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Faxian and Early Successors on Their Route from Dunhuang to Peshawar: In Search of the “Suspended Crossing”

HARRY FALK

BERLIN

*In memory of Gérard Fussman
17.5.1940–14.5.2022*

The year A.D. 400 saw the Buddhist monk Faxian on his way from China to India, crossing the Taklamakan from east to west, climbing the mountains and descending through the present Gilgit Agency, aiming for Swat and Peshawar. Most of his itinerary up to Peshawar can be reconstructed from his diary with certainty, but the part through the mountains found a number of contradictory solutions. The present communis opinio is based on three places which are assumed to be mentioned by Faxian himself and thus are regarded as sacrosanct: a) the Darel Valley, 50 km west of Chilas, b) the gorges of the Indus south-west of Darel, and c) a dangerous artificial path built high along the eastern walls of the Indus gorge in Kohistan, the so-called “Suspended Crossing.”

The latter two localities are simply based on the first one, the valley of the Darel River, which provides a modern place-name that can be compared to a term used by Faxian. To link the *dali* of Faxian with Darel of today is possible, but it is not compulsory, as there are a number of further places in the Gilgit Agency which start with *dar*. . . as well.

This assumed anchor station at Darel creates a series of contradictions and oddities when compared to the flow of Faxian’s hiking. The following question baffled many: Why does Faxian on his way to Swat, being already on the right side of the Indus River for Swat, cross to the southern, i.e. left bank on a rope bridge, at a fording place where no bridge left any trace, then take an ardu-

ous path high in the rock wall along the left bank, a path which was never inspected in person, not even by the British military geographers who knew only about a path along the right bank of the Indus (MRG 1928: 38). In contrast, a number of relatively safe paths towards Swat further away from the Indus are documented. In the presently current model Faxian would have had to necessarily cross the river again for the western bank, without dropping a single word about this second crossing. After reaching the second crossing point he would have had to go west for Swat, but in his text he tells us about his moving south. There are more oddities of this nature to be named further down which lead to the impression that either Faxian did not know what he wrote about or that we have so far not properly understood his itinerary.

In the second half of the 19th century the British forces succeeded in establishing their “protective” power over large parts of the mountainous area south of the Wakhan, while Russian forces attempted to set up a barrier against British claims on lands still further north. Expeditions sent out often wrote reports of a scientific or military nature, often describing the roadwork in valleys Faxian also could have seen on his way to Swat. There is one route in particular which so closely goes along with the text of Faxian that we are led to question every single aspect of the current “Darel” solution. After checking the Chinese texts for what Darel, Indus and Suspended

Crossing can mean, we propose that Darel must be replaced by Darkot at the northern end of the Yasin Valley and the Indus must be replaced by the Gilgit alias Ghizr River, a major tributary to the "standard" Indus. The crucial Suspended Crossing is found in all explicitness where the Yasin River falls into the Gilgit River. It still exists, was described and can be inspected through every geographical survey application on the internet. After crossing the Gilgit River south of Yasin near Khalti the remaining way south into Swat leads best over the Dadarili Pass, tallying with the movements of Faxian and some of his successors.

With Faxian's path defined we will see that other pilgrims either followed parts of this itinerary or that they knew about it but preferred to alter it in part to escape some of its dangers. Finally, we will reflect on the rationale behind the changes of itineraries and the role art plays in luring pilgrims this way or another. A glimpse at the interplay of the visiting Chinese monks and the contents of the books bought by them leads to further research into the role of Chinese book buyers and the development of a sort of Export Buddhism.

Historical Paths across the Hindu Raj Ranges

The mountains from Afghanistan toward the east up to Tibet are subdivided into the Hindu Kush, separating southern and northern Afghanistan; the Hindu Raj, which forms the southern rim of the Pamir, more or less identical with the southern boundary of the Wakhan Valley; and, beyond Tashkurgan, the Karakoram range, which adjoins and merges into the Himalaya. The earliest crossing of the Hindu Raj range that can be reconstructed dates back to the Harappan or Indus Valley culture at the end of the second millennium B.C. This culture had sent people north along the Kunar River, up the Dorah Pass into the plain of Khottal to found the settlement of Shortugai north of the Oxus,¹ certainly to promote and facilitate business. For unknown reasons this settlement lost its Harappan traditions after about 2000 B.C. The distance of about 1,000 km to the centres of the Harappa Culture and the general collapse of international trade certainly played a role. At least we can be sure that the mountain

paths leading to eastern Bactria were quite well known at the end of the third millennium B.C.

Only 21 km south-west of Shortugai, at Ai Khanum, we find one of the political centers of the Graeco-Bactrian state in the third century B.C. The position at the confluence of the Kokcha and the Oxus alias Panj or Amu Darya speaks for similar considerations. Contemporaneous with the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom we know from the Rock Edicts of King Aśoka that he expected visitors from the north to reach his realm at some places bordering the mountains. First comes Khalsi, a large upright boulder by the side of the bed of the Yamunā, next comes Mansehra as a pleasant resting place for traders coming from Chilas and finally Shahbazgarhi would receive people from the north who preferred to descend through Swat and Buner.

The Rivers Called Indus

So as not to interrupt the discussion of the stations as they advance on the various itineraries, it seems necessary to define some pivotal terms first. Since Faxian crossed a river called *sindhu*, *xintou* 辛頭, we need to ascertain what river this term can mean.

When we think of the Indus we start from the relatively modern rule that only the longest stretch of a river deserves the name. The rivers joining through side valleys must necessarily bear a different name or a distinguishing adjective, like the Blue and the White Nile. This way "our" Indus starts in Tibet and has already covered 600 km at the confluence with the Gilgit River, which itself has so far only 200 km to its credit. It is the common rule in the Pamir region as well as in Dardistan to name a river after a prominent site to which it leads, alternatively after a prominent site from where it comes, whichever is closer,² but the idea that a river must have just one name from the place from which it springs to the sea seems to be foreign to the region under review with its profuse water courses. In addition, in all languages spoken between Gilgit and Chitral each and every large river is called *sindhu*. Modern derivatives have been collected by Biddulph (1880) in his appendices: For Burushaski, spoken at Yasin and Hunza, he notes *sindah*, *sindāming* as meaning "river"; for Khowar (Chitral, Ghizr) and Shina (Gilgit) he has *sin*.³ When all languages

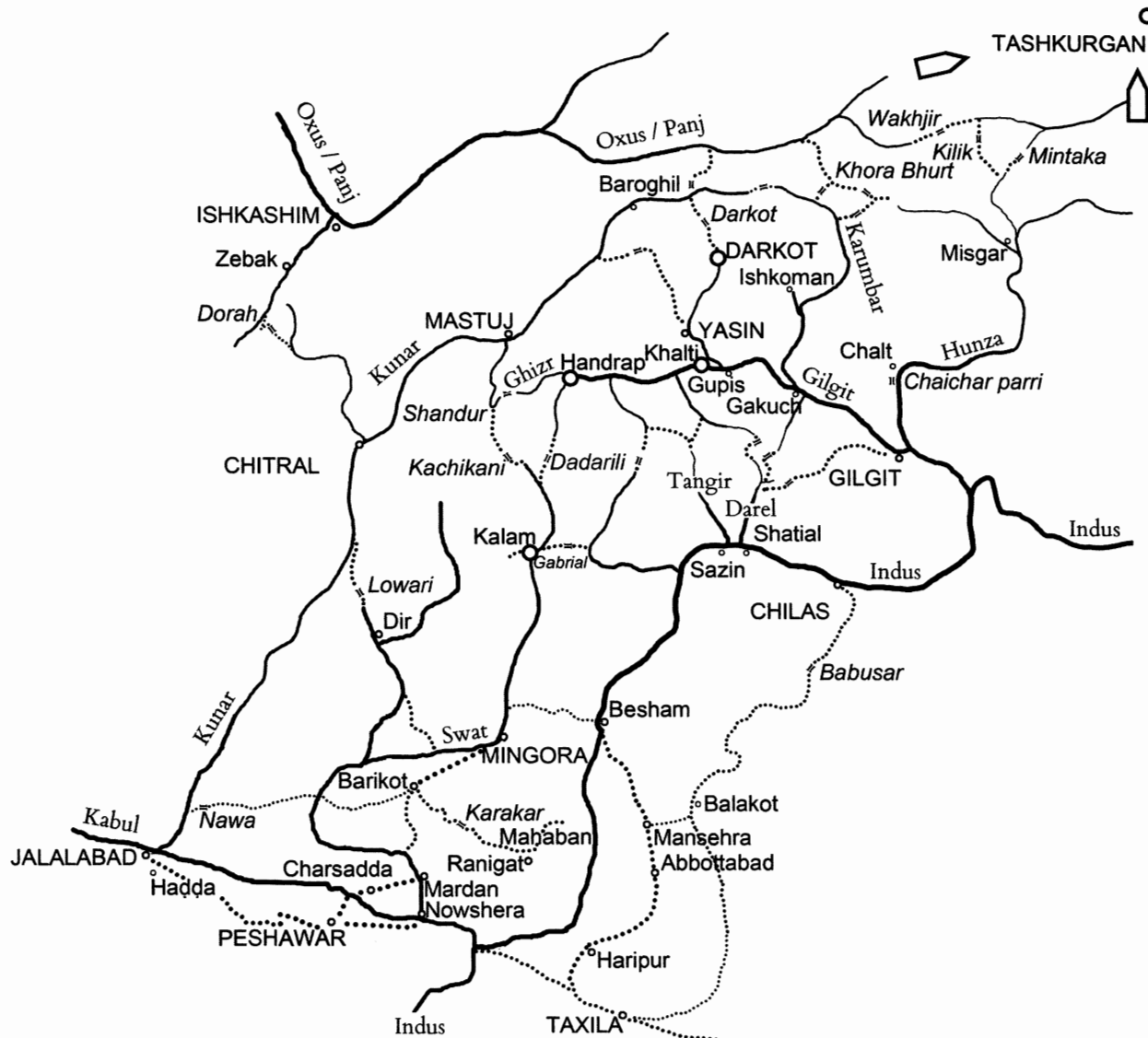


Fig. 1. The path of Faxian as proposed, from Tashkurgan to the Baroghil Pass, the Darkot Pass, Yasin, Khalti, Handrap, Dararili Pass to Kalam into northern Swat, then from Barikot to Buner, Ranigat and Peshawar with rivers to follow (running lines) and paths away from rivers (dotted lines).

spoken along the Gilgit/Ghizr River use forms derived from *sindhu*, any Chinese pilgrim on the Gilgit River would have heard that the river's name is *sin* and he would have been convinced that what he saw is the Indus proper (fig. 1).

There are a few textual references that uphold this idea. For al-Bīrūnī (ed. Sachau I: 207) the Indus originated in an undefined mountain area called *Unang* with the main cities being Gilgit, Astor and Chilas, thus including both the Gilgit and

the branch leading to the modern Indus source.⁴ More limited is an itinerary written around A.D. 1000 in Khotanese Saka that speaks of the village of *baubuera* on the "great" river called *sīna*. Bailey (1936: 261), who dealt with the passage, cites F. W. Thomas, who had identified this site with Bubur on the Gilgit River, 15 km south-east of Gakuch.⁵ This seems to show that close to A.D. 1000 the Gilgit River was still termed *sīna*, that is, Bur. *sinda*, or Skt. *sindhu*. Bubur is situated

Suspended Crossings—*xuandu* 縣度

The term has received a number of studies.¹² Earlier ones tended to expect one single site, often in Hunza; in recent years a paper of Jettmar's was used (Hill 2015, II: 242–44; Hu-von Hinüber 2020: 176) to locate these crossings west of Darel, west of Shatial, on the eastern side of the Indus gorge. Some authors (e.g. Hill 2015, II: 239; Hu-von Hinüber 2020: 179) link Faxian with a *xuándù* (or *xiàndù*) 縣度 crossing, although our pilgrim never used the term. In advantage to former solutions, Hill (ibid.) saw at least two separate places where pilgrims battled narrow and elevated passages that deserved the name, first the upper Hunza galleries and then, for Faxian etc., the Indus gorges.

There are several places in the Himalaya Mountains and even in China which are referred to by the term *xuandu* 縣度, alternative writing 懸度, describing some walking aid fixed to steep or perpendicular rock walls at a considerable height, a term that allows for several interpretations. In Chinese literature, the term is found in a compendium called *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚, “Classified collection based on the Classics and other literature,” compiled in the Tang period and completed in A.D. 624. In its 8th book on mountains (山部下), dealing with the sacred tomb of emperor Yu the Great (大禹, ca. 2123–2025 B.C.), a writer Kong lin-fu (孔靈符), who had died A.D. 465, is cited: “South of the Kuaiji¹³ Mountain is the Wanwei Mountain. There is a rock on its top which people call ‘the rock coffer.’ The cliffs stand upright right into the clouds. There is a narrow pass with a suspended crossing. The climbers accumulate(?) ladders and then arrive.”¹⁴ This Wanwei Mountain is in the Zhejiang province, at the coast, south of Shanghai, 4,000 km away from Hunza.

Another case is the River Classic Commentary (水經注). In its 24th chapter (卷) it deals with the Wen-he (汶水) River in Shandong 山东, south of Beijing, again close to the ocean, and possibly referring to the Wanwei Mountain. It speaks about the high valleys which frighten the wanderer, as there are “dangerous trails (and) dead-end passes, (even) surpassing the difficulties of the suspended crossing.”¹⁵

The two cases show that in principle the term 懸度 can be applied everywhere on earth, not only in the Hindu Kush or Karakorum but certainly at different places as well. In fact, the term “Sus-

pended Crossing” appears best applied to constructions as found on the Oxus in Badakhshan, where vertically arranged ladders lead to horizontal double beams which are themselves suspended on vertical rafters, four at a time for one set of beams, and thus distributing the weight of the wanderer to four suspension points (fig. 2).

The three passages in the Hindu Raj receiving the label 懸度 are all of a different construction as if the term “suspended crossing” was a loan from another site. In addition, all the three passages are at quite a distance from Darel or Shatial. The best argument against the Darel-Indus theory can be seen in what is allegedly a proof, the description of a foot path leading from Shatial to Jalkot (Jettmar 1987: 99). This path has a climax at about a height of 300 m, along a non-dangerous path, not along perpendicular walls, but leading down and up again.¹⁶ At a few places there are notched logs used as ladders. As it is described by Jettmar we see that no beast of burden would ever be able to use this path; pedestrians can use it, but their aim will not be a distant town but rather some relatives in the narrow valleys on the left side of the Indus. In other words, for long-distance travel this path is neither useful nor particularly dangerous. Nowhere does it require additional pegs or boards.

a) *Suspended Crossing* 縣度 in Hunza

One crossing close to China is first mentioned in the chronicle *Hanshu* 漢書 (“HS”), which renders conditions of the first century A.D. The *Hanshu* speaks most likely of the cliff at the southern end of the Hunza Valley, as the position of this *xuandu* 縣度 is given in the description of countries as just beyond the access to the Pamir, starting from the land of Wucha 烏耚, that is, the mountains between Kughiar and east of Tashkurgan. Counting from the seat of the Protector General on the northern border of the Taklamakan, Wucha is met with after 4,292 *li* (HS 96A, Hulsewé 1979: 99). When marching further for all in all 5,020 *li* the neighboring lands include the Suspended Crossing. That means the Crossing is 728 *li* (280 km) away from Kughiar/Kuoquia, the first and most important settlement of Wucha. In fact, as the crow flies Kughiar is 230 km distant from Hunza. The site name *xuandu* in HS 96A comes with a

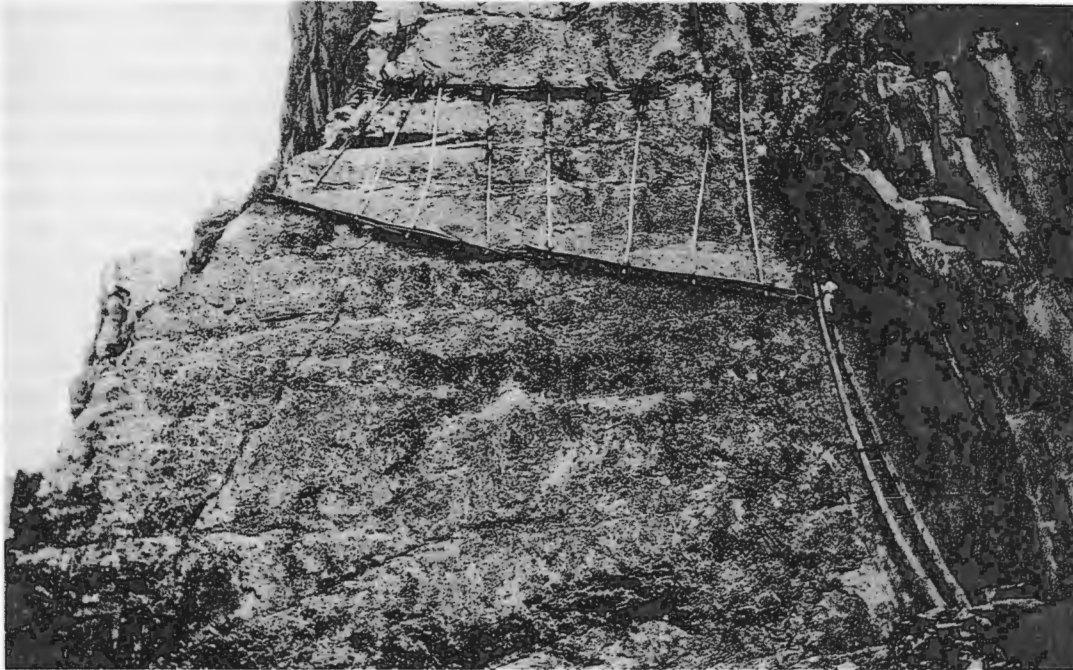


Fig. 2. Fixed pathway in the Yazgulem Valley in Darwaz, Badakhshan, built by the Tajik. After Kreutzmann 2015: 300; cf. von Schultz 1914: 61, with Tafel 11.

definition in commentator style: "What is termed the Suspended Crossing is a rocky mountain; the river gorge cannot be passed, but people traverse the place by pulling ropes along."¹⁷

There are a number of valleys in this area, but few are "impenetrable" and inhabited at the same time. Hunza is an obvious candidate as both its ends are formed by opposing rock walls, with artificial step systems so peculiar that no beast of burden can be led into the valley. These extremely narrow mule tracks are locally called *parri*, irrespective of whether they are suitable for mules or only for pedestrians. For the upper end Stein (1904: 41–49) has given a remarkable description. Between Misgar and Gulmit artificial and narrow galleries require human porters for six long days. Their difficulties are such that even Stein used words of complaint,¹⁸ but the "ropes" of the Hanshu definition are not necessary.

