THE HUNS

The European Huns volume 4



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VO RWO RT

This volume deals with the European Huns. Their history, at best combined with the prehistory (dealt with in the first volume), has dominated previous accounts. The extent to which the perspective has shifted is shown by the fact that this time the Hephthalites alone have been allocated two volumes. As a historical phenomenon of their own importance, as the mother people of the European Huns, Avars, Proto-Bulgarians and Chazars, not least because of their significance for the Nestorian mission and the Greek tradition in the East, they actually form the centre. As far as the history of the European Huns is concerned, it culminates in the appearance of Attila; it does so to such an extent that the events before and after his appearance are related to him. The facts are known everywhere, the course of history is established, and everything has often been described. A summary could suffice here. On the other hand, the historical location of these Huns within the world of late antiquity will be dealt with in detail. A longer series of studies is devoted to this, including the sections on the heroic song and the chivalric romance. Belonging to the early Asanid culture separates the Huns from their successors, who were characterised by the late Asanid culture. This last piece of evidence will be found in the fifth and final volume

By shifting the emphasis from the narrative-pragmatic view to the systematic, this and the following volume gain their character. The change in outlook that is expressed here corresponds to what will be demanded of a future historiography; in this view we believe we are in agreement with a large number of historians.

ÜOEWOFt VII

From the very beginning, our endeavour has been to open up sources that have hitherto received little or no attention. Here, in the very first chapter, the second, purely Aramaic inscription from Mchet'a will be presented for the first time in its *entirety* and in its own reading. The historical significance of this unique piece can hardly be foreseen for the time being. It has had a decisive influence on our understanding everywhere. We would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who have made it possible for us to contribute to the cataloguing of this inscription.

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1. CHAPTER

TWO NEW FOUNDS

After a long interruption, we return to the history of the European Huns. The historical preconditions have, of course, changed fundamentally compared to previously held views (not excluding our own). Among the Hephthalites as the eastern part1 of the Hunnic people as a whole, a profound interpenetration with Iranian character can be observed. It led, at least among the ruling tribe, to an absorption into Iranian folklore and culture. The European Huns were not left untouched either. The first task is therefore to determine the extent to which they became involved with the world called Iran. To what extent these Huns were shaped by it before they prepared to cross over into the neighbouring area of the late antique and Germanic world.

It is fortunate that there are two new finds to report, both of which contribute significantly to the solution of the question posed.

1

In the early year i95z, a list of words of the Hungarian Alans or, as they called themselves, the Jassen, was found on the back of a document issued in I A2z, which dealt with legal disputes over the Transdanubian possessions of the Batthyánv family. A Latin or Old Hungarian translation was attached to these Jassic words or phrases. A total of a Jassic words are listed in i8 lines.

.}. Németh has recently published this unique linguistic monument, advised by palaeographers and Iranians, and has dealt with it in detail.

The Jassen, descendants of the Alans of northern Iranian origin and related to today's Ossetians, came to Hungary in i-39. They

' **A word list of the Jassen**, the Hungarian Alans. In : **Abh.** Dte Akad. Berlin, 95 . q (published i g 5 g).

moved westwards in the Cuman tribal confederation, fleeing from the Mongols like the Turkic people. In their new homeland, both groups of peoples were settled en masse between the Danube and the lower reaches of the Tisza. There they settled between Jászberény, Kecskemét and Halas in the south, but also spread out over both rivers, to the west and north-west across the Danube, to the south-east and north-east into the rest of the Tisza region. The properties referred to in the Ür- kunde x-on -4-z were located within the Danube bend, south of Esztergom. Németh adds a list of other preserved Jassic personal names to the list of words'.

Numerous personal names and a few place names were previously known from the Alanic language. The main sources were the Greek inscriptions of the Crimea and the whole of southern Russia. Medieval inscriptions, written in Ossetian and in Greek script, provided a sparse supplement. In contrast, the "örterliste is younger, but offers a number of appellatives that are not available elsewhere.

Németh succeeded in interpreting the majority of the words using the Osse- tic. Only one seventh of the words, six words, could not be understood. As a result, it appeared that Yassic was closer to Western Ossetic (Digoric) than to the Eastern dialect (Ironic). If this statement is correct, it means that at the time when the Jassians migrated westwards, i.e. before iz39, the separation of Ossetian into two dialects had already occurred. It must therefore be examined all the more carefully whether the evidence provided by Németh holds up.

The following findings are cited in favour of the contact between Jassic and W. Osset.

- i. Presence of a final -a in accordance with the W. Osset. -ä;
 - z. Compared to o. osset. i, w. osset. s, Jassic has d;
 - 3. Compared to o. osset. ;t, w. osset. ø, the Jassic ";
 - 4. Opposite o. osset., w. Osset. i has the j tssic i(?);

[°] Settlement map in J. Németh, a. 0. 8.

[°] Map in J. Németh, op. O. i i.

a. 0. 23 f.

^{*} J. Németh, a. 0. 28.

§Preservation of the pre-Ossetian s0 has the)assic in common with the W. Osset;

6 Jassisch and W. Osset. have preserved the final -/ and -Ä. In contrast, a fundamental consideration is necessary. Statements to the effect that one dialect "joins" another, that it is

"coincides" or "goes together" odo not in themselves say too much. It must be clarified whether two dialects in question have preserved an older state or whether they have created common innovations. Of the two possibilities, only the second is relevant to the question at hand. The first can at best be added in confirmation if the second is proven. Németh obviously did not consider this alternative. He recognises and emphasises in individual cases that 13 Jassic and W. Osset. share certain antiquities, in contrast to 0.

Osset. But he never raises the question of whether Jassic and W. Osset. together have introduced clear innovations. In 5 and 6 Németh himself says that older *xi* and -/, -lt have been preserved. But what is said here also applies to the various

the vowel substitutions. With jass. d opposite w. osset. r, o. osset. i', according to Németh, only jass. Uca comes into question. One has w. osset. srcur and o. osset. xicau, an extension formed with a v-suffix. The stem can only go back to *xvatya-. In addition, avest. x*ai@a- with i-epenthesis, soghd. sn/y(y) '0. The vowel of the first syllable can only have developed into d, i via ai. Again, on the part of Jassic and its w. osset. counterpart, the preservation of a

.ßltertümlichkeit.

The same applies to jass. ii compared to w. osset. ii, o. osset. i". Jass. and w. osset. /iis "sheep" corresponds to avest. Josef, which underwent a change to *pausch, *pousul under the influence of the initial labial and the following u. Accordingly, an older phonetic state has developed in *fiis* than in

o. osset. f sharp. The examples cited by Miller confirm this result.

Also jass. i opposite w. osset. i, o. osset. 'o cannot be judged differently. Since the ossetic vowel originated from i, i or at most from ai, ya, the i-form must be considered older than (in any case.

It remains a final -a. Again, Németh himself describes it as a preserved antiquity ^{1*}. His argument that one finds -a in the Jass. Words where in W. Osset. -Osset. is present, and that -n is missing in Jass. where the same applies to -ö in W. Osset. is, strictly speaking, correct,

not. Németh himself must note the exceptions jass. matiopona and àøyas '-.

There is therefore no case in which Jass. and W. Osset. meet in a common innovation. Where similarities arise, it is always a matter of older phonetic status preserved on both sides. The conclusion is obvious. Yassic represents an older stage compared to Ossetic. And under no circumstances can it be used to prove the existence of the separation into W. Ossetic and 0. Ossetic.

The picture is confirmed when one considers what Németh has overlooked. Editing by an experienced I ranist would, as always must be emphasised, have benefited unique monuments. J Har- matta's

additions and objections, which Németh records, are among the things that have furthered the interpretation the most. In addition, Németh

is limited to well-known reference works: Miller, Abaiew and Zgusta. What is missing there is also missing in Németh.

Of particular importance are the inscriptions on the pot of La- dán vbene, which were interpreted together with {. Harmatta (above i ,z93f.; 3,2 1), the Greek-Aramaic bilinguis of Mchet'a; finally the Aramaic inscription of the same place, which is to be treated in the same way. The last two provide material on Alanic personal names. In the case of the first

note that it is written partly in the Aramaic (Armazic) alphabet and partly in an old form of Germanic runes. Ladánybene lies not far from Kecskemét, in the centre of the central Cuman-Jassic settlement area. Why the Jasses were sent there

It can at best be surmised that the Alans had already settled in the 3rd century AD.

^{&#}x27;° W. Miller, a. 0. i 8 §5.

^{&#}x27;° a. 0. 28.

[&]quot; l.c. z9.

On the Aramaic inscription of àlchet'a, the Aramaic place-name names *zniyzbl'* Z. A and *nykizrh'* Z. I o, also Z.5 the appellative ś / i r ', Z. 7 *Fld I A Zen' encounter: all fully valid witnesses lfor the age of the outgoing - ö.

Certainly read z^* of on the pot of Ladánybene (above 1,2 6) shows, as expected, preservation of the initial zv- and the final -f. Both appear in Jassic, while the W. Oss. has $x^\circ \ddot{a} d \ddot{a} g$. This again confirms that Jassic has preserved an old linguistic stage. The picture is completed with jass. dan compared to w. osset. and o. osset. don. Compare the above discussion of the river names Don and Donau (above i, 355 f.).

The majority of Jassic personal names originate from the "carte blanche of the Jassen", granted by -3-3 Charles Robert of the House of Anjou'o. hørdeà is correctly translated by Németh 1^ as w. osset. /ørf, o. osset. /jrf and with coups,

Goúpzo\$ compiled. Then diiøgaii, which Németh could do nothing with $^{\rm I'}.$ The aforementioned inscription and the Greek-Aramaic bilinguis bring zyw , Zr¡oWoyou, a gemme ZroóyT}\$'e . There is also the adjectival suffix -äti''. Zudab on a document from -3-s°° has had to put up with being interpreted by means of Cuman. In reality, it belongs to the city of Sudak in the Crimea, the Zo 6oin of the

Inscriptionso'.

The only thing that seems to contradict the image of a preserved old linguistic state is the name of the Jassen itself. Belonging to $\tilde{A}ss$ and relatives (above i. $5*:*o; 6\ddot{y}; \ddot{y}3$ f.) is also recognised by Németh anrecognised. But he speaks of a Slavic i-proposal $^{\circ}o$. A parallel case forms jass. jaiáa "egg", opposite w. osset. nièä, o. osset. aid. Here verz'eist Németh $^{\circ}o$, however, not to Slavic, but to o. osset. yä/s "mare" opposite w. osset. $\ddot{a}fs\ddot{a}$, avest. as $^{\circ}o$. Recently added

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'^ J. Németh, a. 0. 6; z4 f. '°
a. 0. zą.
" a. 0. z5.
" Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum I-957l 75 *-
I* W. Miller, a. 0. 9z 195. § b.
" J. Németh, a. 0. z5.
" W. Miller, a. 0. 6 below.
" a. 0. to.
^ 1. c. 3 i under i o.
^ W. Viller, l. c. O. z3 § z i, 3.
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10¡io':rfimrroi next to 'Apa(ocrrro Gen. Sing°-. It is clear that the ;i-suggestion cannot be interpreted once from Slavic, the other time from Ossetic. It was previously shown (above r. 35 f.) that in Old Norse *fassar*- and in the name of the lömroi in Ptolem., geogr. 6, I4, I i

(with a plural corresponding to osset. -II) the proposal already existed without any Slavic influence. Here, too, it can be seen that Yassic has retained an antiquity"-.

SUPPLEMENT

Through the kindness of A. I. Charsekins (Makhachkala, Daghestan SSR.) we have become aware of the Russian translation of Németh's publication published in Ordzonikidse Ig6o. Its "ert lies in the translation contributed by ". I. Abaev on p. T /-23, which is primarily concerned with further clarifying the etymology and meaning of the words contained in the list. As far as we can see, Abaev has not dealt with the questions emphasised in the previous section.

Mchet'a in Gruzinia is the site of the well-known Greek-Aramaic bilinguis, which has been the subject of numerous publications. We were able to draw attention to a second inscription found in the same place '. At that time, only the reference by M. Gibellino Krasceninnicowas° was a v a i l a b l e . She remarks:

" . in una altra iscrizione ... in antico aramaico, e che si ricollega a quella del 25 d. Cr. relativa a Vespasiano, tro x ata presso Mz k heta, 1' Eristhavi Sciaragas, . esalta le vittorie riportate nei pat'si confinanti e menziona le fortific a zioni espugnate all'Armenia."

The authors had to overcome considerable difficulties when they enquired about the whereabouts of the inscription. These were overcome thanks to the almost boundless helpfulness of A. I. Kharsekin in Makhachkala (Daghestan SSR). The following information is essentially due to him.

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°^ Ci. \n". Cereteli in: Westnik drewncj istorii z, i 960, •• 7
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€Jbcn i, p. i i .note 23.

^{°-} After completing the above section, I was given the review \\.\\P. Schmidts in . Indog. I-orsch.*s I • g\(\varphi\)o) , i 88 f. known.'

[°] In: 11 Caucaso, Studio storico-archeologico (n. d.), p. 8j.

G. W. Cereteli, to whom we owe the publication of the Greek-Aramaic Bilinguis from the same Mchet 'a, gave two lectures on the second Aramaic script. Only short reports of both are available°. The second inscription is also mentioned several times in Cereteli's Russian publication of the Bilinguis of Mchet'a - as well as in a historical essay5. On the basis of this information, which was communicated elsewhere ^, and the \desire for further information expressed there, help came again. Academician A. Shanidze (Tbilisi) sent us the monumental work 3fzcaefe i: *Armazi-Chen i* (1958)

on plate 6i of which a recording of the inscription is given. To

Cereteli has contributed a few remarks to it on p. 2z ł. which, however, do not go beyond what was previously communicated. Shanidze was kind enough to send us a print of the original photograph on which the plate of the Mchet'a work is based (Fig. I).

This inscription, like the Bilinguis, was also taken from an older complex and used for the construction of an early medieval burial site. As a publication of the inscription by Ceretelis is expected, we must limit ourselves to a preliminary reading and interpretation.

Firstly, we give our reading:

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z . mlyl m/irdf mdl cb bz' zy prsm with mlk rb 'nh śr gs
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- 2. òr' zy zywh ib wk yr 'nh scgs zy py hš {mh}rd, m [lk
- 3. mwl y mhm yn mwl zy m rwt m n 'ryk yn mtrym bm yt yl hlzn n d l
- A. fernyzbl' Ayn ík zy m y nmš wbnyiiyn whk yii 'm mnw zy mwl zy m net
- s. try y! Iny 'nłi śrgsp y!Oh!! lk îdm ś h r ' hmyn y [n
- 6. m yhcd mli hw' Ikdm mzwr yn uibyd y '1 'rm yn m lk: byr[t
 - . mt byrt tbt wzyn zyn' 'zwst mlv lkh myl yt wk yn bz y ...
- 8. łiùyn byn y bgw hyl dhw' 'fr nhnvt tz' i ytht y hwd wbyn '{nil
- 9. mans' zy hzA y lk:dm msbnvt bf nncyf dhre' m szyk wnmd yt z[y
- i o. lwt mt 'bl yl work yn bt for bz yslk: m yf yI tab n yk wch mfk wd yl y by
- i z . IU' yliicy wbyn 'rim Iy scgs gmc ... íkdm me yli yl byct zy yiwif' lb
- i z. tin f ... 'łr [tu)fyii /lfi pk:d z yn zyn' 'rwsf bzi yk llih m yt yl zy i \$. Ecgs
-'s prwg bc' zy mr' msg yt tnzw hww i . rya ' 'ru'st 'òf

[°] Nadpisz vremen Gruzinskogo carja Mitridata, iz Armazi. Opyt perevoda i interpretacii teksta. Tezisy X sessii otdelenija obśćestvennych nauk AN Gruz. SSR, 1943' P. i 8- i9. - Sasanidskaja nadpist' iz Armazi. Tezisy 28 sessii otdelenija obšćestvenn ych nauk AN Gruz. SSR,94 , p. i .

[•] Armazkaya bilingva. Akad. Nauk Gruz. SSR, Inst. istorii i9şz , p. I , i 9-20 Õ2 f.

[°] In : ¥"estnik drevnej istorii z,9¢, p. §2 f.

[°] F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, Eiie aramäische Sprache unter den .Acliaimeniden.

i. Vol. 959, p. to f.

Translation:

- i. "King (is) Mihrdät, the great king, son of Parsman, the great king. I (am) Vargas,
- z. son of Zöwax the elder, and likewise (am) I, Vargas, Pitaxö Mihrdäts the king:
- 3. my possession and also the possession of kingship it has been rising for a long time in ff *yt yi*. Behold, for this (the king) Naxudat (I am)
- q. over Zmizbilä; so over the wells of water, and over the people, and over the buildings, and so if anyone belongs to the possession of the lordship.
- 3. in deed, if I, Vargas, the Pitaxö, preside over the city, then
- 6 King Mihrdät led the army. And with my help he entered Armenia, conquering a castle.
- 7 conquering the castle of *Tbt*. And it strengthened the armour there, O king, *Myfyt*. And how (there),
- 8. so (also) in the midst of the army that stood at the place Nm n yi, the gate below the mountain peak. And so I (was)
- 9. a warrior who helped to win before *Msknyt*, at the fortress *!Snr yi*, which is adjacent, and (before or at) *Nwd yt*, the
- io. t'ei the place 'lJyf (lies), and in the fortress he (the king) plundered while he went (up) to M yi yt. He (the king) also tore N yliwrli loose, and a palace belongs to me
- ii. below (of it) . And so I for myself, Vargas, accomplished ... before Mchet'a, the castle of the heroes ...
- i z. Peace for ..., wealth and peace there he strived for. It strengthened the glorious deed of arms (literally: the deed of arms in splendour) there *M ytyi*, (the city) of the
- i 3 Vargas. After they had defeated Asparüg, son of the lord of Slchet'a, i q. you (O king) carried out the deed of arms."

So much for the translation, which sticks as closely as possible to the wording. An introductory word about script and language. The alphabet is essentially that of the Aramaic part of Bilinguis. Some characters, especially some forms of the y, represent an older stage.

In the linguistic field, the outcome had to be eagerly awaited in view of the latest discussions. For years there has been a dispute between W. B. Henning and the authors as to how the monuments, which fall between the end of the Achaimenids and the rise of the Sasanids, should be understood linguistically. We summarised what was known at the time in our *Sup plementum Aramaicum* (19s4) and interpreted it for the first time as purely Aramaic texts. Henning, on the other hand, in his Handbuch der Orientalistik 4 (pp. 2I-4°), emphasising the contrast between the two, has recently interpreted it as an ideographic writing.

* On the relationship to the Iberian (Grusinian) script, see H. J unker at F. Altheim, Literatur und Gesellschaft z,+95° p. JO f. and Altheim-Stiehl a. a. 0. (see note i) i, p. z88 fig. 5. On the oldest forms of the Grusinian Scripture see A. G. Shanidze, Jazyk i pismo Kavkazskich Albancev. Vestnik otdel. obéüestx-. nauk i, 1960, p. i 68 f.

The answer was that the Aramaic text was written in that language but read in Iranian. Our answer contained evidence that went beyond our earlier formulation. It turned out that we could not speak of Aramaic ideograms at all for the Arsacid period; research had gone astray here for decades [®].

Henning did not reply to this. In fact, our view - in the various stages of its decisiveness - has met with universal approval". If we dared to predict that our negative result would mean a redemption - "a redemption from unfounded hypotheses and partly from obsessions that have burdened research in this field up to now" 'o - this has been confirmed. Within the present inscription, the Aramaic mainly follows the same laws as within the bilinguis of Mchet 'a. This applies to the spelling of the vowels, the use of the status (via hr' to line i) in the nouns and the withdrawal of the constructus connection. This inscription also has a completely intact Aramaic verbal system. Special features, such as the occurrence of *d*-instead of zy, are discussed in their place. The continuous metrical structure confirms that this is a text that was read or recited in Aramaic".

E xplanatio ns

P a g e : *ml yi* is Part. Act. P-'al of with "to be king". For the spelling, compare line 3 of the bilinguis tisyJ - 'iäscJ,4' 'tiyd - '*5bed***. However, in j üd. aram. mJyA "King" to remember. - m Ardf and otherwise, only line 6 *m yhzdl. - be'*, also in the following

d .ÄItheim-Stiehl a. a. 0. (see note 6), p. 174 $\,$ tlfld in English in: East and West i 0, 959, $\,$ '3-<0-

We have reprinted a comment by G. Levi Della Vida above, p. z95 f. Further agreement on the part of M. Sznycer and A. Dupont-Sommers in : Die aram. Sprache, z. Lfg. i 960, p. 23s * J. Friedrich also gave us his verbal approval. C. B. \Ve11es wrote to us under z i. . 6o: "It seems to me that you make out a very strong case. Actually, the Iranian element in these texts consists mostly or exclusively of personal names or technical terms, and the assumption lies near, that they are to be read as Aramaic".

- 'o Altheim-Stiehl (see note 6), p. 59
- ¹ O. Szemerényi (brieJlich zO. 7. *•): "The interpretation as pure Aramaic seems to be correct; at least I cannot find anything Iranian (apart, of course, from proper names)."
- '^o G. Dalman, Grammatik des jüd.-palästin. Aramaic, p. i oj. See also our remarks in : Die aram. Sprache, vol. i, pp. q3f., q5.

3 The Bilinguis x'on Mc het'a, on the other hand, writes bzy and the the line and Z corresponding brt v (Z. i)'o. t'r' next to ocy confirms, u.'if it still needs it, that in the In the second case, there is no idcographical scribe, so the solution must be sought on the path

we have taken. O. tiv' is the only stat. emphat. found within our inscription as well as the l3ilinguis. Like t'ry, ör ' has arisen from the endeavour to make the z vveiradical word more important. For the same reason, the "son" in New Syriac is called "bzun". - m/A r6 corresponds to the bilingual gr. 6 f. |3ocr ihEmt ' lQ5pt v uryd or ZrjQopvoüyou, which is opposed by aram. 5 sole miA. - 'nh also in the bilinguis Z. i '-. - sr[ge), to be added after Z. z and i 3. The name is Alanic, like many personal names in our inscription and the Bilinguis. The second component is the equivalent of osset. gds "guardian"; the first is the equivalent of osset. sir "head". But then the \nlaut \(\text{a}\) must be used instead of i. It is known t \(\text{h}\) a t \(s\) "originally sounded very close to 1, as it is expressed by the same sign as the latter, but later changed into a common s"'^. S'a av'urden s and s, the latter written with the same sign as f, were mixed up. Bilinguis writes ern u's instead of ;özaws, hey prnwg instead of Alprx mg'8. In the present case, srgs is written instead of srgs, w'obei aram. 3drd "for the t" may have been added. Objectively, one is reminded of the Hellenistic exper-roQ0h to 6lartials ciistos sacri /eiezis (* 76, i)", according to the formation to mitteliran. sorrlär which the Doctrina Addai renders with z élä'^. 0. Szemerényi, on the other hand, considers the

possibility of an Iranian f, which is rendered as J. lJann would be

"the name may as Adler, osset. cärgds, about which (and the Iranian \'ariants) .A baje \v, Istoriko-etymologiccskij slovar ö• 3°* is to be compared. I would like to add that the name lives on in that of the Circassians, s. \'asmer, R E*3 S. V. leck es y. Aram. (or rather Middle Iran.) g for Old Iran. d is probably not too early for the time of writing". Schrci- bting f for Iranian f is not known to us from Slc { jet'a and other writings.

Z e i1e 2 : zvu'fi is also found in the bilinguis : ZrjouÖyoo gr. i , aram. z°°. With ¥'orbehalt considers Szemerén oj whether z ywli (*zinoz) represents an altiran. *riveAo-: then armt-n . ϵ i/t would have to be compared, which appears in Greek as ZrJxof and Zi $_{x}$. - The first two lines (and the following) already confirm that the use of status corresponds to that i n bilinguis. X\'ieder is the stat. absol. generalised. :\ nders expressed: Instead of me/Aä rabbä is written more rab(b) and similar. - The spelling t'1fif of the Hilinguis and byly'jI of the Tel ler of Bori°° is on our I n-

- "For an explanation, see ibid. p.39. I f. and in East and \Vest io, p. z q f.
- '* On the sacral speech type clpi: .\ltheim-Stiehl, Supplementum .4ramai-

Cum, 1957. p.7v; above x, p. z5 i; z, p. g6 f.

- 1' £h. Nöldckt-, Die semitisc hen Sprachen, i XS y, p. i 5.
- " About this last Altheim-Stiehl, Die aram. Sprache, i. Lfg., p. 5 f. u. in : East and \Vest zo, S. ara.
 - ¹ F. Altheim, I'iiedergang der Alten Welt z, i g5z, p. 506 note 665.
- 18 G. Widengren, Iranian-Semitic Cultural Encounters in Parthian Times, i9öo, p. 30 note i07.
 - 'o Briefl. Message dated 6. 9. i 96o.
 - °° €9ben I. p.°47 Note So.
 - °' E. Hübschmann, Armen. Grammar i, p. q i.
- ^ Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementu m Aramaicum, p. 88 f. In addition, there is now the inscription of an early Sasanian silver bowl made around 290, which was found in Armazischewi, i.e. in the immediate vicinity of our inscriptions (p. J a.

SChmft *p ij'pś* (also Z.5i opposite^. Since it will be shown that this is older than the Bilinguis, this is the oldest I3eleg of the \word to date. It should be emphasised that it is written with the initial Q, not *b*, and thus corresponds to the Herodian fi'x-ri §Ef 8tjç. This settles the objection that the word

Szemerényi° last argued against our derivation of °9efi-z1ÕJ efiyo- (if it should still need this II in point). Also, our writings fully confirm the view that we have always advocated; for According to line 3 -a, the *Qifezś* is entrusted with the royal administration of property, thus proving to be rightly zhiv olxl'ov pchcficø vó5, twlzpowo9 ace v olxtcøv or, as it is called in the Bilinguis, zò *tabs* and hytzpo-tros"

The common correspondence with Bilinguis is also found in the personal clauses. \$iargas is Zëwax's son, who is called the elder (zeò), in contrast to zyw plyl, Zrjouóyou zoo vccozípou Gen. Sing. of the bilinguis. This results in the following juxtaposition (see page i A above).

In ßfchet'a, a Greek inscription had already been found in 862, which tells of a donation by Vespasian and his co-regent Titus to the king of the Iberians, Mithridates, son of Pharasmanes $I^{\circ\circ}$. Mithridates' reign must therefore have begun in the seventies. Since it lasted as long as that of his successor,

is attested by the fact that Pharasmanes II is mentioned for the last time under Hadrian3*
o'. Just recently the inscription was treated by Ceretelioo. He was able to read the frame of Pharasmanes I's tiattin, which had not previously been recognised, as 'lϿcróo-rroi.

He thus brought together the gorifice l'Aprée roi. To what output there are other

He thus brought together the genitive 'Apr(óo-rroi--. To what extent there are other possibilities remains undiscussed; in any case, there can be no doubt about the new reading.

The use of Greek in the family of the 9v 1. \\'uh\' is of great importance. While the royal house had already been using Greek under Pharasmanes I, this family only decided to do so at a time when their daughter Serapitis entered into marriage with a nobleman whose $\mbox{$\frac{1}{2}$}$ 'ater already possessed Roman citizenship.

Amiranasvili in : Issledowanija po istorii kultury narodOu' vostOkà +9 , p. 283 f. ; esp. S. < 9 Fig. 5 : zuletrt \\'. D. Henning in: BSOAS. za, i gGi , p.3s3 i . There appears btM y, i.e. the later spelling. \'gI. Supplement p. 23f.

^ W. B. Henning (Handbuch der Orientalistik q, i, i 958, p. 62) derives 6i - in Middle Pers. othJj', bytiiá and parth. byt š from older dtvi-. In note z: "Since the first Nyberg, Eranos, XLI V,°37 fY. z correctly recognised that the word for 'second' is part of the title". Now the initial 9 is attested not only by the Greek form, but also by py ś of our inscription. This is the oldest known evidence to date. Older did- and interpretation as "second" is nothing. Once again, a Henning's etymology proved to be incorrect.

- ^ In Altheim-Stiehl, Die aram. Sprache, z. Lfg. p. 237.
- °° On the question most recently ibid, i . vol. 83f.; above 2, p. 2a.
- °° W. Dittenberger, Orient. graec. inscript. sel. i , p. 586 f., no. 3 y9. This donation was intended to strengthen $z\acute{o}_{\bullet\bullet}$ xn -u . Dittenberger does not say what was meant by this. He limits himself to an interpretation by A. x-. G utschmids

to be rejected. "The (known) walls" can probably only have been forerunners of the later fortifications in the Caucasus, which were designed to prevent incursions by the Huns.

- °' Above i, p. za8.
- °® In : Vestnik drewnej istorii i 960, p. i z3f.
- °° G. Kaibel, Inscr. graecae I taliae et Siciliae, i 8QO, 37°-

Kings	pyths	pyths und rb trbs		
prsm-t (I.) mls <i>rb</i> , øi/é : Ar. i w'	zywh rb : Ar. z			
mlird mlyk, mlk rb, br'zy prsm n mlv zb (L):Ar.*	ézgs br' z y zynih rb, py M f.zy j mhrd : Ar. i	f.		
prsmn (II.) mlv : Bil. 7	zywh klyl, blM zy pzsmn (II.) mli : Bil. z f. Zrjooõyou -rois vicozípov	'gfyp rb tcb zv pzsmn (II.) mli : Bil. ò f. flo-rrhixíou '		
hsyprnwg mlk: Bil. 5 βασιλέως 'Ιβήρων μεγάλου Ξηφαρνούγου: Bil. 6 f.	wt-riòĘou : Bil. i f. s'rpy but y zy zywls lyl: Bil. i f. ZfjpŒrrcï-rlç, Zqovégtou -roÚ vc¢c-rtpov etc ióĘov Ouyó-rqp Bil. z f.	Ayptn wizió§oo : BÜ. 3 f. ywdmngn rb tabs zy cfsyprnwg rri/l, òry zy 'gryp : Bil . 3 f. flowhixlou 'Aypl n wirió§oo uto0 ' lm6- povyóvou : Bil . 3 * śvł-rpó "rrov åootĂżccç		
		žrj9opvoéryou : Bil. 6 f.		

sargas still has the ancient *tarn2a* above his inscription, which refers back to his nomadic origins. It appears in an oversized form, whereas it is known from the coins of the Kúśãn and Hephthalites only on a very small scale.

G. Vernadsky derived the word leriiyø from Ossetian - a brilliant discovery, which is now confirmed by the occurrence of the oldest documented fem}'n on our inscription with its numerous Alanian place and personal names.

A critical comment on the second line. In śrg's sy py M, zy is confined to the smallest space, even in smaller and indistinct writing. It was obviously added later, after the scribe had initially omitted the word. Syntactically, ry signifies a difficulty. It is accompanied by a second one: In $py M \hat{n}mh)rdl$ one expects the binding element to be the very zy that was previously omitted. Should it have been the case that the scribe omitted this missing zy after $fiyt \ \tilde{s}$, realised that it was missing, but inadvertently inserted the word after srgs?

P e i1e 3-': mwf is Jewish-Aram. *mälā* "property, possession". Since this possession "mtrym is a participle of the etp-'el of rām. - mrîrf "rule" also occurs Z. End. - In twn 'ryk yn (to be added: roóa iti)

^{*°} In : J. Amer. Orient. Soc. y6, i g 6, p. i88 f.

is used with mii to form an adverbial expression of time, like Syr. meti ixfimo', wich(A)dN-, where the plural is used because of the long time. - myfyf is a Z. y and r2 recurring place name. It belongs to avest. ruft- "to dwell", moé0eno-, mné0o-iyd-

"dwelling". Its stem is extended with the abstract suffix -yt known from Soghdian, which recurs in other place names. - hlzn is composed of l "see", I "for" and re, which can be seen as the equivalent of j üd.- aram. and mand. die "this" ; thus: "see for this (the king in whose service I am) I am nhdt". - njdl belongs to nhwdr of the Parthian inscription of Käl-i Jangälo, NobodozeH* and the ohwln', njwbr. also armen. Nixorakoti, Nisovrolion, Noyop':ry6v, N'xy6cpyaV, Nalsuroleän and Noji "o-

{dn°° as well as Syr. ne3ofgäti°° will go back to a °iiasp;fier'°. Our nid/ was entrusted with the command of a coastal section (on the Caspian Sea). This is indicated by /zmyr6/' at the beginning of the Z. . The pronunciation of Alaf shows that in an inscription which gives all masculina in the stat. abs. no Aramaic word can be meant. The Ossetian etymology is, it seems, straightforward: o.osset. Amis

"sand" and w.osset. t'ifā, o.osset. ö*f "lip, edge, bank "*1, ai. *bilom* "opening, cave, mouth"". The meaning would then be "sandy shore". The only difficulty is the juxtaposition of Amts and zmyr-, and this needs to be clarified. Let's start with the juxtaposition of:

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w.osset. tüxiqn, o.osset. tosen "to wind up" and z-düxin, dz-doxun "to turn up"^; altind. geiefi "trickles down, falls down" and w.osset. z-Kd/ihn, o.osset. dyzdfua (from dz-2dlun) "fall down"--;
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altind. *mathnÖti, monlhati, wi'iIA'zfi* "shakes, stirs" and w.osset. z-mdnfi,o, o.osset. *ds-mdntun* "to mix together, stir"^^

In all these cases z-, ös- is to be equated with an avest. uz-°. Accordingly, it would also be possible to separate *the sä*, o.osset. rtriis "sand" from *the* initial oz- in w.osset. It should also be borne in mind that w.osset. c, o.osset. i corresponds to an iran. si, avest. aä": w.osset. this "ti, o.osset, *mizin* "harnen", avest. *mmzoili*. Then the oldest form would be

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°l C. Brockelmann, Lex. Syriac.°, p. 62 r.
    °° Th. Nöldeke, Kurzgef. syr. grammatik°, p. 9y i -ss A.
    ^ I. Gershevitch, A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian, p. i6§ § *°73-
    ^ G. Dalman, Aram. neuhebr. dictionary, p. ioo 1.
    °° Cf. altaram. str (Had. i, i; Pan. i, zo) next to style; ph0n. an: J. Friedrich, Phön.-
pun. Grammatik, 95, p. ¢8 f., § 113 b; i i6 c.
    °° Most recently Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra, i 958, p. z I., under Besei-
   tion of Henning's misinterpretations.
       °' Amm. Marc. i, 3, i; z5, 3, i 3.
    °® Baliduri z6z, i i de Goeje ; the details in F. Justi, Iran. Name book,
S. 219 < -
    °° Chron. min. i, i 8, z8 Guidi.
    ^o For further details see Widengren op. cit. (see note i 8), p.3i note.
    -' V. I. Abaev, Istor.-etym. slovarb osetinsk. jazyka i, i 958, p. z 2 y.
       W. Miller, Die Sprache der Osseten, i 903, p. 33 § 32, i.
       ^ Ibid, p. 6i.
        Ibid, p. 57-
     s° Ibid, p. 63.
    GP Ibid.
    -' Ibid, p. zo § g.
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°iiz-madse-, or if you also want to use z "iyr-: °oz-riiesse-. This is based on the $\$ \'urzel f \"ir \"misc hen\", ax est. wiyes- with derivatives such as misuoii-

"Z w'isc henreich" to Pru isue- "mixed"-- and wi ifti "mixed up, together"--. Both dildings have their equivalents in Ossetian. *uJ-meésn- in w.osset. äz-mesä, o.ossr t. zmis would have retained the phonetic form In isre'i-, 'wi their-, while *uz- maeza- in zmyz-bl' milti for tf iih rt and occasionally showed osset. s from avest. f to local°. The "sand" would thus have been called the "perfectly mixed" or "extremely mixed". To m command1 over a rige ("sandu (er") belongs the use /#rv my. The first Vt'ort corresponds to Jewish-aram. bor j'ä "well", thus freely moy(y) "water well", a constr. compound whose z u cites member (actually: three meiyä) is angcglichen to the usual use of Stat. absol. in these inscriptions. my' would be Stat. emphat. Plur., to which belong my(y) n as stat. absol. and my as stat. constr. a stat. absol. my was arrived at because the word was wrongly understood singularly. For the use of the stat. absol. in the second part of the genitive compound cf. in the Bilinguis aram. q f. and 6 cab(b) farbä5 instead of reö(t') fsr6ä}i. There is also a disposition about the inhabitants and the buildings. At first bynyn was written, then an ii was added under the first 2'; thus benyänin to syi . benyänä "aedificium, aedificatio" ^. Then: "if someone belongs to the possession of the ruler". This refers to the king's hool: serfs, villeins or those in an x-equivalent position. Instead of -i, m is conspicuous in : 'm "if". With m (as in Canaanite) the particle only means Had. zg and Dura Perg. i z, 3: l'm "as if".

\\'. Baumgartner fbrieflich 8.7 . i961) considers assimilation of n to the following mlitt. He also refers (i 3. 8. 6 i) to ""t, ,wen n", next to *hn*, in the hl urabba'ät -text zo, 6; b, clort as 11e'bra is mus.""-.

P a g e 5:1 fidm means "before, in the face of" as in] Aram. ^. I n Bibl. Aram. the same connection with / appears in /o-1-öeJ "before". Accordingly, in the following *lytjl y Z*. 8 it is not "downwards" but "below" ^^. The same meaning is found in adverbs; cf. the EU line7 . *lp{dm} lhz'* corresponds to

in the following *lkdm mziw'yn* (about its meaning immediately). As the king "indicated sichts des Heer es", i.e. presides over the army, so the *9itesi* "before the city (or: the I-and)"; for *Sfr'* can be nothing other than Middle Pers. 1'iffr, Neupers. Je/ir. The word is in osset. **Leser** "Stadt" as a loanword j in our inscription it must be read fezzö. - *mwy*'t would be Syr. ?iätcJa "I am"; the form corresponds exactly to *m'vt yn Z*. i i of the bilinguis, which we have explained above z p. i y8 f. of our present work. fitoyri confirms, if it still needs it, the explanation we have given for *m'yt yn*. Accordingly, *hw'* is to be understood in the following line. It corresponds to Syr. ?idwi.

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•8 C. Bartholomae, Altiran. Wörterbuch, sp. i i 86f.
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Elementary book, p. °77 i 557

Dalman op. cit. (see note 3), p. +97

- -- Brockelmann op. cit. (see note 3 i), p. 78 r.
- °*- Discoveries in the J udaean Desert 11: Les Grottes de Sturabba 'at (Benoit- hlilik-de \'aux), i S6 i, p. i i 3.
 - -- Dal man op. cit. (see note i *), p. i 8 i.
- °° V'eiteres bei Th. Nöldeke, Mandäische Grammatik, p.3 ; Kurzge/. syr. Grammatik°, p. 99 § i 56 ; Dal man l.c. (see note i z), p. i 80 f. i 47-

^{^°} Ibid, p. I i 87.

[^]o 'tzsdz "six" to avest. slvef et al. m.: Miller op. cit. p. 32 i 34. 3

o' tlber es-, uz- in perfective and intensifying meaning: H. Reichelt, Awest.

Ze il e 6: mrteryti is not otherwise documented. It is used to refer to the assembled army. So the word will belong to Hebrew tnazer "to be strong"°°, Syr. *mäzrä* "validus corpore", Arabic tnaz "ra "étre énergique". niizörd, Stat. absol. *mazör* (cf. Z. 9 beginning), would then have to be a Kätöl-formation, which is correct, since this denotes not only No- mina agentis, but also simple adjectives°': thus .,kräftig" and here designation of the warrior. - Z. tt-y, i o mlj is Isar t. .\ k t. .ff'c1 from n/aj .,au f Iüs' n "Iosreii3en", "to take". Whether a conquest or the liberation of a territory occupied by an invading enemy is meant cannot be decided at first.

Z ei 1e y: It is striking that, after the name of the "torn-away" castle was left unnamed at the end of the previous line, mlj byrl is repeated and a name is given here. Is this an elevated, poetic style? Something comparable, namely the appositional repetition of a noun with a genitive determiner, is known from Mandaean^8 - The name of the castle tbt must remain unexplained. zyn zyn' 'rwsl is possibly a play on words. It remains to be seen whether the verb zyn belongs to Syr. zoy yz i Pa "el "armavit" or Jewish-Aram. zän (zwn) "to nourish", P-'al and Pa "e1. In Syr. Hätt P-'al says "aluit, sustinuit, praebuit, donavit". In the meaning "to hand over, to endow" cf. Tang-i Sarvak3, Syzien. Syr. zeiiiä goes backto Avest. zei-ie-, Middle Pers., New Pers. rin zur ück ; Ryu' 'zu'si returns Z. i z and i d. To read is *zenä a-wast. Although written separately, it is probably a compound: "¥monkey heroic deed", here translated as "deed of arms". - Ibh does not mean "here", but "here" (so also Z. i z). Compare other adverbs of place with i- without indicating the direction: syr. *1-tah,t* "below" (opposite /-1ahIin "downwards"); mand. ?-@f "down" next to Tyl in the same meaning; jüd.-aram. 1-ra' "below"; I-hol "there", which in Syr. 'there'; Judeo-Aram., Syr. f-'et 'above', next to which in Judeo-Aram. 'e//ä h a s the same meaning, e.g. Cf. the one to l pdm Z. 5 remarked. Note also that /-/iä in Syr. next to "here" can mean "on this side"

P a g e 8: The doubling of the preposition of serves to strengthen the \"erstärkung: "inner halb, in the midst of the army". - 'ir "in the place" like by f'''in the house of the army". - 'ir "in the place like by f'''in the house of the same suffix -yi formed like f''in the house of f''in the same suffix -yi formed like f''in the same suffix -yi formed like f''in the first part contains si-len- "to dig in". - iythify with the spelling of the mumble folk by means of f''in. For the meaning cf. below line 5 - And corresponds to Jewish-Aram. huddä (hwd') "Point, tip". In f''in is used instead of the usual by (cf. line 9).

Zei1c g: *hat y* is Hat'el to zl', otherwise not attested. In Syr. the Af'el means "iustificavit"--. W. Baumgartner refers to re-li-il and zA-én-n-o in the Llruktext

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'* ) . Levy, New Hebrew and Chaldean Dictionary, i 876-i 889, 3, pp. >7°
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(corresponding to /-Ter "there, beyond") °°.

[^] On this Dal man a. a. O. (see note i z), p. i z I under 9; Nöldeke a. a. 0. (see note 5,). P. i i above.

^{°8} Nöldeke (ibid.), p. 3zo, second paragraph.

^{^°} Further information in the corresponding grammars.

 $^{^{\}circ\circ}$ byn in the meaning "in" : G. R. Driver, Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century-B. C., 954, p. i i .

o' Nöldeke a. a. 0. (see notes ,), p. 35 i § z¢5.

^{°°} Altheim-Stiehl, Suppl. Aram., p . 8z ; Die aram. Sprache, vol. i ., p p . z f. ; above i , p. zq9 ; z, p. 7

^{°°} Brockelmann a. a. 0. (see note 3 i), p. ig6 r.

² A ltheim, Hrinnen ¥V

Z.3*- ____ ilri to syr. fn -i ã "locus tutus"°*. - msryà to *src If*, here Part. .Act. Af'el (or Pa"tel?) masrsl, meaning "adhaesit"°°. Again, we find the spelling of the mumble vowel as in the Bilinguis°° and in line 8. The different meanings that srl has in the other Semitic languages can be found in Brockel- mann°'. - *nrvf* is a place name like all those ending in -yt. Jewish -aram. *innórã* "gutter, channel" or "door hinge", (= Hebrew iaaõr) -- as well as Syr. ennãrtâ, plural *ønnãr* vãtã "ham us"°°.

Z e ile z o : øi/ corresponds to Jewish-Aram. mä/ñ "place, town" 'o, Syr. ! "regio" " - bzz "pl ündern" is thus inscribed for the first time ; see Jean-Hof tij zer, I9ict. dcs I user. Sém. de l'Ouest (i g6o) . Note by W. Baumgartner. - riyltrrń is a place name of Alpine origin. In the first component (two-) old pers. neiòa- "beautiful", middle pers. -iëvol. new pers. øil. However, until t-r the word was only used in SW Iran. It was only recently that ĞI. Ma \rh of er** 'In git-ilŁ'ti tet , tla IJ Ita lba - \"1n 'JsSet . tti è' ,s[i a pe', I'arm' ', exactly : whose ancient Iranian b 'orm, could be derived, thus .,IormOsus",

"rri pavant-" have meant. As an experiment, he also added avest. "riira- as well. C o n s i d e r i n g that in O.osset. an o, later ti, corresponds to w.osset. vö'o, so could -ti "iòe-le- have changed to *rièQel, -tievnl, -'ièA. The name of the river NEozvoç, situated on the border of the Caucasian Lazike and Ibe- ria'o, may be cited for this land change. It cannot be added to osset. 'iövög "new", also nuog and nog, altind. save-, but only to that word: *tiêoefi-tiñr- "beautiful, good to navigate". Thus "beautiful castle", -tisoaé(tieé) - o'ïra, whereby the second component should be placed with avest. v'iz- or probably better care- "castle" (cf. Old Ind. vera- "Haum" to vtiio/i, avest. 'i'ar- "cover"). - d yl y belongs to Imperial Aramaic w/-, Jewish -aram. d vi- rnwith the following pronominal suffix; d 'l y can almost mean "my property" hcioen' -

Since he owned property there, Śiargas, who operated together with his lord, also conquered the place for himself. - rnsyl y? is the same place name as Z •3 msg yl, namely Greek. M--xt80, Mcœryjzct. Z ugehörkcit to w.osset. m Used, o. osset. mäs(g "tower" is beyond doubt. Once again, the :\ bstrakt-Su ffix -vf feet. xvie previously with m yt yt and others - 6yrf zy yuml' The last word contains the equivalent of altind. and avest. yiive'i-, yün - "y o u n g m a n , y o u n g man". A further development is the Alanian in'iiá or ø8il", plus o.osset. räiijg, øoiijy, otijg "young bull". vii'itë would be the plural of an Alanian *yrs ti "y o u n g m a n , hero". O. KU ma

Z e i1e i i : /fI' to jîid.-aram. taltã "below"". - The king has conquered Wyk wch.

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^ Ibid., p. 3z 1. under 7

°° Brockelmann, S. ą99 r.

°° Altheim-Stieh 1, Suppl. Aram ., p. 8 z ; obj n i , p. ząø.

°' Hrockelman n, p. '99

•8 In addition, the last Âuf3er Rei Vincent-Std " , J érusali'in dt l'A nc " n T' sta- ment --3. -

s6, p. ö3z Arim. z.

-Brockelmann, p. 633 r

'° Dalman, op. cit. (see A nm. 3 j), p. zą6 r. "

Brockelmann, p. ą08 r.

'° Ann. Inst. Orient. Napoli z, i 96o, p. i z z f.

'° Miller op. cit. (see Anin4 z), p. 2§ § 2 2, /. "

Agathias igI , 2; 192, 13
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'^ Ilalman op. cit. (see note i z), p. 8 y § i 8, q. '' Tal man op. cit. (see note 3'), p. a 29 F. "

Cll't n i , S - s treated.

recently *diz-i cëdän*,.lv nappenburg, caste llum armigeroru m" ent'leckt'-. Szemeré n yi would like to think of *yuri "Griec lie", "a name that has been used for this ¥'olk since the eighteenth century and also lives on in Armenian, see H ü bsch mann, poor. Gram. i , 56"

P a g e 1e i 2 : Above the second word, something illegible has been added above the line.

P a g e 3: btr is followed by an unclear letter or a ligature, then a double zy. A triple g is recognised above the letter that is unclear and the first zy. Should this be indicated by the deletion of the letter below ix erdcn

- i.e. etu. a g(ziz), $\S(bit')$ "cut off" or g(hit) "erased, cut off"? - 'spzz'g belonging to 'Aownpouy, A s paruch and 4'erwandten. 'AwwnupoGx u'- appears ant a Ciem me from Mch et'a, a nd accordingly our 'spzwg: tie' rv sir' mskyt. 'Awwox p- next to 'Awrrnp - is old *'is9nQero- neten ashara-, *cetera-^o. Ztischen ter' and mr' is zv written across the line. -wtsë)'i remains probable in spite of the less distinct drt-i first letters: for to v'or w'ar Mch et'a mentioned before, and one s t-r- longs to hear the continuation. - lulu' fiwm: subject are Vargas $(byd\ y\ line\ 6$, hzAv line 9) and the king Mihrd jat (line7]- Ihrc Erobcrungen in Δt -\text{Trenien} (line \(\tilde{o}\)), Δt -\text{Trenien} (line \(\tilde{o}\)),

'Snr yt, .Wwd yt (line 9) a nd ?V yk wrh (line i 0), had been enumerated. At last one stood before Mchet'a itself (Z. i i). Now what is hiro hww! We know four-radical \erba, which are eienominatives! These include talmed "to teach" to lalmidä "to teach"; rn ellen

"x-erpfänden" to *m eN:ünet* "l'land"; *dam we l* "to give form" to *dm ütä* "form". ünt- spren hend könnte ie" nov auf taattitrd zuriic kgehen, das als su mer.-akkad. The word appears in the Jewish Bram. as "oven" ^o and in Syriac as "furnus, lvch nu - ch us". In Syriac there is also /rn iriirfö "furnus". In addition . I-¹. Ru nd- grt'n in : Orient. Su' c . 6, i 94 y, p. Zo f. Denominati ves ienrter could thus' "heat" or

"a t:izcn" ledenten. the men, whose successes were written before, hüttt-n .4spartig, who lived in Jtlcljet'a and in his "Castle of Heroes", "heated", u'ill say that they had given him a good beating with 1-'euer. It was the \'erwc'ndu u g i on crude oil and pitch that was used in the siege of 'figra nokerta by Lucullus"o, that of H atra by Septimius Sex-cruss' and that of Aqu ile ia by Maximin us Th rnx^^

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'^ I n : Dyzantinoslavica zz ( i gö i ) , i6 f.
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S. I i z f.). It is noticeable that the dilinguiS in the Gen. Sing. ZtjQnp vouyou (gr. y), whereas 'sprwg has its equivalent in 'Awwopoiixi5, 'A-• \bullet_{X} . As pucuch. H mn

looks as if it is a different formation on both sides. - t'bcr the

Change oJti in Turkish : A. v. Gabain, Alttürk. Grammatik°, p. 30 \S z 3 ; M. Räsänen, Materialien zur Lautgeschichte der tür kischen Sprachen, i gq8, p. 86 ; on the \Vandel k/g, q|2 . x . Gabain a. a. 0. , p. 5q \S 33 ; Räsänen a. a. 0. , p. 43

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"' N.öldeke a. a. 0. (s. .mm. 3'), p. i z5 § i 80 below.
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^{&#}x27;- To write like this: Alzch' ta i, p. z9 Fig.

[^]o Dalman op. cit. (see A u m. 3), p. <o3 '

^{-°} Llio 36, i b, i ; Sallust. , H is. j fr. 6 i M a nr.

I O75 t I 1, q.

^{®5} i-1erodian. 8, , 9.

is attested. Or should we think of the siege technique that Kutaiba b. Muslim tried out before Paikand®°? Or should one read *tbrw liww*? Then it would read: "after they had defeated Aspariig ... defeated" i the "Waflentat" would be the conquest of Mc et'as.

Ze ile I \mathfrak{q} : I n brief words the progress of the enterprise is given: King hlihrdät has "done" the heroic deed *('rwst 'bydw'* in the Bilinguis Z. \mathfrak{q} and repeated here in *zyti' 'rwst 'bt*). He is addressed in the second person; because *'bI* is the phonetically correct form of the z. Sing. Masc. of the P-'al of *'bd*.

Aspariig is otherwise only known from the aforementioned gem. He does not appear in the family tree of the $\S{i/ezf}$ mentioned in our inscription and in the Bilinguis and cannot be categorised there. He is also not given the title $\S{i1ozJ}$ (although he does bear it on the gem: wrrió \S{rj}), just as his father was not given this title.

becomes. He is only the "master" (mr' Z. *3) of Mchet'as, his xùpio5 and factual owner. Our inscription does not recognise him as the rightful owner. This is set by 8argas, who made an agreement with King Mihrdãt.

The main part in the conquest of Mchet'as. They took the city and castle together. It is this conquest and the resulting change of ownership that the inscription wants to record. To a certain extent, it is the founding document and confirmation of the §iloxJ from Zëwax's Hans over Mchet'a as well. As far as we know, this house ruled until Zêwax the Younger, and Sërapi the Bilinguis is his daughter.

The stylisation of the speech already shows that we have poetry before us. There is solemn repetition (6f. tuft òyr/I}, mls *byrt tbl* or decorative epithets (i I msyáyJ òyrJ zy ytrnJ'). The du-apostrophes

£tm end -3 f. will be understood in the same sense. This corresponds to the fact that the inscription can be organised metrically. In this at least it agrees with

the final part of the Bilinguis.

A few things should be noted with regard to metre. While both G. Levi Della $^{Vida@'}$ and the $^{authors 8@}$ assumed seven-syllable verses for the Bilinguis, the previous

In the case of the inscription lying on the left, which is around 5 years earlier, a different procedure is used. If anywhere, here instead of the syllabic

a rhythmic measurement based on the number of beats®®. In fact, the entire text can be understood as a sequence of three-, four- and five-lifts, to which a changing number of syllables is assigned.

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^° Above z, p. 80 and 82.

" Above 2, p. 295 f.

**8 €Jben i, p. 25 -

^° C. C. Torrev in : J. Amer. Orient. Soc. a 6, i 9zf', p. z# i.
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is ordered. Four-, five- and six-syllable verses appear among the three-letter verses, seven- and eight-syllable verses among the four-letter verses and eight- and nine-syllable verses among the five-letter verses. All these verse types are known from Syriac poetry". The combination of these verses within a single poem is also known from Syriac poetry^. In the following we give the structure (inconsistencies in the transcription, which must remain an attempt anyway, are to be a c c e p t e d):

m'ife@ mihrdät mlv p rab(b) *br'i* .-*i parsman mie b* sah(fi) 'n'i sargas bcä zi zewals cab(b) ir-Attr 'nä liargas pIoM si mihrdät mlzk möl w-iiä Jin möl z**i märüt** min otcihin mat(t) rim b-m yt yi hä-1-zin najdät la-z mizbld ben la-p Mai mai w-nä5 w-benyänln te-Aäliti im meoou zi möl ri märfi/ **ii*'*! >-i '"a I--i-s f!aM l'i-jpäm laxzä häwen A mihrdät mlel häwe la-lfdäm mäzarin wa-p-yad 'al(1) nr'ri in moftek bizot m'iflek: bisal abbot (--) w-zavven zenä arwosl mle p lpä nt yt yf w-litt mi ... hä3e'i öioi d-gar hif da-hwä 'tac h'knyt tra' 1-tapte Bud(d) Jti 'n'i mäzfir zi hozlii le-jdäm msknyi bank:en §nzyi da-hwä rnosre# u'-nwdyf zi Jwäi widJ 'liyt w-hä jeii ba-t fen baz(z) vissa/z m yf yt ind nélonrd lifter w-dil b? 1-lolfä yihwe ty-Jen 'ii'i fi 3'trgos gimtr ... le-jdäm msyli yt birat zi vunld

six-syllable three-lifter six-syllable three-lifter eight-syllable five-lifter nine-syllable five-lifter seven-syllable four-letter eight-syllable five-lifter seven-syllable four-lifter eight-syllable five-lifter 2 five-syllable three-lifter octosvllabic pentameter six-syllable three-lifter six-syllable three-lifter five-syllable three-lifter seven-syllable four-lifter octosyllabic quadruplet six-syllable three-lifter four-syllable three-lifter nine-syllable five-lifter(?) nine-syllable fifheher trseven-syllable four-lifter nine-syllable five-lifter(?) six-syllable three-lifter five-syllable three-lifter nine-syllable five-lifter mafieJsix-syllable three-

six-syllable three-lifter five-syllable three-lift octosyllabic quadruplet(?) five-syllable three-lifter

Transact. of the Philol. SOC. 94<. 5 ° Hölscher a. a. 0., p. i6 f.

^{°°} Torrey's reading of the Aramaic stele from Carpentras as five-syllable verses (p. zq6: "seven in the first half and eight in the second half") can also be understood as a sequence of seven- and eight-syllable quatrains. In our inscription, both GI ieder follow each other several times.

^{^*} G. Hölscher, Syrische Verskunst. l.eipz. Semit. Stud. N.F. 5. 93<, pp. 83 f., 26 f., 73f. for the three-levers: 5 < *. for the four lifters: 97 f. for the five lifters. Criticism of H.'s metrical interpretation has become pointless after the same verse principle was found in the Hlitteliran and J ungavestian. See W. B. Henning in :

... ritt . .. 'fen ti'-Js'i Ibä pkol .
.-ax'yen ze nä arwast
b-dalli k 1(ä mvI yi .-i iorgas
bāṭar zi asprūg
brā zi mārē mskyt tḥar hwau
zēnä arwast 'bat(t)

six-syllable IJrcih'-ber eight-syllable Fein f heiter five-syllable Drciheber seven-syllable ¥'ierheber five-syllable Dreiheber

\What was to be expected in view of the Bilinguis has been confirmed if the previous list is correct. One must reckon with a poetry that sang of the heroic deeds and military successes of Alanisclian lords and knights. What is special is that this poetry was written in Aramaic. And this must be linked to a second observation. Not only the Bilinguis, but also our inscription was read in Aramaic and only in this language; for only then is the use of \'erse understandable. Once again we see that there is no trace of ideographic writing, let alone that we can speak of "Atropatenic Medieval", as Henning's adventurous conjecture would have it.

Whether this inscription was also one for the grave remains questionable. It is certainly conceivable that it is a report of a deed. It is clear that there was such an inscription and this could also be suggested by the label given to Yiidmangan, Sürapit's husband, in the Bilinguis. He, who was also the *pitaxk* (rb trbs) of a king, "conquered and accomplished a great heroic deed". The Iranian loanword 'ru'sf, which appears at this point, recurs several times in our inscription. All the more reason to emphasise that both inscriptions (the Bilinguis in its Aramaic part) use the type éych e[pi. Vargas uses it even more emphatically than Sérapit, which shows where one has to look for the origin of this literary form. In fact, the closest comparison is the self-predication of the Hephthalite (Soghdian) king of Sümän, with ati'i" set twice. There, too, it is about his own heroic deed, which is praised; only that in Mchet'a one now hears poetry as such, not translation into Arabic prose. The heroic song - and, as we may say, the northern Iranian heroic song adopted from the Huns - is understood in its earliest attainable form. How the saga of Rustam and Sohräb relates to that of Hilde-

^{○®} In: Hand buch der Orientalistik §, p.3*. Basically Z. I. J ampolsky, Atropatena i kawkazskaja: \langle ll'anija. A kad. Nauk Azerba jdi. SSR, Inst. ist. i pöo.
-- toben z, p. 96 f.

brand and Hadubrand", so also this Northern Iranian heroic song became Germanic; and - what is most important - both times through Hunnish mediation.

N.XCH T R. G

Reference has already been made to the silver bowl in 3, -Q3 and above p. i2 note zz. There it was referred to for the sake of its representation and the spelling of the title *bilaxs*.

Eigent ümers. W. B. Henning's essay in B*O.XS. 24 (iQ6 i), 3§/ f. Henning reads and translates the decisive passage: *l'5ly p'pby htméy B RH 'rth5tr bth* sy *B RH* [f6];b wJry] *b ihé y*

"Bowl of Päpak the hiioxl, the son of Artax "sa8r the hi/exs, the son of

?'uh f'uhr the öi/azJ". Henning subsequently added the reading of the first word '. It is "the appropriate word (or 'bowl", he explains. Since the word is not set in the t-ro0btich letters used for the ideograms (/'éfy), one could be forgiven for thinking that it is Iranian. And yet it should be clear that if this \i'ort denotes a drinking vessel, it is derived from Jewish-aram. s-/d, sy r. !!!ä and \'erwandten can hardly be separated. If read correctly, a nomen actionis formed by means of the prefix /- would come into question. But this prefix usually occurs with Pa "el, Etpa "al and Af'elo, not with P-'al. Nor is a form f'ffy, as far as z'ir can see, found in any of the Aramaic dialects. "ohl, however, there is Jewish-Aramaic. "iif/-y'i "drink" and Syr. mas! yä, Stat. constr. maslai "potus". Presumably the initial letter of Henning was read, i.e. m'Jfy. And one should not translate "bowl", but "the drink of Päpak etc.".

The \Vort m'Jfy does not appear among the known ideograms. It is also not given in the stat. emphat. as is usual there, but in the stat. constr. One could think of m's/y §'§éy as a regular con- structus compound, which would remain unusual within a Middle Persian text. Constructus compounds such as ré *trbs* and Fry triy

"Water wells" in the two inscriptions from Mc het'a can be equated with x-er-. The vocalisation of the first syllable requires comment.

^{°^} Fsd., p. y6 f.

^{&#}x27; op. cit. ess note 6.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ Th. Nöldeke, Mandäische Gramm. (i 8 J§) 133 § I i 2 ; Kurzgef. syr. gram. $^{\circ}$ (+ 9*) 75 f+*7.

Whether the plene spelling .Olaf for \tilde{a} is present remains doubtful. For Syr. triaJfai Stat. constr. is contrasted in Judeo-Aram. with miś/d Stat. absol. preserved in Targum Onkelos Gen. 26, 30. It is more likely that the forms of ś- \tilde{a} with vocalic suggestion discussed below have had an influence. They have also led to the ideogram ' \tilde{S} THU, which will be discussed in the same place.

The $\delta\,i\,/\,n\,z\,s$, according to Henning a "viceroy or Ilesident, xx loo r'-presented t he l'ersian suzerain 's interests".° We doubt, of course, whether the memory of the recent past, even if glorious, contributes to the position of the $\delta i/az\acute{s}$; this will have to be discussed later. But we note, not without surprise, that this interpretation, according to which the $\delta i/azs$ was the king's representative (last

Ciben S. -31. -Off was accepted by those who had previously disputed it. The fact that Henning omitted to say where the interpretation as "\"iceroy" comes from may be accepted for the sake of factual progress.

But there are other concerns that need to be addressed.

"In Pahlax i . . . òífasś was invariably used without a definition of the country over which he ruled; in the third century it was apparently understood that $\partial i/\partial x$ ordinarily meant 'bif'ixJ of Iberia'", says Henning. Firstly, we are told that bilaxš does not refer to any country, although it rules over one. Then we notice that it is carefully limited. Only for the 3rd century was it true that bitaxš meant that of Iberia. What the special position of this century in the titulature was based on is not stated. It must be added that there is little to suggest this. This becomes clear as soon as one consults the evidence that Henning has overlooked.

FrokOp., Pers. I, 14. 3 mentions a -rri-ruó\tic of the Kæ6icrrivoí, i.e. a troop that stood on the Roman frontier (above 2, Iz: *95),

who commanded a regiment of too armoured horsemen, is called Zacharias Rhetor z 96, xz f. Brooks (above 2, i qz). The same author calls an $ap\ a\ \check{s}\grave{a}$ "a trrr ex ς of the king", who was a tax collector over the villages,

was set "in the land of Arznãyë" (2, t)2, z f.; above z, 22). If one considers now the inscriptions from Mchet'a, which fall before the 3rd century, áargas was $bilax\check{s}$ of the king Mihrdǎt, "'as can be placed alongside the ">-PX \$ of the king". The fact that he was responsion blue for the management of the royal economy

is shown by the same (Aramaic) inscription from Mchet'a. Ent-

[°] a. 0. 355.

The Bilinguis Zeuaches: *òifexś* of King Parsmãn, Agrippa: raò(ò) taròd of the same king and lodmanganes: twízpowoç

 $|3aih\acute{e}': \varnothing c l|3$ pmv peyHoU Er_iQ "pvoúyou (above 13). From Iberia as a be-There is no mention of the kingdom before the 3rd century, nor after it. The *bitazš* as the king's deputy is only responsible to him, not to a taskmaster.

circle. As "òi/øxś of the king", he can be deployed in various places. His position is based on a relationship of trust with his lord and is therefore personal and not institutional or institutionalised. If a comparison can be drawn, it is with Attila's hoyò6tç or with the *missi regii* of the Carolingian period. So it was before the

3 century, and it stayed that way afterwards. So it was no different in this century itself. That a *bitaxš* at that time was only that of Iberia or Georgia is an absurdity from the outset.

Accordingly, Henning's account of the "'dynasty' of the ò i fazf-s of Georgia during the first century of Sassanian rule" ^ should be viewed with caution. Here is the list, with "Shāpûr" referring to the king's large inscription on the Ka'ba-i Zrāduśt:

"Bilazš	Persian áiiig	Evidence	A p prox. dale
Artaxśa8r	Ardashir	Shãpür Pahl. 2£)	*3 °47
Sowing clock	Shãpfir	Shapfir Pahl.3.; bowl	2A8-z65
Artaxśa8r		Bowl	z66-° 3
Pãpak	Narseh	Paikuli ; bOWl	28A 300".

The premise of this list is that the papak of the silver bowl coincides with that of the Paikuli inscription. In other words: that this bowl belongs to the time of the inscription or, more generally, to the last decades of the Paikuli period.

of the 3rd century. The bowl was found together with a gold coin of Valerian. The editor Š. Amiranašwili deduced from this that the silver bowl had been found earlier, in the first half of the 3rd century.

century. Henning' disputes the validity of this argument, which in fact makes his view impossible. This much is clear: the bowl and the coin were placed in the grave at the same time. dr f the coin is to be dated, both objects were buried in the time of Valerian or shortly afterwards. The bowl would then have to have been made before Valerian (as Amiranašwili wanted) or at the latest in his time. \However, if one goes back to Narseh's time

^{&#}x27; ^- - 354-

^{*} a. 0. \$s6.

the coin would have to be denied a dating value from the outset. Then the tomb can fall into an indefinitely long **time** nuch \'alerian. For the time being, however, there is no reason to deny the dating value of the coin.

No to the list. The fact that they are both òi/a.'s' speaks in favour of Henning's identification with Pāpak; as already mentioned, the SI coin dating speaks against it. Pāpak's father only appears on the bowl. That this Artaxša8r could be equated with the man of the same name, Sāpür Pahl. 3A (under Šāpür I) as the "son of ài/nzś" (ò/ Iáti) is unproven. For the fact that the son of ò3/'ixf also became bilaxśś in turn presupposes the correctness of Henning's assumption that he belonged to Iberia and that there was a considerable dynasty of such bilaxśś there. This anticipates what would first have to be shown. The grandfather Ëāhpuhr has a òifaxs of the same name under Sāpúr ł. at his side. However - and this is another objection - Šāhpuhr of the silver bowl is based on the presence of a single letter. Finally, the assumption that the òi/azf Šāhpuhr of the large inscription (under Šāpür I) is the son of ài/axś ArtaxJsa8r on the same inscription (under Ardašër I) is again petitio princi pii. A corresponding greatgrandfather of Pàpak, i.e. a second Arta xàa8r, is not mentioned at all on the bowl.

But that's not the end of it. Henning' himself has seen that

Kllslu'by ZY btJišy ăpíir Pahl. 33 cannot be the "Viceroy of Iberia". He helps himself with the statement from the $\$ that this $\dot{o}i/oz\acute{s}$ appears among the lower dignitaries, while the $\dot{o}i'/azf$ I beriens in each case

immediately after the princes of blood. However, the fact that the latter *bilaxš* were always the viceroys of I beria or (leorgia has so far remained unproven. Henning completely overlooked the inscription on the silver plate x on Bori. It comes from a Grusinian site and was written before the middle of the 3rd century

and gives *bu'z mvhr bytv'hś* Rd'. flan has a ò i f a z J with this fir, which has gained weight in Grusinia, but in no way fits in with Henning's "dynasty".

Henning's tendency to investigate dy nasties had to be put a stop to as early as in the writings x-on Tang-i Sarwak. After we

^{&#}x27; op. cit. 355 Arim. I.

^{&#}x27;1 c 35snm 3

^{&#}x27; Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum 85 f.

had objected to this "picturesque piece of Eljmäischer ficscliichte", it has disappeared from the repertoire. \\"We fear that the same must be true in the present case, unless a new discovery proves us all wrong.

^{&#}x27;Altht im -Stiehl, a. 0. 95 f.

2. CHAPTER

LATE ARSACIDS, EARLY SASANIDS AND THE HUNS

Historical research sometimes takes winding paths, a n d this is particularly true of the present study. Sources that have not yet been consulted, or have not been consulted sufficiently, and the extent of which the authors were unable to sufficiently account for at the beginning of their endeavour, have shed light on the political and military, cultural and religious-historical significance of the Hephthalites. An area of history that has not yet become apparent demands to be categorised and understood in terms of its impact.

The following points in time should be mentioned:

- i. the presence of Xouvoi north-west of the Caucasus before the middle of the zJ century AD (above I, 3 f.);
- 2. raids by the Caucasian Huns in the thirties and shortly after the middle of the 3rd century, either in Ctesiphon's neighbourhood or in the Atropatenian media (Ä6urbaiyän) (I, 12 f. above);
- 3 3äpür II (3 3z9) stands on the border of the Chionites (Hephthalites) and **Küsän** in the winter of 3s6-2 and moves359 with the king of the Chionites as an ally against Amida (above z,35 and 246f.);
 - 4 Säpür I I coins as Kidara Kutana lahi (above x. 35):
- 5 The Caucasian Huns, strengthened by reinforcements from the east, invade southern Russia;
- 6 The coinage of the Sasanian Kfiéän ends with Bahräm IV Kermänéöh (388-399) The Hephthalites conquer the lands of eastern Iran, which had previously been under the rule of the Sasanian Kü "sän'.

They face a series of Hun advances in the area between the Laxartes and the Don. The western parts of the people undertake

¹ n. cobl in Altheim-Stieh 1, Finanzgeschich te der Spätantike (i XS 71 °43 -

Trains into the Sasanian Empire, which remain unsuccessful. The first reached the gates of the capital, while the second had to turn back at Áfiurbaiyãn. A hundred years later, the eastern Huns succeed in establishing themselves as Sasanian |*oederati* in the Sogdians, between Oxos and Laxartes. Just over a decade later, the invasion of southern Russia took place, leading the western Huns to the lower reaches of the Danube. But Hun power also increased in north-east Iran. The Hephthalites gain Bactria and parts of Khorasan and put an end to Sasanian rule in these areas.

A corresponding simultaneity is found a hundred years later. Before the middle of the 5th century, the western Hun Empire reached its peak under Attila. But the eastern Huns, too, who were under

Bahrām V. Gōr(4• 438) had still had to agree to pay tribute, rise up against Yazdgard 11, his successor (A3 -45zì They end the tribute payments and under Hormizd III (457 459) and Pêröz (459-A84) intervene for the first time in the throne disputes of the Sasanian Empire.

of the German Empire. The people seemed to be on the verge of a new and all-round rise. Then came the setback in the west: first the Catalaunian battle in 451 and the collapse of the Nedao a few years later.

It was a decisive weakening of Hunnic power. The ability to expand simultaneously in the west and east was over. Initially, the centre of gravity shifted to the east. The Hephthites reached the peak of their power. Përõz was defeated in repeated battles and fell to the Hunnic enemy in 484. His successor

successor Kavãó I. (4-53•) had previously lived at the Hephthalite court and found refuge there in the first years of his reign. He returned with Hephthalite help and held the court with Hephthalite mercenaries.

He remained in power and waged his wars against Rome until the very end.

Only Chusrö I Anõšarvãn (s3I-sz) succeeded in defeating the Hephthalite Empire 3 8 in alliance with the Western Turks. Sasanian rule again extended as far as the Oxos. The defeat led to the migration of tribes belonging to the Hephthalite confederation; they moved westwards. First it was Avars, two Hun tribes (Oú-rx••' Oúóp and Xouvt)°, who appeared on the Danube; two decades later

[°] H. -Ih'. Haussig in: Byzantion z 3 (I 3), z y5 f.; especially s 4 5: 4

(58d) were followed by Bulgarians, who settled south of the lower Danube, and Chazarcn, who settled north of the Caucasus (above i, 85). The centre of gravity thus shifted to the V'esten. In north-east Iran, on the other hand, the Arab conquest eliminated the last remnants of Hephthalite rule. These observations, simple as they may be, lead to conclusions, which will prove to be fundamental, at least for the structure of the following account. When the western part of the people as a whole, from the area between the lower reaches of the Don and the Volga, advanced into Eastern Europe, they had been in the neighbourhood of Iranian peoples for over zoo years and had lived in contact with their culture. There were the northern Iranian Alans north of the Caucasus; south of this mountain range were the strongly Iranianised kingdoms of Cheria and Armenia, and further west was Aburbai yän, the north-western province of Iran proper.

All the Huns' attention, from raiding to imitating the neighbouring advanced civilisation, was directed southwards and south-eastwards. It took a long time and, at least according to Hunnic opinion, a divine hint to realise that there were greater opportunities in southern Russia and on the lower Danube. How strong the contact with the Iranian world was in the zenith before 3z5 is the first question to be answered.

must be asked. The second is to ask with which development

The first stage in the development of this era is known. The last century of the .lrsakids and the first half-century of the Sasanids come into consideration. In other words: the period of the first ascent, which was characterised by the rulers Ardaser I. , ü "äpür I. and II. Conversely, it is important to realise that the western Huns no longer knew the late Sasanian state and its culture, or the second heyday of the empire in general, which began with K aväfi I and Chusrö I .ßnösarx än. With the end of the war against Eastern Rome and then against the Roman-Germanic West, all Iranian relations came to an end for this part of the Huns. They had entered a new historical realm.

The remaining parts of the people in the Eaucasus and the Hunnic east with all the tribes that belonged to the Hephthalite confederation were different. They had also seen the rise of the early Asanid Empire. But unlike their cousins, who had gained a foothold in Eastern Europe, they were able to witness the further development of the Sasanian Empire and its culture. The connection to the Iranian

fi'elt was never disturbed, not even when the great Hephthalite empire collapsed. Only the Arab conquest put an end to the neighbourly coexistence of the Sasanian Empire and the Hephthalites. The leading tribe of the latter had already been

"e largely absorbed into the Iranian people. As a result, they were mainly influenced by the form of Sasanian culture that was created under Kavä6 I, Chrusrö I and II. The preceding observations on the history of the Hephthalites and on the clash of religions, in the centre of which they sometimes stood, have shown how strongly they lived within the framework of the late Sasanian \Velt. This will also prove to be the case for the Caucasian Huns.

After the collapse of the great Hephthalite Empire ss8, a new wave turned westwards. Tribes broke away from the

The first to invade Eastern Europe were the Avars, followed about two decades later by the Bulgars and Chazars. Although they all followed in the footsteps of the western Huns, their cultural heritage was different. They had experienced the deep influence of the late Asanid culture (which had been denied to the earlier ones). Thus the forms that were created over the centuries, at least as far as they were based on Iranian culture, can be described as late and post-Sasanian culture.

Early Asanid, late Asanid and post-Asanid: these are the three characteristics. They need to be u n d e r s t o o d according to their particular .4rt and their impact on the different parts of the Hunnic people as a whole, the different phases of its history.

All three must be carefully described. They have already been discussed by us in earlier works, above all in an effort to emphasise the intrinsic nature of the late-Sasanian state and its culture°. Now it is no longer a question of Iran as such, no longer a question of understanding whatever stage of its development. Iran should now be understood in terms of its impact on its neighbours. The first task is to identify certain peculiarities of the early Hsasanid period and the late Arsacid period, which is inseparable from it.

and late ti neeli ng rcc hnu ng.

[^] Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiati.scher Staat i (i g3¢) ; FinanzgesC hic h te ilcr Spatantik c (t9S7! Die älter'-n .\rb'-iten , vr'r all'-ni das Sasan iden- Kapitel im t-rsten Band x'''n Niedergang d ter .Alten \\ cIt (i 9j.) , tragen gen der Se heidu ng zivisc hen sasa nirlisc h I r ü h z' i t

The financial history must be considered first. **I. Hahn** has devoted a study to the tax administration of the early Asanid period. **Hahn** has devoted an investigation to the tax administration of the early Asanid period, from which everything else must be based'. This time too (cf. above z, i83 I.), objections of a factual and philological nature must of course be raised.

The only source Hahn has at his disposal is the Babylonian Talmud. This distinguishes between three types of tax payments:

I. Äfdgd. Bäbä bäträ 5_S a clearly refers to the $kr\ddot{a}g\ddot{a}$ as a poll tax, citing the royal law (dizi'i d- $malkut\ddot{a}$). It would thus correspond to the izyo of the late-Sasanian period. Arägä was "on the head (skull) of men" and corresponds to the phrases Äsa \S $gulgult\ddot{a}$: Bäbä bäträ \S and \S se \S réf'i in Zacharias Rhetor z p. Q2, z f. (for the time of Kavä6's I)°. J. Levy° interprets: "Only the person of the taxpayer, but not his goods, is liable for the poll tax. If he does not pay it, the royal officials imprison him (if he has not fled the country), but do not confiscate his goods." L. Goldschmidt expresses the same opinion on the 'Stelle', so that, contrary to Hahn's view^, it is proven that the érdgd meant there was not levied on property.

Of course, it is still an open question why poll tax, *i.*e. the *izya*, was designated with a word that obviously means the sord. Answers given so far may be left aside, since all researchers, Hahn included, have overlooked the fact that *brägä* can denote not only the izyo, but also the *harä*. In the same place another opinion is cited, according to which even the barley in the kruge was pledged for the #rögä - not only the land, as L. Goldschmidt^ astutely explains. Accordingly, both the land and its yield fall under the *brägä* meant here. In other words: it is the h rd\$ whose introduction Kavä6 I. began in the Sawäd' and Chusrö I. Anösarvän generally carried out. And this also explains the use of

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' Acta ant. Hung. 7 (959L '53
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[°] Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache z. Lfg. i io ; i q 9 ; above z, zz f.

[°] Dictionary of the Tal mudim and Midrashim 2 (I g2), 35 r.

[^] The Babylonian Talmud 6 (1933), 1086 note 2o i.

[•] a. 0. 5*-

[°] a. 0. 6, i o86 Afl 7°

^{&#}x27;\lthcim-Stit hl, Finanzgesc hichte der Spätantike (957) 3 f.; sz.

The use of the word śrdgõ here for the $iar\tilde{a}g$, there for the gizya. For it was always emphasised that both together could be called $ar\tilde{a}g$ -, and so it could happen that each component alone received this designation. So not only could $ar\tilde{a}g$ rnit àrdgd be labelled, as was natural, but also the gtzya.

The Babylonian Talmud contains elements from very different periods. With our passage we find ourselves in one of its latest layers. We are in the first third of the 6th century, when the new tax system was implemented, at least in Babylonia. Poll tax, limited to the individual (i.e. their labour), and land tax, covering both the land and its yield, are juxtaposed, i.e. the late Asanid ğizyn and $ar\tilde{a}\tilde{g}$, corresponding to the Diocletianic *capitatio* and *iugatio*.

All of this does nothing for the early Asanid tax system. However, the situation is different in the passage Băbă m 1' 73 b. Mention of Rabbi Pappã, who died in 3y8, leads to the early Asanid period. It mentions wealthy Jews who pay $kr\tilde{a}g\tilde{a}$ for others in money (zazê) but demand services from them in return. The form of paying the

The fact that the tax authorities were obliged to indemnify debtors (who had thus changed from public to private) by means of benefits, not by recourse to property, shows that this was a poll tax. The affected parties did not own any real estate and were obliged to protect their \'er-

replace obligations. It was an old-style $_{X^-}$ e vó \S iov - only this time transferred to a private legal relationship. The important thing is that everything is under The original customers (\emptyset iuàN \S d)' $^\circ$ - but probably about a royal decree ($mal L \~a$ 'error). The original customers (\emptyset iuàN \S d)' $^\circ$ - but probably those concerning a

'error). The original customers (øiuàNǧd)¹° - but probably those concerning a vicarious payment of the árdgñ and the consequences for the debtors - were in the royal "receptacle"¹¹, comparable to the Roman *scrttiitim*.

z. *aspä* (Hahn regularly writes fasǧñ!). This tax lies on the ground (nr'ã). Babã si a 73 b: the king has decreed that whoever *aspă* s h a l l have the usufruct of the land. Both the land and

[°] Above z, i 9o. Also in the chronicle of Se'ert z, 58o, i i ł. Setter is the *harã* if levied by the Arabs in Mesopotamia after their victory in the 5th year of Yazdgard I I I, the total taxes.

[°] Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache 2. Lfg. i a8 f.

^{*}Other vocalisation: J. Levy, a. 0. 3, d I r.

[&]quot; Hahn speaks of $la.sk\hat{a}$ in the case, while it is clearly $kr\hat{a}g\ddot{a}$ (a. tà. i j j). - I ter yf tie g'u'i r/-/i i'it"i nú, tlcn ε *ut t t räp t (/' tit a"i) : NJ"sy' h i"s irn f'ot- h. S \'rr'hex.ipl . \ m1ir' is, "'1. . \ ñI I' "z ian i (i * y j) Jr i y

³ A Ithei œ, -tunnen IN

The use and enjoyment of the same are separated for tax purposes, and payment of the fas#d relates solely to the land. Bãb_ã m i'll ZIO a: whoever buys a property assumes the obligation to pay the asǧã. Again, *aspä* is linked to the land as such. *Taspã* does not tax its yield, but is the fiscal prerequisite for starting the annual building work. Cf. also Gi in

58 b. Accordingly, the official who collects the lasgã is called *zali pšpš* Iß after zià'rd "plot of land" (Bãbã bãtrã _S5 a'°.) There is no connection with the *[iarãš* of the late Sasanian tax system, which covered land and yield together. Rather, the mention of Giddõl b. R "ülãi in

Git in 8b, a contemporary of R. Pappã, that we are in the early Asanian period. The mentions of lasgà by R. Abbai in Bãbã m i'a sub and R. Aši (375-4*2) in Bãbã m i f3 b lead to the same period.

Just as the poll tax is advanced by the wealthy to those who cannot pay and the creditors demand services from their debtors in return, so it is with the osga. The same goddol

b. Re-uiãi, who uses the èrägõ in a by no means altruistic way for others also took over the $tasp\tilde{a}$ of poorer comrades for three years in advance and thereby appropriated the usufruct of their properties for the same period (Gi in 38 b).

Bàbã m i'ã rio a mentions the possibility that properties are not assessed for asgã. The extent to which this case could even occur is not clear from the statement. **Hahn'**⁵ claims that in the same place such properties withdrawn from nsgã are described as ar'ã *any'*. We have not found a corresponding statement in L. Goldschmidt's edition, the only one available to us. As always: when Hahn uses the second word "on the basis of the Syriac qaiiã;id = 'buyer' as 'bought',

i.e. "earth in full ownership" is subject to grammatical and factual reservations. The Syriac word is to be paraphrased ğaa- tidyd. Its use is not necessary, since the corresponding stem is present in Judeo-Aram. In fact "bought", i.e. the Part. Pass. P "al with the feminine ending of the Stat.

^{1°} See J. Levy, op. cit. O. i, 5 i y 1.

^{&#}x27;e Hahn, a. 0. s 5 note 43 thinks of landowners and tax tenants, for which there is no reason.

[&]quot; Correct Hahn, a. 0.•ss and note §8-a9.

^{1&}lt;sup>^</sup> a. 0. i55.

absol. *par'ä* is feminine) should be oiryd. In any case, Hahn's interpretation is not very convincing. If the buyer of a property was, as mentioned, expressly obliged to take over the *lassä*, it is not clear how a purchase should have led to exemption from property tax.

• !aé-malbä (Hahn always writes manlha or manta de-ma!kä !), Hebrew m-nät ha-m-melek: Bäbä bäträ 8a. Bäbä kammä 113 b says that whoever is found in the barn must pay the kingsshare. C means is: for the -others who are not present, but then have to reimburse the payer for their share '-. Hahn referred to the special case of joint liability and correctly saw that this tax could be paid in nalura". "bödä zärä 2 i a and L. Goldschmidt's comment on this '8 confirm the facts.

This results in the following three taxes for the early Asanid period:

- i. Poll tax, éraga. It is not clear whether it was graduated, but it is probable. It was paid in money.
- z. Land tax, tas d. It is not clear whether it was graduated. It may have been calculated according to the area of land, whereby the necessary gradation was ensured by the yield tax (cf. under 3).

the 1as d would have been a repartition tax, which alone was quartfn taking into account. It was paid in cash.

3. Income tax, mod/d *d-nialbä*. It was a pure quotation tax, based on the wars quofa.

In Hahn'o view, the differences were determined by constitutional law. As the "only possible solution" he proposes: "1as d w'ar the land rent of the royal fields - $_{\rm X}$ c- fictwihixij (Hahn places the circum- flex on $_{\rm X}$ pn !) -, mnd/d $d_{-malk\ddot{a}}$ (Hahn also paraphrases ciao/ö!) the king's due tax on free peasants, or in general: all persons not living on royal territory". Tas \ddot{a} as land rent, royal fields and dipo |3nwvhix , the free peasants - everything is without reference in the tradition. We see no possibility of even considering this interpretation.

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'- L. Goldsc hmid t, a. 0. 6. q z 5 Note S9.
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^{&#}x27;* l. c. i_S f.

^{&#}x27;- a. O. 7, I °3An rri. I 3Q.

^{&#}x27;- l.c. i 56.

Supposed continuations in Islamic times, which Hahn cites^{oo}, may be disregarded. His observations are based on secondary literature, and the discussion of the Islamic tax system lies outside the intentions, but also the abilities, of the authors. Hahn completely missed the contact between the early Asanid tax system and the Achaemenid system. This has been summarised by us^{ot}, and the following may content itself with brief references to what was said there.

The equation of the poll tax with the Achaemenid éwixcQó- hoiov $^{\circ\circ}$ is unobjectionable. The replacement of this tax, which in itself had to be paid in money, with services seems to have been envisaged as early as the Achaemenid period, as shown by the expression $_{X^{-1}P^{-}V\acute{O}}(^{iov})$ which appears alongside it. It may have been based on the obligation to attend liturgy, which primarily affected the broad masses.

It is of the greatest significance that Bãbã bãtrã 8a and N'Qãrim 6z b equate the royal portion of the early Asanid period with the $mind\tilde{a}$ or $niidd\tilde{a}$ mentioned in Ezra A, 13 and elsewhere. Since this rn is one with the znyrj or $^{b\tilde{a}zit*3}$, the result is a link that has everything in itself. Cileich the royal share, the Achaemenid tax is payable in kind, and one cannot reject the conclusion that the $mind\tilde{a}$ w a s a revenue tax (jars qiio/a). In our earlier exposition we have not yet dared to draw this conclusion, which is obvious.

Thus, the only remaining land tax for the $asp\check{a}$ is the éxQóptiov, also called bsttćrrrrj°. The second term would mean that in the case of pure pars quanta, one tenth of the assessed land value had to be paid annually as a tax. That the Achaemenid tax was to be understood in this way is shown by the fact that the land was measured according to Parasangen in order to levy it (Herodot. 6, Hz, z) $^{\circ}$.

The tax system inherited from the Achaemenid period was thus utilised in early Asanid times. This move fits in with the overall picture of the period, which can be found everywhere in the Achaemenid tradition.

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o° a. 0. i 56.
o* AItheim-Stiehl, Edie aramäische Sprache 2. Lłg. io9 f. Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. iq8 f.
    AItheim-Stiehl, a. O. no ł.
o' Altheim-Stiehl, op. cit. O. - 45 - - 6 f.
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^{°^} Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0.•⟨s The alternative indicated there is no longer applicable.

and wished to continue this on. No one thought of eliminating the contrast between the repartition tax (1as 'i) and the quota tax (tti'i/'i p-malkä, which provided for a double levy before and after the harvest and may have caused many other inconveniences. Only the adoption of the late Roman system of iugatio brought something new. Now both types of tax were brought to a common denominator, as it were. Through the introduction of the yield tax, which was linked to each piece of land, the consideration of annually changing yields was eliminated. A new type of repartition tax had been created. At the same time, it is clear that the early Asanid tax system should by no means be categorised as already containing the decisive elements of the late Asanid reform. Rather, it was the adoption of Diocletian's innovation that created the conditions that made possible an unprecedented system of collection and a similar scale of taxation. Nor do we see any reason to speak of the "restoration of the ancient rights of oriental despotism"o'. Nothing else known about Chusrö I Anöéarvän leads in this direction. Rather, the adoption of late Roman taxation goes hand in hand with his participation in late antique philosophy (above 3, 8§ f.). Hand in hand.

2

The early Sasanian tax system is not without further ado an Arsacid one, not even one from the late Arsacid period. Even if it is conceded that the Sasanids largely stood on the shoulders of their predecessors, it would still be unwarranted to draw an analogy from what was established for warfare to another area of state life. For just as often they opposed what the Parthian predecessor had done. And this was especially true in cases where the ancient Persian past was invoked.

Another unknown is how the tax system was handled under the Seleucids. It must be recognised that far less is known about this than about the Ptolemaic system.

 $^{^{\}circ\circ}$ Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischen Staat i (i 95d), i
66 f. ; Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike z
89 f.

^{°&#}x27; I. Hahn, a. 0. i 58 f.

F. .4ltheim, Decline of the Old World i (i 95z), i 8 f.

Egypt, it is by no means guaranteed that what applied to Asia Minor or Syria was also common in the Upper Satrapies. Just as Aramaic, the administrative language of the Achaemenids, continued to exist there alongside Greek, so too could Achaemenid tax practice have persisted there.

After all, we have original economic documents from the Arsacid period, especially the third parchment from Avrõmãn and the ostraca from Nisã, both in Aramaic script and language. What can be gleaned from them is sufficient to make a clear judgement.

In Avrõmãn°, as in the two preceding Greek documents, it is about the sale of a particular vineyard. The bu'*m piety* line A is a special feature of the Aramaic document. In its presence° *ppdmlh* the witnesses listed below

"inspected and measured" (Amer 'áfu'). Who the "landlord" was has often been discussed. There is no evidence in favour of a landlord who was above or next to the respective owner of the vineyard. So we have

reminds us of the śõrè łia-m-m' $din\tilde{o}l$, the $v\acute{o}W$ - x i, of the Book of Esther -. But even this must be dropped, because the equation of bwmsiely rnith the one in :

Bãbã bãtrã $_{85}$ a called *zah rörñ* is inevitable. Both are named after their power of disposal over the land (Old Pers. òutni-, Aram. *zili'rä*). Furthermore, it is the $zah^{\circ}r\ddot{o}r\ddot{a}$ that is set over the land tax $(tasp\ddot{a})$,

and this as *pars quanta* is based on the measurement of the land. It is therefore logical that a survey is carried out in the presence of the official on the occasion of the sale, when the obligation to $asp\tilde{a}$ is transferred along with the land. In Avrõmãn, it seems, the same conditions exist that were encountered in Babylonia.

The same can be seen in the ostraca from Nisâ -. From the vintners whose yields come into the royal storehouse, *abãžbare* or §ofòöfsè are given as labelling. What is meant by this is that they

"non-taxable" or "taxable" that they are exempt from income tax.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum ($i_{\mbox{\footnotesize usil}}$ $\,$ öą f.

[°] Altheim-Stiehl, The Aramaic Language i .*-*8- 3 and in : East And West to (1959), 249 r.

^{^ .} àltheim-Stiehl, Supplementum ∧ramaicu m 68 f.

^{*} Altheim-Stiehl, a. O55 - , latest treatment by E. Liws'ic in : Westnik drewnej istorii 2/1960, 14f.

(òdziś - mtiõlã ĕ-malŁã) or are subject to it". It should be remembered: Bàbã m i'ã I loa had spoken of land which, in contrast to the usual, is not subject to taspä. The fact that

This had previously remained unclear. However, it is now clear that the categories of tax exemption and tax liability existed not only for property tax, but also for income tax.

The above can be summarised even more clearly. In addition to aòdćòord and $palb\tilde{a}\tilde{z}ik$, the ostraca also contain a third designation: ;òntsdyiá. It does not necessarily refer to $b\ddot{a}zi\check{s}$, zay, $inind\acute{a}$ or $midd\^{a}$, $mn\tilde{a}t\~{a}$ \check{g} - $male\~{a}$, but to another tax. It is known from Neupers. shy, sd, and connected with \grave{o} 'izi \acute{s} it appears in the phrase $\grave{o}dz$ \varnothing $\check{s}\~{a}$, $s\~{a}$ and Qofsdyi \acute{a} contain the Avestan verbal root su-"use . If a piece of land was $Qa/sdyi\grave{a}$, this meant that it belonged to a was subject to "user tax". This can only refer to the as $\~{g}\~{a}$, to which the term applies. For the as a had to be paid, as had been shown, so that the cultivation and utilisation of the field could begin.

There is also complete agreement between Nisã and the information in the Babylonian Talmud. Avrõmän testifies for Media in the year §2-53 AD, Nisã *fun* Parthia since the seventies of the r. x'orchrist-century. One might venture the assertion that the Achaimenid tax system has persisted in 'Irãk and Iran, that is, in the Upper Satrapies, since the fall of the Old Persian Empire. Another question remains, however, as to whether it continued to exist in the post-Achaimenid period, i.e.

