect of the image. Since it did not fail to be successful, Säpür or his entourage decided to try something similar with the second protégé of his religious policy: the Jeden.

This is how it came to be historically unique that in Dura-Europos the synagogue was decorated from top to bottom with murals at royal expense<sup>10</sup>. Since the Achaemenids, the Jews had favoured the Peruvian card. They had done so under the Arsacids, and it was to be no different under the Sasanids. It will be shown that the

Jews elsewhere had vigorously and sometimes successfully championed the Persian cause. Nobody will want to say that the painting of the synagogue brought them followers. On the northern Iranian border there were some towns with a strong Jewish population, above all Gurgän'l and the later Maimana, but that was too little to have any effect. The time had not yet come for Judaism to gain proselytes among the Khazars.

In this situation, the Zarathustrian renaissance in the Sogdians promised at least a reprieve. But it came too late, and in any case Hun aid troops from this or neighbouring countries were no longer to be expected. The situation was all the more painful for the Sasanians as Christianity was also successfully spreading on the Persian southern flank. There, too, Byzantium gained new allies.

<sup>°</sup> H. H. Schaeder, a. 0. y3.

<sup>°</sup> FihTiSt 3\*, z6f.; 332, So Flügel; H.-Ch. Puech. Le Manichéisme (i 9 9) 6; - 3 Note' 79 ° Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra 281.; 8 i f.

<sup>&</sup>quot; B. Spuler, Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit (954) z i6 and note 5, where Barhebraeus, chron. Syr 3\*. -4 f. Bedjan is overlooked.

has since been settled: Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike (954) z66f. How one can cite Ibn i;JurdäQbehso de Goeje for the existence of a Jewish community in Khorasan (B. Spuler, a. 0. z r 5 note io) remains a mystery. Although the Jewish *cc-Rädän!yo* are mentioned there, not a word is said about Choräsan. Should there be a connection with the fu\$ ör4\* r-rue, who after so, i5 moved via Gurgän to Baghdad?

### 2. CHAPTER

## M I SS IO N AMONG THE ARABS

1

The I;ligez with its cities of Mecca and Medina did not first enter the circle of tension between the two great powers of Byzantium and Sasanian Iran with Muhammad and his successors. It is true that scholars have long held the view that Sasanian rule never reached as far as Yamäma, let alone Tihäma. This view is, of course, forced to set aside a number of explicit references. And, as will be shown, it is refuted by a new discovery.

For Hiéäm ibn al-Kalbi u ar the Labmid Imru'u 1-Mais (above I, 125) governor ("tiii 'iitnmäf) of Säpür I, Hormizd I and Bahräm I over the Arab tribes of Rabi'a, Mudar and others in the deserts

of 'Iräk, IJi äz and the <sup>Geziral</sup>. His successor 'Amr took over this governorship, and it again extended over the border areas of the bludar and Rabi'a°. Nüldeke remarks that the kings of l<sub>i</sub>Iira may h a v e exercised their authority deep into the desert, but their arm did not reach as far as the fJi äz, to Mecca and Medina. And yet Tabari says in another passage that Säpür II came to Yamäma and as far as the vicinity of Medina on his campaigns against the Arabs'. This could mean that the kings I;iira's 'umtnaf of the Sasanids were in the desert and as far as the Hi äz.

The decisive factor is Imru'u l-kais' tomb writing discussed above (I, xz6f.). It refers to the Ma'add, i.e. Rabi'a and Mudar5, as sub-vodes of the deceased ruler. The seats of the Ma'add at that time extended x-on the neighbourhood of Uekka up to the northern border of Negrän. It is fitting that

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Tabari, ann. i, ß 33, s i f.

<sup>°</sup> Tabari, ann. i . \*'s.

<sup>°</sup> Transl. #f' Note4: also G. Rothstein, Die Dynastie der LaQmiden in al-lJira i 3 i .

<sup>^</sup> ann. , \*39. 7 f.; Cf. 8 , q.

<sup>^</sup> On this and the following: J. Ryckmans in : ff uséon 6f, 3o f.; W. Caskel, Ent- decku ngen in Arabien z8.

Imru'u l-kais reached Neğrän in his triumphal march (Z. ° 31 The newly found liimyaric inscription R 535 has confirmed in its second line "Mar'ul- kais, son of 'A (mru ]m, king of Ha a atãn" there° (in addition

Above i, -°9 f.; 2, 2Q). In Ü eğrãn the name Ma'addiva has survived to this day'. Prokop, who is informed about the conditions there, knows the Mn "fi6pvot on the coast, north of lJimyar and subject to him#. Accordingly, l ustinian tries to persuade King Esymphaios that

he leads the fugitive Phylarch of the Mcto66ijvoí back to his country and invades the territory of the Persians with the army of UJimyarites, Saracens and Moct66ijvoí®.

This establishes the foundation and beginning of iJira's rule over the i¡liğăz. Abari's message'o, according to which Chusrõ I. Anosar van den Lahmiden šlundir b. Nu'män" as king over 'Omăn, Bahrain and Yamama as far as 'fa'if and the other parts of łJigäz. This time too, Nüldeke doubted the extension of Lahmid rule to Higäz'o. However, the Ethiopian translation of the chronicle of Bishop Iohannes of Nikiu calls Mundir the "king of łJigäz"o. Tanzar's letter states that the Sasanian Empire "encompasses Arabia as far as 'Omän", and Bal'ami names í¡lira, Babrain, Yamama, the i;ligäz and ă'if's among its components. Baladuri'o indirectly confirms what has been said by quoting a statement according to which JJaibar had never been under Persian rule. And once again, what has been reported has been confirmed by a find.

For the same Mundir of  $l_i$ lira - meaning the third of his name, who reigned from about 5 A to 35a - appears on the Himyaric

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■ G. Ryckmans in : Muséon ó9,5 2 f. ; J. Pirenne, a. 0. i 62 ; i yo.
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H. St.) . B. Philby, Arabian Highlands 3 i à.

Procopius, bell. i , i 9, f. On W. Caskel's erroneous views vg1. Altheim-Stiehl, Finanz-geschichte der Spätantike i #3 Anm. i β; 33i f.

<sup>■</sup>Bell. i, zo, i3.

to Ann., 95\*, i 3 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Th. Nöldeke, a. 7° Note I; G. Rothstein, a. 0. zs

<sup>12</sup> Th. l'iÕldeke, a. 0. 238 A n m. ą; cf. ą6 note; assessed as genuine by S. Smith in: BSOS. i ö (9J4) da 2.

is 159, 3:39z transl. Zotenberg.

J. Darmesteter in: Journ. Asiat. i89#, i, z i; 5y6; G.Widengren in: Orientalia Suecana i (i 95z), 8a.

cs p. z x z Zotenberg.

te 3z, f. BúIùE.

Inscription R 5 6 of Muraigän, from the year s<sup>4</sup>J 17 Here we are told **of a** campaign by the Ethiopian ruler over l<sub>i</sub>iimyar, Abraha. His undertaking is a countermeasure against a recian of the Ma'add and against predatory endeavours by the banfi ':lmir. The king

Beat the Ge6 lers in J/6'i. The Ma'add had to provide hostages: 'Amr, son of Mundir I I I of i;lira, ensured in his own person that the tribe remained calm'o, and was appointed governor over the Ma'add by his father. appointed.

The Ma'add, i.e. the **Rabi'a** and Mudar, appear again under Labmidian rule. \Vas had applied to the 3rd century still applied to the 6th century. This confirms the extension of Mundir's II I. rule,

as Tabari states. Strangely enough, neither G. nor J. Ryckmans mentioned the testimony. On the other hand, they correctly emphasised the agreement with **Prokop**oo. There it is reported how an envoy of I ustinian tried to persuade Abyssinia and the I<sub>i</sub>limyar, who were under Abyssinian rule, to move against the Mno66rjvol. These efforts were continued under Abramos, i.e. under Abraha. After making promises, Abraha agreed to march against the land of the Persians, but soon abandoned the endeavour.

J **Ryckmans**<sup>o</sup> equates the event mentioned in inscription R <sub>S</sub> 6 with Abramos' aborted campaign at Prokop. The inscription shows that Abraha came as far as *hlbn*. This refers to l;lalibän, about Izo km north of Huraigän, loo km south-west of Mäsil, on the direct route to i;lira and

Ktesiphon-'°. \\'ar had hitherto been solely x'on Hiro and the Sasanids, Abralia's campaign

leads to the opposite side. Ostrom emerges as a co-sponsor. In

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17 G. Ryckmans in: M uséon 66, z25 f.; J. Ryckmans, ibid. 339 f.; \Y. Caskel, a. 0. z7 f.; criticism of Caskel's textual constitution by J. Ryckmans in: Bibliotheca Orientalis i (i gg y), gz I. On the question of dating: W. Caskel, a. 3°; A. F. L. Heeston in: BSOS. i 6 (+954l. 39°: J. Ryckmans, La persécution des chrétiens Himyarites en sixiéme siöcle (Istanbul i95ö). On the other hand, we have emphasised that the equation 6qo himyar. -5z5 christl. must be maintained: Altheim-Stieh1, Finanzgeschichte der Late antiquity•47*: is i f. Likewise J. Pirenne in: Muséon ö9, i6ö f.
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<sup>18</sup> We assume Caskels 4'erbesserung here.
19 An etu-as different interpretation is now given by A. F. L. Beeston in: BSOS. i 6 (1934). 391;
S. Smith, ibid. 35 note. : 437-

IÄ J, 20, 13.

<sup>\*&#</sup>x27; l.c. 34\*-

<sup>&</sup>quot; -- - 339: \\'. Caskel, op. O. zg.

It is of course not mentioned in Abraha's inscription. But Prokop categorises this campaign as part of Lusinian's anti-Persian policy. The chronological questions remain.

Prokop places Lustinian's legation to Abyssinia and íJimyar in Kavãfi I's last period; the latter died in the late summer of s3-- Abramos, Prokop further notes, only came to rule later (Sepoy). After

he had often promised Lusinian a campaign against the Persians, he finally got his act together and ów'x póvov ant<sup>oo</sup>. This can be reconciled with a date of 5'z.

Immediately before this, the Himyaric inscription CIH. 54\*. Abraha, so one learns, received inn years 65 himyar-. są2 christl. the envoys of the Romans, Persians and their vassal princes. They were therefore not at war, but in peace negotiations. Procopius again provides confirmation. In a treaty that Belisar 5ąz concluded with Chusrõ I Anõšarvăn, he made the latter promise through negotiators that wpkr|3tiç Iç

^ P°\* PYU ' \*š p; œirvòv 8fprov-r'xi\*-. In spring s 3.was Chusrõ, who was in h6urbaiyän, announced the arrival of the imperial envoys Konstantianos and Sergios. Oûç 6E Xoop6r;; wpo - 6cyópsvo\$ Eouyvj épsvzv°^. What led to the fact that no agreement was reached may be left aside. Enough: the legations at Abraha's court for the year s - certainly fit the historical picture.

Procopius places the conclusion of the truce between Byzantium and Persia in the IQ. Year of Iustinian°^: it falls in the spring of 5q °'. Shortly afterwards, the Ğassãnid l¡íãrit and the Lahmid Mundir II I started a special war, caused by i¡Jãrit capturing a son of his opponent and sacrificing him to the 'Uszä (Try 'AQpofil-rij)°. The two superpowers did not take part in the battle, which continued to keep the Arabian Peninsula in suspense. Mundir suffered his first defeat as early as s'6, which left him

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* th. J, 20,*3.
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<sup>^</sup> Procopius, bell. 2, z i, z5, et al. m.; E. Stein, Hietoire du Bas-Empire z, 497:•ø s • The excellent information, partly based on visual evidence, emphasises B. Rubin, Prokopios von Kaisareia i zz f.

<sup>°-</sup> Prokop., bell. z, zq, 5; E. Stein, a. O. i99-

<sup>°°</sup> Bell. 2, z8, a.

o' E. Stein, op. O. z, 5o2; S. Smith, l. c. O. 36 Arim. .

<sup>^^</sup> On this and the following G. Rothstein, a. 0. 8z f.; E. Stein, a. 0. -, so3, with sources.

to retreat. The events must be seen in this context of which the inscription R 506 reports.

As already mentioned, it was written in s'2. In this year, Abraha's army returned from i¡ialibän°°. Negotiations with 'Amr, Mundir's I I I son, had preceded this. i;tira must have been anxious not to acquire another enemy in i;li äz in addition to the Gassänids in the north.

So they were prepared to come to an understanding with Abraha, all the more so as he had just won his victory at l;laliban. This victory itself and the subsequent negotiations, as we have rightly seen, took place in the year s46.

#### NACHTRA G

After completion of the manuscript, W. Caskel discussed the history and chronology of the Nuwäs in a review of J. Ryckmans. La persécution des Chrétiens Himyarites au sixiéme siécle (- 956) iR ZDMG.

\*959. §2x uttered. Caskel is our discussion in: Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike 3s3-365 (of twice the scope of his) remained unknown to Caskel. He accepts the beginning of the himya-

ritic era, although we have refuted it in detail and the author, as we believe to have been informed, has abandoned it himself. Furthermore, the Ethiopian testimonies discussed above z, So -q6 remain unknown to Caskel.

Another one is even more unfortunate. We had in: Aramaic language 2nd vol., I ryf. cautiously expressed certain doubts about Caskel's knowledge of Syriac sources. now one finds on p.4\*3 -\*! • ch-wä instead of da-ftnJA-trä, matt fiiryä instead of uri luräyä, i.e. two transcription errors in each word.

p. 42¢ note 2 encounters *zéri phulho*, i.e. zri¢iita 'ferocia' instead of, as in should be called in this case (Finanzgeschichte 3 -1 : --ri§fa "impetus".

<sup>^°</sup> Z. 8-a.

On this and the following J. Ryckmans, op. cit. O. 3 z, but with a not entirely accurate description of the events. B. Spuler in: Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Es. szz; in contrast Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden z. Lfg. (r960), i i 2 f. For the last treatment of the events discussed in this chapter, see B. Rubin, Das Zeitalter lustinians i (19 J, 305 f., with detailed information based in part on W. Caskel (cf. Vor- wort XI I). The same applies to these as is stated in the following "Supplement".

2

lJira has, so much has been proven, at least in 3rd -4th and then in 6th century his rule to Bedouin tribes of the íJigãz erstretches. As vassals of the Sasanids, the íJira kings exercised this rule in the name of their overlords. The question often remains as to whether the Lahmids also incorporated the cities of l¡ligãz into their territory. At first, there seems to be little evidence in favour of this. Imru'u l-kais did not succeed in conquering Negrän. Mundir was appointed king over 'Omăn, Bahrain and Yamäma as far as ã'if'. It is not known whether the city itself was under his control or not.

A statement by Ibn Hurdädbeh comes into play here°. According to him, a 'õmif was placed over Medina and the Tihāma in pre-Islamic times by the marzbān of the desert, who collected the I arãg. Then it continues: "And it was K uraişa and an-Nadīr kings who had appointed them over Medina, over al-Aus and al-{Jazraḡ". The subject for mallet iihâ can only be the inarzòda and the Persians. This clearly attests to Sasanian rule over Medina°. It is all the more urgent to emphasise this because the information is still missing in J. Wellhausen's fundamental treatise on "Medina before Islam". De Goeje's edition of Ibn Hurdãdbeli appeared in the same year and was (it seems) not yet accessible.

The first part of the statement is also 3'ākút. h'ur names<sup>5</sup> instead of the *marzbān* of the V'üstc the *tnarzbānu z-Zăra*, the place in Babrain-. There, during the Arab conquest, a Sasanian *marzbāti* stood next to the local tribal prince. The same was true for the last times of í;lira. After the fall of N u'män's I I I. in 602, an Arab not

-of Lahmid descent was entrusted with the rule, and he was succeeded by a Persian

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Ibn Hurdãdbeh i Hz, to ; cf. Th. Nöldeke, Übers. i 8 Arim. z. G. ftothstein, a. 0. i 3 i f. ; abari, ann. i, sß5. 7 S fiCht of a 'āmif.
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<sup>&#</sup>x27; Tabari. ann. r, 958, I3 f.

<sup>°</sup> i z8, 9 f. de €ioeje.

W. Caskel (by letter) doubts that lbn Hurdãdbeh had a different source in mind than the verse of one of the orit'ir which he quotes in the polgend. On the other hand, it should be remembered that 'ommiJu I-Aaräd '(abari, ann. i , 963. § f. (vg1. Dinawari 23, i3 f.) is the correct expression (Altheim-StiehI, Ein asiatischen Staat i , q3). Ibn Hurdfidbeh could not infer it from the verse quoted.

<sup>^</sup> Sketches and preliminary studies q, i I.

placed at the side ^. Things were organised differently in the 1'emen under Chusrö **I.** Anösarvän cr- oberten. \Valiriz, who had won the land for his liünig, appointed a local sub-king and returned to üc k°. When the new ruler was defeated by the rebellious Abyssinians, R'ahriz came a second time and established order. Chusrö appointed him as governor, and as such he raised the taxes'\*. A new i'ionig was not appointed this time.

According to the Arab view, the Persian marzh'iii in Bal.train stood in .dependence on the Lahmids". This explains the coexistence of the rulers. The K iinige of IJ ira o were then also in 6lcdina min 'iimmäl of the Sasanids, whose "i'rtif there would have been the respective regging I-ahmide geo'esen. However, there were also some from the Jewish tribes of K uraiza and an-Üadir, of which I bn Hurdädbeh speaks. This order could only apply to the time when the Jewish tribes were in control of the other Arab :i1-.Aus and'1 al-iJazra; tribes, i.e. until the middle of the fifteenth century. \It is not known what happened to the Sasanian 'iimil thereafter. M undir 111th initially retained rule over the Sla'add, as has been shown. But his son N u'män was only 'ämll over H ira and the neighbouring"nden parts of 'Iräl;'o. In fact, the events in Medina since the middle of the Gth century - beginning with the Sumair feud and descending to the Battle of Hu'ät

- no longer any room for the continued existence of the Sasanian regime.

In i;liJäz o, too, the J nds were therefore supporters and partisans of the Sasanids. It needs no further elaboration that even in Mohammed's

The Jewish tribes of Medina and Haibar were on the Persian side at the time: this has been shown elsewhere'\*. The Sasaii iden used the kurai¿a and an-Nadir who lived there to help them control the Heduins of southern iJiJäz. The dund between the persers and j uden

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* k1. li"tlistcin, a. 0. i i 9 f.; • g T abari, ann. i, zo i -. i i f.
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<sup>•</sup> abari, ann. i , q5y, i i f.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Tabari, ann. I, o 5d. ? f.

<sup>&</sup>quot;G. Hothstein. a. t0. i 3z. It is important to note **that** 'Amr 1'. Hind e-on **i;lira the** "imil **of** 13alyrain the murder of the I. poet hlutalammis: I bn li utaiba, lil'. poes. 83, 6 f. de G'wjc.

<sup>11</sup> J. \\'ellhausen, 1. O. 2 I.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn I-li4üm, v. bloh. 42, i f.

<sup>14</sup> *]* . \\ ellha usen, a. O. z y f.

is Altlieim-Stich1, 1\*inanzgeschichte der SJiätantike i 38 t.

<sup>4</sup> Althelm, Bunnen 111

however, continues to *apply*. Not only in Medina, but also in H'emen, the Sasanian partisans were of the Jewish faith. And here religious issues were added to the political ones. The Arab Christians were persecuted by a Jewish Arab king.

Nuwäs is known from the reports of Arab historians, from the Syriac book of the i;limyarites' the letter of Bishop ß e m' on of Bét Aréäm", also written in Syriac. Recently, inscriptional evidence has been  $^{\rm addedl}$ . The Jjimayrian inscriptions R  $_S$  2 and 508 lead into the battles of the first years after dfi Nuwäs'

Ascension to the throne (spring 63s lyimyar - 5\*7 christl.)' at the latest. It it will become apparent that the number of available sources is not yet complete.

Arab tradition tells us that Yemeni kings professed Judaism even before the N uwäs. This applies not only to the reports that go back to Ibn **Ishäk**, but also to iJamza and Bérüni<sup>oo</sup>. Dfi Nuwäs, on the other hand, only adopted Judaism<sup>ooi</sup> on his accession to the throne, and it was not in Yemen but in Medina that he is said to have become acquainted with Judaism<sup>ooo</sup>. It has been said that the adoption of the name Yüsul signalled a political promise<sup>ooi</sup>. In fact, the new king was serious about his faith. He became a merciless persecutor of Christians, and not only in Ne rän. The two of the N uwäs'

The inscriptions R<sub>S</sub> and 508 on the Abyssinians' names show that he also used every opportunity to burn churches and kill Christians during his first Abyssinian battles°-.

V'as did this man plan ? W. <sup>Caskel°5</sup>, who posed the question for the first time, primarily considered a Jewish Western Arabia. There

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te A. Moberg, The Book of the Himyarites {Acta Reg. Soc. Human. Lund. VII) 192}.
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It I. Guidi in : Atti della Academia dei Lincei 2, #21 t.

<sup>18</sup> G. Ryckmans in: Muséon 5ö, z8 f.; J. Ryckmans, a. 0. 32öf.; YV. Caskel, a. 0. 8 I. Further literature was cited above.

te W. Caskel, a. 0. z3.

<sup>21</sup> Tabari, ann. I, gi9, i z.

<sup>22</sup> l;1amza lsf. 33- . Gottwald.

W. Caskel, a. 0. z5. Also important is his reference to Jewish aAöär in the liii yanic inscription zgz J aussen-Savignac: Lihyan und Lihyanisch 32; 33-

<sup>24 5°7, 4 - 5°\*.</sup> s-; cf. I. Guidi, a. 0. jd 2 (Letter of Üem'ön from Bét Arsam and blartyr. A rethae); W. Caskel, a. O. 2z.

<sup>°&#</sup>x27; a. 0. z 6.

The Uuwäs could rely on the warlike Jewry of the oases of the north: in Medina, Haibar and, it may be added, in Taimä'o-, iJigr, Wädi 1-K urä, Fadak, MaLnä and on the **island of** Lotabeo'. He adds that he might even be able to launch an attack on Syria in the next Persian

-The war was intended to be a Roman war. Caskel did not realise that the Nuwäs and the Jews of 6fedina had actually joined forces. IJamza of Isfahän° had introduced the later ruler of Yemen to the Jewish religion in Medina. Above all, however, the Jews of Medina had instigated him to follow the Christians of Negrän. But did the Jews really lead him in the direction pointed out by Caskel?

Ne rän had converted a Syrian to Christianity, Ibn Isliäk-'- reported. It is not clear from this report that Christian missionary work had become a political tool here or that it signified a position to that effect. IJamza°°, however, has also reported that the conversion of Je rän was carried out by a Gassänid. This makes us sit up and take notice when we think of the later religious policy of the Byzantine kings. But the news contains a difficulty.

The Christian mission in Negrän must have been successful towards the end of the s century at the latest. At that time, the Eiazenids were not yet Byzantine client kings, and they were even less monophysite. confession<sup>o</sup>.

The chronicle of Se'ert (i, 33\*. - f.) places Ne rän's teachings in the time of 5'azdgard (399-42o). The merchant lJannän, when he returned from lionstantinopel to his native Ne rän, had gone from there to Persis. He passed through l¡fira and was taught Christianity there. He then won many over to his new faith at home, others in the land of the lJimyar°° and in Abyssinia.

<sup>°^</sup> On al-A'4fi hr. z5 Geyer and M'. Caskel's treatise in: Studi orientalistici in onore di G. Lex i Della \'idä i (956), i 3z f. cf. the criticism in Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra 83 f.

o' F. J3u hl in: EnC. ISläm 3, 390. \\'. Cmskel, The ancient Arab kingdom of Lihvan i'y; Lihvan and 1.ih)-anish 44: S. Smith in: BSOS. lö (19-i-}), q 2 H; § 3: 43

<sup>&</sup>quot; 33s 12 f.; S. Smith, op. cit. O. 6z f.

<sup>--</sup> Tabari, ann. i , 9zo, io; I bn Hié5m. v. Moh. z i, 3; Th. Nöldeke, Übers. i 2b Anm. i .

<sup>°°</sup> i 33, i 3f. \Further news in E. Honigmann, €véques et évéchés monoph ysitcs d' Asie antérieure (ig5 i) i 3 i note i .

o' Our assessment in : Financial History of Late Antiquity i 56 should be corrected. In his translation, A. Scher erroneously speaks of the "territoire de iJamir".

The same chronicle also sheds light on the previously doubted claim that the missionary work in Negriën came from the Gassänids. Heretics who came to btundir (I I I.) b. Nu'män fled to i;lira, moved ii'citcr (z, I }-d, 13 f.) "to Ne rän and remained there, sowing thee1b,t confession of lulian, the teacher Sex erus', who said that the body of our Lord the Messiah had descended from heaven". This influx of Monophysites to Romania came later than the original mission. However, it had a decisive influence on the image of Christianity there.

3

News that has so far been overlooked by researchers (including the \authors) fills many a gap, the majority of the testimonies have been presented in zz citen J3and, translated and annotated (p. gof.). Further details may be added here.

Firstly, there is the testimony of the Chronicle of Sc'crt. In it hciEt '-s of Masrü , i.e. x on dü fi uw äs i (I, 331, 4) "Seifle mother u'ar a Jewess, who was caught among the inhabitants x on Ü isibis, and she bought a dt'r

Kings 1'emens. She gave birth to Blasrük and taught him the Jewish religion. He w'urrle king instead of his \u224" ater and tiitcte a lot of the Cliri.sten. It had told the news about him liarsahdé in his ach-judgements.'

Bar Salidü from **Karkä** d-bét Slök is bekiinnt' as the \'inventor of an ecclesiastical-historical \'\'recognis'. He wrote in x'orislamic times, so his testimony in itself deserves to be taken into account. € However, it is not really possible to answer the questions that are linked to the person of the Jewish king in any way. It is noticeable that data speaks of an unhindered succession of his \'ater on the royal throne, which is in contradiction with at least some of the other news.

\Varum c)\u00fc N uw\u00e4s about the Cliristens erfolgung i'on him x eranstaltcte in Negr\u00e4n an Mun;Jir I I. von iJira b c r i r h t e t, u ar always an unan- o-or'ete question. At an earlier point, we had surmised that Alunrlir was thus

<sup>\*</sup> A. Baumstar k, C-History of Syrian Literature ' i5

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Altheim-Stiehl, Financial History of Late Antiquity if.

was advised to pass this report on to his overlord, Kavä6 I.'. But nowhere is it said that this actually happened. And why the Umsvey about the Labmid, who was standing on Roman soil at the moment the h'uw'äs' letter reached him? The nuwäs' ¥'crhalten is only understandable if he had long been in close contact with 6Iun5ir.

Barhebraeus has preserved a statement that seems to shed light on these connections (Chron. eccl. i , zoi , i 4f.). "At this time, when a Jewish man from IJira' ruled over the i;limyar, who were a tribe of the Christian Arabs of the south cns xs, and niitated them to v"rleuynen the II' ssias, and tliese did not want it, many of them, II ünner u ntl women, suffered 'len martyrdom to't by the Seliwert. Un'l from here were the Negrenian° blood witnesses." Liam is meant by the Jew dü N uwäs is shown by the mention of i¡limyar's and the martyrs of Ne rän.

Also the Nuwäs' ¥'rrbindung with the Jews Mcdina'cs eiripfangen new easily. It has shown sirh, data Uundir I l I. si flOch the rule over

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° Altheim-Stiehl, Financial History of Late Antiquity si
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<sup>^ 1</sup> Guidi, op. cit. O.4 8i.

<sup>^</sup> Bett jirfä d-tiu'md't, see the editors i. 2oz note 2; Th. N0ldeke, L\*bers. 25

<sup>^</sup> *Nr §ränäve* with plene spelling in the first syllable. ' A ltheini-ütiehl, op. O. 55

<sup>&</sup>quot; To lirk Iärung I. €i uidi, a. 0. 8 i Ann. 5.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;1. C-iiidi, a. O. 8 i; 5oz, f.

<sup>\*°</sup> I. Guidi, a. 0. b y ; 3ов. I.

which Ma'add exercised in southern IJi äz. For lohannes of Nikiu, his power extended over the entire landscape: Mundir III (amular) is négu£a hé äz to him. It can therefore be assumed that Lahmidis' rule over Medina had not yet been broken. The Jew who had previously stayed in iJira joined his coreligionists in Medina. Both cities belonged to the same jurisdiction.

Another overthrow in Yemen, the removal of the usurper ruling there, was not an insignificant undertaking. Whoever undertook such an endeavour had to have secured political support beforehand. For repercussions on the relationship between the two superpowers could occur immediately and were not long in coming. One gains the impression that dü Nuwäs' conspiracy and uprising was led from iJira. Mundir II I had undertaken to promote the project in every possible way and to protect its author in the event of failure. The N uwös could be all the prouder when he was able to report to Mundir on the success and further measures. Of course, it is also understandable that as soon as new attacks by the Ma'add, who were under lJira's rule, took place, Abraha tried to escape from Yemen by advancing towards i;laliban, halfway towards Hira and Ktesiphon. iJira was a Persian client kingdom, and certainly in the case of dü Nuwäs' it was merely pushed forward by Sasanian politics. iJira's rulers always acted as mediators whenever a Yeme- nite wanted to reach the ear of the Great King". A Jewish king of Yemen could not be a friend of Rome, but was the natural ally of Persia, it was said'o. How much more was this true of a Jewish ruler who persecuted the Christians with fire and sword. According to Nuwäs'o report, the Christians were either to become Jews or die. The fact that anti-Christian attitudes coincided with anti-Roman attitudes is confirmed by Johannes von Nikiu. His tamnus - as shown, he is nobody

other than a prescribedor dü Nuwäs (above z. 43) - can be heard saying: "Since the Romans are torturing the Jews and killing them, nothing prevents me from killing Christians when I find them". The persecution of the Christians in Romania called Byzantium to the scene, and Ethiopia, which was allied with Byzantium, took the reprimand of the Christian merchants to heart.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Tabari, ann. i . 95o, i i f. ; Ibn Hiéä m, v. Moh. Hz, i f. '^ W. Caskel, a. 0. 25.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ I. Guidi, a. 0. j83; 5oz, i i f.; in particular 5o3, 3 f.

as an opportunity to start the fight against the Nuwäs. It ended with their downfall.

lohannes of Nikiu has the "King of the Nubians" turn to Christianity in direct connection with the defeat of N uwäs. There can be no doubt that this had already found its way into Nubia and the kingdom of Aksüm; 'fizänä's conversion

It may suffice to recall the mission of lulianos and Theodoros of Philai, which was not supported by **Lustinian**, but by Theodora (3, 183, I f. Brooks), Michael Syrus (32I, 1. 34 z, z6s r. transl. Chabot) and Barhebraeus (chron. eccl. I, zzt), 13f.).

(542-543) Two of the authors justify this new enterprise with the constant border incursions of the Nubians (lohannes of Ephesus 3, - 3. 9: Barhebraeus, chron. eccl. i, 22, 18 i.). It is even said that the mission was not

reached not only Nubia but also Ethiopia (lohannes of Ephesus 3 -32, I9: küfdyé). It is explicitly stated that the converts were won to the monophysite faith.

But there are several reasons that suggest that this account is not correct. It has been pointed out that the Nubian tombstones of the time, insofar as they bear Christian inscriptions, show that the mission, which started from Byzantium and was supported by the Melkites of Egypt, had a more lasting success. In the following period, too, it held the field, and Longinos u ar was not given the chance to oppose it'. Only the death of Lusinos II in 528 gave the other side a clear path. From 580 onwards, Longinos once again appeared in Nubia, challenged and protected by the ruler there, and this time the Monophysites were able to claim complete success.

In addition, the same confession was made by the Arabs on the Euphrates. border, again at the same time (Barhebraeus 3, 99. \*3 -) As early as the beginning of the 6th century, Tagrit, later the stronghold of the Monophysites, formed a centre of their missionary activity in

Babylonia and Persia (ibid. 3, p. 16f.). From IJira Sergios went to the

<sup>&#</sup>x27;- Barhebraeus, chron. eccl. i, 233, 2 f. By mi oJ (corr. St.) fut'hi or ortodoAsfi ( i , zz5, 6 ; z59, i i uam.) he means the Monophysite confession; cf. O. i, i86 note z. On Iulianos' mission to the Axumites:

E. HOnlgmann, a. 0. 13I; <09 note 5; on Longinos' mission to the Nobads zz f. '- U. Monneret de Villard, Storia della Nubia cristiana (i g38) 6i f.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;O U. Monneret de Villard, a. 0. 66f.

(z, 1)

In the middle of the same century, he travelled to the i¡Jimyar, where he stayed for three years. He then appointed his successor and died in Yemen". From 559 onwards, **Mar** Abiidemméh was active among the Arab Bedouins (ibid. 3, 99. 3 f.) '^, and when Sasanian rule came to an end, a separate bishop was appointed for the Taglib who had become Christian (ibid. 3, E23. \*3)

Abüdemmüh's Syrian biography, which is preserved in a manuscript from 03\*, provides individual details. The bishop of the Arabs himself belonged to this

 $\mbox{$\psi$}$  olk and was educated in Nestorian licence\*°, but then became the Slonophysite. He visited the tribes of the Üezira  $gzirl\ddot{a}z1$ , I I), but extended his endeavours as far as H ille and the Taniih of iJira (28, x i). Although the language of the I3eduins was considered difficult ( $z^*$ . 3) - for the Syrians and probably also for the urban Arabs - he nevertheless succeeded, in to appoint a priest and a deacon to each of the converted tribes

The monophysite mission that emanated from Tagrit was already being compared with the successful mission of the Alexandrian patriarchate in Abes sinia (was hebraeu- 3. - , 6 f.). The mutual relationship soon became apparent. my active representative of the Monophysite cause, the x on Tagrit from evircte: Ü\*cm'ön x on Bét Arsäm, w'ußte the ii ünig of N ubia or Abyssinia (/-no/k'i *p-biiI*) to intervene in favour of monophysite bishops who sat in Persiicheni Ecrker. And Kavä6 I complied with the request (SIichael Syrus 263 - 33: 2, 167).

The Sasanians could not fail to realise the menace of their situation. Everywhere they looked, it was obvious that they had allowed themselves to be taken by surprise. If one considered what Nuwäs' downfall meant for N' grän and 1'emen, if one considered the tiliristianisation of .\thiopicn and fi u- bicn or the stission among the ara l'isc desert tribes, one had to csic h insist that on all sides, the Ii liriqkeit of Byzatite policy had made progress. ?'Iission, orthodo xe as well as mono- physitisr he, proved to be a skilful \\'tool of this policy. not only from the hordes, the Huns and Hepthalites, but also in the south and southeast, a concession was becoming apparent.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Mio hael **Syrus** 3zo 1. zf f.; z. zf q 1. transl. . \**Further** details at 1£. Honigmann, a. O. i z t f.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ In addition F. Nau, Les A rabcs ch rt ticns de fil'isopotamie et de Syrie (i 933) I §1. '\* I'a tr. Orient. 3, i. y f. and F. Wau's data p. i 3.

<sup>^-</sup> i 9, 1 . and F'. -au's :\ nmcr kungen 3 -q : engl. i z.

It is impossible to avoid dwelling on the fundamental significance of these observations. It has been shown that the emergence of the Huns as the first 'fiir people of a comprehensive movement. Inhabitants of the steppe belt, which preceded the desert zone and, like it, traversed the whole of the Ute \Velt, from the Gobi to the Sahara; cattle breeders and migrants such as the Bedouins of Arabia or the North African dromedary nomads: they all belonged to this movement. These tribes and \(\frac{1}{2}\) '\(\text{ulker}\) were under the fiesetz that the climate curve e them x Cirschricb. Only a slight drop meant deprivation and famine; it forced the people affected to hold on to their fertile land and their farmers (see i , ioi f. above). Then the nomads p u s h e d northwards and southwards from the steppes and their grazing grounds towards the large dominions, towards the lands of peasant and urban \\'cscns: of these, the Eastern Roman Empire and that of the Sasanids should be mentioned first and foremost. Under nomadic pressure, other peoples, above all Germanic tribes and Slavs, began to move, and this migration of peoples, which pushed and pushed, sometimes turning into an avalanche, was to lead to the fall of the Western Roman Empire.

This overall picture, sketched out in the second book of the first volume, emerged again in the immediately preceding observations. But it did so, as it were, under the opposite sign. What there appeared to be a destructive force now seemed to prove to be an unexpected help for the Eastern Roman Empire. Byzantium sought to win over the r eäfte, which it had failed to defeat with the sword, by means of religiiisem \Vcg. By seizing the nomads in the north and the south with a grasping miss'ion, what had hitherto seemed to be ('et;ner on 2'od and life began t o become allies. The nomads became a tool that they hoped to use in the great battle they had to fight: the one against their Islamic neighbour and co-conqueror, the Sasanian state. One

The burden, which until)icr had been borne by Byzantium alone, could be shifted at least in part onto the shoulders of those from whom such help could be obtained.

had not crhoff t before.

ks was an important political conception that Byzantium used to make a name for itself at the time and which it would often fall back on in the future. On the Persian side, there was initially nothing to counter this. The constitutive deficiency of Zarathustrianism as a state church,

could not be remedied, and alternative solutions that had been tried had failed to achieve lasting success. There was another factor that made the situation even more unfavourable. It was to become apparent that the later Sasanids, especially their leading head, Chusrö I Anösarvän, were far removed from a believing Zarathustrian attitude. Yes, in the womb A movement had grown out of the Zarathustrian state church itself, whose fundamental ideas were to lead far away from what was previously in vogue.

## TWO ITES BUSH

# THELATESANIDENCE

#### 3. KAPITEL

## MAZDAKANDPORPHYRIOS

1

The Great Crise, which took place around the middle of the third century AD. The Roman Empire and the Ancient World were overwhelmingly shaken, and this has also made its mark on the history of the humanities. It added two more to the previous world views: a renewal of Platonic philosophy on the Greek side and the teachings of Mani and his successors on the Ira niches. Almost simultaneously, they confronted the two great states, hostile neighbours and yet together forming the "lights" and "eyes of the world": Rome and the Sasanian Empire. \How these separated and connected at the same time, so were the systems that originally belonged to them.

Artemis and .1J'lirodite - once mutually exclusive aspects of the \world, which

<sup>&#</sup>x27; PcW. Patr. fr. i 3, PCi H. ¢, i 8t'.

<sup>•</sup> the testimonies most conveniently in H.-Ch. Puec h, Le Manich'iisme s' .note 295.

<sup>^</sup> F. Altheim, Aus Spätantike und Christentu m -¡6f. and in the x-on C. J3rinkmann **published** in **the** anthology "Sociology and Life" i ;9 I.

in Euripides' "H ippolytus" clashed unreconciled and irreconcilable and created the tragic conflict - had now become "forces" and "energies" of the same divine power. To the extent that the ancient gods were stripped of their form and thus of their divine substance, the significance of the one who absorbed them all into his own comprehensive being grew: the sun god. But he, too, remained the visible image and instrument of the great One who stood above him. In a steeply ascending pyramid, the entirety of the moral world was subordinated to him as the "I dec of the things that are" -.

Mani wrote in the newly created Syriac literary language. However, according to his derivation, he was not Aramaic, but Iranian. The New Platonists also came from a clearly defined area. Ammonios Sakkas, the Hermeticists and Plotinus himself were Egyptians; Porphyrios was Phoenician; Longinos, Kalliñikos and Amelios were Syrian; I amblichos had an Arabic name. In view of these origins, it is not enough to speak of the east of the Roman Empire. Asia Minor, especially Cappadocia, once home to three great ecclesiastical teachers, remained outside. Semitic origins also did not determine the coexistence. However, it is probably true that they all came from countries that would one day become strongholds of ùfono-physitism. This may come as a surprise, but a closer look reveals an essential commonality.

When the Council of Chalcedon adopted the unification formula of the Wee tens, contained in the 'Tomos' of Leo the Great, the two natures of Christ were recognised according to his l'leischis'erdiing, despite the unity of the person. Dioscuros and the bishops of Egypt, who were grouped around their Fatriarch, were inferior to the alliance of Constantinople and Rome. Alexandrian theologians had always endeavoured to emphasise the divine nature of Christ in favour of the human. Thus one side took precedence over the other, and ultimately the Church of Egypt advocated the doctrine of one divine nature, monophysitism. In it, the opponents of the l'ormel of 45\* --S+ melted together: all those who were united in the condemnation of the one divine nature. the casting of Leo's 'Tomos'. The adoption of dev Chalcedonense led to tainable break with monophysite Egypt and Syria.

You only have to say it: the Monophysites continued the attitude of the Egyptian and Syrian Neoplatonists. They sub-

• F. Althe inn, a. 0. i 9 f.

did not completely suppress what was given to them: neither Neoplatonism the multiplicity of the ancient gods nor the Monophysites the Logos alongside the Father. But they de-verified what contradicted unity by cancelling it out. It is the same attitude that emerges among H'euplatonists and Monophysites, and it was hardly a coincidence that both were recruited from Egypt and Syria. Passionate striving for unity was as characteristic of the people of these countries as dualism was of Iran.

The Arabs remain. Recently, the inner relationship between Monophysitism and Islam has been emphasised. Eutyches, one of the fathers of the Monophysite doctrine, was described as a forerunner of Muhammad5. In fact, the developments here also run parallel. Muhammad's proclamation was again based on the idea of unity, on the fact that God had no "comrade". He placed himself in line with his Neo-Platonic and Monophysite neighbours and predecessors. Only that Muhammad's religious fervour lent an incomparably sharper character to what was felt and aspired to before him.

What remains most astonishing is that Neoplatonism also determined Iranian thinking and transformed it in its very essence. The doctrine of divine unity reached over into the country that had always represented dualism. It was strong enough to eliminate the classical myth I, and for a veile it could seem as if unity would prevail over divine duality there.

After the closure of their Athenian school 5-g, the heads of the Neoplatonic doctrine left the Eastern Roman Empire and sought refuge with the Sa-

sanide refuge. They hoped to find the Platonic state there again, where justice would prevail, royalty and philosophy would come together and the subject would be moderate and modest. Reality painted a picture that made the emigrated philosophers prefer death in their homeland to an honourable life at the Persian court. This is the report of Agathias'\*. \Vhat neither he nor the emigrated philosophers knew,

u'ar that shortly before, a doctrine b a s e d on neurlatonism had brought about a revolution in Iran.

Mazdak and the Mazdakites, whose uprising under Kavä6 I. (488 to 497, 499 -53\*) changed the social and economic order of Sasa-

<sup>•</sup> H. Grégoire in : ßlélanges Ch. Diehl i , i oy f.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;2,30-31.

\"eiterbildung und Sonderentu icklung des manichaisclien darstelle'\*. Christensen was led to this step beyond Üüldeke by the discovery of Manichaean original writings in Chinese-Rurkestan, mainly through the sveittrayendend ei g"bnisse d' r iuanicliäiit lim l'urschun(; l'elähit;t z-orden. There is no doubt that 'la13 Christensen has made a significant realisation. However, the question must be raised as to whether the decisive point about him has been made with this spiritual-historical liennzeiclinung blazdak. It will be shown that a further discovery, which Christensen could have been so little aware of xvie x or the Manichaean finds, allows him to go one step further. He f ülir t in that, let it be said in advance, of C hristensens lir result xs"it ali.

The starting point of the consideration should be an original text from one of Mazdak's writings: cinzigcs, which has been preserved. It is thanks to Cliristensen that Mazdak's own \word is recognised. However, the translation and interpretation of the brotherhood text preserved in Arabic leave much to be desired by Cliristensen. However, from the knowledge that it is an originali=s piece, the conclusion can never be drawn that it is to be interpreted as an originali=s piece.

t'as was available until then and is still mostly available today. strht, were doxograpli ishe llericlites that classified Mazdak's le1ir" according to fixed cate- gorieso'ie €iiitergemeinscliaft, \\'eibergemeinscliaft, Lelii'e s "n the prin- ciples or' the elements. Such fi l'issificationn miige n be useful for certain purposes, they have the ¥'ore feature of ¥'unity.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;History of the I-erscr and Ara1'er s55

<sup>&#</sup>x27;ä. 4.50 -

<sup>&</sup>quot; i'igl. Danske ¥'idenska1'. Sel.skab. , Hist.-filoI. hledd. I X, 6 i the results again I-'empi re dt-s Sassani'les\* i t' f.

<sup>&</sup>quot; a . 0. 96I. : L'empire des Sa.ssanides° 33 y f.

But the spiritual form of a doctrine threatens to become obsolete in such a process. It is only confronted where the original text, in its personal and unrepeatable character, becomes an obstacle.

is available. We all remember what a decisive step it meant for the exploration of pre-Socratic philosophy when people turned away from the doxographic reports and stuck to what had been preserved in the text. This moment marked the beginning of a new epoch in pre-Socratic research. The turning away from the doxographic accounts and the turning to a text which, however brief it may be, nevertheless ensures that Mazdak himself speaks to us, is to be realised in the following.

In his Äifäh ii 1-milal u'a-ii-itiJiaf, Aé-Sahrastäni has also given an account of Mazdak's teachings'. He begins with a few notes on the life, followed by a short doxographic account and, beginning with piihi ya or /taIa°, gives a few additions. At the beginning appears as

Muhammed b. Härün, called Abü 'Isä 1- t'arräk\* with his kiliibn 1-maltülät\*

A third section is introduced with una-roo'J3'a 'ation. \\'as the

What distinguishes this section from everything that precedes it is the large number of Iranian h'amon urid terms, in which, as will be shown, the Middle Persian form still shines through everywhere. According to the context, -dii in 'anhu can only mean ülazdak. This solution claims to go back to the reformer himself. Although Nazdak is initially spoken of in the third person, there is no doubt that one is using one's own \vorts. This is shown by the terminology, and the numerous details as well as the originality of the propositions presented are

Whether with A. Christensen, op. O. 80 note z. a change of source is to be assumed {hubiya} or again Abii 'Isä 1-Warrfik speaks (Hal ö), cannot be decided.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;p. i 9\*, i 9 f. Cureton; vol. i p. i i 9\*. of the Bombay edition of i 3'

 $<sup>^{\</sup>circ}$  That he was formerly a Zarathustrian (A. C.hristensen. l. O. 791. shows ab-Sahrastäni i ß, i f. . x gl. L. Massignon in : Eric. d. Islam q, i z i S ; C. Brockelmann, Gesch. d. arab. d. Lit.-Suppl. i , 3 i .

<sup>&#</sup>x27;.Bl-13éruni, Ch rOnOl. z\*7, i 3; z S¢, fi; 23 SaC häti.

<sup>^</sup> A. t'hristensen, op. cit. O. So note3, assumes a third Q,ue1Ic, "qu i prétend citer les paroles méme de Mazdak".

<sup>5</sup> Altheim, Hunnen III

confirm it-. If a stylistic adaptation was made at the beginning, this was done following the previous report and does not argue against the fact that, in a slightly revised form, a fragment of one of Mazdak's writings is present. In the section on the letters, which begins with §ãfa, Mazdak speaks in direct speech, thus continuing the literal fragment.

According to this, the one to whom Mazdak's worship gait - presumably the god of light - sat on his throne in the upper world, just as Ijusraw did in the lower world. It is significant that the name of the god is not mentioned; we will encounter this again below. Opposite him are four powers (ǧuwõ), which are later referred to as spiritual powers (*Tal-ǧuu'â* r-rú õntya):

- i. the power of discernment (tarn yiz, equated with möbabãn mo a,
- z. the power of insight (/aàøi), equivalent to the capital I fròoó;
- 3. the power of vigilance (i/y)', equated with  $sp\tilde{a}hba\ b$ ;
- a. the power of joy (sur úr), equated with the rdmisaar.

*Rãmišbar* translates Christensen as "musicien". More concise is his explanation as "maître de plaisir du roi", which would correspond to ğitrtra/u *s-surur*.

he four powers direct the affairs of the two worlds (yudaòòi- rúiia omra I-'ñføwieiri) through seven of their wezirs. *Tilka* refers to the farther realm in general, meaning the four powers of the upper V'elt. "Their w'ezirs" are then the w'ezirs of the four ğiue'a. The Weaire rule atnra *1-'ãlamain* "the matter of the two worlds", i.e. the upper and lower worlds. This is the only way to understand the later Satx that when all the powers mentioned are united in man, he already becomes a member of God in the lower world; this will be discussed later. The seven Wezirs bear the following names:

- x. sãlär, Middle Pers. saróãr "the supreme, the head";
- z. bcśkār", Middle Pers. §dśèdr "whose action is first, who acts first";

<sup>°</sup> A. Christensen, a. 0. 8z.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; A. Christensen, a. 0. 8 i : "la Mémoire". has can also mean ßi/z, but then the equation with the s9älòod does not come out.

o Incorrect Th. Haarbrücker's translation (Schahrastanî's Religionsparteien u. Philosophenschulen, Halle i 850- I8-i 1) +, <9- "the matter of the worlds"; following him Christensen.</p>

òyJá'A u. ä. Oxon. Arab. XLV II Hunt. i 58 and XCV Poc. 83, which we have compared.

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3 yr0n, Cf. old pers. -herdvoti' "the high one";
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- q. barteän, middle pers. §arrä i "the performer'l";
- 5- !ärdän, middle Pers. also "who knows about the work";
- 6. dastu'ar, Middle Pers. daslz "ar "judge";
- 2. abdal, middle Pers. #ööa# (#ööa y) "the lowly one"".

The seven V'ezire in turn rotate in the centre of a circle of twelve *rupäni you* "spirit beings". These are called:

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I. h.w\ddot{a}nandah, read: *hWfidande£*', Middle Pers. zy'idnnday "the walker";
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- 2. dahandali, Middle Pers. dahanda y "the giver";
- 3. si/ätsandah, Middle Pers. sföiiatidoy "the one who takes away";
- q. barandah, Middle Pers. öarntiday "the procurer";
- 5- fitrarandah, Middle Pers. xyaranda y "the eater";
- 6. dau!andah, read: -darandah, Middle Pers. daranda; "the one who keeps";
- 7. jizandah, Middle Pers. xiaaiiday "the ascending one";
- 8. bilandah, Middle Pers. kilanda y (laJonfa y) "the ploughman";
- 9. *zanandah*, read: *-rapandah!\**, Middle Pers. radatida y "the one (getting) ready" '<sup>®</sup>;
- zo. kunandah, Middle Pers. éu iaaday "the doer";
- II. öyaiido£ and fau'atida8, Middle Pers. dyatiday and favatidoy "the coming one" and "the going one";
- 12. *bäyandah*, Middle Pers. *päyanda y* "the one who preserves" or "the one who remains"".

Just as the Lord of Light in the upper world has his counterpart for the lower world in {Jusraw, so too do the four spiritual powers have theirs in the four arch offices of the wiöbo6d i möboö, the supreme iiérba6, the *spähbab* and the *rämi bar!*°′-. The seven wezirs that follow work in both \\'elten, the

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i o Cf. avest. barazmon- "high".
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<sup>11</sup> A. Christensen, a. 0. 8 i .Anm. z.

<sup>12</sup> The details in Chr. Bartholomae, Altiran. \¥'b. Kfz to awest. boIela-.

<sup>13</sup> pniäha idoh: Oxon. Arab. XCI'. 0. Szemerényi notes us under the ö. 3. 5: "swähonda:y is the form one should expect for the Middle Persian: intervocalic d here becomes -A-; dahand from dv-dä 'give'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> To neupers. AÄi daii, awest.° larf- "to plough": Chr. Bartholomae, Altiran. Wb. q5y; H. S. Nyberg, Auxiliary Book of Pehlevi z, i z8.

is wI ydh: Oxon. Arab. XLVI I.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;e To avest. r'Sd- " (to) make ready" : Chr. Bartholomae, a. 0. i Izo I. ; cf. middle pers. rähénitan.

<sup>12</sup> A. t'hristenson, a. t1. 8 i : "c' lui qu i roste' ' "- H. 13"x c'- in : J lt \p. i q 5-, z4 below.

the upper and the lower. What happens to the twelve spiritual beings is not stated. They will have to be thought of in the same way as the spirits in both worlds, the upper and the lower.

The individual explanation may begin with the spiritual beings. The linguistic form of their h amen is the same everywhere: they are present participles of

\heirs that express an activity. The spiritual beings are therefore doers, in contrast to the powers, which represent spiritual 6uv6iti\$ and therefore spiritual aspects of the Lord of Light. This unfolds a polarity of aspect and doing, persistence and action, being and becoming, and this

The "syzygy principle" will also be encountered in the Wezirs.

In contrast to the powers, the Iranian original designation is given to the spiritual beings. In the explanation, Christianity has often been omitted, and in three cases slight conjectures have been made u "r'l"n. They always only include individual letters and read over s"l' lie, which experience has shown to be lcicli t in Arabic script: ii instead of d, tr and z instead of r. These changes seemed unacceptable to us, because only in this way does the arrangement of the spiritual beings make sense. Now it is clear: two of these riihdiiiyiiti form a pair of correspondences. They face each other: Desire and giving, taking and procuring,

¥'erzehr and preservation, growth of the fruit and cultivation of the field, readiness and action, movement (for coming and going may be summarised under this generic term) and perseverance. This gives the required to iilf rii#ätiiy rin, not, as Christensen''', contrary to the explicit statement at the beginning: thirteen.

The \Vczire are also organised according to the same principle. Only this time the donating, growing and retaining are not on one side,

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ J. Friedländer in : J AOS. z g, i i6 ; F. Meier in : Art. Asiae i 6, i q9. '- a.

<sup>0. 8</sup> i Note q. Oxon. Arab. XCV leaves out 2'tr. i o der rüh'iniyati.

but in the material of consumption and procurement. On the other hand, the first, third and fifth Wezir, which express a thought, lead upwards to the llachs, which are first of all the throne of the Lord of Light.

One recognises an order of rank and levels. At the top is Ciott or the Light; before him the four Powers; then the Wezirs, divided according to thought and execution; finally the spiritual beings, also divided according to consumption and procurement. There is a sequence that descends from light and its spiritual aspects via thought and deed, via the satisfaction of the needs of life to their material creation. The higher up one of the flenames is, the more light- and spirit-orientated he is: the more pure, self-contained thought. But the more one descends, the more one enters the realm of the material, but also of action.

This is followed by a sentence that Cliristensen°° translates as follows: "Dans chaque homme toutes les quatre forces sont rüunies, et les sept ct les douze sont devenus maitres dans le monde inférieur, et l'obligation leur a été otée". This rendering is incomprehensible from an Arabist point of view, and moreover it makes no sense. It can only mean: "And every human being to whom these four powers, the seven \vezirs and the twelve (C-spiritual beings) unite, will become one belonging to God (rahhatii)\*' (already) in the lower world".

\Velt, and the (earthly) burden (falJi/) is taken from him". The \Yelt is divided into many individual powers and forces. They organise and order the mentioned areas; they are active in different directions. But once all of them unite in a single slench, a union takes place that overcomes every division and leads man up to €iott.

Now a new thought, led by 'i/a cingef. Husraw in the upper world, it is said, rules with the letters, the sum of which results in the most powerful name (alisinu 1-a'kam: probably that of the god of light). Previously, the name Husraw was used for the Lord of the lower \world jusra-'a hi-1-'\(\text{alami } 1\)-asfal], and the God of the upper world remained unnamed ('iia'hEdii/iti). Even now, the Lord of the upper world is not given a name. It is replaced by a metonymc "Husrasv in the upper world". This can only be understood as referring to that nameless Lord of the upper world.

<sup>°°</sup> a. 0. 8 i f., in close connection with Th. Haarbrücker, a. O. i, zgz.

o' The two Oxford manuscripts give rati6iii.

world, which corresponds to "iJusraw in the lower world". The meaning of those letters with which the Lord of the upper world rules generally remains closed to man. However, to the one who is able to form an idea of them ("iati tosatrteara Quitt fi/Äa /-Juni/i foi'an), the greatest secret opens up (es-sirrii I-akbar). Now it also becomes clear why the Lord of the upper world remains unnamed. Only the one to whom the "greatest secret" has opened up can know his name, and never will such a knower reveal his realisation. On the other hand, the human being who is denied "the highest secret" (iati fiurima dälikaj) remains in opposition to the spiritual powers (/i mu balali I-puä 1-arba'): namely in the blindness of ignorance ('omä f-polit) as opposed to the power of discernment, in oblivion (tiisy'iti) as opposed to insight, in spiritual inertia (baläda) as opposed to vigilance, in sorrow (ga'nni) as opposed to joy.

One recognises the correspondence to what was said before. Just as the philosopher, to whom the powers unite, is able to become like God, so he who knows the meaning of the letters knows the most divine secret.

In interpreting the fragment, we have followed as closely as possible the word- laut .i?--/Ualirastiini's ii' li'ilten. the u ur'lc er k lärt, " as 'lasteh t un'l u ie es da- str li t. 1nilcs>en is not to be understood, that a fteihe x'on of discrepancies the liin'1ru' k c'rsvei ken, it licyt ci n abbreviated and rlarum a never lit in itself conclusive 'text before. At the beginning, the unnamed Lord of the upper world and IJusraw in the lower world, the four powers in the upper world and the four imperial offices in the lower world correspond. The same division between the two worlds is also expected for the seven Wezirs and the twelve spiritual beings. The designation as wezirs is just as suitable for the lower world as the designation as spirits is for the upper world. One cannot shake off the impression that in both cases only one designation is given instead of the expected two. In addition, in the case of the powers, i.e. in the upper world, the designation is Arabic, while that of the imperial offices in the lower world is Middle Persian. Accordingly, the Lord of the upper world is described as riia'öüfuhu, while in the lower world {Jusraw rules. The individual wezire and c-spirit beings all appear in Middle Persian.

form, while the class as such is labelled Arabic. Following the previous train of thought, one would have to conclude that the Wezirs as a whole and as individuals belong to the lower world and their counterpart is missing in the upper \world. The ruhäniyüti as a whole, on the other hand, belong to the upper world, but the corresponding individual members would be omitted. Conversely, the Middle Persian designations of the spiritual beings would have been assigned to the lower world, but their overall designation would have been omitted and replaced by rüjaiiiyiia, which actually belonged to the upper \world.

Finally, one last difficulty. Christensenl has noted that the number seven corresponds to the planets, the number twelve to the signs of the zodiac. This will be confirmed. But precisely if one assumes that the planets rotate within the signs of the zodiac, then the same preconception (hädihi s-sab'atu tadüru /i iftifi 'aJ4re riihäniyan)\* seems unplastic and downright absurd in the case of spirits and spiritual beings.

So much for the interpretation of the fragment. Now we will attempt to place it in its historical context.

Firstly, the question arises as to who could be meant by Husraw in the lower world, the counter-image of the unnamed Lord of Light in the upper world. In no case is it about Mazdak's contemporary and bearer of the name: the later Chusrö I. Anösarvän 153\*-s/£}). For Mazdak could hardly have named his fiercest opponent, who later killed the prophet and thousands of his followers, in an honourable way. In addition, Mazdak had already succumbed to Chusrö before he ascended the throne

(End  $52_{\text{C}'}$  the beginning 5291', so did not know him as ruler. Finally, our fragment itself shows that it was written before Anösarvän's reign. The mention of only one  $sp\ddot{a}hbab$  proves that for Mazdak a

The only "s pähbab of the lands" existed and he had not yet been replaced by the four holders of the title, whose appointment was one of Anösarvän's first acts in government'.

Husraw can only mean the **king** per se, not a particular bearer of the name. It is therefore to be understood in a similar way to the Arabic *bisrä*, which can be used by all Sasanids. But Jtisrä as an area-

<sup>&#</sup>x27; A. Christensen, a. 0. i oz.

<sup>^</sup> We give the correct form.

<sup>^</sup> A. Christensen, a. 0. i zq f.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Tabari, ann. i, 8g. s\*-; Dinawari öe, i i f.; Th. Nbldeke, a. ss Anm. z.

The concept of the Persian king par excellence could only emerge after the two greatest of them, Chusrõ I and I I, had bestowed the name G lanz. Uan is again faced with the difficulty that Mazdak is using a term that he could not use at all in his own time. A remark by I bn Hurdadbeh, which has been overlooked, shows the way out. In a section that deals with the names of the kings of Khorasan and the East, the king of Chwñrczm is mentioned as one of them: I usram hu'iirizm\*. So Husraiv was the name of the ruler who appears in the 1nschrift of Paik uli® (parth.) as a'rsøtn trill'. Chu'arezm, apart from a brief episode under Bahram V. tìor', was never subject to Sasanian rule. In particular, neither C husrü I. A nõsarvãn nor Chusrõ I I. AQarvëz exercised any sovereignty over the country. \\'Accordingly, the Dczcichnung Husrau cannot originate from them. \\However, it is known - and this from the most authoritative sources that the name was borne by a minor king of Chu'arezm. In the case of al-Bériini\*, a native of Chwärezm, he appears at the head of all dynasties as the first ruler of the country: Kai Husraw. \on this primordial king is the Hezcalculation for the legal successors.

Madzak does not exemplify the Sasanians, but the ruler of the Cli wärczm, which was not part of the Sasanian Empire and was still in the Corden. This is all the more striking as Kavã6 I was, at least at one time, a follower of Madzak, or was regarded as such. \The reason why he chose this type of ruler can only be explained by the fact that Cliwãrezm's monarchy was present to llazdak and his listeners. In other words: Mazdak himself came from Chz'ãrezm or its neighbourhood and first a p p e a r e d there.

This, of course, contradicts the previous interpretation. If you can ignore Tabriz or I ahr, you have the greenest face so far.

<sup>\*</sup> E. Sae hau, in: SB:¥ E\'ien ys. 5°3 \*1 àch -incr note al- I3aiha i's, which goes back to al- Bèrüni's x crlorene history x on Ch w ãrezm.

<sup>°</sup> Chronol. 35, 9. SaChãB.

<sup>°</sup> In addition, the degr iï nation in A. Christensen, a. 0. 9gf. The h amensíorm is given after Christensen. fi. Littmann writes Utls (\* -3 3 I .. The reading dforjiiò (vg1. u nten) is ingenious and will treffen what is important. The place Christensen suggested was written on the Karten áilf ed-'rat 'ira. I believe, of course, that 38 years ago, I found '# oi'ira. But I am no longer quite sure of this. the first part of the i'imen is let: a place of this name in Babylonia is already known from ancient times".

<sup>\&#</sup>x27;'' 1 ii' 'i Ii Z ;t' I i It Ii '' 1 2 i t'i ' 2 I ì r''ti k >

**abari's**'o message, according to which Mazdak was born in Madariya. There was only doubt as to where to look for this place. Niildeke" considered the Susiane, while Christensen placed it on the site of today's **Kü** at-'Amãra

:sought'o. But höldeke himself gives his approach only as a \$'ermutung (rightly), and t-equating niadariya 'o with  $m\tilde{a}dar\tilde{a}y\tilde{a}$ , as Christensen suggests, is palaeographically unlikely. Perhaps another consideration leads to the goal 1. The name given by abari goes back, as recognised, to the Sasanian Book of Kings'\(^\). One is therefore entitled to transpose it into the Pehlevi script and to regard the result as what has actually been handed down. In doing so, all diacritical points, which are an addition of the Arabic scribes, must be cancelled. With the slightest change's, mu'l-'b would be read, and thus one would obtain mmrg'b - $ulurg \tilde{a}b$ .

This leads far down from the Susiane and x-om 'lāk. You reach the outermost Choräsăn, where it borders the Sogdians in the north-east and Chwãrezm in the centre. Further information that has been neglected so far also points in this direction. Bal'ami has Mazdak coming from Nësãpfir'®, others have him coming from Nisã. The main guarantor for the latter is al-Bërúni'<sup>7</sup>, himself a Chwãrezmier and thus once again an authority against whom it is difficult to raise an objection. Nöldeke'' has interpreted its', which E. Sachau wrongly vocalised as Nasã (it is the ancient Nisaia or Parthaunisa), as a corruption with Fasă, the birthplace of the second founder of the sect, Zrãduśt''. From the outset, this view is probably ruled out by the fact that Murgãb, h'ešãpúr and Nisã belong to the same region. They confirm each other, and together with the appearance of Husraw in our fragment they make it certain that Mazdak saw the light of day in northernmost Khorasan

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<sup>TO</sup> Ann. i, S93, i o. Not a/-3f a'fnriye, as Christensen writes (a. 99) The error already in Th. Höldeke, a. 0. 457: * cf. also G. Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Cälifate (c930) 3ß.
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<sup>11</sup> a. 0. s' note 3; cf. 5y.

<sup>12</sup> a. 0. i oo.

<sup>\*8</sup> Adnotatio e) to abari, ann. i, 893.

A. Christensen, a. 0. zb f.

<sup>15</sup> For details see Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischer Staat i, zoo.

Trad. Zotenberg z, i Hz I.17

Chronol. 209, i i Sach au.

<sup>18</sup> a. 0. 43 7 Anf\*1 3-

<sup>19 \&#</sup>x27;g1. j'abari, ann. i, 893, 8.

has. That the form of the name **rcefda#** preserved in al-Bérüni, chron. zog, I I and zx x, I i confirms this derivation has been shown elsewhere°-. Only under such a condition is the naming of Chwärezméäh as an example of the ruler, the earthly counter-image of the Lord of Light, understandable.

4

Christensen has observed that there are connections between Mazdak's teachings and those of Mani. They extend beyond the contrast between the two principles, the world of light and that of darkness, to details, x-especially the terminology. The enumeration of long rows and groups of divine beings, laboriously defined by name and function, is also Manichaean in nature. But i t is difficult to characterise Madzak as a mere follower of Mani. Differences can already be seen in the doctrine of the elements. While Mani knew five of them, Jlazda k, a7--/Ualirastäni zuft'lt;e, knew only three. E ben>t i, the division according to filahs, wezirs and tieist beings, despite some individual touches, has no equivalent on the Manichaean side. And again, the figures on Mazdak's side stand alone.

Above all, however, there is a difference in that Mani contrasts the father of greatness with the prince of darkness, whereas in Mazdak the latter remains without equivalent. Also missing is the incessant struggle between light and darkness, good and evil, which characterises Mani's teaching. Mazdak's Lord of Light and everything that is close to him is not combative, not acting at all, but rests in himself as a distant, untouched being. It is only towards the base of the pyramid that actors appear: in ever greater numbers, the further they move away from the top, and always subordinate to the powers of being.

.1,-Üahrastäni notes explicitly according to al-\\"arräk, dal3 the teachings Mazdaks and Manis correspond in many ways. This is especially true of the two principles of light and darkness°. "But ilazdak used to say that the light works with determination (bi-1-Jasd) and free decision (una-f-ijfiyär),

<sup>&#</sup>x27;o Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra go.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;a. 0. red I.; ioz note i -z; Empire of Sassanides'34° -: 3 i note i and 3: 3¢2 Note i.

<sup>\*</sup> i3eids are mentioned in the chronicle of Se'ert z, i z5, 3 f. alongside the **women's community**a l as a characteristic of Zrädu4t's **teaching**, Mazdak's **comrades**. emphasised (cf. z, **iz5**.

b f. j. Seltsam z, uy, 6f.

But the darkness is blind ('afd I- aò ) and according to chance (era-/- iffi/dǧ). And the light is knowing {'ãlim} and perceiving [hassãs, but the darkness is ignorant (¡fãhil) and blind (o'tztÕ). The mixture (of both principles), however, occurred as a result of chance and c o i n c i d e n c e, but not of determination and free decision. And so salvation takes place only by chance and not by free decision."

höldeke ° was the first to point out that Malalas' Kavã6 I referred to AnpóoBtvoç and that a certain Manichaean sect appears in the same author as zó (6óypct) zĞv A'xpioBsvĞv <sup>5</sup>. Malalas himself interprets this name zó 6óyp'x sort Õyo8oii". N öldeke also recognised a *durust-den*, *darazd-den* -- òp8ó6oEo; in the common de- sign and saw in it the name of the sect to which Mazdak also belonged.

\"on Christensen ' took up these observations. He also summarises fiopóo8tvo5 and w'iiv Aœpvo8svĞv as d wrist-dčnàn "ceux qui pro- fessent la vraie foi". He also believes that in Malalas Kavã6's first epithet designates him as a follower of Mazdak and that the dørist-dcnãn should therefore be regarded as his followers. Other things Christensen has added ^ are less or not at all convincing. But the core of his account, especially as far as it touches on those of Nöldeke, can be maintained and also forms the starting point for us<sub>r</sub>.

1rn cinzelnen reports II.ilalas that the šIani- cliaer l3unctos arose in Rome in Di"klt-t ian's time. He had separated himself from ùlani's T.elirc and proclaimed that the good Ciott had fought and defeated the evil one. Therefore, the good god had to be honoured as the victor. Bundos had later moved to Persia and spread his teachings there.

In fact, Bundos agrees with Madzak that the evil **god** and prince of darkness has left the battle. It is therefore clear from the kbar that ûIax'lak's teaching continues that of his \(\frac{1}{2}\)'or predecessor Bundos.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;l.c. 447 AniTi. T.

<sup>\* 2</sup>g, i f.

<sup>309, 19</sup>f.

<sup>^</sup> A. Schenk Gra1 v. Stauflenberg could not agree with Malalas' statement 309, i9I, D. röm. Ixaisergesch. bei Malalas logf. to begin. He did not realise that the two stands belonged together, nor did he know of the positions of Nöldeke and Christensen.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;a. 0. i ß; qöf.

Thus the equation of Bundos and Zrfiduàt, op. cit. O. 98 f., and the attempt to reproduce that name, which Malalas left behind, in misspellings of the Arabic authors.

set. Of course, little is gained from this alone. For Bundos' person cannot be grasped through Malalas' report alone. **Here,** a name seems to lead on that has not yet been placed in this context: that of the Syrian perioduten Büt.

The list of scribes, which runs from 'Abdišõ' b. Brikă to - 3\*5J6 inn Büd names Kalila wa-Dimna as the translator of the **book** from Indian into Syriac '°. This statement contains an inaccuracy insofar as the older Syriac translation was made from the Middle Persian text, which in turn went back to the physician Burzúë. In this case, Búd's authorship is of no significance, and it must also be excluded from his age determination. At best, one can infer that the name Búd was still known in late Sasanian times and that a work could therefore be attributed to him.