In the north, the way continues northward through the Kilik and Mintaka passes which provide transit all through the year, alternating in winter and summer.¹⁹ The only problematic area was a short passage at the lower end of the Hunza

Valley, just south of Chalt, where the Hunza River flows between almost perpendicular rock walls. This passage on the western side of the river has been described by some British officials, of which I would place Schomberg (1935: 95) first: "Just beyond Gwech [Gwachi] is the famous Chaicher *parri*, the key position to the valley in former days, as the cliff dropped sheer to the river. Before any traveler could pass, a man had to be sent down the cliff with ropes which he fastened to large wooden pegs driven into the rock. Clinging on to these the traveler passed along and, when he had gone, the ropes were removed and the path closed."

Schomberg heard about this system of ropes to hold on to, but it had gone out of use already half a century earlier when the British had chiseled a bridle path into the rocky slope (Chohan 1984: 99; Stein 1904: 28). Before the path was cut, Durand (1899: 137) managed to climb the *parri* without the ropes: "The next two marches to Chalt, the actual frontier post, were very trying; the road ran between great cliffs in a narrow gorge worn by the raging river, and the heat was intense. The *parris*

were the worst we had seen, so bad indeed that we could not take our horses with us. The Chaichar *parri*, the last before we reached Chalt, was a famous position, the outpost to the Hunza-Nagar Valley, and one which had never been forced. No horse had ever been taken over the cliff, which had been purposely left in its impassable state, the path running across a hideous precipice on the narrowest possible shelf only a few inches wide." Without mentioning the crucial terms "Chalt" and "Chaichar *parri*" the same is also described by Biddulph (1880: 22f.).²⁰ The site can be seen on Google Earth just south of "Chalt," today deprived of its dangers by the Karakorum Highway.

Combining the descriptions of Schomberg, Durand and Biddulph we can say: in contrast to what Song Yun says about his Suspended Crossing, no horse ever came across that path. In earlier times suspended ropes helped the human climbers to brachiate along the narrow ledges. The rock wall is situated in the south of the Hunza Valley. That means that any visitor from the north first has to transverse the whole of the Hunza Valley before he meets with this barrier, while a visitor from the south can easily be barred entry.

The short definition of the rope system in the Hanshu is referred to in some later texts, often by simply copying the definition of the Hanshu. The River Classic Commentary (Petech 1950: 18: 8) provides an example of this kind of reshaping: "Kuo I-kung says that west of Wu-ch'a 烏朶 there is the country of the Hanging Passages. It is a mountain gorge which is impassable; only by drawing out ropes one may cross it; hence the country has received its name" (Petech 1950: 18).

An updated version of this text—not adduced so far in discussions around the "Suspended Crossing"—is found in the encyclopedia Taiping yulan 太平御覽 completed in the Northern Song period in A.D. 983, in its chapter on Siyi, "The four barbarians" (四夷部), chapter 17, on "The Western Rong" (西戎五). It says that west of Yarkand (*shache* 莎車) a country exists which has a "mountain with hanging passages" (縣度山). The inside of this land measures 400 *li*, about 150 km, a length that complies nicely with the Hunza Valley from Passu/Gulmit down to the Gilgit River. "Long time ago there was a plank route with a slope below of a depth without compare. People proceeded by means of suspended ropes, they supported each other and crossed the mountain."²¹ The ropes seem to provide a link to the Chaichar *parri*.

b) Suspended Crossing Northwest above Chitral

The same old Hanshu mentions another *xuandu* 縣度 in connection with the Scythian tribes forced out of Bactria and Badakhshan by the Yuezhi-Kushans around 100 B.C. These Śaka tribes are suspected to have demolished the Graeco-Bactrian city today called Ai-Khanum. From Ai-Khanum and vicinity there is only one path that allows mounted warriors to descend down to the plains of Jalalabad, where the same Scythians soon replaced the Indo-Greeks. This path leads directly over the Dorah Pass. In the coming decades the Chinese emperor was asked for support by this very group of Scythian rulers, but help was denied for a variety of reasons, one of them being the limitations of the Dorah Pass. It is described as being reached after covering 2,000 *li* over the Pamir and after finally passing three lakes. The same pass was later used by Song Yun and Hui-sheng, who likewise started their exit from the mountains in Badakhshan (s. below p. 27b).

The character of the Dorah Pass becomes clear through a few lines from Durand (1899: 86), who around 1894 had wanted to inspect all the passes that lead from Chitral to Badakhshan, but only the Dorah Pass was free of snow, "the main pass, over which runs a rough kafilā, or caravan road, which has from time immemorial connected Badakhshan through Chitral, Dir and Swat with India." He (1899: 88) continues: "We reached the top of the Dorah, fourteen thousand eight hundred feet in height [4511 m], without difficulty, riding practically to the top of the pass." The term "practically" alludes to rare exceptions where the men had to dismount. These narrowest passages are also implicitly referred to when Durand (1899: 90) says that his group "came across a kafilā en route from Bajour to Badakhshan, and found one of the Hindu traders bewailing the loss of a fine mule killed by a fall from a cliff, the second lost since they had left Chitral, and half the load washed away in the stream." Most likely the poor animal was too widely loaded for the narrowest passages. The ascent from Chitral starts to become steep and risky from Shahsāleem (3285 m; 36° 5'19.34"N, 71°19'27.90" E) onwards for 10 km until it reaches the Dorah Pass (36° 6'48.81"N, 71°14'36.05"E). The descent follows in long-drawn serpentines. When the Chinese emperor had his troops accompany the Śaka emissaries

up to this pass in the first century B.C. (Hanshu 98A; Hulsewé 1979: 108) he almost had to bring them home to Nangarhar. Neither Durand nor the Hanshu speak about artificially constructed parts of the way. Although narrow at places, all is solid rock.

This pass is used in early Chinese texts as a landmark when describing long-distance connections. In "A Brief [History] of Wei," Weilue 魏略 (Chavannes 1905: 529), written before A.D. 265, e.g. a "southern itinerary" from Chinese mainland towards the west is described as ". . . turn west, cross the Pamir, pass through the Suspended Crossings and meet the Da Yuezhi" (. . . 轉西, 越蔥嶺, 經縣度, 入大月氏, 爲南道.). The terms "cross the Pamir" and "Suspended Crossing" serve to mark the beginning and end of the Pamir trail. The Kushans are met with after the descent from the Dorah Pass at Chitral and below at Nangarhar, where they, in the meantime, had replaced the Śakas.

An even longer trip is described in the chronicle Houhanshu 後漢書 88,²² sketching the itinerary from the Taklamakan to Kandahar in Afghanistan: "from Pishan (Guma west of Khotan) pass through Wucha (Kuchiyar and the mountains west of it), that means: take the southern path up to Tashkurgan, cross the Pamir (by the Wakhan), fiddle through the Suspended Crossing (Dorah Pass), cross *jibin* (Nangarhar)²³ and after (all in all) 60 days (covering 17 km a day) you will be in Kandahar."

We see that the distances between the points are large, 300, 400 or 500 km apart, details are missing and the Suspended Crossing is one of the cornerstones between Pishan and Kandahar. Any track through the Hunza Valley and through Kashmir would have meant unnecessary hardship and waste of time.²⁴

From the first century A.D., the Hanshu tells us that General Ban Chao made a trip to the Suspended Crossing around A.D. 74, as he was ordered to explore the West in the service of the former Emperor Ming (r. A.D. 58–76; Pulleyblank 1968: 251). This implies that he mounted the Pamir, rode from Tashkurgan for 500 km through Wakhan to the Dorah Pass, had a look and rode back. In the light of earlier Chinese troops using the Dorah Pass for Jalalabad in the first century B.C. (Falk 2015: 79; 2018: 30b) this is everything but impossible.²⁵ The HHS 77 says that Ban Chao in A.D. 95 was sent to secure Khotan "and

the countries to the west" for the Chinese empire, and in pursuance of this tenet he crossed (yu 踰) the Pamir "up to the Suspended Crossing."²⁶ To ward off further explorations of this sort in the country claimed as their backyard by the Kushans, the second Kushan king Vema Takhtu in ca. A.D. 90 had crossed the Pamir from west to the east to tell Ban Chao where the Chinese expansion had to stop. The move, however, failed completely (KushHist 2015, §§ 074–5).

In the belief that there is just one Suspended Crossing, the exodus of the Scythian horsemen from Badakhshan as well as the exploration tour of Ban Chao have often been located in the Hunza Valley. The assumption of more than one *xuandu* 縣度 allows more realistic explanations.

c) *The Dangerous Path Leading to the Bridge at Khalti*

Presented here is a third candidate for the label *xuandu* which has escaped notice because of the Darel theory trap in which the attention of researchers was caught. It consists of a path high along a wall to the west of the Yasin River mouth at which the ascent and descent cover about 5 km and end at a village called Khalti, where there was the only rope bridge in the area to reach the southern shore. Until about 1940 this path was the only entry into or exit from the Yasin Valley at its end. Khalti sits on a ravine that crumbles into the Gilgit River. Whoever crossed the river, be it people on the bridge or animals across the water, had to climb high up a rock wall where they were more or less defenseless and could be easily repulsed when regarded as inimical.

There are two reports of colonial times that provide testimony as to its use. A once top-secret Military Report (MRG 1928: 170) describes the general situation: After arriving on the southern side vis-à-vis Khalti, the crossing could be accomplished either by swimming the horses across the river, or by a wooden bridge which "during the floods of summer is generally carried away," but "there is also a rope-bridge which is permanent." After the crossing a report of Col. Woodthorpe from the late 19th century, published by W. S. A. Lockhart (1889: 298) continues: "The river [Ghizr] just below this village [Khalti] flows through a deep and narrow gorge,²⁷ and the precipitous cliffs on either side forbid any passage

along the banks, and so, to reach the Yásín valley from Khalta, the path has to climb a thousand feet over a lofty spur running down from the main range to the junction of the Yásín and Gilgit rivers." Still in 1928 the difficult passage "is the usual route between Yasin and either [the village of] Ghizr [= Handrap, upriver] or Roshan [downriver]. The hill behind Khalta is very steep and rocky, and the road to Yasin ascends it for at least 1,100 feet. It is not practicable for any but lightly laden animals." For the gap in the middle of the path see below (p. 28a).

The purpose of the path is clear—it keeps people from entering the Yasin Valley. One example of its usefulness is documented in the report of the Tang time General Gao Xianzhi 高仙芝 on how he dispelled the Tibetans from Yasin in A.D. 747 (Chavannes 1903a: 149; 1904: 43, fn. 1) by destroying the bridge across the Gilgit/Ghizr²⁸ one day before the Tibetan relief squad could arrive. The artificial nature of the path is also apparent through its prolongation along the next mountain walls west of Khalti. This is referred to in the Military Report (1928: 185): "There are two roads from Khalta up the [Gilgit/Ghizr River] valley, one on the right bank of the river Ghizr, which is suitable for laden cattle and is used throughout the year, and the other by the left bank for some distance,²⁹ but used only by foot passengers as it is in parts very difficult." That means that along its southern bank the Ghizr could be followed at all times. On the northern border there is no road at all, but the high path was continued, now 500 m above the river level, easily found on Google Earth. Its western end is fading out and may have collapsed. The amount of manpower and funds necessary for chiseling this path must have been enormous. Schomberg (1935: 43) saw it only from below and thought it was an irrigation channel. The path and a modern bridge are still, or again, there, but in the meantime two more bridges were constructed so that Yasin can now be reached without being forced to use the dangerous path.

The "deep and narrow gorge" of Woodthorpe has in part disappeared within the lake, but it fits what Faxian says about the borders of the river which were 80 *bu* 步 apart, either "steps" or, in classical Chinese two steps, leading to a width of the river of 120 m. Today, the bridge spans the narrowest part of the lake and measures ca. 140 m.

In the days of Woodthorpe the bridge was made from willow twigs. As in all the centuries before, the bridge was unsuitable for horses, which were swum across the river as they could go ashore on the ravine of Khalti where it plunges into the Gilgit/Ghizr River.

Coming from Yasin and after having ascended to and crossed that high elevation for 5 km (not measuring the zigzag moves), the travelers, following the path, descend to the village of Khalti. After arriving there the pilgrim would normally cross via the rope bridge and proceed on the right, southern, side. He could turn right, upriver, south-west, for connections to Tangir, Swat or the Shandur Pass, or he could turn left, downriver for Gilgit or connections to Darel. Both Tangir and Darel would lead him to Hazara, Taxila and that part of the Indus where the river had left the mountains. As we will see, some of these many possibilities were made use of.

Faxian, A.D. 399

After these preliminaries we can follow Faxian on his way from Dunhuang to Peshawar and compare his notes with what we now know from other pilgrims and from recent, mainly colonial, expeditions. Faxian did not march into the blue but had an idea about how to reach the Buddhist centers, the foremost of which was Jibin, particularly the area around Haḍḍa in present Nangarhar. In general, the material to follow can be compared to what Kuwayama (2006b) has collected on the paths the pilgrims took down to the fourth century.

From Dunhuang to Khotan

When Faxian approached the Taklamakan the first three stations were roughly certain. From Dunhuang he proceeded to the realm of Shanshan, probably to Miran, in 17 days (fig. 3). The distance covered per day is slightly over 30 km, which shows that the group was mounted on camels. The second stretch led from Shanshan in a north-western direction over 15 days to a place written *wuyi* 烏夷 or 偽夷, an old mistake for 焉夷, *yen-yi*, Karashahr, as Pelliot (1936: 269) showed long ago. In this city the group was not well treated by the



Fig. 3. Three routes from Dunhuang to Tashkurgan: [1] with diagonal path through the desert used by Faxian and Zhimeng; [2] along the Tianshan through Kashgar, used by Dharmodgata and Dao-yao; [3] along the southern range to Khotan, used by Song Yun and by Xuanzang on his way back.

inhabitants. The last move was from Karashahr to Khotan, lasting one month and 5 days. This track included the transit of the Taklamakan along one of two possible waterways, both following riverbeds on a diagonal path crossing the desert. Unfortunately, the riverbeds often fall dry. Faxian complains in just a few words³⁰ about the extreme hardship he experienced. A much more elaborate description of a comparable transit in the reverse direction was written by S. Hedin (1898, I: 519ff.), a transit that included the death of camels and men and would almost have proved fatal for all. If Faxian started anywhere around Karashahr crossing of the desert covered at least 950 km, requiring a march of more than 27 km day after day, hardly easier to bear in the saddle than on his own feet.

When they finally arrived in Khotan the group was treated with courtesy and was able to recover. Faxian stayed there for three months, while some of his group pushed on earlier than he did. It seems that his age took its toll. Here, as soon again, he waited for ideal weather conditions rather than running risks, while some of his companions obviously were more vigorous, and possibly much younger,³¹ and preferred to face sub-optimal conditions rather than waste time in waiting.

Khotan to Karghalik, zihe, 子合

The advance group of three monks went on their way up to Tashkurgan, obviously intending to wait there for the rest of the group to catch up. Three months later, Faxian went on his way as well, but before he actually set off from Khotan one more companion had decided to separate from the group as well and to accompany a trader to Nangarhar, possibly to wait for the others down there and not up at Tashkurgan, where the advance group was to be stuck waiting. Since there is no fundamental difference in direction, the separation of the last dissident may have served the purpose of his not slowing down too much and escaping the swelling river in spring.

After Faxian had finally decided to march on also, he, with the remaining group, walked for the 250 km from Khotan to Karghalik in 25 days. The daily coverage was just 10 km, much less compared to the more than 30 km up to Khotan across the desert. The reason for the difference most likely lies in the traveling conditions, particularly the lack of camel support. From now on daily coverage is around 10 km on the map; certainly more is needed to be trod on the ground. The term used by Faxian for the city is *zihe*, 子合,

HC³² si-[g]ha; the Hanshu uses the variant *xiye* 西夜, HC *si-ya*. Deeg (2005: 97, fn. 429) has given the most recent summary; its position at or near the modern Karghalik is not disputed.

Karghalik to Kughiar, yuhui 於摩

The academic dispute and all variance in the reconstructions starts with the next station, called *yuhui* 於摩 by Faxian. It was reached by the pilgrims by marching south for four days, which makes ca. 40 km on foot, or 140 km on camels. The idea is widespread that this station is Tashkurgan, probably on account of the distance, presupposing mounts. Deeg (2005: 100) has collected the arguments and instead prefers a long continuation south from Karghalik into Baltistan, a view previously held by some authors of the 19th century (Deeg *ibid.*).

If Faxian maintained the speed of roughly 10 km a day on foot and went south from Karghalik, following the modern national highway, after 55 km, he would automatically have been led to Kughiar, entry and capital of Wucha 烏秣 in the Hanshu (Falk 2018: 8, fig. 4). At this settlement the track bifurcates. Going south the route leads into Leh and Kashmir, while another route turns northwest into the mountains and up to Tashkurgan, both routes visited by Dauvergne and marked on the map that accompanies his paper. How far this latter road is motorable today is an open question, but we know that this is a famous road already mentioned in the Hanshu. Faxian notes that with *yuhui* the Pamir Mountains (*congling* 蔥嶺, "onion range") are reached. The place thus lies at the border of the desert and reaches into the mountains. Kughiar does likewise. Our pilgrim observes a period of rest there, but he does not describe the site as Buddhist in any way.