- $^{\circ}$ WIthe im-Stich I, a. 0. 5- f. J ü ngst Ci. Yt'idengren, I ranisc h -semitic lx ultti r-bt'g'*gnung in Parthian times i rind Anm37 B''(iypó|3ov ó tart zth \tilde{G} vuov from Isid or i "n t har ax \tilde{O} beigesteuer t. The "gripper of \hat{O} r i a i \hat{S} " is the l-rheber of income tax.
- The Aramaic inscriptions from Hatra have the Parthian title $p\acute{s}grb'$ (A. Caquot in : Sx ria 30 I i 9s'!. *35 >t. 28, 2) or pzgryb' (ibid. za i No. jö, 4). $P\acute{s}gcb'$ corresponds to the first member of Neupers. \acute{s} u b $\~{a}$ n , \acute{s} * $b\~{a}n$, "shepherd", Middle Pers. ipnti, Avest.
- fšu. pâ na-, cf. armen. LW. š put, avest. -/fu. peifi -. Pzgryb' shows the dialectical alternation of s (cf. avest. Jesus-) and r: P. Horn in: Grundr. Ir. Philol. i, 2 (i 698 to i 90 i), 87 1 3*. 7 9' § go, y. Thus 9ezø- underlies, rnit with a preserved initial labial like 9ś-, pfu-, /sø- next to fit-. Without such, rnit z instead of f, the \Vort is in proto-
- -Bulgarian and Hungarian {ouwøv. {mwov. (ouwòvoç, Slav.-Hungarian $\check{z}upon$ (on this: Li. àloravcsik, Byzantinoturcica z° [i 95 ü], 13 I f.). Its long-sought etymology is thus established. In contrast to šubäti, *(ouwav* and cognates, 9sgzò' and 9zgryò' are not the "cattle master", but the "cattle raiser". This refers to the collector of the cattle tax, as 3n{iypóQov is called after the "gripper of the $b\tilde{a}zi\tilde{s}$ ". about the gripping of cattle during tax collection x gl. Altheim -Stiehl, Financial History of Late Antiquity 3*-

prove to be suitable under substantially changed conditions should

A number of observations to the contrary are obvious. It became clear beforehand that taxation was not implemented without gaps. There were exemptions from both land tax and income tax, and these did not benefit the economically weak. Everything that is known confirms that the great landlords had largely obtained tax advantages and in individual cases certainly also exemption'. But the prerequisite of the fas 'i, i.e. the surveying of the land, was also incompletely carried out. Bäbä bäträ 54 a beginning testifies that there were fields whose boundaries were only marked on one side; furthermore, that concealed fields were nothing unusual, whose owners did not pay the 1as d to the king. Both these facts explain why Kaväfi I and Chusrö I Anösarvän were the first to undertake a general resurvey, which alone ensured that all property was fully recorded for tax purposes. The income tax also had its shortcomings, and it is precisely these that are said to have prompted Kaväb I to introduce the tax reform. The joint and several liability, which forced the taxpayer present to pay for his comrades, whereby he had to watch how he subsequently recovered his expenses, also shows how great the inclination must have been to evade the income tax. Finally, it must be obvious to everyone that neither the Arsacids nor the early Sasanids were able to achieve hoarding, which the Achaemenids and then again the late Sasanids were able to do on a large scale'°.

The damage caused by the outdated and outmoded tax system was evident everywhere. They were most noticeable in the army.

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Althcim-Stieh 1, Financial history of late antiquity i i.
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^{^.\}Itheim-StichI, a. O.3 2; j,§.

^{&#}x27; Altheim-Stiehl, op. cit. O. y f.

^{&#}x27;° Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache 2. Lfg. i zof. ; j'abari, ann. i , i oj i , i f. ; i i f. ; i oq6, öf. ; Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgesch. der Spätantike q5 f.

3

Two anecdotes are given to characterise the late-Sasanian army. Preserved by a Syrian and an Arab, both spoken by Peruvians, they characterise the insight that had gripped those defeated by the Arabs. Both stories show that what might initially have been seen as an advantage of that army and its equipment proved to be a disadvantage in the face of the new enemy. Let Barhebraeus (chron. Syriac. loi, -5 Bedjan) speak first.

After 'Omar's accession to power, the Arab army moves to Kufa, where it sets up camp. The Persians march towards him and camp on the Euphrates. (ioi, ry Bedjan) "The Persians sent out an Arab (ar6dyd: i.e. from the settled Arabs of the Sawäd) scout to observe the Arabs (of the desert: layy'iyé). But the latter, when he had come nearer, saw a Bedouin (ma'd yä corr.; ma'dä yä Bedjan), who had crouched down to draw water (C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac. ° 383), and was eating bread. To him (the Bedouin) the scout said in Saracenic (the two common Arabic): 'What are you doing? The Bedouin replied: 'Well, as you can see, I am carrying out the old and bringing in the new. Then he (the scout) returned and reported to the Persians: 'The people I have seen are unshod and naked (unarmoured) and very brave. He told the commander what he had heard and (said) that by God their (the Arabs') victory (was certain). When they (both armies) waged war, the Persians were defeated and driven back as far as Ctesiphon on the Tigris. A man of valour from the Persian army fled from a Bedouin who was after him. He went to a neighbouring village and a farmer hid him. When he saw the Bedouin who was following him (and realised that he was unprotected and had only a staff in his hand), he (the farmer) (ioz, i Bedjan) went to the Persian and insulted him: 'How could you, who are clad in armour and have all these weapons on you, flee from one who is unprotected instead of turning back and cutting off his head? But the Persian said to the farmer: 'Bring me a block of wood,' and when he had brought it, he (the Persian) shot the block with the bow, pierced it and said: "Several times I shot a Bedouin I had seen in this way, and he caught all the arrows like flies with the sleeve of his robe."

The second anecdote is found in Balāduri (z68, zi f. Bûlāk) and also relates to the battle of Kādi iya. It comes from the mouth of a fighter on the Persian side, who describes himself as a triağiiái. According to him, the rain of arrows with which the Arabs opened the battle had its effect. Then it says: "And a man shot at us from the crossbow ('aø *if-ğatisi* o-nātraèiyø), but its (the crossbow's) bolt did nothing more than catch in the clothing of one of them (the Arabs), whereas the arrow from their (the Arabs') arrows split the solid armour and the double cuirass we were wearing."

What both reports have in common is that the better and more modern equipment is on the Persian side, but that the Arabs pay no attention to this and catch the bullets with their wide armour. There are the tanks

or even the double armour we have already encountered (z. 77; z26 above). Various weapons are used, of which the bow and arm-

chest should be mentioned. The latter was invented in China, as early as the late Chou', and had travelled from there to Japan°. The Sasanian army had also endeavoured to acquire this weapon, as the report shows. Since nothing else is reported about the crossbow° and it is not depicted on the Sasanian monuments, it may have just been introduced. The penetrating power of the Persian bow is illustrated by Barhebraeus' account, and Procopius confirms it. Not only do the Persians shoot faster than any other people, but, although their bows are easy to handle, the arrows penetrate armour, helmet and shield (bell. Z, -.3 >)

One is all the more astonished by the words that Barhebraeus gives to the scouts: mrs affäàäi *zäğülhön* (chron. Syriac. ZOI,•3 Bedjan). All technical superiority was of little avail. The Arabs were nevertheless defeated and believed to have known it in advance.

^{&#}x27; H. H. Doubs in : T'oung PaO 36, yo f. ; W. W. Tarn, Hellenist. blilitary and Naval Developments too f. ; A. Stein, Serindİd. 2. ⁷⁵⁸ f. ; Innermost Asia i, z9o f. ; F. Bergman in : Archaeol. Researches in Singkîan (Sino-Swedish Exped. 2) 163*- ; A. Lippe in : Amer. Journ. Arch. i g3z, 233 ; K. Huuri in : Studia Orientalia g, s (+94 -), i to ; Altheim- Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike z86.

[°] M. Suenaga, The Weapons of Ancient Japan (japan. i9a i) Tàł 76; K. Huuri, a. 0. * • * 97-

[°] Conjectures in K. Huuri, a. 0. iOi: •°3: -OQ· Anna Komnena to, 8 P. t9 i A; z, a2,*3*-; Ducange's learned note 605 f. describes how the Byzantines became acquainted with the crossbow. Bonn.

The debate about the value and disvalue of the new weapons had been going on for some time. A hundred years before Kādisiya, Prokop expressed his opinion much more favourably in the introduction to his historical work. What a difference, he said, there was between the archers of antiquity and those of his time. They now went into battle in armour and greaves, with the quiver with arrows on the right and the sword on the left. Some still had a spear and a small shield without a grip on their shoulder to protect their face and neck. They knew how to shoot to either side from a speeding horse and hit the enemy, whether they were pursuing him or fleeing from him. The bow was drawn to the right earor: neither shield nor armour could withstand its force (bell. i, I, IZ-15)

The late-Sasanian army was raised and maintained with the funds provided by Chusrõ I Anõśarvãn's tax reform. There was no shortage of money, and so the knights received an equipment allowance that allowed them to equip themselves to a standard comparable to that of previous years. hundreds had not known. Against instructions from A ooo Dir hem had

The soldiers had to appear for inspection on armoured horses and even in double armour, in harness and chain mail underneath. Arm and leg armour as well as helmet, sword, lance, shield, club and mace, lasso and bow bag with two bows and 3 arrows, finally

Two replacement tendons completed the defence system. Everything was discussed in detail

But h led'.

In addition to the *dëhkãn*, which were only deployed in times of war, there was also a standing army. It stood mainly on the borders, and the knights who served in it were assigned fiefs to maintain. Their regiments, which formed the backbone of the defence, were supplemented by the guard troops. These bore illustrious names, including that of the "immortals" (z, zA f. above and Prokop., bell. I, 14. 45: 49) to the Achai-

Menidic period. The vassal kings were deployed as needed.

The Lahmids of iJira stood out in particular. Their

light Arab cavalry fought alongside the knights (Prokop., bell. I, I2,

- 3- Sliakespt a r', Rİc hard I II.: 33Q Draw, archers, draw your arrows to the head! Spu r v"iir proud horses hard, and rid e in blood! Amaze the iv el kin xs ith y 'iur broken stai' s' "
- Altheim -Stieh1, Ein asiatischer Staat i (i 95 j) , i 3G f. ; Uinanzgeschichte der Spät- antikt t'z f. liier zu u nd zu m folgenden.

z; i6.: 3). and with Sasanian help they had also begun to deploy an armoured force ^. The massed thrust of the knights, the closed and deeply organised formation (Prokop., bell. -. *3. 23) were thus adopted everywhere.

Alongside them were enlisted troops recruited from neighbouring barbarian tribes. They were valued for their martial prowess, but mostly had to reckon with unreliability and insubordination. Again, Arabs' were among them (above z, IA; 16;

*7: zof.). But the *pãgiśãyc* were already Huns of the East, and Hephthalites largely formed the core of the army under Kavãfi I. In addition, Caucasian Huns were recruited (Sabirs), warlike journeymen, rapacious and fickle. No one else changed sides so quickly and thoughtlessly when it came to their own advantage. They tried to keep them by giving them not only pay but also a share of the spoils.

granted, though not always with success (Agathias A, 13: P < 34. I2 f. Niebuhr; above z. 36 f.). The Hephthalite and Sabirian horsemen also were divided into regiments of iooo men, equal in strength to the Peruvian

knighthood (Prokop., bell. I, 8, 13: vg1. 2. 33: *5. -= three regiments, and above z. -9*f.).

The Dëlamites (Athipvizot) occupied a special position insofar as they formed an infantry. They came from the mountainous countries south of the Caspian Sea and were not under Sasanian command, but were willing to lend their services. Armed with lances and sarisses, swords and daggers, they covered themselves behind a larger or smaller shield. Holding the centre between the lightly armed and the hoplites, they were capable of a wide variety of uses. They did not shy away from close combat and were no less adept at long-range combat. They led their attacks in close order, but also fought in disorganised formation when the situation demanded it. However, their real strength lay in the use of intersected and mountainous terrain, which they could utilise for any undertaking, from a quick retreat to a surprise attack.

[°] Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike i i y f. Altheim-Stiehl, a. O. i zz.

^{&#}x27;We abandon our equation of the amür ãyë rn with the Arabic Tamùd (above z, zo f.; 95). It has been contradicted by G. Levi Della Vidas (letter 9. 8. 60), but also by such connoisseurs as G. and J. Ryckmans (above 2, z i). We are pleased to note that J. Ryckmans' discussion of the question of Tamùdian inscriptions in : Bibliotheca Oriental is i y (i960), igg f. has brought the final decision.

advance (Agathi£tS 3, I/ {ï. Uÿ, I : 3. 28 p. 2 3, 13)'

Finally, the image of a specialised and technically well-equipped army, equipped with special formations for all types of combat and largely standing, corresponds to the fact that it was well-equipped for positional and siege warfare. They knew how to construct embankments and underground passages; they handled siege engines with skill and also knew how to stand their ground in defence (above z, zz f.;

Procopius, bell. I, ÿ, 12 (.; AgãthİftS 3, 6 p s . 2 f.; 3. 23 P 9 - 9: 3. >3 p-*94. IQ f.). They were equipped for everything, even a pontoon train is mentioned once (Agathi£fS3, 2O . i83, I f.).

4

A review must begin with the Parthians. The largest part of the army consisted of freemen (Iustin. Ai, z, if.), but they had to learn riding and archery like the freeborn. The mounted archers of the Parthians appear on terracottas, dipinti and graffiti, but also in literature. They formed the main body of the army. Armoured soldiers were at their side, but remained far behind in numbers. They formed only a small fraction of the mounted force.

The armour could also extend to the horse (lustin. it, z, IO; vg1. Sallust. in Serv. Aen. it, 2h; Plutarch. Crass. 24. I). The main weapon of the heavy troops was the shock lance. But there were also unarmoured

xovroQópoi (Dio AO, *5. *): "halfcataphractarian", as they were called'. The lancers made it possible to face the enemy in close combat. If the hail of arrows from the enemy swarming around him on all sides

If the enemy had been demoralised by the enemy's archers, the cataphracts' thrust was intended to completely disperse the ranks of his infantry°. The Parthian general from the Síirën dynasty, who inflicted defeat on the legions at the Battle of Karrhai, brought this tactic to a climax. He had raised a thousand armoured horsemen and nine thousand mounted archers from his own resources, partly from his own slaves and retainers (Plutarch, Crass. 21, \ddot{y}). A train of a thousand

^{. 11} train of a thousand

For further details see Altheim-Stiehl, 1.c. O. 65 Note S(M. Rostovtzeff in: Excavat. at Dura-E uropOS 93 -33. 3°5 -: fig. z z.

² It'. \V. Tarn, Hellenist. Military and Naval Developments 88 f.

Camels accompanied the troop: they carried the arrows so that the archers would not lack shooting equipment (ibid. zI, ÿ: *5. I).

The Sasanians had initially adopted this way of fighting. How under the last Arsacid (Herodian. •4. 3: the site is corrupt), then under Shapfir II 363 the archers on horseback appear alongside the armoured lancers (Amm. Marc.•5. I, 12-*3) It is not known in what numerical ratio they stood to one another. But while

the heavy-armed men held their positions (ibid. -5, *. *3). the archers swarmed out *at* the beginning of the battle *(sagiitarios frocuzsus :* ibid. ry). Nothing is said about the fact that, as later, in closed order (Procopius, bell. I, 13, °3). that armoured archers opened and sustained the hail of arrows (ibid. i, -4. 35). that the same troops then took up the lance and began

Riflemen and mounted cataphracts or novvoQópoi were in the3 and

4. The two were still divorced in the 19th century.

the melee (ibid. 37). Mounted

It is explicitly stated that the Parthians only kept their army together for a limited time (&rcocrov -rrhíj8'>; xoì wpooxoííp': "S ': picrqivov Hero- dian. 4.

*4. 7). It was specially mobilised for the battle (lustin. 4x, z. 5 f.);

There were no standing troops. The same applied to the (early) Sasanians.

When it was believed that the task at hand had been accomplished, the conscripted army was disbanded and sent home (Herodian. 6, . 5). Pay was never paid (Lydus, de magistr. 3, 34 Bonn.) -.

The shortcomings of the tax code, which were outlined above, were concluded after as before the formation of a standing army. Since the tax system of Parthian origin was also adopted by the Sasanians, these shortcomings also applied to the period under discussion here.

Only in one case did they go beyond the traditional way of fighting in early Asanid times. The armament of the armoured lancers was considerably strengthened. In other words, the Klibanarians took their place alongside the cataphracts.

This name alone contains a lateral reference. In Latin literature, *c/iòanarius* appears in Lactantius (de mort. Ao, 5) and Eutropius (6,9). Participants in lulian's Persianzus 363 tlnd *magister memorial* under Valens, erst.maIs auf.- The word is a further development of the late Greek

[°] Th. Nöldeke, transl. Liz. It should be borne in mind that Nöldeke had not yet recognised the differences between the early and late Asanid period.

^{&#}x27;Gloss on Paneg. lat. i o, zz; SHA., v. Al-s*, s; Thes. ling. Lit. 3, I 3a I f.

xhl|3ovo\$, originally denoting the frying pan, later the likewise iron oven. K ij]hi|3ov'x ... ol P': poioi za ':ri6tjpö xoh0ppcrrci öv-ri corr xrJhapivo, says lohannes Lydus (de mag. i, 46). Objectively, the name is explained by the equation of the iron armour enclosing all sides with the furnace, which encloses its contents in a similar way. Here it is significant that Jewish-Aram, Syriac iatiitiird denotes the "furnace", while the Syriac \Vort simultaneously denotes the armour (C. Brockelmann,

Lexic. Syriac.° °9 b). The coexistence of the meanings in the different languages can only be interpreted in such a way that x i|30voS and *clibanarius* are a translation loanword from the East.

acts. For one will necessarily look for the original where the armouring of rider and horse arose.

On this occasion the place name *Tannurin*, Öetvvüpio\$ should be mentioned. (above z, zo; -3: 26; 26o; 268), which has remained unexplained. Situated on the Eastern Roman-Sasanian military border and the site of military conflicts, it is unlikely to have contained a large number of iron furnaces. have meant. If one considers that the fort of Sisauranon, in a neighbouring place, is attested as the garrison of a heavy cavalry regiment (Z, 192 *951 above), that furthermore the place names^ asbara (Ibn Hurdädbeh 29, I; Kudäma zo6, I de Goeje), asäu ira (Kudäma zói, i x) and Hazärasp ("IOOo P ferde") presuppose something similar (2, 1 2 above), then the thought of It is obvious to interpret *lannürin* as "the tanks, Klibanarians".

Syr. *tanntträ* "lorica" is first encountered in Aprem, who was born under Constantine in Nisibis and died in Edessa in 3z3 (3, zo8 C ed. Bene- dictus Iz43) This b r i n g s us to the early Asanid period. Still hundred years later, another testimony of the Persian armoured horsemen. The novel Heliodors°, written in the thirties of the 3rd century, gives

horsemen. The novel Heliodors°, written in the thirties of the 3rd century, gives a detailed description of them, and the graffiti from Dura-Europos, which were created around the same time, show them in pictures'.

Heliodorus' insightful description is only understandable if he brought something new with it. In contrast, Ammianus could refer to far

The povel is limited to shorter details (i6, IO, 8: 94, 6, 8: 95, * 12 f.) In the

The novel is limited to shorter details (i6, IO, 8; °4. 6, 8; °5. *, 12 f.). In the novel, the Ethiopians and Persians have joined forces for a battle. The armoured riders

⁵ F. Altheim, Gesc hie h te der latein isc hen Sprache he (i9_S 1 g i f.

^{*} F. A ltheim , Helios and Heliodorus of Emesa. Albae Vigil. i z , go f. ; l-iteratur und Gesellschaft i , i o8 f. ; 2,° 72 f.

^{*} Excavat. at Dura-Europos ig3o-3 i , z i 5 f. , Pl. z i , 3 ; z z, z.

form the core of the Persian army and take part in the order of battle.

the centre. They are known as a phalanx (-59.; 26i, iz) and resemble an impenetrable wall (2s9. Af.). In a tightly packed mass they attack at a gallop (261, 12 f.; z3f.), and their tactic is to attack in the centre.

to overrun everything at the first rush (z6i, z8). If the horses break free, the order and the force of the onslaught are gone (262, Iÿ).

Only selected men of particular physical strength are recruited into this troop. Because only they can wear the heavy armour. The helmet is made of one piece; it protects the head and neck. At the front, it imitates a man's face like a mask (wpowmweiov 259,*3: -gl. Amm. Marc.•5. •. iz). In his right hand the rider holds the

long lance, the xov-ró5; he holds the reins with his left hand. On the

The Persian slashing weapon, the x s (-s . -6), hangs to one side. In contrast to the late-Sasanian knight, the bow is not wielded.

The carapace covers the whole body and consists of rectangular oxorcti (259, *9) in span size. It is therefore a platelet carapace or, as it has recently been called, a lamellar carapace.

armour (split armour) [®]. Made of iron or bronze, these lamellae are connected to each other in such a way that they fit together with their outer edges (xœr' õxpn zĞv wh@ply z5Q, zi). The upper louvres join the lower ones, and both also fit seamlessly to the side ones. The connection is made using cords (¢oQol 259, °A) that run along the inside of the armour (fwd s ' ds

2§£), 2A). They enclose the individual lamellae in a loop shape and lead thus creating a firm connection (v oupwhoxriv òyxiœrs S °59. 24).

The armour, Heliodorus continues, remains solid due to the way it is

It is flexible, it expands or contracts as desired (259 28). It envelops the body like a scaly dress and tapers into regular sleeves on the arms (-s9. °5: $X^{\prime}P'^*-\dot{o}$ zg), it

extends from the neck to the thigh. The armoured skirt is divided at the bottom to to make sitting in the saddle possible. The legs are not protected by armoured trousers, as known from Dura-Europos, but by greaves 'o. These extend to the knee, where the armoured skirt joins.

- ^ B. Thordemann in : Acta Arc haeolog. 7
- ° Excavat. at Dura-EuropOS 93°-3 I, Tal. z 3; F. E. Brown, ibid. a q f.

 $^{^{\}text{to}}$ On the name of the greave F. Rundgren in : Orientalia Suecana 6 (i 9sz) $_{\text{SS}}\,$ f. ; last treatment in G. Widengren, I ranisch-semitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischen Zeit g i f., where Rundgren's remarks are overlooked to his own detriment.

The horse is also armoured. It wears splints on its legs and a forehead plate on its head (wpoptzmwí fiłOV 260, 5). The animal is also protected by chain armour (oxEwawpo nt6ppówhoxov 260, 6),

whose lightness does not prevent it from running. The rider's armour, on the other hand, is so heavy t h a t he cannot climb the horse by his own strength, but has to be lifted up. Once they have fallen, the riders can no longer get up; they lie like "blocks" (xop-

py6óv z62, \ddot{y} , x-gl. Zosim. I, 3s. 4: m. Marc. iG, -°. 3). When attacking, the rider releases the reins of the animal and throws himself on it at full speed.

Run against the enemy. A graphitto from Dura-Europos ¹' s h o w s Mann and RoJ3 shifting their weight forwards.

Finally, the xoirrós. The front part of the apparently very heavy lance is tied to the animal's neck (6tcrp}tØ 2ôO, I6) and thus held up. The end of the shaft hangs from the animal's hindquarters and is anchored there by means of a sling. The lance, suspended in the manner described, is thrust forwards widely and suddenly during the attack. As the sheep's end is firmly attached to the horse, it cannot give way during the thrust. The \(\frac{1}{2}\)t'affe is carried forwards with the full force of the horse's roar, with the rider's hand only providing direction. The force of the thrust is so great that the lance often penetrates two opponents (260, 23)

N ACH TRAG

The ¥'oran above was written when, through the kindness of the ¥'er-Nasser, the study F. Rundgren's study of *clibanarius* and \'erwandte in : Orientalia Suecana 6 (-957). 31í. in the hand. From it I learnt first of all that E. Schwyzer, (*Greek Grammar I. 39 6*Jiòeitariiis* "als

has interpreted a case connected with the double-sense aram. /attaúrã non so-called Sprach-Abklatsch (calque)" (p. §I). Our interpretation has thus already been expounded before us. It must also be said that the mention of the *c/iòanørii* SHA., v. Alex. Sev. §6, especially since it appears in a speech, does not refer to the time of Emperor Alexander Sevcrus

(z22-23s) (351. let alone for Parthian times (p.) i); the fearliest possible beginning of the Vita falls in Julian's time, i.e. simultaneously rnit the mention in Amm. i6, to, 8. For the rest, we give Rundgren's

[&]quot; Iï xc ax at. at Dura-Europt'S 193O₃ . Taf. e z , z.

The result, which he has presented in a carefully conducted and substantial investigation, is reflected in his words (p. 5of.): "As far as the *clibanus* 'armoured shirt' offered in the Thesaurus is concerned, this word should more correctly be called *cfiöanum*, as the corresponding word in Greek is x t|3ovov, x i|3öviov. Where a *clibanus* is nevertheless found in this sense, this is due to a mixture with *clibanus* 'oven'. Both *clibanum*, xX1|3ovov and the forms *cfihoitariiis*, xhi|3'xvdpio derived from it can be traced back to Middle Iran. griv-Jdn, grey-|3 $\ddot{a}n$ and must be completely separated from *clibanus* 'above', *clibanarius* 'baker'. Here *clibanarius* is either to be understood as a formation derived through - $\ddot{a}rius$ to a * $crib\ddot{a}n < grivb\ddot{a}n$ (grivQdii), or it reflects as a whole an iran. $gr*v)\ddot{a}n$ -nach ius ... In the Aram. iatioiir'i two different words have also coincided, namely i) an Iran. loanword

< *ten-vdr 'body protection' z) an old travelling word -/oatir- 'oven'. However, the Latin and Greek words in question obviously have nothing to do with this. Words obviously have nothing to do with it".

It may seem bold to speak of a Hunnic financial system or a tax system. One negative observation must be made in advance. The European Huns knew neither *iugatio* and *cs§ifafio* according to Roman usage nor aarfi and irya, as Chusrö I Anösarvän had introduced them. They knew nothing of the one, as they had not entered into contact with the Roman Empire, and nothing of the other either, as Chusrö's tax code fell a century and a half after the Huns had broken away from the Hephthalite organisation. Accordingly, even where they occupied Roman territory, the Huns did not initially think of utilising the taxing power of the land that had fallen to them.

In this they stood in contrast to other nomads who later appropriated parts of other empires. There were the Muslims, who collected *jiariah* and *izya* immediately after each conquest and did not hesitate to tell them how to proceed. And it didn't matter whether they settled on the soil of the Sasanian territory or on what was once Eastern Roman territory. Their prophet had preceded them in this as well as in other things. As a skilful tax politician and sub

No less a great businessman than a religious preacher, he had become the Arab with the greatest income'.

There is no doubt that Muhammad and his successors were fully aware of the tax system of both the Persians and the Byzantines. They had observed the adoption of *iugatio* and *ca;bi/e/io* in the Sasa- nid Empire and acted accordingly. The same applied to two Hun tribes, War and Chuni - in other words, the Avars. When they migrated to \Vesten, Chusrö I's tax reforms had long been in use. The Hephthalite area had not only adopted the word *dehkän* as /ögiit, but also the underlying system (above 2. -73 f.). It is worth recalling the earlier chapter from

Michael Syrus (above i, 83f.; also 2, zQ f.). It is of all the greater

It is of particular significance because it is based on the account of a contemporary of the events, St John of Ephesus. When the Avars had conquered cities and forts in the Eastern Roman area, they said to their inhabitants: ,(-eh t out, sow and reap, we raise (only) half of the *sunleli yyä* from you". The Syriac equivalent of ouirrthticr was - as has been shown - not only the *ca pilatio*, but also the iuga/Jo (above i93 Thus, the Avar side had a \"or-

of rural taxes and knew how to utilise their yield for his own use. cash register.

As far as Attila's financial behaviour is concerned, that is a separate issue. We will have to come back to this. The picture of the invading Huns is different. A tiri cx pidine immensa Jlagranles and exlcrna praedandi at'idifafr flagrans inmani: this is how Ammianus (21, 2, I I-I2) characterises their behaviour. In view of their naked rapacity, there can be no talk of a financial and fiscal policy. But since the subjugation of the Ostrogoths, their upper pagos had been at their disposal (Amm. Marc. 33. I). How did they deal with their proceeds?

Priskos tells of an oath that the Goths (meaning the Ust Goths) had once sworn among themselves, according to which no \'treaty with the Huns should ever apply. The 4'olk, which the Gothic lands resembled

^{&#}x27; A lt hcim-Stie h1, Finanzgesc hi"h te der Spätanti ke i zS f. ;3 $^{\prime}$ *. . I-. .\ Ithe im, L t'apie und \\'irtscliäf t (957) 23 2 f. The date prices in the Üessan a papyri are now added: Excavat. at Ncssana l II , The Non- I,iterary l'apyri f 1958) z 6z f. -4 uc h Pia r-

he brae us, chron. eccl₃, * i § f. Abbeloos-Lamj- supplements dit information hinsie h tlich ilc r Kopfstt u'-r d'-r Christians von Narr. n : j ziiz für r die Arme n, i z fiir Kau fleu te u nd H' ic he.

wolves and their inhabitants 8fpœrróm':øv *rà{iv* čyov-rod to the labour for their masters (fr. 39. FHG. 4. 108). This much is clear: the Huns initially plundered and conquered the Ostrogothic territory.

plundering "like wolves". They then reduced the inhabitants to &pó-rrov-rtç and forced them to labour, appropriating their produce as lords. The connection with the treaties, which were no longer to apply in the future, can only have been that certain agreements had been made with regard to the cultivation of the Ostrogothic fields and the delivery of the yields. However, the gs'is in|ida of the Huns had not adhered to these agreements, but instead, in breach of the

¥'earnings more than it was entitled to afterwards.

So there was something like a system of taxes or a tax code, even if it was not observed? Admittedly, these are merely taxes that were levied on the land and its yields. A poll tax is therefore not mentioned. It had previously been shown that two taxes existed in Iran from Arsacid times until the introduction of Chusrõ I's new order, and the Huns could have learnt about both. One was a land tax, *lasÿâ*, which had to be paid to the king as lord of all land before sowing could begin, and the other was a yield tax, which figured as a "gift" - øiaõ/õ *d-malhä*. Note the wording in Priskos, according to which the Goths were 8spòvrov-rf9, and the Huns were therefore lords. As such, they possessed the land won by the spears, which they claimed as their property according to the right of victory and from which they levied a land tax comparable to the asğa. The Parthian Great King and the early Sasanids also levied this tax, as it turned out, because they considered themselves the owners of all land.

Comparable is the Greek inscription of an early Aksumite

King, which Kosmas Indikopleustes (ioĄ C f.) received°. He speaks of the defeat of a number of neighbouring tribes and then remarks : z n 6E wóv re zó E8vr; óptwiv loyvpoiç wtQpovpr;pśvo ceirrò5 ty'ii év zo:i\$ LióyoiS wopfiv vixrJw x ':xi ù w o z ó § o :ç, tyopvwóprJ v crù-roïS

-a' x eo Iwi Qópoiç (io8 B; p. 2§, i If. Winstedt). The Huns seem to have used the same procedure against the defeated Goths.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ W. 19itt,enberger, Orient. Graec. inscript. scl. i , z8 \S f. ; previous **dating of the** inscription: E. Littmann in: Deutsche Aksum-Expedition i (i 9z3) , 3 (first half of the x . century AD).

But the conquerors must have gone one step further. They did not content themselves with returning the land to the conquered in return for the payment of a land tax, but forced them to pay for the upkeep of the new masters. Here we are not talking about the ownership of the land and its transfer to the previous owners, but about the yield. One could be forgiven for thinking that what is meant here is the revenue tax known as a "gift" (øind ã, corresponding to the Achaemenid mindd and middã). This pars quota must have been subject to constant excessive demands, considering the nature of the Huns. The *cufiditas* and *avarites* of the people, emphasised by Ammianus, would this time have run riot within the bounds of fiscal possibilities. The subsequent period was to illustrate this point. The Huns were pests wherever you had to deal with "gifts" to them, and Priskos in particular could tell you a thing or two about it. However, the experiences of a policy that encompassed large parts of the late antique Oikumene may also have contributed to the increase in demands. As long as both Roman empires could be raided again and again, the sums needed for further warfare were secured. But after the first setbacks had occurred, there was a lack of booty and extorted gifts. If, nevertheless, new ventures were planned (Priskos fr. q; lordanes, Get. zz5), one had to draw more heavily on one's own subjects. ³ This will be discussed later.

be.

6

There is no information a bout the Huns' fighting style from the late Arsacid period. We are forced to evaluate what we learn about their neighbours and later comrades-in-arms, the Alans. Arrian, who commanded against them (I, iz above), provides some clues. Like the Sarmatians, the Alans possessed a cavalry that wielded the xomóf and attacked the enemy (éwehcrùvouwiv tact. 4, 2). Further details can be found in the Ewvct§iS xœr' 'AhovĞv written by the same author. There he advises his own xov-roQópoi, on the horses,

° Under the pressure of the first Punic war, the Carthaginians levied half of the land revenue from the 1.ibyans as a tax and doubled the 'pópoç for the subject cities. They insisted that no rebates or deferrals were granted trolyb. i, }2, 2).

not to aim at the riders. For their shield and armour (8upe zctì xcrr'x':ppčncrco 8Ğpotti) blunted their own weapons' (thy). It can also be seen that the Alanian cavalry turned against the Roman infantry. In such a case, it is recommended to confuse them with a hail of bullets as they approach. Otherwise, the first three units would have to crowd together behind the shields and hold out the charge, while the fourth and third units would s t i 1 l have to attack the horsemen with shots and thrusts (26). Special caution should be exercised, it continues, when the enemy duo-rpoQrJ after initially giving way, i.e. when fleeing in disguise (28-29a Also, one must beware of being outflanked, which the Alans éwio-rpogtmş t\$ x0x one try.

Meeting the cataphracts by the side Zxú8oi yupvoí w ov-red xcrì zoùç \hat{I} ou9 yup- '-x s (3*). Although the text breaks off at this point, one will not go wrong if one recognises in this group the

The archers on horseback were recognisable. In the Parthian cavalry, these had been recruited from among the landlords' serfs and were accordingly unarmoured. The social status of the Alanian yupvot cannot even be surmised.

The Alans therefore fought in the same way as the Parthians. We may compare what Herodian reports of one of the last Parthian battles, that against Macrinus. The horsemen attack the Romans zo§eùoirriS

zt xoì xo8i túou-rms (4th *5th I). One recognises the two formations: mounted archers and cataphracts ready to strike. Both are also named (4. IQ, 3), which is not quite the case in the corrupt passage. shows a later one. The cataphracts not only sit auí

Horses, but also on ttópr¡hoi (A, I5, 2), may be understood to mean dromedaries, may be camels. The horsemen led their thrusts from above with long lances (Iwip?Jxtwi 6óp'xoi). The archers, on the other hand, used the mass of their projectiles. The xxm Ğpoo8ot is also practised (A, I5,) and the Roman countermeasures are reported. In general, the Romans seem to have used the same forms of defence that Arrian recommends. In a later battle against the army of Ardaśër I, the form of defence is also used (6, 3,

I)-IO), albeit without success against the superior opponent. Still in the

''EVTrcryÍvTOS YOU KO OO K':xÍ 6 iÒ pWŒ-ŌrTJ-r confirmed that there was no steel1 (above i . 95 *-1

-rOU i6tj9oU I-rr1xctpQ8tvTOS be-

At the battle of Tell Beémai 5 3 the procedure was again unsuccessful against the Hun and Arab horsemen (z, Ib above). The endeavour may have been less damaging in one of Julian's Persian battles.

3 3 have gone out (Amm. Marc. z3, - *7)

The Huns, to come to them now, knew the hail of arrows of the mounted archers. They used it with murderous success against the Ostrogoths in the southern Russian battles of the year 3z5 (Zosim. 4, 20, 4; I. 35° above). On the other hand, the army of the Alans and, as it turned out (above $x,35^{\bullet}$), also to attack the Ostrogoths' cavalry mixed with Huns in the Battle of Adrianople in 328 against the enemy foot soldiers and to engage them in hand-to-hand combat (co "itniiiiis)

(Amm. Marc. 3-. iz, ry). Huddled together in *concaleroalis maai§u/is*, they tried to fend off the lightning-like onslaught (ibid. 3i. *3. 2). One may assume from the outset that the horsemen were

cataphracts were involved. *Mutuis ssctiriim ictibus galeae perfringebantur et foricar* confirms that the attackers were also armoured. A wall painting from Pan ikant still shows armoured lancers and unarmoured men, also on horseback, equipped with bow pouches, straight swords and nagajka, standing side by side.

In addition, there is the surprise attack and the equally rapid retreat, i.e. the disguised escape:

Ordine moöifiias insperatique rocursus

(Claudian., In Ruf.• 33). It was encountered among the Alans. The *tumul-marine primalium ductus* of the Huns, which has been discussed in detail (above i. 363 6z), shows that the Hunnish array was improvised in the event of danger, as was to be expected, and more improvised in the event of danger.

leadership.

It must be asked whether the Hunnish side had also adopted the clan armour and with it the lamellar armour, and in general the technically refined fighting style of heavy cavalry. This would have been possible at the time, and we can see from the Hephthites that this did happen. The wall paintings of Pan ikant show

[°] L. :¥. Thompson, A History of Attila and the Huns (i 9 8) z5 comes to the same conclusion, starting from different premises.

[^] A. M. Belenickij in : Materiali vtorogo soweétanija archaeologow i etnografow Srednej .\zii (iq q) drew.

the lamellar armour. Numerous examples of this armour are also known from wall paintings and small sculptures in neighbouring Chinese Turkestan. However, all of the above belongs to a much later period. It obviously took centuries for the technical requirements for the production of such specialised armour to be met. In addition, in an area with urban settlements it was easier to create such *fabricae* than among the nomads. It is therefore hardly surprising that nothing is known of Hun clibanari.

Finally, there is one more difference between the Huns and the Alans. The

horse breeding of the latter was highly developed, and no less a personage than Emperor Hadrian owned a favourite horse of Alanian descent (above I ,3* I). The horse of the Huns had no external advantages. traits, could not be called a noble race at all. *ffittiiscis grande et aduncum caput ... lalae maziffer ... cauda siloosa, validissimae libiae, par "ae bases ... in longitudine magis quam in altitudinc statura propensior* (Veget., mulomad. 3, . s) In addition, one considers what characterises the Przewalski type: coarse-boned, heavy head, which the animal carries in a hanging posture: long snout part; long up to the root hairy tail; stocky build; short legs, low set. The *exlanles oculi* and the *robusla cervix el rigida* also belong to this group, as do the *iuhos ultra* peiidentes. If the Huns rode an offspring of the Przewalski horse or a crossbreed with it, they must have brought their breed from Central Asia.

Important findings have already been made with regard to the armoury. Some of them point to Central Asia and further east, others to Arsacid and early Asanid Iran.

it has been shown that the Huns brought the 'straight-bladed sabre' with them (i, 200 f. above). East Asia as the homeland of this weapon is just as certain as the origin of the cast bronze sabre.

- A. von Le Coq, Bilderatlas zur II unst und K ulturgeschicht te Mittelasicns (t 9z'i) i I $_i$ fig. 59 ; 63-fiJ : 7-68 ; 7° : 74 : 76.
- M. Hermanns, Hie Nomaden von Tibet i65 and Fig. q. About the Przewalski **Horse l'ei** den Hiung-nu **see** N. **Egami** in : Memoirs of **the Research** Departm. **of the** Toyo Bunko 3 t 95), i o3 f.

4 -

kettle. N. Fettich ', N. Egami° and most recently J. fi'erner* have worked on these and clarified the question of origin. According to this, the Ordos region can be regarded as the starting point for these products. Like the sabre, they were originally made by Asian nomads. The wooden saddle should also be mentioned

Such saddles are attested for the Huns at lordanes, Get. 2I3 (originating from Priskos). They have been found shod with gold or gold-plated sheet metal from Borovoje in Kazakhstan in the east to Mundolzheim near Strasbourg in the west. In East Asia, the wooden saddle

first attested for 3o 3oo on a Korean wall painting°, for 5 55 on a Chinese clay sculpture ", far later still for Japan in the Sösöin of Nara'. In contrast, the Hiung-nu tombs of Noin Ula,

around the turn of the century, remains of a wooden saddle were found. This spread from the wider Central Asian region not only to the west, but also to the east.

This approach is supported not only by the fact that on the clay statuettes of horses and riders dating from the early T'ang period, the wooden saddle is encountered in depictions of nomads on horseback, but also by the fact that occasionally the associated straps, which run over the chest and croup, are decorated with bronze vine leaves.

A. Alföldi (under I2. 4. 5i) wrote to me, when I sent him the photograph of such a piece, that he could prove Roman evidence for such horse jewellery in the Far East. He is planning an essay with detailed evidence (which, as far as I can see, has not yet be en published). In the meantime, however, J. Hackin' from Begram

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'In the collective work edited by G. Németh: Attila és Hunjäi ( i 9qo)
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Contributions to the archaeology of Attila's empire. Abh. Bayer. Akad. Wiss. N. F. 38 (95>) A 57 f.

^{24* .;} danac h .4rchaeol. H unga 32 (I § 3 } , I § 1 f.

[°] the culture of ancient northern Asia {japan. i 9qS) 387 ; Tat. 5.

[^] J. Werner, a. 0. 50 f., esp. 5 z.

[°] Y'erke der Weltkunst7 (iapan., Tokj-o, n. d.) Colour plate 5

[®] Ibid. deed. 53-

^{&#}x27;Verzeichnis der Se hätze des ShÖsöin, published by the Kaiserl. Court Ministry (japan. i 9J i) Täf. 29 t331).

[®] J. Werner, op. cit. O. 5

[•] Illustrated in F. Altheim, Attila and the Huns ($ig5\ i$) : Coloured tajcl in front of the Title.

^{&#}x27;° Recherches 5 Bégram (älém. Délég. Arch. Fran; aise Afghan. I X) pl. K

a bronze vine leaf with a loop for hanging has been published, which shows that the immediate starting point is in eastern Iran.

When the wooden saddle itself came to China can at least be surmised. When the famous horse breed originating from Feryäna was introduced there", these heavy animals, designed to carry armoured riders, made the use of the saddle necessary 1°. It was not possible to make any progress with the usual buckled blanket or the two leather pads with grass and hair coverings found in Pazyryk'°. At least a terminus post quem seems to be given with this finding.

The technique of covering the saddle with gilded or gold sheeting belongs together with the golden bows of the Huns and their bridles decorated with gold tinsel, which are still to be discussed. Older examples of the custom of covering wood and clothing, as well as arrows given to the dead, with sheet gold and gold foil can be found in the burial grounds of Tashtyk on the Yenissei'⁵ (i. century BC to 4 AD) and, even earlier, in the kurgans of Pazyryk (30 ioO B.C.) '-. The golden fittings of the wooden saddle of Kopen" prove, however, that the custom continued to exist in the Yenissei region during the 2nd-8th century. The long sword with a broad crosspiece or crossguard is different: it originates from the early Asanid period (x, -98f. above). The sword pendants still date from the Parthian period (i. 3 above).

This is a reflex bow, which was part of the armament of the Huns and ensured their superiority in the battles with the Ostrogoths (i. 350 above). The quiver belongs to the bow, and this is reflected in the fact that its name, together with the French *ciiivr*", was interpreted as a word of Hunnic origin'. In the west the bein-

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¹¹ F. Hirth in: y ourn. Amer. Orient. Soc. 37. 95: °3: 106; ). J. M. de Groot, Chines. Urkunden zur Geschichte .Ssiens 2,•∢: 39 *: i i o f.; W. P. Yetts in: E urasia Septentr. Ant. g, z3i f.; W. W. Tarn, Hellenist. Naval and Milit. Developments77 f.
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and App. II ; The Greeks in Bactria and I ndia° i: 308 f. ; W. Eberhard in : Zeitschr. f. Ethnology 73 $<\!<9$ °- 39: *57 $^{\circ}$ H.-

W. Haussig's note.

^{&#}x27;° S. I. Rudenko in: Living Past (dte. transl. -isst -' - " J. Werner, op. cit. O. 53

^{&#}x27;- S. W. Kisselew, nrewnaja istorija j u 2noj Sibiri^o (ig5 i) 3g3 f. 'o S.

W. Kisselew, a. O. 3°7

[&]quot; S. W. Kisselew, op. O. 6O3; Pl. 5y, --4: 5. --°

¹ J. Hubschmid, Essais de Philol. moderne. Bib1. Faculté **Philosoph. et Lettres**, Liége iz9, i89f.

stiffened reflex arches were already found in the Augustan legionary camp of Oberaden and in other garrisons of the Roman imperial period at 1-. Looking eastwards, Kenkol and the Alanian finds of the later imperial period form the stages of the migration^{oo}. One thinks of the Alans and their nomadic cousins, and the Parthians are almost remembered^{oo}'.

AFTER TRAG

J Werner' has surmised that the previously mentioned bronze kettles would have served to prepare the Hun camoni, xdpo5. Similarly, J. Harmatta°, who cites this barley beer as evidence that at least some of the Huns must have been settled. This is true to the extent that the potion is only conceivable for farmers. But this leads away from the moulded bronze kettles, a type restricted to the nomads, and thus away from the Huns. In fact, camum was used in the language before the Huns appeared in south-east Europe and further west°. Moreover, Dio Cassius PQ, 6, 3 says of the inhabitants of Pannoniens that these zö:5 zc xpt8a\$ xci zol5 xéyypou\$ xcl lo8toucriv 6poim xci wtvouwiv. Dio knew this from his own knowledge, as he had been active there (1. c. 4). The Huns may also have learnt about the drink in Pannonia. Dio's remark shows that the consumption of barley in liquid form must have been something new for the Huns. Claudian's *praeda* ciöus applied to their original way of life.

vilanda Ceres (In Ruf. i. 3*), and this excluded the cultivation of barley.

This eliminates the equation of camum with the nomadic qiimiz', 'milk leavened (not fermented) with bread dough', which I once advocated. Distilled qumiz is arak, which can be used to describe both grain and milk schnapps. B. Karlgren ^ has shown that arak is a Hunnish word and came to the West as such.

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'e Eurasia Septentr. Ant. 7 (193s). 33
J. Werner, op. cit. O. D Pl. o, q.
'e' J. Werner, a. O. q8. 'a.
0. 6o.
In: tcta archaeol. h ungar. • 3Oi.
'e Maurenbrenher in: Thes. ling. lat. 3, z zz.
* Most recently in Altheim-Stiehl, Das erste A uf treten der Hunnen ß f. M. Hermanns, The Nomads of Tibet ö f.
• rhilology and Ancient China (Inst. Samenl. Kulturforskn. A VI I I)
• 37-
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Sound objections that have been raised have proved to be unfounded. proven'.

M. Räsänen has suggested that the word "beer" is also of Hunnic origin. If it was the barley beer known as camum, it would have changed its name under the Huns at an unknown time.

8

A section on the signs and ceremonies of rule may follow. It will again show that the European Huns are dependent on the early Sasanian period.

Firstly, the diadems assigned to the Huns or their neighbours should be mentioned. P. Schramm' had dealt with them, but

J. Werner succeeded in bringing to light further pieces that had been overlooked by his predecessor°. These include the diadems from Kara-Agać in the Akmolinsk Steppe°, from the second kurgan of Pazyryk, made of leather and wool, and from Karagalyk near Alma-Ata-'. Of course, the inclusion of these pieces makes the group of diadems even more disparate than it was before. The new additions are distinguished from the existing ones primarily by the lack of incrustation, but also by other characteristics. Another of Werner's observations is that almost all diadems belonged to women's costume ^. In one important case it will be shown that this assertion is not true; in another it remains a mere possibility. Both Schramm and Werner have overlooked the diadem with bands intersecting crosswise over the skullcap, which comes from a kurgan near the village of Ositnjażka in the Kiev region. Its significance lies in the fact that it anticipates the Gothic royal costume.

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' Altheim-Stiehl, An Asian State i , z96. Most recently 0. Szemerényi in : Zeitschr. f. compar. SprachwisS. /5 (I 95>) . i8ą.
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ibid *3. ' Ibid

66.

^ Ibid *7.

ibid. 66 f.

[^] In : Bull. Soc. néophilol. de HelSiflkİ 53. * \langle ; cf. nOCh E. Polomé in : La Nouvelle ClIO 954' 5 f.

^{&#}x27;Signs of sovereignty and state symbolism i (i 95d), i z8 f.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ Contributions to the archaeology of the Attilaic Empire. Abh. Bayer. Akad. Wiss. N. F. 38 (zg§ó) A ó I f.

[°] E. O. Pruzhevskaya in : Antićnije goroda sewernogo prićernomorja (-95a) 33° -

namely their xoptjhoüxiov with the likewise crosswise intersecting bands (above I,3 24 f.). The form has led to Arsacid and early Asanid models (above i. 3 < 5), and the Iranian

Origin of the Greek name' has confirmed this.

The diadem, which belongs to the Diergardt collection, should first be mentioned here: according to the information available, it is said to have been found on the Mithri datesberg near Kerch on a male corpse with a deformed skull". This deformation and the place of discovery do not suggest that the buried man was a Hun; an Alane is more likely. Werner's objection to the fact that a male diadem is present is also worthless and an inadmissible generalisation of the observation that in a number of cases women can be identified as the wearers. Finally, his interpretation of the diadem is incorrect. He says: "The front plate of the three-part hoop is surmounted by a crest-like structure of two birds of prey heads, whose round eyes, like the rhombic centre cell, are lined with green glass" 'o. Werner compares the diadem from the "second kurgan of Sipoivo", where, however, there are only two eyes, but not the counterpart in the centre, which contradicts his interpretation. The latter excludes the interpretation as two birds' heads. It must be something else.

It is one of the oddities of Werner's treatment that he wishes to keep away the possibility that all diadems could have been symbols of rulership 'o. He thus overlooks the parallels provided by the research of recent years. The new facts that R. U öb1 has established for the Sasanian crown'o are un-

to compare the plans of L. Schmidt in his study "Île"bachtungen zu burgundischen Kaminen" in : Schn. eizer \olkskunde ¢ i (i 95 I) 33 f. er mitte lt, especially 37.

^{&#}x27;\lth"im-Stie1il, Finanzgeschich te der Spätantike33. Note i 6G, above i, 3z 5 f.; qz9.

^{•]. \\&#}x27;erner, a. 0. Gz; 66; B Tat. 29, 9

[°] Altheim-Itaussig, hie Huns in Osteur"pa (9s8)37 f., there via Kerch

^{* 3*} o: above i ,77 f.. u'o the view has been expressed that the sash-forming art goes back to the Alans. The appearance of the phenomenon among the Germanic peoples is also due to the neighbourhood with the Northern Iranian ¥ 'olk, for example among the liurto compare the plans of I. Schmidt in his study "Ile" has htungan zu burgundischen

^{&#}x27;o a. O. 6z.

^{&#}x27; ' op. cit. II Pl. fi, fi.

^{&#}x27;* a. 0. 66 Note i.

^{&#}x27;° Dei Altheim-Stiehl, An Asian State i ('954d . 5

have been taken into account. In the meantime, the coinage of the Küšan has been added, where the same "researcher" has dealt extensively and successfully with the ornaments. A rich collection of artefacts such as the "Hall of the Khwarezmian Rulers" in Toprak-kala'-, the Khwarezmian coins and silver bowls as well as the coins of Buchara" should also not be ignored.

The gold bowl coins minted by the Sasanids as successors to the Kûšän allow a comparison with the Kerch diadem.

The bowl dinar illustrated by Göb1 on pl. Iy under 337 shows the depicted ruler with a pair of ram's horns bent sideways above the diadem, the centre part of which is rounded upwards by a

The figure (originally the ram's skull or head) is taken as the centrepiece of the Kerch diadem. Göbl'^ interprets the ruler of that bowl dinar as Šãpür II, the "King of Kidara and Kúšãn", under whom the Hephthalites had settled in the land north of the Oxos (above $i.\ 35$). Göbl is almost reminiscent of the name given to Shapür I I by

Ammianus Marcellinus attested to the "ram's helmet". The wording: oørsom ca§i/is nriefiiii)igmentum interstinctum fn§i//is cum diademate gesliens shows, however, that this replica of a ram's head encrusted with precious stones was attached to or above the diadem. It was therefore not a helmet, but a head ornament that largely resembled the one found in Kerch. It is significant that Sãpfir wore this decoration when he appeared together with the Chionite king (1. c. 2), i.e. as king of the Kida- rite Huns and Kûšăn (above i. 35:2, 25)

If the proposed interpretation is correct, one would have a connection which leads from the Alanian-Hunnic area in southern Russia not only to a Sasanian of the 4th century, but also to the first settlement of the Hephthalites in north-east Iran. The result confirms

two other diadems, those of Verkhne-Jabločno and Kara-Agač in Kazakhstan'8.

^{&#}x27;^ In Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike (i958) i y3 f.

^{1°} S. P. Tolstow, Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen liultur (dte. tbers. 1g53) i g2 f.

[®] Mostrecently Altheim-Stieh 1, Porphyrios and Empedocles (i g5q) 52 f.

^{1&#}x27; Ibid #a f. and above i, 2op f.

⁸ In Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spütantike z #z f.; cf. z 3 i. " J.

Werner, op. cit. O. H Pl. 3o, q; 3I, z.

The last piece mentioned is attested to have come from a female grave°°, while nothing of the kind has come down to us from the first, although Werner suspects it°°'. The piece from Werchne- Jabločno bears mushroomshaped attachments over the cabochon-set hoop, which are covered with flat almandines°°. In contrast, the female diadem of Kara-Agač shows small bells hanging from the hoop, while the hoop itself is decorated with stamped triangles°°. The crown on the coinage of Šapúr I I.''' and a Khwãrezmian ruler *l'ušbr*, who corresponds to the śauiusfar°′ handed down by Bërüni, offers parallels °^. In the first case, one is again led back to the previously mentioned Sasanids, in the second at least to north-eastern Iran.

In second place are the golden arches from the Hunnic tombs of Jakuszowice and Pécs-Uszög. G. László and J. Harmatta°7 addressed these arches as signs of rulership in an eye-catching treatise. Their result has lost none of its significance because N. Fettich°® has shown that it is not possible to speak of reversible arches. These are replicas made of sheet gold, which only had symbolic significance. They can be interpreted as burial objects, but they can just as easily be interpreted as symbols of rulership, which were already used by the living and were then given to them in the afterlife. The evidence compiled by Harmatta cannot be overlooked. Again, this could be based on an early Sasanian idea. The Sasanian Tãg-nãmeh, to whose information IQamza of I ÿfahãn refers, showed Bahräm II.

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°° Ibid 65.
°' libenda >3.
ibid. 63.
^ Ibid 63.
°- R. Göbl bei Altheim-Stieh 1, Ein asiatisc her Staat i : .X uszichtafel ą u nter Šã - pür I I. a.
°° C hron. 36, 7
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^{^:\}It heinn-Stiehl, Porp h yrios and E mpedok les $\mathfrak{q}\,9$. 0. I. Smirnowa in 3 rtid y 'l'ad Žiksko j arch at olog. ekspediz ii (i 958) 2 i 9 has now published a c sogh dische žlü nze rnit fyšQ}'r, which confirms unsert beutung. Such R. Ü. Frye in : H are ard J ourn. Asiat. stu d. i 9 (i 956) , i o9 .mm. i has recognised the reading. To m sound ran - del I 'wf6r > sy.i9yr v gI. I . t-ersh ex itch, .ß I Grammar of Manirh"an Sogdia n fi O j.))

^{14 § 106; 18 § 133} X; 6 § 51.

²⁷ Acta Arch. Hung. 1 (1951), 91f.; 107f.

^{°°} Cegen J. Y\'erner, a. O. 'io.

not with lance, sword or other symbols of power, but with a bow in his right hand and three arrows in his left°0. Cassius Dio

49. -2 allows ntonius' envoys to be received by the Parthian king while he is introduced twí -- xp*croû 6IQpoø xc fjpevo\$ xci v vtupóv soil zó§ou yóhhcøv.

Other evidence points to the wider Hunnic area. The Proto-Bulgarian inscription from Shumen has the title yaoog erbrachtor. Composed of Old Turkish ya "bow" and oag "lord", the compound is related to $yab\ yr^{**}$, which is also found in the Turkic languages. In Eastern Iranian, the nominative $bag\tilde{o}$ became joy, the accusative bagam became Qayii -o. Turkish ya was joined with jade: *y'i-Joys, from which rnit became yaoyø with the loss of the vowel in the middle, open syllable. Thus $yab\ddot{a}g$ and $yab\ yr$ stand side by side.

Hephthalite coins give the form logo and lærryu -. In the first case, a is changed to o before it of the following syllable°5. The Pehlewi legend y§gw °° also occurs. Mahmúd al-Kaśğari has ya/yti, rnit loghdic U'andel to / -'. According to him, this denoted a dignity that was two levels below Chăqan. The form *ğabğuu aihi*, which abari° and Ibn {Jurdädbeh ³" offer, i s based on a Neo-Persian change from y to; the pronounced -waihi also indicates Iranian origin*°.

The *yab yu* appears for the first time in the Chinese news, initially associated with the Hiung-nu". Arch. chinese. ** s§-g'ø, old-

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°° Ham za I f. 50, i f. t iottu ald.
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^{°&#}x27; 1°. .\ ltheim, I.iteratur und Cîesellschaft i , zo6.

[^]o To the following F. Altheim, a. O. i, zos f.

[^] O. Szemcrün yi with F. Altheim, a. O. I. °77-

^{*-} H. Jun ker in : i930, öö5 ; R. Ghirsh man, f-es C h i o n i t e s - H e p h t a I i t e s (9(*I 50 f. ; Gt.

^{°°} A . \'. Gabain, Altt ü r k. Grimm q9 § 2 2.

[°] H . J unker, 1. O. 6,3 F instead of b is the also otherwise known \Vechse1 before Konsmats \v .' aha in, 1 . c . § 3 § 29.

^{°&#}x27; I'. Hrocl'clmann, Mitteltiirkisc her Wortschatz7°: > . It. Henning in : IISOS.

On Ann. z , i zoô. 9 ; on this I. Guidi in the Addenda DCLXXX I I ; hI. J. de Goeje inn Glossar CLVI I I ; y . Marquardt, Die Chronologie der alttürk. Inscriptions 35 ; 57 mm.

^{°°} go, i o de f*oeje.

^{-°} Th. Nöldeke in : SBAk. t'ien i i6.388

^{-&#}x27; J.). M. de Groot, Chines. I'rkunden zur Geschichte Asiens i , i i6 ; cf.•. 97: for the following B. Karlgren, C rammata Serica no. I*7 $_S$ q: • $_S$ å

Chinese r§-yrii reflect the Old Turkic word'o. The title appears again under the Kfiśān'-. Bactria was divided into five principalities, each under a *yab yu*. One of these yeòyø seized power over the other four and founded a new dynasty. On the Prakrit legends of their coins, the Küšän bear the title *yavugasa* or *yavasa* Gen. Sing., whereby the second is rendered in Greek script as rnit §noou--.

tab yu and yobäg were previously understood as "lord of the archers"'^. If you take what it says, "lord of the bow" is sufficient. Chinese vases from the Yüeh-chou kiln near Nan-chao (Honan), dated between 300 and 600, show such "lords of the bow", belonging to Turkic tribes at the same time -°.

Finally, the Proskynesis may be mentioned. Its history on Iranian soil has already been dealt with in detail (z, I24-166 above). It had been shown that the Hephthalites called it and had demanded it from the defeated Përõz (z, z23 above). It is also attested among the Huns.

Priskos (Exc. de legat. -43. I Z f.) reports what the envoys of both Roman empires had to do before they were allowed to attend the banquet of the Hunnic court. "Then we approached the threshold (of the throne room).

in the face of Attila. And a cup was handed to us (ł-rrś6oav) by the cupbearers according to the custom there, so that aticà we (xcl fJpò5) worshipped (wpoocú§cio8c'i) before the (ruler's) seat (-rrpò WJç ł6po5). When this was done, we sipped from the cup and arrived at the ruler's seat (Owl zoùç 8póvoQ\$), where, after we had eaten, we were to celebrate the feast". The Roman envoys were therefore not allowed to enter the Saa1, where the ruler's seat was located, until they had performed the prescribed ceremony. Everything was prepared for this at the entrance. The cupbearers had cups ready for the arrivals; the Roman envoys, like all other invited guests, had to

^{^°} Differently and less likely K. H. Menges, The Oriental Elements in the ¥"ocabulary of the Oldest Russian EpoS s3.

[^]o E. Chavannes in : T'oung Pao 8, i87 ¡ Haneda Toru in : Bull. de la maison franco--japonaise , i f. ; G. Bataille in : Aréthuses •• 1st ; W. W. Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and I nJião 3'< : 5°6.

^{&#}x27;^ P. àI. Gardner in : BMC., Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India i zo f.;

^{123;} I8Q; J. Marquardt, a. 0. 7°

[^]o F. Altheim, Literature and Society i, zo6.

^{&#}x27;o Altheim-Stiehl, Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen (i9-i3) §O f.; 8o.

wpoweú§oo8ov and drink from the wine offered; only then were they allowed to enter the hall and consider themselves guests of the Hun ruler.

What was meant by the wpocrsúĘno8oi? Drinking in the face of the ruler is familiar from Alexander's court. People drank to him and made the proskynesis while standing. This is reported by Chares of Lampsakos,

Alexander's master of ceremonies (FGrHist 125 If; Plutarch, Alex. 54. 4: rrian., an. 4. 12, 3-5 and above z. -5- note z). In Parthian times something similar applied. At least Tiridates and his entourage wpò5 z |3rJpœri wpowærómts wpooixúvr¡w'xv crirróv, that is to say: Eaiser Nero (DiO 3, 4. 3 and above z, i 35). On a recently published early Asanid silver drinking bowl4¹ we encounter the greeting gesture belonging to the proskynesis (above 2. -5.), and again the I neins of this proskynesis seems to be confirmed by the drinking.

That wp ú§oo8oi at the court of the Huns was therefore nothing other than the proskynesis. Priskos did not wish to confess that he had performed it before Attila like the others who had been invited. For this could be interpreted to mean that he had recognised the Hun as 6eo-rróz9\$. Thus Priskos chose the veiled but nonetheless factually unambiguous expression. Accordingly, the Huns also had the custom of proskynesis

The term was borrowed from their Iranian environment, and the special circumstances (drinking) show that they did so in early Asanid times. Huns and Hephthalites agreed in their knowledge of proskynesis. This rounds off the previous result.

9

Z. Takáts has recently dealt with Chinese imports and also with the imitation of Chinese models on artefacts from the Migration Period. He primarily draws on what the soil of the Carpathian Basin has yielded, but without limiting himself to this. Takáts attributes the main mass of what is of Chinese origin or shows the influence of Chinese moulds to the Huns. This includes the cast bronze cauldrons already mentioned (i, 2 above) as well as works of metal art dating to the end of the Han period.

[&]quot; S . la. Amiranashvili in : Issledovaniya po istorii kultury **narodov vostoka** (i 960) z '¡A A bb. i ; z 8.5 Fig. z.

^{&#}x27;In: last and West i i (i 9òo), i 2 i f.

show. However, there are also pieces that belong to the post-Hunnic period and others that are characteristic of the Avar Kesthély culture. Two epochs are thus distinguished. While the first corresponds to the appearance of the Huns around the turn of the 4th century to the 3rd century, their disappearance after the middle of the last century, the second could lead to the late 6th century at the earliest. In other words, both periods coincide with what was previously referred to as the early and late Asanid period. As a result, the difference whose significance was first recognised in the previous observations also emerges in the import originating from eastern Asia.

The Chinese mirrors and their imitations, which were preferably found in Alanian and Ostrogothic tombs and less so in Hunnic tombs, can be used as a supplement (i, 8z f. above). Dating can be attempted since A. Bulling's study on the dating of Han mirrors has been available°.

As indicated, a distinction must be made between imported pieces of Chinese origin and Western imitations. Of the former, only two pieces are known. The first comes from Staraja Poltawka on the lower reaches of the Volga°; the second from Istjack in western Siberia. Beyond the Volga the finds break off^. One of the two mirrors belongs to the group of "inscription mirrors", which Bulling^ places at the end of the Western Han and later. The other corresponds to the "cA'itig-Jai" or "miag-Frau mirrors" from the i. century AD'.

The succession of the second piece is easily recognisable in the local mirrors. These include those from Balta in the Terek region^, from Kranj-Krainburg in Slovenia° and Csökmö in Hungary ^{1°}. Bulling places the "correspondences" in the 1st century AD'°. Next to them are

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° The Decoration of Mirrors of the Han Period (i g6o).

* J. Werner, op. cit. O. B Täf- 4.

* J. V'erner, a. 0. B Tat. q6, i 3.

A find card in J. Werner, a. 0. B Tat. 69, z.

° A. Bulling, op. O. pl. zz -23; cf. p. 30.

'A. Bulling, op. cit. O. pl. z -2§; cf. p. 30.

° J. Werner, a. 0. B Taf. 's. -

J. Werner, a. 0. B Täf. §, 3.

'° J. Werner, a. 0. B Pl. 8, i i; cf. Td.f47. i from Giljaü in the North Caucasus.

ii A. Bulling, a. 0. pl. zz -z5.

'° A. Bulling, a. 0. 30 f.
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Forms with concentric circles. They come from Suuk Su in the Crimea '°, Korza in North Caucasia", Phanagoreia'^ and St Sulpice near Lausanne '°. They can be compared with the Chinese c£utig rA'üaa type" or other 1" from the tenth century BC and from the end of the Western Han. It is significant that imitations of the

later TLV mirrors, which extend to the end of the first century AD "", have not progressed beyond one case°°. This marks the end of the Chinese model. What follows bears the hallmark of a special development that took place exclusively on the western side, on

local basis. The type of mirror that is found in Moldavian culture in the 2nd-4th century also belongs to this period°. Chinese imports are only recognisable again in the late period. It leads

no longer to the tribes of southern Russia and others further west. Ibn Hisäm puts into the mouth of one of the Kuraiza from Medina the comparison with a Chinese mirror (mir"i are ya, "in which the virgins of the tribe can be seen"oo. The message applies, if not to Muhammad's time, then at least to Ibn Sihäb az-Zuhri's, Ibn Hiéäm's and Ibn Isbäk's sources. This brings us to the early T'ang period in China. Chinese imports also show the contrast between the two periods previously labelled early and late T'ang.

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'S J. Werner, a. 0. B Taf. yi, 6.
'J. Werner, op. cit. O. B Pl. , 3.
J Werner, l. 0. B Täf. § . 7- " J
Werner, a. 0. Taf. q8, 8.
*A. Bulling, op. O. pl. z8.
A. Bulling, a. 0. -7-
A. Bulling, a. 0. pl. 33 - zä; Cf. p. q6 f.
J. \Verner, a. 0. B Pl. qq, 8 from Moéary.
G. B. Fedorov in: Studii si Cercetäri de Istorie Veche z/ 959. 38i fig. , i i.
V. Mohamm. 69t, i6f. Wüstenfeld.
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3. KAPI TEL

SASANIAN IDEOGRAMS

It is impossible to speak of early Sasanian culture without considering the ideograms and the spelling based on them. Neither the nature of these ideograms has yet been understood, nor the significance that ideographic writing had for the nomads neighbouring Iran, especially among the first Sasanids.

The pre-Sasanian ideograms, i.e. those of the Arsacid period, have been dealt with above (-. 3£)I f.) and on other occasions. This time we shall deal with the ideograms of the Sasanian period. Here, too, conclusions must be drawn from what has been learnt from new finds, and some of what was previously considered a certainty of knowledge must be abandoned. As in our earlier investigations, we choose as our starting point the summarising statements that

W. B. Henning has presented°.

Anyone reading these remarks will not be able to avoid the question of how the sometimes seemingly incomprehensible process of ideographic writing came about. Rarely has a more bizarre way of recording language been devised, one might say. Henning does nothing to dispel this impression. Rather, he seems to have set out to emphasise the strange and, so to speak, incomprehensible. Although they are Aramaic ideograms, some of his interpretations make a mockery of the laws of Aramaic grammar; they do not even seem to endeavour to conform to the rules of language use to which every Aramaic language is subject.

Firstly, Henning's view will be presented, whereby we will endeavour to let him speak for himself. The **criticism in** detail will follow.

Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden i . Lfg. (iq5g) , $^{\prime}\,$: 33 f. ; East and West io (959). $^{\circ}43$

[°] In: Handbuch der Orientalistik q, i (i 958), 3of.

"Writing with ideograms", begins Henning (a. 0. 3O), meant that one did not "spell out" the words of one's own language, but replaced them with words that were taken from the Aramaic written language and served as "word pictures". The choice of such word pictures was not left to the individual scribe, but was fixed. The question soon arises as to whether, if it was fixed, it was done by a particular party, in a particular place and at a particular time. Henning is content with the Ψ 'assurance that the word pictures

"scholastically established" (a. 3°). No inventor of the procedure is named and not even one who elevated it to authoritative significance. The origin evaporates into the anonymous,

irresponsible, and it is of little consolation if a school or a iYtehrzah1 such as this ensures that they are retained. For these schools, too, will remain straws that are not filled with any historical content for the time being.

The writer, it continues, did not need to think about the origin of the \Vortbilder did not realise. He did not need to know that they were Aramaic words or \words at all. It was enough if he simply memorised the group of signs mechanically and automatically replaced the foreign and incomprehensible word picture with the corresponding words of his own language when reading (see above 3*)

The starting point does not apply here. The Aramaic ideograms do not form word pictures and did not serve as such. There can be no doubt that they are "spelt out" in writing, i.e. written with the same signs and according to the same principle as the Iranian words. The scribes did not, as it might seem according to Henning's statement, refrain from reading the ideograms. On the contrary: they had to be read precisely and carefully so that the correct Iranian equivalent could be found. Especially the x-verbal ideograms, which in the end almost exclusively had the ending -z' i and at least in numerous cases imperfect y- at the beginning, demanded attention so that one did not fall victim to mix-ups. It is unlikely that the scribe did not know that these were Aramaic words; the fact that it is almost impossible will be confirmed once

Henning's largely recorded historical assumptions will have been corrected. What mechanical memorisation of a group of signs is supposed to mean then remains incomprehensible. One does not see why the group of signs as a whole should have been mechanically memorised without "spelling them out", if the writer, who practically coincided with the reader, was able to understand them sign by sign and in other cases had to write them in the same way.

Let us assume that some of those who used this ideographic spelling did so mechanically, without asking much about the whys and wherefores. Then this could only happen when the ideographic spelling was established as the undoubted **norm**. However, when it was created and introduced, when it had to assert itself against other spellings, things must have been different. Presumably the inventors had something in mind when they defined their method and recommended it for imitation. And it must have been this meaningfulness that not only guided those men, but also prompted the rest of the world to use the ideo- graphic spelling.

Henning, of course, wants nothing to do with such questions. He rejects the idea of certain inventors and disseminators of the new. He denies a "change decreed from above" (a. 0. 32) and speaks of

"Development", i.e. replaces what is appropriate to a certain situation or certain needs, once again through an anonymous and thus non-pilifying process. Nevertheless, he feels the need to concretise what is happening, and so he sees himself compelled to place the linguistic or graphic "development" alongside that of linguistic "neglect" (a. 0. 3z). We are in a time of decline, at least as far as Aramaic language skills are concerned. It became increasingly difficult to find "trained people".

The consequences were not long in coming. "Gradually" (for this is part of "development" and "neglect"), the Aramaic syntax began to give way to that of the Middle Iranian language. Then the Aramaic inflection was abandoned, and one now wrote for Parthian *puhr: bry,* for Middle Persian *pus: brh,* although none of the Aramaic words meant "son", but the first "my son", the second "his son". So once again, without demanding or giving an account, but with somnambulistic certainty, they reached for the meaningless. And they did this despite the fact that the simpler and more meaningful *br, br'* "son", so to speak, had become

offered. However, according to Henning, this act created the ideogram.

They had thus come into possession of fixed words, intended to replace Middle Iranian words, at least in their spelling. But the process was not enough, and it was decided to take a final step. Not only did they want word pictures, but they also felt the need to characterise their syntactic function within the sentence. The "phonetic complement" was invented - no: developed. In other words: the Iranian word ending was added to the "frozen" Aramaic ideograms. The advantage of this procedure, if we are to believe Henning C'la, was that it avoided a "radical break" with the past, i.e. the written Aramaic language, and moved gradually towards a written Middle Iranian language.

It's a strange world you've ended up in! We are standing in the hundreds of years when Aramaic was spoken and written from Palestine to the Persian Gulf. The Targums, the tradition unified in the Babylonian Talmud, were in the making, midrashic literature, as the Cienesis Apocryphon has shown, had been in use since the beginning of the Middle Ages.

It was in the same language that Jesus delivered his proclamation and that Losephus wrote the original version of his "Jewish War": an incalculable Syriac literature, Mani's original scrolls and the beginnings of the Mandaean corpus were added. I'inot enough: the capital of the Arsacid Empire lay in the middle of the Sawäd and that meant: in the middle of the Aramaic language area. Nothing was easier than taking a subject from this area and using him. Hundreds, if not thousands of suitable hands and heads were available.

Unintentionally, but therefore conclusively, Ci. H'idengren's study on "Iranian-Semitic cultural encounters in Parthian times" of the supplement, should one still be needed. As if he wanted to help us, Widengren speaks of the "new great period of Aramaic" that began under the Parthians 3.

^{&#}x27;:\ltheim -Stieh1, Philologia sacra i q 5S) q9 f.; The Aramaic language z. I.lg,

^{° .\}rbeitsgemeinsch. f. Forsc hung des I.an des Üordr hein-Westfalen Heft vo t i qt'o) .

^{° €}i. \\'idengr'in, a. O. z 5.

Compilations of Parthian loan words in Aramaic in general', in Mandaean in particular ^. Everything bears witness to how closely Iran and Aramaic Mesopotamia, from **Maizean to** Adiabene and beyond, were connected under the Arsacids.

One can see that Henning's view is by no means confirmed by the historical evidence. On the contrary: it is refuted and proven to be unfounded. But the situation is also unfavourable in other respects. While Iranian loan words were adopted in large numbers in the Eastern Aramaic languages, the Iranians themselves are said to have found it difficult to break away from Aramaic? In addition, the cumbersome way in which Henning's "development" is said to have worked. What difficulties could have stood in the way of an attempt to harmonise Iranian languages by means of

of the Aramaic script? This may have happened as early as the end of the s pre-Christian century with Zarathustra's Gäßä's. In the Aéoka inscriptions of Kandahär and Taxila, around the middle of the

3 century B.C., this spelling is complete. The inscription on the tomb of Darius I, placed between 3-2 and 3°, had recorded the Old Persian in the Aramaic alphabet. The Manichaeans wrote a pure

Parthian and Middle Persian without any insertion of Aramaic ideograms. It is sufficient to have pointed out the parallel that Middle Iranian, possibly already Avestan, was recorded in the Greek alphabet'.

So why the strange ideographic procedure, supposedly designed to avoid the radical break between the Aramaic written language and the Middle Iranian languages to come? The break had long since occurred, and it took place several times. And yet, at the same time, the ideographic spelling, which had previously been characterised, was adhered to with unswerving certainty.

One last objection must be raised. According to Henning at least, the "languages of western Iran with few inflections" attached the greatest importance to attaching the phonetic complements to the ideograms. In general, they made use of ideographic shouting everywhere.

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b Ibid 2 'i-34
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ibid. 8g-i 08. Üh' er the chronological approach of the oldest Mandaeans p. 36 and note zoo.

[°] Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache. i. Lfg., i of.; above i, qo9 f.

[°] Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra 9 f.; >9

The Soghdian language, infinitely richer in inflection, was by no means willing to give this spelling too much space. This, too, is an internal contradiction that arises when one thinks through Henning's constellations in a coherent manner.

The strongest objection, however, is still outstanding. It must be said that Henning's doctrine is not only vulnerable to factual and thus external objections, but that it also contains contradictions in itself. Consider once again that Henning has so far held only anonymous processes responsible for the events he describes. He focussed on development and linguistic neglect, the school-like operation. At the same time, he warned against the view that there could have been a radical break or that it had been decreed from above. "Gradual" transition was the image, under which the development of ideographic spelling was seen.

However, Henning's conception changes imperceptibly. One hears that the development of the various languages of the Middle Iranian period goes in the same direction (a. 0. 32). This is shown by the demon-strative pronouns, and then a "system"

of the (phonetic) complements" (a. 0. 33) Once again Henning reverts to the earlier view. The "Achaemenid ratios", i.e. again something anonymous and, moreover, not very well understood.

sichtiges (a. 0. 33). would have provided the breeding ground for the subsequent development. And this development could certainly have taken different paths in different places, it is assured (although previously

their uniform direction had been noticed). Without transition (olgt die Wendung. The fact that the ideogram 'by "my brother" became the term "brother" in Middle Persian, Parthian and Soghdian is sufficient "to force the assumption of a historical connection in the development of the various ideographic writing systems"

(a. 0. 34) The new path, once embarked upon, is pursued at a stormy pace. "Historical context, however, is particularly important for the time of the

The period of the 'Uberganges', i.e. around the time of Mithridates I. when a powerful state emerged in Persia, which encompassed both Persis and (!) Parthia and did not remain without influence on the countries along the Oxus".

"At that time ... was

writing with ideograms from Babylonia, where it had been customary since ancient times, was still completely familiar to those interested in correspondence".

Any doubts that might arise in view of this assertion are quickly dispelled. "The objection that, as far as Sogdiana is concerned, the assumption of a historical connection stands on weak foundations, cannot exist in view of the actual similarity that exists between Parthian on the one hand and Soghdian on the other" (a. 0. 34). In the script and in the verbal ideograms, even in the feminine ending A, the connection is evident.

For the first time, we are confronted with arguments with which we can argue. Let us begin with the historical position of Mithridates I. The linguistic evidence will follow in separate sections.

When Babylonia iii was taken from the Seleucids, De-Metrios II undertook his campaign to reconquer what had been lost, which ended a year later with the defeat and capture of the king. It was in this context that Mithridates I established an empire and became ruler over Persis and parts of the

Iranian east. Independent Bactrians are mentioned for the last time in • 4
Together with the Persians and Elymians, they left

Their auxiliary troops joined the army with which Demetrios II opened the attack against Mithridates I (lustin. $3 \cdot *. 4$).

Seleucids. They had offered him submission and military assistance against the Parthian king (loseph., ant.•3. 183). Again, this must have meant the Greeks of Bactria. After the failure and capture

After Demetrios II's capture at the end of i4o or beginning of i3t)', Mithridates I set out to take revenge on the allies of his now prisoner. The campaign against the Elymais is known from lustin. ii, 6, 8 and Strabon 2d4. Two coin hoards in Susa were buried before the Parthian conquest. One of them, the latest piece, shows a coinage of Alexander Balas

of -s---' Q° , the second one of Demetrios II of -39 (mint Seleukeia on the Tigris) - and thus gives the date. The coins of the one

dynasty break off, and are followed in long succession by the Parthian dynasties.

Uf. V. Tarn in: CAH. 9. 580; R. H. McDowell, Coins from Seleucia i7.

[°] f*. Le Rider in : Cf umismatique Susienne (i 9öo) z6 f.

[°] G. Le Rider, a. 0. 3 i f.

The Persian sub-kings with the title rnaféd -. L Nothing is known about Persis, but the discontinuation of the coinage during the Late Ages and the same appearance of Parthian sub-kings has been interpreted since ancient times to mean that Mithridates also conquered Persis (above i. 379).

this, after i4o and before his death -3 -z, larger parts of the Bactrian Empire. For it is to this that Lustin's message refers, that the *Bactriani* still at the time of Mithridates I. *non regnum* /aii/iim, *herum* zfintn *fiörr/n/eni* verloren (ii. 3) Strabon's message that the Parthians dQelhov-ro ... \$80x-rpi'xv S pépo9 will have to be placed here (s-5)

All the events take place in the Parthian king's later years. First Since -3 he owned Babylonia, Persis and parts of Bactria. He died a year later. Mithridates' accumulated mass of lands perished lost again to his successor Phraates II when he fell in -9/ against the Scythians. The Parthian Empire fell into a deep decline, from which it was not to rise until

If Henning were right in his suggestion, the ideographic spelling would have been created in the last two years of the reign of Mithridates I. In other words, within a short period of time, which had brought about an stranscending unification of East Iranian territories with the Parthian Empire. In these two years, the "actual similarity that exists between Parthian on the one hand and Soghdian on the other" - at least according to Henning - must have developed. This is unlikely from the outset, and it is ruled out by two further findings.

It is not known which parts of Bactria Mithridates I seized after his victory. In Balch, as is well known, it was coined in his name: Ib°/39 *Hd *39/8 ⁵. But in Balch and just as little in the Bactrian° described as such by Henning, there is not a trace of ideo- graphic writing. It is found in Soghdian. But that Sogdian would have fallen to the Parthians at that time remains unprovable. And the same applies to Henning's assertion that this spelling was introduced for Soghdian at that time. Everything is made up out of thin air.

the reign of Mithridates I I.

[^] t*. Le Rider, a. 0. i 8 f.

W. Wroth , BMC. Parthia i z f. N r. 8 f. Cber a falsely ascribed I° embossing hfithridates' I. x-gI. t' to the F4 iinz- stätte there. Le Rider, l. O. i z No. 5o.

[^] In: BSAOS. - 3 (i960), 47-

Needless to say, the "actual similarities" between Parthian and Soghdian noted by Henning are meaningless in the present question. Whatever one cites - similarities in the spelling, in the form of the ideograms and in the feminine ending - it remains worthless for historical conclusions. For it would first have to be proven that these similarities go back to Mithridates I's time. And no one will believe Henning that they even provide the missing proof of the conquest of Sogdia by this king. It is characteristic of his style that one page later he additionally explains the affinities between the three central Iranian languages "as the natural consequence of a somewhat lively correspondence between the different countries" (a. 0. 35)

There is also a second observation. From the time after the re he ostraca of Nisae date from the middle of the first century BC, the period of the first conquest of the Parthian Empire. If it were true that ideographic writing was introduced in Parthia, Persis and Sogdia under Mithridates I, one would expect to find it on the inscriptions of the ostraca. It must be remembered that Henning believes to recognise such writing'. But already I. N. Vinnikov, in contrast to Henning a connoisseur of Aramaic, has spoken out in favour of texts in this language and nothing else -. We have thoroughly refuted Henning's interpretations, insofar as they were aimed at proving ideographic writing with regard to the ostraca°. We are not aware that he has commented on this again, or even that he has maintained his old assertion. Most recently, the editors of the Ostraka, I. M. Diakonov, M. M. Diakonov and V. A. Livsix, have again come out in favour of the Aramaic character'o. That settled the matter. The fact that in Parthian documents from the

i. The fact that Mithridates I was still writing in Aramaic in the first century BC and knew nothing of ideographic writing rules out the possibility that it was introduced under Mithridates I in the lands that had most recently fallen to him.

The connection with the Sumerian ideograms of Akkadian is another matter. These can also be connected to endings

In: Westnik drewnej istorii z/ i 95d, i i 5 f.

^{&#}x27;l.c. zv1.

[•] Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum 5# f.; Die aramäische Sprache i. Lfg. 35 f.; East and West io (i 959), tq8 f.

^{&#}x27;o In .' Westnik drewnej istorii z/ i 960, i5 f.

be added. One would not wish to dismiss from the outset a connection between this spelling and the ideograms of the Middle Iranian period. However, we believe it is not our place to pass judgement on this.

The linguistic evidence remains. That with regard to the phonetic complements in Middle Persian, Parthian and Soghdian the "development" has taken the same direction is most clearly shown by the demonstrative pronouns. Henning gives a summary (a. 0.3°), which is repeated here. It does indeed provide an insight

Middle Persian: "this one" LZNH -- in LZNHsn -- imdä'in pl. "that" 'LH -- avc|öy pl. 'LHtn -- a "esän "also that" 'LHc -- a éc | öyié Parthian: "this" ZNH -- in the ZNHn -- intimate pl. "those" LHR -- knock LHmyn -- havin pl. "also that" LHu yk -- hanic Soghdian: "that" nom. ZK -- nau zö Acc. Zfi:w (o)au $ZKy = (a)v\tilde{e}$ Gen. pl. Nom. $ZKy = (a)v\bar{e}$ Gen ZK y5ntr -- ve5anu

albeit in a different direction than Henning assumes.

Firstly, let us consider the Middle Persian. It is noticeable that an ideogram is chosen that means "this" or "this", but not "this" per se. The same applies to the second group: the ideogram means

"to him" but not "he" or "that one". They are therefore prepositions:

/- and '/- in front of each other, and not enough that this has been done without any apparent sense, they are alternated. On the one hand it is written L-ZNH, on the other '6-H. And yet, in order to know the "system", one would have to demand that the same thing was meant by both prepositions.

^{&#}x27; So W. 13. Henning, a. 0. 33.

Now there is indeed a time in the historical development of Aramaic when f- and 'f- meant the same thing and could almost be used interchangeably. In Mandaean, 'f- can be written for f- in all cases°. Even as an object sign, 'I- is sometimes encountered, in which it replaces f-.° More rarely, f- stands for the original 'I*. Finally, f- and 'f- serve indiscriminately to designate the logical subject in the passive ^. It should be noted that this equation is carried out in Mandaean, and the correspondence proves that the *Middle Persian* ideograms under discussion or i g i n a t e d at a relatively late date.

This can be summarised even more precisely. W. H. Rosseß, the last editor of the Aramaic magical texts, remarks in his section on the prepositions: "the interchange of 'al- and f--, as in Mandaic, is attested in the texts" -. Since these texts can be dated between the 3rd century AD and around 600', the chronological aspect is clear. If one wanted to draw conclusions from the ideograms used for the demonstratives, one would not be able to go beyond the early Asanid period with regard to their origin. It still needs to be clarified whether this approach, which contradicts the usual derivation of the ideograms from the Imperial Arabic, can be confirmed by further observations.

It can also be seen that standardisation has taken place. In this late period, f- and '/- were actually equivalent. Instead of LZNH, 'LZNH could just as easily have stood for "this" and vice versa. But it was standardised: the demonstrative that denoted what was closer was assigned a different preposition than the one that meant what was further away. A further observation can be made. In Soghdian, where certain casus had been preserved, ZK is used uniformly. Not only the numerus was expressed by the complements, but also the casus. In Middle Persian there were no longer different casus, but only one casus generalis. As is well known, this was not a nominative in origin. It is only without realising this that, as in Soghdian, so also in Middle Persian, ZNH would have been used without the addition of a preposition as a

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^ Th. Nöldeke, Mandäische Gramm- ess i 2'
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[^] Th. Wöldeke, a. 0. 35q.

Th. Nöldeke, op. cit. O. 3§51.

[•] A Handbook of the Aramaic Magical Tests (-9531_s7 below.

^{*} F. Rosenthal, Die aramaistische Forschung (i939) zzz f.

C round form. Rather, one must infer from the constant prefixing of the synonymous prepositions J- and 'f- that one still knew that the Middle Persian forms, which corresponded to the ideograms and complements, were oblique casus according to their origin.

This seems to be a decisive observation. In contrast to Soghdian, where the nominatives zfi and 'wd correspond to an avesti nom. Sing. iiö and a Nom. Plur. ave, the Middle Persian forms introduced with J- and 'I- all go back to oblique casus. It is reflected in the Old Persian acc. sing. imom, in iméfăti the gen. Plur. *imaiJäm*, in aye the gen. Sing. *avahyä*, in avdl'iti the Gen. Plur. *avaifam*. The alternation between Middle Persian *LZNH*, 'LH and Soghdian ZK made perfect sense. Whoever had created these ideograms knew their own language and was at least familiar with late Aramaic.

The Parthian takes on a special position. Here, a distinction is made between the ideogram ZNH for the nearer and LII for the more distant. This definition proves the Parthian ideograms to be later formations. For ZNH, ZNH has the Middle Persian, for the use of the nominative (instead of Middle Pers. LZNH} was modelled on Soghdian. LH differs from Middle Persian 'LH by the use of a different preposition, but this is again modelled on Middle Persian LZNH. LZNH. Furthermore, Parthian has in common with Middle Persian that it makes a distinction between the demonstrative, which denotes what is nearer, and that for what is further away. But in contrast to the models in the two other Middle Iranian languages, which clearly distinguish between the casus inflection preserved in Soghdian and the fact that in Middle Persian the forms of all demonstratives go back to older oblique casus preserved in Old Persian, no such consideration of linguistic-historical facts can be recognised in Parthian. One has been content to differentiate between the two types of demonstratives on the basis of external analogies.

It is doubtful whether the three groups of demonstratives really illustrate the same development. Certainly there is agreement in the fact that, with the exception of the nom. Sing. the phonetic complements are added to all ideograms. This procedure already existed in Akkadian, and if any tradition of it had survived, it could have been

mutatis mutandis to any Middle Iranian language. Precisely: this could happen even without simultaneous and interrelated measures. The situation is different with the ideograms themselves. In Middle Persian and Soghdian they show an original conception, which in each case proceeded from the conditions of the mutual inflection and arrived at convincing and meaningful solutions. The Parthian ideograms, on the other hand, prove to be an external adaptation of what had been done in Middle Persian and Soghdian, taking into account the historical structure of the language.

It can be put to the test. Henning based his lists on the assumption that all documents from the Arsacid period - from the ostraca from Nisae to the inscription from Susa from the year 2-5 AD - were written in the ideographic style.

would have served. We have provided detailed evidence that

nothing applies. All the texts claimed for the existence of such writing are purely *Aramaic*: there are no ideograms from the Arasakid period. Henning did not raise any further objections, nor would it have been advisable to do so. For if it had still been necessary, the "second" inscription from Mchet 'a would have confirmed that Aramean was written and read at that time and that there can be no question of ideographic writing (above fo f.).

A second result had also come to us. The first ideo- graphic spelling that could be grasped was found in the third and fourth series of the sub-kings who ruled over the Fersis in Late Arsacid times^e. Here, for the first time, disregarding the correct genitive

\"erbindung, *d'r MLK' B RH url prdl MLK'* can be said. The greater age of the Middle Persian ideograms was then confirmed in comparison with the Parthian. ... It was the only confession to Henning that we still considered necessary at that time. But the Aramaic inscriptions of Hatra, dating from the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd century:

'I lit)' Snlru p mli(') ,,for the life of King Sanatrü " i 'ru' '6dstny' .,mother of the 'bdsm y'''; usr' blgs "victory of the Vologese" and more '0 The Eastern Aramaic of the time could therefore be the correct Constructus-

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<sup>®</sup> Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache i. Lfg., 33f.;
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[^] Altheim -Stiehl, Vic aramaic language i . Vol. 5 i f. :

^{&#}x27;- A . Caquot in : Syria 3o (953), 234 . No. z S, q f.; z8, I I.: 33: 34-7-

connection and its replacement by d or dy. This eliminates the proof that the coin legends are written ideographically [about B RH - be' in a moment]. What was thought to be this was again an Eastern Aegean peculiarity.

The correspondence between the Middle Persian ideograms and Mandaean will be confirmed below. It prevents us from thinking of an Imperial Aramaic origin, and it will also be of decisive importance for the determination of the age of the Middle Iranian ideographic spelling. On another occasion" we have referred to the statement by F. Rosenthal's statement that spellings occur there "which are otherwise ... are only known from Mandaean, but cannot be found anywhere else in Imperial Aramaic, judging by today's material, such as the use of Älaf to denote the ä in the inlaut and of 'Ain for z (i), and also the replacement of 1 by t and of lt by d, which is already mostly found in Middle Iranian inscriptions" '°. More recently, the reference G. Widengren's'- that parth. §aögäm is metathesis in the Mandaean pwgd'm' as well as in the §ayfä "i of the Fra- hang-i Pahlavik. He remarks that it is certainly no coincidence that the Mandaean form "agrees in principle with the form attested in the Frahang, since Ebeling has given very considerable reasons in favour of a Babylonian origin of the Aramaic material contained in the Frahang". This is followed by a reference to E. Ebeling, Das aramäisch-mittel- persische Glossar Frahang-i-Pahlavik im Lichte der assyriologischen Forschung (IQ4-) 35

Now Henning's view must be discussed, according to which the ideograms for "son" (Middle Pers. *pus*, Parth. *puhr*, literally translated, do not mean this, but Middle Pers. *brh* "his son", Parth. *bry* "my son". It must be admitted that both can mean this. But they

[&]quot; Altheim Stiehl, The Aramaic Language i . Ltg. 25.

^{1°} Aramaic research 8i.

^{&#}x27;O Iranian-Semitic cultural encounter in Parthian times 99. Despite his topic, Widengren carefully avoids speaking of ideograms from the Arsacid period. We believe we can count this as a success for our refutation of Henning's thesis.

do not have to, and again the question arises as to whether an obvious senselessness should be accepted. On the other hand, it should be remembered that Henning already had other interpretations.

This is H. H. Schaeder's Iranische Beiträge I (Schriften d. Königsb. Gel. Geseßsch. 6, [*93°J), a study which Henning cites repeatedly. There the alternation between £ and Älaf as a designation of the final -a is discussed in detail°. Schaeder points out that the same fluctuation occurs in the ideograms, and a r g u e s that there the pronounced -A can also be understood as Alaf. "According to this, in my opinion, even in barrels like pahl. 'fre = vy'i# 'place', pars. brh -- pus

'son' (next to pahl. bry -- puhr), gdli -- /arr 'glory, majesty', pars. ydh (next to pahl. yd') dasf 'hand', 'ynh (written 'yti£) casm 'eye', rglh -- \S 'ih 'foot', \S wm/t $dali\ddot{a}n$ 'mouth' etc. the £ as a term for the -d of the stat. emph., - not, as Nyberg wants, for the - $\acute{e}h$ of the Suffix of the 3rd sing. masc." °. Brh would therefore be nothing other than hr' and would mean "(the) son".

It may be said from the outset that any interpretation which enables the Aramaic ideograms to be given the same meaning as the corresponding Middle Iranian words must take precedence over those for which this is not the case. It is just as obvious that the ideogram brh -- be' means "son" as it is senseless that one should translate "his son" here. In this respect, Schaeder's interpretation should definitely be given preference over Henning's. Only one difficulty remains. -£ alternating with Älaf in St. emph. is initially a peculiarity of Imperial Aramaic and Biblical Aramaic, and Schaeder only referred to these. In the meantime it has been proven that the assumed connection between the Middle Iranian ideograms and the Aramaic administrative language of the Achaemenid period does not exist. The connecting link, namely the claimed ideographic writing under the Arsacids, has been revealed as a misinterpretation. All the texts claimed for this are Aramaic; they were written and read iii in this language. To refer to the Imperial Aramaic alternation between h and Älaf is now subject to I3thought. It would first have to be proved that this alternation is found in the Aramaic texts.

[°] Iranische J3eiträge i , 33 I. ; cf. ailCh W '. Baumgartner in: ZA\\'. , N. I'. (i gz 2), 9of.

[®] a. 0. 3q Note z.

documents of the Arsacid period and in this way continued into the sasanian period.

Theoretically, this would be quite possible. But what has survived shows a different picture. The ostraca of Nisä write *liwt* and arm' ithe parchment of Avrömän has yrJ', érm', é/'; the Aramaic inscription of Mchet'a (above p. 8 I.) ér'; the silver plate of Bori 1é'; Tang-i Sarvak *sm'*, *bmrsy'*, *Mrs'*, *Qm*; '*liyryn'*; *myd'*. 1'ys', 'mtrn', the inscription from Susa mlj'. The result of this sifting is clear. Except for the pronouns, there is no pronounced -A anywhere. The nouns in the Stat. emph. that are of interest here are all written in the pronoun Alaf. Thus there seems to be no connection between a *brh* of the Achaimenid period and the homonymous ideogram.