The writings attributed to Búd are of a different nature. They are speeches against Manichaeans and ûlarkionites as well as a reflection on the "Attic zó psyct of Aristotelian metaphysics. If we take all three together, they point most likely to a Neoplatonist and to the time when Plotinos wrote his surviving treatise against the Gnostics,

Alexander of I-vkopolis against the Manichaeans and Porphyrios against the I irists. The rancilisation of the Aristotelian Plii1osu}il tie has its parall"1c again in Porphyrios. This leads to the second half of the 3rd century AD, i.e. to àlalalas' Dundos'o-.

The different forms remain. Sanskr. budhó- "Ve'iser" " may be correct for an angeblichen translator from the Indian. However, it does not fit for a man who opposed 6lanichaer soz'ie Markionites and explained Aristotle. Since Bundos travelled to Persia, he may have come from there. One has Bundâb next to Windãb, Windafarnoli- next to (Gen.) 'Y v6oØéppou, rov6oØippoQ'o, and so Bundos may stand next to Diiidõe, V"indöe. hit assimilation of the a, which is common in Syriac <sup>13</sup>, may have turned a \* Butid into \* Bttdd. Since this was written as bwd plene, it may be incorrectly read Bûd.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Ül'c'n'la 1 11 i , 2 i '9 u nd S. i a . t. h r'i n . rn i n. 2 , '), i f. l3ri'oks u ei II 'l'i wan , tla lâ Sk \- t hian"s , ,die 1 I ürcsie limpcd'ikles' u url l'ythagr'ras" ' Lvi the C'h rists I ll'criiÿ i pte ns t'i n1ü h rt e

<sup>&</sup>quot;F. Justî, Iran. Nameb. y i r.

<sup>\*°</sup> F. J usti, a. 0. 369.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ Th. höldeke, Kurzgcf. sj-r. Gramm.° 2 I f. § z S.

Regardless of whether one accepts the implied train of thought or not: Bundos seems to have been a Heuplatonist. \As far as **his** and Mazdak's teachings are concerned, one goes beyond possibilities the moment one begins to place the content of Mazdak's original fragment in an intellectual-historical context.

**Two** observations are immediately apparent. Firstly, the elimination of the prince of darkness has removed Mani's dualistic system. The contrast between the upper and lower, light and dark worlds still exists. But the entire order has received a monarchical apex in that which Mazdak "worshipped" (aà-/fiahrastäni: *ma'biiduliu*) and u'as before him Bundr's recommended to "honour" (vipñv) as victor. Secondly, there is the consistent higher valuation of everything spiritual, thinking, resting in oneself and planning as opposed to acting; this has been pointed out again. Both are internally connected. For the elimination of the constant struggle between Mani's two principles excludes not only dualism, but also active confrontation as an all-encompassing category. Both, however, lead to Neoplatonism.

The first confirmation comes from the observation made earlier that Mazdak never mentions the name of his light lord. He resembles the world god of whom the panegyrist of 3•3 Silgt: Qucm ... Ie i pse dici uelis, scirø non possumus \*\*. He is the 8soii òvópæro\$ xptí-r-rely of the Hermetiker'-, the óu6tiæro\$ où npocr6riz'xi 'o'; the opprpro ". New Platonic terminology is already present everywhere here. But it does not stop there.

Today we know Porphyrios' writing on the sun, recovered from Macrobius'® and Iulian's ftede on King Helios'-. This work was written before z\*3. even before Porphyrios travelled to thorn and joined Plotinus' circle there °°. The thoughts that Porphyrios put forward in his writing and the after-effects that he had are reflected in Mazdak's fragment.

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"9. 2Ö.

'^ i , z98 Scott from Lactant, div-. inst. q, 6 i a '° i
, i Gz. zô; cf. i 9; i36, zo.

'- Sat. I, I y-23.

*^ F. Altheim. Aus Spätantike u. Christentum z f : s : - gl. P. Co.
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 <sup>\*^</sup> F. Altheim, A us Spätantike u. Christentum z f.; s: - gl. P. Courcelles, Les lettres grecques en Occident i 9f.; M. Rosenbach, Galliena Augusta. ARIA PXA 1 3 (\*938), s s f.
 \*^ F. Altheim, a. 0. 9 f.

For just as the Lord of Light in Mazdak, the sun occupies the highest position in Porphyrios. It is the visible image of the *divinilas* or ttió ç, the *diuina* øictis or the divine **voQç**. Even without a name and invisible, he reveals himself in the sun, which is the mediator between him and the rest of the world.

A divine hierarchy begins with the vow and the sun, which coincides with Mandak's hierarchy. The four powers should initially remain to one side. However, the planets have long been recognised in the seven Wezirs, and the signs of the zodiac in the twelve spiritual beings within which the Wezirs move o'. Porphyrios also places the sun at the head of the planetso, and in the same way the twelve signs of the zodiac are effects of the sun and participate in its essence. Like the gods, those groups are *rirfufts* and r/ecføs, 6uVótitiç and évłpycioi of the sun. As in Mazdak, so in Porphyrios all these entities unfold in a pyramid of characteristics of the highest being and its acting subordinates.

Mazdak had compared Husraw in the lower world with the Lord of Light in the upper world. Similar comparisons are not found in Porphyrios himself, but in the Greek and Roman panegyrists of the Diocletianic and Constantinian periods. In the sun-like interpretation of the ruler and the symbolism associated with it, Porphyrios' world of thought is everywhere determined °'. Eusebios in his speech, which he wrote on the occasion of Constantine's thirty-year reign, calls the emperor the earthly image of God and his order °' Constantine, like the sun, sends rays of light to the most distant parts of the Oikumene. The bearers of this light, which emanates from the ruler, are the four Caesars. Like Helios, Constantine steers their four-horse team °-. Thus Mazdak's four powers, which are opposite the ruler of light, and the four highest imperial offices, {Jusrav aside, have also received their equivalent. They are the translation of the four Caesars into Iranian.

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o' A. Christensen, a. 0. i oz.
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<sup>--</sup> Macrob., Sat. I, 17, 2.

<sup>^</sup> Macrob., Sit. I, 2 I, 1Õ-27.

F. Altheim, Ans Spätantike u. Christentum  $\ a \ 6 \ f$ . ;  $\ 5 \ i \ I$ . ;  $\ 5a \ f$ . ; see Lit. u. Gesellsch.

<sup>--</sup> I. Const. p. i gg, z f, ¡ z i s, z i Heikel ¡ vg1. H. Mattingly in : Proceed. Brit. Acad. 37--s 8 f. °^ I. Const. 3, j.

The result is supported by a message in Mas'üdi. According to this, 6lazdak was the Möbab and explainer of the Avesta°'. "He replaced its (the Avesta's) exterior [li-;ähirilii) with an interior (é'ili i) in contrast to

to its (the Avesta's) exterior, and he was the first one to be led by the masters of explanation and the interior and the renunciation of the exterior in Zarathustra's lawon. External and internal, literal and allegorical interpretation - who would want to misjudge the Neoplatonic model in this?

Decisive innovations in Mazdak's teachings compared to those of Mani are thus determined by early Neoplatonism. This would also give Bundos a clearer outline. If he first emerged under Diocletian, he could have absorbed the Neoplatonic influences in Rome and later, after his move to Iran (flep'trit certainly does not mean Persis in the narrower sense), transplanted them there. By the time he arrived there at the turn of the century, Mani was dead, and his disciples, as far as not

had succumbed to the pursuit and fled north-eastwards across the Oxos °°.

Bundos may also have turned there or to neighbouring countries. Enough: the doctrine would have lived in northern Khorasan for two centuries until it emerged from its obscurity with Mazdak at the beginning of the 6th century. Khorasan, the former starting point, was then once again the centre of retreat when Mazdak's enterprise collapsed°.

This could be assumed, and indeed the authors have done so in the pastor. But many difficulties remain. How could one imagine that Bundos' teaching had lived in obscurity for two centuries and then suddenly emerged from obscurity to light and historical significance? Was Khorasene a cultural retreat where such things could be preserved in seclusion? It will become clear that the opposite is true. And what about Porphyrios' writing on the sun, which is particularly relevant to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> ffitäb et-Ianbih wa-1-ilräf i oi, i of. de Goeje.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> <sup>8</sup> Mas'iidi's last sentence is aimed at the Bätiniva or Isma'iliya, who also called themselves Mazdakiya in the 'Iräb. It is not possible here to trace how close the actual connection is. But anyone who reads through the section on the Biti- niya in aé-Sahrastini (-47 § z Cureton) will encounter a wealth of relationships.

Fihrist 337- 15 f. Fl.

so most recently B. Spuler, Iran in früh-islam. Time. **zo5. Of the** Mazdakite **movement** in Khwärezm under Hurzid's leadership, which S. P. Tolstow (Auf den Spuren d. altchoresm. Kultur z i f.) claims, we could not convince ourselves: Altheim- Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike z6 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>S</sup> An Asian state i, moved.

Mazdak and the succession that followed her? In the sixth chapter we will learn how much Greek literature was known in Khorasan and survived into Islamic times. Porphyrios in particular occupies a special position in the context of what has survived.

The answer must remain open for the time being. Later, on the basis of richer material, it will be given.

## SUPPLEMENT

One of my students referred me to the publication "Konstantin der Große" (Urban-Bücher zQ) by H. Dörries. Its author opposes the attempt to link Constantine with Neoplatonism (see above, note 4). Neoplatonic doctrine was to the

"Occident" only became known after the middle of the 4th century through the translations of Marius Victorinus. In the eighties of the same century, Augustin was still aware of Neoplatonic writings.

tism was an exception. The "very undefined religiosity"

of the Gallic panegyrists should not be regarded as Neoplatonic. The same applies to Constantine. Porphyrios, as one of the main representatives of Neoplatonism in the East, was out of the question as an inspirer, if only because he was one of the spiritual authors of the persecution of Christians.

Dörries' image of Constantine is determined by the principle that it is not what it must not be. Admittedly, a Neoplatonist-influenced Constantine is an inconvenience. But rejecting such discomfort runs the risk of letting confession be everything and disregarding the philological. i"Dörries offers evidence for both. Only the second concerns us.

The inscription on the Arch of Constantine is discussed (a. 0 3 1 *Instinctu divinilatis* is once again thoughtlessly translated - this time by a philologist - as "at the command of the deity". Therefore *divinilas* means, as every lexicon shows, "divinity", not "divinity". "Deity". This fact was universally recognised (of course also by J. ¥'ogt and A. Alföldi), recalled by me -95z, recognised by Vogt° and corroborated in a subsequent discussion against misinterpretations°. The correctness of my further findings was also acknowledged.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; From antiquity and Christianity s f.

<sup>°</sup> In : Relazioni del Congresso di scienze storiche i es 5. 74°

<sup>•</sup> F. Altheim, R6m. Religionsgesch. 2- (Giischen i 936), i3b t.

The conclusion that a Neoplatonic term - 8uó S - is present' and that this *divina mens* of the Panegyric and Euscl'ios' 8siov -rr vsup'x corresponds. The siimtna *diritiifas* of the Milan Edict' could be recalled.

Dörries has remained unaffected by all this. That the Neoplatonic conception of the sun-god already appears in Constantine's father, that *divina mans* was already encountered at that time, was shown by P. Orge1s-and independently of this by me'; both are, as far as I can see, accepted\*. Again, the evidence could be taken from the Gallic panegyric, whose "very indefinite religiosity" Dörries criticises.

In other respects, too, the reader is expected to expect a great deal. Porphyrios representative of Neoplatonism in the East? Has it been forgotten that he was able to go to Rome in z63 and learnt from Plotinus, taught and worked alongside him? Did the testimony that the Arabic version of Empedocles' CoØoppol represents for their common work<sup>o</sup> make an impression on Dörries? The fact that no l'4otice was taken of all this in Rome can be refuted with complete conclusiveness. F allienus' relationship to Plotinus should be well known, and that Porphyrios' writing on the sun of the same emperor determined his religious programme has recently been proven'o. All a hundred years before Marius ¥'ictorinus' translations. And of Bundos (above 25 f.; 29) need not be mentioned at all.

Porphyrios' use by his Christian opponents would form a discussion in itself. Much could be said about its significance for the literature of controversy, and some of it will be touched on in the sixth chapter. An Arabic fragment of one of the works from which Christian apologetics took its arguments, the two letters to the Egyptian Anebo, has now been ø'rediscovered". It comes from the first letter, and it was only in the second that Porphyrios asked questions about the Egyptian gods. Strange coincidence, but hard to deny,

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• From Late Antiquity and Christentu 5° f.
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### 6 Altheim, Hunnen III

<sup>^</sup> In addition ) . Moreau in : Annal. Univ. Savar. z, i oof.

<sup>^</sup> In: Bull. Acad. Roy. de Belge 5. sér., 3 (-o4\*). 79-

<sup>\*</sup> Am zuletzt gen. 0. 33 f.

<sup>°</sup> J. Moreau in : Rev. 'ét. anc. 5s. 3\*

<sup>&</sup>quot; Altheim-Stiehl. Porph yrios and Empedocles ( i9 5d) 27 f.; F. Altheim. The Undefeated God (rde 35, 957)• f.; II dio invitto { i 96o) i \*a.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> M. Rosenbach, Cialliena Augusta (ASIA PXA 3 - 95) 53

<sup>&</sup>quot; Before Altheim-Stichl, Philologia sacra i oof.

that the "Christian" emperor at the time of the Council of Nicaea was driven by the same thirst for knowledge.

For three decades, the wall inscription from the Syrene of Upper Egyptian Thebes from 3-6 Nicagoras thanks for a scholarship that enabled him, a native of Eleusinia, to familiarise himself with the Egyptian religion. He thanks the emperor, -rÿ zoí7-r6 pot wctpctoyóv-ri, i.e. Konstantin, and at the same time he thanks the gods ... <sup>1°</sup>. To be sure, Dörries does not mention this testimony at all.

Finally: Porphyrios as the intellectual originator of the persecution of Christians. In his writing against the Christians, he primarily used the source-critical and philological method; historical and philosophical matters took second place. It is not clear where the contact with the reasons lies from which Dörries makes the last persecution of Christians grow (a. 0. Z I f.). He does not even mention Porphyrios with a single word. He only makes up for this omission when he looks around for an objection to a view whose rejection is clear to him from the outset.

5

At the end of the fragment is the sentence about the letters. <sup>Christensenl</sup> saw cabbalism in it. But it is less simple.

The Lord of the upper world, it says, rules through letters. The greatest mystery is revealed to anyone who has formed an idea of these. The sum of the letters is the most powerful name.

The sum of the letters therefore leads to the principle of the world. And just as this sum reveals the highest to man, so the co-operation of the four powers, seven wizards and twelve spiritual beings had previously enabled man to be similar to God. The sum of those who make up the divine hierarchy would then have to correspond to the sum of the letters.

J Baillet in: CRA I. igzz, z8z l; on this P. Graindor in: Byzantion3, 2OQf.; J. Moreau in: Ann. Univ. Savar. i, z, i62.
'a. 0. ioz.

The four, seven and twelve plus the Lord of Light make the number zq. And 24 is not the letter number of the Aramaic alphabet (it is zz), but that of the Greek°. This is confirmed by the fact that the number seven of the Wezirs corresponds to that of the Greek vowels. These form the pleroma known from letter mysticism. The z¢ letters of the Greek alphabet were assigned to the twelve o-roiytict of zöopoO gleich-

where two letters each formed such an O-r x- v. This could be done in such a way that the first and thirteenth, the second and

fourteenth, etc. The first and last, the second and penultimate, etc. were also combined. For Mazdak, moreover, the twelve spiritual beings formed a series which, according to their number - this time single and not doubled corresponded to that of the o-r x- --

from x&mon.

Enough: Mazdak's speculation on letters is of Greek origin. This confirms the previous result, according to which thought of Greek philosophy could be found in him. It needs to be emphasised that this speculation contains nothing that can be directly or indirectly traced back to Christianity. This points to a time when an overgrown Christian world of imagination had not yet taken hold of literal speculation. Again, the Diocletianic period is the closest, and this means that we are again led back to Bundos. Again he could have been the originator of the Greek that was reflected in Mazdak's fragment.

A word remains to be said about the connection between our fragment and what has been called Mazdak's social programme. It is confirmed that this too was intended to be more religious than actually social.

Man's highest possibility is to become rabbani and thus equal to (or similar to) God. The attainment of this ideal presupposes that one has first divest oneself of one's own particularity. Accordingly, Mazdak commanded, öi-dalli 1-anfus, "in order to free them from evil and from the corruption of God".

s On the following F. Dornseiff, D. Alphabet in M U-d Magie° i9zö; R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres z56 f.; A. Dupont-Sommer, La doctrine gnostique de le lettre "Wkw" i 5 f.

<sup>^</sup> A. Dupont-Sommer, a. 0. So note .

to liberate them from the mixture with darkness". What is meant is not (as Haar- brücker and, following him, Christensen translate) "the killing of souls", but the mortification of individuality. For this had indeed to be demanded if one endeavoured to conform to the supreme and divine principle.

Evil and mixing with darkness belong on the same side as individuality. This is also where contradiction, hatred and struggle belong, which Mazdak mostly saw as being caused by women and property°. This is why he wished to eliminate every speciality here as well and to introduce a principle that was valid for all and abolished individual differences in the material sphere. Mazdak allowed people to share in women and property in the same way as in water, fire and \$\frac{1}{2}\text{Veide}^\cdot\$.

The result is an order that moves from difference and conflict to sameness, from the particular to the general, from the "psychic" to the "spiritual".

"Pneumatic", leading from individuality to God. It passed through the stages of the material, the spiritual, the earthly order and led to the heavenly, whose supreme principle was the Lord of Light.

<sup>. +93, 7</sup> f. Cureton. ^ i . i93, q f.

<sup>^</sup> I, 193, öf. ; cf. Eutychios z, i yJ, zf. Pocock. ; i, zo6, i5 f. Cheikbo, where instead of Mazdak the Focock manuscripts *mcdib*, Cheikhos A and B and the Oxon. Marsh. 435 n-rzi. On these name forms most recently Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia

#### 4. K APIT EL

## CH USRO I. AN ÖŚARVAN

1

It turned out that Mazdak's bcø'egung was dealt the decisive blow by Kavã6's first son Chusrõ. At the same time, the same man, when he Chusrõ I. Anõśarvãn 53--7). realised what the x hated opponent had begun. The invasion of Greek philosophy, which Porphyrios had initiated, was to expand and deepen. fiend again

Porphyrios was assigned a leading role in this process.

Agathias' has sketched a picture of the Sasanian's philosophical interests that is revealing despite his emphasised friendliness towards Uri. Anösarvãn's admirers - Persians, but also Eastern Romans - described him as a consummate connoisseur not only of Aristotelian, but also of Platonic philosophy. Neither "Timaios" nor "Phaidon" or "Gor- gias", not even "Parmenides" remained unknown to him. Agathias expresses his doubts and opposes the view of those who call this barbarian "all too wise and superior to almost all those who have philosophised anywhere and everywhere, as if he had no knowledge of any art or philosophy".

"The principles and causes of science would have been recognised in the same way as those claimed by the philosophers of education (Aristotle)".

One recognises the claim Anõšarvãn made, whether he was lucky or not. It must also be admitted that this claim was not entirely groundless. After all, Anõšarvän had given shelter to the exiled Neoplatonists and, when they turned their backs on him in disappointment, had also obtained impunity in their homeland - certainly an act of unusual magnanimity for an Asian great king°. A special role at Anõšarvän's court was played by the

<sup>2, 2</sup> ß -3 I.

<sup>·</sup> Agathias z ,3 i .

Syrian Uranius. As we shall see, the king had him argue with the magi. Agathias, who was also spiteful here, called Uranius a shs indler, while others regarded him as  $\delta f_i l \delta w \cos \delta v J p$  and a guarantor of Arab conditions (FGrHist. 6/5 T i).

The king himself took a leading role in such disputes, as can be seen from the writings of one of the Neoplatonists who stayed at the Persian court. The Latin translation of Priscianus Lydus' *Solutiones comm de quibus dubila "il Chosroes, Persarum* rrz°. Two1 philosophical attitudes, on the one hand, and an unusual \fißbegierde on the other, appear in these 1°ragen. It has not yet been recognised that we have a detailed description of one of these disputes. It can be found in Barhebraeus'

chron. eccl. 3, . 5f. Abbeloos-L'amy°, who for his part relies on a church history of the Nestorians that has not survived.

The second participant was the Catholicos of the Nestorians, Abbä by name. Barhebraeus reports x-on him that he "was first a magician, then became a believer and was baptised. He went to Nisibis, and there he learnt to write Syriac. In the Church History of the Nestorians we have found it written that this Abbã, having learnt to write Syriac, was eager to learn to write Greek as well. He went to

Edessa and became a disciple of a man named Thomas, a Jacobite who knew how to write Greek well enough. He (.lbbä) went with him (Thomas) to Alexandreia and was in his company when he (Thomas)

translated books from Greek into Syriac". Barhebraeus then discusses the question of whether Abbã's teacher and comrade was related to Thomas of l;¹arke15 rins, but for chronological reasons rejects the

¥'ermutung, rightly so.

This Catholicos Abbã, the report (Qi, yf.) continues, "called Chusrõ Anõšarvän, the wise king (the same name is used that Agathias also knows and fights against), and argued with him about religion. He said to him: 'Count for me how many \(\frac{\pman}{\text{iilkers}}\) call Mary the Mother of God and accept Kyrillos (his teaching). And how many are those who do not call (Mary the Mother of God) and accept Nestorios'. And there are

<sup>•</sup> Ed. I. Bywater, Suppl. Arist. i, 2, 39

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Some translation errors in the Latin **version**, which the editors have placed alongside the Syriac, are tacitly corrected below.

<sup>°</sup> A. Baurnstark, Geschichte der syrischen Literatur ( i 9z z) i 8ò f.

the Catholicos remained silent because he could not lie and was defeated by the truth. But when he was forced to do so, he replied: 'All nations of Christians use this word (God-bearer) and take Kyrillos, we alone do not call (Mary) (so) and take Nestorios'. Then the king said to him, 'So they are all lying, and you alone possess the truth? In truth, you are far from the Christians in your religion and way of life. Where is it heard that a Catholicos and a bishop own a wife who lives with him as you do? Or that after the wife of a cleric has died, he takes another, then another and a n o t h e r, as your clerics do? The Catholicos replied: 'For we, because the Logos did not proceed from Mary, do not call her the Mother of God. And as for the question of wives, behold, I have no wife, nor have I ever had one. Those who were before me took permission from the apostle of God, who says: 'It is better to take a wife than to be burned by lust'. And the clergy, on the other hand, who take many wives, one after the other, also refer to St Paul, who said: 'The priest should be the husband of one wife', that is, he should not have two together. But one after the other is not forbidden! 'The king replied: 'All these reasons are null and void. For Paul says that he is an apostle, not of men, nor by man, but by the Messiah. Even our fathers the magi, if they had not known that there was a God who was born of the virgin in Bethlehem, would not have set out from the East to worship him and would not have offered gifts to him. And this (word), that it is good to take a wife, the apostle said to the sons of the world, whom the lust of the flesh oppresses. But if anyone is on the level of the apostles, it behoves him, through the love of God, not to be in any way inflamed with lust for sexual intercourse. And (a s for) that (word): 'Let a presbyter be the husband of one wife' -- if he had permitted the worldly to have two wives belonging together to one man, perhaps he would have prevented the presbyters from doing so. Therefore I advise you, O Catholicos Abbä, to turn back in that way and join the rest of the Christian peoples, and this will be an honour to you with us and with them'."

• On n'e- before negation : Th. Nöldeke, Kurzgel. syr. gram.- zö6 i 339-°- Read: goGr':.

Michael S3 rus 13 6 r. is shorter, but essentially in agreement'. I i f. syr.; 2, 339 Ûbers.). Chusrõ Anõšarvãn, "who had read all the books of the philosophers and examined all religions, praised the teachings of the Christians. Ł'nd as cr had gathered Nestorians and Orthodox,

began the Catholicos of the Nestorians and spoke a lot. The head of the old Orthodox, Bishop of Ahú'lemmëh, answered the Catholicos. When Chusrõ also heard the teachings of the Orthodox, he liked them and said: 'This is the truth'. And he despised Nestor(ios)."

Already under Eavãó I, 6em'õn of Bêt .lršäm, an active monophysite and passionate opponent of the Estorians, had begun to lay the foundations for such debates. Sem'õn was a man of letters. He had the Greeks, Armenians and Syrians, whom he had alienated from the Nestorians, write to him about it. They were corroborated by royal decree and recognised as *lillerae con-*

fessionis<sup>^</sup> in Tap=rit (Barhebraeus, chron. cccl. <sup>3</sup>, 5. f I Ësem'on proceeded similarly now. For seven years cr collected on

He travelled the Christian confessions of all countries, had them written down in their language by the bishops and confirmed by their kings with a seal (ùlichael SyrtlS 264 1. Z. Q f. syr.In order to protect these original documents from destruction, they were written on large linen cloths that absorbed the writing through special impregnation (also 2f'A, 1. Z 3 \*or.). -In hand sole her documents it was possible to prove ø'as

Anosar x'an claimed that the Nestorians, with their view of the

Mother of God stood alone. Our consulter also says that it was clear to the Persians by iicm'éin's measure that the teachings of the Nestorians were no good.

This compilation of Christian confessions, which were "honoured in the land of the Persians", formed the \'forerunner of a doxographischien \Verkcs, which was gem idmet the Greek philosophers. This collection of philosophical opinions was used for debate and discussion before the king. t'he translation of Porphyrios' GihóooØoç io-ropío The next section will be devoted to the premises on which it was based.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;The chronicle \*gon Se'ort z ,
 j f. and z , i fio, i o f. gives a lle justification for Ch usrö's ofienk u ndige aversion to Fffir .4bbä (for he is meant by the Kath'ilikos i 6i , 3).

<sup>&#</sup>x27; ff \*6e *d- tylw y.* ¥What the second part is remains unknown ; vg1. C. ftrockelmann. Lexic. Syriac.' z J 1.

2

¥'on Chusrõ I. Anõšarvãn says in the Chronicle of Sc'ert 2, \*47: "He knew philosophy, grasping it, and it is said that he had learnt it from Mãr Bar aumã, Bishop of Kardã, at the time when he (C husrõ) was there.

and Paul, the Persian philosopher who denied Christianity when the metropolitanate of Persis was not to his liking". The king's second teacher will be encountered in another context shortly.

Each Agathias had Greek writings (as the context shows, philosophical writings were meant) translated into Persian for Anoáarvñn by an unknown person (ù-rró -row). Our author is indignant that it was possible to transfer the purity of the originals and their natural style (*lhzu8lpiov*) into a bourgeois and unmusical language. Of course, it must have been a matter of translations from Svrish, as one could already look back on an earlier version. Chusrõ Anüsarvãn may certainly have learnt Syriac. There is evidence of such translations from Syriac into Middle Persian (Chronicle of Se'ert z, 3zß, i i f.). Ma'nã, the efetropolitan of Persis, was known to Yazdgard I (399-420) for this honourable characteristic. Paul's activity with the king of Persia can be imagined in a similar way. He was recommended not only by his change of faith, but also by the fact that he was well versed in Greek philosophy in addition to the ecclesiastical sciences. This brought him closer to Anošarvãn's concerns, and among Paul's writings our reporter, Barhebraeus

(chron. eccl. 3, -', I/f.), the "tlncrycøyrj, the admirable, into logic". Sic is preserved inn C'egensatz to dent, was so far called svurde.

J. P. ñ'. Land printed this introduction to logic in the fourth volume of his Anecdota Syriaca°. With an introduction written especially for Chusrõ Anõśarvãn, it comes from a Nestorian who calls himself "Paul the Persian from the city *of d yryšr* (Dër-i **year)**" in the subscriptio. The life of this Ohannes, who, according to unattested reports, last lived

The idea of a magician's order (Barhebraeus, chrOfl. eCCl. 3. 9/, 20) aroused the interest of the learned and unx-ergeous G. Mercati. The er-

<sup>\*</sup> Further details z,3-• A nm. z in Scher's A usgabec.

<sup>°</sup> a. 0. i -3z svr.

<sup>•</sup> Per la vita e gli scritti 'lie Paolo il Persiano (i 899).

<sup>^</sup> X'gl. F. .4ltheim, I-it"ratur und Gesellsc h. z (i 950), z 36 note i i ; Altheirn-Stiehl, l'liilologia sacra iq \ n m. r

The scripture that is held draws its knowledge from Aristotle's logical writings and Porphyrios' Elcrœycø 5 "Philosophy", Paul addresses the king,

"which is the true knowledge of all things, dwells within you; from this philosophy, which dwells within you, I send you a gifto". It is then said of philosophy that its fruits are "salvation and power and might and rulership and kingship and peace and judgements and laws". Philosopher and statesman belong together in the Platonic manner. Once again we see the claim Anõšarvãn made. What Agathias says will hardly have been an exaggeration.

Paul us' introduction can also be easily reconciled with Agathias' account. Uranius, the royal hot philosopher, we are told, presented himself as a doubter. He contradicted questions from the very first time they w ere posed or, before answering, asked about the reasons for them. He did not want a conversation to proceed in an orderly fashion, but confused what was clear and prevented the truth from being found. He thus imitated the iOtirrizij ipwtipto (avoiding judgement) of the sceptics Pyrrhon and Sextus Empiricus. Anõśarvăn had his favourite argue with the magicians: ytvtwsĞç vc x'xi Qúoccoç wtpi, 'twl cl zó6c zò wñv d-rtheú-rrjzov šo-r'xi, øøì wózcpov pl'xv v á-rróv-r'"v ópyr;v voptœréov. A passage from Paul's introduction can be placed in this context: "But men are found to be disputing among themselves and refuting one another". This is first shown by the contrast of the concept of God, then it continues: "Some say that the world and everything in it was created; others judge that not everything was created. And there are those who say that the world was created out of nothing; there are those who claim that he (God) created it out of the primordial substance. And there are those who say that the world is without beginning and will always exist without end; there are others who teach otherwise". These are the same questions as those that Uranius discussed with the magi, but it is also the same scepticism that was expressed in his \'crhalten.

Another piece should not be missing. It is in the introduction to Ibn Mukaffa"s translation of the aforementioned book Kalîla wa-Dimna. The famous physician Burzõë, who brought the book with him from India, speaks here.

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• J. P. N. Land, a. 0. 4, I°*: '
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<sup>\*</sup> To the singular J. P. N. Land, a. 0. q, i (tibers.) Arim. I. 'J. P.

N. Land, a. O. z, 9 f. syr.

<sup>^</sup> Stall bãy öyã Z. i # and i ş isi d-bãröyâ (C. Brockelmann's note).

and translated into Middle Persian. "I have found religions and creeds in great numbers, among people who have inherited them from their fathers; among others who have been compelled to them by fear and compulsion; among (yet) others who, by means of them, seek to attain the world of this world with that which constitutes it: rank and livelihood. They all claim that they are doing the right thing and are on the right path;

"He who disagrees with them describes the wrong path and does the wrong thing. They differ from one another in the conception of the Creator and creation, the beginning of earthly things and their end, and whatever else comes into consideration, and each is a reprover and a reviling opponent to each. So I decided to follow the scholars among the followers of every faith and their leaders and to reflect on what they describe and explain, whether I might be able to separate the true from the vain and prefer the true to him (the vain) and then adhere to him (the true): with confidence and uncertainty, without believing what I do not know and without following what I do not understand. I did this and asked and contemplated, but I did not find one among them who did not encourage me in the praise of his religion and in the rebuke of the religion of those who disagreed with him. Then I realised that they were arguing and speaking out of passion, not out of justice, and I did not find in any of them a mark on that (his religion) which was justice and righteousness.

¥V ahrheitsliebe entspricht hätte, so daE er sie Verständigen xu z issen hätte und man sie annehmen könnte".

All the testimonies listed agree that it is not possible to reach a definite judgement about the things beyond. For the opinions of the individual schools of thought and their leading men would be in conflict. The juxtaposition of the incompatible is the method by which such scepticism is justified everywhere. It is only noteworthy that nowhere are specific names or characteristics given, whether of the doctrines or of their representatives. And yet Chusrö Anöéar- vän was the king "who had read all the books of the philosophers" (Michael Syrus). Here a book had to step in, which reported on such matters in doxographic form and provided the necessary information in a handy formulation.

<sup>\*</sup> p. 33 f. Cheikho. Burzöé refers to the royal I-eibar zt. who is mentioned in the chronicle of Se'ert z, i T9. 7; 1§2, 3 appears as t'irii'i, x ar. lect. tiiröé.

provided. It has been shown elsewhere that this task was fulfilled by the translation of such a handbook. Porphyrios' Gth&oQo5 lo-roplet, which is lost in the original, is available to us today in Arabic translations. In Abû l-\Va(ä' al-Mubaššir b. Fätik's, individual sections have been preserved, and in adssahrastäni's £ilãbu 1-milal te'e-'t-niha/ an extract of the complete work has survived. It was preceded by a Syriac translation, of which the author of the Fihrist had only seen the fourth book (253, F1üge1). It must have been produced under Anošarvãn and may have been one of the translations prepared for the king tier'x|3tQhtjpévct ùnó zoo th v fltpwí6o Nmjv vñv 'Mfjvcov pótiuœro have

heard. But the situation is similar to that of Paul the Persian: his work was not translated into Persian, but into Syriac. But there were those who understood both languages side by side (Barhebraeus, chron. eccl. 3, z2, 6f.: above p. 86), and interpreters were available at court (ibid. 3, 6, 8 f.).

It may be added that aš-8ahrastãni, where he speaks of the questions of the older philosophic (i.e. not the Islamic) and of its limitation to nature and spirit, he emphasises the extraordinary diversity of the An- Siclites (2)1, \*3 tlreton). This had to be in line with the question that was previously labelled. After all, the

The subject and nature of the questions addressed. For Porphyrios also deals with the Creator, the creation of the world, the nature and number of the first appearances as well as the end of things and its time. These are the same questions that are raised by Paul the Persian and Uranius or by Burzõć.

Sasanian religious policy also had to change. Persecution could only **occur** sporadically, especially in the disputed borderland of Armenia. Otherwise, however, scepticism and forbearance dominated the scene. The peace of s611 granted the Christians free l\iu1t practice in the Sasanian territory. The arbitration judgement of the marsòdn (Michael Syrus 262 1. Z 37 f.

<sup>°</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, Porphyrios and Empedocles ( 9541 z

<sup>\*&#</sup>x27; F. Rosenthal: in: Orientalia 6, z i f.

<sup>\*</sup> E. Stein, Hist. du Bas-Empire z, s - ; T. Andrae, Les origines de l'islame ct le chri- stianisme (franz. Ü "- 955a 33 f.

Syr. ; transl. 2, Zb6 1.) and the royal decree (ibid.  $263 \,^{\circ}$ . Z. Ai f. Syr. ; z, x62 transl.) henceforth caused disputes among the Christian faiths. Kavã6's first wife, Chusrõ's mother Anõ- šarvãn, had already had an oratory built above the rmf monastery. She was from

He had been plagued by demons, and the abbot of this monastery had healed him (Zachar. Rhetor g8, -9f. Brooks). This still happened secretly, as is expressly stated (ibid. 99, 6). Under the successor there was no more talk of this. Anõšarvãn's personal physician, the catholicos loseph, sa0 before the king immediately after the first magician (Zachar. Rhetor. 2, zip, 24: vg1. Barhebraeus, chron. eccl. 3, 95. 22 f.). The latter allowed Nestorians and Orthodox to argue with each other, or did so himself with the Catholicos, as is shown in

has shown. Both under Chusrô 1. and under the second of the name, progress of Christianity within the Persian Empire is reported (Michael

SyruS 3 \*9f· syr.; 2, 33a transl. 3 med. 6f. syr.; 2, 37a transl.; Barhe- braeus, chron. Syr. t)2, 2Af. Bedjan). When Chusrõ I I. AQarvëz Maurikios'

When he married his daughter Maria, he built a church for the Mother of God, the apostles and the martyr Sergios (Michael Syrus 3 82 middle 2i f. syr.;

2. 372 transl.; Barhebraeus, chron. Syr. Q2, 23; hist. dyn -s6, Iz f. Pocock; Chronicle of Se'ert z, AG6, Qf.). We also know of votive gifts that the same king made to H. Sergios after Ru aia stiltete $^{\circ}$ : one knows the

Christians who were in his service (Chronicles of Se'ert \*, )24. 3 -)

The Zarathustrian clergy never regained its former standing°. It is true that shortly before Yazdgard I I I's death a Moba6 said that religion and kingship could only exist together (abari, dJIR. Z, 282A, 8f.). However, under Chusrõ I I A|3arvëz, a conscious recourse to the symbolism of solar and cosmic content was common. The palace of Ganzak showed the 'enthroned ruler' in a vaulted hall surrounded by sun, **moon** and stars. The preserved descriptions of the Taxti Tãkdis prove the dominating significance of the cosmic symbols °. This king had himself depicted on the sun chariot, travelling towards the sky ®, and on a throne supported by winged animals.

<sup>°</sup> P. Peeters in: Analecta Holland. b3 (•947) 3

<sup>^</sup> Altlieim-Stiehl, An Asian State i , zoz ; zod : A. Christensen, L 'Iran sons les Sassanides' q z -; f.

<sup>^</sup> H . P. 1.'Oranbe. Studies on the t?osmic E ingship in the Ancient \Vorld 18 f. : A. Boe- t hius, 3'he G' 'ldcn 1-1 ousc of 'er'i ( i 9bo I, i i 9 I.

<sup>^</sup> Ph. Ackerman in : A Survey of Persian A r t . 775

<sup>^</sup> l-l. P. L'Orange, a. 0. 37 : \*8 - a'älibi 69q f. Zotenberg; A. Christensen, L' Iran sons les Sassanides- a6ö f.

was carried '. Balãduri (z6ó, 2 Büläk) has the last ruler of the realm, Rustam, invoke the sun and the moon.

Turning to the symbolism of the stars means - and presupposes - that the belief in the stars had also gained influence. Astrology had never lost its influence in the land of the Chaldeans, and under the last Sasa- nids it became dominant and, so to speak, overgrown everything (Chronicle of Se "ert z, A6s. 6 f.). \\\\\\\\\ ''he way in Chusr\tilde{o} A|3arv\tilde{e}z\tilde{v} was enough to kill the most faithful servant has been shown elsewhere . In other respects, too, astrologers were active under this king (abari, ann. x,

IOOt), 1/: 5 > .9: >> 52, 2 f.), who boasted that he had nourished their c ilde well, raised them up and paid them (ibid. zOI2, I f.). Omens played their role (ibid. i 4, It) f.), as a pronounced

Fatalism can be recognised ". In the dream, Yazdgard II I bargains with Mohammed about how many more years he would grant the Persian people (ibid. z68i. s) At the end is the utterance of this last Sasanian (ibid. 2-5\*. \*3): "Behold, the fish has muddied the waters, and the

Ostriches 1° stand well and so does Venus, and the balance is in equilibrium, and gone is Bahrãm "". It was the hour of the empire's death that was heralded in this way.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; H. P. L'Orange. a. 0. 6 f.; 2z1.

<sup>^</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiat, Staat i, i Off.

Th. höldeke, Übers 3\*7 AnrR. 2.

<sup>&</sup>quot;.A. Fischer, Arab. t "hrestomathie i 37 under on-ne'd'im.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Literally varz&ra yue-"victory", according to P. Thieme; probably Heracles, to which F. H. Cramer, Astrology in Roman Law and Politn:s.

# THIRD BU CH NESTORIANS AND SASANIANS

## 5. k.SPITE1.

## **NESTORIAN MISSION**

For the Sasanids, the \i'end could have been expected from an angle that would have been difficult to anticipate. The relaxation of Zarathustrianism of strict observance that distinguished the late Sasanian period from the preceding one, along with religious scepticism and indifference, led the kings to pursue possibilities that they would never have considered in the past.

The decisive event was the measures taken against the school of Edessa in the years use and 489. On both occasions, the Nestorians there left for Persia. Among them ø ar Bar aumă, who was killed by

¥'ermittlung Bãbowai's, the Eatholikos of the Persian Fiestorians, was presented to King Përõz (A)/-484). In the years that followed the expulsion, Bar aumã did everything he could to favour the Nestorian over the others.

Christian denominations within Perserreirli. Although he did not become Bābowai's successor after Péröz's death (4 '), as he had hoped, he nevertheless played a decisive role in the establishment of the school in Nisibis,

which continued the A8Q closed of Edessa '. Narsai took the lead, and there were renowned Greek and Syrian scholars who left the Byzantine Empire and settled in the newly founded city. Through the introduction of the priesthood, the Nestorian Church separated itself from its Christian scholars and joined what was customary among the Zarathustrian clergy.

When the magicians incited Chusrõ I. Anõéarvãn to follow the Armenian šìonopliysites, it held (Michael SyrDS 344 r. Z 5 t. svq.: , 3ot r. transl.) : "Behold, the Itomans in all their trohvztío demand beforei all and niitigeii them with Geu'alt that sic submit to their faith. With regard to those who cannot be brought to do so, from (iia/'Qiǧ) a

<sup>&#</sup>x27; In addition J. - IS. t.habot in : J ourn. asiat. i Sq6, 3í

<sup>7</sup> Altheim, Hunnen III

Edict that they die. And why don't we do the same?" As far as the H estorians were concerned, they did not want to become Zarathustrians. If the principle of the state religion also applied to them, they had to become Persian Christians as opposed to Byzantine Christians. On this

Bar saumä then also stated in his speech to King Péröz: "Only if the confession of the Christians in your countries differs from the confession of the Christians in the countries of the Greeks will their hearts and minds be directed towards you" (Barhebraeus, chron. eccl. 3, 65, i6 f.).

Bar saumä did not hesitate to call Nestorios himself a man of Persian sentiment (ibid. 3, 6y, 4), who was therefore hated by the Greeks (ibid. 9) If the Christians in the Persian Empire were to be labelled Nestorians, they and the Greeks would be inflamed with mutual hatred (with other individual traits also Michael Syrus 425 1. Z 38f. syr.; >, 438 transl.).

These statements are unmistakable, and the intentions expressed **therein**, if carried out, were to bring about a special position for all Hes-torians. This applied above all to the Eastern Roman Christians. As late as the second half of the 8th century, a local Iodox could claim: "We do not consider the fi estorians to be Christians. And if one of them is travelling in the villages, then we allow him to enter our churches. In truth they are more like the Arabs than like us" (Barhebraeus, Chron. eccl. 3, 73.) We will come back to the close relationship with the Muslims.

Bar saumä received the requested soldiers from the king (ibid. 3, 60, iof.; \*5 ) and immediately began forcibly instructing the other Christians in the Sasanian Empire. The resolutions of the imperial synods, the establishment of the Eanon and the implementation of priestly marriage were followed by a separate

The first is a new way of writing (ibid. 3, 7, ZOf.), which can be distinguished from the Edessen or older one (ibid. 3, 79. 4.). Älär Abbä even seems to have attempted a new translation of the Scriptures, which could only be directed against the P'sittä -'. Even after Périiz's death, the Ne-

storians maintained their once won position°; at times one of their churches rose up next to the royal palace in Seleukeia (cf. ibid. 3, 95. -4) lu dc as the Persian Christians turned towards the Nestorian confession, the persecutions of Christians ceased (ibid. 3, 39, 1/f.).

<sup>°</sup> J.-13. C'habot in : J ourn. asiat. i k fi\*. 5°

<sup>^</sup> On the following I. S. Assemani, Dibl. Orient. 3, z (-73\*i. LIXXI'II I.

Not even Kax'ā ó I.'s prehistoric favouritism of the Monophysite Sem'ŏn of Bët Aršām (ibid.3, . ti f.), nor Anõ\*sarvän's unx er- hollow dislike of the cat holikos Mār Abbā (p. 8G f. above), which led to the latter's banishment and imprisonment. 8G f.), which led to his banishment and imprisonment, nor the destruction of the Nestorian church in Scleukeia before s52 caused a lasting estrangement. Flan could no longer do without the H estorians. They were "in the service" of the king, as the chronicle of Se "crt z, uz.5 says.

This became apparent when Chusrõ 11. A|3arvëz started his great war against Byzantium began (Barhebraeus, chron. eccl. i, z63,°5) When Mesopotamia and Syria had fallen to him, he initially intended to impose a Nestorian I4 bishop on Edessa (6i ö). However, the inhabitants

the city was al'gc1chned, the Sasanide tried it with a mono-physite. Subsequently, this measure was also carried out elsewhere. And the monophysite historiography noted with satisfaction that all adherents to the Chalcedonian confession of the

Hisch"fsstüllen Syriens w'urcn vertri"ben (ibid. i , z6j.3 . Als Hera-kleios after years of a fuc tured criticalcritically sited to the Sick, the \'cryclt ung, and the same Gescliich tssclireiber muł3t be ready,

to praise the Arab conquest as lłachc €iottes, "who, through dic I sniacli t en from the hands of the €iricch' n, has made us feel" (ibid. I, 2/3, 12 f.) <sup>5</sup>.

More far-reaching and successful was the Nestorians' more recent ¥ore in the service of Sasanian politics. After they had gained the leading position among the Christian denominations in Ferserreich, they embarked on a mission to counter the one successfully initiated by Byzantium. It was precisely under March that it became clear where they were heading. Three directions were taken

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Sollt'- hìt\*r liavùb's x-orii bergchendt it-igung zur 1.ehr" der Mazdakiten mitge- sprrichen Iia1"-n, 'he gleic h 'tern ñ1ono}ih ysitismus rim Ciedanken der döttlichen Ein heit x'ertreten f"1'en S. -j) \*

<sup>•</sup> Strange is the use that the 13th Spulcr, a. 0. z io and .mm3. • makes of this passage. lir cites it as a lelep for the fact that the last traces of Orthodox Christianity were eradicated in Persia. M'cder were Edessa and .Amid a Persischie

The fact that the cities of S yrieił and I\tesopotamia were still part of the Sœsanid Empire. was spoken of by Monr'phvsitcn far more than by Nestorians also escaped Spulcr. It is noticeable that the Latin n 1' is overly rigid and does not refer to the Syrian original.

the new endeavour. To the north, that is to Ä6urbaiyän, where Mär Abbä was banished and stayed for seven full years; to the east and north-east, where the first steps towards the Hephthalite mission were taken under him; finally to the south, to the border of the Euphrates, where they vigorously pressed ahead with winning over the Arabs. Here, after an eventful life, Mär Abbä was buried in the city that was to become the centre of Arab Nestorianism: in i¡lira ®.

There is no need to discuss the Arab mission. The main features are well known, and it suffices to recall them '; we hope to give a detailed examination in another place. In  $I_{\dot{i}}$  lira and its neighbourhood the Monophysite movement was again driven out of the positions it had occupied; it had subsequently to confine itself to

Tagrit. After  $_893$  Nu'män III was converted to Nestorianism by i;tira, the Lai $_1$ mids rose up as its champions. It happened when the hereditary enemy on the Byzantine side: the Gassänids

had become patrons of the Monophysites.

2

The age of the Nestorian mission in .\6urbaiyän ' has so far been difficult to determine. There was nothing to indicate that it went up high, and yet it was important to establish a date. It was the endeavour of everyone who dealt with the Neo-Aramaic dialects of the Nestorians there, especially the communities at Lake Urmia, to determine their time of origin. Th. Nöldeke's remarks already show his disappointment when he had to realise that the literary evidence about the appearance of the Nestorians in .\6urbaiyan did not go back beyond the first century°.

<sup>°</sup> F. Nau, Les A rabes c hré tienn de hlésopotamie et de S'yrie (i 933) i with details. ' N'or1frequently x-compare the book mentioned in the previous note.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; We should at least refer to the book from N. Pigulevskaya's school that appeared after the completion of the Slanuscript: R. Gusejnos-, Sirijskie istoéniki XI I -X III . ob Azerbäjdlane (9). We thank Z. I. Jampolskij for mak ingit accessible to us.

<sup>·</sup> Th. Nüldeke, Stramm. 'ler neusyrischen Sprache (i bG8) XXII I f.

The oldest diocese in this country, apart from \Veitcrcs, seemed to have to remain the mono- physical one that had been founded in the 1930s (see p. z i above). And yet already

The current state of research suggests that there is much to \'orsicht. In benaclibarten Gurgän, Nestorian bishops were attested early <sup>3</sup>. Gehe ii 3 U urgän was not :\6urbaiyän, and it had even less to do with the U-cgend west of Lake Urmia. But what was true of the landscape to the south-east of the Caspian Sea was not inconceivable on its south-western shore. All the more so as it was much closer to the centre of the 'Iraq, which stretched from Seleukeia-K tesiphon to the Adiabene. There was an additional consideration. Should Mar Abbä, when he went into exile to :\6urbaiyän, have been sent to a country where he would not meet any of his fellow exiles?

In the meantime, new sources have been a d d e d , which fiüldeke, when he was The biography of Mär Abbä was written in the 6th century. There is the biography of Mär Abbä's, written in Syriac, which goes back to the later 6th century \*. Or the Arabic chronicle of Sc'crt, which in turn is based on an ecclesiastical-historical \work by the Syrian Daniel bar Slaryam, which dates back to pre-Islamic times \*. This clironic confirms the early appearance of Nestorian bishops in Gurgän'. The biography speaks of the "zealous and righteous and God-loving Mar Yöliannän, bishop of \\6urbaiyän" (-52, 3

Bedjan). Thus, for the forties of the 6th century a nesto-

rian bishopric is attested. This corresponds to the chronicle of Se'ert (z. 5- . *E f.* . According to her, Mar Abbä had a ge'gner in the land of his exile who sought his life. His name is given in the biography: Patros €I urgänärä (she. : -49. 31 This man was an apostate (the Arab

Text gives *pfrsh*, leading to sjrish lt *iifrasä* "remotio", cf. *efaresis* "remotio, abrogatio, condemnatio") ^, who had converted to the overlgctation. Ls was therefore a former Nestorian, who was also a witness to the existence of Nestorian congregations, not only in fiurgän (is orauf

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* Z ulet z t E. Honigman n, Le cou vent de l3ar.saum'. i - r'.
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<sup>\*</sup> Ed. by P. I3edjan in his Histoire de Flur- J abalaha (i 895) :o 6 - - 7

<sup>· .¥ .</sup> Hau mstark, C history of s rian 1 i t e r a t u r e J 7

<sup>· .1. 13</sup>a u mstark, a. 0. \*°7

<sup>2, 159, 8</sup> 

<sup>\*</sup> fJaz.u.4. S'-her in \d not. i to the 'text - , i 39; C. I3rockelman n, 1.cxic. SyriäC.^ 7 5 •

scin former Bist um and its Beinamc weisen°), but iv ohl also in Ä6urbaiyän.

Then there is the passage in the biography (z6ö, ii f.), which speaks of the appointment of a bishop for the Hephthalite Christians; it will be translated and discussed below. The event falls within the years of Flär Abbä's banishment to £6urbaiyän

i54°/3-54 Q) and shows the existence of a sizeable church at the place of banishment as well as a parish; an assembly of Nestorian bishops could also be convened there. The ecclesiastical apparatus was therefore in place, and this justifies the mention of a similar church.

eeitigen nestori.mischen Bischofs x-on -l6urbaiyän.

Finally, a lipisode should be mentioned, which falls into the three years in which Maar Abbä, after his secret return to Seleukeia from \6urbaiyän in the \Vinter 5 j8/'), was hanged by C liusrr' I. Anüüarv-än. At that time, Mar Al'bä once again arrived in the land of his exile, and his journey there is described as follows: (\*38, y): ":1when the departure was announced and the King of Kings set out to go to .\6urbaiyän, he had the saint brought in his armchairs, in great t,juals, over fJc mountains and hills, in heat and f ilut, in thirst and hunger, with many fasts, him together with his disciples. Believers a11"rorts, " where he reached, felt him with great honour. They took soil from the surroundings of his \\'ohnstatte for sanctification ("pulx is loci Huo m:irtyres coronati f ucrunt, 'jucm olco ct aqua

dilut um ad ex tremam unctionem adhibent" C. Brockelmann. a. 0. <43) and blessing6- .In every place w h e r e the l'i'inig the King stopped, 1dates (:c a-dcl.) the *C hrist*'-n place by place, as E the saint from those hard l'essels wil'ist. When the king of the Ii iini6- after .46urbaiyän

When the magicians of the place where the Blessed One had been hanged (earlier) heard that he was for (z5t), i), they all came to scin worship and begrillation by ss'uning (about) it,

"hey they were deprived of the honour that the honoured man had left them. From his description, one gets the impression that between the capital and  $\cdot$ 6urbaiyän, on the  $\cdot$ 1'eg ulso that the  $\cdot$ 1'nig took, there is an unbroken chain of Nestorian communities. It is fitting that data aui3er in Gurgän also in the Median Ray under Ch usrö

I. Anösarvän Nes-torians are attested (Chronicle of Se'ert 2, I jO, q).

<sup>&#</sup>x27;P. Hedjan in the .\dnot. i to p. - 9.

\'on a Nestorian Slctropolitan in Slerw hi'rt is first heard of around the eighth century '. This Tlieodoros was allegedly appointed x'on Mar Alabä himself 5qo ". We also know of his successor Das id, who admittedly had less favourable relations with his cm atholikos °. For the subsequent period, Tabari's information relating to the death of the last Sasanid is helpful. It is said x om Miiller v"n Flerw, the murderer of \'azdgard II I, that he "t h r e w his body into the corridor. Then some of the inhabitants of Slerw went out, killed the II iiller and destroyed his mili. The court of Mern-'s also went out, took the body of \"azdgard\" from the corridor, put it in a coffin, took it to I sta hr and laid it in the (fire) 'Hempel\" (ann.

\*. \* 74. 5 f.). I n some abu cichend, it is said in a later passage that the Slürder "threw him (the body of 3'azdgard) into the Flul3 of ?Icru (Übersetting of II ur äb) u arfcn. It flei3 with him (the Leic hnam; the \Vasscr, until it came to the mouth of the llazik. fba he (the Leic hnam) got caught on a wood. Then the bishop Merw 's came to him. He picked him up and

a wood. Then the bishop Merw 's came to him. He picked him up and wrapped him (the body) in a jailasän' parfiimed with mosclius and laid him in a coffin and took him to Bä-i Bäbän below Mägän. There he placed him in an uew ülbe, which had been the official seat of the chief, and sealed it"

(ann. i, z8Si , y f.).

The burial in Istaxr is probably unhistorical, while the information about the much more modest tomb is correct. In both reports, the role of the biscliof is the same, and it corresponds to the bezcugung of Nestorian metropolitans Merw's (cf. also Barhebraeus, rliron. eccl.

3, I 2I, i6f.) <sup>5</sup>. .ен later Stelle mentions Tabari (ann. z, i Qz5, i3) ло́sar-gasän, a Parasange away from the city, where I. Guidi ^ the IIloster of St. Sergios has astutely recognised.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;.\L\*t'vlous-I.amy in Earhel'raeus, ch ron. eccl. r. 8fi.\n m s

<sup>- 1</sup> te Lae x' O' 1-cary, How Cireek science pass' d to t1i". \ rabs ( i oj 8) bf' . a .fi ngal'e in the \{\}jueIlen liel3 cannot be found. It probably goes back to I. S. .tssemani, liibl. orient. 3, \* ( '77\*), LX XX11 and CCCC' X X\' I.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>circ}$  .S . Sch':r zur t'hroni k von Se'r-rt z , i so. s f in A nm . i ; cf . z . i y . u n'l .:¥ n m. i o.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; 18. \*p u ler, a. \*.-I i : J i t' ; x g1. I3ir ti n i. C h r"n'i1. i jq, 2 Sa cli\*i u u nd 'li'-z u bc hürige

<sup>\* 1.</sup> ü. Assemani, l. c. O. LX X X1 gives mcli r.

<sup>^ .</sup>Kd not. zur Steile ; De Lacy O'Lcar y, a. O. i i y.

It is astonishing how early the Nestorian mission spread to the Hephthalite kingdom.' flan has an insightful account of this in the aforementioned svric diography of Mãr . $\beta$ libñ. He states that in the years of his exile to :\ 6urbaiyän (5'-,'3 54') among the

Hephthalites already existed Nestorian t'emcinden and that one

There he requested that one of the existing priests (ǧaśśiśÕ 266, i6 Bcdjan) be consecrated bishop by the Catholicos. The Ereiynis **fell** at a time when the great Hcphthalite Empire had not yet succumbed to the united onslaught of the Eastern Turks and Chusrõ I Anösarvãn. The ruler of this empire Iieil3t accordingly *huplrãn bthu:Iiiv*, thus bears an Iranian title (\*f5, i; 26/, ½ 2) ". The whole section reads in tbcrsetz ung:

 $(Z\hat{U}\hat{o}, 5)$  "The ruler of the Hcphthalites sent a priest to be king of kings, and the Hephthalite Christians (zöy, i) wrote letters to the Selipen that he would make that priest, who had been sent from there to be king of kings, the biscliof for the whole kingdom of the Hephth:i.

liten mac he. When the priest came before the king and the king told him why he (the priest) had been sent, the king, when he heard about it, was astonished and marvelled at the power of Jesus, that the Hephthalite Christians also regarded the Executed One (llår .Abbã) as head and ruler. He (the king) sent to him (MărAbbã) that he should go and cut the church as usual, that he should go to his Hans and to his church, that he should assemble the l3ishops at his place of residence and that he should make that man bishop who had been sent to him (the king) by the ruler of the Hephthalites. When this glad messenger was received by the Lord's people, the saint went out (ii'o-dcl.) from the house of the captives to this great church of his see, the apostolic one." The completed )¥'cihung is noted in 269, i í.

The report is confirmed by the equally excellent account that 4'licophylaktos Üimokattes gives of l3ahrām Cabin's rebellion.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; I $^{\circ}$ reilic h is the claim that a  $^{\circ}$  matt1 .estorians came to the same area together with Kav ñ6 I. during his visit to the Heph thalites (A. lt.

<sup>\&#</sup>x27;inc-, The Üestorian C hurc hcs, \*93 U7. \*• \*\* ter Bcrufu ng :tuf A. Flingana in : Hull. oí th'- Joh n R s-lands I-il'rary 9, 303) , unfounded. Sir: licruh t on a wrong I!ber of the passage Zachar. Hhetor z i 5, i i f. I3rt'oks. This is ol'en i , z8y f. ge-

is acted . .search is completely it iiglau bwurdig. daft .Xrràn a  $\ddot{U}$  ame Iü r **her.it** s'-in s'iII (:\. lt. \'int , a. O. the :\nm. i) ; vg1. gleic hfalls oben i , z b'y f.

<sup>^.\</sup> nders z Of, i I' f.; - u7,: bre'l i'd it e h'if'irã yé; z 67,3 -/ n!o d-"ğ\*-\*a'8-

There the Hephthalites in Bahräm's army wore the sign of the cross on their foreheads. For this reason, any deep arrests made on the victorious side were handed over to the Byzantine liaiser (5th cent, . 225, f. Bonn).

A further report should be added here. Naréahi reports of a Christian

The C l'ersatz'te of Nar "sahi's chronicle already surmised that it must have been a Nestorian church. The compiler and editor of Nar "sahi's chronicle already surmised that it must have been a Nestorian church '°. This now proves to be correct, and one may assume that it was the episcopal church of the Hephthalite Nestorians, i.e. that the bishop of the Hephthalites consecrated by ölär Abbä came from Sogdia.1'

The early transfer of the Nestorian mission to the then still existing Hcplithalitcn Empire had not yet been documented. lis is all the more l'cmer kensxverter, as it was not so successful in other directions.

has worked. According to the Stcle of Hsi-an-fu, A-lo-pen from 'fa-Cli'in reached the Chinese imperial court as a \'proclaimer of Nestorian doctrine in 35. And three years later, an imperial edict confirmed the existence of such a church 'o. In Chw'ärezm, however, a strong Zarathustri.c 14astion was encountered, and the Slelkites initially took over what was available.

Al-Bériini has made the life of the festx'erzciclinis of the local älelkiten that of the Xcstorian (chron. 3 9, \*-3 5, 5i But this differs not only in content x-on the Melkite, but also in its histori position.

Bérüni nowhere mentions that the Nestorian calendar was Syrianised. Zz'ar uses Syriac terms for a number of the best:

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3 9. I4 mä'allä, syr. ma "altä (in addition 'rh. xüldcke, K urzgef. syr. Stramm.-
          7 f 23
3O€}, i 3 Nds 't'; svr. b'Ioé 'éttä
        m'rt svr. ntärl (written nir/v) or märlä.
ji, z i ptiddäs, syr. juddäs(ä).
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<sup>&#</sup>x27; lt . fi . F rx-", The H iütt'rx' "f lm khara 53.

on. N. F', a'i. i 3.s. An m. r qb. 1'. is ar die xu vor iibers (tx te Stel le aus der Bi - grapliie Mar: lebt's un be kannt geblieb (•n.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; ' \'gl. I. S. :\ sseniani, a. O. t t?Ct' X X\' 1.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;- To 1' tzt 1-. hen x in : 1.e ' is ilt..a 'lell' Oriente 3 ( i 958) 233.

lYet other Syriac names are Arabic: 3°9. \*B US-

Siibbnr', Syr. subbara "annuntiatio"

- 3 \*. 3 al-lārîiğa, syr. §riiğvõ
- 3 \*, i6 at-sa/aòíi/; syr. libiitñ.

The names of the monasteries are all given in Arabic l'orm:

- 3 . \* dA filJ It-ttĂS
- 3, 18 dairu abi ãlid
- 310, IQ dairu 1-pādisi ya
- 3\* . Iq dairu I-êahhãl3\*
- , zo dai-ť t-ta'õIib.

All this points to a later origin. If the Melkite calendar dates from before the Arab conquest of Chivãrezm, the Nestorian calendar dates from after it.

The Nestorian list of feasts is not presented as such, organised by days and months. The reader is constantly referred to the Melkite prelude, and through deductions, :Nchanges and additions

the image of the Nestorian order i3 9 6f.). One gets the impression that this is a reworking of the Melkite catechism.

lenders that had been found. This would mean that the Melkian copy was preserved because the Nestorians had appropriated it in order to rework it for their own purposes. This would mean that the two festival calendars did not exist side by side, but one after the other. The Melkite calendar had long since fallen into disuse when Bëríini received it.

This can also be confirmed. Bërfini was dependent on his Christian guarantors for the explanations he gave.

.km i 4. Tammiiz the Melkites fcied lohannes from Merw the Younger, and the declarers noted: "killed in our time 13°O,A f.)." None

It is too doubtful that they were referring to àfar Yōbannan d-mrten, the Barhebraeus under the year o5 (Chron. eccl. I, 43, ). They interpreted the øiru'ti, which is not quite comprehensible to us either, as indicating origin from Merw and were thus a ble to equate the two men. But this procedure

is hardly correct. The learned editors of Barhebraeus' Church History, J. B. Abbeloos and Th. J. Lamy, have devoted a lengthy note to the question of the origin of Yöhannñn d-mrs'n.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;- a. O, 4\*3 f.: fi ntn. z.

From this it is clear that, however it is to be interpreted, it does not p o i n t to an origin from Mers. I3ci l3ar hebracus is, moreover, ccin'-sf alls a Nestorian. I nd, it may be added, Mar \'ül.iannün is not labelled as the youngest and is juxtaposed with an older bearer of the N aniens' Ht.

The explanation that Bêriïni had received therefore did not apply. A lfonoph ysit or even a cstorian had no place in a Melkite feast. the Melkites Chwärczm's would have thought of such a plan. \Vcnn Bërüni's f ieoalirsmanner c incn Ne.storian i n t o the iiltere l'estverzeichnis of the Slelkites, they were themselves Nostorians. It was their intention to use the tab of a blood witness from the neighbourhood, whose veneration was in all likelihood a tess urz urzelt w'ar, als cinen der I hren ausgeben.

One will judge differently in a zes ei ten hall. Antonius der Jlärt \ rcr is zQz, i 3.1. equated with A bu Hüh, for \'etter Härün ar-Itaéid's. Bërüni confessed that he had not found anything similar in any way, a n d F. Sachau, his honoured editor and critic, repeated this confession ". I n the meantime, it has become clear\* that it was an older K urai>, descendant of 'tJmar', who was involved 'o^.

\If this statement is correct, the Nestorian calendar contains a spiite piece. It falls into the S.-q. century, if not later. It is hardly relevant to the questions discussed here.

I mmerhiri ^6 be referred to the fact that the feast of the Catholicos Jlär Abbä was celebrated on the seventh Friday after E{aiphanias (3\*4. Ik f.). This man had the first Nestorianisclien Biscliof ülerw 's in the

year 5qo and shortly afterwards consecrated the first Heplitlialite bishop. (above p. i o3; i"). From this it can be seen that the mission that Chr ärezm won from the estorians went out from ülerw and Choräsän . In the aftermath of the Arab conquest, the mission of the Cstorians bled off or displaced the Danish Melkites, who in a century when I3jzanz was fighting for its continued existence fought against the local iodox church.

he coexistence of :\ rabers and Nestorians needs to be emphasised. For the criten time, what is happening among the 'Abbäsids

<sup>&#</sup>x27;\* ÜL\*crsctzung ( I S;9) 3b.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;\* ^ I'. I'ecters in : .Unit1. i3' 'lland. 3 i , ¢z i .

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ B . Spu ler, l. c. O. zo9. says Ireilich. the nes torianisc i'iirc hb: had "fulfilled the Saviour's mission in a great way".

was to come to fruition: the privileged position of the Nestorian Church even under Muslim rule '^. What further emphasised this special position were unmistakable statements from Nestorian mouths. In the year Qio, a dispute arose between the Nestorian Catholicos and a Chalcdonian oulctropolitan, whom the Tiriechs resident in Baghdad had requested from the Antiochian Patriarchate. In view of the \vezir, the catholicos was allowed to say: "We Nestorians love the Arabs as a whole and we pray for their victory" (Barhebraeus, chron.

PCCI. 3, \*3s. -4 I.). And when the representative of the Nestorian cause before the court, "one of the great scribes of the Arabs" (ibid. 3, 237, 2), put forward arguments that had already been put forward under the Sasanids, he was able to make his case.

(p. q8 above)", was decided in favour of the Estorians.

"Far be it from \\'ezir to equate the Nestorians, who have no other king but that of the Arabs, and the U riechen, whose kings never cease warring against the Arabs" {ebenda 3, -37, Qf.). The one

were friends, but the others were enemies. In fact, schOTl Z3 years previously a place of hodox notice that the Nestorians were **closer to** the Arabs. than his own confession (ibid. 3, -73. \*3) "

Chwärezm's example can also be used to assess the situation further east. There can hardly be any doubt that the ff uslim were also in the Sogdians \prepared for a more far-reaching Nestorian mission. The fierce resistance of the Sogdians, Hephthalites and Turks had to be broken by the hard fist of the conqueror if one wanted to promote a Christian confession in the dominion of a reinvigorated Zarathustrism. And only when the maelstrom had been crossed could one think of taking the mission further to the north-east.

Under the year i o25 for the first time again (above p. red) one hears that a Soghder was consecrated ?fetropolitan (Barhebraeus, chron. eccl. 3, §05, 3 1 In the preceding centuries, after the Arab invention

The Chronicle of Sc'crt 2, 38 z, i f.; cf. also I. SL t ssemani, Hi ml. Ofii'-nt. 3, 2 (173^), I IC I.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ E. Benz in : I.e. rivi lt\* dell'CJricnte 3 ( i 9 5ü) z S; B. Spu ler, a. 0. z 1 3. üa reference to Barh cbraeus, chron. eccl. 3, ?§ 6 and 332 in .note i is one of the unfortunately frequent misquotations .

<sup>&#</sup>x27;' I3his lion's share of the crhäl t nisse, which gave the Üest"riant'rn a similar position among dt-n '.4 bbiisiilen u-ie unter"r dt\*n Sasaniden"rtc, iv urt alone by E. Denz, a. 0. ° 47 . hcrxorge.

The class of Christian Soghdian literature, which is mostly translated from Syriac '-^, must fall into this category. And only look was the Nestorian Metropolitan Merw's able to report to his Catholicos '- that the clan of the Kcrait, a Turkic tribe (*kcait oukcl* nirlayé) living in the north-east, on mountains and alpine pastures, was ready to accept Christianity (ibid.3, •z9. I f.). This was the decisive step towards Mongolia

done  ${}^{*\circ}$ . In China, on the other hand, Nestorianism had become a popular movement towards the end of the

q. Extinct at the end of the 19th century-l.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;O. Hansen in: J ahrb. der 4lainzer Akademie der \\'iss. untl l.iteratur i 'j5 i . z' f f. '- B. Spulers Ansicht, a. O. z i , the Bist um Talas (j'ar=az, s-gl. R. N. Frye, a. 0. i of z z) wasthe starting point of the Nestorian mission, is characterised by Barhebraeus' wording refuted. For the rest, the inhabitants were T--.\* of a 2'lestorians, but shamanistic Turks; so correctly R.N. Prye, l.c. i So note z95. O. i So note z95.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>circ\circ}$  Literature in D. Spuler, a. 0. z i . Anm. b ; E. Henz, a. 0.  $^*\mbox{$\stackrel{.}{\iota}$}$  i . zit .

<sup>°&#</sup>x27; Ei. I3enz, 1. O. z33.

## e. x.iPITEl.

## MERW, CITY OF TRANSLATORS

The history of S3'rian translations from Greek literature began even before the emergence of a separate Nestorian Church. However, it was only in the Persian school of Edessa that people turned to Aristotelian philosophy and sought to overcome the one-sided favouring of the Church Fathers, ascetic and metrological writings and the \*Egyptian myths. The founding of the school of Nisibis signalled a new impetus. At the turn of the 8th century, the study of Aristotle also took on special importance, and through I;lunain b. Isbäk (8oqJ io-8y6) and his disciples, the scientific heritage of Greek antiquity, now including physicians as well as philosophers, was transmitted to the Islamic world. i.e. Baghdad and Ba sra, to which the Nestorian from Hira had turned, now came to the fore.

In all this, another centre of Nestorian translatorship has been overlooked: Khorasan with its capital Merss. It would be wrong to date the science there only from the q. Century and with lsö'däd giTlncn. Precisely because of the influence on HeP hthalites and

Soghder, but also to C hwärezm in pre-Islamic and (early-Islamic7 times mut3 the importance of Merw should be emphasised.