Locating Yuhui at Kughiar helps to support a proposal by Chavannes (1903b: 398, fn. 3), who took the hapax *yu-hui* 於摩 as a miswritten *yu-mo* 於摩, of which an enlarged form exits 權於摩 *quan-yu-mo*, presented in the Beishi 北史 97 (covering A.D. 386–581, finalized in the Tang period). This text tells us that Wucha 烏秣, just like Kughiar, is situated south-west of Karghalik and has, in the meantime, taken on a new name *quan-yu-mo* (權于摩).³³ That means we have Faxian's *yuhui*, where Kughiar is in Wucha, and we have *quan-yu-mo* (Beishi) as the contemporary

name of Wucha, and we will have a short and a longer form of one and the same name once we accept that Chavannes' restoration is likely. We only lack a valid argument to decide whether to postulate a pair *yu-hui/quan-yu-*hui* or *yu-*m°/quan-yu-mo*.³⁴ Today the oasis of Kughiar appears as Kuoqia Agezi on Google Earth at 37°24'10" N, 77°12'30" E. It is 1,950 m above sea level, while the start at Karghalik had only 1,350 m. It is one of the last well-peopled sites before the real mountains begin. Why does Faxian stay at Kughiar? From there he can look up the mountains and know that he has to get up there, however fearfully they may look down on him. He is gathering energy.

Kughiar to Tashkurgan, jiesha 竭叉

Then follows the ascent to Tashkurgan. This is a place no one heading for India can avoid, as the River Classic said explicitly.³⁵ It is also an ideal meeting point for diverse pilgrims who had separated earlier. As we learned, some monks of Faxian's group left Khotan much earlier than he did, and three of them intended to reunite at this site. No one of them had ever been there before, but they knew that they would not be able to miss or circumvent the site.

The path from Kughiar up the mountains has been described by Dauvergne (1892: 14–22) and in the reverse direction by Hedin (1899, II: 688–702) from west to east, the first with a detailed map. The way from Kughiar up to Tashkurgan measures 180 km as the crow flies; the ascent starts at 1,950 m above sea level (Kughiar) and ends at 3,100 m at Tashkurgan. In the meantime, two passes have to be crossed, the Arpatallak at 3,790 m, and then the dreaded Kandar Pass at almost 5,000 m. Dauvergne certainly needed less than 25 days, but he was mounted. Our pilgrim on foot stayed quite within the range of his possibilities.

The geographical definition of the two stations bordering the stage is thus at hand and has in fact been proposed more than once. Deeg (2005: 100) lists five scholars pronouncing it, and more could be added. Deeg, who rejects Tashkurgan as a travel station, argues that Faxian mentions "southwards" as the last direction when proceeding from Karghalik, and so a continuation in the same direction is mandatory, as no "Verlassen der Südrichtung" is indicated. I think it is, when Fa-

xian tells us that he entered (ru 入) *congling*, that is, the Pamir. It is not possible to enter the Pamir and bypass it at the same time. Moving further south would not have touched the Pamir, while continuing inside the Pamir will inevitably lead to Tashkurgan. Deeg's (2005: 103, fn. 460; 104) mistake of taking the Karakoram as the *congling* was committed before by Chinese authors, who may also be responsible for Deeg's ensuing error of mistaking Faxian's Jibin³⁶ for Kashmir.

Let us have another look at this section. Faxian needed 25 days from Kughiar up the mountains to Tashkurgan. The distance is 250 km, in a straight line. Dauvergne, who started at the very end of August, needed not many days less.³⁷ Hedin (1899, II: 688–702) needed 10 days from Tashkurgan down to the Arpatallak Pass, two or three days short of Kughiar. An early, fourth-century, Chinese pilgrim, Buddhadeva, with parts of his report preserved in quotations (Petech 1966: 188, texte 36), speaks of 12 days from the entry into the mountains up to the top. So we see that Faxian and his companions stuck to their low speed. But they were on foot and probably even without beasts of burden, not to speak of Faxian's age.

Interesting details can be gathered from the report of Gordon (1876: 114), who had intended to take this path across the "Tong" pass, that is, the Kandar. He was told that this path was not practicable till the "apricots were ripe," meaning a month later than his presence in Tashkurgan on the 10th of May. A travel period starting at the middle of June accords with the travel dates of Hedin (1899, II: 688) in the middle of September and of Dauvergne (1892: 14) at the beginning of September.

Faxian calls his objective 竭叉, *jiecha*, a term accepted as representing Skt *khaśa* or *khasa*,³⁸ that is, a certain, possibly Scythian, tribe from the north, whose rulers occur repeatedly in the Sanskrit epics. This tribe was in the possession of the area of Tashkurgan already at the end of the fourth century, prior to Faxian, as the quotation in the River Classic Commentary shows, where Tashkurgan is called 伽舍羅逝 *qie-she-luo-shi*, rendering *khaśarāṣya* (Petech 1966: 174). This information is said to be culled from the Shishi Xiyuzhi (釋氏西域記) of Dao-an 道安, who wrote a few decades prior to Faxian. More or less at the same time, the Buddhist pilgrim Zhimeng in ca. A.D. 405 wrote 奇沙 *qisha*, MC *gie-sha*, HC *?-sa/ša/śa*. We find a fourth spelling in the two trans-

lations of the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā*. The translators, Buddhavarma (浮陀跋摩), who worked during A.D. 437–439, and Xuanzang (T 1545, 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論), list a number of northern sites with their particular languages, as there are: Śaka, Yavana, Darada, Maruva, Khaśa, Tukhara and—only in Xuanzang—Bactrian. Although the Chinese spellings of all other languages vary, there is one agreement found with regard to the term *khaśa*, written 佉沙 *qu-sha* by both translators. If "Heard Chinese" (HC, cf. fn. 32-HC) is regarded as relevant, we see a chronological advance from *ga/ka-sa* (Dao-an with 伽舍) to *ga/ka-kṣa* (Faxian with 竭叉), *?-sa/ša/śa* in Zhimeng to finally *kha/gha-sa/ša/śa* (佉沙 *qu-sha*) used by the two younger authors.

It will not be disputed that all these variants represent one single local term, but its identity with Tashkurgan is so far made likely only through the itineraries. The first of two missing links I find in the chronicle Liangshu 梁書, basically written in the sixth century and completed in A.D. 635. In its chapter 54 a paragraph is devoted to 渴盤陀 *ke-pa-tuo*, indisputedly Tashkurgan. With a reference to A.D. 535 (= first year of the *datong* 大同 era) the Liangshu states: 王姓葛沙氏, "the royal family is of the *ge-sha* clan." The further variant 葛沙 *ge-sha* in Pinyin is clear *ka-sa/ša/śa* in HC.³⁹ A second link is found in the Shijia fangzhi, quoting an unnamed "book" (書) that says that from the Anavatapta lake a river flows northeast and splits at Qisha, now written 岐沙, showing that the source called "book" should be the River Classic Commentary. We learn that one river goes northeast and the other one east. The latter is the Yarkand River, said to start from the city of *jie-pan-tuo* (渴盤陀), that is, Tashkurgan.⁴⁰ The source, the River Classic Commentary, makes it clear that *jie-pan-tuo* is a realm, a country, *guó* 國, while *qisha* 岐沙 is its location, a valley, *gǔ* 谷.⁴¹

At this place the advance group waited for Faxian, not to be missed as "all roads lead to Tashkurgan."⁴² Since none of the marching band had ever before been in this part of the world, after the split at Khotan a place to meet weeks later must have been unmistakable. Only Jiecha, Tashkurgan, would offer this condition.

Recent attempts at excluding Tashkurgan from Faxian's itinerary are not convincing. According to Deeg (2005: 100, fn. 445), a statement of Faxian that the position of Tashkurgan is "in the middle of Congling" (其國當蔥嶺 b 之中) would speak

against Tashkurgan because it does not occupy any sort of "middle." But Faxian repeated only what everybody else had observed, that Tashkurgan, with the Nezatash Pass at its back, marks a watershed and thus is close to the "centre of the world," the "roof of the world." It is positioned at one of the four rivers which flow into four directions from the Little Pamir lakes so that it is closer to that hydrological "middle" of all waters than any other major habitation site.

Without using Chinese literature for support, simply for reasons of direction and time spent, already Biddulph (1880: 111) expected "Kiech-ha" to be Sirikol, another term for Tashkurgan and its hinterland. He saw Faxian ascend the mountains along the "Koosherab" (Kosrab) route, the Yarkand entry to our southern route, and he (1880: 112) also saw the pilgrim proceed to Darkot. Unfortunately, he was caught in the Darel theory trap and therefore ran into difficulties about the path south of the Yasin Valley. He also was right when excluding the southern path from Kargharlik through Skardu-Baltistan, holding that no traveler along the "Tibetan" Indus, from Leh to Darel, would do so for a month without any mention at all of the traversal of the most difficult extended gorge *cum* river, nonetheless, such a view is still occasionally maintained.⁴³

Tashkurgan to Darkot

From Tashkurgan walking directly west it took Faxian "a month" to reach his next station, which he calls 陀歷, MC HC *dali*. At the end of this period he crossed a pass which was clad in perennial ice, but after his descent he immediately encountered an inhabited place south of the Pamir border range. There is only one place where this could happen, a month walking west of Tashkurgan, that is, the Darkot Pass and the settlement of Darkot just below it. In my model he marched through the "Little Pamir" valley, following the southern branch of the young Oxus, alias Panja, into the Wakhan Valley up to Sarhad (3,200 m), where he followed the standard short way south for entering the Baroghil Pass (3,798 m). Crossing this medium-sized pass he proceeded over the adjoining and, in its descent, demanding Darkot Pass (4,575 m) down into Darkot. The Darkot Pass is the only one bordering the Wakhan which never loses its ice, as Faxian said (蔥嶺冬夏

有雪). The Darkot Pass is also the only one with a larger settlement right at its end. The distance from Tashkurgan is 230 km, quite in line with "the month" needed.

A more experienced traveler could cover the distance in less time. The anonymous "Mirza" spying for the British covered the 180 km stretch from Sarhad to Tashkurgan (Montgomerie 1871: 192, stations 46 to 54) with horses in just 8 days in mid-winter, facilitated in part by marching over frozen rivers. Gordon (1876: 152, 163), mounted as well, needed 8 days for the 250 km from Qila Panja to Aktash, plus another 2 days over the Nezatash Pass to Tashkurgan, at the end of April to early May.⁴⁴ The Darkot Pass is open only from May to October, and May or June would suit his timetable: He was afraid of the glacier and knew—and he tells us—that bad weather and storms would scarcely leave anyone alive. After a stop at Darkot for over a month (see below p. 36b) he marched on for 15 days and then took his summer retreat, waiting for the summer floods to recede. Before the fall storms set in he crossed the next pass into Swat, as we will see. Faxian stresses the fact that "immediately" after descending from the snow-clad mountain he entered a completely different world.

The abruptness of the change is also mentioned in another source. Apart from Faxian, the Tang General Gao Xian-zhi 高仙芝 in A.D. 747 crossed this glacier at a time of the year when the Tibetans, then in possession of the Yasin Valley, thought any crossing impossible. When the soldiers reached a point from where they could look down south into the valley they saw a very steep and long descent and intended to collectively refuse obeisance because in case of a strong Tibetan resistance they would not be able to return up the icy slope. The general pretended to have the consent of the local population, and the resistance collapsed.⁴⁵

A later report is by Schomberg (1935: 49): "I quite agree that from the Yasin side the long pull-up would be very tedious and that at least one intermediary camp would be needed. From the Chitral [i.e. Baroghil] side the gradient is not severe and the pass can at worst be called tiresome. On descending from the crest, however, our troubles were by no means over; we had more soft snow and then a second glacier to traverse, which was very difficult to walk on. After that we

went down and down, like going down the side of a house, until we reached the valley."

The traversing of the pass may be compared to similar hardship at other sites in the area, but the going down the side of a habitation is unique. After crossing this pass Faxian knew that he had left Congling, the Pamir, delimited by the range of mountains that made up the southern border of the Wakhan. After having walked west along the Panja-Oxus for weeks with this range to his left he must have been well aware of the geographical importance of this formation. Crossing this range led him to Darkot, where he experienced another culture, realizing that the language is Indian,⁴⁶ that the habits are different and that there were a number of Hīnayāna monks. The monks had furnished their border site with a huge, 24 m high, statue of a standing Bodhisattva Maitreya constructed from wood, and our pilgrims were eager to pay their honor—and possibly buy the first of the books they had come here for.

Darkot, tuoli 陀歷 or MC HC dali

Of crucial importance is Faxian's statement that "immediately" after crossing a snow-clad pass he was in Indian and Buddhist surroundings. He says 始入其境, "immediately after entering its borders," where "its" (*qi* 其) takes recourse to the border marked by the "snow mountains" (*xue shan* 雪山). Wherever we expect him to have crossed the border (*jing* 境) of the Pamir, not a single place of entry into the lands east or west of Gilgit is "immediately" (始) close to the infamous Darel Valley, which is up to now the monopolist claiming to be meant by Pinyin *tuo-li*, HC *dali*. From any pass the shortest distance to Darel is 160 to 200 km as the crow flies. At Faxian's speed this would have meant two or three weeks of walking, which is everything but "immediate."

From this I conclude that the small country of 陀歷, Pinyin *tuo-li*, MC *da-li*, HC *da-li* must be close to one of the Pamir passes, but it can in no way be identified with distant Darel. One of the earliest identifications came from E. J. Eitel (21888: 41a), who expected a local term "Darada" behind 陀歷,⁴⁷ erroneously located by him in Hazara. His linguistic equation was at least considered a possibility by Watters (1904, I: 239), and resurfaces from time to time without further discussions.⁴⁸ Darkot means "the Dar fort"; to what

extent the term *dali* is a predecessor to Dar is difficult to assess, but that a link is possible stands beyond doubt. The pass is also mentioned in the Tang histories as 坦駒嶺 *tan-ju ling*, "the *tan-ju* ridge," with a length of more than 40 *li*, about 16 km. Its MC form *t^han-kju*, unattested outside our context, could well be based on *dār-koṭ*.⁴⁹

From dali to the Summer Retreat

When Faxian departed from *dali* he proceeded for 15 days in a south-western direction to arrive at a place where he stayed for his next summer retreat. With his usual speed of 10 km a day these 150 km would lead him to Handrap on the upper Ghizr River, close to the Shandur Pass. As distance and direction and final point are so far in accordance with Faxian's report we have to check whether such an itinerary would be in line with the other features of this part of the track. These features come in a well-defined succession:

- We need a path that can be followed from Darkot for 15 days in a south-westerly direction.
- We need to meet a river that Faxian could call Indus.
- We need a difficult and narrow path high above this river.
- We need a bridge across a narrow part of the river right at the end of the difficult path.
- We need a country that could be called Wuchang south of the river.
- We need a final place which would allow us to go in two directions, one for Swat and one for Jalalabad.
- We need a reason for Faxian to stop again for a summer retreat.

Naturally enough, all other claimants for *dali* would have to supply reasons for the succession of the same aspects, too. The first point is the 15 days in a south-westerly direction, along mountain sides and along a river. Seen from Darkot the south-west is there, following the Gilgit/Ghizr River from which the Yasin River mouth flows down in just this direction. Covering the usual 10 km a day on average would lead Faxian to a place formerly called Ghizr, which provided the modern name to the upper part of the Gilgit River and to the district, the village of Ghizr today being called Handrap. But before marching along

the river Faxian would have a look at it and learn that people call it *sindhu*, *sind*, *sin*, etc., or, less specifically, that in the local language the river is called "river." We have seen above (p. 4b) that the Gilgit River is a suitable candidate for the "source of the Indus" in Ptolemy up to the Āin-i Akbārī. Even if someone had known that the Skardu River was the longest candidate, we could still say that every river in Shin-speaking countries would be called *sind* or *sin*, a term Faxian would certainly have linked to *xindu*, a term he knew from literature even before he began his tour.

The Dangerous Path

Faxian's itinerary is best known because of his vivid description of how he was high on a rock wall on a narrow path and how he feared for his life. This path often comes by the term 縣度 *xuandu*, rendered "Suspended Crossing," alternatively "hanging passage," but Faxian never uses this term.⁵⁰ This path is part and parcel of the next move from *dali* south-west, 15 days, into *wuchang* 烏菴. Starting from Darkot, Faxian would first wander south along the Yasin River without much difficulty. Then he would meet the area where the Yasin River falls into the Gilgit/Ghizr. Now, there is no path along the water south-west to the next settlement of Khalti, 5 km west, because the mountain falls steeply right into the water. To circumvent this blockage, a path was cut into the mountain wall high above the river, and this path can be easily spotted on Google Earth. This is, in my model, as shown above (§ p. 9b), the famous path in Faxian's report.

Let us have a look at this path. From the Yasin River side at 2175 m⁵¹ above sea level it ascends, with some side paths meeting it from the north, in long winding bends up a rocky elevation for three km until it reaches a height of 2,700 m.⁵² The ascent covers an elevation of 525 m above the river level, less so when met with through the path from the north. Faxian describes the path as of three parts. First there is a mountain path; this is measured by about 700 steps: "People in earlier times have chiseled in the stone opening a passage and have installed a stairway to cross altogether 700 (stairs)."⁵³ The second and third parts follow immediately: 度梯已, 躡懸繩過河 "When the (downward) stairway is done you have to balance on a rope bridge to cross the river."

This description, slope up, slope down and bridge, is supported by a glance at Google Earth (fig. 4).⁵⁴ The relationship between the first two parts is described by 傍 *bang*, "next to, by the side of, to approach":⁵⁵ first comes the ascent, measured in comparison to 700 steps, until that ascent meets the path with a less pronounced gradient. If Faxian started estimating the height of the ascent from the Yasin River level, 700 steps seem to be rather too little, so an access will have started from a path bifurcating from the banks of the Yasin River. With Google Earth or openstreetview.org we have magnificent tools to inspect the rock wall and the extant paths.

Faxian was aware of the fact that he was probably the first Chinese to master this passage, but his report also shows that the path was at least known second-hand to others: "in reports on far away countries this place is mentioned, but Zhang Qien 張騫 [in 129 B.C.] and Gan Ying 甘英 [in A.D. 96 in the service of Ban Chao] did not reach it."⁵⁶ Zhang Qien on his search for the Yuezhi had no evident reason to cross the Hindu Raj range; Ban Chao, however, would have been interested but got only a second-hand report of a passage certainly existing in A.D. 96.