However, this by no means settles the interpretation of the ideogram brh as hr'. For in Southern Aramaic, £ and Älaf alternately stand for the final -'i*. And the same can be observed in Hatra $^{\circ}$ and in the magical texts -. Both spellings belong to the same period from which the Middle Iranian evidence is attested. Brh is therefore the form that is possible and attested for the contemporary Aramaic of Babylonia. We have come to the same conclusion as in the previous section'. The language of the ideograms is initially that of the later Eastern Aramaic, nothing else.

According to Fry, Henning, it remains "my son". It does not stand alone, but has a number of similar formations next to it: 'hy "brother", mr'y (in alternating spellings) "lord", 'rir'/y "mistress" and others. The question arises as to whether one should translate "my lord" or "master", "my mistress" or "mistress", and the same applies to Fry. There are undoubtedly cases where the form of address of the type "mein Herr" has congealed into a title. The comparison with motisrigtieiir, monsieur, monsigtioro and the like suggests itself. Sfr'y as a title is found in the Elephantine papyri and in the Aréma parchments. In Syriac, Amy is known as the title of clergymen^. In the Aéoka inscriptions of Taxila and Kandahär and in the In-

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c G. Dal man, Gramm. d. j üd. -Palestin. Aramaic 5—
° A. Caquot in: Syria >9 (+95 <L I IO f.; cf. 3* t 955). *7

W. H. Rossell, op. cit. O. zo; 36. '
Above p. 8i f.

^ C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac.° Aoi r.
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In the "writings of Hatra", mr(')n appears in the same function'⁰. In Syriac, *mm* can be placed before the names of emperors, including those of deceased rulers. Everywhere, the added personal suffix was no longer perceived as such. Fry also became such a rigidised form. On the parchment of Avrömän, in the bilinguis of Mchet'a and the inscription of Susa, it undoubtedly has the meaning "son" and not "my son". It corresponds exactly to an ör on the Tang-i Sarvak inscriptions. There is an additional circumstance. In Syriac and Mandaean, the suffix of the i. Sing. was written but not spoken". But while in Syriac ör = har, hry = örr, Mand. fi'r, *br, bry,* which could all equally mean "my son", show that 6ry - *bac* also read 'o. This meant that for the scribe who wrote down a text according to dictation, there was no longer any difference between *bry* "my son" and ér "son". Thus it was possible for the fuller form *bry* to take the place of ör throughout, while conversely in Mandaean, due to the same phenomenon, certain possessive relations of the

i. Sing. words were expressed by the endingless form¹ -. Again one has come across the contemporaneous Eastern Aramaic. *Bry* instead of *brh*, *br'* is merely a matter of habit, and if proof were still needed, the Aramaic inscription from Mcbet'a has provided it. It writes ör'zy §rs "iti, hr'zy z J, br'zy mr', where the Bilinguis puts

hrfy by *zymh*, *bry zy 'gryp*. Nobody will doubt that it is the same language here and there. It is a scribal habit whether one uses hr' or öry; in any case, öry also means "son", not "my

Son".

5

In the section on the "weak verbs" ¹, Henning follows almost completely what H. H. Schaeder had previously explained°. What is meant, to begin with, are the verba tertiae infirmae. Basic form of ideograms, insofar as they belong to this class and are not

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° A. Caquot in : Syria 3z (i ggf.), 50, No.43. uam.; likewise mrfn "unsere Herrin".
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^{&#}x27;o Altheim-Supplementum Aramaicum i6 f; 95.

[&]quot; Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. 2z and Anm-3° 1° Th. Nbldeke, Mandaean Grams. i y3.

^{1°} Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. i y5. '

a. 0. 35 f.

[•] Iranian contributions i, 3 *-

imperfect forms of the imperative sing, masc, of the type Jyy "lebe" and relatives°. For Henning, these forms are transformed into "urideograms*". They are not expanded before the i. century AD, with the formants -k, -w and -f. This is how ideograms of the types Zf£V?f, PDF W and MDV T were created. Schaeder assumed that the extensions were "secondary, to the extent that the Iranian scribes' ignorance of the real phonetic value and thus the solidification" of the ideograms progressed. The addition of -h in **IIZYH** can be traced back to Parthian imperfects of the type YM T'H, in some of which it was itself already secondary. For -tr, Schaeder refers to the ending of the z. plural of the imperative, which was already connected "ideogrammatically" with the participle on the parchment of Avrömän (zbnm, mzbnw). Finally, -f forms a phonetic complement of Iranian origin. Henning is able to contribute -i as an Iranian complement on the basis of the inscription from Susa from the year 2 i3 BN Y-t, which was found after Schaeder's publication. The last variant of the expansion was the addition of -In, -twn, a view founded by Schaeder and adopted by Henning.

This theory imposes every conceivable grammatical absurdity on ideograms and their spellings. Basically, anything seems to be possible. According to Henning, one would first have to make friends with an original ideogram. Admittedly, a primordial people, a primordial language, a primordial homeland and the like have all been invoked on various occasions. What all these have had in common so far is that they have been located in prehistoric 'primeval times', i.e. where, in the absence of more precise knowledge, there seemed to be enough room for such schemes and others of their kind. The primordial ideogram, however, would have to have originated in historical times and have been at work there. If the information

Henning provides, it would have to be before the i century.

n. AD, but after the end of Achaemenid rule. We are therefore in a sufficiently well-known historical period, and it cannot be said that there was a lack of evidence in the Aramaic language. There are Aéoka's inscriptions from Taxila, Pul-i Daruntah and Kandahär; there are also those from Lake Sevan

[°] aO. 39

[°] a0. j6.

in Armenia; there are the ostraca of Nisã, the parchment of Avrõmàn. Nowhere can that original ideogram, hitherto unknown species within the grammatical fauna, be found. The fact that alleged BNAl has in the meantime proved to be a simple Aramaic òtiy/ = banyat or òtić will be shown shortly.

No less strange are the circumstances that have come to light on a second excursion into the same centuries. For it has already been shown that the idea that Aramaic linguistic knowledge was visibly lost at that time has all probability against it. Henning claims precisely those centuries for his linguistic obliteration, which are regarded as the heyday of Aramaic languages and Aramaic

Schrittums may be considered. However, urideogram and neglect together give the representatives of the previous theory, Schaeder and even more so Henning himself, a licence, so to speak. By virtue of this, it is permitted to attach endings of the imperfect (or what one considers to be the imperfect) to the z. Sing. of the imperative, to add endings of the z. Plur. of the imperative to the z. Sing. of the same mode or to give participles the same ending. The word "ideogrammatical" used to characterise this process is intended to conceal the fact that it is a grammatical senselessness. Thus the patient reader is spared little. The - mind you: *Iranian* - complement -t is extended to -lit, -hti er- by means of the -'i, -str of the *Aramaic* imperfect forms, whereas Nöldeke, a sober grammarian of old, still explained the *HZV TWN* thus formed as z. Plur. No one seems to have had any reservations about this procedure, and Henning even speaks of the form *HZV TWN* as having to be "unwound like an onion" in order to arrive at the "urideogram" JZY.

An appeal to the philological conscience **seems** almost necessary. Before recognising grammatical anarchy, one should ask whether a way of explaining it cannot be found in the history of the Aramaic language and its grammar. And before substituting the meaninglessness (whether "ideogrammatic" or not remains one thing) of the explanation, one should consider for a moment whether the process is not based on a meaning after all. Finally: if interpretations from the Aramaic of the Achaimenid period do not want to succeed,

S In: WZ KM. i 6, 3.

it would have to be explored whether later varieties of the language might not offer the same possibilities.

H. S. Nyberg° has succeeded in an interpretation, which should be placed at the beginning. He understood *HZY TWN* as #dzéf/ön, thus as the plural form *jäzcii* of Part. Act. P"al with a shortened pronoun of the 2nd plural ai?ön. It then meant: "you are seeing, you see". Schaeder' has objected that such formations occur in Eastern Aramaic, but not in the older Aramaic. That is true. But what might once have been an objection now serves as a recommendation. Now that the direct link between ideograms and the Achaemenid period has been severed and the existence of ideograms in the Arsacid period has faded into obscurity, the significance of Eastern Aramaic for explaining the forms that have come down to us has become increasingly clear.

Nyberg's explanation allows other forms to be included. First, of course, the other members of Schaeder's fourth group, i.e. *MHD TN, K RM TN, SGY TN* and others. But the second group can also be included. First with -t: parth. HRBT would be Jfizd/(/) "you see", *RMY T: rämet(l* "you throw", thus Part. Act. P"al with the shortened forms of the personal pronoun of the 2nd sing. al(f). Reference should be made to the equivalents in Syriac^, Mandaean and Jewish Aramaic '°. It is fitting that Henning's *BN VI* of the Susa inscription has also come to an end". The satrap who addresses the king on this inscription says: hnyf *jiztb* -- ha'iya/ *hzätäp* "your image (was) erected. Or it can be understood as: ötidl Jzd1'i "I have erected your image".

In: In Monde Oriental 17, 223.

^{&#}x27;op. cit. thus. - Schaeder adds a second objection to the one already mentioned (a. 0. Thus note i). *iiiW Y T(W) N* cannot be explained as fidtvéfföti, since a P-' al is not attested in the older Aramaic. But the meaning assigned to the ideogram: "to know" (dänislon) fits in so well with the meaning attested for ra "el and Af'el: "to show", that one must assume that there was such a P-'al in a later dialect. A hint of this is preserved in Jewish-Aram. fi-ui'sitd "instruction". Or may one think of a Part. Pass. Plur. masc. from Pa" 'el or Af'el without the prefix m-? Cf. note I9 and the evidence given there from Jewish Aramaic. Again one comes across Eastern Aramaic, Nyberg was right with his reading.

[^] Th. NÖldeke, Kurzgef. Syr. Gram.° qq f. § 6q.

[°] Th. Nöldeke, Mandiiische C-ramm *3°-

^{&#}x27;- G. Dalman, Gramm. des jüd.-paläst. Aramaic z3 f. § *S-

[&]quot; Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache i . Lfg. i , q8 ; East and West io ('9J9) ' z57.

This is complemented by the forms with -tr. Because the explanation of the verbs "izöinr, zöiur of the parchment of Avrömän as an ideographic spelling had to be dropped in the meantime as well. In both words one has to recognise the participle with the 3rd sing. pronoun used as a copula: mzbn -[- (li)m, zbn -l- (h!m'*, thus a construction sufficiently attested in Eastern Aramaic. According to this, there is no difficulty in recognising parth. HZBW as $p\ddot{a}ze$ - $(h)\ddot{u}$ "he is seeing, he sees" or RMVW as $r\ddot{a}m\acute{e}$ -(liu) "he throws" '3

The types of verbal ideograms explained so far are characterised by the fact that they all have a praesent meaning, but the persons can change: *IIZY T, HZV W* and *HZY TN* ** stand side by side. Schaeder's third group, containing the Aramaic imperfects, follows on here: parth. *YM T'H, YB'H,* middle pers. *Y TN, Y TWN, YHM TWN*. Again, the person changes, but the present meaning is common to these forms with those discussed above.

This confirms what was said before: that there is nowhere on the person, but everywhere on the present meaning. Here it will be useful to refer to the excellent remarks that

- F. Rundgren in his study on "Das altsyrische Verbalsystem" : To the extent that the form $^{e1a'}$, which originally encompassed the constative aspect, equally for present and past, developed in the direction of a praeteritum, the corresponding -yi 1uf became ambiguous. It had to slowly change over to taking on the constative aspect for the present in addition to the cursive aspect for the present and past. This was already counteracted in Biblical Aramaic by the fact that the active participle with the form
- -yi 10/ entered into competition. The active participle was used in the sense of a general praesene, a praesene of the real present ¹'. Accordingly, in Syriac, in the Eastern Aramaic oral

^{&#}x27;° Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum 65; an den zuvor. gen. 0. 38 und z 9. It should be noted that the spelling -tu, i.e. Itu without h, can also be found in Syriac: dfii/ü in the biography of Mar Yaballahfi 53. -s <l-* l-

^{&#}x27;° t ber 'S TH W see below.

^{&#}x27;^ The ideogram for ddffon, read by Nyberg $FI;ISN\ W$ -- yohs'nu(n), by J unker $V\ ASN\ k'$, is undoubtedly the second, as now confirmed by the synagogue inscriptions of Dura-Europos : Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra öo.

^{1°} Ur Spräkvetenskapliga Sällskapets i Uppsala Förhandlingar i958-öo, gg f.

^{*^} F. Rundgren, a. 0. 53

[&]quot; Bauer-Leander, Grammar of the Biblical Aramaic -9°*-

arten as a result of the competition between *yi fuf, ar /oi and 'ifir/, a new verbal system in which a new, genuine present conjugation - created from the active participle älcf, pätlä, äl/al(f) etc. plays a major role. The further development need not be followed, as what has been said is sufficient for understanding. It can be seen that the forms liäz JdrJf(/), Jäzd-a on the one hand, yül'iii, y-mItün on the other, were at one time opposed to each other in the ideogram system, since both, in addition to the cursive aspect, have the preessential meaning of

had in common'*.

The explanation is simple. In our handbooks, all forms are rendered with infinitives of the praeses: *däniston, x-ästan* and others. In practical use, the mere verbal ideogram without phonetic complement denotes the sing. Imper. Praes., which confirms that on the Iranian side, too, it was not the infinitive or imperative, but the present meaning that mattered. If these findings are correct, this would mean that the verbal ideograms are anything but arbitrary formation. So far, what has been observed suggests that they have been chosen and developed with grammatical understanding.

The verbal ideograms on -k remain. Schaeder assigns them to the first group, and to the third group as far as this vowel occurs in the perfect. Bearing in mind the observation made earlier that Älaf and -6 can alternate in the final vowel (fir' and 6rÄ), parth. TYH, middle pers. B'YH, B RTH correspond to the spelling of the participles of our verbs in Mandean : 'ry', h'zy', 'ty', b'yy'*°. Just as the pronounced Alaf was spoken here in Mandean (and accordingly disappeared from the spelling before the suffix), so also in the ideograms: TYH is äfé "coming" and "he comes", B'EH: $b\ddot{a}'e$ "wanting" and

^{1°} F. Rundgren, a. 0. 58.

I° Only V TP IP and f-f *I'MN W*, which has the same meaning, cause difficulties. Both verbs are Hafe1. To accept participles + liii is initially contradicted by the absence of the prefix m-. But in contrast to Syriac, in Judeo-Aramaic we occasionally encounter participial formations in Pa "e1 and Afe1 without this prefix: 'pbyaa "we bring forth"; 'dbbynn "we j o i n " and so on. (G. Dalman, Gramm. d. jüd.-palästin. Aram. 230 above). In Neo-Aramaic. the descendant of Mandaean and the language of the Babyl. Talmud (K. Cereteli, above 3, 219), Ämti< Lynne ..glauben" has become a three-radical verb (J. Friedrich, Zwei russische Novellen in neusyr. Übersetzung und Lateinschrif t, Abhandl. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl. *33*, *4* 1960), 7t).

^{°°} Th. Nöldeke, Mandäische Gramm. z59.

The result is both simple and unambiguous. The formations discussed are easily explained by the Eastern Aramaic, and here everything conforms to the grammatical rules. Nowhere does arbitrariness need to be assumed, on the contrary: the continuous praesentative meaning and the indifference to the person are in keeping with the fact that the Middle Persian meaning is regularly rendered with the infinitive and imperative of the praesene.

AFTERNOON

The treated forms of the type *HZY TWN -- päzetlön* find their predecessors in the inscriptions of Mchet 'a. The Bilinguis has m'yfyti "I am dying", "I am dying", a formation whose explanation has caused much difficulty. We have given the correct one above z, ry8 f. In the Aramaic inscription from the same place, the corresponding

Form found: /itryii line 5, which is A'iwdn "I am" (above p. i6). The oddity that Serapitis uses the masculine Part. Perl. P' 'al, finds its equivalent in Mandaean. There too

the masculine is used where the feminine is expected (Th. Nöldeke, Mandäische Gramm >3I; above 2, i/8). Accordingly, in Syriac the masculine sometimes replaces the feminine in the forms of the I. Plur. fern. : 'ilfiii -|- @tan) a/fiiino instead of aff't -|- *hnan* \S 'itJ'ioaii

et al. (Th. Nöldeke, Kurzgef. syr. Gram ' 45 § 64 note I). A further example from the magical texts should be added: *lbisilten* from fhis*ti -h-

atten "ye (fern.) are clad": W. H. Rossell, A Handbook of Aramaic Magical Texts 5i under 7. z6.

6

What was explained above initially referred to the verbs tertiae infirmae, based on Henning's and Schaeder's explanations. What is new and, as we assume, correct in the place of the

^{°1} Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. z 58.

However, what we have said so far also claims to apply to the other verbalideograms. For this reason, we have sampled what the Frahang provides for checking purposes'.

In this case, the ending -trti is used as a normal case, so to speak. So not only in the type *IIZV TWN*, *IDV TWN*, *where -in* is legitimate as a shortened nfföii, but also for all cases that were previously attributed to the type *IIZVW liäze -*)- (£)a. Only isolated traces of the final -te have survived (all of which were misjudged by the editor):

- i. ZBN W 24 and M2 BN W 3x, read by Junker £BNN and MZBNN, but secured by zözin and mz6n' of the Avrömän parchment;
- 2. NHNW - -!-!*- 3-, read out by J unker as TIINN;
- 3. MDMHW sahislan 30 read by Junker as MMD.HHh'. A pa 'el of $dm\ddot{a}$ in the meaning "similis fuit" is attested for Eastern Aramaic: C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac.°•5_Z 1. AlSo o'nmd-(6)x, whereby Nyberg has judged the participle correctly°.

In addition, there are some cases that require separate consideration. HVMN W *3 (read by Bunker as HVMNN) belongs to HV TY W and is to be judged like this (above p. 9 note -9) Then '!? $THW -- \ddot{A}J$ - nutan and 'S Tff iY = x'arlan. Nyberg° explains the first as "elmd -|- ii, the

second as "eJfd -{- u'; elsewhere both are paraphrased with closing -w -. It should first be noted that in '\$ THW the initial 'Ain represents an Älaf ^ and thus refers to Syriac, Jewish-Aramaic sfff *b . The suggestion is not only possible in these two Aramaic dialects°, but also in Mandaean, where '5 THW also c o n t a i n s 'Ain, albeit less frequently, alongside Älaf. Since one

3 Plur. Masc. is out of the question, one must look for another explanation. The Jewish Aramaic offers 'yttk, "he drank "*. But even from there there seems to be no way to '\$ THW.

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'Listed with the page number of H. F. J. J unker's edition of *s55 
° Auxiliary book of the Pehlevi z ( '93 ) . 99: *97-
° a. 0. z, z5; i 32.
• a. 0. z98.
°- Cf. the Mandaean: Th. Nöldeke, Mandäisc he Gram-
57 - $57
G. Dalman, Gramm. des jüd. -palästinens. Aramaic, appendix 3 •
° G. Dalman, a. 0.*7: Th. Nöldeke, Kur zgef. syr. Grimm' 36 f § 5 i . 'Th. Nöldeke, Mandaean Gram - - 5 i 2'-
• G. Dalman, a. 0. 67: 28 i;
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In addition to *ysth*, Jewish Aramaic offers the form f/ "he drank", corresponding to Syriac Jla next to IfN. The ostracon H i23 A from Dura-Europos' shows that this form was also written elsewhere. Its text begins with: hmm g

XX Stu. Since one is no longer compelled to assume ideographic writing for the Arsacid period, one can read and understand the text in Aramaic without constraint (the ostracon may date to the 2nd cent. Chr.

or in the beginning of the 3.1. We waive the right to claim any other and

We have to criticise the proposals that we are quite familiar with, all of which are based on the assumption of ideographic spelling. For the correct one suggests itself. fftiira is the expected singular of the Syrian Jawirdiicl', which is only preserved in the plural. The abbreviation g is the designation of a measure, and since we are dealing with wine, Syr. gräbä "jug" will be meant, which has its equivalent in other Aramaic dialects and in Arabic iräb, Ethiop. géräh ' °. Attr is either plural masc. Part. Act. P"al (Jdfdii) or the same form of the passive participle (Sten) to Ud "drink". The correct formation and the defective spelling is guaranteed by the parallels of the South Aramaic ". Accordingly, one has to translate: "(an) Wein zo Krüge haben sie getrunken" or "wurden getrunken". The active participle here represents the past tense ("they emptied little by little"), the passive, as usual, the perfect '-. The spelling of the suggested 'Ain is therefore a later addition, modelled on the aforementioned Eastern Aramaic forms; the substitution of £ for Älaf has been discussed. h as a vowel support for i (d) shows the aforementioned 'v£lh. '\$ THW can therefore be explained as 5älé-!h) u. The conclusion for '\$3fff II is that 'A is also a later suggestion; it first appears on the synagogue inscription from Dura-Europos discussed above 3. 36 f.

From Mandaean we know the preservation of 'Ain in the pronunciation by Conversion to li'5. Thus 'QMH W < SM'W £ämc'- h)u.

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G. Dalman, a. 0. 67: --'
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i° Illustrated in Altheim-Stiehl, Das erste Auftreten der Hunnen (i 9-i3) Fig. x (before p. 9).

^{**} Th. Nöldeke, liur zgef. sjw. Gramm.° q9 f., where all Syriac $\mbox{ } \mbox{ }$

 $^{^{\}circ}$ C'. Brockelmann, laxic. Svriac. $^{\circ}$ i 30 r. ; C. P. A. Dillmann, Lexic. ling. Aeth. 1 95.5) i i 56

^{&#}x27;° G. haI man, a. 0. z9o f. ö'n, r'ii, snti and fin.

[&]quot; Th. Nöldeke, Mandäische Gramm $_{37}$ f. ;379 § z6z : Kur zgef. syr. gram .° zoö i - 7i: -w § 2 78 A.

^{&#}x27;° Th. Nölde ke, 44andäisc he Gramm. y i § bq.

In the other forms, the ending -u'n is used instead of -w. Accordingly, the forms on -ir have been misunderstood as 3rd plural masc. Masc. Since the perfect ending -ir could be replaced by -irrt in the Eastern Aramaic dialects - not only in Syriac, but also in J Aramaic and Mandaean'*, the ending was added to the ideograms.

Nevertheless, beyond what has been said, it can be recognised from a number of ideograms that originally the connection of a Part. Act. P^o'al with the personal pronoun used as a copula of 3 Sing. Masc.

w This participle is used in the two inscriptions of Mcbet'a, as we have shown", is written in the second syllable plene: m'yf - mä'z1, n yj nä;ej, 'byd ' äbep, mlyk mälob. This plene spelling is known for the same participle in the Southern Aram "äischen'o and Mand "bischen - Forms such as NBA'WN vexlan I-z, 'B VDWN äartan I, RYK WN -- viréxtan z thus show that they once used the Part. Act. Po'al näbc', 'äbcp, 'ärsp as a front member.

This concludes our discussion of Henning's explanations. Similar to the pre-Sasanian 'ideograms', the Sasanian ones have also shown that, with sufficient knowledge of the Aramaic language, all forms can be interpreted unambiguously in terms of grammar and linguistic history.

There is no need to go into the section dealing with the confusion of 'Ain and Olafoo. The similarities with the Talmudic and Mandaeanoo' are too obvious to be overlooked. We may regard them as confirmation of what was demonstrated in the previous section: that the Aramaic of the Sasanian ideograms agrees in all essentials with the Eastern Aramaic.

The present study follows a series of others that deal with the relationship between the European Huns and early Asanid culture.

This much has become clear, that the ideograms are not the result of a

^{&#}x27;° Th. Nöldeke, Mandäische Gramm. 2z3.

[&]quot; Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum 82 ; Die aramäische Sprache i. Lfg. qz f. į q5 ; above i, zqq ; z, i 28 and in this volume p. i i .

^{&#}x27;° G. Dalman, op. cit. O. °3°

^{&#}x27;- Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. 23O.

^{-°} a. 0. 36 f.

o' Th. Nöldeke, 1. 0.57 and 58 note z; 69f.

centuries of development. They were first conceived with the rise of the Sasanians and expanded in the centuries that followed. The ideograms of Middle Persian seem to have played the leading role: the discussion of the demonstratives has shown that the Parthian ones were modelled on those of Middle Persian. The ideograms of Soghdian seem to have emerged at the same time. They first a \mathbf{p} \mathbf{p} e a \mathbf{r} in the old Soghdian letters at the beginning of the 4th century.

The result is confirmed by the language of the ideograms. The bis-Previous research - under the spell of the idea that the ideo- graphic script had developed in early Arsacid times - focussed one-sidedly on the similarities which it believed to find between the Aramaic administrative language of the Achaemenids and the ideograms. Such similarities should not be denied. But they do not prove the direct connection between the Aramaic of the Achaimenid period and the ideographic way of writing under the Sasanids. Rather, they can be traced back to the fact that the rich Aramaic elements (as we already know) were used in writing or within the living language throughout the centuries.

had received. In all other respects, the ideograms offer the image of the later Eastern Aramaic, and this applies in particular to the verb, whose forms can only be understood from there; it also applies to phonetic phenomena°. Everywhere Eastern Aramaic provided the key to the explanation, while the attempt to do so from the older Aramaic had led to misinterpretations, sometimes of a grotesque nature. Enough: the language of the inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak, Susa and Hatra, the first

mu lasila (FihriSt 3°. st Hd of their successors, the Mandaeans, the Aramaic of the Targume and the Babylonian 'Talmud, finally that of the magical texts - all belonging to the late Arsacid and early Asanid period - are reflected in the ideograms. And this shows that the dating given above is correct

^{&#}x27; Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache i. I.fg., 5 i f.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ F. Rosenthal, Die aramaistische Forschung 8i ; Altheiui-Stiehl, a. $0._{\text{ES}}$.

^{*} Last 0. climate in : Archiv Orientälni z8 (i 9>l, s•i; G. t'idengren, Iranischsemitische Kulturbegegnung in parthischer 7.eit s6 und Anm. zoo show that one is generally approaching a new evaluation of the Mandaeans, which also includes their origin.

higher than was customary under the influence of Lietzmann's and Schaeder's criticism.

The Frahang-i Pahlavik certainly does not belong to the same period. Its editor, H. F. J. Junker, did not even bother in his last edition to make any assumptions about the exact time of its creation. However, it would be difficult to go wrong if one were to think of the Frahang as having originated in the post-Sasanian period. This late date does not preclude the possibility that the collection preserves forms and cries that date back to an older, or at least a late-Sasanian period. It had already been shown that formations such as

MHW as well as the use of the ending -rin, that influences of the Eastern Aramaic dialects continued to have an impact.

Again, it is worth remembering that the capital of the Sasanians was located in the centre of the Aramaic language area. In the 6th century, the Babylonian Talmud was completed and a large part of the Mandaean scriptures had already been written. But Iran itself was now also exposed to the influences of the Eastern Aramaic dialects. Here it becomes significant that earlier, especially in the third volume, constant attention was paid to the Nestorian mission and, in connection with this, to the emergence of the Neo-Syriac (Neo-Astaramite) language.

The Nestorian mission, it turned out, went in two directions.

She turned her attention to the Caucasian Huns and the Hephthalites. Here we are only concerned with the first mentioned. Even before the middle of the 6th century, an unbroken chain of Nestorian communities stretched from Mesopotamia to Afiurbaiyän, Gurgän and Ray. Everywhere there were bishoprics, there was a Syriac cult and written language, and in Merw a centre of Nestorian translation activity had even grown up. The beginnings of what today appear as Neo-Aramaic dialects must go back to the same period. Starting from Mosul, they lead west of Lake Urmia northwards to Salamasa. The

K. G. Cereteli's careful study (above 3, 2Z8 f.) has compiled everything that is currently available. The fact that the immigration of Eastern Aramaic-speaking Nestorians to Media and Aefiurbaiyan is connected with the beginnings of

and the spread of the Nestorian mission coincides, follows from the matter at hand and will be substantiated below with an individual case.

Cereteli has also said the bare minimum about the linguistic origins. Despite its dialectical fragmentation, New Syriac exhibits a series of

Cereteli lists a number of linguistic similarities which show that the closest relatives are not the Edessene Syriac, but the Mandaean and the language of the Babylonian Jews. Cereteli enumerates: Loss of the finite form of the verb and conjugation, which is based on post-verbal nouns (i.e. participles); preserved ö, tlbergang von zu A. From his phonetic-historical study one may add the loss of the emphatic, of Olaf and 'Ain. These features suggest the origin of New Syriac no doubt.

Once again it becomes clear how unfounded Henning's view is that the Aramaic language must have died out in the Iranian area. The constant influence of the Aramaic-speaking 'Iraq was now joined by Eastern Aramaic enclaves throughout the west, not to mention the Nestorian communities that stretched along the northern edge of Iran as far as the Oxos. The deep traces left by the Eastern Aramaic in the ideograms of the Sasanian period have been shown above. Nothing more needs to be added to this, but a general remark is necessary.

As with the Arsacid ideograms, scholarship on the Sasanian ideograms has long gone **astray**. Henning adopted Herzfeld's and Schaeder's theories without compromise, at a time when criticism and reflection were due, if not overdue. The authors have confessed that the elimination of the Arsacid ideograms meant for them "redemption, so to speak. A redemption from unfounded hypotheses and partly from obsessions that have burdened research ... have burdened research until recently". It may now be added that whatever has been taught about the Sasanian ideograms must also be dropped in the future.

8

The fact is that ideographic writing did not and could not influence the European Huns. This is without prejudice to the fact that the oldest script was modelled on the

^{&#}x27;The Aramaic language i. Lfg. _{SS}- G. Le Rider in : Numismatique Susienne t +9*°) i 8 reads on coinage of the Parthian sub-king of the Elymais, Orodes' I I. : "Orodes roi, file d'Orodés" as follows: *U RUD NiA LIs'A Ba Ri U R D'D*. Hopefully this will not lead anyone to assume an ideographic spelling. According to the extract from plate z, i 38, it reads: *terwd be y zy* wi/A' u'rtrd.

⁷ Altheim, Hunnen IV

Armazic, i.e. an Aramaic alphabet (above x, z68 f.). This is because the prerequisite, which was unavoidable: prolonged use of the Aramaic written language, was not given. However, the westward migration of the Huns and their onslaught against the empires of late antiquity was only part of a comprehensive movement which, alongside the first waves of the Turkicisation of the Roman empire, was also a part of the Aramaicisation. tribes also included the Arabs and Dromedary nomads (above to99 bls *9*). We are confronted with a nomadic movement of the greatest extent, whose common geographical and climatic conditions could be recognised (above x, too-i2A). It is therefore not surprising that the ideographic spelling was imitated, albeit only briefly, where the prerequisites were present: among the Arabs.

Arab tribes also made extensive use of Aramaic on their inscriptions. The Nabataeans, for example, still used it when they had long since switched to the use of their native dialect on the South Arabian inscriptions, but also on the Afaite and Jewish ones. The correspondence with the Iranian conditions is therefore there, and so on the bilinguis of Umm eğ-ğimãl in l_ilaurãn, set around z2o, a spelling seems to have come about in which the Aramaic components were provided with "phonetic complements" in Arabic. In this sense we have previously (above i, 15-) interpreted -§1z and ròw as *N* Pitr and *RBw*

and basically equated to a spelling of the type MLKn (above **1.153**).

As far as we know, this is all that has been attempted. Nevertheless, the correspondence is striking, and it may help to answer a final question: that of the meaning of ideographic spelling. Elsewhere we have considered Ibn al-Mukaffa's and IJamza's remarks about Işbahãn, which are reminiscent of the *inøfaśaòihõf*. It turned out that this said something about a fact, but not about the origin of the ideograms. The Arabic parallel shows two things. Firstly, that what was created under the first Sasanids was imitated in their domain, by the kings of the Tanü{¡ and in Ultra. Secondly, that ideographic writing was not a stage in a development aimed at replacing Aramaic with their own language. Like Persian, Arabic was

^{*} Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. iy; 63f.

It was not a question of any kind of inevitability, but of a free decision. At the time of Üadima, people were prepared to imitate the Persian overlords' way of writing. It would hardly have been much different with the Sasanians. Admittedly, there was no model to follow. But the honourable legacy of the past, the Aramaic administrative language introduced by the Achaemenids and preserved ever since, was not to be completely abandoned. So this desire was combined with the demands of the present: the use of Middle Persian and, secondarily, Parthian. The ideographic way of writing harmonised both.

We have already expressed this view elsewhere°. For the time being, there is no reason to deviate from it.

\$. CHAPTER

GERMANIC GODS ACCORDING TO THEIR HISTORICAL POSITION

On one of the pedestal reliefs of the Arch of Constantine in Rome, the shield of a Roman officer bears a troop crest. Above the shield boss it shows the goddess of victory, below two opposing goat heads growing out of long, semi-circularly curved necks. The warlike nature of the goats is emphasised in ancient literature°. Columella, who calls them *cornuti*, speaks of their §e/ufca/in-. His words evoke the memory of two famous troop units of the late antique army: the *cornuli* and *petulantos*. A. Alföldi' has not hesitated to see a reference to these two detachments in the coats of arms of the Arch of Constantine.

The *Cornuti* and with them the *Brocthiati* and the *Petulantes* originally belonged to the Gallic army. Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bruges was fought by this army. The coins struck on this occasion celebrate the rirfiis *exercilus Ga/ficoiii*. The triumphal arch of the emperor was also dedicated to the memory of this battle. According to Alföldi, the troop coat of arms on the pedestal reliefs shows that the *Cornuti* and *Petulanles* played a decisive role in the battle. Their later fame is attributed to this.

The *Coriiifi* sang the Germanic battle song, the *barrilus*, at the Battle of Strasbourg°. They were therefore a Germanic

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'v. Gerkan- I-'Orange, The Late Antique Relief Decoration of the Arch of Constantine T&f.

Arch of Constantine T&f. 3 2 i; Germania i935. 326 fig. i; pl. 5.

'Colum. 7. 3- 4-

'y, 6, .

In: Germania -935. 3°' -: --stimmend Polaschek in: RE. i y, i ic9.

^A. Alföldi in: 25 Jahre Röm.-germ. Komm. i 3.
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° Amm. Marc. i 6, i z, q3.

The *Balaoi* regarded them as their *conturmalzs!* The shield mark used by the Corriii/i must also be Germanic, or at least Celtic-Germanic. Alföldi tries to interpret it as a pole crown and reminds us that such field signs are found among other Indo-Germanic peoples, but also among the North Asian nomads. The Celtic La Tene art, which has been used everywhere since the• J century, is used for the opposing and related formations.

had gained ground and also had an effect on the Germanic tribes. Alongside the "rolling animals" in steppe art are commemorated and the possibility is left open that the Asian homeland of the equestrian peoples is also the home of the sign.

In view of the importance of Alföldi's statements, a reconsideration is essential. It will become apparent that they provide a clue, but that considerable concessions must be made.

No-one is prevented from tracing the history of the *Cornuti* and the bodies of troops close to them back to the beginning of the 4th century. But it must be remembered that tradition knows nothing of their participation in the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. The first appearance was at the Battle of Strasbourg.

What the *Cox fi, Petulant*#s and *Bracchiali* shield signs looked like is shown in the Roman army and state manual of the late 4th and early 20th centuries.

of the early _S century: the Notitia dignitatum. Among the various military coats of arms it gives, or. 6, g with the *Cornuli*

a double animal of the kind encountered on Constantine's Arch. The same is the case with the mounted part of the twin troop, the *Bracciiiati* occ. 6, 4¹⁰. In both cases, however, there is no indication that either goats or even horned animals are depicted. The further question of what the opposing double animals of the *Commit* and *Bracchiali* mean and where their origin is to be sought remains unanswered. It is quite possible that they are standardised attachments and that the

Scrolling animal on Chinese mirror of unknown date in S. Umehara in: Artibus Asiae i 8 (955L z56 and fig.3 The previously unpublished pieces in fig. \not c -5 come from the art trade. They are bronze snaffle discs

of the early Chou period. Scroll animals on the Ordos bronzes: J. G. Andersson in: BMFEA Stockh. q, 3yo f.; G. Boroffka, Scythian Art Taf. q5.

⁷ Amm. Marc. 16, 12, 45.

[•] One may refer to the sign of the Ccf/eu Not. dign. occ. s. - z -n+1-e

^{*^} reproduced in F. Altheim, Literatur und Gesellschaft i (i 9 q) Taf. KVI I.

models are to be sought in the East. Influences from the North Eurasian equestrian peoples on the art of the Germanic peoples can be observed since the appearance of the Huns, then the Avars ". A Germanic peculiarity of the troop coat of arms should be pointed out here: the appearance of runes.

Runes as shield signs are nothing unusual. They can be compared to the runes on spearheads 'o, except that the signs on the shields were not carved or inlaid with silver, but painted on. *Barbara froxin#is pingaiur rhuna tabøllis*, it says in a poem by Venantius Fortunatus". A vivid example is provided by the rich shield of the *Ascari scniores* or. Q. 3

Mommsen 1^ had interpreted the name of the troop as a "semi-Greek equi-valent" of <code>øfricø/arii</code>, thus placing it with <code>Òexó\$</code>. In contrast, R. Much suggested an interpretation from Germanic. He recognised an ahd. <code>ash</code>, aisl. <code>øsàr</code>, ags. <code>ocsc</code> "spear" in the name. The <code>A scarii</code> were thus, in Celtic terms, r "i" 'xi, ra"'r "i, <code>G'tcsati'*</code> - in Roman terms: <code>/aocinriil*</code>. The sign, which (apart from the colour) is uniformly reproduced in the Monacensis lat. ZO 2£)ł and in the Parisinus lat. ^{99*i}, is consistent with the Germanic interpretation'.

These are two opposing arches in the shape of hooks, interlocked in the centre. This is exactly the rune j of the Gemeingerma- nic Futhark. Of approximately contemporary runic inscriptions, the same "round" shape that appears in the Notitia is found on the stones of Tanum'* and Tune°0, the rock face of Karstad° 1, the stone of Steen-

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** A. Alfoldi in: Eur. Sept. .Int. g, z8s; J. Wiesner in: Germania i 9şz, z to. '° W. Krauee in: Germanien u. Indog. 2, 586 f.; Runeninschr. inn ält. Futhark i 9 f. No. 8-to; Arntz-Zei0, D. einheim. Runendenkm. d. Festl. I f.; Altheim- Tran tmann, Kimbern u. Runen° s 5 f.

l° y, i 8, r9; incorrect A. Menz in: Rhein. Mus. 86, zoz note zz.
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[&]quot; In: Herm. •i. • S Note 3 = Schrift. 6, z i6 note i ; H. Omont in the Parisian Issue of the Not. dign. (i g i i) Tal. i i .

^{&#}x27;° In: ZdA. 4+ . 95 f.; D. Germ. d. Tac. 89.

¹⁰ R. Heuherger in : KIiO3*. >*- ; on the Suftix -df- : E. Norden, Altgermanien **182f.**; **305**.

[&]quot; H. M. Parker in : Journ. Rom. Stud.•3. i86f.

^{&#}x27;° Abgeb. Rei F. Altheioi, Literatur und Geeellschaft i Taf. X¥'II. '° W.

Krause, Runeninechr. inn ält. Futhar* s-yf. No. 9.

oo V'. Krause, a. 0. 33d f. No. 55.

^{-&#}x27; W. Krauee, op. cit. O. qz f. No. q.

stad[^]. On this one, which is still to be placed in the middle of the 5th century, the y-rune "consists of two short bent, interlocking hooks, of which the one at the top left is approximately vertical, while the lower one points diagonally to the bottom left; the two bent ends of the hooks are very close to each other"^{oo}. This is the the same sign as the shield of the *Ascazii*.

A second rune is found on the *Kioficcs*' troop crest. **This** is found once occ. II, 18 among the *limitanzi* who were subject to the *dux Moguntiaconsis*. Their location is given *as Nemetis* (Speyer). Despite their Celtic name, the Nemetes were of Germanic origin. They belonged to tribes that Ariovist led across the Rhineo'. Tacituso^ already mentions *Nemelas* as *auxiliaris* in the Roman army under Claudius. In the local recruitment that applied to the *limitanei*, an originally Germanic troop section can be recognised in the *Vindices*. A more or less strong Celticisation can therefore not be ruled outo-. Furthermore, the *Kindicrs* or. 6, i6 appear among the *aiizifia §afafiiia*. Similar to the *Cortiufi* and *Bracchiati*, they have a double animal in their shield. Above it one recognises the rune fi, i.e. the Odal rune of the common Germanic Futharko'. Of course, the tradition here is not uniform. Of the copies of the archetype of the Notitia, the Spirensiso'', only the Monacensis lat. IO 2Qi gives the odal rune to the *Uitidices*. In the Parisinus

Ut. 99*I, the oldest copy, on the other hand, the *3fa//iaci iuniores* carry the rune°°. But they too were Germanic°°.

The coat of arms of the *Cornuti* or. ö. 9 can be understood from here. These bear, as already mentioned, a double animal; the heads show a bird-like formation. The centre is taken up by a roundel, which is also found in the *Angl'niarti* or._{S.} i8 and the *Falchouarii* occ. 6, i8, also Germani-

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^ W. Krause, a. 0. 566 f. No. 6j.
^ W. Krause, a. 0. 56d.
^ Caes., b. G. i, 5 i; R. Much in: Paul u. Braunes Beitr.7. *°3 : • s*; D. Germ. d. Tac. z6y 1. ¡ A. Franke in: RE. i6, 2383.
°° ann. i-. °7
°° R. Much, op. cit. O. •°7; A. Franke, a. 0. z383; J. Scharf, Stud. z. Bevölkerungs-hist. d. Rheinl. ion f.; iö5.
°' Submitted by F. Altheim, a. 0. i Tat. XVII.
-- Fundamental P. Schnabel in: SBAW. i9z6,
i.; u. rolaschek in: RF. xy, i los f.
°- H. Omont, a. 0. Pl. 2z.
°° Schönfeld in: RE. I§, 23-o f.
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The Cornuti's circle remains empty. But while the round remains empty for them, it is occupied by a sign for the *Cornuti*.

The tradition must be dealt with first. The Monacensis lat. IO zQz speaks most clearly, namely in the miniatures of the second version®°. Two opposing, outwardly open semicircles are pushed into each other in such a way that they intersect twice. The sign in the Parisinus lat. Qg6I seems more difficult to interpret. A check on the original leaves no doubt that the opposing, intersecting arcs are also present there. The only difference is that these are extended on both sides at the upper end to form a downward-sweeping curve. The woodcuts in the editions by Gelenius (Basel -s5-) and Panciroli (Venice -s931), for which the Spirensis likewise still provided the model, have omitted without further ado the sign incomprehensible to them.

If you stick to the Monacensis, the meaning is obvious. Only the rune ng can be meant. Usually written as a circle or square. it appears on the Thames knife (around7) and on Anglo-Saxon monuments in general as \ddot{o} *. The shield symbol would then reflect the rounded formation.

The oldest form of the ng rune has long been recognised in the ö of the Thames knife ^. As proof, the Opedal stone^ from the

middle or the first half of the 5th century. But according to the latest photograph ^ it seems doubtful whether the rounded form really appears there. It is only possible to recognise an extension on the lower side

of the semicircles to be applied beyond the point of intersection. Krause^o' therefore assumed that the circular shape of the mg rune was the oldest. Perhaps the sign of the *Cornuti* allows a different view.

Were the *Cornuli* Ingwäonen? Now that we no longer have to assume that the troops fought at the Milvian Bridge, we can focus on the reign of Constantine II. Under him

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'' I hm in: RE. i. **93: 6, i 968.
'Submitted by F. Altheim, a. 0. i Pl. X1'II.
'V'. Krause, op. cit. O. q38 f. No. 6.
'H. '\(\frac{4}{2}\) Hrntz, Handb. d. Runenkunde' 8y. Different in the second edition z ig.
'V'. Krause, a. 0. 55 i f. No. 6o.
'W. Kranse, a. 0. J53 Fig. 76 b.
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[°] a. 0. j26 ; Zeitschr. I. Deutschkde i $_{SS}$ 7. 35 $_{S}$; also H. Arntz, Handb. d. Rtincnkde° z i .

Saxons are mentioned as enemies on the imperial border*-. Saxon mercenaries were in the army that MagnentiuS35 led against Constantius II °. It was precisely this army that lulian led in late 333 as Caesar

which he led to victory at Strasbourg in 3_{SZ} . His appointment was made in order to avoid new uprisings. A member of the imperial house itself seemed to offer the best guarantee¹⁰. If the Coriiøfi were completely

or part of them were recruited from Saxony, then it would be understandable that they considered themselves Ingwäonen and carried the Ing rune in the field ^. Under this assumption, the correspondence of the eye rune of the Thames knife with that of the cortiøfi gains significance. It can hardly be considered a coincidence that the Angles and Saxons also belonged to the Ingwäonen. The angular shape and the round shape of the cornofi were merely modifications of the common Ingwäon tig runes.

They could have been derived from the Scandinavian form, the oldest occurrence of which is the tag rune of the stone from Kylver ^ would have to be separated.

Furthermore, although not in the Thames knife, but in the sign of the is the oldest known appearance of the rune. This is true if one takes the period in which the various redactions of the Notitia dignitatum were made as a basis, and it is even more true if one refers to the first documented occurrence of the Coriiøfi. The runes of the shield signs are also ancient in other respects. The J-rune of the Ascarii scniorøs is not only consistent with the monuments of the early

The odal rune of the Vindiccs (here the Mônacensis of the Vindiccs) can be compared to the sword ferrule of Tjorsbjærg from the end of the 3rd¹⁶ century and to the buckle of Vi from the middle of the same century. The odal rune of the *Vindiccs* (if one follows the Mônacensis

lat. ZO 2gx) will be traced back as close to the time as possible, since

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ŻOSĺm-3 ' '- --

° Iulian., or. i , 3 p . 5i Bidez ; L. Schmidt. Gesch. d. dten. Tribes, •. • 4 :

- Stein, Gesch. d. spätröm. Reich i, z I y.

^ Artemii passio i 5 bei Phüostorg. p. kg Bidez ; -Our. Viet. az, i y ¡ E. Stein, a. O.

1. 221.

-Later recruitment of Saxons was always possible. An inscription from Stobi (R. Egger in : Ryzant.s. 9 f.; i 5) attests to the Saxon battles of the elder Theodosius: it reads plys 6Ipn Z"§omtrji.

- ° H. Arntz, a. 0. g9.

" -^^^- - 43°. No. i.

^ Polaschek in : RE. i6, Io8zł.; A. W. Byvanck in : Mnemoe. i9' 7 f.; H. Nesselhauf in : Abh BAA'- °93 . °. 37

-- W. Krause, a. 0. 60of. N ° 7

-- \V. Krause, a. O. 60-i f. No. 80.
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the Nemetes had still retained their original Germanic nature and had not yet experienced Celticisation ^. It is therefore quite possible that the tig rune of the *Cornofi* represents the oldest form of all.

It had long been surmised that the Ingwäonen had possessed the ng or Jtig rune as a sign. This may have seemed bold at the time it was first suggested. Today there is much to be said in its favour. The *Ingamonos*, as it is unanimously written today according to the tradition of Pliny^", go back to the o-tribe Inge-. It is also found in *Inguiomcrus*, in the Old Norse Yoguii-Frryr, the *Ingunar*- Nrryr of the Lokasenna and in the enguz form of the Salzburg-Vienna manuscript. 1 *Inge*- stands next to the o-stem Jag-, just as u- and o-stems appear next to each other in the Italic god names lanus, Picus and Sancus" Arauses 'assumes that the Jag rune was named after the god and ancestor of the Ingwäonen as an ancient, pre-Runic symbol. The *Cornufi* confirm that this rune could be worn as a sign. A final observation is due to K. A. Eckardt . He states,

"that apart from the old Germanic sky god Tyr (*Tr::iwaz) and the new runic god Odin (*Wödanaz), whom we may regard as the bearer of the Asen rune in the Icelandic runic song, only Ingwi has been given the honour of giving a rune the name xu." He rightly concludes from this that the runes were created by an Ingwäonian tribe. It has already been emphasised on another occasion that this is perfectly consistent with the view of the Kimbrian origin of the runes ^.

Until now, the *Cornuti* were regarded as members of a Germanic tribe. But they were also members of a division of the late Roman army. They also wanted to be regarded and honoured as such.

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"Agreeing G. Baeeecke, Vor- u. Frühgesch. d. dten. Schriftl. i , io6.

^o H. Wirth, Hl. Urschrift q8 f. '-
n. h. , g6.

^o Most recently R. P. Robinson, The Germania of TaCituSo 73 Note i z.

o' K. Helm, Altgerm. Religiransqesch. z, i , qz.

o' F. Specht in : KZ. 6 , f.

^ l.c. qz 6 ; Zeitschr. f. Deutschkde. •037. 353f.

^ Ingwi u. d. In veonen. Stud. z. Rec hts- u. Religionsgesch. z, 2o f. ; similarly G.

Baesecke in : ZdA., An- 939, 5 ; Vor- und Frühgesch. d. dten Schrifttums i , i oz ;
H. Arntz, Handb. d. Runenkde. o z 28.

o^ Altheim-Traotmann, Kimbern und Runeno i i ; Kichern als Ingwäonen : Plin..,
n. h.

E. Norden, Altgermanien z85 ; above i , z98 f.
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In addition to the revolutionary changes he brought, Constantine the Great also ushered in a new attitude of the Roman Empire towards the Germanic tribes. Since Aurelian, they had been conscripted into military service in increasing numbers. Constantine also followed in the footsteps of his predecessor in this respect. Only he carried out what the latter had initiated. From then on, the Germanic tribes took first place in the army and were already beginning to move up to the higher ranks. Germanic symbols appeared on the shields, Germanic decorative art on the weapons, and Germanic words began to spread in vulgar Latin. Even such an important institution as the *prolectores* can be traced back to the Germanic concept of the allegiance.

It was not only that Germanism rose within the imperial army. Constantine also signalled a turning point in that he sought to religiously embrace the northern tribes outside the borders. It was expressly recorded that a 'Scythe' was to be found among the bishops of Nicaea -'. In other words, a Goth, according to the usage introduced by Dexippus and adopted by Eusebius. According to the same Eusebius, Constantine subjugated Scythians and Sarmati, i.e. Goths and Alans, by planting the sign of victory of the cross before them in trust in the Saviour. And indeed, Constantine's religious ideas do not seem to have failed to make an impression on the Germanic tribes.

Paulus Diaconus recounts the end of the Herulian king Rodulf, who ruled in the territory of the Arian Rugians and conquered the Lombards around the turn of the 5th century. Rodulf possessed an *ooxillum, good bandum ap pellanl*, and a *galea, quam* iii *bcllo gcstare consuzvcral*. Both fell into the hands of the victors along with enormous spoils. From then on, the power of the Heruli was gone, and they no longer had a king ^-.

Ideas of different origins are intertwined in this story.

The Germanic view is that once a royal regalia is lost, it remains irreplaceable. As Aligern Cumae with the Ostrogothic

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A. Schenk v. Stauffenberg in:

^o Euseb., v. Gonst. 3, y, i.

observed v. Const. q, 5.

observed - L. Schmidt, D. Ostgermanenosh observed - Schmidt, D. Ostgermanenosh observed - Paul. Diac., hist. Langob. i, zo; G. Baesecke, Vor- und Frühgesch. d. dten.

Scripture I, 3°3
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After he had handed over the royal treasure to the Romans, he ^' stated that a future king of the Goths - if such a king should appear again - would no longer have to appear in royal dress, but in a soldier's tunic, like a private citizen. The Ostrogothic regalia could therefore not simply be replaced like the Parthian-Sasanian, Roman and Byzantine regalia. It looks like a further development of this view when, after the loss of the royal helmet and banner, the power and empire of the Heruli came to an end.

But it is precisely the helmet and banner as pledges of dominion that lead to a second area. The Germanic idea has merged with another, the starting point of which is still known as Constantine.

Bandum is Gothic bandtrô. In Procopius it is attested as |36v6o5 and was probably already Latinised before ^o. Paul explains it as vrsiffiim, and this is already outwardly reminiscent of the square linen cloth which, according to Eusebios' description, hung down from the Øuerstab of the labarum ^; the coins provide information about its appearance ^. In addition to the labarum, Eusebius mentions Constantine's helmet: both were connected by the Christ monogram on them ^^.

The helmet of Constantine has a long history ^. With and without the monogram of Christ, it appears on coinage from 3-s. for the first time on a silver medallion from Ticinum. The Panegyricians recognise the helmet since 310^'. In the Battle of the Milvian Bridge, he shines ahead of the victorious army: fulgøt nobilis galca ct luce gemmariim divinum vsrficrøi monstrat*®. The late Roman ceremonial helmet of Budapest shows a general correspondence with the imperial helmet. This is emphasised by the glass rivers used, which imitate the gemstone decoration. Such helmets were probably worn by the imperial bodyguard ^-. Similar pieces have been found in other places in the Roman West. This shows that Constantine's helmet continued to h a v e an effect, and not only within the borders of the Roman Empire.

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O' Agath. i, -s. - i f. Nieb.
b. Vand. 2, 2, I; E. Gamillscheg, Romania Germanies i, z8; 366.
v. Const. i, 3i, z.
A. Alföldi in: Pisciculi Dölger 9; Pl. i, i; z, i-z.
v. bwst. I, 31, 1.
A. Alföldi in: Journ. Rom. Stud. 93a. 9 f.; GCFA afCh. §, QQ f.
Paneg. lat. 7, • p. z2 Baehr.; A. Alföldi in: Journ. Rom. Stud. i g 3 2, 12.
Paneg. lat. 7, -9. 5p ' Jq Baehr.; A. Alföldi, a. O. i z.
A. Alföldi in: Acta arch. 5, top f.
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Rome, but also to the Germanic tribes. The heavy helmets of Vendel and Valsgärde in central Sweden, covered with the intertwined bands and limbs of the North Germanic animal style, can be traced back to the same form. Above all, a piece found at De Pee1, Deurne in Brabant, according to its inscription, belonging to the *cquitcs SfobWiani* also mentioned in the Notitia dignitatum, provided the model for the Scandinavian imitations".

With Constantine's helmet, the Germanic royal helmet of the early Middle Ages has already been compiled'o. Paul's testimony was overlooked. And yet only this confirms the link. For in Rodulf the helmet does not appear alone, but as in Constantine: gWa and *voxillum* combined. The Herulian king is a direct successor to the first Christian emperor.

The shield also became the same as the labarum and helmet under Constantine, the bearer of the Christ monogram. *Clypoorum insignia scri psmat... Christus*, says Prudentius'°. This is further confirmation that the shield also continued to have an effect in the Germanic area.

The tg rune of the *Cornuti* stands on a shield. As a rune and in particular as a runic symbol, it is a "no/a". This is a reminder that Constantine had *Cliristum* sole? *iti scutis***, i.e. the monogram of Christ, painted on the shields of his army before the Battle of the Milvian Bridge. This monogram, like the train rune, was a viola and, like it, the sign of a god. The oldest of Constantine's surviving Christ monograms, on the

Silver medallion of Ticinum from the year 3zs", is attached to the helmet inside of a roundel. The monogram on the labarum, which "describes" Eusebios, is surrounded by a wreath of gold and precious stones. It can hardly be c o n s i d e r e d a coincidence that the ing rune of *Cor'iiifi*,

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'° Shetelig-Falk-Gordon, Scandinavian Archeology z58.

°*. G. Arwidsson in: Acta arch. s. -s : -°. 57 '* A.
AlfÖldi, a. O•39 f.

*° c. Symm. i , q88; on this A. Alföldi in : J ourn. ROm. Stud. 93s, Note z .

'^ Tacit., Germ. i o; on this A. Mentz in : Rhein. Mus. 8b, i 9q f. ; G. Baesecke in : ZdA. Anz. 939. - f. ; Vor- und Frühgesch. d. dten Srhriftt. i , 98; Altheim-Trautmann, Kimbern u. Runen° q6 f.

*° Lact., mort. pers. §§, 5.

*^ R. Delbrueck, Spätantike Kaiserpo

•'* 7• ; Tat. i, i i; A. Alföldi in : Journ. Rome. StUd 93•. I o f.; Pisciculi Dölger q f.

*' V. Const. i , 3i . i .
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unlike the other runes on the shields of the Notitia dignitatum, appears within a round or medallion. Nor does it appear on a shield of the late Roman army, under Christian emperors.

The Germanic tribes certainly put runes on shields of their own accord. This did not require any external impetus, and the other runic shield signs discussed above confirm this. But the Stig rune of the *Commit* has so many special features that it is reasonable to assume that it was applied according to the Christian model.

Other things can be added to this result'®. Gregory of Tours described Clovis as the "new Constantine" at his baptism. In the legend of Wolfdietrich, as it developed from the 6th century onwards, the first Christian emperor and the king of the Franks are even equated, as the latter lived in Constantinople. And in the French epic poem by Floovent from the i2nd century, the hero's father is called abwechsel. The hero's father is alternately called Clovis and Constantine. This also shows how powerfully he has continued to influence the memory of the Germanic tribes.

Recently, E. Schaffran'-, published the bronze statuette of a seated German prince. He believes that he recognises a Lombard king from the turn of the 6th to the 2nd century (which is not entirely convincing from a factual and chronological point of view). As always: the depiction

The figure depicted here is wearing elements of the late Roman imperial costume. He rests his left hand on a round shield, on which the two opposing goat heads, growing out of the semi-circular curved necks, are placed. In other words, the counterpart to the troop coat of arms of the Arch of Constantine and the shield symbol of the *Cornuli*. Only this time it is not the mg rune but the Christ monogram that appears in its ancient form. In other words, with a transverse X that becomes a cross and whose upper end is bent into a P "0. The sitter has not only appropriated the late Roman troop coat of arms, but also the oldest, Constantinian form of the monogram®'.

^{&#}x27;° To m the following last G. Baesecke, Vor- u. Frühgesch. d. dten. Literature

^{°-} In: Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana 3z (i 95 6), z f.3

^{**} F. Altheim, Literatur und Gesellschaft im ausgehenden Altertum i (i9 t9), up.

o' This confirms my interpretation of Lact., De mort. pers. qq, 5 (a. 0. I, i 5f.).

It has thus become clear that the coats of arms of the late Roman army contain valuable material awaiting investigation. However, it is hardly advisable to view them all from the same perspective. In fact, another shield sign leads to completely different conditions. In addition to the archaeological monuments, the manuscript tradition of the Notitia dignitatum° also has a special status here. The archetype° of this late Roman state and army manual, which was probably completed in 429/43O, contains the signs of no fewer than 283 military units on 22 pages in colour.

Among the troops under the command of the *Magister pedi'tum* praesenlalis of the Western Empire, the felices Valenlinianenses* appear. Their shield sign, as reproduced in the edition by 0. Seeck after the first, uncorrected Munich manuscript, shows a standing warrior in front view. He is dressed in a tunic, of which it is difficult to decide whether it was intended to be long-sleeved or short-sleeved. The lower hem is cut into a series of semicircles, leaving half of the thighs and the lower legs bare. The warrior's left hand is raised; in his right he holds a composite bow, the grip part of which is sharply contrasted. The headdress remains the most remarkable feature. A row of spikes rise close together above a headband.

What is meant by this? The obvious idea of a crown of feathers is ruled out by the fact that an exactly corresponding troop of the late Roman army is known. The contemporary frieze of the Arch of Constantine depicts archers taking part in the siege of Verona and the decisive battle at the Milvian Bridge. They are also wearing the tunic, partly short-sleeved and partly long-sleeved. Their

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'A. Alföldi in : C-ermania 935. 3*' f. ; Polaschek in : RE. • 7. • 'w ; F. Altheim with J. Kollwitz in : Gnomen
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^{&#}x27;Authoritative edition of 0. Seeck • 7*

[°] Fundamental P. Schnabel in : SBAW- 9+*. zjz f.

[•] A. W. Byvanck in : Mnemosyne i9 o, 82 f.

[°] OCC. 5. 60.

• Monac. lat. iozq i ; 0. Seeck a. 0. XX\$'I I I ; F. Altheim. Literature and Society i Pl. XXI II below.

^{&#}x27;H. P. L'Orange in : Symb. Osloens. i 3, IO§ f.; H. P. L'Orange and A. von Gerkan, Der spät. antike Hildschmuck des Konstantinbogens 5 f.

The weapon is the composite bow, whose typical bone reinforcements have been found in the castes of the Upper Germanic and Rhaetian Limes. The corresponding headdress can also be seen here. It originated from the fact that these archers did not carry their arrows in their quiver but under their headgear. This custom is explicitly reported by tribes of the upper Nile, i.e. Ethiopes. They tied their small arrows with a hair bandage. The feathered part lay on the head, the tips protruded outwards so that they stood out like rays.

Given the similarity in costume and armour, one could be forgiven for thinking that the archers of the bow of Constantine and the one on the shield of the *Jolices Valentinianznsos* represented the same type of weapon. Here, as there, they were inhabitants of the Upper Nile who were equipped in the local manner. It can hardly be assumed, however, that the same troops are depicted. For these *Jclicos* of the Notitia dignitatum were named after their founder Valentinian I (3 6 4 375)

- or II t3 339*). like the /rficzs scniores and iuniores mentioned next to it Arcadiani *°, fclicos Honoriani scniores and itioioras¹¹, Honoriani felices Gallicani**, felices Ttwodosiani*®, felices Thcodosiani Isauri'* and /sJicss Theodosiani iuniorss'^ were named after Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius I. The troop to which the sign of the Notitia dignitatum belonged was therefore more than half aJ century younger than those who were at the Mil vic bridge.
- H. P. L'Orange'° has described the archers who appear on the two large cam- plé reliefs of the Arch of Constantine as Moorish auxiliaries. But this view fails because Moorish archers are not documented anywhere". The javelin is explicitly mentioned as a Moorish weapon'8.

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° K. Stade in : Germania iQ§3, I xof. ; H. van de Weerd and P. Lambrechts in : Laureae Aquincenses i, zei note go; see L'Orange-v. Gerkan, a. 0. Taf. i g . In addition F. E. Brown in : Sem. Kondak- 9th *-

° Heliod., Aith. 9, ig ¡ Lucian., de salt. i 8.

" * 7. * - 3*i *- 2* - * = 63 = 6j. " 7 . 3'37:

L z* =6*.
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'^ Or. 6, z i - 6z.

14 Or. 5, 25 = 66.
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 12 Occ. 5, 98 = 247 = 7,89.

^{&#}x27;° Symb. Osloens. i6, Io5 f.; ÅOØlå 1936, 2 I} f.; L'Orange-v. Gerkan, a. 0. 5 f. '' Cf. Gnomon i8, io9f.

^{&#}x27;° Herodian, i, -s. -: i. 3. ': 7' *. -

them on Trajan's Column'o. In addition, the presence of Moors is attested precisely on the opposite side, in the army of Maxentius, not in that of Constantineoo. Nor is the concept of Moors ever extended to the tribes on the upper Nile, not even by later authors "1.

There is no inscriptional or literary evidence of such a troop. The *equites sagittarii indigenae*, which appear under the dux of Thebais in the Notitia dignitatum°°, are ruled out, as they were a cavalry troop. Nevertheless, we can hazard a guess. The victory at the Milvian Bridge was celebrated on Constantine's coins with the inscription *vir/os exercitus* Gallicani°°. Perhaps this is why the

.sagif/arti Gaf/icatii°′, in whose name the former affiliation to the exercifiis Gallicanus is expressed. This says nothing about their origin. However, two Moors facing each other can be recognised on their shield mark, and this would fit in with the archers' origins and their way of fighting. The same Moors appear under the cotnrs Jimi/is Aogypti as the coat of arms of Parembole°5 in Upper Egypt. So far we have only considered the sign used by the /rficus Kafso- tinianensos in the first version of the Munich manuscript of the Notitia dignitatum. Not enough attention h a s b e e n paid to the fact that the Paris copy of the Speyer Archetype°- gives a completely different sign.

too, we see a standing warrior in front view. Again he raises his left hand and holds the weapon in his right. But otherwise there are peculiar differences. Whereas in the first Munich version the left hand makes a pointing gesture, here it holds up a circular disc. And the weapon is not a bow, but a lance pointed downwards. The wreath of arrows as a headdress is missing, and instead of the

The tunic appears to be a long, chequered cloak that is closed at the front.

There can be no doubt that both the form of the shield sign that appears in the Munich manuscript and that which

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"Cichorius z, 295 f.

-° Lact. De mort. persecut. qq, 3; cf. ZOs. z, i 5, 2 K'x xn

° Vine in: RE. i4. -35O; Claudian, De cons. Stil ich. i, zq8 f. certainly forms no counter-instance.

^ Or. 3i, z5 f.

A. Alföldi in: z5 Jahre röm.-germ. Kommiss. i 3.

^ Or. 5, 3-*': 5' 5-5

° Or. z8, i o.

-- Paris. lat. 966 i . Reproduced in F. Altheim, op. O. i Pl. XV I; P. H. Schwa
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⁻⁻ Paris. lat. 966 i . Reproduced in F. Altheim, op. O. i Pl. XV I ; P. H. Schwamm, Herrscha/tszeichen und Staatssymbolik i (i q5) Pl. 8 g.

the Paris version, can be traced back to the same model. The basic posture of both warrior figures is the same. The vertical bow there corresponds to the lance here; both times the left arm is raised. And in the taut, upward-pointing shape of the hair on the side of the Paris version, one believes to recognise something like a rudiment of the previously discussed crown of arrows.

Is the Paris version the inferior one, and does the Munich copy reproduce the original drawing of Spirensis more correctly? Seeck favoured the first version of the Munich manuscript and based his edition on ito. But it is to be noted that

recall that Count Palatine Ottheinrich (-5+t--559) had the drawings of Spirensis retrieved once more in the copy made for him, since the first copy made in the taste of the time was not available.

It speaks against Seeck's understanding°° when one sees that in the second version of the Munich manuscript the sign largely coincides with that of the Parisinus. Again we see a man in a long, chequered cloak. He has raised his left hand with open fingers and is carrying an elongated object in his right hand, which is difficult to determine ®°. The lack of lance and disc is a difference. Otherwise, however, the second Munich and Paris versions are identical. Significantly, the same tightly upturned head hair appears both times.

Another clue is the woodcut in the Gelenius edition (Basel, Froben 2•55)". which also had the Spirensis. The long cloak agrees with the Paris copy and the second Munich copy.

The staff (or lance) in the left (the figure is given in the opposite sense) corresponds to the Paris version, the pointing gesture of the right again to the second Munich version. A special feature is the jagged crown, apparently a restylisation of the hairstyle.

This seems to prove that the Paris copy is the most accurate reproduction of the original. The posture, the long, chequered cloak, the hair costume and the **lance** are confirmed elsewhere. What remains unique

^{°&#}x27; a. 0. XXV II I f.

^{°8 0.} Seeck, a. 0. I X.

^{°°} a. 0. XXI X.

^{°°} Notitia dignit., ed. E. Backing, z A p. i 9.

^{°&#}x27; Submitted by F. Altheim, a. 0. i Tal. XXI I (bottom right).

only the disc in the left hand. Here the other renderings suggest a hand with open fingers; but there may also be a possibility of an interpretation for the disc. In fact, the Paris copy is the oldest $k \, n \, o \, w \, n$ copy of the Spirensis. Since it was in the possession of Pier Candido Decembrio in I45 at the latest,

it must have been created in the first half of the -5th century -°, not around the middle of the i6th century, like the Monacensis°°. Was the drawing of the shield sign in the Spirensis, as evidenced by the different rendering of the ab-Since the Munich version suggests that the original of the Munich text has become unclear over time or has been partially destroyed, if there is any copy, it must be the oldest and thus the Parisinus that has preserved the original form most purely. In addition, not only the first Munich version, but also the others, especially the Paris version, make sense and are confirmed by other monuments.

Of course, one will search in vain for an equivalent in the stock of types of late Roman art. The depictions of the small gold horn from Gallehus in Nordschleswig ^, which have only survived in one copy, show a warrior in front view on the widest strip of the picture running along the upper edge. Again, he is holding a lance with the point facing downwards in his right hand and a disc or ring in his left. He wears two horns on his head. The images of the golden horn pose many a riddle in terms of content. Nevertheless, it seems clear that it was itself used for cultic purposes -S. The horn-bearing figure refers to the same area. A. Olrik° has associated it with Odin, the owner of the spear Gungnir and the ring Draupnir. The helmet of Sutton Hoo gives a similar figure, but the editors have dispensed with an interpretation -'.

This seems to provide a clue for the interpretation of our shield symbol. Admittedly, some difficulties must first be

 $^{^{\}circ\circ}$ P. Schnabel, a. 0. zqq f. ; cf. R. Sabbadini in : Stud. di filol. class. i i , z6i Note x.

^{°°} P. .Schnabel, a. 0. *47

^{°&#}x27; Most recently V'. Krause, Runic inscriptions in the older Futbark i 2z, no. y6. - The K. Hauck in P. H. Scbramm, a. 0. i6/f.; °°3 "IR. 26d.

^{°°} W. KraUSßt a. 0. i7 q.

^{°°} Gucteiremstillingar p8 Guldhornene og andre nldre Mindesmmrker. In: Danske Study i9 i8.

^{°&#}x27; The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial z5 Fig. 7.

be clarified. On the basis of a few individual motifs that correspond to South Russian finds, the two horns of Gallehus were thought to be without any explanation from the Germanic tradition ³^. However, this is already in view of the inscription of the North Germanic finisher® °:

ekhlewagastiR | holtijaR | horna | tawido |

"I Hlewegast, Holte's son, made the horn" - a bold under- standing. Recently 0. Höfler -0 has rightly adhered to Olrik's interpretation. Some details in which the two depictions, the Odin of Gallehus and the sign of the *felices* Valentiniatienses, differ seem to carry more weight. The shield symbol depicts a warrior in a long, cloak-like cloak, which is missing on the Gallehus **horn**. But the spear and ring are not the only insignia of Odin. The cloak is also part of it": after him he is called *Mklumadr* "cloak-man" . K. Hauck, who agreed with the interpretation given here, thinks of a cloak made of fur patches*. On the other side, Odin of the Golden Horn wears a ring on his left hand and the pair of horns on his head. Both are missing on the shield symbol, perhaps the ring there has been replaced by the raised disc.

It has long been recognised that a similar figure appears on the southern Scandinavian *hällristningor*". The most famous of these is the Litlesby rock painting -s. Here a huge figure of phallic formation carries the land° with the tip slanting downwards. It also appears, especially on the Bronze Age rock carvings of Ostergötland, in a horizontal position --. In

^{°°} E. €ijessing in: Norsk Tidskrift for Sprogvidenskap i93'. •53*-

[°]e W. Krause, a. 0. i 26; Arntz-Zeiß, Die einheim. Runendenktn. d. Mainland ig9; 3qz. K. rightly **adheres to the** interpretation of **tewido "verfertigte" compared to E.** Marstrander in: Norsk Tidskrift for Sprogvidenskap 3. -¢ f.

^{^°} Hist. Zeitschr. si. -: 9 Note i.

^{-&#}x27; M. Ninck, Wodan u. germ. Schicksalsglaube i i ; Ij ; 26 ;7° ; 8 f. ; i 33; J. de Vries, Altgerm. Religionsgesch. z, i9i f. ; 0. Holler, a. 0. ig Anm. i.

 $^{^{\}text{\tiny 10}}$ O. Höfler, l. O. i9 note i ; x-g1. J. Grimm, Dte. Mythol. q, iz i ; 267-

[^] With P. H. Schwamm, a. 0. i6J f.

^{-* // .} de Vries, a. 0. I , *9 - : *. si ; M. Ninck, a. 0. z i f. : 0. Höfler, a. 0. i i f. with rich evidence.

^{-°} A. Nordén, Osterg
6tlands bronsälder i 85 provides a clear summary of the
 $\mbox{{\bf position.}}$

In many cases the lance is oversized. This shows that it had a special meaning. Germanic religious scholars are inclined to recognise in this "spear" or "lance-bearer" a divine predecessor of Odin with the lance Gungnir -'.

It has, of course, been objected that the phallic depiction of the rock images has no equivalent in the later Wodan and Odin. According to Adam von Bremen, Fricco (aisl. fre yr the Swede) was depicted in the temple at Uppsala cum iitgrii/i j b r i a; bo (next to Thor ehm sceptro and Wodan as armatus). On the other hand, the lance god could not be xvesenseins with Fricco- Freyr, as he was thought of as ;üacsin rofu§/afr "iqiie largiens morlalibus. Thus the connection between the lance and the phallos does not have an explanation in the later Nordic religion. To this it must be replied that the pliallos on the rock paintings has no special meaning, but simply denotes the man and thus also the deity of male gender. The divine axe-bearer, in whom one sees the predecessor of Thor and his hammer Mjollnir, is also depicted with the erected phallos, as is the lance god -".

On three petroglyphs from Tan around -°, the vertical position of the whale, with the tip pointing downwards, is also found on this lance bearer. Here the correspondence with the corresponding shape of the Gallehuser gold horn and the shield sign of the |elices Valentinianenses is clear. It confirms Olrik's view and implies that of the shield sign. The lance bearer appearing on it could also be addressed as Odin or Wodan. At the same time, the horns that the god wears on the gold horn can be interpreted. Their long, curved shape points to bull horns: perhaps there was an inner connection between this visible depiction and the gold horn itself, which also had the shape of a bull's horn. Connections can be drawn between Wodan and the bull. The god's berserkers wear bull horns or fight in animal form 5°. On the rock carving at Kalleby near Tanum 5' (Bohuslän), a giant figure appears holding his lance vertically.

^{• &}lt;sup>7</sup> J. de Ä'ries, a. 0. <, 95 : -g : i yOl., J4. Ninck, a. O. z i f. ; O. Höfler, a. 0. i i f.

¹⁸ O. Almgren, Nord. Rock paintings as relig. Documents i i i I.; Ab*- 73 -

⁻⁻ L. Baltzer, op. cit. O. Ta*. jj No. q; q9-50 No.7: 5 7-38 N r. z bottom left; Altheim-Trautmann, fi'om Ursprung der Runen. fi bb. 52: P. Altheim, Italy and Rome i°, fig. z.

^{°°} M. hinc k, a. O. y; go; q6; z 5G.

^{*&#}x27; O. . Bl mgren, Felsbilder als relig. Urk unden 7 • Fig. 38.

planted in the bottom of a dragon ship. Already 0. Almgren -°, then again 0. Höfler" have interpreted the lance as holy, the figure as a god. It is the divine lance bearer with a vertically held weapon that we already know. Finally, we should mention a self-discovered rock painting from the vicinity of Tanum. Here the divine lance-bearer appears again: as on the gold horn, he wears the bull's horns on his head ^-.

One last hint. The upper Italian rock paintings from the Val Camonica show, among other numerous similarities with the southern Scandinavian hällristningar ^^ - in addition to sun symbols, cult chariots and cult ships, warrior and battle depictions - also the lance god ^{^7}. The similarities are particularly clear here. Above all, the god with the downward-facing weapon ⁵" appears again. If the ingenious conjecture of a Belgian scholar -° is correct, then the figure of Cernunnos*° that we have discovered points to Nordic models, specifically to the lance bearer. But then the long cloak would also have found its counterpart on the rock paintings. Finally, there is the peculiarity that on three of these petroglyphs - two are from Sassiner, one from the Scale di Cimbergo° - the disc raised with the left hand also recurs. In Sassiner, the depiction is repeated four times. Next to it is a runner in the swastika pattern; he is also holding the disc in his hand. On another rock painting, found south of Naquane -°, another four lancers appear with this attribute. Here, too, the lance is held vertically, usually with the point turned downwards.

The upheld disc, which forms the special feature of the shield sign, has thus found its counterpart. All these spatial and temporal

The two representations - Bohuslän and Ostergötland, the Val Camonica, the Gallehuser Goldhorn and the sign of the Notitia dignitatum - which are so widely separated, obviously depict the same context, the same divine figure.

The connection of the disc with Odin in particular is perhaps confirmed by the Runic fa \S inscriptions. This formulaic word, which appears as $la\S u$, lala, $lap\ddot{o}du$ and means "citation", appears several times on Scandinavian bracteates of the 6th century $^{\circ\circ}$. The connection with Odin is given by the depiction of a man (or his head) above a horse and bird. It recurs on the bracteates with the inscriptions Jaiiéafi $^{\circ}$ and $c\ddot{A}ws^{\circ}$; the horse of Odin is clearly meant here $^{\circ\circ}$. Other references to the god are added. Also the

The name of the runic master on the bracteate no. -4 from **Funen** houaR erinnert to the runic god Odin°^. In this context, the

Bracteate no. z2 from Trollhättan -- of significance. Its inscription /awö fn§odii is translated by W. Krause as "I am making a citation". The depiction shows the upper part of a man raising his right arm and holding a circular object in his hand. This can be compared to the disc held by the god of the shield sign, which is also held by the lance bearers of the rock paintings.

Odin-Wodan's age is difficult to determine. But there can be no doubt that the Cimbri knew Wodan. This is proven by the appearance of *Mercurius Cimbrianus*, to whom a splinter of the people remaining between the Rhine, Main and Neckar rivers in the 3rd century BC was dedicated.

n. Chr. inscriptions set'°. The sanctuary of this Kimbrian Wodan is, together with the associated "rune stones", on the Greinsberg near

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^{\circ\circ} W. Krause, a. 0. go f. No. z6 f.
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^{° ∧} W. Krause, a. 0. 31 f. No. i y f.

^{°°} W. Krause, a. 0. q2 f.

^{°°} W. Krause, a. O 39: 4: 47

o' W. Krause, a. 0.33 note I to no.'7: 3 to no. zo ("swastika ... which symbolises the sphere of the Asen"); 36 to no. 2z (swastika); 37 -u no. z3 (hooked cross); 38 to no. zq (swastika); 39 -u no. z5 (swastika); cf. so; q8 to no.3* and 33 (swastika).

^{°®} W. Krause, a. 0. Hz to no. z8.

^{°°} W. KrätlSC, a. 0. 43; Fig. 37-

^{*}S. Gutenbrunner, D. german. Götternamen d. antik. Inscriptions 32 f.; J. de Vries, a. 0. i, i 66f.

[&]quot; Altheim-Trautmann, a. 0. y f.; 83 f.

Miltenberg a. M. was found'o. Secondly, there is the fact that the Cimbri knew how to honour Wodan by hanging the defeated after the battle. By referring to our earlier treatment of the question, we shall confine ourselves to drawing the conclusions.

It cannot be proven that the rock carvings already depict Odin or Wodan. We must leave the name of the god open and content ourselves with describing him as Odin's predecessor. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the god of the gold horn of Gallehus, which was built around doo A.D. or later, was Odin. Chr. or later" is Odin. And the same must be true of the corresponding figure of the shield sign: it represents Wodan. Since the troops of the *felicos Valentiniancnses* were formed **under** Valentinian I or II, the shield was created before the end of the d. century. It is the oldest depiction of Wodan or Odin.

The conclusion that follows from this is that the /zficrs Valentinianenscs were a troop of Germanic origin. There is no difficulty in this assumption, for Germanic troops are encountered in large numbers in the Notitia dignitatum. The appearance of Germanic symbols is also not surprising. After all, runes were found on the shields of the Cornuti, Vindiczs and Ascarii sonioros'-. But one point remains to be clarified: the appearance of the pagan god Wodan on the shield of a troop that was organised under a Christian emperor.

It is worth remembering that the symbol of another Germanic god also appears on a shield. The *Cornuti*, who were probably recruited from Saxony, i.e. were Ingwäonen, bore the log rune and thus the symbol of their tribal god Zug (fagti-) in their coat of arms. Furthermore, we know that the tribal gods - and especially the Asen - were not regarded as full gods. lordanes"

^{&#}x27;O An overview in CI L. 13 p. z8q.

^{&#}x27;° Altheim-Trautmann, Kimhern and Runes° q f.

^{&#}x27;^ Shetelig-Falk-Gordon, Scandinavian Archeology zo8; W. Krause, a. 0.• 76; 0. Höfler, a. 0. i i; E. Gjessing, a. O °74

^{*°} F. Altheim in: KliO3 • . 5 i f.; G. Raesecke, Vor- und Frühgesch. d. dten. Schrift- tums i, zo6; above p. io5 f.

[&]quot;* O. Höfler, a. - 9: 3

[&]quot;Get. y8; O. Höfler, a. 0. nt Anm. z.

expressly interprets the *A nsis* as *semidci*. But something else is far more important. From the Roman side, the appearance of Wodan can best be explained by thinking of the establishment of the *felices Valenlinianenses* under Valentinian II'°. At the beginning of his reign, he was not averse to the pagan senate party and had the Franconian Bauto, a pagan, as *his megis/sr tnifinnn*. And even if the emperor changed from an enemy to a friend of Ambrose and developed ascetic tendencies, a new pagan reaction set in with the later *magister tniJinon* Arbogast, Bauto's compatriot, comrade-in-arms and fellow believer. Under the regiment of one of these two men, the Germanic god could well have been brought onto the shield of the newly created troops. The fact that Wodan is depicted on foot in the old way, not on horseback, is confirmation of this. For the Franks in particular had long adhered to foot combat'" and depicted their god accordingly.

Arbogast's name is linked to the last battle of Roman paganism, which came to an end with the elevation of Flavius Eugenius to emperor and the Battle of Frigidus in 39s. If the previously

the assumption expressed is correct, the alliance between the pagan and the nian Franks and the Roman Senate party® o appear in a new light. It was not only under the sign of the Roman gods that they would have lobbied against Theodosius. Just as consecrated I upite statues ¹¹ with gilded thunderbolts in their hands ® were erected on the passes of the Alps against the approaching enemy ® o, so too the Germanic god wearing an armour was used against him in their coat of arms. lupiter and Wodan would have joined forces against the Christian army on the banks of the Wippach. And just as little as the lupiter eagles of the old guard troops, the *loviani*, were touched despite the victory, so little seems to have happened to the god of the */uficss Valon-linianenses*

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'* E. S4 ein, these h. d. spätröm . Empire i. 3 i I; 320; 32§. '-Prokop., b. Goth. 2,° 3. 2 J.
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[^]o F. K linger, \'om Geistesleben im Rom des ausgehenden A ltertu mS 3z f.

^{*} Augustin, De civ. Dei 5, z 6: loais simulacro, quae ad versus vorn (se. Theodosium j 'ttezaril nesci o quibus zili bus velul corrsecrala rt iii A1 pi bus constifiilo.

[^]o Augustin., i.c.. fulmtun quod oucea fnisse uf.

The Trier Kornmarkt mosaic shows h o w long the pagan world of ideas persisted in the imperial residence of Trier under emperors who were already Christian:

J. Moreau, Das Trierer Kornmarktmosaik (Mon um. Artis Rom. z, i960) 5 ; zö.

3

Germanic belief in gods was not only associated with the pagan opposition of late Rome. The fact that support was also received from the Iranian East is shown by two further cases, which will now be reported on.

On the 24th4 *939 H. Arntz informed me of a runic inscription', which he

read. "It stands on a stone fixed over an iron meteorite in Dölzig near Leipzig. Cand. phil. Eberhard Pinder in Leipzig discovered it while surveying the area for his dissertation, and I went to the stone with him. We cannot discover any external signs of inauthenticity; a forger would generally want to produce something more comprehensible and hardly something that would hit our runic theories like a bomb." E. Pinder confirmed the find in a letter dated 5 }. 39 confirmed the find. H. Arntz gave the interpretation: "(i)# *Ingus* would be the East Germanic form that we should expect to find there." He assumed that the inscription "was probably longer in the past".

During the war, the research was suspended. It was only on z3.*945 that Dr H. E. Giesecke, as an expert on East Germanism, examined my He asked for the stone again. He found it in the garden of the Arnoldschen estate in Dölzig, Auenstraße z8, in its former state. He gave the following description:

"Irregular round stone with concentric grinding marks on the hotter upper side forming the original surface. This layer has been lost on the lower side due to chipping. Coloured sandstone, on the left edge a **piece of** amorphous blue rock (slate, basalt?) protrudes. Slightly above it, a limestone inclusion about z square centimetres in size is visible on the surface of the stone. The entire reverse side is densely covered with crystalline copper flakes, 0.3-3 mm in size. The inscription was attached to the underside after it had been chipped off. Apart from the t 1 and / 4 fi T recognisable on the photograph by E. Pinder, there are no remains of writing between | and Y on the blasted upper surface.

^{&#}x27; Illustrated after a photograph by E. Pinder in F. Altheim, Literatur und Gesellschaft i plate $\mathrm{XVII}\ I$ above.

While the two dots are recognisable on the left and right, the reverse, roughly opposite the Ing rune 4, has another long vertical hasta, possibly caused by corrosion. To the left of this, two dots are carved right next to each other. The inscription has subsequently been partially drawn out in silver bronze."

According to Arntz, the vertical diameter of the stone is about two centimetres, the horizontal diameter about 3 centimetres. No information could be obtained about the location of the find. Arntz assumed it was in the neighbourhood, as other

pieces in the same possession - columns, baptismal font, capitals - also came from there. In the vicinity of Dölzig, there is evidence of Germanic remains dating back to the Migration Period.

The first question must be the authenticity of the piece. Arntz and Pinder believed there was no reason for doubt, but both emphasised that only a precise examination of the weathered bark could provide clarity. I n consequence of the refusal of the then (Ig39) and the

later owner (-94s), such an investigation has not yet been possible.

possible. The subsequent extraction of the most important characters with silver colour has also made the conditions for this more difficult. In this situation, one must confine oneself to internal reasons. They seem to confirm the impression that Arntz and Pinder had.

Runic inscriptions consisting solely of the pronouns of the first person and a following name could be attributed to a

forgers were not known in 1939. There were certainly a number of inscriptions on which a Herulian usually named himself in the first person. But

They were invariably longer. The inscription on the spearhead of Rozsvadów in eastern Galicia, which can be compared with the Dölzig stone in terms of its shape and brevity, was not used by W. Krause° in 1993 and H. Arntz ³ Bloch in 1938.

inconceivable. It was not until x93 that Arntz published his (incidentally unprovable) interpretation as i $J\acute{a}$ [e]ruls: "I (am) an Eruler". The runic primer from Bratsberg (B) in Norway with the inscription ed erilaz has already been

*9s2 by B. Hougen and M. Olsen - published. But it was still unknown to Arntz in ig38. It was only in -939 that he made it known to the German public.

- Runic inscriptions in older Futhark 2 I.
- Runic script § 5.
- ' Arntz-Zeiß, D. einheim. Runendenkm. d. Festland az5 f.
- * In: Viking i93 y, 53 f.

made accessible to research°. The ornate bindings have no equivalent in the Dölzig stone.

Zoo. It was not until E. Trautmann and I, following the discovery of / on the Miltenberg Touton Stone, that the interpretation \acute{e} was also advocated at Sedschütz'⁰. We referred to the disc from Fossum in Bohuslän '¹ and were able to prove ig42 / = # on the northern Italian rock inscriptions from the Würmlach meadows no less than three times ^{1°}. This too must have been known to a forger•939 " Tl.

As far as the shape of the individual runes is concerned, they have just been spoken. The long bar could mean that it is not the simple form, but a binderune iÄ. But on the one hand the spelling # instead of *i*# is attested in a number of cases", on the other hand the é of the Touton stone also has the overlong hasta'*. Finally, the binderune ié on the axe-shaped pendant from Hainspach is quite questionable'⁵ . 9 is smaller than the normal height of the runes; the shape only appears on the bracteate from Vadstena'*. The rune on the stone from Kylver, again smaller than the normal height, is not placed at an angle. h u and s, like t f and 1 i, are not special. The reappearance of the Y on the reverse shows that the scribe applied it a second time.

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° Arntz-Zeiß, a. 0. zyf.

' W. Krause, a. 0. -s: - i: ; x83; +97 - s: H. Arntz, a. O. 88.

° W. Krause, a. 0. drew note.

° Arntz-Zeiß, a. - 3°5: 3°7: '°-

'° Altheim-Trautmann, V. Ursprung d. Rune-
** Altheim-Trautmann, Kimbern u. Runen° 30. '°

Arntz-Zeiß, a. 0. Izo word list under (i)l.

'^ Altheim-Trautmann, V. Ursprung d. Runen7s f. ; fig. s6.

1° Arntz-Zeiß, l. c. O. z5 i.

'° H. Arntz, Handb. d. Runenkde.° b9; W. Krause, a. 0. i i I. "W. Krause, a. 0. 8f.
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The reading of the Dölzig stone is beyond doubt.

- a) (i)h (i)ugus
- b) /i
- c) (i)#

The necessary has been said about c). The reading fi on b) results from the fact that a) **is** also written in the right-hand direction. One can recall /ii ..., fi;bii;üi, iiifii and Lili from the inscriptions of Sanzeno nell' Anaunia ¹. The cup of Vehlingen " also shows i and triple i. The spelling (i)ngus on a) requires special comment. While the younger form of the Ing rune is made up of } i and b ng, but still usually has the **sound value** ng rather than **ing**, here the older 9 is written alone, but this should not be understood as ng, but as *itig*. The explanation arises from the history of the sign. 9, like 2, originally signified the symbol of the god Ing As such, however, it was only suitable for representing the o-stem Ing, not the o-stem Zrtge- that appears next to it (p. ioQ above). If you wanted to write InguR or Ingus, you would have to add the missing two phonetic symbols to the word sign 4 Ing.

Within the word (i)ngus, therefore, the two usages of the runes clash. The older use as a conceptual sign is still possible for the name of the god Ing, but I ngus already had to be written with the help of x'on phonetic signs. We are looking into the transition from the runic notae to letters in our sense, which serve to represent sounds.

The transition from the conceptual to the phonetic rune has been associated with the model of Roman and even ancient inscriptions^{oo}. This view can easily be **proven** correct in the present case.

The Dölzig stone with (i)# (i)tigtis belongs to a larger group°-, all of whose members begin with i/t or rt and then usually g i v e a designation of office or power, more rarely the name. Often

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'8 Al theim-Trautmann, liimbern und Runen° 30.
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[°] H. .4rntz, runic script zS.

^{°°} H. Arntz, Handb. d. Runenkde.° 69.

^{°&#}x27; H. Arntz, a. O.° zoof. ¡ z i 6 ; zzöf.

^{°°} G. Baesecke, Vor- u. Frühgesch. d. dten. Schrif tt. i , i i9 I.

H. Arntz, Runenschrift 55; Arntz-Zei0, a. 0. 4<5-

they indicate the runic master with zé or $i\acute{e}$, and on Nordic monuments also the dead. In the first case, a speciality is sometimes added that confers power. For example, the runic master emphasises his descent, such as from Heruli, or his status as a "consecrated one", a magic priest.

All of this leads into the sacred realm. The Stone of Dölzig joins the group as a further member. However, it names neither a rune master nor the dead, but a god. This gives this monument a special status from the outset. Formally, the inscription is closest to the Bratsberg brooch (B) with ué with z. Its wording has so far been supplemented to: "I carve the runes" or "I consecrate the jewellery". Neither of the two additions can be considered for the Dölzig Stone. It merely contains the self-image of the god "I (am) Ingus". And it must be asked whether zé crifaz, if it also stands alone, does not also stand alone:

meant "I (am) a Herulian".

A comparable **form** of self-presentation can be found in Christian and contemporaneous literature. This is what has been called the soteriological type of speech **éy'i'** tlgi°°. The known evidence will be repeated briefly. 'Ey':i' elpi 8toii shall

mtiip'x 8cIov, Celsus°° has his Christian enemies speak. It is frequently used in Johannine speeches°'. But a variation of the éy'i' tlgl°' type of speech also appears in emphasised places in the Synhedrion and Pilate accounts of the Synoptics. There is also evidence from gnostic and hermetic literature°-.

It can be traced backwards to the inscriptions of the Achaemenids or those of Mc {¡et'a, forwards to the reports of the deeds of the Aksümitic kings -°, the Nubian king Silko -' and to the verse of the Nubian king -°-. follow the proclamation of Muhammad ^.

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^ Arntz-Zeiß, a. 0. <3°
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^{°&#}x27; E. Norden, Agnostos Theos ®9 f.; E. Schweizer, Ego eimi (Forsch. z. Relig. u. Liteiat. of the Old and New Test. 2'f. *- 3®). Note by J. Schniewind.

[&]quot; Orig., ad v. Cels
7. $\, 8 \, f. \,$; cf. R. Reitzenstein, Poimandres zz z f. ; E. Norden, a. O.
i $\, 88 \, f. \,$

^{°&#}x27; E. North, a. 0. +9°

^{°°} E. Norden, a. 0. 94-

^{°-} E. Norden, a. 0. igo f.

^{°° &#}x27;E zinä speaks in the first person in his reports. But the solemn self-praedication with one "I" is first encountered in i $_i$ lapfini Dan'öl : E. Littmann in : Deutsche Aksum-EXQPdiÖOn t 9 3)' z f.

^{^*} W. Dittenberger, Orient. Graec. inscript. sel. i Nr- 3

E. Norden, op. cit. O." *3 : 9 f.; E. Schweizer, a. 0. i z f.

Because of the East Germanic character of our runic monument, the literature of the Goths deserves attention. In the Auxentius letter ^ there is an appeal by Ulfilas to the Lord's word: ago sum *tie* ct *Veritas*

"t visa, and the Apostle of the Goths introduces his baptismal confession with a formally similar self-introduction: ago *Ulfila episŁof'us øt con- fessor sempcr sic credidi*. In numerous cases, his translation of the beginnings of Johannine speeches has been preserved:

gins? iþ is qaþuh: ik im — πάλιν ὁ άρχιερεύς ἐπηρώτα αὐτὸν καὶ λέγει czùzcc où cl 6 pro zòç ò vtòç zoú cúXoyrjzoú; ò 6 s Irjooùç elwev čycb elçtt.

Was this type of speech the inspiration for the runic scripts of the form rá *rriføz* and (i)á *ingus*? At least the possibility cannot be denied. Of course, it is noticeable that the copula is missing in the runic inscriptions, whereas it is always present in the passages cited in the Gothic translation of the Bible. Here, again in all cases, the Greek version provided the model. Only from the book of the Gnostic Perates, which bore the title flpoóo-wioi, has Hippolytus ^ preserved the phrase: Cyb '}'mJ I\strtrv "rpoii lv z\bar{y} 'xl\bar{n}vi\s\sim vax-r\ddot5. The evidence from the Greek translation of the Old Testament ^ is far more numerous. And this brings us to the core of the question: the absence of the verb is a Semitism. It deserves to be emphasised that the runic inscriptions have preserved the original here compared to the Ulfilas translation.

The two inscriptions from Mchet'a now provide the desired evidence for this. Both are written in a Semitic language. The Aramaic part of the Bilinguis and the previously reported parts of the second inscription, written exclusively in Aramaic, make ample use of the éy'i' tlit type of speech. They use it in the Semitic form, i.e.:

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H. E. Giesecke, Ostgermanen und Arianismus i6f.