1

In the section of his chronology that deals with the era of creation, **Beriini** talks about the differences of approach that exist between Jews and Christians (-s. of. Sachau). While the first calculate 3 '\$\psi 8\$ years between Adam and Alexander the Great, the Christians calculate 3 '\$\psi 8\$ years between Adam and Alexander the Great.

s the distance a-s-0. Both parts vcfollow with their numbers ver-

The following discussion deals with these intentions. These are the subject of the following discussion.

Despite the existing contrasts, the parties have a common \experience, which is referred to as Jis\*hii \rangle-paarmal (i \{\xi}, \xi\}\]1\}. 3). Certain quotations or (on the Christian side) concise formulae are picked out, their order of construction is converted into numerical values and added together. A \rangle prophesy is taken from the resulting numbers.

Beriini endeavours to explain the absurdity of this widespread belief. H'as Jews and is as Christians thought they had established in this way is rejected. Then, the discussion returns to the starting point, i.e. to the different approach to the era of creation among Jews and Christians (20, 12 1.).

For both, it is added, possess two different versions [nush:a) of the 'l'or:t, and their different indications agree with the respective teachings of both religions. The Greek version in the hands of the Christians, called the Septuagint, is in their view a correct translation of the Hebrew. However, the Jews say that the translation work was carried out under duress, which is why some things have been falsified. Bériini f a v o u r s the latter view (z I, S), but without giving his reasons.

Up to now, the two versions of the Torah have corresponded to the entgegegen set by the Jews and Christians. Surprisingly, it turns out that there is a third one. It belongs to the Samaritans (whose position is outlined), and new information is thus obtained. If the lives of the immediate descendants of Adam are added together in all three cases, the period between the ¥'ertreatment from Paradise and the Flood is 6s\* J ührt° for the Jews, and 6s\* J ührt° for the Christians.

Christians 2 223 URd with the Samaritancrn 3-7 (- , \*5  $_{all}$  expected inthe point of the e x p u l s i o n , not the expulsion from paradise. And if one does not recall what the Samaritans have to do in a dispute between Jews and Christians, one is moreover surprised by the far-reaching statement of {one historian} according to which the Ab-

<sup>&#</sup>x27;E. Sachau remarks in the English translation ( i b y9) 3 yz: "By iJ isib-alj umma1 the author understands tlit- notation of the nu merals by means of the letters of the A ral'ic alpliaLet, arranged acct'rding to the sequence ref the Hebrew alpha£-et." Yt'eit'-res in f-. Rosenthal, Die aramaistische Forsc h ung z 5 z note 3.

between the creation of Adam and the sinf lut was exactly 2 z26 years, z3 days and four hours (zI, 19 I

However, it is not only the Torah that exists in different versions, but also the Gospels. Here there are four (z2, Af.). The difference is illustrated by the genealogies of Jesus in Matthew i, z-i6 and Luke 3,

°3-3\*. Both do not match, as would be expected.

This completely abandons the original theme of the era of creation. Neither the Gospels nor the genealogy of Christ have anything to do with it. **Bëmni** makes no further effort in this regard, but lists additional gospels, those of Markion, Bardesanes, the Manichaeans and others. This concludes the section (\*3.9 \*s)

The table of contents has already shown how little it fulfils the requirements of a tightly structured gcdancial structure. \From the outset, it is reasonable to assume that components of different origins and with different objectives have been placed by the author at the service of his cause and united without much consideration for their own lives.

The extensive section on the *hisābu* /-ǧiiøinta/ and its fi'ideration stands out as a part in itself. Bërúni interrupts the discussion of the subject matter, emphasises the possibility of putting the question in a different place and wants to return to the main idea. P.i thus clearly characterises this section as an interlude. Does Bêmni really return to the main idea afterwards?

At first it seems so. The new finding that Jews and Christians have different versions of the 'Fcra could correspond to the fact that both religions calculate the distance to Ad:im and .Alexander differently. The contrast in chronology would correspond to that of the writings referred to on both sides. Nevertheless, the connection is deceptive. \Neither the Hebrew Torah nor the Greek provide a corresponding number, nor is it stated on what basis one could have arrived at the two abas ciclious .'data.

Bernini's wording provides the confirmation. At the beginning u'ar spoke of Jews and Christians (i 5, A f.). Now, however, it is about two versions of the Torah (2O, 12 f.). Both give different numbers the i>t

Correct. However, these figures do not refer to the distance between Adam and Alexander, but to the time between the expulsion from paradise and the flood (zi, iG f.). It is clear that the second was to be taken from the different versions of the Torah when the lifespans of Adam's immediate descendants were totalled. However, the distance between Adam and Alexander could not be included in either of them. The explanation of the two versions of the 'fora is therefore externally attached to the discussion of the era of creation.

Once the incompatibility of the components has been recognised, it soon **spreads**. While in the latter case the two versions of the Torah are spoken of and the origin of the Greek version is recounted in detail, previously it was a question of all the books of the Old Testament, not just the Pentateuch. Again there is a lack of correspondence, and in addition, the sentences on **which** the Christians make their *jisäbu 1-pummal* were not given in Greek, but this time in Syriac (i6, 2; i8, ig).

The fact that a third version of the Torah emerges takes us one step further. The Samaritans no longer have anything to do with the contrast between Jews and Christians - the weak thread on which the thought6ä, s hitherto hung. It is clear that Bérfini had not given his own discussion, which spoke of the three different versions of the Torah, to his

'fext by first dealing with two of them and only later adding a third. The fact that this discussion was originally subject to a different objective than that into whose framework Bérüni subsequently placed it is shown by the fact that the two, or rather three, versions of the Torah are followed by a full four of the Gospels. This was undoubtedly intended as an enhancement, by means of which it was to be demonstrated that the existing excesses in the Torah corresponded to even greater ones in the Gospels.

The independent existence of this train of thought, which Ilcriini only subsequently placed at the service of his own exposition, is therefore obvious. In the Torah, what the Jews say is without \(\frac{2}{3}\)" erw-irrung (zO, 131) This is only brought in by the Christians, who wrongly claim to have an authentic translation. But, after mentioning the Samaritans, the situation is even worse with the Christians' own writings. There are four excepts, and that's not all: report heretics and

o Alt hein', II uoneo I I I

Gnostics wrote other scriptures of this kind. To reiterate, such a train of thought had nothing to do with the approach of the Sch†pfung era. On the contrary, it evidently stemmed from a polemic against the Christians. In it, the Jews were spared, just as the Samaritans, Markion, Bardesanes and the Manichaeans were not devalued. All the force of the criticism - a highly informed criticism - is directed against the Christians.

A structure emerges which, in its clarity, contrasts favourably with what Bërüni suggests to his reader in this section. However, before this can be dealt with, it is necessary to take the -

seen from the larger perspective - uniform section 2O, 12-23, \*s separate out two components that already have the younger origin written on their foreheads.

On the one hand, there is the testimony of a historian Athenaios\*, which Bëmni attributed to the

bitābu l-ğirānāt of Ibnu l-Bäzyār (ZZ, \*9f.). This testimony contributes to the question of the three versions that exist of the Torah and their

mutual differences. It is also irrelevant to the number of years between the expulsion from Paradise and the Flood, in which those versions differ. For the historian is dealing with the interval between the creation of Adam and the Flood, i.e. a different period of time. However, this new citation serves, and is expressly understood by Bërüni in this sense, to substantiate the uncertainty of knowledge about the chronological data. It has thus been inserted in order to place the controversial train of thought of our passage, which contains a polemic against the Christians and the value of their tradition, as far as possible at the service of Bërfini's concern - the question of whether there is a certain **era** of creation.

The insertion is taken from an Islamic work, and the same applies to the second passage, which is to be omitted. The mention of the Gospel of the Manichaeans is followed by Z3, -. "There is a version of it called the 'Gospel of the Seventy'. It is traced back to *bl'ms*.

At the beginning it says that Sallām b. 'Abdillāh b. Sallām wrote it down according to the oral communication of Salmān the Persiano." Here the indication of nationality has given rise to the idea that the work could have been a Manichaean writing.

<sup>°</sup> E. Sachau in his translation 3y suggests Anianus.

<sup>°</sup> See R. Köbert in : Analecta Biblica i z (rg59), i yą note ș i i80.

We know the story of the Persian Salman (p.  $3_8$  above) sufficiently to be able to say that he had as little to do w ith the Gospel of Mani as the latter had w ith that of the Seventy.

What remains is initially given in translation.

"(2O, 12) I say that everyone. Jews and Christians, a version of the Torah which proclaims what agrees with the teaching of its followers. The (version) that belongs to the Jews, they think, is the one that has stayed away from confusion. The one that belongs to the Christians is called the 'Torah of the Seventy'. This is due to the fact that when Nebuchadnezzar came against Jerusalem and destroyed it, some of the children of Israel departed from there, sought refuge with the king of Egypt and remained under his protection until Ptolemy Philadelphus reigned. News of the Torah and its heavenly origin reached this king. He made enquiries about that part (the children of Israel) until he found them in a country town, about three men. He offered them his hospitality, let them come and treated them kindly. Then he gave them permission to return to Jerusalem: Cyrus, Artaxerxes I's governor over Babylon, had (in the meantime) rebuilt it, and he had also resumed the building of Syria. They (the Jews) left (the city) with some of his (the king's) officials, through whom he gave them protection. He (the king) said to them: 'Look, I have a request for you. If you fulfil it, my gratitude to you will be complete. My request is that you give me a copy of your book, the Torah. They promised him that and swore to him that they would give it to him.

fulfil. After they had come to Jerusalem, they carried out their promise by sending him a copy of it (the Torah), but it was in Hebrew and he (the king) understood it (the

Hebrew). He turned to them again and asked for someone who understood both Hebrew and Greek to translate (the Torah) for him (the Kiinig). He promised them gifts and benefits. So they (the Jews) chose from their twelve tribes (z i, i) 2z men. from

each tribe six people from the ranks of the scholars and priests.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Bahman se.: b. Islendiyär: see Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache z. Lfg. i 9 i .

Their names are known among the Christians. They (the 2z) translated it (the Torah) into Greek after he (the king) had separated them and appointed one for every two of their fathers to take care of their needs -' until they (the 2z) had completed his (the book's) translation.

\*He came into possession of 36 translations. He compared them with each other and found nothing in them except what was different.

He gave them what he had promised and gave them everything they needed. He gave them what he had promised and provided them with everything they needed. Then they asked him to give them a x on those 1 translations (of the existing 36 translations) in order to boast and boast to their comrades. And he did so. This is the (version) which is valid among the Christians, and no conversion or change has taken place in it (with regard to the original), so they say. The ) udcn (however) claim (*lapiilu*: Sachau) the opposite of this. namely, that they were forced to translate it (the book) and were pressurised to do so in that (cliilised) way through fear of being

and bad treatment, not before they had agreed on changes and adjustments. There is nothing in what they (the Christians) mention - assuming we grant it any \truthfulness at all - that removes the doubt. Rather, it (what they mention) causes it (the doubt) even more. - The Torah does not have these two versions alone. \(\frac{4}{3}\) iel rather, it has a third version among the Samaritans, who are known as \(\tilde{0}\)8lyyovoi ('tJ-fi "iasasiye) \(\frac{6}{3}\). They are the successors to whom Nebuchadnezzar assigned Syria when \(he\) conquered the Jews.

captured and cleared it (Syria) of them. The Samari

tans had helped him and had pointed out the weaknesses of the children of Israel to him. So he had not prosecuted them (the Samaritans), had neither killed them nor taken them captive, but had allowed them to continue to live in Palestine (now) under his rule. Their teachings are a mixture of Judaism and Magianism; their class "-dwells in a place of Palestine called Neapolis (Nebulus); there are their synagogues. They have not crossed the border of Jerusalem since the days of David the prophet ^, because they claim that he did violence and injustice and destroyed the

- Not so E. Sachau in his **translation** 3y . But it seems possible for **us** to come up without -hnde- rungen.
- ^ E. Sachau in his tibersctzung 3yj.
- >a2'i -92, iof., where he appears alongside Jacob, Bishop of .Celia-Jerusalem.

holy temple from Neapolis to Aelia (and that is Jerusalem). They (preferably) do not touch other people, and if they have touched them, they wash themselves. They recognise the prophets

The prophecies of none (of the prophets) of the Ii inder Israel who lived after Aloses. - As for the version that applies to the Jews and to which they refer, it gives **the** period of time between Adam's expulsion from Paradise and the Flood, which occurred in Noah's time, as i6s\* years by means of the lifetimes of **Adam's** descendants. As far as the version used by Christians is concerned, this period adds up to 224z years. \As **for** (the version) that applies to the Samaritans, it says that it (the period) is 3°7 y£thrc ... (22, 4) Not only to the Torah belongs a \(\frac{1}{2}\)' iversity of

and their differences, but the same applies to the evan-

gelium. Among the Christians, x-four versions belong to him, united in a scroll (or: in a codex), the first of which comes from Matthew, the second from ff arkus, the third from Luke and the fourth from lohannes, each of these disciples having vcrfat3ed them according to his (Jesus') proclamation in his country. Vas in each one of them is written

Descriptions of the Messiah and stories about him in the days of the Annunciation and at the time of his crucifixion 6 liftg, tlfldifferentiates

- as one claims - many times from what is written in the other. So that Regarding his (Jesus') family tree, which is the family tree of Joseph, Mary's betrothed and Jesus' stepfather, Matthew says it is ':

<ul> <li>Joseph</li> </ul>	i i. Zerubabel	2 i. Joram	3	Salmon
Jacob	Sea keel	Jehoshaphat		Nahasson
Mat than	Jechonja	Asa		Aminadab
Eleazar	Josiah	Abia		Ram
5- Eliud	i5. Amon	z5. Rehabeam	3s	Hezron
Achin	Manasseh	Salomon		Peres
Zadok	Hezekiah	David		Judah
Azor	Ahaz	Jesse		Jacob
Elyakim	Botham	Obed		Isaac
Abiud	Usia	Boas		Abraham

<sup>^</sup> In case of doubt, the names are given according to the current **version** of the Luther Bible. An examination of the linguistic forms in Bériini could **be** instructive.

And he (Matthew) begins in the genealogy with Abraham, going down (him) to Joseph. As for Luke, he says that it (the genealogical tree) was laute:

i. Joseph	i i.	Hesli	2i.	Sea keel	3-	Matthat
Heli		Nagai		Neri		Levi
Matthat		Maath		Mclchi		Simeon
Levi		Mattathias		1ddi		Juda
5th Melchi /Janna) Jose <sub>r</sub> h Mattathias	*5	Simei Joseph Judaj	*-5	KOSäm Elmadad Her	35	Joseph Jonam Eljakim
Amos		ohannan Resa		Joseph Eliezer		Melea Mena
Nahum		Zerubabel		J rem		Matatha
					II.	Nathan David

The Christians' excuse and argument against this is that they say that one of the rules laid down in the Torah is that if **a man** dies leaving a wife by whom he has no sons, the brother of the deceased takes his place with her, so that he may ensure his (deceased) brother's offspring. So that then what is produced by him (the brother who has taken his place) belongs to the deceased on the side of the family tree, to the living on the side of procreation and reality. They say: Joseph descended (z3, I) accordingly from two fathers, Eli being his father by genealogy and Jacob his father by procreation. They (the Christians) say: When Matthaeus classified him (Joseph) genealogically

after the conception, the Jews rebuked him. They said: "The genealogy is not correct because it does not refer to the family tree. Luke then adapted himself to them (the Jews) by drawing up his genealogy according to the rules. Both genealogies go

back to David. Therein lay the purpose (of the constellations), for it was known of the Messiah that he would be a son of David. Moreover, only Joseph's family tree was linked to the Messiah, not Mary's family tree, because it is the law of the children of Israel that none of them marry except within their tribe and clan, so that the genealogies are not different, and the custom is to marry only the

The family tree of the men, not that of the women. Since Joseph and Mary were both from the same tribe, they both had to go back to the same starting point, and this was the purpose of establishing the genealogy and publicising it. - The followers of Markion and the followers of Bardesanes each have a gospel that differs in some respects from these (the aforementioned) gospels. The followers of Mani have a gospel all of their own, which contrasts everywhere, from beginning to end, with what the Christians teach. Those (the Manichaeans) submit to what it (their gospel) contains; they claim that it is the right one and corresponds to what the Messiah represented and what he brought, and that all other (gospels) are null and void and their followers liars with regard to the Messiah."

3

The translation clearly emphasises the structure. The different versions of the Torah and the Gospels form the main sections. There are three versions of the Torah, and the Christian version is also the most dubious. There are four canonical versions of the Gospels. They contradict each other and, moreover, the followers of Markion, Barde- sanes and Mani claim that they each possess the true Gospels and that all the others are false. The differences are shown both times in genealogies. The direct descendants of Adam differ in all versions, and the extent of the difference becomes apparent when the years of life are added down to Noah. Accordingly, the information about Christ's ancestors differs from everything the Christians say in order to blur the differences.

This structure alone and the philologically well-founded reasoning suggest that we should believe in a Greek original. Aelia instead of Jerualem (zi, If) leads in the same direction. 'Acx-iohoylo (21, -r z) and vóuoi (zi, i z-i5) of the Samaritans follow the manner of Greek Ethnography. In the same way, the vópoi organise themselves according to the principle of 'association'. From the teachings of the Samaritans to the synagogues located in the city of Neapolis. This itself separates from Aelia-

\* K. Trüdinger, Studien zur Geschichte der griech.-röm. Ethnographie (Diss. Basel iei 8)34\*-: '32; E. Norden, Die germanische Urgeschichte bei Tacitus a60; a631; F. Altheim, Weltgeschichte Asiens z (+94), 21f.

Jerusalem, and the contrast is repeated in the transfer of the temple from Neapolis to Jerusalem. The Samaritans stay away from Jerusalem because they shut themselves off from the rest of humanity. The temple was taken from them by the prophet David, and so they do not accept any of the Jewish prophets after Moses.

In general, it can be said that the Greek author, whose voice is heard in Arabic translation, wrote in post-Hadrian times. Bardesanes un'l ñlani lead back to the 3rd century, and the

management, which is in favour of the authenticity of the so strongly differing The family tree of Jrsu's ancestors is given in Eusebios, h. cccl. I, y:-rrtpi\$ IV TOIL fÜ tÄ(01\$ VO 2t O} EVt]C fi "x':pcovíoç -rr}ç -rrspì Xpiœroíi ytvecxhoyíos.

There one learns that 13 the versions in zlatthäus and Lukas bia'pcovziv ... volt (ovrai Koi wohhoïç (i, y, i). It

u'arcn therefore at Eusebios' time attacks had already been made against the authenticity of the various versions. Eusebius confines himself to citing an older refutation from the pen of Sextus I ulius Africanus. From his letter to Aristcides

(r, 2, i; cf. 6, §-. 3) extensive fragments are shared. This is where sections I, y, z-to and I6 come in. They discuss the question of

The name material of the two family trees and try to bring about a balance by naming the father after the name (xhr;wi i:

- -. 7. 3) from the actual producer (v;;1. zĞv Qty 6oxoúv-rcov
- 'e \*• \*'  $-rx\acute{o}v$  rev: i,  $\ddot{y}$ , A). They therefore cite the same reasons that Brrúni attributes to the Christians. \Vas this

is Africanus' evidence in an abbreviated form. This brings us back to the sexual era.

The narrative of the origin of the Greek translation of the Torah goes one step further. The ¥'eru'andtscliaft with what the letter 'ßristeas' reports is obvious. But there are also differences that

.cannot be overlooked; they therefore need no enumeration. If it is said that the names of the translators are known to the Christians (zi, i), this shows that there was a Christian version of the legend, the Jewish form of which is given by the Aristcas letter. This was held in high esteem, xs'he losephos' detailed rendering ant. i z, z, i i - i i8 zcigt. The church viites° also adopted the narrative "and in doing so increased its

<sup>° 0.</sup> Ei I3feld t, Introduction to the Old Testament° (i9s 6) 749-

marvellous traits". But which of them would be the basis in our case? One detail takes us further. Two of the total of /2 translators work together, and in the end there are 3\* manuscripts, distinguished by details of linguistic form. In the Aristcasbriei corresponds to

that nothing. Only a man who collected such things could be interested in such differences within the Greek versions. Should the narrative, which after all is attributed to Christians (and not Jews, as one would expect from Aristeas' letter), go back to the author of the Hexapla? According to Eusebius, Origen endeavoured to x-fucrcri . zóç witty I-rípmv wctpó voù\$ t|36op xom'o zó iipó9 ypo':pó\$ tpqpvswóvmv Exfióœit xøí -rivoç I-rtpoç (h. eccl. ô, i6, i). Or, as it says shortly afterwards: Ex -riv'x'v v čfiiv zòv vč6\oi Ăav0ovoúoaç ( sc. ypogòç) xpóvo, ó v 'XvEúoaS

African us and Origen would be the opponents that the bci Bćrúni enemy of Christians fights. Kelsos is thus ruled out, and Porphyrios' "œró Xpiorinvoúç remains. We know of his criticism, which was attached to Jesus' family tree. It is now available in Arabic translation.

Bërúni's linguistic knowledge, as far as it appears in his chronology, is well known. E. Sachau, who knew the author from many years of contact, summarises his investigations in one sentence: "There is a possibility of his having had a smattering of Hebrew and Syriac, but of Greek he seems to have been ignorant, and w'hatever he relates on the authority of Greek authors must have been communicated to him by the

ordinary channel of Syriac-Arabic translation" '. Since no Arabic translation of the books xœró Xpi'rriovoúç is mentioned by any Arabic author, and moreover the book is never cited by one, one is forced to conclude that Bërûni had a Syriac translation. Porphyrios' work was well known within Syriac literature. Two fragments bear witness to this, even if they have remained unnoticed until now.

<sup>\* 1.</sup> Bidcz, Vie de \(\xi\)'orphyre 1 9 3) 74

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E. Sachau in the preface to his English translation of Bčrňni's Chronology (i 8 J9} XI I.

The first is found in Barhebraeus, chron. Syriac- 32, Inf. Bedjan: "After Darius (II) Nothos, ruler Artaxerxes (I I, attested from June dot to Nov 359') was (forty-)four years (superl. *arb'in* is haplography for *arb'in w-arba'*) ... This Ar absat is called Aswêrõs by the Hebrews. And hin-

In view of this, John (of Ephesus) thought that in his days was the occasion of Esther. In the interpretation of the Seventy (the Septuagint) he was called Art,aksarksis." So much for the wording. The Hebrew Ahašwërõś is rendered in the paraphrase that Tobit i'. s as 'Aoxrrjpoç, Ezra a, b and Daniel b, s

-Outjpo\$ appears°. Barhe-

braeus' statement comes from a Greek author who wrote in Hebrew. but used the usual Greek paraphrase. This Greek man recognised the contrast between the Hebrew form of the original name and that of the Greek translation. Based on his knowledge of the language, he realised that the two names were not one. This was a philologist of distinction, and it would be difficult to think of anyone other than Porphyrios. This time, too, he showed the contradictions between the Hebrew and Greek versions, but not in the Torah, but in another book of the Old Testament.

A Christian, on the other hand, had to accept the equation Alsanrcröš, *Aswcrõs* Artaxerxes, and this is what lohannes of Ephesus did. This recognition had to be followed by the question of which of the Achaemenids of the name Artaxerxes could be meant. Iohannes decided in favour of Artaxerxes I I. What his reasons were is unknown and is of little significance. He was not an expert on Achaemenid history, unlike Porphyrios, from whom the section on the ancient Persian kings from his "Chronicle" has been preserved in Arabic translation' (Eutychios i. z5. \*4. Cheikho).

lohannes of Ephesus had Porphyrios' discussion of Aswêrõs- Artaxerxes before him and believed that he could draw chronological conclusions from it. He had a Syriac translation of the work xœró X picrriovoúf

- Parker-Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology (\*956) 9-
- ° R. Stiehl in Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache z. Lfg. (91.3-
- ^ .filtheim-Stiehl, Supplementum AramaiCUm -}3 f. We are pleased to receive the letter from recognition by G. Levi Della Vida (under the zJ -- 59-) referred at the same time to his article in : Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc. 69 (+95°l, i8z f., where he proved the existence of a fragment of Galen in Eutychios and suggested an investigation of its chronographic source (a. 0. i ß6f.). We will present theee in the fifth volume.

before ? lohannes undoubtedly understood Greek and had no need of such a translation. The answer must remain open.

The second fragment is also preserved in Barhebraeus. H. eccl. i, 4t), 2 f. contains a section on Origencs. Eusebios' Church History is mentioned as a source at the beginning, and the Syriac's account is mainly based on it. <sup>5</sup> At the end, however, we encounter a second scholar: Porphyrios. We know from Eusebios, h. eccl. 6, iQ, z-ii, with what reproaches he persecuted his Christian opponent. Accordingly, the great enemy of Christians appears in Barhebraeus as the foremost of Origen's enemies and slanderers (I, 5i, io f.). There follows a literal fragment (i z f.): "He said, when he (Origen) went to teach the Gentiles in a village, and they said to him: 'Pray with us, and we will all submit to you and be baptised' and he prayed (thus), the pagans laughed at him and did not believe."

Just as Porphyrios' other statements against Origen come from xcrra Xpicrri- ovo0S (Eusebios, h. eccl. 6, iQ, 9), so does this one. Since the statement was not to be found in Eusebius, the question arises again as to whether Barhebraeus or his source took it from a Syriac translation of the Porphyrian work.

The second fragment is more extensive than the first. Nevertheless, one could say that it appears in a context that was originally foreign to it, torn out and placed as a testimony in the service of a thought that was foreign to the original work. Nor does this fragment, it seems, indicate the existence of a complete translation of the H'erk. But it remains a special feature. Barhebraeus says that when Bishop Demetrios set about expelling Origen from Alexandria, he did so out of envy, but put forward religious reasons. Origen was labelled a heretic and the stigma still clings to him today. This then served as a pretext for others to appropriate his intellectual property. And finally, slanderers emerged, the worst of whom was Porphyrios ... Apart from what was mentioned at the beginning and last, Eusebius does not mention any of this. So how did this account come about, especially the explicitly listed, supposed or real errors that Demetrios attributed to his opponent?

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Also Chronicle of Se'ert z, i9 i, 5 f.

It is significant that Origen is said to have claimed that the Son and the Holy Spirit are created things (òør3'-!- \*. 5\*. 4) This had to concern a Nestorian, and the parallel with the expulsion of Nestorius, the Nestorian

at all, suggested itself. So this kind of thing came from a Nestorian source, and the Porrhyrian fragment could also come from there. But this would have meant a Nestorian translation of the

the entire work?

This is where Bërûni's great fragment becomes significant. Only Bërüni placed it in its original context and tried to make it serve his purposes. And Bërüni could only have taken it from a Syriac translation if he did not have an Arabic one. When he wrote his chronology, he was in the service of a lord of C urgãn, to whom he xsidmetc- his work in 390, I h.. Bërúni had previously given Chivärezm in his hcimat. He could only have received the Syriac translation of the play in Chwãrezm, Gurgãn or in Chorãsãn. Such a translation of a Greek work meant that it came from a Nestorian, and Merw, the Nestorian metropolis for the whole of Khorasan, was then the place where it was created.

Even now, many things remain open. The comparatively large length of the fragment preserved in Bérúni must suggest the question of whether the Syriac translation determined was limited to excerpts or encompassed the entire work. Or, as C. Lex-i Della Vida wrote to one of the ¥'inventors (under 13. i. 60): "Resta da vedere se (Bërüni) abbia conosciuto il xœró Xpiœrinvoú\$ integralmente oppure attraverso degli excerpt a, il che mi sembra più verisimile, Unto piu che il Fihrist non lo conosce tra le opere di Porphyrio". One observation can be added to this. It is noticeable that the refutation of the story of the yz elders is brief in the fragment and is almost completely absent with regard to the reasons that Africanus gives in favour of the two tribal biographies. Perhaps the Nestorian translator was more interested in the reasons given by the Christian side in favour of the Septuagint and the genealogies than in their refutation. Then only those parts of Porphyrios' extensive \Verk would have been translated and extracted that could be used in the controversy. Ł'nd such a collection of extracts would have fallen into Bërüni's hands.

<sup>°</sup> E. Sachau, a. 0. fi'I I I.

The decisive factor is a remark in Bar aumä's letter from Susa, which is preserved in the Chronicle of Se'ert (2, 562, 3). When Emperor Heraclius spoke of Mary as the 8toróxo\$ to the Catholicos Iśõ'ya(h)b, this is an insult to the Gospel, which begins:

"Family tree of Jesus the Messiah, son of David, son of Abraham" (e.g., 564. 91 This refers to the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew and the genealogy of Christ given there. One recognises that the Nestorians used this

family tree to prove their view of the Xpio-rozózo\$. Discussions about the meaning and probative force of this document had to concern every Nestorian. No wonder that they appropriated from Porphyrios' train of thought not so much his criticism as everything that Sextus I ulius Africanus had put forward in favour of its authenticity.

This answers the question of what the Nestorians of Choräsan had to do with a pamphlet against the Christians and what prompted them to take on a work that had long since been consigned to the flames in the eastern countries. Porphyrios' merit lay in the acuteness of his observation and the strength of his argumentation, and the Nestorians were to learn from this. "Nestorios, to whom this sect was traced back, opposed the Melkites and brought out a doctrine on the foundation which necessitated the break between them (the Melkites) and him. And this because he began to consider and examine and draw conclusions and find analogies in order to be ready to confront the opponents, to argue with them and not have to submit to them." 'Bërüni,

from whom these utterances originate (chrOll. 3°9. 2 ), thus gives the Nestorians no small praise. From a second Œuvre from Porphyrios'

Feder knows that it was used in this sense. P. Kraus remarks on the "Letter to Anebo": "Porphyre demande à un prètre égyptien de le libúrcr des certains doutes d'ordre philosophique qui lui sont survenus au sujet des cultes pa'iens ct des mystéres. In short, his questions are very embarrassing for our representative of the cults. II is known that the contra- dictions relevées par Porphyre ont fourni l'arsénal des chrétiens dans leur

On the occasion of his envoy: \*, 557• 4 f.; 8 f. On the events J. -B. Chabot in: Journ. asiat. i b96, 85.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; A riders Sachau: "in lact, to gix'e up the J urarc in verba magistri."

lutte contre le paganisme" '-. As chance would have it, a fragment of this work has survived in the neighbourhood of Khorasan\*.

Firstly, we must mention what has been known so far. M. Sicherl's study on "Die Handschriften, Ausgaben und Über- setzungen von lamblichos de Mysteriis" (Texte und Untersuchungen 62), which was published in 2005, feels compelled to go into the occasion of the writing. According to a scholion, which usually precedes the text in the manuscript tradition°, the true author is concealed under the pretended name Abamon: lamblichos. In his commentary on Plotinus' Enneads, Proclus had already attributed the text to him. Abamon's or rather: lamblichos' remarks are in response to questions that Porphyrios had addressed to the Egyptian Anebo '. Th. Gale's Editio princeps i6y8 already attempted to produce Porphyrios' letter to Anebi'. It was 'from de Mysteriis and the quotations in Eusebios, Theodoretos,

Kyrillos, Augustine compiled" -. G. Parthey's edition i s7 adopted this attempt, "without - apart from textual variants and the sources

J Bidez, one finally learns, was added to the quotations. planned a new edition of the fragments '.

A further fragment can be found in <code>Yuoqvp</code> i  $\ddot{o}v$  Qi|3hlov lu'@ on cap. in. s J- Moreau, who recently devoted an equally learned and perceptive treatise to this work, has summarised the literature on

compiled that fragment -. It is not listed in Parthey, and therefore Sicherl knows nothing about it. One could assume that the surviving sentence belongs to the second book.

Overlooked in all this is the Arabic tradition. Although we have cited it on other occasions 'o, Sicherl did not pursue this reference. What was given earlier is therefore repeated and supplemented.

- ls Jabir ibn iJayyän (Mém. présentés a l'Institut d'Égypte q5) (+9§2), i z8.
- First published in Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra (AflAPXA 1 z,ss\*i ioof. and repeated here with improvements.
- \* W. Sicherl, a. 0. zoI.
- \* M. Sicherl, a. 0. i.
- ^ M. Sicberl, a. +97
- ° M. Sicherl, op. cit. O. Igg f.
- M. Sicherl, a. 0.+s7 Anm. z.
- In: Byzantion 25-2 7 (I9J5 957L 24 -
- Ibid. z-ig note z, therein a statement by A. Delatte's.
- 'o Altheim-Stiehl, Porphyrios und Empedokles (i 93d) y f. Preceded by Fr Kraus, a. 0. z, i z8 Note 5 End.

The Fihrist " mentions /tiJãòãiii tfã Anâbu among Porphyrios' works. The future editor of the Fihrist, J Fück, commented on this in a letter to us: "The fact that the letter to Anebo consisted of two books is not recognised by Ibn al-Kif i -s7, 6 and Barhebraeus in his Chronicle x33 Salhani confirms this. Salhani prints fò'tiw', certainly incorrect. Mas'údi, tanbih i62. 5- de Goeje refers to Porphyrios' correspondence with the priest Anebo. The passage is treated by P. Kraus in his Jăbir b. ł;layyăn z, iz8". We follow Kraus' translation of Mas'ûdi's statement: "Nous avons rapporté les relations qu'eurent entre Porphyre de Tyr et Anabou, prétre égyptien; ce Porphyre est l'auteur du livre de l'Isagogue ou l'introduction au livre d'Aristote ; il etait chrétien (sic), mais il défendait en secret les croyances des Sabéens grecs ; et Anabou était attaché aux doctrines des philosophes anciens, celles qu'avaient professes Pythagore, Thalès de Milet et d'autres, qui sont celles des Sabéens d'Égypte. They pose one to another of the questions on the sciences' théologiques in the epitres connues de quiconque s'intéresse aux sciences anciennes."

In a second passage of Fihrist 1°, among the writings of ar-Räzi ï t 9\*51'³ is called a refutation of Anebo's letter to Porphyrios. On this occasion one learns that Anebo had complained about Aristotle's doctrine of God. Anebo would therefore have questioned the Aristotleian Porphyrios about the Aristotleian doctrine of God in the same way as Porphyrios had questioned the Egyptian about the Egyptian gods. We learn that Porphyrios' letter to Anebo comprised two books and that it was preceded by one from Anebo to Porphyrios.

Finally, a longer fragment of Porphyrios' reply is preserved in Arabic in as-Sahrastãni's èifãòo /-tnifaJ wa-n-nihal

(345. 7-16 Cureton) . It reads: "He (Porphyrios) also followed Aristotle's view and agreed with him in everything he taught. He maintained that what was said to have originated with Plato about the development of the

the origin of the world. He (Porphyrios) says in his epistle to Anebo: As for that in which Plato alone, according to your opinion, stood, namely that he attributed a temporal beginning to the world, it is an incorrect assertion. Plato did not mean that the world had a temporal beginning, but that it had a beginning.

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" i , z53, i6 wing. '° i
, 300, i ö f.
1- About him most recently J. Fück in : A m b i x , '37
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s view of the cause, claiming that the cause of its being was its beginning. He (Porphyrios) had thought that he who assumed in his (Plato's) teaching (the view) that the \world was both created and new from nothing, furthermore that it arose from chaos to order, was mistaken and wrong. For it is not always true that non-existence precedes existence in time, because the cause of a thing is something other than that thing, nor that every bad order precedes order in time. Plato only means that when the Creator lets the world emerge from non-existence into existence, its existence does not follow from itself, but that the cause of existence comes from the Creator" ".

The fragment is about Plato, but the way Evie aé-Öahrastäni introduces it shows that it comes from a discussion about Aristotle. It also appears that Anebo opened the discussion. The information given by the philosopher that there was a *letter* from Anebo to Porphyrios and that Aristotle's doctrine of God was discussed in it is consistent with this. One would have to infer both from the fragment if it were not for the explicit statement of the Fihrist.

In lamblichos' answer the subject is not discussed. V'enn it also says 8, i that Porphyrios, after the -rrpcozov 'xrrvov

6 t, the f a c t that it was the Egyptian doctrine on the subject shows that the discussion took a different direction.

took. This suggests that the two books in which Porphyrios' reply to Anebo was divided were of different content. Anebo had asked about Aristotle's doctrine of God, and Porphyrios will have replied in the first book. The fragment preserved in Arabic translation originated from him. In the second book, Porphyrios posed his precise and relentlessly formulated questions '5 about the Egyptian gods, to which not Anebo, but all I ambliclios gave the answer preserved in the writing on the Mysteries. Plan called this writing the "Grundbuch der spätantiken Religion" '^. An important part of its history has been clarified on the basis of the Arabic tradition.

<sup>&</sup>quot;We owe a debt of gratitude to R. Köbert-Rom.

<sup>\*^</sup> J. Bidez, a. 0. 8 i f.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ 61. 1'. Nilsson, Geschich te der griec h. Religion z (i 93), 4°9: Gnomon z3 (i 95 i), ¢ o y .

6

Merw would therefore not only have been a centre of Nestorian missionary activity, but also of Nestorian translation activity. One would be justified in naming the capital of Khoräsãn alongside Edessa, Nisibis, Baghdad and iJira. This may come as a surprise at first. But in favour of the version, one circumstance can be cited that has not yet been taken into account. Merw (Margiane) was one of the foundations of Alexander the Great. After temporary destruction by the nomads, it was rebuilt under Antiochos I'. The oasis was now protected by six fortresses. Three faced south, three east and all were situated on hills at a short distance from each other, so that in a moment of danger they could rush to each other's aid°. A continuous wall of thoo stadia

Län6 e offered further protection°. It can be shown that Merw retained its Greek character well into the post-Christian centuries.

The chronicle of Se'ert tells of St Barśabbã, who proselytised in Merw and Choi "äsăR (i, 253, 9f. Scher). The Arabic work, which was veda0t in 1036, goes back to a Syriac Øuelle, which is mentioned in the above passage: i, z55, 6 ma-pad d "baraăf dõni yõlu bun

*maryamo* /i èifaòihi. Daniel bar Maryam is also known elsewhere in Syrian literary history. His heyday falls in the middle of the 2nd century.

It is not clear in which time Daniel places his saint. According to -. >53. to he would have to fall under sapur I., according to I, zs5. 3 f. under

the second ruler of the name. In favour of the first date could be the fact that in the

The calendar of the Melkites of Chwãrezm (p. z3 above) is set two hundred years after the appearance of Christ. This could lead to ant 8ãpûr I (p. z5 above), but only on the basis of a fairly broad interpretation. Or should the time of Sãpíir II be

rather than the 3rd century? Whatever one decides: what has been said applies to the time of Daniel himself. At that time people knew of the continued existence of a Greek colony in Merw.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;F. Altżieim, t'eltges' hichte Asiens i, 303; 305.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; I-lin., n. h. 6, a y.

<sup>°</sup> Clin., n. h. 6, '7: Strabon 5 i 6.

<sup>\*</sup> A. haumstark, Geschichte der eyrischen Literatur •°7

<sup>9</sup> Altheim, Hunnen III

It is said of Sirarân', 8ãpúr's sister who became a Christian:

-. -55. 9 "When she had come to Merw, she did not cease to draw anyone who came to her to the faith of Christianity. And (she did not cease) to acquaint them (her visitors) with the home-

She was told of the search she had evaded when she converted to Christianity, and of the unpleasantness of her (the visitor's) situation, and promised that Baršabbä would come to her. Her speech was accepted by a large number of the inhabitants of Merw because they were of Greek origin. They (the Greeks) had been Alexander's followers at the time of his (Merw's) founding, and they had not returned with him. They became believers and broke the idols they used to worship (until then)".

There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of this message - apart from the excellent testimony, which leads right into the centre of the events dealt with here, it provides precisely what one would have to ask. Only it explains how this translation activity could have come about. Moreover, it is corroborated for the later imperial period by what can be observed in the neighbouring area to the east, in the kingdom of the Kûśān. It was not until Kaniška I's second phase that the Greek legend of the Kſišān coinage began to disappear ^. But the Greek inscription of Surx Kotal' still belongs to his time, and that means: to the first two decades of the 3rd century -.

The preservation of a fragment from Porphyrios' letter to Anebo in Śahrastăni leads, according to the circumstances of his life, to 8ahristãn himself or to Nëšãpûr, at best to Urgänč and Chwărezm. The situation is similar with the fragment that comes from Porphyrios' writing against the Christians. Bërüni's homeland Chwărezm or his temporary place of activity Gurgãn come into question **here**. Everything points to the same regions, and their geographical centre was Choräsãn with Merw'as its capital.

<sup>^</sup> We don't know what to do with the name.

<sup>^</sup> R. Göbl in Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der **Spätantike i89**; z g. 'Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra z9f.

The dating possibilities offered by the newly discovered Kaniśka inscription of Surx Kotal will be discussed in one of the following volumes.

Porphyrios' Schmitt on the Some may also be mentioned in this context. It has been shown how strongly their thoughts influenced Maxdak. The view held by Nöldeke and, following him, also by us, that since the time of Diocletian, through Bundos, Neoplatonic thought had lived on in Choræans and survived the ages, had to be criticised beforehand (above p. 2Q f.). In the meantime it turned out that Porphyrios' legacy was heavily used in Merw. Mazdak's surviving fragment also leads to the same area, after it was shown that the revolutionary was born within the triangle of the towns of Murgãb-Merw, Nëśāpür and Nisã. This would take us up to the turn of the 5th century to the 6th, i.e. to the

'}ahre, which immediately followed the recognition of the Nestorians by Përôz'. followed.

It cannot be proven that Porphyrios' Gih6croØo\$ to-rop1'x was translated into Khorasan or even into Merw. But in contrast to Baghdad, where only the Syriac translation of the fourth book was known'o, a complete copy or at least an extract of one was in possession there, and this was used by aś-8ahrastäni. The section on Empe- dokles' Ko8oppol, which we discussed earlier, was taken from it" (Supplement i, p. \*35 f.). In addition, his second juelle is a florilegium

to recognise the "wisdom sayings" of the great philosophers'o.

A number of ethical fragments were taken from this in another place'o.

Democritus, the authenticity of which is beyond doubt (Supplement z: p. -37) The picture may be supplemented by a second group of fragments that go back to Theophrastus. Of these, too, translation and

Explanation provided.

(337. \*ACureton) "Wisdom sayings of Theophrastus (fte/rs ys). This man was one of Aristotle's pupils and one of the greatest of his peers. He followed him (Aristotle) (or: he Aristotle) determined him

[Theophrastus] as his successor) in the chair of his wisdom after his death, and those who were fond of philosophy used to seek him out and

Against the attempt by 0. Kllma (Madz (+ 957) -9\*) to attribute Mazdak to "the region of the left bank of the Tigris", cf. Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra 89 f.

<sup>1°</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, Porphyrios und Empedokles (i 95a) i z ; Fihrist i, zss. - 7 wings.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Altheim-Stiehl, a. \*7

<sup>&#</sup>x27;° Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. i o.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;O Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden 2. Lfg. (i 960), i 8y f.

to learn from him. He has written many explanations and valued works (of his own), in particular on 6music" (/i f-miisi%z sic).

As far as Theophrastus' writings are concerned, Ibn al-Kifti (fa'riJ rot, x Lippert) expresses himself similarly: u'a- uri'a/ 'atmet éuJuéii 'ammilii tratuntio/o f-fisä'ii/a f- afif'i "the books of his uncle (father-brother) were studied in his school, and he wrote great (own) works". For Ibn al-Kifti, whose ouelle in this case is unknown, was Theophrastus' nephew (brother's son) Aristotle (io6, ry)'^. The fact that the native of Eresos at least owned land in Stageira is attested in Theophrastus' will. In aé-5ahrastäni,

Fischer writings are meant. -

too, the furiiA explanations of aristote-

- i337. 7 Cureton) "What is cited of him is that he said:
- (I) The divine does not move, and his opinion was: "It does not change and does not change, neither in essence nor in the idea of the actions".
- P. Moraux, who had the goodness to advise us here, as he has done before", interprets: "God moves the world without being in the least affected by this act. This would be an echo of Aristot., Metaph. A 2, about ximl ob UK VO f(,IEUOS".
- (337. Cureton) "He has said: (z) Heaven is the dwelling place of the stars and the earth is the dwelling place of men, according to the fact that they (men) are a reflection and image of what is in heaven. They (the

Stars) are fathers and rulers; they have souls and discriminating minds, but they do not have vegetable souls. Therefore they experience neither increase nor decrease."

P. Moraux remarks: "The celestial bodies have soul and spirit: these The doctrine of the celestial intellects ultimately goes back to Aristot., Metaph. A 8, cf. also De caelo B Hz, zQz a i8 f. The celestial body undergoes neither increase nor decrease: De caelo A 3, Mio a *i z 1*. If this fragment originates from TheoP h r a s t 's wtpl poQoixij, then

It can be surmised that a Hellenistic, perhaps Pythagorean

The connection between the doctrine of the stars and the doctrine of music had a significant toposing effect. The

- '^ The Bernese kung is unknown to the \( \xi\$ enactment of the Theophrastus article in the RE. remained.
- '- Altheim-Stiehl, Porphyrios and Empedocles (i 95d).
- '- The t'ewechsel of Au'ti (*Je-hum, lm-hum Z.* i rt) and -/i'i (la-Ad Z. zo) remains strange. Grammatically, one would prefer -forehead to refer to the people and only -6'i to the stars.

The harmony of the spheres (music of the stars) is the song of praise from heaven to the highest God. The music of man is an imitation of the music of the spheres, a kind of glorification of God through man".

- B. Kytzler, who also had the passage, refers to the phrase *natura* ... *parents ac princi pc* in the fragment from Theophrastus's wtpl poQoixijç in Marius Victorinus GL. 6. \*59.
- (33 . zo Cureton) "He has said: (31 Singing is a high form 133 . Cureton) of language, which is difficult for the soul to understand and defies explanation of its essence. It (the soul) lets it (the high form of speech) become clear in the form of sounds and thereby awakens sadness. It (the singing) silences in her (the soul)

Area any kind of distinctions".

P. Moraux remarks: "It seems to be said: singing is the highest form of language, a form which, however, eludes any (intellectual) interpretation. The end of the fragment could mean: Singing cancels the distinctions (the different species) within the realm of the soul. Through music, every discord in the soul is cancelled out; the soul becomes a unity".

Once again, Berührung shows itself with preserved fragments of Theophrast's stp1 uooixi¡çi'. Music as zò ytvóps before it1vr¡uci pthy6iyuzòr --pì ñv v\*xś- (fr. 8Q \Vimrner) and its juxtaposition with the Qtøvíj correspond to what the Arabic €l translation has received. If hú-rrrj appears as one of the three poQnix ¡ \*rx=í (fr. Qo), this now receives its counterpart. "Emer'x':rø;, the highest and irrational intensification

corresponding to the language, occurs in the surviving fragment in Plutarch, Mor. 38 A. The comparison with rhetors and plays is added 623 B: xctl vol; §f;zop'xç tv zoiç éwih6yoiç xoï zoJ ù w o x p r r ò f tv zoiç ó6vptioí\$ 'I-rpétict zÿ pt u'6eiv wpowdyov-r'xç ópiiiyv xctl wctpevwl- vov-rod v They are masters of speech, but u s e singing to enhance their effect.

(338, z Cureton) "He has said: (a) singing is something that belongs to the soul, but in no way to the body - it (the body) turns it (the soul) away from that which brings it salvation - just as the enjoyment of food and drink etc. is something that belongs to the body and in no way to the soul".

<sup>&#</sup>x27; ° Last rainbow in : RE. Suppl. 2, i 33z f.

Singing therefore has the effect that the soul is for itself, independent and autonomous in relation to the body, just as, conversely, the pleasure of eating and drinking frees the body from the influence of the soul.

(33 . 4 Cureton) "He said: (5) The soul (ati-aa/s corr.; att-tiu/iis Cureton) is more attentive to the sounds when they are veiled than towards that which has become clear to her and whose meaning she has realised".

The soul reaches its climax in listening when the sounds are "veiled", in other words: incomprehensible, rather than when the sounds become clear to it.

- P. Moraux, who wrote the remarks on the last two fragments, also refers to certain statements made in aé-
- -Sahrastäni's section on Pythagoras. They must be consulted for the interpretation of the theophrastic fragments. Here, too, we first give our translation and then Moraux's remarks.
- (2/O, 18 Cureton) "One of the things handed down by Pythagoras is that the world is composed of simple, spiritual tones. He teaches that the spiritual numbers are not divisible, but rather uniform numbers that are decomposed by the mind and not by the senses. He (Pytha-goras) counted many worlds, and among them was a world that is pure joy in terms of its creative origin (221, i Cureton), happiness and joyfulness.

\Happiness with regard to natural behaviour. And this includes a world that is below it (the former). Their (the lower worlds') language is not similar to the language of the upper worlds. For language sometimes consists of spiritual, simple sounds, sometimes of sounds put together in the same way. As far as the first (language) is concerned, its (the sounds') joy is continuous, uninterrupted, and what is later of sounds (remains) imperfect in composition, because language later (lam del.) passes over to action. For joy is not at the climax of perfection, because the sound is not at the climax of agreement (harmony)".

In the lower world (- in the lower celestial spheres) language is not as perfect as in the upper world. One may recall the music of Theophrastus, and to it corresponds that form of language which is based on the harmony of spiritual, simple tones.

(22i, x5 Cureton) "Sometimes he (Pythagoras) says that the human soul consists of numerical relationships or relationships expressed in tones, and therefore the soul corresponds to the proportions of the tones. It delights in listening to them (the tones), becomes cheerful, shows sadness as a result of listening to them (*ö-isfima'ióä* corr.; h-isJima'irna Cureton) and becomes agitated".

A good state of mind is like harmony. Hence the effect of sound on the human soul, which manifests itself in joy and sadness. Theophrastus' remark 33. zoJ. Cureton. (z22, I Cureton) "It was said to Pythagoras: Why did you assert the end of the world? He said: Because it reaches the origin from which it exists. And when it (the world) reaches it, its movement ceases and the higher pleasures increase, that is to say: the connections consisting of sounds. This is as when the praise and sanctification (of God) are described as the food of spiritual beings, for the food of every existing being is like that from which this being is made.

was created".

The harmonious connections are pleasures of a higher kind. Praise and sanctification of God form the food of spiritual beings. This can be compared with Theophrastus' statement 338, z f. Cureton. While eating and drinking is the food of the body, singing, i.e. the imitation of the harmony of the spheres and the praise of God, could be described as the soul's own "food".

It is clear, concludes Moraux, that the musical parts of as-8ah- rastäni's Pythagorean section contain ideas of post-Aristotelian or at least post-Platonic Pythagoreanism. All the more important is the correspondence with Theophrastus' fragments.

## EIGHT RAG i

**To substantiate** what we have said elsewhere about Porphyrios and Empedocles', the passage by Ibn al-KiJti's, fa'riA *al-jukamä'* i5, ff. Lips. After an introduction dealing with the nature and development of Greek philosophy (-5. 4--4), there is a short biography: "What

But as for this Empedocles, he lived in the time of the prophet David (bless him), according to what those who know the history of the \"ilker say. It is said that he (Empedocles) received wisdom from Lucena the Wise in Syria. Then he returned to the land of the Greeks and presented things about the form of the fi'elt that contained obvious objections in the matter of the return (to God: /i awiri fina'ef xy; V gives bi-1-ab yä'i wa-l-lalteipi 'an atnri f-ma"id "things and observations [that led away] from the matter of the return"). Some of them (his followers) left him, and he wrote a book about it, which I saw among the books of Saih Abii I-Fatb Nasr b. Ibrahim al- Mukaddasi, which he had set up in 'Jerusalem, the Exalted One° ... (1\\$, 21). It is said that he (Empedocles) made allusions. But they were not heeded, for according to the prevailing opinion it is a matter of \'suspicions (iG, x) on their part (of those who had claimed such things). Rather, we saw nothing of them (the allusions), and the book I saw contained nothing of what they claimed".

This is followed by a section on Ibn Masarra (d. 93\*). Ibn al-Kifti distinguishes his teaching from the original Empedoclean one. Ibn Masarra was "gripped by his (Empedocles') philosophy, captivated by its teachings" (i6, 4f.). However, Ibn al-Kifti did not draw his knowledge of the Greek from the writings of the Spanish mystic, but from a book that Empedocles himself had supposedly written. Ibn al-Kifti became acquainted with this book during his stay in Jerusalem i i8}-i2o i and shared some of its contents.

\Vas this book u ar, shows the information about Empedocles' time and life circumstances -s. -'-i6, which corresponds almost word for word with as-βahrastäni's remarks 260, y f. Also the wia'äd, of whom Ibn al-Kifti in Empedocles' book °, returns to as"-Sahrastäni (z65, 4). In other words: Ibn al-Kifti had nothing other than as- 8ahrastäni's work. The remark about the ma'äd in particular shows this, for the passage it refers to was only derived from his treatment of the

<sup>°</sup> J. Lippert in the introduction p. 6 f.

<sup>^</sup> The objections to the doctrine of *ma'äd* referred to the fact that the world would remain in its state until the end (/iö jiri *I-omr* z 65, 6) and even then only the enlightened would be liberated (265, io f.).

Arabic version of Porphyrios' GthócroØoç læropto '.

Ibn Masarra could not have used aś-8ahrastäni's \Verk due to time constraints. Whether he had the Porphyrios translation in its original form with its Empedocles chapter in his hands, w hich w as already available to him, w illonly be decided w hen Ibn Masarra's text is available.

## N.4 C HT RACi z

G. Lea i Della \'ida was kind enough to send one of the two authors some additions to our translation of the  $_{-S}$   $_{\varepsilon-1}$   $_{ts-S''$ £thrastãni cthiisclien I\*ragmente' of Democritus. He writes under the 3

"Poichè mi sembra verosimile che la traduzione delle sentence democritee in Sahrastãni sia dovuta principalmente a Lei, vorrei permettermi un paio di osser vazioni a essa: sono del resto del tutto secondarie, giacchè la Sua traduzione, che rappresenta un progresso decisivo su quella di Haarbrücker, r eccellente e interpret a felicemente molti punti veramente difficili: bisogna non perder di vista la circonstanza che la tradizione manoscritta di à. (which the rest of Cureton has known and used incompletamente) motto probabîlmente è corrotta in vari punti ; inoltre s. dipende da una fonte araba anteriore (sarà, immagino, il ÿ i e'aa al-hiêma) che anch'essa non sari stata esente di guasti testuali, e finalmente la stessa traduzione originaria dall'arabo in greco del florilegio che conteneva le gnomai democritee (non sarà certo stata l'edizione di Thrasyllo, bensì un suo excerptum) non avrà sempre capito correttamente il testo" -.

- P. i8Q, i i-z z "that your soul may be reckoned among men". Credo che debba vocalizzarsi *Ia'udd* e non łu'*add*, e che *tiafsab* debba in- tendersi come riflessivo, dunque: "da0 du dich selbst als Mensch betrachten" (e "dauert" mi sembra superfluo, giacchè "solange" rende a suffi- cienza ittd *dãma*."
- .A lt1i"im-ütic1il, a. 0. 3ß note 3.
- ^ H. Ritter at \V. IN ranz, E mpedocles 89 f.
- ' .A ltht:im-Stichl, Die aramäische Sprache z. Llg., i 8ß f. (danac h inn Text angeführt) .
- \* A met hodically exemplary study of how such translation issues can be resolved has been published in €\*. I)' 11a \'i'la with "Try o fragments of Galen in Arabic Translation in : Jiiurn. A meric. Orient. Soc. ö9 (i 93o). i 8z f. given.

P. IQo, I-2 (e 238) non mi pare dubbio che y 'trá è grafia difettosa per y 'è, ossia la stessa forma yo e' del primo membro. But f tn', anzichè /o m', deve vocalizzarsi fø mi', dunque: "Non far nascere in qualcuno la voglia di calpestare il tuo calcagno, altrimenti domani ti calpesterà (tutto)". É una gnome molto diífusa; anche oggi in italiano si dice correntemente di qualcuno che abusa della benevolenz a mostratagli: "se gli dai un dito, ti prende il braccio".

(We had left the end of the fragment untranslated. Even now, concerns remain. There are conditional sentence structures whose antecedent clause consists of an imperative (H. Reckendorf, Arab. Syntax  $49* \ 1 > 58$ , z). But these imperatives have positive meanings, not negative ones like  $l\tilde{a}$  tu mi'. An ellipsis would have to be added: "Do not awaken the

Wish ..., (because if you awaken it) then ....". We consider such an ellipsis to be conceivable, even if we do not have an example.

What Reckendorf gives of incomplete conditional propositions, a. s -4 . § 2ô4, is of a different kind. Another objection weighs more heavily. IFa i'a is "suivre la trace". Nevertheless, 'apbaba is added. In order to get a contrast, "tutto" must be added in the translation. It remains questionable whether this meaning can be inferred from simple ya a'uàa. One would expect that if 'apbaka is already added in the first member, such an addition would have to follow in the second].

P. °9\*. ••—\*3 Corifesso di non capire 'bli lli: sospetto una corruttela ; forse a/ira lahu "che le abbia prestato attenzione"? lă in fñ 'ø ara 'aføiái non è negazione del verbo seguente ma riprende fam del precedente /atn ağid a adan, dunque: "nè (ho trovato alcuno) che si sia imbattuto in essa". as Soàatno etc. mi sembra significare: "o che abbia espresso un giudizio in conformità di essa o che abbia accennato a essa".

[Abaha lahu "se souvenir de qc." seems to us to satisfy the meaning demanded by L. D. V.. Then it could remain with Cureton's text].

8

One last piece, also from aš-sahrastäni, is added. Again, we first give the translation:

(zt)I, I i Cureton) "Xenophanes' view. He used to say that the first creator was something equal to empty space. An eternal, persistent being,

an eternally existing thing that is not grasped by means of a kind of logical or metaphysical description - creator of every description and every labelling, logical and metaphysical. If this were true, our speech would be absurd (tnuJfi/iiti), (if we say) that our created forms in this world were tiicAf with him (the first Creator) or also: they were with him, or how he created them and why he created them. For the mind is created, and the Creator precedes the created. And the one who is preceded never grasps the one who is created, so that it is not possible for the one who is preceded to describe the one who precedes. No (our usual speech is incorrect). He (Xenophanes) says that the (first) Creator' created as he pleased and as he willed. He is he, and nothing is with him. And as far as this statement is concerned, I mean: he (is he), there is nothing single, nothing composite with him, and he is the union of all that he (Xenophanes) strives for in knowledge. For if one says: there is nothing with him, one removes from him the eternity of form and substance (Amy), and (one removes from him) everything created from form and substance as well as everything created merely from form. But whoever says that the forms are eternal and, on the other hand, his (the first creator's) temporality (asserts, according to his view) would (indeed) not be sr alone, but he and many things; he would then not be the creator of the forms (zQz, i Cureton), but each form would only make its (own) essence appear (ititiatnd ay/ieraf corr.; ititiamd Url tret Cureton); and by making its essence appear, these worlds appeared. But this is the most contemptible speech there is."

The opening sentence still requires comment. Th. Haarbrücker translates: "the first originator is a beginningless personality that persists for all eternity". But this would be *hiri ya*, not, as Cureton states: Anteaya. But this also makes no sense. One must decide not to write Aoirä'iyo. Then it would be parallel with the following az/iya, *dä'ima*, *daimiima*. So feminine to Hwdfi, and like the other feminines in neutral meaning.

The section belongs to as-sahrastäni's second doxographic ciuelle, the origin of which cannot be determined more precisely. Its details follow to

<sup>&#</sup>x27;If one wishes to hold Cureton's text, one would have to translate: 'But (what) every form (as far as) only their (own) \( \) \( \) \( \) every form (as far as) only their (own) \( \) \(

together with pieces of the aforementioned Florilegium, the parts containing the extract from Porphyrios' GihóooQoç lo-ropíct°. We now give the floor once again to Fr Moraux.

The Neoplatonic colouring of the account cannot be denied. It is emphasised that "the first creator" is not grasped by means of any kind of description. Emanations from God cannot be used to describe or grasp the God who brings them forth.

This purely Neoplatonic explanation, however, seems to go back to a well-known view that belongs to Xenophanes himself. Namely, that God is by no means similar to human beings (B 231. that God is beyond human knowledge (B 34) and that human beings are only anthropomorphic \(\frac{1}{2}\) or conceptions of God (B I -i6).

The allusion to the question of whether the forms produced were with God or not is also Neoplatonic. Aš-Sahrastänî claims that Xenophanes considered such a question to be absurd because God is nothing other than God and not God and something. The historical background for this explanation is clear: Aš-Sahrastänî considered the Eleatic doctrine of the unity of being in a New Platonic way: being is one and therefore excludes any multiplicity.

<sup>°</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, Porph yrios and Empedocles g f.

## **ENCLOSURE 1**

## GOTEN IN IN DI EN?

A research report on the miHclindoarischøn E pigropłiib

i. The bef and: in the immediate hinterland of Bombay, belonging to the administrative district of Poona, lie the well-known Buddhist centres of the city.

Cave sanctuaries Junnar and Kärlë <sup>1</sup>, with votive inscriptions, as they usually appear at such memorial sites - not only of Buddhism, but also of the other great faiths of the earth. These

The inscriptions are all written in Prekrit and date from the two centuries before and after the birth of Christ - and are written for Junnar in 3s.

for  $\kappa_0$  ilë in  $3_S$  (36) ° individual specimens. Among this total of 69 (7) Three inscriptions form the findings to be discussed here, z from Junnar (Šivanëri Hill), i from Kărlë (Chaitya Hall). ¥'on the first of these two Junnar texts it says with the words - here welded together - of the two earliest original descriptions': ". ... near the extreme end of this row of caves" "a cistern with a recess above it, and on the upper portion of the back wall of it is an inscription (No. 5) in one line, A'/ø feet long and quite perfect, recording the donation of two such walls":

"yaratiasa iri/asa gefdtia dzyadhama bø f'oğhi yo",

in German: "two cisterns as a pious gift from *Yavana Irilg* of the *Gala's*". - The second Junnar text appears in the following, correspondingly

- 1 For a more precise visualisation, one should make use of a larger work of maps, such as - to name two - Constable's Hand Atlas of India. A new series of sixty maps and plans prepared from ordnance and other sure eys under direction of
  - J. G. Bartholomew', \'estminster i 893, plate 3i or Atlante internazionale del Touring-Club italians, Milano i 9s6, td. VOIã 93/9-4
- Lfie details in the further course.
- The difference in numbers is due to the fact that a Kărlë inscription already published since i 347 P has the same text in the important l'íeulund of the year i• 3, but has returned in a different place: Kārlë (new) NO. 7 = <ārlé No. i 093 (of the Lüders' Z%lung). Otherwise, my information is based on Lüders' Zillern.
- 4 See in the immediately following z. section under the \"inventor names J as. Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji Pandit and Jas. Burgess respectively.

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as described above: "An open hall or refectory, Ig feet by

\*41/z set aTld 8 feet high, with at befich i "OtlT1d the thi ee ifffler Walls. A wčŁll with a central door had been built in front some twenty or twenty-five years ago. On the left-side wall at the entrance is an inscription (No. 81 in four lines, each about 25 inches long", "very clearly cut":

,'}'ztf/iS rztS/z

## ct oso gofšnotń

ÒÑO Of/OWOt¢t 0

a refectory as a pious donation by Mercia Cila of the Gala's". - While the two Junnar- inscriptions listed above have been known since the beginning of the 1980s through careful publications and, as a result of this circumstance, a not inconsiderable amount of attention has been paid to them by Indologists and Iranologists up to the present day.

archaeologists, historians, Indo-Europeanists and Germanists, this can be seen from the new find Kărlë-No. i

However, this is not the case. Published in November  $9 \cdot 3$  — "while  $\emptyset$  ashing pillars and figures in the Chaitya hall" - unearthed on the fifth pillar of the right-hand row, -9\*5-z6 it is limited to a small circle of directly competent connoisseurs, Indologists and ancient historians.

Germanists, in particular, have strangely taken no notice of it until the very recent past, even though knowledge of this now more than thirty-year-old, easily accessible hay find would have proved to be of truly essential importance for them and their name and genealogical combinations. The history of science sometimes takes strange detours. The inscription "in a

I have used the locative intentionally and in contrast to other translators, because the purpose of the style within the J unnar- Kãrlë-Nãsik group is predominantly rendered by the genitive (Nãsik Nos. i i z 3, i t 2ò, 1127, 1137, '39. i mo, i i 6, all Nos. Lüders' count). In

times, Kārlē No. i i°7, v-írd der echte *daliuus* Jinafis s'iriiglõy'i (instead of the just The dative *alhăya* "for the sake of" is used postpositionally with the immediately preceding genitive *A gilasa* (n. pr.). My translation above is particularly characterised byJ unnar No. i i y5 (Lüders' count) and the syntactic figure áa9icife sotiighesa "for the order in Kapicita" occurring there.

orientated.

very good state of preservation" reads the text that came to us from improved form of the first publication°:

"urns/la[è]ãÅ41ô yoc4noso cilasa galănam dãnam lhabho",

in German: "a pillar as a gift of V'teona *Cila* from the Gala's from *Ume*- ńnfiãèa a". 0. Stein rightly remarks: "It seems natural to connect with that Kărli epigraph [the] two inscriptions from Junnar. One of them ... mentions the gift of a ò ń o j e i i "me o§o [sic!] to the seøtgR by the Yavana Ci a of the Gatas. Though there is no evidence, it seems probable that these two Ci as are the same individuals, as both are described as Yavana and of the Gatas."

2. b i bliog ra p hie (in chronological order ^:) Jas. Burgess and Bhagwanlal Indraji Pandit, Arch æological Survey of Western India. Inscriptions from the cave-temples of Western India, with descriptive notes,

etc., Bombay i 881, p 43 (*No.* 5; with immediately preceding plate), ss (No. s3: it plate between pages 52 uTld 53); Jets. Burgess,

Arch æological Survey of Western India. Vol. IV. Report on the Buddhist cave temples and their inscriptions being part of the results of the fourth, fifth, and sixth seasons' operations of the Arch æological Survey of Western India I82 22, i822-/8, 7 79 Supplementary to the volume on

"The cave temples of India", London 1883, i9. 2t) (54). P 3 (62), p. g2 u., 93 (No. 51. P  $^9$ A (No. 8; for both places plate XLIX®); S. Levi, Revue de l'histoire des religions -3. 9\*.  $^4$  qa u.- 's - Mémorial Sylvain Lévi,

- The reproduced original copy reads unmistakably °--iñla ä. However, since G. Bühler, Siebzehn Tafeln zur Indischen Palaeographie, Strasbourg i 896, plate II I "Die Brähmi- Schrift von Christi Geburt bis ca. 350 p. Chr.", as far as I can see, does not register any Reichen for -iã and especially in the KãrlC inscriptions, also in the 9-3 newly discovered ones, the settlement name *Dhøiiuliãiio a* surprisingly often attested together with lünlzehn-
  - IN s mal (old) -{- i o mal (lnew) ) I have no qualms about reading  $Um\phi hak \Tilde{a}lia\Tilde{a}$  against Madho SarupVats with O. Stein and assuming in t/-nuàaii $\Tilde{a}lia\Tilde{a}$  one of the not at all unusual prescriptions in these writings.
- a. a. 0. . 3A8 a.
- 8 This is only interrupted where there are statements by the same author that are different in time but identical in content.
- The reproduction of the two inscriptions offered here does not surpass in clarity that noted in Burgess-BhagwanIal Indraji Pandit. In the "Preface", op. cit. p. VI above, it also says: "... toPandit BhagwanIal Indraji is due the credit of having pre- pared the facsimiles of nearly all the inscriptions now published". It is therefore the same editor in both cases.

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PariS \*937. P 2-O 13. para. from o.): R. O. Franke, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft 5, 1896, p s95 m.; H. Lüders, A list of Brahmi inscriptions from the earliest times to about A. D. Aoo with the exception of those of Asoka (= Appendix to Epigraphia Indica and Record of the Arch æological Survey of I ndia. Vol. X), Ci¥lCllttã I I)1 2, ]9\*3 1 (No. I I I§A; without "Additions and Corrections"), P \*3 6 (No. I I I82; without "Additions and Corrections"); St. Konow, Goths in Ancient India (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland -9\*\*, P 37 3 5 °); his, Gotiske m ænd i det Gamle Indien (- Maal og Minne. Norske studier zQI2, p. 6 2y o.; followed by M. Olsen, Till æg Junnar-gotisk Ci u, a. a. 0. p. 22 m.-v9 o.); S. Feist, Jahresbericht über die Erscheinungen čfllf dam Gebiete der Germanischen Philologie 3s. 9\*4. 2y f. (Nos. IO, I i ; with additions by Th. v. Grienberger to both numbers); W. Streitberg, Idg Jahrbuch z, I IA, \a \*33 (No. st : F. Kluge, Germania. Korrespondenz- blatt der Röm.-German. Commission 3, -9\*9. 1- 47 13 para. from above); W. Streitberg, Gothic Elementary Book. Fifth and sixth revised edition Edition, Heidelberg IQzo, P 39 (16, 5); H. Güntert, Der arische \Ve1t- könig und Heiland, Halle (Saale) - 923, P.3 4z; .ß. v. Premerstein, Z. f. Deutsches

Unpublished votive inscriptions in the Chaitya Cave at Karle ( - Epigraphia I ndica and Record of the -ßrch æological Survey

of India. Vol. XVI I I, I t)2 -26, p. 325  $329_{\rm g}$  '.: from p. 325 - 326 above with plate3 Q As well as "Additions and Corrections", ibid.  $_{\rm r}$  IX u.-X above by

Altertum und Deutsche Litteratur 60, It)23, . /< 73 : Madho Sarup \'ats,

N. Ur. Majumdãr); Suniti Kumar Chatter ji, The origin and development of the Bengali language i, i Qzi', p. zq5 u.-z46 o., 485 ': AflnŁta1 bibliography *of* Indian arch mology for the year 1926, Leyden i Ozs, p. Gz (NO. 220:

repeated in the immediately following report jalir, Leyden i QzQ, p. 2q, No. zQ6); L. Schmidt, Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgang der ¥'ö1keru.'anderung. *die* Ostgrrrnaiieii. Zweite, viillig neubearbcitete Auf- la6e,

3\*, 1934. P 734 - = Idg. Confession, I3erlin Dahlem I9AZ bzxv. z., vermehrte und vcrbesserte Auflage, ibid. 943, P 39 o. O. Stein, Yavanas in early Indian inscriptions (= Indian culturt- i, i 934 935. P- 343 357.