The Bridge

In British times the bridge across the Gilgit/Ghizr at Khalti was the only one that could be used by those wishing to visit or leave the Yasin Valley.⁵⁷ The path from the bridge across the Dangerous Path and up to Yasin measures about 25 km. In A.D. 747 the Tang period general Gao Xianzhi 高仙芝 managed to raze a Tibetan stronghold in Little Bolor (小勃律), of which Yasin was the capital. He sent a squad down the valley for about 60 *li* to destroy the only bridge that led across the Ghizr/Gilgit River. The distance given includes the dangerous path. The next day when the Tibetan relief forces arrived they found "no way to cross the river" (Chavannes 1903a: 154).

Faxian speaks of a rope bridge. Such bridges consist of at least three strands of ropes, one to stand on and two to serve as a handle. In regular intervals vertical connecting ropes maintain the distance, while horizontal bars keep the side ropes apart. Manufacture and implications can vary; good descriptions are found in Biddulph (1880: 60), Durand (1899: 26f., with picture) and Schomberg (1935: 29f.).

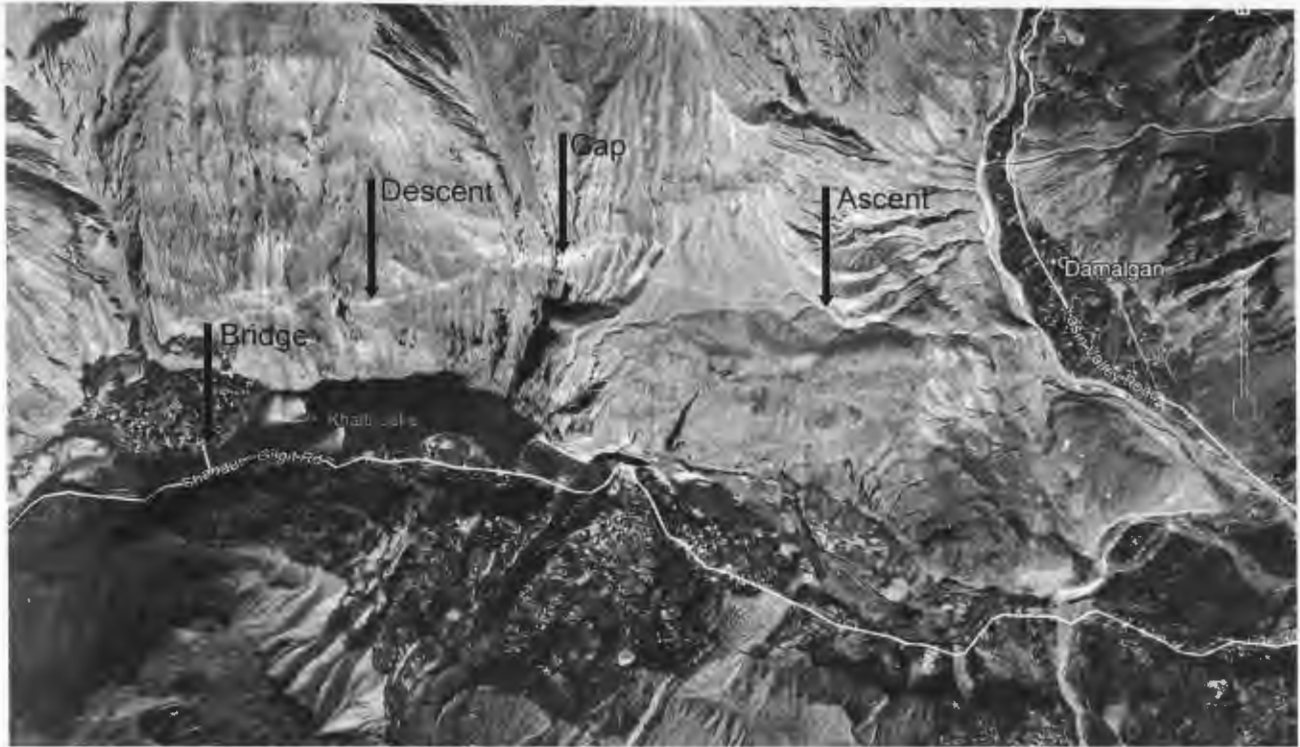


Fig. 4. The Dangerous Path as seen in Google Earth, commencing south of Damalagan on the western side of the Yasin River, then following the rock wall above the Gilgit River until it descends at Khalti with its bridge.

Faxian found the bridge less frightening than the lofty path. Others were frightened to death, and Zhimeng (see below) preferred to walk a longer way to Jalalabad than cross such a bridge again. Since both the Suspended Crossing and the rope bridge could be a fatal affair and since "sacrifices" to the local deities were believed to minimize the threat, a number of rock carvings are found at the entrance to the Dangerous Path.⁵⁸

Udyāna

Crossing the Indus meant for Faxian the change from one political or geographical region to another one, which he calls *wuchang*, 烏菴, not to be confused with *Wucha* 烏耗, the kingdom of Kughiar at the beginning of the ascent, which Faxian called *yuhui* 於麾 or *yumo* 於摩 (cf. fn. 33). The "country of Wuchang" is written 烏菴國, MC *uo-diang*, which gave rise to the reasonable assumption that it represents the Indian term *udyāna*, "park, garden," following a late gloss in Xuangzang's report (Watters 1904, I: 225). Possi-

bly not to mistake it for *Wucha*, an additional *na* is added in Xuanzang for his *wuchangna* country, 烏仗那國. Neither term is known in the early histories like the *Shiji* or the *Hanshu*, where *nantou* 難兜 appears as the name of the region in a comparable position. *Nan-tou* is large, compared to other regions in its vicinity, and whether it was wholly or partially congruent with *Wuchang* we do not know. Although a number of areas in the mountains are known to the classical authors as well as to those geographers writing in Sanskrit, an area called *udyāna* is not found anywhere in their texts. In these mountains a cluster *dy* can hardly be preserved, and so a Prakritic *ujjāna* would be much more likely, but the Middle Chinese is similar to *u-diang* for both the 烏菴 and 烏仗 spellings and so does not permit the construction of a Prakrit base. But even *u-diang* went out of use, as we learn from the Korean monk Hyecho who tells us (Fuchs 1938: 446) that Chinese travelers speak of Swat as *Wuchang* 烏長, but that the locals use 郁地引那 *yu-di-yin-na*⁵⁹ instead, a clear rendering of *uḍḍiyāna*.⁶⁰ The antiquated term *wuchang* was used at least up to A.D. 720 when

China honoured the kings of Wuchang (烏長國王), Khottal and Wakhan for their refusal to side with the Arab intruders.⁶¹

When neither the Sanskrit term *udyāna* nor the Prakrit form *ujjāna* for a country in or north of Swat is ever found in the vast old Indian literature, we should abolish the equation *wuchang/wuchangna* = Skt *udyāna*, however nice it was and realize that there never existed a country called *udyāna* in ancient India. In fact, this was suspected by Lüders (1920: 235f.) after it was proposed first with ample reasons by Lévi (1915: 108f.), but so far the proposal has not found general attention. With Lévi, I presume that nothing but *uḍḍiyāna* was the term current in the area and that *wuchangna* 烏仗那, MC uo-q⁶jaŋ/tjaŋ-na, represents just this. The local base for *wuchang* remains hidden. A falsely constructed local term *udyāna*, exclusively current in Chinese monastic circles to explain *uḍḍiyāna*, would be an answer.

Does this mean that Faxian entered a country locally called *Uḍḍiyāna* when he crossed the bridge at Khalti? We do not know, but if he did so, then the political unit originally covering just the Swat Valley would have received an extension in the north across the mountains into the Ghizr Valley. Alternatively, *uḍḍiyāna* may originally just have meant **oḍi-yāna*, “the path towards the Oḍi-(kingdom),” and described the land of the route from Khalti towards the south-west and south, right into the *oḍi-rājya*, independent of an actual political coverage. The term may have contrasted with **uraśā-yāna* or **takṣaśilā-yāna* denoting the paths that led from Khalti towards Tangir or Darel into Chilas and further south.

Not least for commercial purposes, the ruling dynasty in Swat may have supported the “Oḍi-path” from Khalti to Mingora through small monasteries and shelter huts. The family is called *oḍirāja*, named after the site of Oḍi in Swat, today Udegram or Odigram, just south of Mingora, known already to the historians of Alexander, where it appears as Ora. The dynasty ruling it from the first century B.C. onward claimed to be of Ikṣvāku descent, that is one of the most prestigious families of ancient India, which is, according to a number of Buddhist texts, also the ancestry of the Buddha Śākyamuni (Salomon and Baums 2007). Whatever the reality behind these assumptions is, a descent of the Oḍirājas from the family of the Buddha is also apparent in a legend preserved by Xuanzang,⁶² who tells us

that the Śākyas of Kapilavastu were attacked by Virūḍhaka with only four men surviving, and one of four managing to take refuge in Swat. There he became fond of a Nāga girl whose father told him to kill the local king with a sword. The Śākya did so and married the Nāga girl. The report includes a reference to headache, probably migraine, as hereditary in that family, a trait that sounds based on observation. The report legend makes this migrated Śākya the father of Uttarasena, one of the rare figures found in legend as well as in epigraphy. Already the son of Uttarasena, Vasusena, built a stūpa, the first Ekakūṭa stūpa, high on a slope at Durushkhela, which seems to have played a central role to Buddhism in Swat. The most important fact has not been mentioned: on account of their ancestry starting with a Śākya youth from Kapilavastu, the Oḍi kings of Swat could claim to be blood relatives of the Śākyamuni. And if the Śākyamuni was linked to the age-old *ikṣvāku* line, they could do so, too.⁶³ The Oḍirājas thus were regarded as related to the Buddha by birth; they founded a number of monasteries with stūpas in Swat, and they may have supported the lucrative inroads of Chinese and Central Asian visitors by turning their steps south-west on the Oḍi-path immediately after crossing the bridge opposite Khalti.

Separation and Summer Retreat

According to the proposed model, Faxian would cross the Gilgit/Ghizr on the rope bridge at Khalti and walk along the southern bank until he reached Handrap, formerly the village of Ghizr, which is 150 km away, in the south-west, from Darkot.

He tells us that at the end of this segment three of his co-pilgrims left the group to head for *jibin*/Kipin, a place which in most contexts denotes or includes the large group of Buddhist settlements around Haḍḍa near Jalalabad. Still on the Ghizr/Gilgit River, Faxian took a rest in order to enjoy the summer retreat. We can also reverse the argument and consider whether these three colleagues were not fed up with resting again and again, without ever reaching India. These three who separated from the group were the same pilgrims who had gone their own way a year ago at Khotan. We know that they had to wait for months at Tashkurgan until Faxian and the rest made it to that place, too, only to stay there

for another prolonged period. After all this hold-up they used the opportunity to separate again. Haḍḍa was attractive, another stay in the mountains was not. Does our proposed scenery allow such a split? Yes, it does. At a number of places on the upper Ghizr River, valleys lead south towards Swat, but marching on straight south-west along the last part of the river leads to the Shandur Pass, high but easy of access from May on. On the other side, the Kunar River waits to guide the pilgrim to Jalalabad along its bank.

On the other hand, Faxian may have had good reasons to stop again for the summer retreat: the 15 days certainly were demanding as the road along the Ghizr even today climbs up high and falls down to the river level repeatedly (Winter 2004: 152). In addition, to reach Swat Faxian needed to go south, and all the possible valleys are narrow and become dangerous as long as the melting snow keeps the water level high. After a few weeks the threat was gone and during a sunny period even the crossing of the pass was not problematic.

The Way South to Swat

After the summer retreat, in late summer, when the water level was down and the next snow period was still some weeks distant, Faxian went on his way again with the words: "After the (summer) retreat we went down south to the *su-he-duo* land, where the Law of the Buddha is also flourishing."⁶⁴

In all other reconstructions of Faxian's itinerary, Swat is approached from the east, from the Indus in Hazara, and "south" makes no sense. In our model nothing could be more southern from the Gilgit/Ghizr Valley than Swat. In addition, Ghizr certainly is not Swat and Swat is a good destination, while in some older models the pilgrim is already in Swat and authors wonder (e.g. Kuwayama 2006a: 73) about what sort of Swat can be south of Swat? This latter confusion arises from the reasonable idea that when Faxian speaks about the rock with the Buddha's footprint, which is in Swat, he already is there. But his reference to the footprint is part of a general justification of his turning south across the Darkot Pass, leaving the relatively comfortable path inside the Wakhan. The actual visit of the footprint at Tirat, etc. needs then no repetition in the narrative.

Faxian could have taken one of four possible valleys to reach Swat. The first path starts at Dahimal, 13 km west of Khalti, leads south-east along the Balti alias Bathraiz Valley, crosses into the Tangir Valley, or into Darel over the small Yajai Pass⁶⁵ (Tsuchiya 2012: 3116). According to Winter (2004: 152) this entry was used by "the early Buddhist pilgrims on their journey from China to Gandhara, Swat and other pilgrimage sites in South Asia, as well as the means of access for invading armies from Chitral and the kingdoms to the north." The local memory will be right regarding the armies from Chitral, but for Swat the next entry at Chashi/Phander, 40 km south-west from Khalti, is better suited. It leads along the Chachi Gol south and follows the river south-east towards the Tangir Valley. But before reaching Tangir the Kheli An Pass⁶⁶ leads south-west towards the Kandia Valley with its link westward, across the Gabriel Pass,⁶⁷ towards Kalam on the upper Swat River. The fourth valley starting from Barsat on the Gilgit/Ghizr leads south to the Bashkaro Pass⁶⁸ and further to Kalam. Only of theoretical importance is a fifth trek from Sor Laspur across the Kachakani Pass.⁶⁹ But this presupposes a traversal of the Shandur Pass,⁷⁰ and would again mean two high passes instead of one.

This list left out the third valley which starts at Handrap itself, the former Ghizr. It is the only valley pointed out by Biddulph (1880: 58): "Eleven miles beyond Chashi the large straggling village of Ghizr (called by the Shins Shevare) is reached, which gives its name to the whole district. At Ghizr a considerable stream joins the main stream from the south, by which a good road leads into the head of the Swat Valley." This "good road" is good for horses and pedestrians and today is offered as a five days trek from Handrap to Mahodand,⁷¹ with the fourth day somewhat demanding as it requires eight hours walking slowly but steadily up to the Dadarili Pass of 4,970 m,⁷² followed by a steep decline. The path then leads from Mahodand to Kalam at the source of the Swat Rand then down the valley to Tirat, where the footprint stone awaited the pilgrims from the north.

Swat to Gandhavatī

From Swat, where he seems to have visited only a few sites, Faxian turned east and kept walking for

five days. He calls the county 犍陀衛國, P: *quian-tuo-wei guo*. In MC this would be *kien -da-iwei*, in HC *ga/gan/ka/kan-da/dha/tha-vastī/vatthī*.⁷³ The classical view of an underlying Skt **gandhāvātī* is thus not without reason. More problematic is the automatic equation of **gandhāvātī* with Gandhara. Regarding morphology, the long *ā* in **gandhāvātī* is based solely on a supposed identity with *gandhāra*. A well-attested fem. *gandhavatī* with short *a* is used for cities, *nagarī* or *purī*, or for the *sabhā* of Vāyu in Hindu contexts. Some authors take **gandhavatī* for “a large and rather vague region which does not always correspond to the Gandhara [i.e. *wuchang* HF] of our pilgrim” (Watters 1904, I: 199), others take *Gandhāvātī* as smaller than *Gandhāra* but with its own capital *Puṣkalāvātī* (Deeg 2005: 122), others take *Gandhāvātī* outright as identical with the city of *Puṣkalāvātī* (Kuwayama 2006b: 73). As no other ancient text⁷⁴ uses *quian-tuo-wei* 犍陀衛 for *gandhāra* we put the equation into question testing whether this term may not be a name for Buner or for some well-defined place in this valley. There is no unassailable proof for the location of *quian-tuo-wei*, but there are two hints, one being a local term, and the other is distances to the next destinations.

At his usual pace Faxian after five days would be 50 km away from Swat, in Buner, having turned east at Barikot and crossed the Karakar Pass. This short and not too steep pass is now replaced by a tunnel. Descending from the Karakar Pass into Buner, Faxian could walk downhill through a wooded and rich country, well looked after as the way was furnished with many monasteries. There are many meaningful maps in Hayat Khan (2018), and one shows the sites of so far discovered Gandharan era Buddhist vestiges in Buner (Hayat Khan 2018: 308, map 17). The densest accumulation is in a mountainous area just before the pilgrim would have reached the Ambela Pass to its west or north-west. Within this group of mountains there is one site called Gumbatuna, a relatively frequent term always found to describe a site with a large stūpa. Of the several Gumbatunas in Buner this one has a second name *Gandhāo* preserved by the adjoining villagers (Hayat Khan 2018: 175). It is situated in a “safe gorge” on the north-western slope of a mighty ridge, which rises 300 m above the low country around. The Gumbatuna monastery’s position at a height of 953 m⁷⁵ certainly had its own water supply and was at the same time sufficiently withdrawn from

the settlements. *Gandhāo* as a term of the present could explain perfectly the *gandhavatī* of old.

The second argument for equating *Gandhavatī* with or near *Gandhāo* is distances. We learn that from there Taxila can be reached in seven days. Also, the city of *Puruṣapura* is seven walking days away. As the crow flies Taxila is 90 km south-east of *Gandhāo*, and Peshawar 96 km in the south-west. The equidistance on the map would be represented in the number of stations. Today this area has come back into focus because of the discovery of one large unpublished and one small and wonderfully decorated stūpa, the latter published by O. Bopearachchi (2020, II: 258–61).