^ Refut. p. i 8a; cf. i 88; E. Norden, a. 0. i9o. on the origin of the perates

P. P. Alfaric, Les écrit. manich. i. 7-

^^ E. Schweizer, a. 0. z i f.
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they put 'øl without a copula. Linguistically, the model could be present here, and in this respect this reference may claim precedence. The only remaining question is whether a connection can be established. This brings us to the question of the age and tribal affiliation of the Dölzig stone.

Its external form is most reminiscent of the Prex stone. But the comparison does not help, as this monument cannot be dated $^{\land}$. The shape of the Ing rune in Dölzig is younger than the one on the Coriitift sign. This dates back to the time after the troop's first appearance at the Battle of Strasbourg3_S $^{\flat}$. On the buckle of

Szabadbattyán, on the other hand, already appears in a form consisting of } i and b tig xcomposed, i.e. younger than the 4 of Dölzig. In Szabadbattyán, in contrast to later usage, the phonetic value *ing*** is still used, which corresponds to the composition of the sign. Both forms, 4 and the younger one, have thus given up their original phonetic value *iog* in favour of tig. Nevertheless, no terminus ante quem for Dölzig can be derived from the buckle of Szabadbattyán. For the bracteate no. zz from Vadstena shows that at that time (mid-6th century) q could still be written°". And this, as the simultaneous bracteate from Grumpan°- proves'°, alongside the younger form. This leaves us with the rather wide time span between 35 and about 55°. the stone belongs at the end rather than the beginning of the period.

The question of tribal affiliation can perhaps also be determined. Dölzig lies near the eastern border of a closed settlement area on both sides of the Saale. In the first centuries a. Chr. the Hermundurs lived here -°. The Thuringians have been documented since too. Regardless of whether the two names belong together etymologically or not'-: finds from the Ath-6th century must be assigned to the Thuringians from the outset.

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°- H. Arntz, Handb. d. R u n e n k u n d e ° s3-
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^{°&#}x27; H. Arntz, a. 0.° 6g; Arntz-Zeiß, a. 0. 357

^{°®} V'. Krause, a. 0. i i f.

^{°°} W. Krause, a. 0. 13.

^{&#}x27;° On the dating H. Oberg, Guldbrakteaterna från Nordens folkwanderungstid 2 ; z59; z6q (note by E. Löfstedt) .

^{^&#}x27; Mitteldeutscher Heimatatlas Map3: -Q. I owe the following information almost exclusively to W. Schulz.

[&]quot; W. Schulz in H. Reinerth, Vorgesch. d. dten. Stämme i , to i ; god f.

[^] W. Schulz, a. 0. for f.; Th. Steche, Dte Stammeskde (Sig. Göschen i z6) i i y.

The Varns must have been important within the Thuringian Empire*^. The land east of the Saale, including the area around Dölzig, can be claimed to be part of the Thuringian Warnen. The soil sounds show connections with Mecklenburg*-, where the tribe is attested in history, archaeologically and in the river name Warnow. It is disputed since when the Warnen settled in Central Germany. The last thought was the years around ¢oo^^, but perhaps a Warnen settlement can be assumed two centuries earlier -'. In the year s9s the central German Warnenreich was destroyed by the Franks.

It is not only in terms of time and place that the stone would be assigned to the Varangian settlement area. The Korini appear in Tacitus*^ among the worshippers of Nerthus. They were Ingvaeons, and the god Ingus must be expected to be among them from the outset. But were they East Germanic? Here we may first recall how questionable the distinction between East and North Germanic peoples is, at least as far as language is concerned ^o. Then Pliny ^o describes the *Uarinne* as part of the Wandals, i.e. an East Germanic tribe. He explicitly separates them from the Ingwäonen. The Norse name Varnos and touches between Anglo-Varnian and East Germanic law are added ". Thus the allocation to the East Germanic peoples seems justified. The fate of the Lombards, who appear alongside the Varnians in Tacitus, comes to mind. They too were of Scandinavian origin ^o, then settled in the neighbourhood of the Angles and Saxons before setting off southwards. The Lombard language has preserved traces not so much of its East Germanic origin as of its later neighbourhood with the Saxons ^. In the end, it was even affected by the second phonetic shift in contact with the Bavarians and Alamanni. The Lombards spoke a High German that was similar to the

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-^ W. Schulz with H. Reinerth, a. 0. i, q3I.

o K. Ziegel in: J ahreeschrift Halle 3i, ö6 f.

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German than the language of the Franks ^. If the Dõlziger Stein is Warr'ish, then the naming of Ingus is a reminder of the former neighbourhood with the Ingwäonen. There is literary evidence of connections with Ztig for the Hasdingian part of the Vandals*°, and even the Goths called the name caguz^* according to the Salzburg manuscript. The same can be assumed for the Varnians, who once formed a sub-tribe of the Vandals. The East Germanic language of the monument, on the other hand, points to Scandinavian origins. As the use of the Gothic translation of the Bible shows, the Vandals also remained true to their origins to the end.

Other contacts with the East Germanic tribes also took place in the Saale region ^A. But the Warnen probably take precedence.

- $^{\circ}$ G. Baesecke, a. 0. i , 8 i ; Paul u. Braunes Beitr-ss. 9 $^{\circ}$ f. ; Das Hildebrandlied s /.; a remainder is the language of the Upper Italian "Cimbri" B. Schweizer, Zimbrische Sprachreste i , especially p. 8.
 - °' H. Arntz, Handb. d. Runenkde. ° 22/, with further details: above i, z99 f.
 - -° H. Arntz, a. 0. zz6.
- ^' I give the most important points, again based on the information provided by W. Schulz. In the 3rd century a culture differing from the Middle Duchy-Saaleland culture spread from the east to the Black Elster (Liebenwerda district) and westwards beyond the Elbe (W. Schulz in H. Reinerth, a. 0. yr 2; Vor- und Frühgesch. Mittel- deutschlands i92; Jahresschr. Halle i9, 62 f.}. There are connections with Lusatia. According to Kossina's process, this East Germanic group is generally associated with the expansion of the Burgundians (most recently D. Bohnsack in H. Reinerth.)
- a. 0. 3, -°33*: - s f.). DID finds generally break off after Too (D. Øohnsack, a. 0. 113*). K. Ziegel (in: Mannus3*. * * *.) detects a Burgundian-influenced clay vessel in the burial ground of Stößen, Kr. M'cißenfels, as late as the_s_ century. The archaeological material suggests that the Lombards moved from their seats at of the lower Elbe (Bardengau-Altmark) around Too moved upstream to BOhmen. From here, close relations with the Thuringians developed in the 5th to 6th century (\Y. Schulz
- deutschlands i9q; zoo; F. Kuchenbuch in: J ahresschr. Halle z y, 63: 6#). Near Dresden two Lombard graves from the 5th century were uncovered (G. Bierbaum in: Schumacher-Festschrift337). Distribution map of the Lombard archaeological finds in 6th century: E. Beninger in H. Reinerth, a. 0. 3, 83i. Gothic and Alamanic

in H. Reinerth, a. 0. i ,3 o f.; Vor- und Frühgesch. Middle

- nic connections can generally be found among the Thuringians during the 5th-ò. century in jewellery and ceramics (N. Àberg, D. Franken u. Westgoten
- i. d. Völkerwanderungszeit 79; W. Schulz in: IPEK i9-. 37 f.; Vor- und Frühgesch. Slitteldeutschlands zo2 f.). Even before that, in the ş. Century, the princely tombs of Haßleben and Leuna show connections to the Germanic tribes and Sarmatians in the Danube region
- and to the Crots in southern Russia (W. Schulz Rei H. Reinerth, a. 0. i, up f.; §30;
- Frühgesch. Mitteldeutschlands• 7 : 's• I.). Finally, eastern Scandinavian influences (fibulae x-on Aller and Wulfen : W. Schul z bei H. Reinerth,
- a. 0. 1. $_{\mbox{\scriptsize (3)}}$ I ; rlordische Goldbrakteaten : W. Schulz, Vor- und Frühgesch. Middle Germany fig. 2 \S 5 $^{\circ}$ 75)

The Dölzig stone's language and god can be explained by the assumption of its Varnian origin.

We have now reached the point where we can once again take up the question, which was **previously** dropped, of whether a connection can be found between the speech type of the Diilzig stone and the two inscriptions from Mchet'a. The new findings presented in the present work make it possible to draw connections that no one would have thought of not so long ago. First of all, it should be noted that the two inscriptions from Mchet'a bring us into Alanian territory. This is shown by the historical events (above I, to f.) as well as the names of persons and places in the inscriptions (above p. 8 f.). Who could have guessed that on the urn of Ladány-

bene (above i, 293 : 3. °9*) with Vandalic runes, an inscription in the Armazian alphabet, i.e. the one used in Mchet'a.

appear. The neighbourhood of the Alans, who came from the Caucasus, and the Asdingian Vandals (i, zg2 above), who lived in the same area, explains this connection. Such a connection cannot be ruled out in the case of a Vandalic tribe like the Varnians, all the more so as the Vandalic and Alanian tribes remained together in the further course of their history. Both moved together to Gaul, Spain and finally to North Africa.

It should also be noted that Mcbet'a and its inscriptions also reached Hunnic territory. This was explained at the beginning (above In9) and has been confirmed by the second Aramaic inscription.

confirmed before (above p. 19) The Old Turkic runes are characterised by Hunnish mediation from the Aramaic ('Armazic') alphabet of Mchet 'a (above i, z68 f.; especially 280 f.). If Sidonius Apollinaris (carm. 2,3 2d) is to be believed, the Thuringians (*Toringus*) were in Attila's army that set out for Gaul

- . This is the second possibility,

which suggests itself. Finally, something may be said about the position that the Huns occupied, alongside their Hephthalite cousins, in the 'clash of religions'.

4

The "iron standard" from the Sutton Hoo ship burial (around *5 660), W. Berges and A. Grauert recently published their own study

^{&#}x27;^ E. A. Thompson, A History of Attila and the Huns (iga8) 6.3

Both authors reject the interpretation as a torch or lampstand. The length of the staff (f,Q3 m) and the formation of the base (p. two f.) speak in favour of a standard. They cite pictorial evidence that shows a ram, cock, bull, birds (especially eagles), boar and dragon as pole attachments (p. 2-} 2). In no case do we encounter the stag, which is most visible in Sutton Hoo. An examination of the literary evidence does not clarify this point either. We hear of *c/figies*, *Jerarum imagines*, lion, dragon and eagle (p. 24 242), but again nothing about deer. What is compiled in the section "Ethnological comparative pieces" (p. 23I->55) does not help either. Neither the "command staffs of the Ice Age arts and crafts" with carvings of reindeer, elk and deer form a parallel, nor do the stag and eagle carvings (p. 23I->55).

The zodiac signs of Alaéa Höyük from the 3rd millennium BC (p. -5* f.); the zodiac signs of the Northern Iranians (p. z33) will be discussed later.

And yet many things could be mentioned; in particular the chapter

"Hirschsagen" in : Literat. und Gesellsch. z (*950), -5-39.

In the Notitia dignitatum, the *Cornacenses* (occ. 5, 122; 2, ZO2) have the antlers of a shovel in their coat of arms. About the history of this troop; about the Lower Pannonian city after which it was named; about its Illyrian name, the necessary information has been given elsewhere. One step further is the sign of the *Commit* or. 6, g (above p. IO6f.). As has been shown, these have a standard attachment in the form of a "scroll animal" in the shield, which contains the germanic train rune in the white field. Similar bronze standards were already known in Luristan in the first millennium BC, and the newly discovered relief with Hadad and Atargatis and another with an eagle and standard from Hatra have brought another piece°. The pre-Runic symbols of the Scandinavian and related rock carvings are also remembered.

the result is different. Both combined justify a statement such as the following, even if it is made from a more limited perspective.

^{&#}x27; I3ei P. E. Schramm, Herrschaftszeichen und Symboli* 9• t•54). 238 f. The following remarks were completed when P. Paulsen referred to S. Lindquist, Kungl. Humanist. Vetenskaps-Samfundet, Uppsala, Ärbok 95 ' . 77 tlRd K. Hauck, Jahrb. f. fränk. Landesforsch. i (ig5), g f. referred. It seemed advisable to refrain from making changes and, if necessary, to postpone a discussion until later. The monuments cited below are not encountered in either of the two essays.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ F. Al thei m, Literatur und Gesellsch. z, z i. Zuletz t C. Daicoviciu in : J ourn. Rom. Stud. i g6 i , 64 Editor. Note.

[°] A Survey of Persian Art i, i A, C, D.; cf. below p. i 38f.

drawings, which later became the elk rune, may be remembered in this context

The *Cornuti* are the "horned ones", i.e. stags or bulls, just as the etymologically related Celtic *Cornumos* is sometimes depicted with stag antlers, sometimes with bull horns ⁵. Despite their Latin name, the *Cornuti* were Germanic, as the train rune shows and explicitly confirms. This origin, then the stag and bull, and finally the train rune lead to the standard of Sutton Hoo.

The standard is divided into two parts of roughly equal height. The lower half of the shaft is smooth and ends in a lance shoe, which is reinforced on both sides by two volutes. The upper part bears the decoration that will be the subject of the following attempt at interpretation. At the top is the figure of a standing stag ^or elk with protruding antlers. It is mounted on a circular ring of twisted iron wire, which in turn rests on the top of the shaft. A moulded spout and a pommel resting on it form the connection. Immediately below, four iron arms at right angles to each other protrude horizontally, bearing bull heads at their ends. The iron grate follows at some distance, also mounted horizontally and again with bulls' heads at the four corners. These are arranged in such a way that they are located at the angles of the four arms above.

Although made of coiled iron wire, the ring on which the stag or elk sits is not *a torques* (K. Hauck p. 2o4 note 268). Such a ring would have to be open on one side and end in thickened ends; it could not bear a stag either. On the other hand, there is a relationship to the Ing rune, which usually appears in the form of a circle and may be understood as an old sun symbol ⁷. Bull heads and stags are associated with the name of the *Cortiufi*, as already mentioned. Bull and stag also belong to Odin-Wodan (K. Hauck p. zogf.); the elk rune is also related to the *Alces*, the' Vandalic

- Altheim-Trautmann, Kimbern u. Runen°•3 f. For further details see R. Merkelbach in : Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli (Florence i g5 5) 5 13 f.
 - ^ F. Altheim, Literatur u. Gesellschaft z, i 8.
- $^{\circ}$ M. P. Hornik in : Arte del primo Millennio. Atti del Convegno di Padova (+ 95°) 3°-
 - 'H. Arntz, Handb. d. Runenkunde°s9: lö8; i 86; zz6f.; with further details;
- E. Count Oxenstierna, The Golden Horns of Gallehus (-ss6) -ss *-

Dioscuri[^]. On the rock carvings of Bohuslän, the stag or elk appears several times below or above the circle (or wheel), whereby this can then be divided into four sectors by two diameters at right angles to each other". This corresponds to the axial cross below the circle and stag on the standard. The stag has also proved to belong to solar symbolism ^{1°}.

Finally, from the Notitia dignitatum, the circles or round discs resting on a rod-like or tulle-like base should be mentioned (or. $_{S.}$ • I i; 24; 6, IO; /, 2; I/-18; 20; 22; OCC5 6I; 112; 113; 6, 8; io).

Through Maximus of Tyre (2, 8 p. 25 Hobein) we know that the Paions (between Struma and Wardar) or the Pannonians, or at any rate the Illyrians, worshipped the sun in this form. Maximus speaks in front of a sun image consisting of a small round disc (6loxo5 fiP "x s) placed on a wooden pole. Again, similar representations are found on the Scandinavian rock paintings 1°.

This provides an initial interpretation. The sun circle and the sun deer above it belong to the same realm of imagination. Inguz, Wodan and the *Alces* cannot be separated from this either: they stand with the light gods. Below them are the intersecting axes: like the symbolism of the sun, they lead into the cosmos. The four cardinal points are hardly recognisable. They are sensibly placed below the sun signs 'o. Taurus does not only appear at the tips of the axial cross; it also returns at the four corners of the square grid. Whilst the latter elevates and crowns the circle of the sun, as it were, the heads of the bulls are placed wherever the axes or corners extend in width.

extend.

Altheim-Trautmann, Kimbern u. Runen° i 3 f.; H. Arntz, a. 0.° 213 f.

'L. Baltzer, Hällristningar från Bohuslän (Göteborg i 88 i f.) Pl. 5-ö; 9-i o. '° F. Altheim, Lit. u. Gesellsc h. z, i öf., with further .data.

** F. Altheim, Niedergang der Alten Welt z, 3s* "F.

Altheim, Krise der Alten Welt 3 Fig. i 3z f.

 $^{\circ}$ The flags depicted on the coins of the Parthian dynasts of Persis provide a parallel (Ph. Ackermann in : A Survey of Persian Art 3, $^{\circ}$ 7ö8 u nd fig. 959) . An eagle appears at the top, below it a rectangular vexillum, whose

Interior drawing of diagonally crossing stripes and circles in the angles reads . .\c ker ma rin bemer k t .\F hat the design had a sj mbolic signific a nce is most probable. Clusters ot small rau nd cls had long been used to represent astral bodies, and the quartering may refer to the ancient cosmological conception of the four quarters of the universe. The eagles and falcons, thou gh they had alread v become the emblem of royal tv. nsere associ ated froin a i er y earl y periotl with the Sky God or the Great God."

TN PAGANISM AND CHRISTIANITY

There is a much older pair of bronze field signs with the same symbolism, which originate from Luristan and belong to the first millennium.

v. One piece is in the Louvre'o, the second belonged to the former collection of F. Sarre'o. The central part of the standard crown is occupied by a circular hoop, the interior of which is divided by four seated human figures standing perpendicular to each other and holding each other by the hands". On the hoop is a reclining hound; below it two bulls carrying the whole. Both pieces are over a millennium older than the standard of Sutton Hoo. But the decisive

The components are already there: Stag or Hinde on the top, the Sun circle, the fourfold division and the bull below.

R. Dussaud, who most recently treated the two field signs and put them together with relatives'", is thinking of solar symbolism. His interpretation is also significant for Sutton Hoo's piece. It is confirmed that there is a mythical "model" of a similar kind in the standard. Above the sun, visualised in a circle; below the celestial directions. Above also the sun deer, expression of the highest celestial body. Below the heads of the bull, image of power, therefore associated with royalty.

Of course, there is no direct link between the two standards from Luristan and the one from Sutton Hoo. One may look for intermediate links, and such links can be found in Parthian and Sasanian times. The newly discovered reliefs from Hatra have yielded several depictions of stan-darts. It has been shown that there are similarities with the piece from the sanctuary of the Syrian goddess in Hierapolis described by Lucian°°°. Eagles in the crescent moon at the top, then the image of the sun god and several discs representing the planets form the common features. An associated inscription speaks of

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'^ In: Saeculum 6 (19, ä). +97 *. K. Hauck has compiled some information on bull symbolism. set up.
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l° A Survey of Persian Art q, i z. '°

F. Sarre in: Klio 3 (-9°3), 363 -

[&]quot;On "male couples crosswise" cf. Count Oxenstierna, a. 0. ioi f.; io8 f.

^{1°} In: A Survey of Persian Art i, z6i f.

 $^{^{\}prime o}$ H. Ingholt, Parthian Sculptures from Hatra (Yale University Press Pl. 2, i -3 ; La Nouvelle Clio ¢ (i 95d) , z6o Pl. i ; East and West i i i (i96o) Pl. zo.

^{°°} H. Ingholt, a. O. zq f.

"our Lord", who is equated with the sky godo'. Here, too, the endeavour to depict the sun and moon, as well as the starry sky in its symbols, prevails. The correspondence with Sutton Hoo is even more evident in the standard of Bahräm IV (3 399) "· He forms

the one of his predecessor, 8äpfir III (3 3-388), in that he continued to crossed beams with a pair of tassels hanging below, has a ring with a pair of horns attached. Even if the horns are more like bulls' horns and the stag is missing this time, the previous components are once again found in the order that characterises them; the tassels will immediately find their counterpart. The titles of the Sasanids, who call themselves the offspring of the heavenly race, Scott of the Light, the Sun and brother of the Moon, are accordingly".

All of this means that the standard of Sutton Hoo cannot be an "animal field sign". The attached stag does not take up '/ of the whole, the bull's heads even less. They would have to catch the eye much more if the previous interpretation were to prove itself. But before a new one can be attempted, the structure of the grid must be discussed. This much is clear: it is made of iron bars arranged around the continuous shaft to form three interlocking squares whose circumference increases with the distance from the centre. Diagonal struts create the connection between the squares. A further rod is added to the right and left edges, from the upper and lower ends of which the aforementioned bull's heads grow. These additional bars are supported on both sides by an iron strut whose lower starting point is located exactly in the centre of the shaft.

What was the purpose of this strut? In no way does it have to support the grate as such. Because it was - and still is - self-supporting. Obviously, the two additional bars had a special purpose. It had to have weight: the bracing shows this. It must have been made of perishable material: that proves its disappearance. But what could it have been?

^{°&#}x27; About this most recently O. Eißfeld in : OLZ. i955, 3' 7; J. Pirenne in: Muséon 69 (i95ö), zo6f. . A. Caquot in : Syria 3z (i955). 59f. ; G. Ryckmans in : Journ. Semit. Stud. 3 (ig 8), 22 1.

^{°°} F. Sarre, a. 0. 3.357 *; fig. zo; Ph. Ackermann, a. 0. zz y i. On Sasanian standards L. Vanden Berghe, Archéol. de l'Iran ancien (iq5q) z5.

[^] F. Sarre, a. 0. 357

A relief from Dura-Europos depicting the seated Hadad and Atargatis sits in the background on the upper part of a standard, as it usually appears next to and in the hands of the two deities ^. The shaft of this standard, decorated with round emblems, has a horizontal \} uer bar above it, at each end of which a q,uaste^ or a hanging banner is attached. A circular ring sits on the top of the shaft. This alone establishes the relationship to the standard of Sutton Hoo, and the same applies to the two tassels or, more correctly, flags.

The authors once raise the question (pp. *55-256) whether the Anglo-Saxon standard was equipped with a banner. Certainly the two projecting staffs on the right and left had to carry something that hung on or over them. This is the only explanation for the fact that they were supported by a brace. If anything, one can imagine a banner attached to both poles. It would then have been attached to them by its upper edge, like the banner of the Constantinian labarum, which also hung from such a crossbar.

It is certain that for every detail of the standard of Sutton Hoo an equivalent could be found, whether in the Achaemenid or Sasanian area. Certainly the strong influence of Iranian form and Iranian models on the Germanic world can be seen here as elsewhere. But evidence of the individual parts says nothing about the special and unique connection that these parts entered into within the framework of a new whole. As clearly as the parts can be found on the Iranian side, in part even in the composition found on the standard, there is no equivalent that corresponds in all details. In order to really explain the standard of Sutton Hoo, another model must be consulted.

[^] La Nouvelle Clio 6 (i q5), fig. z on p. z6i.

The history of the tassel or tassel as a badge of honour or insignia is still unwritten. It begins with the standards made of tassels on the monuments of the Warring States (E. v. Erdberg-Consten in : Arch. of the

Chinese Art Society of America 6 [+95*). •4: 3• Note io) and leads down to the Sasanids, to Imru'ul ais' comparison: to-fiodd'äö od-dimeJi ef--e -/ufiof (Ibn Kutaiba, Gib. poes. So, 13 de Goeje).

⁻⁻ F. Altheim, Goten und Finnen i y f. ; Niedergang d. Alte Welt i , io-i f. ; i 88 f. ; Le déclin du monde antique9 $\,$ f. ; i69 f. ; above i , 322 f. ; G. Vernadsky in : Saeculum i ,74 f. ; K. Erdmann, ibid. i , 53of.

\$. GERMANIC GODS ACCORDING TO THEIR HISTORI, POSITION 141

Constantine the Great's labarum is the field mark towards which the interpretation proposed here has moved with increasing certainty. Eusebios (V. Const. i, 3Z, Z f.) describes, according to Constantine's own account, how a Çjuerbalken (xlv) is attached to a long staff plated with gold, in the manner of the cross°. The top of the bar is decorated with a wreath of gold and precious stones. The monogram of Christ is placed in it. It contains the image of the lv oirry oùpovÿ ùlrepxsl-zsvov zoúfjZ(ov a-rcrupoú -rpó-rroiov (z, zg), the **ęovtv** xœr' **oùpovóv** crrijzziov (I, 28, 2). The square, purple banner decorated with precious stones and gold hangs from the xtp'ø. Below it are the images of the emperor and his sons. The parallel to the standard of Sutton Hoo is thus evident in all parts.

The sun circle and the gold wreath meet on both sides at the top, except that the inscribed Christ monogram is replaced by the superimposed image. The relationship to the sun can already be seen in Eusebios' words. Below them are the four world axes with the royal symbol of the bull there, the ruler images here. The bearers of the light that gives the ruler

The Caesares, it says elsewhere (1. Const. 3,4): like Helios, Constantine steers their four-horse team. So the fourfold division also returns again. Finally, the flag: on the standard it is doubled, and aßes is set on a

high shaft. There can be little doubt that the standard was somehow modelled on the labarum.

Paulus Diaconus (hist. Langob. i, zo) recounts the end of the Herulian king Rodulf^o^, who succumbed to the Lombards around the turn of the 5th and 6th centuries^o-. It has already been shown (above p. xiof.): Rodulf possessed a *wzil- mm*, *quod bandum appellant*, and a *galøo*, *quam in hello gestarø* consurreral. Reide fell into the hands of the victors. From then on, the power of the Heruli was gone, and they no longer had a king^o.

Ideas of different origins are linked in this tale. The Germanic view is that a royal regalia, once lost, remains irreplaceable lend to the helmet and banner as pledges of dominion lead to the helmet and labarum of Constantine. Paul

^{**} On the tradition F. Altheim, Literatur u. Gesellsch. I ,'4 7 fflm. z 6.

^{°°} F. Altheim, Literatur u. Gesellsch. i , z3y f. ; on this K. Hauck p. 1 8.

^{°°} L. Schmidt, D. Ostgermanen°554 Note ą.

[^] G. Baesec ke, Vor- u. Frühgesch. d. dten Sc hriftt. I 3 23 i

[&]quot;In detail: F. Altheim, a. 0. i, z 3y; K. Hauck S. i lb.

interprets öandiim almost as rrxiJJu "i, and this is already outwardly reminiscent of the square banner which, according to Eusebios, hung down from the \Juerstab of Labarum (V. Const. i. 3*, 2). The coins provide information about its appearance ^.

However, the standard of Sutton Hoo is undoubtedly not a Christian standard. Rather, the intention is to counter the Christian labarum with a pagan counterpart. This leads to a new context.

N. Fettich ^, the Huns had attempted to usurp not only the political but also the spiritual leadership of northern Europe. At that time, the possibility had emerged that pagan intellectual life would experience a new flowering, on a scale and of a significance that could only be compared with the European culture of the High Bronze Age, between the Rhine and the Volga.

After Attila and inspired by him, the pagan life of Europe had reached its peak. It was then that the authoritative Germanic heroic songs were created (discussed in chapter nine). The second and third styles of Germanic animal ornamentation, even the art of the Öseberg ship, had their origins in the Hunnic heroes.

In addition to the Oseberg ship, Sutton Hoo may now be mentioned as a pound of equal importance. Immediately after its discovery, the deliberate emphasis on paganism in the finds was recognised. The interpretation of the standard fits in with this picture.

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Attila's attitude towards his Germanic subjects and followers needs to be mentioned. There is no lack of testimonies', and what they say is curious enough. Earlier, the Ostrogothic oath had been mentioned, according to which no oath with the Huns should ever be valid. To the people who ravaged the Gothic lands like wolves

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° A. Alföldi in : Pisciculi Dölger9: Taf. 1, 1; z, 1-z.
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I n: Strena A. M. Tallgren 1 8ş f. ; F. Altheim, Attila u. d. Hunnen no ; frz. Ubers. - 3 : cf. K. Hauck p. +97

[^] R. L. S. Bruce Mitford, The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial Hz.

^{&#}x27; lord, Get. z , Neo f. ; E. A. Thompson, a. 0. iö6f.

and forced its inhabitants to do menial labour for their masters (above p.s if.). It is the mood of the common man that is expressed in this. The situation is different as soon as one turns to the ruling classes. The Gepid king Ardarich had, for the sake of his unconditional loyalty

was among the closest counsellors of the Hun ruler. Walamir, king of the Ostrogoths, was also valued for his discretion, his appealing character and his resoluteness. The sources actually say that Attila loved Walamir, and even a century later

Cassiodorus praised his loyalty°. While the other vassal princes in fear and terror submitted to the commands of the mighty one°, it was two Germanic princes who were close to his heart. So close that Attila could count on Walamir's and his people's loyalty in the battle against the Visigothic cousins*

The contrast of the judgement should be easily explained. The simple Goth had to endure the disadvantages of Hunnic rule. The devastation of the land hit him hardest and he subsequently had to pay the tribute that benefited the Hun conquerors. The kings, on the other hand, were appointed with Attila's consent. He was certain of their loyalty, for that was the only reason he had agreed to it. At that time, being a Gothic and Gepid king meant no more and no less than guaranteeing the obedience of one's own people. One was not only a vassal, but also a representative of Hunnic rule.

Nevertheless, tradition has not taken offence at this. Hunimund, son or grandson of Ermanaric, bore the name of the Huns in his own. He, who "stood under the mouth of the Huns" - was little more than their governor. lordanes' words express this: i/i ... uf *gcnti Gothorum* seci§sriim *proprius, quamvis Hunnorum consilio,* ini§erar "f (Get. 48, z4Q). And yet Hunimund lived in the memory of his people as "valiant in war and with a whole body of blooming beauty" ^. How different Safrax or Safrac, who with a part of the Ostrogoths and Alans had escaped the Hunnic yoke and joined the Visigoths

(above i 352 f.). The saga portrays him as the unfaithful Sabene, as a contradictor.

[°] Var. i i , i.

[°] lord, Get. 38, zoo.

[•] lord, Get. q8, 2}3.

^{&#}x27; J Marquart, Eastern European and East Asian Forays 37s-

[°] lord, Get. 8, z5o; Cassiod. var. i, i i, i g.

sacher Wolfdietrichs und der Berchtunge, as an evil counsellor to his father and his brothers'.

This corresponds to the fact that Attila w a s given an honourable position in Germanic legend. It almost looks as if the Germanic tribes regarded him as one of their own. What a different position Attila occupies in their tradition than the most powerful king from their own ranks: Erma- narich. He was the "cruel tyrant", and as such he has gone down in legend.

While the church legend portrayed the image of the *virga /uroris Dei*, the *flagellum Dci*, a "conqueror figure of epically measured, heroic movement" emerges in the Hildebrandlied of the century and in the Walthariepos. Attila becomes the shepherd of nations and heroic father Etzel. He is the irresistible conqueror, the powerful world ruler, but it is precisely the Walthar epic that emphasises these traits in its introduction.

lets him carry all the warlike actions of his Germanic surroundings to Tiber. Walther, the "pillar of the empire", wins the victories for Attila. Attila did not have the time to incorporate all the Germanic tribes. Priskos 1° puts the word into the mouth of Romulus, who was experienced in legations and business, that Attila's rule extended as far as the islands of the ocean (above

i, 245 Ailm. 28), i.e. over the whole of Germania, plus the whole of Scythia. The song of Attila's death speaks of the "Scythian and Germanic kingdoms", which the mighty man possessed "with unprecedented power" (above i, to f.). In truth, the outcome of the Catalaunian battle had put a limit to such plans. Nevertheless, the effect on the Germanic community as a whole can hardly be underestimated. Attila forced upon them the question of their historical existence and forced them to make a decision. From then on, the Germanic peoples were divided between those who followed the European West and South, late antiquity and Catholicism, and t h o s e who followed their own path.

went.

All the tribes that opposed the Huns either abandoned their Arian faith in favour of the Catholic faith, such as

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' J. Marquart, op. cit. O. 326.
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[®] J. Marquart, a. 0. 637: F. Altheim, Literature and Society i. 3 3-

[^] H. de Boor, The Image of Attila in History, Legend **and** Heroic **Poetry** (Neu jahrsbl. Liter. Gesellsch. Bern 91 ., using his coinage. '° Exc. de legat. no, 3z f.

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Burgundians and Visigoths. Or they turned to it sooner or later, like the Franks or Saxons. They opened themselves up to late Roman culture, merged with the Romanic population and created the Germanic-Romanic world together. The Vandals, who united with the Alans in North Africa in search of a new homeland, were different. They did not abandon their Arianism, persecuted all things Catholic and avoided being absorbed into foreign ethnic groups. They were followed in this by the Ostrogoths, who also maintained Arianism and separation from the Romans.

CHAPTER 5

AUX ORIGINES DU CHRISTIANISME DACO-SCYTHIQUE

When V. Pàrvan attacked in -9-i the problem of the origins of Christians in Dacia and Scythia Mineure', he did not have any work of any particular depth to support his conclusions. He then opened up a field of research and established a method of exploration - the only one capable of producing reliable results - which consisted of combining archaeology, epigraphy, linguistics and the history of ideas.

His work, which he titled, with a modesty exemplaire, "tContributions", remained the only reference in the field for a long time. Two decades later, he returned to the subject at the beginning of his career and, indirectly, lost his appreciation: cune histoire de l'église roumaine, bàtie dans un esprit large, qui prenne en considération tous les phénomènes de vie chrétienne-orthodoxe de ces régions, exige non seulement une culture riche d'érudit multilatéral, mais aussi un certain don de la divination et de la reconstruction".

The posthumous studies of V. Pâr van did not fulfil this task and we are not very far from the state of the question in which he left it. He did publish a few epigraphic and archaeological discoveries,

- 'Contrib "tii epigrafice la istoria cre§tinismu1ui daco-roman. Bucureçti, i9 i i . Cf. 1 Barnea, Vasile Pârvan pi problema cre5tinismului In Dacia Traianä. Studii Teologicc, Bucurepti, io 1 958) pp. g3-i o5.
- $^{\circ}$ Cf. Contrib. epigr., la bibliographie antérieure p. 85₁ 38 $^{\circ}$. Seul out rage à retenir: L. S'aineanu, Incercare asupra semasiologiei limbii romàne. Bucurepti, i 88y, terminologie chrétienne pp. z5-6 .
- Car l'ouvrage fondamental de M. J. Zeiller, Les origines chrétiennes dans les provinces danubiennes de l'Empire romain, Paris, i9 i8, 6ö2 p. est surtout consacré à la Pannonie et au Norique ; il prend rarement en considération la région au Nord du Danube, cf. p. q i.
 - ^ Memoriale, Bucure§ti, 9< 3. P 73
- ⁵ K. Horedt, Eine lateinische Inschrift des j. J ahrhunderts ans Siebenbürgen, Anuarul Inst. St. Cl. (Cluj) (igs i -i 9qz) pp. io-i6, là-dessus C. Daicoviciu, La Transilvania nell'antichità, Bucureqti, 9•(3) P 2-6. Id., Au su jet des monuments

essais d'interprétation des faits linguistiques*, des commentaires, nécessairement limités, dans les monographies', enfin, quelques tentatives d'aperçus synthétiques-. But the real history of Christian dacrythicism is still to be written. Until the day when one can realise the reflection of a material of which, at some point, one has made the tour, and especially in the light of a certain décisive epigraphic discovery, one must agree with the hypothesis of V. Pàrvan: the existence of Christianity in Dacia before zoo is a logicohistorical necessity.

However, detailed decisions are possible, or even desirable, on the Latin-Greco terrain; moreover, incursions in other areas are also possible.

chrétiens de la Dacie Tra jane, Mélanges J. Marou zeau, Paris, i 9q8, pp. i i9-i2q. B. Mitrea, O gemä creqtinä din Turda. Rev. Ist. Rom. i ö (i 9 6) pp. 5i -'iz. id., Une lampe chrétienne découverte en Transylvanie. Dacia 9-i o (i9¢ -+ 9441 PP- 5°7 -5 M. Macrea, A propos de quelques découvertes chrétiennes en Dacie. Dacia i i - i z (+945—+85 y) pp. z8i -5oz. I. Barnea, Roman-Byzantine basilicæ discovered in Dob- rogea

(+945—•s₄ y) pp. z81-5oz. I. Barnea, Roman-Byzantine basilicæ discovered in Dob- rogea between i9q8-i958. Dacia n. s. z (i 95) PP- 331

° N. lorga, Histoire z pp. Io9-i i 8. S. Puqcariu, Dacoromania i (i 9zo-i 9z i)PP 434 439, i b i d. 8 (193s- 936) pP- 33 3 i. Th. Capidan, Basilica, dans le vol. Limbâ §i cultura, Bucure§ti, 943.PP- 43 ° 56. H. Hatzfeld, Ecclesiastical terms in Rumanian and their semantic implications. Bol. Inst. Caro y Cuervo (Bogota) 5 t 99) pp- 3 °-

- L'ouvrage de V. Pärvan, ci-dessus, est une mine de suggestions. Ainsi p p '74 —'7* ° 776, il fait le relevé des termes religieux caractéristiques dans l'œuvre de St Nicéta et les met en rapport sémantique avec les mots roumains. Méme si l'on accepte la thèse
- de M. D. M. Pippidi, selon laquelle l'évêque de Rémésiana n'aurait pas prêché au Nord du Danube (cf. ci-après) la piste mérite d'étre suivie. The Christian terminology on the two banks of the river could not have been very different. A signaler à ce propos:
- H. Mihaescu, Scrisoarea lui Auxentius din Durostor, izvor pentru latinitatea balcanică, dans le vol. Omagiu lui I. lordan, Bucure5ti, i 958, pp-7 io. id., Quelques re- marques sur le latin des provinces danubiennes de l'Empire Romain, dans le vol. Recueil d'études romanes, Bucureqti, 959, SilrtOut pp. i63-i6q.
- 'R. Vulpe, Hist. Dob. pp. z82-292, 3°7-3 '. 32I -357 et pass., pl. XLI\'. N. Iorga, Histoire z pp. i i 8-i 3o. D. TudOf, Olteniap 37°—373. bibliographie antérieure p 376.
- ⁸ L'état de la question chez D. M. Pippidi, În jurul izvoarelor literare ale creqtinismu lui daco-roman, dans le vol. Contrib "tii la istoria veche a Romlniei, Bucureqti,
- 95PP- ° 3q-2q2. Îd., Niceta din Remesiana ti originile cre§tinismu1ui daco-roman, pp. zq8-zö . I. Barnea, Nouvelles considérations sur les basiliques chrétiennes de la Dobroudja. DaCfà t I -i• (*945 947) Ph zz x -z ¢ i . Gh. Stefan, Anciens vestiges chrétiens E Dinogetia-Biseric-ta, ibid. pp. 303-30ÿ. I. Barnea, Cre§tinismu1 tn Scythia Minor dupa inscriptii. Studii Teologice i -- l +954lpp *q-i i z. id., Quelques consi- dérations sur les inscriptions chrétiennes de la Scythie Mineure. Dacia n. s. i (9571 PP- -*s-z88, lè-dessus J. et L. Robert, Rev. Et. Gf7* (• s5g) Bull. ép. n°- 2§7. *Ö6.
 - ° Nous employons ce terme dans un sens strictement géographique.
 - ¹⁰ Contrib. ep. p. 2q. Même position adoptée par M. J. Zeiller, Ofig. p. < 7-

ne sont pas interdites". In this volume, at least, the only chapter that one can read is precisely the one that aims to analyse the history of Christian dacoscythicism in its non-Latin and non-Hellenic relations. Our hypothesis of work is presented in the following way: is it not possible to assume that there were other forces at work on the ground of evangelical preparation that contributed to the flourishing of Christianity? In other words, can the indigenous peoples who were not affected by either the religion of Hell or Romanism, the various barbarian peoples established in the region (Goths, Huns) and who had variable intensity of contact with missionary activity, be regarded - and to what extent - as elements of the region's spiritual assemblies? In order to answer these questions, the demonstration process must necessarily take into account the following aspects: i° the ethnolinguistic independence of non-Latin and non-Hellenic populations, 2- the degree of authorisation to speak the word of Christ,3⁰ CORditions du syncrétisme religieux.

The problem thus posed, one does not have the ambition to deal with it in its entirety; one is left with a set of facts that could serve as a framework for future developments. More specifically, it is a question here: of the use of the language thrace (besse) as a liturgical language, of the cult of Diane and her survival, and finally of a few testimonies on the atmosphere of the Christian era on the two rivers of the Danube.

Première question : le besse a-t-il servi à la diffusion de la foi chrétienne dans les provinces danubiennes ? The témoignages invoqués à l'appui d'une réponse affirmative sont connus depuis W. Tomaschek et B. P. Hasdeu ; they number four and attest to the survival of the langue de peuplades thraces jusqu'au VI' siècle ap J -C.'*. Rappelons-les. Antonin de Plaisance, poursuivant en 320 son *Itincrarium Hiorosolymitanum*

- " Cf. l'opinion de M. H. Mihàescu: "dans les provinces danubiennes, le christianisme s'est propagé sous une forme latine et non pas grecque" art. cit. Recueil p. nt8. A third possibility is not envisaged.
- '° Gomme en Afrique où l'on peut suivre l'ascension des "loànaim phéniciens éclairés par la sagesse grecque, vers la révélation divine". G. Ch. Picard, Les religions de 1' frique antique, Paris, i 95d, . 2J7.
- N. Iorga a entre vu cette possibilité: "tout le christianisme balkanique avant Constantin sera relié au rivage de la mer, aux grandes stations des routes impériales, ù l'existence des anciennes synagogue juives". Histoire z pu- -º7-108-
- '° La bibliographie antérieure chez I. I. Rusnu, Disparitia limbii §i a populatiilor traco-dace, Stud. cercet. ist. veche 8 (i 9§y) pp. z53-2Ö5 et surtout: Liæba traco-dacilor. Bucureçti, i95g, pp. i io-i i i.

arrive ... ia uM'ri iWr źforzò nt Sina ad coiøs montes f'ødøs est Rons iiòi Moysøs adaquabat oucs, quando uidil rubum ardøntcm. Qui Rons est incfiisøs i'i/ra motiøsRrium, in qøo sum lms abbMs sciøøføs /itigøas, id est Græcam, L "finam, Syram, dfgyÿtiacam sI Brssam". D'autre part, St Théodose 1, "after having travelled a large part of the desert, you arrive at the place called Cutila, and the banks of the asphalt pond (-rt;v won try 6é 6io|3óS -îjs śpfjkov yqv óypt zoú ?tcyopśvov Kou-rtXü, xo1 -rčñv ç'Aoęcćk-rł6oç ""is °x^-v). C'est là que le saint homme fonda un monastère avec quatre églises; dans la deuxième le peuple des Besses élevait des prières dans sa langue au maitre commun ('Ev z 6eo-rtpÿ 6ł zò -r'øv Beauty yew zr; wQrrépo Qmvr; zÿ xoivÿ Acc-rró-rq zò5 eùyò5 òwe6lfiou). On ne saurait dire si la subiba Bcssorum et le øio'iasførium Bøssorum que mentionnent deux moines syriens du Jourdain-selon la relation de J annes Moschus'*-peuvent être identifiés avec l'établissement monacal du lieu-dit Cutila. In all cases the thracisme de ce dernier ne peut pas étre contesté"; aux archéologues et toponymistes de la Terre Sainte de le localiser'®. La méme imprécision entoure la personnalité de 'Av6pto5 tXt':p Omit wptw|3úwpoç, xml f}yoúpsvoç

'^ PL vol. yz, col. 9i i -9 i z. Cf. la note de l'éditeur: "Quid si pro *Basso* lingua, legas *Pezsam* seu Pecsicøm?" A-t-on remarqué que ce volume de la PL parut en i 8 g; il est done antérieur au volume i i ą de la PG (i 86d} - que l'éditeur ne connut pas - et of il est de nouveau question des chants liturgiques des Besses (cf. ci-après) *

poJc z':øv Be'rkv, signataire de la sentence du synode de Constantinople

- Cf. l'opinion de Al. Philippide Orig. Rom. i p. A§3. D'autre part Eb. Nestle croyait qu'il s'agissait plutòt des langues "abyssinienne" on "ibèrique". (Zeit. deutsch. Morgen-länd. Ges. 6i t 9°7i PP s --s -) La conjecture n'est pas plus convaincante.
- $^{\prime\wedge}$ Symeon Metaphrastes, Vita sancti Tbeodosii Cœnobiarchæ. 9.37- PG vol. i i , col. 5°5 5 -
 - 1° Joannes Moschus, De uitis patrum, to, i 5y. PL vol. ys, col. i99.
- l' W. Tomaschek, tlber Brumalia und Rosalba. Together with remarks on the Bessian tribe. Proceedings, Akad. Wise. Vienna. Phil. hist. Cl. 60 (i 868) p- 39. éférences å Cof8cle, *Cattle, Gudilm,* etc. (lordanes, Get. to. Procope, J3ell. goth. z, z).
- La suggestion de l'éditeur du volume de la PG est également à écarter: "An hæc eorum lingua (sc. Bessornm) fuit fortasse quæ hoc æuo Slauonica dicitur, et late per septentrionem in officio ecclosiastico usurpatur". La prtsence de "Slaves" chrétiens en Palestine à cette époque est impossible.
- '° CI., i b i 'i. : zòv 6t zptzov zò z6iv 'Aptitvl'"v Qúhov tlhfJ now, tv 6t owl 'xù-rol -r3 w'x-rpl'p yh': -rrij ztø **Øtÿ** zoù5 0puou\$ óvi'pspov. Ce passage déinontre l'atmosphére polygloHe qui règnait dans le monastère. A écarter l'interprétation de B. P. Hasdeu (**Istr.** crt. Rom. i p. y i n. i 8s) qui voyait dans ces 'Apgsvloi des Aroumains. 11 a mcl lu le passage; il n'est pas question de la région sud-danubienne, où ceø derniers auraient pu se trouser, mais du voisinage de "l'étang d'asphalte".

(A. D. 536) contre Anthimius'-. De ces quatre témoignages il result e que la persistence jusqu'au VI' siècle d'un groupe de Thraces (Besses)°° qui employaient leur idiome a des fins liturgiques n'a rien d'improbable. L'interprétation de la leçon *bøssa* comme une erreur pour "perset, tarméniennes, tethiopiennet, tibérique", "slaves ne résout pas le problème, elle le déplace seulement°'.

Before situating the question of the Thraces (Besses) chrétiens within the complex framework of the religious development of the Danubian region, it is necessary to clarify the contacts with the Middle East, because it is evident that what can cause the most scepticism with regard to the testimonies cited above is the presence of Danubians in the Holy Land.

Les rapports commerciaux de la Dacie et de la Scythie Mineure - avant la conquête romaine - avec le sud de la Méditerranée et l'Orient sont connus ; des marchands originaires de Syrie, de Galatie et de Bithynie sont fréquemment signalés entre la Mer Noire et les Carpathes°. One

'° Mansi, Sacr. concil. coll. vol. 8, COl. 982-q88.

°° Pour la définition ct. : "Bessus nell'epoca imperiale ... serviva come nome generico per tutte le stirpi trace del RÒdope e dello Hæmus fino al Mar Egeo, e persino per quei compressi dentro i limiti del vecchio regno degli Odrisi". G. G. Mateescu, I Traci, Eph. DR ipp 93 #. Cf. PUSSi W. Tomaschek, Zur Kunde der Haemus-

Peninsula. Proceedings of the Imperial. Akad. Wiss., Vienna. Hist.-phil. Cl 99 (+°) PP 49Q-§OJ.

St Isidore fait la distinction entre Tfrreres, *Doci, Bessi* (Etyu 9, > §§ 31-i i 8). Cf. aussi Chronicon Anonymi (A. D- ° 3*) - kettles *autøm qiiæ* fingiiøs *seas liobent, liæc sunt ... Scythæ* . . *Th "oc "s, M yet, Bøssi, Dordonæ, Sozmatæ* (PL vol.3, ... 66d) .

°' C. Muellenhof s'est arrêté å, la conclusion suivante : "omnium Thracum Bessi

o' C. Muellenhof s'est arrêté å, la conclusion suivante : "omnium Thracum Bessi diutissime linguam patriam in sæculum usque sextum ipso sacro cultu retinuerunt", Index loc., I58 of the Getica (lordanes, Mon. Germ. Hist.).

On the other hand, N. Iorga - who did not accept the audacious hypotheses - said: "peut-on admettre, à une date aussi avancée, des Thraces ayant conservé leur caractère et parlant leur langue et qui, de plus, errz*esf eø eussi htm *liflørature d'E glice!* Surtout en tenant tenant de compte de ce dernier fait, ceci parait très difficile". Histoire 2 p• 76. - On remarquera que lorsqu'on connalt le rile joué par les Thraces dans les armées romaine et byzantine - N. lorga le savait bien (ibid. }9- 75 ° 76) - one is less aware of their resistance to 1'assimilation. As for the "ecclesiastical literature", it is a rather grandiose term; it is probably only the translation of a few primes. Relevons enfin une contradiction du grand historien. 11 est question chez Iordanes, Get. 25. 3 . de l'appel lancé par les Visigoths à l'empereur Valens: *promiilunt sø, st doctored linguæ* donoøerit, *iøzi chcisfianos*. Et N. lorga de remarquer (Histoire e p 9): "cela signifiait que tout autour il y avait no *christianismø d'unø autra langue, la langue dos anciøns habitants"*.

Question amplement débattue par V. Pârvan, Die Nationalität der Kaufleute inn römischen Kaiserreich, Breslau, i 909, p. 6i , et par V. Christescu, Via a economică a Daciei romane, Pitești. +9- i. p i z5. De plus, cf. C. Daicoviciu, Transilvania pp. I z8- I zO.

indice sur certaines relations culturelles nous est fourni par Dion Chrysostome qui remarquait des tscythes" parmi son public d'Alexandrie ^. Mais c'est surtout l'encadrement militaire de ces deux provinces qui les met, à partir des I"-II' siècles ap. J.-C., de plain-pied avec la partie orien- tale de l'Empire. One has only the embarras du choix to citer les corps d'armée orientaux qui y stationnèrent°'. They had to integrate morally and, more importantly, artistically the Dacie and the pontic littoral into the Mediterranean Orient°'. The examples of Danubian soldiers present in the units of the Orient are not lacking. Citons au moins: *cohors I Vlpia Dacorum* en

- •5 $_{\rm Z}$ en Syrie (CIL XVI io6), ucxillatio Decorum Partliica (CIL III z ig3). De plus, on peut invoquer le témoignage des Res Geslæ diui Soporis**. En 2ôo, après le désastre d'Edesse, le césar l'empereur Valérien fut fart prisonnier, avec son armée, par l'empereur Săpûr. Among the 20000 men who made up the army there were soldiers from Norique, Dacie (ò-rrró Aoxsl'x5 é8voUç), Pannonia, Mysie, etc (§§ i 2 A) °'. Ils
- ^ Discours s3. ' (éd. Læb vol. 3P zo8). Le rhéteur ne se trompait pas sur l'appartenance ethnique (cf. § aaa). 11 connaisøait bien la région pontique occidentale gràce à son voyage å Olbia; chez lui le terme de "Scythe" n'avait pas l'acception vague that the ancients gave him, à savoir "nordique". Cf. also le discours 9, 5 sur lcs habitants de Borysthène qui participaient aux jeux Isthmiens et rendaient visite à Diogènes.
- ^ Enumération chez D. Tudor, Oltenia pp. z65-z8 i . A relever que le *Numerus surorum sogifta "iorum* (ibid. p. zy8) est resté en Dacie I nférieure pendant toute la période romaine, depuis la conquête jusqu'å l'abandon. Il lui échut la défense du *li mrs alutonus*. For V. Părvan (Dacia p. i9i), the colonisation of the Dacie with the Orientals was explained by the Romans' desire to confer the land to 'specialists'. On the other hand, the sentinels of the Moorish and Scythian déserts had to fulfil the main task. The organisation of the *F'ossalum Daciæ* was not supposed to be very different from that of the *Fossalum A cicæ*.
- °° L'histoire des cultes orientaux en Dacie a été faite par Oct. Floca, I culti orien-tali nella Dacia, Eph. DR (1935)PP- •°i—•39 Selon M. G. Cir. Picard les déco-rateurs du lro9æum d'Adamklissi auraient été également des Orientaux. Cf. Les trophies romains, Paris, i g 5 y, pm-' '-' s-
 - °° éd. A. Maricq, Syrİã 35 (95) PP >9J -3
- o' Lè-dessus cf. M. Rostovtzeff, Res Gestæ diui Saporis and Dura, Berytus 8
- $(+943\ 944)$ PP- 7 , qui, en discutant *forigo* des soldats capturés ils apparte- naient à z9 lieux d'origine n'exclut pas la possibilité que cette liste fût compilée

"from documents of the military archives of the Roman forteresses and of the Roman military camp captured by Shapur, and from oral information supplied by captured Roman officers and soldiers". 11 y a certes une part de vantardise orientale dans la longue énumération de Šāpúr, mais on ne peut oublier que Trajan avait profité, dans la lutte contre les Parthes, de "l'expërience dacique" de ses soldats (ct. M. Cornelius Fronto, Epist. éd. Lœb z p. zoo). 11 n'y a rien d'extraordinaire à ce que Valérien l'ait imîté.

furent tous déportés en Perse, en Parthie, en Susiane et dans l'Asôrestàn (§§ 2Az6, 34-36). En rapportant les mèmes événements, la chronique nestorienne de Se'ert, qui date du XI° siècle, precise que, du fart de cette déportation ... in regions Pørsarum christiani numcro iticrfitteriinf; mo- nastcria ct ccclesiæ ædi icatæ sum. Erant aiitem inter cos saccrdotes well Antiochia captiui fuøranl aòdiicti°*

Thus, the commercial, cultural and, above all, military relations between the Danubian region and the Middle East were the most traditional, at least until the end of the **third** century. One does not exaggerate by affirming that the two marches of the Empire were complementaryoe. The presence, three centuries later, of the Besses (Thraces) in Terre Sainte has nothing absurd about it, since they followed an old route. The circumstances in which they arrived there are difficult, but impossible, to explain. Nothing more can be said about their numerical importance. For Antonio de Plaisance, the question is only of three moines, and also of *three languages*, which could mean that they were not necessarily of better origin. Par contre, Symeon Metaphrastes parle de why **Btnwcøv yśvo;**, expression qui n'est pas plus claire. Mais puisque Andreas s'intitulait -rrptoQú-rtpo5,

^* ùY°* > vïj TMU Beauty, cela suppose au moins une petite communauté monacale. It seems to have an affinity with a few groups of veterans de l'armee byzantine, laquelle, suivant la tradition romaine, s'alimentait en hommes dans la région danubienne. According to Malala, l'empereur Leon etait BrJwwo5. Anastase combat, en 49z, les rebelles Isauriens prë-

cisément avec l'aide des soldats Besses ; de méme, en _S -, dans la lutte contre les Perses il fait appel aux Goths, aux Besses et à d'autres peuples thraces (arprria ró°r0ccv ze xol Beooććv xa1 ż-rżp'''v @pgxćóv č6v¿óv). E "fin des iscythes" viennent en aide en Orient ä Manuel Comnène'°. Mais admettre la conversion d'une poignée de Besses expatriés ne signifie pas avoir prouvé la christianisation de leurs lieux d'origine.

- '- Chronicon Seertense, éd. P. Peeters, Pat:r. Orient. ą, . 386 ss. Lä-dessus cf. E. Honigmann et A. Maricq, Recherches sur les Res Gestæ diui Saporis, Mém. Acad. Royale de Belgique, Lettres, d2 pp. i38-i3g.
- o" On pourrait pousser plus loin l'analogie: dans la lutte pour la survie, contre le monde extra-romaîn, il y a presque corrélation à distance, cf. : to ---- 563 (-J -°5*

 A. D.j uastouit Sabuc "ct Pecsorum S yciam ct Ce9podociem . If to macro Borbaci froiø-
- cørunt Donubium plum øn ct deuosfau "cunl insular (Chronicon miscel. Corpus Script. Christ. Orient. 3 p. i t9).
- °° Malala, éd. Bonn pp. 368,393. Théophanes, ibid. p. zzş. Cinnamus, ibid. p. ipp. Lå-dessus W. Tomaschek, Brumalia p. 3q9.

témoignages des I II'-VI' siècles sur le Christianisme danubien sont assez nombreux ^. Seulement, comme les mêmes indications se répètent sans beaucoup de variation on est obligé de se demander si l'on n'a pas affaire à un de clichés - semblable à t1'arc gétiquer, à tla flèche sarmatet, tfroid scythiquei - that the pères de l'Eglise se seraient passé, le zèle, un certain manque d'esprit critique et, surtout, la méconnaissance des réalités géographiques et historiques, favourisant la conlusion. However, the apparence of the "yes-or-no" is not necessarily a negative sign; a topos devenu tradition can, at its origin, recall a parcel of truth. En discutant un passage de Tertullien (Ad. Sud. 2) qui affirmait le Christi- anisme des Sarmates, des Daces et des Scythes, V. Pàrvan concluait qu'il était annulé par une information d'Origène ^. M. D. M. Pippidi fait sienne cette conclusion et, de plus, écarte la tradition tardive, interpolée chez

°l W. Tomaschek, BFitmalia . 39J s8. V. Pârvan, Gontrib. ep.- 76 ss.

°W. Tomascnek, Brittmana . 393 ss. V. Parvan, Gontrio. ep. . 70 ss.
°° Voici le texte de Tertullien (PL vol. z, col. 6 9-ö50): In quem enim alium uniuersæ gentes crediterunt, nisi in Christum qui ram uenit? Cui en im et aliæ gentes crediderunt?

Parfhi, Midi, Elomilæ, zi gui inñabiiont Mzsopotomiam, A zm nina, Phrygiom, Coppadociam; et incolznt#s Ponlum, el A stern, et Pom philiom, i "t moronles fyptum, ef cegionem A fzicæ quæ asf frotis C yrenem in hobitanfes, Romani et incolæ; el in fficrusa/am ludæi (Act. I I, 9-), et cæteræ gentes: ut iam Getulorum uarie- tates, et Maurorum multi fines, Hispaniorum omnes termini, (et Galliarum diuersæ nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo uero subdita, et Sarma- taru m, et Dacorum, et Germanorum et Scytharum, et additarum multarum gentium, et prouinciarum) et insularum multarum nobis ignotarum, et quæ enumerare minus possumus? In quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen, qui iam u e n i t, regnat: utpote ante quem omnium ciuitatum portæ sunt apertæ, et cui nullæ sunt clausæ. ...

The extent of the citation of which V. Pârvan was the author has been mise en crochets [... j, because it is important to recognise the passage in its entirety. Remarquons d'abord que Tertullien exclude de sa propre citation des Actes des Apôtres (I I. 9- i i) le membre de phrase suivant: eodioim es vos *loquentes nostris lingots mognalio Dot*. Le renseignement sur le chant liturgique reviendra un peu plus embelli - chez St J érÖme et St Paulin de Nole. One then has the impression that the African apologist wanted to proceed with a "mise à jour" of the apostolic rites by adding his own "information". It is no less important that his knowledge of the realities of Danube should be the most accurate. Cf. N. lorga, Histoire z

p. i os, i o6 n. 3.

Voici le passage négateur d'Origéne (Ad Matth. 2', 9) 'O "*d Unfern dicomus dz Brifannis out Garmonis, qui sunt cicco oceonum, ccl apud borbaros Dmos et Sormafas et Se ythas, quorum pluzi mi non dum audizrunt changeait u e r b u m, audituri sunt outam in idee sæcofo consom mettons. Même si l'on ne rejette pas avec M. D. M. Pippidi 1'interprétation de quorum plurimi en tant que partitif, et qui laisserait quelque place à une réponse positive, la contradiction des deux textes demeure.

A opposer ce passage de Lactance, particulièrement rhétorique: et iem nulles tssst tarrazus ongulus tom net otus quo non zc/igio dii penatcasszt, 'tulla denique [der) notio

Eusèbe sur l'apostolat d'André en Scythie ('Avfipto5 6é -rtJv Zuoi)lov f->rX--] Hist. Ecc1. 3, Z). Il verse au même dossier le témoignage négatif de Macarios Magnes (IV- siècle) sur le Christianisme nord-danubien ^. Enfin si l'on rejette, avec le méme savant, la thèse sur d'apostolati de

Nicéta de Remésiana l'on voit s'écrouler tout l'échafaudage des témoignages patristiques. Voici encore deux textes relatifs à la question. Salvien écrit au VI-siècle: Numquid Scytharum art Gepidarum inkumonissimi ritus in maledictum a:ique blosf'hemiam nomen Domini Saluoloris inducunt ! ... Vbi est Icx catholica quam cri:dant ? Chi seul pietatis et castitatis præcepla que discunt ? Euangelia legunl, et im§udisi sunt; oposlolos audiunt, el

inebriantur? Christum sequuntur, et rapiunt; uitam improbam agunt, et probam Icgcm àeò#rc sc dicu'if (De gub. 4, ry. PL 53, Col. go). En 85 le pape Nicolas écrit à l'empereur Michel: Cum cnim barbori omncs et Scythm, et insonsata animalia uiuant, Doum ucrum nosciant, figitia aofrm zf lapides adorenl, in no i f'so quo uorum Doum colit lingua latina, quanlum barbaram mel Scylhicam linguam onlccedat, agnoscitur (Epist. Mansi, vol. z5, col. 19*) Il serait facile d'opposer à Salvien l'activité érudite de Théotime,

évéque de Tomes -, le martyrologe de l'église de Scythie -5, les débats et les inquiétudes des "rnoines scythesi 0-ant au pape Nicolas pouvait-il ignorer les évèques tomitains ^ ainsi que la correspondance du pape Pélage avec les évèques d'Histria ^' ? De la masse des métaphores et des exagérations -

tam feris moribus uiuens, ut non suscepto dei cultu ad iustitiæ opera mitesceret (De mort. pers. 3, 5). C'est une reprise de l'affirmation, également exagérée, de Inst. ¢, z6, 3-5 Làdessus les remarques de M. J. Moreau, éd. critique vol. z

-3. 0riS, '954

De plus cf. Nil Doxapatri sur l'extension de la foi en Europe et au dehors. Not. thron. patr. PG vOl. $*3^\circ$, COI. xo85-io88.

^ Contrib. is. surtout p. -3i. A propos du passage de Macarios (y, I3), M. D. M. Pippidi note l'arrière-pensée apologétique de celui-ci. Il était tiraillé entre le zéle de proclaim l'universalisme de la foi du Christ. - voir Lactance ci-dessus - et le souci de ne pas opposer un dérnenti à St Matthieu (zq, ii) en proclamant la victoire. ... xcl zó-n fJ§ti -rò - rtAoç. We would like to find the description of the Danubian region less véridique. In any case, the "froid scythique" and a cliché vieux de toute antiquité (cf. E. Lozovan, Réalités pontiques p. 358). Quant à la précision de Macarios sur les votió6"v |3'xp|3óp':cv i8vrj 6ú6txct, elle est assez suspecte. Quel crédit attacher alors au rest du passage ?

[^] St Jér6me, De uiris inl. - 3-

^{°°} Critique serrée chez J. Zeiller, Orig. pp. i z6-rzo.

^{°°} On peut suivre leur succession jusqu'au VI- siècle. Cf. J. Zeiller, Orig. pp. i ò6- i 23. De plus, une inscription découverte récemment atteste, pour la première fois, au VI- siècle le titre de 'O6unizavoç |3ixópiS ... Mópxs7thoç. I. Barnea, Un vicar de Odessos la Tomis, Stud. cer. ist. veche 8. I - v I- 9J7)PP 347 352.

^{-&#}x27; Acta concil. cc. éd Schwarz, vol. . - PP -°5 *3°-

l'adoration des "bois et des pierresi au IX- siêcle est particulièrement douteuse - il y a 1 retenir seulement l'affirmation de Salvien selon laquelle les Scythes et les Gepides *Euangelia legunt*.

In the face of so many contradictions, one is bound to believe not only that it is not the same people, but also that the patristic testimonies could not be invoked. Because they almost all carry the lourde hypothéque des exigences apologétiques, des fioritures rhetoriques, des méconnaissances historiques et géographiques°. In fact, they could be cited for and against; given the illegal diffusion of Christianity, the pêres de l'Eglise could - in all good faith - cite opposing facts. The examples were certainly not lacking among the same people, living in the same region at the same time. I.a faute des Tertullien, Origéne, Macarios, Salvien, Nicolas n'était que la généralisation.

St Jérôme'° écrit: deposuit pliarelras Armenius, Hunt discunt Psalterium, Scvlhim frigora feruent caloro fidzi (Epist. roy, z). V. Pàrvan attachait du crúdit à passage"; M. D. M. Pippidi le rejette'°. Voyons la chose de plus prés. St.J érôme fait son énumération comme s'il regardait une carte: il commence avec l'Arménie, en se dirigeant vers l'Ouest il continue avec le Bosphore Cimmérien --, pour s'arrêter à la Scythie --. Ailleurs il affirme: Bessorum feridas et pellitorum turba populorum ... sfridorrm simon iii duíce crucis fregerunt netos (Epist. 60). Ceci souléve le probléme du chant sacré chez les

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°® D. M. Pippidi, Contrib. ist. p.•37- Sur la définition de "Scythe" i b i d. p. z 6 n. i , Q. 2q7 *1, q. De plus E. Lozovan, ci-dessus z p. zoy n. 33.
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Mème St Augustin did not see very clearly in the affairs of the Orient. M. H. - I.

Marrou remarked, with humour, that celui-ci "n'a jamais réussi à se reconnaitre au milieu
de tous ces Grégoires". Que dire d'autres Occidentaux, moins "spécialistes" que l'évéque
d'Hippone, et qui écrivaient non sur des con/rères qui avaient des noms et des visages
- rencontrés dans les concile9 - but sur des peuples carrément exotiques? 'o A qui l'on peut
accorder un certain crédit. The Pannonia of naissance that i1 was had some
competence in the Danubian affairs. One can only assume that, in his Palestinian
legacy, he had long been sensitive to the suffering of his devastated patriarchy. In
addition, he has had his share of conflicts. Voir sa correspondance avec Suu ja et
Frithila, membres de 1'Eglisc gothique de Constantinople, qui lui soumettaient leurs
doutes au sujet des divergences de traduction des Ecritures (Epist. io6). J. Zeiller, Orig.
pp. 56fi-

^{.5&}gt;7-

^{• &}lt;sup>1</sup> Contrib. ep. pa - 7*- 77- '° Contrib. ist. p. 263.

[^] Sur la conversion des H us cf. J. Zeiller, Orig. p. 36d.

[^] Ne manquons pas de citer ce passage négatif: titque *Bzitatini*, /erti/is Qrooiaci e fyrownorom, zf *Scythm genfes* omacsquz osqt*c cd Ocratiuct per *circoitum* f'aròaru tio- *tiones Moysan fn'ophatosguc cognouezanf* (Epist*33, 91

barbares danubiens*-. One would have been tempted to consider these crenseignementst as mere souvenirs of the passage of the Actes des Apótres (2, i i) that Tertullien made, but which should have been in all the memoirs of the men of the Church. Only our knowledge of the conversion of the Caucasian Huns has advanced considerably; the evangelist of Arrãn sent a mission to translate the writings into their language. Thus the affirmation of St Jérôme, according to which *żfuai discunt Psaltcrium* no longer belongs to the domain of the beßes métaphores and descends to the terrain of the réantés. This confirmation also applies to the other members of the phrase? What is true for the Huns is no less true for the Scythes? Comment résister à la tentation de répondre par l'affirmative?

Les *magnalin Dei*, zò5 eùyóç ... z':ø xoivÿ dso-ir rij, le *dulcc crucis mclos* ont résonné peut-être au cours des III'-VI' siècles - *cordc Romano ă* coup sùr, dans d'autres idiomes, probablement - chex les Besses du lieu-dit Cutila, chez les Huns Bosphorans, chez les Scythes danubiens. But this was undoubtedly a very limited experience of which one should not exaggerate la portée. II nous faut done rester, avec V. Pàrvan, MM. J Zeiller ct D. M. Pippidi on the minimum position of expectation of some document décisif which confirms that which, until further order, is only intuition. But it is allowed

d'envisager la perspective d'une contribution autre que gréco-latine à la consolidation du Christianisme danubien".

This contribution is already evident when analysing the problem of the Gothic church; its history is sufficiently well known for one not to have

- 'O J. Zeiller, Orig. pm-SS. SS . Cf. St. Paulin de Nole: orbis in mule røgiona pør fø J bocboci discunt røsonarø Ghristuøi J cords Romano (Poem. i 8, z6 i ss). 2fcssøs øxulfot , quod huøi i øianugu- I-n!- quærzbat, modo wtøntø cælo coni*git ouru-ø (i 8, 2 I ą-z i 2).

 M. D. M. Pippidi démontre (Contrib. ist. p. zöz), contre V. Párvan, que ces Bessi ourileguli lived in the region of Rémésiana and not in Dacie nord-Danubienne.
 - '^ F. Altheim, ci-dessus i pp. z86-z89.

" Sur l'épisode **légendaire** de **la fcgio All** *Fulminota* (**Dion Cassius Epit. 7°. -**'. s) et qui a été souvent cité comme une preuve de la présence d'Orientaux chrétiens sur le Moyen-Danube dès le I-' siècle, cf. J. Zeiller, Orig. pp. şz -q6.

Pour la Thrace cf. ce passage de Pan. Lat. z i , z i : I taque sicut fn'idem tuo, Diocltions ougusfø iussu inn pleuit døsarto Throciæ tcanslolis incolis A six. et la remarque de N. lorga, Histoire z p. qą: "or, ceci représente pour la propagation du christianisme, étant donné ce que 1'Asie Mineure représentait pour la nouvelle doctrine, un fait jusqu'ici non-observé, qui est de la plus hau te importance". A rapprocher ici 1'ins- cription chrétienne de Plovdiv sur Z9vóQi(o)ç 'Amioycùç publiée par M. D. Teont- schev, Latomus i 9 (i q6o) p. i i9 ainsi que sa reøiarque : cette inscription et d'autres semblables indiquent "qu'i1 y eut autrefois à Philippopolis des émigrés venus de tous les endroits de l'Asie Antérieure".

bespin de s'appesantir sur ce point ". A great evangelical ondée - cer- tainly antérieure au concile de Nicée, même si l'organisation proprement ecclésiastique lui est postérieure - va va du Norique au Bosphore Cimmérien'*. A large number of questions, which cannot be answered, are the same as those posed by M. J. Zeiller more than a quarter of a century ago. For example, St Jean Chrysostome has actually studied their language with

les vopöIo=s si ra-r8oi (Epist. Z4 xc 3z, col. 618)? ^o Vu tl'aposto1at + de Théotime parmi les Goths est-il gratuit de supposer que ceux-ci dépen- dient de l'évêché de Tomess'? Finally, in view of the French activity of translating liturgical texts - which had defined a veritable "movement of biblical studies" that went as far as a significant influence of the Gothic Bible on Western Latin versions - can we renounce the idea that the Danubian population benefited from it? In any case, M. J. Veiller recognises that all Orthodoxy (i.e. the Goths) makes it easier for them to merge with the rest of the population*°. N. lorga is even further away. After having affirmed that Arianism contributed to the creation of a Latin life, because it was also a popular faith of these regions, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Moines scythes indicated the struggle of a monacal element, of indigenous character, against the evangelist of Tomis, who was of a Greek character. It is probably more than a brilliant vision of the spirit. The old particularism of Danube was not dead. Il allait de la mention épigraphique qui en dit long, nations Thrax, domus Dacia, jusqu'aux proclamations hautaines de Julien ^^ et de Justinien". Dans le giron de l'Eglise l'expression de pareils sentiments mationalistest empruntaient des accents plus doux. Lorsque Ulfila se fit auprès de Théodose l'avocat de Palladius de Ratiaria et de Secundinus de Singidunum, déposés par le

¹⁰ J. Zeiller, Orig. p∢•7 avec la bibliographie antérieure.

^{&#}x27;° On fera la part de la légende et de la réalité sur la diffusion du Christianisme à Olbia et à Chersonèse, op. cit. p. q io ss. A retenir la présence de la croix sur les monnaies de Tortosés, roi du Bosphore, i b i d.

^{^°} ibid. PP- 544-547-

s' i b i d . pp. Ego, 5¢y -5q9.

[^]o ibid. p. q68 ss.

^{°°} i b i d. p. léo. Car les dissonances confessionnelles pass au second plan ¡on en arrive à un véritable éclectisme liturgique.

^{°^} Histoire z p. i zz.

^{^°} i b i d . p. z68.

[^]o I-ettre à Saluste; Misopogon, éd. Loeb vol. z pp. i9, 5o.

^{-&#}x27; lou. z6. Cf. E. Lozovan, ci-dessus 2 p. zo6 n. 3i.

Synod d'Aquilée en 38x, défendait-il en eux uniquement des frères en Jesus- Christ ou bien aussi et surtout des "compatriotess ? Is-ce le hasard qui fit de Séléna - un piEo|3ópQopo5, fils d'un Goth et d'une Fhrygienne - le successeur d'Ulfila ? Or bien y a-t-il là une trace légère de népotisme, com- parable à celui de Galère qui fait passer Maximin Data avant Constantin en se justifiant sèchement: *teens aJJinis* ? (De mort. pers. i8, iq) Q,uant ä Ulfila, ce petit-fils de captifs cappadociens était lui-méme un veritable tproduit de synthèset de la région danubienne ; son trilinguisme - gothique, latin et hellènique - en est un bel exemple ^*. Et lorsque, 1 sa mort, on lui fit à Constantinople des funérailles solennelles c'est aussi cette cEglise de syn- thèsei que l'on honora dans sa dépouille.

From this series of elements, we retain the impression that the atmosphere was favourable to a close collaboration on both banks of the Danube. This non-Hessian and non-Latin church functioned, perhaps, with very little 'theology' and sometimes with a real hierarchy. This favoured a veritable "folklorisation" of the faith, of which the cult of Diane is the most characteristic illustration.

Le dossier de la *moafium domina* ... *siluarumque uirøntium* (Catulle 24) a été établi, pour la Dacie, par V. Pârvan ^o. One could easily

°° Le nom d'Ullila "Wölflein", pose aussi une énigme qui a passionné bien des osprits. M. Mircea Eliade suggests (Les Daces et les loups. Numen 6, i (19591 PP 5 3 1 que le nom ethnique des Daces signifie 6óouç "loup" comme le voyaient déjå Strabon et Hésychius. C'est possible: l'onomastique indo-europëenne connalt d'autres exemples de noms-totems cf. tlirace *Oroles* "faucon". Par ce biais on arrive auz racines d'une curieuse confusion ethnique, à savoir Getæ = Gothi. Is it only due to a phonetic rapprochement? Or was it, on the contrary, the normal result of the life together of two peoples who shared terrestrial and spiritual nourishment? Strange hasard - if that's what it is - that made this "little wolf" into the saviour of the Goths, devenus

"G-ëtes", eux-mémes proches parents des Aóoi!

°° N. lorga, Histoire z p. io9. J. Zeiller, Orig. p. 5i8. On pourrait alléguer comme contre-argument à ceHe symbiose gotho-géto-latine l'inexistence de mots x ieux-germaniques dans la langue roumaine conceriiant la terminologie chrétienne. (Mème pour d'autres parts du vocabulaire la controverse est ăpre, cf. E. Lozovan. La lexicologie roumaine. Rev. ling. rom. zz [i g58] n^ 606 ss). A quoi on répondra que les rapports christologiques de la population nord-danubienne avec les Goths ne devaient nécessairement pas laisser des traces linguistiques puisqu'elle a changé plusieurs fois de langue rituelle (latine, slave, roumaine) .

°- Contrib. ep. pp. i—••3 It iass. Getica pp. i63-i6ş et pass. Mise Ł jour de la question par C. Daicoviciu, Transilvania p. i3a. - Bibliographie antérieure chez G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, i9 i z, pm•〈 —•s• ; id. RE s. v. Diana. F. Altheim, Griechische Götter im alten Rom, Giessen, isi°. P 39 pp., id. Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache, Frankfurt a. M., 195'pp zz6-227.

l'enrichir en tenant compte des dernières découvertes épigraphiques ¹. Ici deux questions seules peuvent intéresser, à savoir la popularité du culte de Diane dans la région danubienne et sa survie, ainsi que la possibilité de le rattacher à un culte indigène - en somme: le prolongement en deux direc- tions. On this point, we are in a position to bring some new facts into the debate. The monographs highlight the diffusion of the Culte d'Artémis- Diane on the south of the Danube, in Pannonia, on the Adriatic coast and in France. Un mémoire encore inédit ^ arrives at the conclusion statistique - alléatoire mais non moins significative -que les dédicaces 1 Diane, au nombre d'une guarantaine, les plus importantes de tout l'Empire, proviennent de Dacie. Remarquons aussi que la seule manifestation religieuse locale à laquelle Ovide fasse allusion est constituée précisément par le culte de Diane (Tr. 4, q, 6I-6z; Pont. I, 2, 80). De la Tauride au Bosphore Cimmérien*-, en passant par Histria ^, la +famille apokiniennei, le Latonæque genus duplcx, recevait des honneurs peu communs depuis les temps helléniques les plus reculés. Rappelons, enfin, le renseignement rapporté par Lactance sur la mère de Galère: Erat mater eitis deorum motifium cidfrix. Qiiæ cum esset mulier admodum superstitiosa, dapibus sacrificabat pæne colidie ac uicanis suis o¡bufas ezhibcbat (De mort. pers. II, I). M. J Moreau

suggère " que ces dii montium qu'adorait Romula **, en compagnie de

- °' Cf. V. Velkov, Nouvelles inscriptions latines de Montana (Moesia Inferior). Arc heologia7. ' (i 935) pp. 9 i -i o i . Dédicace è *Diam* fiegiae due à un *u xillocius equilum* legiotiis *I Ilalicæ*.
- °° D. Detschew, The Cult of Artemis in the Middle Strymon Region, Serta Kazarowiana, Solia, 1955 VOI. " PP- 95 ce, résumé par VI. Popovici et Ch. Picard, Rev. Arch. z (i 958) pp. i z¢-••s K. Kerény i, Die Göttin Diana im nördlichen Pannonien, Pannonia (-939) Pp. zo3-zz i. H. Petricovits, Zur Religionsgeschichte der Adrialänder im Altertum, Vienna,33. thèse inédite. Cf. G. Stadtmüller, Historia 3
- •'7 n. 5 H. Kenner, Die Götterwelt der Austria Romana. J ahreshefte Öst. Arch. Inst. Vienna, '3 t 95) . 68-7 , sur *Diane* Nemrsis. A. Alföldi, Diana Nemorensis. AmJ urn. Arch. G¢,z (ig6o) *37--44IP
- ^ Ecole Pratique de Hautes Etudes, Paris, M. Rebuffat, Le culte de Diane dans l'armée romaine). Cf. Annuaire i95*-+9J7P •s Nous sommes seul responsable des ces renseignements, notés lors de l'exposé oral fait par l'auteur à l'Ecole.
 - ^ Cf. B. Latyàev, Insc. Oræ Sept. Ponti Eux. III n 3¢j, dz I.
- ^ Il y avait même un mois dénommé *Ap-rtpiniùv. D. M. Pippidi, Contrib. ist. pp i ig-i zo.
- °- Originaire des Carpathes: *Tronsdonttuiono it@esfontibus Com pis in Dociom nouom* fretisircfo emtiz coo/iigeref (De mort. pers 9. °) -
 - °' Commentaire à De mort. pers. vol. z pp. z62-z68.
- °° Ces cérémonies ont eu lieu therefore à Rome, peu de temps avant l'édit de Nicomédie (3i i). The païennes manifestations continued into the following century. Cf. A.

ses uicatii, en signe de fidélité à leur Dacie natale, étaient peut-être des divinités silvestres et agrestes telles que Silvain, Diane et Liber Pater -".

V. Pàrvan a proposé deux identifications d'Artùmis-Diane: d'un côté la *Bendis* thracique'° et de l'autre la *Sônziana* du folklore roumain. For the first possibility, we must be content, for the moment, with a few suggestions. Diane was a dame of great popularity among the "plèbes". The colonisation of the Dacie had the military-Paysan character that one says. What is needed to explain the cult card of the Latone woman and the place she occupied between the Carpathes and Pont Euxin? Or perhaps its solid establishment was made possible by the annexation of an ancient cult? Pareille assimilation n'a rien d'insolite ; à Laodicée, Artémis se transforma en Astartée'°. The témoignage sur les dévotions de la mère de Galère aurait pu fournir ce chaînon intermédiaire entre Bendis et Artémis- Diane ; malheureusement il est trop vague pour que l'on puisse en faire état.

La question de la survie de Diane est beaucop plus claire'°. Procope signale deux toponymes sud-danubiens Zömç (De æd 4.4 4,6), qu'on peut rapprocher des lieux-dits macédo-roumains *Dzôna* et *Zqna***. The table Peutingerienne atteste en Epire (2. 3) la station *ad Dianam***. Les langues roumaine et albanaise ont gardé le nom de la déesse avec la signification de

Alföldi, A festival of Isis in Rome under the Christian Emperors of the IV $^{\circ}$ century. Diss. Pann. -. 7-

°° Sur Silvain en Dacie cf. V. Pàrvan, Dacia p. i87 '°

En dernier lieu cf. Dacia pp. i q6-in.

¹ J. Bayet, Hist. pol. rel. rom. IP- 39 4 ¹⁰ R.

Grousset, L'Empire du Levant, p. 3q.

'° E. Ç a b e j , Kult und Fortleben der Göttin Diana auf den Balkan, Leipziger Vierteljahr. S.-0. Eur. s I 9¢ i) pp. zzq-z i . Cf. aussi avec les réserves du Œ V. Laurent, Byz. Zeit. 5 I , z(• ss8) p. 5z : M. Delcourt, Le complexe de Diane dans l'hagiographie chrétienne, Rev. Hist. Rel. i 53,• (-ss8) pp. i -33.

" Th. Capîdan, Top. macédo-rOu P 7 vè de soi qu'on ne doit pas nécessairement conclure à une continuité toponymique depuis l'antiquité. We ne pouvons pas dater ces lieux-dits qui ne sont peut-être que l'appellatil *z6nä*.

D'autre part Bendis apparaît aussi dans la toponymie balkanique. cf. *Bondi porc*, références chez I. I. Russu, Limba traco-dacilor, P ss-

" I dentifiée par M. G. Stadtmüller avec *Photihe*. cf. HiStorlà 3 PP - 'i-z 8, où il résume aussi: C. Gerojannis, Die Station "ad Dianam" in Epirus, Wiss. Mitt. aus Bosnia u. Herz. 8 (i9oz) pp. zob - zob. - Cf. aussi Mètre (*Diono V* ateranorurn *j* en Afrique et la sfetio md *Dionom* près le golfe d'Aquaba, portorium de Syrie.

tfée" zánd, zanc**. La Diana, sancta polentissima de Sarmizegethusa (CIL I II *418) est devenue Sónziana, personnage populaire autant que come plexe du folklore roumain". La géographie linguistique attests sa présence sur la plus grande partie du territoire nord-danubien (ALR I 62A). Les zhuø "commandent au vents'", elles habitent dans les clairières, près des sources et des fontaines'-. La fleur de sánziene (Gafiø ti rrriitn), dotée de vertus miraculeuses doit être cueillie la nuit du za juin ; on en fart des couronnes, parfois des bouquets en forme de croix^o. D'une façon ou d'une autre \$'itiziana et sa pharmacopée sont associées à la lune ; leur influence s'est étendue méme chez les Slaves balkaniques'". Without building too many hypotheses, it is possible to describe the stages of this metamorphosis. In the mélange of the two rivers of the Danube"o l'opposition

'° Pour les auhes langues romanes cf. W. Meyer-Lübke REW z6z . L'étymologie Dr atia > zòtiò, raør ne pose pas de difficulté et il est Strange qu'on l'ait mise en doute (0. l3ensusianu proposait d*oirie) , vu surtout le contexte historico-folklorique dans lequel elle se place. Cf. en dernier lieu Al. Rosetti, Mélanges pp. 352-35d.

.h-t-on remarqué que c'est le prince moldave Dimitrie Cantemir qui. le premier. a donné la bonne étymologie: "Daine, quam uocem a Dianæ denominatione døductam snspicaris. Raro tamen singulari numero earn celebrant, sed pier umque plurali Dzinelz utuntur, feruntque uirgines esse formosissimæ et uenustatis largitrices". Descriptio Moldax iæ I p. i a i éd. Acad. Roum. Bucuresti, i 872

**** Sånziona < San(ct) Di ano ne pose pas non plus de difficulté phonétique. On s'éton nera que certains savants opt pour l'étymologie *Sanctum Johannes*. Cf. Sever Pop, Le più importanti feste presso i Romeni, Rev. ét. inrio-eur. i (1938) pp ^ .95 -49 II y a là impossibilité phonétique et historico-religieuse; V. Pârvan l'avait déjà iemarqué, Contrib. ep. n. 56d. L'erreur remonte L Dimitrie Cantemir, qui cette fois fit fausse route ¡ il travaillait avec les instruments d'érudition de son temps (XVII I- siéc Ie):

"S yndz rifle: nomen est S. lohannis prodromi ..." op.cit. p. i 2. L'identification avec St Jean a en lieu mais elle est secondaire. Autrer-: ent la dén"mination S fdntu hon dimrien n'aurait pas de sens et serait une facheuse tan tologie rim, mastique.

Cf. De plus, C. Tagliavini, Di vagazioni semantiche romene. Arch. ROm. i 2 f19z8) pp. i 80-i 83. 0. Densusianu, Cu privire la Stnziene, Grai și suflet 3 (I Qz8) pp. 433

'3'- Al Cioränescu, Diccionário etimológico rumano, La Laguna, - s8 Ss., no. z j*4 '8

StăpUncle vdntului, cf. T. Pamfile, Sărbătorile- de vară la Români. Studiu etnografic,
București, i gi o, p. 23. - C. Rădulescu-Codin, D. Mihalache, Sărbătorile poporulu i
român, București, i g o 9, surtoutp 73 -7' - L. ă i n e a n u , Les fées mé- chantes
d'aprés les croyances du peuple roumain ..., Mélusine io (9°+) pp z i 8 -2 z6,
• '3 -25i (résumé de l'ouvrage : lelele, Dlnsele, Vîntósele ..., București, i 886).

'° T. Pamfile, op. cit. pp. z6-3.

8° i b i d . pp. 80-95.

⁸ G. I vänescu, Les plus ancier'nes influences de la romanité balkanique sur les Slax-es: looe "lune", /ønefil "somnambule". Romanoslavica i (i 958) Pa 'i-s

®° Où les Goths vivaient mélangés å des Øoranes (parents des Carpes ? J. Zeiller, Orig. p. 408 n. 6) et parmi lesquels les prisonniers "oubliaient qu'ils étaient des Chré-

entre paiens et chrétiens était assez tendue"-. Les paysans, dévots du dieu Silvain, qui massacrèrent Valeria^' ont dû réellement apparaître comme des *dianatici* "les possédés de Dianet (> roum. zòita/aci tfous, exaltés") ^. 11 n'y a qu'eux pour croire ă la csaintetés de la déesse chasseresse. By giving him a mi-chrétien, mi-mythologique face, it was also important to give him a more or less legal existence in the calendar. It was at this moment that the confusion with St Jean came about. The phonetics were too complaisant and contributed to it. Thus, in the exorcismes roumains actuels du type zitis, zó'ie *de* clue c'est peut-étre l'ancienne Némésis *§ofe'ifissime* qui survit.

Les textes qui nous 'Iécrivent cette transformation ne manquent pas. St. Ambroise reports the following words about the evangelist of Poetovio: Kf asseritur. ct brachiale, Gofàica Pro/atiatiis iøi§iefa/r, more indulus grti/iJium, ausus si/ iti conspectu øzercitus prodire Romani: quod sine dubio non solvm in sacerdote sac- rilegium, sed etiam in guocumque christiano est, etenim abhorred a more Romano (Epist. zo, g). Salvien precise, de son cóté, qu'il s'agit bien plus que de l'aspect extërieur: Et quamuis ab his ad quos confugiunt discrepant ritu, discrepanl lingua, i pso etiam, ut ila dicam corforum atque indumiarum barbaricarum fetore dissentiant, malunt tamen tit òaròaris f'ati cultu dissimilem, quam in

Romanis iniuslitiam sæuisofrm (De gub. 5, 3 PL 53, CO1. 99) I1 y a certainement dans ces foudres épiscopales d'un côte un reste de l'horreur aristotelicienne de la tbarbarisation" et de l'autre quelque exagération, commandée par un ton plus haussé, *ex ambono*. But the cultural contaminations exist, such as, for example, the gothic rite of the service à l'aube according to a long Germanic tradition®' on the celebration of the feast of St Felix with the *pøruigilia* paiens8". La formule concise de St Optat

tiens et des boutiques et s'adonnaiet aux moeurs barbares" zoù ptv onv čyxo-rc'j\z 0żv-raç -roiç |5a| ópotç xol çtE-r' oÛ-rċùv śv a| *Jcú\çuotg* I-rcc7\6óv "roç, śnl?ta0o- pévouy, ö-ri buoy flovr iitol xml Xpio-ri'xvol éx|3npQop':ø8tv-rnS ... St Grégoiro le Thaumaturge, Epist. can. 7. PG vol. to. col. i ONO.

- ^ Gomme partout ailleurs, ct. P. de Labriolle, La réaction païenne. Etude sur la polémique antichrétienne du I-- au V]e siècle. Paris, 9₈8.
- ^ J. Zeiller, Paganus. Etude de terminologie chrétienne. Fribourg, Paris, ig i2, p. dg et pass. PL vol. i 8, p. Liz.
 - -° V. Pãrvan, Gontrib. ep. i zo.
- -- En Moldavie il y a même une deuxième confusion entre SJ. loan $d\emptyset$ oerd et S. Noah cs/ trot (X IV- siècle) de Suceava.
- ^ J. Zeiller, OriaPP 5* (5 *6. En 392 Théodose se vit forcé de publier un édit contre le culte clandestin des Pénates. J. Bayet, op. cit. p. 63.
 - -° St Paulin de Nole, Calm-•7. 5*°-§ÿO (PL vol. 6i, col. 66i).

prend ainsi un caractère réaliste: *Nom enim respublica est* iti *Ecclesia, sed Ecclesia iii rs§iiôfica est* (De schism. Don.3, 40), avec les compromis qui s'ensuivent. They go as far as the sad episodes, such as the one of

l'évêque de Margum qui, en44•—4*, livra sa Ville aux Huns"-. One could say facilement multiplier les exemples de ce passage au Christianisme qui 'est souvent une simple traduction du paganisme antérieur"". On se contentera d'un symbol: le faöarum constantinien, véritable survivance de l'art triom- phal, à la fois *uuzi//oci* et trophce".

To conclude, here are a few points of view which we do not ignore the provisional nature of. The dif(usion of Christianity in the Danubian region as well as in the language of the insufficiently romanised Indians appears as a possibility. One cannot give definitive evidence of the use of Thrace, or one of its dialects, as a liturgical language. One can assume, without too much risk, that at least a few prières have been translated and interpreted in a similar parlance of the region. The plurilingual atmosphere on the banks of the Da-

°° J. Zeiller, Orig. pp. i 5 i -i Hz.

°° N. Iorga, Histoire 2 p. iO3, id.' P 93. °u. DR intérprétant Clément d'Alexandrie, *Slrom*. *q*, 3, l'auteur considère que l'ambassade des Thraces à Zalmoxis constituait une "préparation aux martyrs chrétiens". Pour les survivances linguistiques à caractère païen cf. S. Puqcariu, Limba rom. IP- 35* 357

G. Michailidis, Vestiges du culte solaire parmi les chrétiens d'Egypte. Bull. soc. arch. Copte i 3 l +9' - 9491PP 37— i i o. Sur la fête des ' PoundÄicr, au ^{Xle} siècle chez les chrétiens du Khorassan cf. J. Dauvillier, Byzantins d' Asie centrale et d'Ex- trème-Orient au Moyen-Age, Rev. Et. Byz. i i (i 953) p. Ö5. - En Syrie on est allé si loin qu'une véritable symbiose franco-musulmane s'établit. R. Grousset, Bilan de l'histoire, p. z i 8.

Pour la fusion des caractéristiques architecturales et mélodiques cf. E. Dyggve, Dadekult, Kejserkult og Basilika, Kebenhavn. 943 - C. Haeg, Les rapports de la musique chrétienne et de la musique de l'Antiq cité classique, Byzantion z5-27 (+955 957) PP 3 3 45*-

Cf. the African parallel example. D'après M. G. Ch. Picard les sanctuaires constituent "une fusion définitive des traditions puniques avec le spiritualisme gréco-romain et les influences orientales". Rel. Afr. pu - 52 -i 6#.

°' G. Ch. Picard, Les trophées, 5 SS. - H. Leclercq, Dict. d'arch. chrét. s. v. *labarum*, 8, i .

Cf. cette opinion de M. G. Ch. Picard: "le développement du culte des saints et des reliques, au haut Moyen-Age [a étés partout nourri souvent d'emprunts à des mythes et des rites locau x, de qualité religieuse fort suspecte". Rel. Afr. p. z56. Cela eut lieu même avec une certaine complicité du clergé qui n'y voyait que des "fraudes pieuses" qu'il acceptait "pour ne pas chagriner outre mesure des populations bien disposées à recevoir la foi, mais attachées à des habitudes ancestrales, somme toute innocentes" ibid.

nube has been particularly favourable to a syncrétisme religieux of which it is not easy to remove the veil. Le culte de Diane is just one example. One thing is certain: Danubian Christianity was also fuelled by other sources than those of the Greek and Latin missionary foyers. Huns, Goths, Besses attracted in a wrong way by the word of Christ - contributed to the construction of a complex but solid faith. Trying to define the role that each of these peoples should play would be an impossible task. It is also these multiple origins that make Christianity in Danube this living reality plunged into history, myth and folklore°°. There is no such thing as a Clovis baptism on the Danube because there is no date for a progressive conversion over several centuries. L'arbre a plus d'une racine. To characterise this situation well, it is enough to cite the reflections suggested by M. Jérôme Carcopino in the history of the African Church: "All religious forces are working together at the triumph of the new faith; they collaborate so closely, which was once the point of departure, that it sometimes becomes difficult to decipher the true identity". There was more: the Roman Empire, harassed by the invasions of its frontiers, ruined by the troubles caused by misery and disorder

-- On pourrait ajouter le culte de Mithra, contre lequel toiïnait Tertullien (Lib. de Praes. PL vol. z, col. 6ò). Cf. M. Popeecu, Le *colinde* della pietra. (Tracce del eulto di Mithra prfrogenitos e *Sol inuictus* nel folklore romenol . Soc. Acad. Dacorom. Acta

christianisme danubien tenait-il de la ypoQft ou du hóyo\$? Les Daces ont-il connu l'écriture pour pouvoir Journir les bases d'une tradition autochtone? (Cf. l'article, inaccessible, de M. C. Daicoviciu, Au cunoscut Dacii scrisul? Steaua, Cluj, n^ 5-8 (i95q) pp. i z i -i zy). Y a-t-il eu réelleinent au IV- siècle au sud du Danube des écoles oíl un Auxence de Durostorum ait pu recevoir son instruction? (cf. H. Mihaescu, art. cit. supra n. 6). Faut-il aller jusqu'à Tridentum, Lauriacum, et Ovilava pour trouver des scri9torie et la continuité d'une certaine tradition érudite? (cf. G. Capovilla, Studl sul Noricum. Fontes AmbfOS. z J I 9J +)p q i o). Ou bien doit-on généraliser la remarque de Dion Chrysostome sur les Gètes? "Ces hommes n'étaient pas bétes mais ils n'avaient pas le temps pour les discOurs" (DÍSC. 12, IÒ-2 I, éd. L'eb vol. z pp. zo-zq).