. especially34 2 35 0 -.); E. Sittig, Scritti in onor e di Dartolomco Nogara raccolti in occas ione del suo LXX anno, Citt ă del Vaticano937. P- 473 ; 0. Ficbiger, Akademic der V'iss. in \Vien. Philoso {ali.-hist. Class. Memoranda 20, III, 1939. P- \*4 (° 32). P s2 u ., s7. \*Q-1. o.

resp. r. o. and m  $_{\cdot}$  P 5  $_{\cdot}$  Sp. 1. m. and u.: E. H. Johnston, Demetrias in Kind ? (- Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland \*939  $_{\cdot}$  21/-240) ; S. f\*utenbrunner, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 6i, i Q4o, Sp  $_{8}^{\circ}$ 5 u.-5z6 o. ; W. \V. Tarn, Demetrius in Sind (= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Societ}' of Great Britain and Ireland i Q4o, p. i yQ-i8q ; followed by E. H. Johnston, Note on the above, a. a. 0. p. i8Q u.--193) :

F. Altheim, Cermanica nt, IQ4z, p. to u.(-242 m.), 243 u. - The crisis of the Old \Velt in the 3rd century a . Zw, and their causes. With contributions x on E. Trautmann-fi ehring i. -943 p. Q6 o.(-qy m.), 1 5, Sp. 1. o. = Lite- rat ur und Gesellschaft im ausgehenden Altert um z, xQ5o, p. (82 u.)/88 o.

(bis Sg m.) - Decline of the Old World. An investigation into the causes

\*. 95\*. P- -°3. 3.;' . Para. of o. and f., p. zy3 ¥1.; his, Weltgeschichtc .£Sicns in the Greek Age 2, 94 . t3. 8 i o. together with note 87 find 88, 3f. A. II' liendale '°, Historical grammar of inscriptional Prakrits, Poona

\*94 . P V u., XVI I I. 3 para. from o., p. 4y (CO. IO) , p. 48 (h'o. -5). P s-( $\S$  i G i b), p.7 o ( $\S$  isOal\') ; \V. \\'. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, tiambridge \*95\*, P I4>. 254 . -54 u.-25 °. (especially p. -5z, note 2, 31. P Z5 ° . 37\* -37s ° . 4\*7 \* -4\* ° . 4\*7¹ . 5z6 u.-52/ 0., 5.3\* :

fi. Vernadsky, Saeculum 2. 951. P 35° - u .; H. J unker, Der Gotenname in Perserolis (= Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur 24. 95°. r 2s 2t)Q0.); \V. Krause, Handbuch des Gotischen, hlünchen - so. r· 23 u.-24 0. (§ Z I); E. Schu'arz, Saeculum 4. 1953. P \*3 O.-m.; O. Hüller, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur 2y (Tübingen), - 955. P 437 . 45s 1); Cs. Töttössy, The name of the Greeks in Ancient India (-Acta Antiqua Academiae Seien-

tiarum Hungaricae 3, - 955. P 3 3 9); E. Schz'arz, Germanische Stammeskilfide, Heidelberg - 56, p. 8Q O., 96 o.; 0. Höfler, Anzeiger der phil.- hist. Class of the Österreich. Akademie der Wiss. Jahrgang i 956, NO. >4.

\Vien•957, 2, -. Abs. = Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache ufld Literatur 2'j (Tübingen), - 957. P >57 o -m. = Die zweite Lautver- sch iebung bei Ostgermanen und M'estgermanen, Tübingen 1958, }'. qy o. bis m.; H. Fromm, Z. f. Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur 88,

-s "7/-s5 P 3Oy u. : M. Mayrhofen, Goths in India and ' - i - Um laut'

<sup>&#</sup>x27;° I would also like to take this opportunity to thank my highly esteemed colleague M. A. Stehen-dale - Por'na for his letter (dated 9 Sept. 959) in for ming methat nothing new or important had been published during the last few years of his visit to India with regard to our inscriptions under discussion.

<sup>10</sup> Alt heim, I lunnen II I

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(= Z. f. Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur 8Q, \*95 /\*959- p. 289 ); F. Altheim, Briefe an W. Wüst vom 4. und IA. Sept. and from

22 Nov -959: G. 4 "emadsky, The origins of Russia, Oxford iq5Q, p. 65 -11. find note z: W. Wüst, letter to F. Altheim of i i Sept. -9s9

3 and the problemes: as the wordsformen oz *poğlii yo* "two cisterns", *bhojanama apo* "refectory", /Hoho "pillar", dryndRøia "pious gift", *dãna it* "gift" and *saghe* "at the order" as (final) constituent parts of the text.

While parts of the three inscriptions do not require any further explanation for the context given here in terms of their architectural, artistic or ecclesiastical history, what is written in these very inscriptions vome or extends to their spatial centre and - once - even beyond it, automatically moves into our particular field of vision, i.e. the word forms *yr mamasa*, *irilasa*, *ciiasa*, *galãna*(tri and omaW[é]dlatõ. What problems are posed by them, and what attempts to solve these problems can be apostrophised from the specialist literature listed under 2?

a) Our double question regarding the word form stnc/i"[è]āla ñ mentioned in the last place is answered relatively simply, namely in the absence of further facts. Restituted in this way - see Arim. 6 -, ø'aeán [á]āèa a is the ablat. sing. of an -a stem, of which, analogous to the incomparably more frequent *Dhcnukāba a-*, it is also no longer clear whether it is based on a masculine or neutral -a stem. Nor can any more certainty be gained as to its exact geographical position, a fact in whose judgement even the previous authors, Madho Sarup Vats and 0. Stein ", agreed. On the other hand, there is no doubt that *Umeha[k]ākala -* is a settlement name and that the zówoç it designates can be claimed for India. This double fact is important, firstly because in one of the three inscriptions, the new find Kärlë-No. i, it is explicitly stated that a male person, *Yavana* Cifa, from *Ume-*

<sup>&</sup>quot; op. cit. p. 3z<sub>5</sub> and bzWP 35\* - My other enquiries have also been unsuccessful so far. As far as the linguistic-historical origins of the name are concerned, I may be content with the remark for future editors that

a derivation from -iiri-mrààa - - this in turn from -ud-me mhm - - and thus a reference to the folk name fuøm(h)mls-J Ufhala-, n. pr. of a people seems far more possible to me than the combination with the n. pr. of a marine Umbzlio-, Umuøba-(the four letrt-named n. pr. from Sanskrit), which is not so easy to convey phonetically.

/ta [àjaèala, then, because a Bavaria Ci a, probably identical with it, is also mentioned in our Junnar script, this time, however, without any clarifying reference to the place.

b) \Vas it is now with the data's, which once together with a man *Yavana Write* (Junnar), ziveimal together with the just mentioned *Java jnka Ci a* IJnnar and Kãrlë), but each time in the

Are they attested in the word form of the genit. plur. of an undoubtedly masculine -a stem? Do not expect me, in order to answer this question, to go into its linguistic-historical part now and to examine in detail the attempts that have been made so far with the name Gala-. Such an endeavour would only be apt to lead us prematurely away from another question, the clarification of which is the prerequisite for the discussion on the history of language, which can then no longer be avoided. By this problem I mean the syntactic-semasiological aspect contained in the word form gofdtia(tń). Let us look at the inscriptions as a whole, i.e. for methodological reasons, first of all in their limitation to the Junnar-Kãrlë group,

more precisely, so fill in that such a genit. plur. of a masculine

-a stem - once also of a stem that has changed to the -ci declension

-r theme - is not at all rare, because it is attested in almost a quarter of the Junnar-Kãrlë inscriptions '°, so that this phenomenon, which is easy to understand thanks to its situational conditionality, can be unquestionably assigned to syntactic

I nventory of the simpler and more simply constructed votive inscriptions in particular. It is now the undeniable merit of O. Stein to go beyond E. Senart's formulation'o and, by means of an even sharper and more illuminating analysis'\*, to also provide a clearer picture of the inscription findings outside the

Junnar-Kãrlë area - to have clearly demonstrated "that in such cases where a personal name is followed by a name in gen. plur., the former must be an individual name" '6 and that in these genit. plur. word forms

In turn, these terms refer to a collective such as families or corporations. Belonging to a community such as a caste, a settlement or a religious order is also included, although this is not always the case.

 <sup>&#</sup>x27;o In Lüders' counting: Junnar Nos. i i5 i, i i 5-, --ii. s\*.- st. m. -- i -: Kãrlè Nos. i o89, IOQ3, i OQş, i o95, i i oo; K ãrlë (new) Nos. ş, ö, (2), i o.
 '- Epigraphia Indica [etc.) VI I, \*9°< - °3. P- s and anal g P ss u. '- a. a. 0. p. 3 q m. - 3q2 m., 3q8 (6.-8.). p 3so u. - 35 i o</li>
 'a. a. 0. P 347 °-

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0. Stein is not specifically emphasised. More serious, in my opinion, is the omission that he - just as little as E. Senart - from this newly acquired position does not now also specifically target the genit. plur. g't/atia(nt) and does not draw the obvious conclusion for this name in particular.

{referred to the fact that it could by no means be "the name of the people" "here, but in a consistent evaluation of his just formulated result, if only a designation of the narrower sense area analysed above. This syntactic-semasiological consequence would not only have been obvious, but is in fact unavoidable.

c) In contrast to the thematic clarification at the end of subsection 3b, the following explanations have a pronounced onomasiological accent. This is about the pro

the specific meaning of the -a- stem and proper name T "ara a-, which appears in our three inscriptions only as "genit. sing." and is again perfectly masculine. The importance of this question is also clear to those at a distance as soon as they realise that, according to the classical formulation of the "Sanskrit-

Wörterbuches in kürzerer Fassung" by 0. Böhtlingk, a. a. 5 . 4 .

P \*3>, 1. sp. o. Varaiia- as much as "a Greek, a prince of the Greeks, as a designation of a certain caste [in Plural, the Greek astrologers]". caste [in the Plural, the Greek astrologers", even "later ... a Muhammadan and above all] a man

foreign tribe" can mean. Which of these meanings, whose range of va riation is, after all, considerable, corresponds to the linguistic usage of the three inscriptions under discussion and how can it, or can it at all, be justified in terms of content? The compendia of literary Middle Indo-Aryan hardly resolve this ambiguous situation, but merely continue it with the statement that the *tiomitia* §ro§ria Vori'i, *Yavanä*, *Vonakä* are "probably the Päli equivalent for lonians, the Bactrian Greeks" and that "in later times, the name Yavanä or Yonä seems to have included all is'esterners living in India and especially those of Arabian

<sup>&#</sup>x27;- So still a. a. 0. p. j-io u.

<sup>!\*</sup> The word form yovawasa of the second J unnar inscription (Lüders'sche So. i i 8z) can be explained either by blol3e, also otherwise attested in this name \'erschreibung - cf. e.g. only liarlé (new) hos. ö and 7 - or else - at least as well, u.'vnn not at all more plausible - by assuming spontaneous or anteceptory cerebralisation can be explained. Note the Yt'ort forms \*!-sa and β A o y a 'tamafapo immediately after yayanaso. See also norh u. note 1t'q.

origin" ' . Quite summarily, Shatadhvani the Jaina Muni Shri Ratnachandraji Maharaj's "An Illustrated Ardha-Magadhi DiCtionary" z, IQ2J,

s. vv. the precritical *favana* corresponding to the above Päli representatives, *Jonah* defined as "an out cast; one residing in a foreign country" or "a non-Aryan country of this name"". If we confront the lite- rary-lexicographical findings outlined above, which are quite sufficient for our judgement, with the epigraphic findings, then the inventory provides the following picture: outside our three i addresses, the verb form yare osa of the proper name Yav'aria - and in this respect also this name itself - still appears in Junnar No. I i§6 (the Lüders'

count), furthermore in Kärlé NO. io93 and No. ioq6 (likewise) as well as in K  $\ddot{a}$ rlé (new) No. 4, II, (y) and io, woxu we according to the procedure

VV. W. Tarns (i95 i), a. a. 0. p. 254 The word form *V onakasa* of the noun Yoaaéa- already briefly quoted from the Päli must also be reckoned with. With this from Näsik NO. x Ito (Lüders' count)

We have a total of fo (i i) °° examples. If we disregard our three *yavangasa* inscriptions, which are still under discussion, when considering this material - as is immediately obvious from a methodological point of view - all other **cases** show a clear reference either to Indian settlement names - predominantly *DhcnuAäba{a* - or to families with a purely Indo-Aryan name or to both - settlement and family names. Näsik No. i i4o plays a special role here insofar as it mentions father, son and grandson with the unsuspiciously Indo-Aryan names *Dhammadcva*, *Idrägnidata* and *Dhamma- rabhita*, probably all three Dö/ätnifiyala's°', i.e. from the town of *Dättämitri*, in an undisturbed genealogical descent. The above findings make a clarification of the onomasioiogical complex all the more urgent, in undiminished antithesis to the literary-lexicographical findings summarised at the beginning. What

<sup>18</sup> G. P. Malalasekera, Dictionary of T'äli proper names z, i93ß, s. x'v.

<sup>16</sup> Analogue Hargovind Das T. Sheth, Päia - Sadda - Mahaji9avo. A comprehensive Prakrit-Hindi dictionary with Sanskrit equivalents, quotations and complete references. Calcutta i928, p. vx-. In the Buddhist Mischprükrit, only yon'sni-"Greek writing" has been handed down.

<sup>20</sup> For the difference in figures see above note3 The figures given by W. W. Tarns, op. cit. 0. p. -si m. together with note z are to be corrected accordingly, as are those of F. Alt-heim (i 9i3), a. a. 0. p. 8 i o. and note 87.

et The above sings or approaches according to O H. iüders. a. a. 0. p. i z8 (2'to. i i So) or 0. Stein, a. a. 0. P 35 (\* i - )

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for Yaraiia's are actually meant in our two Junnar texts and in the new Kãrlë find? In order to prepare the solution of this - also for the final analysis of the n. pr. *Irila*, *Cita* and Geta - I will leave out in a condensed, but nevertheless nothing essential

We now pass by the previous attempts at interpretation in chronological order, each with its own appropriate epilegomenon. The first editors Jas. Burgess and Bhag- wanlal Indraji Pandit think of "foreigners, but it is impossible to say to what country this man belonged; he may have been a Parthian or Bactrian Greek". Since both authors do not explain themselves in more detail and do not do so in the second Junnar manuscript, their statement must therefore be based on

remain on their own. The same applies to Jas. Burgess alone, since he

does not decide between "Greeks and Persians", nor - with the exception of Ge/a and Ci a, about which see below - does he even hint at a linguistic-historical analysis of the name *Jrifa*, as he did in his first publication. The gap just pointed out is particularly evident in the thesis of S. Lévi's thesis, who, under the subsequent addition

case W. W. Tarns  $(x^9s^*)$  " Jrifø and Ci a as Greek private individuals from the merchant class and of Buddhist confession to the side of the Greek

The author, however, does not devote a single syllable to the prerequisite indispensable for this assumption, namely how these proper names, including  $G \sigma f \sigma'$ s, could be interpreted from Greek or which other language, apart from Greek, could be considered for a word-historical analysis. H. Lüders remained completely silent on the Saestia issue, while immediately after him, the Norwegian Indologist and Iranologist St. Konow initiated an interpretation in two journals which, surprisingly for Germanists - with one or two exceptions - proved to have an after-effect that had been faithfully accepted for decades. Based on the certainly not unfounded assumption "that in the second century

A. D. the name yovatia was not restricted to the Greeks", but that it could also have been used to designate Iranians such as Indo-Scythians and Parthians, St. Konow boldly claimed all three names as Gothic, so that consequently "the word yaratia, yerapo in the

Junnar inscriptions as a name of other foreign tribes than the Greek" on-

<sup>°°</sup> a. a. 0. p. z5ş u. and Arim. 6.

The way in which, decisively determined by this view, Varaiie was subsequently equated with "Westerners" - first by A. v. Premerstein, among others - may be summarised below and may be discussed again indirectly in connection with the presentation of Konow's hypothesis regarding *Irila*, *Cita* and Gafa and its detailed refutation in subsection 3d.

be taken into account. Instead, the focus of our dignity is now

This is the thesis which has been developed in detail by 0. Stein op. cit. and which, together with that of W. W. Tarns, which is still to be explained, is the only one that deserves serious consideration. Summarised to the essentials, it states that the Kayano's in the above clearly stated syntactical connection "may be personal names of members of Indian families, or, of some corporations" and that "only in the cases where, besides the term Yavana, a personal name is found there we could assert that a foreigner has been received as a member of an Indian family, nothing more". For "from a strict historical point of view" "the term Yavana does not indicate Greek nationality, and it is remarkable that in inscriptions where that term appears no Greek names are to be found, except the instance o( Besnagar,

just mentioned [a. a. 0. P 343 u.-344  $^{\circ}$  . 35-']. On the other hand, personal names of Greek appearance do not possess the attribute Yavana. It would be, therefore, commendable to be cautious to infer anything from the

term Yavana in early Indian inscriptions". "From a social point of view one gets the impression that Yavanas, whoever they might have been, were absorbed by the Indian society, if we can infer from the Buddhist votive inscriptions; that these foreigners became also adherents of Indian religious systems is clearly to be seen from their own confessiono^." As can be seen from the more extensively documented opinion of 0. Stein, he interprets the above recapitulated, relatively simple thesis of S. Lévi's relatively simple thesis recapitulated above as his own, more ramified assimilation thesis, whereby essential accompanying cultural-historical circumstances, first and foremost the Indo-Aryan personal names, appear to be integrated quite sensibly, without a serious objection being raised. Our fo (I I) inscriptions reveal absolutely nothing of the repeatedly postulated absorption and adoption of such foreigners, the Vaeaiio's, into the Indo-Aryan social order.

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nothing at all, a negative fact that is unmistakably exacerbated by the profiled statement of the Näsik inscription No. z iAo (Lüders' count), which, in contrast to the 9 (-O) other inscriptions, is truly détaillated.

becomes. For it is indeed extremely difficult to accept the existence of foreigners and not rather that of a genuine Indo-Aryan family, especially in view of the genealogical relationship of descendancy comprising three members manifested here (see above) and in view of O. Stein's\*5 sentences that pass over it too easily. Against this socio-

logical background, it becomes understandable why W. \\'. Tarn  $_{\hat{1}}$   $_{S}$ \*) who considers the thesis "Greeks, but with Indian names" "as improbable as any thing can **u'ell** be" -- who tries to master the now clearly identified difficulties with the help of another independent 'thesis. For ilin, these ten (eleven)  $\ddot{i}$  'øt'ana's of the J unnar-Kãrlć- Nãsik group are Indians - and therefore also the majority of good Indo-Aryan ramen - but not just any Indians, but "no doubt

wealthy merchants" who, according to the South, "for the sake of trade, primarily pepper" and without being "culture-€ireeks" \*' or even giving up their native culture, appear there as citizens of Greek wóhuç. One such wóhiç, among others, is described by W. U'. Tarn in this context, is Demctrias in Sind, and the word  $Dha\~nima$  -Havana - of our K $\~a$ rl $\~e$  inscription l'40. ioQ6 (of L $\~u$ ders' census) as /rr ni'iiis /rc $\~n$ iiciis for a genuinely Indian, albeit anonymous, personality and its special state-legally privileged claim to rank - that it niimlich "carried out the duties of a Greek citizen"  $°\~a$ 0. So here, too, an assimilation thesis, the delimitation of which from that of 0. Stein's was only provided by its author to the extent that his ziveimal °°a0. Stein, with the expression "(mere) paradox" of W'. W. Tarn's disqualified opinion that the word 1 "atana-"never means C0 reek", obviously represents a mis-mcinun6. For as xs'ir convinced us o. cigens  $ter\`aefitn$ , has

0. Stein keinesivegs the occasional identity to isclien l'øvazie- and "Greek x-on Üation" ct wa denied, but they clearly recognisable

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ã. ä. Ł). P 33 (* 3-)  
'- a. a. O p i54 u.  
°' làic three quotations ( i 93 i ) , a. a. * P - 55 ° 25 O ., 255 "  
°- \pounds. to last a. a. 0. p. z5S u. and x-orher already, i9ao, a. a. O. p. i òa-.  
°- \V. 1'. Tarn (i 95 i ), a. a.  
P *56 u.  
° .4. last op. p. i 5 j ^ and p. \pounds • 7'
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conceded and documented with a cø'eifel-free example, but also, after careful examination of all instances, urged particular caution in the use of the term l "øraiia- especially within the cultural context of the "early Indian inscriptions". In full appreciation of this Stcin's \\'arnung is therefore now against )V. \V. Tarn that his assimilation thesis, as convincing as it may seem at first glance, must nevertheless be judged to be unfounded, and zsvar therefore.

because, as the expert criticism of E. H. Johnston (- 39 and '94) in particular had long since demonstrated, it suffers from two crucial impasses: the Greek wóhiç Demetrias in Sind - according to

- ii . w. 'rarns own \Vorten o' "being no longer a certainty" can in no way be combined Ł'all with the native settlement name *Dăllāmitri* (see above), and neither can *Dhamma-Vavana* the K ãrlë-I nsclirift for W. \V. Tarn's analysis. Already at that time
- 0. Stein acgen E. Senart's interpretation, apart from the above-mentioned syn-tactical position, asserted that "there is no other way than to e.xplain the name as a personal one, the donor was called Dhamma- yavana". For "that a pious layman omits his name, is not proven by votive inscriptions, the less is it probable for a foreigner who wants to underline his new faith" of and even first as we can see today in view of what later came to be known as the
- 0. Stein's statement to emphasise Tarn's hypothesis his constitutional privilege. It is precisely the singularity claimed by W. W. Tarn for the word form *dhammayavanasa* as tiotnzti *a pellativum* that would inevitably have required the addition of a separate tioinøti QroQriøwi is. Finally, as we turn once again to our three special inscriptions in the above context, the fact that W. W. Tarn in addition to a more far-reaching objection to the use of the term is not the only decisive factor. W. Tarn apart from a statement against St. Konow's Gothic hypothesis to be mentioned below has not even made the  $\xi$  "attempt at a random sample for any of the three h'amen Write, Ci a and Gala inscriptions. Confidence in the main thesis is just as little strengthened by this f'icøita ex as by the incidentally falling off

<sup>°\* (</sup> iq o) , op. cit. p. iëö ". Tarn's explanations (i'95 i), a. a. 0. p.. 5zö u. - J \*7 ° /P t ax do not invalidate his earlier I°establishment.

<sup>^°</sup> Ileide quotes in 0. Stein, a. a. 0. p. 3ą y u.; see also E. H. Johnston (\*9391, ã. ã. Ğ. p. 237 m. And I. Stein's view that Z9àa'àtøo - Y'avana - can only be a personal name is conditionally endorsed by W. M'. Tarn (i9 o), op. cit. p. 187. also (i95 i), op. cit. p. 53i o.

Statement: "But I am not using Junnar as evidence for anything". A well-founded scientific opinion should prove its validity in all individual cases. - What within the o.

The only thing that still needs to be done in terms of Loretta analyses of the report within the bibliographical framework outlined above can easily and quickly be included here, with reference to the criticism already made and with a certainly tolerable interruption of the chronological order between 0. Stein there and W.W.Tarn. These are O. Fiebiger, E. Schwarz

1\*9s3) IfId M. Mayrhofer, who unanimously and in accordance with the established process Bavaria- as "Greek, generally Westerners" or as "Greeks,

Westländer" or as "Jonier, Westländer", then and finally F. Altheim, who in four repeated, practically identical statements 1\*94°. \*943. \*95°. \*9s-) additively with Varatia- "Greek" both "the united

mical inhabitants of Greek poleis in the Indian north-west, [as well as]

then the peoples of the neighbouring western countries in general". On a separate page and therefore at the very end on its own, but by no means less important, is a passage by M. A. Mehendale, op. cit.

P- 53 ( $\frac{1}{6}$  i63). r: "Treatment of Sk. aea and aha : Usually both these become o in these inscriptions ["of the Western group"]. Näsik I: Sk. yara'ia-yyotia- L[üders No.) i iąo" ^. "But in the inscriptions

at Junnar [and, it should be added, of the new find from Kãrlë] øra is preserved in ynvana- L 1154, L I i8z, perhaps as a loanword". About type and

The Indian scholar makes no mention of this borrowing. However, in view of a self-contained series of purely Middle Indo-Aryan inscriptions, this rather strange sound treatment has not even been mentioned, let alone discussed in detail by Cs. Töttössy, whose special study is thus all the more fundamentally lacking in documentation, as it also contains such important non-precritical word attestations

such as that since Pã çini (IV I. 49: ca. A century v. Chr.), y'tratiäiii-, f. "the shmitt of the Yavana", etc., is completely ignored. have been overlooked. In my opinion, it is worth finding a way through these gaps.

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(+ 9J I), a. ã. 0. p . z3 y, Arim. * s. f. Analogue A. K. Narain, The Indo-Greeks, Oxford {\bf 1957},~{\bf p.~94~f.}
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<sup>--</sup> Actually occupied is yo'te3a -

<sup>°-</sup> He would have a. a. 0. either 3°5 . or P 3 D. or P-3°9 3t3 m. or finally p. 3• 7 U -- 3 i 8 o. should have been eliminated. Cf. also St. Konow (i 9i z, No. z), ^- -- - P-7\*. 3- Abs. from o.

path. Its direction first becomes theoretically conceivable where, after bypassing the actually existing, but for the interpretation of the Old Indo-Aryan Vavatia- hardly useful Old/Middle Iranian centre of emanation (Old Pers. Contra- etc.), we can relate the archaising recourse to the high linguistic element, i.e. from our inscriptions to the Sans- krit word Varatia-, in direct relation to the personal contact with the areas from which the knowledge of the Greek tribal name löoves had come to its oriental neighbours long before, but not without leaving clearly lasting traces in Greek itself and likewise in the surrounding, albeit unrelated languages °°. The case hypothesised above is concretised in a historical situation. For it was precisely in the twoJa centuries before and after the birth of Christ that our three languages under discussion

inscriptions (see x. at the beginning), are in the undoubtedly

In a causal connection with the unique upswing in ancient (sea) trade from and to India, thanks in particular to the transport of pepper o', envoys, (great) merchants and Buddhist missionaries repeatedly travelled from their homeland to the Near East, Asia Minor (with its Jonian heartland), Syria, Cyprus, Egypt and other areas bordering the (eastern) Mediterranean, witnesses and guarantors of a dense, direct economic and intellectual traffic that was not only unattained before but also unattained or no longer attained afterwards, both abroad and at home. dense, direct economic and intellectual intercourse. For all the details, I refer to the information given in note

- Stoliasten note on Aristophanes, according to which "the barbarians call all Greeks 'ldovis'"); F. Passow, Hand wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache. Newly edited and modernised by V. Ch. F. Rost, F. Palm and 0. Kreussler i, II, 18 y, p. i 45 i, Sp. 1. u. r. o.; W. Pape G. E. Benseler, Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen i ^, i 863-I 82o, p. 5z8, Sp. r. o.; E. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik i , i 93g, p. 80 (3.); H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, A. Greek English lexicon. A new edition revised and augmented throughout by Sir H. St.J. nes with the assistance of R. McKenzie, Oxford i 9§3, 9. 815, sp. £. 0.,P- \*°77' sp. r. u.; A. K. Narain, a. a. 0. p. if5-if19 o.; HJ. Frisk, Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Delivery pp, Heidelberg igs. P 74\*
- 37 On its dating W. W. Tarn, a. a. 0.P- 37° ---3J3 0. IRith the two essential statements: "That fixes the beginning of the substantial export of Indian pepper not later than c. i oo B. C., and it might be a good deal earlier"....."still, somewhere between i zo and 88 B. C. is the most likely date" (a. a. 0. P- 37- = ) or "the insatiable desire of the Roman world for pepper in the first century A. D." (ebd. p. 373 0.)

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of our three Junnar-Kärlë (new) inscriptions was and is meant in particular. They were "Greeks", personalities who, according to a well-known rule of proper name formation that can still be seen vividly in German, for example, were given their names as epithets by their "more or less volatile relationship to a fine-grained place" or even to entire landscapes and countries. It is no coincidence that trade and economic relations, but also those of creed, play a primary role alongside military campaigns, so that in our Indian case the inclusion of all individual references appears fully justified. Of the ten (eleven) l'ara'ta/Yonaáa examples, the vast majority, namely seven (eight), are characterised by the simultaneous mention of a settlement name, while the *Dhamma-Hayana* from *DMnubāAata* 

- 88 W. \N'üst, Buddhism and Christianity on pre-Diasiatic-antique soil ( = Zeitschrift für ù4issionskunde und Religionswissenschaft q y, 1932, 333I. especially p. ą i u.-5 i u.; P. H. L. Eggermont, I ndië en de Hellenistische rîjken. Hun onderlinge verhouding in de ecrste eeuw na den dood van Alexander den Grooten ( = Jaar- bericht van hetVooraziatisch-Egy ptisch Gezelschap Ex Oriente lux β, i 9§2,735 bis 2 ö); Radha Ku mud Mooker ji, Indian shipping. A history of the sea-borne trade and maritime activity of the I ndians from the earliest times. Second edition (revised), l3ombay-Calcutta-Madras as i. i i -99: "Book I Hindu period. Part I In- dications of maritime activity in Indian literature and art. I. Direct evidence from Sanskrit and Pali literature. I I. Direct evidence from Indian sculpture, painting and coins. I II. Indirect evidence: references and allusions to Indian maritime activity in Sanskrit and Pali literature. Part II 7'he history of Indian maritime activity.
  - 1. The pre Slauryan period. II. the ßfaurya period. I I I. The Andhra- Ilushana period: intercourse with Home".

se ^^-P 37 "-

an \'gI. A. Bach, IDeutsche Namenkunde. The German personal names i, I, i 9-; z-,

P \*53 " 54 ( z z6, i ; from there the quotation reproduced above) and according to E. Schwarz, Deutsche Üamenforschung I , i qi9, p. 9i 1. (§ 6i). An enquiry with acquaintances has confirmed that everyone, especially as soon as they come from a more remote settlement, has a special "American" heritage in their memory.

(Kärlë NO. IOQ6 Lüders' count) has a singular ø efect and remains so due to the combination of indication of origin and functional designation. As a "Dharñma-Greek" it is - in my opinion too eiflos. He was one of the messengers of faith, ø'as the Ceylonese chronicle Mahãvarilsa (XXIX 3€)) describes him in Pãli - although ø urthermore hardly coincidentally also with linguistic echoes:

5 "onanagarâlasandã 1 "otianiahãdhatnmarabkhito micro limsasaliassâni bhibblui ãdâya ágamü,

in German (in the annotated translation \V. Geiger"): "'From the Yona city of Alasanda ["probably"

"Egyptian Alexandria "1 käm der Third Yonet-Mi h3dhiìmmčtrākkhita with 30000 Bliikkhus', namely the foundation stone of the Mahäthüpa in Anurădhapura. The numbers are fantastic," "the chronological information (first half of the first ... century BC) [however,] is probably incorrect. Du hagāmani reigned ioi-yy BC according to my calculations." Let us add to this highly remarkable finding of the Ńahāvarñsa the equally remarkable des Dipavarńsa (VI II Q), according to which there is

"of Mahādhammarakhita is called", "da0 he 1 "onaAa-lobam bckehrtc" --', then what is necessary for the profiling of our Dha hmu-Ya "ana is well done'o. The conclusion is thus that on the basis of my proposal - which incidentally preserves the accurate part of Stein's formulations - the range of variations of the proper name Yavona evidently mentioned above has been narrowed down to a specific linguistic usage valid for the J unnar-Kārlë-Nāsik group and its onomasiological peculiarity has been recognised. At the same time, this fulfils a methodological requirement that F. Altheim recently emphasised when he wrote in one of his letters to me -' x-on the need to "clarify the word usage of yeraiia-". The conditions specified above form the ratio for the numerically low prevalence of the proven naming. Finally, the abovementioned facts included in the name Vavoiia- make it sufficiently clear why, within the established stylistic-syntactic norm of the

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-' In W. W üst, a. zulctz t a. a. O. p. 50 ni.-5 i o. ^° Ibid. P- 5 °
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<sup>--</sup> Accordingly, 0. Stein, a. a. 0.p 347 - 34\*. to be corrected.

<sup>-- \&#</sup>x27;om a. Sept. i 959.

The profession of the name bearers is no longer specifically mentioned in our inscriptions'<sup>5</sup> - with the sole exception of the allusion in *Dhamma-Vavana*- (as representatives of the more frequently mentioned *homines religiosi* of Buddhist ob- **servance**). This last finding is corroborated by the sociological observation, which can be observed within our field of inscriptions, that the donors of the yaretia, if they had been women, persons of rank (such as ministers and high officers) or even ruling princes, would have been labelled as such with above-average probability. The fact that precisely this social characterisation does not occur in any of our io (i i) Yeraiia evidence leads us jur *ins tzcJiisiotiis* to the same group of people inferred above from completely different considerations.

d) The direct consequence of the onomasiological adjustment carried out in 3 c is that we can now take up the specific eponymological problems of the word forms *irifasa*, *cifase* and ge/atia(cii), especially since the

The factual and linguistic-historical content of the settlement name  $Umeha[\ddot{a})^*$ - dala- has already been analysed, as far as this is possible at all for the time being (cf. 0. 3 a). In the analysis of the three remaining, first-mentioned *nomina propria*, the name Gale- demands priority for two, in my opinion probably decisive reasons: firstly, because in the form of the syntactic-semasiological aspect determination of subsection 3 b, we have an already

essential partial result is available, which we can easily build on.

but no less so because the Gaia hypothesis of St. Konov, already briefly mentioned above, has exerted such a demanding influence that its final judgement inevitably stands or falls with that of the other two names ZriJa-, Cila-. To recapitulate my above sketch in full, it should be pointed out that the Norwegian researcher

- the igIz only the two Junnar inscriptions No. I i5p and No. I I8z (the
- CS A glance at H. Lüders' "Index of miscellaneous terms" (a. a. 0. p. z i 3 -z z) quickly and convincingly shows how appropriately the commercial-economic element is attested in the J unnar-Kärlé-Näsik inscriptions. In addition, numbers 3 and 9 of the new Kärlé find belong here, where a collective-anonymous "community of traders" and the "son of the trader Gola" or "trader in myrrh" are mentioned.
  - Finally, it is worth noting that 0. Stein, a. a. 0.P 345 ° has made "a family of merchants who went over the sea" probable from the Kanhéri inscription No. i or 2 (Lüders' count).
- In this context, "the fisherman (dösoba j Mugü disa" of the Näsik inscription No. i i zg {Lüders'scher Zählung; from there also the quotation and the reference to No. i i3o) undoubtedly occupies a position sui gtrieris as an out-cast.

Lüders' census) and who, as far as I know, did not deal with this topic until his death - identified *the Gala's* "with the Goths" \*' and assessed this equation as "highly probable" ' himself. St. K onow based his equation primarily on the fact that szt., together with the names Zrifa- and Ci a-, "the word gala . . has hitherto remained unexplained" '® or "not . . satisfactorily explained" ^ and that "finally, it seems impossible to explain the [three] words .... in any other way" 5'. All of St. Konov's other statements are grouped around this initial position, as soon as we look at them unflinchingly, so that, without offending him, we can certainly classify them methodologically as auxiliary hypothetical accessories. Accordingly, the Junnar inscriptions under discussion are assigned to the second or centre "ay det z det aarhundred efter

Kristus"<sup>5 2</sup> and the Goths allegedly attested by them either

as partisans "of the Western K atraps" \*° or as "traders in amber" '\*, who, driven by similar motives as the Vikings, had themselves travelled to India. As far as the geographical area of origin for their appearance in India is concerned, St. Konow initially wavers between "the country on the Vistula, or Scandinavia, or the Danish isles" Sii , only to then *decide* in favour of "the country where Ptolemy locates the Goths, viz. the banks of the Vistula" °^ - above all out of consideration for the i-, not (-)e-haltigkeit of the proper names *miJ't-* and *Ci a--*. Of course, this does not represent a final decision. For immediately afterwards the route from Rome "and thence to Asia" i is also c o n s i d e r e d , and finally even as "the most likely

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41 A. first p 3 3. For obvious reasons, I prefer to cite the English version, with which the Norwegian version agrees in all important points, despite the different arrangement of the material.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4e</sup> Ibid. p 3 '

**<sup>11</sup>** Ibid. p 3 3 - -3\*4 °

so Ibid. p. 380 W.

<sup>8&</sup>lt;sup>t</sup> Ibid. p. 38q above.

**<sup>51</sup>** Ibid. p. 3800. or a. second a. 0., p. /O U., 77 °

ss A. first a. O. 38# o; thus my own precautionary undétaillated fixed legung, a. a. 0. No. i\_3. Inf "Germanic-Gothic Sóldnemamen" erklär!ich. Cf. in St. Konow also ibid. Up- 3\*° - ztlF historical significance of the Western Kgatrapas. Ibid. P- 3 5

<sup>^^</sup> Ibid. p 38d u.

<sup>^\*</sup> Ibid.

<sup>^\*</sup> Ibid. p. 385 above.

lffi BE ILAG E N

assumption . . perhaps" cm ogen, "that Irila and Ci a originally came" \*" from an area neighbouring the Crimea. With the keyword "K rim" we invoke the linguistic-historical part of Konow's hypothesis. Since fiaJa- is judged to be "the regular Indian form corresponding to Latin go/i, the Goths"  $^{\text{o}}$ ", but both examples - together with the **variants** of Greek róWoi also placed here - form an irreconcilable contrast to Wulfila's Gøt § *iuda* and the inner-Gothic sound treatment reflected therein ø, St. Konow interpolates a Gothic dialect for the sake of his postulated  $got\tilde{o}s$ , "which agreed with most Germanic tongues" in

"the substitution of o for it before an a or o"  $^{\circ}$  of the immediately following syllable, and claims, with reference to R. Liiwe, the so-called Krimgotische as the original **dialect** responsible for this already old phonetic vowel  $^{8}$ . The Indians, "who wrote the word gefa in the J unnar inscriptions can only have heard the original denomination from the mouth of t liese *gatas* themselves " $^{\hat{a}}$ -, o-or from which the conclusion about the Indo-Aryan rendering of the Germanic -d- through the phonetic-phonematic ambiguous, indigenous -d-  $^{\circ\circ}$  is, as it were, self-evident. As far as St. Konow is concerned, I have left his original \text{\text{\$\frac{1}{2}\text{\*}}}'ort in all decisive places for the sake of the importance of the matter.

E onow's identification on the basis of his (above sketched) Hilísargumentation has been joined by (in the chronological order of the "Bibliograpliie" specified in sub 2): S. Feist, F. Kluge,

H. Güntert (with slight \(\frac{4}\)'orbehalt), A. x-. Premerstein, L. Schmidt, W. \\Vüst (POS. 13) with cautious dense D\(\frac{6}\)taillation), 0. Ficbiger, S. U uten-

brunner, F. Altheim (Nos. i-4), €i. ¥'t2rnadsky (r9s -. 959), W. Krause,

E. Schwarz <sub>1</sub> 953. 1956), O. Höfler (-955. a. a. 0. p. 43q) , M. Mayrhofer. closely or no longer subscribed to Konow's hypothesis:

W. Streit berg (it)i a, IQzo), 0. Stein, E. Sittig, W. V. Tarn (-9s\*), F. Alt -

--'^ ( '959. °- 3J. \V. Wüst (-959) Of the last nine named

<sup>\*^</sup> Ibid.

<sup>--</sup> Ibid. p- 3 \* u.; analogue a. a. 0. p. §82 it.,3\*3 \* and u., p. 3S o.

<sup>-°</sup> The quoted passages: ibid. p. 383 o. (z mal) bzø. u.

<sup>^&#</sup>x27; Ibid. P 3 3 u. or P 3 3 °-

<sup>^°</sup> Ibid. p. 3 3

<sup>-^</sup> Cf. J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik i , t ßcï6, p 3 (1 sl or A. Debrunner, Nachträge zu Band I (der J. Wac kernagel'schen Altindischen Grammatik), C üt- tingen i us'. r f . And A. Thumb-R. Hauschild, Hand hue h des Sanskrit i , I, i 95S°, p. zoz (å 54- \*1

ùleinungsaußerungen can be those fi'. Streitberg (t Qzo), W.  $\$ V. Tarns and V'.  $\$ Vüst's can be disregarded in the following critical appraisal,  $\emptyset$  ecause they are purely summary judgements  $^{-4}$ , while the other six are to be included in their appropriate part of the overall context. This in turn consists, as my o. This, for its part, consists of the following four facts, which are now to be discussed one after the other with their own logical interdependence: the dating of the three **junnar** Eãrlë (new) inscriptions; the geographical area of origin, the path and the form of activity of the persons ZriJa- and Ci a- appearing in the three inscriptions, the so-called. Crimean Gothic and its  $\pm$ 'okalism required for the phonetic treatment of the name Gata-; the name of God and its rendering, especially that theorised for the àlittel-I ndoaric.

St Konow, following Jas. Burgess and Bhagwanlal I ndraji Pandit in the form that the two Junnar inscriptions available to him are the tenth century AD or its centre (see above). This The vast majority of s c h o l a r s , especially the Germanists among them, have apparently accepted this approach without hesitation and simply parroted it. In reality, however, a multi-layered problem x-or lies here, about which one cannot proceed to the actual order of the day without further ado, but which must be discussed at least in its essential aspects, and at least in such xveit that a reasonably satisfactory solution emerges - which, incidentally, also corresponds to a recent letter \*passed on to me by F. Altheim. With regard to the starting position, i.e. the bare facts,

<sup>&</sup>quot;I cannot follow' Konows' ingenious but purely philolc'gical theory, of u hich he himself points out one difficulty ...". - V'. NV üst a. a. O.: "... in summary, I would like to say that, contrary to my own earlier opinion, I am now very sceptical. I believe that the letters in question, which have hitherto been interpreted as Gothic, can be explained without difficulty by purely Indo-Aryan linguistic means. The Ciermanists and Indo-Europeanists have allowed themselves to be unduly influenced by Sten Konow's thesis for years, and in the end it will be like the inscription on the helmet of Negau, namely that the most plausible thing is the sober, the most obvious".

<sup>65</sup> On . Sept. i 9s

<sup>11</sup> Altbeim, Hunnm Ií I

it must first be noted that within our to (x x)-part  $Va\phi ana$  catalogue neither the Junnar inscriptions No. - -s and No. I I8z (Lüders' count) nor the Kārlë-Neufund No. z nor the 2 (8) other inscriptions listed above, which are present in addition to them.

We are therefore dependent on indirect facts, i.e. indications of architectural style, palaeography, linguistic, religious and economic history, and - last but not least - political history, which is reflected in the naming of historically authenticated personalities. If we examine the data available to us in the keywords just con- structed, the following classification according to researchers and facts emerges, whereby, as can be clearly seen from what has just been said, the area of our Navarre catalogue remains unchanged.

must be extended in this or that direction: J . Burgess has, according to the joint publication with the Indian pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji and ant Grund consulted by St. Konow, above all

architectural-historical observations ^, expressed himself\*' "Several of the 'Junnar inscriptions are of very early date, and the whole of them perhaps range from <sub>-SO</sub> B. C. to zs or 200 A. D., but none are of much later date". A statement on the chronological integration of the entire **Kārlë**-

New things are not to be expected from .Jas. Burgess is clearly not to be expected. This is found, if I see correctly, for the first time - and, in valuable addition to }as. Burgess' attitude, against a decidedly linguistic background - in M. A. Mehendale, who ^^ in accordance with G. Bühler's procedure, divides all Kārlë inscriptions into two groups for palaeo- graphic reasons, an older and a younger one, and then assigns the new Kārlë find as Gauzes to the latter, with the date: ". ... about the second century

B. C. or a little later than that". Ibid. p. XV and below he classifies - this time, however, all the kg [sic!] Kärlè inscriptions known to him: "znd cent. B. C. and Ist or znd cent. A. D.". In contrast to the Kãrlë material, the Junnar inscriptions by M. A. Mehendale can be assessed completely uniformly ^-.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>wedge}$  Cf. most recently E. H. Johnston, a. zuerst a. 0. p. z3 u.-z33 o. -' a. a. 0. P 9< U.

<sup>&</sup>quot; •-- P-47 (No. to).

<sup>°-</sup> a. a. 0. p. 8 (No. i s) resp. p. XV u.; see also ibid. p. XVII I, 3rd para. from above on the general difficulties of such dating. "The 2nd century A. C." for the J unnar inscription with the Cifo occurrence is found in Suniti Kumar Chatterji, a. a. 0. p. z s - z 6 o.

In unmistakable containment of Burgess' extent and after specially mentioned separation of the Nahapäna inscription No. x zit (Lüders' count) to be noticed by us the Indian expert lets

"the rest of the inscriptions [, which admittedly) vary in characters, though not in language", extend "from about i50 B. C. to i50 A. D. Most of them, however, belong to the first century A. D.". The summary statement, a. a. 0. p. XV u., where the total of 3¢ Junnar inscriptions - and thus also the two inscriptions under discussion here - refer to the "ist cent. B. C. to ist cent. A. D." are distributed. What now follows in terms of opinions is to a large extent a completely different matter, insofar as within the group of indirect evidence the primary documentation (architectural style, palaeography, language) is henceforth - and until the end of this subparagraph - replaced by secondary documentation in the form of source evidence from political, economic and religious history. The presentation of the individual facts can, however, be presented in a much reduced form because, strictly speaking, it can be reduced to a discussion between the English experts W. W. Tam and E. H. J hnston, who were directly responsible for the subject. H. J hnston, who were directly responsible.

because, furthermore, this discussion can be considered essentially closed today. unless new discoveries changed the whole situation - and because, finally, the preceding statement, also by an expert of standing, 0. Stein, merely emphasises the conclusion of the discussion, albeit effectively. W. W. TäPfl (°95-) '- had already, under explicit

Rejection of Konow's dating thesis and with reference to the findings of the The Näsik inscription NO. Ii¢o (Lüders' census) "the first century B. C.", more precisely "probably not earlier than the middle of the first century B. C." and quite precisely the decades "about <sub>S</sub> 30 B. C." or a date

"somewhere between c-s and c 3 B . C.", was thus - in the

at that time the first edition of his "Greeks in Bactria and India" - met with the equally strong and unyielding resistance of his fellow countryman E. H. Johnston" and, under the influence of the opposing arguments, had converted himself to the modification of the following wording: "The right course is

<sup>&#</sup>x27;- a. a. 0. p. z5 u., zJ 7', -, 32i u.-3yz o., i2 *u.-qi* 8 o., 53 i u.

<sup>°&#</sup>x27; See note 66.

to treat my own dating as uncertain and to say that Nasik i8 [= No. i iąo Lüders'scher Zählung] may be late first century A. D.". The two opponents had based their argument on one and the same view of a third author, namely that of O Steins'o, who, because of certain palaeographical similarities with another Năsik manuscript, again wanted to place ours at "the end of the 1st cent. A.D.", but specifically for the two Junnar inscriptions from the

same reason to "the first half of the 2nd cent. A. D." thought 7°. Nevertheless

E. H. Johnston was not deterred by this to deal with his own time approach even more individually and to categorise the Näsik-Inschrift No. iò ( No. xiAo Lüders'scher Zählung) with the words: "it

cannot be earlier than the second half of the first century A. D., and more probably lies in the first quarter of the following century" '\*. Rash

E. H. J hnston and his dating was, as is clear from the context of the quotation, once again the architecturally-

historical circumstance that "this cave belongs in style to a group which is connected with Usabhadata", and, as we may add, the epigraphical fact that the same Usabhadata also occurs in a Nãsik-ln script (NO. Z Z2s Lüders'scher **Zählung)**, which in turn is connected by the same name with a Kärlë-ln script (NO. 9 Lüders'scher

counting) is closely linked. In the three cases mentioned above

are the same personality in each case, which now becomes chronologically significant for our train of thought in the sense specified above in that it can be fixed by a second personality, this time with a distinctly political-historical profile. Usabhadata is the son-in-law of the well-known (Mahã-) K atrapa Nahapăna, who is attested to by a seven-part group of inscriptions - three times together with his daughter and daughter's husband - whose content is densely interwoven.

The heuristic value for us lies in the fact that, with the centre of gravity in Näsik, it comprises one end-member in Kãrlë and one in Junnar <sup>75</sup> As encouraging as the uniformity of this documentation may appear, it is not the same.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;- a. a. 0.P- 3s i o. htan note the \\'ortlaut "may belong", whereupon \\'. \V. Tarn, a. of the last-mentioned body.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;° a. a. 0. P- 350 O.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ See note 66.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;- In the Lüders census: NãSİk NOT. 1131,3 2 (together with daughter *Dabhomitzü*), I I33, 113d (likewise), i i33; Kãrlö No. i o99 (together with daughter's husband *Usabhadatai*, 'Junnar ho. i i -q.

The Kãrlë-Newfound (with its key position No. I) remains outside the inscription-catalogue just presented: firstly, even in the latest special historical accounts, the chronological data regarding the years of Nahãpana's reign fluctuate considerably between yz and i2ą AD. Secondly, the Kãrlë new find (with its key inscription No. I) remains outside the above-mentioned inscription catalogue, and finally - at least as far as I can judge - there is hardly any plausible correlation between Mehendale's approach to the K ãrlë new find - "about the second century B. C. or a little later than that" (see above) - and the one for Nahapãna, even if we fall back on the more or less imprecise "last quarter of the first century A. D.", which is also undoubtedly included in O. Stein's considerations discussed above, V. W. Tarns and E. H. Johnston played their part. In view of these inconsistencies in dating, which have become particularly pressing due to the last factual reservation, I personally see no other information than the one mentioned above, which can be easily summarised as ioi-y2 BC.

\Virtue of the Buddhist missionary à'ona-Mahãdhammarakkhita, to combine it with the period of the Indian pepper export " - between i2O-\( \text{B} \) B.C. and the first post-Christian century - and then to combine it with the second century.

Inscription partner, Junnar, together with his chronologic - "Ist cent. 13. C. to 1st cent. A. D." (see above) - into a chronological relationship that is also quantitatively convincing precisely because of its qualified multi-layeredness. On the one hand, the fact that M. A. Ziehen-

dale's pointedly formulated "sometimes keeping a ridiculous margin of a century or two" 'o is also true and, on the other hand, as responsibly as every exact research will always reckon with the possible upheaval caused by unexpected finds, instances and facts ^, it seems to me to the same extent for the first fact.

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'^ \'gl. Insp u . R. C . ż l a j u m d a r , H . C. Haychaudhuri, Kalikinkar Datta, .Xn advanced Iiistory of I ndia, I.ondon i 950, p. io4 Õ m. : J. C. Powell-Price, A history of 1 ndia, 1. "ndon Pte. *9.55.P- *i 11 .-68 o. ; A comprehensi x e history of India. \'olume two. 'The ù I a u r 3 'as an'l üatavahanas 303 B. C.-A. D. 300. Edited by IN. .X. Ü ilakanta fiastri, Hour biiy -Calcutta-lladras•957. P- t1., ñ8 s. n. ; J. Ü. Banerjea, ibid. P- °7 - "See .mm 7* J. C. Powell-Price op. cit. = J. N. Baner jea op. cit. "See .mm. 3*. ã ă . O. p. *' * . 3 para. v. o. -° €"bt r dics'- Eventualitüt E. H. Johnston, a. first a. 0. p. z33 o.
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The dating of our three Fovsm manuscripts seems to have achieved a high degree of certainty due to the evident congruence between the statements of religious, economic and linguistic history - but at the same time also a high degree of uncertainty for the specific Konow position that we had assumed here.

The second issue identified above as a point for discussion, namely the geographic scope, the path and the form of the implementation of the *Brita* and *CUT* programmes, can and may be dealt with much more briefly than its predecessor. For St. Konow - as is already evident from the relevant part of the otherwise favourable statements by F. Kluge and A. v. Premerstein - has hinted at all three details as mere possibilities and conjectures (see above) or - more sharply formulated - has been able to hint at them, and these various conjectures of his, which I have outlined above, do not become provable facts by, for example, referring to them as G. Vernadsky t-95s. -959), by basing farreaching

conclusions based on phylogeny. When E. Schwarz (-953 and i g56) had not already said what was critically necessary, this necessary refutation would now in any case be found in the relevant parts of Alt- heim's Hunnenu erk, to which certain parts of his personal, sceptical letters to me

exciting introit, admittedly no longer in need of an excerpt

(\*959. Nos. i-3) provide a

form. Instead of having to go into the areas of so-called Greco-Buddhist art together with the Gandhära sculptures or into those of the Buddhist and Zarathustrian religious debates south and north of the Oxus, I can fortunately limit myself to the Vic et tion. For our specific case, this means that Write and Cita are proven to have been Indians, that as Buddhist (great) merchants they were called "Greeks" due to their special activity, which is also made probable above, and that for this very reason India is again the only tangible geographical area of departure, and the route described above to the Near East and the neighbouring areas of the (eastern) Mediterranean. The above-mentioned facts are emphasised by the fact that the route from Umcha pk]äka{a} to Junnar was even more real in the narrower sense. For from this genuine Indian settlement, wherever it may have been situated on the west coast or its catchment area.

one of the mentioned stiffs, *Cita* (Kărlë-Neufund No. I), with regard to whose identity with the *Ci a* mentioned in J-nnar No. i i82 (Lüders' census) there should be no reasonable doubt. Our three inscriptions do not report anything about other "journeys", neither directly nor indirectly".

The fact in third place, the so-called crimmatic and the vockation s needed for the name gate, could be dealt with in even more drastic abbreviation, because essential parts of Konow's overall hypothesis or its premises have already been removed. Nevertheless, this issue - like the remaining fourth issue - will be discussed below and refuted on the basis of St. Konow's specific auxiliary argumentation, as if the fundamental basis itself had not yet been fundamentally shaken. For the Norwegian researcher, the four factors.

namely the date of the two Junnar inscriptions (c. century AD and its middle), the corresponding date of the Crimean-Gothic ("not ... . before the beginning of the third century"  $^{(8)}$ ), which is described as "old"  $^{\circ}$ .

the sound change of this Crimean-Gothic ("in changing an old it to o when an n or o occurred in the following **syllable"**^) and finally the arrival route from the neighbourhood, which after some back and forth was claimed with priority

"of the Goths of the Crimea", a consistently harmonised unity whose harmony, however, is downright deceptive. For the fact that there really is disharmony is made unmistakably clear by the evidence presented on the two corner themes alone: the two Junnar-

Inscriptions together with the Kärlë-Neufund No. i are at least

A full century earlier than St Konov believed he could, and that the assumed route from the Crimea to India is lost in the twilight of unfounded conjecture, as the previous subsection has already sufficiently instructed us. The position of Crimean Gothic and its vocalism is not a hair's breadth better. It is true that St. Konow, with the vocalism obviously developed by R. Löwe's approach to time is still in approximate harmony today

<sup>°</sup> This to L. Schmidt or E. Schwarz (i 95ö), a. a. 0. p 9 -

<sup>^^</sup> A. first a. O.p. 38d m.

<sup>^</sup> Ibid. p. 383 u.

<sup>^</sup> Ibid. p. y8 y ut.

<sup>^</sup> Ibid. p. 385 above; see also above in the main text.

1ö8 AT LAG EN

on Germanic research and its views-°. But the here

a. a. 0. ("c. -3 ". .,c. 250 A.D." and ..300 A.D.") make the time cut between the probable age of our three Middle Clindoaric inscriptions and the age predicted for the Crimean Gothic.

only deeper and more insurmountable. A rather a priori assumption is, of course, the phonetic regulation postulated for this period. In order to demonstrate and support it at all, St. Konow, despite his explicit statement "Now w'e know next to nothing about Gothic dialects" 'St. Konow, despite his explicit statement "Now w'e know next to nothing about Gothic dialects", had to draw on material from the well-known glossary by the Fleming Ogier Ghiselin von Busbecq, "who was the emperor's envoy to Constantinople. He was an imperial envoy in Constantinople [and between 560 and i56z, from the mouths of two Crimean Goths, learnt 68 Crimean words and phrases, as well as the numerals of

\*--3. . 3O, So recorded" -- has. These materials are: krimgot. öogo "bow" and /towiinen "come""-; the two examples a r e intended to document the sound change schlüssig-° quoted above. My \'understanding

both remain closed. Neither can I öoge/Vu1fila-got. öiiigan

"(sich) beugen" with éowime'i, 'Wulfila-got. qimati "kommen" au1 éiner sprachgeschichtlichen Ebene zwecks gemeinsamer Bcweisaussage ver- cherten - denn im ersten Fall handelt es sich tatsächlich um eine -ii- Basis mit dem von St. E onow behaupteten Lautwandel, im zweiten da- gegen um etsx-as completely different, nämlich entweder um bereits idg. N ullstufe der "Wurzel", i.e. gßt -0, or a much, much later dialectal regulation, qui-o Kto-0, - nor do I see our author - just as little, by the way, as other users of this fact - making e v e n the most modest attempt to explain the in fact not at all

56s\*562 A.D./3 . century A.D. - let alone the time required to bridge this distance.

The categorical assumption that "there is no reason for doubting that this change is old in the dialcct. The categorical assumption that "there is no reason for doubting that this change is old in the dialcct" is not enough, in my opinion all the less so, as-s

<sup>®-</sup> E. Sch u arz, a. first a. 0. . 21 u. and p. z 3 u. and H. Rosenfeld, Die Welt als History 7. 1967, p \* 9 u. In the above order, the quotations from the main text are given above.

<sup>-&#</sup>x27; .4. first a. 0. p ib 3 -

<sup>^&</sup>quot; W. Streitberg, a. zuletz t a. 0.P 39 °. (§ I y).

<sup>-°</sup> E bel. resp. a. z.u eiten a. O. p. yj m.

<sup>&</sup>quot;° " \if i he fuldt berettiget til at sluttc ...".

<sup>-&#</sup>x27; .4 . first a. O. p. 3d3 u.

O. Hüfler's explanations" - only a few years ago demonstrated the i\late- rial belonging here in its real existence, which exceeds the iionoiv's two examples, but at the same time - critically read - in the problematic - neither given nor decided by the nor- ivegisclicn f'elchrten. Even if w'e did not want anything at all x on our Indian facts in this context, the least we could do, from an internal point of view, would be a very unambiguous "-s'on liquet".

The subject of the facts concluding Eonow's total hypothesis, namely the othern ame and its \view6 ftbecausedfortheindotel-Indoarisclietheorcticalprocession.

begins with a dissonance, but can nevertheless be led to a harmonious finaleby means of a consistent, rich instrumentalisation of the viabilities motivated by the noru'egic l-orclier itself. As is well known, the rendition of the C-otic name °° in (late) antiquity, if we disregard the nominal stem formation that only indirectly concerns us here, is complicated by the historical fact that the evidently uniform grouping of the early and earliest evidence is -ii-containing, but that this uniformity is almost conspicuously unbroken by a single, equally early and free early example with -ö-, and this, although in today's Con.sansus of the researchers, there is no doubt whatsoever about the originality of the -m- in the \root syllable. Converted into author's names: Strabo, Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy attest to the

-ii form with the examples roN"rc5°, G "forrs, rm"vt\$, while

- Ygl. Bl. Schtinfeld, \Vörtcrbuch der altgermanisc hen Personen- und 4'ölkernamen. Edited according to the translation of classical antiquity, Hci'Ielberg i 9 i i , @. 12O 0. -i 23°. z8q o.; \V. Streitberg (i 9 zo), a. a. 0. p. 6 u. and f. 11 st: S. l'eist, \'comparative \dictionary of the Gothic language with inclusion of Crimean Gothic un'l other scattered Ü In. rreste of the Gothic. Third newly edited and enlarged \edition, avoid i39, \* v. Gut-p t iiJa (without " addenda and appendices"); \\'. lirause, o p. cit. }i. (§ 3), O. Höfler (i 955), op. cit. p. q 5 i ö2 (i o.); ibid. (i 95Ö), op. cit. p. i 3'\*; Ii. Sch is arz (i 95 b), op. cit. p. Ü3 m. --liö 'i.
- 1"il ih r no r'igener l""sitionsu. ert in view of the niittelindoarisc h ambiguity of the \Vortform gafăiie(Iii): x gI. ht.:t. Slehendale. a. a. 0. p. b9 u. and f. (-J -1J'-k1inationl / p. 98 (-'ix-stems, jcdoc h "hnc genit. plur.-elege) / p. eq i m. resp. \*54p- I "T "S\$-DO9tiC tal'lcs"}..-\ uch \\'. I i rause, a. a. 0. sets mittelindoar. g'ifa('i) -an. Sl. Bl avrhufer unzu apt sofa-.
- 95 Sm jiingst also O. 1 Iöf lt'r (i 9551, p. 53° with the I.csung "- rouwovcs"

**<sup>91</sup>**:X. first a. O. p. j5 I -46- (i o.).

170 SUPPLEM ENTS

Tacitus interposes his variant *Got(Ii)one*. It cannot now be my task to pursue the question - discussed in detail by 0. Höfler op. cit.\* - why a phonematically singular -d- appears here (as elsewhere) instead of the -o- and whether this process may already be judged as a so-called a-umlaut. Nor does it fall into

my competence to follow the repeatedly occurring exchange between -uand -d-forms in detail beyond the second century AD, since this overall process is conveniently described in particular by

M. Schönfeld, but also by W. Streitberg® ' can be studied. Rather, the only task that logically arises for me from the context described so far is the critical examination of the question of which of the two variants, the -u- or -d- containing one, most likely served as the presumptive model for the name *Gata* -of our three Middle Indo-Aryan inscriptions. St. Konow, who conscientiously recorded the -u- evidence attested by Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy and was equally clear that "it seems as if the oldest form was an u-base and not an "-base" "®, opted, as we have shown above°°, for the -d-variant, i.e. in his spelling Latin. *Gofi* or Greek re-r80i, probably - without this being written in his own words - out of consideration for the date of the two J-nnar inscriptions, which he advocates. Soon after the publication of Konow's double essay, an expert of the calibre of W. Streitberg (IQ ii) - and exactly 23 years later another expert directly responsible for the subject - had already published his opinion,

W. Krause in E. Sittig - objected to this decision with explicit reference to the required -d-ness of the original, although the researcher mentioned in the penultimate place had not returned to this disputed point at all in his own publication (iQ53) and his predecessor, W. Streitberg (No. z), had declared the -d- "with Romans as well as Greeks" as "fixed""o-. Even more recently, 0. Höher, albeit before I had drawn his attention to the problem, which had already been blatant since 0. Stein's counter-statements'o', had said: "The -o- of the i. syllable of this

<sup>-°</sup> See note 9<-

<sup>-&#</sup>x27; (i9zo)- a. a. 0. p. 2 o.

<sup>°°</sup> A. first a. 0.P- 38z'.

<sup>°°</sup> See note 5g.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;00 A. last op. cit.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;°' Cf. (ig36), op. cit. p. i z'-.

However, the name is [sic!] - Go/- rather than a - Auf-" 'oo. There can be no doubt as to how my own decision will inevitably turn out. By working out Stein's scepticism towards Konow's hypothesis chronologically even more sharply than he has done or could have done, I take the view that, in view of my above-mentioned chronological determination for our three ga/dria(m) inscriptions, the ancient -u evidence, i.e. Strabon's testimony, should be given more weight. i.e. the testimony of Strabon, Pliny the Elder and Ptolemy - of whom 0. Stein aptly emphasises that he "wrote in the first decenniums of the [second] century, though his source may be some years earlier" '-\* - must be given their full due. Given the dating of the three classical authors mentioned - 6d BC-iQ AD. Chr., \*3-2Q a. Chr.'^, about ioo-ry8 A.D. - and with their matching congruence with my inscription dating, this leads to the conclusion that the Tacitus evidence Got(h! ones (about ioo A.D.) recedes into the second, if not third line for our considerations and that, as a consequence, St. Konow's -d-apparatus is severely affected. The above-mentioned consequence is emphasised by a fact which, known in its entirety only since iQ52, pushes the Tacitean statement even further to one side, but adds that of Ptolemy even more decisively to that of his predecessors, but which has not been included in its full scope by 0. Höfler, who only mentions it in passing'-^. My paraphrase refers to the fact, made fully accessible for the first time by the well-known Iranianist and Indo-Europeanist H. J-nker, that the name of the god appears in a completely unexpected place, namely on the tower walls (south, west, east) of the famous "ancient fire sanctuary of the Caesarean state church", "today called Ka'bä-ye Zär- delt ('Kaaba of Zarathustra')" '-', near Persepolis. This is the Greek or Parthian, i.e. Middle Iranian (Pahlavik) version of one and the same original, which has also come to light in a third version, i.e. in Middle Persian (Pärsiy). While the latter version, according to H. Junker's judgement "very poorly" preserved

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'°(i933), p. q5 {i.); analogue also M. Mayihofer.
'^ See above in the main text.
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<sup>&#</sup>x27;-- op. cit. p. 350 o.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;00 Ö. Hbfler (ig55), --- 'sJ rightly emphasises: "Pliny the Elder was between

i7 AD stationed as an officer in Germania for years". '00 Ibid. P 454'-

<sup>&#</sup>x27;-' op. cit. p. zgö o.

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Both the Greek and the Pahlavïk version are "excellently legible" and are characterised by the mention of Sãpíir I, "who reigned from zĄi-222", as well as by that of the nineteen-year-old, ząą AD. Chr., Gordianus II I. svie finally by the laudatory enumeration of the "three Roman campaigns of Shapur" 'o\* auí rd. zoo A.D. Chr. can be dated. Both versions contain the name of the god, the Greek in the form rouB8mv, but the Parthian in the form GUT, which according to H. Junker "because of the adjacent Greek -oU-" 'oo should be read as Gø/ or Gii/. However, the new find outlined above in the essential parts for us is also significant due to two additional circumstances: firstly, it is the only truly indisputable evidence on Asian soil compared to the claimed two [three] occurrences of the Gothic name in India - a document with an equally andfree -u-! -Then, in clear harmony with the other documentation of antiquity, it testifies to these Goths as a "people". The Greek version states unequivocally:

" rop6iovòS xoîcrap ózrò uóo rjs ç Popoíœv [sic !] '\* óp îjç roč00œv

" ": r' " o ø o ...". If we look back from this unique, actually Asian godname position to the syntactic-semantic result of subsection 3 b, a further barrier between all our previous findings there and the

Konow's overall hypothesis here ant. For according to what we learnt in 3b, the word form ga/ñiia(nt) can hardly mean anything other than the designation for a limited collective such as "family" or "corporation", but hardly that for a gauzes people. 6On the diversions, or rather approach, via Persepolis, we have thus actually reached Indian soil again and have reason to turn to the note cautiously anticipated at the beginning of this last subsection, to what extent "by means of a consistent, richer instrumentation of the possibilities motivated by [St. Konow] himself", we can create a "new language" that is different from the Indo-Aryan one.

the final solution, which then flows back into it. and can be implemented. The use of these funds prepares

<sup>\*°^</sup> The last four excerpts ibid. p. x9ö m. bzWp °97 . resp. 297 u. \*"" Ibid. p. 29 –

<sup>&</sup>quot;O M. Sprengling, The American journal of Semitic languages and lite- raturess 7. IV, 1940, correctly reads. 300 U. (in U mschrift t) "Römaiön", also E. Honigmann et A. Marieq, Recherches sur les *Res gøstae diri Saporis* (--.\cadémie Royale de 13elgique. Classe des lettres et des scienres morales et politiques. Mémoires. CoMection in -8°. - Tome a, I\', '-'531, E. 12 0., III m.

The Norwegian scholar expressly states that "the Indians have always been keen observers of sounds, and would not easily confound an o and an u" 'l', as could have been provoked by the double rendering of the name of God in the ancient authors, which has just been discussed more thoroughly. As far as 6 ehending we have already convinced ourselves that Konow's thesis that it could be

"det indiske ga/a . . . ikke gjengi en form gufa, men bare et gofa eller *gata* "\*!\*, can only be met with the utmost suspicion, so little can and may we, for the sake of the indispensable methodological principle, neglect a precise examination of this individual fact as well, and all the less so as O. Höfler in two particular places of his publications belonging here, within the bibliographically designated literature according to W. Streitberg and according to H'. Krause (in E. Sittig) and M. Mayrhofer (following him), Höfler has also recently considered the justification of the correspondence between the Middle Indo-Aryan-Gothic vowels of the two names *Brita*- and *Gaia*- <sup>110</sup>, which are related to each other by St. Konow's identifications. Firstly, it must be asserted that St. Konow's above assertion can only be upheld with a rather significant restriction, especially for our topic of proof. The Indian Vaiyä-

Since the days of the Vedic diaskeuasts via Yäska and Pär ini right up to the epigones influenced by them, karana's have produced some remarkable, sometimes even outstanding, linguistic works.

A. zU£-£St H. Op 3^3 < bzu . in the Norwegian 4'ersion, a. a. 0. p. y3 u.

<sup>112</sup> A. to Ictzt a. 0.

<sup>113 (953),</sup> a. a. 0. P 43-i or'- P 4i 4\*. However, his considerations x fulfil their immediate purpose insofar as the \'okale r and o in the Middle Indo-Aryan \\'ortIormen d "vadhomo, be, saqhe or pophi vo, bhojo-

Emma lapo regelmä0ig, i.e. long, the vowels in question in got. - Brita bzu' . - Gr'i-, on the other hand, are short. üo correctly and independently of me also ff. Mayrhofer. Yt'enn then, of course, N'I. in the phonetic-historical analysis of the two proper names, which are judged in the closest recognisable similarity to St. Ivonow, says that "a Germanic - c rt/a- . . a language so sensitive to qi,uantities sie !] svi'- the I ndian never 'sie ! ' by - *irifo*-" "li ättc", furthermore "that the god-name, -goi° to gaid-ialriil mu Ote" (sie ! ', sch lie0lich data x on " Indern . . both name forms [the alleged Germanic originals -eriJe- or \*iriie-] n u r [sie ! j durch irile- wiedergegeben werden" ,.could". such an opinion is rastially corrected by the rnitt'-lindoary factual material d presented by me. - In *podlii yo*, which ' on 0. H. is erroneously cited in the form *pod.hi yu*, no ii. appears at all. See also the following main text.