Taxila and the Tigress

Next, Faxian provides the distance to Taxila, but it seems that he was never there. The first reason for this assumption is direction. Seen from *Gandhāo*, Taxila lies east and Peshawar west. These general directions may have been learned in *Gandhavatī*. However, the true direction for a hiker would be south-east to Taxila. This difference may not be taken too seriously. More important is the diction of our pilgrim. As was shown in 2017 (Falk 2017: 48) Faxian occasionally provides information about how to reach sites he has not seen himself, but which seem sufficiently interesting to inform his readers how and from where to reach them. In such a case he describes a place A where he was stationed, then tells us about direction and distance toward a place B where he was not, and then for describing his own itinerary he returns to place A by starting the next sentence with *fu* 復, “again,” meaning “on the other hand, (if you do not go to B but continue from A).” In our context Faxian narrates a legend linked with Taxila but says nothing about the city or its ruler. The next sentence starts with *fu* 復, meaning that we have to reckon with the possibility that the next station is not reached on foot from Taxila, but that the author returns verbally to the site he spoke about last before pointing at Taxila. In ordinary parlance, *fu* 復 means “again” in the sense of “repeating what was done before,” and this primary use is found in Faxian’s text, too. But to suppose that only this primary use needs to be applied can lead to a dead end. In short, his not mentioning of contacts within that city or the crossings of the Indus⁷⁶ plus the semantics of *fu* 復 tempt me

to take the reference to Taxila as a simple service to the reader, not as part of his adventures.

This impression receives support from a view to the next station. Faxian tells us in a sentence starting with *fu* 復 that after two days of walking one would arrive at a pleasant spot where the Buddha once had offered his body to feed a tigress who was about to devour her cubs in a time of drought. The local background of this legend is also mentioned by Song Yun. After having visited a last monastery in Swat this pilgrim with his colleague and retinue proceeds and after eight days comes to the place where the Tathāgata once gave his body to a tigress.⁷⁷ From Butkara eight days south-east is more or less the same as the five days Faxian needed for Gandhavatī plus the two days needed from Gandhavatī to that holy site with the hungry tigress.

There is a third text telling us about the tigress, this time found in Xuanzang's report, in a series of adopted fragments, most of them not found in the version of Huili. First Xuanzang expands on Simhapura, a site seemingly located where Lahore is today. Then follow *fu* 復 (Xiyuji) or *you* 又 (Huili) nursing the suspicion that he was never in Simhapura. To continue his own report Faxian returns to a place north of Taxila and from there the Indus is crossed. After the crossing the author went north-west⁷⁸ for 200 *li* (ca. 70 km) over a great rocky pass to visit the place of the tigress (Beal 1884, I: 145f.). From north of Taxila across the Mahaban seems to aim at a site quite in line with the two other authors. In Huili's *Life* version (Li 1959: 67f.), Simhapura is only mentioned in passing as being 700 *li* away from Taxila. In the *Life* as well, Faxian then continues from north of Taxila south-east for 200 *li*, including a crossing of the Indus. Despite the wrong direction Faxian reaches the site with the tigress, from where he immediately turns east for 500 *li* across the Indus again to end at Uraśā, Hazara. Despite this crisscrossing over the river, a position of the tigress west of the Indus, and certainly not east of Taxila, can be assured when we take only the last move seriously, from the tigress across the Indus to Hazara.

That means we have three texts saying the same thing: For Faxian the tigress was found two days east of Gandhavatī, Song Yun himself needed eight days south-east from Mingora, and now we have an inserted foreign report in Xuanzang approaching the same site from beyond the Indus and over mountains. Watters (1904, I: 254) adds a Chinese source of the tigress episode in

which the hero was a prince called Candanamati, son of King Gandhaśrī of Gandhamati, the names coined through association with the locality. This is now edited and ably commented upon by Matsumura (2012). Faxian then tells us that the final move starts again at Gandhavatī down south to the Peshawar plain.

Current interpretations of the tigress episode state a confusion between Song Yun (eight days from Swat) and Faxian allegedly moving to Taxila and proceeding from there even further for two days in a westerly direction from Taxila, preferably to the Manikyala stupa.⁷⁹ Why and how then does he continue from Gandhavatī? Deeg (2005: 190) expects a lacuna in the report, as the pilgrim loses no words on how and why he retraced his steps for nine days (7 + 2) from the tigress at Manikyala to Gandhavatī. But if we see Faxian stationed close to the Ambela or Sar Malang Pass in Buner, the two days march east will lead us toward the Mahāvana, Mahaban, for the tigress stūpa, a site coinciding with the itinerary of Song Yun. The most likely site seems to be the Nask stupa,⁸⁰ the largest monastery in Buner still extant with a huge stupa, inspected and in part described by Hayat Khan (2018: 133, 159). The habitat is ideal for tigers, which are still found there today. The two days walk to our preferred site for Gandhavatī would coincide with the 21 km beeline.

Watter's equation of Gandhamati with Gandhara repeats a traditional misconception⁸¹ evoked, as shown, by an incomplete understanding of *fu* 復 in Faxian. Our reconstruction leaves us with a single site in Buner, probably two marches east of our Gandhāo, quite likely at the Nask stupa site at the top of Mahaban with many slopes around that could be pointed out as the site of the self-sacrifice. This solution is more or less inevitable by general considerations, since the alternative Manikyala is situated in a landscape without mountains or tigers. Chavannes (1903b: 411f., fn. 3) had proposed a site in the Mahaban Mountains for the tigress location and can thus be regarded as confirmed. This sanctuary in Buner, Mahaban, was open until at least A.D. 964 when the pilgrim Ki Ye 繼業 went to see it.⁸²

Gandhavatī to Peshawar

In Faxian the last marches to Peshawar are mentioned in just one sentence: 從犍陀衛國南行四日，到弗樓沙國。—"Going southwards from the

country of Gandhavatī one arrives at the country of Puruṣapura (*fu-lu-sha*) after four days." In case Gandhavatī was really the area of those mountains with Gandhāo on top, he would have taken the road south to Rustam across the Sar Malang Pass. Four days could have led him to Mardan, or rather to Nowshera, where a ferry crossed the Kabul River to its southern bank along which roads lead west to Puruṣapura.

The Itinerary in Overview

Here we can stop pursuing Faxian, as all his further stations in the north-west are known and well defined. He visits Peshawar, crosses the Khyber Pass to Nangarhar and proceeds over the Safed Koh to Tirat in Bannu. What we have seen so far can be summarized as follows: It seems that our pilgrim often came close to the limits of his physical energies. The first real challenge was the traversing of the Taklamakan from Karashahr to Khotan, still on camelback. Afterwards he needed a long sojourn at Khotan to recover, while some comrades moved on. After Khotan he had to walk, making 10 km a day. He waited at Kughiar before he ascended the *congling*, and he again recovered at Tashkurgan. He suffered from crossing the Darkot glaciers. Leaving Darkot he suffered agonies while crossing the *parri* at Khalti high above the Gilgit/Ghizr, and he again needed a rest at Handrap, while the same three comrades moved on towards Jalalabad. The Dadarili Pass down to Swat did not impress him much, possibly because the weather was favourable. He entered Swat from the north and visited a number of sites there. Buner followed, but he needed another rest at Gandhavatī, while some of his co-travelers may have climbed up to the Mahavan monastery without his joining in. Hunza, Gilgit or Baltistan are not mentioned in his report, and the Darel Valley and the Indus gorges are not even touched.

Alternatives and Supporting Views

The path outlined here as taken by Faxian is so close to what his text says that radically different alternative itineraries seem unlikely. A first uncertainty surrounds the crossing of the Taklamakan, where there are two old river courses,

both of which Faxian could have used. Hardship is connected with both.

From Khotan to Karghalik and from there to Kughiar variants could only be forced through the shifting sands; the general path is the same. From Kughiar to Tashkurgan there is only the so-called Tang way over the Arpatallak and the Kandahar passes. From Tashkurgan to the Yasin Valley only Darkot provides the sequence of eternal ice on a pass, rapid descent with an instant arrival in a Buddhist settlement. In principle, the Khora Bhurt Pass could have replaced the Darkot Pass; it is lower, often without snow, but after the descent into the valley human settlements come only 20 km later. In Dalti near Ishkoman even an attractive place name could be seen. This descent—without any mention of Dalti—was proposed by H. Tsuchiya (1999) as the most likely way of Faxian, because coming from China this pass would offer the shortest and least troublesome way, through the Karumbar Valley and the Singal Valley down to Darel. However, because of the narrowness of the valley north of Dalti and the long season of the swollen river this path is not without dangers. Tsuchiya's preference was predetermined by the idea that Faxian had to go to Darel. In that case the Khora Bhurt Pass would be handy and the Yasin Valley too far away. On the contrary, when Faxian heads for Handrap and the Dadarili Pass, a first entry into the Karumbar Valley would necessitate crossing over yet another pass into Yasin, as there is absolutely no path along the Ghizr between the mouths of the Karumbar and the Yasin rivers.

Tsuchiya dealt with the Darkot Pass, which we favour, but exaggerated the difficulties. According to her estimation, "the Tibetans would never have imagined the possibility of such an attack" across the Darkot Pass (1999: 357f.), while according to the Tang chronicle the Tibetans only thought that at such an early time in the year the crossing would be unlikely. On sunny days the approach to the pass is not difficult, while the descent on the Yasin side is so steep that an eventual retreating move could become tumultuous. Before the crossing, the Chinese general outwitted the Tibetan news system by approaching in three columns on three different paths, so that the Tibetan garrisons north of the Baroghil Pass got notice only of relatively small numbers of marching enemies. When finally all three Chinese sections appeared on one day at the Tibetan forts it was too late to send an

alarm to Yasin or Gilgit. Tsuchiya shows our Difficult Path above Khalti on her Map 2 (1999: 378), but because she was looking for an optimal path from the Wakhan to Darel she opted for the neighboring Karumbar Valley.

For further research I can only recommend the maps in Tsuchiya 1999: 377 and 2009: 131, designed by Tokutaro Matsuda. The map of "capillary routes" in Neelis 2011: 259 is a masterpiece in impreciseness. Regarding Faxian the author offers nothing but the communis opinio.

The crossing of the Gilgit River at the lower end of the Yasin River seems as inescapable as it appeared to Biddulph long ago, but also more recent Japanese and Chinese research had a comparable location in view.⁸³ With a different entry to the Gilgit River and without specifying the valley leading south, the Pakistani author R. Samad (2011: 65) shows Faxian's route on a map as we do, at least for the last part from Ghizr southward to Mingora, illustrating what he had condensed to one sentence: "Fa-Hsien after reaching Gilgit went along the Gilgit River to Swat." The alternatives to the Handrap Valley leading south to Swat have been listed above, and all of them have their shortcomings. The Dadarili trek is certainly the shortest and easiest way, provided that the weather is favorable.

The Early Successors

When looking at those Chinese pilgrims who came after Faxian, we see that on the whole they tried to circumvent the difficulties of their predecessors, and that they ran into trouble at places where Faxian had been lucky.

Zhimeng 智猛, A.D. 404

Closest in time and also in his path is the report of Zhimeng 智猛, who left China in A.D. 404, five years after Faxian. His report is often adduced to prove that *jibin*/Kipin is Kashmir. To the contrary a comparison with Faxian will show that Zhimeng wanted to head for Haḍḍa/Jalalabad instead, for the major part in the footsteps of his famous predecessor Faxian, including the dangerous passage above Khalti. It seems that the local advisers had not changed their recommendations during the five years that had passed since Faxian.

The original report of Zhimeng is lost.⁸⁴ It was used for a collection called *Chu Sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集, "Compilation of Notices on the Translation of the Tripiṭaka" assembled by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518), who finished this work in A.D. 515. A short summary of Zhimeng's life is given in roll (卷) 15, published in the Taisho Tripitaka as no. 2145. For reasons of simplicity this text is referred to as "ZhM-1" in what follows. Possibly the original full text too, but certainly ZhM-1 was used by Huijiao 慧皎 (497–554) in his *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳, the "Biographies of eminent monks," labelled "ZhM-2" here, Taisho no. 2059. This work was finished in A.D. 530. Both texts have long passages wholly or in part verbally in common. There are also passages and topics found only in one of the two.

Not having heard of Faxian's terrible experience while crossing the Taklamakan Zhimeng followed a similar track. Like Faxian he went from Dunhuang to Shanshan country (鄯鄯國), then turned north-west for Kucha (龜茲 *qiuci*) where Faxian had stopped at Wuyi (烏夷). Both then crossed the desert diagonally for Khotan. For unknown reasons (but see below p. 28b) both refused to follow the southern desert border and both probably came to regret this decision when inside the sands.⁸⁵

The following move starts with the ascent to the Pamir plateau (始登葱嶺). Nine of Zhimeng's fellow monks were not pleased with this and returned home. Tashkurgan, which cannot be missed, is not mentioned in the two excerpts where we expect it, but in a decisive episode following the crossing of the river both versions say that Zhimeng had been in Khaśa country, spelled 奇沙國 *qisha guo*. After 1,700 *li* from Khotan they arrived at Bolor country (波淪國).⁸⁶ Measured in a linear distance this would mean the entry into the Yasin Valley, which we know of as "Little Bolor."⁸⁷

Although the two versions diverge verbally after the mention of Bolor, they continue with the crossing of a glacier before they cross the river. ZhM1 describes the hardship met with while crossing three glaciers (三度雪山), which could be the Baroghil and the two Darkot glaciers in quick succession. The light on the glaciers had hurt their eyes (冰崖皓然). ZhM2 leaves out this aspect and instead relates that a companion named Zhu Dao-song died and that his body simply disappeared overnight. In sadness Zhimeng crossed the

glacier with his four remaining comrades. Both reports could be complementary as they describe the same event, seemingly slightly too early in the year as the Baroghil is snow-clad only for three months, while the Darkot glaciers are icy all year long. That a lifeless body disappears on a glacier is not at all surprising.

Then follows the bridge at some length in ZhM1, which says that "By flying ropes as the bridge, [people] cross it [as if] treading the air. Looking down, you don't see the ground, and looking up, you don't see the sky. Icy gales are cruel and strong. The shadow [of the body] is quivering and the soul is trembling."⁸⁸ The following sentence is already known from Faxian saying that the "dangerous path" above the river was known to but not visited by the Han period emissaries Zhang Qian and Gan Ying, placed after describing the Dangerous Path. ZhM2 wastes no words about the path and simply says "We crossed the river *xindou* and reached Jibin."⁸⁹ This is the place about which Faxian wrote that he had entered Wuchang, and Zhimeng would probably not have said anything much different; the surprising jump to Jibin is certainly due to the compiler, who dropped the next paragraph in ZhM2, which deals with Jibin.

These next few sentences, only found in ZhM1, speak of a 1,000 *li* path down to Jibin:

"Again, going south for 1,000 *li* [would mean] to arrive in the land of Jibin to again cross the Indus River. The mountain [covered with] clouds stands erect like a wall, which is more [dangerous] than former ones. On the ground there is lots of poisonous air, and bad ghosts block the road. Many passengers die. Zhimeng's heart was pious and clear. [Whenever he] stepped into danger, [he would be] able to cross, and in fact he would reach Jibin town."⁹⁰

This paragraph relates how Zhimeng planned to proceed. Continuing on the path that Faxian had taken would include the dangers he reflected upon: ice, snow and gales, with some of his people likely to die. It would also include one or two further crossings of rivers on rope-bridges, but the distance would mean only 1,000 *li* (ca. 400 km, 350 km following the roads on the map) down to Jalalabad. Still, he was confident that his sincerity would be gratified. His "reaching Jibin town" at the end of this paragraph was so far taken as describing his very arrival there while it can also be taken as a view into the future elucidated by the next paragraph, as from now on the two versions

run parallel again and remain so until the end of the journey at a place miscalled "Kapilavastu."

First we learn that there are always 500 arhats who go to the Anavatapta lake each year. The leader of these *sādhus* meets Zhimeng and gives advice on the four devaputras. Seemingly out of context we hear that at Tashkurgan, "in the land of Khaśa," Zhimeng had seen the spittoon of stone of the Buddha, and also the bowl of the Buddha. Zhimeng had taken the bowl onto his head. It was light while being taken up, heavy while on the head, and light again while lowering it. Zhimeng makes a vow, without apparent reason or aim.

Then we hear that Zhimeng goes 1,300 *li* towards the south-west and comes to "Kapilavastu." At that birthplace of the Buddha, usually far away in Bihar, Zhimeng visits all the holy sites traditionally found in Haḍḍa/Jalalabad, like the *uṣṇīṣā* of the Buddha and the cave with his shadow. Then follow places in Bihar, and everything between Haḍḍa and the real Kapilavastu is skipped.

How to explain this mess? With the itinerary of Faxian in mind we see Zhimeng struggle with the dangerous path. In ZhM1 he seems to go to Jibin twice, first towards the south for 1,000 *li* and then towards a place called "Kapilavastu" replete with all the attractions of Haḍḍa, then a second time towards the south-west for 1,300 *li*. In-between we have *sādhus*, numbering the standard of 500, allegedly from Haḍḍa, marching to the holy lake on the Little Pamir. Interspersed we hear of the bowl at Tashkurgan. And at the end we land in Haḍḍa again, but now it is called Kapilavastu.

I see only one story that would give sense to all the elements, but it presupposes a severe misunderstanding of the original by the compilers, followed by a bold mishandling. After the crossing of the Darkot glaciers and the Dangerous Path through mist and gales, Zhimeng thinks of the dangers waiting for him when crossing the Dadarili Pass. His faith gives him the strength needed. Before he can actually take off, a group of *sādhus*⁹¹ appears. They used to travel through Handrap each year, know the land in all four quarters up to the Anavatapta lake⁹² and advise him to continue south-west, over the Shandur Pass. This road is comparably easy, but it is longer by 300 *li*, which is negative, but then the bowl of the Buddha at Tashkurgan by being light, heavy and light again had signaled that the trip of Zhimeng would be easy, difficult and easy again, which is positive. Five years before, Faxian went south, while his

three young colleagues at the same place ran off towards the south-west over the Shandur Pass and Mastuj to Jalalabad. Zhimeng follows the advice of the *sādhus*, and after reaching the misnamed "Kapilavastu" all the classical objects of Haḍḍa in Jibin were on display and visited.