It is assez illogique de croire que la population de Dacie et de Scythie Mineure ait atendu le débu t du deuxième millénaire et le contact avec les Slaves pour commencer ò écrire. Placée entre les Huns et les Goths, en marge de l'Empire romano-byzantin, chrétienne des longue date, elle a dil Gcrire avant les X--XI- siécles. Cf. St. Pa§ca, Contrib "tii la istoria tnceputului scrisului romlneac, Cercet. ling. (Cluj) 1 95) pp- 79-9°

Préface à G. Ch. Picard, Rel. Afr. p. VI.

^{- * (&#}x27;95 PP- 55-6z.

économique, cherchait dans les espérances de l'au-delà un adoucissement ä ses épreuves d'ici-bast-'.

The only major problem of 1a Romanité Orientale is its survival in the midst of so many challenges. It is necessary to consider, in addition to the other factors of change, the immense role played by Christianity in the moral cohesion of the region.

6. K AP ITE I.

VIDÜVDAT AND THE ZARATHUSTRIAN REBIRTH

A final consideration may turn to the religious rebirth of Zoroastrianism (above 3, z) f.). It began in the years after Muhammad's death, but it can be shown that its preconditions are to be sought in earlier times.

We have always doubted that the question of the homeland of the Avestan language is meaningful ¹. Nevertheless, it has occupied researchers until very recently. On another occasion° it has been pointed out what a strange \changes this alleged homeland has had to undergo on the language map of eastern Iran. W. B. Henning has successively claimed the Sogdians and their neighbouring areas, Khwärezm and finally Sistän as the area of origin of Avestan. This is the first stage of this journey. Based on the undoubtedly existing contacts between Avestan and Soghdian, Henning believed himself justified in refraining from the time of the transcription of the Avestan texts into the present alphabet and assigning these contacts to the original language itself, i.e. to the Avestan of the Achaimenid and post-Achaimenid period°.

On the other hand, we have emphasised that those "Sogdicisms" of the Avestan texts are missing in the oldest words and phrases recorded in the Aramaic alphabet. They appear for the first time in pieces written in the Avestan vowel alphabet. Our evidence - was confirmed and expanded by 0. Szemerényi^s. On the other hand

¹ Most recently: F. Altheim, Zarathustra u nd Alexander (Fischer B ü c h e r e i 9*°) ••

[^] Above i, io Note i; Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache i ' L f g - 3• In: Transactions of the Philol. Soc. i gez (published r9q) 9 f.

[^] F. . hltheim. Literature and C society z fr q 50), zoz f.; R. Stieh1, ibid. drew f.

[^]In: F. .4ltheim, Aus Spätantilie und Christentum (i 95 i) i 53 f.; O. Szemerényi in: .'\ ltheim -Stichl, Geschichte Mittelasiens im Alter tum (i 9y°173 6 ff.

Henning abandons the view he advocates. There can be no doubt that the Sogdian dicisms only entered the Avestan texts later, during the conversion from the Aramaic consonant alphabet to the Avestan alphabet, which writes vowels.

This transcription began in eastern Iran and in the second half of the second century AD. What we had established on the basis of other observations - was confirmed by the discovery of an in

The writing in Surx Kotal confirms'. 0. Szemerényi had already agreed with our dating. However, it must be a s s u m e d that this transcription into the newly created Avestan vowel alphabet was a process that took some time. Thus a second possibility, at least hinted at by Szemerényi, may be considered. According to this, the Sogdianisms could only have entered the Avestan texts after the fall of the Sasanids. Since this point in time coincides with the beginning of the Zoroastrian rebirth in the Sogdians, this second possibility should not be dismissed out of hand.

The second half of the z. and the first half of the3. century were the heyday of the Kfisän. The coins show the position occupied by the Zarathustrian gods - and a comprehensive endeavour such as the creation of of the new vocal alphabet and the transcription of the sacred texts into it can certainly be imagined at that time. The attacks of the first Sasanids and the invasion of the Hephthalites, on the other hand, meant a political and cultural setback. This was bound to have an effect on the work on the Avesta. Transcription and the associated editing of the texts will have come to a standstill for a while. In addition, the Hephthalites turned to Buddhism. Even then, when their rule was broken, the

^{*} F. .4ltheim, Literature and Society z, 97 *-

^{&#}x27;Altheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra (i 958) z9 f. Our interpretation is unknown to W. B. Henning in: BSOS. 23 (r960), 50 note 9 remained unknown. There he attempts to find the same language as on the large inscription of Surx Kotal. Z9vo|3l60i he wants to equate parth. zyti9ty, middle pers. zy'i9/. Henning, however, has to admit that nrJ stands before. This rules out his explanation of the first part of the composition. In favour of Henning's interpretation of the second component, reference could be made to ropn(t|3i6 of the victory inscription of Säpür I in Nakö-i Rustam (W. Eilers bei Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. z8). But on the inscription the intervocalic tennis is preserved in the compositional fugue, not shifted to the media: Qcryowoupoi.

[•] a. 0. i Oö.

[°] R. Göbl in Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike i9s: °5'

the landscapes in which the Hephthalite people had asserted themselves were exclusively devoted to the religion of the Enlightened One. This state of affairs could be observed until the first decades of the 8th century. On the other hand

the teachings of the Buddha were lost in the Sogdians except for a few remnants. disappeared. Such a retreat corresponded to the resurgence of Zarathustrism in the same area.

How did this change come about? If the view expressed above is correct, it coincided with the absorption of the Hephthalite nation by the Soghdian nation. The rise of Zoroastrianism corresponded to that of the Soghdian nation, the decline and disappearance of the Hephthalites. It was obvious that the Zarathustrians of the Sogdians would take up the work of rewriting that their ancestors had begun almost four centuries earlier, but which had then been abandoned due to the unfavourable conditions of the subsequent period. At least in principle, the possibility of

that from about $*3_S$ Or 5_I euc-Sogdicisms penetrated into the rewritten Avestan texts. Further findings can be found in the

ways that a chronological order can only be brought into the Avestan mass of writings in isolated places.

Admittedly, some things have been clarified. Zarathustra's lifetime could be determined '0 and confirmed by the sharper recording of what lay at the basis of the revolt of the magician Gaumätä 1'. As a postscript, it should be added that Barhebraeus' "History of the Dynasties", written in Arabic, provides further evidence of both. Here Zarathustra is again placed under Cambyses; as his birthplace A6urbaiyän or

Assyria ($3.\,\mathrm{Z}$ f. Pocock). The whole section goes back to a late antique or early medieval chronographer; I do not know who for the time being. But the approach under Cambyses shows that

the information that Porphyrios had given in his chronicle' was taken over by his successors and processed with further news. The history of the Avesta's transmission is also largely established.

The existence of an Aramaic consonant text, greater penetration of the *Matrcs lectionis* and Greek prrcrypoQrJ '°, finally the transcription

^{&#}x27;° Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum z i f. ; also BéFüni, chf°^°7> zz f. and Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache i. Lfg. , 88 f.

[&]quot; Altheini-Stiehl, a. zul. gen.

^{1°} AItheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum q 5 f.; 5 i f.

[&]quot;. filtheim-Stiehl, Philologia sacra (t gJ8) 9; Geschichte Mittelasiens z q8 II.;

O. Szemerényi, ibid. 732 ff.

The fact that the alphabet used today was already in use before the beginning of the Sasanian eodification can no longer be disputed. The results obtained will, I fear, change as little as the realisation that ideograms did not exist in pre-Sasanian times". But what has been achieved should not deceive us into thinking that the real work has yet to be done. As long as the jungavestische Schrifttum forms a *rudis indigestaque molcs* according to time and origin, an avestische text and transmission history cannot be written.

2

In a study of avest. aspørønõ and byzant. óærrpov has

E. Schwyzer' treats two passages of the Vidëvdat in which the coin denomination as \$zra'io occurs. He considers s. nöit aspyrøno.mazo iioif avaći'io.innzo "not (what) is worth an aspør dna (as a pledge), not (what)

is worth even less" than a more recent addition, "probably even a more recent addition within the primary addition" °. The second place, A, A8 rnit erneuter *aspørøn6. mazõ*, is for Schwyzer° an "insertion from another context". Both steßen, which have *aspørønä*, are

"came late into the Avesta ..., for instance during editorial work in the A. or 6th century" '. This is consistent with the fact that between 300 and 600

n. Chr. the model for as §ørmõ, the fi9vóptov ócrrrpov, to the vópt¢rpo óo-rrrpov and became the dœrrpov par excellence°. It was one of the denominations of late Roman and early Byzantine silver coins.

S "chwyzer's erudite and perceptive explanations, whose correctness cannot be doubted, should form the starting point for further considerations. They have shown that the *final* Medaá/*oo of the Zarathustrian code of law possibly dates back to the late-Sasanian period. This finding must be pursued further. In doing so, it is necessary to specify the chronological determination. In view of the fundamental importance that the distinction between the early and late Zasanid period has gained in the meantime

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'* Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache i. Lfg., q f.; East and West to (959).
-43 *-; above p. Ó9 f.
' I ndog. Research. 49(•93'). i f.
* E. Schwyzer, a. 0. 5.
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[•] a. O. 6.

[•] a. 0. 35

⁵ a. O. 34.

Schwyzer had to be satisfied with the vague date. But the fact that he was certain in advance that it must be a Sasanian redaction also needs to be scrutinised.

Let us first recall the discussion of the name of the city of Buchãrã. In contrast to R. N. Frye $^{\circ}$, who advocated the previous derivation from *vihãra*-, we have on various occasions recalled the Old Turkic òwqrq - òiiqarog, the form that appears in the Orkhon inscriptions'. With the

"City of the bull" could be compared to avest. gäøm yim *suyôō.šayan rim* Vd. z, A. If this comparison is correct, then rnit gava- can only have meant Buchārā.

Gava- is, it turns out, mentioned in the first chapter of the Vidëvdăt. It is the second place name in a series (I-2) that begins with airyansm rećJō and continues through moryav, òdzòi and *nisãya*. Should one be prepared to see Chwārezm in *airyatiam* vaeJō ®, the enumeration would begin with this landscape, which lies on both sides of the lower Oxos. It would first go on the north bank to Buchārā, then spread to the south bank with Merw and Balch and finally catch up with Nisã, which lies between the two. A comparison can be made with Yt. IO, ZĄ ğAOmČA StJNÓømG "OWá(ZIZ Ołfłü'O. Chr. Bartholomae" summarised suzbømča as interpolated, and F. Wolff follows this in his translation'o. But there can be no doubt that the Sogdians and Chwārezm are mentioned alongside the "harāivatic Maryav" and gava-, i.e. Merw and Buchārā". This would correspond exactly to what is listed in the first chapter of Vidëvdāt i-2. The form suxöa-, which gave Bartholomae cause for concern, will be discussed first.

Suxba- instead of the usual søyóa- has a sound change that is familiar from Soghdian. There, the spelling fluctuates between the voiced spirants Q and y and the voiceless / and x'°. Here, only the change y: z comes into question. It appears in particular before I and

- Harv. Journ. Asiat. stud. i9 (ig56), io6 f.
- * F. Altheim, Aus Spätantike und Christentum (ig5 i) i i i f.; Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischer Staat i , zy2 note 2 ; in detailed refutation of Frye's: Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike 36d ł.
 - ® Most recently W. B. Henning, Zoroaster, Politician or Witch-Doctor 3.
 - ° Altiran. Dictionary. -s8z.
 - '^ Avesta (zgzą) 36.
 - ¹ H. Lommel, Die Yäšt's des Awesta (922) 68.
 - ¹⁰ I. Gershevitch, A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian 6 I so

where there seems to be no particular difference between the two 'o A suyda- would correspond in the consonantal script to sgt- or rnit plene-spelling smgt, whereby it must be remembered that even in the spelling of Soghdian 1 and 1, when they appear in the place of dł-, are to be addressed as voiced'-. A spelling suet instead of su'g/ would therefore be entirely in keeping with Soghdian usage. Again, we would be looking at one of the Sogdianisms of the Avestan translation, similar to those discussed in the previous section. And again the question arises that was previously left open: at what time did this Sogdianism enter the text? In the present case, in contrast to what has been said so far, it can be answered with sufficient precision.

It is noticeable that dark Yt. IO, IA gAva- stands next to the Sogdian and that Vd. i, 4 emphasises that it is inhabited by Sogdians. As is well known Buchãrã was founded at the beginning of the thirties of the 2nd century by a Western Turkish prince". Those who left Buchãrã next to the Sogdians knew about it, and those who added that it was inhabited by Sogdians were nevertheless trying to claim the Turkish foundation for them.

If *gala*- is nothing other than Buchārā, this means that the passage in question can only have been written after the first third of the 2nd century. This applies to Yt. to, xA as well as to Vd. i, 4. The conclusion for the first chapter of Vidëvdāt should be drawn here. The mention of *gava*- cannot have been an insertion or addition. It stands firmly in context. It leads to the conclusion that the first chapter of the game was written in that century.

It was previously noted that *suxb ømča* Yt. to, iA is one of the Sogdicisms of the Avesta. At least it can be said that it points to the later 2nd century. It confirms the conclusion drawn for the parallel passage Vd. I, A. there is a second proof that the game chapter must have been written later.

At i6. The following is mentioned in the chapter: (* *9) -é- - -**---*--yō asārō aiwyōzśnyriii/i "at the sources of the Ranha, where those who live without masters dwell". The legendary northern river'o was, as Ptolemy's

^{&#}x27;o I. Gershevitch, op. cit. O. 7 1 5*

^{&#}x27;- I. Gershevitch, a. 0. 6 t 5 i; cf. 3Q § 2§5, \(\): \\ \dagger \text{2f. § z68-q.}

^{&#}x27;O Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike z6z f.: above z, z8 i.

^{&#}x27;o J. **žJarkø art, \Vehrot** and .Orang (i g3) ' 33

(geogr s.9 Z2; Iÿ: *9. *i; 6, ią, i; ą) 'Pñ shows, sometime to the name of the Volga. It corresponds, as H. Jacobsohn has seen'*, to mordwin.

race. But w e cannot speak of this here. This is shown by the rest of the verse, in which *taolyã* ...daiaiłsuš. *aiu!i4tãra*

"the Taožian sovereigns" are mentioned.

Bartholomae'* has rnit the word faofya- (soJr -, Mf 2, P to, L Ąã. z, Br i, Ml 2). The *name* appears in various forms. Arabic verses of Bahräm's V. Gõr, which have been dealt with elsewhere, speak of the division of the world and say: "and the Turks were given over". Ibn HurdãQbëh, who quotes these verses, says: "fiś - and he is úğğ - ruled in the East, and the kings of the Turks and of China°° are his descendants" (z5, i2 f. de Goeje). F. Justi records üğ in abari, ann. Z, 22Ö, Zą; FihriSt Z2, xg Flügel; Bërûni, chron. ioz, iQ and a number of other Arab authors°'. He rightly assumes that *TO* (päzend Uf} des Bundahiśn 28, 6; g; x6; 79a 3 Btu °

Arabic Øuelle. Bërúni, chron. xo4. 13 has almost inf at-forèi preserved: in all manuscripts. *Taožya*- is a Vriddhi formation of the name and denotes the descendant of a * *THE*. In any case, the term first appeared in Arabic times instead of avest. 'farya- (to 'førn-); also in the verses of Bahräm V. Gor the traditional forms may have taken the place of an older jar°°. The remark about the faofyd ... *dainliuš. aiiriJ/dra* Vd. I. -9 can therefore only be found in arabi-

written in the second half of the 2nd century be.

In fact, it refers to Turkish, or more precisely Western Turkish overlords°°. It thus corresponds to the earlier statement that Bukhara was founded by a Western Turkic prince. It has been confirmed that the entire first chapter of the Vidëvdãt only dates from this late period. Then the redaction of the Vidëvdãt containing this chapter, i.e. the one we have here, can only date from the second half of the 2nd century.

^{&#}x27;* Aryans and Ugrofins (ig22) zoof. $^{\circ}$ a.

O. 6z .

^{&#}x27;° Altheim-Stiehl, a. 0. 3ÿ3 f.

⁻The fact that this refers to the Northern Wei, who were of Turkish descent, has been shown in the passage mentioned above. The fact that this refers to the Northern Wei, who were of Turkish descent, has been shown at 374 f.

^{^&#}x27; Iranian Namenbucb \$zg I.

[^] F. Justi, op. O. 328 r. ł.; vg1. Chr. Bartholomae, a. 0. 656.

[^] Varana i y also has non-Aryan masters ; vg1. Io over Urvs.

originate. No one doubts that older and sometimes very old elements were included. But the present *Schn redaklion* belongs to the decades when the Muslim conqueror was in Iran.

3

The question remains as to whether it could be a Sasanian redaction. The late approach has already made it unlikely. It can also be ruled out by other considerations.

The i6 sites and places created by Ahura **Mazda** and to which the evil god has bestowed his benevolence include, in addition to those already mentioned: Haröiva 8, i.e. Areia, and Vaékarata 9,

in which Ptolemaeus Bcryöpfi'x (geogr. 6, i . 5), on the Paropamisos north of of Käbul'. To equate Urvä io with Mesene will be met with reservations°. But Xnanta in Vahrkäilä I i leads to Gurgän, Harax*aiti iz to Arachosia, Haétumant•3 to Hil-

mend. **Rayay** -5 is Ray, (axra i6 is Öazna or Choräsän -, while the The location of Varana ry cannot be determined*. Yfi **Hola** *hindu* i8 lead to the upper Indus region', and iQ has already been discussed. All places, as far as they can be determined, lead to eastern Iran.

Why this restriction? The inclusion of the other parts of Iran was just as essential under the Achaemenids as it was under the Arsacids or Sasanids. So an eastern Iranian empire would be a prerequisite? The Greco-Bactrian, the Kushan or the Hephthalite? But nothing points to one of the three, unless one thinks of the ruins and successors of the third. First and foremost, therefore, the Soghians and Western Turks, who inherited the legacy of the great Hephthalite Empire from the second half of the

6th century. Again, we are led back to the late period, i.e. to the conditions encountered by the Arab conqueror.

Everything becomes understandable if one assumes that the final editing of the Vidévdät was a work of the Zarathustrian revival in eastern Iran. Chwärezm and the Soghder, Buchärä and also Balch were repeatedly mentioned in this context. Of course

^{&#}x27;Chr. Bartholomae, a. 0. i 3i3.

[°] Ibid log; vg1. J. .Varkwart, op. O. 23.

[°] Chr. Bartholomae, l. c. O. ¿v6.

[^] Ibid - 378

[^] J. Marirwart, op. cit. O. 96. •3* f.

it had also become apparent that the entire south of Eastern Iran was lost to Zarathustrism and continued to adhere to the teachings of the Buddha. This also emerges in our chapter, namely in the nature of the plagues (paili yãra-} which the evil spirit has inflicted on them. Nisãya knows the "evil doubt-seeking" (2), Haëtumant and Vaëkarata sorcerers of both sexes (i3; g), and Harax*aiti and Čaxra (if Ğazna) do not want to refrain from burying or cooking the corpses (iz; 16). The chronological setting is also consistent with what seems to be happening now. Whether there was a previous Sasanian redaction of the Vidëvdãt (or other and older ones) can at best only be surmised. What really exists can only be understood if one regards it as the work of the Zarathustrian revival, which began in eastern Iran in the second third of the 2nd century.

We are in the period of the great codifications of the law. On the Roman side, the Codex TheodoSianus A38 -, the Novellae

Postt heodosianae and, at the turn of the century, the codifications of three Germanic kingdoms: the Edictum Theoderici, the Lex Romana Wisigotorum 506 and the Lex Romana Burgundionum si6. The Codex lustinianus was published in 5-9, the Institutions and Digests in 333 and the Codex repetitae praelectionis the following year. This is followed by the Epitome

iuliani and the Authenticum, and the Greek collection of novellas under Tiberius I I at the earliest. The Eastern codifications belong to the same period. The completion of the Babylonian Talmud was postponed to the end of the 5th century'. Previously it had been shown (above p. 3>).

that it still includes Chusro's I. Anošarvan tax reform.

We will therefore have to go down to the first half of the 6th cent. At the end of the series is the Vidëvdãt. The collection and editing of all the legal works took place in the comparatively short span of little more than about two centuries.

What almost all of them have in common is that they include elements that predate the final editing. Not only older, but in some cases the oldest components have been included and thus preserved. This is particularly true of the Avestan collection.

As is well known, the comes Maximinos, who later became the leader of the legation to Attila's court in the summer of449 >was involved in its creation (Nov. Theod. - . 7 1 5 Feb. 438); see E. A. Thompson, A History of Attila and the Huns ioz.

'E. L. Dietrich in: Handbuch der Orientalistik 3 (-953). 77- a Thus C. Brockelmann, ibid. 3 (i 95a), i 66.

H. Lüders has shown a view from Aryan times in one of the places where a later remodelling and extension could be proven (p. 169 above). But it is not only individual provisions that must go back to ancient times. It seems that actual codifications were also made at an early date. In an inscription from Persepolis, Xerxes speaks of the law that Ahuramazda had established (XPh 5- f.); the king does so on the occasion of the destruction of a sanctuary

the *daiva* ^{1°}. Plato names the good lawgiver of his people in the 2nd letter Darius I (33° B), and he repeats this assessment in the Laws (6q5 C) ¹'. It has even been suggested that today's Vidëvdãt was placed under Darius ^{1°} or that there was a primordial Vidêvdãt ^{1°}. The second of these is a possibility for which, in addition to the two Platonic passages, the quite a few legal expressions adopted or modelled from Old Iranian into Aramaic c a n be cited. These include aram. ddfd di

malbã, š'rõšîi|I, s'röšiiā**, "Jars'ǧä yë or ra hi minundś"e/ in the meaning "to question embarrassingly '5: they show that a legal terminology had been developed on the Iranian side. On the other hand, the first of the two possibilities is ruled out. This is because the final editing of the pre the Avestan Code falls fFtSt Z3 .}hundreds of years after Darius' time. This can be regarded as a definite result of the preceding discussions.

4

The term "magician" appears only once in the surviving parts of the Avesta, and it is also preserved in a composite: *mo yu. tbiš*- "the magicians, the members of the magical tribe, from

from which the priests emerge", Yasna 65, 7 '. In contrast, the occurrence of 'riagøv- within the Achaemenid inscriptions and in Greek literature, later in Middle Persian, Syriac

- In: SBAW +9+ 7. 347 f., especially 367-37-
- 'o Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache i. Lfg. 95.
- "). Irmscher in his translation (i g6o) 6z Anm. z.
- '' H. H. Schaeder, Das persische Weltreich (i94 z) z6; reprinted in : Der 6Iensch in Orient und Okzident (ig6o) y i.
- $*^{\wedge}$ F. Altheim, Weltgeschichte Asiens i , i6i ; Zarathustra und Alexander (Fischer Bücherei i 9Öo) 50 f.
 - 1- F. Rundgren in: Vetus Testamentum7 I'US 7), Too f.
 - '^ G. Rundgren in : Ztschr. f. àlttestam. WisS.7° (i 958), drew f. '
 - Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranische Wörterbuch - 7*-

and Arabic°. It has been shown elsewhere that the Median stem of the name (HerodOt. I, IOi) in fact has nothing to do with Zarathustra's eastern Iranian homeland. The magi only became priests of the Zarathustrian Church when his teachings penetrated the Iranian West.

This did not change in the following period. Not only in the Achaemenid period, but also in the period that followed up to the late Sasanids, magi always aligned themselves with the state church of Western Iran. Even the Zara-Thustrian Bihãfrid, who was nicknamed a/-maguái, came from the

neighbourhood of Nëšãpür (Fihrist 3₀. 2Z f.), which always belonged to the territory of the Sasanids. Further north, in Chwãrezm,

the magicians were not known, and even the Arabic authors do not use this term.

The a òär, of whom abari (ann. z, Z23ÿ, If) reports on the occasion of Kutaiba's campaign against Khwãrezm, are a speciality. S.P. Tolstow - believed to recognise a "peculiar syncretistic Judaism" in them - Jewish scholars on whom the Arab conqueror had carried out a barbaric criminal judgement. We have already argued against this view elsewhere⁵. *Hibr* does indeed initially mean the rabbi, and a strong Jewish community is attested in Chwãrezm. In a verse of the Abü Kais Şaifi', however, the Christian priests of the Abyssinians are referred to as a òãr, which shows that representatives of other religions could also be named in this way. What is decisive is that Bërüni, where he speaks of the downfall of the Khwãrezmian scholars (*bataba İ*", refers to the killing of the /ufròaó and the burning of their books. It was therefore Zarathustrians on whom Kutaiba performed his face, and no one else could have been the a/tòär mentioned in abari. In Talmudic *habrã*, *abbărã* do indeed denote the "Persian, Zarathustrian

 $^{^{\}circ}$ On the origin of the name: $\acute{\mathbf{U}}$. Benveniste, Les mages dans l'ancien Iran (i938) ; H. H. Schaeder in : OLZ. i9 $^{\circ}$. 376 f. ; S. Wikander, Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran (i 9 6) 4 4 f.

[°] Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache i . vol. 89 f.

[•] In the footsteps of the ancient Choresmian culture (German transl. i 953) • 1.

[°] Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike z6ò f.

[°] C. I nostrancev in : Journ. asiat. i9 to, i , i i f. ; B. Spuler, Iran in frühislamischer Zeit z i

^{&#}x27;In Ibn Hišãm, v. Moham 39, 4 Wüstenfeld ; cf. Caetani, Annali dell' Islãm -. -- 7 nota 3.

[°] Chron. 8, i3 Sachau; cf. 36, R f.

and fire worshippers". The /ufröaö were like the möha6' keepers of the written tradition, especially the historical one that Bériini has in mind. The only difference is that he avoids the term *mäbab* and replaces it with jufrhaö, just as he does not use ma iii, but uses #a/ah'i instead. Tabari agrees with this and uses aJhdr. All this is only understandable on the assumption that there were no magicians in Khwärezm.

Only very recently do these appear in eastern Iran, and even then only within a limited area. Tabari (ann. z, i J42, 6) recognises the place *Motun* near Dabüsiya, i.e. between Bukhara and Samarkand. (above z,*9) The name of the magi was previously recognised in it (above

z, izz note I). However, it is probably advisable not to include a suffix -wn, ön but -(a)n, which denotes place names: ir 'ern " $b\ddot{a}z\ddot{a}r$ ",

jörs§rii "ground, floor" '\(^1\) . Thus *mo yao-an "place of the magicians". The name of Mount Muy was added to this, attested in the same area and at the same time. Narsahi adds to this6. by describing the time of the Arab conquest and afterwards by magicians in Bukhara and its immediate surroundings.

reported ^{1°}. And the Soghdian Manichaeans speak of *"iwy'nch d ynh*, the "magical religion" ^{1°}

Only the Zarathustrian revival of the 2nd century could have created this late magical Ostiran. It adopted institutions from the Iranian West and incorporated them into its short-lived creation. But Narsahi still separates the Soghdian calendar from that of the magi, i.e. the "Persian" calendar, thus testifying to its subsequent introduction and at the same time that of the magi themselves.

This brings us back to the starting point. It has been shown that Yasna 63, 2 in the compound mono. *föif*- contains the only mention of the magi found in the extant Avesta. It remains to be asked how the passage is to be judged, in other words: whether the word belongs to the original stock.

 $^{^{\}circ}$) . Levy, Wörterbuch über die Talmud im und Midraschim z (i 9 z) , r o f. ; G. H. Dal man, Aram.-neuhebr. Wb. i zg 1.

^{&#}x27;° Glas'üdi, tanbih i ob, io f. de Goeje.

[&]quot;I. Gershevitch, A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian i 36 § i o28.

^{*°} R. N. Frye, The History of Bu khara (i 954)•7: 23; 31; §/.

i° I. Gershevitch, a. 0. 5 §1 O§O.

[&]quot; R. N. Frye, a. 0. i i8 Note go.

The beginning of the verse is structured as follows:

mă.nõ ãpõ dulmananise: 8
syllables mã.nõ ã fõ duluac "antie: S
syllables mã.nõ ã põ duš.šyaoPanâi: 8
syllables

mã duldacnãi: 5 syllables (to read : *duldayanâi*)

'tid àøli. òilr: s Syllables md inoyti.tbife: s syllables mô varazãnó. biše: 6 syllables mă nă|i9ō. tbiše: 6 syllables

ăpõ oanuhiš "ahišlâ:8 syllables (to read: uahuoiśmazdaôätá ašaonis':8 syllables (to read: artãoanlš}

yö.nä airiričingm : 8 syllables (to read : o-iriričiiipm : Chr. Bar-

tholomae, Old Iranian Dictionary -9)

iririzJdife gadßaaain: 8 syllables

The metrical structure is transparent. After three octosyllabic verses at the beginning and before other octosyllabic verses in the further course, there are shorter sections of between four and six syllables. The first two five-syllable verses unite to form a ten-syllable verse:

mä duldayanãi má haši.tbiše

and the same applies to the last two members, which, comprising six and six syllables, form a twelve-syllable syllable:

mà varøzãnõ. tbiše mã nãJi yõ.tbiše.

The member md *mo yu.tbiše* falls out of the metrical structure. In addition, *haši.tbiš-* "who is hostile to the comrades of the priests' guild" means the same as *mode.Jò3ś-* "who is hostile to the magician". Only that the first word contains the genuine Avestan *haxay-, haši-, haš-* "friend, comrade" '^, which Yasna 68, iz encounters in the four-membered \ending *hašgmča hãuišlanamc'a aë0ra;baitin mča* aëPryaiiamc "a in a priestly context ¹'. *Mo yu. biš-* thus not only falls out of the metrical structure, but proves to be a gloss for a preceding word that is formed in the Avestan manner.

In addition, trioy \emptyset - is not written magu-. The sound change o to o after m is also attested elsewhere in Young Avestan'. But

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1° Chr. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Würterbuch i 800. '0
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Chr. BarthOlomae, a. 0. i7 a.

¹ To hàuišta-: Chr. Bartholomae, a. 0. i 806.

¹⁸ H. Reichelt, Awestisches Elementarbuch (igog) 68 § i3z.

the I "erdacht is obvious, here soghd. mu'y, may "magician", neupers.

"i "y, tidy. It is all the more obvious as the fact of a more recent insertion had already emerged from the analysis of the metrical and conceptual structure. Now it may be said that moyø.fôlá- could not have been inserted either in the Sasanian redaction of the Yasna (this would correspond to pers. any, mdy) or at the time of the Zarathustrian rebirth in the Sogdian (then one would have to see a soghd. mtry, mtiy in tnoyu-).

There is one last thing. The original term in East Iran and the Avesta for the member of the priests' guild was aaxoy-, a 'iśi-, aaf-

"Comrade, friend". Where it is replaced by "magician", we come across a more recent stage of development. At the same time, what was previously surmised is confirmed. abari uses the word a òór for the Zarathustrian priests in Chwãrezm. It had become clear that he wanted to avoid $ma\check{g}\check{u}\check{s}$. In [iibr, plural a òdr there is nothing other than Jewish-Aram. abrã, Syr. eòrò. But this means nothing other than "comrade, companion, friend" '- and in the context of abari means the member of the

zarathustrian priests' guild. It turns out that as late as the J century, people in Chwarezm did not think to speak of magicians. Instead, they chose the word that corresponded to avest. *haxay-, haši-, haš-.*

SUPPLEMENT

The etymology of a neo-Syrian (neo-Eastern Aramaic) verb leads to the time of the great codifications of law.

J. Friedrich's study: "Zwei russische Novellen in neusyrischer Lbersetzung und in Lateinschrift" and the numerous works of K. Ceretelis (above3, z18f.; z22 f.) have drawn attention to the historical questions posed by the dialects around Lake Urmia and the Nestorians who emigrated to the USSR. Historians are primarily concerned with

two things. Firstly, the time at which these Nestorians arrived in Áburbaiyăn and its neighbouring areas; secondly, the region from which the Syriac or Eastern Aramaic-speaking components came and which of the given possibilities - Western and Eastern Syriac, Talmudic,

^{&#}x27;° J. Levy, a. 0. 2, 8 f.

^{&#}x27; Abhandl. z. Kunde d. Morgenl. 33. ' (*9 -I

Mandaean - contributed to the emergence of today's New Syriac dialects of the north (apart from the Fellihi dialect of the Mosul plain for the time being). In the first question it was previously established that Nestorian communities can be observed in Aburbaiyän at the beginning of the forties of the 6th century, i.e. in the early period of Chusrö's I Anöéarvän reign (above 3, I OO f.). As far as the second half is concerned, there is at best only conjecture. An answer is important for the history of the Huns because it would allow the beginning of the Nestorian Hun and Hephthalite mission to be determined once again and the ethnicity of its bearers to be ascertained.

This is about the verb §rtny "to understand". It follows the 2nd conjugation, and as pronunciation Ceretelio gives §drm* in phonetic transcription, §artniiyü, parmi, QurN- in the Syriac alphabet. Friedrich has compiled the forms he has identified in the glossary. An etymology is not given by either scholar. Th. Nöldeke - has also not expressed himself where he treats the four-radical verbs with a weak last radical.

According to the sound, the comparison with neupers. /armiiöaii, |armä-yarn, farmä-yab "to command", to which Old Pers. §ramdiio- and kurd. /armi "commanded". But the meaning poses insurmountable difficulties. There is no way from "commanding" to "understanding". So another explanation must be sought.

As a four-radical verb ending in y, §rtny finds parallels in New Syriac itself, in Talmudic, Mandaean and Syriac. The two nouns that Cereteli §r "iy cites to the side, §'irmij'iriä and

§ärmJfa, are undoubtedly derived from the verbal stem. With mand. ti'möy Plur. fern. Imper. "mourns", the imperfects with suffixes *nyn'mbyyIi*, *nyn'mby*°h and other forms would be derived from owm@ "grief, melancholy" by analogy with the Syriac cases to be named in the same way. However, Nöldeke expresses reservations about the Semitic origin of the word.

[°] Chrestomatija sovremennogo assirijskogo jazika so slowarem (i 958) oi68 1.

[°] a. 0. io5.

[^] Gramm. der neusyrischen Sprache (1868) z 58.

[^] A. Socin in : Grundr. I ran. Philol. i, z, 35i.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ M. L. Margolis, Textbook of the Aramaic Language of the Babylonian Talmud (+9+) 6 $\,$ -{O.

^{&#}x27;Th. Nöldeke, Mandäische Gramm. z66 § i9.

He names tiéry as a second verb of the same kind alongside nömy "to mourn" "alienate" with reference to the Syriac equivalent, and the Syriac also shows that the four-radicals with y as the fourth radical are denominatives: a "Jrf "abalienavit, separavit" from tiiiÄr'iyä "foreign", baiti olxsioiiv from öaifäyd olxsiy to öoii'i "house"-. In the case of Army, as far as can be ascertained, only \{\psi\text{trrt}\text{ "/ortna}\; edictum imperatoris" (C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac.\[^{\circ}\) 5g8 1.) comes into question as the underlying noun. The verbum ;brmy must have been formed via a -\{\psi\text{orm\text{orm\text{oy}"o}}\text{"belonging to } \]
\[Jorma"\]. As a Latin loanword, \{\psi\text{e}'\text{rm}\ is attested only twice in the literature, both times within-

half of the second half of the5. century. Once in the homilies of Ishäk of Antioch, who died in 46i (i, Mio, i Bedjan), and then in the biography of Peter the Iberian written around 500(5z. ig Raabe). The development of the meaning will have to be understood in such a way that it is about

to carry out or execute the /orm'i. The prerequisite for this was the imperial edict, which, like /or in contrast to the later

used o5, was written in Latin, it was necessary to grasp the language and content, i.e. to "understand" it. It is significant that syr. §wrm with its two references falls at a time when Latin was at the height of its effectiveness as an administrative and legal language within the Eastern Roman Empire.

There are no further developments of §irrm within Syriac. They only occurred after the separation of the Syrian Nesorians who had settled at Lake Urmia and are part of the special development that began with it. This once again raises the question of when to place both. The short lifespan of the Latin loanword necessitates the development of a denominative §rwiy as soon as possible after

of the last attestation at5... The noun \{\psi tr'a'\ had to be still in living use if a verbal derivation arose from it

was. The lowest limit that comes into consideration is the end of the 6th century, since the Latin language influence on the East had passed its peak (z, 2O3f. above). The resulting limits - between 5 and 600 - for the emergence of a denominative *prmy* can be reconciled with the previously mentioned statement that Nestorian

The two communities first met in Äburbaiyän shortly before the middle of the 6th century.

[°] Th. Nöldeke, Kur zgef. syr. grd.mm.- I2J § i 80,

The talmud still needs a word. §orind "forma, larva". It goes back to the same etymon, but the Latin word is taken over in a different meaning. This adoption is also dated, this time by

the final redaction of the Babylonian Talmud (above p. 3<; I/4). Again we come to the time before the middle of the 6th century.

7- CHAPTER

ADVANCES AGAINST THE WEST

The Huns had travelled north of Iran through the steppe; they had left the Aral Sea and Caspian Sea to the left. From the east they hit the Alans and Goths, and continued westwards. The Balkan peninsula south of the Danube, i.e. the core area of the Eastern Roman Empire and its capital, initially lay in the blind spot. This does not mean that it remained completely undisturbed. However, the events there proved to be of lesser importance. The pressure on everything further west was all the more momentous. If the fall of the Gothic Empire was of hardly foreseeable significance, what followed set an avalanche in motion.

We may at least take a look at the land behind the Carpathians. Aurelian had evacuated the three Dacian provinces, which formed a Roman bridgehead north of the Danube. The garrisons and some of the inhabitants had left across the river. A remnant remained in the area of the Muntii Apuseni, the western mountains of Transylvania. Together with the land on the lower Danube, it preserved the Romansh language in this most remote outpost. Visigoths (Terwingen), Viktuans, Gepids and Vandals invaded the vacated spaces; the Germanic tribes were followed by Carpathians and Dazier. When the Huns appeared, the Vandals and Visigoths left; they were joined by the Taifals. The Gepids submitted to the victors and spread to the south of Transylvania without being hindered by them. After Attila's death, they became lords of the land.

^{&#}x27;C. Da icoviciu, Siebenbürgen im Altertum•93 ; above z, i92 f.; zz5 f. (E. Lozo- van).

- Where the external course of events is described below, reference is made to E. A. Thompson, A History of Attila and the Huns (ig 8).

pointed out. Only in cases where a position was taken on a controversy or another

If the version is not represented, additional information or explicit references are provided.

countries.

battles with each other

The Huns did not immediately find the opportunity to advance. At first they capitalised on the defeat at Adrianople. In Theodosius I's first year, they raided south of the Danube together with the Alans and Goths. The Skyrians and Carpodacians mentioned alongside them may also have been under Hunnic control. It has been surmised, and rightly so, that the first Huns invaded Pannonia at that time°. The Hunnish danger also stirred from their old seats. Parts of the people remaining in the Caucasus penetrated through Armenia and Cappadocia in 395 as far as

Syria's borders. They took advantage of the fact that Theodosius' army in Italy stood. Fire and devastation characterised the path of the raid; masses of prisoners were led away. With great difficulty, the eunuch Eutropius, together with Goths and assembled forces, managed to to defeat the enemy. It was not until 3s* that peace returned to the stricken

The direction of the attack changed immediately. At the end of 405, Rada-Gaisus broke into Italy with huge armies who, startled by the Huns, headed south. Contemporaries put the number at several hundred thousand. Even if the numbers were much smaller, the number of invaders was considerable. To counter the storm surge, the Rhine border had to be stripped of all expendable troops. On New Year's night the following year, Vandals, Suebi and Alans crossed the river and established themselves on the left bank. They too had succumbed to the pressure of the Huns behind them. Battles with the pursuers, but also among the refugees themselves, had preceded this; two Gothic groups, Alans and Huns, had fought bloody

As if that were not enough, the Huns under Uldis had conquered Castra Martis in M oesia secunda and plundered Thrace.

pulled (4). Of course, Uldis managed to lure some of the troops away by offering high pay; he was forced to retreat°. On the Eastern Roman side, they tried to protect themselves by building fortifications

and reinforcement of the Danube fleet to protect against the recurrence of similar incidents.

[°] E. A. Thompson, l. c. O. z6 against A. Alföldi, Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien z (i gz6), 66 f.; y i f.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ About Donatos and Charaton above • . 363 f . in contrast to E. A. Thompson, a. 0. 3q.

started and Ai3 completed. Far more important was the fact that they began to take the Huns into their own pay.

Theodosius I had won his victory over the primal Turpator Maximus with Hunnic help in 3 8; on the shallow banks of the Sava the fighting strength of the horsemen could be fully contained. It should also be remembered that

Uldis and his Huns confronted and killed the rebel Gainas, who had already escaped across the Danube. Gainas' severed head, sent to Constantinople by Uldis with a request for reward,

was put on public display there on 3 January Aol. The Roman west presented a similar picture.

Already under Valentinian I I, the Hunnic troops had beaten the Jews out of Raetia. When both rivals in the east and west, Rufinus and Stilicho, surrounded themselves with Hunnic bodyguards, it was the second who made incomparably greater use of the barbarian force'. Stilicho's Hun horsemen proved themselves in the battle of Faesulae against Radagaisus' troops, níang Ao6. They cut off the enemy's supplies and finally managed to encircle and completely annihilate them with a flanking movement. After the victory, the Hun king Huldin, presumably none other than Uldis, ransomed only one gold solidus for each prisoner; so great was the supply of human goods.

Even after Stilicho's assassination, before which the Hun bodyguard had to be specially removed, Hun help was still needed. At the head of three hundred Huns, the minister of Emperor Honorius, Olympius, successfully confronted Alaric's brother-in-law, Athaulf.

In the same year 4 ... the appearance of allegedly to ooo Huns ^S was enough to dissuade Alaric himself from his planned march against Rome. to hold. In the following period, Aëtius' actions were decisively influenced by his knowledge of the Hun character, internal conditions and undoubtedly also important personalities. He achieved his greatest successes first with the help of the Huns, then against them.

The young Aëtius w a s one of the hostages taken by the Romans when Stilicho secured Hunnic assistance by treaty.

[•] It is not convincing when E. A. ThOm 8Ofl, \tilde{a} . O.3s from *Chunnorum*, *quo fulciebalur*, *pzoesi dio* {Chronic. min. i p. 650 Mommsen) concludes "that the force was of considerable dimensions".

[°] To the number 1 above i 3*7-

In the year4•s Aëtius appeared for the first time at the head of a Hunnic force in Italy: he is said to have brought together 60 000 at the time ^. He proved his abilities not only in recruiting and rewarding the troops: he surpassed this achievement with the skill with which he then brought the dangerous guests out of the country again without major damage. Seven years later, Hunnic help once again proved its worth. Aëtius had been defeated by Bonifacius, Comes of Africa and Magister militum, in a battle at the fifth milestone of Ariminum. He had initially retreated to his estates, but after an assassination attempt made against him by Bonifacius' son-in-law Sebastianus, he had hurried across Dalmatia to the Huns. With their support, he quickly regained his former position. .4ëtius became Patricius, and Sebastianus had to flee to Constantinople.

The Hun ruler with whom Aëtius was now negotiating was called Rna'. Uldis or Huldin had died in the meantime. Rua did not offer his help in vain. The West Roman government left the provinces of Valeria and Pannonia prima8 to the new ally. Valeria was already a precarious possession of the empire, the loss of Pannonia prima a matter of time. Only Pannonia secunda with its fortresses, especially with Sirmium as its centre, offered a backstop; but it had been in the possession of the Eastern Empire since A2/. The conclusion of the treaty shows that the Huns already had their centre of gravity in the Tisza plain at that time".

Rua died during the negotiations or shortly afterwards (April-May 434) '°. This meant that the west was spared for a decade and a half. Hunnish troops were a v a i l a b l e for this purpose, and with their

With his help, Aütius succeeded in "asserting" significant parts of Gaul against internal and external opponents.

- ° To the figure above i 362.
- ' Against E. A. Thompson, l. c. O. 63, 1st to recall that Mundzucus was not a king; cf. i, 36d above.
- $^{\circ}$ W. Ensslin in : Philolog. Wochenschr. ig27. 8A7 ; 850; R. Egger, Der heilige Hermagoras 's: s
 - * J. Marquart, Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge 369 f. Note.
- l° Aëtius' son Carpilio was given as a hostage at the conclusion. But only after 433. the assumed year of the conclusion of the treaty. For Cassiodorus (var. i, a, iof.) says that Carpilio came to Attila together with Aëtius, who in turn only came to Attila in the year of the treaty. \$\delta 5\$ came to rule.
- "The chronological and localisation of the Hunnic attack on the Burgundians on the right bank of the Rhine remains uncertain: above i.79 Arim. i. i.

2

In the Roman Empire, the urban character had led the way until the The decline was general, political and economic, social and cultural. The once open and unhindered expansion of the

The cities were now surrounded by walls. These set limits to growth: for the sake of better defence, people were forced to huddle together in very small spaces. This gave rise to the type of city that can be observed in Histria on the Black Sea as well as in late Roman Strasbourg. The medieval city - dull and unhealthy, but defensive and almost impossible to overpower - was thus born. However, its new freedoms were yet to be realised. For the time being, the government and bureaucracy began to interfere more and more in internal affairs. They tightened the net of their control and their influence steadily increased.

The economic foundations also began to dwindle. They had to forfeit the revenue that the cities received from their rural areas in favour of the state. Crafts and trade, the foundations of every urban prosperity, suffered badly under the blows of the 3rd century

suffered. A citizenship proud of its, albeit limited, autonomy was hit hardest economically. The centre of gravity of life began to shift inexorably to the countryside°.

The imperial crisis had also brought about profound changes there. Smaller farming estates had disappeared or had become dependent. This had led to enormous agglomerations. In the countryside, latifundia of considerable size, sometimes the size of a province, dominated the landscape. The country estates on which the large landowners lived became the new centres of economic and spiritual life. The closed manor began to emerge. With few exceptions, they produced what they needed themselves and made themselves independent of the urban manufactory. Soon

^{&#}x27; Lla's following is indebted throughout to the excellent review **which P. Lambrechts** (1'Antiquité classique i 9 g, io9 f.) has devoted to M. A. Piganiol's "L'empire chrétien" (9s71. S. i i z I. in particular have been used right down to the formulations.

^{*} To the following In. F. Stroheker, Der senatorisc he Adel im spätantiken Gallien (194 -)

money lost its significance (apart from its devaluation, which is still to be discussed); bartering took its place. The lords of the manor sat in fortified castles, also anticipating the Middle Ages. Luxury and culture, as far as the age still had them to offer, were cultivated in these manor houses. Poetry, in particular, retreated there, and associated with it was the memory of the greatness of Rome, which now belonged to the ¥'ergangenheit.

The urbanisation of the economy and way of life also meant that the basis for this, the keeping of slaves, declined. Their numbers and economic importance declined. Instead, classes that had previously been considered free fell into a state of economic dependence. The new class of *colour*, although formally free, worked the land under conditions that differed little from enslavement. The colonists were not allowed to change their lordship and were firmly tied to the land. Imperial edicts endeavoured to establish this situation in law and, if possible, to tighten it. They did so with the result that the difference between slaves and colons disappeared almost completely. The large estates were divided into the *terra indominicala* with the manor and the *niansiones* of the colons. The latter had to deliver part of the harvest from their plots and, in addition, had to perform robots on the fsrrn *ittdominicefa* on a certain number of days.

In addition to the landowners themselves, the imperial fiscal administration was keen to further consolidate this situation. The large estates were liable to them for tax revenue, the amount of which was determined by the extent and profitability of the land. In order to guarantee the receipt of the fixed tax amount, the properties had to be cultivated, in other words, the colonels had to be tied to their workplaces. For the weight of the burden made it all too easy to evade the obligation by fleeing. The tax authorities and landowners agreed to put a stop to this. In addition to personal ties to the land, there was also a hereditary tie. It passed from father to son, and any marital union with a person who did not belong to his estate was forbidden to the colonels.

The payments that the state had to make to its civil servants and soldiers were once made in monetary form. But since the end of the

z. By the end of the 3rd century, the value of the silver coin had deteriorated and since then it had continued to decline. Around the middle of the 3rd century

there was complete demonetisation. Under Gallienus, coins were minted whose copper was coated with a silver decoction that quickly deteriorated in circulation. Officials and militias refused to accept these coins as payment. They demanded what was of value to them: grain, meat, oil, wine, clothing. As a result, the state had to endeavour to receive at least part of its tax revenue in kind in order to be able to make the required deliveries. Thus, under Diocletian, the *iugalio* and *c'i§i/a/io were* introduced, which linked a tax on land yields with a personal tax on peasant labour. By all accounts, the tax was high. But the state, in its financial predicament, could not do without anything, not a single *iøguøi*. It clung relentlessly to the colonist's attachment to the tillage assigned to him and thus to his lord.

Late Roman Gaul was one of the countries in which the new circumstances had the greatest impact. Ausonius and Sidonius Apollinaris have drawn a vivid picture of the life and activities of the Gallic landowners, of their literary and other interests. The large estates had assumed an enormous size, and one can imagine the extent of the tax pressure when the *civifas Haeduorum* alone had to raise 2 oooooo hectolitres of grain, when the whole of Gaul had to raise z Io Ooo ooo°. Where the pressure of the burden had increased to such an extent, the counter-effect could not fail to materialise. Since the end of the 3rd century, Gaul had become the classic land not only of latifundia, but also of peasant revolts. Often suppressed, the *Bagaudae* constantly rose up anew.

They were particularly noticeable in the north-west in Aëtius' time. In 43_S , the Bagauden of Tracies *Armoricanus* had broken away from the Western Empire and declared their independence. This meant that far the whole country between the estuaries of the Garonne and Seine as far as Tours, Orleans and Auxerre was in revolt. It had not only been lost to the landowners but, even more seriously, to the imperial treasury.

A certain Tibatto had taken over the leadership of the Bagauden. He was able to hold on for two years. Then he succumbed 37

[°] A. Grenier in : Economic Survey of Ancient Rome3. 602 f.

Aëtius' Hunnic troops and their leader Litorius. This shows that Aëtius did not hesitate for a moment as to whose side he had to take. The treaty with Rua had been in force since 33: now it became clear what the agreement meant

3

It made sense to use the Hunnic troops against the Germanic tribes, who were giving Aëtius a hard time on Gallic soil. Immediately after the Bagauden victory, Litorius took action against the Visigoths in the south. This time, too, victory seemed to be tied to his banners. Theodoric I was forced to lift the siege of Narbonne; the hard-pressed city was immediately resupplied. Three years of steady successes followed, and A39 * Litorius Huns in front of the enemy's capital, Toulouse. The city lay in the centre of a dense and closed Visigothic settlement area'. Before Toulouse, the fortunes of war turned. The battle seemed to be going well when Litorius fell into the enemy's clutches. After the loss of the leader, the Hun army was almost destroyed. Only Aëtius' personal intervention restored the situation and led to a peace treaty.

A third event in the history of Gaul at that time is linked to the Huns: the destruction of the Burgundians. It occurred before the end of the battles with the Baguards and Visigoths.

^{&#}x27;W. v. Wartburg, Die Entstehung der romanischen V6Iker 8z f.

Th. Mommsen refers the battles that Merobaudes, Paneg. \bullet . 57 °°- within to this; cf. the adnotatio to \bullet 57

8 CHAPTER

THE DOWNFALL OF BURGUNDY

I

It is a familiar idea from our Nibelungenlied that Worms was the seat of the Burgundian kings. This idea was so firmly rooted that it was easily transferred from the world of legend to history. The territory of the Burgundian king Guntiarios or Gundicharius, who suffered a devastating defeat at the hands of the Huns in 436, and the location of this defeat were also always thought to be in the vicinity of Worms. Only recently has this view suffered a blow ¹. Instead of Worms and the province *of Garmaiiie Primo*, *Grrmania* secunda was now claimed to be the oldest Burgundian seat on the left bank of the Rhine. Agreement and disagreement - have changed since then.

The new assertion is initially based on a text-critical observation. Olympiodorus fr. i2* reports on the uprising of the anti-emperor Lovinus, which took place ii x with the help of the Alans under Goar and the Burgundian prince Guntiarius. Up to now, "under the forced assumption that Worms was the royal residence of the Burgundians at that timeo", this uprising was assumed to have taken place in Mainz on the basis of a conjecture by David Hoeschel. Only by referring to the tradition: ty MoQv6iox

Rtpo5

Ptpp'xvlo5 it turned out that not Mainz in the *Gsrmatiia Primo*, but the place *Mundiacum* in the *Grrmaiiia secunda* was meant -.

- ¹First J. R. Dieterich, D. Dichter d. Nibelungenliedes 26 f.
- $^{\circ}$ E. **Stein** in : **Ber. röm.-germ. KommissiOn•** $9*8,_{8}7$ f. ; E. Norden, Altgermanien i 8 Anm. z ; H. Grégoire in : Byzantion 9, z f.: z i5 : 775 . ; F. Ganshof in : Rev. belge de philol. et d'hist. is. +9J*-
- $^{\circ}$ H. Nesselhauf in : Abh BAW. Tg38, z, 2¢ Anm. i ; A. W. Byvanck, Nederland in den romeinschen tijd z, ö87: Unklar: Mnemosyne i 9¢ 93. 3 ; L. Schmidt, D. Ostger- manen z.3 $_{\varsigma}$. ; G. Baesecke, Vor- und Frühgesch. d. dt. SchrifHu ms z, zq3.
 - * FHG., 6 M.
 - E. Stein, a. 0. 98.
- E. Stein's experiment, a. 0. 98 f., Olympiodor with observations from the Notitia dignitatum is refuted by H. Nesselhauf, a. 0. 66 f.; y f.. But cf.
- A. W. Byvanck in: Mnemosyne Ig 3, 88 f.
 - 13 A ltheim, Huns IY

The restoration of the tradition met with approval, apart from the odd contradiction. But the conclusions drawn from this were quite different. The attempts to equate Mundiacum with one of today's places with a similar name have been passed over. The suggestions that have been made stand in each other's way and show that a clear result cannot be achieved for the time being ®. While some argued in favour of Olympiodor's testimony that the Burgundians were located on the Lower Rhine, others vehemently denied that one was entitled to draw such a conclusion. According to this view, the Burgundians' location near Worms, on which the l'libelungenlied was based, could not be disputed.

According to Orosius, the Burgundians crossed the Rhine at the end of Aoô together with the Vandals, Alamanni and Suebi. This was followed by the uprising of the opposing emperor Lovinus in Mun-diacum, which was achieved with the help of Guntiarios. Two years later, the Burgundians made peace with the legitimate government of Constantinus: Burgundiones partem Galliae propin- quam Rheno oQfiatisrunf°. We are not told where this area was located. The testimony of the archaeological finds, which speak in favour of a quartering in Mainz

", is admittedly not conclusive'o. In any case, the Burgundians remained quiet in their assigned seats for over two decades. We then learn from Sidonius Apollinaris' that A êtius had punished the "defiant Burgundians" because they had brutalised the Belgians. Aëtius granted peace435 at the Burgundians' request. But as early as 436, the Burgundians were attacked by the Huns ", of whom it is not known whether they were in Aëtius' pay. Gundicharius himself fell with zo ooo of his people'S. It is not known where the catastrophe took place.

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'L. Schmidt, a. 0.
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[®] H. Nesselhauf, a. 0. 2a Note i.

[•] y, i 8,3. liber a supposedly Alanian find from Mundolzheim near Strasbourg:

H. Zeiß in : Germania i 2, ••7

'o Prosper••5° ã. a13, Chron. min. i, q6y. On the Gallic border relations at the beginning of the 5th century E. Demongeot in: Revue d'Alsace gz (-is i) i

[&]quot; L. Schmidt, a. 0. I3a í.

^{&#}x27;° H. Nesselhauf, a. 0. 25 Anm. z ; in addition D. Bohnsack in H. Reinerth, Vorgesch. d. dten Stämme 3. - -s3 f.: the graves of Lampertheim are Burgundian, but belong to the a. The Burgundian character of the graves of Kostheim and others from the 5th century is unproven.

^{&#}x27;° Carm.7. *3
; cf. hydat. io8, chron. min. z, zz f.
'^ Prosper, a. 35, Chron. min. i , 25 ; Chron. Gall. i i8, Chron. min. i , 66.

^{&#}x27;^ Hydat. i to, Chron. min. 2, z3; Prosper l.c.; Chron. Gall. 1. c.

Nowhere in these messages is Worms or its surroundings mentioned ¹". Mundiacum in the Csrmaiiin *secunda* is the only place mentioned. Certainly one may object that a stay of the Burgundian king Guntiarios AI I in Mundiacum does not "prove" anything without further ado for the place of settlement of the tribe in the year q-3. However, it cannot be overlooked that Prosper's *jars Galliae propinqua Rheno* is based on the statement that the elevation of Aii iv Moov6ioxw zij\$ I-ríp rippovlci\$ took place, under the simple condition that the Burundians were given ownership of the lands that were already in their possession. The settlement would then, as is often the case, have recognised the fact.

Should the inscription '® of Hariulf, son of Hanhavald, *Nelle* of Reutilo, in Trier - *regalia genlis Burgundionum* and now belonging to the *proteclores dom#siici* - provide a further clue?

Initially, this remains only a possibility, albeit a probable one. This is where the testimony of Sidonius Apollinaris about Aëtius' Burgundian victory '-. Sidonius' father-in-law Avitus, whose accession to the throne is celebrated in the Panegyricus, is said to have followed Aëtius' banners. Together with Avitus, Aëtius had liberated the Belgian whom the defiant Burgundian had raped. This testimony was previously commemorated. Then it continues: "Defeated there is the Heruli in running, the Hun in projectile throwing and the Frank in swimming, the Sauromate in shield fight, the Salter on foot and in battle with the /o/n of the Gelonians".

Sidonius's sought-after form of expression does not make it easy to know what is meant. From Tillemonto' to the last Außerungeno', there have been two possibilities. Either the tribes mentioned were on the side of the Burgundians and were defeated by them together. Or else: the victory in the contest was against the common enemy.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ E. A. Thompson, A Hist. of Attila and the Huns $_{68}$ has overlooked all the more recent literature in his treatment (i $_{948}$).

[&]quot;H. Nesselhauf, op. cit. O. 2#.

^{&#}x27;^ Fiebiger-Schmidt, Inschriftenslg. z. Gesch. d. Ostgoten Nr. 2 z ; H.-E. Giesecke, D. Ostgerm. u. d. Arianism . i to . Sum. $\,$ ą.

^{&#}x27;- carm7, 23O J.

^{°°} Histoire des empereurs 6, z to f.

[°] Rappaport in: RE. 8, i•53: L. Schmidt, D. Ostgerm.° 559.

enemy. The tribes could then be understood as Aëtius' allies in the battle against the Burgundians.

Kiticifur ... F'rancusquø oatalu can be illustrated by Chlo- tachar II's victory over the Saxon duke Bertoald on the Weser^{oo}. The king himself was the first to swim across the river on horseback, and it was only with difficulty that the army followed him. This example shows that no opponent can be defeated by swimming better, but that comrades-in-arms can surpass each other in this in a joint competition. So the Franks were allied with Aëtius, and during the campaign, according to Sidonius, they succeeded in eclipsing their great skill in swimming and crossing waters through their own efforts.

It is clear that v*35 *tlic refers to the area where the battle against the Burgundians took place. So all the peoples mentioned at this point were involved in the battle against the Burgundians. Were they

their neighbours? The neighbourhood of at least part of the Huns was the precondition for the catastrophe of '36. That the Sauromatians and Gelonians meant the Alans, the main tribe of the Sarmatianso-, remains the most probable°-. They had just been united with the Burgundians in the year Ali. The Western Heruli, Franks and Salters, who all lived on the Lower Rhine°5, are also clearly mentioned. If they are also considered neighbours of the Burgundians, Olympiodor's testimony is confirmed.

Not only 4--, but also after the settlement of AI3 the Burgundians would have sat in Germania srcøøda.

The Huns had been permanent allies of Aëtius since the year 331*. The same must be assumed for the Burgundian victory of the year A33. Aëtius would then have brought together an alliance of the Huns, Heruli, Franks, Salters and Alans, i.e. the neighbouring tribes, against the Burgundians and thus prevented the invasion of both or one of the *Belgicae*. In pursuit of this policy, either Aëtius would have incited the Huns against the Burgundians once again in 436, thereby preventing them from being defeated.

^{°°} Lib. Hist. Franc. q i; the situation is quite different in Paul. Diac., hist. Langob. i, i 5, where Lamassio fights with the Amazon (iø /føvio ietefu pugtiessc cemçut perem issø). On this G. Baesecke, a. 0. i, 3zz.

[^] M. Rostovtzeff, CAH. i i, 93 f.

[^] Alans and Gelons called together ep. #, i , q.

^{°°} about the Heruli: Rappaport, l. 0.••s• .; L. Schmidt, l. O. 558 f. -- Th. Mommsen in : Herm. 36, 5zo; E. A. Thompson, a. 0. 6ş f.

or the Huns had not adhered to the peace treaty and taken advantage of a favourable opportunity.

The picture has thus shifted considerably. The assertion that Gunther ty Mouv6i'xx stayed there temporarily and by chance "during some military campaign" is only convincing for those who take Worms as the king's seat for granted from the outset. This presupposes what had to be proven. Gunthern first set the Walthari song after Worms. Significantly, however, it does not see him as a Burgundian king, but as one of the Franks. This proves nothing for the original; it proves all the less as in the Edda neither the fragment of the older Brünhild-Sigurdlied nor the old song of Atli know anything about Worms. It was not until the Middle High German Song of the Nibelungs that the seat of the Burgundian kings was moved there.

The Anglo-Saxon Widsith^{oo} needs to be mentioned. Verse 64f.

Gudhere is mentioned among the Burgundians as the donor of a bracelet to the singer of the song. The "Weitfahrer" visits him after the Thuringians and the "Throwenden". Yers 6d mid pränicndum is now usually understood to mean "with the Drontheimers" (aisl. $\delta r' cndir$)°0. This explanation is not certain. But the Trevirians, who have been thought of, are out of the people between the Burgundians and the Thuringians, because the names are given in this order. Perhaps, however, the necessary rhyme with *§vritigiim* was responsible for the use of the name beginning with §°'. From Gudhere we move on to the Franks and Frisians v. 68, where Baesecke*° has already surmised that, in contrast to the other order of the Frankish table of peoples of 520, the Franks were drawn from the Burgundians, thus attesting to the existence of the Nibelung poetry for the Widsith. Perhaps a simpler solution is that the old neighbourhood of Burgundians and Franks still had an effect, that they were both thought to be located on the Lower Rhine

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o' H. Nesselhauf, a 7 and note i.
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^{°°} J. R. Dieterich, a. 0. z8.

^{°°} J. R. Dieterich, a. 0. z2; E. Stein, a. 0. 98.

^{°°} The following is based on a statement by J. Weisweiler.

o' An attempt at restoration in K. Malone, Widsith (193*) 33f.

^{°°} In: Germ.-Roman. Montaschr. -936, i 2o.

[^] K. Müllenhoff, Dte. Altertumskde. 3, 32d f.

2

The fact that the Burgundians initially settled on the Lower Rhine as direct neighbours of the Franks has been called "evidence of far-reaching significance". And yet Germanic research, insofar as it has commented on this at all, has not drawn any conclusions from it.

In the 5th and 6th centuries, it is generally believed that Frankish singers wrote the two poems that form the prehistory of our Nibelungen.

The form and content of the song were decisively influenced by the saga of Brünhild and Siegfried's death, then the song of the downfall of the Burgundian kings at the court of the Huns and the death of Attila°. The form and content can be understood through Old Norse adaptations, which were included in the Song Edda: the ancient "Old Sigurd Song" and the older, shorter Atlilied. Both songs and the saga they formulated passed separately through the centuries as a poetic unit before they merged into this single work.

Especially in their oldest versions, the songs differ from each other: not only in their content, but also in their inner form. In the Brünhild saga, prehistoric events only played a minor role°. The seats of the Franks and Burgundians on the Rhine, the names of the Burgundian kings, an episode from the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy ⁴, hardly the Frankish queen of the same name - that was all. Mythical figures such as Siegfried and the former Valkyrie Brünhild were moulded into heroic destiny, reinterpreted as an expression of unbowed passions. "The content of the Brünhild saga is a battle of the soul", it has been said"; it was purely human, and it was timeless. Neither the heroic nor the great endeavour was missing in Burgundian poetry. But the downfall of the Burgundians and Attila's death were events that had taken place before the eyes of the Germanic world. **They were**

^{&#}x27;E. Norden, .4ltgermanien i β Anm. z. Freilich: H. Grégoires Behauptu ng (in : Byzant. io, 2 z7), da13 Hagen der zayatt, qayati der Alanen und mithin f.ioar bei Olympiodor ist, ich glaub be nicht. .Planen sind keine Türken.

[°] The following is based on A. He usler, Nibelungensage und Nibelungenlied7 : §d f. - partly using his formulations. About D. v. Kralik's Nibelungenfor-

schn ngen W. hlohr in : nicht. u. Volkstum4. *3 f.; H. Schneider in : ZdA. i ga i , qq f.

[^] A. Heusler, op. cit. O. i 3 f.

[•] II Lintzel, D. hist. Kern ct. Siegfriedsage (Histor. Stud.•(5): • ustimmend A. Heusler, a. 0. i y f.; H. Grégoire in: Byzant. io, zzz f.

G. Baesccke, Vor- und Frü ligesch. d. dten. Schriftt. i , zq9.

[^] A. Heusler, op. cit. O. i 5.

The film is about 'historical events', not figures from a timeless myth such as Siegfried and Brünhild.

The transition from the historical to the heroic is also tangible in the case of Gudrun-Grimhild, the wife and murderess of the "Hun king". lordanes - according to Priskos, Attila died in the bridal night at the side of lildico or Hildico by a fall of blood. However, Emperor I ustinian's chancellor, the chronicler Marcellinus Comes'°, left open the question of whether the knife of the Frankish woman had not caused the death. The further step that this woman had been an avenger of her own was obvious enough. The poet of the Burgundian Song took it.

The contrast between the supratemporal and the temporal, between myth and history, is accompanied by a second contrast: the contrast between two tribes. Siegfried is a Franconian from the very beginning'¹; already in the Germanic *Hercules Deusoniensis* and *Magusanus*, who lived in the 3. century AD. Chr. in the

land of the Batavians and Franks, Siegfried was believed to have been to be recognised under a Roman name¹⁰. In the Brünhild poem, all the light falls on him and Brünhild: he is the bright one, high-minded and unconcerned; she is the strong and avenging one. The Burgundians play the second role: they are the driven ones, the ones behind the scenes. They allow themselves to be instigated into action. Gunther breaks faith with his brother-in-law and sworn brother and is accused of it by Brünhild. The lure of the Nibelung hoard and jealousy towards Siegfried force them to commit murder. ³ Hagen, the dark one, carries it out.

.\ n view of Siegfried's loyalty and Gunther's breach of oath, there can be no doubt: this song was not written by Burgundians, but by a Frank. Siegfried was the hero of the Frankish tribe, the Burgundians were traitors who killed him. But could the Burgundian legend have been written by a Frank?

It could speak in favour of uniform origin that Brünhild and Burgundian poetry were attuned to each other from the very beginning '°. But

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G. Baesecke, op. cit. O. z5z.

^ G. Baesecke, a. 0. z5z; A. Heusler, a. 0.

° tret. 2 j.

° Chron. a. q5q, Chron. min. 2, 86. " G.
Baesecke, a. 0. zqg.

° E. Norden, D. germ. Urgesch. in Tacitus' Germania•7•

— : ( • '° A. Heusler, a. 0. i 5 i G. Baesecke, a. 0.

- G. Baesecke, a. 0.

* A. Heusler, a. O. 5 j f. ; G. Baesecke, a. 0. zjz f.
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These ties were not forged by the self-contained, dramatically powerful action of the Song of the Nibelungs. They were of an external nature.

Grimhild, Attila's murderess, was already Siegfried's wife. But she was not yet his avenger: she warned her brothers of Hunnic deceit. Hagen was also taken from the Brünhild saga, but he still remained second to Gunther, a mere henchman. After all, the stronghold of the Burgundian kings, which Etzel coveted, was equated with the "asenine heritage of the Nibelungs", "which brings feud among men" - in other words, the legendary treasure that had once belonged to Siegfried. But, as I said, these were external connections: the perspective has shifted in the Bur- gundenlied.

All the light is now on the Burgundians. They are the heroes, the bearers of a great destiny. Grimhild and her brothers are members of a clan and of the same mind. Even Hagen is included. He is Grimhild's half-brother and full brother, and she is also obliged to avenge him, not just Gunther. In contrast, the Huns now form the dark side. They are not yet the almost Germanic heroes, Atli not yet the fatherly-

-good rulers of later poetry. But over them still lies the breath of a foreign, uncanny folklore". Hagen's cut-out heart, the snake dungeon in which Gunther ends up, were expressions of Asiatic savagery's - at least for this poem; for nothing exactly corresponding has been handed down for the Huns and the nomads.

There is nothing to suggest that this poem was created by a Frankish minstrel, as A. Heusler would have it. The opinion that the Burgundian saga originated in a Burgundian environment is all the more convincing'". The older Atlilied is the only one in the Edda in which the Burgundians are mentioned by name. The historical events and the attitude of the poet himself are Burgundian. It was the fate of his own people that he moulded—which only a Burgundian could mould. Consider that the Burgundian contingent also suffered huge losses at the hands of the Huns in the Battle of the Catalaunian Fields.

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'° A. Heusler, a. 0. 5i.
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[&]quot; A. Heusler, a. 0. ssf.; G. Baesecke, a. O. •s• : •ii

¹º G. BaßSßCke, a. 0. 76f.

^{&#}x27;° G. Baesecke, op. cit. O. 25-

^{°°} lord, Get. igi.

The death of numerous men led to all legal cases that fell before the battle being declared forfeit by the Lex Burgundionum°'. The realisation that the old seats of the Burgundians were not in Worms and the surrounding area, but in the *Czrmo'iia secunda* and on the Lower Rhine, now also explains the threads that ran back and forth between Brünhild and Burgundian poetry°°.

Franks and Burgundians were immediate neighbours. The poet of the Brünhild saga took the historical names of the Burgundian kings from the land of the Burgundians°. Conversely, mythical figures such as Siegfried, Hagen and the Nibelung hoard, where they are encountered within the

historical framework of the Burgundian song, originate from the Frankish Brünhild saga°*. In both cases, the traditional has remained foreign material. Both songs, the Frankish and the Burgundian, were only connected by an external motif. Only the poet of the "Burgundian Burgundian Song", for whom myth and history had become one and for whom the tribal difference between Franks and Burgundians no longer meant anything, made the decisive step forward. Through reinterpretations and new creations, he created the conditions for the standardised Song of the Nibelungs that we possess °-.

3

The Burgundian poem presupposes the death of Attila, so it can only have been written after ${}^{1}SZ$. At that time, the tribe was no longer located on the Lower Rhine, but in the "fir land" ${}^{1}S$ Sapaudia. Aëtius had assigned a new site there to the tribe that had escaped the catastrophe of ${}^{3}S$. The poetry must therefore be imagined to have been created and performed in Sapaudia.

Linguistic evidence confirms this conclusion. The personal names and the French place names of Burgundian origin show "that the heroic names of the Nibelungenlied are old Burgundian linguistic material" ° Even more: that the saga was present to the Savoy Burgundians; that

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Of Lex Burg., 1. COfiSt.*7. *: M. G. Leg. i, 2, i p. 55; L. Schmidt, a. O.° i 39.
G. Baesecke, op. O. eye f.
A. Heusler, a. 0. i.
A. Heusler, a. s -
A. Heusler, a. 0. st *-; H. Baesecke, a. 0. z25 f.
R. Thurneysen in F. Staehelin, Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit I • 5 Note;
L. Weisgerber, Die Sprache der Festlandkelten (zo. Øer. RÕm.-germ. Komæ. i 93 i) zo8.
E. Gamillscheg, Romania Geroianica 3. preface.
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they lived in it. For not only the names of the Burgundian kings are present°: Gibiba (Latinised Gobica*); Gundiharjis as Gundicarius, Gondaharius, Gondaarius*, Gundrihamns in Gödhramns and the place name Gondran*, Gislahar]is in Gislaiiarius and the place name Gillarens*. Hagen lives on, as with the Franks, so also with the Burgundians in rich testimony". And the Nibelung name is attested in numerous instances". In the poetry of the seneschal of the Burgundian count Girard of Roussillon it bears the name: Nom. Neblos, Neblas, Akk. Neblon. It appears in the place names: Nun-blans and Noblens, in Nivelungus and Nivelongus; the base word N ibils Latinised as Nibilus. Perhaps most thought-provoking is the fact that Sigmund's son, who is called Sinf(ötli in the Völsunga saga, Sinlar fizzilo, Sinter- fezzil in Ahd, seems to be preserved in the place name Senarclens '*.

The new Burgundian kingdom differed from the other Germanic kingdoms on Gallic soil in its "open-mindedness towards the Romans and their culture". In contrast to the Goths and Franks, marriages between Burgundians and Romans were permitted'o. In terms of population, they were in the minority, especially in the towns. A dense Burgundian population was only found north of Lake Geneva. Roman villas, such as those at Carouge near Geneva, survived until Burgundian times. In Geneva, the former praetorium was converted into a Burgundian palace ^{II}. Lyon also remained a Roman city, even if the king held court there. The Burgundian loan words of south-eastern French show the vocabulary of the common man, especially the peasant '*; nobility and royalty were quickly Romanised. Syagrius, the

"Burgundian Solon" ", spoke Germanic fluently, - allegedly

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* Lex Burgundy, 1 CORSt.3: <. G. Leg. i, z, i p. q3.
^ E. Gamillscheg a. 0. izo.
° E. Gamillscheg, a. 0. i z9.
• E. Gamillscheg, a. 0. i zz.
^ E. Gamillscheg, a. 0. i zz.
^ E. Gamillscheg, a. 0. i zc.
^ E. Gamillscheg, a. 0. i z.
' E. Gamillscheg, op. cit. 0. i q i.
' ° E. Gamillscheg, l. c. 0. 90; iq9.
' G. Baesecke, a. 0. 9z f.; z y f.
' L. Schmidt in: Histor. Vierteljahrschr. z9,<37: E. Gamillscheg, a. 0. i i f.; Karte i.
' - L. Blondel in: Genava 9'°. s'*- '^ L.
Blondel, a. 0. 69 f.
* ° E. Gamillscheg, a. 0. 6q f.
" Sid. Apoll., ep. 5.5. 3: H. E. Giesecke, D. Ostgermanen u. d. Arianismus i #o.
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the Burgundians shied away from committing barbarism in their own language in his presence". He also imparted knowledge of Latin to their greats. Chilperich already spoke it, and Gundobad is praised for his Roman education. Under him, who was surrounded

"by Roman and Catholic ministers, wrapped up in Catholic disputations, married to a Catholic and thus favouring Catholicism"^{oo}, the code, written around 4qo, was already written in Latin.

Those who assume that our Burgundian poetry did not originate in this late period, when Germanic I(raft was in decline°', are certainly right. But even before that, the Germanic and the Roman met at this court. It was under Gundeok or Chilperich that the I-tendekasyllaben of Sidonius Apollinaris were written, which describe the appearance of the Germanic scop at the king's liof and during the banquet°2. As much as the Roman does:

inler crinigeras situm colervas et Germanlca erba sustinentem, laudanlem tetrico subinde uultu, quod Burgundio canlat esculentus infundens acido coman but yro -

The Burgundians must have eagerly embraced the foreign and, for them, new cultural heritage.

The Romans themselves regarded them as the most culturally advanced Germanic tribes". The presbyter Salvianus speaks of the savagery of the Saxons, the unfaithfulness of the Franks, the inhumanity of the Gepids, the shamelessness of the Hunso: nothing similar is said of the Burgundians. They have always been characterised by a fine emotional sensitivity and a well-developed inner life; their wealth of names and the Burgundians'

^{&#}x27;^ Sid. .4poll., cp. 5, 5, 3.

^{&#}x27;° Sid. Apoll., eps. 5. s. On the Romanisation of the Burgundian royal house and **the** pronounced **Catholicism** of the provincial Roman **population D. van Ber-** chem in : Sch weizer Be itr. zur Altertumswiss. 8 (i 956), q9 f.

^{°°} t -. 13aesecke, a. 0. 2q8; H. E. Giesec ke, a. 0. i gof.

[°] t- Baesec ke, a. 0. z 48 ; :\. Loyen, Sidoine Apollinaire et l'esprit précieux en t'aille i i i ; 13*

^{°°} carm. i z, f.; G. Baesecke, a. 0. 93*-

[^] E . Gamillsc heg, a. 0. 66.

[^] De qu b. Dei, 6y f.

gundian loan words from southern French are witness to this. Thus they soon opened themselves to the colourful world of fables that the ancient legends offered them, and they felt the power to transform and recreate them out of their own nature. The question of whether the oldest Wieland song at the Burgundian court was modelled on the Daedalus and Volcanus legends will not be discussed here. Perhaps the song of the downfall of the Burgundians itself provides evidence of this. For the slaughter of her own children by their mother Grimhild and the devouring of their hearts by their father Atli could go back to the legends of Atreus and Thyestes, Tereus and Prokne. Despite the agreement of renowned researchers, this can of course only be described as a possibility.

Even then, Burgundy played the role that it later had to play again and again: that of a mediator between East and West, between Germanism and Romania. The Franks followed much later. But even there the creative act only took place at a moment when contact with late Roman culture had occurred

As already mentioned, an episode from the history of the Ostrogoths in Italy was incorporated into the Brünhild-Siegfried poem. M. Lintze1°-, following J. Grimm's process, has pointed out that there are striking similarities between the Siegfried figure and that of Uraja, whose story Procopius tells in the second and third book°" of his Gothic War; A. Heusler°° and H. Grégoire° have agreed with him. Lintzel has summarised the similarity in a concise and striking form as follows: "Siegfried, the strongest and richest of the heroes, dwells at the court of Gunther, who is far below him, and serves him. Uraja, the strongest and richest of the Goths, dwells at the court of Ildibad, who stands far below him, and serves him. Gunther owes Siegfried the greatest thing he possesses, Brünhild; Ildibad owes Uraja the greatest thing he possesses, the crown. Siegfried alone was worthy to possess Brünhild.

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E. Gamillscheg, a. 0. i 2 i; cf. 65.
G. Baesecke, a. 0. zq8f.; cf. 3i 8.
A. Heusler, a. 0. 5i f.; G. Baesecke, a. - °7'
The historical core of the Siegfried saga (Hist. Stud. 2q§) 3Ü f.
2, 12, 37f.; 21, 1f.; 22, 6f.; 25, 1f.; 28, 28f.; 30, 4f.; 3, 1, 37f.
a. O. 13f.
In: Byzant. i o, zz z f.
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worthy of the crown, he had won it, but had given it to Ildibad. Gunther, who owes everything to Siegfried, has him murdered. Ildibad, who owes everything to Uraja, has him murdered. Siegfried's murder is the result of a quarrel between his wife and Gunther's wife; Uraiah's murder is the result of a quarrel between his wife and Ildibad's wife. The quarrel of the Burgundian women takes place in the baths, Siegfried's wife sets herself against the queen and she demands revenge; the quarrel of the Gothic women takes place in the baths, Uraja's wife sets herself against the queen and she demands revenge. Siegfried is accused of treason against Gunther and dies innocent; Uraja is accused of treason against Ildibad and dies innocent. Siegfried falls by assassination, Gunther takes his treasure and Siegfried finds no avenger; Uraja falls by assassination, Ildibad takes his treasure and Uraja finds no avenger.

If these similarities are true - and it is impossible to see what could be objected to - then essential parts of the Siegfried-Brünhild poem are modelled on the story of Uraja. Since his death falls in the year54 4i, the poem can only have been written after this date.

be the oldest. It is therefore much later than the Song of the Burgundians downfall. The terminus post quem for both poems is almost a hundred years apart.

This explains a circumstance that has already been emphasised. Both poems, that of Brünhild and that of the downfall of the Burgundians, were linked together by various threads, without the dramatic tautness that characterises Middle High German poetry. Essentially, it was a few characters and legends that created a loose, purely material connection. As soon as one realises that the other song did not yet exist at the time the Burgundian Song was written, the course of events becomes clear. The saga of Siegfried and Brünhild had not yet received its authoritative poetic form, had not even been given a fixed shape. Thus it could not yet have had any influence on the Song of the Fall of the Burgundians, which followed immediately afterwards.

In the years after the middle of the 6th century, we enter a period in which late Roman culture, especially literature, began to exert an increasingly strong influence on the Franks. U57_S Gregory of Tours began to write his history of the Franks, and in the first half of

of the following century include the oldest parts of the so-called Fredegar. At least Gregory was of Gallo-Roman descent, and Romane was also the poet who at the same time characterised the Frankish court.

Venantius Fortunatus came from Treviso. In the year 5 s, he crossed the Alps for King Sigibert's wedding and never left the Frankish region. Two years later, he met Radegunde, the

It was the song of the Burgundians' downfall that was important here. The poem did not originate in the pure Germanic area, just as little as it sang of a victory of one's own people. Rather, a cata- strophe that brought the Burgundians close to extinction touched the sense of tragic and heroic greatness. But it was a piece of our own and painful past. This hitherto unknown awareness of history and the Yt¹ ille to shape it poetically was ignited by contact with a foreign people. In the same way, it was minned poetry that dying antiquity, without wanting to or knowing about it, gave to the coming Germanic people.

No nation is born with its own spiritual form as a ready-made gift. It must be fought for. It is only in the confrontation with foreign folklore, with foreign cultures, that one realises one's own possibilities. Sometimes in imitation, but always in competition with what is different, one struggles to achieve the ability to create independently.

^{*°} carm. 8, 8, z ; 9, i i ; io, z, io ; 2, z ; io, ig et al. In. ; a more detailed explanation io, 6, i f. ; vg1. i 6.

^{^^} Similarly F. Schneider, Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter i z i f.

9 KAPITEL

TRAGEDY AS A HISTORICAL FORM

The hallmark of our **company** is that it highly values success. It is characterised by a constant striving to improve performance. This striving can be recognised in the increase in production or exports as well as in the desire to break existing records and set new ones: sporting records or records of speed, records of marriages or divorces, the number of births or whatever else may come into consideration.

The struggle for professional or economic advancement of the individual goes hand in hand with a general increase in performance. It can also be categorised in the image that success is the yardstick for all evaluation. Human esteem is also part of this framework. Here, too, advancement and success themselves form understandable measures of value, often the only ones that are accepted. The fact that someone has achieved what they set out to do seems to be one of the best recommendations that can be given to someone today. This labelling is taken for granted to such an extent that the question is not even asked whether the nature of one's desires characterises a person more than the coincidental fact that he has helped these desires to be fulfilled.

Success is also adopted as a historical yardstick, as if it could not be otherwise. Only those who have mastered set tasks or reality in general - as one sometimes hears - are inclined to hand over the palm of honour. Whereas those who have failed are deservedly given their place in the parterre of history.

This standard, which has been accepted without contradiction, has led to re-evaluations which have brought the present or the recent past into contrast with what older times had valued differently. It is still remembered what a break Mommsen's

l d Althelm, Bnnnon IV

The Roman historian's presentation of Roman history was in line with the views that had prevailed among his peers until then. Without much ado, Mommsen based his judgement of Roman statesmen on the simple question of whether they had succeeded or failed. This led to the drawing of Cicero and Pompey, the younger Cato, which even the contemporary critics were furious about. It stood in marked contrast to what Roman historiography itself had presented in its most authoritative representatives. A further step could hardly be avoided. For the verdict that Mommsen passed on the statesmen included, mutatis mutandis, that on the historians who had to judge such errors. Sallust, Livy and Tacitus are also among those who were hit by Mommsen's harsh judgement.

Cato as an enemy of tyrants once inspired many and called them to action. Sallust, a former Caesarian, was the first to dare to contrast the man who had given his life in Utica, abandoned by everyone, with the lord of the world as a moral victor. The same is true of Caesar's murderers: the Renaissance and the French Revolution have created a veritable cult of them. What would remain if Brutus and Cassius, the model of self-sacrifice, were to be taken away from this rex olution? For the modern historian of Rome, however, this too has become a testimony to political bankruptcy.

Such an assessment was based, at least with the appearance of justification, on a realpolitik point of view. A lack of sense for reality and for the demands of the hour dictated the actions of those men, and thus the judgement was passed on them. But reality remains an ambiguous thing. What one person considers to be true does not necessarily bind another. Suffice it to ask whether that supposed closeness to reality did not overlook essential realities - I mean the spiritual and moral ones.

As always, those who failed were denied greatness because they did so. But it seems as if greatness as a predicate of judgement has been taken all too literally or, if you like, all too narrowly and close-sightedly. There is no need to look for the reason for such a view. After all, the reference to quantity, to measurability, seems to be contained in the word greatness itself. But how should one look for greatness where someone who despairs of himself, like the younger Cato, like Brutus, confined to an ever narrower space, chooses the last resort, which turns out to be

still offers? Where he, convicted of the lack of success and thus of the dubiousness of his will, stands before himself and before fate with empty hands?

And yet there is a visible difference between height and size. When the tall General Augerau stood up in front of the short Bonaparte and said that he was taller, the man he was addressing replied dryly that Augerau was at best longer. Exports, a wealth of children, records in long-distance running or supersonic speed all have their measurable dimensions. They can be expressed in numbers, and such \representation captures their essence. However, human greatness cannot be dealt with in this way, and it remains mute in the face of statistical methods. Although a quantitative expression is used to describe it, it is assigned to quality.

The special position that human greatness occupies is revealed as soon as another category is placed alongside it: the tragic. The tragic, however you define it, also eludes measurability. You can neither produce it nor increase its production figures, any more than you can with human greatness. Both \values have in common that they elude every endeavour; that they can neither be striven for nor brought about. And yet they are there, and their presence is highly perceptible at times. Of course, they come and go according to their own law.

Are they a gift of the hour? But who would describe tragedy as a gift? We content ourselves with the observation that there are ages that open themselves up to the tragic and there are others that seem to refuse this tragedy. Should it be a coincidence that an age as dedicated to the idol of success as ours seems to lack an organ for the tragic? Just look at our busy literary scene: the idea that one of its daily greats intends to write a poem of tragic character or even a tragedy can at best evoke an indulgent smile. What's more, somehow the tragic seems to impose itself not only on our poetry or our art, but also on the image of the events themselves. We have experienced dreadful things to such an extent3 that we could easily stand comparison with most historical times. Yet neither the global scope of these experiences, nor the number of victims, nor the nature of their suffering have been able to achieve the title of nobility that is so characteristic of the

of the tragic. Nowhere has it been possible to purify the events into such a view

If you look around and ask when was the last time a historical event was perceived as tragic, you have to go back more than a century. Hoffmannsthal spoke of the "last great European phenomenon" and was referring to Napoleon. It is hardly a coincidence that Napoleon remained the last tragic figure in European history. The name Waterloo springs to mind.

"Marvellous defeat, in which the glory of the destroyed shines higher than that of the victor! In which the glory outlasts the defeat and the name of the victor perhaps perishes in the triumph". This is how the

Banished to St Helena just one year later, thus anticipating what only the following period would grant him.

Seldom have the chances seemed less favourable that such a prediction would be fulfilled. The final defeat of the usurper, the perseverance of the iron duke, Blücher's promised help, which was granted despite many adversities, the nightly escape of the defeated: they outshone everything at first. A glorious finale to a battle of liberation, Waterloo seemed certain of its place in history. And yet the turning point has come.

It was poets who always took the side of the fallen. Goethe above all, but also Byron, Balzac, even Heine and not least that Abbate Monti, whose ode in the year of his death i82I reminded Europe that one of its greats had gone. Then there were the lithographers and wood engravers, masters of a popular art and bearers of the rapidly developing Napoleonic legend. They created the images that are inseparable from Waterloo: the evening drawing in, an army flooding back, the dying of the Guard, the standards draped in mourning, the Emperor in the square of the last loyalists. No official representation, no monument to victory has been able to hold its own against this stream of images. It is not the desperate player who has dared once more and lost once and for all, but the titan struck by fate, elevated by it and made visible in his greatness for the first time, that is evoked by the metallic, booming name of the battle site.

Comparisons arise without prompting. Anyone standing at the bridge of Benevento or on the field of Tagliacozzo is more likely to recognise Manfred's and Konradin's

than the victorious Anjou. And the lonely tower of Astura reminds us of the fate of the betrayed, not of the ignominious reward of Frangipani. Chaironeia and Thermopylae also remain linked to the name of the defeated, before whom the victors step into the darkness.

How far removed we are here from today's overestimation of success! It is the unsuccessful, it seems, who deserve immortality. Compassion turns to the defeated, and fame clings to their footsteps. Only he who remains true to himself in his downfall and remains attached to the greatness that determined his life is guaranteed permanence and immortality.

Historical tragedy is not expected to be defined. Such a definition would be more restrictive than helpful. As is so often the case, what is meant cannot be circumscribed, but can only be experienced in its fulfilment.

At a time when we are fed with the dubious products of abstract art, it is good to rest our eyes for a while on a work of figurative art. And while you are forced to get used to "art on the move", you can enjoy the, so to speak, frowned upon pleasure of a representation that is still completely under the spell of a great tradition. Girodet, one of the masters of French Romanticism, captured the bloody E on the pI with which Bonaparte defeated the Egyptian rebels in the Hakim-äfo mosque. These "Ré-voltés de Caire" also invite contemplation because great historical painting is spurned by the fanatics of modern art. One can conclude with certainty that an important object awaits discovery.

The centre group should be singled out from the throng of fighters, which seems to go beyond the scope of the film. A young, distinguished Mameluke has collapsed under a fatal blow. Pale, with noble features, his innate nobility sets him apart from the dark-skinned Arabs and the tanned dragoons charging towards him. Circassian or Lesghier, like the Mamelukes for the most part, he comes from a purer and nobler world. Like all perfected things, he carries early death within him. He sinks back uncomplainingly, nothing disfiguring his dying face.

A scimitar falls from his right hand, and the precious robe trimmed with the furs of his northern homeland wraps the fallen man like a pall. The death of their master has inflamed the servants to a fierce vengeance. An unclothed giant has gripped the slumped body of the dead man with his left hand and is a b o u t to strike with his right. But already, in fatal carelessness, he exposes his own flank, offering himself naked to the well-aimed blow. The charging dragoon, wearing a Roman-style helmet, has seized the threatened man's cloak. In the next moment, the right hand of the drawn sword will have penetrated the muscular flesh of his opponent, the slain servant will slump over his fallen master. A black slave, clinging to the leg of his standing comrade, tries in vain to strike at the advancing victor from the ground with a drawn sword. The Negro catches his prey, the severed head of a Frenchman, with his left hand. But we know that he will not enjoy such a triumph a second time. The battle at his head, although still in the balance, has in fact already been decided.

Terrible battle of passions: unleashed Orient fighting for the

The disciplined troop in antique armour, like an iron date, pushing and throwing down the opponent. Here distorted rage and glittering eyes, there the grey determination that no mercy can stand in the way of. Only in death is transfigured what in life was the prey of passions and human inability. The expression of the severed head, which continues its own life in the hand of the Negro, corresponds to the face of the collapsing mameluke: frozen like the Medusa and with the mysterious beauty of John the Baptist, as painted by Leonardo.

A strange reversal of what one would expect. The winner remains in the darkness of anonymity, as it were. He wins the battle, but he wins without exchanging the sympathy of the artist and the viewer for it. The fact is registered, but nothing more is done. The gigantic fighter, bracing himself against destruction with all the strength of his erect body, and even more so his master, already embraced by the majesty of death, claim only sympathy. Even the Frenchman who created this painting or for whom it was intended -

In fact, anyone who takes in the scene must side with the vanquished. No one would be prepared to give them the slightest chance. But it is precisely the inevitability of a fate that they take upon themselves, each in their own way, that ensures their participation.

It has been said that Girodet's work is part of a long tradition. There are the Amazon battles on the relief panels of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. We have often stood in front of them in the British Museum. Despite all the admiration for the taut, long-limbed bodies of their opponents, their martial fervour, the bravura of their poses, all sympathy gathers on the side of the fighting women. We know that their valour is futile, and we tremble for their fate. Unforgettable is the tall beauty defending herself with the double axe. Fierce passion has opened her marvellous glow to our gaze: in the face of doom she reveals her most secret, like the Apollonian swan, from which only the hour of death releases the gift of song.

The mosaic with the Battle of Alexander in Naples - how far away the victor has moved on it too. Appearing on the left edge, he presses on to finalise the defeat of his opponent. And yet a destiny seems to be taking its course. With his eyes wide open, Alexander watches what is taking place in front of him, almost exclusively capturing the gaze of the observer. The Great King exhorts them to flee, while his vehicle turns backwards, causing confusion among his own, who are looking at their master and ignoring the danger to their own lives. While the Macedonian and his horsemen rush towards him, the royal carriage turns slowly, almost reluctantly: neither the owner's urging nor the charioteer's scourge can speed up the process on which everything depends. At this moment, two of the faithful sacrifice themselves: one by throwing himself against the victor's lance; the other by placing his own horse at the disposal of the anxious ruler.

This horse, boldly but convincingly foreshortened, once again points to the vehicle. It accentuates the situation, placing the king at the centre, but by being placed at right angles to the picture plane, it connects what is happening on it with the viewer. When the defeated ruler mounts the beast, the way out will be open to us, who are eagerly following his rescue. Like the Amazon who

turns her **back** to the viewer in extreme distress, as if she could find cover and support from him. In the meantime, fate is also advancing in this battle: an enclosure of lances, upright and felled, frames and surrounds the inevitable.