St. Konow has made a significant contribution to the analytical observation of their ancestral, intrinsically internal linguistic sound/word area'1', but has practically never worked through this area comparatively, and certainly not with regard to the by no means rare adoption of borrowed words, in this case those of Greco-Roman antiquity, into the monolingual vocabulary. St. Konow simply omitted to pay due attention to the latter, essential circumstance, although his eye had been trained and sharpened by the observation of such foreign bodies and their appearance in Indo-Aryan, which he had fortunately discovered 11. If the Norwegian researcher had remained unperturbed in his praise of Indian phonetic fidelity to these fundamentally limiting facts - for in view of his experience it may be assumed that he was familiar with them - he would inevitably have had to make **room** in his train of thought **for** two further groups of facts: firstly, the no less fundamental fact that a corrective of primary potency is available to us for the linguistic-historical judgement of the pre-criticism of the Scriptures in the roughly simultaneous adoption of Greek nomina profria ac apf'cllaliva, then the incomparably more concealed fact that this adoption is accompanied by a "folk-etymological" seeming process of incorporation, even fusion, in the course of which the vaunted phonetic fidelity of the Indians breaks down more than once. St Konow's alleged loan equation Middle Indo-Aryan Gata-/got. \*Got-, lat. Goti, Greek r6-rBoi, the above facts make it clear that, even if we were to accept the validity of his hypothesis theoretically, we should not expect a transcription \*G/Kat- in the first place, but with almost equal probability also  $*G/Kot-!^{1*}$ , far more likely than  $*G/Kot-!^{1*}$ .

- 'l- On which, summarising and most recently W. S. Allen, Phonetics in Ancient India. A guide to the appreciation of the earliest phoneticians, London9<sub>s3</sub>: cf. also the expert review by P. Thiemes, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen- land. Gesellschaft Io2, ig5 y, p. öö -ö66.
- '1- Mention should be made only of his apt remarks on the loan equation Greek öu'xyxoIo5/epotiiAoyo of the Middle Indo-Aryan Bajaur inscription from the time of the Greco-Bactrian ruler Menander (t between i 50-i 5 B.C.) (= Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland I939, p. e65 ---z66 0.); more of the same kind by him in partly quite critical illumination in 0. Stein,

<sup>116</sup> Siehe Anm. 113.

but rather \*G/Jfo/-(, which, as a diametrically different position, is the aim of all our previous evidence. But in addition

u.). The materials most recently discussed by E. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik Z. \*939. P- \*55F and f. *iii lolo* prove the accuracy of this prediction of mine, especially since the Gothic sounds g and d in question can be regarded as may well be judged equivalent to the corresponding Greek y and o, as in this case too loan equations sufficiently demonstrate (cf. W. Streitberg [iQzo], a. a. 0. p. a6 [\$.], p. y [20.]). With

E. Schwyzer a. a. 0., if we disregard the -I as a sound practically untouched by the transcription" and direct our undivided attention to the fully problematic phonetic state of the syllable - Go- (in Goth. - G òf- etc.), the following can be demonstrated: the initial guttural media would obviously have had to reckon with a double treatment, as the examples 'vrpær9yoû|sfraføgasa, Plò:fcrc|Maga-,

M0ba- '>Yo8ouñtoy/A balhuércyasa dartun"-. But no fewer than three variations would have been expected for the Germanic -d- presupposed by St. Konow, as the last example already reveals, since the Greek proper names with the respective o in the Middle Indo-Aryan umbrals are not in any way similar.

The vowels of both o and o - which, however, must be measured at a regular length "° - as well as  $\emptyset^{*\circ}$ -. The numerical ratio between the three representative vowels leaves no doubt that for ger- manic - Gdf- and its ancient representatives, \* $G/K\ddot{U}$ - is actually far more likely than \*G/KaI- and the roughly equivalent \*G/Kot- per anofogiatn. I quote the evidence: 'Awo7t o6ózouJA paladatasa, 'AwoH ' $f\ddot{o}vov/A$  pulaf'hanasa, 'Amtyovo;/ AntiAona-, 'Av-r xc / () 'f-\*--'''. 'T KÄ OUT J Abatku r $\phi$ yasa, AiotifjbouS / Ti yum':dasa, Hhiox tons / Hcli yuèreyasa, Beó6'''po / Thcu- dorcna, Hzohep'xioç/T $\phi$ ramdya-, Tulamaya-, Giho§évou / Pliilusinasa.

St. Konow's hypothesis is thus once again severely shaken in its very own area. Let us add the logical conclusion to this result.

<sup>&</sup>quot;' Cf. Aplv-rouJA mifese, o-rpærr yoü/sfratzgøsa, Tr ñtçouJ Tafipùasa.

<sup>11</sup>a The double treatment is emphasised by the fact that even in the later translation of scientific, namely astronomical Iørmini *føclinici* into Sanskrit -y-J-1-exchanges occur, cf. only {wyópJyaá--, ùwóyciop/

<sup>&#</sup>x27;l° See again note i i3.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;oo So also 0. Stein, op. cit. p. 353 u.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ Otherwise - vg1. also note i i8 - ów6x2upnJ':poàfima-.

If we add to this the numerically based insight that in the actual state of our evidence the Germanic-classical starting position - Gdi- is only imaginary and was only theoretically accepted in order to overturn it iii Qraxi immediately and so and so many times, then it follows immediately - as already anticipated above - that the only possible rendering of the name of the god in Middle Indo-Aryan inscriptions would be and would have to be \*G|Ku.t- 1\*\*. already anticipated - that the only possible rendering of the god's name in the Middle Indo-Aryan inscriptions would and should be that on \*G/Ku.t- 1\*\*, especially since - in view of the rarity of an -on transcription by means of Indo-Aryan phonetic substitution - there can hardly be any doubt about the o-colour of the interconsonantal -ii- of the original 1,0. This prognosis, for its part, is now supported by what has been said above about the second fact. For, as already indicated in the Greek-Middle Indo-Aryan material'on, we regularly have to reckon with "folketymological" influences in such borrowings - i.e. due to the purposes of better comprehensibilisation - which in our case 0. Stein, a. a. 0. P 34s u.-3s o.'o^ meritoriously

has concretised by his reference not only to the Sanskrit

but with equal emphasis also to the *nomina propria Gota*- and Goit§it/a- <sup>1°®</sup> attested in Middle Indo-Aryan inscriptions. From here, 0. Stein even ventures - admittedly in question form - the attempt of a possible restitution \*Gofntio/- *Gavatana*- analogous to the relation Middle Indo-Aryan. Yo'ia-/Varaiio- (of the Präkrit and Sanskrit). Whatever one may think of this last-mentioned, in my opinion superfluous attempt, the Stein'sclie real evidence in the form of the proper names Guf.a-, Go/o- and Goti§ufn- remains unaffected, not unlike the consequence suggested by it, which agrees with my line of evidence, that in the case of an actually proven unlearning of the Gothic-

us In this respect the misprint recognised to me by its author, E. Schwarz, in a letter of Oct. Oct. 93c, ( i 95f), a. a. 0. p. 8g o. depth- psychologically probably not without delang.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. however pcwoupövr}tio/Sanskrit mz}urntia-. The above-mentioned Greek genit. sing.-i"orms on -on unfortunately remain without probative value, because the genit. vic -ou has been rendered by regular ending-sa.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. only, for example, Toremdye-/Sanskrit *ture*- or Pfili *mä yä*- etc., a material which, however, would take me too far afield to emphasise here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>US</sup> Whereby he inaccurately and conversely like 0. Höfler - see .note•3 - his on the other hand, a. a. 0. p. 350 o. apparently the inlautende -'i- of the various Germanic gods' names a s long.

The inscriptional evidence for these proper names in 11 Lüders, op. cit. p. i SS, sp. r.

name into the Middle Indo-Aryan of the inscriptions again primarily with a f ranscription -G/If ml- or secondarily -G/Kot-, but hardly with \*G/KaI- would have been expected'o'. Qtr sørrimø: St. Konow's Gafa/Cofi etc. hypothesis need no longer be mentioned in future.

The definitive final consequence of the course of proof that has been followed up to this point can necessarily consist of nothing other than the analysis of thethree N am eqn G a la-, *I rila-* and *C i a-* with tels rein in do a ricalstates. Firstly, as far as Gala is concerned, I am aware of the following Trials known: J. Burgess and Bhagwanlal I ndraji Pandit have used the reading gaò4ñtia'ń/Sanskrit *garblubhya* for the first place of its occurrence. with the meaning "for the cells", but then immediately added: "but this is doubtful, and in No. 33 [Lüders'sche Zählung No. I i82] the "Ord is again used ø here such a meaning would not apply" 'o. The text of the Kãrlë-Neufundes No. i would in any case force the fixed

this impossibility. Jas. Burgess alone has proceeded from Sanskrit Gar/a-for the word form gafñtiø(øi), "which is the name of a district (a part of Trigarta or Kàngra) in the Panjàb; hence, Gatána may be translated 'of the Garta country' or 'of the Gartas' " l°-. Burgess's, phonetically unimpeachable'° interpretation has simply been adopted by H. Lüders for the two J unnar inscriptions, without

St Konow, a. zuerst a. 0. p 380 m. would have commented on this before justifying his persiin view. Opinion and refutation

of the originally purely Burgessian analysis can only be found in 0. Stein, a. a. 0.P 349 o.: "An Indian people, it must be admitted, of Gartas is not known; in some lexicons is found the explanation for garJa, containing *iider* 

*alia Trigartãmśc* (Hemacandra, Anekärthas. II, i63). resp. *TrigarłabMdc* (Medini), and Trigarfiftśe (Viśvakośa, quoted in the Väcaspatya); that is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> In an almost striking convergence with the o. statement, Gothic also offers u and o in addition to the already recognised regular equivalent Gothic oø/Greek š, as the examples in B. Streitberg (i 9-O) show.

a. a. 0. p. ą6 (5.); vg1. only *ap-uslulus J'Yw6a-rod S*, dinòuJøs/6i'kQohoç or *AnfioiiioJ'Ay-nbgtia*, MahidonzisJMfi t6bvt\$ *and others*.

<sup>188</sup> a. a. O. p. 43 m.
189 a. a. O. p. 934.

<sup>\*^</sup>o Significant for the treatment of the sound group -rf- > -t- in the J unnar group is the more frequent - Lüden'sche Nos. i i58, I i62.' 3• o\*+ i I66, I I6y - occurring word form mivefønõai (nominat. plur. n.), < aivørløaø-, "field"; so also

M. A. Mehendale, a. a. 0. p. y6 (§ i83 d I).

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hardly satisfying for an assumption of a real people of Gartas". My own extensive checks have confirmed the claim of Stein's criticism, especially since it can be extended by the two, in my opinion, significant points that Jas. Burgess has left the ethnic affiliation of these Carla's open (see above on Yaraoa-) and, in a renewed, consistent appreciation of O. Stein's syntactic-semasiological analysis, gatãna{m} cannot mean a "people". If we go back to this important result of subsection 3 b, since other points of reference are ruled out due to their remoteness, the following new interpretation presents itself, which not only has the advantage of corresponding perfectly to Stein's result, which has just been asserted once again, but is also correct in terms of phonology and meaning. Check the premises of my proposal for yourself! According to this, the word form gnfûna(tń) (about g'ifrótièm), which has been handed down three times, goes back to an initial theme Galra-, which appears as the masculine nomen prof'rium of a son of the Vedic R i Vasi ha "\phi n two different passages of the Viş9upurã9as. But the recurrence of the verse in other Purãnas also proves that it is probably based on a considerable tradition. Judging by this, it probably belongs to the time before the Guptas. It is not possible to say anything definite about its age or from which corner of India it originates. The entire Pañcalak a9a, perhaps with the exception of a few secondary additions, seems to have been completed in the Gupta period, naturally as the work of Diaskeuasts, who summarised the entire tradition of their time here." So much for the darkens- worthy written statement'00 by the currently undisputed best Purã9a expert, W. Kirfel. In my opinion, it is now, even in its more reserved parts, unexpectedly profiled geographically and chronologically by the three epigraphic ga/stia(tń) documents under discussion here. In favour of this proposal of mine, consider that Gñfra-> Gala- an

Namely altpers. A sogarta- "a northwestern province of the Persian Empire" R. G. Kent, Old Persian. Grammar. Texts. Lexicon. Second edition, revised. New Haven,
Connecticut, i g53, s. v., where Further.

mo From s Nov. 959- İ0 text passages can be found listed in the same author's well-known work "Das Puma Pañcalakṣan,a. Attempt at a textual history",

Bonn i 927.p. A2, ŶeFS IO/I I or p. z y8, verse i o/i I. What does not appear is the own-name Gif-"- in V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, The Purana Index i. ss. > p. XXV and -XXX above also dealt with the age of the Vigpu-Purăpa. Cf. also H. H. Wilson, The Vishñu Puräńa, a system of Hindu mythology and tradition, London i 8 o, p. 83 (= I, chap. to), p. 83-.

The likewise inscriptional pre-critic pair *Dasarato- Dasarālra-, r* tø- cr'ifra'^ has a sound-historically sound support and that the Gä/ra father, *Pasiş H,* via the '^ royal name *F'isi àfgo/a,* which is well attested several times in Kărlë as well as in Näsik, establishes a firm, indirect connection to our Gala's, who, for their part, would ultimately stand as a family in a series with the '^ family or corporate names of the CufnyaśR's, *DàamøfRya*'s, drawn here by 0. Stein from the Kãrlë-Neufund'^ family or corporate names of the CufnyaśR's, *DàamøfRya*'s and Yøsar'zdàaa't's or, for example, the SiàadRya's (from Kärlë NO. IOQ3 Lüders' ZäNung).

The second proper name, this time the personal name *Zrifa*-, did not receive its own analysis before St. Konow, since R. 0. Franke's attempt to read "Jri/isa instead of *Zrifnsa*" can hardly be chosen as such, quite apart from the fact that it has already been presented by its author himself with sufficient distance. The fact that we are actually "standing on far too uncertain ground" here - to quote once again from Franke's relevant passage' - was probably made clear once and for all long after him by 0. Stein with the positive statement "the reading is correct" '\*' beyond any discussion'. This brings us to the interpretation of the Norwegian researcher who, in connection with his general hypothesis of the next *§ro§rium* Grid-, specifically to known Germanic material, starting with Runic *Erila*, *Eirila* via "Anglo-Saxon sort, English Port, Old Norse, *url*, Old Saxon [and Old High German) *ør*/" to

"the ethnic name crufi, *crufi*" 'oo, by way of a loan equation and has met with much approval - as in the case of S. Feist, F. Kluge, A. v. Premerstein, O. Fiebiger, F. Altheim (Nos. i-a), G. Vernadsky (Igs-. -959), W. Krause, E. Schwarz (\*953, \*956), M. ôfayr-

H. A. Mehendale, a. a. 0. p. 55 (§ iò5 a), p. 55 u.-5ò o. (§ iò5 b, c). H. Lüders, op. cit. p. zoz, sp. 1. o.

<sup>^^</sup> a. a. 0. p. 3 8 (6. 2. 8.) orp- 344 1 1. In his "Index of personal namos", a. a. 0. p. i88, sp. 1. above, **H. Lüders** books the **gate as** a ..family", **but as a eżac sotche dcr \'evono.** 

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^\* Øeidc Excerpte a. a. O.

<sup>\*°</sup> Franke's alleged "Triliso", which 0. Stein, a. a. 0. p. 3§O' SitiCrtC BOg, is not found on the entire page s9s, not even in the "Supplements" (a. a. 0. p. God f.). This is obviously a printing error left by 0. Stein.

<sup>^°</sup> A. first a. 0. P- 3 ° "--3 °-

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hofer -, whereas W. Streitberg (IQL4) is more cautious,

H. Güntert and E. Sittig, expressed in the most emphasised form by O. Höfler (zQ55. a. a. 0. P 437.) and H. Fromm, open rejection finally by W. Streitberg (IQzo) "°. The last documented

This more or less sceptical attitude, which m. \V. has not yet been specifically pointed out in the discussion of Konow's overall hypothesis, finds a reinforcing support in the important fact that the Germanic clan united by the Norwegian scholar o. The fact that the Germanic clan united by the Norwegian scholar o. is neither undisputed with regard to its affiliation even within Germanic nor with regard to nominal stem formation and etymology at all, so that the silence of the Germanic lexicographers responsible for individual languages with regard to St. Konow's Brita analysis is doubly significant in view of the doubters who have already been named ". Now, however, our over-prialling, based on the Indo-Aryan, has produced the incontrovertible result that St. Konow's general Gaia hypothesis can no longer be accepted, a fact that has no other irrefutable consequence for the continuation of my argumentation than to refute once again from the Indo-Aryan position the individual opinion of the Norwegian researcher that the proper name Irila - "the regular Gothic form of a wellknown Germanic name" '\*o - was once attested in a Middle Indo-Aryan inscription. This refutation is not difficult, although St. Konow with his lightly expressed opinion, "Indisk eller iranst- kan det neppe vmre" 110, and independently of him also O. Stein with his, moreover contradictory, "Irila does not look like an Indian name"', do not exactly make such a rr/tifniio appear superfluous. However, both researchers have not recognised the further fact that

lao The compilation of the above scholars' names has been made dependent on whether or not a (positive or negative) d" facto reference to the Germanic Write clan was formulated in the underlying statements.

<sup>141</sup> An example is J. de Vries, Altnordisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Volume 5, Leiden 95, "-. jarf.

read A. first a. 0. 9. 380 U.

**<sup>14</sup>** A. second a. 0. P- 75 °-

I call O. Stein's statement "contradictory" because he says ibid. seven lines earlier: "Now, for the personal names the necessity to look for foreign etymologies is not given", and because this can only mean feiJa- in the first place.

The fact that a n essential figurative component of the name tri/a-, the suffixal nominal formans  $-(i)f\phi$ -, occurs quite frequently in the various personal names attested by the inscriptional præcrits, has been recognised in its full significance or - like **St. Konow** in particular - virtually overlooked. For the sake of the methodological principle, let us once again stick to the material of the J-nnar-Kärlë-Näsik group as the

Basis for all 3 I4) proper names Maratha-/(Ve aha-), *ZriJa*- and *Ci a*-, so we have the following examples: *Kapi* - (Junnar *No.* 1128 Lüders' census), *A gi/a*- (Kãrlë-Neufund No. 5), *SomilanaAa*- (Kärlë-Neufund No. 8), *Rebhila*- (Nãsik NO. \*3 Lüders' census). Exactly 59 further examples, if I have registered them correctly, can be found in the "Index of personal names" (a. a. 0. ]3. 181-2O3) or from the "Index of miscellaneous terms" (a. a. 0. p. Z-3-22A) in the Lüders' collection of inscriptions, to which is added the proper name restituted by 0. Stein, a. a. 0. p 354 (- i.)

/aøfh- occurs. In all of these cases, the Lüders' portion of which - except for the I will not present any more examples of the words that directly concern us and have therefore already been cited, i.e. with place of discovery and number, due to lack of space, derivation from purely Indo-Aryan word templates is given, even where H. Lüders does not refer to this template en pressis vcrbis or, as far as I can see, has made the literary proof somewhat easy for himself. A few examples may illustrate what has been said and at the same time illustrate the (for our purposes irrelevant) distribution of ant la- or -i/a-suffixes: A gila-/A guild-, Bhad(d)ila-/Bhadrila-, Budhila-|Buddhila-, Devila-|Devlla-, Ethammila-|Dharmila-, Gohila-|Gobhila-, Isila-/R Îfa-, Magila-/M gila-, Nã- gila-/k'úgila-, Sa pild-/Sar f'ild-1\*5. Within the group selected above and - it should be emphasised once again representative of the material as a whole, two examples may attract our particular attention for a few glances, namely because they show quite drastically how such connections of the Konov type occasionally come about without being able to claim validity. This is the pair Gohila-/Gobliila- and Magila- (to the latter of which I am obviously not adding its Sanskrit equivalent here). Who would think of

.Snsichtwerden von *Magila*- not immediately to got. øiairi/o, f. "girl "J got. øingii/a, m. "little boy", with *Gohila*-, 'Gobhila- "to the nhd. family-

<sup>&#</sup>x27;-- Not in every one of these cases - as has just been indicated - is it possible to refer back to a literary source, but always and everywhere to genuinely Indo-Aryan linguistic means, which is the only thing that matters here.

namen Göér/ ... (approximately with Low German phonetic form)"<sup>o1\*</sup>? Nevertheless, anyone who thought so would fall prey to ominous siren sounds, as is irrefutably demonstrated in each of the two cases here and there, i.e. Germanic Indo-Aryan, i.e. - "i "gyi--, magus\*\*\*/Migilo- or ahd. Gobbilo Godebald/Gobhila-. I know of only one example where a foreign name actually entered Indo-Aryan, or more precisely, Middle Indo-Aryan, in such a way that the impression that the Indo-Aryan suffixal nominal form -(i Klo-) was present could arise then and now". This is the word ki=• i> 'Paso, which appears in Kharosthi script on the coin legends.

of the Greco-Bactrian ruler xnilos (around the middle of the i century BC) appears with the equivalent Z tt) IAOY'\*". However, even a brief consideration shows us that this situation is fundamentally different from that assumed for the word form *irilosa*. While the former is in a firmly established historical situation and refers back to a genuinely attested Greek original, and in addition, in the sense of the above asserted insight, contains "folk-etymological" echoes in the precrit'^, the historical premises of the latter are conceivably obscure and the Greek equivalent simply does not exist'o'. After this thorough clarification of the terrain, I am in a position and, in my opinion, also entitled to make my personal proposal. In a nutshell, it aims to ensure that the

- 144 Cf. W. Wüst, Bulletln of the School of Oriental Studies 8, II/I\*\*. °93 . P 7° where also the further references, especially since pusiitri in the study there as a whole (\*- ^- P- 35- 73) summarising about the {old-) Indo-Aryan -iJe suffix {especially ibid. p @ss- 's (6.]).
- 141 The effect of Grimm's Law must also be taken into account, which again increases the distance to the old Indo-Aryan theme.
- i\*i So also recently in A. Debrunner, Nachträge zu Band I (der J. Wacker- nagel'schen Altindischen Grammatik), Göttingen jss 7. Q. 88 (i6q, °3-)
- 1ae Cf. also M. Mayrhofen, Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen i , 1956, p. -t ö o. On the chronological approach to this ruler and on the problem of whether two personalities of this 2'famens do not exist, most recently J. N. mnerjea,
   \*--- P-^77 ^--° 7 m. (with further script).
- 160 Note yoßi--- -"/Sanskrit yodßin- or joßiy'i- "a kind of poisonous reptile"/SansLrit *yodhihd*-. A. last a. 0. p. 863 m. is therefore rightly called emphasises "the strength of the Indo-Aryan sound association". Directly identical *'lohila-f-yodbila-* is of course missing.
- nt There is, as the relevant compendia show, my Greek proper name "lipo5 or 'lpiho\$, a circumstance that once again weighs heavily against S. Ldvi's Greene hypothesis discussed above. I am not aware of anything similar in Iranian either. In this respect, the intrinsically valuable, with

The nominal theme Write- underlying the word form *irilasa* was created by virtue of the liquida dissimilation'^o c\*Z/ifa-, which is well known as a phonetic-phonematic phenomenon and extends from monolingual Indo-European via Old Indo-Aryan to Middle Indo-Aryan, and which may have been preceded by two perfectly verifiable stem formation processes, separately or in combination. According to the first, \* *Ilila-* would be a nominal derivation, for example according to the form-association parallel altindoar. *rieche-*

"slime" picchila- "slimy", to Middle Indoar. ind- au, which, according to the texts and lexicons, appears both as aometi o§§r/- laliuum and as ma §rQrium and means as much as "earth" or "earth". various female personalities such as the daughter of a householder lfm, the mother of a king /a-inda, but also a local goddess resident in the city of Ilävardhana, characterised by the addition Dcvi, or finally a "devakumärikä in the northern quarter" '^. In the same context, one of the deities is also regarded as "the first of the eight Di4äkumäris residing on the western Ruchaka mountain" \( \frac{1}{2} \). A man - Zfim- MJrifo-

my above view conforming note 0. StcinS, &.  $^{\wedge}$  P 354 l- -) EUR "the often-occurring suffix -fu in personal name" has to be corrected: besides the - as I add - functionally only partial "exprmaion of affection", there is, as far as I know, the "exprmaion of affection".

no somehow bmclxalfenes "substratum", so that "thnt question [darelinns not with the words) may be loft open" is to be judged.

- 188 K. Brugmann, Kurze vergleichende Grsmmntik der idg. Sprachen. Anastntischer Neudruck, Berlin und Leipzig i9zz, p. i i 2 (§ i2q, i), p. z\$0 (§ 33 t, 3, especially c);
  - J. Schrijnen-W. Fischer, Einführung in das Studium der idg. Sprachwissenschaft mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der klassischen und germanischen Sprachen, Heidelberg i 9z i, p. zz\$ u. und f. (b): J \*-magel, Altindische Grammntik i, i 89ö, p. zz i (§°93 b Anm.} together with A. Debrunner, a. zuletzt a. O. p. i zz u. (zz i, i y bzw. z6}; R. Pischel, Grammatik der Prnkrit-Sprachen, Stra0burg i900, p. i ö9 (§ z i). With the possibility of liquida dissimilation, admittedly in a completely different direction and on the basis of the erroneous reading trifiso cf. Note i 38 also reckoned by O. Stein, op. cit. p. 35d.
- F. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary. II: Dictionary, Now Haven-London r953, s. v. with Tinet proof each from Mahñvastu and Lnlita-vistara.
- M Shatadhvani the **Jaina** Muni Shri Ratnachandraji Maharaj, An illustrated Ardha-Magadhi dictionnry e, igzy, s. v. On the whole, as the evidence in Hargovind Das T. Sheth, op. cit. s. vv. ffd baw. *Iläputfa* additionally confirms, almost exclusively texts deoJ canon and here predominantly of geographical species. On the matter cf. W. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder nach den Quellen dargestnllt, Donn und Leipzig i 9zO, Q. 23 \* t^io^o UCh \*. ^. P- o5 o). where the Dikkumäri's appear as jinistic "genii of the celestial regions", while ibid. p. ig5 u. (see also p. i96 above) the devakumiriks'e "GöHermkdchen" of the Buddhist Pnntheon.

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could stand in a devotional relationship to one of the three last-mentioned female genii or goddesses, suitably characterised by his name. It remains somewhat questionable that the founder of J unnar must be a faithful Hinayãna Buddhist for dating reasons (see above). In \recognition of this very circumstance, the second possible lineage already indicated therefore seems preferable to me. It boils down to recognising a hypocoristic short form in I rila- \* I lila- and combining this with the law of the Indo-Aryan naming system.

or range of variation '55 to a full compositional form.

back. It now seems to me hardly a coincidence that such a compound is again present in Middle Indo-Aryan, namely in the form of the proper name  $Il\tilde{a}$  putla-, and that the tradition reports "®:

"Elãchi Kumãra a son of a merchant of Ilàvardhana town; he was enamoured of an actress and had become degraded but later on he got right knowledge and became a monk". \Even if, quay cum its sint, a primordial connection between the Buddhist Irila of Junnar and the certainly Jinist Ilâ pull a from Ilãvardhana is not yet demonstrable, the traditional accessories common to both religious communities in the sense of the Bacaøa definition clarified above seem to me to be so typical not only in terms of social and u'irtschaftsgeschichte, but above all also in terms of the history of faith, that in the aspects of action

m. In my opinion, this can be seen without any reservations as a cultural-historical underpinning of my linguistically autonomous Zrifa analysis '^'.

188 A. Debrunner, Die Noininalsuffixe (in J. W'ackernagels .4ltindischer Grammatik 2, 11). 954. P 3°3 1§ 23 i a§ with the particularly noteworthy pair dsrila-/ devadalta-j or Betty Heimann, Studia Indo-Iranica. A gift of honour for V'ilhelm Geiger, Leipzig i 93-. P 39

ice Shatadhvani the J aina Muni Shri Ratnachandraji Maharaj, a. a. 0. s. v. The texts are: the Jamb üdx-ipapraj ñapti and the j'hānăn ga- or Pañcapratikramanasútra. 157

Prăkrit ifô- ultimately leads bakto the feminine ilă-Ji "rã-" rennet, earth, name of a goddess (Durgã) as well as several female cienia", which has been handed down since the Veda. ¥N'as the - primarily or secondarily - associated with it.

'iotnc'i propriiim Sri/a- again, it could also be betritted via - Write- with can be combined with a Sanskrit y'orlage -.4 *irila*-. Denominative Vçddhi alone is practically unattested with Old Indo-Aryan -(t)/a- Sultíx: cf. e.g.

A. Debrunner, a. zuletzt a. O P 36a -3 4 (if \*30, 23i)/ebd. p. b6z-B65 (  $\S$  öqz, f93, b'-sonders p. \*\*5 °, Schlul3 des i . Abs.). In addition, the sparse and also heterogeneous (-ai-)/-r-/-i materials in the three 1ndices of the Lüders'sclien

I nschriften-SammIung is not a very favourable starting point for this assumption. Cf. also it. A. Slehendale, a. a. 0. to my Arim. i ö3.

In contrast to St. Konow's now definitively refuted ZNia hypothesis, his Germanic interpretation of the last persona nania *Cita*- still to be discussed was also modified in Germanic terms right at the beginning or soon after the appearance of the two publications to such an extent that the return to the methodologically closest area, namely the Indo-Aryan, appears to be the only possible catharsis. The processes which lead precisely to this point are: the Norwegian researcher had szt. run. Ifcfdii/got. *?fifd*- as the forms to which *"Cilta or Cifla"* was added via a mediating template as "the result in a Prakrit dialect . . Cifa or *Cilta* [would correspond], both of which would be written *Cila"*. His opinion summarised at the end of the interpretation:

"It is therefore quite possible that *Cila* is an attempt at reproducing the sounds of a Gothic name ?fifd-" [10], however, had already been criticised in the Norwegian version immediately afterwards by his compatriot M. Olsen. Olsen, who, for his part, found it more promising with regard to a Gothic attestable -o-/-ii stem vowel exchange "det germanske mandsnavn -*Sbelduz*, der formelt er samme ord som appellativet 'skjold', gotisk *séiJdiis*" '6° - with accessories in Old English [Sc yld) mtd in Old High German (Scilt, <sup>††</sup> Scilto). Alternatively, M. Olsen, a. a. 0.

p. 2Q o. also the extended Germanic theme \*Sbcldtean- (nominat.

-Sbcldma, genit. \*Sbilduins, without, of course, explaining or even verifying the necessary sound transitions up to the prescriptive precrit. This is because the argument put forward a. a. 0. p. 2ß m. or p. 2Q o. in the closest connection to St. Konow could by no means be accepted. With his "improved" analysis, however, M. Olsen fared like St. Konow immediately before him. In their place (with the inclusion of Konow's), in what was, in my opinion, the first paper, that of S. Feist, another proposal was put forward by Th. v. Grienberger to S. Feist against the two Norwegian scholars, namely that the Middle Indo-Aryan personal name Cita- should be borrowed from the Ostrogothic male name Tzi/ia, a. a. 0. still augmented by Old English Tid[d)a, m. n. pr. Since these years iQiz-I9\*4 opinions have fluctuated as to the origin of the

n. pr. Ci/a-, especially as it differs from the already 1883 by Jas. Burgess *in/er-prelatio indoarica* is not yet taken into account, even by

<sup>\*^^</sup> All quotations a. first a. 0. p. 38i, hub /incm of z. para. of o.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;-- a. a. 0. p. y8 u.

- H. Lüders does not'^. Without mentioning the name Cie- at all, and consequently without having to take a stand on the analyses just outlined, the following help themselves: F. Kluge, L. Schmidt, W. Wüst (Nos. I-3), E. Sittig,
- S. Gutenbrunner, E. Schwarz (ig56). The only references to Konow's hypothesis, and that with an obvious attitude of irritation, are by W. Streitberg (i')xd), H. Güntert, Suniti Kumar Chatterji a. zuerst a. 0. and 0. Stein, who also includes the proposals of Th. v. Grienberger and M. Olsenin that order. As already mentioned several times in previous contexts, Konow's overall hypothesis and thus also his special hypothesis on *Cie* in W. Streitberg (igzo), while an authority such as the Indian scholar Suniti Kumar Chatterji -9z6 for the first time, but subsequently completely ignored, gives the correct reason why the bridge that St. Konow attempted to build between the Germanic approaches ?faIfa, *Hild* and the Middle Indo-Aryan Cie- could not be crossed. For "this change of '-ld-', or '-lt-', to '-t-', however, is late, and occurs as a sporadic case apparently in the Southwestern MIA. [Middle Indo-Aryan] of the

Transitional period" '^'. That consequently the Junnar inscription, which was first published by Suniti Kumar Chatterji a. first a. 0. moreover in "the 2nd century A. C."

The fact that the term is used here not only for dialect-chronological but also for dialect-geographical reasons is obvious. Thus, what remains is the agreement of some scholars with Grienberger's modification, although none of them - as indicated above - refers to Suniti Kumar Chatterji's criticism: apart from

A. v. Premerstein, who took a position three ,} years before the Indian researcher, neither 0. Fiebiger nor F. Altheim (Nos. i-q) nor G.Vernadsky (i95i) nor finally E. Schwarz t-9s3) But even this reduced *consonsus* is not the uffima *ratio*, it cannot be, as the concerns of W. Krause but completely ignore the - from my personal reference to the

<sup>&#</sup>x27;-- Nor in his "Index of personal names", a. a. 0. p. z8ö, Sp. 1. o.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;o' loc. cit. p. q85'. The Indian author, op. cit. p. i 2 u., z8 u. of "zoo B. C.-zoo A. C." lets the "transitional stage" last. Note that St. Konow, a. first

<sup>-</sup> P 3 m. merely operates, i.e. without concrete examples, with a possible phonetic representation of the Indo-Aryan "modern vernaculars" and makes no attempt to prove this substitution by means of conclusive individual examples in I oschrift precriticism. In M.A. Mehendale a. a. 0. the sound development -fi-, -fd- > -1/d-, as far as I can tell, is not dealt with at all.

0. Stein's critical scepticism, which has not remained untouched<sup>100</sup> - a statement by 0. Höf- ler that has remained constant throughout three publications. While W. Krause judges <sup>2^</sup> that "the name Ci{e [is] . . more difficult to interpret, perhaps to be placed with Ostrogoth. *Tsilla*", and M. Mayrhofer calls the "equation with the Ostrogothic name Tsiffo

uncertain". Tsiffo", 0. Höfler (Ig3WiQ58, Nos. Z-3) shows that "Tziff" (together with variants) is indeed a "repeatedly attested Gothic name"· name", but that from all the examples collected by daltlr not only the Indo-Aryan, *Cifa*, but according to him also

the earliest non-Indo-European (39s AD), Zita, should be excluded as "probably rather a Roman female name", so that "only dated evidence of the 6th and early 2nd century" remain. One would hardly be inclined to skip over this clearly and highly erected time barrier in favour of the last of the three demonstrably more than problematic Ciis interpretations. The uf/intn ratio is therefore the already

*intzrprziatio ittdonrico*, which has existed since 1883 but remained latent until 0. Stein and M. A. Mehendale. It consists either of a link to the Sanskrit model *Caitra*-, a common 6fannes-

name - as Jas. Burgess indicated most succinctly, i.e. merely by a parenthetical reference l^ - or, phonetically much more probable'^, to the man's name *Citra*-, which has been handed down freely and abundantly from the earliest monument of Old Indo-Aryan, the Rgveda, to the most important literary branches of Middle Indo-Aryan\*^, as this, according to J-

- . Burgess, 0. Stein and M. A. Mehendale advocated 'o'. As a precaution 0. Stein ibid. objects that "Cita does not quite comply with the rules of a Skt. Citra which corresponds to a middle-Indian Citta" or Cilo\*\*®, but immediately invalidates his own objection by stating that the
- '-° See above note ioi. In my own Anglistic research into Old English. Tid(d)- F. Schubel-Mainz /reund1ichst supported me.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;-° See above note 57 or M. A. Mehendale, a. a. 0. p. 5z (§ i6i b: "ST. Cait---> <t!°-L(üdere'sche Zählung 2'fo.] i i 8z, but the derivation is rather doubtful"}.

^^° Cf. G. P. Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pili proper names -. °937. p. 86s °- >-F. Edgerton, a. a. 0. s. v. Citco-, - Shatadhvani the J. na Muni Shri Ratnachandraji Mabaraj, a. a- -. 9\*7. p. 7• , Sp. r. m.; Hargovind Das T. Sheth, Paia-Sadda-Mahappavo, Calcutta r9z8, s. v. citto-; 0. Stein, op. cit.p- 350 m. ("a negama (merchant] in a Bha {{iprolu I[nscription] (Wp. fnd., II, P 3° · ° °) a called Citaka").

''\*\* I.c. p. 35o, soö /iuzin des i. Abe. von o. bzw. p. 2o (§ i 8o a IV). izz Ibid.

that "the cerebralisation in Cita may be due to the same circumstance to which Yavana owes its cerebral n in nos..4 and 8 above and \*3 below" [of the pre-critic inscriptions discussed by him <sup>1</sup>^-). With the premy own analysis, which was arrived at after independent and lengthy investigations; the final result is completely "°.

4. the g o o d - conclusion: the question "Goths in India", which formed the main title of the previous study, must be strictly answered in the negative. As a result, all the direct conclusions drawn from the positive answer to this question for the personal names Ari/a- and Cila-, as well as the sound, dialect, general cultural and, in particular, tribal-historical conclusions of an indirect nature that can be drawn from St. Konow's

Germanistic hypothesis by its author himself<sup>7</sup>, but also

have been derived from G. Vernadsky" and others. In particular, there is no "Junnar-gotisk" of M. Olsen". Methodologically, an approach has once again proved its worth, which, in the face of difficult findings, after a critical examination of the most completely collected

- '-- No. iog3 Lüders'scher Zählung, where, however, I can discover neither in J as. Burgess a. a. 0. nor in H. Lüders a. a. 0.; Kärlé-Neufunde Nos.\*. 7 (identical in content with the above No. xe3 and here, however, the reading yocotiaso);
  - No. i i So Lüders'scher Zählung ( Vonabo-). See also above note• 7 < spontaneous cerebralisation of our inscription group cf. also M. A. Mehen-
  - dale, a. a. 0.p 7 ° ufld f. (§ i 80 d I), while ibid. p. yg (§ i 85 a II) can be read about the rule correspondence (-)fr-  $\geq$  {-)f-.
- \*\*° An Iranian model is probably ruled out from the outset in view of the cultural-historical situation that has been determined, although Saken otherwise occur in the inscriptions as a matter of course: the evidence in H. Lüders, op. cit. p. zo9, sp. 1. m. Remarks in 0. Stein, op. cit. p. 3 3 and also A4oka's contemporary *Tu§äs pho (in* H. Lüders, a. a. 0. NO.9\*5 but in Sanskrit). Nor would awest. °-ci 8ra-° and the
  - H. Lüders, a. a. 0. NO.9\*5. but in Sanskrit). Nor would awest. °-ci 8ra-° and the materials in F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, Marburg
  - 93. p. i 6j, sp. 1. f. resp. p. 99 s. v. but from Sakiechen, where instead a phonetically developed form *tcara*, *lcira* etc., which is difficult to reconcile with Cila. "face" lizw. °-cira in *pitcira* "visible" (according to frdl.

According to If. W. Bailey in a letter of 3. Jan. iqöo) actually survives. Nor is there probably any connection with the Sanskrit word

ci toto-, m. in question, which the commentator Därila used to gloss häridcaua-,

m. "a certain yellow bird" (cf. M. Bloomfield, The Sacred Books of the East4  $\,$  z,  $\,$  i b9y,  $\,$  p.  $\,$  z66 o. and m., ibid., The American journal of philology  $\,$  z i  $\,$ ,

1900, p. 326 0.).

171 A. zweiten a. O. p. 77 0.

172 1951 und 1959.

\*''\*-\*'. P-77\*,- 77-

The position of the specialist literature in this field has an independent, internal l'\* status. Comparative analysis always and everywhere has this autonomous status and its most contradiction-free exegesis as an indispensable prerequisite.

< requirement.

Note to above p. I6o u.- i6i o. and to p. i62 - i6g o.: in the The series of purely summarily negative judgements also includes the J W. Marchands, Orbis y, - s. p 493 °., who likewise only knows of two inscriptions, the occurrence of the name of the Goths and two personal names for "uncertain" and, incidentally, Idg. Forschungen 65, iq6o, p. 2oQ u., is very critical of the complex Ilrimgothic, Crimean and Busbecq-JYtat.

i'- Analogue in 9zasi so, for example, also F. 0. Schrader. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland io39.p 6o6 u. -6oS, where "two unexplained names in the Milindapadha", namely *Mańhuza* and *Sobbodinna*, two councillors of this Graeco-

Bactrian ruler, contrary to W. W. Tarn's suggestion (*Pasor* of the Parthian or *Sobbadolos* of the "more or lees hell nised Anatolian") have also been interpreted from genuine Indo-European linguistic means (*larva-[datto]/di no-* or  $ma(\tilde{n})\hat{e}ur/la-\dot{I}$ . Like F. O. Schrader, E. H. Johnston has already written for .fnòònzfiøna,

<sup>• -</sup> P- >3 ' -- procedure (first component Forno-°).

#### **ENCLOSURE 2**

# RABBAN SAUMÄ'S JOURNEY TO THE

# TVESTEN 7-

One of the "most charming parts" (A. Baumstark, Gesch. der syr. Lit. 326) of the biography of Mär Yabal- lähä III and Rabban Saumä preserved in Syriac is the account of the envoy to the courts of the Christian West. An invaluable monument to Nestorianism in Iran, this report is characterised by the vividness with which the encounter between Eastern and Western Christianity takes place, by the wealth of information of every kind, and by the rapporteur's sympathy. It would only be possible to exhaust what has been communicated if the church historian, the Mongolianist and medievalist, and not least the connoisseur of medieval art, were to work together.

After our honoured co-researcher N. Pigulevskaya presented the entire biography in Russian translation', it seemed advisable to us to make at least this main section available in German. We would have achieved a great deal if we had succeeded in eliminating the grossest corruptions of Bedjan's text. The translation makes no literary claim. It is intended solely to facilitate understanding of the Syriac original, which is not easy to understand in terms of language and subject matter.

"(t2 Bedjan) i7örr dir Reise Rohbau fiaumä's zu den Länder der Römer im Namen Känig Aryun's und dos Kotholiéos Yaballähä.

... His (the Catholicos') love for the house of King Aryün (i z8¢-gr) was extremely ardent, because he (Aryün) loved the Christians with all his heart. He had **resolved to** invade, subdue and conquer the lands of Palestine and Syria. (He said to himself:) 'If the western kings, who are Christians, do not help me, my intention will not be fulfilled'. He therefore asked the Catholicos to give him

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Istorija Mar Jabalachi III. i Rabban Saumy (ig58).

<sup>°</sup> C. Brockelmann, Lenic. Syriac.- (= B.) 47° - under site).

there was a clever man (a8 Bedjan) who would be suitable and appropriate for the mission, so that he could send him to those kings. When the Catholicos saw that there was no one who knew the language except Rabban Şaumã, and he found Rabban aumă) capable of it\*, he ordered him to undertake the journey.

About Rabban Şaumä's journey to the territory of the Romans.

Rabban Şaumã said: 'I am eager and eager'. And immediately King Aryûn wrote him instructions to the kings of the Loners and Phrygians (§rdgayć) [that is: the Romans) and (gave him) yarliq\* as well as letters and gifts for each king in particular ^. He gave Rabban Şaumã (for his personal use) zooo øiif%J in gold, together with thirty good riding animals (presumably including draught and pack animals) and a plaque denoting his dignity°. When he went to the ł ö' to receive a letter from Mär Yaballähã, the catholicos, and to take leave of him, the catholicos allowed him to set off on his journey. (kg Bedjan) But when the moment of departure came, it was not pleasant for him (the Catholicos). He said: 'How will it be? You were the administrator of the @llltã, and you know that as a result of your departure my duties will be ^ disorganised'. When he had spoken such words, they parted from each other in tears. The letters and gifts that were appropriate he sent to the pope with him, gifts according to ability.

# (Rabban Şaumā in Byzanz)

Rabban Şaumã set off, and with him went a number of lecturers from the priests and deacons of the @fIftñ. He arrived in the land of the Romans,

<sup>° &</sup>quot;Charters and ordinances concerning the administration": G. Vernndsky, The Mongols and Russia (iø53) io9; N. Pigulewekajs, a. 0. th Arim. 3i; E. Wallis Budge, The MonLs of K0blài Khän (ige8) òq plnte V; r5e plate XIII.

<sup>°</sup> B. 566 1. 90izä, chins. jet-tic, mongol. sdnkdr; see G. Vernadsky, a. O. iz5.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;This means a corio: administrative and residential building equally comprehensive. In addition vg1. arab. @ffiyo and those Toffoc that have entered into the names of the circom-ccffiones; most recently H.-J. Diesner in: Wissonschaftl. Ztschr. der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Ges.-Sprache. VIII (1959). ^00; \*00\*\* 53 and the literature cited there.

<sup>°</sup> B. 88 r.

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which embraced the shores of the sea from that point onwards," and looked at the church there. He got into the ship, and his comrades with him. There were more than 300 people on the ship, and every day he comforted them by means of the

\Vortes about the faith. The crowd of people sitting on the ship were

Romans, and because of the spice of his speech they honoured him (Rabban S'aumä) in no small measure. After days he reached the great city of Istanbul. (5 Bedjan) Before they entered, he sent two youths to the court of the emperor to let (him) know that the envoy was king

Aryün's had come. The emperor ordered some to meet them and escort them in with pomp and honour. When Rabban Saumä had entered, he (the emperor) appointed him a house, that is, a flat, as his residence. After he had rested, he went to the emperor Basileios'. And when he had greeted him, the emperor asked him:

'How are you regarding the exhaustion due to the sea(voyage) and travelling fatigue? He (Rabban S'aumä) replied: 'With the sight of the Christian emperor, the fatigue fled and the exhaustion vanished. For I was very eager to see your emperorship - may our Lord preserve it.

After they had refreshed themselves with food and drink, he asked the emperor to allow him to see the churches and tombs of the house of the  $\S$ 'eters and also the relics of the saints there. The emperor gave Rabban 5aumä to the great men of his empire, and everything (s I Bedjan) that was there,

showed them to him. First, he entered the great church of Sophia, the 360 doors, all made of marble <sup>l</sup>. But no one can describe the dome of the altar to anyone who has not seen it for themselves, nor can they tell the extent of its height and size. There w as an image of Mary in the church, which Luke the Evangelist had authorised. He (Rabban Saumä) also saw the **hand of** John the Baptist and the relics of Lazari and Mary Magdalene, and also the stone that had been placed on the tomb of our Lord after Looseph (of Arimathea), the councillor, had taken it down from the cross: Mary wept on that stone; until now the place of her tears is moist, and as often as that moisture was removed, it (the place) became moist again. He also saw that jar of stone in which

On the eastern side of the Black Sea it reaches the Byzantine coastal area somewhere. Inaccurate N. Pigulevskaya, l.c. O. i 3z ATITfL 32.

<sup>&</sup>quot;O In reality it was Andronikos I I Palaiologos i-82 -+ 3\*. Or is QnnlÄco to be understood and interpreted as a gloss?" B. 3> 7 °-

7

our Lord had changed water into wine (52 Bedjan) in Cana (%fnd Pši tă: Joh. z,i) of Galilee. Likewise the shrine (yhmøwózopov) of one of the saints, which is taken out every year; every sick person placed under it is healed. {Then) the shrine of St John Chrysostom. He saw the stone on which Simon Peter was sitting when the cock crowed. Also the tomb of the victorious emperor Constantine, which was made of a certain reddish stone (porphyry), and the tomb of Lustinian, which was made of greenish stone. Likewise the resting place of the 3-8 fathers, who are all buried in a large church<sup>10</sup>; their bodies have not decayed because they have strengthened the faith. They also saw many sarcophagi of the holy fathers and many amulets

and statues (ir- úrñ a corr.), assembled from ore and stone.

So Rabban Şaumã (finally) approached Emperor Basileios and said: 'Long live the emperor for ever! I thank my **Lord** that I have been honoured by the sight of these sacred sarcophagi. Now, if the emperor permits, I am going on to fulfil the command (s3 Bedjan) of King Aryün. The order, namely, that I should visit the land of the Franks [prangãyc corr.; §rõgãyd codd.)'. Thereupon the emperor

He gave him gifts of gold and silver.

# (Rabban Ṣaumā in Italien und im großen Rom)

From there he went to set sail. He saw on the shore of the sea a settlement of the Riims, and in its treasury (he saw) two shrines of silver, one of which contained the head of John Chrysostom, the other (the head) of the pope who had baptised Emperor Constantine. He (Rabban aumã) plunged into the sea and reached its centre. He saw on a mountain that smoke rose from it all day long and fire appeared on it at night. No one can get near it (the mountain) because of the stench of sulphur. It is said that a great monster lives there"; that is why it is called "Meyer of the Dragon".

18 Altbciæ, Hunnm Ill

<sup>1°</sup> B. q8z 1. under 5): "gemma rubicunda".

<sup>&</sup>quot;Neither in R. J anin, La géographie ecclésiastique Byzantine 3(\*953) flOCh iei Synaxarium eccl. Constant., ed. H. Delehaye ( i gon), have we been able to find anything of this. These are the 3 8 \*'eters of the Council of Nicaea, the only one recognised by the Nestorians; cf. Chron. of Se'ert 3, 505, a Scher and also i, 263, A; 2; 2\*2, Ir: -76, 9; z8z. i o: zqo, i 5. Likewise Bërïi'ni, chron. hqs. 7 Sachau. N. Pigulews- kaja, a. 11. 89, has left the passage unexplained. 'gl. nor Chron. x t'n Edessa, ann. i 3f'; t'hron. min. i , j, io f. G uidi.

<sup>&</sup>quot;B . 8z8 r.: "belua marina, draco".

<sup>&#</sup>x27;° d-'i/a/yã corr. ; d-ãycJy'i Bedjan : wordplay with d-i àfy'î.

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Feared is '^ that sea: many ships "  $15_8$  Bedjan) of men perished in it. After two months he came (again) to the shore of the sea (on land), after much labour, toil and pain, and landed

at the city whose name is Napoli: the name of its king was ir-rd *d-krdlu'* \*® (Charles II of Anjou). He (Rabban Saumä) approached the king and told him why they had come. He (the king) received him kindly and honoured him. There was (just) a war going on between him and another king <sup>18</sup>, deSSefl Nämt2 ir-rd *d-arabön* War JJ k b I

of Aragon xz s-9s) Those (of the second) army came in many ships;

As for this one (the first), his armies were ready; and (so) they waged war against each other. They defeated ir-rd *d-arapön* the king *ir-rc d-Irdltr*, killed of them (his warriors) 12 OoO men, and sank their ships into the sea, while Rabban Saumä and his comrades sat on the roof of the house and marvelled at the custom of the Franks, how they never wounded anyone, except those who were among the fighting men.

heard. (55 Bedjan) From there they travelled on horseback (or: chariot) on land. As often as they passed towns and villages, they marvelled that there was no valley free of buildings. He (Rabban S'aumä) heard on the way that the pope (Honorius 1\'. x z 5-1282) had died.

Days later they arrived in the great Rome. He entered the Church of St Peter and St Paul, because it contained the aef/ilä of the papal see. After the pope's death, the see was administered by twelve men called cardinals. When they held a council to appoint a (new) pope'r, Rabban Jaumé sent to them: 'We are envoys from King Aryiin and from the Catholicos of the East'. The cardinals ordered them to enter. A Frenchman accompanying Rabban S'aumä instructed them that if they entered the Pope's effila there was an altar there -,

te dmtiil ( - dfiil-hfi) is written without ls according to the pronunciation.

<sup>17</sup> Feminine, cf. Th. Nöldeke, Kurzgel. syr. Grimm 's4 below.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1s</sup> Cf. Barhebraeus, chron. Syr. q8¢, i 6 rädap ans "King of France". fr-ce is: il ré. Ii srdJw is usually interpreted as Charles or similar. Most recently N. Pigu- lesvskaja, a. 0. i 5z noteis The preceding d- speaks against this.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Sarduli, inhabitants of Sardinia, which belonged to the Angevins from the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

16 J'li. Nöldeke, a. 0. i Sg f. § z5 i.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> B. z fi9 r. gives laJ 1'i6 "quamquam", w-which does not fit here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Einfaclit-s 9d9fi in contrast to m'ir /'dpd, the designation of the particular papal person.

They should kneel before him and then walk forward from him <sup>i56</sup> Bedjan) to offer their greeting to the cardinals. So they did, and it pleased those cardinals. When Rabban Saumä entered with them, no one stood before him, for such was not the custom of these I2 because of the dignity of the (papal) chair. They called Rabban S'aumä to sit with them. One of them asked him: 'How are you after the hardship of the journey? He answered him: 'As a result of your prayers I am cheerful (bassim corr. dittogr.; öessfinä codd.) and calm'. He said to him: 'Why have you come here? He said to him: 'The Mongols and the Catholicos of the East have sent me to the pope in the matter of Jerusalem. They have also sent letters with me. But they said to

him: 'Now rest, and then we'll talk to each other'. They pointed and brought him there.

After three days the cardinals sent (and) called him. When he had gone to them, they began to ask him: 'What°° is this neighbourhood? And where did you come from? He spoke the same (52 Bedjan) words. They said to him: 'Where does the Catholicos live? and which apostle missionised your region?' He answered them: 'Thomas, Addai and Mares -° have proselytised our region. We still uphold the orders they gave us. They said to him: 'Where is the chair of the Catholicos? He told them: 'In Baghdad'. They began (again):

'You, what position do you have there? He replied: 'Deacon of the @ffffa, teacher of the pupils and generalo\* visitator (wspio6eü-rrjt) I am'. They said:

'It is strange that you are a Christian and a deacon of the patriarchal throne of the East and yet you have come in a legation of the Mongol king. He said: 'Know, our fathers, that many of our fathers travelled the lands of the Mongols, Turks and Chinese and missionised them. And today the Mongolian Christians are numerous. There are sons of kings and queens (58 Bedjan) who are baptised and profess the Messiah. There are churches among them (the Mongols) in the army (camp: 'nnfri/'i, above i, Ito). The Christians are highly esteemed. And also among them (the members of the army) the believers are numerous. The king, because he is united in love with the Catholicos and has the intention to conquer Palestine and

<sup>^</sup> Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. I\*7 § 22 i end.

<sup>^</sup> klares (mry) was a pupil of Addai: R. **Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus** z (igo i) i99y; 2z z5.

<sup>\*\*</sup> B. r o8 1.

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He has chosen and sent me for this purpose, because my speech finds favour with you because I am a Christian. He has chosen and sent me for this purpose because I am a Christian.

They said to him: 'What is your creed? What do you believe in? (Is it) the one followed by the Pope today or another? He replied: 'We are Easterners; no one from the Pope has (ever) come to us. For the holy apostles whom I have mentioned have proselytised among us, and what they have handed down to us we hold to this day. They said: 'In what way do you believe? Explain your faith.

The faith of Rabban Şaumä that those cardinals demanded of him (to hear).

He answered them: 'I believe in *one* God, the invisible, the eternal °^, who is without beginning and without (5Q Bedjan) end. (This means:) Father, Son and Holy Spirit, three persons who are identical in essence and not separated, with whom there is no one who is earlier or later, younger or older; who are one in nature, but three in persons: the Father is the originator, the Son the creator, the Spirit is the outpouring one'. (He said°':) ,after (òa- rdya corr.; òe-Ar't'ff codd.) a certain time one of the persons of the royal trinity, namely the Son, entered completely into man: Jesus, the Messiah, on the part of

Mary, the Holy Virgin. He united with him (the human being)

wpooĞwy, and in him (arising) he saved men. With regard to his goodness he was born of the Father in an eternal way, with regard to his humanity he was born of Mary in a temporal way. Unity means inseparability and indivisibility in eternity; unity (means) that there is neither fusion nor mixture or combination. This Son is (such) that unity comprehends the perfect God (60 l3edjan) and the perfect man in himself, *two* natures and *mci* persons, (but) riti wpócrmwov'. They said to him: 'Does the Holy Spirit proceed from the Father or from the Son, or are they separate? He replied: 'Father, Son and Spirit, are they one with the other

<sup>°^</sup> B. 627-

<sup>°°</sup> B. ao9 r. The following is briefly summarised in Mas'ùdI, mørt4 2, 328, 9 f.

<sup>^&#</sup>x27; Resumption of the d- from the beginning of the speech (58, i 6 Bedjan).

<sup>°°</sup> Resumption of the d- from the beginning of the speech.

united in what concerns nature, or separated? They replied:

'¥'united in what concerns nature; separated with regard to (its) Î6io'. He said: 'What are their i6ict?' They said: 'That of the Father, generation; that of the Son, generation; that of the Spirit, outpouring. He said: 'Which of them (three) is the cause of the other? They said: 'The Father is the cause of the Son, and the Son is the cause of the Spirit'. He said: 'If it is so, that they are equal in what concerns the nature, activity, power and dominion, and the three persons are one and the same, how is it possible that one is the cause of the other? It would (moreover) be necessary (6I Bedjan) that the spirit also be the cause of something else. But this speech goes beyond the confession of the wise. We find no ezerriQJiøn adequate to this speech of yours. Behold, the soul is the cause of the hö varf and the Olo\$, and not the hóyoç is the cause of the 3íoc. The nQoiptt of the sun is the cause of the lustre and the \heat, and not the \heat is the cause of the lustre. So, on the other hand, we think that it is beautiful that the Father is the cause of the Son otid for the Spirit and that they are both caused by him. Adam begat Seth and brought forth Eve, and these are three as far as generation and production are concerned, but they are not different as far as human nature is concerned. They said: 'We confess that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, not as we have said; we have only tempted your sanctity by speech. He said: 'It is not right that two or three or four should be the cause of any one thing; rather, I think, this is not in accordance with our confession'. They opposed his speech (6z Bedjan) with many ezempla, yet they respected him on the basis of his speech.

He said to them: 'I have not come from distant places to dispute, n o r to teach things of faith. But I have come to be blessed by the Pope and by the saints. And to communicate the word of the King and the Catholicos. If it is good in your eyes, let us leave the disputation. You let this be said to you and order someone to show me the local churches and the tombs of the saints. You are showing great kindness to your

<sup>^&</sup>quot; B. 3 i8. 1; Th. Nöldeke, a-\_ 73 230 ' Ätt had Atf. Here both times iiú written without à according to the reading: tfaihânû koi; Iti.

<sup>\*\*</sup> B. 743 -

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Servant and your disciple. They summoned the prefect of the city and some of the monks and ordered them to show him the churches and the places of the saints there. They immediately went out and visited the places we will now commemorate. First they entered the Church of St Peter and St Paul. Below the shuttle there is a voóç in which (63 Bedjan) the body of St Peter lies. There is an altar above the chair. The altar inside that great sanctuary has four gates, and each gate has iron doors with images (or omaments). The pope celebrates at the altar; no one but he stands at the bench of that altar. Then they saw the Chair of Peter, on which they seat the pope when they install him. They also saw a piece of pure (or fine) linen on which our Lord had imprinted his image and which he had sent to King Abgar of Edessa. The size and splendour of that holy altar is indescribable; it stands on io8 pillars. There is also another altar where the king of their kings receives the laying on of hands - called the king of kings ampror - from the pope. They say that after the prayers the pope takes the crown at his feet and clothes him (the emperor) with it. (64 Bedjan) But he puts them on his (the Pope's) head, as a sign that the priesthood rule over the kingdom, they say.

After seeing all the churches and monasteries in the great city of Rome, they went out of the city to the church of the Apostle Paul. His tomb is also under the altar, and the chain with which Paul was bound when he was brought here is there. As for that altar, on (or: in) it is a shrine of gold, and in it is the head of Stephen, the witness of the blood, and the hand of Ananias, who baptised Paul; the apostle Paul's staff is also there. ¥'rom there they went to the place where the apostle Paul was martyred. For they say that when his (Paul's) head was cut off, it sprang up three times, and each time it cried out: 'àlessias, Messiah! From the three places on which it fell arose springs, each there, and they brought about healing and help for all the afflicted. In that place is a great sanctuary (65 Bedjan), in it are bones of the blood witnesses and victorious fathers; they (Rabban aumã and his company) were blessed by them. They entered the church of Herein ùlaria and lohannes' the Baptist, and they saw in it the skirt of our **Lord**, that unsewn one. In that church is the table at which our Lord offered the Eucharistic sacrifice, and then

The Pope celebrates the Easter sacraments at that table every year. There are four bronze columns in that church; the diameter of each one is six cubits. They say that the (Roman) emperors had them brought from Jerusalem. They saw there the baptismal font in which Constantine, the victorious emperor, was baptised; it is made of smoothed black stone. The pillars of that sanctuary are 14° in number1 (and) of white marble; for the church is large and expansive. They saw the place where Simon Peter disputed with Simon (Magus), where he fell and broke his bones. From there (coming) stepped

They went to the church of Our Lady Mary. A shrine of beryl was taken out for them (Rabban aumã and his companions), in which there is the dress of the Lady Mary and a piece of the wood on which our Lord slept when he was a child; they also saw the head of the Apostle Matthew in a shrine of silver. They also saw the foot of the apostle Philip and the arm of Jacob, the son of Zebedee, in the apostle's tomb there.

church. Then they saw buildings that no speech can describe. There The discussion of buildings, which requires lengthy speeches about what needs to be explained, was therefore left aside.

Then Rabban aumã and his companions returned to the cardinals, and he thanked them for deeming him worthy of the sight of those tombs and their blessings. Rabban aumã asked their (the cardinals') permission to now travel to the king inland°1 from Rome°°. They allowed him to travel, but said: 'We can give no answer until a (new) pope is appointed' ^. From there they went to the land of Tuscany and were (there) treated with honour. From there (62 Bcdjan) they went to Genoa. This is a city in which there is no king, but the inhabitants appoint a great man over them whom they wish. When they heard that an envoy of King Aryün had arrived, their chief went out with the whole crowd, and they let him (Rabban aumã) enter the city with honours. There was a large church there under the h'amen

<sup>-&#</sup>x27; lieu is used in the sense of **twró5**: It -rot twvó\$ "inwards". The C-idea requires that a **king tv-r6s 'PĞpr ç, beyond** and outside of Rome is meant. Similarly N. Pigulevskaya, a. 0. \( \textit{B6} \) and Barhebraeus, chron. Syriac. Add, i\( \textit{i} \) I.

<sup>\*-</sup> This refers to the king x-on France.

<sup>° \</sup>Vieder simple 9opa inn contrast to other *mâr păp5*.

San Lorenzo *sänlöranzä* corr.; *sén'ifortiiy'i* edd.), of the saint; in it is the holy body of St John the Baptist in a shrine of pure silver. They saw a hexagonal bowl of emerald. Those people (the Genueses) said to them: 'This is the one from which our Lord celebrated the Passover with his

The younger ate, and when Jerusalem was conquered, it (the bowl) was brought'. From there they went to the land of the Lombards <sup>3</sup>' and saw the people there who did not f a s t on the first fasting Sabbath. And

When they asked them: 'Why do you do this and separate yourselves from all Christians?', (68 Bedjan) there (§aaiiiii corr; *fr-:fanniu* codd.) they answered:

This is our custom; at the beginning of our conversion, our fathers were weak in faith and unable to fast. So their teachers commanded them to fast only for so many days'.

(fiaé6a'i Saumä in. France odcr Frangeslän)

Then they went to the city of Paris to the King of the French ^. The king sent many people to meet them, and they let them enter with honour and much pomp. For his lands (the way through them) extended the span of a month and more. He appointed a place for them. After three days, the king of the French sent one of the prefects to Rabban S'aumä and summoned him. When he came, he (the king) stood up before him, honoured him and said to him: 'What have you come for? And who sent you?' He said to him: King Aryun and the Catholicos of the East have sent me in the matter of Jerusalem. And he told him e v e r y t h i n g he knew and gave him the letters he had with him and the gifts he had brought. The king of the French answered him:

If it is the case that the Mongols, although 3<sup>^</sup> they are not Christians, because of If we fight with the Arabs for the conquest of Jerusalem, then it is all the more fitting for us to fight and go out with an army if our **Lord** wills it'. Rabban Jaumä said to him: 'Now that we have seen the glory of your kingship and beheld the splendour of your strength with the physical eye, we ask you to order the sons of the city to show us the churches, tombs and relics of the saints, as well as everything,

<sup>^</sup> Überl. onöär, with omission of the supposed Arabic article, which is in the peroriginal (P. Bedjan, Introduction X).

 $<sup>^{\</sup>circ}$ ^ Here and  $\ddot{o}$ 9, z f. me/As *prans is*. This refers to Philip IV the Fair i z8s\_ i <

<sup>^^</sup> B. z69 r. Line 6f.

what is found with you, but not elsewhere. So that when we return, we can show and tell everywhere what we have seen among you. The king then commanded his prefects: 'Go (and) show all the marvellous things that are with us, and then I will show what is with me'. The prefects went with them. (20 Bedjan) They (Rabban Saumä and his companions) stayed a montho-' in that great city of Paris, and they saw all that is there. For there are 30 Ooo scholars there who study the ecclesiastical teachings, exegesis and also the profane of teachings: namely the explanation (of the teachings) and exegesis of all the sacred scriptures, as well as spiritual science, that is: philosophy and rhetoric, likewise medicine, geometry and arithmetic, the teachings of the spheres and the stars, which they constantly endeavour to expound. All these (scholars) receive (their) maintenance from the king. They saw in a great church there the shrines of the kings who had fallen asleep and their images of gold and silver on their tombs. There are soo monks in the service of the burial house of those kings who eat and drink (as) the king's (maintenance) and who are constantly engaged in fasting and prayer at the burial house of those kings. And the crowns of those kings and their weapons (2 i Bedjan), likewise their garments on those tombs - in general, everything that was beautiful and magnificent, they saw.

Then that king sent for them and called them (Bar Saumä and his companions), and they went to him in the church. They saw him standing at the side of the altar and they made him the greatest. He asked Rabban S'aumä:

'Have you seen what we have to offer? Is there nothing left f o r you to see? He (Bar S'aumä) thanked him. Immediately he went up with the king to an upper part (of the altar) made of gold; the king opened it and took out of it a shrine made of bery11 containing the crown of thorns that the rulers had placed on the head of our Lord when they crucified him. You can see the crown in the shrine, even when it is not open, because of the purity of that beryl. There is also a piece ° of the wood of the cross in it. The king said to them:

'When our fathers took Constantinople and plundered Jerusalem, they brought these sanctuaries from there'. We congratulated the king,

<sup>•</sup> B. 3OQ 1.

<sup>^&#</sup>x27; B. S8 1.

<sup>®®</sup> B. 3g 1.

<sup>39</sup> B. 96 r.

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and we urged him to order us to return. (2\* Bedjan) He (the king) said to us: 'One of the great prefects who is with me I am sending with you to answer King Aryün'. He gave him gifts and splendid clothes.

### Rabban Saumä goes to the King of England)

They went away from there, that is, from Paris, to go to the king  $^{\prime\prime}$  x on England to Saxonia- $^{\circ}$  (the land of the Anglo-Saxons). When they had reached their city in twenty days, the sons of the city met them and asked them: 'Who are you? They answered them:

We are envoys, and we have come from afar from the eastern seas. We are envoys of the king, the patriarch and the kings of Mon- gol'. Those men went in haste to that king and instructed him. He received them with joy, and they were admitted to him. The people of Rabban Sauma immediately gave him King Aryun's instructions and the gifts he had sent him (the English king) with the letter from the Catholicos (z3 Bedjan). He was very pleased. But even more so when the matter of Jerusalem was mentioned: his joy grew. He said: 'We, as the kings of these cities, bear on our bodies the cross as a sign, and we have no thought but

to this matter. My desire was increased when I heard of what I had thought of, that King Aryün was also sitting on it. He ordered Rabban Saumä to perform the sacrifice of the Mass, and so he performed the blessed mysteries while the king and the sons of his kingdom stood by, and the king received the host. The king organised a great drinking feast that day. Then Rabban S'aumä said: 'We ask, O king, that with regard to the churches and sarcophagi which are in this place, you order that they be shown to us, so that when we go to the sons of the East, we (can) report (about them)'. He replied: 'So may you tell King Aryün (and) also the sons of the East all: we have seen - and nothing is more marvellous than this - that there are not two confessions in the lands of the Franks, but that fnonly) one confession: that for Jesus, the Messiah.

<sup>&</sup>quot; - 7 <9 °-

<sup>-&#</sup>x27; Eduard I. i 2 / 2- I3O7

<sup>^\*</sup> *Mathä* . *Inä ylar la-ke äuy'i*. 'Z ur Deutung des Überlieferten x-gl. P. Bedjan Sy. z Note z. \*# B.3g2r.

### 2. RABBAN SAUMÄ'S JOURNEY TO THE WEST i z8y-8

because they are all Christians'. He sent us many gifts and expenses (6crrrdv'xi) ^'.

[ q Bedjan] (Rabban !Saumä returns to Rome)

From there we came to spend the winter in the city of Genoa, and when we got there we saw a garden that resembled paradise. Neither its winter is cold nor its summer hot. Throughout the year you can find greenery in it and trees whose leaves do not fall off and which are never deprived of fruit. There is a kind of grape berry there (in the garden), which the vine bears seven times a year, but wine is not pressed from it.

At the end of winter there came from the land of the Germans (afmati'iii corr.: *nltnädän* überl.) an outstanding man who was the Pope's visitator to go to Rome. When he heard that Rabban S'aumä was there, he went to greet him. When he entered, they offered each other the

€-greeting and kissed each other in messianic love. He said to Rabban S'aumä: 175 Bedjan) 'I have come to see you. For I have heard about you that you are a good and wise man, and also that you know the

You intend to go to Rome'. Rabban S'aumä said to him: 'What\*7 do I say to you, beloved (and) honoured one? (I can only say) that I have come to the Pope in an embassy on behalf of King Aryün and the Eatholikos of the East because of Jerusalem. Behold, a year'® has passed (now already

passed), and no pope has (y e t) been appointed. What should

When I leave, will I say and answer the Mongols? Those (the unbelievers) whose hearts are harder than stone want to conquer the holy city. And those to whom it belongs do not care; nor do they regard this matter for anything. What we, when

We do not know where we should go. The visitator said to him (to Rabban Jaumä): 'Your words are true. I will go and communicate all the words you have spoken in their wording to the cardinals and urge them to appoint a pope.