To accept this interpretation implies accepting a horrific abbreviating strategem of the compilers of the lives of the monks: After describing a march from place A to place B, this place B is called C, culled from a station further on, and then all travel between B and the real C in the original report is skipped over. In our case we had Wuchang being called Jibin in ZhM2, dropping the first alternative introduced by *fu* 復, then we get Jibin called Kapilavastu in ZhM1 and 2, placing the birthplace of the Buddha 1,300 *li* south-west of Jalalabad.⁹³ Unfortunately, this compilers' strategem which is so plain to the eye in the present case is resorted to often where its mechanics are less obvious.⁹⁴

After this reconstruction we can say that Zhimeng followed the track of Faxian in several respects, first by crossing the Taklamakan diagonally, then by mounting up to Tashkurgan and then by crossing the Darkot glaciers. After the Dangerous Path he even stopped at Handrap, aware of the frightening prospects of the Dadarili Pass, only to be advised by travelling *sādhus* to follow the longer, but relatively comfortable way over the Shandur Pass and south along the Kunar River. The reconstruction presented here would not have been possible without an understanding of Faxian's itinerary, far away from Darel and the lower Indus, giving weight to a fork in the road at Handrap and putting sense to a seemingly aberrant story of the Buddha's bowl and into a pilgrimage to the Anavatapta lake.

Dharmodgata A.D. 420

Next in time seems to be Fayong 法勇, Skt Dharmodgata, also known as 釋曇無竭 *shi tan-wu-jie*, the excerpt of his report dealt with last by Shi (1968: 115–18), Kuwayama (2006a: 113) and Hu-von Hinüber (2020). This monk went on his way in A.D. 420, only a short time after Faxian and Zhimeng. Unlike Zhimeng, Dharmodgata could profit from Faxian's report that was released in A.D. 414. Possibly on account of Faxian's description he changed his itinerary fundamentally by sticking to the northern route along the Tianshan,

from Turfan to Kucha and Kashgar, not crossing the desert diagonally.

His report was used and made shorter for the same two compilations dated A.D. 515 and 530, the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 and the *Gao-sengzhuan* 高僧傳, abbreviated here again for the sake of convenience to Dh1 and Dh2. As with Zhimeng, both excerpts share a good amount of material verbatim, but there are again differing, transposed and missing phrases and terms.⁹⁵ For the part of the itinerary of interest here a few particularities are important.

After mounting the Congling⁹⁶ and crossing the Snow Mountains, the excerpts preserve a series of terms and notions which show that Dharmodgata, too, took the Dangerous Path, followed by a rope bridge. And after that for three days he crosses an icy mountain ridge. All is so close to what we expect from the previous travelers that I dare say that the Yasin path seems to have held a monopoly for the first 20 years or half century that we can observe.

Unfortunately the report was similarly mishandled by the two compilers who created Dh1 and Dh2. That means we should be prepared to face some serious distortions arising from the abbreviated versions. The Dangerous Path is only implicitly mentioned, but the rope bridge is well described. As in Zhimeng, entry into the Yasin Valley starts with the Darkot Pass in Dh1: "The constructed path is narrow and bad, donkeys or camels cannot pass. The ice grows higher and higher; there are no grass or woods. There is much poisonous air in the mountains."⁹⁷ This spirit is reminiscent of what Faxian had said: "There are also among them [the Congling Mountains] venomous dragons, which, when provoked, spit forth poisonous winds, and cause showers of snow and storms of sand and gravel."⁹⁸ This sentence is not found in Dh2, which instead says "The poisonous air obliterating the view comes in a thousand layers; the accumulated ice extends endlessly."⁹⁹ Both abbreviated versions jump to the Dangerous Path and continue: "Below there is a large river, speedy as an arrow. There is a rope fixed to the flanks of the east-west (oriented) mountain serving as a crosspiece."¹⁰⁰ Only Dh1 continues "with a distance of 5 li."¹⁰¹ This equals about 2 km and certainly does not describe a rope bridge but answers regarding the distance between the rock walls north and south of the river. Possibly because *qiao* 橋 apart from meaning "crosspiece" can also denote a bridge, the following sentences

deal with crossing the rope bridge: "Ten people cross at once. After arrival on the other side smoke is made to rise to serve as a signal. When the people see that smoke, success is understood and more people advance. If for a long time smoke is not seen people know that the strong wind blew someone into the river."¹⁰² Judging from his silence on this point Dharmodgata seems not to have lost any of his colleagues at this place.

Then both two versions say in slightly varying words that three days were needed to leave the Congling and that the next aim was the Big Snow Mountain. Now follows the description of how to ascend a glacier or snow-clad pass. There are hardly any differences between Dh1 and Dh2: "The lofty cliff stands like a wall, there is no safe place for a foot. From the predecessors the rock faces have stick holes which always come in pairs.¹⁰³ Each man lays hold onto four sticks (two between which he stands and two more one step ahead). First he pulls out the (two) lower sticks (by his sides, holds on to them) and puts his hands on the (two) upper sticks and moves forward (between the two upper sticks, and places the first pair into the next two holes one level higher up). [In the way] of substitution of one [stick] for another, [people] passed in three days."¹⁰⁴

Premanufactured holes may serve such service on rocks as on glaciers or firn fields. The latter are found on the Dadarili Pass at several places; a rock face is described on the fourth day at the foot of the pass (Mason 1895: 140): "whence there is a very steep stony ascent of nearly 1,500' [457 m] in a little over half-a-mile [804 m]." Since cattle mount this pass, too cf. fn. 71, the holes cum poles would not be absolutely mandatory, but they might be of great help. The four-sticks method will ensure that the hiker always has something to hold on to. Putting holes vertically into the rocks of an ascent or into ice is relatively easy, while cutting hundreds of holes horizontally into a perpendicular rock wall would require a scaffold and modern drilling machines, not to speak of the strain on the local administration.

H. Hu-von Hinüber has dealt with this passage in a number of papers, seeing a perpendicular path up a rock wall with the help of four single pegs to be inserted horizontally into pre-existing holes while I see two pairs of handheld sticks and vertical holes in firn. I will return at the end to this interesting proposal, which, however, I hold as unpracticable for a number of technical rea-

sons. The philological considerations of Hu-von Hinüber are certainly useful but way beyond my knowledge.

In any case Dharmodgata crosses the pass walking with this method for three days, but 12 of his originally 25 co-hikers never arrived on the safe side, "on flat land."¹⁰⁵ In the preserved abbreviated versions he goes on to see the Buddha's alms bowl, which we know was in Puruṣapura, Peshawar. The text of Dharmodgata calls the land of the bowl *jibin* as if it was still in the hands of Scythians, or because he included the ruling Alchons, Huns and Hephthalites under that title.

Our pilgrim learns Sanskrit at Puruṣapura and then marches west, hitting the *sindhunadī*. This fact leads a number of scholars to see him approaching "our" Indus from the west, while he may just have reached the Kunar: "Going west they came to the Sindhunadī. This is called in Chinese 'the river from the lion's mouth.'"¹⁰⁶ Continuing west along that river leads him to Yuezhi land, where he visits the uṣṇīṣa bone of the Buddha at Haḍḍa, as others had done before him.

Fasheng 法盛 A.D. 426

Fasheng, from Longxi, lived in Gaochang as a monk. At nine years old, he had joined the order and at nineteen he met Zhimeng 智猛. He went to India and returned via Ceylon, at many points following the lead of Faxian. Only fragments of his notes are preserved, which include 59 proper names in Sanskrit, including Baochang's 寶唱 Fan fan yǔ 翻梵語 (T2130: 54.981a4-1054c21). These and all other relevant data are listed in Matsumura 2012. Regarding our segment of travel, Fasheng mentions three places, the singular *gasha guo* 伽沙國, followed by *bolu guo* 波盧國 Bolor country and finally *najiehe cheng* 那竭呵城 Nagarahāra (HC na-ga-ha/kha city). Matsumura (2012: 64) links *gasha* with 竭叉 *jiecha* of Faxian and *qisha* 奇沙 of Zhimeng but leaves open whether this means Tashkurgan or Chitral. For a further spelling variant we could add the 伽舍 *qieshe* of Dao-an and the 佉沙 *qu-sha* of Buddhavarman and Xuanzang referred to above. With the exception of late Xuanzang, no two authors use the same transcription, a clear sign for a rather recent introduction.

Fasheng wrote about the Maitreya statue and its sin-removing faculties, and he added observations which reinforce our belief in concocted son-et-lumière "marvels" as summarized below (s. p. 36b) since on uposatha days Maitreya's head became gloomy, "Fragrant smoke (. . .) turns toward right and immediately all smoke gathers together to make a cover, and circumambulates [the statue] three times to the right, and then it gradually disappears, etc.)."¹⁰⁷

Most important is the description of the tigress episode as narrated by Fasheng, now edited critically by Matsumura (2012: 52). The prince, a previous Buddha to be, went "deep into the mountains to join a group of ascetics." There he saw the tigress with her cubs and threw himself down a deep gorge. His parents then built a stūpa on the mountain to contain the prince's bones. Mountains with crevasses would go along nicely with the mountains in Buner. Matsumura (2012: 52) expects the site "two days journey towards east from Taxila," following the standard translation of Faxian.

Daoyao 道藥 A.D. 451, a) Taklamakan and the Suspended Crossing

In the last year of the Wei emperor Tai-wu (A.D. 424–451) a monk named 道藥 Daoyao (Chavannes 1903b: 383, fn. 4 = Tao-yo) went to India. His report is lost, but some references and quotations remain.

The first remarkable point is that he passed along the Taklamakan via Kashgar,¹⁰⁸ after taking the northern road all along the Tianshan Mountains. Here he seems to have followed the 20-year prior footsteps of Fayong/Dharmodgata, who appears to us as the first to have found a way to evade the diagonal crossing of the desert. Chavannes (as above) has collected all pertinent material and has given his ideas about the composition of the report of Song Yun, which is found in the Luoyang Qielanji finished in A.D. 547, ending with the statement of the compiler Yang Xuanzhi that the summary he had produced is in the main based on a text written by Song Yun's companion Huisheng, supplemented by private notes of Song Yun, and in addition by material from Daoyao that can fill lacunae in the narrative of the two emissaries. Since the translation of Beal (1884, I: lxxxiv–cviii)¹⁰⁹ the text has been linked

to the name of "Song Yun"; however, the medley produced by the compiler was always known as such, particularly, as it begins a number of paragraphs towards the end marking them as quotations from Daoyao's report. There are some parts of the itinerary in "Song Yun" which certainly were not trod by Song Yun and Huisheng, and are not marked as taken from Dao-an either but must be attributed to this third man. Leaving aside the possibility that they are culled from the report of a fourth traveler left unmentioned by the compiler, we provisionally take them to date from the 450s, the lifetime of Daoyao.

The Shijia Fangzhi 釋迦方志¹¹⁰ of Dao-xuan (ca. 596–667) lists a number of Buddhist travelers in a very summary fashion in its second scroll and refers to Daoyao 道藥 in one slim paragraph. It mentions just three places from his itinerary, Kashgar, the Suspended Crossing and Sāṃkāśya, (cf. fn. 108) and so we have reason to believe that Daoyao took the Yasin road too. On the other hand we see that Song Yun and Huisheng descended from the Pamir by using the Dorah Pass ending at the Chitral Valley, after having followed a wide northern bend around the Wakhan because they had to visit the Hephthalite ruler in Badakhshan. From the Dorah Pass and Chitral it would have been a waste of time and labor to turn east for the Gilgit/Ghizr River Valley to cross the Dadarili Pass. A short version of the Song Yun embassy is contained in the Weishu (魏書 102, finished in A.D. 554) restating that our two travelers descended down to Chitral, adding that Chitralis are not Buddhists and are governed by the Hephthalites. The Weishu continues: "East (of Chitral) there is the Bolor (鉢廬勒) country; the road is precipitous, along iron chains, and dangerous. Below one does not see the ground. During the *xiping* period (A.D. 516–518) Song Yun and his company could not get there."¹¹¹

Knowing from the Shijia Fangzhi 釋迦方志 of Dao-xuan (ca. 596–667) that Daoyao went to the Suspended Crossing and knowing from the Weishu (ca. A.D. 554) that Song Yun and Huisheng did not, we attribute the Suspended Crossing episode in the Song Yun report to the pen of Daoyao. The erratic nature of this short passage has been observed before (Kuwayama 2006a: 115).

It reads: "From Palola (Bolor) country to Wu-chang. There is an iron chain at a suspended crossing, where one does not see the ground below. At the sides there is nothing to grasp, suddenly there

is a gap that would throw a body down abysmally. Therefore (some) travelers see this from afar and decline to use it."¹¹² This perfectly fits the characteristics of the Dangerous Path although here any allusion to the adjoining bridge is missing. The gap within the path obviously was a permanent one since Woodthorpe (in Lockhart 1889: 298) saw it, too: "This path is an exceedingly bad one, and at one place the ponies had to half step, half jump, across a gap in the narrow ledge doing duty for a path, and which at the best barely afforded foothold. The rocks were slippery, and an overhanging boulder liable to catch an animal's head while in the act of springing made the jump worse still for the ponies." All this at a height of 330 m above the river.

As abruptly as the Bolor-Wuchang insertion started, the detour ends with a date typical for the Song Yun report saying that the country Wuchang 烏場國 was entered in the first decade of the twelfth month, that is towards the end of December. Fifteen to twenty days for the 200+ km from Chitral to Mingora seems feasible. The shortest connection between Chitral and Swat would have been the Lowari Pass (3,118 m); however, the season speaks against this pass which in past decades was open for wheeled vehicles from late May onward (Winter 2004: 120) and may have been too snow-clad for pedestrians in the months before. A much easier access through Bajaur is the Nawa Pass (1,860 m), open all year through, connecting Pashshad/Dona'i on the Kunar River with Nawagai in Bajaur. This pass was used by Alexander on his way towards the cities of Bajaur and Swat and was the main influx road for the Taliban, first followed in an east-west direction against the Russians, then west-east against the people of Bajaur and Swat.¹¹³ In the "Song Yun" compilation the narrative continues with matters related only to Swat.

If our surmise is correct that this passage dates back to Daoyao and roughly the year A.D. 450 we would face a continuous use of the Yasin Valley and the Dangerous Path during the first half century under observation: Faxian, Zhimeng, Dharmodgata and now also Daoyao crossed the Gilgit River at Khalti. Fifty years later Song Yun and Huisheng circumvented the area, because their itinerary further to the west across the Dorah Pass was predetermined by their political mission.

A Note on Shi Faxian 釋法獻, A.D. 477

In a rather short biography, the "śākya monk" *shi* 釋 Faxian 法獻, 75 years later than our Faxian 法顯, is said to have traveled west in ca. A.D. 477. He could have been the first pilgrim known to us using the southern route to Khotan, which may have been regarded as safe following the Chinese annexation of Shanshan in A.D. 445. Faxian did not get very far, only into the foothills of the Pamir west of Khotan. Although he barely set foot inside the Congling he nonetheless claims to have received a tooth of the Buddha from Wuchang. The two preserved text versions are assembled and translated by Ching Chao-jung in Balogh 2020: 52–55, § I.033. We learn that the pilgrim stopped his advance while mounting the Pamir. The reason for not proceeding any further reads *zhi zhan dao duan jue* 值棧道斷絕, translated by Ching as "but this was a time when the plank road was broken." Ching reflects: "I assume that Fǎxiàn's failure may betray a serious traffic disruption between Khotan and Swat, perhaps due to the invasion of the Hepthalites or the Alkhan (. . .) into Swat, because the breaking of a single wooden path would not be of such consequence if the other routes were not also cut, which might point to a general turmoil." The term *zhan dao* 棧道 virtually means a "plank road" and occurs frequently in texts from the early Han period (A.D. 265–300) onward,¹¹⁴ occasionally said to be of a certain length given as 100 or 1,000 *li*, that is, ca. 40 to 400 km, atypical for a purely wooden path in the mountains. We read that such a road underlies dangers from two sides: first it can be burned to ward off enemies, but it can also be washed away. The texts mention the disruption often in the same phrase 棧道斷絕 as in our case, often coming up with a reason in the form of "after weeks of heavy rain."¹¹⁵ Such rains turn mountain rivulets into mighty rivers which first remove wooden devices spanning over crevasses or narrow valleys. The biography of Shi Faxian only says that the connection was "interrupted." If fire were mentioned in this sentence a human agent behind the interruption would have been the most likely cause. But since this is not the case, some wooden planks or bridges along the path may have been washed away. At least this is what the would-be pilgrim sets forth as an excuse for his return. This way the interruption of the

plank path cannot be used for writing the military history of the Pamir region and Swat with all its Hepthalites and Alkhons.

Song Yun A.D. 519

Song Yun and Huisheng are not relevant for the history of the Dangerous Path, as seen above. But they went to Swat from Chitral, either using the Lowari or—more likely—the Nawa Pass and finally ended in Peshawar, and so the lower part of their itinerary can be part of our survey. The two pilgrims met the king of Swat, had interesting conversations, went to see the footprint of the Buddha at Tirat and the drying stone just south of it, on the other side of the Swat River, at Jare (Falk 2018: 46f.). Finally they traveled on, south-east, to see the place where a former Buddha had thrown his body down a precipice to feed a tigress which was about to devour her own cubs in times of drought. As shown above, this was the same place Faxian had spoken of as two days further walk while he rested at Gandhavatī.

Daoyao 道藥 A.D. 451, b) in Hazara

After having seen the site of the tigress, Song Yun tells us exactly when (A.D. 520) he entered "Gandhara," the Peshawar Valley. Strangely enough, the itinerary does not continue from Gandhara, or the Peshawar Valley. Instead, we are thrust into a country in the west of Kashmir, which can only be modern Hazara, the Uraśā of old, the land between the Indus in the west and Kashmir in the east. We can either believe that Song Yun crossed over the Indus—without telling us so—to see Hazara as well, or we have to recall the compiler Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 and his admitted habit of interspersing Huisheng's report with notes from Song Yun and snippets from Daoyao. A first impression confirms the view that we are suddenly in Hazara: the author states that this country resembles Wuchang.¹¹⁶ Whatever Wuchang denotes in this sentence, it must be a country with high mountains present everywhere around, while the Peshawar plain alias Gandhāra is just a plain with most of the surrounding mountains far away. For the compiler, the question must have been how to transpose Gandhāra to that northern posi-

tion. The solution was to turn the transmitted name of his mountainous country into an "old" or "original name" of Gandhara. This old name he presents as 業波羅國, *ye* (MC *ɲiep*) *boluo guo*. The king is in constant strife with Jibin, which in this case could mean Kashmir, neighbor of Bolor and Hazara. Its king is impolite, a ruffian, with no manners appealing to a Chinese, tallying with what Xuanzang (Watters 1904, I: 256) says about the people of Hazara. For us it is important that this part of Jibin is found somewhere east of the Indus, not in Swabi, where the true Song Yun had left us.