The lances and the horse positioned perpendicular to the picture plane convey the pace of Velasquez's "Surrender of Breda"; the lances once gave the picture its name. Once again this participation in the fate of the defeated, and the Spanish victor proves himself to be such by giving chivalrous expression to his participation. Goya's "Shooting of the Hostages" also belongs in this series. Light falls on the doomed men alone, while the executors are reduced to a mere backdrop, a machine that mechanically executes the orders it receives.

It is curious that the glorification of victory was hardly ever able to assert itself in ancient and European art. This is true of Raphael's stanza depicting Constantine's victory at the Milvian Bridge; the significance of the Heliodorus fresco lies in other than historical realms. Victory scenes of the newer period have their reward there anyway. In terms of representation, what do Napoleon's battle successes weigh in comparison to the tragedy of \Vaterloo!

Now the antithesis! The art of the pharaohs has known only one historical process, which it has repeated in countless versions rather than modifying it. On the pylons of the temples of Medinet Habu and Luxor, on the pylons and the pillared hall of the great temple of Karnak, one sees the ruler high above as a hunter and victorious fighter. He throws wild animals and human opponents with the mace, he strikes down with a shot that never misses, he kicks the dust. The defeated enemy humbles himself before the godlike one, the prisoners writhe under their shackles or throw themselves to the ground. Nowhere is there a trace that betrays the fact that human fate, human tragedy also prevails here: everything is exhausted in the merciless expression of grand royal power.

Rarely does the vastness that separates us from this art become so apparent. Today's illustrated books usually select a section of the overall depiction in order to make it bearable. The gestures and physiognomy of the prisoners, the supplicants, the dragged along, the death throes of the game that has been struck involuntarily, one might say - come to the fore; they bring this strangeness, this so very different

They "close" it by tearing it out of context and falsifying it. No one has ever been able to find favour with the image of the victorious pharaoh.

3

We know of the tragic age of the Greeks; we also know of the contact between tragedy and historiography, Sophocles and Herodotus, Euripides and Thucydides. t's less common that one of the great transitional epochs of world history was considered tragic. This refers to the J centuries, since the end of antiquity

was preparing to step down from the historical stage and give way to a new world. Late antiquity and the early Middle Ages created a series of images that all depict the tragic downfall of their own people. They neither explain nor apologise for it, nor do they seek to interpret it psychologically, but rather present the process in its unbroken greatness in a grand and simple way.

HERO SONG

I

The Song of the Fall of the Burgundians is one of a long series of similar heroic songs. Its subject matter is similar to that of the Old Norse song of the Battle of the Huns (see i. 354 f. above): in both cases it is about the battle with the sinister Asiatic people. Like many other pieces of Old Norse poetry, the Song of the Battle of the Huns has been traced back to a Gothic model.'

And with the Goths we have arrived at the Germanic tribe that, in the general opinion, both created the heroic song and led it to its first climax°.

New observations and, not least, new finds have changed this picture. The Goths as the creators of the heroic song appear to have had rivals in the Northern Irish and, in their wake, the Huns. It is all the more difficult to answer the question of who provided the impetus: the East Germanic tribes or their opponents on the other side of the Don, as both lived in the immediate neighbourhood. The Song of the Battle of the Huns alludes to this neighbourhood, and the Ostrogoths, who were the first of the two tribes to be considered as the creators of the older song, were located as far as the Don. *Pervasis Halanorum regionibus quos Greulhungis* conJine.*s Tanaitas consuetudo notni-*

tiavi/ Ammianus Marcellinus (31. 3, 1) has the Huns advancing westwards.

From the outset, the Alans and Huns can claim the earliest evidence for themselves. Attila's funeral song (above i, shof.) shows the existence of a song form that can claim not only age but also high rank. It already has a fixed style, and we know what characterises it

[°] F. R. Schröder in: Romanisch-germanische Monatsschrift +939. 349-

to make use of it with success. In contrast to the Germanic heroic song, however, the Hunnish song is associated with death and burial and occupies a special place within the cult of the dead. The same applies to the *nenia* that the Chionites sing in honour of their fallen king's son in Ammianus Marcellinus (i Q. I, 9-I I)

(above i, 2A/). This piece of Hunnish poetry is almost

A hundred years further back, and the arrest with death and burial confirms that this is the starting point of the whole development. Of course, the difference from the Germanic heroic song is also confirmed. What the latter proclaims is not based on any cultural or historical occasion. It is addressed to an audience that has come together to listen to the singer's words alone. It might seem that there is a difference between the Gothic song and the Hunnish song. And depending on one's temperament, one may see a coincidental or an essential difference. But one may

A passage in Priskos cannot be overlooked (Exc. de legat. I, 14 5, A f.). After this, two barbarian singers appeared at Attila's court, who made themselves heard with perperrs weworr;pśver, artfully composed songs. One

knows from the songs of Kalewala, and from the Finnish runes in general, that they were performed by two people. The peculiar verse parallelism of these songs coincides with the way they are performed. Two singers sit opposite each other, holding hands. The first performer determines the progress of the narrative with his verse, while his counterpart underlines or embellishes what has been said. Should the duality of the Hunnic singers indicate a similar procedure? But be that as it may: the singers at the Hun court proclaim Attila's victories and martial qualities. The songs evoke deep emotion among the Hun audience. There can be no doubt that before the Hunnic song could be heard at Attila's funeral, a stage had been reached here too in which the heroic song had freed itself from its cultic confines and turned to its own, idealised purposes.

The two inscriptions from Mchet 'a (above I. -47; Ciben p. 8 f.) list into the Alanic world. Both are poems, as has been shown; they use measures known from the later Syrian Mëmrë. Compared to the *riøriio* of the Chionites, we have travelled backwards more than another 200 and almost 300 years. Again, the arrest of death,

[°] if. H aax-io, Viime iset runonl aulajat (I9A 2) 5: '3-

Funeral and mortuary cult unmistakable. If still necessary, the origin of all this poetry is proven: Heldenlied was originally a dirge. But once again it must be noted that the subsequent detachment from this starting point is no less clear.

It is the type of speech **éy'i' tltii** used in both inscriptions, especially in the Aramaic, that provides the clue. The use of this form is special compared to the Germanic song and the Hunnic, at least the West Hunnic. For in the Hunnic East, the equivalent immediately arises. Eigner's praise, which sounds from the mouth of the Hephthalite king of Sümän, also makes use of the solemn I-predication (above 2, Q6 f.). Admittedly, this king speaks his words before he meets his doom. But he suspects nothing of what is to come, and this connection only exists for those who follow the course of events. In other words, there is still a reference to death, and it is precisely for the listener who heard these words that this relationship might arise. He may have sensed that something inevitable was imminent. But the I-predication did not follow death, but preceded it. Now it too was freed from its attachment to the cult of the grave and followed a purely poetic gesture in its arrangement.

From the same period as the downfall of the king of bfimän may those songs of which Narsahi knew: E*n-i Si yävu:s, sung by the magi of Bukhara on New Year's Day. They celebrated the death of the hero year after year, were recited by priests of a religion and heard by their congregation (above 2, 97). The death of the Hephthalite king of Sfimän has become detached from this, just as it has become detached from the physical arrest with a gravestone and its inscription. Only one thing remains: the tragedy that usually accompanies the demise of a hero₆. But this death is no longer an isolated case: it symbolises the downfall of the nation itself, its greatness and its freedom. And so it is not only Sfimän's king, but as his The counter-image, the ruler of Samarkand, is also involved in the action.

Again, there can be no doubt that the stage in which alone the ideal legality of poetry is expressed has been reached. Even more: what speaks from the above-mentioned play: the pain of the downfall of the people, its inevitability, but also tragic events and

io. HEROLID 221

The tragic mood of the song establishes a link to the song of the Burgundian downfall. Everything that characterises the Germanic heroic song is already present somewhere in its Hunnic and Alanic predecessors. Militant deeds as well as the great fate above them; their own power and strength, which breaks and at the same time asserts itself in the face of what 'the Norne spoke'; heroism heightened to tragic proportions as the 'measure of all things'. It is strange and at the same time characteristic that this form has also grown out of the confrontation with the Hunnish opponent, and if the version presented is correct, by means of a poetic form which the same Huns had previously characterised.

The two inscriptions from Mcbet'a were the oldest evidence listed in the previous section: the Greek-Aramaic Bilinguis and the inscription read for the first time (p. 8 f. above), referred to in the following as the second inscription. The kings and the members of their immediate neighbourhood who appear on these inscriptions bear Iranian, mostly Alanian names. It is obvious that these Alans renounced the use of their mother tongue, which had not yet become literary, and used Aramaic. This circumstance, remarkable and momentous as it is, allows us to approach the previously discussed question from a new angle. It makes it possible this time not to start from the Germanic heroic song as the latest result, but conversely from the Aramaic beginnings and in this way to re-examine the previous result. Such a re-examination is all the more desirable as the previous result has brought about a reversal of older opinions.

In fact, the two inscriptions from Mchet 'a are part of a far-reaching chain of overlie(rs. Both make use of the oration ypus **Iy'i'** flpi, and both show verses that are inserted in a case of prose. While the bilinguis is a funerary inscription, the second inscription gives an account of a deed. Two Altaram "ean inscriptions, one from the first half of the 8th century BC, the other from the y., provide the oldest examples for both cases.

fi. R. Schröder, op. cit. O. 3s-

Firstly, there is the inscription of King Zàr of lJamat '. Usurper on the throne, he conquered the neighbouring kingdom of La'aś and made himself king there too. Jfzrà, the capital of this kingdom, is besieged by Bar Hadad, King of Damascus, and other states allied with him. Qtr has successfully defended it. The text begins in

the 3rd person: "This is the stele which set . . " Zśr then introduces himself and continues in the 1st person. He calls himself a humbleii man and refers to the conquest of $Hzr\grave{e}$ with divine help.

To put his own defence in perspective, he describes the tremendous efforts made by his opponents. And this time, too, Qtr has appealed to the sky god, who has granted him assurances. The speech rises to a solemn tone, recognisable by the fact that the Canaanite R "ati *consecutive* \emptyset i is only used at this point. How the besiegers were then repelled, the city embellished and expanded, and the stele erected to thank the god is also described in

First person narrative. The rest of the stele, from B i6 onwards, returns to the 3rd person to find curses of the one who offends against the monument. (the text is incompletely preserved).

The younger piece is a funerary inscription, commonly referred to as Nërab I I. *. It is inscribed by a priest of the moon god. It too

first speaks in the 3_{rd} person: "(Stele) Agbar's, priest of the moon god in Nërab. This is his image". Then the first person style sets in here too:

"According to my righteousness ..." and so on until the end of the ten-line inscription. The I-sti1 is executed with the utmost consistency. In order to explain its application, it is emphasised that the dead man can see and speak. This is followed by the question: "With my eyes, what do I see?" The dead man sees all those who mourn at his grave. Finally, he addresses those who are tempted to desecrate his tì rab. The gods would send them a bad death and spoil their descendants.

Until now, the inscription has been read as prose, especially since a section of verses cannot be recognised. W'enn liier \'erse verinutet u erdt n'', s'' a difficulty lies in the fact that it is usually difficult to Ψ 'okalise

^{&#}x27; Al. Lidzbarski in : Tiphem. für semit. tipigraphik 3 (I 90Q ł.), i f. ; .A . l)upont -Sum- mer, Les Aramćens (i gon) 's -

[°] M. Lidzbarski, Hand buch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik { i fi9b) ją5.

J. Friedrich also considered this possibility in his $\oldsymbol{\sc 'orlesungen}$.

can be summarised. Where the matres lection are missing, we have to rely on inferences from later language stages. Nevertheless, it seems possible to determine, if not the exact pronunciation, at least the number of syllables of the words with reasonable certainty.

You can expect seven syllables from the outset, and these are also easily realised at the end of the curse formula:

man at l) li'šap in-lilinasni y

mmãttëh us-a hritčii ti'bad y
"Whoever you harm and rob me,
Šhar, Nêkal and Nuśku are said to design badly
his death, and his seed shall perish".

The cursing formula, taken from Akkadian, is written here in verses have been realised '

A comparison of the two inscriptions from Mchet 'a shows that the bilinguis belongs to Nërab I I as a funerary inscription, while the second inscription belongs to the stele of ztr as a record of deeds. The speech in the first person is preserved in both inscriptions and in the case of the bilinguis also the verses. These now also appear in the second inscription. The use of such verses at the same time in the report of the deeds is a transfer from the funerary inscription, where they are originally native. This is an innovation, and the fact that it happened in Grusinia is shown by the other reports of deeds that have been preserved from the subsequent period, written in the first person style°.

There are most of the ancient Persian royal inscriptions, especially Darius I. Inscription of Bisutün: reports of deeds, in which the ruler in I. Person speaks. They are followed by the inscriptions of the early Sasanids, in which the great king again speaks in the first person. They are followed by the inscription (Adulitana I I) of the unnamed king of Aksüm, preserved by Kosmas Indikopleustes (x°4 C f.); then the series of Greek, Sabaean and Ethiopian accounts of the deeds of 'Ezănã - and in his style, but written much later, that of Ha ãni Dãn 'ël',

• \Cursing and prayer essentially belong together. In this context it should be remembered that C. C. Torrey has shown that the Father's uncr in I-ukas' version, translated back into Aramaic, results in seven-syllable verses: Journal of

⁻⁴ssyriologie 28 (931. 312 f.; cf. Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc. a6 i 9zÕ), z i .

[°] W. Dittenberger, Orient. Gr. Inscr. sel. i , z85 f.

[•] E. Littmann in : Ileutsche Aksum Expedition (i 9l 3).'

[°] E. Lİttmann. a. i3 -

from Aksfim. The final inscription is that of King Silko of Nubia. They are all written in prose, certainly solemn and artfully stylised, but the verse is avoided. It only remained where it had entered with the second inscription of Mchet'a: with the neighbours of the Alans, that is to say: the Huns. The two singers, who were locked in Attila's court

-rrcwoippévo a b o ut the deeds and victories of the ruler d i d so in verse. They took a second and third step: they detached themselves from the inscription and spoke of the one whose praise they sang in the third person.

This means that they have once again come close to the heroic song. Of course, the two singers unknown to us must not have introduced the innovations. They may have been indirect or direct predecessors; this is beyond investigation. What is decisive is that the break with the model offered by Aramaic poetry was carried out by the nomads of Eastern Europe, the Alans and Huns. And that this was the case is shown by some information that has survived about another nomadic people that first emerged in the same area. We owe the hint to our friend M. de Ferdinandy: it is the ancient Hungarians.

C. A. Macartney' remarks about the oldest historical memoirs of which one hears: "A salient trait of this type of 'literature' was its personal character. It dealt almost exclusively with the origins and the exploits of individual champions. To this fact - which we could in any case have deduced from the character of the material which has come down to us - we have the explicit witness of more than one chronicler. Anonymus, in what is almost certainly a quotation from some old epic, writes of certain of his heroes **that**, after a victory, 'they rejoiced greatly, and held a banquet, and each one extoßed himself for this victory'. Another writer explains the belief that Hungary was conquered by seven captains alone by saying that the seven chief leaders had songs made up in their own praise, in order to monopolise the credit'.

The first of the passages cited is found in the Anonymus in zz. chapter ¹ and reads: Tunc **Tuhulum et /ilius** suus Horca de Ziloc **egressi** venerunt in partes Mezesinas ad Zobolsum et **Thosum zl**, cum se itrriccm

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W. Dittenberger, a. 0. i No. 30i.

° The Greek version of the Bilinguis is on a separate page, cf. above, z 8.

'o The Sledieval Hungarian HiStorians ('953)

*' SS. rer. Hung. i, ö.
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vidissenl, gaudio gavisi sunt magno ct Jaclo so'ivivio unusquisque laudabat se i psum de sua Victoria. Here, the first-person speech is clear once again, as is the account of the deeds presented in this form. One may add to this what Agathias reports of a people of the same geographical affiliation, the Caucasian Lazen(3, p. 15, 15 f. Niebuhr): péyicrrov yóp č8vo5

Xoì r y ' p''' o'' O! /\a{Oî i¢OI pcyfŒTMV ó d\MV XpŒTOúol, Tcc E Tl "cč/taicu rčóv Kó?ty¢cv òvópœri |3pev0uópzvoi aśpa -roú Ozs rp(ov Jzycć/t oúoi, xoì zóyo où h1'xv ó óyco .

In both cases it is not said that the self-praise was written in verse. This is where the second passage to which Macartney's words refer comes in. It is found in the Chronicon Budense c. 361° and initially tells of a completely different event: the heavy defeat suffered by the Hungarian army. Seven survivors now report not on heroic deeds, but on the disgraceful treatment the y suffered, and on this occasion the seven tribal chiefs are commemorated at the land conquest. Accidil aulem lemporibus Toxun if titigøroriim rsrrcifiitn versus Galliam pro acci§iøndis s poliis ascendisse ... Quam dtie Saxonie apud Vsnacum, Turingiac civilatem, sine VII Hungaris entries itifer/eciJ. Septem aulem ex i psis reservatis amputalis auribus misit in Pannoniam. Ite, inquil, ad uestros Hungaros laliler enarranles, ut amplius non "eniaitl in hunc locum tormentorum ... Hungaris autemVII situauribus, pro eo ut viui radirrø'i/ ø/ se occidi cum sociis

non elegerunt, communilas lalem senlentiam dedisse perhibetur: omnia quae habcbant, n "iis#røii/, iøu iø rr slabili quam mobili, at uxoribus ct pueris iłłos srparatifrs. pcdites s*tu caJcris, \$ro\$riøm nif habere permiserunl. Semper ø/iani itisiwiøf de lhabernaculo i'i lłiabernaculum mendicando usque dum vivrrriif ire compulerunt. Qui quidem seplem ob of Jensam huiusmodi fiel Mogor cl God (instead the Chron. Pictum Vindob.: Lazari) sent vocali. Ex istis t/aque sic dampnatis oulgus dicit: non de septem ca§ifatieis islis primis. Praelerea cum sit quodammodo proprium mundanorum arrogantie plausum plus dc se assumere, quam ex afieiiis du se i psis coøiQoii#iifas, ideo isli ca§ifatte(

VII de se i§sis can/iJeaas co ti§oiirtifes, fecerunt i'i/rr se decanlari ob plausum secularem ct diuulgationem sui nominis, ut quasi comm posteritas his auditis itt viciaos ct amicos iactare arrogantia se oalercnl.

This confirms that the old form of self-praise still existed. But there was another form alongside it. The phrase:

^{&#}x27;° SS. rer. Hung. i , z93-ą.

I ó Altheim, Huns IY

qiiam *cx alionis dc se i psis comfonentos* seigt, that there were also such reports of deeds which, written by others, celebrated their heroes in the3 person. Of course, they were not enough for the celebrated, and so *do se i psis*

caiififriins com; boiiunics /sceriitif iiiter so decanlari, to the memory of the descendants. The last phrase shows that it was a Qwpcrro errorr; ptvo like those presented at the Attila court. Incidentally, the passage quoted is supplemented by the variant of the Chronicum Posoniense'o, which again speaks of caafi/rnas and decantari, thus confirming the song character, the existence of poetry.

From the descendants of the seven singers, Äef Mogor et Gok or Lazari,
Stephen the Saint founds the Order of Minstrels of the "Poor of St Lazarus":
Praeterea isti capitanei iam dampiiali* VII cantilznas dc se i psis compo writes
fecerunt inter so d#cenfori oh plausum secularem et divulgalionem sui nominis, qui
Zcntlazar usque modo Zegun nuncupanlur. EG je sie vocaft, quod Sanclus
Stef hanus omnes illicite procedentes corrigebat, istorum genera- tiones oidil f'er
domos el tabernas cantando ad i psorum seclas el truffas voluit edoccri; qui per
singula, qualiter Forum patribus per cotrrm "iiifafc'ti acciderat, enorra erunt. Sed
Beatus Slephanus considerans, good sine capitc ct f'rinci pc ncmo bonus exlilit,
idoo cis commisit, 'ut ad subiectionem aversorum !Sancti Lazari de Slrigonis
subdere se teneanlur, ct ideo oocari Zentlazar-vegini constal.

One last thing must be said. Whoever speaks in the first person of his He was a ruler or at least a noble man. He could express himself in a heightened prosaic **form** like *Zur* of iJamat and La'aé, like Darius I and the Achaimenids in general or like, following them, the early Sasanids. Or he could speak in verse, as Vargas did on the second inscription of Mchet'a, or finally make use of the can/ifaiia like the seven chieftains of the early Hungarians. The praise, on the other hand, which sounded in the mouths of others and was

about the praised person in the third person meant a relegation, at least in social terms. Whoever praised a

He was not able to proclaim the same or even comparable things about himself, and if he was not already in this position, he placed himself in the position of the dependent and client through his willingness. This is shown by the two nameless singers at the Attila court, and the

^{&#}x27;° SS. rer. Hung. i. -9' n. z.

^{&#}x27;°- The passage throws the VII demQaofi together with the KZZ c'i@fenci priaii.

"Poor of St Lazarus" confirms this. Of course, what on the one hand was social relegation meant on the other the emergence of professional singing. And just as the Germanic heroic song is inconceivable without the scop, the same or similar would have been the case at Hunnic or even Alanian courts.

The ancient Arabic Ka ide, to add to this, also recognises "praise". In its final section, its poet appears as the herald of such praise. He can praise himself, his tribe, his ancestors, his predecessor and z'as always. The poet thus expresses a personal concern born of unique circumstances. But here, too, it is unmistakable that his social position must be taken into account. He who spoke of himself claimed a different rank from the one who proclaimed the praise of his master and breadwinner. What an 'Antara dared to do showed the own claim that was possible. But it will increasingly have formed a special case. Professional singing, and with it social integration and subordination, had to take its place to the extent that the Ka ide changed into a fixed genos. -

The above is confirmed when one considers the succession that the second of the ancient Aramaic inscriptions, namely Nërab II, had. There is the stele of Carpentras (CIS. II I, 14*). swim not in the

Speaking in the first person, but also written in seven-syllable verse and

to a deceased person, in it like the Bilinguis of Mchet'a, turning ¹'. This is followed by the bilinguis, again interspersed with seven syllables. But just as the second inscription of Mchet'a has the inlaid verses from the funerary stele, so this one: parts of the account of the deed. It was previously pointed out (above p. I2; zof.) that the bilinguis speaks of Yõdmangãn's 'rest, as the second inscription rnit Šargas 'rtrsf.

The mutual harmonisation, once begun, continues. Attila's funeral song is written in verse, which is part of this form. But in its most important part it speaks of the dead in the form of a report of deeds. The reciprocal connection can be shown directly, insofar as there is contact between the song and the victory inscriptions of the earliest Sasanids. Although the mention of a Hunnic

^{&#}x27;^ R. Stie hl in F. Altheim, Ans Spätantike und Christentum (i95 i) i 32 f.

 $^{^{\}prime\wedge}$ F. Rosenthal, Die aramaistische Forsch ung (i 939) z6 ; on this G. Levi Della Vida above z, z95.

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zayati, more precisely one of the Akatzirs, as incorrect. But there is no doubt that phrases and ideas are taken from Säpür's first account in Naks-i Rustam and the inscription of Päiküli".

What is more, Attila's funeral song speaks of the one who has passed away in the same3. person as the heroic song. Claudian's occisos *pulchrum* iiiraro shows the esteem in which those who had fallen in battle were held

§areiiIes (In Ruf. i. 328). The song has detached itself from this judgement (i. -46 above), but has retained the relationship to the funeral. The story of the last king of Sfimän represents a final valid step: this time the relation to the grave and lamentation is missing, and from the event

is reported in the 3. person. Only the king is given first-person speech and self-praise in the context of the narrative. But both have become something new: the expression of a tragic misjudgement

of what lies ahead for the speaker. In terms of subject matter and content, it parallels the heroic song and, if one recognises the comparison with the magi and their Atia-i *SiyövoJ*, it was almost the subject of a song poem. This would have brought us back into the realm of the heroic song. And what had emerged in the first section would have been confirmed.

It is unnecessary to follow the development of the funerary inscription beyond what has been said. Nevertheless, it may be pointed out that the two Old Turkic orkhon inscriptions belong to tombs. The deceased speaks in the first person in the old manner, but the poetry has disappeared and has been replaced by a more pronounced account of the deed. Also in the fact that the prosaic form reappears and thus, as it were, the oldest has returned. The common history of the originally separate forms, the report of deeds and the epitaph, has been taken a step further.

One last thing should be noted. Previously, a distinction had been made between late Arsacid and early Sasanian forms on the one hand, and late Sasanian on the other. This had been thought of in terms of money and the army, and now it seems to have become essential for poetry as well.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ W. B. Henning, "A Farewell to the Khagan of Aq-Aqatäran", in: BSOS. ig, 50i. See also the appendix: "A Farewell to Niqätör Awanä" p. 22s f.

[&]quot; On this cf. the detailed proof above i, z 3-245.

^{1°} Thomsen-Schaeder in : ZDMG y8 (i geb), i 38; i So.

to prove their worth. The beginnings of the heroic song date back to the Arsacid period. However, the late Sasanian period also had cause to express the powerful reproach contained in the downfall of their own greatness and freedom. It did not choose the heroic song for this purpose: in the chivalric romance it could find the form appropriate to the subject matter.

Appendix: A F ar e we11 to N iq ät ör Äwän ä

The title takes up that "A Farewell to the Khagan of Aq-Aqatärän" which W. B. Henning placed above his contribution to the Minorsky Festschrift ¹. This essay has the merit° of having removed E. Herzfeld's reading of Päiküli i8:]n 'L lt's'n ZY ('éé)if'ra]. L.p/i and the interpretation of the Q,ayan of 'Axdr§ipoi. Henning proposes instead to read by combining the Middle Persian with the Parthian version:

Centre pers. x8:

]ii 'L *j'd'n ZY. dktl'*.

Parth. z6':)r HWHnt Amy'bdyn[

"they all (= Amy-'bd yn) came to Häyän of .DKTL'." This refers to Hargupet Säpuhr "and the other Persians and Parthians" who came to meet Narseh at the place mentioned. Henning provides a detailed linguistic explanation. It will be examined below.

Firstly, Henning deals with the interpretation of the $A'd'n^*$ he has read. He draws on two unpublished Manichaean fragments in Middle Persian, in which A'y'tt'ti and £'y["i occur. He assigns them the meaning "couch", "resting place", "mansion" and brings them together with fi'd'n. This is followed by a derivation from

*hädan- or *Iiädäna- with reference to Old Ind. sädana-, Old Pers. and Western hadiI-, I605, scdes. The basic meaning is "seat".

Objections immediately arise. Equating $h\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}n$ and i'd'n is certainly not objectionable, but the proposed derivation is. Both *hädan- and *hädäiia- are not satisfactory. In the first case, the long vowel in the second syllable of $h\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}n$ remains unexplained; in the second, it is confirmed

^{&#}x27;BSOAS. i g, Aoi.

[•] The fact that the part of the essay dealing with acacia and chazars is not applies, is .'An Asian state i, 288 f. and below p. 22-} I. have been shown.

[°] a. 0. 5 iöf.

Comparison with Old Ind. sädana-, that one does not arrive at {i'd'n, liäyän with a long vowel second syllable in this way. Henning himself had reservations. At a later point - he remarks: "the ending -än, in place of the expected -aa, made that explanation not too attractive; it was merely in the nature of a working hypothesis".

Instead, a second interpretation is proposed. But before we go into this, we may refer to the name of the city of Mecca, which, according to its meaning, forms a parallel to the h'y'a"i and h'y' 'n mentioned by Henning.

In Syriac trink (mlj) means trans. "stravit, prostravit, extendit", intrans. "subsedit", "ia#dä "humilis" and ciaé#äfä "humilitas". *Mabkä* is used in a local sense by the Syrian geoponicists (ed. Lagarde [i860]

zQ, i2) (C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac.° 3 4 r.). This is contradicted by the use of Jewish aram. "iaéÄfJ: it occurs as an attribute **of lurä** "mountain", thus /**iirayyä** riin##f ayyä (J. Levy, a. 0. 3, ZI/1.). Puts

maéé'i or maééäi(ä) "lowland", this would result in the required

meaning of the name Mecca. The "grainless valley" (Sur. in. 4), like its neighbouring city of Medina, would have had an Aramaic name. This would have signified the descent, the *batnu mabka*, in which

Ka'ba and well Zamzam lie, and if Sura 3, 9 bring *bakba*, Niketas Choniates (Migne, Patrol. graeca Ito, **i32) B6xyt** for it, the translation is into Arabic. For *babba* again denotes the

Valley of Mecca and belongs to öoééo, which is trans. "presser", intrans. "com- pressus fuit".

That Makoraba in Ptolemy, geogr. 6.7 . 3* (var. 1. Mox6|3opo) has nothing to do with the name maÄAa is recognised (Buhl-Schaeder,

The Life of Muhammad [I g3OJ 102 f.). Glaser's interpretation as "sanctuary" is based on Ethiopian "ié r'iö "locus propinquus, propinquitas, locus ubi conveniunt" (C. F. ¥. Dillmann, Lexic. ling. Aethiop. (iQ55] 4Z2). According to F. Praetorius in : ZDMG. 6i (zQo2), 621f. the word also means "sanctuary, temple". Sab. "drö = "ii#r'ifi, maérah is ruled out because of the different guttural and the vocalisation. Grohmann in : RE. Ib, 8oy f. cites Plin, n. h. 6, ISO portus Mochorbao (var. 1. Mocorbo, Machorbae). Here, too, the guttural causes difficulties, and it is not certain whether it is Mecca. Ammian. 23, by (in Grohmann with wrong

[^] a. 0. Izo note 3.

io. HEROLID 231

The place name) haraöa must contain the name of Mecca, but is corrupt. Arab. occurs 'iraö, ma raö, ma rnöa and #raö are ruled out for reasons of vocalisation or meaning.

2

This brings us to the second interpretation proposed by Henning. His starting point this time is the Syriac place name $Nie\ \ddot{a}t\ddot{o}r$ - Atrdiid, for which he refers to G. Hoffmann. Hoffmann ': "a place of unknown situation within the confines of the Nestorian metropolity of Bét Garmai, to which Paikuli and its neighbourhood belonged". While .dkll'. is supplemented to $N\ y)dktl\ (=\ Ni\ t\ddot{a}t.\ddot{o}r',\ j'd'n$ is now to be equated with the $\ddot{a}w'iii\ddot{a}$ of $Nip\ddot{a}t\ddot{a}r$ - $Am\ddot{a}n\ddot{a}$. The reasoning is: Old Persian $\ddot{a}\ "ahana$ -"settlement, village" has become -dr'in, which in a*aoa of the Kharosthi documents°, armen. "sen, talmud. 'trwti', mand. 'w'ti' and the corresponding Syriac word. In Middle Persian -dr*n has developed into -dyäii, $li\ddot{a}y\ddot{a}n$.

Once again, concerns arise. The Syriac word is not ämänä, as Henning claims, but aiitrdod (azwditd), with a short vowel in the first syllable followed by a double consonance. Talmud agrees with this. 'u'trii'. Both the short vowel and the doubling of w rule out a connection with Ar "tiia- and *dvd'i°. This also invalidates Henning's assertion that aiiwätid is an Iranian loanword in Aramaic. The Syriac (to confine ourselves to this) shows that there is a well-attested indigenous word family: ew'i (cf. Arabic atrd), aoyö, auyiif'i, nowfia'i'i1 and others. - It confirms that there can be no question of an Iranian loanword. The fact has been undisputed since Th. Nöldeke's exposition -.

- 'Extracts from Syrian files pers. Martyrs q8 No.4' 7: 77-
- * T. Burrow in : BSOS. 779-7,
- ° Henning's view is echoed by G. Widengren, Iranian-semi-

tic c u l t u r a l encounter in Parthian times. There is \ddot{a} wdn'i, where it is called oiuii'd'ia, in Syriac and elsewhere, and no art can equate the same with a Middle Iranian 'step. The matter has long since been clarified by us: Acme 8 t 955), 23 f.; S \ddot{a} dostforschungen i 5 (95>) m f. Anhang i . The correct statement is given by F. Rund- gren in: Orientalia Suecana 6 ('93 i) . s* Note i. It should be noted on this occasion that Widengren also has problems with the spelling of the Syriac: n9admä

- p. 30 f. and so instead of d9ndtid; epersdii p. 29 and 57 Stätt dpozsdiid; *m-gü4ä yi* p. s and i 58 instead of *m-güläye, "aurbäne* p.3° ufld i 'i8 müote gemäo der sonst bei Widengren be followed spelling faiir-ddni read.
 - C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac.° 7
 - ^ Neue Beitr. z. semit. Sprachwis +9: Hand. Gramm. i36 and Anm. i.

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The connection Nigälõr oiiti'ä'id requires further comment. If, following Henning, one wanted to equate it with $A'd'n\ ZS\ .dbtl'$. one would arrive at "Poststation des Nikator". Now $i\ t$ is not $N\ y\ jdbtl$, but $N\ yJ-\ dktl'$., which complements $N\ y\ jdbll'[y\ or\ N\ yJdktl'[n]$. Henning° considers this second reading: "the Nicatorian mansion". This confirms that he actually understands $NI\ p\~al\~or\ autr\~an\~a$ as "Nicator's post station".

This necessitates a grammatical correction. Of course, no constructus connection is possible, but only a subsequent appositive. The aiiwätiã itself was called $Ni~p\tilde{a}~\ddot{o}r$. G. Holfmann8 and J Sturm" have already correctly spoken of the "post station Nikator".

This eliminates the equation of *Ni pà ör autrânâ* rnit *Hã yãn ig Nièa-lorãn* - whatever that may mean.

Of course, the full name of *Ni pä õr* was originally *Bčt Ni päför*. The omission of the preceding *bet* is attested in Greek names. Seleukeia appears as *Bct Selăğ* or *Bcl Selõ*, next to it as simple *Selõ*, *Selõp*, if one disregards the likewise attested form *Seleuiyã*. *Selõğ*, *Selõh*: can only mean Seleukos, not Seleukeia, although *Seleukos* is otherwise attested. This is shown by the case and the Akkadian form Siltiia.

Incidentally, Henning could have taken the correct information from two further references by G. Hoffmann. Next to *Ni pãlõr autränä* is ÿ;b/ aiiwãad, again a station '°. And for the text of his "Martyrs of Karkã" Hoffmann suggests ": *day-n*pâlõr* autrãnã, with reference to Assemani's Acta mart. orient. I.99 Thus: "above the village (?) Kanăr, which is near *Ni pätör* (lies), the post station".

According to the Aramaic, Henning's interpretation requires the Correction. It also needs correction in Greek.

Whoever Nikator was, he was by no means a postmaster. h ur historically significant personality comes into consideration. The name recurs not only in *Nipä ör auu'ānā* and *Hāyân ig NiŁatorān, but* also in *Bel Ni ā ôr* and in *Ka rabbul* -- * Nixœropówokq'°. While the

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a. O. 5zo note i.
Th. Nöldeke, Kurgef. syr. gram.° i 6 i f. § z i z.
a. 0. ą 8.
RE. s. v. Niøœrópiov 6poç p. zS3.
G. Hoffmann, a. 0. 277.
G. Hoffmann, a. 0. ą 8.
G. H off mann, l. O. ą I No. 3q3; \V. B. Henning, op. O. 52 i note j.
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The first is in *Bcl Garmai* - today's Binkudrah, at the confluence of the Diyäla and łJolwãn rivers'o - the second belongs to *Bel Armăye*, north-west of Baghdad and on the west bank of the Tigris '-. The cult name Nixó-r';øp, which Seleucus I bore after his death, could be used as a starting point, but Alexander the Great could also come to mind. Strabon p. 232 s t a t e s : prró 6t 'Ap|5qho x'xl zò Nixœr6piov ó p o ç (ó wpo mvóp'xoc 'A7tt(ovfipo5 vixE'r v wtpl 'ApQqho póytjv). Henning has overlooked this testimony : it is all the more important as it leads away from Bêt Garmai and Bët Armăyë. In Nixcrr6piov ópy, J. Sturm '* recognised the Öebel Maklüb and also wanted to place *Ni pãtôr* 'øi'diid there. This is all the more appealing as Ishãk, bishop of Karkã d-Bët Selők, was executed in this place". As the crow flies, however, Henning's *Bcl Ni pã ôr* is almost twice as far from Kirkuk as it i s from Arbela.

This eliminates all of Henning's other combinations, not just the translation of A'iğd ör *aumãnã* rnit *Hävãn* it Ni/ta/orda. At least for the former, the neighbourhood of Arbela and the Nixœrópiov opo\$ are now possible in addition to Bët Garmai. A solution to this state of the question can be found by referring to Diodorus 19, 9-, which in turn goes back to Hieronymus of Kardia.

After the reconquest of Babylon 3iz, Seleucus had to defend his newfound possessions against Nicanor, satrap of Media. He marched from Babylon across the Tigris to meet his opponent (6i'x|3óS ... vóv Tíypiv ooz'xpóv z). Since Nicanor came down the valley of the IJulvãn when he advanced from the Median mountains against Babylon, we arrive at the previously mentioned region of Binkudrah. Seleucus lay in wait for the enemy in

the Tigris swamps. When this $_{W}P$ s - fi=" - \ddot{Y} (3) camped, he was attacked by the Seleucus, beaten and rnit with his own that Hand killed (Appian., Syr. I i, 55: 5 rnwith the usual confusion of Nixòvcøp and Nix'f-rap). Here one has in the crro8pó5 the aøträtid and in the victor the cause of the additional naming. It was the site of a

success that brought Seleucus the Susians and the media (5)

^{&#}x27;° W. B . Henning, a. 0 52 I Arim. 6. ** W. B . Henning, op. cit. O. 5z i Arim. .

^{&#}x27;^ Fiinf Städtetegründungen Seleu kos' I.: G. Hoffmann, a. 0. a5; cf. zö9.

^{&#}x27;° a. 0. -*3

^{&#}x27;0 W. B. Henning, l. c. O. 5z i .

ii. CHAPTER

RITTERROMAN

Mas'üdi' speaks of a Persian book that deals with the stories (ajbär! of Bahräm Üöbin. According to this, a book written in Pahlawi° was meant; Mas'üdi' says nothing about a translation, although he could only have gained his knowledge from such a translation. The Fihrist gives more details. He also knows of a book by Bahräm Üöbin°; again, it belonged to the Persian', i.e. written in Pahlawi. He names the Arabic translator as Üabala b. Sälim, the scribe of Hisäm, who also translated from Persian into Arabic. The famous philologist and antiquary, Hiéäm b. Muhammad, called Ibn al-Kalbi (d. zo6 H.), was recognised in Hiläm°.

Only Mas'üdi provides more precise information about the contents. It tells of the lists of Bahräm (mabäyid) during his stay in the land of the Turks. One event is mentioned: the liberation of the Turkish king's daughter from a creature in the shape of a goat. The princess had been stolen by the beast while she was lounging among the slaves in her garden. In conclusion, Mas'üdi adds that the book covered Bahräm's life from the beginning to his death and also told of his lineage.

So this was quite a book of adventures, which did not pass by many a fable. But the question remains as to whether it was always and everywhere. There may have been different versions. Nöldeke, whose treatise on the novel Bahräm Üöbin's' still forms the basis of the book.

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'Muzuβ Z 223, 8 f. Barb.

Th. Nöldeke, transl. 47
° 305, io. On the reading of Th. Nöldeke's transl. qy note i.
' 306--
* 244, 31f.
° T. Nöldeke, transl. $25. '
Transl. 474
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assumed that a unified work existed in various excerpts: in Dinawari and its "dizzying" expansion in the *NiUyaf af-irah* /3 *a jbär al-Furs ma-1-'Arab* ,-in the Persian Tabari; Firdüsi; then in Tabari himself and in Ya'kübi.

Nöldeke tried to bridge the differences between these authors by speaking of more or less extensive extracts". The Nihäyat would have had a more complete text than Dinawari; some manuscripts of the Persian Tabari would have given Bahräm's stories more clearly than others, and Mas'üdi would have limited himself to individual passages. Thus Nöldeke could believe that the narrative was the same everywhere. And yet he had to admit that there were individual deviations, "as was to be expected from the outset in an oriental work of this kind'o". The assumption of more or less complete extracts is in contradiction to the observation that "deviations in individual passages" are recognisable, insofar as these are differences in content. The first case assumes that the original remains the same, whereas the second assumes that it has changed. This was the aim of the assumption that

was expressed above.

An example of the differences: How did the conflict between Bahräm and King Hormizd arise? According to Nöldeke", suspicion was aroused in the king's novel by the suspicion that B. had embezzled most of the spoils from the Turkish war. Nöldeke's deliberately restrained formulation avoids deciding whether this suspicion was justified or not. And yet this is decisive for Bahräm's judgement, and the same applies to the conflict between him and Hormizd. There is no doubt that Dinawari does not attribute embezzlement to Bahräm. On the contrary: the author of the suspicion had to apologise to him (86, I4 f.) and could count on kind acceptance (8y, 12 f.). Likewise the Nihäyat 'o, but differently Ya' übi. Here it is said that the son of Chäkän, who must have known about it, informed Hormizd about Bahräm 's embezzlement and that the king's confidants *(umanä'!* confirm this report (i, I8Q, I5)

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" E . G. Broxv ne in : J R.\S. I 900, 233 f.
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[•] tibers. 4y6.

^{&#}x27;- a. 0.

[&]quot; Transl. 27* .note 3.

^{1°} E. G. Brow-ne, a. 0. 2 3/ f.

Hormizd's apology was accepted neither by B. nor by his army (I, igO, 2 f.), which means that they were not willing to hand over their share of the spoils. Bahräm's image thus shifts. He was no longer a flawless hero, but an adventurer, a daredevil who planned the outrage from the outset.

The duel between Bahräm and Chäqän's brother is also described in different ways. In Dinawari, as we shall see, it is a highly ceremonial affair. The challenge takes place in speech and counter-speech; the Chäqän himself intervenes as a mediator, and when it does come to a fight, the terms are complicated

is fixed. Nothing of the kind in Ya'kübi (Z. *93. 5). Aßes takes place quickly, and the Chäqän, instead of intervening, presses the arrow into the hand of each fighter (-. *93. 8f.).

The discrepancies, which cannot be explained by greater or lesser completeness, also include the information about Bahräm's ancestry. Mas'fidi, who speaks explicitly of genealogical information in the book of Bahräm, refers to him as Marzbän of Raiy, son of Üöbin, son of Miläd, from the Anfis family, known as ar-Räni'-. Tabari" is different. Here, the indication is: son of Bahräm Gusnasp, called Üöbin '-; also Theophylaktos Simokattes '^, Eutychios", Dina- wari'o and the Nihäyat'-. Ya'kübi only knew of Bahräm that he did not belong to the nobility and came from Raiyoo. Istahrio has him come from Pärs.

Subsequent remodelling therefore does not seem to have been absent. Although, according to Nöldeke, the book knew nothing about the end of Sasanian rule°°, the Nihäyat gives the prophecy of a monk who foreshadows the Arab conquest°°. However, it remains to be seen to what extent Nöldeke was mistaken. More incisive are the

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18 Murü g 2, 2 i 3. -
1* ann. 99°. 5 f. de Goeje.
1^ For the interpretation: Th. NÖldeke, Übers. 220 An 3
1° 5, i 3; see P. Peeters in: Anal. Holland. s• o7 Annot. z. -. ° . 9 POCOck. where sem y" in 4wbyn to verb'essern.
1° a.O. -3s
** t, I88, y f.; zo.
1° i 3, 9; for further details see Th. Nöldeke, Übers. 22o note 3
^1. c. 177
^ op. cit. *39
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inner differences. The liberation of the Turkish princess, this time kidnapped by a monkey, also has the Nihäyat°'. This creates a link to Mas'üdi's adventure novel. Bahräm's conversation with the fairy°^ leads into the same area. But while in Dinawari, the Nihäyat and others the Bahräm story can be easily separated from the surrounding whole, Tabari and Ya'kfibi found it already incorporated in their sources°". For them, it was historical and traditional material in a coherent presentation, not a separate story.

"Novel.

According to this, it appears that the novel has known very different versions, which means that it has been edited and revised several times. Obviously, it had finally become an adventure novel, after which it had previously served as a historical source. However, the fact that the novel continued to exist independently of the overall accounts and that the author of the Nihäyat felt compelled to expand Dinawari's version by inserting taboo-free features proves that the novel was originally something else.

But what would he have been? Dinawari's version seems to provide an answer. It differs from all others in its strictly legitimist tendency, and in general in its moral standards, which can be traced down to the last detail. It is important to carefully trace the course of events. It will be logical to conclude that Dinawari's version is the original one.

The narrative begins in view of the Turkish threat looming under Hormizd II' (8i, ig f.). The king appeals for help to the commander of the border defence forces of Ä6urbaiyän and Armenia: Bahräm, son of Bahräm Gusnasp. He obeys without hesitation and hurries to carry out the order. Hormizd places his complete trust in him and puts everything at his disposal for the Turkish war. He opens the treasuries and armouries to him; he gives him the muster rolls of the army so that he can choose the men he likes (8z.4)

Bahräm, for his part, takes Marzbäne and Oberste (aJrd/) to his aid and reads I z Ooo men, all over 40 } years old, i.e. experienced fighters (8z,6 f.).

[^] a. 0. zq i. °^ a. 0.•37 f.

^{°°} Th. Nöldeke, transl. i75-

The king then asks why Bahrām is content with so few people compared to 3 ooo Turks. Bahrām replies with references to mythical examples (8z, 8 f.). In a similar case, Rustam had also rnit

fought only iz ooo against zoo ooo ; likewise Isfandiyär and Kaibusrau, who won rnit xz ooo over 3 ooo. The mythical example will be cited and proven more often. They belong to the chivalric world

of this novel. Hormizd sends Bahräm off to war with advice and admonitions.

The Chăqân of the Turks, meanwhile stalled by a cunning Persian negotiator (83, d f.), attempts a countermove. He offers Bahräm the Persian crown (3.*3). The latter refuses: kingship belongs to only members of the royal house, it is not permitted for it to be used by them to others (3. IA f.). This is the first time that a main motif emerges. Bahräm clearly takes a stand in the sense of the thesis advocated in the novel: unconditional loyalty to the Sasanian house. He proves himself as a follower of his ruler. He has heeded Hormizd's admonition not to overstep the mark, for arrogance is the author's fault (82, Z2 f.).

But alongside the thesis is the antithesis. Just as unquestioned as the obligation to the king is the unique rank of the hero. The tragedy of both is that they should collide.

Bahräm also proves himself as an army commander and fighter by breaking through the ranks of the Turks in battle and killing Chăqãn with his own hand (84, i f.). After the victory, he expresses himself as peace-loving and moderate. Once the Turks had killed King Përõzo", and the Persians had to make peace with them; now Chãqän had fallen, and the Turks should also be prepared to make peace (84, 8 f.). This is what happens (84, i f.).

This reveals another peculiarity of this chivalric novel: Persians and Turks are valued equally; the chivalric enemy is respected. Everything takes place under ceremonial forms. This can be seen in the dialogue between the victors, Hormizd and Bahräm, and the

^{°&#}x27; For the history of Kãwús and Rustam, see Th. N6ldeke in : Arch. f. Reli- gionswiss. i 8, 5y2 f.; R. Hleichsteiner in : Arch. f. Völkerkunde 8, 7°

^{○®} So "Turks" and Hephthalites were equated here. Cf. R. Ghirshman, Les Chionites-Hephthalites g6 f. Incorrect M. J. Higgins, The Persian War of the Em- peror Maurice 35 f.

Son of the fallen Chãqân, Yiltägin°" (8A, 6 f.; Z2 İ.; Z6f.). The respect for the brave enemy goes so far that it is almost said that Bahrãm and Yiltägin were "afraid" of each other, and that is how the peace treaty came about (8A, ft f.). Later, Bahrãm will receive the reward for his attitude when Yiltägin, then Chãqãn himself, welcomes the exile. This reveals a new feature that i s also fundamental to the structure of the novel. Kings form a community that supports each other in times of need. Hormizd and Yiltägin, Yiltägin and Bahräm are not the only o n e s to do so: Chusrõ A|3arvëz will also find a similar reception from the Byzantine emperor Maurikios.

Bahräm sends home the booty from the conquered camp of Chāqān, including his golden throne: a total of 300 camel loads (8A, Z8 f.). When Hormizd inspects what has arrived, the mouth of the chief wezir Yazdän Gušnasp drops the remark: "How rich was the

Table from which this chunk fell!" (p. i f.). Hormizd's trust in Bahrām is shattered: he believes in the evil word. How much misfortune, war

and sorrow it should bring(5.3 f.)! According to human blindness, tragic entanglements are caused by thoughtless speech. All attempts to undo what has been said should be ineffective.

remain. An abyss opens up between the ideal follower Bahräm, the hero who lives up to the role models of the myth; the courtly knight; the moderate, noble opponent and his king.

Hormizd is provoked to anger, forgets what Bahräm has done and sends him slave fetters°°, a belt of women and a spindle to dishonour him

(5.3.). He adds that "treachery and ingratitude are the way of women" (5. IO). Nöldeke -' saw this as a bad justification. For that programme could only mean an accusation of cowardice: he refers to

in favour ant Theophylact 3, according to which Bahräm allowed himself to be defeated by the Romans in Albania^{oo}. But there is no mention of this in Dinawari, nor in any of the others who used the novel. On the other hand the reason given is clear and understandable in itself. It is correct

^{°°} For this is the way to write in contrast to Guirgass.

^{°°} Arab. ğ'im*'e is "vinculum quo collum cum manibus includitur". Cf. lisãn al-'arab IX ą i i , 6 (Biilăk 130 I H.). Th. Nöl deke Übe °7• Note 3 speaks only of Women's clothing and spindle.

ÛK£p. 2 72 A mm 3

^{°&#}x27; In addition M.). Higgins, a. 0. 36 f.; P. Peeters in: Anal. Boll. 65, 9 f.

moreover, which is decisive for other judgements. "Among women there is a lack of understanding and ungratefulness for benefits", it says later (-°3. *3). The author's heart beats only for the *virago*. Gurdiya, Bahräm's sister, is to him the most beautiful of the women, strong in spirit and impeccable in her disposition. After her brother's death, she rides his horse and carries his weapons (-5. I f.). This novel knows nothing of love and even less of love affairs. The chivalric society, whose members

The way in which the female type expresses itself in him only recognises a female type that embodies the chivalric ideal in its attitude.

Bahräm adds a new page of fame to his previous behaviour. He knows how to endure unjust treatment. He conquers his anger, submits to obedience: he puts the shackle around his neck, girds himself with the consecration belt and takes the spindle in his hand (see Io f.). The pre

the most honourable of his comrades. When he reads Hormizd's letter to them, they they take the side of the unjustly offended. "We will speak," is their speech, "as the first ^ of our rebels spoke (when they said): Not Ardaser (II) is king, not Yazdän Wezir. Likewise we will say: Hormizd is not king and Yazdän Guénasp is not Wezir" (5. *5) Once again a role model is invoked this time a

historical, not mythical. The comrades threaten Bahräm

with deposition if he, for his part, hesitates with Hormizd's deposition (56, I f.). Bahräm, willing to renounce, submits again, sadly (86, 3) ufld against his will. Only under duress does he rise up against his master. In Raiy he

according to a mint there Io ooo Dirhem with the image of the heir to the throne, Chusrö's $A|3arw\acute{e}z^{\wedge}$. Hormizd deduces from this that his son Chusrö is striving to become king (86, 6f.; g f.). He tries to kill him, but Chusrö escapes to A6urbaiyän. The king then summons Bindöii and Bistäm to ask them about the fugitive and, when he receives what he believes to be sufficient answers, imprisons them (86, *3f.).

The contrast between king and son also springs from tragic

A concatenation that has nothing to do with the attitude and intentions of either of them. It is no different from the contrast between king and follower. But once again everything seems to turn out well, Hormizd

[^] We read 'c'/tu instead of Guirgass' 'u'/'' ; cf. line 17 ktss° $^{\circ}$ ^^ $^{\circ}$ $^{\circ}$

gathers his followers. They advise him that Yazdān Gušnasp should apologise to Bahräm in order to avoid bloodshed. The king agrees and Yazdān Gušnasp sets off for Bahräm (86, ZA f.). But once again everything is thwarted. Yazdān dies at the hands of a cousin. The latter delivers the head of the murdered man to Bahräm (8Q, gf.; IQ f.). Once again Bahräm is given the opportunity to prove himself. Although insulted by Yazdān, he immediately takes sides with the murdered man. The Wezir has fallen to a rag in his high position and his Ade1 to the Opíer (82, iz f.)! Bahräm also knows that Yazdān wants to seek forgiveness and reconcile king and commander. He lets the

Kill murderers.

When the news of Yazdān's death reaches the Hot, the Great Ones decide to depose Hormizd and crown Chusrõ. Bindõë and Bis äm, Chusrõ's favourites, are in favour of the change. While still in prison, they try to persuade the nobility to apostatise, pointing out Hormizd's hostile attitude towards the entire estate (82, r2 f.). They are successful. The two agitators are released from prison; Hormizd is deposed, stripped of his regalia and sent to Chusrõ in Ã6urbaiyän (88, I f.)-'.

A grave injustice has been done: Bindõë and Bis äm have offended the royal majesty. Chusrõ, raised to the throne, immediately goes to his father, kisses his hands and feet, apologises and asks for his wishes. Hormizd demands death and punishment for those who have deposed and disregarded him. He names the perpetrators

 $(88, {}_{-8})$. Chusrõ replies that it is too early as long as Bahrām is still alive and his own cause is no better. But when the time comes, he will punish the wrongdoers $(88, 18 \ f.)$. The father is satisfied with this.

This conversation sheds light on how to understand the course of events. She passes judgement on Bindõë's and Bis ãm's actions from a competent source, and this judgement is upheld to the end, despite apparent vacillation. The roles of all the actors are thus fixed. But here, too, only the thesis, not the antithesis, is set. For Bindõë and Bis ãm have not only committed an offence against the father.

The novel refrains from blinding the king (cf. abari, ann. . 993. ') in order to leave open the possibility of Hormi zd's reinstatement. Without this possibility, the action of Bahrä ms described below, who endeavours to restore Hormizd's rule, would be incomprehensible. Once again, the hope is to be raised that everything could still turn out well.

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but have also helped their son to the throne. They will maintain this attitude.

When Bahrām hears of Hormizd's dismissal, all anger falls from him. He is seized with shame and pity: he immediately moves against Chusrõ with the intention of doing so,

Hormizd back on the throne (9...). When Chusro hears of this, he conceals Bahrām's approach from his father and prepares to face the enemy himself.

Bahrām's intention for the time being is only to avenge injustice and reinstate Hormizd. His cause is just, which cannot be said of Chusrõ's to the same extent. In the novel it is a foregone conclusion that sooner or later justice will prevail. Above all, it is true of royalty that its cause remains *ipso facto* and always the right one. As long as Hormizd lives, he alone has a claim to the crown, even vis-à-vis Chusrö. Bahrâm's tragedy, of course, is that his loyalty to the old king will bring ilin into opposition to the new one, to Chusrõ.

But Bahram is still clearly an advocate and champion of justice. Accordingly, he now receives an aristocracy that allows him to shine in the brightest light. His image is first reflected in the report; then he emerges with his own deeds and speech.

For that is what the scout reports: Bahrām's army keeps firm order on the march, does not attack the population and the most astonishing thing: when he rides into his quarters, the commander asks for instructive reading, the book *Kalila ma-Dimna* (89, .). Chusrõ cannot help but be deeply impressed. He remarks to Bindõë and Bis ãm (89, *2 f.): "I have never feared Bahräm as much as I fear him now that I hear that he is studying the book *Kalila -n'a-Diiivna*. For this book gives the man better judgement and greater firmness than he possessed before, because it contains subtle and wise thoughts".

A battle ensues at Nahrawãn. Bahrãm rides in front of Chusrõ's ranks and shouts: "To hell with you, Persians, who revile your king. Come, people: repent before (God), your Lord, for what you have done. Come to me, all of you, so that we may return the rule to your king,

before God sends down His punishment on you" (9.90.2). Chusrõ then left all but a few, including Bindõë and Bis ãm. Bahrăm has proven himself once again: he has found his way back to loyalty to the king.

Chusro's remaining followers advise him to flee. At the bridge of the Gú6arz there is another skirmish (Qo, it f.) and at the same time

a first encounter between Chusrõ and Bahrām; Chusrõ kills Bahrām's warhorse in single combat but has to give way to his superior opponent. Before leaving the capital, he bids farewell to his father but does not tell him that Bahrām will reinstate him. He only tells him of his comrades' defection to Bahrām. Chusrõ's lack of honesty expresses the dubiousness of his cause. Hormizd remains the straight nature that he always appears to be. He also maintains his benevolent attitude towards his son and advises him to do the best thing, namely to go to the Roman emperor and ask him for help (Qo, zo f.).

Chusrõ follows his father's advice. He sets off with nine followers; he himself is the tenth (91, 2). There is talk that Bahrăm will soon seize the capital and put Hormizd back on the throne as if it had never been otherwise. And the latter would then write to the emperor, asking for extradition, for the killing of the fugitives, and Chusrõ would never be king as long as his father lived t9*.3

)3indõè and Bis ãm decide to put the matter in order. Had tox or Bahrăm's aristocracy, they now have theirs. Only if Bahrăm had to fight the king, they would both seal their loyalty to Chusrü with his father's blood.

Heathen ride back to the capital once more. They find Hormizd with his retinue in the palace: they weep and lament over Chusrõ's escape from Bahrãm, his enemy. Bindõë and Bis äm crown their previous behaviour rnith the killing of the old king (q-. 9)? fii& thus keeping Chusrõ's path to the throne open. But these loyal to the king are of evildoers against the king. turn into regicides.

After the deed is done, they catch up with Chusrõ again, but say nothing of their deed (9*, IO). It is thus avoided to make Chusrõ an explicit accomplice to the murder. H'as his helpers did, they did - to

This fiction is maintained - on their own responsibility. They continued what had been determined from the beginning: loyalty to Chusrći, \\'irreplaceability towards Hormizd. Obviously, Chusrõ is to remain untouched for his leading role in the second part of the novel. The scene in Hit's monastery follows. The refugees are given barley bread, which they pass in water, and **vinegar**, which they drink diluted.

Chusrõ leans exhausted against His ām and falls asleep from fatigue (ei, I I f.). It is the low point of their misery.

Later, the scene will have its counterpart when Bahräm, fallen and on the run, returns to the farmer's hut. He will then receive judgement on his actions from the mouth of an old woman. Something similar is expected for Chusrö in Hit, except that his career is not finished, but only just beginning. At this point the Nihäyat has the prophecy of a monk^{oo} who predicts Chusrö's marriage to the emperor's daughter, the defeat of his enemies within a certain period of time and the duration of his reign. Is something original preserved in this? Then what follows - the statement about Chusrö's successor and the reign of the Arabs until judgement day - would also have to be genuine and original.

The decisive factor is the fact that the monk refers to a Daniel prophecy for his predictions. Daniel is the prophet who was

. succession of empires, all of which have their time and their hour, but none of which is permanent. Yazdgard III is said to have bargained in a dream before God and Mohammed about how many more years he would give the Persian people. It is only fitting that the monk should have predicted the downfall of the

Sasanians and the empire that will replace them. Just as it is fitting that he, the apocalyptic, sees the "Day of Judgement" as the end.

So the novel was first written under Arab rule, and this will provide a key to its understanding. Then another of the monk's prophecies must also be original: **Bistäm, on** whose shoulder the fugitive Chusrö is leaning, will rise up against his master. Bistäm then takes an oath never to do so. Even this most loyal man will not be spared conflict one day. The future, which for the time being only stands out in a dark picture, is confirmed by what happens to the second faithful, what happens to Bindöé.

The monks report the approach of horsemen. Bahräm had found Hormizd dead in the capital, which further increased Bahräm's anger against Chusrö. He sends his namesake Bahräm, son of Siyäwuö^{oo}, after the fugitives with i ooo horsemen. Now they are under surveillance

^{°-} E. G. Browne, a. 0. •39

or Communicated by **Browne in the original version**.

⁻⁻ Tabari, ann. i , 2ö8i , q f.

[&]quot;s-.-7 f. and more often hefir'im itiii si yäiuulän.

Chusrõ despairs of being rescued. Bindóë promises to help him without exposing himself to danger (qi, i8 f.).

Chusrö responds immediately. "If you protect me at your own risk, it will be enough for you, whether you escape or die, for eternal remembrance and high honour" (92, Z f.). This is said in view of the fact that Chusrõ will later kill his saviour, thus performing an act of the vilest ingratitude. On the one hand, Chusrõ has promised his father to punish those who have offended the royal majesty, and this obligation has become even deeper and more enduring as a result of Hormizd's murder. On the other hand, he has accepted Bindõë's offer and owes him salvation and life. Chusrõ emphasises this second obligation by invoking mythical and historical models in the manner of this novel $(9^{\circ}, -)$

Bindõë does indeed deceive his pursuer: Chusrõ escapes and Bindõë, who has sacrificed himself for him, is brought before Bahrãm. The latter accuses the prisoner of murdering Hormizd and rescuing the "ruch-

loose" Chusrõ (93. Z6 f.). Bindõë justifies the killing with Hormizd's rage against the nobility, the rescue of Chusrõ with the mutual blood-related. He remains in custody on Bahrãm's orders; together with Chusrõ is said to have died later(93. 21í.).

Bahräm stands at the height of his power. He addresses the assembled The leader of the army asks whether he should reign until the manhood of Shahriyar, Hormizd's son (94. 3 f.) '°. His proposal met with both approval and opposition (94. 6 f.). Among the opponents are

Müsël of the Armenians", the Bahräm rnit simple *ayyuhã 1-i bahbad*** an- (QA, ÿf.) and refers to Chusrõ's right of inheritance by birth. Bahrãm replies: "Whoever does not like it, get out of the capital, even if after three days I still find someone there who does not like it,

I will have his head cut off" 194. 9) Müšël and his companions, zo ooo in all, then leave the city and hurry to Á6urbaiyãn, where they await Chusrõ's return from the Roman Empire.

⁻Nöldeke's objection (transl. z8z note z) has only the historical events in mind. But the novel goes its own way here and elsewhere.

[&]quot; About him Th. Nöldeke, Übers. z_S Arim. 3; Honigmann-Maricq, Recherches sur les Res gestae Divi Saporis 90.

⁻Th. Nöldelie, fibers. z85 Arim. .

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The meaning of this confrontation is not to be misunderstood. After Hormizd's assassination, Chusrõ is king. What Bahrãm is proposing touches upon clear royal law, and it is in this sense that Müšël expresses himself. Bahrãm threatens violence without caring about justice and objection. The true knight, the loyal follower who always found his way back to his duty, has become a tyrant.

The changed situation is immediately reflected in the behaviour of Bindõë and his guardian Bahrām, Siyáwuś son. It turns out that the moment Bahrām Čõbin makes a misstep, his followers begin to fall away from him. Bahrām Siyāwušān, until then one of the closest and most loyal to him, no longer feels bound to his Lord. He treated Bindõë, whom Bahrām Čöbin handed over to him as a prisoner, particularly well in order to provide himself with reassurance in the event of a turnaround. Finally, when Bindõë tells him about Bahrām's act of violence, he takes the last step. He decides to kill the usurper and give the people peace from him so that the king's rule can return to order and origin (QA, zo f.). But his \Veib, a

Čõbin's niece, reveals the plan to him (9s. Af.); again the unfavourable judgement of the woman becomes apparent. t'ike a real fool, Bahrām is immediately exposed to an attempt on his life. Of course, he also proves himself

here, convicts Bahräm Siyāwušān and kills him with his own hand (Q3, 6 f.; see also above z. 3')

Meanwhile, Chusrõ's arrival in the Roman Empire -* confronts the emperor with an unexpected decision. Opinions clash in the council. The emperor's patricians remind him of the misdeeds of the Persians in the past. They should be left to their quarrels, because quarrelling among enemies means victory for oneself (9*, I f.). On the other hand, the chief of the bishops advises to help the oppressed. Good deeds secure lasting peace. The emperor's question as to whether kings are allowed to promise requested help is decisive (96, 9)

It is worth recalling the view that was previously opposed: the

Kings form a unity that transcends all divisions and temporary enmities and knows that they are united in danger. The same attitude is evident here. The emperor concludes a treaty and covenant of peace with Chusrõ and gives him his daughter Maria in marriage

⁻⁻ Cher the following events P. Peeters in: .Anal. Bollarld. 5• 6 f. (Note H.-\V. Haussig's).

and sends an army to return the exile to the throne. The emperor's son Theodosios was the leader; he travelled via Armenia to

.\6urbaiyän, where the king's loyalists, Bindõë (now escaped from prison) and Mûsêl in the lead, have gathered (g6, -3)

Bahrām is immediately on the spot. He does not avoid the fight; both Armies advance against each other. Chusrõ and Theodosios sit on a golden throne, visible to the people from afar (96, -5): They are representatives of royal legitimacy. But once again Bahrām's heroism shines in the brightest colours. He splits the helmet and torso of one of the zelin *hazārmardān* attached to the Roman army (96, i i f.) with one blow, so that the enemy's halves fall down on the right and left (q2, 2 f.). The

Bahrām's "blow" praises Chusrö, an opponent and yet a descendant of the sixth land, before the Roman Theodosios.

km the third day Bahrām challenges Chusrō himself (Q2, r i f.). He invokes the divine judgement of the duel, and Chusrö accepts, despite Theodosios' warning. But Chusrö, too, must give way to Bahrām's power ---. Pursued by the victorious opponent, he is withdrawn from him and rescued by a supernatural "power" (e6, i6) over the top of a mountain. Nöldeke's has opened up the understanding of the process by pointing out that instead of the "power" in the Persian abari an angel appears, in Firdûsi Srōš. The judgement of God, which both invoked, takes place, but in a different way than the challenger Bahrām imagined. It is not the duel that decides, but the intervention of one of the celestials. Through his assistance, he proves Chusrö to be the God-loving king and thus the only one who is truly authorised.

Soon the turnaround takes place. On the fourth day of the battle, Chusrõ's army defeats Bahrãm's (96, iq f.). On Bindõë's advice, the victor grants safety to all defectors. During the night, all but

4 OOO who persevere with Bahräm. God's judgement is confirmed by the army. At the same time, what happened before is repeated in the opposite direction.

happened after Chusro's defeat. The strict correspondence in the events becomes apparent. It is the given form of a story that unfolds in tragic contrasts.

.km the following morning, Bahrām sees the empty camp and decides to flee (Q8, 8 f.). A cavalry corps that Chusrõ had sent off in pursuit

^{&#}x27;-\'a'kùbi i, i 9z, i6 f. "and he was close to death".

^{*^} Ú bers. z86 Arlm- 3

is defeated by the numerically inferior Bahräm. He remains the hero and brilliant general that he was, even in adversity. But politically he has failed. This is shown in two episodes that immediately follow each other.

On the run, Bahräm stops in a village where he spends the night in a miserable hut with an old woman (Q8, in f.). She gives him a drink from a hollow gourd and serves him food on a worm shovel. The old woman, as the conversation reveals, already knows of Chusro's victory, and Bahräm's question inevitably arises from this: "But what do you say about Bahräm!" Without realising who she is talking to, she replies: "A fool is he who arrogates to himself kingship and does not belong to the ruling house" (Q8, zi f.). Bahräm responds: "That is why the gourd is served as a drink and the worshovel as food"-°.

Once again, the architecture of the structure becomes apparent. Bahräm's stay in the hut corresponds to what happened to Chusrö when he fled to Hit in the monastery. But what the novel is about should be emphasised even more. This is done through the story of Kärin, who rules over Choräsän, Kömis and Gurgän (99, 3)

Kärin was already over a hundred years old (Qq, 3). He had lost his position by Chusrö Anösarvän; he had been confirmed in it by Hormizd. After Bahräm's defeat, he sends his son with io ooo horsemen against the vanquished. Thereupon Bahräm asks whether this is gratitude, and Kärin replies: "The obligations I have towards Chusrö and his ancestors are more than what binds me to you. You took on the same duty - would that you were true! - when he honoured you. But you repaid him by disobeying him and bringing fire and war on the Persian Empire. All that remains for you to do is to return home hopeless and sad and become an example (literally: a story) for all nations" (99, i).

Nowhere in Dinawari is it reported that Chusrö had Bahräm "honoured". This alludes to an episode that Dinawari has passed over, but which is found in Tabari -': the conversation between Chusrö and Bahräm, which took place before the first battle that ended with Chusrö's defeat. Chusrö wants to make Bahräm the scout of the whole empire -®,

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^- Th. Nöldeke, transl. 4_{Z}7 Note i. -' ann. i , 9g2, i i f. <sup>48</sup> ann. I, 997, I3.
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to which the latter responds with invective. In vain Chusrö recalls the loyalty that one of Bahräm's ancestors had shown to one of his own ancestors --. The mythical example appears here a s before, but has no effect.

Bahräm gives a contemptuous reply to Kärin's speech (99. I4 f.) The coarse tone, otherwise unusual in Dinawari's Bahräm, is again in keeping with the episode of Tabari, where Bahräm is confronted with similar and even

stronger utterances and is sharply rebuked by Gurdiya 5'. This, it seems, was quite compatible with the chivalric-

-heroic stylisation, which is otherwise strictly adhered to in the novel. In the same way that Homer's heroes are not criticised and berated.

Kärin marches against Bahräm with enormous superiority, but has as little luck as others before him. Kärin's son falls and the army is put to flight. This confirms the image that the novel never tires of emphasising. Bahräm remains the hero he always was. It is all the more impressive that this hero fails where he rises up against the rightful, God-loving king. Kärin fails as soon as he himself confronts Bahräm in the field. But the criticism he levelled at his opponent and his lack of loyalty to the king remains.

Bahräm is finally accepted by the Chäqän of the Turks. This brings the novel back to where it began. Yiltägin, treated with respect by Bahräm at the beginning of his career, now repays his former benefactor by paying him every honour (99, 2Z f.).

Once again, the architectonics of the novel is revealed, which has analogues everywhere.

white.

As before, Bahräm also proves himself in this environment. After failing in the battle for the crown, he returns to his original stance: he once again becomes a loyal follower of the king. But just as everything in this rich and heroic life is full of tragic contradictions, so too is the final act. Bahräm, who has committed his life to Chäqän, will fall at the hands of Chusrös, the other king against whom he once rose up. What he does remains a "too late" and a "for nothing".

 $^{^{\}circ}$ ann. i , g9y, i 8 f. Th. Nöldeke, transl. z7s $\,$ notes: cf. z 2 i note 2. '' $\,$, 997, b $\it l$, Z§ f.

^{5&#}x27; ann. i , 998, 2 f.; cf. Ya'\rübi 1, r9f , 6 f.

Nevertheless, or, if you like, precisely for this reason, this part of the novel is particularly beautiful. Bahräm's rebuke of the Chäqän's brother, who has offended the ruler by his free behaviour, drives him to a duel. The rebuked man challenges; Bahräm accepts on the condition that he will not be repaid for the death of his opponent; Chäqän objects, but the challenger insists on his loss (zoo, 6 f.). All the ceremonial of a chivalric confrontation unfolds, and courtly custom shines all the brighter as it has to prove itself in the face of death. The true hero renounces blood revenge; he lets his opponent go first; he x-bites his pain (IOZ, I Of.). If Bahräm was ever a role model, it is here, where the last aristocracy falls to him. The decision is on a knife-edge: Bahräm draws the bow (IoZ, 2Z f.) as only he is able to draw it (Bahräm was one of the three Persians who famously shot arrows 6°; moreover, he was assigned a book on the art of shooting 5°). His opponent falls, and the Chäqän pronounces judgement on his dead brother and opponent: "May God curse none other than the one whom I forbade the audacity and who did not turn to it" (zoz, s)

Meanwhile, Chusrö organises what needs to be organised after the victory. Bindöö

receives the entire treasury administration, Bistäm gets Choräsän (where Kärin remains, it is not said), Kömis, Gurgän and Tabaristän (ioz, -3) Chusro's most loyal helpers receive their reward; how Hormizd's murder and the punishment for them are to be dealt with is not discussed.

For now, the new king is burdened with concern for Bahräm. Chusrö fears that the dangerous enemy could renew the battle with Turkish help (Io2, 16 f.). An envoy goes to the court of Chäqän to counteract this (zoz, z8 f.), but is

rejected by him with angry words (1 3, 8 f.). The kings' solidarity with one another, which had so far proved its worth, is broken. Chusrus Envoy must seek other ways.

His last refuge is Chätün, wife of Chäqän (1 3, *3 f.). He reminds her of her uncle, Yiltägin's father, who was killed by Bahräm's hand. and lost his throne and treasures to them (1 3, *z f.). He succeeds in getting the Chätün on his side, because (to repeat the remark) "there is a lack of understanding and ingratitude among the women

^{^°} Tabari, ann. x , 9gz, i z f. Th. Nöldeke, Übers. z y i Anm. • __3 ^ Fihrist 3i q, 2 i ; Th. Nöldeke, Übers. °72 note i.

for good deeds" (-°3. *3f.). She sends one of her own to assassinate Bahrãm. The latter knows about the day of his death, which the astrologers have promised him, and has secured himself. Nevertheless, the murderer finds access and

kills him (ioA, i f.).

Chusrõ defeated him because he had to as the rightful king. Not even Bahrãm was able to fight against this claim and against the help of the gods. He failed and met his death. But Chusrõ's splendour also faded. It became clear beforehand: his behaviour was remembered with care. He had not been loyal to his father, but his father had forgiven him. He had concealed Bahrãm's true intentions from his ¥"ater, but Hormizd had believed his son. The fiction was maintained that Chusrõ had known nothing of Bindöë's and Í3is äm's murder plans. But he did know about the murder of Bahrãm, and after his death the mask fell. In firm possession of the throne, Chusrõ had nothing else in mind but to avenge his father Hormizd (io3, xo f.). This desire eclipses all the duty of gratitude he owes to Bindõë and Bis ãm and to which he has professed in the end.

Chusrõ has kept his intention secret for ten years (top, 13) °'. Finally he finds the right opportunity. Bindõë refuses to honour a royal whim with absurd sums (- s, z f.). Chusrõ lets him

and cut off his hands and feet. Lying in his blood, Bindõë reviles

Chusrö and his father (so he knows immediately why the judgement hit him) and jeers at the disloyalty of the Sasanians and their deceitfulness (io6, i f.). When Chusrti hears about this, he says: "Hindõë claims that the Sasanians are traitors and betrayers. But he forgets his own betrayal of the king, my father. After all, he is with him together with his brother

)3is am broke in. They threw the noose around his neck and he-

strangled him, hostile and violent, in order to gain my favour - as if it had not been my father" (IO6, 5) Thereupon Chusrõ rides to the place where Bindõë lies and has him stoned to death

(io6, Q f.).

^{^&#}x27; 19aJ3 the statement in this form is uncsc hichtlich, should be recognised. Th.

Nöldeke, transl. 4*7: *. Goubert, Byzance avant I'islam i , i ò3 ; 2 b3 f. - Troubert's treatment of the Arabic sources is another matter. The author of a Hue1 -s, which has Islam in its title, seems to have little or no knowledge of Arabic.

to be powerful. .search \V. Ent3lin's consent in : Byz. Ztschr.953. 3*q is explained by the same reason and.

Everything has been said about the pros and cons in this exchange speech. Chusrõ has made up his mind in the conflict of duties. Bindõë has received his punishment - a punishment which, according to the novel, was inevitable. But Chusrõ emerges from this trial anything but flawless. In the victor over Bahrãm, everything that was upright and sincere about him has been turned into baseness and deceit. How great and noble Bahrãm was where he erred, and how shamefully this Chusrõ transgresses even where he gives free rein to justice. This novel has made tragic d/ssonances resound everywhere and has done nothing to take away their shrill tone. But one thing seemed to remain unblemished until now: the royal majesty. Now it too is beginning to totter.

Until ãm remains to be done. Chusrõ, determined to ruin him too, and now compelled to do so, has the murdered man's brother sent to him in a hurry by secret letter (Io6, x i f.). Shortly before the Zie1, Bis ãm meets Bindõë's steward and learns what has happened. He immediately turns back and goes to Dëlam.

Dêlam is the inaccessible mountainous landscape south-west of Lake Caspian, which was never conquered by the Sasanids. A neighbouring country of Áóurbaiyãn, it has become a place where all those who are dissatisfied with the situation gather. This is where Bahräm's comrades went after the murder of their master in order, as they say,

"To take revenge on our kings who have driven us out" (-°4. 20 f.). Gurdiya, sister and wife of 6^ Bahrām, leads them: in her brother's arms and on his warhorse she goes before them (top, i f.).

Bis äm finds an open welcome in Dëlam. They do not hesitate to offer him the kingship. "Why would Chusrõ be more entitled to rule than you? Because you are the son of Šāpür, son of Churbundãd from the tribe of Bahman's descendants, son of Isfandiyãd, and you are brothers of the Sasanids and their comrades in the reign. Come, we will make a covenant with you and give you Gurdiya, Bahräm's sister, in marriage. We have a golden throne that Bahrăm brought from the capital: sit on it and woo us! Behold, the members of your household are descendants of Dãrã, son of Bahman: they will gather around you" (top, i f.).

^{^°} Th. Nöldeke, Ubers. z7 g Arim. 6; M. Th. Houtsma in his Ya'kúbi-Ausg. i, i95 adn. a.

Accordingly, a genealogical proof is given, and this proof is most astonishing where it breaks off and is silent. The sequence Isfandiyãd - Bahman - Dãrã is also known from Mihr-Narsë's family tree in abari -^. It leads via a second Dãrã to Kai-Aśak, i.e. the first Arsakid. This is derived from the last Dãrã, from the last Darius⁵ '. Mind you: the novel does not name Kai-Aśak, just as it does not name the Arsacids. At least not explicitly, because it could hardly be misunderstood when Bis ãm was called: "You are brothers of the Sasanids and their comrades in rule." Before this view, Arsacids and Sasanids were equal.

An outrageous claim - at least under Sasanian rule. But was it really uttered under it? Beforehand, it became clear that the novel was in all probability aware of the Arabs' firmly established rule over Iran. Only the "Day of Judgement" would end it. This yaiitn *ad-din* was a darkly ambiguous word. The Zarathustrian also knew this day, and for him it must have had a different meaning than for the Muslim. For the heart of the author of this novel hardly beat for the "sons of Isma'il ibn Ibrāhim (God bless him), who dwell in the wastelands, whose food is fruit and meat, whose drink is milk" -®. They were and remain the noblest people for him: he considers it worth emphasising that Chusrõ is from the understood "something" in Arabic (95. *4). The fact that it is mentioned here how to communicate shows the topicality of the Arabic language. When Persians and Hephthalites speak to each other, one never learns, in which language this was done.

Enough: only from a distance and at a time when Iran's greatness seemed long gone could those who knew foreign rule and looked back over the centuries come to the conclusion that the Arsacids and Sasanids were a lineage of brothers, sprouting from the same root. True brothers, they were bitter enemies during their lifetime, but for this view they joined forces, united to form the two

^{°°} ann. i , 8ö8, i9 f. Th. Nöldeke, Übers. io9 Arim. i ; Arrian, Parth. fr. x , derives the Arsaliids from Artaxerxes i i. Mnemon (Bahman b. Isfandiyãd is Artaxerxes i : Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache z. Lfg. (i 96o] i 9i).

^{°&#}x27; Th. Nöldeke, Ubers. •79 Rm. 5.

[^] E. G. Browne, a. 0. •39

Iran's lights, to paraphrase a well-known word°°. The favourable assessment that both Hephthalites and Bjzantines receive in the novel also shows that the author was a retrospective person. Here speaks one who sees all the past, even past enemies, in a rosy light.

The continuation confirms that the given interpretation is correct. For thus the noble Délams of Bistäm continue in their speech: "If you are given what you want, then it is what we wish and you wish. But if you fall, you will fall in pursuit of the crown, and that will bring you even greater glory and more honourable remembrance" (roy, 8 f.). This is how one speaks only to one who is truly equal.

Bistäm agrees, marries Gurdiya and ascends the throne. He finds a large following, finally ioo ooo men (red, iof.). He invades Media: Chusro's officials flee, and the *dehbän* shut themselves up in their castles or escape to the tops of the mountains (red, -s)

Chusrö tried persuasion. In a letter, he points out to Bistäm the injustice of his actions and promises him forgiveness (red, -9 f.). This raises the question of mutual rights: Bahräm's comrades had endowed Bistäm with a dignity that he was not entitled to.

(log, zof.). In his reply, Bistäm, challenged and irritated, exaggerates his claim. He had a better right to the throne than (ihusrö: after all, he was a descendant of Därä, son of Därä, who had fought with Alexander (rot. 3).

"You sons of Säsän 's have deprived us of our pike

and wronged us, even though your ancestor Säsän was only a

was a shepherd. And if his father Bahman had believed that there was something right about him, he would not have excluded him from the throne in favour of his shu'ester Chumänä ^o" (io8, 6 f.).

Chusro's claim is thus rejected and the Sasanians' right to be alone is called into question. Even the last thing that stood upright and seemed to hold its ground through all the vicissitudes is shaken. This is confirmed when it comes to a decision by arms. The battle breaks out at Hamafiän. For three days the fighting raged back and forth, and no one could boast of victory (Io8, -9). It remains unclear who

true claim: the sons of Däräs and Kai-Aéak or those who Säsän 's

^{^^} Petr. patr. fr. i 3, FHG. q, i88.

^{°°} Thus **vocalised from tiuirgass. Churniäni at TaLari na.** : F. j usti, Iranian translation book i 3z 1.

The novel rushes to its conclusion. Chusrõ has failed at everything: Cunning, persuasion and the power of deception. He is helped by the brother of Bahräm 's, the "¥'er-breaker", as he has just called him. Gurdõë, brother not only of the dead man but also of Gurdiya, now C-emah1in Bis äms, had always remained faithful to Chusrõ (\$\frac{109}{2}\$, 2, cf. 9 . f.). He invents a ruse, and rnit

With the help of his wife (- 9 *4) he wants Gurdiya for the attack. Bis äm falls from t'urdiya's hand, she becomes Chusrō's wife, her son is to succeed her (top, to).

2

Among the parallel versions, Guidi's svrischer Chronik takes first place by far, as it gives an independent account. It is given above in translation 2, 31f. and will still occupy us. Then the first version of Se'ert's Chronicle should be mentioned, the translation of which follows:

"(2, 443 i Scher) It is reported the entirety of what happened from Chusro A|3arvëz to his father Hormizd, as well as its cause according to from what is preserved in the news of the kings. - Hormizd had a commander whose name was Bahrām Čobin (göòiit), whom he had sent to fight the Turks. He (Bahräm) defeated them and won great spoils and brought to Hormizd what was left of the spoils (me a n i ng: after the army and commander had received their share '), and his (Bahram's) reception by him (Hormizd) was beautiful. Then the king's comrades envied him (Bahram), belittled him and minimised the amount of what he had sent in view of what he himself had appropriated from the land of the Turks. He (Hormizd) then repaid him (Bahram) for his services by sending him a red smock (after the manner of a woman) and a distaff with a spindle whorl. He said to him: 'It is fitting for one like you that his clothing should be this garment. He (Hormizd) sent the army away, and they (the members of the army) became enraged against him and cancelled their obedience to King Hormizd. He (Bahräm) was told that he would appear before him (Hormizd). On his return he (Bahram) took

^{*} Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischer Staat i, zo t.; Finanzgeschichte der Spätanti ke 2o. So ha 'i/o, bearing in mind that in the following it is said that Bahrām kept part of the spoils from the Tîirtrenkrieg for himself. A. Scher reads *10 alo* as Z.5 and **translates** accordingly.

(from the enemy's country) took refuge in rebellion, and when he came to Ray, he struck dirhams bearing the name of his son - Chusrõ's A|3arvëz, son of Hormizd - and his image, and sent them secretly to al-Madă'in. They came into the hands of the people, and the news reached Hormizd, so he set out to seize his son. His son learnt of this and fled to Áfiurbaiyãn.

(4A4, Z Scher) Hormizd's anger oppressed the army: he treated them (their relatives) harshly and took their property. He killed his brothers, put the superiors to death and took their properties. He built prisons in Ahwãz and Mihragã and imprisoned there the leaders of the people of his kingdom, used to feed them with bread, in it

(Pebbles? The parallel passage 465, A f. speaks of "bread in which gypsum, al- $\check{g}as$, was mixed"), and 'to give them bitter-tasting water as a drink. Then they (the great men of the army) sent for him and wrote to Chusrõ A|3arvêz that he was coming. He came to them and became king over them. The army did not feel sure that Hormizd would use a trick, so they blinded him. Bahrām learnt this

Cõbin (šöòiii): then he approached in the midst of his army, pretending to be angry at what had happened to the king. Then A|3arvëz confronted him (Bahrãm), and A|3arvëz had to flee in the face of him (Bahräm). He hurried to Mauricius, the emperor of Rome, asking him for help against the one who had snatched the kingship from him (Chusrõ). Then he (Mauricius) sent the army with him (Chusrõ) after he had become his (Mauricius') son-in-law through his daughter Maria - Mauricius' daughter. He (Chusrõ) reached al-Madă'in, Bahrãm was p u t to flight and they gained victory over him. The kingship was restored to him (Chusrõ)".

According to explicit information, the report comes from the Sasanian Book of Kings. The editor of the chronicle or Daniel b. Maryam inserted the piece into his narrative. Q,uelle, as Cöbin's epithet already shows (z, 3A above), was the novel of Bahräm Čõbin himself, and apart from the strong abridgement, this version differs from Dinawari's only in minor details. Nöldeke, who did not yet have Se'ert's chronicle, had already recognised that Abari's original, i.e. the King's Book, had incorporated the novel into his account.

[°] Over. 476.

Of the two Syriac reports (2, 28 above) we give the one from Barhebraeus' Chronicon Syriacum in translation:

"(Qz, i Bedjan) In Maurikio's eighth year the Persians rebelled against Hormizd, their king, captured him by trickery and blinded him; he died. After ten months, those who had killed him (Hormizd) because of his many misdeeds welcomed his son Chusrö, and they

made him king over them (the Persians) for 3 years. But Bahräm, one of the great men of the Persian army, did not submit to Chusrö and rebelled against him violently with many people. Then Chusrö

He sent a secret message (the meaning is not in Brockelmann) to Mauricius that he was prepared to come to him if he would allow it. When Mauricius heard this, he rejoiced and wrote that he would support him with everything. Chusrö set off joyfully and travelled to Urhäi (Edessa). He received him in his house and honoured him highly. He (Chusrü) wrote to Maurikios that he was a servant to him. But Maurikios replied that he would honour him as a father would his son. He sent to him (Chusrö) Lohannes, the commander of the Thracian army, with an army of zoooo (men) and Anastasios, taking with him Armenians and Bulgarians (another) 200 oo. He (Mauricius) sent forty pantinaries of gold to be used for the army (la-ri\angle a ldA: on the meaning of nung: Altheim- Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache z. Lfg. Z4O f.). When Chusrö had heard all this, he set off for his place, and the Persians came to him with zoooo (man). But when the rebels heard (this), they prepared for battle: they were defeated and fled (C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac.° z3o r. under Sassä). The leaders among them were captured and killed, what remained went over to Chusrö. Chusrö gave many gifts to the Romans, and he sent large gifts to Maurikios as well as rare (C. Brockelmann, 1. O. 308 1. at4) stones. He gave back to Daera

and Rös'ainä to the Romans. Chusrö petitioned Maurikios, and the latter gave He gave him his daughter Mary in marriage; bishops brought her. He also celebrated a most splendid wedding with Theodosius' daughter (*1-hartem d-toödäsiös* corr. Bedjan; la-ördh /. codd.). The patriarch (of Constantinople) placed a crown on her (Mary) head. Chusrö built three large churches: to the Mother of God, the Apostles and St Sergios the Martyr, and the Patriarch of Antioch consecrated them. The Christian faith spread throughout Persia".

¹⁷ Althei m, Huns IY

The mention of the Bulgarians is dealt with above z, z8. Regarding the gifts (here, too, there is talk of "gifts", 'a \tilde{a} ', not of payment of wages: Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike $\hat{0}$ 4) notes abari, ann.

*. 999. Z6 ; iooO, 15, there would have been 60000 men (thus Hormizãn's Persians would have been included) zoooo ooo Dirhem, so au(the head on average 333 dirhem. Michael Syrus speaks of Aoo zúcin for each soldier: 3 7 middle sp. z. -s f. syr. ; z, 37a transl. Chabot. Differently and hardly correctly Mas'ûdi, murfiğ 2, 220, 9 : °z2, 8f. On Theodosios above p. 247

Maurikio's eighth year fell on 3 9/59 and expired on z2 8. If one counted the ten months mentioned at the beginning, one would arrive at June, and Chusrõ's I I. A|3arvëz first year began with dCITi 22 June: Th. Nöldeke, Übers. 43 f.

The second version of the chronicle of

Se'ert. It first describes the rise of Chusro's A|3arvez, and then turns to Bahram's rebellion:

...(4 5. 9 Scher) It took a while, and Bahram Cobin (šobin), the rebel against ilin (Chusrõ), escaped after he had formed the occasion for the emergence of disagreements between him (Chusrõ), his father (Hormizd) and the army (and after) he had fought him (Chusrõ), deprived him (Chusrõ) of the king's turn and inflicted great misfortune on the people. A|3arvëz was forced to flee and turned to Maurikios, the emperor of Rome, a s k i n g him for help. He wrote to him about what had happened to him and asked him to take his hand and send to ooo fighters (A66, x shearers) and Ao hanlâr of gold for expenses on account of the army. Then he (Maurikios) agreed to what he (Chusrõ) had asked, received him as was fitting for him according to his faith, and sent him what he had asked for. He sent two commanders with the army to Kirkesion and wrote to him that he should go to Ana or h'isibis. For these were the border towns on both sides of the border between the two kingdoms. So Chusro went to Edessa (ar-ruhã), and he was honoured by whoever of the Romans he met on his way. Then he travelled to Mambig: there he met up with the army that had been sent to him. Chusro returned to the Irãk, fought Bahräm and d r o v e him to flee to Media (alğabal. The Romans pursued him and he fled to the land of the Turks. Chusrõ seized the kingdom (of the Persians) and presented the armies of the Romans with many marvellous gifts. He sent precious gifts **to Maurikios**, called him his father and married his daughter Maria ... He cleared Därā and Mayā- färikin for him, both of which his father Hormizd had seized.

Chusrö ordered the churches to be rebuilt and honoured the Christians because of Mauricius. He built two churches for Mary and for Finn (A6/, i Scher), his wife from the land of the Nabataeans, a large church and a castle in the land of Bë-Lãpă (to write thus, vg1. Th. Nöldeke, transl. Ai note z; *bl'sfr* Scher). And in general, peace did not cease for the Christians in his time ... until the death of Mauricius'''.

The chronicle of Se'ert cannot have been written by Michael or Barhebraeus. All three must date back to the same source.

The epithet Ğobin has been inserted into the Arabic text of Chronicles from the xuvor translated first version of the story of Bahräm (obin). The later insertion is shown by the fact that the Syriac version speaks only of Bahräm

Finally, there is Barhebraeus' account in his "History of the Dynasties", written in Arabic:

..I*54.' 3 Pocock) In Mauricius' eighth year the Persians attacked Hormizd, their king, and blinded him, then killed him. They made Bahräm, the marzòäti, king over them. Hormizd had a

Chusrõ, who was known as Anõšarvãn (sic) the Righteous. He (Chusrõ) changed his appearance to that of a beggar and travelled through the Persian Empire until he reached Nisibis. He went to Edessa (ar-roll) and from there to Bambyke. He wrote a letter to Maurikios, the text of which read: 'To the blessed father and high lord Iiaurikios, emperor of Rome, from Chusrõ, Hormizd's son, his (hfaurikios') son, greetings! I inform you, the emperor, that Bahrãm and his followers, servants of my father, did not know their measure and forgot that they are servants and I am their master. That they denied my father's favours to them, were hostile to me and sought to kill me. So I endeavoured to hasten to be like you, to share in your goodness and to be your subject. For to submit to a king like you, even if he was once an enemy, is more tolerable than to fall into the hands of rebellious servants, and my death at the hands of kings is more honourable and less of a disgrace than at the hands of servants. Therefore I have hastened to you, trusting in your

Nobility and in the hope that you will be kind to someone like me; that you will come to my aid with your troops, so that I may be able to fight the enemy with them, and that I may become an obedient and obedient son to you, God (exalted is he) willing'. After (I5, I POcOck) Maurikios had read the letter of Chusrö. Hormizd's son, he decided to fulfil his (Chusrö's) request (mas'alalihi corr.), because he had fled to him (Maurikios). He came to his aid with 20 00o men, sent him So talents of gold in money and wrote him a letter, the text of which read: "From Maurikios, the servant of lesu, the Messiah, to Chusrö, king of the Persians, my son and my brother, greetings! I have read your letter, and I have heard what you have reported in it about the actions of your servants, who have risen up against you, and that they have disregarded the favours of your fathers and your ancestors; that they have gone to war against you and driven you out of your kingship, and it has made sense to me. This has caused me to feel compassion for you ... and to help you with what you have asked of me. But as for your words that to take refuge under the wing of an enemy king and to seek protection at his side is more honourable than to fall into the hands of rebellious servants, that even death by the hand of kings is more praiseworthy than by the hand of servants, but that you chose the more praiseworthy behaviour and begged us to do so, we consider your word to be true, accept your speech, approve your hope, fulfil your wish, carry out what you need, praise your intention, thank you for the good opinion you have of us in this case, and send you what you have asked for in terms of troops and money. I make you my son and am a father to you. Take the money as a blessing for yourself, as well as the troops, and set out under God's blessing and his help. May you not be afflicted with discontent and impatience, but rather be stirred up against your enemies and do not slacken (-56, I POcoCk) in what you must do, since you have fallen from your rank and descended from your dignity. Behold, I hope that God will bring you victory over your enemies, that he will throw them under the lowest of your feet, that he will drive back their cunning into their throats, and that he will restore you to your dignity, in the hope of God (exalted is he)'. After the troops had arrived for Chusrö, he had received the money and had taken courage from reading Mauricio's letter, he marched with the Roman troops against Bahräm and met him between Madä'in and

Wäsit. Then Bahräm took flight, and he (Chusrö) killed all his (Bahräm's) comrades. Chusrö released (to plunder) the army camps of Bahräm, returned to his kingship, sat in it, and the people - assured him of their obedience altogether. He (Chusrö) summoned all the Romans, gave them gifts, sent them (the Romans) home to their master and sent to Maurikios twice the amount of gifts and money that he had received from him. He (Chusrö) returned Därä and Mayäfärikin to the Romans, built two churches for the Christians in Madä'in and consecrated one of them to the Lady (Mary) and the other to St Sergios the Martyr".