- " 439 : .Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache z. I- a . 38; i Hof.
- -\* Empty Transition of the narrative from the third person plural to the first (so also already 17. I6f. Bedjan) is important for the sake of the ancient '\Vir'-Dcrichte: k. North, :tgnostos 'Fheos (Ncudr. s6) 3\* s
- \*^ Or: which are never without fruit.
- \*' Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. ¢6 g 68.
- -- Usually top 7o, i Dedian. '° B.
- 5 r.

Æ4 BE ILAGES

That visitator set out, went to Rome and informed the council ( $m\phi l L \tilde{a}$  corr.; ntn/\text{a} Bedjan); the council (then) sent the pope (a °°. (26 Bedjan) On that day he (the visitator) sent an envoy to them that Rabban aum\text{a} and his people should set out. As soon as the envoy arrived, they set off in haste for Rome and arrived there in zs days. They asked: 'Who is this pope they have appointed? They told him: 'That bishop who spoke to you when you first came, Nicholas by name' °". They were very happy. When they arrived, the pope also sent people to meet them: the metropolitan with many people. Rabban aum\text{a} immediately approached the pope while he was sitting on his chair. He (Rabban aum\text{a}) approached him with a bow, kissed his feet and his hands and (then) stepped back with folded hands  $^{616}$ . He said to the pope:

May your throne, O our Father, endure for ever and ever, may it be blessed (in dominion) over kings and peoples everywhere, and may peace reign in your days over the whole Church (y2 Bedjan) to the ends of the earth. Now that I have seen your face, my eyes are shining.

eyes, so that I do not go to the places of the East with a sad heart.

must. I thank Scott that he has honoured me with the sight of you. And he (Rabban Ş a u m ă ) gave him (the Pope) the gift of King Aryün with his letters as well as the gift of Mãr Yaballähã the Catholicos [meaning: the gift] and his letters. The pope was pleased, expressed his pleasure and honoured Rabban aumã more than usual. He said to him : 'It would be nice if you celebrated the feast days with us ^o and saw our customs'. For that day concluded (literally: was) the first

Half of the Lord's fast <sup>5</sup>. He replied: 'Your command is high and sublime'. The Pope assigned him a monastery as his home and appointed servants for him who were to procure everything he desired.

-The text in Bedjan is incomprehensible. According to what is said, the 4'isitator can only report to the cardinals, i.e. to mefáõ (me/ld is meaningless). The following *hânau d en /-mar* Qdpa could be understood as an apposition to rue/l'i:

"the one who had to ø-approximate the pope". However, what follows here leads us to expect an announcement about the enthronement of a new pope, which has now actually taken place at the insistence of the visitator. One has to add cairn; thus: lã-iaii pāpā (akim).

the 1-tøăr

<sup>&</sup>quot;- Nicola us IV. i z88 - i z9z.

<sup>^&#</sup>x27;b B. 8z r.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;^ B. ş z\$ r.

<sup>^</sup> B . joz l.

After a few days, Rabban aumã said to the Pope: 'I want to perform the sacrifice of the Mass so that you too may see ensarr's custom'. He (the pope) ordered him to perform the sacrifice of the Mass as he had requested. On that day many people gathered (to see) how (28 Bedjan) the Mongol envoy performed the sacrifice of the Mass. When they saw (it), they rejoiced and said: 'The language is different, but the rite is one and the same'. It was that day on which he performed the sacrifice of the Mass, Sunday *aiiieii* ñsyñ 6'. When he had celebrated the sacred ceremonies, he approached the Pope and greeted him. He said to Rabban Şaumä: 'God will accept your sacrifice, bless you and forgive your guilt and sins'. Rabban aumã said: 'In union with the forgiveness ^o of guilt and sins which I have received from you, O our father, I ask of your fatherhood, O our holy father, that I receive the Eucharistic sacrifice from your hands, so that forgiveness may be complete for me (tnfaraßi corr...;

'øfaøtfya codd.). S^ be'. He said: 'So be it'.

On the following Sunday, which is Palm Sunday ('édñ d-õJa'tić), thousands and tens of thousands without number gathered before the throne. They brought branches of the olive tree and he blessed them. He gave (of it) to the cardinals, likewise to the metropolitans and bishops, likewise to the prefects, likewise to the great ones, and likewise he gave (of it) to all the people. He stood up from the chair (2Q Bedjan), and with splendour they carried him to the church. He entered the choir (in German: Hans der xóyyp B. 6y2 r.) and changed his clothes. He put on the robes <sup>5®</sup> of the (holy) service, red ones, which were decorated with

The authors did not have sufficient knowledge to determine what this might mean. N. Pigulevskaya, op. cit. O. 9 i, interprets "lot u'rać" as a hymn, without explanation. The edition of the 13 reviarium juxta ritum ecclesiae Antiochenae Syrorum inn syrischen Tezt (y vols., Mosul i 1880-96) was not available. Bèrúni, chron. 309, i i says that the Nestorians, like the Melkites, celebrated the beginning of the fast and the great Hosiannah. This fell on the last Sunday before the breaking of the fast (Bër úni, chron. 303, y f.) and coincided with Palm Sunday. It was the sixth since the beginning of Lent, and our text mentions it immediately below. Since half of Lent was over, the third or fifth Sunday after the beginning of Lent (on a Monday: Bóríini, chron. 303. 7) can still be considered for the one asyd mentioned. For the fourth was after 3-, s two arconsecrated to the martyrs.

<sup>55</sup> B. 246 l.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>circ}$  B. 389 -. Without change: " ... the perfect one ". Th. Nöldeke, a. 0., st  $\,$  § top F.  $^{\circ}$  B. 53 1.

<sup>58</sup> B. 373 l.

gold, precious stones, hyacinths (g "inøtøe)  $^{\circ}$  and pearls were interwoven, up to the footwear  $(s\tilde{o}n\tilde{n}\ j$  of his feet [meaning the shoes (tnsäiid)]  $^{\otimes}$ . He entered the altar and turned to the |3íjpct. He verdo1metsched--', taught the people and celebrated the sacred acts. He first administered the Eucharist to Rabban aumã after the latter had confessed his guilt and he (the Pope) had absolved him of his misdemeanours and sins like those of his fathers. He was very happy Rabban aumã) to receive the Eucharist from the hand of the Pope. He received the Eucharist with tears and weeping, thanking God  $^{\circ}$  and reflecting on the blessings of love that had been poured out on him.

Afterwards, on the day of the holy Passover, the pope went to the church of St John the Baptist, after many people had gathered. And he went up to the large gallery there, which was covered (with carpets) and decorated ®°. In front of the gallery is a large forecourt ^o. The cardinals, metropolitans and bishops entered with him and began (80 Bedjan) the prayer. When it was finished, the pope interpreted and exhorted the people, as is customary. No sound was heard from the crowd except 'Amen'. When the Amen was spoken, the earth trembled from their (the people's) groaning. From there he (the pope) descended and went before the altar, he consecrated "the O1 of the jiúpov [that is, the Ol of the Olung]. Then he celebrated the propitiatory sacraments and gave them to the people. He descended from there and entered the great sanctuary. He divided (and) gave to the pious men, each one two leaves of gold and thirty bracteates ( ż §arQarè) ^^ of silver, then he went out. The pope x'er- gathered the members of his @J/ifd, washed their feet and dried them with an oiv6Gv tied entirely around his loins. When he had completed the rites of the great Passover, he organised a great banquet in the middle of the day. Servants placed each person's portion

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59 B. 307 l.
60 B. 454 l.
-°- This refers to the interpretation of St Schmitt, vg1. J. B. Chabot in: J ourn. Asiat. i 8gG, 6ö.
°' B. 6a i r. under a.
^- D. 6zo r. below.
B. 22 z r.
B. 7° 7° *· , ,auxit".
^^ B. t'o5 l.
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of food. There were about zooo guests. When the bread from the meal was taken away (from the table), there were (only) three hours left of the day.

(8i Bedjan) The following day, on which the Passion of our Saviour fell, the Pope clothed himself with a black qlppo\$, and all the bishops likewise; they came out unshod and went to the Church of the Lord, Santa Croce (lit.: the venerable cross). The pope bowed and kissed it (the cross), then gave it to each of the bishops. When the people saw it, they uncovered their heads, fell on their knees and honoured it (the cross). He (the pope) interpreted and exhorted the people. After he had shown the cross on (all) four sides and the prayer was completed\*', he offered (aifi corr.; er-ai/i codd.) the sacrifice of the Passover and placed the wine beside it. But the pope took only for himself of that sacrifice of the Mass, because it is not customary among Christians to offer the sacrifice of the Mass on the day of our Saviour's Passion. Then he returned to his lullaby.

On the day of Easter Sunday evening, the Pope went to church. The writings of the prophets and the prophecies about the Messiah were read. He set up the (baptismal) bowl<sup>o</sup>® and arranged myrtle branches around it. The Pope himself celebrated the baptism. He baptised three boys and made the sign of the cross over them. He (then) entered the choir, took off his Passion vestments (8z Bedjan) and put on his vestments, the value of which is incalculable. He then celebrated the sacred ordinances.

On the Sunday of the Resurrection, the Pope entered the holy Church of Our Lady Mary. He and the cardinals, metropolitans and bishops, as well as the people's nienge, greeted each other and kissed each other on the mouth. He performed the sacred acts and they received the Eucharist. Then he entered the *pellä*. Afterwards he organised a great drinking party and (also provided) endless amusements. On the next (literally: new) Sunday, the pope consecrated ^o and appointed three bishops. Rabban jaumä and his own saw their (the Romans') custom and celebrated the blessed feast days with them.

<sup>^^</sup> B. 249

<sup>-&#</sup>x27; Incomprehensible punctuation in Bedjan.

<sup>.</sup> I Ü 4 - I

<sup>^&</sup>quot; B. j y i 1. u nder5 .

When these were over, he asked the pope to instruct him to return home. He (the Pope) said to him: 'We wish you to stay with us and live with us: we would guard you like the apple of our eye'. Rabban aumă replied: 'I, O our father, have come on a mission and have entered your service (temporarily). If my coming had been of my own will, I would have completed the days of this life of mine, which is (only) dust, in your service at that outer tiir of your @/fl ä {83 Bedjan). But (this is not so. On the other hand,) if I return and describe to the kings there the honours you have shown me despite my misery, I believe that it will be a great refreshment for the Christians. I now ask your Holiness to kindly leave me some of the relics that are with you. The Pope said: 'If it were customary with us to give any of these relics to anyone, they would vanish, even if they were like mountains in their tens of thousands. But because you have come from a distant region, we will give you a little (as an exception). He gave him a single small relic of the garment of our Lord, the Messiah, and (other) small relics of the handkerchief '\* [i.e. sweatcloth] 'o of our Lady Mary and of the relics of the saints there. He sent Mar Yaballaha, the Catholicos, a crown for his head, made of pure gold and adorned with stones of great value. In addition, garments from his robes, red and interwoven with gold, as well as shoes sewn with small pearls and (other) shoes (8 Bedjan); in addition, a ring from his finger. He also gave an open letter which decreed the authority of the patriarchate over all the sons of the East. He gave Rabban aumã an Open Letter of Visitation for all Christians, blessed him and gave him I500 mi ğä/ of red gold for the cost of the journey. He sent King Arviin a special gift. He hugged and kissed Rabban Saumä and dismissed him. Rabban aumä, for his part, thanked our Lord because he had deemed him worthy of those gifts of love."

<sup>\*\*</sup> On the construction Th. höldeke, a. 0. 296 § 3Jq B. "

B. 589 r. 'pøxióhiov.

<sup>°^</sup> B.539 •- "paJlium" does not apply to the present case. It must be "sudariuce" hot.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> To mñ#ö F. Rundgren in : Orient. Suec. 6 (+937I. >

# 2. RABBAN §iAUMÄ'S JOURNEY TO THE WEST I z8y-8

#### AN HANG

### Exclinitc from BarHbrazus' Clironicon S yriasum

(s--. -s Bedjan) "In this year 26 (meaning: -5z6 of the era of Alexanders) Euthymios (5z2, i Bedjan), patriarch of Antiocheia of the Greeks, came and brought the daughter of Michael (VIII) Palaiologos to Abäyä, the King of kings. His father (Hülagü) had sent messengers a long time ago and asked for her (the daughter). In this year (now), when she was delivered, (even) before they (Euthymios and Michael's daughter) reached Kaisareia, they were informed of the death of Hülagü, the king of kings. But they were unable to turn back."

(so-called fo Bedjan) "After Michael (VIII Palaiologos) had reigned for a short time, he decided to march against Constantinople, because he had heard that a (only) small army was there niit Balduin [bö'du cn j, the Frankish king, his (Constantinople's) master. On his bfarsch

he (Michael) sent (commissioners), sent for Nicephorus, metropolitan of Ephesus, and made him patriarch in the city of Gallipoli in place of Arsenius, who was living in exile (C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac.-[hereafter: B.] xg r. above). He set out from there, travelled on (and) stopped at Constantinople. But he was unable to take it, because the inhabitants of the city, together with the soldiers, stood bravely on the walls and fought fiercely. When Michael realised that he would not reach his goal, he abandoned it (Constantinople) and returned. After a short time, Frankish merchants called Venetians (öiiadf äyJ) and those called Genoese (oa'thfs) attacked each other in the city of Acre, and the Pisans joined the Venetians. When the Venetians living elsewhere heard (this), they hurried without

hesitation to help their allies (B. 334 1.), and also con-

stantinople was evacuated by them (the Venetians). Michael now made another attack (-réyvr}). He told the commander of a castle, one of his own (Michael's followers), to report a revolt and send to Balduin (with the request) to send an army so that he (the commander) would hand over that castle to him (Balduin). The commander of the castle acted accordingly. He deceived Balduin and led him astray. When (3O3, i Bedjan) he (Balduin) had sent away the small army that was with him (in Constantinople), Michael made ready in haste, moved off (and) halted before him (Constantinople). He also enticed some of those who had entered

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The Greeks entered the city, and one night they opened an old gate for him, which had not been opened since the time of Constantine the Victorious (the Great). The Greeks entered and drew the sword (B. 733)

r./734 1.) against them (the city). With difficulty (tióhiç: B. 242 r./248 1.) was able to I3alduin saved his life and that of his family by taking a **seat** on a small xśpwpov and fleeing to the land of the Franks. In this way, Constantinople once again (B. 228 r.) remained with the Greeks after it had belonged to the Franks for a period of i3 years."

(A84. -5 Bedjan) "Afterwards, that is to say: in the year i55i of the Greeks (the era of Alexander = - -s chr.) the king of France rcdafrans: Louis IX. the Holy), one of the inner (further inland reigning) kings of the Franks set out with many people, horsemen and foot troops as well as with hosts of heroes. They sailed the sea in ships **of** various **kinds** filled with (Th. Nöldeke, Kurzgef. syr. Grammatik $^{\circ}$  223 f.  $\S$  zQi) silver and gold without count1 as well as with war equipment and food. It

The earth trembled from their power, and the rumour spread (B. 266 1.) that they were prepared to march against Egypt. But Malik a -  $\tilde{a}$ li i, son of Kämil, the lord of Egypt, the one who had taken his place after 'Ádi1 the Younger (I I.), his brother, had died (I24), fought (at that time) for the city of iJom in Palestine'" in order to wrest it from Malik Ašraf, its (the city's) lord . . (48d, 25 Bedjan). When a -Şālily heard the news of the Franks, he (Ab5, I Bedjan) left  $l_1$ iom and travelled by express march (åa/Jf/ä: B. 66d r.) to Egypt. He travelled (and) **stopped** at a place called Man ürah, which was densely covered with trees (for the stat. constr. vg1. Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. 156 § zoG). He sent out the call (cry for help) among the Arabs, and the tribes of the Arabs of Alexandreia and Nubia and

-4ssuan. But the inhabitants of the city of Damiette, when they saw that the eyes (B. 22z r.) of the Franks were turned towards them, were afraid. And without coercion or war they  $sap[p \ lfiih \ corr.; sap\check{ginit} \ Bedjan)$  cleared the city of all that was in it, led away the citizenry  $\ n\tilde{a}\check{s}iith\ddot{o}n)$  together with all their besitz and went to Cairo. The Great Damiette's went to the Sultan. Malik a -Şälib asked them whether d- for en: Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. zQi  $\frac{1}{3}$  372 B) the Franks had defeated them in war. They (the Greats) answered

<sup>&#</sup>x27;If this is to be taken literally, parts of the Constantinian żtau Liis would have existed in the 3rd century.

<sup>&#</sup>x27; - Understandable punctuation at Bedjan.

said: 'We were afraid at that time (the time of the approach of the Franks) that we would be like Acre, whose inhabitants were killing the l'ran kings and whom no one could help'. Then a -Şãlilj became enraged

over them and left notable (B. 2b5 1.) €irol3e hanging on 3 crosses, pair after pair, just as they were in their clothes and shoes (ma-b-mii ğaihön secl. Bedjan). When they had crucified them, he also died

(a - ãlib) after (a few) days . . t4 5th -5th Bedjan). The Egyptian greats sent (messengers), sent for Malik Mu'azzam, a - ãlih's son, who was da-

once lived in a rock castle, and made him king in place of his father ... (A85, -S Bedjan). The Franks approached Ha- miette's wall. Sic heard no call of a H'ache, and no man was sighted of them on the towers. They wandered, sent people out again and entered the interior of the harbour. They met no one and realised that they (the inhabitants) had fled. They approached and entered the city in great peace and joy; that day was a Friday (Tay the -rrøpcto+teJ). They met no one in it (the city) who left water on the wall (B. 3- r.) (B. 8iQ 1.). Ships b r o u g h t them all their provisions from the sea. But they (the Franks) did not let their

(B. 475 - ) sense, they held out until they had familiarised themselves with the nature of the place and the crossings over the canals and paths. Rather, t h e y hurried, crossed a course of the hils and travelled a distance x om

Yasser veg, towards Cairo on a path where there was no water. A part (486, I Bedjan) of the troops of the Arabs went over (over the same Nillauf) behind them three (behind the Franks) - they were (like) a pallisade fence between them (the Franks) and the water - and the others (troops of the Arabs) were in front of them. They (the Franks) remained in the centre, while they and their horses were tormented by hunger and thirst. Then the Arabs took courage and dealt them a very heavy blow. They killed the majority of them, captured the king and the great men and brought them to Mu'a zam. He held him (the king) captive where he had stopped (śdrê corr.; Ord Bedjan). Then àlu'a zam persuaded slaves, (who were) young people (and) his peers, and said to him: 'If you kill this king of the Franks, you will not be able to escape war with the Franks for the rest of your life, since their kings are numerous and firmly established in their power. ¥'ielmehr lai3 this one, that from now on he or his brothers or their atonement or the atonement of their sons will not cross swords.

Draw u-earth in the face of the Arabs. And let him go to his fellow believers, thanking you. So be calm and live in peace. There is no need for you to spend the treasures your fathers gathered **for** the maintenance of the armies. **Mu'azzam** followed their advice and had the king of France come to him by night, made him swear as he (Mu'a\*\*am) wished, gave him gifts in abundance and dismissed him. It is said that in the days when the king of France was captured, a rumour came to him that the queen, his wife, had borne him a son in Damiette. Mu'apzam heard it and sent her gifts of roooo gold dinars and a palanquin of gold together with royal clothing".

(52y, z5 Bedjan) "While Aryfin, his (Gaixätü's) brother was (still) alive (57 . - Bedjan), Frankish legations pressed and came to him from the Pope of Rome and .the other rulers, on

that the Mongols had come to an agreement with the Franks (B. 353 1.) and were marching against the Egyptians and Pharaohs, who had become tippy-tappy and were trampling on and harming the Christians and their cities. Aryün then also sent an envoy to the pope, Rabban Bar (sic) S'aumä, a Uighur monk, who had come from the lands of the Great Khan together with the Catholicos Mär Yaballähä. He sent with him to the pope (/-§a§ä corr.; *d-päf'ä* Bedjan) promises and assurances that they would go to war at the same time (B. 260 r.) and destroy the Arabs. This (however) went against their calculations.) When Gaixätü had returned from the lands of the Romans to the mountains of Greater Armenia, the sons of the kings and the great men of the Mongols gathered again. They took him (Gaixätü) and put him on

the throne of kingship. In the I¡izirän of the year I6o3 of the Greeks (i zQz christl.): Now the Egyptians, when they heard that Aryün had already ended his life, gathered together troops, tens of thousands of (their) people and

(other) peoples without number. They went (and) stopped before Acre, the great and famous city of the Franks, which lies on the shores of the great sea. They fought a hard battle against it (Acre) for a period of two months. But the Franks who were there (in Acre), because of their proud spirit and their desire for glory, did not bow to the blocking of the entrances to the city before them (fB. I I l. under 6),

by night nor by day (B. 303 1.). Bravely the Franks (and indeed their) knights made sorties, and in such a way that they kept the Arabs outside

(same4am) with sickles. It is said that more than zoooo men were killed by the Arabs at Acre. They held the city splendidly and with great honour until their leader, the Grand Master (B. 336 r.), was wounded by an arrow and died. Then those inside were weakened, those outside were greatly strengthened. Against the (literally: that) weak wall of earth they (the besiegers) set up about 300 ticryyoviud; under each tower they made about a thousand passages ("ineJ jöä coni. Bedjan) that went into the earth. They knocked down a tower or two from the wall. But the Templars and the other great men began to enter the fortified monasteries and fight (from there). When i5z9. I Bedjan) they {the Arabs} had taken the unfortunate city, they began to

to persuade those in the monasteries to come out. No one would harm them, but they could descend to the sea and go wherever they wished, they and their wives, sons and daughters. However, they would not take any of their possessions with them. As soon as they opened the gates (of the monasteries) and the Arabs entered them to guard the possessions in the monasteries, (namely) that they (the Franks) would not take any of them with them, they saw the sons and daughters there (in their beauty) resembling the moon (C. BrocRelmann, a. 0. q62 1.) and stretched out their hands to them. The Franks, however, could not bear it, but drew swords and knives, and they fell upon each other. People without number were killed on both sides. They (the Arabs) devastated the shining, rich city. And they did not leave the Franks a place to lay **their** heads on the shore of this great sea. This happened **in the month** Nisan of the year which was the year x6 3 (I2Qi Christian)".

## **ELIGIBILITY**

 $_{\rm DN}$  iff B. Spuler's book on the Mongols in Iran ('°95s), Rabban Jaumä's report is often referred to, but the political context is nowhere clarified. The journey of the legation was preceded by the masterpiece of the first Palaiologue on the throne, which led to the Sicilian Vespers. It is described in the words of H.-W. Haussig (Kulturgeschichte von By- e \* . 1959. 52\* .). For it would be difficult to describe the events more succinctly and more vividly than was the case there.

"The rise of Nicaia took place in the power-political vacuum created by the advance of the Mongols under the sons of Genghis Chan in the west. Asia Minor had been created. The all-powerful Seljuk state, the Byzantine Empire's most dangerous adversary, had been deprived of its power and humiliated into a slave and tribute bringer to the Mongols. The enemies of the Byzantine Empire on the Balkan Peninsula, Bulgaria and Hungary, were still languishing under the Mongols. During this period, the empire was successfully consolidated in Asia Minor and, through the alliance with Genoa, the old capital Constantinople (i z6I) was captured. The possession of Constantinople immediately connected the Byzantine Empire with the major currents of world politics. It now became a sought-after ally in the joint struggle between the Mamluk sultans of Egypt (I z6I) and the

Chane of the Golden Horde in southern Russia (-°7°) sailTI the Mesopotamia and Iran of the Mongolian Ilkhans. They were allied with France and C enua. Egypt sought contact with European powers such as Byzantium and Aragon. During this time, Egyptian diplomats were negotiating in Constantinople, and the die was cast in the imperial palace. It was the last time that a Byzantine emperor made world politics. That Michael VI II (i z5 z), an unscrupulous and ruthless man, used his diplomacy to determine the fate of the Mediterranean and thus indirectly the fate of his empire. Louis the Saint, one of the greatest French kings of the Middle Ages, wanted to give his state supremacy in the Mediterranean. The first great French colonial politician in terms of his policy, he had initially created broad access to the Slittelmeer for his empire with penial consistency by destroying the Waldensians and annexing Count Raimund of Toulouse, who was associated with them. He then allied himself with the Mongolian Ilchan and attempted to establish himself in the area of the mouth of the river at Damiette in order to begin the advance on Cairo from there. The military failure of this endeavour (Battle of Mansura i z50) did not discourage him. Shortly afterwards, he set about consolidating the bases of France and its allies on the coast of Syria and Palestine and, based on the alliance with the Ilkhans, made them the basis of his policy of conquest in the eastern Mediterranean. i z66, with the support of the Pope in Rome and financed by large loans from the Florentine banking house Acciajuoli, he succeeded in wresting Lower Italy and Sicily from the conquerors and playing into the hands of his brother Charles of Anjou. When he then also conquered Tunis by means of a military expedition to Tunis

control of the sea route between Sicily and Africa, he failed (I2/O). His brother Charles of Anjou, still in league with the Mongol Ilkhan, now attempted to gain control of the straits of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles through military action and thus destroy the Byzantine Empire. The Byzantine emperor, who was allied with the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt and the Golden Horde in southern Russia, parried this blow through his alliance with the King of Aragon and the partisan movement operating in Sicily. The popular uprising in Sicily (Sicilian Vespers), which was supported by the military action of the Aragonese (i z82), led to the collapse of the French Mediterranean policy. The Byzantine Empire was saved. Shortly afterwards, the last western bases on the coast of Palestine and Syria - [Acre,] Tyre, Berytus and Sidon - fell into the hands of the Mamluk sultans allied with the Byzantines".

It seemed not unimportant to us to determine under which image these events were presented to the universal spirit of Barhebraeus. He reports that Michael VIII sent PalaiolOgOS Iz65 his daughter (it was the illegitimate daughter Maria) Abäyä (126s-iz8z) (chron. Syr 5°\*. °5 f.). But the Byzantine princess played

a far lesser role than Hülagü's wife, Däküz, "the devout

and Christian queen" (chron. Syr. 4Qi, i3 f.; cf. chron. eccl. 3, 439. Qf.). Here the Byzantines were not granted any real influence. The reconquest of Constantinople, on the other hand, is described as a

leadership (chron. Syriac. 5oz, io f.). The company against

Damiette is also treated in detail (Chron. Syr. 4 4.\*5 f.) and the catastrophe is attributed to the arrogance of the Franks (ibid. ¢ 5. 2d f.). The gruesome final act, the conquest of Acre, is also given with many details (ibid. s7s, 12 f.). This is preceded by the mention of Frankish legations that went to Aryün - "from the Pope in Rome and from other rulers" - after which the mission of Rabban S'aumä, "the

Uyghur monk", to the Pope (only he is named: 57, 5). This was judged favourably, as they had indeed been prepared to take joint action, and the pope had made suggestions to this effect.

Assurances given. But Aryün's death had rendered everything invalid (chron. Syr. s z. -s )<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&#</sup>x27;I. S. Assemani, Bibl. Ofißnt. 3, 2 (1 J z8), CX4'I.

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It is strange that the congratulatory letters that iz62 Abäyä sent to the pope after the downfall of Manfred° are not mentioned anywhere. Nor is the Mongolian legation that iz2q went to the second Council of Lyon°. The role of Michael VI I I, the Sicilian Vespers and the intervention of Arabia are not mentioned, nor is Louis the Saint's death before Tunis. Barhebraeus was not the only one who failed to recognise the background; many things also seem to have remained unclear at the Mongol court. It is significant that Rapid addin's ta'rIfi-i mubärab-i äzäni reports none of this. What can be inferred from Rabban Saumä's report on the Uesandschaft leads in this direction.

Rabban S'aumä's journey began five years after the Sicilian Vespers.

His mission was to conquer the western kings as Christians.

Jerusalem. The Ilkhan Ar yün, claiming to be a Christian friend and therefore using an envoy of Nestorian faith, intended to renew the alliance with the Pope, the Angevins in Naples and the King of France, and also to enlist the support of the King of England. In this way, the previous alliance, which had proved too weak, was to be strengthened. Rabban Saumä recommended himself through his knowledge of languages (apparently Latin, although this is not explicitly stated). However, his one-sided ecclesiastical interests were to have a highly detrimental effect on the political mission. There is little doubt that he was unsuited to his task.

The very beginning of his journey was a blunder. Ilkhan's envoy was never supposed to travel via Constantinople, i.e. to draw the enemy's attention to his endeavour. Rabban Saumä's longing to visit the sanctuaries there undoubtedly prompted this blunder. In Constan- tinople there was no negotiation, and no negotiation could be made; but they knew how to take the surprise in their stride and gained time by yielding to the Nestorian's inclination to seek out and honour relics and making everything accessible to him. The journey to Naples passed without incident. Once there, Rabban **Jaumä** witnessed the defeat at sea suffered by the successor of the first Angevin, Charles I I, at the hands of James II of Aragon. Negotiations took place under these circumstances.

not the first time. On the contrary, Rabban S'aumä used the first appropriate He took the opportunity to get out of harm's way. He continued his journey to Rome, taking the precaution of travelling ashore. The

<sup>°</sup> B. Spuler, a. 0. z z8. ° B. Spuler, a. 0. z z8 f.

<sup>^</sup> Edition by K. Jahn in: CenW. Asiat. stud. R t 957-1

The pope had died, a successor had not yet been elected; the College of Cardinals could do little with the foreigner from the East and was not in the least interested in the relevant political issues. It involved Rabban Şaumä in a lengthy discussion about dogmatic questions; the remaining time was used by him to devote himself to the churches and relics of the holy city.

The next stop was Genoa. In the city of eastern trade, Aryün was known only too well; they probably immediately suspected what this envoy was up to. Despite this, or perhaps for this very reason, he was received with honour, but he did not enter into any political discussions. Now they had been warned, if they had needed to be. But unimpressed, Rabban Şaumã continued his journey. In Paris he spoke of his mission, and people spoke favourably, and even more eagerly at the English court, where they knew they were far away. Moreover, it had long been known that this envoy had his ecclesiastical affairs and his love of relics at heart and nothing else. His inclination was accommodated and further political dialogue was avoided. They parted in full agreement and friendship, as was to be expected.

Rabban aumã did not miss the opportunity to stay in Genoa a second time on his return, where the city authorities no longer received him. His only endeavour now was to speak to the Pope himself. Even he had realised the failure of his mission. Nevertheless, Rabban Şaumã used the fact that he was Ilchan's envoy to obtain his reception by Nicholas IV. But Rabban aumã contented himself with presenting his credentials; he did not say a word about his mission, and the pope saw no reason to ask about it. Both sides were completely immersed in ecclesiastical celebrations and understood each other perfectly. The Nestorian was not lacking in devotion to the Holy See, and its occupant used the opportunity offered to him and the guilelessness of his visitor to confirm the authority of the Catholicos over the East and thereby present himself as the supreme ecclesiastical authority. This, too, remained a mere gesture with no consequences. There was no more talk of Aryún; not even a gift that would have been worthy of special recognition was intended for him.

It was the last time that Nestorianism was given a political role. It did not seize the moment.

#### **ENCLOSURE 3**

# OUTLINE OF THE COMPARATIVE PHONETICS OF MODERN ASSYRIAN DIALECTS\*

The Aramaic language, which used to be spoken throughout the Middle East, has survived to this day in a wide area between Lebanon and Lake Urmia. Today's Aramaic dialects are of extraordinary interest with regard to the historical-comparative grammar of the Semitic languages. This is evidenced by

among others, the works of such outstanding Semitists as Nöldeke, Rosenthal etc. However, even though there has been great interest in the study of modern Assyrian (Aramaic) dialects for over a hundred years, and even though there is a considerable number of important monographs on the structure of individual dialects, scholars still do not have a complete overview of the dialects.

Today, there are no works that could provide information on the phonetics, morphology and syntax of the dialects of interest to us from the point of view of comparative linguistics. In the present work, the phonetics of the modern Assyrian (Aramaic) dialects are analysed in a historical-comparative way; it is intended to fill the existing gap in the field of Aramaic studies to a certain extent.

As research material we used dialect texts published by various authors, as well as those we recorded on the territory of the Grusinian SSR'.

#### A FUTURE

The modern Aramaic dialects, like the ancient ones, fall into two groups; Western Aramaic and Eastern Aramaic. The Western

- Translation of a Russian summary of the "Essay of Comparative Phonetics of the Modern Assyrian Dialects" by Konstantin G. Cere- teli (i958) z i 3 I, written in Greek. The permission to translate is due to the 4 "inventor, the translation itself to Dr Norbert Reiter, Slavic Seminar at the Free University of Berlin. It has been carried out with minor abridgements, mainly concerning comparisons with the Greek.
- \* The work of the well-known Semitist .¥. Spitaler, Neue Siaterialien zum aramäischen Dialekt von Ma'l üla, ZDSIG. 107(957). See-iss, could never be taken into account by us, since this work was completed before those t-rsnhien.

Aramaic, which is represented by the **Ifundart** of Ha'lüla, lives on in the mountains of Anti-Lebanon (in three villages in Syria). The dialect of Ma'lüla is closest to the dialects of the Palestinian Christians and Jews. This dialect is characterised by the following: Pronunciation of the ä as fi, ending of the plural masc. gen. -öja ( < -ajä), conjuga-

The use of the verb with the prefix j in the  $3_{\text{rd}}$  person of the unfinished aspect, the use of the energicus in suffixal forms of the verb and so o n . The dialect of Ma'lüla is located in the centre of an Arabic-speaking area, which is why it is subject to strong Arabic influence. The

Arabic influence extends to the phonetics, the grammar and the lexicon, which contains a vast number of Arabic words (A. Spitaler). The other dialects are Eastern Aramaic, spoken from Tür 'Ä}2din (Turkey) to Lake Urmia (Iran). These dialects are characterised by the loss of the finite forms of the verb, conjugation according to grammatical tenses based on postverbal nouns, generally preserved s, a strong tendency to simplify geminates and the transition from pharyngeal A to velar A, etc. The modern Eastern Aramaic dialects are close to the Mandaean language and the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud. The dialects mentioned also show a certain similarity to the classical Syriac language, but, as has been repeatedly pointed out in the specialised literature (Nöldeke, Maclean), they are not a direct continuation of Syriac.

The modern Aramaic dialects are known in the literature under various names: "Neo-Aramaic" (A. Socin, E. Prym, H. Lidzbarski, A. Siegel, R. Duval, J. B. Segal) or "modern Aramaic" (H. Fleisch). Segal) or "modern Aramaic" (H. Fleisch); the Eastern Aramaic dialects are also called "New Syriac" (Th. Nöldeke, A. Merx, J. Parisot, L. Lopatinskij, N. V. Juémanov), "modern Syriac" (D. T. Stoddard), "vernacular Syriac" (<- J Maclean),

"Ajsorian" (A. Kalaéev, L. Lopatinskij and others). The term "aysor" was widely used in Russian pre-revolutionary literature. This term is the Armenian rendering of the Aramaic word "Assur" and is understood as an insult. In Soviet scientific literature, the dialects mentioned are called

"Assyrian", their bearers ".4ssyrians" (N. V. Ju5manov, B. Grande). This is exactly how they are also called Assyrians in foreign literature (French: Assyriens, English: Assyrians); the geographical tradition also adheres to this designation. In view of the above and the self-naming

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of today's Arameans ("Syrians, Assyrians"; silriij, 'tssür j, nturöj, assorzi) we think it would be better to keep the living Aramaic dialects as a whole "modern Aramaic dialects" and the Eastern Aramaic dialects belonging to them "Assyrian", but in contrast to the old Assyrian language (Assyro-Babylonian Akkadian) "modern Assyrian dialects".

We come across information on the classification of modern Assyrian dialects in the works of Prym, Socin, Lidzbarski and Juémano v. Maclean, who worked out a complete classification of the dialects mentioned (Grammar, Dictionary), devoted particular attention to this question. Maclean divides all Assyrian dialects into four groups:

I. the so-called. Urmia group comprises three dialects, Urmian, Sipurgian, Soldusian; z. the northern group comprises four dialects, Salamas-

This group consists of the dialects in the central part of Kurdistan, i.e. Upper Tiarian and Lower Tiarian, Tchumic, etc.; 4.

the dialects of the regions of Alkos, Botan, Zacho. Maclean's categorisation, although the most complete, still requires some additions and corrections. A more precise categorisation is only possible after a more thorough and comprehensive study of the structure and history of modern Assyrian dialects, which is why Maclean's classification, which we have corrected in some places, is only provisional. The corrections consist of the following: i. In group i, Soldusian must be united with Uruian, e.g. in the same group we also include the language of the Gavanese in Sipurgan, 3. in group z we include the Wan dialect, that is

the language of the Assyrians in the Wilayet of Wan, 4 iTl connection with the D 2iluish is not called Gavarian in the following, s our Tiarian dialect corresponds to the Upper Tiarian 6lacleans, its Lower Tiarian is called the dialect of Anita, 6. in group 4 only refers to the

language of the Assyrian Christians of Kurdestan, the Mosul dialect included here corresponds to the dialects of Alkos and Fellihi in other authors, 2. separately we list in a group 5 the Aramaic (Assyrian) language of the Jews, here also belong the

Assyrian dialects of Zacho, Salamasa and Urmia.

Today's literary language began to emerge in the 1940s and is based on the Urmish language. It

was literarily formed by missionaries who had travelled here. The script is that of the Syrian Nestorians, which differs in some characters from that of the Syrian Jacobites. The Eastern Assyrians, among them the Urmian **Nestorians**, also use the so-called Nestorian script, while the Western Assyrians use the Nestorian script.

assyrians (inhabitants of Syria) the Jacobite (so-called Ser{ö).

The relatively young age of the modern literary language on the one hand, and the use of the Syriac script on the other, lead to fluctuations between etymological and phonetic spelling (cf. 'aha and äe'cd "make"). All this shows how far removed today's written language is from a true literary language with its established norms and traditions.

Research into today's Aramaic dialects began in the first half of the 20th century. It developed in two directions, a practical and a scientific one.

Special merits for the practical research of the Aramaic language (here also Assyrian) dialects, the missionaries J Perkins,

D. T. Stoddard, A. J Maclean and J. Rhétoré. A grammar of the modern Assyrian language was first published by Stoddard (z855)

It is based on material from Proto-Mish, Salamassic and Kurdish. Extensive dialect material has been utilised in Maclean's grammar and dictionary, which were published in I895 and iqoi.

The scientific study of the modern Aramaic dialects was initiated by the well-known work of Th. Nöldeke, Grammatik der neusy- rischen Sprache (x868). It is based primarily on Urinic material published by various authors, as well as on the aforementioned grammar by Stoddard. h'öldeke's work is still of importance today, although it is not free of some errors, especially in phonetics.

The individual studies by I. Guidi and E. Sachau on the Mosul dialect, by A. Siegel on the dialect of Tfir 'Äbdin, and by N. V. Juémanov on the Urmian dialect are of great importance for the study of the dialects of interest to us. Also worth mentioning are the works of

E. Bliss, G. Bergsträsser and A. Spitaler on the Aramaic dialect of Ma'lüla.

A large number of dialect texts have been published. Prym's and Socin's texts from Tür'Äbdin, Socin's, Kalalev's, Kampfmeyer's and Bergsträsser's Urmian as well as Duval's and Socin's Sala-Massic texts deserve attention; also important is the material from other Assyrian dialects (Dlilu, Botan, Tiari, Zacho ...), which was collected by Lidzbarski, Gottheil, Merx, Parisot, Sachau, Segal, Rivlin and others. In these texts the dialect of Wan is not represented at all, the dialects of Tiari and Botan only to an insignificant extent.

We have an interesting study by A. Klingenheben on the loss of pitch of voiced geminates known in Ma'lü1a, which was previously discussed by C. Brockelmann, Stimmtonverlust bei Geminaten, Festschrift Meinhof, Hamburg xQ-7.

Information on modern Aramaic dialects can also be found in works dealing with questions of comparative phonetics and grammar of the Semitic languages. These include the following:

- M. Hartmann, Die Pluriliteralbildungen in den semitischen Sprachen (i825);
- W. Wright, Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages
- (\* 9°) : C. Brockelmann, Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen I-z (I9°8-\*9Ot)) ; R. Ruliüka, Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen (zQ 9)

Special mention should be made of the fundamental work by F. Hosenthal, Die aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's \erüffentlichungen (-9391. where investigations, texts and dictionaries, which were published after Nöldeke in the

Aramaic Studies are discussed in detail. Modern Aramaic dialects are also given due space in this book.

#### E RST li R T EI1-: THE 1-. ZVTS YSTEhl

#### Ka/ifef I. Consonants

The modern Aramaic dialects have essentially preserved the ancient Aramaic consonantalism, although certain deviations can also be observed among them in this respect. It can be seen that some consonants characteristic of Aramaic are missing in the modern dialects, while others have been added (cf. N†ldekc, Neusyr. 25: N.\V. Jusmanov, Assirijskij jazyk i iI933J. -o

I. L a b i al e. In the modern Aramaic dialects, the labials, except for the voiced m°, have changed in places.

The labial closure sounds  $\grave{o}$  and ;b, of which the first is voiced and the second voiceless, have been preserved in the Eastern Assyrian dialects. In the dialect of  $\ddot{u}$  r 'Ábdin, the voiceless  $\S$  changes to labio- dental /, in Ma'lûla there is also the transition from voiced  $\grave{o}$  to voiceless  $\S$  (exceptions only occur at the beginning of words:  $b\ddot{o}la$ 

"thought" etc.). Thus, for example, urm. *bcta*, salam. òfja, tiar. *bcša*, salam.-jüd. *bcla*, but ma'l. *§ai/a* "house" < aram. *bailã*, - ostassyr. #äfòä, èifòa, ü r-'ãbd. èa/òo, but ma'l. *Talpa* "dog" < aram. àaJòd; urm. §'ïfgjä, salam. and mos. *§ifga*, but fir'ãbd. *falga*, ma'l. /øféa "half" < aram. §'tfgã; urm. äJ§ä, salam. *ifQÄ*, mos. about, but ü r'ãbd. aJ/a, ma'l. tf/o "thousand" etc. °.

The spirantised  $\delta$  (*b j* of the Eastern Assyrian dialects changed into the labiodental, voiced fricative /, in Ma'lú1a into the closing sound  $\delta$ . The second consonant ( $\S$ ), however, produces a voiceless labiodental / in Ma'lûla and  $\mathring{\text{ur}}$ 'Abdin, in the other dialects Q is represented as a closure sound (9). Thus: Eastern Assyrian áI $\S$ ä "stone", but ma'l. Ja and  $\mathring{\text{u}}$ r ' $\S$ bd.

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! \cdot l \quad (< dpã); ma'l. alba "milk", but assyr. øfvø (< ofòñ) etc.
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Apart from the labial consonants mentioned  $(m, b, \S)$ , we also encounter the labio-labial occlusive abbreviation  $\S$ , which is characteristic of the Semitic languages

- The transcription lines ending in tins: r. 4 "ocal ä, a, j, o, ø (back row with hard timbre); ö, r. i, ö, ü (front row with soft timbre); a, e, t, ó, ù (middle row with medium timbre); (overshort, irrational vowel, so-called schwa). 2. consonants ' (throat explosion, = arab. '); ' (pharyngeal, voiced spirans, arab. ') · ò; G (spirantised ò); f; d (= d); 'I (spirantised d I, if (em-phatic d); /; g · ğ (spirantised g); ğ {voiced back-tongue spirant = arab. g) · ğ (= dž; h (guttural, = arab. h j; (pharyngeal, voiceless spirans.
  - = arab.); è (= cA): I ( occluded occlusal tongue, = arab. 1); 3 {spirantised A); è (H inter tongue abrupt); / (soft I}; / (hard /, so-called pol. /); / (emphatic 1); m;  $\emptyset$ ; p (voiced labial occlusion); p (spirantised 9); E (labial abrupt); r; s; ( emphatic s); I (voiced dental X"erschlu Dlaut,
  - = arab. ?); t (spirantised f); ( emphatisc ht-s I and dental abbruptive); r (= u'),
  - (voiced s ø'ie in German "Rose"); \* (emphatic, voiced r); i (voiced palatal spirans, = German y); y (voiceless palatal spirans, = German .,Tchlaut"); y (voiced labial spirans, English u'); g-, 1\*, b- (palatalised g, #, k).
- Abbreviations for the terms of the modern Aramaic dialect: wan. = wanisc h, dżil. = dżiluish, kurdist. = Kurdistani, kudć. = kudćanissic, ma'l.
  - ma'lü lish, mos. =-- mossul, sal. or salam. = salamassic, tiar. = tiaric, ùr'ãbd. =  $\acute{u}$  r'a bdiniscli, tchum. = tchumic, urm. = urmic.

is foreign. It is not only heard in loan words, e.g. 13. so§iigta ( < Russian sa§og) "boots", fd§(r ( < Russian fo9or) "axe", but also in originally Aramaic words, such as urm. §fdJd "war", d Lil. u§ see "me too", tiar. bijäzafī purlyo "I am setting out", salam. sr§;t "forty", wan. § iézin "I will go" etc.

In the texts and dictionaries of the other dialects, § is not mentioned, which may not correspond to the actual situation. For it turns out that even in the Urmian texts published by European scholars, the abruptive § is not mentioned anywhere, in contrast to our notes as well as Kalalev's and J-\*manov's notes.

becomes.

In addition to the labial closing sounds, there are also the labial fricatives (more precisely labiodentals) r (voiced) and / (voiceless) in the dialects, both of which are foreign to Old Aramaic, indeed to North Semitic in general. They are new additions to the modern Aramaic language, as can be seen from the above.

2. De nt a 1e. In the dialects, both Old Aramaic dental closure sounds have been preserved, the voiced d and the voiceless, breathy f, but in the dialect of Ma'l fila the voiced d (d f , as with the other voiced closure sounds) is silent, or it is spirantised and transformed into an interdental d (usually at the beginning of a word); cf. assyr.  $divl\ddot{a}$ ,  $diijf\ddot{a}$  "honey" and ma'l. debla, assyr.  $gi/d\ddot{a}$  "skin" and ma'l. Jena. Voiceless f mostly merges into, but in some cases, especially at the beginning of words, into interdental f: ma'l. RJJ "you", but assyr. 'if ( < of/), ma'l. Itféa "snow", but assyr. fdfgä

### $(< talg\bar{a})$ .

Special attention should be paid to the dental abruptive 1, which on the one hand is due to a breathy f or voiced d (lJd "three" < f/a), and on the other hand is the reflex of the emphatic 1 (Arabic and Hebrew f). It is interesting to note that the abruptives in our dialects were mainly recorded by Assyrians themselves (Kalaäev, Osipov ; Svriac, Le maitre phonétique, -9\*3. 79  $^{\circ}$ )

The dental nasal tt and the dental spirants a (voiced) and s (voiceless) should also be mentioned here.

- 3 A lv eolare. Of the altaram. Alveolars, the modern dialects still have J and r. They have also been preserved in the dialect of Ma'lüla. J is a voiceless, breathy consonant with palatalisation
- (L. Lopatinskij, Zametka k Ajsorsko-russkij slowara i8q ] ioz), r coronal vibrant, z'ie this, according to Brockelmann's Grundriß §, was the original Semitic r.

New in Aram. is the voiced spirant f, which is also found in other modern Semitic languages, e.g. in Arabic dialects (Grund-

\*3)- Nöldeke is therefore not right when he says that in Assyr. f is found only in loanwords, and then only rarely (Neusyr. 23). In fact, f is encountered quite frequently in the dialectal texts of many authors (Prym, Socin,

Maclean, Bergsträsser, Spitaler), and not only in loanwords, but also in Aramaic as a voiced f, e.g. 1 mm "stand" Pfui jä, he Ibuna "number" < fiikbunä etc.

The affricates unknown to the Altaram. must also be mentioned here: the voiced, the voiceless, hissed and the abruptive J. The abruptive is only found in Kalaéev and Juémanov, the other two ( and r) in all authors of dialect texts. The affricates mentioned occur both in loanwords ( iive6 "answer" < Arabic; tgär "spleen" < pers.) as well as in Aram. as a result of palatalisation or sound fusion ( Ärtiiä "bone" < gär "uI, "iäJ@ "find" < 'tiaféiJ). Affricates under special circumstances are also attested from other Semitic languages ( from the Central Asian Arabic dialects: f'. Cereteli in: Trudy II sessii asociacii arabistow [i qn], 135)

4 P a la t a le. ¥'on the palatal consonants, the Assyrian dialects have the voiced fricative j, its voiceless correlate g and the lateral? The voiceless spirans y, which corresponds to the German cIs in "ich". cIs in "ich" ähNich, o c c u r s only after the vowel i, particularly frequently at the end of words. y occurs

usually instead of the voiced j when this has become voiceless: Ali/< fiij "drink from",  $widig/\ddot{a} <$  titdijfä "city" ( < "idifä). This sound is attested in the Eastern Assyrian dialects by Socin, Duval (who calls it fi') and Kampfmeyer ( y).

The palatal lateral f is "soft" and similar to the Russian 1' or the French f. The palatal / was separated out by Kalaéev.

s V e la re. In the dialects, one encounters three velar closure sounds, the voiced g, the voiceless, breathy é and the ab-

ruptive, of which only the first two were known in Old Aramaic. The abruptive occurs in loan words (*lispa* "calash" Russian *boljasba*, crilruii "centre" < Greek stv-rpov) or after é had changed to the abruptive (s *iti/a* "knife" < s#itifä). It should also be mentioned here that the abruptive also occurs instead of the uvular q in the language of the Assyrian urban population, e.g. *lfimli* "he stood up" instead of *qimli* etc.

In the dialect of Ma'liila, voiceless é has been preserved, whereas voiced g has become /t: Celia c §eJgä "half" (cf. Urm. §ä/gä). Geminate g results in double é: al#öro < cggär'i "flat house roof" (unn.g'äri.

In the dialects there are the palatal varieties of g, A and - g', ff\*, '.

The spirantised altaram. g and  $\acute{e}$  have passed over into the velar spirants and j, whereby the first () for 'g occurs quite rarely; for usually g has regressed to the voiced closing sound (as is also the case with  $;\acute{e}$ , cf. above).

Velar spirants also occur together with the velar closure sounds: the voiced and the voiceless J, both of which are unknown to the Altaram. Spirant g and are due to a sound shift. Of these, the voiceless one in the Eastern Assyrian dialects corresponds to the Altaram. Pharyngeal J, which in turn corresponds not only to the common voiceless pharyngeal J, but also to the common voiceless ve- lar (cf. arab. A and j); cf. assyr. *jimära* "donkey" and arab. *jittiar*, assyr. somra "wine" and arab. *pamr* etc.

S, as already mentioned above, may have originated from spirantised  $\acute{e}$ :  $mal\ddot{a}ja$  "angel"  $mal\ddot{a}p\ddot{a}$ . In the Western Assyrian dialect of Tür'Abdin, h is only of this origin, whereas p has been preserved. Thus an S of secondary origin is found in Assyr.

The voiced occurs less frequently than its voiceless correlate S. It originated either from spirantised or p as a result of combinatorial sound change (see below "consonant assimilation"). This now occurs in loanwords: i/jö arab. glb,  $z\ddot{a}ga$  "Hi'hle" < Azerb.

za ya.

Both velar spirants are present in the dialect of Ma "liila. On the one hand, they are derived from spirantised, on the other hand in Arabic

loanwords have been preserved, e.g. the words "Hurd 2in (shoulder bag)" < arab. *jurjf*, *ba la* "stick" < arab. *baffl* etc.

Here the velar, so-called. "hard" i must be mentioned here, which corresponds to the

Jespersen calls it "hinteres /" (Lehrb.° [I£}I3/. 136-\*37). It occurs both in loanwords ((df\*jfd "cloth" < Turkish,  $z\ddot{a}/im$  "oppressor" < Arabic, fol Russian fol j as well as in especially Aram.

expressions (f/dtitfd "shadow", **Ju/md** "sleep" etc.). The "hard" i is recorded by Kalasev, Lopatinskij and Lazarev. On Z in the Semitic languages see. Brockelmann.

- 6. u v ula re. The common uvulare q has been preserved in modern dialects. This is a voiceless closing sound with a hard heel. Uvular q has also been preserved in the dialect of M a'lüla.
- 2. p h ary nga Ie. The pharyngeal consonants and A are not common to all old West Aramaic dialects. dialects. The tendency to lose these consonants is noticeable in Jewish Aramaic and Christian Palestinian, while 'and A have been preserved in all positions in the living dialect of Ma'lfil a: *spa'ta* "finger", 'aröé" "ab ends" etc. 'and A are also found here in Arabic loanwords.

A different picture emerges in the modern ostaram. Dialects n, here the door 'Äbdinische ' and has been preserved as the only dialect. At the end of a syllable, ' *changes* slightly to li, i.e. it becomes voiceless. Of the other dialects, only in Mosul is the voiceless, breathy phar yn- gal  $\{i\}$  still audible (alongside p, into which it merged), but the voiced ' has been lost, as in the other eastern dialects: Ja "one", aAi u ri

"you", azaJ "we go" etc.

The pharyngeal A merges into the velar A in the dialects (cf. the above-mentioned examples je, aA/iiti, äza6), ' was lost, but not without a trace, which can be seen particularly well in Urmish, where it voicelessly voices neighbouring consonants as well as palatal / velarised and voiced consonants, e.g. dm d "four" < 'arb'ä, t'ätd "sweat" < da'tä etc. (Loss of voicing in voiced consonants under the influence of ' is also evident in Phoenician g -|- ' > q and b -|- ' §: M. Lidz-

bFtrski, in: Ephemeris für nordsemit. Epigraphy 2 (\*9°). 136 The velarisation of vowels and the loss of voice tone in voiced consonants.

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nanten indicates the characteristic pronunciation of the ', which creates the plionetic precondition for the loss of voiced consonants in the form of a hard timbre.

8. gutturals. The guttural has been lost (where occurs, it is secondary: hard onset in words with a hard timbre or hiatus between vowels), but even this consonant has not disappeared without leaving traces, because consonants in front of it change to abruptives, neighbouring vowels have a middle timbre (see below).

The gutural has generally been retained in the word aniang, but it can easily be omitted in other forms: fat "loose", *IioEla* "temple", but òdra instead of *bahra* "world". The situation is similar in Ma'lüla, although ' is sometimes found there in words borrowed from the Arabic.

Q. On the question of emphatic consonants. The emphatic consonants, which are characteristic of the sound system of the Semitic languages, are no longer heard in modern Assyrian dialects; they have been simplified. As a result of this simplification, the dental spirans s and the dental abruptive (from the corresponding emphatic consonants ş and ) emerged. This is why it is no longer possible to distinguish semka from ãdë in the Assyrian language. However, the unification

This has not been without consequences. Similar-

In addition to the ', the once existing emphatic consonants lien have caused the hard timbre of a word, in the wake of which \$'okale and palatal I velarised, and breathy consonants changed into abruptives :  $bisl\ \ddot{a}$  "leek" c  $bisl\tilde{a}$ ,  $ur\ fisti$  "he has built"  $\le turi\ li$  etc.

The hard timbre of the words also led to ? and r: /d "three" < ff itñ,  $riml\ i$  "he cancelled". Hrockelmann draws a t t e n t i o n to the characteristics of New Syriac / and r, which are similar to ' and the emphatic consonants and 1. This fact points to former I and r. Thus a word has a hard timbre if it contains an etymologically emphatic consonant. This influence of the emphatic con

A. Merx already drew attention to this in the year x z3 (Neu-syrisches Lesebuch).

It must be emphasised that ' has left similar traces; the only difference is that this inn timbre of the vowels is entirely

"has 'risen'. ' has, if you want to put it that way, turned into "hardness". In the Assyrian script, 'Ain today is basically just the "bass key" for the hard timbre of the \'okale, to paraphrase an astute formulation by Jusmanoc. 'Ain in de'r writing thus indicates that the \(\frac{2}{3}\)" okale of a certain worde must be pronounced with a hard timbre. \(\text{But if ' means "hardness" in Assyrian, then it would only be logical to denote this "hardness" with ', but since the word is used by

Since the emrhatic consonants not only retain hardness, but are also a simple sound, we arrive at s = s + ' according to our material,

 $\zeta$  --- r -1- ' etc. Of the articulation of the emphatic consonants, only the oral articulation remained: s s, r > r etc.; this articulation, which makes the sounds mentioned into emphatic ones, disappeared, what remained was the hard 'fimbre' caused by it.

\Vhat we have just explained seems to us to indicate a certain \relationship between ' and the emphatic consonants and provides further proof of the situation known in the Semitic languages, namely that the articulation of the emphatic consonants contains the articulation of the '.

Emphatic consonants are attested from Ma'lüla, where, apart from the voiceless s and / known in Aramaic, the voiced emphatic consonants z and d occur. The first is a labial fricative, the second an interdental. They are found in Arabic loanwords; df corresponds to classical p (z-which was spirantised in the Bedouin language and became df): imrep "sick" (marid), or to classical i:  $d\ddot{o}Hr$  "bright, clear";  $\ddot{a}hirj$ . Arabic z was mostly preserved: Katya "deadline, U-lück" ( $Ja\ Hz$ ). It must be pointed out, however, that in the dialect mentioned the 'tendency towards loss of emphasis is clearly evident: sa'le "finger" es6a'fa, qocra < qolra "direction" qii/ra.

## Ka pilel I I. ffurze Vowels

i. W  $\epsilon$ -s  $\epsilon$ -n a n d i n t e r v i c a 16. In the modern Assyrian Dialects have five basic vowels A, E, I, O, U. From the point of view of articulation, there are three rows of variants: vowels of the front row  $\ddot{a}$ , p, i,  $\ddot{o}$ , ii, 4'okale of the middle row a, e, i,  $\ddot{o}$ , !u, vowels of the back row d, a, t, o, u. The vowels of the front row have high pitches and the vowels of the back row have low pitches.

The first are vowels with an u'eichem timbre, the last vowels with a hard timbre. The vowels of the middle row occupy an intermediate position in relation to those mentioned above. Thus, in the Assyrian dialects -5 short vowels can be distinguished. The number of these vowels, which has been recorded by various authors, fluctuates between 2 (Lazarev) and -3 i rym llfld Socin).

Vowel A:d with a hard timbre is articulated significantly lower than the usual one and represents its velarised variant. Obviously, this is the same sound that Jespersen sees with the sign a and characterises as "deep but with a hard timbre" (I.ehr- buch - i6z  $Q_i$ ).  $\ddot{a}$  is characterised by a certain labialisic run6, w'o- by the sound used by some authors (Kalafev, Müller) for 'i sign o can be explained. The aforementioned peculiarity of d causes its transition to o or u in the neighbourhood of labial consonants: upr'i

< dard "earth". ä with a soft timbre is a close palatal vowel and represents the palatalised variant of the vowel " (ö tends to transition to e). Kalasev's opinion that 't was necessarily borrowed from the Azerb. is erroneous, as it is encountered quite often in</p>

\words of Aramaic origin (even in texts by Kalasev): e.g. tnöJéit

- , , Kaiser",  $id\ddot{a}$  "hand" etc. a with a medium timbre is the common vowel e. It is, if one may say so, the "pure a" (cf. Jespersen iö2
- § Q"). Those authors who divide the Assyrian vowels into two rows

(Kalasev. J-smanov), mostly render a as a vowel of the front row ('i). In Kalaéev one observes a wavering in the rendering of the e middle timbre, cf. drs 'i/örhö "U ast"; one might think that Kalasev

didn't know whether to write ä or d when he heard this vowel in the middle row.

Vowel E: z with a hard timbre represents the velarised vowel and is reminiscent of a delabialised o. c with a soft timbre is the palatal vowel, more closed than a and not unlike the /ranc.  $\acute{e}$ .  $\acute{e}$  with a medium timbre is a midtongue vowel that is close to the French open  $\acute{e}$ .

Vowel I: i with a hard timbre is velar, similar to the Russian y, although it is formed lower than the latter. Yusmanov is right when he categorises it as a delabial fourth u. (, like d, changes easily into li when it is placed next to labial consonants: 6 isfd "Laucli" > busl  $\ddot{a}$ ; indeed, not only here, but also in the Russian language.

at the beginning of XV: usrä "ten" < \*srá. i with a soft timbre is a close \'order-tongue vowel. i with a medium timbre is a medium-tongue vowel and wider than i. Most authors do not distinguish it from i, although t is sometimes represented by special signs (in Kalaścv - 6t, in Prym, Socin and Kampfmeyer - ().

Vowel O: o with a hard timbre is the usual velar consonant. ii with a soft timbre is palatal and represents the labialised variant of e; acoustically it is reminiscent of French en. Some authors consider it foreign (Nöldeke, Kalaśev, Lopatinskij), but it appears not only in loanwords, but also in Aramaic expressions: g type "husband" < / gòr,  $n\ddot{o}r\ddot{a}$  "mirror" \$/n yr.  $\grave{o}$  with medium timbre is weakly palatalised a, it ivechselt zuu eilen with o, sometimes with  $\ddot{o}$ .

Vowel 6': u with a hard timbre is the "simple" back-tongue vowel, which is equivalent to the vowel i according to its degree of opening.  $\ddot{u}$  with a soft timbre is a close front-tongue vowel, which is the labialised variant of i. Acoustically, it is similar to the French it. It and your German  $\ddot{u}$ .  $\dot{u}$  with a medium timbre is the weakly palatalised vowel  $\phi$ . It should be mentioned here that  $\ddot{o}$  and  $\dot{u}$  occur in place of  $\dot{a}$  and  $\ddot{u}$  after labial consonants in the neighbourhood of vowels with a soft timbre: möòùiiir $\ddot{o}$  "he showed himself", tnófr j $\ddot{o}$  "soviet".

z. Overshort vowels. Among the vowels, although quite rare, one also encounters over-short vowels (schwa). Usually they have been lost, but in certain cases the over-short vowels have been transformed into short ones. Thus, between two initial consonants, the former schwa has now disappeared everywhere: q1e?d "murder, assassinate" < q-  $\tilde{a}l\tilde{a}$ ,  $\tilde{s}v\tilde{a}qa$  "dismissed"  $< \tilde{s}$ - $b\tilde{a}q\hat{a}$ . In the d žilu texts edited by Socin, schwa is sometimes preserved in such examples: li-g- $d\tilde{a}l\hat{u}$  "at your neck", but li-g- $d\tilde{a}l\tilde{u}$  "at the necks" is also found. Schwa is also often omitted in the middle of the word.

The over-short vowel turns into i in nouns of feminine gender of type  $qa1/: m\ddot{o}/i\dot{a}/\ddot{o}$  "empress"  $< ina/\grave{e}/a$ , sometimes this also happens in nouns of other typs, e.g.  $madin\ a$  "east"

 $< madn- \tilde{a}$ .

Sporadically, over-short t/i (more likely irrational) occurs after the relative tis-partikel d: d- $m\ddot{a}lk\ddot{a}$  "of the emperor", d- $tr\phi$  "of the second".

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In the Assyrian texts of Socin and **Prym**, in addition to the over-short vowel, other over-short vowels are also found: °, ' in the dialogue x'on Tiir'.£bdin; \*, ', " in D Filuic (in this one in particular).

3 Si lb c a n d V o k a1. The short \'okals often change depending on whether they are in open or closed syllables. The vowels usually change in closed syllables or in the vicinity of historical U-emidates.

In Wan and Salamassisclien, the broad a is narrowed in closed syllables (regardless of stress) and changes to *i*; salam. *iniQriniiiii* "I will cut him" (cf. urm. *wia;bri* "*iini*), wan. nitfJiit

"I heat" < mafsiii. The transition from a to i also occurs in other dialects. (The narrowing of a to i is characteristic of the North Semitic languages, e.g. a > i in the Pi "el of Hebrew *iffsf* < pallel j.)

A transition from a to t under the same I3conditions can be found in D liluish (although here not as systematically as in Salamasian and Wanish):  $sr6nit/\ddot{a}$  "you will sell them" < zahiti/-fe, lehnia

"bread" (cf. Urm. *lapma*). In the dialect of Tiir' Äbdin the reverse phenomenon occurs, here r is broadened to a in closed syllables.

In closed syllables the transition from ii to i is also quite frequent (especially in salam.). Here it must be noted that in such syllables one also encounters a palatalised u ( - i'), i.e. a vowel close to the i: salam. *Lili* "lileidung" < *July* next to pen. i instead of ii is also attested in Moses (E. Sachau, Skizze des Fellichi-Dial. i 8q3], 66): 6iI

"more" (Urm. bus). Such a vowel change is also known in other Semitic languages (Brockelmann, Grundriß h3).

4 V o k a 1 a n d b e t on u ng. The length of the vowels depends on the stress; long vowels have only been preserved in stressed syllables, In addition, \'okaJe usually become long when they end up in a stressed

In addition, VokaJe usually become long when they end up in a stressed (and open) syllable. Shifting the stress position causes vowel reduction, which can lead to vowel loss. The question of the interrelationship between the length of vowels and stress will be discussed in ilap. III).

From the point of view of the qualitative \( \frac{1}{2} \) change of \( \)'oka1s depending on the stressability of a syllable, the opposing

.ßusages of D žiluic and Tiaric are of particular interest. In D 2iluisclien, o and u alternate with each other, with o appearing in pre-stressed (open and closed) syllables, but it only in stressed closed or post-stressed open syllables: foafJi "he said" (cf. urm. fiiiiifi), gúmfo "camel", méluli "lay down!" mátiu-li. In Tiar. on the other hand, o occurs in a prefixed syllable instead of o (also in stressed closed syllables): öna

"brother", but wrròj "brothers". Something similar is observed in Ma'lüla, z o o changes into u in unstressed syllables.

# Kapitcl III Large VoŁalc

i. Ve r h a l l i n g f r o m Vo k alq u a l i t y t o Vo k a l q u a n t i t y. Every A flat Syriac vowel can be long. Thus, in addition to  $\ddot{a}$ , e, i,  $\ddot{o}$ ,  $\ddot{u}$ ; a, c, i,  $\ddot{o}$ , it d, z, \*, o, it, there are also their long variants: in the front row  $\ddot{a}$ , i, i, o, u; in the middle row d,  $\dot{c}$ , i, o,  $\dot{u}$ , in the back row e, a, it,  $\ddot{o}$ ,  $\dot{u}$ .

If one examines the relationship between vowel quantity and quality, one notices that the long vowels with a hard timbre are softer compared to the short  $\Psi$ ocals of the same series. In this context, the initial articulation of the vowel has certain significance. Of the variants of the vowels 0 and U, o and u (with a hard timbre) are most likely to be perceived, and of the variants of the vowels  $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$  and I, the lengths t and  $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$ . This explains the deharmonising power of i in  $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$  words with a hard timbre, as well as the many cases in which  $\hat{o}$  and ii are found instead of  $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$  and  $\hat{\mathbf{u}}$ . A, however, is a vowel whose **length** is easy to find **in** all variants.

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z. Se c o n d e r e l a n g e s . The long vowels can be primary or secondary. The latter came about as a result of the loss of guttural and pharyngeal consonants ( $n\ddot{a}ra$  "river"  $< nahr\ddot{a}$ ,  $ris\ddot{a}$ , mos. rcka "head"  $< ri'\acute{e}\ddot{a}$  or ru'fa,  $tal\ddot{a}$  "fox" < fa'Ja), as a result of the simplification of geminates (gd  $d\ddot{a}$  "wall"  $< gudd\ddot{a}$ , salam. Gigi/ "please" < ;biqqid < Qnqqid) or as a result of contraction of the diphthongs aj and ay (hdfa "house" < h'tjfi,  $l\ddot{o}ra$ 

"bull" < foyrd). The contraction of diphthongs is particularly strong in Uralic and Salamassic.

It must be mentioned here that the contraction of diphthongs to- is eilen disturbs the hard timbre of a word, especially in cases where the diphthong was preceded by a ': 'i/tt d ".Auge, Quelle" < 'ojn'i (in **Müller**, however, *ené* "die Augen" : Nöldeke, Neusyr 9). '!-! "vogel" (next to

 $lkr\ddot{a}$ ) < **fajre.** The diphthongs ag and i are not contracted when they are Reproduce pronouns: ay (Syr. hau) - pers. pron. masc. gen. 3rd pers. sg. (he), aj  $[h\ddot{a}i$  -- pers. pron. lem. gen. 3rd pers. sg. (she).

3 L a n g e v o c ale in a closed syllable. Like the primary vowels, the secondary long vowels in closed (also stressed) syllables also become short. For example, a stressed open syllable closes when the

Formans fern. gen. f is added, whereupon the vowel becomes short:  $jaq\ddot{U}ra$  "heavy" (masc.), but jaqär/a "heavy" (fern.). Similar examples are found in the Old Aram, dialects.

The only exception is in Wan, where long \'okale remain in certain cases even in closed syllables; so after the loss of the final vowel in the preterit of the verbs: Kif "he went away" < zili < zil-li, zt'in "he bought" < zvini c zvin-li.

4 L a ng e vo c a 1e i n open syllable. Long vowels have been preserved in accented, open syllables, e.g. a'ntr "he speaks" < 'Amir,  $iq\ la$  "nehmen" <  $kg\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}$ .

The tone is usually on the penultimate syllable, which is why long vowels are regularly found here. An unstressed vowel is always short, even in an open syllable: *b-'an bla* "clergy", but It\* eva "priest". The final vowels of the stat. emphatic domina of modern Aramaic dialects are always short: jöfa "child" instead of ta/'i, f/ding "peace" instead of Ifatn'i. This is why long final vowels, which are used in transcripts

The authors of the Assyrian texts obviously proceeded from etymological considerations.

In stressed open syllables, not only have the historically long vowels been retained, but the short ones have also become long. This can be observed particularly well in syllables that are secondarily open: sdra s 'I6ra "blond", eilt *Willi* "he went away" etc. some.

In dialects, however, short vowels also occur in open stressed syllables: *llbä* "heart", fqi/t "he took". In this case, the syllable is secondarily open due to x-on geminate simplification. Vowels are usually lengthened in similar cases, but sometimes they remain short out of inertia, as it were. Something similar can also be observed in Ma'1üla.