From now on this "man from Hazara" will lead us to Peshawar. It is not too risky to assume that this man is Daoyao again, as announced by the compiler. If this is really Daoyao then we learn something important: He had crossed the Dangerous Path with its gap at Khalti, as shown above. After crossing the bridge he could have followed what Faxian had called Wuchang, the "Oḍi path." All his predecessors known to us had gone southwest until Handrap, then turned south for Swat or kept marching on south-west for the Shandur Pass. If the man from Hazara is Daoyao, after Khalti he must have turned towards the south to arrive on the Indus opposite Chilas, on the Darel or Tangir side. There are a number of easy passes from Gupis, Gokuch or Gilgit towards Darel¹¹⁷ or Tangir. From there he would follow the Thak River, take the Babusar Pass and after 150 km end up in Hazara, in Mansehra. From there he provides us with a full description of his way up to Peshawar. So we can assume that from the middle of the fifth century the Swat and Shandur paths were supplanted, but that the Khalti bridge still was in use.

After the man from Hazara left the ruffian ruler, he went five days south, to "where the Buddha gave his head." This idea made use of the term Takṣaśilā and took it for *takṣa-śiras*, "chopping head." The direction given is five days west, but from Mansehra we need five days south. Kuwayama (2006a: 117) saw that the directions are mixed up. But at least from now on we go nothing but west. First to the "big river Indus" in three days west, towards the standard crossing station at Hund, the Udakabhāṇḍa of old. There a temple was dedicated to the Buddha who once lived in the river as a makara and fed people with his flesh. Three days for 56 km from Taxila seems feasible.

The pilgrim continues from Hund and marches for three more days further west until he reaches *Poṣapurī, 佛沙伏 *fo-sha-fu*, a city, said to be rich and situated on best farmland. There was much dispute whether fo-sha-fu could mean *puruṣapura*, Peshawar.¹¹⁸ In HC these signs produce bu/bhu/pu-sa/ṣa-pi, similar to *puruṣapura*, but the distance to the real Peshawar decidedly is too great.¹¹⁹ This is why I propose to see this town where Nogram Killi is today, because just one *li*, ca. 440 m, less than one km, further north is the place of the white elephant, linked to the story of the Vessantarajātaka. This could be Ranigat, really just one *li* north of Nogram Killi, but also 200 m higher up. We have seen this place before, in Song Yun's own report, and now we reach it again, with the third literary source, Daoyao.¹²⁰ My reconstruction of the name can profit from the similar *poṣapurī* mentioned in the Ārā stone inscriptions, found south-west of Ranigat, on the Indus. The merchants who donated the stone called themselves the "*poṣapuriya* sons" (*poṣapuriaputraṇa*) in year 41 during the reign of Kaniṣka III, probably ca. A.D. 268. The content of the name Poṣapurī, "City of Affluence" would tally with the description of the landscape that found its place in Song Yun.

A further day west led the pilgrim to where the Buddha tore out his eyes. This could be Shahbazgarhi, 26 km due west of Ranigat. Apart from the Aśokan edicts at the south-western end there are remains of a stupa with monastery on the lofty promontory of Mekhasanda to the north. Outside the horseshoe formation that delimits Shahbazgarhi, there is another large stupa at Budsarai, one km to the east of the horseshoe, long since turned into a Muslim cemetery. Only one day later our pilgrim crossed the Kabul River, near Charsadda, but from Shahbazgarhi to Charsadda are 40 km, and at least one day seems to have gone missing. The last day was devoted to the remaining 60 *li*, or 25 km south-west to his aim, Peshawar.

We see that the itinerary from Mansehra to Peshawar is quite well represented, with one mistaken direction right at the start, where the printed compilation says five days west, while the start in Hazara requires five days south. With the proposed understanding and location of Nogram Killi as Poṣapurī instead of *Puruṣapura* we can dispense with some guesswork regarding distances and locations that marred previous interpretations.

Both Song Yun and Daoyao came close to Ranigat, but only Song Yun's description is worth further consideration (see below), since it provides likely solutions regarding the location of some of the Vessantara episodes presented in Gandhara to the travelers.

Summary

We have seen that the early Chinese pilgrims learned by doing. Faxian crossed the Taklamakan diagonally and had to suffer beyond measure (fig. 3). He went up to Tashkurgan, where an original path may have followed the old route through the Wakhan to the Dorah Pass and down to Chitral and Jalalabad that had been used by Chinese missions from the first century B.C. onward. But in the time of Faxian this route was interrupted by means of a wondrous large Maitreya statue just south of the Darkot Pass. Faxian went to see this and then continued south; thus he was inevitably forced to leave the Yasin Valley by means of a passage cut 300 m high into the mountain wall on the way to Khalti, taking advantage of one of the rare bridges across the largest tributary of the Indus. Other pilgrims name this passage the Suspended Crossing, *xuandu* 縣度. The same path was used by the British a hundred years ago and can still be visited today. On the southern side the path leads on to Handrap, where the road bisects: straight south-west up the Gilgit River leads to Jalalabad, south through the Handrap Valley leads to Swat. Faxian went the latter way and from Swat continued into Buner, to a site called Gandhavatī or something similar, and from there went to Peshawar. His report is concise and in the main trustworthy.

Five years later the next pilgrim Zhimeng still crossed the Taklamakan diagonally. He followed the path of Faxian down into the Yasin Valley, over the high path and over the rope bridge. Glacier, path and bridge must have been a collective nightmare, and he was overcome with desperation when thinking of the relatively short passage over the high and (in bad weather) dangerous Dadarili Pass into Swat. *Sādhus* on their way to the Anavatapta lake drop into Handrap and tell him about the alternative route over the Shandur Pass. This he takes and reaches Jalalabad without casualties.

Only 15 years later Dharmodgata evaded the inner Taklamakan and followed the Tianshan to-

ward Kashgar and went on to Tashkurgan following one of the paths north of the Yarkhand River. From Tashkurgan and the Wakhan he also crossed into the Yasin Valley, had difficulties with the rope bridge and missed the best time to cross the Dadarili Pass. He described a technique with four ski poles to pass over the snow-clad steep rocks and glaciers and lost 12 men of his group on the way to Swat. He went to southern India and returned to China by ship.¹²¹

The report of Song Yun was arranged and interspersed with fragments from a report of Daoyao, who around A.D. 451 again preferred the Kashgar route on his way to Tashkurgan. Daoyao likewise went down the Yasin Valley, but after the *xuandu* avoided the unpredictable Dadarili Pass by turning straight south towards Darel. He crossed the Indus for the Chilas side and went the standard way over the Balakot Pass to Mansehra, crossed the Indus again at Hund and visited some sites on his way to Peshawar.

The Song Yun group in A.D. 517 is the first known to us as using the southern rim of the Taklamakan to reach Khotan. Their ascent is the standard, southern route to Tashkurgan. Being on a diplomatic mission they had to turn north away from the Wakhan, meet with the Hephthalite king and hit the standard path at the Dorah Pass. They descended toward Chitral and crossed into Swat further south. In this way this group completely circumvented the Yasin Valley and the difficulties around Khalti. They turned into Buner and visited some standard sites like Ranigat.

The itineraries when seen in sequence display a sort of trial and error pattern that effected minor changes until most difficulties were outrun. Xuanzang's story adds a few more aspects, but his text is so marred by insertions from different sources that a stratification on a computer linguistic basis should precede a further analysis. The "Suspended Crossing," with which our research started, has been relocated by this author to a place where, it seems, it was not seen before.¹²²

Side Aspects

The Wheat at Tashkurgan

While at Khaśa, alias Tashkurgan, Faxian reports a close link between the monks who are present for a festival and the ripening of cereals. Khaśa

is said to produce only wheat. From the harvest the monks get their share, and "when all monks have received from the harvest the morning frost sets in," obviously referring to an event in late autumn. What has wheat to do with frost? All translations presuppose the threat that this frost could impede the ripening and thus the harvest. But the contrary is the case. Winter wheat is sown in late autumn, it sprouts and then needs frost to interrupt growth, a process called vernalization. When the days get long enough in spring the growing process recommences and by the end of summer the fruit can be harvested. The sentence thus says that the gratified monks are made responsible for the onset of the vernalizing coming frost. They are not lauded for having saved last year's wheat from this year's frost. The final sentence misses this basic thought in all translations, while it continues and closes: "Therefore, the king invited the monks, to make (next year's) wheat ripe and to receive (their new monastic) age."¹²³

The description of this event shows that the Buddhist *samgha* interacted with the local farmers, presenting itself as a necessary mediator between the heavenly forces dominating farming and the men behind the plough. This period of September to mid-October ends the period of easy traffic all over the Himalaya, Pamir or Karakorum. The river banks can be used with the lowest water level, and snow has—with some luck—not yet set in.¹²⁴

Ranigat and Viśvantara

The mountain behind Nogram Killi is not free-standing but sort of a promontory, protruding from a 200 m high cliff of the mountains separating Swabi from Mahaban. At the top there is a large plateau with four sides that descend from it. Today, a narrow motorable road winds up from Nogram Killi for about 100 m; to climb the steep remainder is a demanding affair and certainly was even more demanding before the British started to make the path ready for archaeological rescue operations (Cole 1883: 3, §3). We know from Chinese pilgrims that the daily provisions for the monks were sent up on the backs of donkeys which went up on their own, according to Song Yun and the Weishu 魏書 (Kuwayama 2006b: 66, 68). Up on the plateau, pilgrims were shown where Vessantara lived in the wilderness when banished



Fig. 5. A completely hollow boulder with two chambers inside, a feature of the Vessantara legend. The "tooth" rock is seen where the two horizon lines meet.



Fig. 6. The small hollow rock, possibly taken for the seat of a *ṛṣi* in the Vessantara legend.

from his home, in a cave with one entrance and two rooms (Kuwayama 2006b: 68), with a sitting stone in front of it. There are a number of impressive rooms south of the stupa area all chopped into freestanding boulders, unusual for the area from Gandhāra to Wakhan but yielding a perfect background for the Viśvāntara story from antiquity. The idea to artificially hollow out boulders may have started with two truly remarkable boulders, hollowed out by nature, one of them (fig. 5), egg-shaped, about 8 m long, with one entrance to the west¹²⁵ and a sizable high room inside which has a separating circular bulge, so that one can speak with Song Yun of a rock cave (石室) of Vessantara with one entrance and a couple of rooms (一戶兩房; Beal 1884, I: xcvi).

The name of the hill comes written as 檀特山 in the Weishu (MC *dandək*), which can legally be pronounced in two ways, *tante* or *shante*. In Song Yun, the second sign appears miscopied (特 → 持) leading to a reinterpretation of the first from *shàn* 檀 to *shàn* 善, resulting in 善持山 *shanchi* ("good support mountain"). The Weishu reading (with the pronunciation *tante*) is supported by 彈多落迦山 *dantalaka*¹²⁶ mountain, as found in Xuanzang (Beal 1884, I: 112). A simple *dantaka* for the mountain would make sense perfectly as there is a large upright boulder which is a landmark on the western rim of the plateau and is seen from below in the plain from afar, appearing like a single tooth.

Xuanzang describes a different approach which looks amazingly accurate: from Peshawar he walked 50 *li* NE to Puṣkalāvati (= 20 km to Charsadda), from there 50 *li* = 20 km NW to a Hāritī temple, from there 50 *li* = 20 km north to the place of Śyāmaka, a place west of Dargai, then 200 *li* = 80 km SE lead to "Palusha," 跋虜沙 *ba-lu-sha*, which should be the excavated place of Aziz Dheri¹²⁷ with its stūpas. From there 20 *li* = 8 km NE to "Dandalaka," Ranigat.

Xuanzang speaks of a rock cave for the princely couple "at the ridge." According to him another rock cell was seen close by, near a wood where in Vessantara's time an old *ṛṣi* dwelled (Watters 1904, 1: 219). In fact, the second naturally hollowed out boulder (fig. 6) is found not far from the egg-shaped one with two rooms. It is of a shape quite similar to the leaf huts of the *sādhus* as depicted on numerous Gandharan reliefs.

The same text names the cave now called Kashmir Smats next as to be reached from "Palusha" at a distance of more than 50 *li*. In fact there are less than 30 km from Ranigat to the well-known Bhīmā cave sanctuary, however not found in the north-east but north-west. In Xuanzang's version as noted down by Huili (Beal 1914: 64) the Bhīmā cave is left unmentioned, a fact which can be read as a diplomatic way to say than Xuangzang never went there but rather reported from collected notes. This fact explains the wrong direction as seen from Ranigat.

The Movable Pegs Theory: *śaṅkupatha*

In a number of papers H. Hu-von Hinüber has developed the idea that a term in the Pāṇinian tradition could refer to a climbing technique which was applied in the Indus gorges by Chinese pilgrims, in particular by Dharmodgata. The term is *śaṅkupatha* and its derived form *śāṅkupathika*, the latter indicating that merchandise was “brought along a peg path,” a *śaṅkupatha*. A companion is *ajāpatha*, so that the merchandise also can be *ajāpathika*, “brought along a goat’s path,” certainly a narrow path on a steep and rocky side of a mountain. Hu-von Hinüber imagined that on a steep rock wall there was a series of bored holes of one yard depth¹²⁸ into which a pilgrim had to hammer wooden sticks. In his report (reworked by Huijiao 慧皎), Dharmodgata describes how he ascended a steep mountainside with the help of just four sticks. According to the interpretation of Hu-von Hinüber he had to stand on the one-but-lowest peg, hold on to a higher placed one, pull out the lowest peg, the one below his feet, which a short time ago he had hammered into the hole as tightly as possible, and insert the latter into the next free hole higher up, thus producing and making use of a movable ladder. This technique was reconstructed from a few signs in the report of Dharmodgata on how he crossed the mountains using pegs. Bound by the idea that there is just one “Suspended Crossing” this technique was linked to the Dangerous Path of Faxian, who said that the ascent to the lofty passage equaled 700 steps. The combination of four pegs and 700 steps led to the idea that our Chinese mountaineers moved up a rock wall climbing up 700 peg stands created by putting four movable pegs one after another into 700 pre-existing peg holes. There is a flat relief at Bharhut from the 2./1. cent. B.C. which shows people standing on pegs (Hu-von Hinüber 2020: 176), but the relief offers no reason to assume that the lowest peg must be removed. As long as there is no legend to be connected with this relief we can interpret the two men with their cradles at will, e.g. as collectors of precious stones or ore in a shaft making use of fresh or pre-existing pegs, to be left were they are. Moving pegs is not apparent or necessary to understand the picture. There were certainly similar paths with fixed pegs in natural clefts, and my reservation concerns only the movable aspect of the peg theory, against which I have a number of technical objections.

The distance between two pegs cannot be smaller than the length of the lower leg of a pilgrim in his shoes, in my case that would be 67 cm, because to pull out the lowest peg (no. 1) he has to bend his legs between peg no. 2 and 3 from below; any smaller distance would bar his legs from bending. Four pegs inserted in four holes will then cover the distance of 3 times 67 cm, plus twice the thickness of the peg, that is, a minimum of 201 cm. With arms outstretched left and right I could hold two pegs 167 cm apart horizontally. The same arms are able to hold two pegs apart vertically at a 150 cm maximum. That means in case our pilgrim decides to hold on to the highest of the four pegs he will not be able to even touch the lowest one. To remove peg no. 1 he can only stand on peg no. 2, hold on with one hand to no. 3, under which his legs have already bent and in this shaky position—also stowing away a heavy hammer somewhere, not to speak of his backpack—he will have to jiggle the lowest peg loose with the second hand: if he could only reach the lowest peg. We can simulate the situation: mount on a chair (simulating peg no. 2), crouch down on your haunches (simulating the bent legs between pegs no. 2 and 3) and try to touch the floor (assuming it to be the lowest peg, no. 1) with one hand. And you are in a better position than any pilgrim ever enjoyed since the distance from seat to floor will be less than your lower leg is long, which is the minimum free space between any two pegs in the moving-peg theory. Result of the test: even leaning over (the abyss) and bending your chest down will only enable you to touch the floor, not to place your hand around a heavy round peg for to be jiggled loose. If our pilgrim still managed to loosen the lowest peg with one hand holding on to peg no. 3 he will have to redress/re-erect his upper body, pull his knees out and straighten himself slowly until he can grab the topmost peg no. 4 with the grab hand flashing up, or with the free hand not dropping the loosened peg.

In the unlikely case that he has overlong arms and managed these gymnastics once, he will be happy to know that 699 more pull-ups are in store for the complete way up. If he is fast and expert at doing this he may need 5 min per peg and hole, times 700 results in 60 hours, more than two days, with no sleep. Even one minute per peg would result in about 12 hours climbing.

In case he could climb the whole line of 700 × 70 cm, that is 490 m vertically up without losing

a single peg he will certainly not decide to use this path on his way home. The movable peg path, impossible for the way up, would much less allow a controlled downward movement. As such a path is by its nature a one-way road there must be a more accommodating return road someplace else. Why not use that for the first direction too?

For pegs to hold a man they must be inserted into holes at least 20 cm deep and not much wider than the pegs are thick, otherwise the pegs would fall out. Without a modern machine drill such tight holes are not feasible, and not without a scaffolding for the boring technicians. Such a scaffold almost 500 m high is difficult to build.

As the text of Song Yun goes, he and Huisheng used the Suspended Crossing, in this case the Dorah Pass. This pass can be used with horses, as expressly said in Song Yun, and restated by Durand (cf. p. 7b). It is clear that horses will refuse to climb any kind of peg path. But this argument loses its force when we consider that the text on the Suspended Crossing pasted into Song Yun was originally culled from Daoyao, who had written it with the Khalti path in mind where moving pegs are certainly not necessary.

There is one philological objection too, referred to above: Dharmodgata speaks of the holes being arranged in pairs. The single line technique with movable sticks does not render justice to the definition employed: *kong chu chu xiang dui* 孔處處相對 "holes (each one) located successive and opposing."