3

The novel is one of those historical reproaches that both attract and dishearten its author. There is no hiding the fact that the history of the novel is a field that can hardly be overlooked. It resembles a world empire whose provinces coincide with continents. Few who devote themselves to the European and American novel of modern times realise that the Near Eastern and East Asian novels are of equal importance. It means a lot to remember the ancient and medieval representatives. Extensive finds are also the order of the day in the nearer area, for which it is sufficient to recall the Middle High German Lancelot°. And who would have dared to attempt a literary and historical interpretation of the novel that deals with Bahräm Üöbin's fate°! And yet it is a poem that, standing on the border between late antiquity and the Middle Ages, contains all the decisions that one tends to face when faced with such a borderline situation.

Lancelot, ed. by R. Kluge (i 9q8).

[°] I.e. the nobility: Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache I. US . 93

^{&#}x27; The authors believe they can speak from experience. They have published many works: F. Altheim, Epochen der röm. Gesch. (+9351. -*J f.; Helios und Hclio- dor von Emesa (i 9 2) i Literatur und Gesellschaft it 949) II-i z f. (together with

U. Schneider-Menzel); Roman und Dekadenz (-es •1; R. Stiehl in: WZ KM. 53 (i 95Ö),

^{-2 2;} Altheim-Stiehl, Die aramäische Sprache z. Lfg. (i 960), i 83 -z z2.

[^] Most recently Altheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischer Staat i (i 9_{SS}). zO6-22ö ; F. A ltheim in : East and \Vcst q (195) . -9 44

What this novel has in common with the Song of the Fall of the Burgundians is that the Huns or Hephthalites are assigned a significant role. In both cases they are the opponents, sometimes they are the doom, sometimes the background that cannot be imagined away. They delimit and determine the historical space in which the events take place, and here and there they help to set accents, introduce judgements and carry out the verdict of fate. With this statement one is already in the midst of the questions that the **novel** sets out to answer. In this consideration, which is concerned with the fundamentals, **we** may take as our point of departure its predecessor and counterpart, the heroic song.

The Song of the Downfall of the Burgundians (insofar as one may rely on the Old Norse version) shows nothing of the courtly, chivalric colouring and the richness of the episodes that characterise the Middle High German Nibelung epic. Everything is in the song, characters and events,

"round and there". It is centred on its own centre, self-sufficient, closed and accepted in this closedness. Action is taken from the immediate present, straightforwardly and without wavering, and whatever counter-effects and consequences arise are borne in the same attitude. Reality is left unquestioned; it is measured and manageable, is concrete, tangible and clearly outlined. Light and dark, straightforwardness and deceitfulness are clearly divided. There are just as few allusions and perspectives as there is a structure that only becomes clear through mutual reference. What is there stands for itself and remains what it is; inside and outside, stages of mental or character development are not separated. Nowhere does a path open up to distant lands or even to the boundless: one has to live and assert oneself in a limited space. Collisions almost always lead to the downfall of those who are destined to succumb. The fact that the person concerned remains true to himself even then and, as long as he breathes, does not allow himself to be denied anything, ensures his downfall the crown that is considered the highest: tragic greatness.

\'on of the same kind, which can be observed in precursors or older forms of the heroic song. At most, the story of the King of Sümän transcends the set boundaries, a more recent contemporary of Bahräm Üöbin's novel, which it is. For here the reciprocal

^ We gladly confess that M. Wehrli's view of the medieval novel (Neue Z ürc her Zeitung 30. q. i g6o, L it.-Blatt) has inspired us.

Relation in events and structure is introduced for the first time when the king and Tarbün confront each other. The unbowed and the yielding must indiscriminately go the way of the bitter end, which is at the same time that of their people (above z, g) f.; 288).

The novel takes us into a different world. Compared to Heldenlied, the scope has increased enormously, events and the number of characters have multiplied. The course of the narrative is more difficult to grasp; it only becomes memorised after repeated reading. Writing and reading is the new thing: if the song was performed and heard in a larger circle, the novel opens up, so to speak, page by page in seclusion. If it was written on a scroll, it had to be rolled back and forth in order to visualise the context; if one read in a bound codex, it was difficult to do so without repeatedly turning the pages back and forth. But what was initially an annoying constraint soon became the vehicle for a new form of presentation. It was no longer necessary to limit oneself, but was able to unfold. What had been closed in the heroic song and remained in this state was allowed to unfold. It could become more multi-layered, live out in the richness of relationships and did not need to shy away from splitting up and double meaning.

Enough: the novel no longer has the unity, coherence and straightforward consistency that had characterised the song. No human figure and not even that of a people now contain a clear statement, form a lasting unity. Iran is supported by Byzantium and the Hephthalites. Both sin3 enemy and help the friend in turn, and the latter, moreover, asylum and new place of activity. Chusrö and Bahräm can also only be understood in constant opposition to each other, just as they appear in changing light through their common relationship to Hormizd. Chusrö's relationship to the emperor corresponds to Bahräm's relationship to Chäqäri. Defeat, abandonment and flight, then Chusrö's victory, are repeated in reverse order in Bahräm, and what is proclaimed in the monastery at Hit is encountered in the opposite sense in the hut of the old woman. But even within himself, man is no longer uniform and consistent. Chusrö tolerates the patricide and yet avenges it; he is appealing in misfortune and arrogant, repugnant in the possession of power. Bahräm is the reliable, obedient and compliant one, the champion of the ancestral kingship, and yet reaches for the crown. Bindöö and

Bistäm, initially the most faithful of the faithful, turn into rebels who rise up against their king, denying him and his house the right to the throne. Gurdiya, as long as she lives **under** the armour of her virginity, proves to be a *virogo*, which this poet only accepts among the female possibilities. Having become a slave to man, she sinks to that lowliness which nature has ordained for her and her equals. Fate, too, which has everything at its disposal, seems to be of the same kind: it brings Chusrö down and lifts him up, as it does, albeit in a different sequence, with Bahräm. But if it allows both to degenerate in happiness, it grants the one who is finally eliminated from the game the highest probation in misfortune. It enables Bahräm to find his way back to his former impeccable self in exile.

At times - and this is in addition to what has gone before - the framework of references that determines and supports this novel leads beyond its plot. A world of authoritative influences enters from outside, and it overshadows or illuminates what happens in the novel's defined field. Just as in the novel of the Christian Middle Ages Gregorius is modelled on Moses or poor Henry on Job, so Bahräm invokes Rustam, Isfan- divar and other heroes of legend for his actions; Chusrö does the same in the admonitions and \(\pm\'\)'ersprechen that he addresses to his opponent; the monk v on Hit mentions the Book of Daniel and the Delamites conjure up the ostracised, forgotten Arsacids from the darkness. The inner correspondence, which arises from the events of the novel itself, is c o m p l e m e n t e d by an outer, as it were brought in. Motif repetitions in the same and in the opposite sense - one has spoken of .4fofivrcimrit -, as memorable as all repetitions and rhymes, are supplemented by the reference to the ancestors of the saga and cieschichte. The structure of the whole is anchored in both, giving the reader the certainty he needs to surrender unreservedly to what is reported. For the hiii ways, although put into the mouths of the actors, are in truth those of the poet, who assigns them to his characters according to his own judgement. This procedure guarantees the uniformity that remains indispensable for a value system.

Once again, a change has taken place compared to the heroic song. The unambiguous has been replaced by ambiguity, or at least by a zoeiseitigkeit that dresses all events like a Nessos robe.

seems to stick. The uncertainty that arises from this necessitates the installation of new safeguards. But they are of a different kind than the undoubted, unreflective elements of the heroic song. Views and vistas are inserted with artificial deliberation, allowing the realisation and repetition of the realisation to become transparent. And such awareness at least creates the illusion that the structure of the human can be visualised with insight.

With all this, a component is introduced into the novel that can hardly be spared the reproach (if it is one) that it theorises and does not refrain from teaching. Sometimes the new ingredient condenses into moralising, and this then provides further insight. For from the outset it has secured a preponderance over everything that could oppose it. Once again: in the \Velt of tensions that announce themselves everywhere and only too often also reveal themselves, there is a need for renewed certainty. But even the moral becomes questionable. On the one hand, the highest claim, on the other hand it shows the strongest susceptibility. And it would be difficult to avoid the fact that this process, which leads to ambiguity and division everywhere, stops at what appears to be the highest. Once set in motion, it continues and also takes hold of those enclosed areas in which the new certainty, the now once again undoubted reality, is thought to have secured itself. In this novel, the new consolidation of certainty leads to the fact that, to the extent that it seems to prove itself, it once again becomes questionable. And in the end, this softening also casts doubt on values that initially seemed to the poet to be beyond discussion.

^{*} A Itheim-stieh1, Ein asiatischer Staat, i , i 681. ; F. .X Itheim, Utopie und \\'irt-scb6ft (tg§7) 3

Čõbîn's fate show that it was only in the novel that loyalty as a moral value preserving the feudal state and its society became the standard of judgement. Whereas Bahräm otherwise appears as a rebel who unquestioningly follows his personal quest for power, and those who appear alongside him know no other behaviour, in the novel everything has been given a new and unique centre through the reference to the obligation of loyalty.

Bahrām is the obedient vassal of King Hormizd; as such, he has remained loyal despite the dishonour done to him. Bahrām adopts the same attitude at Chāqān's court, and the latter responds in kind to the exiled and overthrown king. Unwavering loyalty characterises Gurdõä, Bahrām's brother. Bindõë and Bis äm also remain steadfastly loyal to Chusrõ, never abandoning him in adversity and laying down their lives **for** him. Chusrõ himself **admonishes** his opponent Bahrām to behave in the same way after his apostasy and reminds him of the great role models of Iranian legend. This becomes the norm for all actions and their judgement.

But the novel would hardly be what it is if what it had elevated and established had not been transformed back into something reflective and multi-layered. As fidelity rose to a dominant position, it became vulnerable, exposed to temptation and devaluation. It is characteristic that conflicts of loyalty arise. Commitment comes into conflict with other obligations, and what seemed to be unambiguous proves to be open to different interpretations when put to the test. It is not only Chusrö who has to choose between revenge and loyalty. Kärin is also faced with the question of whether he is more committed to Bahräm or Chusrõ. The rebellious Dëlamites, on the other hand, speak out that their obligations to the Arsacids and Sasanids are quite balanced.

Even more drastic is the fact that the shining proof of loyalty is confronted with clear betrayal. Bahräm disregards the obligation to Chusrõ that has bound him to Hormizd. Chusrõ's behaviour is also vulnerable to the temptations of power and personal gain. The fact that he lets Bindöë and Bis äm prove to his own father that he has already withheld the truth from Hormizd casts a heavy shadow on his loyalty to his son. Then, faced with the decision of whether to avenge his father's murder or remain a vassal, he breaks his word to his former supporters. Bis äm, until then one of the most loyal, then becomes a rebel, a

second Bahräm. He openly succeeds him by marrying Bahräm's sister Gurdiya. Gurdiya in turn betrays Bis äm to win Chusrõ's love. And Bahräm, Siyãvuś son, behaves similarly towards his previous master Bahräm Čõbln.

Bindôë's last word comes in the midst of this confusion of pledged and broken loyalty, of high ideals and painful reality. It unabashedly accuses the Sasanians of constant betrayal and breach of promise. If anywhere, one may look for the poet's judgement in this statement. If he had an answer at all to the question of how the proud royal house could have fallen from its heights, it was that loyalty was disregarded and thus the foundation of what existed was removed.

I2. CHAPTER

ATTILA AND OSTROM

After a long interruption, the portrayal returns to the Huns. Rua ruled over them in his last years as sole ruler; his @itregent had died before him. A tightening of the reins was immediately noticeable. When the Eastern Roman troops were deployed against the Vandals in North Africa, Rua used the exposure of the Balkan front to make demands through his negotiator **Esla** in Constantinople (434). The Eastern Romans were to return to his rule certain tribes that had fled to them. Esla named the Amilzurs, Itimars, Tunsurs and Boiskers as such tribes. If the demand was not met, war was threatened.

All the tribes have Turkish names and were Huns (i,8 above) '. In the year3 5 they were located north of the Sea of Azov, but there is every indication that they moved on from there with the other Huns (Z, 35 above)'. Obviously, their defences were located in eastern Roman territory. There, where one is always looking for warlike replacements

they would have been welcomed with open arms. On the other hand, it is clear that Rua was determined to unite all the Hun tribes under his rule. He therefore demanded the return of these tribes as subjects and runaways.

Rua had chosen the time well. He had proceeded as the Huns were wont to do. IJ sg5 they had used the absence of Theodosios I's army in Italy for their major invasion of the eastern provinces.

and d22 the departure of the Danube garrisons had led them to the Persian War in Thrace. In view of the difficult situation, two military commanders, the Goth Plintha and the consul of the year ¢22 Dionysius, were s e n t from Constantinople to negotiate. They achieved

^{&#}x27;On E. A. Thompson, op. cit. O. 7 Note -.

[°] Against E. A. Thompson, a. 0. y i.

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Rua no longer lived, he had died in the spring of 434. Once again, two kings succeeded him: Rua's nephews Bleda and Attila (I, 3 4 f. above).

Both were of different natures. What is known of Bleda does not speak in his favour. His favourite possession was a Moorish dwarf called Zerkon, whose stammering speech and crippled gait gave the Hun unbridled pleasure. Zerkon was forgiven and granted everything. Whatever he did or wished for was the cause of unending laughter. Whether Zerkon escaped and was brought back in chains, whether he wished for a wife or was given armour, he was always the subject of crude jokes and barbaric mischief.

Attila could hardly bear to look at Zerkon ... He possessed a notion of imperious dignity - the first among the Hun kings to count not only Bleda but also the Völler Uptar in their ranks. Here it may suffice to cite Prisko's judgement: "He strode proudly along, letting his eyes wander here and there, his consciousness of power expressed in a toned body; he loved war, but he was able to restrain his arm; he was clever in advice and in planning, but. He listened to those who pleaded with him, and once he had accepted them among his own, he remained a benevolent lord; short of stature, broad of chest, mighty of head, slit-eyed, with sparse and grey whiskers, flat-nosed and dark-skinned, he possessed all the characteristics of Hunnic origin". But he planned great things and dared to do them, the report continues. The reason for this was the sword of the god of war, which a shepherd had found and brought to Attila. Now he denied that he was called to be lord of the world: the right to wage war and the power to do so had been granted to him by that sword.

Such unequal rulers could not coexist for long. The weight of the younger one secured him the leading position from the outset; the coming autocracy was foreseeable. After all

Bleda only fell by the murderer's hand years later (probably445). and Attila was left without a rival. Despite all their differences, the brothers were united against the external enemy. Eastern Roman negotiators

could not expect to play one off against the other. This is shown by the treaty concluded with Attila and Bleda outside the walls of the city of Margo in 435.

When Plintha met the two Hun kings with the rhetor Epigenes, whose abilities were expected to be great at home, he was faced with new demands. Not only were they forced to promise not to accept any Hun refugees in the future and to send back the previous ones. The prisoners of war who had escaped from Hunnic custody and found their way back to the Eastern Roman borders also had to be handed over or pay the exorbitant price of eight gold pieces each. Eastern Rome was not allowed to conclude an alliance with any nation that was at war with the Huns. As if that were not enough, an old treaty was brought out that guaranteed the Huns trading rights in certain Roman marketplaces. It was renewed and supplemented so that the Hun merchants had equal rights with the Roman merchants and were also granted trading security. The annual payments by the empire, which had amounted to 3sO guilders under Rua, were doubled.

The treaty revealed the heightened demands of a people and of its rulers, who had become aware of their power. They made demands of their Eastern Roman neighbour that could hardly be reconciled with the latter's claim to supremacy. You can feel Attila's hand behind what he was responsible for together with the Druder. The policy that the future autocrat was to pursue was becoming apparent.

2

After the conclusion of the \$'treaty of 4_{85} , Bleda and Attila set about subjugating the peoples of all Scythia and waged war with the Sorosgians. So says Priskos, and his brief statement requires explanation.

The name alone tells us who the Sorosgians were; according to this, they were 'Huns'. On the other hand, it is clear what was meant by the peoples of the whole of Scythia. They formed the entirety of the Hun tribes and the nomadic tribes of Eastern Europe as far as the forest zone. The two Hun kings thus continued the policy of unification that their predecessor Rua had endeavoured to pursue.

^{&#}x27;ZopóœyoUç Priskos in Exc. de legat. i z z, z z de Boor. They are not listed in G. 'tloravcsik's Dyzantinoturcica. The first part is the one discussed above i, 8 "or "prince, hero"; the second Old Turk. osøy "kind". The whole forms a hah u vrihillompositum of the form treated above i, to: °čor-osks "those whose kind are heroes (o'ler princes)".

¹⁸ A lthelm. If unnen IV

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Scythia in no way comprises, as has been assumed°, the Germanic nian tribes. Attila's dirge separates *Scythica ct* Gørmariico *regna*, and the islands of Okeanos cannot be attracted either, for they denote the boundaries of the world in the traditional way (above i, -43) But the peoples of Scythia, in contrast to Zxu8ixf}, also have their own colouring. Priskos speaks of the Akatzirs as wooUv xcrró QUh'x xoì

 $_{\rm V~W}$ cx6v-rev (Exc. de legat. io3, 8f.). He means a $\,$ 'ielheit of tribes and chieftains. A second point is different. In Byzans

it was emphasised that neither under the reign of Attila's ancestors nor under that of others were such high-ranking envoys sent as under Attila himself (Exc. de legat. I>3, 9-to). Toûro yóp où6l Iwì zUv crù-root wpoyóvmv oùfil Wener why óp§óm':øv 'ríjs Z "u8ix ç yzvla8ai, is the decisive sequence of words. The two groups are separated by the exclusive oú6é-oùfii "not even - nor also": when Attila's ancestors ruled, it was not the

vice versa. It follows from this that the wpóyovoi were the sole rulers at the time in question, which leads to kingship and not to tribal chieftains. This is confirmed by the fact that both Attila and

his ancestors appear as $\acute{o}p(ov-rtç\ c\ ZxuØttttj\$,\ not\ as\ \grave{O}_{SX}\ i\ xœr\'o\ John\ zUv\ ZxuØ\~G\ v.$ They and he claimed to be kings of the Hunnic people as a whole. The wp\acute{o}yovoi are undoubtedly ítua and

Octar, the only ones known of. Rua's policy of unification was continued by Bleda and Attila.

The extent to which this eastern European dominion extended northwards is shown by the mention of the Akatzirs. Their name was previously understood as Old Turk. -nyar-äri "forest people" °, the tribe itself was interpreted as Hunnish. The reason to look at this again is an explanation that

W. B. Henning's origin and name'. For him, the Akatzirs were nothing other than "white" Chazars.

Henning's interpretation is based on a series of misunderstandings of a source-critical, linguistic and philological nature. The proof can only be provided by re-examining the relevant testimonies.

Theodosius II had sent gifts to the Akatzirs in order to entice them away from Attila (Priskos in : Exc. de legat. ION, 8 f.). But the over-

[°] Against E. .4 ThOmpson, l. c. O. 75*-

[^] dry. Moravcsik, By zantinoturcica z°, 38 f. ; Lt. Sin or in : J ourn. Asiat. z 33, $\sharp j$;

K. H. Menges in: **By2antion•**7. z6 i.

[•] In : BSOS. i 95 z, for f.

bringer had not kept the right order in the distribution: of zœró vòEiv txóœry why §'xoiht'ov not t8vouS 61b'o¢riv. The Akatzirs therefore had kings, namely the entire people, ttVy, not the previously mentioned putter x'xl ytvrJ. Then it continues: Ğo-re zòv Koupl-

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6ctyOV -rrpt';r| -rtpoV 6 r'x -rvj Ap , Ò 6Up" 6E(Aptvo V 6t0-rtpOV, Olci
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zóv 'A h'xv xœró zñv ox'p|3owihcuómmv. The comparative Trptpğú-rtpo\$ shows that there were only two kings, and fi pop confirms it. If oop|3'xoihiúov-rr5 is used in the following, it does not contradict the conclusion drawn. When the supposedly injured party calls Attila "in relation to those who ruled at the same time", he and the second king are meant. The dual kingship suggests from the outset that we are dealing with Huns.

An indication of the residences of the Akatzirs can be found in lordanes' Getica 5, 36, in the middle of the description of Scythia, which begins rnit 5, 30. Mommsen s (whose comments on lordanes' ÇJuellen Henning incomprehensibly overlooked) has shown that the Beginn adheres to a geographical map. This map was similar to Peutinger's and dated back to

the zJ century AD. It is not clear whether Cassiodorus, whose H'erk

lordanes drew, himself made the description based on the map or whether he used a description already available to him -. Mİt §.34 'f*o^- Homitîa ficrf'ttitic iher varias /ariiifias

 $\phi \phi$ i/cnfur insert additions that correspond to the information on the older map such as from the time of the scribes. The use of language shows that Cassiodorus is again the basis.

His twelve books of Gothic history were completed between \$z6 and533 -. It is true that according to \$.37 the Bulgarians live in *the Mare Ponlicum*. This refers to the wetÄctió or peyWp Bouhy'xp1n, which according to Nikephoros (p.33 de Boor) extended wopó v Mellzrr htpvr¡v xœró *rbv* Ki';'i *va* wozcrpóv to the Don. His information is supported by Theophanes

(p 3_{SZ} de Boor). The Bulgars there were the successors of the Hunnic Kutrigurs or, as Nikephoros calls them, the Kotragen. Prokop has the residences of the Kutrigurs spread from the right bank of the

[^] In the introduction XX X I f.

[^] Th. Mommsen, op. cit. O. X XX II I.

^{&#}x27;Th. Mommsen, a. 0. A*3 i . i -2.

[^] Th. Mommsen, a. 0. XLI.

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Don to the Danube (bell. Goth.4. 5. -5 f.). These testimonies confirm the chronological attribution of 5, 3z to Cassiodorus".

Henning'⁰ seems to believe that the whole passage goes back to Lordanes himself. His reasons are insignificant, because the source-critical analysis shows that Cassiodorus and thus a witness of the first rank is present. This is particularly true for our passage. After all, Cassiodorus' master, Theodoric, himself fought with the Bulgarians ¹ and had his chancellor send letters to the *Acsti* (vg1. 5, 3*) (var. 5, 2) ¹².

Enough: lordanes, or more correctly Cassiodorus, knows of a succession of three peoples stretching from north to south. At the Oceanus, i.e. on the Baltic Sea, are the A osti already mentioned, south of them '* the

Aca/ziri, and these are joined by the Bulgarians as far as the Pontus (5. 3 37) The Akatzirs thus live deep inland, in the centre of a strip running from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

Another testimony is given by Priskos. The 'AxŒr§ipoi were subject to Attila from a certain time onwards, who appointed his eldest son as ruler. Here we learn that they lived together with other tribes in Trpòç zòv H6mov Zxu8vxfjv '^. Henning translates:

"the S'cythian lands on the Black Sea" "", and believes from this that Jordanes' and Priskos' statements are in irreconcilable contradiction. Henning decides in favour of Priskos; he believes he can deny Jordanes' testimony any value.

[^] On the **time approach Gy. MoravCsik, ã. 0. 2-, '7i** . **Then W. B. Henning, a. 0. 5o3** below; x-gl. Iordan... R O m- 3*3

^{&#}x27;° a . 0. - O3 f.

[&]quot; linnodius, MGH, auct. ant.7. ° 3 f. Henning alludes to this testimony (op. cit. below), but intentionally did not look it up, **otherwise he** would **have** come across the **conflation**.

[&]quot;Th. MOmmsen, a. 0.*3 Note i.

^{&#}x27;O IJaß qøiòøs ill **eøsirurn** adsi dr.I originally did not follow the Acsti, but another 'V'olksname unknown to us (W. B. Henning, a. 0.5 03), is a mere assertion.

 $^{^{\}prime \wedge}$ FCiH.4 P $\,$ b 2 b, 18 f. Müller, cf. 89 a, i6 f. I quote from this text-critically inadequate edition because Henning does so and the reader is thus given the opportunity, to compare both of our experiences.

[^] FHG. a, p. 89 a, i y.

¹⁰ a. O. 503; the same **error** t'ei J. Harmatta in : Acta arch. **Hung.** z, •97

However, Henning's decision is based on a translation error.

"The Scythian lands on the Black Sea" should read: v wpé zÿ Hóm':p Zxu8ixrJv. What Priskos means is: *Scythia quä ad Ponlum "ergil"*. This means that the homeland of the Akatzirs was not on the coast, but in the interior, admittedly closest to the Pontus of the seas bordering Scythia.

The facts are therefore different from what Henning assumes. There are two independent testimonies: Priskos for the middle of the 3rd century and Cassiodorus for the twenties of the 6th century. Both testimonies contradict each other

each other. For Priskos, the Akatzirs were in the Russian interior, and for Cassiodorus they were still there. A more precise definition is not possible.

Priskos gives further news. The Sabirs, pushed by the Avars, drove the Saragurs, Urogen and Onogurs from their seats '®. The Saragurs came to the Akatzirs and subjugated them ¹°. Together with the Akatzirs, the Saragurs then undertook an invasion of Iran°°. Nothing is said about new seats of the Akatzirs. On the contrary: the Saragurs had to leave theirs and thus joined the Akatzirs, who were apparently still in the old place. Henning's view that the Akatzirs lived north of the Caucasus - in the steppes between the Kuban, Don and Volga rivers°¹ - is not supported by anything. It is ruled out by Prokop's statement that the Kutrigurs lived there west of the Don, beyond the Sea of Azov and east of the river the

Utigurs lived (bell. Goth. 4. 5. -z)

This eliminates the conclusions that Henning draws from his erroneous interpretation°2. That the Akatzirs living in the interior of Russia had anything to do with

^{&#}x27;Liv. 36,5• 1 O1 Callidromon ... iii coins ocite md Maliacum siiium vergeiiïe iicr bsl cfc.

^{&#}x27;® FHG. 4 P- '°4 b, i9 f.

^{&#}x27;° FHG. p. i o'¡a, i f.

^{°°} FHG. p. top b, i6 f.

o' a. 0. 5°3 Henning has the Akatzirs live "in the Scythian lands on the Black Sea" and then continues: "one would naturally localise them in steppes between Ku ban, Don, and Volga". However, these steppes are not "on the Black Sea", but between the Sea of Azov and the Caspian Sea. Even this location remains arbitrary.

^{&#}x27;o a. 0. 5od f. They are, to turn an expression of Henning's against him: "learned bosh".

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The fact that we have excellent information about their origins proves that the Chazars are not the only o n e s involved. Theophanes (3_s) and Nikephoros (P 34) have them come from Btp§uhtö, in which J. Marquart

34) have them come from Btp§uhtö, in which J. Marquart
Daghestan has recognised °°. Mas'üdi in the famous I2. chapter of his 5fura
takes us one step further. According to this, the core of the Chazars, the Islamic
warrior nobility, came from the neighbourhood of Chwärezm°'. This news has
recently been confirmed from the linguistic side. According to the explicit
testimony of the Porphyrogennetes°5, the Magyars formed part of the Chazars.
According to O. Szemerén3-i's evidence°-, their language contains a number of
Iranian loanwords which originated from the oldest Chwärezmish. The
statements of St. John of Ephesus, available in various forms (i, 85 ; 2, 2£) f.
above), have provided evidence that the Chazars d i d not migrate westwards
from north-eastern Iran until 585. The fact that Henning's view is thus
definitively invalidated has already been noted (i. 96 f. above). Tabari (ann. i,
z826, I z) still recognises a maJién 1- jazar in north-eastern Iran in the year of
Yazd- gard III's death. Among those who received requests for help from the
last Sasanid, the Khazar king

after that of Fer yana, before the x ori Kabul and the ddAéd'i Mersvs.

The name of the Akatzirs remains. Henning or interprets it as a combination of Old Turkish ag "white" and the name of the Chazars. Originally *xacir, it developed via *zasir (cf. Syr. fiasir, jiasar) to *xazir. Henning says: "he would be a bold man who asserted that a sound change of intervocalic -c-to -s- (and further to -z-) was impossible in the language of the Khazars, or that it had not possessed the sound -c-". Henning interprets the first part of 'Ax6-r§ipoi from Old Turkic. Then the rest should also find its explanation there. All the more so as the inscriptions from Novocherkask (I, 2yq f. above) show that the Khazars actually spoke this language. All the more does the objection mean that the Old Turkic language does not recognise the change from intervocalic c to s and z as demanded by Henning. Where c (ls) occurs, it is a modification of r.

[^] East European and East Asian disputes 48g f. ; cf. q8s: --last K. H. Menges in : Byzantion i y_ ° 7*

[^] z, i o, 2 Barb.; above i, ° 77

 $^{^{\}circ\wedge}$ De admin. 38-So 6loravcsik ; in addition F . Altheim, Geschichte der latein. Language 7 *-

^{°-} In F. Altheim, op. cit. O. 66f.

^{°&#}x27; a. 0. 506.

And of this, M. Räsänen°" expressly emphasises that it has been preserved almost everywhere.

Henning's further arguments are equally unfounded. For the fact that *ksr* in Zacharias Rhetor is "evidently" an older form of the Chazar name (str. *asir*, *liasar*) may be valid, but does not prove the change from c to s. And Geogr. Rav. i68, 13 *f. QWOS Cha20ZOS ... IOrdanis gaziros vocat*, requires the author to make a statement that is not found in the latter. Moreover, it has proven to be equally inaccurate both factually and linguistically. This means that Henning's linguistic proof is also invalid, and the path to realisation - or more correctly: to restoring what is correct - is clear.

Priskos refers to the Akatzirs once as Zxt 8ixòv I8vo5°", a second time clearly as 'Axœrtpouç OŁivvouç°0. Henning seems to assume that the language of the Huns differed from Turkish °'. The same no longer needs to be refuted today, and in positive terms this means that the name of the Hunnic Akatzirs can be explained from Turkish. A second clue comes from where the tribe lived. It turned out that they lived inland in Russia, between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, and more towards the latter. This raises the possibility that they were already living in the forest zone. Henning has objected °° that lordanes' labelling as *gcns* ... /rugum ignara

quae pecoribus cl venaliotiibus ricfiføf (Get. 5, 36) contradicts this. However, hunting and the absence of agriculture fit in perfectly with the forest zone. The fact that cattle breeding also does so is shown by the picture of the Gorodishche culture, which is typical of the forest zone is ^.

This brings us back to $*a2'n\check{c}-dri$ "forest people". After all that has been said about the opposite of these to the "field people"

was said (above I, i i : 34*: 3A6 f.), should no longer be acted upon. That the South Russian Turks also faced "field men",

0. Szemerényi has proved to the Wazør ^.

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Materialien z. Lautgesch. d. türk. Sprachen (Stud. Orient. i 5) i7 3 ; i 8° f.
FHG. p. 8z b, i9 f.
FHG. q - s a, z. Correct E. A. ThOmpson, a. 95
I.c. 3o6, cf. -io.
a. 0. 5o6 Note g.
Summarising A. M. Tallgren in : Eurasia Sept. Antigua to, •7'
Øei F. Altheim, Gesch. der lat. Sprache y Arim. i.
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3

The treaty of 43_S must be mentioned once again. The negotiators had met in Margos, a town in Moesia Prima, situated at the mouth of the Morawa into the Danube. They met outside the city walls, and the two Hun kings insisted They insisted on conducting the negotiations on horseback. The eastern Roman representatives had to adapt to this, however unfamiliar the custom may have been to them. Negotiating on horseback was the way of an equestrian people, and it is not only attested for the Huns 1 . It was only in the following period that Hun diplomacy took on a form that better met the demands placed on it.

At first, the composition of the Hun nobility had changed. The former tribal and family heads had stepped down.

nowhere are those xcrrö son --' $_{\rm TW}$ - $_{\rm TX}$ tS in the foreground, of which Priskos reports on the occasion of the .ßkatziren. Already x or Attila° raised A new closed class emerged, which Priskos calls hoyÖ6t5 . They were members of the court and were used as agents of their lord in warfare, tax collection and diplomatic missions. Research has focussed on these hoya6e\$ at an early stage.

^{&#}x27;The same is reported of the Parthians. "They are always on horseback", says Apollodoros of Artemita (in I ustin . $\not\in 1$, 3, ; on this F. Altheim, \Ve1tgeschichte Asiens e [i 94 8s , 271. "on it they go to war, they ride to their castles, they fulfil their public and private obligations. They go on horseback and

They stand, act and discuss with each other. And finally, servants and lords differ in this, that the one go on foot, the other always appear on horseback". Of the Parthians (Herodian. q, i i, 6) as of the Huns (.Hmm. Marc. 3i, z, 6) it is said that they were only found in the saddle; that they were unhelpful and defenceless on foot. Again, we encounter the idea that the noble and high-ranking man forgave himself something if he did not appear on horseback during \(\frac{1}{2}\) 'erhandlungen. When, after the battle at Karrhai, Crassus walked to the meetings with Surenas on foot according to Roman **custom**, the Parthian exclaimed: "How? A Roman emperor on foot and we in the saddle?" He immediately had a gold-harnessed horse brought and forced Crassus to mount it (Plutarch, Crass. 3• 3: cf. 5). Conversely, he threatened Sandilch, chieftain of the H u nnic Utigurs, said he would give his Kutrigur cousins take the horses as a sign of submission (llenander Prot. *Er.* 3, FHG. 4

^{. 203).} Even the Joelan gene Ba jazet had to get off his horse before Tim ur (Michael Dukas p. 6S Den n.). "The begs or landowners xvere usually fine men with dignified bearing. Theyinvarial'ly rode, regarding pedestrians with contempt", remarks P. Sykes from Kasc hgar {in : J ourn. R. Central Asian Societ y 937. 3°°)

[•] E. A. Thompson, op. cit. O. Cop; cf. 58; i63.

turned'. J Harmatta has recently spoken about her on various occasions.

Originally' the hoyčt6t\$ and twrrr;6ciot of Attila, six of whom are known by name, were foreign tribesmen, five of them Germanic according to their names, one Roman. Accordingly, no member of the Hun tribal chiefdom would have belonged to the new class. The hovčt6tS had been lords of smaller or larger territories, where they ruled in Attila's name with an armed hand and levied taxes. In Harmatta's view, what was to be grasped was the replacement of the former tribal community by the incipient state ("a nascent state organisation"). This expresses the strengthening of royal power in contrast to the previous tribal chiefs. Just as Attila had largely wiped out his own house, he had created a society that depended solely on him, in which many foreigners had entered. Two years later, Harmatta presented a new result of his research, which differed from the previous one. 'Ewi 6cioi and hoyó6c\$ are now divorced. The former still has a personal relationship with Attila as before. But hoyó\$ takes on a different meaning. They are simply Hun nobles as a social class. They can be compared to the *vazurgân* tió õrõóõti of the Sasanian inscriptions' or the bäglär among the Central Asian Turks.

The meaning of the \word hoyó is taken as a starting point: "selected, choice, chosen". This can refer to an "elite" in the military or social sense, which in turn implies selection. Thus hoyóç is used with reference to vectvloi (Herodot. i, 3f': q3; Eurip., Hec. 544d *Ifld of the zpitjxóøioi *draper i-rt*':øv hoyófit (Herodot. p, 124) or of the hoyčt6c\$ Fltp¢rimv oì ópiœrot x'-hioi (Herodot. 9, 63) Thucydides, who ends the word more often, calls 'Apyiícøv or)(íhioi hoyó6t\$ (5,6y, 2 and ff.), the 600 hoyófif\$ of the Syracusan hoplites who are to guard Epipolai against the Athenians (G,

9 . 3). titid zpioxoníoo ... wQ'iiv øúvñv hoyétfict zetì why *grid v rival* ix- hlxzou (6, IOO, I). The added U-enetivus partitivus denotes the overall

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° E. A. Thompson, op. cit. O. 98 ; ioo ; \bullet_{SS} : i ò3 f. ; zo9. ^ I n : Acta arc haeol. Hufig. • 3 6 f. °1. c. 139 r. ° In Acta archaeol. Hung. z, 297 . f.
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^{&#}x27;G. V-'idengren in: Orientalia Suecana 5 (i 956), • -7

"sxpipśvoic hovówty tpwiærcúeroi Ovh'x-

from which the selection is taken. This totality can also be left out, especially when it is self-evident. But even then it is also implied, as in the univel hoyó6sç, htEtiS Xoyó6£ç, of which Photios speaks. Herodian combines éwíXrz-rot hoyò6t\$ and éwíhtxzoi xoì hoyót6ct (2, 13, 21; ß, 3, i I) and thus confirms the result.

Priskos has the same usage. Only that where it is used by
The fact that the hoyó6's of the Huns are referred to here does not only
mean them as a larger whole, but also adds At tila as the selector. There is no
question that this meant something corresponding to the Sasanian dzdód'i.
Berichos was a dsóó, insofar as he is referred to as Tropó Zxú8oiç to yeyov
óJp, and dzdòdii were the xœró yśvos

fiioQtpomS mentioned elsewhere. 'Apt'rro5 and pćyiæros, which one would most likely associate with vazørg, never appeared to be absolutely related (which is what such an equation would require): pćyi'rro ncrrõ wóRpov špyo 6icrrrpo(áptvo5 and zó xæró wóhfpov opicrro\$, both used by Edekon. In contrast to the other Huns (Zxú8oi), Edekon, Orestes and Skottas xoì š-rspoi vñv év æirrois hoyó6mv are grouped together (Exc. de legat. iz3, zz f.), and next to Attila are rró sof ópQ' oú-róv Xoyó6t\$ (ibid. i 7. °*) This can only be understood to mean that they belong most closely to the ruler and, if by anyone, are chosen by him. The fact is unmistakable in Edekon's words: Ğt xoì iwi fitvo eÎrJ zÿ 'Amfihq xnì zriv cm-rod zoi\$ tlç zoG-ro Œrro

xrjv (ibid. 5, 16). Here the original meaning of a selection is clear and, moreover, that the selection for Attila or through him

has taken place. This is why Edekon can also describe himself as his master's 8tpóTrmv, as énrrr¡6sio\$ and also as his wtwiœrsupśvo\$. Here we even know the old Turkish equivalent: *tnanc'u* to inorimnq "trust". Everything points to a direct relationship with Attila, who selected Edekon and the other hoyófit\$ from the entirety of the Huns. This is confirmed by a final passage (Exc. de legat. I36, z f.). According to this, it was organised in such a way that zoùç ... óhóv-rers òwò zUv sùwópmv prró zòv 'AmfJhov

r -'-x- zñv Zxu8Uv hoyó6tS.. The "chosen ones" among the Huns had, according to the ruler himself, the "choice" among the prisoners and were allowed to take the richest who brought the highest ransom. You can recognise a deliberate play with meaning. Like Attila

[°] F. Altheim, Ans Spätantike u nd Christentu m (i 95z) 95 Anm. ą ; Altheim-Stiehl, Finanzgesch. der Spätantike ą8 Arim. i 36 ; dazu l*olyb. 3, 69, i : S t r a b o n 7 7

h Tó6t5, they chose the best prey immediately after their xúpio5.

It has been shown that the comparison with the razørgõii iió dzãóôii does not apply. These existed among the Huns, but they did not coincide with the hoyófitç. However, there were also "chosen ones" in the Sasanian Empire. abari

(ann. i. *9 . 3) says that Chusrõ I. Anõšar vän chose his judges, officials ('oøitriãJ) and governors (la *flay yara*). Official ('døii/) and

The governor (tritt) was also Onegesios, one of the hoyób's, who was sent to the Akatzirs with a son of Attila. He was to install him there as king (xœrocrvi'jwoi: Exc. de legat. 13°. >5: *3*. >3 f.), Berichos, whose noble birth had been mentioned earlier, calls Priskos

elsewhere (ibid. iA2, I I) as Òv6pc' vUv hoyó6mv xnì wohhćöv iv cry

Zxu8ixr; $x' \varpi p - e_X$ o. He belonged to the hoyó6cS around Attila, and thus administered those villages on his behalf as his 'dmif' or cdli.

One would therefore have a correspondence between a Hunnic and a Late Asanid organisation attested under Chusrõ I. This would contradict the previously held view that the (European) Huns, in contrast to the Hephthalites who remained in the east and the voices living in their community, were only in contact with the early Asanid culture. It should therefore be emphasised that the introduction

The direction of the hoyó6tç is attested far earlier. According to Priskos (ibid. -54), Përõz sent 300 óv6poç why hoyó6mV to the Kidarite king with the false king's daughter. They too are "chosen ones", and as is the case with such a

Dinawari (8z, 3 f.), based on Bahrām Čõbin's novel, shows how this happened. The latter, charged with leading the war against the Turks (Hephthalites), is given access to the army's muster roll (dimān al-ğund) so that he can choose (li-yaistāra) who agrees to join him. After consulting the marzòdti and colonels (a/-eJrā/), he selects (iii/a aòa) 12 OOO knights.

It remains to discuss Harmatta's assertion that Attila's hoyófitç were not of Hunnic, but either Gothic or Roman **origin**. At least in his earlier treatise he had held this view, but in his later one he had dropped it. Harmatta gave Gothic etymologies for the names of the Edekon, Eslas, Berichos, Onegesios and Skottas. He could also have recalled that once hoyó6t\$ of the Goths are mentioned (Priskos fr. 3s

[°] Acta archaeol. Hung. i , i aa f.

FHG. A, io8). But these were those of the Goths, not the Huns. Edekon is explicitly referred to by Priskos as óJp Zxú8rjç and not Oúvvou yś- voŁí\$. This eliminates the probability of a Germanic name: the equation rnit with Old Turk. ädgü remains '°. Berichos is also Hun (wopó Zxíi8 "s tp yeyovózo ó v b p ó \$), and his name can also be given an Old Turkic etymology ". The same applies to Onegesios, for he belongs to the Zx râwv hoyófit\$; he gives freedom to a Greek prisoner xœró zòv wnpó Z"%oiç vópov. His name can be interpreted as Old Turk. *on-i yiz'°. Skottas is Onegesios' brother and thus a Hun like him, even if he should have had a Gothic-sounding name or rather an epithet "archer" (Old Norse sày/i, alid. scuzzo, ags. scy//n) '°. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the manuscripts do not give the form rnit with a double v, but rnit with a single v 1-. This also raises the possibility of an Old Turkic etymology. The verbal root oz- "to flee, escape, save, free oneself" would then be extended with the factitive - ytiJ " (alongside oz-yur-, oz-

-qør-) and at the end rnit the deverbal nominal suffix a l-. Demafter -orytifo "saviour, liberator". It remains Eslas ('Hwho5). An itacistically pronounced *isla- cannot be urgerman. -oisi/a *cela \(^1\) can be equated. Only Old Turkic iJ, if 'deed, business, enterprise, service' and fa, /ö can be considered as adjectival suffixes \(^1\)". Thus *iś/\(^o\) or **šla.

This eliminates the prospect of recognising Goths in the hoyófitç. This leaves Orestes, a native of Pannonia and father of the last Western Roman emperor Romulus Augustulus'". He is explicitly described as one of the hoyòfiss. Priskos also calls him 6-rróovó zc x':xl iirwoypoQlo 'A-r-rf¡h'x and says explicitly that he had to take a back seat to a native Hun like Edekon in terms of prestige. For the anonymous Valesianus

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'° F. Altheim, Literatur und Gesellschaft i, z i y; G. Moravcsili, Byzantinoturcica z°, i z i . min Skire Edika im O. J ah rhundert bei 0. Höfler in : Paul and Brau nes Beitr. 77. 53, mlt literature.
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[&]quot; G. Moravc sik, a. 0. z°, 89 f.

 $^{^{\}text{\tiny{10}}}$ F. Altheim, a. 0. i ,* 7: . MOfaVCSlk, a. 0. 218. H armatta considered in his Gothic etymology the itacist pronunciation of y, but not that of y. $^{\text{\tiny{10}}}$ J. Harmatta, op.

O. i4 8; G. MoravCsik, à. 0. 2°, 279.

^{&#}x27;- The data in G. Moravcsik, a. 0. 2°, 79-

 $^{^{\}prime \wedge}$ A. v. Gabain, Alttürk, tìramm.° (i 950) , Nachtrag zu 80, 8. $^{\prime \circ}$ A. v. Gabain, a. O. 20 \S i oG.

[&]quot; J. Harmatta, a. 0. i 5 r.

^{&#}x27;® G. MOrãVC Sik, a. 0. 2'. ' 33

[&]quot;Anonymous. Vales.3; E. A. Thompson, a. 0. i63 note 5.

was Orestes Attila's *notaries*. There was a reason why a Roman was accepted into the circle of hoyófieç, albeit without enjoying full equality. It will be shown that Attila not only created the beginnings of a feudal system, but also of a bureaucracy and chancellery.

Enough: Attila was surrounded by a circle of personal representatives who were used in warfare, tax collection and diplomatic missions. The strong rulership must have been keen to be able to count on absolutely devoted men instead of the self-willed and often unreliable tribal chiefs. Attila therefore endeavoured to make royal service attractive to the hoyò6i\$. He made sure that they were compensated with a share of the spoils, tribute money and rich gifts that all kinds of embassies brought with them.

However, such advantages could only be granted as long as the sources of revenue were plentiful. As soon as the enemy's border regions were drained and devastated, and even more: as soon as Attila's policy of farreaching campaigns of conquest, plunder and loot met with successful resistance, they could dry up. Once this turning point occurred, the hoyó6sc had to be satisfied from new sources. The role of the payers, the exploited, those held in captivity and slavery, which had previously been played by the defeated enemy, had to be shifted to others. There could be no doubt where to look for a replacement. As soon as there was no more profit to be made outside, the former subject tribes became the favoured object of exploitation within. If these subjects had once still received a share of the spoils, albeit at a noticeable distance, when the campaigns ended in victory, they were the first to feel their scarcity and then their absence. To the same extent that both occurred, they were assigned to the ruler's immediate neighbourhood as property, or at least as objects of exploitation. They were reduced from subjects of the Hun ruler to serfs and slaves of a landlord.

This was met with a fury that was hardly expected. At that time, the Ostrogoths may have sworn that no agreement with their oppressors would apply in the future. To them, who themselves did not care for any land cultivation, but who ravaged Gothic land like wolves and treated its inhabitants as slaves (8speiróm--=*ś'-*x --s)

had been forced to work hard to support their masters (Priskos fr. 3_S, FHG. 4. ZO8).

The political aspect was thus joined by an economic one. The occupation The importance of the latter for the organisation of levies and taxes has already been discussed (p. II f. above). The hoyöfit\$ were assigned a peasant landlordship that guaranteed a labour-free pension income. Accordingly, Priskos Berichos called vrooüv ty ZMixr; xmpUv

 $*_{SX}$ '-'x. What's more, he had become the owner of a feudal lordship that anticipated the coming forms of the Middle Ages.

It was previously said that Attila had not only created the beginnings of a feudal system, but also a chancery and thus the basis of a bureaucracy. This assertion also requires explanation.

Priskos expressly states that the Huns possessed a script '. .lists were kept in Attila's court, and these were read out by a $\ddot{\text{U}}$ 'woypnQt05 . It has been shown (above x, 283) that the model for the Old Turkic runes was the Armazic alphabet in its latest form, which had already approached the Pärsik alphabet. Since from the middle of the 3rd century the ar

the Macedonian script began to disappear, it became more and more and has finally resigned from his position, the

Huns living north of the Caucasus must have learnt about the \'orbild around or after 3 O, from which they copied the runes. The Armazian inscription on the Lad6nybene vessel provides confirmation of this (above

Z, 2 6). The Alans, who had penetrated from the same area to the Tisza plain, had also adopted the Armazian alphabet in the course of the 3rd century or even earlier. The fact that int farther south

The older inscriptions from Mchet'a prove that this was already the case in Iberia in the x th century (see p. 8 f. above).

Who were the scribes? Among the Eastern Turks, many centuries later, such a scribe could be of high rank. For the two large inscriptions of the Bilgä qaYan, Yoliy tägin is named as the one who wrote them.

^{&#}x27; Priskos in : Exc. de legat. I z 8, i b f. de Boor. For further information, see F. Altheim, Literatur und Gesellsch. i , z i6 A nm. i 5. Since the lists mentioned were initially kept for internal use, they were not recorded in Greek or Roman script.

in Detracht. Prokop., b. Goth.4. 9. 8 f. does not contradict this: the "Huns" refer to the iI figures. Rich tig G. Moravc zik, l. O. z', z i, u nrichtig li. .4. Thom_{r-} son, a. 0.

have recorded. He describes himself as a relative of the ruler°. The operation of the chancellery had to be multilingual from the outset. This was due to political relations with the T'ang, but also with the Soghdians further west. Adoption of the Chinese script and Chinese loan words for "writing" (old Turkish $\partial if/-$),

"Brush" (Old Turk. òir, *biir*) and "inscription stone" (Old Turk. òi) confirm this. On the other hand, Old Turkic *bitèäči* "scribe" was thought to be a Greek loanword mediated through Syriac and Soghdian (above i. -54)

His company is characterised by its multilingualism also among the Huns. There was a great mixture of languages, and Priskos provides examples of this°. He mentions Hunnic, Gothic and Latinisrh - the latter as far as Western Romans were concerned. Next to the Hunnish *Owo* ypaQz0, who reads Attila from his notes in the local script, is Orestes, who is attached to an envoy to Constantinople'. The name shows that he had Greek blood, at least from his mother's side; his father was called Tatulos and came from Panama. Rustikios is also mentioned, a native of Upper Moesia and brought from there by the Huns. He understood the Hunnic language, had made himself indispensable to his master through his dexterity in word and dexterity in step and was used in the drafting of letters that were sent to the Eastern Roman emperor ". But Attila was also in written contact with the Western Empire. Aëtius had successively placed two men, both named Constantius, at his disposal to write such letters'.

One concludes from this that the Western Romans had no permanent scribes to conduct diplomatic exchanges in foreign languages. In contrast to Eastern Rome, where they had their own interpreters, they preferred to provide Attila with a suitable scribe. We know from the Sasanian court that there was a permanent scribe's office there, which was responsible for the royal correspondence with the Arabs. It was usually a

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'IC i 3 p. z8; IC D; lc B p. 5# Orkun.

Exc. de legat. 35. I a f.; i a3, i i f.; z i .'

Priskos 1. c. i 23, 30; i 2a, 5 f.

Priskos, 1. c. 132, 23; I a 9-3,

Priskos, I. c - 's. 3i f.

Priskos, 1. c. i z y, 9 ł.; i 3z, z z f.; x'gl. i 32, 3z -i 33, I : E. A. Thompson, a. O. *-7 *-

Procopius, b. pers. z, z i; z6; 27.

abari, ann. i, ioz a, i ł.. Ibn Kutaiba, lib. poes. i i q, z f. de Goeje.
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a distinguished man from í¡íira, which shows that he was also provided by the vassal kings there. It is also true that he was paid in kind by the Arabs. Two red fillings, fresh truffles in every season, dried thick milk and other products are mentioned'°. The behaviour of Aëtius was therefore similar. One might take the idea even further. If Attila and Bleda brought out an old treaty that Rna had concluded with the Eastern Romans during the negotiations before the city of Margos in order to have it confirmed and extended, there must have been a place where such documents were kept. There was also an archives at the Sasanian court where correspondence was kept ¹'. Damãtrin were probably copy books in which the copies of the originals were entered. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that this institution is only attested from the late Sasanian period, so the Huns hardly came from Iran.

may have been received I*

Like the other hoyòb's, the beginnings of a scribal class reflect the development of an organised state. Despite their indispensability, these scribes could not compete in rank with the hoyófit, insofar as they came from the nobility or even the ruling dynasty - the "royal Scythians", as Priskos says in a Herodotean phrase 'o. It was unthinkable that a relative of the ruler would have acted as scribe like the aforementioned Yoliy tägin. And yet the scribes also began to make their claims. This is shown by the incident between Edekon and Orestes reported by Priskos". The ancient Greek scribe dared to claim equality with a genuine and noble Hun (Edekon, i.e. ädgü, refers to the ópiœro5). The emergence of the Aramaic scribal caste in the Achaemenid Empire

who, in addition to the Persian nobility, the "houses", entered ¹⁵ An elsewhere it was shown that in the revolt of the Gaumãta, whatever else might have determined it, those two factions also opposed each other '^.

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*° aLari, ann. i, i o* j, i 5 ł. "
abari, ann. i, i ozò, i6 f.

'° Restricting against .4ltheim-Stiehl, Ein asiatischer Scaat, i, z67.

'° Priskos, 1. c. i j i, i3 f.; E. .Å. Thompson, a. O. i o.

¹^ Priskos, 1. C. '° 3. y f.

* F. Altheim, Weltgeschic hte Asiens i, i54: Altheim-stiehl. The Aramaic Language i. Vol. y3 f.; 9z f.

'- .\ltheim-Stiehl, a. O. g 5 f.
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he treaty of Margos 43_8 had shown what the Huns were after. First and foremost, they demanded the extradition of fellow tribesmen who had defected and entered the service of the Eastern Roman Empire. The Romans resisted

They held out as long as they could, because these men were among the best soldiers available. The defectors themselves were anything but willing to fulfil Attila's demand in their own person. They knew what awaited them on the other side of the Roman border. Mama and Atakam, from Attila's

¥'eriv'andtschaft, had been imprisoned by the Romans for a long time in the fortress of Carsum, not far from Troesmis in Dobruja, and then handed over: they were soon crucified. Others who fell into Attila's hands were staked. It got to the point that the Romans preferred to kill the Huns in their ranks, who were determined not to return home to their own, rather than hand them over. Moreover, like was repaid with like. The citizens of Asemos killed all the Huns who fell into their hands so that they would not have to return them to the enemy for new use.

A second question concerned the repurchase of prisoners of war. The The ¥'yield of Margos had stipulated that no less than eight gold pieces had to be paid for the head. Eight years later, the price had risen to twelve. The same applied to the annual payments.

By '3s they had already been doubled. Arrears were collected mercilessly: in 443 they were calculated at no less than 6000 pounds of gold. At the same time, the annual instalment was tripled, this

times to 2100 pounds. Raising the money was extremely difficult. Wealthy men lost their property and thus their position overnight; some who did not want to survive such things ended their lives by hanging. It did not stop there. The Hun envoys who went to the court in Constantinople on Attila's behalf personally received new and extraordinary sums of money. It seemed to be the only way to obtain a reprieve from the Hun king's constant and ever-increasing demands. However, instead of the hoped-for relief, they were faced with new creditors, and year after year the envoys came and went in order to obtain Byzantine credit. gold, to fatten up on precious gifts.

Unappointed people worked on both sides to exacerbate the situation. If they considered the opportunity favourable, it could happen that the

i e Atéhelos, Buaoeo IY

Huns unceremoniously raided a market north of the Danube that had been granted to them and looted the goods. But they were not alone. The Bishop of Margos considered it compatible with his official duties that he plundered the tombs of the Hun kings north of the Danube, and in particular had them searched for gold. When Constantinople failed to comply with the Huns' justified demand for extradition, war broke out for the sake of this man of honour. Finally, the government felt compelled to move closer to the idea of extradition. For it seemed unheard of that an entire nation should suffer because of the dishonour of a single man. But the bishop knew how to avoid the impending fate. He had the Huns promise him safety and opened the gates of his own city to them in return. They met the fate of all those who fell into Hun hands. Robbed and burnt to the ground, it was never rebuilt; the population was forced into slavery.

It was understandable that Constantinople was tempted by every opportunity to delay or stop payments. They were not successful, for the other side demanded the accumulated sums without delay as soon as the situation permitted. For their part, the Huns used every difficulty that Byzantium encountered to recall old claims and add new ones. And Byzantium had to contend with difficulties on all sides. The fall of Carthage, the capture of the Vandals and the creation of a naval power by Geiseric had to call Eastern Roman policy into action, as did the constant threat to the eastern frontier from the Persians. This is where the Hunnic policy came into play. The Vandal fleet could take Rhodes and thus interrupt the Egyptian grain supply to the capital; Isaurian or Blemver invasions could be imminent; earthquakes could strike the empire and especially its cities, famine or a severe winter could weigh on the rural population: the enemy was always aware of the northern border. He did not hesitate for a moment to emphasise his demands by threatening to open the war immediately, and Constantinople was forced to sigh and agree to new payments and the settlement of old debts.

The last resort was to go to war. But this only worsened the situation. The Huns had usually chosen the time of the threat of war in such a way that the imperial armies

were tied up in other theatres. This meant that the invading hordes could not be confronted by troops in the open. They had to rely on the border fortifications or on the protection provided by the newly created Danube fleet. But the fleet could not operate without a base, and the fortresses were inadequate or not manned at all; they were isolated and were taken without any data to help each other. No chain of defences was thick enough to block the path of the Huns' agile and surprising cavalry. The consequences were terrible. Taken by surprise by the Huns, flourishing cities such as Viminacium, Singidunum and Margos were reduced to ashes one after the other. (and often not at all) were they

to be

acquire. Even Sirmium, the key fortress of the north-western Baikan front, could not withstand the enemy. Ratiaria, the base of the Danube fleet and the seat of one of the imperial armouries, fell o3; in the same year Serdica was sacked. Priskos described the terrible picture of a city taken by the Huns from his own experience. Six years later, Naissos was still deserted:

Only in the holy places lay a few sick people. The banks of the river were so covered with the bones of the slain that it was difficult to find a place to pitch a tent ... The countryside was also ravaged with the same ruthlessness; the clergy and nuns were not spared, they were deported to slavery like all the survivors. It was not even possible to protect the inland cities. Philippopolis, Arkadiopolis and Markianopolis fell, and the enemy often reached the walls of the capital.

There was also no lack of examples of heroic courage. The small town of Asemos, situated on the border between Oiskos and Novae, put up unwavering resistance to a superior Hun army. The citizens themselves lent a hand and reinforced the fortifications. They attacked the enemy, who were hampered by booty and prisoners, took what they had gained and inflicted heavy losses on them. Forced by the provisions of the peace treaty to release the Hunnic prisoners and either hand over the liberated Romans or buy them off at a high price, the men of Asemos killed all but two of the former and left the others free to go home. For all those who remained with them, they swore a solemn oath not to know anything about them. For they did not consider it a dishonour to remain with the

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to have sworn perjury for the sake of their own people.

The capital itself set a good example. When an earthquake devastated Constantinople in 442, toppling the buildings and burying the inhabitants under the rubble, the walls were also destroyed. But under the energetic leadership of the praetorian prefect Flavius Constantinus, the teams of the circus parties rebuilt what had been destroyed in sixty days, while Attila's hordes were already threatening the city. Not content with this, they laid a new line of defence, so that the city was now protected by a triple belt. Epigrams in Greek and Latin, attached to the rebuilt walls, told of what had happened.

The situation in open terrain was more difficult. Even though circumstances The fact that an imperial army was at hand meant that the battle was not a happy one. The Germanic clique of generals at the head of the army was divided among themselves. It could happen that a Vandal, the army commander Lohannes, was eliminated by a rival, presumably with the tacit approval of his fellow tribesmen in office. Three army commanders - Aspar, an Alane, and the two Germanic tribesmen Areobindus and Arnegisclus tried their luck against the Huns both individually and together: they suffered more or less heavy defeats. But over time, they also became more resilient. Arnegisclus, who confronted Attila's troops on the banks of the Vid (Utus) in the Dacia Ripensis in 442, at least managed to save the honour of arms. He himself fought with exemplary bravery; his horse was killed under the I.eibe before he fell. The Huns also suffered heavy losses; they were forced to refrain from further fighting. It was not only a bloody victory: it was the last one they would win in the open against a Roman army.

When this military campaign with Attila also ended unsuccessfully, Ostrom had to rely on the means still available to it: diplomacy.

Peace had to be concluded first (448). It is not known what payments the victor imposed. The emphasis was on the creation of a wasteland that was to extend between the two empires. The fortifications on the Danube, which had been built at great expense and with great labour, had proved to be useless. Most of the bases were in enemy territory.

The border towns had been destroyed and abandoned by their inhabitants; others, which lay inland, had suffered terrible things at the hands of the Huns. So they had to agree to Attila's demand. The zone to be cleared stretched from Singidunum in the Moesian west to Novae in the east. Inland it extended to a depth of five days' march. This means that the new frontier began at Naissos (Nisch): the defence of the Danube front had to be moved back to the Balkan foothills.

But the negotiations did not end there. New demands and complaints from the victor followed. They were still refusing to hand over the Hun defectors, they were not clearing the wasteland quickly and completely enough, it was now said; personal wishes of the Hun ruler or his followers were added. In these negotiations, cunning and brutality unfolded; all the arts of procrastination and deception, of manhandling and bribery; high and low motives ... Priskos, who was himself involved in a legation, has left the most vivid picture of this.

Ammianus ⁱ says of the Huns that they did not honour treaties and immediately turned to every new opportunity that arose with passion. They did not know what was honourable or not; their speech was opaque and capable of various interpretations; no religion, not even superstition, imposed obligations on them, and their greed for gold was immeasurable. Their disposition was so vacillating that they betrayed their friends without their having given them cause to do so, and returned to them the same day without any endeavour to do so.

returned. Every sentence from Priskos confirms that this sketch is accurate.

There are the Hunnic negotiators, Edekon and Orestes, travelling to
Constantinople in the early year 449 to meet their master's demands.

to give emphasis. Both belonged to .Attila's hoyö6c9.

secretly submits a plan to the imperial eunuch Chrysaphios, *§rimicuriiis sacri cithicti/i* und *s patharius2*, to assassinate Attila. The Hun agrees, especially as he is promised money and more. He swears secrecy and seems inclined to carry out the plan, but he is not alone. Alongside Edekon, Orestes is in

³ i, 2, *i* i.

^{&#}x27;On his position E. A. Thompson, op. cit. O 99 note.

Attila's mission to Constantinople, and the atmosphere between the two is tense. Edekon therefore considers it advisable to inform Orestes of his secret negotiations with Chrysaphios; when he arrives home, he reveals the plot to Attila himself. Once in the train, he also communicates the content of the instructions that the Eastern Roman envoys had received and the wording of which had come to Edekon's knowledge during the secret negotiations. However, this does not prevent him from playing the bourgeois and reliable man to the Eastern Romans and in particular to Bigilas, who was privy to the murder plan. Despite this betrayal, the aim is to get his hands on the agreed murder sum, and the plan does indeed succeed thanks to Bigilas' incompetence.

In general, one gets the impression that payments and gifts were the arguments to which the Huns attached the greatest weight. If means are at hand, even difficult situations can be overcome in this way. Edekon is offended by a comparison drawn between the Eastern Roman emperor and his master at home: Chinese silk and pearls are enough to scare away these clouds. Attila orders the Eastern Roman envoys to turn back without being admitted to court: here too, the promise of gifts is enough for the Hun Skottas to obtain an audience with his master. Further letters ensure that Onegesios is acting in the interests of the tiesandtschaft. He is a little coy, speaks of loyalty, but only to raise the price. The master himself is not insensitive on this point. So it comes to pass that he finally grants full \mathbb{Y}"forgiveness to the couple Chrysaphios and Bigilas, one of whom has planned the murder, the other of whom has agreed to help.

In addition, the Hunnic side had a rich variety of manners. Dark speech, of which Ammianus speaks, was often practised. Orestes, although himself a Roman and the fourth father of a coming Western Roman emperor (it was to be the last ...), had adapted himself well to Hunnic custom when he indicated in the form of a congratulatory speech that the murder plan had been betrayed (which, of course, was not grasped by the other side). Attila himself knew how to use this form of speech. When the Eastern Roman envoy (summer 449d. in whose centre the confidant

of the murder plan appeared, greeted him respectfully, he replied briefly that he wished the Romans the same as they wished him over and above

was the sudden brutality. The fact that the envoys were ordered to turn back immediately was the least that remained. Attila gave free rein to his (albeit justified) anger against a subordinate and so exposed personality like Bigilas, sparing neither threats nor harsh words, without being selective in their composition. To all this he added the mockery of Bigila's son having the sack containing the murderous sum tied around his neck and being sent home to extort new money. He was to show himself to the emperor and Chrysaphios dressed like this and ask them if they recognised the sack ...

These Huns are sensitive if they believe their rank is overlooked and they are not shown the necessary respect. This awakens the barbarian's mistrust and offended pride. They can only be pacified, if at all, by appropriate payments and gifts. Orestes complains about Edekon's favouritism, Edekon complains that Attila is not being given the honour he deserves. A large-scale attempt to win over the Akatzirs to the imperial side through payments fails because the available sum is not distributed according to rank. Kuridachos³, who feels disregarded, takes the money but informs Attila of what is happening. The Huns zealously watch that the Eastern Roman legation does not pitch its tent in a place higher than the camp of their ruler'. The complaint that envoys were being sent from Constantinople who were not of the highest rank was repeated again and again. The other side sought to justify itself, with little skill and even less luck. After all, it was unmistakable that high dignitaries were not exactly eager to make the arduous and perilous journey to the land of the Huns. And, understandably, they did not want to jeopardise the life of one of the riri i/lustres by secretly giving the legation the order to kill.

Attila's intention to help his *ab epislulis* (to put it in the late Roman official language) Constantius in Constan-

[°] Koupí6cryoS could be *qur-yabà* " leader of the foot troops". To qur Mahmúd al- lvá $\S j$ ar İ I ,° 73 . •+* yode/ C. Brockelmann in : Asia Major i , $5\S$ (= mittelpers. 9iy'îóeA) ; cf. G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica z-, i68. A fine example of Iranian influence among the European Huns, which adds to what was noted earlier. is to be added.

^{&#}x27; A. v. Gabain in : Islam z9, 3ò.

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t inopel to a rich marriage. Even after the plan initially fails, Attila sticks to it. In the end, he sees his subordinate receive a match that fulfils his 'wishes'. The episode also needs to be mentioned because the Sasanian scribe for Arab affairs was relieved by the Arabs themselves (p. z82 f. above). It is immediately apparent that Attila had the same \(\frac{1}{2}\)'or attitude towards the honouring of his scribe. Constantius, who dealt with the correspondence with the Romans, was to be compensated by them with a rich match with a Roman woman.

On the other hand, they were not immediately at ease in this foreign \Velt. At the l'iaiserhof, they did not sufficiently reckon with their opponent's cunning; they expected trust from a Hun, and they expected it precisely where they themselves broke it in the most disgraceful way.

¥'or all, there was a lack of men who were familiar with the Hunnic language. Only this lack explains why the only interpreter they had, Bigilas, was allowed to play his disastrous role. This man was considered low enough to be included in the conspiracy against Attila, in contrast to the higher-ranking members of the C-escendancy. For a Maximinos and a Priskos would have found it difficult to lend themselves to such a thing. But even then, Bigilas was still held in high esteem. His activity, which Priskos describes so amusingly, was one blunder, one lack of attention and tactlessness after another. \How everything is already betrayed in Serdica; how there are increasing signs that this cannot happen; how the betrayer himself is betrayed; how he boasts of his position with Attila and feels his wrath: How, in his ignorance, he fails to realise what has happened and, in the end, falls into the trap of having to confess everything - you can read about this for yourself in 1' iskos.

It is astonishing that, despite such abuse, Attila maintained 'las tiastreclit and allowed the envoys sufficient freedom of movement. Hun- nian hospitality was of course of a special kind, and Priskos has also portrayed this unsurpassably.

At first, Attila is not very accommodating, and he has his reasons, partly political (as we have seen), partly personal. After the

^{&#}x27;Last left .\. Thompson, a. O. i z i f.

The envoys were not allowed to follow the court procession to the first reception°, as the high lord was making plans to marry. His many wives will be joined by Eskam's daughter, and he does not intend to be disturbed by the presence of an Eastern Roman mission. She has to go her own way and, quite involuntarily, makes the acquaintance of another king's wife. Surprised by a nocturnal hurricane, they seek shelter in a village, soaking wet, and it turns out to belong to one of the widows left behind by Attila's brother. They find a friendly welcome with her, and more than that: pretty

\Veibers with which guests are free to interact Priskos

adds that among the Scythians this was an honour. The travellers accepted the shelter, food and drink with thanks i they renounced the honour and were content to invite the offered guests to a meal.

Finally, they arrived at Attila's residence. They were not alone, as delegations from all over the \Velt gathered there. In addition to the eastern Roman delegation, there was another from the west, this time sent by barbarians. The aul of the Hun ruler lay in a wide plain without trees or stones, where horsemen could cavort. After crossing several rivers (which a r e difficult to equate with today's), the expedition arrived and pitched its tent outside the ramparts. The 'settlement' was larger than any they had come to before. Attila's own house stood on an elevation, built more carefully than the others from smoothed planks; a palisade fence with wooden towers surrounded the whole®. A second palisade fence, this time without **towers**, protected Onegesios' house. It was flanked **by** a stone-built bathhouse. The \chunks had been brought from Pannonia with great difficulty and a Roman architect, a prisoner from Sirmium, had performed the miracle. He had hoped to earn his freedom. But worse awaited him: he had been appointed his master's bath attendant.

[°] On the path of the C-esandtschaft, in particular on the location of the rivers it crossed: 1. I. Russu in: Uercetäri lingwistica z (i 958). The -trbcit was not accessible to the author.

^{&#}x27;About the location of Attila's residence most recently R. Browning in : J ourn. Hell. Stud. 73s $\,$ i43 $\,$; E. A. Thomps'in, op. cit. O. z z i f.

^{*}H. .Sltheim, I-it. u. Gesellsc haft i , 223 •*I* < a

An eventful life took place in this residence. When Attila returned home, he was greeted by a choir of girls singing Hunnish songs. They walked along in rows, while other women held fine white linen over the heads of the singers. Onegesio's wife greeted the ruler in the midst of her maids, who brought food and wine: he took of what was offered, sitting on horseback, with plates and wine goblets being passed up to him. Attila's wife Kreka lived in a house of her own within the palisade fence that surrounded Attila's property. Here she received the gifts of the legation, lying on a soft blanket, while woollen carpets covered the floor (the testimony is significant for the age of the nomadic carpet,® - cf. above z, io5; z8o). In the circle sat their maidservants, who embroidered linen with bright colours; these borders and trimmings were intended to decorate Hun clothing. There were other buildings to be seen in this part reserved for the ruler; among them were those that had been built from logs in the style of a blockhouse; wooden arcades had been placed in front of them on the outer sides'o. Attila could be seen informing those seeking justice of his decision or receiving foreign envoys. Priskos was struck by his proud gait and the imperious gaze he cast around him.

The invitation to attend a banquet in the palace itself provided another opportunity to observe the ruler. The Western Romans were also invited and they arrived at the appointed hour. According to Hun custom, a drink was served and the proskynesis had to be performed before entering the hall and sitting down to eat. The Huns and their guests sat on either side of the walls of the hall; in the centre was a kline on which Attila sat. He looked straight ahead at the entrance door, while behind him was a second kline that remained unoccupied. Steps led up to an alcove, which was closed off with curtains. They found themselves in a regular Iranian-style iwan, which was accessible from one narrow side and whose opposite side was occupied by the royal seat.

The seat of honour to Attila's right was taken by Onegesios. The Romans from both parts of the empire were forced to take seats at the

[°] On the name form and its \^variants : G. Moravcsik, a. 0. z-. 73-

^{°-} The large in n ew carpet from Pazyryk in the Altai, the felt carpets from Noin Ula in Mongolia, the finds of A. Stein in East Turkestan, the Soviet ones in Toprak-Kala, the frescoes of Bäzäklik and Tun -huang provide confirmation,

^{*°} Priskos in Constant. Porphyrog. de legat. i39, z6 f., where I read 60xt v.

Berichos, the Hun, took another seat above them. Opposite Onegesios sat two younger sons of Attila on a chair; another, who was already older, had taken a seat next to his father on the cline, but for fear of him he only dared to sit on the outer edge and kept his eyes lowered ". Then Attila was brought a bowl of wine and he drank to each of the guests. The honoured person had to rise and was not allowed to sit down until the ruler had handed the bowl back to the cupbearer. At the end of this greeting, the tables were brought in, one for every three or four of the guests, covered with bread, meat and food. The food was served on silver plates, probably Roman spoils; only

Attila dined from a wooden platter and contented himself with meat. He also used a wooden cup instead of the gold and silver cups that were served to the guests. Attila's clothing showed the same simplicity. It was no different from that of any other Hun. His sword, shoes and bridle also lacked the jewels worn by the nobles ^{1°}. After the meal had been thoroughly enjoyed, the drink of honour was repeated for the host.

But when evening came, the report continues, the torches were lit and two singers stood before Attila and sang of his victories and heroic deeds. And the guests looked towards them, some enjoying the songs; in others the memory of past wars was awakened, while those whom age excluded from battle and campaigns burst into tears ... Other performances followed, which provoked raucous laughter. The feast lasted well into the night. The €iesandten withdrew before its conclusion, as they did not want to indulge in drinking to excess.

\Further invitations followed. Kreka saw the Eastern Roman guests in a smaller circle around her, and Attila held a second banquet of the same kind in their honour. Only there was no one sitting next to him on the cline.

^{&#}x27;'*r' the passage iq3, z 5 f. is to be interpreted, cf. i Ö, i b f. flpcn|3\u00fc-repo5 is said in both cases in the H in view of the 6uo z'"v 'A-r-rfJhn wat6m v. E. A. Thompson, a. a. 0. t i 6 f., has understood the passage m i0, as it is one of the inconveniences of his bookr s that he I\u00fcrisk os' grol3cs fr. 8 after I.. Ilindorf's Hist. G raeci min. i of i 8yo, not according to C'. de Boor's edition of the Excerp ta de legationibus (1903).

 $^{^{\}circ}$ ü . lx ondakrilf. Ciesch. u . IDenk mält-r d. by zantin. Cell emails 56 f.

the elder son, but his uncle Oebarsios. Three days later, the envoys received their usual gifts and set off on their journey home to Constantinople.

6

For Attila's time down to the fall of his empire, there is one source that no other can match: the Byzantine History of Priskos of Panion. Fragments and extracts that alone

are preserved, cover the period from 434-47*. They mainly concern the area in which Priskos was an authority: the history of Attila and the Huns. The later historians, wherever they refer to the people, also drew their knowledge from the work that is now

had once become authoritative. Cassiodorus incorporated large parts of Priskos into his History of the Goths, and they are still recognisable in the excerpt from Ior-danes.

Priskos could not bring himself to abandon the tiresome unfamiliarity of late antique historiography, which labelled the barbarians of their time with names that were long gone but sanctified by classical patterns. He spoke of Huns and Scythians side by side; he could not even deny himself the Herodotean expression of the royal Scythians, as Zosimos had done before him. Perhaps he made a distinction, and reserved the name of the Huns for the master race, and that of the Scythians for the class of subjects who were quite different among themselves (this is by no means certain). Misunderstandings were the result, and it often took a new discovery to clear things up. But this weighs little in comparison with the man's merits.

There is no doubt that Priskos had excellent knowledge. He took part in a number of events himself. Here his description attains an accuracy and vividness that has sometimes been equalled but never surpassed. In general, it can be placed alongside the masterpieces of Hellenistic descriptions of history and peoples. It was only a prejudice, which held the late works of Greek literature in high esteem, that caused him to be denied the **place** among the greats to which he is entitled'. But also from

^{&#}x27; It was a strange idea to place Olympiodoros as a historian above Priskos . E. A. Thompson, op. cit. 8 f.

He was able to obtain first-hand information about events that he was not present at.

One should not ask too much about literary sources from such an author. Files and historical papers may have passed through his hands, as he was involved in the events. But he was not a historian who wrote according to models and not even one who wrote according to original customers (this may seem a disadvantage to today's readers). The living experience; the constant exchange with others who were also involved; the wealth of experience, both human and factual, which accumulated in the circles of those involved in the business and was passed on as an oral, but therefore no less invaluable, tradition; the knowledge of how to deal with the superior barbarian who shamelessly exploited this superiority in a desperate situation; the instinct of a trader who has seen many things and dealt with many situations; in general, the physiognomic eye of the connoisseur of human nature.

This and nothing else made Priskos a historian. He is thus at the head of a long line of similar writers who characterise the image of Byzantine politics and historiography. Those sceptical and sharp-eyed, clever and over-clever minds, who did not give up on themselves in the face of difficulties, w ho rescued the soft w ood again and again from the tides of a sea of barbarians surging in on all sides: Men who were mostly successful and yet could not banish the horror; who were never at a loss for means and yet knew that a lasting cure could not be found; who never lost the contempt of the finely sensitive man of culture for the horror in which fate had placed them and yet must have suffered the unheard-of; who believed in the eternity of empire, capital, empire and church and yet, in the long run, could not conceal from themselves that all endeavour was in vain.

I don't know whether Priskos (if the choice had been open to him) would have opted for the age in which an inscrutable destiny placed him. but this man decided to face what the present offered him. In return, he was g i v e n the gift of being able to face the God whom his contemporaries perceived as the scourge of God and to observe him in almost daily encounters.

[°] About Priskos' position: W". Ensslin in : Byzant.-neugriech. Jahrb. 5, 8.

There is nothing to suggest that he pushed himself into such services. But when the opportunity arose, he seized it, and he absorbed with all his pores what was offered to him. Wise, experienced and sceptical, like all his peers, he never gave in to hopes for which there was no reason. He then experienced that disaster was overcome. However, he was considerate and fair-minded enough to recognise the greatness in enemies and barbarians when it presented itself to him.

In the manner of ancient historiography, Priskos included a dialogue in his account, intended to give the author's view of the foreign world he encountered at the court of the Huns. The beginning of this dialogue is reproduced in translation.

"As I stood in front of the palisade fence of the houses and walked around there, a man approached whom I took for a barbarian because of his Scythian dress, and greeted me in Greek, saying x-ipt, so that I was surprised that a Scythe spoke Greek. For many ¥'olk had come together there, and apart from the respective barbarian language one heard Hunnish or Gothic or Latin, as far as one was talking to Romans; but not easily does one speak Greek, unless

People from Thrace and the Illyrian coast. But you can recognise them by their torn clothes and dirty heads, which show how run-down they are. This one, however, resembled a well-fed Scythian, was well dressed and wore his hair shorn in the Hun fashion. I greeted him again and asked who he was, how he had come to Barbarchland and adopted the Scythian way of life. He asked back why I wished to know that. I said the

The reason for my curiosity was his Greek language. He laughed and told me that he was Greek by birth and had come to Vimina- cium, a Moesian town on the Danube, as a merchant. He had lived there for a long time and married a rich woman. He was torn from his wellbeing when the city fell into the hands of the barbarians, and because of his property he was awarded to Onegesios himself when the spoils were distributed. After Attila, it was customary to assign the rich among the prisoners preferably to the hoyöfi@, as they brought in the most. He had then distinguished himself in the battles against the Romans and the people of the Akatzirs, had left all the spoils of war to his barbarian master in accordance with Scythian custom and had thus been released. He had a barbarian woman as his wife and also had children by her, and as Onege-

sios' dinner companion liked his present life more than his former one. For with the Scythians, once the war was over, people lived undisturbed, each enjoying what they had and never or rarely being a burden to each other. The Romans, on the other hand, risked their lives in a war, because they had to place their hopes in others, since the rulers there never allowed everyone to bear arms; and the situation of those who were allowed to bear arms was even worse: It was due to the ineptitude of the generals, who did not know how to wage war. In peace, things were even worse than in war because of the merciless collection of taxes and the damage caused by the malicious. The law was not the same for all, but if someone was rich, he did not have to pay a penalty for his offence; but if he was poor, he had to expect the penalty determined by the law, since he knew nothing about legal transactions, unless he died before the judgement, after much time had been wasted in court and much money had had to be spent°. But the worst thing of all was that you could only obtain your rights against payment. Not even the injured party would have access to his face if he had not first paid a sum of money to the judge and his assistants."

So much for the words of Priskos' sub-speaker. It is a voice that is rarely heard; all the more impressive for it. Priskos' answer can be more brief. It is that the men who created Rome's constitution were wise and good. They had organised it in such a way that one part of the people were appointed guardians of the law, another practised the craft of arms and another devoted themselves to agriculture and at the same time had to feed the defenders of the country.

I heard a similar statement in 938, when I visited the head of the Samm'ar, 'Ãǧi1 (M. v. Oppenheim, Die Beduinen i , i 50 f.), in Kal'at Sergãt as a toast. There I was told that in contrast to the European court procedure ('Ãġi1 had made a longer trip to Europe), which consumes time and money, the sheikh decides in the manner of the fathers. He knew all the written and unwritten law of the tribes and was in a position to decide every legal case immediately. It never happens that one of the **parties** is dissatisfied. I was asked to attend such a judgement the next morning. **At dawn,** the litigants squatted in long rows in front of the sheikh's castle, their rifles and gun belts strapped around them and a tied lamb in front of them as a spur. After hearing both parties, the sheikh ruled immediately; I could s e e no sign that either would have disobeyed this decision.

The courts were conscientious and fair, and the long duration of the trials was due to the desire to avoid a hasty and unjust decision. The fact that they are compensated for their efforts is only appropriate. Furthermore, it was wrong to accuse the judiciary of being ¥'ore partial to the rich, since the emperor himself was subject to the law. Finally, the Romans behaved more humanely towards their slaves than the Huns did towards their subjects. They treated their slaves like fathers and teachers and sought to educate and improve them as they would their own children. The path to freedom was also open to the slaves.

Uibbon called this answer "a feeble and prolix declamation". Indeed, it smacks of the rhetorical school, and another Priskos, the author of rhetorical exercises (of which the Suda reports), is caught. Here, too, his sub-speaker is characterised by a clearer view. "He replied in tears that the laws were beautiful and the Roman constitution was good, but the rulers did not think as they once did and had distorted this constitution and turned it into something bad."

13. CHAPTER

ATTILA AND WESTROM

The Eurasian mainland has a distinct climatological zonal structure. The gradual change in latitude corresponds to four types of landscape: tundra, forest, steppe and desert. All these zones are separated by soil formation and plant growth, by special economic and cultural formations.

Farming is impossible in the tundra. The inhabitants, few in number, are dependent on fishing, hunting, especially fur hunting, and wood processing '. In the larger part of the northern forest belt, the Taigä, agriculture is possible, but not productive. The economic conditions of the tundra remain largely unchanged. In contrast, further south within the mixed forest zone, with a temperate climate, all the conditions for good agricultural yields are in place. The same applies to the northern part of the steppe, the forest steppe. Here, the Uorodishche steppe stretches in a wide strip from the V'olga-Kanna region to N jemen and \Veichsel.

Eultur ("n etira i o'io x . C)ir. to4 oo II. Chr.). Domestic animal husbandry, trade and metalworking characterise its final stage. The situation is different in its southern part, the dry steppe, which is characterised by awlgrass and wormwood. Strong climatic fluctuations and longer periods of drought mean that intensive soil cultivation is replaced by extensive cultivation. Arable farming is replaced by livestock and pasture farming. I n the desert zone to the south, lack of irrigation, saline soils and drifting sand prevent any economic utilisation. The zone of the warm and humid Mediterranean climate, which includes the southern coast of the Crimea, the Caucasian coast on the Black Sea and parts of southern Caucasia, must not be taken into account.

^{&#}x27;Chara cteristically, the finds from the upper layer of \V inetie at Lake 1.ac ha: A. Bl Tallgren in Eu r. Sept. Ant. i o. i 50 f. fu m the turn of time.

[°] To sam menfas.sen'l A . M. Ta11(ren in : Eur. Sept. Ant. i o, i 7.

Each of the peoples living or invading Russia is characterised by the zone in which it has taken up residence. The Ugrofins mainly inhabited the forest zone. Only in the east, south and south-west of the Urals, did they encroach on the steppe. Early on, they seem to have been pushed back into the taiga and to the edge of the tundra. A farming people like the Goths favoured the Mishivald zone and the northern steppe areas. They endeavoured to occupy the Black Earth regions, especially the most fertile Black Earth soils with moderate moisture and a temperate climate. From the beginning, however, the Goths took a strip of less fertile soil to the north and south: brown forest soil and brown or chestnut-coloured steppe soil. Both were important for their historical role. For in the south they came into contact with the equestrian nomads, the Sarmatians and Alans, and to the north their fur traders, together with those of the Alans, advanced into the forest area along the Oka and Kama rivers. The consequences of this expansion have already been discussed (I, 3I/f. above).

Something similar can be observed among the Slavs. In the 2nd-8th century, the East Slavic tribes moved eastwards and southwards from the forest belt they had previously inhabited. A century later, they pushed down the Volga into the territory of the ancient *Merens*, the Chere-

miss'. The excavations show that in the 7th-8th century the Slavic settlements were still confined to the basin of the upper Oka, Desna and

of the Sejm. From about 800 they appeared on both sides of the Psol and the Worskla. They tried to protect themselves against attacks from the steppe by favouring inaccessible spurs of high riverbanks and surrounding their settlements with ditches, ramparts and palisades. At about the same time, other Slavic groups appeared on the upper Don and advanced into the basin of the Donets. Everywhere it is clear that the older area was extended because they wanted to gain arable land for the plough farming they had become familiar with. The aim was to secure as much of the Black Earth region as possible.

[°] P. N. Tretyakov in: Soviet Science i9 8, z, i iof.

[^] Influence of Cheremisian vocalism on Old Russian: W. Steinitz, **Geschichte des finnougrischen Vokalismus (Acta inst. Hungar.** u nivers. Holm., B Linguistica z) i 3q f., see J. Lohmann in: DLZ. 9'9, -o6; E. Lewy in: Lexis I t 7 -

The Akatirs or Akatzirs lead into the 5th century. Priskos calls them a Scythian tribe and Huns ^. However, they did not belong to the Hun tribe, but had to be subjugated in battle. The name is Turkish and means "forest people". Their counterpart are the *Yazar* "field people" (corresponding to the Gothic *Tsn'iiigi* and *Creiiftrngi*).

However, a part from the special case of the Akatzirs, the Huns had a fixed climatic-geographical zone and held on to it with unusual tenacity. As nomads, they already inhabited the steppe and the neighbouring desert areas in their eastern homeland. They continued to adhere strictly to the steppe and desert belt, which extended through Inner Asia to eastern and south-eastern Europe. They travelled through the steppe region on both sides of Lake Balchash past Fer- yäna to the Sogdians. And from there the European Huns, leaving the Aral Sea and Caspian Sea to the left and the Ura1 to the right, reached the southern Russian region.

It is the land over which the steppe winds roar from the interior of Asia. In summer, the towering sand clouds cover the entire line between Kazan and Astrakhan: they only allow a brief greening in the first days of spring. In winter, the snowstorms sweep up to the Ukraine and beyond. They leave no snow cover and rob the country of its warming protection. The bitterest cold is replaced by unimaginable heat and drought, and the country also seems to tell the nomads travelling through it of the terrible change in climatic contrasts, their harshness and mercilessness. It is only our time that has dealt with these plagues by creating x-on forest belts, huge \\'water reservoirs above and below the ground and a new form of crop rotation.

But this land is also that of an intoxicating spring that seizes the heart of man and sweeps him into the joyful frenzy of reawakening nature. In verses that are unique in Turkish poetry (even though Persian gazelle may have contributed) and which compare the 4'erg1eich with the spring songs of Walther von der Vogelweide

^{*} *J.* Marquart, Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge XXIV, 4- : K. H. Menges in : J3vzantion i7. 26 i ; E. A. Thompson, a. 0. 95 ; G. Moravcsili, Byzantino- turcica z°, 58f. : above pp. - 74-

[°] G. 6ioravcsik, a. 0. 58f.; above i.s and here p. z jj J.

certainly need not shy away from it, the \Jutadyu bilig7 has sung it. It has painted the blossoming of the earth, the jubilation of birdsong and the longings of human hearts, as well as the concert of colours with which the land begins to adorn itself far and wide, uphill and downhill ...

In southern Russia, too, the Huns remained true to their previous \travels. This is shown by their behaviour towards the settlers. The "field people", i.e. the C reutungen or Ostrogoths, subjugated them; the "forest people", the Terwingen or Visigoths, withdrew partly into the mountainous regions of Transylvania and partly across the Danube. If the Huns wanted to follow the steppe belt further, their path had to lead through southern Bessarabia and Wallachia. The Tisza plain, where we have already encountered Attila's camp, appeared to be the final destination. In fact, the archaeological finds of Hunnic origin correspond to the picture just sketched: they allow us to follow the \Veg without interruption.

The Huns did not ravage the Crimea any more than they had previously ravaged Khwärezm in Central Asia. In Transylvania, they were content to recognise their sovereignty without gaining a foothold there. The former Dacia was a fertile mountainous region with a settled farming population. The Romans had all the prerequisites for the emergence of an urban civilisation there. In contrast, the "alachei never became direct imperial territory. Its lowlands formed the continuation of the southern Russian steppe, directly connected to it by the valleys of the Pruth and Dniester rivers. The vast expanse, stretching uniformly towards the horizon, was a land created for all nomadic and equestrian peoples. Their traces can be found everywhere, right up to the Carpathian Mountains (Odobeschti and Poiana-Prahova).

A similar contrast unfolds in the area of present-day Hungary. Ancient Pannonia lay to the south and west of the Danube. The river itself is a brother of the Rhine, a European river. On its right bank, the mountains rise to moderate heights, and hills, valleys and lakes, picturesquely situated villages and castles unfold in constant ups and downs in a lovely change of scenery. \Vineyards and orchards dominate the landscape; intensive cultivation is reflected in skilful care and cultivation. The aromatic fragrance of the land and its produce, the

^{&#}x27; P $\,$ 3. 63 f. Rahm. The play x crdient has its own translation, which would have to avoid the errors of the Radlof fsc hen.

^{• .\ .} Alföldi in : Arch. H ungar. 9 Pl. 36 below.

The diversity of all formations, the halcyon splendour that seems to rest over everything, make the Pannonian land appear as a harbinger of I taly.

The landscape east of the Danube is different. The "large l'eld" (Alföld) stretches out wide and uniformly. Extensive farming has taken the place of intensive farming. Cornfields fill the view and limit it at the same time. Sparse and low farms are tucked into the ground so as not to disturb the view of this fertile wasteland. Next to it stretches the Pußta with its herds of horses, cows and bulls; the mounted shepherd, at best the gypsy, was the inhabitant of the land here. The Tisza, with its meanders and shallow banks, its marshy shores, is reminiscent of the rivers of central and northern Asia, the Orkhon and Selenga, the Yenisei, Irtysh and Ob.

After that, the roles of the two regions were distributed in the course of history - if the nature of Pannonia already pointed to Italy, it was no coincidence that the Romans gained a foothold here. Dionysus, the ruler of Pannonia since time immemorial, has been depicted in numerous images right up to the Middle Ages. Even what has been described as the form of Hungarian art: the sense of the full and round, the joy of the beautifully curved, in painting, sculpture and folk art - is to a large extent Roman heritage, transmitted through Roman Pannonia. The sensuality and physical feeling of antiquity have been preserved in it.

Conversely, as many nomadic peoples as entered Hungarian lands **over** the centuries never settled south and west of the Danube. It was something special that Árpád forced his own tribe to gain a firm foothold in the Transdanubian land as well. But in the wide expanses of Alföld and Pußta, the horses were let loose, the herds were grazed and the changing camps were set up. Scythians, Sarmatians, then Avars and Magyars took up residence here; they all c a me here from the steppes of southern Russia. The same applies to those who came afterwards: the Pechenegs and Cumans; they also made their home in the flat lowlands between the Tisza and Danube.

The Huns are among them. They followed the law to which they and all their kind were subject. It was Attila who was supposed to wrest them from these realms for the first time. He failed to do so.

In the spring of Mio, a new legation departed from the Golden Horn to Attila. It was led by two men of the highest rank, as the vanity of the Huns had always wished: Anatolios, the negotiator of the treaty of 438, and Nomos. The year before, Attila had explicitly mentioned both names alongside a third. The dreaded man's attitude changed immediately. He met his guests halfway, and his arrogant demeanour softened noticeably under the impression of the numerous gifts the legation was carrying. The skilfulness of both men led Attila to agree to terms that would have been considered unthinkable a short time ago. The Hun swore that he would honour the terms of the peace of 448. No more demands were to be made regarding the defectors, while Ostrom pledged not to accept any more. But the greatest success was to persuade Attila to give up the wasteland zone, which had had to be vacated south of the Danube at his request. As a personal favour to the two envoys, the Hun ordered most of the Roman prisoners to be sent home without ransom. For the release of the unfortunate Bigilas, the other side showed its gratitude by providing Constantius with the rich and noble portion that Attila had sought. Emperor Theodosios himself did not miss the opportunity to put in a word with the prospective candidate.

Enough: they parted in full agreement. The two negotiators were presented with horses and furs according to Hun custom. What had happened? One has no right to doubt the abilities of the two men. But an unexpected circumstance had come to their aid. Attila's interests had turned elsewhere. He wanted to cover his back on the Danube. So he agreed to replace the previous situation with a treaty that took into account the most urgent wishes of his Eastern Roman neighbour.

Two episodes that Priskos had reported in his envoy report of the previous year (449) still need to be recounted. When the question of the Hunnic defectors came up for discussion, Attila complained that they had not all been handed over. The scribe had to read out the names. Esla, **Rua's** former envoy, it was said, would be

come and settle the question. All Huns who had entered Roman service since the time when Aëtius' son Carpilio had been a hostage at the Hunnic court' would have to return home. He could not tolerate his slaves being in foreign service and fighting a g a i n s t his own. Although, Attila added, they would hardly be of much use to the Romans if it came to war - which would certainly happen if the defectors were not **sent back.** The demand was initially directed against **eastern Rome**, but the western empire had probably made even greater use of Hun mercenaries. The fact that the names Aëtius and Carpilio were mentioned meant that it was involved. Anyone with a keen ear would have to conclude that Attila was able to use had envisaged the possibility of a battle with Aëtius°.

There was another thing to think about. An envoy from the west was at the Hun court at the same time. They were negotiating a complicated matter that had originally been of a private nature and had grown into a state affair. It had been years in the past and concerned only a few golden vessels to which Attila believed he was entitled. The Hun refused to recognise the legal position taken by the Western Roman legation. As was his custom, he threatened war here too.

Attila's unrestrained temperament, from which they both suffered, brought the Roman legations together. They could not understand why Attila insisted so vehemently on his demand for those vessels whose illegality was obvious. Then they were instructed by Romulus, Oreste's father-in-law: a **man** whom Priskos held in the highest esteem because of his position and many years of experience. Attila's unusual good fortune, they now heard, and the power it had given him meant that he no longer listened to even just demands unless they served his purposes. No one before him who had ruled over Scythia or any other country had achieved such great things in such a short time. After all, he ruled over the islands of the ocean, over the whole of Scythia, and had made the Romans his tribute. But he was not satisfied with this and wanted more: he wanted to conquer the Persians.