5 'e re n g u n g la n ger v o c ale. The \(\xi\)'erengung of long vowels is a widespread phenomenon in the Scmitic languages. It can also be observed in the living Aramaic dialects. The transition from 'i to d, which is characteristic of \\Vest Syriac, is found in the dia-

lects of Ma'lüla and Tür':\bdin. In the latter, a is only of secondary origin. The transition from ö to d is also quite frequent in D zi1uiscl:en:  $Levi < d\ddot{a}vi$  "gold" (pl.),  $brcla\ br\ddot{a}ta$  "girl". In Proto-Germanic, almost exclusively only primary ö and d are contracted: siniiqa "red (neutr.)" < sioö- qfi, the ending of the deminutive form -Mina - $\ddot{o}n\ddot{a}$ , the plural ending of No- mina in Stat. emphat. i instead of d etc. The vowels d and  $\ddot{o}$  are usually not contracted if they a re formed by contraction from ay or aj:  $h\acute{e}ta$  "house" and not  $\ddot{o}*/a$ . In Salam. the contraction of long vowels was still is-c-iter, here one finds not only the cases that show contraction of long vowels in Proto-Indo-European, but also those in which Proto-Indo-European does not show contraction of long vowels.

¥'crcngung has: /i/i "night" (Urm. fd/i), tnifä "forest" (Urm. tndfa).

Here we must also mention the cases in which  $\ddot{o}$  (although in the form of a short o) has survived alongside tt from  $\ddot{o}$  in Salam. and Urmian. Thus, for example, in the pronoininal suffix fern. gen.  $3_{rd}$  pers. sy. -o ( $<\ddot{o}$ ), but masc. den. u (< ii) originated from the same  $\ddot{o}$  (*lävirto* "her cow", but föririo , seinc cow", both from *tayirtö* . In this way, the morphological units  $\ddot{o}$  next to  $\ddot{o}>$  ii have been preserved for the purpose of b'nter- differentiation.

The contraction of the vowels  $\ddot{o}$  and  $\ddot{d}$  is even rarer in other dialects. In Mosul, the alternation of  $\ddot{o}$  and ii is documented (Sachau, Sketch 64); in the dialect of Tür'-bdin, old  $\ddot{o}$  always changed to ii, while e remained (inisédao "poor", cf. urm.  $mis\acute{e}in\ddot{a}$ , but rcho ..stench", urm. riha).

What has just been said shows that the tendency to narrow long vowels is not equally strong in all Assyrian dialects.

The constriction of long vowels is not only known in Semitic, but also in languages of other systems. We therefore assume that we are not dealing here with the phonetic peculiarity of a single language, but with a general phonetic phenomenon. Similarly, the narrowing of long vowels in English or the Arabic zinaefa can be explained by the assimilatory influence of the sounds i and j (as correctly noted by Brockelmann, Grundriß \*4Z). This also includes the transition from  $\ddot{o}$  to  $\ddot{o}$  in Arabic (e.g. in the

language of the Fellahs or in the dialects of Central Asia), but with the difference that in the case of  $\ddot{a} > \ddot{o}$  the narrowing is due to a shift of the articulation to the back, and in the case of  $\ddot{o} >> d$  the narrowing is due to a shift of the articulation to the front. Other examples could be given. Since the narrowing of long vowels is due to a general phonetic tendency, the question arises as to the influence exerted by the phonetic nature of long vowels in general. The modern Assyrian dialects also follow this tendency towards the narrowing of long vowels. In Dlilu, Salamassic, Urmian and in the dialect of "rūr'Abdin, the process is carried out in the same way as it used to be in the

\Western Syriac; in Mosul, however, we are only dealing with the initial process. Similar transitions of long \"okale in Salamassic and Urmian can be explained by a general phonetic tendency and not by mutual influence of the dialects, which is also confirmed by the material from Mosul.

6. d i p h t h o n g isitisation of long vowels. I n all Assyrian dialects, but especially in Proto-Muslim, the long vowels show a strong tendency towards diphthongisation. d > cj (IIdfö "drink" > ff pj/ö), i > ii (iiid/fö "city" > mdi  $jt\ddot{a}$ , sometimes followed by a voiceless j: mdiJ $i\ddot{a}$ ), ii > uj (it  $ii\ddot{a}$  "fish" >  $ii\ddot{u}$ jii'I) are particularly common.

In Salamassic, ii does not become oj, but oj 'li (uJ before voiceless consonants, u before voiced consonants): jaf'iijfo "apple" (cf. urm. /inéiijla) < Jaöiila,'  $rin\ ra$  "fire" (Urm. tiüjrö) < tiiira. This transition (iI > uf /uif) is only found in Salamassic. It should be noted here that if only occurs after the velar vowel ii (from ii), while the long palatal vowels d and i also produce falling diphthongs in Salama.

(sj and ii) Thus, as already mentioned above, salam. unlum corresponds to iij. This fact leads to the following assumption: since u is velar, the following palatal spirant j must be replaced by a velar one, i.e. j must merge into h/. Therefore, uf ju from ii is basically a diphthongisation.

Diphthongisation in the Assyrian dialects is linked to the narrowing of long vowels in a similar way to English, and both are to be seen as the result of one and the same general tendency.

# Chapter I V. Semi-vocal and Di pMhonge

In modern Assyrian dialects, as in Semitic languages in general, there are two semi-vowels: p and j, which can be primary or secondary.

The labio-labial fricative it (which corresponds to the English tr) changes into a labio-dental r or the vowel u if certain conditions are lacking (thus the copula y/p-). However, the voiced palatal fricative j (German j), which replaces y in a number of cases, is particularly persistent. At the end of a syllable, j becomes voiceless before voiceless consonants and changes into the voiceless palatal spirant J: héfi2 "my house" < hd/ij, éiJ/ä 6fj/d ( < 6f/a) "egg". Primary sy only occurs in diphthongs, otherwise it transforms into a labio-dental v: q'iriiro

"cock" < qfiriiyö. In Tiaran, one encounters parallel forms: qapfo/yov/o "voice" < §'oy/ö, foyro,/fovro "bull" < fo¿rä.

Secondary y often arose from v when it clashed with the vowel ii: fväyü/ä (next to Jrövu/ä) "neighbourhood" < tiar la ( < t-bcbctä). Secondary esp could also have arisen as a result of spirantisation of 6 (as in the dialects of Mosul and Tür'.4bdin): mos. lizyäna "to buy" < lizbäna, liyäla "to give" < li-bälä (Sachau, Sketch 66), as well as from j after vowel u. This is usually the case in the infinitives of weak 2nd class verbs ending in j: tnÄfüpi instead of mögt uji "to water".

p is also sometimes used as a hiatus between two vowels when the first is a ii: os "i dti/u "Turk", but osiitdti/iipi, "Turk" instead of oswiarifcn'

Secondary j formed as a result of consonant reduction *diijlä* "place" < *dukla*) or in the neighbourhood of i with preceding heterogeneous

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vowel (e.g. the ending of the nomina tem. gen. -'ij instead of - $\ddot{a}i$ , which in turn goes back to -- $\ddot{a}fi$ ). Secondary j could also occur between two vowels (urm. m ji "he wears" from m'ii < ntéli, where the spirantised I has dropped out;  $lcvin\ b$  dassd "I know" <  $f\acute{e}eiii\ bid\ddot{a}'\ddot{a}$ . In this case, the neighbouring of two vowels after the loss of ' is avoided by the semivowel j).

Of the diphthongs, the falling ones are particularly widespread, which is characteristic of the Semitic languages in general. In their texts, the respective authors have named a different number of diphthongs: from 3 (Maclean) to zi\* \*3 (Socin).

We ourselves have identified 9 diphthongs: ab, aj, aj, rj (dj), iy, my, ij, uj and oj, which vary depending on the timbre: dg and äy. \*i and äj etc.

The diphthongs aj and ab have been preserved in the dialect of Tür'Äbdin, in D 2ilui-schen, Tiarian and some other dialects (often ab occurs as ar, due to transition from y xu v): d 2il. qayfo "legacy", tiar. jay ja "peach", "iajfa "forest" etc. The old diphthongs ay and aj still exist in the dialect of Ma'lfila: §ajfe "house" ( < haj/ä), gayza

"Nuss" < **geyzä** (Spitaler, Ma'lüla z z). These diphthongs are contracted in Urman, Salamassic, Wan and often also in Mosul: ay  $> \ddot{o}$  and  $ai\ c$ . (These secondary vowels were discussed above in Chapter III, Long Vowels). This contraction is known in all Semitic languages.

It should also be mentioned here that the contracted and uncontracted diphthongs ay and aj are used to distinguish morphological categories, namely personal and demonstrative pronouns: ab

"he", but o (ö) "that one", both from the same et, also 'ij "she", but r ( < é) "that one", both from aj.

The diphthong Vj is a form of the plural of the nomina lem. gen. (< -ali) and is not contracted: haj/'ij "the women".

The diphthong ej usually occurs in loanwords or as a result of the diphthongisation of d: urm. zrjfwi "olives" ( < Arab.), rjraii ( < Pers.). (For the diphthongisation of é see above : long vowels).

The diphthong ii in Aramaic words, as Nöldeke correctly notes, is due to the spirantisation of labial consonants: ih ii, sometimes also i@, ii ( Neo-Aramaic Ib).

and usually merged into long u (ii). An exception is the Urmian dialect, where ip is always preserved at the end of a word, often also in the middle: mos. lila "the villages", but Urm. /irfä

fiöJö, d Lil. male "lege hin", but urm. ml tiv.

The dirhthong *ij* only arose as a result of diphthongisation of f (see chapter: "Long vowels").

The diphthong my emerged from nb and, like *iy*, was contracted to ii. This process (up > ii) can be observed in all Assyrian dialects with the exception of Urmian, where tig (often as he) has been preserved: d 2i1. éfii/i "write!", but urm. étiiv-li/bluy-li btub-li, wan. liten "glory", but urm. £uyja/Iuvja < sub ja.

The diphthong oj is a variant of ii and only occurs in Proto-Muslim: bäsmüjlä "health" < basmiila, **plujla** "high time" < Attila.

The diphthong *oj* only occurs in word contractions when the preceding word ends in o: *lojba* "to that side" < So gt öä, *gojiio* "in their eyes" < go djiio.

#### PART 1 I: LAUT E VALUATIONS

# Ka pilel V. Assimilations

Assimilation is the most widespread combinatorial **sound** change in modern Assyrian dialects, where not only consonants but also vowels are assimilated. Often one also observes assimilations of consonants to vowels (spirantisation) and vice versa assimilations of vowels to consonants (e.g. velarisation of vowels in the vicinity of emphatic consonants) -.

I. Complete assi miliation of c o ns on a nts. To explain a complete assimilation as a result of geminate simplification, it is essential to consult the history of the word in question. If two different consonants used to correspond to one consonant in a word, this can indicate a complete assimilation that once took place. This phonetic process can be easily traced by comparing a word with its equivalents from other Semitic languages.

m See Chapter V II "On the question of spirantisation" and Chapter VI II "Synharmonisation".

resembles. Arabic usually shows the original state (form without assimilation), the Hebrew-Aramaic languages, actually the ancient Aramaic languages, the following stage (geminate after complete assimilation) and the modern Assyrian dialects the final stage, i.e. a consonant in place of the geminate, e.g. Arabic sanaJ, Syriac faffä, but Urm. ' - ...year".

Complete assimilation usually takes place in the immediate neighbourhood (contact assimilation), which usually includes sonorants and dentals  $(r, /, ii, more\ rarely\ d,\ f)$ , as is also the case in other Semitic languages. It should be noted here that complete contact assimilation is regressive in most cases, e.g. qdtio "horn" < qaand

< qartiä (cf. Syr. qartid, Hebrew qarrii, Arabic qarti, Akkadian Martin); éisä "life" < bissä < birsä (cf. Syr. karsä, Hebrew kärcé, Arabic lariJ and Wirf, Akkad. Carla); \*rd "he-goat" < 'izzä < 'iozä (cf. Arabic 'nah, Akkad. znzu; gibä "side" c giéhd < gitiéa (cf. Syr. gabbä and Arabic Laub).

Cases of progressive assimilation also occur, but are fairly rare (e.g. in the verb dvii ('zl j "to go" and astq (sf $\S$ ) "to rise", where the root J has been assimilated to the preceding consonants:  $\ddot{a}zin < \ddot{a}zlin$  "I will go" and  $\ddot{a}siq <$  s'iftq; i i $\ddot{a}$  "however" < in-tia

<'iti-/d); the assimilation of the sonorant to the preceding consonant is an exception and is explained by the nature of the f. For example, assimilation is progressive in verbal suffixation when the suffix-f is aligned with the preceding sonorant: g'rirä "she got married" < grir-re < grir-fä,-fiidiiii "he is crazy" < kudin-ni

< 5udin-li etc. In the dialect of Ma'lüla it is the other way round in such cases, where the preceding sonorant of the stem is assimilated to the f: amelle

< \(\alpha\) mor-le (Spitaler, Ma'1\(\tilde{u}\)la 371\(\cdot\) in the Eastern Aramaic dialects gethat never happens.

Complete distance assimilation, a rare phenomenon in the Semitic languages, is almost completely absent in modern Assyrian dialects. Such cases as  $tri'f\acute{e}nij$  "really?" < Russian nzu2ell, where n ... l > ii ... n, or 'tf i "soon" < pers.  $\ddot{a}fdt$ , where

 $\dots d > \dots$  are extremely rare.

z. Partial assimilation of consonants. The partial assimilation of consonants is a widespread phenomenon. If, in order to clarify the complete assimilation of consonants, one uses the €ieschic lite of a

word, the results of partial assimilation are obvious.

Teüassimilation can refer to the place of articulation of a sound as well as to its quality (voicing, voicelessness, emphasis), resulting in homoorganic ("i and  $\acute{e}$ , n and dj or homogeneous consonants ( $\S$  and /, b and d, \$ and /).

Particularly common is the assimilation of consonants after the Q,uali This is the process of harmonising voiced consonants with voiceless consonants, harmonising voiceless consonants with voiced consonants and changing voiced consonants into abrupt consonants. The same applies to the transition of simple consonants into emphatic consonants (here we are thinking of the time when emphatic consonants still existed in all Assyrian dialects).

The harmonisation of voiced consonants with unvoiced consonants is regressive and without exception; voiced consonants always become unvoiced if they are followed by an unvoiced consonant: e.g.  $\ddot{o}$  § : §AiJ "cry!"  $< \ddot{o}$ Aij

< ö' f; d> f: fJtrt "he remembered" < dfiiri < d-bir-li ; g> é:  $\acute{e}Ji\acute{e}$ -"ff

"he began to laugh"  $< gpibl\ddot{a}$  etc. On the basis of what has just been said, it must be noted that the non-assimilated forms in the texts

G. Bergsträsser are based on the etymological considerations of the author and are not always phonetically reliable.

In the dialects there are also cases of progressive assimilation of voiced consonants to voiceless ones, but they are few in number and can be explained by comparative historical analysis (as in the case of complete assimilation). For example, the words *j päqa* "Rusen" and *jäpiq* "embrace" go back to the root ctrl, which is preserved in Arabic and Hebrew, but also in some Aramaic dialects (Judeo-Aramaic, Mandaean). This root is replaced by a voiceless § instead of a voiced h only in modern Assyrian and Syriac ('§q). The same is also observed with the root of the verb sä§tr "to wait", which is derived from sör

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is. The originally voiced 8#virzeI-b appears in all Semitic languages: Hebrew dbr; Jewish-aram, sjr, Arabic s6r. It should be noted here that the voiced b is preserved in the nouns derived from this  $\$ #'urzel, e.g. söra, where  $\ddot{o}$  is the result of a contraction of a spirantised h with a preceding a. We also have a progressive assimilation of a voiced Ilonsonant to a voiceless one in the word zfa nä (urm., salam.; tiar.  $\$ \$/aiia) "ploughshare, plough", where the second consonant t goes back to d (< paddänä). As Nöldeke (Neusyr. 46) correctly notes, after the loss of gemination and the prefixed vowel pdana had to become pläna. (Actually, the development f'danä > bdäna would have been more natural for the modern Assyrian dialects, as can be seen from Mossul: Mel., Dict. zu).

The harmonisation of voiceless consonants with voiced consonants almost always takes place in contact position and is regressive. According to our Sf material, p,  $\acute{e}$ , s always become voiced (f iifja "uprising" < fgoija, zili "he saw" <  $Ijz^{\circ}ili$ , Isindd "harvest" < lt tsdd <  $pisd\ddot{a}$ ), I and I"

(  $\leq$  §t) it is often \g'dälfi "he cleans"  $\leq$  é'ddJi), é and q rarely ( $\frac{1}{gm5}$ 

< J/ X'ttJ "to oppress", gdi/ä "key" < qdifä). Sometimes the changes go so far that they cannot be explained without consulting the historical circumstances, e.g. giiJ§ä "wing" presumably to ( kl p/( knp ', in other Semitic languages and dialects the original é has been preserved here, n appears as the second root sound : arab. lati'i/, Hebr. #öiia§, West-Aram. éaii§'i, Syr. #eii;i'ä, Akkad. éaQQii (here the second root sound has been assimilated to the third). In his New Syriac grammar (Neusyr. go), Nüldeke mentions the word liti/ä, which we have not encountered in the Assyrian dialects. However, if one remembers the alternation of u and i, which is known in the modern Aramaic dialects (cf. above), the form #uii¢a would also be very possible in addition to éiiiO'i; moreover, an alternation of sonorants is common in the Semitic languages (cf. Hebrew éitinäm "the snakes" and Akkadian kalntalu', Hebrew / fmm "to bury" and Arabic }/ /mr with the same meaning): this also makes Anl pä appear natural alongside - Itiii\( \)a. After the regressive assimilation of lt, go/\( \)d had to arise. Therefore, assyr. gül pä must be regarded as belonging to the root #ii9, all the more so as it corresponds [gül pä to the (/'éii;b of the Semitic languages not only semantically but also phonetically.

The transition from stressed consonants to abruptive c is known only to modern Assyrian dialects; in the other Semitic languages (especially the older ones) abruptives did not exist at all. An assiinylation usually occurs before q and t: 1iija "flat"  $< Q/ii\pounds$ i; qatti "e stands up" cJqa "i < éi gfi'ini; fqéfa "burst" c; bqé/'i < ; /'; b'y'.

A transition of simple consonants into emphatic consonants (by assimilation) is not found in **modern** dialects, because there are neither em{'hatic consonants nor ' that cause this transition

kiinnten. However, it exists in the dialect of Ma'lüla, where the emphatic consonants and 'have been preserved: *les'a* "nine" < **frJ'ö** (Spitaler, Ma'lüla i z). This assimilation also took place in our dialects, however, when

the sounds mentioned still existed. Thus: **rajil** "run"  $< rhl \ rhl \ (cf. \ Xeusyr._S9)$ ; saf(;b "chop holx"  $< st \ p < st \ p$  (i b i d 47)

Lehne words are subject to all assimilation rules known in Assyrian dialects (regressive and contact assimilation: fäs/t\* *ärä* "passage" < pers. arab. fndéare, rtsqa "cattle" < arab. rief).

It can also often be observed that an eonsonant at the end of a word is aligned with the initial consonant of the following word:  $kiz\ b\ddot{a}bu$  "to his father" <  $kis\ b\ddot{a}bu$ ,  $lhm\ b\ d\ddot{a}$  "I don't know" < fair  $bid\ 4\ liv\ in\ bid$ 's' $\ddot{a}$ . This is also the case in the genitive constructions:  $marid\ \beta$  s/ dn "the master of the garden", but "i\ddot{a}ri/siijsi" "the **master** of the horses". Hier svould also be the omposita such as  $b\ddot{a}\{-m\ddot{a}lh\ddot{a}$  "empress" < bar "woman" and nin/é?I " emperor", éiid'iii/"always" <  $h\ddot{u}dddnl\ <$   $k\ i'il$  "everyone" and 'ldm "time". In all these cases of consonant anglicisation, stress plays an is esent role because it connects the words. Assimilation of individual words is only found sporadically.

The need to distinguish homonymous \Viirter from each other prevents consonant assimilation: J/  $_a$  ..Jahr" < fi// $\ddot{o} < fi$ n/ $\ddot{a}$ , but ii'i/ $\ddot{o}$  "sleep", where al does not merge into f/.

The modern Assyrian dialects have much in common with the ancient Semitic languages in terms of consonant assimilation, but they also differ from them in certain respects. Thus

z. For example, the anglicisation of voiceless consonants to voiced consonants is generally widespread in the Se- mitic SP raChs and modern As.Syriac dialects, but unlike Assyrian, in the old

Semitic languages, voiceless sounds are often voiced,

while in modern Assyrian voiceless spirants become voiced, or else: in the Semitic languages sonorants usually cause the transition of voiceless consonants to voiced ones, while in modern Assyrian such **cases** occur extremely rarely. From what has just been said, there is a chronological difference between the individual cases of assimilation in modern Assyrian, sometimes the assimilation is earlier, sometimes later. It is difficult to imagine, for example, that a complete assimilation of dentals is a new phenomenon; one encounters it only in a few words, namely in those in which a similar assimilation is also known in the other Semitic languages. However, the regressive assimilation to dentals is characteristic of modern Assyrian and is hardly ancient.

#### Chapter VI Palatalisation of consonants

In modern Assyrian dialects, the velar closure sounds g, é and / tend strongly towards palatalisation, which is particularly widespread in the easternmost dialect, Urmian. They are less common in other dialects, most frequently in Wan and Sala-Massic.

If g, é, are palatalised, the result is g, l and : urm. éii/i "everything",  $d\ddot{u}g!!l\ddot{a}$  "lie", sal. 1 §\*tii "the hungry", d Lil. a "i/t "morning", tiar.  $g\ddot{a}n!!u$  "himself". It is also common for velar consonants to be palatalised in Urmian, whereas this is not the case for the same words in other dialects: urm. # ü " black", but sal. Firma, tiar. éöma; urm.  $g!\ddot{u}r\ddot{a}$  "big", wan., tiar., d 2il.  $g\ddot{o}ra$ , sal. giira.

The second degree of palatalisation of g, é,

which is represented by the consonants , c, r, which are completely new for Aramaic, e.g.  $g > : \ddot{u}$  "in", iitn/ $\ddot{a}$  "camel" (also git and  $g\ddot{u}ml\ddot{a}$ );  $\dot{e} > J$ : Jni $\ddot{a}$  "how much",  $\ddot{b}$  irJ $\ddot{a}$  "knee" (1 "i $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$  ir $\dot{e}$   $\ddot{A}$ ); \* J: r9ani "he stands up" < qa "i  $\dot{e}$  t $\dot{q}$  q'i"). In some cases, the velar closing sound even changes into a palatal j: / $\ddot{a}$ j $\ddot{o}$ a" on this side" < fd?ta  $\ddot{g}$ t $\ddot{b}$ a and f $\ddot{o}$ j $\ddot{e}$ a" on that side" <  $\ddot{b}$ 0  $\ddot{o}$ 1  $\ddot{o}$ 2  $\ddot{o}$ 3  $\ddot{o}$ 4  $\ddot{o}$ 5  $\ddot{o}$ 6  $\ddot{o}$ 6 "on that side" <  $\ddot{o}$ 6  $\ddot{o}$ 6  $\ddot{o}$ 7  $\ddot{o}$ 8  $\ddot{o}$ 9

Palatalised q is only attested in one case: "ia\$jia "to become green (plant)" next to tnaqjiii (Neusyr 40) AuSgFtngsform is tnaqjiii, which belongs to tnagjiii (Neusyr 40) AuSgFtngsform is tnaqjiii, which belongs to tnaqjiii (preen". Here q became voiced and changed to g, whereupon g was palatalised (i.e. tnagqii).

In other dialects, the transition from g, é, to \$, c, f as a result of palatalisation is hardly known; the first stage (g, A, ), if attested, is less common than in Proto-Germanic.

Velar *l* became soft / through palatalisation: *{lä* "three", 1u/uti/r "three (collective number)", but urm. ffäj, wan. *Hi*, sah. //ij "thirty" (plural of fcd "three").

It should be noted here that the palatalisation of velar clasping sounds decreases the further west we go from the Urmian area. This leads us to assume that the palatalisation of velar clasping sounds arose in Proto-Mish and spread from there to the other dialects. This also explains the fact that cases of palatalised velars occur more frequently in Salamassic and Wanic than, for example, in Tiaric.

Palatalisation is caused by the palatal sounds j and f, as well as the vowels  $\ddot{a}$ ,  $\ddot{o}$ ,  $\ddot{u}$  (vowels with a soft timbre). For example, in the particle  $\acute{e}^*$ , the A is palatalised and changes to 1 or J, which becomes g or , before a voiced consonant, J\* or f before abruptives. It is worth noting here that in primitive English g,  $\acute{e}$ , is palatalised at the beginning of a word even when if they are followed by a vowel of the back row:  $\acute{e}$  u "i\*r\* "he has driven out", g iifig/a "she beheld, looked".

Palatalisation is sometimes also a means of semantic differentiation of words: g nivfi "he stole", but iiivJi "he robbed", both from g'iivJi (< gtiö); bg rid "the scraping", but h ärid "he tore off", both from i/grd.

#### Chapter VII On the question of piranlisation

i. S pi ra n t isi a l c onso n a n te s. Of particular interest is the spirantisation of the closing sounds b, g, d, b, p, t, which is phonetic law in the North Semitic languages.

In modern Assyrian dialects, the law of spirantisation is gradually losing its force, but its traces are largely preserved.

Of the above six capping sounds, only two (d and f) appear spirantised; interdental d and f result. They have been preserved in the western and central groups of our dialects (Tiari, Mar-Biéu, Mossul, Tchuma, Botan as well as in Ma'lüla): tiar. itea "he was",

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harda "hail", § adra < bi'l Madra "he turns uin", uitvãli "brothers", mos. saiiālû "the fireisinnen", 'ü afii "church"; kurdist. ja/iida "K nabe", mãta "village", âlé "cr6• -t"; asit. itiéfo "Sclixvur" etc.

It should be noted here that I was not always retained in the dialects mentioned; there are I' lle in which it changed to s or I (cf. below).

2. L a u t v e r c h i e v e . V'ur ò and Q were spirantised, so sic went over into the labio-dental spirants r and / (the second in  $\ddot{\mathbf{u}}$  r 'Ãbdin): urm. s  $v\ddot{a}$  "old man" sdàa, r\*l avä "rider" <  $rakk\tilde{n}h\tilde{a}$ , è ö/viii "I will write" <  $k\tilde{a}lbin$ , salam. lt/äeö "letter" < /t/'ibd,  $d\tilde{a}va$  "gold" < dah- $b\check{a}$ , wan.  $milvi\check{s}l\ddot{a}$  "of the share" c. iriafò $i\acute{s}/\ddot{a}$ ,  $bn\ddot{o}$   $\check{s}u$  "separated" <  $bnap\check{s}u$ , d  $\check{z}$ il.  $hiv\ddot{a}la$  "she has given" /iiòāfīī, lrøğJe "they have left behind"

< śòøğ-fe, tiar. qapre "Sarah" < qaòra, *di'iqle* "they have caught" dòtq-le, mos. rdvá "er u āchst" < *răbe*, *danva* "tail" < *danbá* uses'.

When the velars ø- and è were spirantised, they be c a me g and (the first is encountered quite rarely, but the second consistently): urm. pagra "body" < pagra, kii vii "star" < àaii@óa, salam. hat a

"like this, in this way"  $< had-\check{g}\tilde{a}, dmi\{ile \text{ "they lay down"} < dmi\grave{e}-le, \text{ d} 2il. \text{ d} \text{ f} - \text{ f} \text{ i} \text{ "i} \text{ eat"} < 'a\check{g}l\tilde{a}-li, \text{ tiar. } \S \ \~oja \text{ "the crying"} < b-\check{g}\tilde{a}J\tilde{a}, s\tilde{a}\check{g}id \text{ "to bow"}, \text{ mos. };b'zfi\check{g} \text{ "to share"} < \$afi\check{g}, \$if\check{g}lino \text{ "part"}, di runa \text{ "memory"} < di\check{g}r\hat{i}n\tilde{a}, 'a \text{ "sit. } dix \text{ "like"} < d\tilde{a}k \ (dix) \text{ usz-.}$ 

In the dialect of ùIa'lüla u only the super- ellar consonants g and I were affected by the sound shift, which, as in the eastern dialects, changed into  $\check{g}$  mid:  $so\ ra$  "plug"  $< say\check{g}r\tilde{a}$ ,  $a\ ira$  "servant"

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< agirñ, si ilèc• ..*• " < Sj\tilde{a}°gt\tilde{a} (Spitaler, Ma'líila •9)
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The spirantised labials and velars thus proved to be less stable (cf. Heb.), and although they retained their spirant pronunciation, they were articulatory shifted to the back:  $\grave{o} > v$ , p > /,  $g > \check{g}$ , >. Thus, spirantisation causes a phenomenon that is generally known under the name "sound shift".

The / resulting from spirantised § ( $\check{g}$ ) was contracted with preceding a to  $\~{o}$ , e.g. urm.  $n\ddot{o}s\ddot{a}$ , salam.  $noh\check{s}a$  "spirit, soul"  $nap\check{s}\~{a}$ , if / was contracted with preceding u, the result was  $\'{u}$ , tiar..., wan. riifa, urm.  $r\ddot{u}jf\ddot{a}$ , sal. masa "bee" < re/fd < rtiQśa, a/ contracted to  $\~{o}$  in biblical names originating from Syriac is the rule: ti $\~{o}fa$ 

< ria/Raj ")ephai" (Jud. i i ,), tiolâli ^z naftãli "Nephalim" (hon3• ) etc.

In all other cases in the Eastern Assyrian dialects, J changes from cnt- to the closing sound  $\S$ : urni. fö¢/ö "Sabbath" instead of foJfa, mal. ti $\S$ ra "land" instead of aJra, ivan.  $ti\S$ nä "hunger" instead of ki/na, d éi1.  $ta\S$ ra "better" instead of kafra etc.

In some dialects, spirantised (f) becomes the voiceless dental labial sound s or the alveolar fricative f, spirantised d(d) becomes z (the transition from to f is also known in Hebrew and Akkadian). This transition (d > z and 1 > s can be found in the dialect of Zacho.

In the dialects of Tiari and Asita, 1 changes to f: adia "ear"  $< n\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}$ , iadfa "village"  $< m\ddot{a}l\ddot{a}$  usz-., J in place of / occurs in the verb a/i "to go" in Tiaric and Wan: tiar. Juli "he came", Sifa "the one who came" < '-fila, wan. fifā "she came", rdf  $bis~j\ddot{a}$  "he goes" < '-iila, Teri~bi'ia;a.

In this verb ("to go"), the spirantised root consonant 1 is replaced by the voiceless palatal spi- rant g in Salamassic and D 2iluic: E\*fi "he came", la 2tja or le /!'a "don't go". We have not encountered y in place of f in other words.

It should be noted here that y only occurs in those dialects in which f is regularly cancelled (salam., d Lil., wan.). It is assumed that f goes through the h stage, but h is palatalised before i and j and merges into y, i.e. the spirantisation weakens the articulation of f, the oral articulation is lost, and only the guttural articulation of h remains, resulting in J after palatalisation.

I n the language of the Salamascan everyone, / appears in place of f: c/.'iti/o "dryness" < *vikiilä, mäla* "village" < *tnätä, t piriila* "beauty" < *5piriilä* (fiüldcke-Duval in : ZD MG. 37 [I S 3i, 6oz-603)

3 V e r l ust o f l a u t e s . If spirantised vowels are lost, they leave certain traces, for example in f, d, . In Salamassic, f is regularly omitted, and this is one of the most important peculiarities of this language.

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- ? is also sometimes d r o p p e d in Proto-Assyrian, where it is otherwise transformed into the verb f: **qaj "for** me" < **qäff**, öar "behind" < **öälar.** In all modern Assyrian dialects (i.e. not only in Salamassic, Wan and D lilu) d is also dropped quite frequently, although not as often as 1. d disappears in one and the same word: urm, wan, salam, tiar. Aa, wan, d Lil. je, mos. Sa < Jed "one", ga ri "before" < qed "i, qamdja
- < **q'zdmä/ä**, salam. gamä "the first". The verb j'ida' "to know" is an exception, here d disappears only in Salamassic, D 2iluic and Wa- nic: salam.  $\acute{e}i$  j'tii{t "I know" < Äi j'id'iti, li, Jdti "you do not know"
- < Ic j'id'at, wan. li jdjd "she knows" c ff j'id'ä. (In this verb d has remained in Mosul and the Kurdistani dialects, jafé, but in Mosul it is replaced by d, also in Anita, in Sams-Dine it became voiceless, in Proto-Muslim it was transformed into the abruptive 1, see Mcl., Dict. "s-zI6).

Spirantisation is understood to be the assimilation of a consonant to the preceding vowel in a spirantic relationship. If the spirant articulation is intensified - which is explained by the stronger assimilation of a consonant to a vowel - the sound formation decreases and the spirant is, if one may say so, "dissolved" in the preceding vowel. Therefore, the loss of a closure sound after a vowel is the final stage of its spirantisation. The same process also took place in Old Aramaic and Old Hebrew (cf. -ä, ending of the noun fern. gen. < -a/).

In the Assyrian dialects there is also an occasional loss of g(g): urm.  $l\ddot{a}da$  "almond"  $< Sa\ d\ddot{a}$ , mos. and tchum. 5eda (cf. syr.  $le\ dc$  plur.), urm. and salam. dft, kurdist. and mos. dft? "divide"  $< p\ddot{a}li$  (J/Ltg, cf. hild a "division" and mos. dft if i, Mel., Dict.); urm. rapiifa "plain" < r'igii/ $\ddot{a}$ , tiar. mäd, tchum., asit. iiäja "it days" < tigt (Mcl., Dict.), so also in the loanword Jra (urm.), lröyn "candlestick, censer" c frä 't (cf. syr. lragd, pers. r $\ddot{a}$ röy).

The table below gives a clear idea of the changes in consonants as a result of spirantisation.

q. N o t h e r in t e n t e d spirantisation. In the dialects, the law of spirantisation is often broken, with a spirant appearing after a consonant, and a closing sound after a vowel.

Here, the verba must be separated from the nouns insofar as the verba are words whose root vowels change place during inflection, i.e. one time the vowel is before, the other time after the consonant.

In the nouns, spirants occur after consonants if the spi- rant was once preceded by a vowel that later disappeared for reasons of emphasis: Ire vä "neighbour" < f-6ätiä, f naja "turmoil" < f- ufia, girt'Ä "leprosy" < girba, cf. Arabic Sarah, Hebrew garäö, j;alua "milk", cf. Arabic palab, Hebrew Jäfäh, dirr{, {tue( "vineyard", cf. Arabic 'inab etc. As can be seen from the comparison with the Arabic and Hebrew equivalents, there used to be a vowel before the spirant.

	Modern Aramaic dialects							
Old aram.	westl. Western Assyr.			OAssyrian dialects Ma'liila				
	Tu-'Ab	din jpg.	ph.	tiar.	salam <sub>-  </sub>		other	
ь	ь	ν	ν	v	v	v	v	
P	f	f	p	p	p	p	p	
§	¢	₫	<b>d</b>	Z	d	d	d	
<u>t</u>	t	<u>t</u>	t	S	N'i		t	
					1 (Hebrew) (sometimes			
g k	ģ h	g (ġ) h	g (ġ)	g (ġ) h	g (ģ) h	g (ģ) h	ausgef.) g (ġ) b	

In the nouns, we also encounter closure sounds after vowels. Here the vowels are new, i.e. formed secondarily by contraction of diphthongs (zdfn c s "jfä "olives",  $\ddot{a}$  # $\ddot{a}$ /\*#' $\ddot{o}$  "wo" < 'ajéä, £4g\*a "vapour"

## $< haug\bar{a}$ ).

This means that the contraction of the diphthongs was preceded by a loss of spirantisation, but after diphthongs a closure sound was not spirantised. Only a few words were an exception: *éiifiuä* #iJvä "star", salam. *btjä* "house" and era "cloud", cf. Kalasev,

Russko-ajsorskij i Ajsorsko-russkij slowar" [- 94s, 286.

In the word bijä the root-f has disappeared as a result of spirantisation. We believe that the process t o o k place as follows: ö "jfö haifn

> titla (here alignment of a with the following i) > b @ (spirantised f dropped out, j appeared between the vowels, as in other cases). The aforementioned process is confirmed by Tian: baija, the same form is

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is also attested in Biblical Aramaic, Bergsträsser considers it to be a dialect form peculiar to Biblical Aramaic (Einführung in die semit. Spr. [igz8j, 62). Thus one can assume that the spirantisation of the f preceded the contraction of the diphthong (in 'ti the following semi-vowel has the character of a vowel rather than a consonant, such a type of diphthong has been preserved in Ma'lüla: paila "house").

It is probably similar in the word **éiiJrä** "star", which originated from éapfrha. The second l was spirantised after the diphthong ab (an); this must also be regarded as a dialectical peculiarity.

It is interesting that the word for "star" in Judeo-Aramaic is similar: *böb-bä*, the same for "cloud": 'é e. Perhaps from this we can deduce

It can be concluded that the law of spirantisation was still at work in the language when the contraction of diphthongs had already begun, as U'. W. Cereteli noted.

Secondary are the vowels (usually i) in the far. Gen. of some words, as in  $m\ddot{a}likl\ddot{a}$  "empress" < maf/tfa, because  $\acute{e}$  was not spirantised here either.

Closure sounds after vowels occur when they are united from geminates: *difiä* "bear" < *dibbä*, cf. arab. *du6ö*, hiibä "love" < *hubbä* (cf. arab. *pubb*, syr. **Juöéa)**, g **eédra** "hero" < *gabbärä* (cf. arab. *abbär* and Hebr. *gibbör*), räb!'ävä "rider" < ra#éäha (cf. syr. **ro#éa6d)**.

Closure sounds are usually preserved after vowels in words with a hard timbre: send "finger" < sib'ä, äqubrä "mouse" < 'äqoörä. In no dialect is t spirantised after vowels in the personal endings of the verba: -if (z. Pers. Sg. masc. gen.), -af (same fern. gen.) -flwit (z. Pers. Pl.).

Closure sounds after ¥'okalen are regularly preserved in loanwords: *ziöfä* "rubbish" ( < kurd. *zihe*/, arab. *ziöf*), *päg!ä* "horse stable" ( < pers. §'igä), r'i *li/* "representative" ( < turk. *rc#if*).

In the ¥"erbs, the closing sounds change place during fle.xion, sometimes preceded by vowels, sometimes followed by them (cf. *päriq*, *f'mg*, §arqiii). Consequently, in the old Aramaic dialects, final vowels alternated with spirants, but only if the respective consonant was not verdo relt (in Stat. emphat.). In modern dialects, however

different, as there is only one variant in the verb root

of the consonant (entw edcr closing sound or spirans), which heals itself in all forms formed by this  $\$ Vurze1: {,'//ö: /f\*öä "Pitte", le /dföin

"I do not ask", f/iiö "please!", everywhere ö, but in //dbq : dviq/i "he seized", -/daviqv'i "he broke", 6iduaqrrif "you break", everywhere o, originated from spirantised h (b). It also happens that ö and v ( < f) alternate with each other in the same root, but in historically different genera:

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zbn: zävin "to buy" (peBal) < zäbin, but z'ttiia "to sell" (Pa "el) zabbin.
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It must be said here that the first root consonant of the verb is not spirantised, although in some forms it is preceded by the vowel of a prefixc: hrir/i "dried up" and mubrizli "he dried up", k!!!h.iblä "he laughed up" and mubjiblä "she forced to laugh", éfit'Ji "he wrote down" and 6ié/\*rg/i "he writes".

The verb  $m\ddot{a}ji$  "to bring", which is formed from  $\ddot{o}ii$  "to go", is an exception. Here via -{- ''ifi.' had to yield in'ifi, but 1 has disappeared between two vowels as a result of spirantisation: tiiafi > wi'ii, in Proto-Muslim a sound-separating j appeared between two vowels:  $m\ddot{a}ji$ . It is interesting that such a j does not occur in the Ioperative and  $\ddot{a}j$  is therefore contracted to d: mdj > md "bring.". It is clear from the U-esagt that j appears in the verb  $m\ddot{a}ji$  secondarily after \(\frac{1}{2}\)'erlust of the spirantised f(/). In this respect, N\(\text{Uildeke}\) is not right when he cites this H "ort as evidence for his thesis that consonants are spirantised after vowels in Urmian. Perhaps the loss of the f can be explained as an influence of the neighbouring Salamas- hic.

Although the modern Assyrian dialects no longer know the law of spirantisation, its traces have nevertheless survived as consonant loss. It must also be said here that certain chronological relationships between individual phonetic phenomena can be identified by examining the respective cases of spirantisation (contraction of diphthongs and spirantisation, simplification of geminates and spirantisation).

The study of spirantisation not only helps us to answer some questions about the history of Aramaic, but also enables us to uncover the origin of Lelin words.

# Kapitel VIII. Synharmonismus

i. Allgem e a Cha r a c ter isti c of S yn h ar m on is m us. In the modern Assyrian dialects, especially in Proto-Assyrian, there is a phonetic phenomenon that is characteristic of Turkic languages, the so-called vowel harmony (synharmonism). vowel harmony (synharmonism). It consists of all the vowels in a word matching the timbre of one vowel. This results in words with three types of timbre: soft, medium and hard. In the words of the first type, vowels with a soft timbre appear, e.g. /iit'ifā "she took", Hāh "peace"; in those of the second kind vowels with middle *saqrini* "I weave", hurra "body"; in those of the third kind vowels with hard timbre, *b jdl l i* "he eats", *lydsd* "back".

One of the most important features of vowel harmony is the differentiation of word meanings with the help of timbre: matt "village" and tndfi "pickaxe", f fä "fishing iron" and fdid "fox" etc.

I. V. Juémanov, who discusses this phenomenon, is absolutely right when he sees a collective phoneme in the timbre (Singarmonizm urmijsk. nar. [\*93], 305).

Vowel harmony occurs primarily in the word stem, but there are also This is also the case with affixes, i.e. the vowels of suffixes and prefixes take on the timbre of the stem (this is usually the case in Urmanian, often also in Sala-Massic and Wanic): auf-täv-/ä "to lay down", but *ma-qtal-tä* "to hit". However, the vowel harmony is not always determined by the stem, sometimes, if the stem is monosyllabic, it is determined by the affixes, *brüiiy* "my son", but öriitiohun "your son".

Composites are also subject to the law of vowel harmony. They usually have only one timbre for all components: märffmä "expensive" W m ri (Stat. constr.) "ruler" and limé "price", *bräsupd* "thimble"

< brat (desgl.) "daughter" and supk "finger". In compound nouns whose components have different timbres, the timbre of the whole word depends on the hard component.

In some cases, the vowel harmony not only covers the timbre of the vowels, but also their quality. Here we are dealing with an absolute vowel harmony: *éif§if* instead of *éif§ā/* "family", gd'i instead of *g!'dāmiJ* "to lie down".

In addition to the "timbre harmony" there is also a "labial harmony", i.e. a harmony in relation to the rounding of the lips; on the one hand

so we have O, on the other A, E, I, e.g. ucrit fia6ig "the land of my father" and tdrfdf if tiö "the leaves of the tree", uruf 't "jug, seidel"

< russ. brutto and s jfid "memory" < russ. sklad.

Depending on the hard or soft timbre of a word, its consonants are either abrupt or breathy or voiced or voiceless,

z. e.g. Wert.'tttd "flea" < purld'ia, lH "three" < lld, but gi§fö "vine", diik!tä "place". In words with a hard timbre, voiced consonants change to abruptives: tdtd "sweat" < ddld, drpd "four" < arbd, but bärdä "hail", gihÄ "side". So Assyrian not only has a vowel harmony, but also a consonant harmony (cf. Juémanov, Singar-

monizm 3\*3L, however, consonant harmony does not always occur where As a result, consonant harmony is not an independent phenomenon, but is closely linked to vowel harmony.

z. G r o u n d lage o f sy n h ar m o nis m in m o de r ne ass y risc h. If we analyse the causes of synharmonism, we ultimately arrive at the factors that determine the respective timbre of a word. The hard timbre of a word is caused by ' and the formerly emphatic con- sonants 1, y, sometimes also / (J) and p: ajna "eye"

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"ÜJuelle" 'aJtid, é(str "leek", < bi$lä, lit( "wheat"
Aift'iJ "sleep" < pilmä, rimli "he arose" N Gimli(h). hin!i, <
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Middle timbre results in the neighbourhood of the gutturals ', A, the postvelar consonants g, fi, g and the abruptives 1, , §, J: aH "voilä", läfia "here", guten "bark, fur", laffa "wheelbarrow" < Russian fnréa, §" re "body". In all other cases we have soft timbre, e.g. därtä "farm", g ärmö "bones", fiefö "villages" etc.

consonants. In the Semitic languages, where there are a particularly large number of consonants, there are two vowel series that differ greatly from each other in timbre, while the third vowel series with a medium timbre is a middle stage between the first two. The differences in the timbre of the vowels are caused by the difference in the timbre of the Semitic consonants (J<manov, Singarmonizm 3OO). The timbre of the consonants is based

The timbre of the vowels is therefore determined by the neighbouring

on their articulation, which is characteristic of Semitic languages. That is why we have a whole series of "hard" consonants: ' and the "'ainised", i.e. the emphatic 5, f, /, r (in Arabic *alsop* and y). They are followed by the other

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consonants, although the velar and laryngeal consonants are closer to those of the first row, i.e. the "hard" ones, because of their acoustic "hardness" measured against the other consonants.

In the course of time, the hardness or softness of the consonants was shared with the neighbouring vowels, i.e. the vowels adapted their timbre to the consonants. Life "hard" consonants thus appeared

"hard" vowels, next to "soft" consonants "soft" vowels. The hard consonants have disappeared, but the hard vowels have remained. In one and the same word, hard vowels appeared next to soft vowels, in such cases the soft vowels were equalised with the hard ones. Instead of opposite vowels in one word, this resulted in opposite words as a whole, i.e. words with a hard timbre and those with a soft timbre. Vowels neighbouring glottal or velar consonants lie between these two groups and form a third with words of medium timbre.

Thus, the synharmonism found in the Assyrian dialects ultimately goes back to the consonants of different timbres, which in turn is due to the specific pronunciation of the Semitic consonants. This once again clearly demonstrates the special significance of Semitic consonantalism. As a result of this pronunciation, the sounds were sharply separated according to their timbre, which is the actual basis of synharmonism in the modern Assyrian dialects. There is also a fundamental difference between the nature of Turkish and Assyrian synharmonism: Turkish is the result of a particular accentuation.

Not only words of Aramaic origin are subject to the law of synharmonism, but also loan words. The timbre of loanwords is sometimes determined by the vowels, so vowels of the back row in the whole word usually have a hard timbre: *pirisö* 

"roof" < russ. Fritz (here because of y), but iiiift "chalk" < Russian called with a soft timbre, *sdJif* "bucket" < Turkish *salil*, but /amiz "clean" < Turkish.

3 N o t e nt e d sy n h ar m o n is m u s. The law of s'okal harmony is often violated (even in UrrDic). This happens especially in words of medium timbre: §'IJtq/a / "translate!", qedämlä

"morning"; this is explained by the assimilatory weakness of the vowels

middle timbre. But the law also recognises exceptions in words where we would expect a hard timbre, namely i. when the final vowel does not take on the hard timbre i  $i\hat{a}lvn$  "milk", pul  $\hat{a}la$  "she pulled out"), 2. when the hard timbre is disturbed by the palatal sounds j and i  $(\check{g}!$   $\hat{a}rj\hat{a}li$  "he steers (a cart)",  $\hat{u}\check{s}ili$ / "hide me!").

In the words with a soft timbre, the unity is disturbed by the labial affixes -o and -it (pronominal suffixes of the 2nd pers. masc. and fern. gcn.), also by -a (pronominal suffix of the z. pers. Pers.Sg. fern. gen. and \(\frac{2}{3}\) rebalchdung i. Pers. P1. pr\(\text{is}\) and fut.) \(\text{lavirlo}\) "her cow" (and not \(\text{tavirto}\)), s\(\text{sis}\) s\(\text{if}\) a "we will drink up".

## Chapter IX Dissiinilation

i . E o n so n a n t e n d iss i m i a t i o n . Distance dissimilation causes a change in the place of articulation, contact dissimilation results in a change in consonant quality.

Dissimilation usually changes the place of articulation of the son or sounds, which can also be observed in other Semitic languages: kodčan.  $lis\acute{a}r$  "two"  $tris \mathring{a}r$ , salam.  $ii\ddot{a}$  ii $\ddot{a}$  iii $\ddot$ 

gr. popyopí-rrj, ru-lãma "newspaper" next to ruznãma < pers. rüznãmä.

Less frequent i s the change of consonants' tlalitat: #'\*iidir "to turn" giindir.

It should be emphasised that the transition of accented i onsonants into abruptives as a result of dissimilation already takes on the character of a phonetic law: /,  $S_{\phi}$   $S_{\phi}$ ,  $S_{\phi}$   $S_{\phi}$ ,  $S_{\phi}$   $S_{\phi}$ ,  $S_{\phi}$   $S_{\phi}$ ,  $S_{\phi}$   $S_{\phi}$ ,  $S_{\phi}$ 

"woman" < ba ta, pira "she covers te auí" < ; ò i r a , sğintä "knife" < sèiiifa uses .) However, the same stressed consonants do not occur in the reverse iteration, here they are always lit, pś, ¡bs usu', and not t /i, fiš, ps (vg1, t ãra "remember", psărlu "detention"). So when a hissed

¥"crsclilußlaut immediately follows a beliauchten Reibelaut, the latter changes into an abruptive as a result of progressive dissimilation.

z. Diss i mi lat o risc ly c o nso n a nt en sc h w un d. Quite often one encounters so-called strong dissimilation, i.e. loss of consonarit y as a result of dissimilation, and zvar primarily in reduplicated roots.

Reduplicated roots with two consonants result in roots with three consonants: 1ifif/ä "chain" < éil5illä ( JH), g!a ulla "Golgotha"

- $< galgult\ddot{a}$  (  $gl\ j$ . More frequently, consonant loss occurs as a result of progressive dissimilation:  $\S\ddot{a}r\S\dot{i}$  "to ask"  $< \S er\S ir$  (Apr),  $h\ddot{a}lil$  "to wash" < lialjil ( J/). Strong dissimilation also occurs in a number of other words: oqla "foot"  $< ragl\ddot{a} < rogfd$ ,  $/\ddot{a}$  "ia "there"  $t\ddot{a}m\ddot{a}n$ ,  $dasm\ddot{a}l$  "cloth"  $< pers. d\ddot{a}stm\ddot{a}l$ .
- 3 H a pl ol ogie. Haplology (dissimilatory loss of a syllable) o c c u r s in polysyllabic words: tiaä "smoke" < Jsnäiia, qdla "priest"

In the z. and z. pers. of the unfinished-concrete past, the syllable ev/rr is systematically omitted before the particle ra (< h-vafi: bié/avceittra "I wrote")  $\ddot{o}ilf\ddot{A}ritir\ddot{a}$ , bflfavrvaJea "we wrote",

> t'iéfävoAra.

## Chapter X. Loss of sound

Sound loss occurs not only as a result of phonetic processes (as shown in the above chapters), but also as a result of articulatory decay and weak position of a consonant (usually at the end of a word).

i. C onso n an te s v e rl u st i n f o r m o f pos i t io n s e c t i o n s. In the Assyrian dialects, ' and h disappear very easily; in all positions, but li does not always, especially at the end of words: 'itia "I" < 'aiiä; rila,  $res\ddot{a}$  "head" <  $ri'\acute{e}\ddot{a}$  (rr'f $\ddot{o}$ ), av "he" and aj "she" and Vj,  $ti\ddot{a}ra$ 

"river" < iia6rd, *iffä* "she has" 'ff-fd/i. These guttural sounds also tend to fade in the ancient Semitic languages, especially in their northern branch (Hebrew and Aramaic). In modern languages, diminution is observed more frequently, which indicates a strengthening of this tendency.

The same happens with the so-called weak consonants (semi-vowels) y and j. The second often disappears at the beginning and in the middle, less frequently at the end of a word: joy "learn!" < j-lup, éintä "sleep"

< j-fiiifa; inside the word j always disappears in the causative of the verbs primae y, e.g.  $m\ddot{a}qid$  "to burn" < majqid,  $mdli\ p$  "to learn" < tnajfi§ (Mosul is an exception, where j is replaced byp:  $m\ddot{o}qid$ 

< mayqid, möli p < mayli p, Maclean, Grammar zofi-zog). j is also used in

some forms of the verbs mediae y omitted: f'us "live w oh1", §if/i "he stayed" ¡bdjif (§jf), but next to ino;biffi also wru§jif/i "he left". It also happens that j and the following vowel are lost: gla instead of glä ja "to expose".

y also disappears easily in the verbum substantivum : iéii hrtJfa "u'ohin gehst du ?" }#ipif *bripka*.

z. Positionslostoflautes. The sonorants r, f, "i, ti predominantly fall victim to the loss of position if they are at the beginning or end of a word. In many dialects, for example, the formans used to form the participle and the infinitive have been lost at the beginning of words (tu m'): zübnä, zobna "sold" m'zubb'nä, zähUni "sale" m'zaböiitrf; often ti also disappears in some forms of the verb primae ii Jüfiiti "they tore off" < tiJifuti, §ifi "he fell over" ti§i/i, but itifi/i and iti§ifi, where ii has been preserved with the help of prosthetic vowels (Kalalew, Slowar6 zQ2-2€)3-) Similarly, r in the verb räjié "to go" disappears in the Urmish and Samsdinic: early "he went away" < rfiiéli, lyäka "to go" < rJiäsa, Qué "go!" instead of rkué.

Consonants at the end of words disappear particularly frequently, e.g. ii in the formans of the stat. absol. -iti, in the participles of the stat. absol., in the nomina numeralia and in the pronouns: §arqi < §ärqiii "the endings" (Part. Stat. absol.), hence li §arqiy (éi §ärqi) "they end". Nomina numeralia, which denote tens, represent the plural of the corresponding numeral e words of the first ten in Stat. absol. Thus we get arpiq, (r§( "forty" (pl. of 'ir§ä "four") < 'arb "in, Jatnfi "fifty" (pl. of

/iatnfo "five") < Sainfiti. The 3rd person pronoun P1.  $ani_{\dot{c}}$ , mos. 'itie and 'im (Mel. Dict. -sl comes from ' $\ddot{a}tiln$  and corresponds to Syr. aéiidti. In Mosuli-schen the pronoun ti has also disappeared in the pronoun z. Pers. PI. :  $njtu < 'afit\ddot{u}n$  (Sachau, Skizze 63-) The pronoun m disappeared in the words idju, udju, mos. +i-< -jtitn "today", git and qij "get up!" < qmm, niindi/, mod. mendi (I. Guidi in : ZDMG. 37 [1883!, 2Q8), tiar. tnidt, tür'äbd.  $m\acute{e}d\acute{e}$  (Mcl., Dict. i8z) "thing" < \*mindim (Neusyr s-) : ar schwunden is f in \Vorte sd, si "go" zil, in Mosul it is still was preserved (Mcl., Dict. 86). From time to time, the final f, and f were lost [ $midri < min-d-ri\beta$  "again", d 2il. ille "you have" < itlul etc.).

3 VO k ala u st a 11. Vowels are dropped quite frequently. In some cases, this happened quite early on: it can only be determined if one

the word history is taken into account. E.g. *spinlä* or mos. *séinä* (Sachau, Sketch 6z) "knife" < selliatd and *sakklnä*, cf. syr. saééfiia, *prizlä* 

"Iron" < §ariz/ä, cf. tür 'äbd. (Mcl., Dict. z52) parizlä, Syr. §arz/ä. Traces of formerly existing vowels have sometimes survived as spirantisation of the following occlusion sounds (cf. above). In the cases mentioned, the vowel loss is due to accentuation: short vowels disappear before intensive accentuation.

Vowels sometimes also drop out in syllables with aftertones, e.g. **J'1Jfo** "a z'enig" Jö Jaja, höj'rio "once"  $\leq j\ddot{a}$  įtiina (literally "one day").

The loss of unstressed, pronounced (short) i in Wan (e.g. but also in Old Hebrew: loss of pronounced vowels in verbs: qa1'if qaf'ifa, cf. Arabic qafafa), "tiif "he brought" < mtifi; dergl "he seized" dviqli etc-. deserves special attention. Here, as in other cases, the vowel loss was caused by the intensity of the stress.

4 Silbe n v e rlu st. Whole syllables are quite often lost, usually at the beginning or end of a word if the syllable begins with ', h or j: tidfa "man" < "näéä, tiar. Atia "brother" < 'apöna, äla

"God" 'a/äM, sal. gtia "sin" < gudAa, wan. f" tnsd "cannot" < /'t "isaja.

Especially often a syllable is lost at the beginning of a word if it is followed by a doubled consonant: jar "May" ' ijjar (but kurd. and mos. **ijdr**, Mcl, Dict. i i), ö'ufä "ear of corn" < *kibbiilä* (cf. *fiöif/ö* and P1. *éibli* next to h'ufä), *d'tiiä* "time" < '*iddänä* (cf. tiir'äbd. and mos. '*iddiii*'i, Mcl., Dict. 235)

Syllables can also drop out within a word, e.g. in the participles of the St. absol. of so-called weak verbs (verbs with a middle weak radical) the syllable 'i: qam < qām instead of qa'iin, J/qy "i

"stand up". Likewise 'i: fif < Idi instead of  $f\ddot{a}$ 'if "shake", {/f1 etc. The syllable ir is omitted in the word  $z\ddot{a}$ ' $\ddot{a}$  (mos., Mcl., Dict. 88) ..boy", which comes from **za'ira**.

### Ka pilcl X J. Gemination

i. S p ure s of g e m i nat io n in the m o de rn en ass y risc h d ia le c t s. In the Semitic languages, consonant doubling (gemination) is a widespread phenomenon that also plays an important role.

has a morphological function. This function gives gemination a prominent place in the development of the Semitic language.

In modern Assyrian dialects, gemination has been lost both as a phonetic and morphological phenomenon. In rare cases it has been preserved in the group *rin* and *II*, which may indicate that the process of simplification of geminates is not yet complete.

Traces of gemination have survived to this day in the pronunciation of words. For example, the loss of gemination was compensated for by lengthening the vowel, which is also expressed in the script, where etymological spelling is favoured, e.g. fäJ'Jra "pretty" < éapf'Irä, gcnäbä "thief" < ginnäbä. In this case, the script reflects that period in the development of Assyrian dialects, as long vowels not only appeared in stressed open syllables, but sometimes also replaced lost geminates. The situation is similar in other Semitic languages, especially Hebrew.

Although vowels in open stressed syllables are regularly long in Assyrian dialects, they sometimes do not succeed but remain short. But then the open syllable is a new phenomenon, because it used to be closed because it was followed by a geminate, but after it was simplified, the syllable is still considered closed, e.g. *gifä* 

"Gras" instead of gilä (W gi/fä), difiä "bear" instead of dibä (< dibbä).

Former gemination caused narrowing of a to *i*, especially in Salamassic and Wanic, where this transition is the rule in closed syllables. i remains in an open syllable or is lengthened to f: *piqid* 

"please!" < Q'zgqid, bisil instead of öaffii "he cooks".

Gemination also protected the closing sounds from spirantisation. It is well known that in the North Semitic languages, the closing sounds  $\ddot{o}$ , g, d, k, f', t were spirantised after vowels if they were not doubled. The double consonants were not spirantised because they differed qualitatively from the corresponding "simple" ones (cf. voiced geminates become voiceless in Ma'lüla: Brockelmann, Grundriß 20; A. Klingen- heben, Stimmtonverlust bei Geminaten, Festschrift Meinhof [i t)2/] \*35) In particular, this {quality} inherent in the consonants of gemination prevents closure sounds from becoming spirants. This is the reason why in Assyrian words, closing sounds can occur after vowels,

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in which, as already mentioned, traces of the vanished uterus can be seen: *libä* "heart" < *libbä*, *dabäéa* bee" < *dabbäéä*, *räk-' vä* "Rider" < **reééaö\*.** 

If the geminates could be simplified on the one hand, they could also be dissimilated on the other; this also happened not infrequently in other Semitic languages. Usually a geminate con-sonant was dissimilated into a sonorant: *b!'äiidir* "to turn"

< kaddir, # art'iih "he w r a p s , wendet around" < #erri#,  $f'\ddot{a}rlil$  "he turns" < pattil.

z. Ventionsinthememinatives ubstantives and ver visions, whichhenminination veriorenging. The geminate nouns can currently be double consonant, including those with formans f of the remote gender. Gender: "iiiJa "brain" < "iuJj'i (cf. Akkad. muh.ju

"skull"), é äffä "daughter-in-law" (next to é \*uler) < é'tfJ-1d (cf. Aram. *ball-ta*, Heb. *kallä*, Akkad. éefJaJii). In Proto-Semitic, common Semitic geminates sometimes correspond to weak nouns. This is usually the case with adjectives: "utjra "bitter" (next to trier\*ra, which is rarely used svird) /tnrr, cf. arab. iourr, hebr. tnrr, akkad. tnarrti, 4{tnA

"hot" < (hmm, cf. arab. mamma, akkad. rmnoi; qajra "cold" < (qrr, x-gl. Hebrew Orr. In the far. Gender of mentioned adjectives lacks j: "iorfn "bitter" (f.)", Isamia "hot" (f.), qarla "cold (f.)". (The loss of semivowels with falling diphthongs in a closed syllable is known in the Semitic languages, here also in the modern Assyrian dialects, cf. bäj/ and heit "you wallst").

After loss of gemination, formerly geminated verbs become weak (verbs with a weak second radical). E.g. #j§ "to be bent" }/é9§, cf. arab. da//a ; fjtn "to be ended" ;//intrt, cf. arab. fa "itna and Heb. form. i "to perish" < féé, cf. Heb. féé,

arab. sweet and others. In the causative, weak consonants go toloren, and with the prefix of the participle in three-consonant regular verbs (as with the causative weak verbs)  $m\ddot{a}ln~p$ 

"he bends" (cf. r'iä/i§ "he teaches" from *jafi§*). Weak ¥"erbs in place of geminates also occur in the Old Aramaic dialects, e.g. in the Jewish-Aramaic language the verb #¡bQ corresponds to the schw'ac1ie root ép§.

Consequently, geminate roots (nouns and verbs) were once also characteristic of Assyrian dialects. Later, gemination was lost, whereupon two-consonantal roots emerged, which resembled the existing weak \ roots (especially in the verb). It is quite possible that in certain cases weak roots do not go back to geminated roots of other Semitic languages (such correspondences and parallels are known even within one and the same language), but have developed from original two-consonantal roots.

## Kafiiicl XII. Mcialhese

Metathesis occurs quite frequently in the Semitic languages, including the modern Assyrian dialects. Consonant metathesis can be either a contact metathesis or a distance metathesis.

I. C o n t a c t m et a t h ese. A metathesis mostly affects sonorants and spirants (especially the velar spirant fi), less frequently final sounds (t', Q, d, t and g), the pharyngeal ', the guttural ' and the pa- latal j. E.g. tut for: qaftna "louse" q'ttnfa (cf. Arabic qantf, Ethiop. qJrtriét, but Akkad. énf "ia@, mJ Qm: jmd{ $\ddot{a}$ "needle" > tnjdlä, as preserved e.g. in tiar. tnsdla (Mel., Dict. ioi), cf. also Heb. rnäAäl, JA > QI: plcpa "blanket" (urm., salam.) < lpcpa, which comes from arab.  $lip\ddot{a}f$  etc.

It is not uncommon for a metathesis to take place in the roots of the \'inherit, e.g. jA kj: lbj "lick" > (//Jä (Nöldeke, Neusyr. 62), sfi > je : (//Js§ (< [Use) "organise" < (sp p, kb bk : tiir'abd. [/röé "ride" < {/rifi (raiiJo "she rides", Nöldeke in : ZDMG. 35 !i88i], 223).  $z\ddot{o}$  > hz: {/ ézq "to sow" < (zbq.

If we analyse the corresponding examples, we see that sonorant sounds and spirants that follow closure sounds are placed before them  $(e.g. < \ddot{o}z)$ , but if sonorant sounds meet spirants, the spirants come first, and if there are two spirants, the velar comes first  $(mh\ Qm,\ lj > ml,\ sj\ As)$ .

The metathesis of the first and second kadikals in verbs with initial weak consonants deserves special attention. In some forms, the weak consonant at the beginning of the word j

to the second position. So when j came to stand in front of a consonant after the loss of schwa. In this way, the radical changes from the weak to the strong position and therefore cannot disappear. This is the case with the verbs of the 1st conjugation, i.e. with their h'omina actionis, the infinitives and the tenses formed from them: in the concrete. Pres. and in the imperfect concret. For example, li jä/iQ "he learns", but *ljä pa* "the learning" (¡/Jf§), li jäfiv "he sits down", but /jät'/ä "to sit" (J/jfö). The same also happens with some verbs with initial

li äsir "he x binds" and s/'ira "the binding" < ('sr.

Such a metathesis is not known to either the old or the new Semitic dialects, which is why it may be regarded as characteristic of modern Assyrian dialects.

Here is another interesting fact. In the dialects, in addition to the verb *ibid* "to give birth" (|/jfd), there is the variant / diJ, which has arisen from the first form through metathesis. jädiJ is used in the same sense as tä/id, but in Salamascan and Urmian it is used more with regard to animals, e.g. *jäfif* usually means "to lay eggs" in the dialects mentioned. The anecdote of Maulä Nasreddin, which we have recorded in Salamascan dialect, speaks of the birth of a casserole: qozatiJa *jedla* "the (small) casserole gave birth", and not j'iHa (or jsfda). Here, therefore, the metathesis is combined with a semantic differentiation.

- z. D ist a nz m et a t h ese. The same consonants are usually affected by distance metathesis as by contact metathesis: sonorants, spirants, dentals, sometimes also the pharyngeal ' and the uvular q.
  - E.g. f ... d > d ... l:  $qdil\ddot{a}$  "the keys"  $< qlid\ddot{a}$  gr. x r¡t6n qlida occurs in Asita and in Mosul, Mcl., Dict.  $^{269}$ ).  $gdil\ddot{a}$  "ice" < g- $dtl\ddot{a}$   $filid\ddot{a}$ , as in Syriac, J ... m tn ... : si "iÄ//ä "ladder" \*sillamtä (cf. Hebrew  $sull\ddot{a}m$ , Arabic suffam and Jewish-Aranian su/tna), m ... r > r ... m:

Hebrew *sulläm*, Arabic *suffam* and Jewish-Aranian su/tna), m ... r > r ... m: tchum.  $g\ddot{u}ri$  "if6I (Mcl., Dict.  $_{S} \bullet 1$  "small coal" and urin. gitnur/a and èoniür "Coals" < turk.  $k\ddot{o}m\ddot{u}r$ .

Distance metathesis also occurs in verbal roots: instead of Kids( "6f eight" ({/ms') we have *dmis* ([/"is) in Salamassic, Kurdistani and sometimes also in Proto-Muslim, i.e. the third radical came to the first position ("q' ' "it).

The active participation of sonorants in the metathesis is known in the Semitic languages, but a metathesis of closing and closing sounds is also extremely rare in the Assyrian dialects.

## Chapter X III Formation of Auxiliary Oils

In the Semitic languages, vowels usually occur to prevent consonants from meeting, which form new syllables with the neighbouring consonants.

Such vowels, which occur to facilitate pronunciation and belong neither to the stem nor to morphemes, are called auxiliary vowels. They usually occur at the beginning of a word. Semitic pronunciation does not recognise a two-consonant word beginning.

Auxiliary vowels have arisen in all modern Assyrian dialects. They can be either common or unique to the dialects mentioned (especially in newer loanwords).

Auxiliary vowels can occur at the beginning of a word and within a word. At the beginning, they serve to eliminate the two-consonant beginning of the word, although this no longer presents any difficulties for Assyrian pronunciation today. The biconsonantal word beginning results from the loss of short and over-short vowels after the first stem consonant. For example, two-syllable nouns, which had a short or over-short vowel in the first syllable and a long vowel in the second (*qiläl*, qa/if etc.), were transferred to the group of one-syllable nouns with a two-consonant word beginning (qJ'if, qff/, glitt) after the loss of the short vowels: nvijä "5Juelle"

- < a-hijä, Jm'irÄ "donkey" hiwiarä (cf. arab. *Ji "iér*) etc. The same image offers the infinitives and the participles of the passive voice of the verbs of the
- I. Conjugation. It is the same with loanwords: ca a (Kurd.) "lad", *qdilä* (gr. (xhtjl6'x acc. sing.) "key" etc.

In the dialects, however, there are also **auxiliary vowels** that serve to stabilise a biconsonantal word sound. Biconsonantal word sounds can be eliminated in two ways: by the appearance of auxiliary vowels at the beginning of the word (prosthetic vowels) and by the appearance of vowels between the first two consonants (separating vowels).

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In some cases, prosthetic vowels already appeared in an earlier period. Thus, *for* example, the prosthetic *i* of zxveiconsonantal nouns, such as tür'äbd. *isma* "iName" (Mcl., DiCt. 30/), cf. arab. *ism*, but in the other Assyrian dialects *simi*, fti "i'i (mos., Mcl., Dict. 30\*) < J/Ein, *iifii* 

"ground" < f/ä, cf. arab. *ist*, syr. ef/ä, akkad. *iédu*, but hebr. féf. three-consonantal nouns have prosthetic \'okale when they are based on weak root consonants, e.g. aJri "emptying" J/Er' (höldeke, Heusyr. z2), *irhi*, Kurd. *arhi* < *rapjä* (ibid. I23). -- wifa "garnet-apple", but kurdist. *rümänä* and *riinün/'i* (Mcl., Dict. 21), cf. also syr. rummö'ie. Hebrew *rim "iöii* etc.

Some of these prosthetic vowels must be quite old, e.g. in *ar pa* "four", Ärtrii/tä "widow". This is evidenced by the presence of prosthetic a (with *a* hard base: 'a j in all Semitic languages: cf. arab., ethiop., hebr., aram. 'arha', Akkad. *arba*' "four" (but no a in the ordinal numbers: Arab. r'i6i', Hebrew r-öff etc.), Arab. 'armilat, Syr. "ir- tniff't, alternation of r'/ and f/ti: Hebrew 'aftnäiia and Akkad. *almallu*. PI. 'if-

"iaa'f/i "widow" (but Arabic tniirinif "poor" from the same root rml.

Vowels still occur at the beginning of words, but to a limited extent, e.g. in loanwords: uslo/ "table" < Russian *slol*, *ukqol* "school"

< Russian ébola, islii/ jä "pupil", Greek oyohr; (also in Syriac). Prosthetic vowels are quite common in verbal forms with a two-consonant initial sound, e.g. in the imperative of verbs in the 1st conjugation: urjul "run!" < rpul, iéli/ "drink!" < ffij ff\*, also in the perfect (irJiiild "she ran" < rA\*f/ä) and in the infinitive (trJöfa "go" next to pä£a without the initial r). Auxiliary vowels also occur in some particles (adverbs, prepositions): o//uj < J/oA/ "down, under", mm l' al</p>

"up, up".

Separating vowels in place of prothetic ones appear between the first and second consonants of a word, mostly in newer loanwords, e.g. first "jug" < Russian ériif#a. It is similar with Lelin words with a three-consonant initial sound, but here the 1'ocals appear between the second and third consonants: slf ildd "camp"

russ. sblad.

The Semitic languages also recognise prosthetic vowels with a consonant initial sound (Amharic zä "this" 'cze, föA "sting" > 'esöh, Hebrew "ziqqir'i "the chains" : Erockelmann, Grundriß z ii-Z\*5) AHS den assy-

rish dialects itnä "hundred" (mos. nm") belongs here alongside w, which is used as a component in the nomina numeralia to denote hundreds: fre "ia (Orr and via) "two hundred", *tlamä* (1få and mc) "three hundred" etc.

The auxiliary vowels occurring in the cases mentioned are always close (i and o) if neither pharyngals, gutturals nor the sonorant r are in their immediate neighbourhood (cf. ar iiuii/o, ärmiltä, aéirat.  $arji \ j$ .). That pharyngals, gutturals and r are compatible with a is known from all Semitic languages, especially the North Semitic ones. a occurs as a prosthetic vowel before h in the dialect of Tiir'Abdin: 'ahtilö' "sin" (Brockelmann, Grundriß zi 2).

Of course, the auxiliary vowels harmonise with the vowels of the stem in terms of labiality (cf. *urjut* "run!", but (rJ(t/i "she ran", may

"school" and t1qa\[ "cupboard" from. russ. Uta/\). The same vowels (i, u, a) also occur in similar cases in other Semitic languages, where they also harmonise with the vowels of the stem (cf. arab. iiéfiié

"write!" instead of *ktub*, but *idrih* "beat!" and *isma*' "listen!" instead of tread and sine').

Prosthetic vowels also appear when the first of the two initial consonants is a sonorant or a spirant. If the consonants in question are in the second position, separating vowels usually occur (cf. the words borrowed from Russian: qirati/ "tap", but *uéqol* "school"). Prosthetic vowels occur extremely rarely before explosive sounds and only in Mosul [-bdinjc "on the side" bdinje j. It should be noted here that in the Semitic languages, including the Assyrian dialects, vowels occur before a consonant. These are invariably sonorants or spirants. The formation of auxiliary vowels before consonants in the modern Assyrian dialects is thus necessarily connected with the sonority or fricative nature of the latter. The explanation for this phenomenon must be sought in the phonetic nature of these consonants, since corresponding parallels can also be found in languages of other systems.

z. e.g. in Russian, where it is dial. i2/o "who" 2fo < lfo and *ille* "she went" < Zfa (also Serbo-Croatian *iffa*).

In dialects, auxiliary vowels also occur in the interior of words, where they serve to break up three consecutive consonants:

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kälbä "dog", but éäfi§tö < %/öfä "bitch", tnÄflö "emperor", but "uI/iéfü < mälktä "empress", 'i2i,rrä "scorpion" < 'n9r- ä, tnäfiétiÄ "dwelling" < ma£b-nä, isdqfd "ring", but mos. with vowel i: iziq/a (Mcl., Dict. 237) < 'izoqfa 'izz-qfä. In the last three examples, over-short vowels (schwa) have dwindled, which in turn leads to the formation of auxiliary vowels.

has led. If three consonants meet, the Hills vowel comes after the first of them. The same can also be observed in other dialects of Aramaic: Syriac, Mandaean and Judeo-Aramaic. In other Semitic languages, too, auxiliary vowels frequently occur within words.

In the Semitic languages, it can also be observed that the semivowels*i* and y change to the corresponding full vowels after consonants (cf. Ethiop. h'tdtr, "desert", < 6adii, Hebrew §éri

"fruit" < §arj. Brokelmann, Grundriß 2131 Similar cases are unknown in the Assyrian dialects, but it is not impossible that assyr. # ii (kudé. #tfü, tiar. r'ifu, Mcl. Dict. \*3>) "daughter-in-law" comes from help, where u (which later changed to p) arose after the loss of the geminate (cf. Syr. énff-tä, Heb. la/fa etc.) or that this root

existed in Semitic alongside Off.

Compared to the Old Aramaic dialects, Urmian shows the strongest phonetic changes (Eastern Assyrian), while the old sound system is best preserved in the dialect of Tür'.\bdin.

As far as the linguistic forms are concerned, the translation adheres to their reproduction in the Russian part of Cereteli's book. It does so even where, in our opinion, a different spelling of the reconstructed etymes would be appropriate. Occasional comparison with the Georgian text caused us serious embarrassment. This is because the corresponding forms often differ in spelling. However, we have not dared to change the spellings in the Russian text according to those of the Georgian text, apart from some olfactory printing errors (Russian text: mnö'iH", Georgian text: mnfö@ and others).

#### AT PAGE 4

## NEWS ABOUT TODAY NESTORIANS

Y. A. Yunan from Mabrfika near Räs el-'Arn (United Arab Republic) presented A. Moortgat i s8 with the following poem in old Syriac, which was made available to us by J. Friedrich'.

Solltsc m'llol meilcutbcnot mcr ya'ich agn'al.ios llllayc f'atriyar4a d-fisd /a/c arlfidohsa/é (to /a' abaye)

- 'esrīn wa-Sba' b-īraḥ tešrīn hāu ķadmāyā la-šnat 1957 l-māryā mšīḥā hāu naṣrāyā b-ḥemeṣ mdīttā d-atrā brīkā hāu d-Sōriyā (h)wā zoyyāḥā d-mettāutbānōt komrā m'al(l)yā
- 2. b-scbyän röl ä häu poddiJä etgbi ra'yd
  mär ya'pöb agnäli yos No /fifaya
  rv-et(t)sim éo'nrä zr-g#1riyor/tä /iéu 'alläyä
  1-corsyc d-antyo i her 'attr c w-hin \_\_mcyc
- 3. hā etgbī lan hāsyā rabbā mlē zahyōţā mabbōʿā d-pilāsopiyā w-yam hekmţā men sepwāţēh napkīn mellē d-mal(l)pānōţā er-täbcn saggi afī sten dahbä w-marganyätä
  - 4. indr ya' dh lasyä mhirä kmcé äsöryäye hä metmnc ba-sder r't/om(ot)@ fébä/Äyé d-liä ezdayyalt men baitäyc w-men barräye d-Hol aträtewan man hend tr-torkt w-'äräbäyc
- 5. s-Ichi -inne ff leff izi s-g "r despite d-'odran Hol guck da-bnai-näJä ba-é pt'ölä '-lä häsan 1-Iiön koJ mä d-iclb'ön Ja-sntpötä w-ak gabbārā (h)ū māṭē l-nīšēh b-kol zākōṭā

<sup>&#</sup>x27;Cf. J. Friedrich, Zwei russische Horellen in neusyrischec Übersetzung und Latein- schrift (Abh. Kunde Morgenl. jj, q. i q60) VII.

#### SUPPLEM ENTS

- li. dös hm alıai ö bnai arâm ha-f'sttiöic d-yâuman dnah lch sncgrâ rabbâ I-söryâyötâ d-hc lan 11elitre ah kör râmâ wa-mIâuzbötö 1-yol da-m'âpln tr-aff d-alli sin tnen bnai ottilâ
- yabbeb kālēk omţā brīktā d-soryāyoţā
   l-māryā mārēk w-mār lēh šobhā w-ķarreb segdţā
   (h)wā lēk rēšā d-lait akwāţēh b-soryāyoţā
   mār ya'kōb agnāţeos mhīr b-yad'āţā
- 8. pobbal-laibö 1-kenéä m'al(l yä häu d-sonhädos ba-mliäunä'll gbä 1-mär ya'pöb agnäli yos da-Iiu!ä ra'yä m-rieb b-doAbal élijä f'alros d-ner'E 'äne u'a-npäteuiälä d-léö' brcstos
- men pöm 'laime äläräye d-Hol 'ämarlä u'a-firléä'll da-bgäu söryä w-ap gäzartä šalin borkiāk wa-mkar(r)bin lak tahnyātā -yäumä da-Spalt joträ rabbä häu d-ra'yöiä
- 10. t'irii hörn 'laime älördyd d-söryä tr-lepnan iah ycik icbbanayc ray m ar r binan ap borbtäk bra-slä 'teätäp mct[t! pisinan bob tiesJ'iaä tr-JoJtaäii'ifä lag februari

## Oversight:

Praise for the enthronement of Mar Jacob I gitatius III, Patriarch of the Orthodox Assyrcr (or /aéoßifeii)

- i. An z2. october
  - \*\* I\*!-\*\* \*957 of the Lord Messiah from Nazareth, in the city of Homs, which is one of Syria's most populated places, the pomp of the liilhronisation of the high priest took place.
- By the will of theHoly Spirit uurdc e
   Mär Jakob Zgtiafiiis III.
   and became hzsfinim/ as priest tind supreme P4ffiiarcJi
   For the chair of Anliochia, dvii allen and first.

- 3. Behold, he wnrdc us srteä/iff as groQrr t-rriwxowo\$, filled with rcinhcil, source of pliilosof'hie and 3fszr of lFrisAri/.

  From his £i§\$sn come the words of the befe6riwig and much more valuable ( l j than gold iitid rdafsfeitir.
  - 4. klär fabob, the saint, the Kundigz, the sun of the S yrer see, he is counted among the class of the famous, the oiéiimetiiscRii,
    (er,) der siehe gefeiert wurde von den Leuten des Innern sowie den
    Outgoing

alli:r places, non India, Turkey and the Arabs.

- 5- Bci night find day he does not rest in zeal, to help all mankind in need.

  And not weisl he turn them away, always begging him out of need. And if a hero wanders away from his plans in the midst of all the chaos.
- 6 Rejoice, then, brothers, O sons of Acam, in Frzudz,
  daB Iz crslandzn is a great defender of the Assyrzrschofl, which
  is like a high wall and salvation for us.
  for all those who are saddened and niodcrgcdriiccd by the soelcs of the peoplecs.
  - 7. Lap gladly created dcinc voice, blessed people of the Assyrcracy, for the Hcrrn, deirirti Lord and a Lord to him be Prcis utid

    bring (ihm) Verehrung dar.

You have a head that has no equal in Assyria, (tt&n/ic£) Mar Jakob Ignatius, he/aArzn in the lFissrtiscD/fre.

- S. Thanks to the high ccrsatntrifutig of the S ynode, that she was insightful and chose Mar Jacob I gnalius, The Hiro became and himself to the place of the A poslzls Pctrus, so that cr u'eide the sheep /esii of Christ.
- 9. Through the mouths of assyriscRr fugitives of the whole Oibumene and in particular those in Syria and the Gezira they will honour your sagas and offer you triumphs on the day you raise the staff of shepherdship.
- 10. Through the mouth of the Assyrian youth of Syria and Lebanon, we offer you our heartfelt congratulations.
  We are convinced of your blessing and your prayers. We pray for your every glory and your fulfilment.

Allg em e n t s:

Regarding the content of the poem, the author writes in his letter ofi 20. 1 59: "Let me write about the poem on the enthronisation of high Patriarch of Antioch. This Patriarch is not our Patriarch. He is the Patriarch of Western Syrians:  $\hat{a}s\ddot{o}r\tilde{a}yc$   $ma'rb\tilde{a}yc$ . They are known as Jacobites as we are named Nestorians ... Both of us we are from the same race, Assyrian race. We are  $\tilde{a}s\tilde{o}r\tilde{a}$  yc madn  $\tilde{a}yc$  ... Our brothers,  $\tilde{a}s\tilde{o}r\tilde{a}$   $\hat{e}$   $ma'rb\tilde{a}$   $\tilde{e}$  has e

many schools and secondary schools and also have a theology college in Mosul. Most of them do not speak Syriac. Their church is more administered than ours because their Patriarch is near them whereas our Patriarch is too far from us. They live in Syria, Iraq, Turkey and Lebanon. There is no difference in the following words: d/ñrayô, ãsiirãya, sörõyã. \Ve are classi- cally knosvn as Eastern Assyrians. Our church was settled before Nestorius. Our Patriarchal seat was in past near Baghdad sôfig ktispôn (selecia ctesi- pon'), then it changed to the northern countries for the reason of bad circumstances which met us. Before the world war I our Patriarchal seat was in the village of K udchanis (Haykari), which was in eastern Turkey.

¥Ve consider all western Assyrians as our brothers, we love them and they love us as sincere brothers."

The verse metre is syllable-counting. Taking into account special features (see below), twelve syllables are counted in each verse. Cf. the notes on the individual verses below.

The script and punctuation system of the poem are Nestorian. The transcription presented here adheres as closely as possible to the original, only in the absence of punctuation or graphic ambiguity is it given at the author's own discretion with possible \preservation of the author's habits. IJët receives the UmsChrift S according to the East Syriac pronunciation of the sign (Th. Nöldeke, Kurzgef. syr. Gramm.° [i 8g8] 4 ł Z1.

' ă  $\ddot{a}$  rwih $\ddot{a}$  was interpreted as  $\ddot{o}$  or  $\tilde{o}$  and the decision, whether short or long, was filled according to the laws of good tradition (cf. Barhebraeus' grammar: A. Moberg, Bueli der Strahlen, die größere Gram- m $\check{c}$ ttik des Barhebraeus z [z got], 4 f). It must remain open whether the Poet may wish for a different quality. The Nestorians

Seleukeia-Ktesiphon.

already in ancient times had an idiosyncratic attitude to the vowel literatures fTh. Nlildeke, a. 0. °9f. § Hz-PQ). There may also have been influences from the local Neo-Aramaic dialect (that of the Mosul plain: Alkos and Fellihi). However, the extent to which ö and ö are affected by such influences in the present text can only be determined by oral questioning of the poet.

The poem does not recognise 'säsä alisä, i.e. ii or ii. All the expected usounds are rendered by säsä rwibä, which requires explanation. Perhaps the solution lies in the fact that "among the East Syrians the

sound o changed to u at an early stage" (Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. 33 § 48). A modern Nestorian who strives to write the finest Old Syriac will probably endeavour not to allow this sound change in his text. Since he is not sure of the distinction, he will, as a precaution, use

ö everywhere, even where the oldest written language required ü. Such a situation can, of course, only be surmised. Here, too, oral communication with the poet or other Nestorians could provide clarification. The fact that outside of his Old Syriac poem - for example when writing modern titles and names in his letters - Mr Yunan used to use 'säsä alisä speaks in favour of this assumption.

Rbäsä karyä was interpreted contrary to the authoritative Nestorian system (which is used "on the basis of good manuscripts in Nestorian prints": Th. Nöldeke a. 0. 2  $\S$  8) was not interpreted as d (cf. also A. Moberg, a. 0. z, 28f.), but as d *or i*. This was not only due to general doubts about the conformity of the present punctuation with the system of the best old manuscripts (on the lack of consistency and general validity of this system, see Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. 2 f.  $\S$  8;

C. Brockelmann, Syr. Gramm.' f\*95\*J § 2). It is decisive that the sign for t, i used in the authoritative system: Rbäsä arrik\_ä is completely missing in the present text. If one wanted to replace Rbäsä karyä with

As a result, all e-vowels in the poem are to be understood as lengths, which, even taking into account the Nestorians' tendency to change vowel quantities, is unacceptable, especially in the case of c-vowels in a closed syllable. Rbäsä karyä is therefore undoubtedly used for d or d in this text. Incidentally, the same reservation applies to the transcription given here that was made for 'säsä rwihä (o): it remains to be determined whether and where the quality of the c vowels differs from the first vowel.

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The Nestorians' endeavours to lengthen or shorten the text (for e int particular Th. Nöldeke, a. 33 i 4).

i¡ibäsä is used by the poet according to the authoritative system fur f.

In contrast to r, the poem has two o-vowel names: Ptäbä and **Zkäpä.** In the exemplary system, Ptäbä means o, Zkäpä ä. The transcription follows the same procedure. However, it remains to be confirmed whether and to what extent the two signs actually have quantitative conciseness for the poet. To this end, it is necessary to consider all words whose a-vowels deviate in their quality from the expected and to ask whether they could be East Syriac peculiarities. i. ä appears shortened to ö in a closed syllable: tiasrdy'i (i b); ra'ya (z a, 8 c); rial ia (c); ob (3d, Kd; zoc); *aträwwan* (4 d); 'odra-(s b); yat'non (6 b); obbal

(6 a); fi (Qc, Io b, d); ra' o!'' (9d); fa§'iati (io a). (In addition there are formen with an unabridged a. Thus: märyd, tnär, öoré/ä, s/atrwdfa and others). A Nestorian peculiarity may be remembered here: Th. Nöldeke,

a. 0.  $2\,\mathrm{i}$  421 "The East Syrians have a strong tendency to shorten long vowels in closed syllables and then often write 'o/initi

'eternities' for 'ö/tniti ussv. and so in the final syllables éfaf 'she came' for 2fāf etc." z. ö appears elongated to ä in a closed syllable: *jäsv-*° (3a). This cannot be an East Syriac peculiarity. For precisely the opposite of

has just been noted as a possible East Syriac peculiarity. 3 - Appears for ä in an open syllable: aram (6 a); *Malin* (9 c); faffaeii (io d). Again, this cannot be an East Syriac peculiarity. For, again, just the opposite of this (i.e. stretching the a to ä in an open syllable) is not found in East Syriac.

Syriac texts: Th. Nöldeke, a. 0.: "On the other hand, they (the East Syriacs) like to stretch short vowels in open syllables, if they remain as an exception, and thus regularly write, for example, ariiiyelé6 for *armyalcli*". Of all the avowels with an unusual quantity, there would therefore have been *four* cases which cannot be interpreted as the result of possible East Syriac idiosyncrasy. However, these cases are not sufficient to prove the quantitative primacy of the signs Ptähä and Zkäpä in the punctuation of the verse.

<sup>°</sup> This does not concern the fact that the diphthong cii is everywhere dii: wirt/ä tö'init (heading); 'iii (heading;); aträtvu'an (qd); Räumen (6 b); mi'ii'zt'oJd (('c); **mA'iuni'i**/ (ß b); iil'itetu'i/'i (ö d); t'pdii (9 b); ö-y'ium ö (9 d). Here one encounters a of the classical habits of the Nestorians: Th. Nöldeke, a.  $0.35_{i}$  §9 B; A. Moberg, a. 0.y5 f.

a) âsyâ may be an ¥'erschreibung; this is supported by the fact that the same word q a appears normally with a short vowel. about d' rartige \'crsehen Th. Nöldeke, it. O. z9 1 4 - nm. b) orom could also be a \'ersehen. It can also, since it is an Eiçcn-

namen, is to be thought of as a more recent ortliographical peculiarity. c} I3ei šalin, *šalinati* reckons, unless there is also a ¥'ersehen, x-iel-1"iclit the spelling, in order to bezcupnis the old word formation, with Olaf as x rillem consonant and shortens  $\tilde{a}$  in the consequently scli1' - senc-n syllbe: thus  $\tilde{n}$ ' to la'. - Incidentally, where the poet uses normal  $\tilde{a}$  odor \* v okalises, it does not necessarily have to be his own language. Even a syllable normally marked with  $\tilde{a}$  can be interpreted by the poet as a syllable with a, an open syllable normally marked with a can be interpreted as a syllable with a. IJenn not always, only off, the Ostsvrer express the quantitative transformation of an o-vowel by altered punctuation: Th. höldeke, l. cit. O. zQ Hz ("historical punctation" would be a more appropriate term for this).

## To the cneing strorhes:

For the heading: *nie ol*: The zz cite syllbc is not dotted. For writing without \'oka1stütze it . Th. höldeke, a. 0. 5 i 4 \tag{1}s the same with

col

To i b: s (-- 9°? 1st used for q. The reading of the annual calendar speaks6 t dam \'ermaß.

To z b: her verse has only i i syllables. Must one of the  $\| 1 \| u \| r \| = 1 \| x \|$  okale  $(1"i" y \| \tilde{g} \| b)$  be included in the calculation? - d: Our when reading m:in ati voh (with mute- rna m v at the end of the word, byte in ia'Ir, féá etc.), i s .syllables result. For the monosyllabic reading - vo- for -mo- in ati yoh: Th. Üiildeke a.  $\| 1 \| s \| s \|$  go H.

31a: {ilûsopix'îi. \Vicder ii for ,griech o. - c: napği tt with -in instead of -ãii. - d: î i l 'čn (instead of ldbñii) for tdf'i'i: misspelling ?

To b: *ha-sdcr* for *l'a-sJar*. Fch1schrc'ibung? Man ziil: i i syllables, I'll. 2 b. -- d: *lurk* î "Tiirkci"?

<sup>1</sup> s Alihcini, Huns III

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Building 5 a: b-lélai u'-fi'id'n tut l'ezcugtes lt!li i "tJiii. - c: päsaii for gases.

To  $\epsilon$ ah' D "i reading ä s ö r )!ävölä cr el"'n there are i3 syllables. Is the string iib' r !\$l ml linca occultans? \\"'nn söryä y6lä to read ivlire, the result would be 12 syllables . --- The noun is indeterminated, the adjectivisr lie A t tri aloud d' terminated, too'cifeless to gew-ilir- the Zxs ohnt lfuhr. Th. Niilclekc. Mand. C ramni. (i s s q Anna . i, refers to: ". .

•rater Nestorian poets ... who, according to the requirements of rhyme and Mctrums, against the old language laws, the stat. absol. for the stat. cmph. sctzen and e.g. 6/  $\ddot{u}$ / that  $y\ddot{a}$ , hiidc sh Ii say". '\Ian also note the haplology: förö (r5)m5.

Re 2 a: I'gl. the remark made under 6 b. - c: desylcichen. -- d: There are ntir i i Sill'r n, gl. \*b.

Re 81': / - before *mhäiin ü'iI* is mei'l'w'ürdig. \'crsclireibung fiir *d*? a gnäli ji's (as already zb). Different spelling of dc.s Narnens than in the translation: agtiü/ios and 2 d: agtiä/cos. - c: palros for Fltzpo\$ : a lu i6\* PCll. £. \"pl. a for Greek l in a gnaleos, agn'ili(y) os; for yricc h. o in 'irlädobs\*vé, filäso fi j'ä, sonhädo.s. -- d: "int for 'drin. Ute IIollektis'form u urde to the plural gen andclt. - 'isö' is the iiblicl" porno: ä'li used by the fiestori:iners. Niild'-kc, a. O. 2J § oc.

To q a: nm t nm attested as .\dverla in the meaning "memoriter"- Here, on the other hand, \(\vec{o}nt \) x.u eifellos is to be understood as Stat. ronstr. n. - \(\vec{a}/\vec{o}r\vec{a} y-\vec{e}\) \'gl. above di' briefliclie remark of the \'inventor. c: \(\vec{laliti iilti}\). The \'word s' has int "(i lii' kiv\vec{u}nsrlic" or iilinliclies to mean "n. - Mun only counts i i syllables. If one of the three \vec{u} omina has the I3double consonance in the \\'ort- inner a ut\'\vec{v}liisi ('1'li. \vec{U}iildeke, a. 0. 37 ,i - \*)

To i of . To the silver number x g1. qc. - c : dcsame

D' i \'inventor of the poem, Ä'. .Ä. \'unan, gave us in a n i i \'Oft1 ZO. 10. 5 i. with which he announced the despatch of some further self-written €iediclite, following explanation below:

"I have no more poenis or prose manusc ripts composed b\' me bera use t lie circumstance's do not permit me to rom\' iose or u ork in literary u'Ork \'> ni:tn \' y' ars. '1'lie \' iramaic (= Alt.s3 risch) lanyu:tpc w hich is our c lasts:' language is a lr' ad known its a d' ad language.

\"c lmvc no press, no scho'ils in Aramaic language. Our people use this lanyuayc only- in the church. This is the reason that I have not taken lony steps to coinpose poems o- r----s more than t ht sc.

Most of my .1s.svrian people d" not knrnv their c lassic language. We speak the Vulgar Syriac which differs from the Aramaic. most of our rlergymen knox- read the Aramaic, but are the little who understand the meanings because their education is not high. We have no theology schools or high colleges to graduate highly educated clergymen.

Our forefathers were the founders of the most famous church in that age which is known as Assyrian church. The Assyrian church missionaries were the first who preached Christartity in Mesopotamia, Persia, Asia Minor, India, China and Japan. They rendered these peo}'les to C hristianit\.

They built churches, they erected stat ues, they settled parishes, they founded colleges and high schools, for examp. School of Edessa (*Orhai*), nou n:imcd Urfa, the school of Nisibin, the school of Beth-A.be (6d/ 'doe). Many millions (*etc*) of t hesc our forcfat hers is ere massacred and killed as martyrs "I lesus € hrist.

Although there "-erc many difficulties in t lic-ir way but t hey u cre able to continue their wor k and reach their aim proaching the Holy f'ospel. F-ven this day you is'ill find in the said countries many stones covered with esto- rian writings u'hicli are declaring to us that our forefathers ware the oldest C hristian missionaries.

\Vc the fiestorian Assyrians are the descendents of these *lumous* prt a-':mers. Alt hout;1i we could not reach the glory of our forefat hers u'liic1i li.i'l due to the cirriimstances which met us during long centuries.

The only think u hicli remains u ith us of our forcfat hers is our Christian £'aith. \\\*\text{\formula}'\text{hcn our forefathers sv'crc preactions, t heir nuniber ss'as more t han 50 millions natürlicli without Ciers hr] although now the total of all Assyrians in the u'orld can not reach i million. \\'\'e are the remnant of the r'ld c hristia- nity.

Our l'atriarch is knoxs n as klar Eshai Shimun, X XI I I, Catholicus Patriarcli of the East and of the Assx-rians, CXI X (m'ir isai sem'öii 23 ñ/'iJi ñ Qa(riyerl'i d-in'uInpîi u a-d-ütörii vê i i ')). Our Patriarch is the supreme leader and the spirituel and temporal leadt r of all Assyrians through tl ic w orld (the Nestorian Assyrians). Our Patriarch xsas exiled to Cyprus iii \*933

u itli all members *of* the Patriarch house. Afterwards lie went to the USA, u here he is still now' there. He is forbidden to v isit all Arabia countries.

\\'e have only two Mctropolitans one in Iraq known as Mar Youseph Hananisho (nidr v'iiisc@ Jii'iiiiö'''irfrdpaiifdtä *u'-panöntä* tmeant: *u'a-lfnöinä)* pafriyärbävä). \Ve max e another 6fetropolitan in Trichur, Slalabar (South India) known as tiiar *thömä*: klar Touma (sic) Darino. lt's have three I3ishops in Iraq. This is all that we got the churcli leader.s.

I.et us w rit c now about the Assyrians of Persia, their number may be more or less than tooooo; their classic language is aramaic Syriac as ours. Some of them are ancient church of the East (estorian), the other rarts are Roman cat liolics and Protestants. Before world war I t here wer'- in Urmia many missionaries' colleges and rreSses and Theology college's but now all are closed.

The Assyrians of Iraq are about the Assyrians of Persia (they) but most *of* them are of the church *of* the East. Before - 933 there w as a press in älosul but now it is closed. There are no Assyrians in 2'urkey. A great

number of Assyrians was massacred during the world u ar I by the Turks and Kurds, the other number departed from Turkey to Ira'J. .Es far as I know about the Assyrians in USSR. there is no religious communicati"n betu'cen t today and us, very difficulty to ansiver us. There are no schools in L'SSIi. in our language. The young Assyrians t here hax'e lost their mot her A ramaic language."

Thanks to the kind assistance of .B. I. Kharsekin (Makhachkala, Daghestanian ASS k.) to provide more complete information. He wrote to us under q. io. 59:

"'I managed to track down the 'Assyrians' in Machatsclikala. There are zes ei Assyrian families living here. I have already made bekanntscliaf t with one family, Iw'ano" I is an Issajess itseli (fÜ years old). We can still speak 'assyriseli' and he lives with his wife and daughter a few minutes' walk from my house. The other l'amilie ' lives in the \'orstadt: eftegorodok No. 4. The familienx ater is already in pre\*' - riic k old r. He has two sons: a petroleum engineer and a blacksmith.

\As it happens, there are no Assyrians in these two families in Makhachkala. Uler not far x-on Jlachatschkula, in the small ütadt

Isbery, lives a .lssyrian, Sergei Iljitscli Iscliojew. He works as a history teacher in the local secondary school, but too many Syrian families live in Ehasaw'-J urt, a small town north-west of Machatsrlikala.

\It is also possible to find cinzclne families in other places.

Outside Daghestan, there are several Assyrian settlements in the Caucasus: a few villages next to Ercvan in Armenia (Arzny, Dimitren'o, clic- inals Koilassar, Dwin, K lioi, D'il or Gül); a village next to Tbilisi: ùIukli- rali; another on the Black Sea coast next to Gelendzhik and a settlement next to the town of Armavir in the North Caucasus. This last settlement was built over 20 decades and was originally called Piraevo, but is now called Urmia. ¥'r'r the second \Vclt war there was an elementary school in the city of Armaivir, where lessons in the Assyrian language were taught."

We owe a bibliography of works on the New East Aramaic language published in the L'd SSR to the same author, which we will share below in the original version<sup>1</sup>:

## COBPEMEHHIIHACCItPi4RCKHAH3IIK

## Cmicoa nxzepazypsi

- 1. Pa6orøi no oz, eni-ø øonpocaø aeexpxxcxoro mama
- 1. Aficopexas aa6yxa. "C6opmiex uazepxmoø n orixeaHHø ueczHOCT'8Ğ it nøeueii Kaøxaøa-, 1884, øsin. IV, erp. 1-8.
- Ana Bep,qoB, K. CoBeiu;ainie no øonpocao accripiiñcxoñ opQo- F ã HH. B C6O|3Hiixe: "HxcsoeiiHoczs x peaoøioqxn", JOCKBã-NeHiiHrpa,g, 1933, C6. I, N-. 17, erp. 192-196.
- 3. ĞOJIPTBāHOB, E. Ft3 X}3OHPixx CoBpeueHHi.IX H II.I,HOHāJI2>HbIX rpaØxx CCCP. (flpoexz acciipxñcaoro nØaaiiTa Ha pyccxoü ociioBe.) "Peso.nioi {HOHHsrñ Boczoz", 1928, № 4-5, eg. 302-306.
- LtepeTcii, K. r. ,Qonrrie rnacHsie a ypuxñcxou oriaøexTe apa-Meñcaoro noi'ixa. "Tpygi'i T6iinriccxoro roe. yiiiiøepcirreza", z. 47, 1952, cup. 91-110 (Ha rpya. no., peaioxe øa pyccx. no.).

<sup>\*</sup> Imider is not quite complete, for which see F. Rosenthal, Die aramaistische Forschung (i 9i)

•5 7 Mitte rind s öS Anm. 5) as well as that of J. Friedrich in:

<sup>- \*-9 1 9591 5</sup> f. Listed.

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- 3. Юіііманов, Н.В. Ассирийс "ігії sawiz и его іпісахіо. В сборніїке: .'flіісамснносzі' и Рево.'іюргіе", Москва-Леніінграр, 1933, СG. I, № 17, сэр. 112-128.
- 6. Юіііzіанов, Н.D. Зага.qo'іное "m" новоассііргійспого vімпераzrіва. В сіі.: "Ноь к п sіі'nііsіеііііе", 5, Москва-Ленинграр. 1930, cтр. 93-96.
- 7. Юиіманоа, Н.В. Сіінгариогіиом уригіхехого нареция (ііовоассіірііfісzого ііааіza). В і 'н. "has rrri awa,rt. Н. Н. Марра (1864-1934)", Москва-.0снингра,пі, 1938, стр. 295-314.
- 0. Dйваооа. Н. Негогорте саеренгія о себе Коііпасар о oS аіісорах. "Сборніїк магериапов p-on огігісаніїе цестностец rt n.uerteн Каваааа", вши. IV, 1884, стр. 284-326. О азьке с. 310-312.
- 9. IJ, срстепгі, К. Г. К вогіросу о гармоіігіи г. паснтх в уригінской qriaoexze арахтехского із тка. Тбгіписгі, 1945. Канргіратская , qiicccpzauus, Тбгіписи, 1945, VIII, 384 п. Р укопіїса. (Fthezrrryz iomica АН ГрЗ-о. ССР.)
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#### BEILAGE 5

# **CLARIFICATION**

It cannot be avoided to use an antipode, 0. Maenchen-Helfen \alphalalaenchen is a critic' who warns us to let go of what we have begun and to reapply the x familiar f elds of the Roman past. In other words: one wants to be regarded as a historian of the Huns oneself, even if one is an impaired one.

In ülaenchen's case, the prevention arose from an obvious service. It is thanks to him that the \text{\text{'}} connection between the Huns and Hiung-nu is no longer accepted without scrutiny. Although the last

Wort is still outstanding, Maenchen's ideas have been taken into account in this book. Of course, there was a circumstance that he had foreseen. By separating himself from the Hiung-mi of the Chinese annals, the sinologist had left the field on which the Hunscholar could have taken his rightful place. If one were to give the sinologist a deeper understanding of what the Hunshad encountered, the Hun researcher would be treated more cautiously. The history of the Hunscannot pass by the multilingual (juellenbestand) that was previously spread u-urdc. 3laenchen himself recognises this by referring to Arabic and Syrian authors. But there is a lack of what is indispensable: ff aenchen does not have the philr'logiscl"-n prerequisites.

Sl'an look at the following. Zacliarias lihetor is angc-fiied after uler translation x on Hamilton and Brooks, Joshua Stylites after R. €-liirshinan's Hephthalite work. Ghirsliman must also be herlialten for 'abari, at least where öldekc's translation leaves our critic in the s "ticli. Mar'}uart is the godfather of I"liannes x on Ephesus, and the liber Clialifarum v is used in Chabots ("b' rsctzunp. Since then one has to sc hic ken about it,

<sup>\* 1</sup> n : j ou r n. t mer. Orit'nt. Soc. ;" ( i 95 ty) , 2'j5 f.

ö. CLAUSE i\*W1

Since l\*riskos is cited according to the German translation°, one has to be prepared for a lot in Hun research anyway.

He also tries to present himself as an expert on Arabic sources. '!'abari, according to p. zQ2 r., described the Küsän as Turks. No passage is cited, although it is clear that Maenchen's \Vissen is based on Nöldeke's translation (ioz AniTi. 2). Admittedly, a mishap has occurred. Maenchen was unable to resolve Nöldeke's abbreviation "Spr." could not be resolved. It is not Tabari, but the codex Strenger 3 *commonly used* by this iitia6- In general, sirh Uaenchen schwer with

this Arab historian. In a second citation (p. zQ8 1., under

Citing Cihirshman), Ta bart is confused w ith Bal'ami (x'on Maenchen of course, not fihirshman): did this 'Orientalist' really take Zotenberg's translation for that of the Arabic author?

Maenchen's train of thought, by means of which he tries to entwerten the fact that Arab historians and geographers characterise the Hephthalites as Turks, shows how far one gets when one tries to work with translations and summaries (p. 2€}/1. f.). There it is stated that in Mar- wazi's ninth E.tJaitel, about the '£urks, Slaxs'ische and Finno-Ugric tribes are included (with reference to the editor, V. Minorsky's, I3cmcrk ung on p. Q2). A glance at the te.x t shows that they are far more connected than c'ingeschlossen; that the transition from the Magvars, who are counted among the Turks, to the Slavs is marked (- zz, 3 and i z arab.). That is all, for fiüldeke's note z on 53

Der Islam 35 (1960), 193 Anm. 2.

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of the fibre translation speaks i'on the Haital and mentions other "Nordic Barl'arcn" without naming them. And J. \Valker at the place mentioned above (.tritt - Sasanian Coins UXX I) again speaks of the Hephthalites. hie assertion that 'rabari Ivii?sän and 4'ürken qlr'ichpesct zt has already been settled. None of this is as II aenchen

:i n leads, bc"'eist, what it should bew t-ison. -Even a mong the b\ /antinical scribes, which should be expressly noted, To0pxoi st' ts the- is used to designate those who are entu'edcr Turks or whose ruling seli icht belongs to them (Magvars): Ü. Moral cnik, a. 0.

\*1.3\*

Jlaenchen's knowledge of Arabic is linguistically and en hlich the s\ rian. Only the Iranian ones will be discussed shortly. This time it is about the name of the Hephth:ili ten. 'E-rrzöZoo hi ué v l"-ri¡'1. P. l'1i.x. öcj (i9) ss'eckt Lust xur Et j inolopie. " He ptnl(os), u liirh cannot u all separated from the cthnic name, me t also mean ,scv' n'. If this svere so, it svould shed more lich t on the langu:ige of the Hephthalit es" (p. 2')y r.). It sheds - fiirc hten is'ir - cher light on M.icnchen's linguistic ideas. Should the unexplained suffix -1)'s) contain for him the niit3tcn reference to the seven mvthisc h original kings of Samarkand, new and unconsidered invention of Slaenchen? Incidentally, all talk x on variac Ircliones, x-on supposedly er fre//rt li///cifior in the cl iinesian Vt'ic-dcryaben may be s e t aside. The Hephth:ilitcn se1bst h abw n referred to themselves on their II iinces as l (A)fI(A)TAAA . D:to agrees to altt ür kiscli \*vo\$i/i/, u as the plural \*ya pit!il-il to 'Ee9ohi-rnt }aal3t. Ibe in Zauberst ück manages to bcseitit;t n the an lautende 3'-and to come to ira nis"hes ha pta, /t"/"-.

Also with the I r'inist Jlacnchen is t s mi13li' li la'-stt-llt. I 4'is li inder t ili n't to be prefi4 to others "in fat uation about : imilar sounds" uni4 the like. ff an shall:e in Jlaent liens La. e be pref i'h: iger. N.the ole t

the, by si-ine G l'-ich s' tzung x'on Kl pui $\chi$  imvf, k'triii ir (sie') fi)'örtii ( ie) with *hlim* 6iiii o, ofiir er sit li .ru f H. \\'. H'tilev laer u(t . fiatü rt i has

only II:ic nchens 1' n esch ir'k Hurt n' n u nd f'li i'an iten eru'e'-liselt. high he has Bailey not only rnißverst.in'lr n, sond' ru also ft h ler haft al'yt schri'-ben : *kuritt ir* /ivfiii steh t im hah man Ä'aüt. " I n latuation al'out sense ilar soun'ts ?

\\'as always: no-one doubted that the late He phtha lites were trau isicrt, and I also maintained it.

'Zur kologisches w ild be bypassed by Maenclien mostly x'orsichtiq, ss s ennuy if not i orsic lit ig ig. No mention is made of the Kt6npizni as "iistic" Huns (above i , 3z f.), the Hephthalites as To0pxoi and O0vvoi at the same time (above i , 39 f ), Toupyo0v (ibid.) , 5 "iltii-in and /ögiit (above i , i? : 5\*).

\\"irt. (lay Koüyyo; = - du it-qaii w ird \\'. 1lartliold (b" J\*Iarkssxi rt,

\\'chrot and .drang \*39 ) l'eniülit. :\ ber d<•ssen Aufstellun(;en sin<! durc li ha ilev's zur or erw'ähnte .lbliandlung ü berholt (is'ie Maenchen natürlich u eilt). Darthold's doubts are taken so seriously that ili n

(J. Jloras csik3 n irht einnia1 set rzeichnet. The ('tradition at Priskoi,

namely y  $G_{X-i}$  makes many a ler other eit ige inhibition Maenchens 1 iin fä Hip. His sh is eipen is usually (;en verst Endlich. When a start up

dt:r Heispielc hSt te b' st ätigt, dass die Heph thalit' n ilii ein Ursprung nach Türkr'n um d Hun geu'esen sind. \\'as still bli i1't, fits the Hild. Nominal and verbal suffi.x (\*it and -on p. 2Q6 r above) are not Besch it-dcn. .ßbu '-giges over *Inr.xa n* (p \*97 1.) may be with renewed hin-

a eis iiut Moras csik' done. S °97 - is J. \Valker, .'Trab-Sasanian Coins q') a light quotation.

fi or h a \\'ort iber 'Ao-rropoGxi\\$. II acnchen thinks it .is iranisi:h:  $*as\ parauha \text{ -, un t c r lappeal to Abajeiv}. \text{ He has overlooked what the new} \\ \text{Vcrk on Vic het'a (II/chet a i. 9sv) on p. 29, fig. q and pl. XLV i shows: that x iclnichr 'AownupouxiS stands on the U emme . \\'whereas otherwise}$ 

.4 s par- (x gl. old tiirkiscli t she ra, above i, i o) appears in the ¥'orderglicd, 'Awwoup- may be a held t-r nit h t beleytes \*os;baror--, os;bo,B "r, -a s pabur-. 'Amrrnup- stands to 'AwO'i'pouvo\$ .ru.s Olbia and to old bulgariancm

/s;bor°, with the bck an nten \\'andc1 x on an > oi', \"o [b3'rins ul, k yr yaul

"Pheasant to äst rb. vrgoiil, qx'r Hol) . Is~por~cars "Rit ter-Zar"  $\circ$  corresponds exactly to 'Amrropo0<sub>X</sub> "sbar~-ng ,,whose Pteil (= tribal organisation, area of rule) are li it ter

Tür k ist li kennt 31acnchen so gut oder so schlecht t wie die xux-or ge- n-innt cn S}'rarhcii. t i inge es nach ih m, io iviir'-n die Folgen für Hunnen und He{'hthiiliten scli merzlic h^. \Neither these nor those could become

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° a. €J. z*, i f 3.1.
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 $\Psi$ erk'- s incl in t'in' r I.ist' x er'-i tit, the l'rauc h bar iv äre.  $\Psi$ he is 'laf ü r int vressiert, mag sie i in 'ler I3ibl iugra}ili ie' mcint-r Sch ril te n, z usammenges tell t von L. Merkel, suche'-n ( i ') $_{\hat{c}}s$ ). 11'ir t is all necessary carefully and bibli"graphically crilcled.

<sup>\*</sup> a. f7 z-. z9'j f.

<sup>\*</sup> t\* . N'Ii'rai ' s ik. a , tl. : °, -t'.

<sup>• .</sup>U i' lit a nie1 'lie of J1'icnc hen lamented \\'ie'l"rholung'- n in ner lial b my

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the ir mother tongue. Not because they are Maenchen's manince of language skills.

There is still the eographic, not easy to discuss with someone,

who knows where Gog and Magog sat ... Orosius' remark . 33. to,  $\emptyset$  o- nach die Masse der Hunnen *din inaccessis seclusa* moiifiòus leben, x eranlassen Maenchen zu der Bemerkung, es sind die Berge, die jenhafte Volk

from the Oikumene, not the Caucasus. Orosius says nothing about it, and he does not mention Gog and Magog anywhere in his account. But someone who claims to have been there - Sallām, interpreter of the 'abbess caliph a1-\\'ātiÿ-bi11āh - claims that Gog and Magog were north of the Caucasus.

Iśčtukasucsgelcbt (in Ibn Hurdã'lbeh i62, \*5 f. de Goe je) ... One may then read there. It becomes more serious when it comes to the seats of Ptolemaeus' Xouvoi. They belong to the Dniester for àlaenchen:

This is also where the Codex Eberianus places them. It is a pity that the Seragliensis, the only manuscript containing Ptolemy's authentic maps, does not contain them. It is also a pity that Ptolemy did not include the Roxolones, an unimportant

neighbour of the XoGvoi, on the Tanais - Don ivohnen falls (geogr. 3, 5. °'). In addition, there is again the lack of knowledge of Turkish. Maenchen has overlooked,

that Aciïxóç wozctpoii tx|3ohní in the same Ptolemy (geogr. 6, \*3. 4) show that the Ural River already bears its Turkish name - Aołx and with known sound changes' 5'a j'îq, Javiq, Yä yiq®. After the flit te of the

z. )ahrhunderts,  $\emptyset$  ohlgemerkt. And u'o there would be better confirmation that the Xoovoi really were Huns and Turks, that they lived north of the Caucasus and even further east. Ptolemy gave Q8 " - qS  $^\circ$  25' as c rad data.

Nevertheless, I cannot suppress my surprise. Namely, that a respected newspaper (and an Orientalist one at that!) has printed all this and much more.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;M. 1-täsänen, .h4materialien zur Lautgeschichte der t ürkischen Sprache (i9jg)

<sup>^</sup>s About the friihestc \'orkommen oben r, a i b.

<sup>^ .4</sup>all that is necessary can be found in U-. hloravcsik, a. 0. z-, i i ö, with incorrect spelling

<sup>&</sup>quot; Maenchen's \"conjecture on the above i . a i6 f. published by me - "stolen from Sovjet museum" by A pscheronskaja - and, as I said, has not been **examined** by this newspaper.

The question that was raised last becomes clear as soon as you have recognised who is the pawn and who is the pawn on the chessboard.

In \*93 the  $\S$ 'inventors published "Dai Jahr Zarathustras", in : Zeitschrift für Religious- und Geistesgeschichte 8 t\*956), i f. The chronological results to which they arrived at that time are taken as a basis in the x organding Yt'erk (above, I, 4\*; s, z65; 2/j; 25}). ac'h publication of the essay, the management of the journal received a letter from V'. B. Henning's.

It criticised the fact that the authors had reprinted an earlier publication on the same subject matter "without the slight test reference to the earlier publication". With the addition: "such a procedure

. is unworth y of a periodical claiming lramed status. (What was meant was a, However, sharp criticism of Henning's "Zoroaster" (-\*95-) in: La Parola del PaSsatO ZO (\*955). 322 f. -, according to the person concerned "a vicious attack".

The letter reply from the editorial team summarises the \\'I'. The attack had not come from us, but had been initiated by Henning. The fact that it was a reprint was never true for a number of reasons. But even if it were true, the author was allowed to use his own, earlier statements without being subject to the obligation to cite them. Moreover, the editor rejected Henning's criticism, stating that in the present situation the only objective solution seemed to be for Henning to deal with the arguments we had put forward against him.

The person addressed in this way did not comply with the recommendation. For some time now, Henning has limited himself to ¥'orschicken others. Hennings student teaching at the Harz ard Unix-ersity today

it. N. I-rye was the first to take on this ungrateful task ". fi'achdem sion was repeatedly rejected by us (most recently in : Su pplementum A raniaicum I i2 f. ; Finanzpeschichte der Spätantike 3 1 , he expressly renounced further critical activity in a letter.

\1'We thought we had to congratulate him on his decision.

<sup>\*</sup>The author is one of the most respected German historians of literature, to whom 1Henning had specifically turned.

<sup>&</sup>quot; \We were told x'r'n him, again brutally, that Henning had brought him in ("chidvd") if his lyrics were not hard enough.

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dirfen. Even a well-known Hamburg Arabist, after we had e x p r e s s e d our wish to reverse the critical view (in: Die aramäische Straclie s Lfd. i i i f.), assured us in a letter that a

kiinftige Auseinandersetzung x-on his side. \Vir were in 'Item pleasant position of being able to give him the same \'crc assurance 1-

In contrast to Henning's colleagues of yore, scholars of name and rank, Maenchen is a substitute with the hallmarks of such a person. He accepts Henning's concerns and leaves no doubt that he disapproves of our criticism, but he does not make such a statement. And the position taken

To be able to defend the cause, he lacks the \'knowledge. But a guiding hand seems to ensure that helpers arise for him. We read with astonishment in : Rev ue Helle de Philologie et d'H istoire 3 , 1 (-9<O) €-a short statement by J. Duchesne-Guillernin's about one of our \'er-

the results of which can also be found in the \\'erk \\'.

can be found at every turn. The criticisms that are voiced here coincide with those that Maenchen is in the habit of addressing to us. Durhesne-C uillemin also shares Maenchen's opinion of a book containing thousands of pages o f Arabic, Syriac and South Arabian source texts, even though he admits that he does not speak any of these languages '°. Sometimes the direction doesn't quite work. The contributions of our co-worker It. G ribl become famous (and rightly so, by the way). Well, it was Cöb1 who proved to Henning that he had fallen victim to a forgery (above i, 3Sq f.).

Blue doesn't understand why such x'ors are being protected who lack the necessary philological6 tools. They are being crippled uselessly and the cause is not served. \Vhat is at stake can be 'illcin

be promoted by the opinion of the person concerned. L'in it to say once again: it is a question of whether Henning's temporal -4nset xung

As a tt "a's äu i3t'rt, u ird late c'r traded is t'rde n.

<sup>&#</sup>x27;o Dit- bc'iden \'inventor bt n u tzen the tit-lege nheit, u rn dieses"m l'nge na nt"n f u r die' selbst loosel deity, in which h e x'ersuelit. den Besteh erulen Gegenge nsat z zu H'-n ning - zu u nser i3t-da uer n unsuccessfully - x u bese it .

<sup>&</sup>quot; Hei 1 uchesn v-t, u il lem in 1ir'gt dr'rt, w'o he gives the appearance of sat li 1 l irit ik (in the 'Yn remark of his N otix) , '-in feh lz itat x-c\*r. The same had previously been stated in Slacn- c h' n . T o say is that £1 Hah ra m kt in esfalls Slars can be . lien n this is al lt'in in Duc h esne-Ci u illemin 's \'orstellung with :\ res one. .But a ne h .\ res is 13ahrä ru riic h t. For hah riim - f"rf \( \text{Br} \) ob iio u irtl, " ie ., tout d\( \text{éb} \) ut an t" w'ei\( \text{el} \), as 1-4 "rak les dargest vII t. - 1 "l"r di e .\ n sir li ten, dit Jane li esne-Ciu ill i min zur f hat iernng

Zarathustra, his localisation of the A vesta can be maintained'\*: whether the adoption of Aramaic ideoprams in Arsacidisclic times was based on grammatical misinterpretations; whether Henning's readings of Aramaic and medieval inscriptions and parchments are correct; whether he had the indispensable knowledge of the Aramaic language; whether he had succumbed to a forgery with the silver me- da illon of Dahräm's I I. had succumbed to a forgery. -Henning, and Henning alone, has the conclusive answer to all these questions.

'- 14cru higen'l, daO Hen ning anlä £llir li the great In.sch ritt x on Su rx liotal and

'ler x on him as a bac tric language has my new localisation of the Avesta v'irg'-ncinirnv n : I3SOS. i  $9^*$ -. 4.7 \* 1measure another's falls on. I'. Schmidt in : Indog. Forse h . 6.5 ( i 9é o) , i 8 y appeals against the by O. Sze incrén yi founded

and x'on uns ü liernommene n (Schmidt refers falsely to:  $f^*vst\ h.\ d.$  latein . Language 85 f. where the discussion on p.7 begin nt) Ein'irdnung des ält' sten Ch w'ärezmisch auf H' n nin qs 13em'-rkting in : Handbuc h der Orientalisti k i , , ' - s Anm. z. Er hat ü bersetzen n , dass diese durche h unsere .hntu. ort oht'n i , f'4 .A n m. i er l e d i gt, in der Hen- ning nach verweisen x-urdt-, da f3 er Böruni nicht x-erstanden hat. Schmidt denies

then Glas \'orkom men ax estis' her \\'iirter on the Aramaic I nscriptions of Taxila (which he alternates with I'ul-i lJaruntali s"ru} and 1 andahär (last at Seli mid t in false se h rei Lou ng) . Sch midt s}'ric li t also from an Aramaic-Greek f3ilinguis (in the

t.u l'-tz exactly nten Fall i, while duc-li the re ihenfolge is umge keli r t. Sclilieflich h may ft'st be placed u-er, bla II St h midt sit h never as nenn er of the .4ral'ist:hen or the

Aramaic has shown. \Vir be zix eife lu, whether angesic h ts of the complete error of the philr'lr'gic \'oraussetzungen sulc lie Dehau ptungen without Rückdeck ung ix-ären been said. i midt gives dynn also an anderer Ste He'-inc observation, which he

Henri in p v-'-reiankt (in : Beitr. zi ir Ü amensforse h . i i [ i  $9 \in 0$ ] , :04 ). Should it h under the Ilemt'rk u ng i'ine n'- u" :\frac{1}{2} s esta - .\u03b1 u ff ass u ng lie nning 's i erL'-rii'n ? A n the z ux-''r g''- nan nt'-n St r-11:' {\u03b1}. 9rj) ha tt 'fieser n''' li ,, x on a once x ielle ie h t in Sistan be-

lic'imateten £ ortsetzer der ai estischen Sprache he" spruclien tilaz u "l'en i , i o .Anm. r ).

## ANNEX

#### **FOLLOW-UP**

#### TOJ1 FIRST BAA D

- p. 5. On lordanes, Get. i z i -i zz cf. 0. Klíma in : Archiv Orientálnt zS ( 9 299-
  - S. io. To Old Iranian. -asòJra- s'gl. O. Kllma, a. 0. 3OÖ.
- S. i i . Note 2z. Soc., hist. eccl-7.  $\,$  z6, 6-i o; E.A. Thompson, A History of Attila and the Huns 38.
  - S. a6. To soghd-. (")s1ava ivaz vg1. O. Kllma, a. O. 3°+ -
  - S. 47 On Barmiida, Par'nu felt see O. Kllma, op. O. 3oz f.
  - S. y i. On adorsi, adossi cf. 0. Klfma, a. 0. z96 f.
  - p. 23. For ost-osset. ddtä see O. Kllma, a. 0. z9g.
- p. 9z. On the hairstyle see Agathias p•°,3 f. Nieb.: Turks and Avars are ówR not owl crú'yprtpo1 xcl §uwi5v-rtS. More in the name and subject index of Nie- buhr's edition under *Avores*. See also Theodolf of Orléans, MG. poet. lat. i , ą8ą, v. 3g, cited according to P. H. Schramm, Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik i (+95'1. °s-: *czinitiis Hunnus*.
- P. 9' On the tmpl {3mviç cf. Agathias•7 +, 8 f. Nieb. tIç 6é y¢ }v oTro\$ -r'øv Appl zò ooí7\mo 6O\$UØ CdV, OÛç 6fj oxglgccVDg ó VOgÓ/OtJPtV.
  - S. °7- IOh Ephes- 3.-zo,z of Tiberius II towards Mundir b. TJãrit: i-tñgã
  - S. i 3o. loh. Ephes. y,z i G,i yl. uam. ftćrfã d-!- we v!-
  - P. i q. third paragraph. Cf. also 'ròy of the Aramaic AhiEer novel Z. zo8 Cowley.

On the Gau Arabia and related matters see Treidler in: RE. S. v.

\* '9 9 f.

),

- S. zool. The Hephthalites fight with bow and sword: Zachar. Rhetor z,z i, 13f.
- P. 213. < \*arsøa and relatives cf. 0. Kllma, a. 0. 30i f.

See z3o above: G. Vernadsky, The Mongols and RuSSId- (+ 933) 3\*

- p. z3o f. Against the immigration of Indians from southern Russia: W. P. Schmid in : I ndog. Forsch. 6\$ (i 959). z9 i f. ; W. Eilers and M. Mayrhofer in : Die Sprache 6 (ig6ol.
  - P. z96. Is to be read: yn/iwI = y\*n (West-osset. dative to yc "he") cal "his own".
- p.354 f. G. Labuda, Zródta, sagi i legendy do najdawniesaych dziejów Polskij ( i960) 9 i f. and French résumé 3oz f. on the Song of the Huns. with statement against H. Rosenfeld and for me.
- p. 36d. On *Mundzucus* vg1. G. Schramm in: J ahrbuch für fränkische Namensłorschung zo(9\*°), 129: 38 f. ÜOUV6lOuyo\$, *Mundaucus* stand side by side like 'Axóripoi, 'Axó-r§ipoi: G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica z- 1 958), 94: J8 f. As this corresponds to an Old Turk. -ayed-dri, so that Old Turk. mœifø9 "pearl". This was a name similar to that of the Alan Goar, vg1. arab. ǧoiifioc "J uwel, pearl", an Iranian loanword.

292 ANHANG

- S. d z z . The finds of Schami date back to the z .- i . Century L. Vanden Berg he , .Krchéol. de 1'I ran ancien (i 9s'i) \*'4-

#### ZW51 ZAELIEN BAKD

- S. i z. Die Kø6iørjvot zu den Hephthaliten gestellt bet C. D. Ciordon, The .Sgt of Attila ( i 960) i .
- S. z i f. Our interpretation of amiir $\tilde{a}$ yé is doubted by G. I.evi Della \'ida, in a letter 9 \*° (hereinafter referred to as LDS'.), with impressive reasons. 4'We withdraw the interpretation.
- S. 3°- The source relationship -'îrd is usually understood to mean that Barhebraeus writes out Michael's work: A. Baumstark, Gesch. der syrischen Literatur (i gz213 i 8 and LDV. This view is not correct. has above3,53  $_{\rm ZI}$  iIe yf. The discussion above shows that Barhebraeus had the original text of Lohannes x-on Ephesus before him. Also in the present

In this case, the differences are too considerable to allow such an interpretation. X'or above all, Barhebraeus could not find the correct dating to Maurikios' fourth year in Michael.

- S. go. ZúhaJ is Arabic zøAe/ and thus to be written: LDS'.
- S. z. LDV. interprets today/diuéyãit as "pagani".
- S. a6. Åthiop. ø éguś belongs to Heb. \*tôya.' "to collect the tribute", ti'Jgeś Dn. i i , zo "tax collectors". Thus J. Doresse, L' Êthiopie' (ig56) interprets sö 'iagiśi as "collec- teurs de tribut" This would correspond exactly to the news according to which the Lahmids in Medina levied the Aarãǧ for their Sasanian overlords: Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgesc hich te der Spätantike ( is z) r kg f. On the question of the lexical similarities between Ethiopic and Old South Arabian, especially in the antiquarian field, cf. Höfner in : Atti del Congr. internat. di studi Etiopici i 59 (+ 9Wl s39 .
- p. 60 zø eiter Absatz ; cf.  $z_{is}$  The same Soghdian coinage now found in Susa: J. Yt'alker in : N umismatique Susiane (i 960) 6 . O. Szemerényi mill yrl with yarił (I. Gershevîtch, A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian (i g-ij) i 6j  $\S$  i 07  $_a$ ).
- LDS". adds Arabic *naizoli* "lancia, giavellotto" to Nëzak. He also refers to G. C. miles in : .Archaeol. Orient. E. Herzfelrl i 6ą- i öy j The .àmeric. fi u mism. Soc. Museum Wotes y, 207-2 10.
  - P. 67 last section. laroiri to harăl v ie hama 'i to fiatnat. LDS'.
- p. 69. About the name of the women's sh uh vgI. G. Rundgren in : Orient. Succana ö ('9.57) 60 f. There p. 5 f. a critical commentary on G. Widengren's statements in : A retica i i (i 956), z68 f.
- P. 2ò. soghd. i'zyl, Id iiá W . B. Henning, Sogdica q Note i : H. V\*. Bailey, J RAS. •930, 89f.;  $\,$ '. A. Livsh its in : XXV Internat. Congress of Orientalists, Papers Present. by the USSR. Dcleg. i g6o, i 8 .4nm. z i .
- P. 80 line 9 f. LDV. improves the translation to : "a scout from the barbarians, who was called fri'fr" and "the 4'ornehmsten von Buchärã gave him money".
- P. 8 i line 8 f. LD¥. suggests: "non dox-rà mai aver paura di te" 2tä'o geneeds like 1 t fi y,4.

- On Chogend see N.N. Negmatov in : Slateriali vtorogo sovestaniya archeologov i etnografov Srednej Azii t 959) \*3
  - S. gz line g v. u. C-anawi LDV.
- S. i i i fic ile z8. LDV'. conj. la-f-mu'azzi "come si venisse a fargli condoglianze", cf. z, i i 58, 5.
  - S. I i7 line v. u. Kuéairi LDV., also p. i i g line v. u. and p. i zo line 3.
- p. i i9. On 6 'iv'Jtyf, 0. Szemerényi refers to Smirnova-Bogoljuboiv in : Sowjet- skaja ¥Vostokoivedenije i55, J 2 f.
  - P. i 2 i line z5. Yaiku£i LDV.
- S. i zz. Two new Soghdian letters from Mount Itluy: fi\*. A. Liwsié in: Westnik drewnej istorii 2/r960, 7\*\*.; The Sogdian Letters from Alt. Mugh. XXV Internat. Congress of Orientalists, Papers Present. by the USSR. Delegat. i 960 (Note G. Frum-kin's).
- P. i6ö. Greeting gesture with flower between thumb and forefinger on an early Sasanian bowl from Armazischewi near K. la. Amirana.S "ili in: Issledowanija po istorii kultury narodow v-ostoka ( i 96o) z8 fig. t; z85 fig. z.
- P. z 26 Armoured lancers and unarmoured cavalrymen with bow pouches, drawn swords and nagaika from Pan§ikant by A.M. Belenickij in : Materiali vtorogo so wes'tanija archeologow i etnografow Srednej Azii (939) °
  - S. zgj line 6 ma-'tdäni correct LDV.
  - P. z9J line z i. az-also correct LDV'.

#### S.A N D

- S. i  $\ddot{o}$  Yäröks (x-gl. above z, 3ß f.) can also be read h'ärökés and then belongs to Old Turkish yeritq "light, splendour".
  - p.34 f. Cf.). Burian in: Listy Filologickl \* (9), Eunomia f.

#### LIST OF PRINTING ERRORS

#### TO THE FIRST VOLUME

 S. z line zq : Middle Persian
 P. zz9 line zo : al- Käigari

 P. 5 y line zo: liormir
 S. -s - note 53 : s'-py!

 S. i o i Line i 5: Ötükän
 p. 3i§ Note z3 : Art

 S. io(l Line 8 : q88-53 i
 p. 3ss line 3 : to a

 S. i58 Line 3: i
 P. 3 ö line i i : remember

 S. i 59 Line 3 : Aigisymba
 p. 393 line 5 from bottom : H(W) K R T

S. 9 parts i8: 'fizänä i95 P. 4 s line z : -zbä-to

**S.** line: sounds S. Sky r. Sp. line S v. u.: 'fiz\$I'. +9°-

S. zo3 Line z i : H6m Yäät S. q6o r. Sp. line xo v. u. : altiran.

#### TO THE Z\VE ITEN BAND

P. 60 line z y : "haughtiness" P. zzt line 2 i : *Oci nite* 

p. i 55 line s: nP-wärs
p. 3°-bottom line: north-eastern
s. z io Note '5: r "ri "o '> j
p. 3 5: The card must be rotated by i80° t

see z i note 65 a: dama" become.

s. zz3 Note ioi : x'xnovptvrtv 6§ohlpwjv P. 3\*4 °- Sp. line '9 '



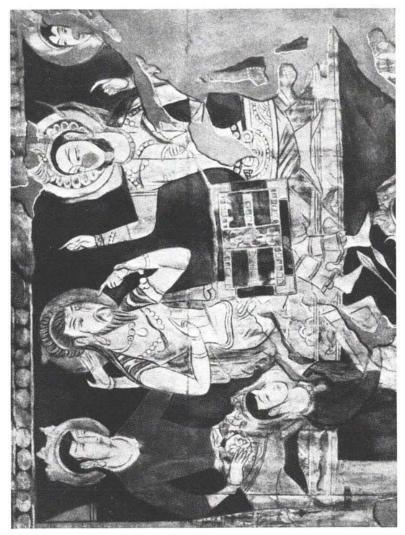
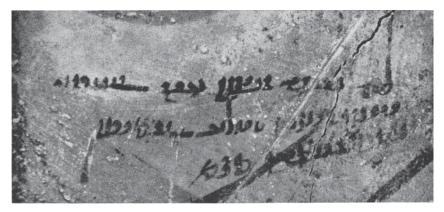


Abb. 1. Religiöse Disputation. Fresko aus Pangikant.



Ebb. z. Mittelpersisehes Dipinto. Synagogue of Dura-Foropus. Cour tesy of Yale fi ni versitv .hrt Galler y.

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on freez so and franco of the city by

Fig. 3 < A poem by a modern-day l'testórianer in ancient Syriac.

كم المسيك عند ننت عند بك وون Lhow soil Las Lights of mis Lines T لا باعده و الماع عدد قدر المحدد في مصاء Let income ose isty as an in sock ندوس فرك من مدم ودردهم لمذنا مدود رمدت له عمدتا معدد مود ٨١ من الم وعد والم المدم و المن والم الم مدد محمد المعملاه مدمد فنوح صفائدة لعلا مندل به وصفحة وه correct Local Local Stephone ذبه ما ذيما مبعد بدمد علمنا كوده م ونديا دنا منعما دعمه مدمونه فالقيمايم يوجه معمدتا فالم لجنده عالم منودهم محضوب في المتوسم cioès exila nofis ices no ciena A

عي و فرح عليما المردة الم وهدة المرديا و هدة المرديا

المدود مدون الدوم من مدد المدو

Composed and written by Younan ABRAGON YOUNAN TEL-ROMAN-KHABOOR. P.O.B. 14 HASSAKE

# **REG I STER**

### i.t-ESC HICH TI.I (1t US HEG I STER

### Herrscher und Dynastien

.A l'ăyü, hl''ng' 'l':n-t Iran 209. z i 5. 2 i fa 'A bb?asidr n i o i of . i - .ùbias, .t ral'erkönig 39 f. Abraha, Abramos 45 – 47. 54	Ermanarich 4 'Ezānā 55 Esymphaios, King Ä tho Ht "s 4 4 Gaixātū, Ilchan 212
:\c liairrieni'lr'n, a' liairnt-n i"i-' It i . I c 2 :!-xan'lt r d' r t i rol3r i i " i i 3 f : i 29 f . A nd	Gallienus 81
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— II. 291	i 3o
V. Gor 72 Ilaltl uin, latt*inis' h'" Ea iser x "n Byzantium	I le hane z i f . z i ia
zo9 f.	Imru'ŭ l-kais 43 f. 48 1 ustinian 44 's s 93
I3asilei"s i 'jz . i 93	lustinos I I. 55,
t h usri" I1tub:sri rx-ăn * i . 36. q ą . b . ą 9 .	I z.ate's 11. vt'n .\diab' n '* 3'; f.
58. 71. 72. 85-94. 97. 99. 102	J -ikob 1 I. vr'n .4 ragun i 9j . : i t'
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X4 R EGIST Ü H

Lah mid€-- 43 4ö. 48 f. SJ f. iool 'err'z zo. 3: 97 9\* I J \* I-nd ig l Ü. d' r Heilige 2.1o-z I i. z i f. I'hilipp II', the beautiful 200, ' bPtolemy I I. Philadelphus i 's / Malik:\.Count, 11err of lJ'ims z i o Raim and Count of Toulouse z i ¢ älalik as- ali!- Lord of Egypt z i o t. Slalik Bl 8ipir 1. z 3. ¢i f. 3 . i z9. i -: u'az zani . Mr Egypt's 2 i i f. Slamel u ke - 1I. z J. 3 . i z9 nsultan'-ziqf. Sasanids i z f. zo. 3j -36. i f. 3 t. q8 f. S'lanfred, king of both Sicilies z i ö Slaria. 56. 57. 61. 63. 72. 92. 97. 98. 99. 5. Daughter of E aiser Maurikios 93 Slaria, 103. 108. 108, 17 daughter of the i'iaiser 'II ichael \'I I I. Seleukos 1. z -i. - . 3 1 'B äl fOl0 OS 20Q . 2.1.3 Masr ii Staufer z i j k ( = D ü N ju-äs) 5.2 Stauri Tamnïis ( = Dü EN uw:iii s' Tarh kiOS93 in, King of the Soghders zg 't! ichael \'11I. l'alaiol'igos zO9 / 4-Theodora i z. -i 5 210 T iberfUS 1.1. 2 !O SIitliridates I I. Stistes of Pontus j i, 3 \'ologeses I. \$q f. hlundir b. Nu'män { I I I. ) ¢ f . ¢ ö . q8. \\"\t-ti ' j *Ëerxes* t 52 f. 54 . i Yäroks i S. z', Ü -ahapäna, (Malifi ) lisatrapa i 6 fi'apoleon I. z Nebuka'l nexar i i (' h'azdgard 1.5 i.S9 Nu'man I I I. s-'in 11ira 48. 9 . i oo - III. 93. 94. 103 't' its u f ( = Liiï N in is) Bio 'Umar io; -4 n Jere gesrAirAt/trhe persons (mil .4 usti ahme der bi "chl iche W ürdtniröger .¥cciaiuol i 2 i iKonstantianos and Sergios 6 i iu taiba b. \*\I uslim z 3. 103 .¥öti us '.4mr, son II u ndir's 11I. vun lJira q 5.4.7 K yros, governor Arta.xerxes' I. ü f 'er Bahräm GIL'in eq. i oj f. fiabylon i i y Barmakiden z'i Narses 3i BeliSar z° 34 4 x e "k 'rarc man 2:j

Hér ü nt ' 3 - '- °, - ' \* y. i i°- i 2 .ikagoras 8z 1 111 1 31 Pannu itz, Rudolf 3 '^oPi:l\*' I'ietr " 3 Pör'iz, liruder TAp ir's I. 2.7, 4 \* I9aniel bar .Start-a m io i . i z9Polo , Marco 2 t. The väiti Rustam, Iteichsleldherr9 E usthatios s'on .\{known Ïä 20 Éirarin, sister of Éäpiir (1. or I t.) tia umata j I, 3 \* j0 Guignes. Joseph di' Stilicho a Herodotus i Sunikas zo Hi üt n-tsang z8 Tansar q H uei-c h'ao 9. z9 -3 i Usabhadata i f' I bn Hald ïi n 3 Ibn \\'ahriz ¢9 Mu baffa' 9o J ohannes of H til'ruk 3 Xanthos of the Lydian i

R EG IS HE 305

#### Länder- und Völkernamen. Provinzen

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13abylonia go.
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Bahrain<sub>(4)</sub> §8 f. a9, i i
                                                           3.35.56. r oo. i oz. i oq f. i oy. i o8. i i o.
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