^{&#}x27;Priskos in Const. Porphyrog., de legat. i z8, 20 f.; E. A. Thompson, a. a. 0. io9, has not recognised the significance of the passage.

 $^{^{\}circ}$ "Ses menaces obscures étaient des préparatifs stratégiques" : R. Grousset, L'empire des steppes i zz.

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attack. This is followed by the account of an earlier Hunnic enterprise against Media (see above 1, 12 f.; below addendum p. 3*J f.). It had taught so much that Media was only a few days away from Scythia (the description shows that on the way back they passed the oil region of Baku,

that is, on the western shore of the Caspian Sea). The road would not cause Attila any trouble, and he would undoubtedly subdue the Medes, Parthians and Persians.

The sub-speakers expressed the hope that Attila could turn against the Persians and thus give the Eastern Roman Empire some breathing space. Constantiolus, another member of the Western Roman delegation, said that the Hun could easily bring down the new opponent, but that this would not make him any less of a burden on Eastern Rome. He would no longer be content, as before, to receive payments on the basis of the fact that he was an army commander in Roman service (the Romans were trying to disguise the fact of the 2'ribut), but would then have to welcome him as emperor. Without this, heaven had announced to him an increase in power. A sign of this for Attila was the sword of the god of war, once honoured by the Scythian kings, but which had long since disappeared. It was rediscovered by a cow.

Judgemental kings who knew Attila did not doubt for a moment that he would not be satisfied with the previous conquerors. It was not cool considerations that drove Attila. They spoke openly of his lack of understanding, which was not amenable to any rightful considerations; of his lack of ability to respond to others and to maintain moderation. He would never rest and would never hesitate to reach for the highest. A decisive part is attributed to the awareness of being called by God. It is demonic, in other words: irrational forces that push Attila forward.

A cow had led to the rediscovery of the divine sword, Constantiolus said. This is also mentioned elsewhere (above I , z28). So it is an animal that plays the leading role, as animals are that intervene again and again in Tsc hinggischan's life and to whose behaviour the actors refer . One Hinde had the Hunnic

hunters across the Maiote swamp (I , 235 : <3); at the conquest of x on .lquileia, storks were to give Attila the decisive clue (I , 224 above). It is life and thought in the animal that comes forward

- again one of the irrational drives of Hunnic behaviour, rooted in primal religious reasons.

This judge was only wrong about one thing: Attila was not to turn to Persia, but to the west. The gradual growth of this plan can be traced. But again, what we can grasp is a symptom, not the original decision. Everything that becomes tangible in terms of reasons or occasions always remains a pretext that is sought, a handle that is seized or dragged along. It never coincides with what really moved this man; that lay elsewhere and was deeper than such masking. It is all the more significant that a ray of light falls on Attila's inner life. He had remained a true nomad, a true Hun. And like all of his kind, he believed himself to be driven, guided - and perhaps he was - by higher powers.

The same view emerges not only in the original Priskos, but also in the excerpt from the lordanes. By murdering his brother Bleda, Attila had become sole ruler, had united all the Huns under himself, and with this power, reinforced by the influx of tribes below him, he had planned the attack against the Romans and Visigoths. It goes on to say that he had believed himself capable of great things, but his self-confidence had been increased by the discovery of the weapon of the god of war. From then on, he was certain that he was called to be lord of the world and that the sword of God would give him power over wars. When the plan to conquer the world had already been finalised, Ueiserich had incited him to war against the Visigoths, whose revenge he had reason to fear. For the Vandal had sent the daughter of the Visigoth king, who had married him, back to her father mutilated at the mere thought of an attempted murder, thus creating a bitter enemy for himself.

Geiserich's influence was not the only one. A second was **added** to strengthen Attila in his intentions against Western Rome. I usta Grata Honoria, the sister of the Western Roman emperor Valentinian II I, who was in

° In my judgement of Attila I stand in decided contrast to E. A. Thompson, who never considers such a thing (a. 0. i 3of.). I base my judgement on the clear statements of our authoritative sources. Thompson did not even find them worthy of consideration, just as he does not say a word about the legend and religion of the Huns. My **view** will **no** longer require any fundamental justification today.

Ravenna and allegedly had a share in the regiment', had been seduced by her steward Eugenius. To prevent this from happening again, she was forced to marry the respected senator Herculanus. In her bitterness, she sent Attila the eunuch Hyacinthus with the request to free her from the intolerable marriage in return for reimbursement of the costs. Itu's signet ring was given to the eunuch as a witness.

When Valentinian heard about what had happened, Hyacinthus was arrested on his return. He confessed under torture and was exonerated. Valentinian did not follow the advice of the Eastern Roman Emperor Theodosios II to hand Honoria over to Attila without further ado. The unadopted sister was left in the care of her mother and nothing more was heard of her fate. But the mischief she had set in motion could not be eliminated so quickly.

km 28 July 4sO Theodosius II died, and on 5 August he was succeeded. August he was succeeded by

Marcianus as Emperor of the East. The change of throne meant a change of policy. Anatolios and Nomos had - skilfully and supported by the favour of the situation - obtained acceptable conditions from Attila. The peace policy of Theodosios II and Chrysaphios was a success. Nevertheless, Marcianus was determined not to pursue this course any further. One of his first acts was to execute the eunuch. When Attila's envoys came to Constantinople to remind him of the tribute, they received a negative reply. They were prepared to give gifts if the Huns kept their peace, but war would be met with war. The moment Attila could believe,

Having secured the necessary backing through the Treaty of 450, he was faced with a changed situation.

If an isolated piece of news° is correct, it could be assumed that Attila originally intended a campaign against the Visigoths. He is said to have planned it famçua "i *custos Romance amicitiae*. This would mean that, based on the office of Roman army commander conferred on him, he wanted to drive the enemies of Valentinian I II and Aëtius into pairs. It is possible that he, who had Ostrogoths as his subjects, regarded their cousins on the Garonne as runaway slaves, just as he did

^{&#}x27; Joh. Antioch. fr. i99 zćùv Quoi h•*• •• I x •n • f } Tr-rpcøv (by E. A. Thompson, op. cit. O.• 3•. misinterpreted). She appears as Augusta on the coins : 0. IIIrich-Bansa, Moneta Mediolanchis zz 6 f. ; 2 27 Aflm. i 9 ; 23 (Anm- 3

[•] Prosper a. 45 i, Chron. Min. i, 8 i; ii. A. Thompson, a. O. i 3i; i 35.

d i d it with the Huns in Roman service or his sons did it with the fallen Ostrogoths. Enough: this initially maintained fiction, if it ever existed, soon had to be abandoned.

For at the same time as the legation to Constantinople, one had been sent to western Rome (presumably to Valentinian 111 himself, not to his patricius Aëtius). Upon hearing the news of what had happened to the eunuch Hyacinthus, Attila declared that Honoria had done nothing wrong. She had promised herself to him as a bride and he would stand up for her if she was not granted a share in the imperial dominion. The step taken by the unruly woman and the sending of the signet ring had thus taken on a new meaning. However, the response in the west was now also negative. Honoria could not be given in marriage to Attila as she was married to another man. She had nothing to do with the imperial title, as in Rome this was reserved for men alone.

It was clear that Attila, if he insisted on his demand, would have to deal with not one but two opponents in the west. After all, enmity with Valentinian III did not necessarily mean enmity with his Patricius. But even there Attila caused a rift. The point of contention was the succession to the throne of the Ripuarian Franks. Attila favoured the elder son of the last king, Aëtius the younger. Priskos knew about the boy, whom he had met himself in Rome in the jewellery of his long and thick blond hair. Aëtius had accepted the Frankish king's son as his son and, what was more, the emperor and Patricius met in their choice, showered the young man with gifts and won him over. Apparently, this favourite of Rome had a larger following among his people. For Attila saw

Priskos fr. i6 speaks of the reason for the war against the Franks. This means that the Ripuarians were on the side of Attila's opponent in the decision (cf. Iord., Get. i9 i), so the youngest candidate received the crown. The second part of the fragment reports x-on the last legation to West Rome. Priskos makes the transition in such a way that he reverts to the introductory sentence, which spoke of the reason for the war against the Franks: "for these reasons undertaking the war" and so on. The fact that this does not mean anything more than the resumption and conclusion of the war is confirmed by the Oanzcn's sentence. After this, Attila is only in the preparatory stages. All the conclusions that E. A. Thompson, l.c. O. 13a and - 38, on the basis of his false interpretation of the fragment, are thus invalid. - The fact that I have read Malal. p. 358 Bonn. and Chron. Pasch. i ,J 7 (E. A. Thompson,

a. 0.' 371 hopefully requires no explanation.

The unfavourable course of the dispute over the throne prompted him to pursue his other claims against Western Rome all the more emphatically. Honoria was his bride, as a new €iesandtschaft claimed, proof of which was the signet ring handed over to her; she was entitled to half of the Western Roman Empire, which her brother was withholding from her. Valentinian II I and Aëtius stood united against this: the new demands were also rejected.

The political situation had deteriorated considerably for Attila. In Eastern Rome, they knew that the restless man was pushing for \Vesten. They knew how to seize the opportunity. Two skilful l*ntcr traders had persuaded the **Huns to** give in; a new emperor dared to refuse the tribute demands. In the west, the Visigoths were the original target of the Huns. ('nexpected and the brain of a woman, Attila was presented with another opportunity. With the stubbornness of the barbarian, Attila stuck to his plan. But instead of half of the Western Roman Empire, he was given the usurpation of the court of Rax-enna. The interference in the Frankish throne disputes also worked to his disadvantage: he was now also allowed to count Aëtius among his opponents. Everything seemed to be conspiring against Attila and his plan. It was only a matter of time before the Visigoths were added to the closed front of opponents, which already stretched from Constantinople via Rome and Ravenna to Aëtius and the Ripuarian Franks.

Someone else would have backed down in this situation. He would have refrained from doing anything more distant and would first have kept an agreement with Marcianus and Eastern Rome. It is significant that the Western Roman mission at the court of Hun449 still suspected that Attila would turn against the Sasanian Empire and

then put an end to Ostrom. Priskos says that Attila wavered as to whether he should turn against the Eastern Empire or against the West. He then decided in favour of the larger undertaking, where he found himself facing Romans, Goths and Franks at the same time. In one case he was lured by Honoria and its treasures, while against the Goths he hoped to prove himself favourable to Geiscrich. When his last legation returned unsuccessfully from the west, it was just one more reason for him to prepare himself with all his might for the coming confrontation.

ADDENDUM: I NCIDENTS IN IRAN

In the Syriac Chronicle, which its first editor). P.N. Land called "Liber Calipharum", the following report can be found under the year 395:

"(Chron. min. 2, 136, 20 Chabot) In this year the cursed people of the Huns came into the land of the Romans. They travelled through Sophene (or Sophanene), Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Cappadocia as far a s Galatia. They took many prisoners and turned back to return home. They travelled along ('a/ gr6: C. Brockelmann, Lexic. Syriac.' 123 b) the Euphrates and Tigris, in the Persian domain, and came to the Persian capital. There they did no harm, but they devastated many districts on the Euphrates and Tigris, killed (many) and took many captives. When the Huns heard that the Persians were advancing towards them, they began to flee. (The Persians) pursued them and killed a band of them. They took (2, 137, 1 Chabot) from them all the booty they (the Huns) had taken. They (the Persians) brought them (the liberated captives) to their cities Seleukeia pslöp) and **Köpc** (cod. bauAbä), which are called Hardasér and Ktesiphon. They (the captives) remained there for many years. The king of the Persians ordered annonae for them: bread, wine, intoxicating drink (sabrä "sicera") and oil. Of these 18,000, only a few (gap)the first thousand. The Persians sent them home to their remained... countries. When the Persian king Yazdgard reigned, he again sent home 1330 of the captives. About 800 of them remained i n Persia (or Persis). The rest of them all died of the plague of stomach disease (dysenteria: C. Brockelmann, a. 0. 314 b) as a result of the affliction and hardship inflicted on them b y the cursed Huns. All this was told to us by prisoners. Christians and monks also told (it). Young clerics told of the favours they said the prisoners had received a n d of their gratitude to the good and merciful King Yazdgard, the Christian and blessed among kings, whose memory may be blessed and whose end may be more beautiful than his beginning. For during his lifetime he did good deeds for the poor and wretched". The origin of this valuable piece is hinted at in the text: it comes from the mouths of the prisoners themselves. As the chronicle was only completed in the year 7z°4, its author must have given this piece to a

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author who was contemporaneous with the events (I.-B. Chabot, l.c. 6x transl.). This brings us to the beginnings of historical literature among the Syrians. Only the account of the flood catastrophe of 20i in Edessa, which precedes the Edessene chronicle, is older.

'Ammä /ifi d-hüitäyé i3 6, zI and similarly z3 2, Ib finds its parallel in the characterisation of the Avars (above - 92). **Immanis** aafio, as Ammianus z8, 5, 9 calls the Alamanni, is explained differently; this has

K. F. Stroheker in : Eranion, Festschr. H. Hommel (-96i) iz2 with reference to Amm. z2, - , $_{\rm S}$. - The description of the Hun campaign only begins after it has set foot on Roman soil. Here $5\ddot{o}p$

either the Sophene or the Sophanene (Weissbach in : RE. 3 A, IOI3 f.). For the Syriac word denotes both landscapes (Payne Smith i, 33 I). If Weissbach (l.c. ioi8) thinks that sfi§ means the Sophene,

het d-sö fanä yé the Sophanene, such a divorce is based on incorrect

Paraphrase in the second case. It must be read fiaiid d-sö\\$ti'iy\'eq or bct s\"o f'n\"a yc (territory of the inhabitants of \(fi\"op\)). In the Laterculus of Polemius Silvius, Sophanene follows Mesopotamia as a Roman province, thus corresponding to our hs/ ne\(\xeta\)rawtr\"a'i. Armenia can therefore not mean Greater Armenia, but only the Roman province. - On their way back, the Huns travel along the valley of the two rivers, which come very close to each other at Mad\(\alpha\)'in, the capital; the Huns must have turned off in Cappadocia or Syria. Seleukeia is equated with \(Harda4er\), which is probably a corruptel of \((WT \) li-A \(radler\), i.e. the northern new town of Seleukeia (Honigmann in : RE. Supp 4 . I I I\{\xi\}). Traditional \(\frac{\alpha}{\alpha}\) I Taditional \(\frac{\alpha}{\alpha}\) ii did has

I.B. Chabot (a. 0. i, red note x) correct in éö d or plural éöéJ "the Huts" (cf. Jewish-Aram. dii 'i, Syr. #iiéi/'i, bülttä improved. He is mistaken, however, in equating it with Seleukeia, for, as the text says, Ctesiphon on the left bank of the Tigris is meant'. Xmy in Steph. Bvz. from the ii. Book of Arrian's Hop8ixö (Zoo, Hz f. Mein.), confirms this (cf. also Payne Smith z, i6t)₃ f.). - That

Yazdgard I. (399 4*O) had Christian leanings, recognised already Th. Nöldeke, transl. 4 Note 3 The honouring epithets given to the king by the grateful Christians are in deliberate contrast to the label öarayar "sinner" (Th. Nöldeke, a. 0. 2z

^{&#}x27;In addition, I. B. Chabot places Seleulreia on the Euphrates!

Note a), which the Zarathustrian clergy assigned to the same man.

Since it was claimed (0. Maenchen-Helfen in : Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc.

ÿ [1959ì 2£)8 l.), the Hunnic invasion of 3 Q into the Persian Empire was one with that of Basich and Kursich, of which Priskos (Exc. de legat. xll,

iof. de Boor), this unfounded invasion should be corrected. While the Syrian author has the Huns invade the Persian Empire on their return from an advance that had taken them as far as Galatia, the invasion at Priskos takes place from the M':xis-riç hlpvij. After the Syrian they reach the Sawad and finally stand before Mada'in, after Priskos they come tç -rtJv 'ivjfiixfjv (1. c. 18). At the Syrian, the Huns fight against the Roman Empire, at Priskos they negotiate with Rome for military aid

against the Persians (13 : '>r>- . . píj øup|3o:hhóvz':øV I T f.). This rules out previous devastation of Roman territory as described by the Syrian. With regard to the dating of Basich's and Kursich's undertaking

the above i, xz f. above. That it is the older one is clear from the fact that at that time the Huns were still able to withstand the Persians.

and first gave way to the superior hail of arrows, but in 395 t h e y no longer bothered to fight.

3

The planned campaign began early in the year A3i. There is no certain information about the strength of Attila's army. In addition to the Huns, Ostrogoths, Alans and Gepids, Skyrians and Rugians, probably also Thuringians (see p. -34 above) marched; whether there were more cannot be determined. The

The participation of the Burgundians on the right bank of the Rhine is not attested. Just as little

whether Attila first turned against the Ripuarian Franks and where he crossed the Rhine. All we know is that he took a new diplomatic step to forestall the impending union of his two main enemies, the Romans and the Visigoths. He simultaneously sent letters to Valentinian II I and the Visigoth king Theodoric, in which he assured both that he was not fighting with the respective addressee, but with the other. This step, all too cleverly conceived, led to the Roman side taking the decisive step towards understanding with Aëtius' previous enemy, the Visigoths. The attempt does not appear to have been made by Patricius, but by Valentinian III.

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to have gone'. The court took over the mediation between the resident foederates and the imperial commander. At the eleventh hour, an alliance was concluded and the U'estgoths joined the army that was gathering under Aëtius' leadership in the Catalaunian regions with all their might.

Patricius had previously stayed in Italy. The firm stance that was taken on all sides against Attila, the joint action that Valentinian III and **Aëtius** took in the Ripuarian throne dispute, presupposed that both were in close contact. Aëtius was only able to bring a few troops with him from Italy. Those who did come together came almost exclusively from Gaul. In addition to Ripuarian Franks, a few Salian comrades and Visigoths, the Burgundians and Bagaudes came forward. Like the Visigoths, they had both been bitter enemies of Aëtius. But they had learnt during the war with him what a Hunnic opponent meant, and so they were willing to form an alliance with the others. If Attila had hoped to influence the Bagauds in the opposite direction through the physician Eudoxius, who had fled to him, it was in vain. The Saxons on the Loire and the Alans, whom Aëtius AAz had settled near Orléans, also brought an influx, as did other tribes of Germanic and Celtic origin, which are not listed in detail. lordanes also mentions the Liticians and Olx'briones - once Roman soldiers, but now counted among the Auxilians; at best, only ¥"encouragements can be made about them of the course of the side of the s

In the meantime, the enemy had arrived and had taken the y. April àletz had been taken. The next thrust was directed against Orleans. The Alanian king Sangibanus^ was secretly negotiating with Attila and planned to surrender the city under his control to the Huns. However, the attack became notorious and Sangibanus and his contingent came under heavy attack. The walls of Orléans were fortified by huge embankments.

^{&#}x27;Dad .'\s itus brought about the understanding, it remains unclear how P..

A. Thompson, I. O. i39 /Ynm. z, correctly recognises this.

[°] K. Zeuss, Die lieu tschen und i hre Nachbarstämme 5y9 f.

^{°-} His name belongs to avest. saøht'-, saitgàeu-. sneinem-.

The enemy, who had already broken in, was beaten out with the help of the citizens cheered on by St Anianus. Anianus' cheered on by the citizens. After the failure, Attila retreated i he now had to face the clash with Aëtius' army, which was at his flank and rear ^. The tide had turned: he was already struggling to retreat.

Before making his decision, Attila consulted the oracles. The Hun seers read the future from the entrails of the sacrificial animals, but also from the veins of the bones that had been stripped of their flesh. It is the same kind of divination that is still practised in Outer Mongolia today. You can tell what is going to happen from the calf's down and from the cracks and craquelures of the sheep bones placed in the fire, especially the shoulder blades'. The signs allied the victory of the enemy, but the death of the enemy leader. Attila thought he recognised Aëtius in this rnit with certainty (which turned out to be a mistake: the Visigoth king was to fall) and decided to accept the battle. But it was not to be opened before late afternoon, so that nightfall would save him from too much disaster.

Such a report goes back to Priskos (see below). In his

In the peculiar mixture of superstition and cunning that emerges in Attila, all signs of authenticity ^. Once again we get a glimpse of what moved this man. The extent to which it corresponds to what has already been said should be emphasised.

Thus, on about 20 June 45, the battle began on a wide area suitable for mounted combat. Between the two armies lay an ab-

The battlefield was dominated by a hill. Both sides gained a foothold there, but the battle for the hilltop remained undecided. On the plain

- ^ This \ 'experience became clear at the besieged Dura-Europos.
- $^{\wedge}$ This is how I interpret the information in the sources, which is not uniform among themselves; in detail E. A. Thompson, a. O. i of.
- $^{\circ}$ There is a consensus on the location of the Catalaunian or Moorish areas. We will have to look for it between Troyes and Chalons on the left bank of the Itlarneu ft r.
- ' E. 1-t aenisch, Die geheime Geschichte der Mongolen i6y Arim. z7 z; A. ívti hn in: Artibus .\siae 5,Ia9 f.; M. Hermanns, D. Nomaden v. Tibet 86.
- ^ R. Grousset is the only one to have noticed the same thing. In addition to the "cr'éfficient de ca lc ul et de ruse", he emphasises: "une superstition profonde, une crédu lité de sa u vage cns ers ses c hamans" and he does not forget to add "un goÛt pour l'alcool qui faisait finir ses cčrémonics en scènes d'i vresse" (L'empire des steppes i zz f.).

s1 Altheim, Bunnen IV

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Meanwhile, they organised themselves for battle. Theoderic led the left wing, Aëtius the right; the insecure Sangibanus had been taken to the centre. Guarded by reliable troops, the aim was to cut off his escape route and force him to stand his ground. Opposite them in the centre stood Attila himself with the Huns, the core of his army; the contingents of vassals were spread out on the wings. It was organised in such a way that the Ostrogoths and Gepids under their kings Walamir and Ardarich confronted Theodoric's Visigoths. Once again the battle for the hilltop began. Thorismund, Theodoric's son, and Aëtius now succeeded in occupying it; the attacking Huns saw themselves beaten back.

Now they were united across the board. Attila himself rallied his own to battle. At a ripe old age, Theodoric fell as he rode through the ranks of his own to cheer them on; the spear thrown by an Ostrogoth is said to have thrown him from his horse. In the fierce battle that followed, his body disappeared under the heaps of corpses that piled up; he was not found until the next day. he Visigoths, who until then had stood beside the Alans (to guard them), now separated from them and rushed at the Huns facing them. They succeeded by a small margin in killing Attila himself; the Huns were thrown into their chariots.

castle. The battle lasted well into the night (as had been Attila's plan), and it was not long before Thorismund and Aëtius, both wandering about in the dark, fell into enemy hands.

In the morning, they failed to realise what had happened. The field was full of corpses, the Huns had retreated to their wagon fortress and did not dare to fight again. They realised that they had won the victory. But the vanquished still stood in his entrenchment: he blew his trumpets and it seemed as if he could start again. Priskos compares him to a lion forced into a cave by the spears of his pursuers: he guards its entrance, no longer dares to attack, but his incessant roaring frightens his opponents and keeps them at bay. The Visigoths and Romans decided to starve out the enemy, as an assault on the camp was unlikely to be successful due to the excellent position of the archers. Attila's courage had sunk so low that he had a funeral pyre built out of wooden horse saddles, deciding to surrender himself to the flame rather than the victorious enemy.

• A. E. Thompson's description (op. cit. i a i) is inaccurate here.

Attila found the \veg free. Nothing was heard about his return march. But it was clear that he could not continue the battle; he left the field. For the first time, a Hun army had been thrown in open battle and forced to withdraw.

Back home, Attila realised that, despite all the threats, Constantinople had held firm. They were determined not to pay any more tribute. The Hun was foaming at the mouth. He refused to receive Apollonios, the emperor Marcianus' U'c- sandtcn. Nevertheless, Attila demanded that the gifts intended for him be handed over; otherwise Apollonios would have to face death. But the times had changed. Apollonius replied that the Huns could either receive gifts or booty. By this he implied that they would receive gifts if they received him as an envoy, but that they would have to be content with plundered goods if they killed him and took what they wanted by force. Apollonius' firmness triumphed: there was nothing left to do but to let him go unmolested.

4

The account of the Catalaunian battle was based on Lordanes' report (Get. 194-218). It is the only one that counts and has therefore been treated many times. The files on him seem to be closed

- unless something completely new comes into view '. Not yet observed

'R. de Coudenhove-Kalergi, who is currently writing a history of Europe, is credited with an inscription that prompted the 4'inventor to rethink an olt

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A number of similarities were noted with another battle report that was far removed from a historian of late antiquity: Herodotus' account of the Battle of Salamis. The similarities extend across both accounts; they do not concern anything general that could have happened anywhere, but emphasise decisive details; finally, they show an agreement in the evaluation of great historical events that cannot be coincidental. Let us begin with Get. 19–196 Before the battle, Attila distrusts his troops and shies away from battle. He consults his *aruspices*, and they give him an answer that tempts him into battle despite the announcement of defeat. It will then turn out that the certainty of Aëtius' death taken from the oracle was deceptive (209). Xerxes also wavers as to whether he should accept the battle. However, in contrast to Aetilus, who, of *erat consiliorum in rebus bellicis exquisilor*, relies on

case under discussion. His letter (from• 7 •1) asks whether the victory over the Huns on the Catalaunian Fields is not one of the great questions of history. It is assumed "that the Huns in this passage

The Roman war correspondents lied about this Hunnic victory and turned it into a defeat; they were successful, since Attila's war reports are not available".

In detail, it is argued: "The Huns undertook a plundering expedition into Gaul. They reached Orléans, but retreated from there ... to Germany or Hungary so as not to starve to death after burning down all the villages in plundered Gaul. Aëtius and his Visigoths wanted to prevent him from retreating, destroy his army and seize his rich booty. But Attila managed to fight his way through victoriously and save his game booty. The very fact that he was able to launch a new plundering expedition into Italy the following year speaks against his alleged defeat".

The parallels from the new story, which are still mentioned, may remain aside. The reply to de Coudenhove-Kalergi's letter turned out as it had to. Reference was made to what Lordanes' report - the only one that is more detailed - confirms, what it refutes and where it is silent. The inadequacy felt by the person giving the answer in the face of such information cannot be denied. After all, it was clear that such questions, as the thoughtful observer of today tends to ask and must ask, are not able to lure the ancient depiction out of its reticence. If we want to gain something from it beyond what has gone before, we must not scan it for what is close to our hearts today. Rather, we must try to see whether, through patient interpretation, an intention of its author appears that has not yet become apparent to us. In other words, we should not ask what we want to know, but what the ancient author wants to say. Only then can we expect that the **result** thus obtained will also contribute something to what today's readers wish to know.

Xerxes, who is limited to the oracle and otherwise makes use of his own intellect, calls a council of war (Herod. 8, fi7-69). Despite Artemisia's advice, he allows it to come to blows. But here, too, the final impetus comes from a deception: the message that Themistocles s e n d s to the king (Herod. 8, 7ii).

One detail should be added. lordanes' phrase: di f|idens skis copiis tne/øif iitirr con//ic/iøn corresponds to Artemisia's remark that Aegypti, Cypriots, Cilicians and Pamphylians are no good. But Xerxes says that even if his fleet lacked valour at Euboia, where he was not present, it will not lack it now that he himself is watching (Herod. 6 69). Nor does Attila's presence cause anyone to falter in battle. Despite the terrible things to come, §rarsetifia tamen regis cunctalionem moranlibus auJerebat (Get. 20a) . Similarly, the Persians fight bravely, for they are afraid of Xerxes and believe that the king is looking straight at them (Herod. 8, 86; 89).

The centre of the Catalaunian field is occupied by a hill: sraf ati/em *positio foci declivi lumore in editum* cof/is szcruscctis (Get. 197). Both parts wish to occupy it, *quia* foci *op f'orlunilas non parvum òfiiiø/icititft conferl*. Attila is the first to attack. However, Thorismund (Thorismud) and Aëtius are the first to do so, vriiieitfesque *Hunnos moults beneficio facile turbaverunt* (Get. 201; cf. 211). This hill corresponds to the island of Psyttaleia in Herodotus. It lies between Salamis and the mainland. The Persians were the first to occupy it; they did so in order to either rescue or destroy the people and shipwrecks that had drifted there during the naval battle (Herod. 8, 7G). But the island is also taken from them by Aristeides (Herod. 8, 95). All the Persians who landed on Psyttaleia are slain.

Attila is not the only one who distrusts his troops. There are also unreliable people on the side of the subsequent victors: Sangibanus with his Alans (Get. 197; cf. 194). Adeimantus, general of the Corinthians, corresponds to this in Herodotus. He is said to have fled in fear before the battle began, and when he returned, warned by the gods, the battle was already over. Herodotus favours this account, *obirolil* he knows of another and better one, according to which the Corinthians fought bravely in the battle (8. 94).

On the other hand, those who fight on the side of the defeated are those of whom one might initially assume that they belong on the Š26 ATTI LA

others, who nevertheless perform miracles of valour in the service of a foreign lord where they stand. Ardaricus and Valamir, the kings of the Gepids and Ostrogoths, are .Attila's faithful. *fir.Jiqiin* øofrin, *st dici fas est, lurba regum di "ersarumque 'infiotiiitn ductores ac si satellites nolibus*

.4//i/ør *attendebant*, which is then further elaborated (Get. 199-200). Ardaricus is *fide ct consilio gnarus* (Get. 200; similarly 199). His position corresponds to that of Artemisia in Herodotus' account. She commands a Greek contingent in Xerxes' army: the ships from Halicarnassus, Kos, Nisyros and Kalydna (Herod. 7, 99). Nevertheless, she is on the Persian side like Ardaricus on the Hunnic, and both prove worthy of the trust of their overlords. Artemisia sits on the royal council and gives Xerxes the best advice (Herod. 8, 68-b "9; 101-103); in battle she fights valiantly (Herod. 8, 87-88).

The Ostrogoths in particular stand out from the rest of the army (Get. 1fi9). From the spear of the Ostrogoth Andage, Theodoric, the king over the Visigothic brothers, falls in battle (Get. 209). Of the Ionians, only a few fight lukewarmly, but most show the greatest fervour. Herodotus says that he can name a number of Ionian shipmasters who took Hellenic ships. However, he refrains from doing so and confines himself to mentioning two men (Herod. 8iì). They also prove themselves, although it is against their own blood.

Attila avoids death by fleeing (Get. 210: riisi ğrovidus prius fugissel). He shudders at the thought of falling alive into the hands of his enemies: us ... iri poleslale Rostrum tanlarum geiifiton dominos periieniret (Get. 213). Xerxes also fears that he is cut off from retreat and doomed to destruction; so he decides to flee (Herod. 8, 97), which is painted in all colours (8, 11a120). He only brought back a small part of the proud army. Another detail is added. Attila withdraws infra se pta castrorum, quam plauslris oallalum ńaòcòaf (Get. 210). Xerxes also binds together Phoinician merchant ships that were to serve as a bridge and wall (Herod. 8, 97). He is apparently preparing for a new battle, just as Attila minabatur stre pens armis tubis canebal incursionemgue within his chariot castle (Get. 212).

The victory is owed less to Aëtius than to the Visigoths. Even their accession to the alliance is apostrophised as *felix procinctum*, *nuzifiøm* niføtn (Get. 190). The Visigothic hosts that join the Romans are innumerable, the king with two of his sons at the head. *bit omnibus ambitus*

pugnae, hostcs iam bfiøøii desiderantur. Attila himself describes the Visigoths as the real enemy. In Vesegolhas Încotnòifr, he proclaims: inde nobis cita vicforia qiiaerere (Get. 20ü). The attack by the Visigoths brings the decision. They at t ack the Hunnic core troops, and Attila himself almost succumbs to them (Got. 210). After the victory, A ütius fears that ne Hunnis jundilus itifsrem§/is a Gothis Romanum praemerel,ur imperium (Get. 2 Hi). He therefore allows Attila to retreat after he has persuaded Thorismund to withdraw home. At Salamis, too, it was not the Athenians, according to Herodotus the true victors (Herod. 8, 12.3-124), who were in command, but the Spartan Eurybiades. They urge immediate pursuit and exploitation of the victory. But like Aêtius, this Eurybiades decides to build golden bridges for the fleeing king, to free his way (Herod. 8, 108).

Neither Aëtius nor Thorismund know that they have won. As night falls, both of them are in mortal danger, which they only escape as a result of the confusion on all sides (Get. 211-212). Only the next morning do they become aware of the piles of corpses and see that the Huns no longer dare to emerge from their wagon fortress. They realise that they have won: *suam arbitranles oictorlam sciefilesque Atlilam nonisi magna clade confossum bella con fugerc* (Get. 212). A council of war is then held on how to proceed with Attila (Get. 213). Likewise after the end of the battle of Salamis. The Greeks believe that Xerxes will continue the battle the next day (Herod. 8, 9G; 108). Then they learn that the Persian ships have sailed, and only then do they become certain of their victory (Herod. 108). They also consult

about the pursuit. But like Attila, Xerxes is given a clear path home. given. This was previously discussed.

What do the listed matches mean? One could argue that they refer, at least in part, to details. But in this context, no detail is irrelevant, but each is significant and illuminating. One might add that the times and the battles are different; what is true of a land battle is not necessarily true of a naval one. these differences matter little, any more than the fact that the opponents are called Romans and Huns on one occasion and Hellenes and Persians on another i that there is no relationship between Aëtius and Eurybiades. All the more obvious is the relationship between Attila and Xerxes, both mighty kings of the East,

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seem to be on the verge of final triumph and therefore succumb, must succumb. This also touches on the decisive question: the position of man, who is under great and, more than that, under world-historical decision.

There are the protagonists: Attila and Xerxes. Both want world domination, and Attila speaks of it in view of the decisive battle. But the phrase: post orbetri, si consistatis, edomitum (Get. 202) anticipates what will never be fulfilled, what will fail due to their own excess. They hesitate before they go into battle. What could admonish them appears for a moment. But it is not seen, and both succumb to a deception that seduces them. The battle has begun, they are fighting for the hill between the fronts, just as they are fighting for Psyttaleia, which lies between Salamis and the mainland. Both hills and islands will be lost to those who lose out. It is a final warning: it is already too late. When the defeat comes, it is a weak structure behind which they seek refuge: Attila behind a series of interlinked chariots, Xerxes behind merchant ships, which he also joins together to form a rampart. Quamvis fragili muni-mind, says lordanes (Get. 210), co names quaesierunt suhsidiom vitae, quibus paulo aude nullus polerat wtur'ifis agger subsislere. In \truth, salvation lies in flight.

But these leaders are not the only ones who, as human beings, are thrown away and go astray. In an hour when good advice is not listened to and when the most certain plans are not fulfilled, when the superior turns to the inferior and misleaders lure people to their doom, the followers are also on the wrong side. There are the untrustworthy who mistrust the cause of those who will win because they should win at the wrong time. Just as the others, who have committed themselves to the wrong side, are ohl the bravest fighters available there.

The victors **at last**. They too succumb to the deception. They have no idea what has befallen them. The victory is a surprise that only the next morning brings. They themselves have not become aware of it, and even when the Edolg is there, they only recognise him because the Grgtisr has renounced the continuation of the fight. What is more, it was not those who held the supreme command in their hands who won, but others who obeyed their orders. The fragility of both, to whom it falls,

The fact that they are hardly worthy of it is confirmed by the fact that they let the complete victory out of their hands.

Questionable and thrown, and yet a world-historical decision here and there - a decision that was to determine the following centuries. In both cases, the ruler of the East, who had conquered countless multitudes of the most diverse peoples (Get. 198: *miiffi*

§fires §oQii/i cf *diversae gentes)* to battle. There can be no doubt that whoever created this image of the Catalaunian battle as a far-reaching event - \Virken der geschichtlichen Notwendigkeit über alles Planen und Irren der Handelnden hinweg - modelled it on the Salaminian battle. Whoever created this depiction had Herodotus in front of them. But who was it?

Mommsen claimed that it was Priskos. No one will deny that Priskos was capable of great historiography. Herodotean imitation is attested in his work (G. Moravcsik, Bvzan- tinoturcica 1', 297), and it has been confirmed in the description of the Catalaunian battle. But Mommsen himself has pointed out that, if at Get. 209 the victory is attributed to the Ostrogoths, this cannot be attributed to Priskos (Praef. p. **XXXV).** Prosper of Aquitaine knew nothing of such a merit of the Goths; it was only Cassiodorus who said that Attila *vir/u/r Gothorum su peratus abscessil* (Chron. zum Jahr 4ö1; cf. Mommsen's remark in his lordanesausgabe 111

.note 1). The decisive role of the Goths is not only evident at this point: it pervades the entire account. What has been said does not need to be repeated, but it may be added that the description of the funeral ceremony which the Visigoths organise for their fallen king can only have come from Cassiodorus in the form given by Lordanes, never from Priskos. Since the same ceremony at Attila's tomb is assigned to the first (1, 427 f, above), it will not be difficult to recognise the same hand here and there.

One possibility is that Jordanes worked both ¥'orlagen, Priskos and Cassiodorus, into one another. But it will only be cited in order to reject it immediately; what emerges is that Cassiodorus used Priskos and reworked it in his own sense. But it was Priskos who used the Herodotean model that was under discussion here. He thus succeeded in painting a picture of destiny that can also be placed alongside Herodotus in terms of its inner four.

4- Ñ AP ITEL

DECLINE AND SUCCESSION

I

The Battle of Catalaunia was a turning point in Attila's history and even more so in Hunnic history in general.

In the cultural world of late antiquity, the armament against the Huns had begun late. It turned out that they were by no means insurmountable. Civilised and sedentary, rural and urban man had found the strength to confront the nomadic cavalry armies and overcome them in battle. The victory on the Catalaunian Fields had also allowed previous opponents to find each other for the first time. Those involved did not yet realise what had happened, and yet they had taken a step of incalculable significance. In the face of the Huns, the Romans and Germanic tribes had united in defence of late antique culture. What Ranke described as a Romano-Germanic community of peoples had come together. It was to determine well over a millennium of European history.

Attila was once again successful. When he saw that the alliance between the Visigoths and Aëtius was over, he struck a new blow against Western Rome. He targeted Italy. In the spring of A5z, the Hunnic horsemen crossed the Eastern Alps, stripped of their garrisons, and advanced into the Venetian plain. Nobody had expected the attack: it caught Aëtius and his emperor completely unprepared.

The Hunnic advance came to a halt in front of Aquileia. The strong fortress protected Italy in the north-east. In the course of its history, it had held back many a barbarian or semi-barbarian army. When Maximin, the son of a Goth and an Alanian \Veibe (above i. 3°Zf.)', marched against Italy with his Illyrian-Germanic army in the spring of z38,

^{&#}x27; The new dispute by L. Vidman in : Griech. Städ te und einheim. N'ölker des Schwarzmeergebietes (ed. by J. I rmscher and D. B. Schelow Ig6 i) $_{SS}$. cannot be dealt with here.

his advance came to a halt in front of the well-guarded town, which was covered behind the river and canals. While the soldiery cut down the vines and fruit trees in front of the gates, thus destroying the foundations of economic prosperity, the citizens mustered a determined resistance. The walls, which had fallen into disrepair during the long period of peace, were repaired; everyone lent a hand, both the local population and the mass of country folk and foreigners who had sought refuge in the town.

City dwellers rarely provide suitable soldier material in open fields. Their strength lies in the defence of their own soil. The "Aquileian War", as contemporaries called it 5, was Maximin's and his house's undoing. Outside the walls, the Illyrians took their bloody heads; the burning pitch raged terribly under the storms. Aquileia was well aware of what lay ahead for the city if it was conquered: it was destined to become a wasteland and pasture for the ¥ 'ieh'. Once again they were faced with a terrible enemy. Once again everything was put in a state of defence, and this time too the citizens and the garrison seemed to be successful. Voices were already being raised among the besiegers that they should refrain from further attacks. Then, as Priskos recounts, Attila, on a reconnaissance ride, observed how storks nesting on the roofs of the city were carrying their young inland from the city, contrary to their usual habit. For him, this was a sign that the city was doomed (I, 223 above). He knew how to communicate his conviction to the army. Siege engines were built, all kinds of torsion guns were brought in and the assault began anew. At last they broke in, the city was plundered and destroyed.

The history of Aquileia did not end there. Refugees who had managed to escape to Grado, built the town out of their

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'- Herodian. 8, *, 3 ; , t f.

' Herodian. 8, q, 5.

' Herodian. 4, 2, $.

' Herodian. q, z,.

* R. Paribeni in: Nsc. i 9z8, 3q4 ; .4. Stein in: Hermes i3 , z z8 f. "

Herodian. , , 9.

' Herodian. q, q, p.

* lord, Get. z ze/z i .

G. Rrusin, Aquileia t6 f. ; R. Egger, Der heilige Hermagoras 68 f. ; Ü. A. Thompson, a. 0. i 5, äu Oert himself as if he had not heard of excavations in AU ut leia.
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MS .\text{\text{\text{*}}TTILA}

ruins again. A hundred years later, a ring of walls and a few towers were added. It was not until 368 that the Lombards completed the devastation and thus the fate of Aquileia.

A word about Attila's behaviour. Once again, the animal intervenes in human events with its knowledge of the future. Just as the cow had found the lost sword of the god of war, just as the entrails and bones of the sacrificial animals had predicted the outcome of the battle for Gaul, so this time birds showed the Hun ruler the way. This was not the last time that the irrational conditionality of his nature would be expressed.

Upper Italy and even more: the entire peninsula lay open to Attila. Concordia and Altinum fell, followed by Patavium and Verona, Brixia and Bergamum. Ticinum and Milan also fell into Hunnic hands but, unlike the previous ones, were not destroyed. When Attila entered the imperial palace of Milan, his astonished gaze rested on a painting depicting the emperors of Eastern and Western Rome on the throne and the Scythians at their feet. Attila, it is said, had the picture repainted so that he could now be seen on the throne while the two emperors poured gold from a sack at his feet '0

Attila's claim to world domination appears once again. The tribute of the two Roman empires has already been encountered in his Song of the Dead (i, cited above). But once again, the limits at which the conqueror failed became visible. They lay within him, and they lay outside him, and both together rendered the last move pointless.

We hear Priskos again. Attila had also planned to march against Itom. But his neighbours, who were less concerned about the fate of the Eternal City than that of their king, had reminded him of the fate of the Visigoth king Alaric, who had died quickly after Rome's conquest. Once again we come across this particular area in

Attila's nature ... While he was still wavering, an envoy arrived from Rome, which included none other than Pope Leo. It is an emblematic moment. Here was the great conqueror; the name around which the paganism of northern and eastern Europe rallied once again; at the same time a man who was deeply devoted to the religious beliefs of his people. On the other hand, the representative of a

^{&#}x27;° 0. Ulrich-Bansa, Moneta Slediolanensis z z8 Note z z.

This was the ecclesiastical institution under which the European Middle Ages came together and which was to give it its spiritual shape for a long time to come.

The legation had set off with Aetius' knowledge. In addition to the pope, it included the former prefect $^{1\prime}$ Trygetius and Gen- nadius Avienus, the consul of the year 4_{S} . The three of them succeeded in

t o turn back. The details are unknown. Only this is known

They were told that they met the Huns on the banks of the Mincio", that he granted peace and that he promised to retreat to the area beyond the Danube. Of course, he threatened to return if Honoria and her treasures were not handed over to him.

Once again he returned home without a victory. The return march went via Noricum, where Augsburg was plundered", and Pannonia. Marcianus had taken advantage of Attila's absence: they had advanced across the Danube. The Eastern Roman general, who also happened to be called Aetius, had defeated the Huns opposing him. It is possible that the news hastened Attila's return home. Attila had postponed the confrontation with Ostrom for two years in order to pursue distant plans. In the year 4₈3 he thought of taking action. An embassy was sent

to Marcianus, who, in the event of non-payment of the tribute, was to be punished with the

Devastation of the Eastern Roman provinces was imminent. A new armed conflict seemed imminent. It was doubtful how it would end. Despite his recent successes, Attila's power had taken a severe blow. For the first time he had been defeated; the flower of his army lay on the battlefields; the whole world was united in his defence and, as would become clear after his death, even the tribes below him could no longer be relied upon. But it was not to come to this final test of power.

As glorious as Attila's life was, his death was less glorious. His death is reminiscent of that of his predecessor L*ptar, even if the two rulers were otherwise little alike. Intemperance of pleasure was characteristic of this people, and even its greatest remained a true Hun.

[&]quot; Prosper a. y -: viro prae Jectorio.

^{&#}x27;° H. de Boor, I las .Attila- Bild in Geschichte, Legende und heroischer Die htung (Ne u jahrsblatt der Literarisc hen Ciesellschaft Dern 9, 9) z i ; O. Ulrich-Bansa. l.c. 2 z 5 note i #.

^{&#}x27;® O. Ulrich-Bansa, a. 0. z 2Ö Note i 6.

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It is curious enough how Attila's death was reflected in contemporary historiography. The western chronicles - Hjdatius and Isidore's History of the Goths, Prosper, Victor Tonsis and Fredegar - confine themselves to the slightly modified note that the mighty man died in his eastern homeland. No one gives more than this laconic statement; Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus do not even say a word about the event. For Western Rome, it has been said, Attila disappeared after his defeat into the same distant twilight from which he had ominously emerged. Priskos' remains the only source to report the details. He describes the arrival of the conqueror as precisely and vividly as one might expect from him.

After Attila had married countless women according to the custom of his people, he added Ildico as the last one. Priskos knows nothing of her origins, but the name leads to a Germanic woman, and later tradition refers to her as a Frank. Ildico was of great beauty. The Hun indulged passionately in the revelry and joys of the wedding until he fell asleep, overcome by wine and fatigue. During the night, he was struck by a haemorrhage, as he had been from time to time before. Normally, such incidents had passed without serious consequences. This time the blood entered his throat and Attila choked on it.

Nobody knew what had happened on the wedding night. When the The next day, when there was no movement, suspicion was aroused. As there was no answer to loud cries, the door to the chamber was broken down. They found Attila without a wound in his blood and the girl next to him, her eyes lowered, her face covered with a veil and weeping.

The facts were clear. Almost one hundred and eighty years later, another C ewaltian of those times was to die a similar death in distant Hi äz, in Medina. The "Mother of the Faithful", like Ildico the only witness and the cause of what had happened, testified to this after many years. She described Muhammad's increasing weakness

in his last days, and then continues: "The messenger died

God (God bless him and give him salvation l) between my chest and my throat when it w a s my turn among the women. As I did so

him wrong, but it was because of my folly and J gefld that the messenger of God (God bless him and give him salvation!) was in my bosom.

^{&#}x27; Gy. Moravcsik in : Körösi f\sfima .A rchi x . 3 f.

passed away. Then I hugged his head on the pillow and stood up, beating my chest and face together with the women 2".

When the Huns saw the dead man, Iordanes continues, they shaved their hair and tore their cheeks. For such a mighty warrior should not be mourned with women's lamentations and tears, but with the blood of men. Attila's body was laid out in an open field under a tent of Chinese silk and put on display. Exquisite horsemen rode round the corpse and sang of his deeds in a song, the words of which have been preserved in Latin translation (above, I, 2§O f.).

After the dirge was finished, the Huns prepared a q-e- waltigen Totrunk ', mixing lamentation and joking in their own way (it is the form of mourning known since Usener as "laughing and crying") -. The body was buried at night in a golden coffin surrounded by a silver and an iron one. Enclosed were the weapons of the slain enemies, Attila's horse jewellery and his insignia. 4so that human greed would not be awakened, all those who had worked on the C'rabe were killed.

The funeral song has led to ancient Turkish ideas (above i, 24°) and the burial rite does no less. The ride round the crab was known the Central Asian Turks, close relatives of the Huns ". If the same custom appears next to it in Beowulf 7 , then it was adopted by the U ermans from the equestrian tribes of the East. It is the same process,

- ° 1bn i-1isäm i oi i , i 8 f. M'üstenfeld.
- ° Turns of phrase, such as that the heart is torn apart *(yūrāb yirliluz)*, or that the wound that has been licked open *(yātmié* tiefiy *qartadi)*, occur in the passage about Alp Är Tonga, which C. I3roc kel man n recovered from Mah miid al- Käégari (Hirth A nnivcrsary
- *' 4). See the information on the Eastern Turks in S.) ulien in : Journal asiatique i 864, 33-
- 'Ii ber *slraua* I ord., Get. q9 .58; most recently F. Altheim, Literatur u nd Gesellsc hat t I, z i 9 f. E. A. Thompson (a. 0. i 5 i) wrongly claims that it is the only surviving Hunnic word. A few pages further on, Iordanes Pe-(s•. -*9; in addition, J. Marq li art, Osteuropäisc he und ostasiatische Streit züg- A33 ** ; i $_{\rm g0}$); x'on the abundance of names and others. Usually slrar a is interpreted as Gothic;
- B. v. Arn im has published an explanation from Turkish in : Ztschr. slaw. Ph I 3 ° · · .
 - ^ H. Uscner, i'i1. Sc hrilten 9, 69 f.; also F. Altheim, Tcrra Mater i j5 f.
- V. Thomsen, 1 nscriptions de l'Orkhon déchiffrées 3g f.; cf. O. Franke in : Abh. BAW. i 90 i , r 3 ; S. Julien in : Journal asiatique *i 8bq*33 ; R. Grousset, L'empire des steppes i 32.
 - 3 ' z i f.; for further evidence see O. Plassmann in : Germanien i 9 z, 83 f.

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which was previously described (above I, 3It) f.) QCSC: Royal costume, forms of jewellery, armament and not least the equestrian fighting style showed the way. The Visigoths also appropriated the killing of those who dug the grave of their king from a foreign model®.

3

Priskos recounts how Attila remained unmoved by the crude jokes of the Moor Zerkon amidst the laughter of his courtiers. Only when he saw his youngest son Ernas enter did he show any sign of emotion. He took the boy by the cheek and pulled him towards him, looking at him with a gentle gaze. The seers had proclaimed to Attila that his lineage would take a deep fall, but in this boy it would rise again.

Priskos continued his historical work until the year 47 and could therefore only have completed it after that. It is not known when he put the final touches to it. But what the prophecy about the fall of Attila's

house and its resurrection in the youngest offspring, it was a *valicinalio ex eoentu*. In the year 42x, the decisive events had already passed.

When Attila had passed away, his sons divided the kingdom among themselves. Their number was great: they were, since Attila did not want to impose any restrictions on himself ... almost a people of their own, notes lordanes. The division was carried out in a way that asked little about the people concerned. The same lordanes says that kings who had experienced war were distributed with their peoples as if they were servants of a house. It took a few months for these peoples to realise that the **reins** were in the hands of weaker hands. Disputes between the heirs ensued. Soon the Ostrogoths, who had been settled in the Tisza Plain, were in a ferment. Ever since the Battle of Catalaunia, the world had known that the Huns could be defeated in the open. The uprising gained momentum when the Gepid king Ardarich joined the rebels and called on the subjugated Germanic tribes to free themselves. Ardarich had been one of Attila's loyal followers. But if he had submitted to the mighty man, he was not prepared to do the same to the band of youthful sons.

[^] lord, Get. z §8.

to pay homage. He succeeded in drawing his former comrade-in-arms, the Ostrogoth king Walamir, over to him (cf. the epilogue p. 340 f.).

The Huns were not willing to submit without a fight. They still received support from parts of other tribes. But the main mass of the Skirs, Rugians and others sided with their Gothic and Pied comrades. After a series of bloody encounters, a decision was reached (probably in 45s) on the unknown Nedao' river in Pannonia. The victory, in which Ardarich and the Gepids played the main part, was as unexpected as it was great. 300oo Huns are said to have covered the electoral site. Attila's eldest son Ellac was among the victors; he had fought to the last, worthy of his origins and the cause he represented'.

Their victors divided up the lands that had fallen to them. The T'epids took Transylvania, the Ostrogoths Pannonia as their own. The Huns tried their luck once again. Their hatred was directed at the Ostrogoths, whom they regarded as renegades, indeed as fugitive slaves. They attacked the king of the people, Walamir, without his brothers and co-rulers being able to come to his aid. The result was a new defeat for the attackers, only a part of their army escaped. It retreated in panic to the Dnieper. A few years later, Attila's son Dintzic (DeHpizich) ° suffered the same fate in a similar ¥'ersuch. The Ostrogoths defeated their enemies in such a way that, as our rapporteur says, what remained of the Huns has been filled with terror ever since. until today x or the knot \Vaffen.

In the travels of these Germanic peoples, especially the Ostrogoths, the the third attila image emerged, which was destined to be placed next to the cursed figure of

'4 of the ecclesiastical legend and the heroic father and shepherd of nations Etzel to enter the' fi 'ic hwclt °. It is the active and sinister, the equally heroic, but at the same time brutal and treacherous Hun prince. Hoarding greed and cruelty are among his *\extreme{\psi}\'extreme{\text{esen}}\'extreme{\text{taits}}\'extreme{\text{The same}}\'extreme{\text{was}}\'as also present in the oldest version of the song x on der Buraun den Untergang

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'Z u lc t z t \\'. Ü t n'i n li a user in : j b l .t1' s k'l'- fi i':'1cröst. 3t' i ( i 9b ), bq q ff
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^{&#}x27;- On the m a c h u ir c u l a t i o n o f t h e s c h a l l ' cdat i i ru got isc lic n l i cl Glen li ell : C-. li:u'scc ki-, \'or - a nd it l li gesc li lite des deu tsc hvn Ac h ritt tums i , 2 ob I. ; l li. l-' rings i n : Inv uLsc e \'iert''ljah r' ssc hri f t i g i , i 5 i f. ; D. v . lvralik in : Zd: $\frac{1}{2}$ A nz. $\frac{1}{2}$ 6- , $\frac{1}{2}$ o f.

[°] About the name J. Marq uar t in : Ungar. Jahrl'. 9. 3

[°] H . de b"or, a. 0. zz f.

z'2 A lt helm, B u-nen I Y

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in a Germanic tribe on which the hand of the Huns had weighed heavily. The extent to which the dark traits of the Burgundian and Ostrogothic Attila images are linked cannot be analysed here. Whether they have a common root or are independent of each other, these traits have had a decisive influence on the Scandinavian saga. The Hunnic hereditary enemy, which the Gothic freedom fighters saw in Attila, has persisted in the legends of the Gaulish north.

Large numbers of the defeated Huns made themselves available to the Eastern Romans. They were readily integrated into the army there. Emnetzur and Ultzindur, relatives of the royal Huns, found refuge in the province of Dacia Ripensis south of the Danube. Here they were entrusted with three fortresses: they became border commanders in Roman service. Other groups also found refuge south of the Danube; among them the *Hunni Fossatisii* are mentioned. Their deiname is formed from /ossaføm, which originally denoted the military camp. But in Albanian *the* derived /1af, and also in Romanian *sat*, means Don'. The word was passed on to the farmer from the soldier who had become a frontiersman and coloniser. What had once been a camp surrounded by trenches now became a rural settlement. The Huns had also gone this way: the *Fossatisii* had first become frontiersmen, then farmers and villagers.

Ernac's name is mentioned in the same context. With part of the Huns he found a home on the outermost edge of Little Skjt hien ^S On the edge, for the main part was occupied by other tribes: Skiren, Sada-

- t C. Daicoviciu in : Dacoromania 5,4 78 f.; Meyer-Lübkc, REV' ' 3 a6 i.
- E. A. Thompson's account (a. 0.53 *.) 1st in disorder here. He agrees with the opinion of A. Alföld is (Decline of Roman rule in Pannonia +. 97:*'a-
- W. Ensslin, -tyzantinisch-Neugriechisches J ahrbuc h 6, i 50), where the Ostrogoths did not fight in the battle; cf. the epilogue. Where is there any mention of tension between them and the Gepids (at most after the victory: z6q), where is there any mention of Ernac's participation in the last campaign against the Ostrogoths * In 2Ó9 it is said that the defeated Huns fled to the parts of Scythia past which the floods of *Danabr i* amtti flowed. How can one (U. A. Macartney in: By zantinisch- Ne ugriechisches J ahrbuch io, i o8 following) prefer the 'ulgatlesart *Danubii* offered by a tradition such as the Ambrosian us! Mommsen (p. L. f. of the Praefatio) has briefly and strikingly noted the right thing. And on what might the assumption be b a s e d that Ernac fell i n t o Roman service as an "obscure mercenary"? Certainly not on Priskos, for he has the reconstruction of Attila's house begin with him (Exe. de legat. i a5, z4 de Boor).

garians - and Alans. Little Scythia, however, is nothing other than today's Dobruja. Ernac therefore sat at the mouth of the Danube, initially south of the river. He occupied no other position here than Emnetzur and Ultzindur. His Huns formed a force in Eastern Roman service; he himself was their commander on the Danube border.

But it seems that Ernac did not limit himself to this position. He must soon have encroached north of the Danube and established his own dominion there". This is shown by the news that he

together with the other sons of Attila, asked Emperor Leo (457-'7s) to grant them and their people a market on the Danube. When the request was turned down, Dengizich decided to go to war. Ernac, however, held back because battles in his own country kept him busy.

employees -. According to this, the centre of his rule lay outside the Roman borders, i.e. north of the Danube. Here he was a neighbour of the rest of the Huns, who lived on both sides of the Dnieper ¹⁰; Ernac's dominion must have extended roughly as far as the Dniester¹¹. From the same region we hear of a final Hun invasion under the emperor Zenon (4'4-49*) "

- ' J. Harmatta in : Biblioth. Orient. Hungarica 5.' 7 f. ' C-. Fehér in : Ungar. Jahrb. i 5, q i i .
- This view was disputed by G. Fehér, l.c. q i i f. O. q i i f. He assumes that Lord, Get. *s--öy is describing events that only occurred in 66, ten years after the battle of hedao. According to the wording, there is no reason for this. The beginning: Sauromalaz ueco ... (z651) follows on from the settlement of the Ostrogoths in Pannonia (zöq), grammatically (uero) and factually, for these Goths, like all the groups mentioned in the following, were given their new seats with imperial authorisation. However, F. (p. q i z) also places the establishment of the Ostrogoths in Pannonia immediately after the battle of h'edao. The description of the Skirefl4 öÖ being defeated by the Ostrogoths north of the Danube corrects the remark about the Skires.

qui tunc su;0rr *Danubium* consed6hent*75 through their fttnc the earlier settlement of the Scirian seats in Lesser Scythia and Lower Moesia (z6s) - Finally, 1°. itself admits that Priskos fr. 3ö presupposes that Ernac with the other .Attila sons

north of the Danube (p. q i \not e). But I see no reason to assume that he is "still" in the north. Like the Skiren, he too had subsequently reached out across the river. Most recently V. J3esex'liev in : I n ülemor. C. I9aicovici u

(1974) 35ff.

'o Iordanes, Get. zö9.

" Here the customer of Hunnic ivessel from Lesser n \Valachia and h ach l'ar- schaft should be mentioned:) . Nestor and C. S. Nicolaescu-Plopsor in : Cicrmania 937, i , " f. ; i 8 i f

r.Ud.gL, h. CCCl. 3°: F. . 4. Thom pson, a. O. 57 ARm. 5.

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Ernac is the youngest son of Attila and therefore the same one who is called Ernach in Priskos or Ernas in a greyish **form**. In Old Turkic *ärnäk*, *äränäh*, *ärängäh* denotes the "finger", "thumbelina", literally: "little man"; this is, I think, not a bad name for the youngest and thus smallest son'o. The territory that fell to him was from time immemorial a favoured seat for tribes of a similar kind to the Huns. This is shown by the name Little Scythia: here the Iranian equestrian people had found a last refuge after their conquest by the Sarmatians.

The interior of Dobruja corresponds to the image that one might expect afterwards. It is a steppe without trees or shrubs. High summer transforms it into a tanned ode. Lonely ospreys circle over the lagoons. Only the large herds break the monotony of the landscape or the kurgans, the only legacy of the nomadic inhabitants; they stand out against the horizon as larger or smaller hilltops.

But another thing must not be forgotten. The area on both sides of the lower Danube, together with the mountains of western Transylvania, is one of the nuclei of Romani culture. It was here that Romani X'o1kstum and the Romansh language survived even after the evacuation of the Dacian provinces north of the Danube (z, iQ2 f. above).

These \'orgänger of the Romanians were shepherds, even if they were largely sedentary. The Huns therefore acted as lords over an economically similar lower class of Romanic origin. As the subjects were also located north of the Danube, the lords followed them there ".

NAC HTR Atir

- H. Rosenfeld is of the opinion that the Ostrogoths fought on the side of the Huns against the Gepids in the Battle of the Nedao. He bases this on lordanes and rejects Paulus Diaconus' view that the Ostrogoth king W'alamir was the author of the revolt against the Hunnic
- '° M. Rüsänen, 'Vaterialien zur Lautgeschichte der tür kischen Sprache (i 1949) s7 mentions jaku t. ir\$dg from -erAöA "male". Similarly, from dr "man" by means of the Sulfixc -}- °p and -1- °l, q (A. v. Gabain, Alttiirk. t iramrn.° 6 t 85 7; ° f 57 Diminu- 6tiv um) threatens to form.
- "E. €i. describes summer and winter pasture combined with agriculture, "transh umancc" with sedentary farming. Cur ven on **the conditions on the Isle** of **Lewis:** Plough and Pasture (i 9#ö) 8z f.

rule, whereas the Uepid king Ardarich had only been Follower ⁱ.

Iordanes (Get. z6o) indeed refers to Ardarich as the one who began the uprising (Qri "ius iasiirgif). Accordingly, the Gepids Jost multos ... gravesque conJlictos as those to whom the iao§ina/a vic/oria falls (262). But Ardarich was not alone in his struggle. His apostasy signalled for other tribes, Yui f'ariter premebantur

(260). Accordingly, the Battle of the Nedao appears to be a battle between different peoples. lordanes' description reads:

ubi cernere erat, (6 syllables)

- (a) cotifis §ug'iaii/etn Golhum, (2 syllables)
- (b) ense furentem Gepida, (8 syllables)
- (c) iti vulriere suo Rugum lel-a |rangontcm. (13 syllables)

The double syllable count in c marks a break. Then it goes continue:

This "part is also constructed in correspondences. Two five-syllable colas, each divided into an accusative and ablative nominal form, are followed by two infinitives, in the second case with twice the number of syllables of the first.

\What does this classification mean? According to Rosenfeld, it is based on "fighting technique and weaponry". "The close combat technique of the Goths, Gepids and Rugians using spears and javelins is contrasted with the speed of the Suevi, the archery of the Huns, the heavy armour of the Alans and the light armament of the Heruli" °.

On the other hand, Rosenfeld's translation error must be corrected. The fighting of the Goths, Gepids and Rugians with spears and javelins is not taken into account in Jordan's wording. Certainly, the three Germanic tribes

^{&#}x27; Paul and Braunes Bei* 77 f+95J). << -

^{&#}x27;l.c. to the.

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also appear in Rosenfeld's rendering. Strangely, however, he mentions only two weapons, although Lordanes knows of three (contis, ense, tela) and assigns them to the three bearers. It is disconcerting that Rosenfeld leaves the sword, the most pronounced close combat weapon of all three, unnamed among the Gepids. And it is also strange that /sfa frangere is interpreted as fighting with the spear. Its "breaking" iii vulnere stio would not be a very suitable "close combat technique". Certainly: the Gepid rages with the sword, just as the Goth fights with the spear. The Rugier, however, breaks the fe/a stuck in his wound. He does so in order to be able to continue fighting; he does not allow himself to be held back by the projectile he has received.

It is also clear that the Riigian is fighting an opponent who sends out bullets. If one analyses Jordan's text, this can only mean the Hun, of whom *sagitta praesumere* is praised. Two parties are divided here. On the one side, there are the Goths and Gepids, who seek the near-cainpf, and the Rugians, who do not respect the effect of a long-range weapon. That this is the correct interpretation is shown by Jordan's preceding words: *in* intiffititn *igifor* arttiaa/ur (260) and: i§si *t'itiJois* su *cx/neci5us* sasicianl:s (z61).

The Goths, Gepids and Ru6ians are followed by those who try to evade close combat and its consequences: the sueve by

Light-footedness; the Hun by the use of the bow; Alans and Heruli by heavy or light use. Both groups are distinguished by an unequal number of syllables in the cola, a marked incision after

the Rugians and various structures that assign a-c and d-g to each other. The two groups are related to each other in that the effect of the Hunnic long-range weapon (e) on the Rugians (c) is noted.

In other words, the three Germanic tribes advance with lance and sword, ignoring the Hun's hail of arrows. The Suevi give way in the face of their onslaught, fend off the Huns with their dreaded hail of arrows, and the Alans and Heruli cover themselves with their protective weapons. The carriers of the onslaught are the Gepids, who "rage" with their swords, while the Goths only "fight" with their lances. The victory is attributed to Ardarich's "sword" (z62). The Hun pleiarchs are the bearers of the defence, while the Suevi, Alans and Heruli are more concerned with saving and preserving their lives. But even the Huns 'give way' in the end (263). I thought that the fighting style of the two armies could be described more vividly.

The battle and the victory won by the united Goths, Gepids and Rugians in hand-to-hand combat are not described.

With this interpretation the understanding of the passage is - I hope - finally secured. The interpretation is confirmed by the fact that in both parties the champions are in second place: Gepids

(b) and the Huns (e). Moreover, the Alans (1) certainly fought on the Hun side.

The skilful structure alone shows that the description of the battle cannot be attributed to Iordane. In addition, a famous image is included. *Dividunlur regna* Stirn *populis, /iotifqtiu ex utio corf'ore membra diversa, nec quae unius f'assioiii comf'nlerentur, sed* quer *ezciso* ce;bi/r *iti iiivicrm insatiirriif.* Under the keyword *sine suo ca;öi/e membra* I have compiled lordanes' predecessors°. Their series ranges from Plutarch via Curtius Rufus to the Latin Panegyricus *on* Constantine the Great. One will not be mistaken if one assumes that the image and battle description go back to one of the last connoisseurs of ancient tradition: to lordanes' source Cassiodorus. The progression confirms that on the Nedao the Goths were brothers in arms of the Gepids. "Again, Rosenfeld has failed to take decisive factors into account.

It is the Gepids alone who veftif *victores* (264) the fruits of the Hunnic defeat. They secure Dacia. In contrast, the Goths come away emptyhanded. They have to watch as the Gepids claim the former seats of the Huns (*Hunnorum seJes siöi* ds/#adsrr) and as the Huns take the former home of the Goths, the *files Noiifici m.aris* (263: *ubi §riiiS GothoS Scdisse ds.scri§simtis*). The Huns thus anticipated the Goths, or as Lordanes puts it: *Hunno-rumque f'of'ulum siiis* (i. e. Gofhorotn) *aiitiquis scdibus* occu§ore (zG4). The Goths refrained from enforcing their claims (ctitn *suo dis-* crimitis *invadere nfirtins* se. farras) and moved to Pannonia. They settled there with Roman permission; the other tribes involved in the battle (z65-z62) also found new homes on Roman soil south of the Danube.

But the Huns return. Of course, they care neither for the Gepids nor for friends and foes who have settled on the other side of the Danube. They pounce on the Ostrogoths: quasi *desertores domina- fiotiis* stiae, v#fuf /ugacia *rriaticipio requirenlss* (z68). Even more, the Huns

F. Altheim, Rönn. Religionsgesch. 2 (iq53), 3oz f.

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are *ignored* by the three brothers who rule over the Goths, Thiudemer and ¥'idemir, and attack *ignaris aliis* /*reirihos* Valamir alone. This behaviour is only understandable if the Huns see Valamir as a special opponent. Like the Gepid king Ardarich, he had once been Attila's confidant (2o 20I). The Hunnic opposition can be explained if Valamir, like Ardarich, had fallen away from them. The previously reported finding that the Gepids and Goths stood together against the Huns on the Nedao has been confirmed. As far as Valamir in particular is concerned, it will be shown that Paulus Diaconus (hist. Rom. -5. ZI) identifies him even before Ardaric as the author of the uprising against the Huns.

calls the Huns.

The Huns' attack is unsuccessful. Valamir, although on his own, defeats them (z69) and defeats the Hun king Dintzic a second time (Z/2-2/31 The Huns finally disappear from the field of vision (z6Q; 273) The Suevians also feel the Gothic power (273-°741

A new campaign follows. Valamir falls against the Skirs (275), but they are subsequently defeated by the Goths (z26). It comes to the alliance between Suevi, Sarmatians, Skyrians, Gepids and Rugians. But they all succumb to the Goths (z2J-2/9)

One recognises an increase in Gothic successes. First a victory under led by the Gepids, but with the participation of the Goths. It was a *Victoria inopinala*. The Gepid-Gothic alliance collapsed as a result of the Gepids' selfish behaviour. The Goths faced the Huns alone. Nevertheless, they defeat the enemy. This time the victory is the most complete imaginable. The Huns do not take up arms again. A third confrontation ensues. Once again the Goths stand alone against the Skyrians, then the Hunnic allies (Suevi, Sarmatians), and finally their own brothers in arms (Gepids, Rugians). They also prove to be superior to the united enemies and friends of old.

Rosenfeld is therefore wrong when he initially leaves the Ostrogoths on the Hunnic side. What else he puts forward in favour of his view,

^ Rosenfeld was kind enough to clarify his arguments in a letter. They read: "i.) J ordanes says nothing about the participation of the Goths in the victory, while he explicitly mentions the Gepids as victors and otherwise always e m p h a s i s e s the victories of the €iots. z .1 The Suevi could not possibly have been on the Hun side due to their geographical location and their alliance with the Gepids.

does not bear. When the Huns try to capture the Ostrogoths *quasi deserlores* dominalionis smac (lord. z68), Rosenfeld concludes from this that the Goths were still on the side of the Huns during the revolt and could therefore still be regarded by them as subjects." This has since been proven to be incorrect. Nor does it say that if

Theophanes at 57 (t'o5 xówpou reports that first Attila's sons, then Valamer ruled over the Goths: ØiŒóptp'>; ptzó zoJ

'Αττίλα παϊδας ἡγησαμένου τῶν Γότθων, ἐπὶ Λέοντος βασιλέως (gemeint is Leo1 457 474) Rosenfeld believes that this confirms the Goths' forced loyalty to Attila's sons. A strange misunderstanding, since the year (- A69 AD) cannot be utilised. There remains the Indicated by Paulus Diaconus (hist. ROITI. 15, II).

have fought. 3) Since the enmity of the Goths and Gepids fills history before and after Nedao, joint action in the Battle of Nedao of all places is unlikely. 4.) The Gepids have always coveted the seats of the Goths in Dacia. The Goths therefore had to support the Huns in order to defend their ancestral Dacian seats against the Gepids. As a result of the defeat of the Huns, the Goths had to flee Dacia and seek new seats; this clearly proves that they were not fighting on the side of the victors, but on that of the defeated."

To this I should reply: i . I ordanes names the Goths in first place as opponents of the Huns. z . Sue* en are no longer allied with Glen Gepids: Paul. Diac. i , z i ; I ord., Get. z y3- ą the Suevi fight alone against the Goths, and when they - 77-79 --second time, together with the \'allies, they take up arms against the Goths. These Gepids and R ugier only after Sarmatians and Skirs. 3 The Gepid .Ord arich hand the god \$"alamir meet together in Attila's immediate neighbourhood (zoo-o i). After the death of their master, both were in the same position. Nothing is more true than that they made joint decisions out of such a situation. It is a well-known fact that a coalition dissolves after the elimination of the common opponent. ą. The Visigoths had been living in Dacia since Aurelian's evacuation. not

Ostrogoths. The Visigoths had crossed over into Roman territory after the invasion of the Huns37* . Da zia had therefore been abandoned and could not be occupied after the Hunnic defeat.

n the Nedao would be occupied. Iordanes does not say a word about the Ostrogoths having succeeded their Visigothic cousins in the possession of Dacia, but only mentions the flttts fi0ttfici *itiarts* 2Õ3 as the former homeland of the Ostrogoths.

Rosenfeld formulates in a letter: "\Ven n the men are in favour of killing Ellak and wanted to avenge their defeat on the Nedao, they would have had to turn on Ardarich, who was at least the main initiator and had slain Pihak by his own hand after Lordane. \But if the Huns rely on the Goths as discharged slaves instead of the Gepids, this only allows one interpretation, namely that the latter had been subjects longer than the Gepids, i.e. that they were still loyal to the Huns on Nedao." I cli l'estreite d t h e s u cce ss of this train of thought. For the Huns, kidnapped slaves were both Goths and Gepids. \text{\text{4If the Huns}} attacked Valamir, it was because they suspected greater prospects of success here, especially as they could capture him ipneris 'iliis /rafriòøs.

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Rosenfeld's assertions must also be corrected here. Paul mentions Valamir in the first place, and he does so with reference to his earlier reference (iA, 2). There Ardarich appears before Valamir, but in the reference lordanes (GOt. iq()-2OO) on which this is based, the Ostrogoth comes before the Gepid. In Paul, Ardarich is called rrz the Gr§idarøtn famosissimus, but Valamir is repeated in intensification

(cf. lord., Get.•99). he was nobler than his overlord Attila (*i pso cui tunc seruiebat rege nobilior*). Enough: it is expressly stated that Valamir was,

before the Huns undertook their first revenge campaign (vg1. lord., Got. z68) had already fallen away (Hunni vero dolenles Jfa/atnirsm aiøsqus exercitum non solum se a suo ditionis iugo excussisse, sed etiam celeris nationibus, ut similia facerenl, incentores fuisse, mom at /iigifiva manci pia cos insequenles etc.). And thus one gains exactly what had already emerged from the consideration of lordanes' exposition. It is unnecessary to argue with Rosenfeld about whether Paul used other sources apart from lordanes (according to H. Droysen in the Praefatio of his edition MG. II p. LXII ł.; LXI) or not, whether one has to balance reports or decide in favour of one version. Rather, Lordanes and Paul testify to the same thing, and thus the view advocated here has been confirmed, if this is still necessary.

SUPPLEMENT z

The foregoing was written when I received it through the kindness of the publisher G. Labuda, 2ròdła sagt i legendy do najdawnieszych dziejów Polski (-960). Labuda treats the passages lordan, Get. 260-z62; 26d; z68 in my sense (and against Rosenfeld) p. 145. He had already previously raised the question of the location of the Old Norse Hunsong within the same sense (cf. above I, 354) (a. 0. 120 f.) ¹. A summary in French can be found on p. 30°

SUPPLEMENT 3

The interpretation of the name Ernas, Ernac as "male" (above p. 340) continues. In lustin. 10, 3, 3, Darius **III** bears the additional name *Codomannus*. If one starts from an attempt (Philol. N. F. 10, 186)

[°] a. 0. zzz.

¹ On **the ñfyrlwíd "Finsterwald" now** still G. Widengren, Iranian-Semitic Cultural Encounters in Parthian Times 60; O. Klíma in : Archiv Orientàlní z8 (9). 3°J

nothing has yet been proposed. Please refer to the above 1, 32öf;

429, derived from the Daëvian word for the head: avest. áa-tnaraòa-, actually "what a head", "hideous head", comparable to Italian *testaccio* (Chr. Bartho-lomae, Altiranisches Wörteibuch 440).

W. Schulze in: KZ. 33, 244. *Codomannus* would accordingly be regarded as *ka-dãman- or *Łä-dOman- "What a creature", "miscreature". Arrian, anab. Q, zZ, 2 characterises him as pœh8ctxò\$ xctì of QpijvfJpr}\$. The Achaemenids were not restrained in a similar failing. Darius I I bore the epithet vó8o, and in the Arabic translation from Porphyrios Chronicle in Eutychios 1, 74, 10f. Cheikho (Altheim-Stiehl, Supplementum Aramaicum 45 f.) he and Arses appear with the designation *tiôái*/ (Dozy 2, 720).

ANNEX

FOLLOW-UP

TO THE FIRST VOLUME

- P. 11 Arim. 2 Chusr£i II. Parvèz is seized by **a** lasso before Dara, but this is cut off by his companion (Chron. min. 1, 21, 31. Guidi).
- P. 93. sum. *Øli yyã* **also denotes loh.** Ephes. 3, 82, 7 the totality of taxes paid to the Persian king.
- P. 127. loh. Ephes. 3, 220, 2 Brooks holds Tiberius II : Mundir b. lJãrit of the crown worthy of **kingship** (/-/dqd d-maIlú d).

On the reading ' (mz)'o last J. Pirenne, Le Royaume Sud-arabe de Qatabàn et sa Datation (1961) 30 pl. I.

p. 184 f. on the North African tribes under the Principate of J. Burian in : Sbornlk Historicky 8 (1961), öł

On the oldest steel swords H. Maryon in : Amer. Journ. Arch. 65 (1961), 173f.

- E. Lozovan in : Zeitschr. Roman. Philol. 76 (1960), 579 f. bears rumăn. cãpcänu, ,ogre" with.
- E. Lozovan, a. 0. 581, compares Romanian $camilaJc\ddot{a}$, ,chapeau typique des moines et évêques orthodoxes".

TO THE SECOND VOLUME

P.26. KìtčzuOmittebaian

derpemöchenGen*e:IohEphe.3,330.2ôBrooks. P.96.SohmbundA

ātn:0.KWmain:AcWvOčentMní29(1961).3351.:337.

Širin addresses Chusrõ II Parvëz as "God" (e//dhd): Chron. min. 1, 28, 2 Guidi.

- P. 164. after the Orthodox had defeated the Nestorians in a disputation before the Persian king, before this trial sgtdii-i: loh. Ephes. 3, 317, 20 Brooks. According to this, the falling down was something that w as added to the proskynesis, not included in it.
- P. 169. 'oyd can also be understood as a finite verbal form, namely P-'il 3rd Sg. masc. Perf.auf-: "Schuldbegleich wurde vollzogen".

The fact that the dead woman speaks of her own death is reminiscent of the ancient Aramaic inscription 2 from Nërab (Z 4): byiwi mft pm y l't' iz mn mln, 'on the day I died, my mouth was not closed concerning the words'.

p. 294. On Jewish Aram. A° d 'î cf. also Ethiop. Hõṣñ .,glarea, arena" : Chr. Fr. A. Dill- man, Lexicon linguae Aethiopicae (1955), 606 f.

On bacáz O. Klíma, a. 0. 337 f.

M2 AWHANG

TO THE THIRD VOLUME

- p. 10 line 26, 'the other half of Hottal"
- P. 36. Conversion to Christianity Chron. min. 1. 23, 11 f. Guidi.
- p. 36 f. On our reading of the inscription of the synagogue of Dura-Europos writes C. B. Welles under 10. 8. 1961: "I was par ticulary interested, as you would expect, in the re-reading of the Synagogue dipinto. I cannot control either the language or the paleography, of course, but it is hard not to see a connection between your text and the fresco of the broken image of Baal just above and to the left. This is on the adjacent wall, of course: on the west wall, while the dipinto is on the north wall, but the distance is not great. I t would, then, be a commentary on a picture, like those connected with Elijah; and not a rather vague and pointless observation. It is an excellent suggestion." ßlan can confirm what has been said on the two plates 18 and 19 in: The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Final Report VI II, Part I: The Synagogue (1966).
- p. 7ö. The Maronite Chronicle reports (Chron. min. 2, 59. 1 f. **Brooks**) of Scythianus that he introduced the "heresy of Empedocles *(pwdplys)* and Pythagoras" into Christianity. Scythianos' pupil Büdos had gone to the land of Babel with his teacher's wife after his death, had called himself the son of the Virgin and had written four writings there, which are cited by name. Mani later acquired these under his own name.

On *diuiiiitos* again J. Vogt in : Eranion Festschrif t H. Hommel (1961), 150. The word occurs in the Ethiopic text of Severus' homily of Synnada as meh öi: A. Dillmann, Chrestomathia Aethiopica° (1950), 99 page 22: likewise 9 i , z uam. (Fi vrillos of Alexandreia).

Two pages later we read the rejection of an interpretation according to which Constantine "as the new Aurelian replaced the sun god with faith in Christ" and "himself remained the sun-like ruler of God". Lliese's interpretation is associated with my name. The clumsy form of expression alone speaks against this ... and in fact I have never said anything of the kind. "For we now know," continues Vogt, "that the supposed statue of Constantine Helios in Constantinople d i d not at all represent the ruler of the sun, and we adhere to the testimony of Emperor I u lian, who severely reproaches his uncle for having abandoned Helios". A new inaccuracy, for the comparison of I ionstantine with Aurelian is not (as it might seem from 4'ogt's words) based solely on that statue, at least not in my case. Let us read: Literatur und Gesellschaft 1 (1949), 138-150

However, Vogt is concerned with the statue of the emperor that rose in the form of Helios on the Forum Constantini in I-ionstantinople. Herefers to I. I taryanno-pulos' explanations in: H istoria 5 (19?oG), 341 I., according to which Constantine could no longer have had a closer relationship with Helios between 328 and 330. Karyannopulos devotes two sections to this argument. In the first, he seeks to prove in general terms what has just been indicated (l.c. 343-349). It is inconvenient for Karyannopulos that Eusebios still uses the comparison with the sun in numerous places in his speech on the thirtieth anniversary of Constantine's reign and in the emperor's vita. They are listed in: Literature and Society 1. 138 f. Emphasis was placed on the fact that Constantine himself made such comparisons. Karyannopulos lists Eusebios' words incompletely (l.c. 348 note 4) and completely ignores Constantine's statements (Literature and Society 1, 140).

He does so for an obvious reason. Because these passages are enough to dispel his view. But they also show something else. It is wrong to ask whether Helios is named. Rather, the decisive factor is whether øøter u'cícàcz Loren is mentioned. He is always mentioned in comparison, and for this, too, please refer to my explanations. This brings us to the second part of Karyannopulos's exposition (a. 0. 351-354).

The issue here is whether Constantine is depicted under the figure of Helios in the aforementioned statue. Karyannopulos rejects this. This time, the two oldest messages are inconvenient, as they are not true. loh. Malal. 312, 12 f. According to Bonn, the emperor erected his statue Into we tv xcQohrj crù-rou óxzivoç čw-ró. If Anna Komnena does not mention these rays (12, M6), this says nothing, since other authors do (I. Karyannopulos, a. 0. 351 fourth section) and Leo Grammaticus 87, 13 í. Bonn. by no means depends on Malalas. Then Hesych. 41 (SOC. 1ï.10f. Preger): K¢cvo-rov-rtvov òpćópsv 6(xqv 'H7t(ou wpoĂóuvov-ra -roTç oo?\(zotç. Karyannopulos believes (a. 0. 350) that there is no "identification of Constantine with Helios, especially since, according to tradition, this statue was gilded and, standing on a high column facing east, must of course have reflected the first light of the sun. It is a rhetorical rendering of the impression that the shining statue made on the spectators." Nothing of identification in Hesych, nothing of the first sunlight and supposed impression on the spectators. Hesych makes use of the comparison: 61+trJ v ' Hhlou, not unlike Eusebios. Of course, nothing of Vogt's "sunny god-ruler" either, and finally just as little of rhetoric. Did Karyannopulos not see (or did he not want to see) that Hesych alludes to the wording of the inscription preserved by Leo Grammaticus (87, 17 Bonn.)? K'"v'rzov-rlv':ø hóp-mon-ri ' Hh ion 6tsp v ? Both reports confirm each other, and if further confirmation is needed, we should refer to the words of Eusebius, according to which mention of Constantine's sun-like radiance was common until his last years (Literatur und Gesellschaft 1, 140 f.). One need only read up. Vogt's remark (in I. Karyannopulos, a. 0. 351 note 3) that Leo Grammaticus' wording does not fit the scheme of the Greek consecration writings (six) falls into the void.

Karyannopulos believes to find an additional objection in the fact that, according to Loh. According to Malai, the statue carried a lance that did not belong to Helios. Constantine is depicted 6lxrjv ' Hhtou and consequently wears sun-like attributes, but he remains the emperor. And as emperor he carries the lance. Gallienus as Sol rnit der Pasta: SHA., v. Gall. i 8, 2 f.; see also the coins in M. Rosenbach, Galliena Augusta

i ^opX^o 3, 95) s- Should one still go into Karyannopulos' supposition (a. 0. 3ö2), according to which "the alleged 'rays' of the statue are in reality nothing else"? than metal plates, perhaps gilded, which were used to form the emperor's novel wreath of jewels". Strange: once the rays are said to have been missing altogether (a. 0. 3ö3 f.), and then they are said to have been metal plates. Everything is taken out of the air: loh. Malai. speaks of $\delta x = 1$ and of nothing else.

In order not to merely criticise, the discussion is enriched by a previously unnoticed passage. Ps. Stylites 28, 17 f. According to Wright, there was a statue of Constantine in Edessa holding a cross one cubit high. *Syciasa non legutitur* ... It is easy to see the difference to what is reported about the Constantinople statue.

That Karyannopulos' evidence does not stand up to scrutiny is not surprising (cf. above 2, 191 f.). Now back to Vogt, who refers to his discovery that I ulian accused his uncle Constantine of having abandoned Helios

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{orat. 7 p. 528 D ; also in: Historic 4 [1955], ß45 Arim. 1). The myth told there undoubtedly goes back to Constantine and his sons. But mind you: the father only neglects the sanctuaries built by his ancestors (òhiy'øpr}8év-re wpózcpov úwò zoiż we-rpóS), only the sons tear them down (228 B ł.). This is clear, and the sentence spoken to Helios is also clear: ò\$ oc ó-rrohiw':lv crù-rÿ zt x'xl ytvti x'xl w'xmlv or-rioç tytvtzo -réŏv zrJhmoú-rely wo8rJu'f-rcøv (228 D). You only need to know Greek. 'ATrohiwcòp is aorist, and this means: "The moment he left you (Helios)", he brought himself and his sons the described wci8f)po-ref. Who would want to overlook the fact that the baptism on the deathbed is meant? And further: that the baptism is being played with? One should know and understand Homeric hrw': v Qóoç fJchloio in order to understand the ambiguous word and in it the allusion to the hour of death. For now cry-rÿ makes sense. It was the decisive moment that the aorist records, and this means that in the eyes of even this harshest critic there was a clinging to Helios until that last moment. The passage once again proves the opposite of what it is supposed to prove.

The dependence of the Nestorians on the king meant, of course, that Chusrö II Parvëz simply determined whom the synod had to elect as catholicos: Chron. min. 1, 17, 18 Guidi.

In the last years of Yazdgard III, Elias, Metropolitan of Merw, converted many Turks and those of other tribes: Chron. min. 1, 34, 12ł. Guidi.

The passage from Elias of Nisibi's chronography cited by E. Sachau from the manuscript can be found in Brooks-Chabot's edition 2, 128, 1 f. According to this, Anianus of Alexandreia calculated the distance from Adam to the **beginning of** Alexander's ara to be 5181 years.

A description of Merw at the end of the Sasanian period is given in Chron. min. 1, 34, 13ł. Guidi.

Szemerényi writes under 17. 7. 61: "I do not quite understand what the **Ionians** and Phrygians in Byzantium want. Can @òqäyi not stand for drag- and refer to the empire of the Franks? In other words, to the Latin empire in the first half of the 13thJ century? Or should we think of parth ;prwøi - $F'c\~om\ Hr0m$)? The Ionians also seem difficult to me, but I can't see anything better." None of the predictions, for which their author is to be thanked, should apply. It is the empire of 2'fikaia, which encompassed the former Ionian coast and the northern part of ancient Phrygia. Rabban Şaumã used an erudite form of expression, as he

did the same when he used the "we" account (p. 203 note 45). In the contest **to see** who would liberate Constantinople from Latin rule, Nikaia triumphed over the despotate of Epeiros. The Palaiologi ruled Constantinople as representatives and heirs of the empire of Nikaia.

A fitf/i/d is also owned by Bishop Kyriakos of Nisibis; it is mentioned together with the treasury of the metropolitan see: Chron. min. 1, 31, 13; 15 Guidi. 'Epnpov olxoižcri zówov x'xl zò øéXXin tø 6i'xor-r@æro\$ Ijtoumv, hrif pp6évn yv':øp(§co8'xt w6ppc'8cv ù ' Iztpou it is said of the hermits of the Nitrian desert in the Historia monachorum in Aegypto 20, 7 p. 170 Festugière.

- p. 193 note 13. In addition, the Edessen Chronicle c. 636: Chron. min. 1, 4, 10f. Guidi.
- P. 199 Arim. 31 Ebeneo loh. Ephes. 3, 183, 6f. Brooks: 'amm'i ... d-¡Јяи æä \check{g} -- $il'\~om\~a$ - $\hbar\~ay\~a$ ϕ -vhn (Thebaiß) d''-I-gau men $a\phi$ in.

p. 285f. From the letter of an American friend (dated 10 Jan. 61) I take the following passage: "I believe it is of interest to you what our dear Vernadsky writes to me (13 Dec. 60): 'A poisonous review of my 'Origins of Russia' appeared in No. 91 of Slavonic Review of London (July 1960). Contrary to my habit, I decided to write a letter to the Editor - not to argue with the reviewer (D. M. Lang) but to reveal his falsehoods and distortions of lacts. I sent them my letter on Sept. 1. They kept thinking over until October 25 when they answered that they 'shall not be able' to publish my letter because of 'the general policy of the Review not to publish corre- spondance of any kind'.' He also wrote to his French publisher, who replied:

'Je constate que pour votre travail, il existe une sorte de cabale. Vernadsky concludes: 'A British friend of mine writes me that he thinks that the originator of the 'cabale' is Henning'." The individual responsibility must be left to the authors. But the picture painted corresponds to what I have learnt.

MISPRINTS DIRECTORY

TO THE SECOND VOLUME

p. 312 line 23 right: ãbit

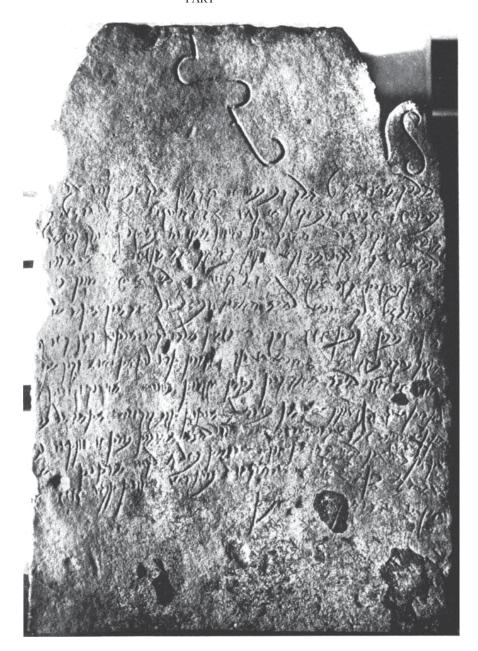
TO THE THIRD VOLUME

P. 68 Line 14: single

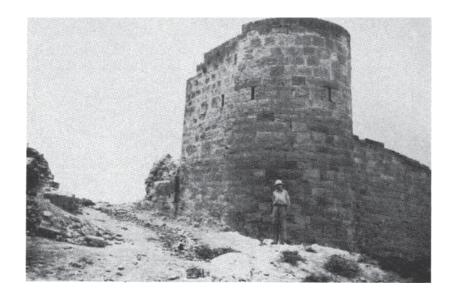
p. 294 line 17 left: za ouptvr}v ò§ohlpvr}v

P. 304 Line 24: ecclesiastical

FIGURE PART

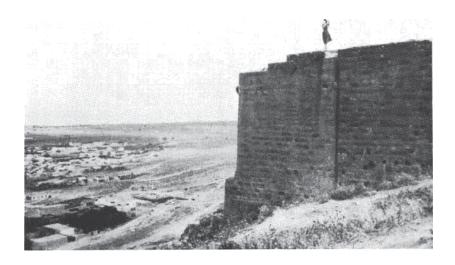


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.fig. --3. .a f'a(l x-i'n l)erbcn'l. .tuf ntake .t . 1. ti hii rsekin (II ntliatsc hlcala).



Abb. 6. Trensenbeschlag, Bronze. Chou. Berlin, Kunsthandel. Aufnahme E. Eggers.



 $\Lambda bb,\,7.$ Trensenbeschlag, Bronze, Chou, Berlin, Kunsthandel. Aufnahme E. Eggers,

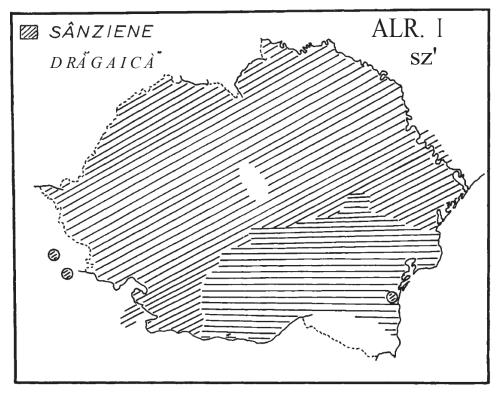
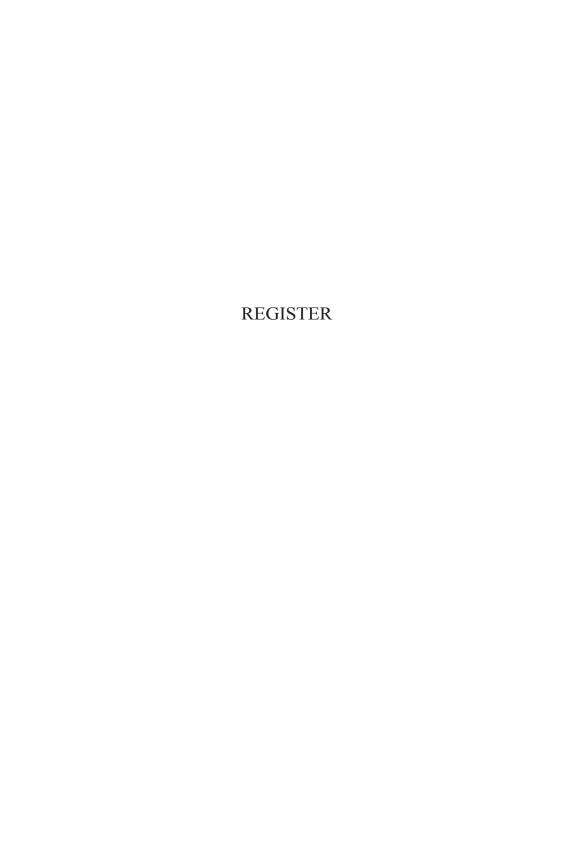


Fig. 8. map sketches for the fifth chapter (E. Lozovan).



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