Above I have shown that Dharmodgata used the pegs in pairs and not over the Suspended Crossing but to mount and cross a steep rocky or ice-clad mountain path located between Handrap and Kalam in Swat. So for a series of reasons we can drop the idea of a peg path in the Indus gorges wholesale and need not wonder why not even Stein has found a single hole of it. But the term *śaṅkupatha* exists, and we know through the rule in the Pāṇinian tradition that merchants used facilities with that name. A look at the Pali literature provides an offer, as the Milindapañha (PTS 280) says that a merchant uses a "goat's path, a peg path, a cane path, doing business on watery ground" (*ajapatham sankupatham vettapatham gacchati, jalathalavanijjam karoti*). In this text *śaṅkupatha* and *vetrapatha* could mean the same, "paths used with sticks," where *śaṅku* is rather a pointed stick and *vetra* one made from cane, so that the term *vetraśaṅkupatha* could

be a "path to be used with a pointed stick made of cane." This latter term is found in the Matsya- and the Vāyu-Purāṇa,¹²⁹ referring to areas where rivers fall into the eastern sea. In Jātaka no. 438 (J iii, 541) another businessman walks in Kalinga "even a cane path, a *śaṅkupatha*" (*ventācaro saṅkupatho pi ciṇṇo*). In the case that all sentences refer to waterlogged ground we could understand *śaṅkupatha* as a log causeway, a corduroy road, where the German term "Knüppelweg, Knüppeldamm" would even provide an semantic equivalent to *śaṅku*. But a use of pegs in mountains, even such made from cane, is not at all excluded¹³⁰ so that a *śaṅkupatha* may just be what Dharmodgata described, a slippery path up a steep rock or glacier with holes in pairs on the walking level and its crossing facilitated by two pairs of a pointed sort of ski poles. Even horizontally fixed pegs hammered into natural fissures of rock walls are found in the mountains, but, as shown, the pegs below your position cannot be removed.

The Search for Books

Our pilgrims went to India to learn Sanskrit, but they were also ordered by their rulers or abbots to buy books. These books were not free and may have constituted an essential commodity for the monasteries. We learn from Huisheng that he was furnished by the dowager empress with valuables to compensate friendly Gandharan monks for their manuscripts. The donated capital was in the main 3,000 rolls of silk (Beal 1884, I: cvi), one thousand of them 100 foot (*chi* 尺, 23.5 m) long and probably two feet wide,¹³¹ so that each role had a weight of at least 500 grams, depending on the density of the tissue. In sum that meant a cargo of at least 1,500 kg weight. The pilgrims would need at least 60 porters carrying 25 kg each, less porters with lighter silk, more with heavier. Such porters are hardly ever mentioned, but they were also needed to carry the acquired manuscripts home. Towards the end of their journey Song Yun and Huisheng twice donated a couple of their slaves to a monastery as lifelong servants for cleaning and maintenance, possibly getting rid of "empty" porters.

Two hundred years later, Xuanzang started with minimum provisions, but at Gaochang 高昌 (30 km south-east of Turfan) the king loaded him

with valuables, i.a. [?] listed as 1.5 kg of gold (100 *liang* 兩 à 15.5 g), present price close to 100,000 \$US; in addition to 30,000 silver coins, 500 rolls of stiff thick 絹 *juàn* silk, 30 horses and 25 porters. The valuables were supposed to finance life and travel for 20 years.¹³² In Jalalabad Xuanzang spent 50 gold coins, one thousand of the 30 thousand silver coins and some banners of thin silk¹³³ as donations in honor of the so-called relics, like the walking stick, skull-bone or eyeball of the Buddha. He may have received some manuscripts in return.

After decades of pilgrims coming and going the most common Buddhist texts were already in China and available in translations. The buying agents with their caravan of porters were in need of new literary compositions or larger versions of known titles, while the monasteries were on the outlook for more of these well-funded customers. When most of the common titles were exported the market became a buyers' market: the Chinese visitors decided which sort of texts would appeal to interested parties at home or not. When we observe where the pilgrims head for first, we see that they aim at places made famous through silly myths regarding body parts, paraphernalia and deeds of the Buddha or his forerunners. These sites are truly attractive for the incoming Central Asians because the lauded deeds and marvels of the Buddha prove that social interaction—pleasing to the gods—can include compassion or even consist of nothing but compassion. The self-sacrifice of a Buddha or Bodhisattva sanctifies the place where it happened; the sacred place transfers some of its sacredness to the visitor. There may have been more monasteries in need of support than there were well-funded pilgrim platoons, and so the dramatic level of the foundation stories kept rising, as a defense against less dramatic competitors. It could be that some of the truly banal (many are not!) texts of Mahayana schools owe their existence to the intrinsic laws of this sort of Export Buddhism.

Seen chronologically, a growing number of Indian monks personally exported their standard Buddhism to Central Asia, until around the third century A.D. the flow path was reversed and Central Asian monks went to Gandhara to intensify and canalise the export of the relevant literature. Their expectations seem to have had an impact on the didactic nature of the texts and also more and more on the nature of the foundation myths.

The Dīpaṅkara story, at home in Haḍḍa, was a great success and became also popular locally. The myth of the tigress about to devour her cubs being fed by the Buddha with his body attracted the Chinese, but never became a standard topic in Gandharan or inland Indian pictorial art, although the alleged site in Mahaban, Buner, was not difficult to reach for Gandharis. In Central Asia, however, this is one of the most popular topics in pictorial art, in the caves of Dunhuang as elsewhere, hardly found in the area in-between.¹³⁴ The standard art of Gandhara made by and for the local monks and laypeople focuses on the Śākyamuni and his peaceful fading away, while the Central Asians and Chinese were in need of a completely different figure, one who was constantly vivisectioning himself for the welfare of the needy, a being without any selfishness, not limiting his care to the members of his own inner family.

The masterminding of foreign visitors is also obvious in the placement of sensational sites. For the Maitreya statue in Darkot to exert its attraction potential visitors must be told already in Tashkurgan that there is something to be seen in the Yasin Valley. The Yasin statue marking the start itself is linked to the footprints at Tirat marking the end of a certain trail through the mountains to Swat. Once in Swat the next move leads to Gandhavatī in Buner and from there to the tigress on the Mahaban mountain and to the Vessantara drama shifted to the Ranigat promontory. Together they provide a series of reasons for Chinese and Central Asian Buddhists to divert from the relatively simple itinerary across the Dorah Pass and Chitral towards Haḍḍa. Once Maitreya had the pilgrims come down to Darkot, there was no easy way back and the pilgrim was now left to decide whether he wanted to see Hazara or rather Swat. Whichever direction he took, on both routes he could end at Ranigat.

For such a scheme to work we must presuppose that monks in Tashkurgan, Swat, Darkot and Buner had plotted according to a common plan, to the material advantage of all. This well-planned movement of pilgrims is a far cry from the shaven recluse in his meditation cell—this is business. The craze for so far unseen books dealing with unheard of ways to salvation needed to be kept unquestioned, since it was a mechanism forcing the profiteers from pilgrimage to write manuscripts at an Olympic speed. These manuscripts, or "the book," became the medium of a

constantly self-modernizing salvation; the book was fashioned to become an alter ego of the Śākyamuni himself, for the buyer it turned into the *prithivīpradeśa*, the "spot of earth on which the book stands," as the holy center of a cult of the book. Unlike G. Schopen (1975/2005), who had first worked out the definitely influential web of thoughts around the book, I do not think that an existing cult constituted a "source" of Mahāyāna, variable as it is, but that the cult rather is a by-product of the literary activity which was fanned by the demands and the expectations of the incoming exporters.

The Wooden Maitreya at Dali

The amount of Buddhist activities in the fifth century in the Yasin Valley may be debated. Stein in 1913 (1916: 107) found "a ruined Stupa with relics of Buddhist times," without providing further details. Nonetheless, the great attraction at *dali* was a wooden statue of Maitreya, eight times the life size of a man, "8 man high, the bridge of the foot 8 foot." This leaves no doubt about the posture. Older views about a statue sitting with crossed legs can be abandoned.¹³⁵

Our reconstructed itinerary including Darkot would deprive Darel further south of a cherished relic, searched for by M. A. Stein and allegedly found by him where he expected it.¹³⁶ However, if our reasoning holds true, this large statue could have had its place much further north, at Darkot. The statue certainly served the purpose of attracting pilgrims, luring them a few but demanding km across the Darkot glaciers, to keep them from following the Wakhan Valley west and across the Dorah Pass into Chitral, bypassing both Yasin and Swat.

The size of 8 times 2.31 m¹³⁷ yields a height of close to 18.5 m. This does not compare to the now destroyed Buddhas at Bamiyan of 38 and 55 m, but the wooden prototype may have provided the idea of a gigantic statue as such. This wooden statue was assembled by carpenters and depended thus on a completely different stabilizing construction compared to a statue carved out of a single rock. As the Yasin Valley used to be replete with large conifers and cedar trees one branchless trunk may have served as the backbone.

A statue of this size would be attractive on its own, but in those days a monastic place needed

a legend as a background involving the Buddha or one of his predecessors, emanations or successors. Therefore, the artist was credited with a triple tour to the Tuṣita heaven, where he ascertained the physical features of Maitreya.

The statue was also described by Faxian's companion Baoyun 寶雲, saying that it was gilded and at times emitted diffuse light.¹³⁸ Baoyun meditated for 50 days below that statue. Faxian may have stayed there, too, for the same length of time). A few years later, in A.D. 426, Fasheng 法盛¹³⁹ specified that light, and smoke, appeared from the statue on *uposatha* days. He locates it rather vaguely north-east of Wuchang, which is true no matter whether Wuchang is taken as Swat only or included the land south of the Gilgit River.

A wooden statue of almost 20 m height should be at least 4.5 m wide and thus spacious enough to accommodate a ladder inside the plank casing. An occasional pan-full of camphor lit inside of the head would greatly enhance its mystic qualities. Something similar can also explain the platforms inside the heads at Bamiyan, which owed their shape not to destruction but had a wooden facade in front of the platform, which deteriorated long ago. The Darkot wooden Maitreya soon lost its attraction, but seemingly the dimensions and the "show effect" was kept alive a hundred years later at Bamiyan.

Of little chronological value is a mention by Xuanzang (Watters 1904, I: 239), who reports about this statue from hearsay. Despite his blending of *dali* with Darel he locates it 1,000 *li* north-east of Mingora/Butkara. Darel is 120 km from Mingora, as the crow flies, and Darkot with 240 km twice that much. Once we apply the formula that one *li* comes close to 385 m on a direct line on the map (and much more on the ground in the mountains), the 385 km are close only to the data of Darkot. Since Xuanzang collected information from all sorts of sources we cannot use his stray quotation to assume that the Maitreya remained standing 200 years after Faxian; it may have come down in a storm or gone up in flames by lightning or camphor long before. All visitors later than Fasheng are silent about it, or have been silenced by those who compressed their reports into the monks' lives compilations.

The erection of a Maitreya statue south of the Darkot Pass seems to mark the beginning of a regular route from the Wakhan through Yasin, alias Little Bolor, directly down south to Swat. With-

out such a marvel, emitting light and smoke, both regions would have been cut out from the flow of pious visitors.

Acknowledgments

While trying to define the main trade routes of the Kushans for a paper on the five Yabghus (Falk 2018) some stations of the itinerary of Faxian looked important but remained unclear. The papers of Haruko Tsuchiya then provided first-hand information on hitherto unsuspected valleys and passes and reopened the stage for questioning the common views. Gérard Fussman read a draft and proposed a number of amendments, E. Steinbrückner checked for consistency, Shaoyong YE went through the Chinese and corrected translations, while Carol Bromberg and Judith Zailo made my English comprehensible. All remaining mistakes are my own. To all of these helpers I feel deeply obliged.

Notes

1. The sensational discovery was first published in Francfort and Pottier 1978; for a full documentation cf. Francfort 1989.
2. The Ghizr River is no exception. Although presently only used for the river and the district, the name derives from the settlement of Ghizr, today called Handrap, the place from where an old route leads south. The New Tang Annals 221,1 contain a descriptive term “Bolor River” (勃律河) for the Ghizr/Gilgit River, but it may be doubted whether this term was ever applied locally.
3. It seems natural that some further languages spoken along the Indus proper use *sin* or *sind*. Only in Swat and parts of Chitral are terms derived from *nadi* preferred. For more recent material cf. Fussman 1972: 316.
4. The adaptation of al-Bīrūnī in the *Jāmi‘ al-tawārīkh* of Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb (Elliot 1867, I: 46) reads Billūr instead of *unang*, that is, Palola or Bolor.
5. According to Schomberg (1935: 35) this village is said to be the most beautiful in the country.
6. *Indus, incolis sindus appellatus, in iugo caucasi montis quod vocatur paropanisus adversus solis ortum effusus*, (. . .).
7. 釋氏《西域記》曰：新頭河經屬賓、犍越、摩訶刺諸國，而入南海是也。Cf. Petech 1966: 179, § 18(2), who takes Jibin here as Kashmir, and “Mo-ho-la, anc. muā-χâ-lât,” for Magadha, with an alternative Maharashtra, an idea adopted hesitatingly by Enomoto (1994: 360). Pinyin *mo-he-la* 摩訶刺 is still close to HC *ma-ha-ra*.
- For an explanation less distant than “Magadha” or “Maharashtra” see Arabic *mihrān*, the name given to the lowest parts of the Indus in Sindh, according to the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (Minorsky 1937/70: 209–10, 371–72), for which the Lamghān i.e. Kabul River is the principal channel, joined by the Sindh at Attock and the Hivān, Sutlej, further south (cf. Bosworth 2012). The term *mihrān* recalls the *eirion* of the Periplus 40, Skt *iriṇa*, the salt lakes adjoining the mouth of the Indus to the east, subdivided into little and big (**mahā-iriṇa*, μέγα + Εἰρινόν), formerly the lowest catchment areas of the Indus (cf. Casson 1989: 195).
8. The data of the second Sindhu are not very different in the Āin-i Akbarī (III: 89) with 36°N, 125°E for the source.
9. I have earlier (Falk 2001: 754f.; 2008: 99) insisted that the so-called “giants” in outlines (never larger than humans) are nothing but decapitated human victims, with their faces down on the generally sloping boulder, so that they never show a face. Some places have been used repeatedly, and when a woman was sacrificed later her breasts were added protruding left and right of the trunk, or the male outline including organ received an embryo in addition.
10. The access from Tangir is best shown in Tsuchiya 1999: 382, undercutting the Kheli An Pass.
11. Jettmar (1983: 502) speaks of Karora, which, however, is on the way from Basham to Mingora, 15 km away from the Indus, while his description of the “Maultierpfad” follows the Indus from Basham north. This path was later used for the Karakorum Highway, which likewise switched riversides at Jalkot. Since Frembgen (1999: 90) repeats Jettmar, this Karora (unknown to standard maps) could be close to Dassu.
12. E.g. Chavannes 1906: 237; Petech 1950: 17; Hill 2009/15 App. U; Hu-von Hinüber 2020: 177–79.
13. For this name and more on the site cf. Hargett (2013), gold and jade found on the hill, *ibid.*, p. 7.
14. 孔靈符《會稽山記》曰：會稽山南，有宛委山，其上有石，俗呼石匱，壁立干雲，有懸度之險，升者累梯，然後至焉。
15. 危蹊絕徑過懸度之艱。
16. It can be followed on openstreetmap.org as a line, or in Google Earth in satellite view, leaving the main ascent at 35°31’29.08” N, 73°30’1.74” E.
17. 谿谷不通 以繩索相引而度云。The passage is quoted in the River Classic Commentary (Petech 1950: 18, § 8) and there traced back to the Guang-zhi 廣志 of Guo-yi-gong 郭義恭 (3rd cent. A.D.), who probably had culled it from the Hanshu. The Chinese is not clear enough to decide whether people pull people or ropes.
18. Stein (1904: 49) for the sixth day ending at Misgar: “But the succession of climbs which followed in the main valley beat all previous experience. Scrambles up precipitous faces of slaty rocks, alternated with still more trying descents to the river-bed; ‘Rafiks’ and

ladders of the type already described were in numerous places the only possible means of getting over the cliffs, often hundreds of feet above the river."

19. According to Etherton (1926: 21) the Kilik is used in summer, and the Mintaka Pass in winter.

20. "On the occasion of my visit to Hunza in 1876, I suddenly found myself confronted with a more difficult and dangerous piece of ground than I had ever traversed in a tolerably large experience of Himalayan sport. For nearly half a mile it was necessary to scramble over rocky ledges, sometimes letting oneself down nearly to the water's edge, then ascending 300 or 400 feet above the stream, holding on by corners of rock, working along rocky shelves 3 or 4 inches wide, and round projecting knobs and corners where no four-footed animal less agile than a wild goat could find a path."

21. 國西有縣度山，其間四百里中，往往有棧道，下臨不測之深，人行以繩索相持而度山。An older version is found in the River Classic Commentary (Peteck 1950: 18; Hill 2015, II: 241) reading Wucha instead of Yarkand and without the measurements.

22. Cf. text, translation and comments in Hill (2009: starting 21, 207, 517 = 2015, I: 21, 218; II: 76), with some different allocations.

23. In this case *jibin* cannot mean Kashmir, while in other cases it does.

24. Hill 2009: 504 = 2015, I: 54.

25. As a general, Ban Chao was only interested in passages that could be traversed on horseback. None of the entrances to the Hunza Valley is, and the Yasin defile was not reached even by an emissary of Ban Chao, according to Faxian. There remains the entrance for the Yasin defile at Sarhad in the Wakhan Valley and the Dorah Pass. From Tashkurgan to the Dorah Pass is 470 km; the 19-year-old Bavarian lieutenant W. Filchner would have done that in five days (Falk 2018: 36b, fn. 57), although at the expense of the sanity of his horses (Stein 1904: 62).

26. 超遂踰蔥嶺，迄縣度，Chavannes 1906: 237: "(Pan) Tch'ao alors traversa les Ts'ong-ling (les Pamirs) et arriva jusqu'aux Passages suspendus."

27. The "deep and narrow gorge" of Woodthorpe has in part disappeared within the so-called Khalti lake, but this is a rather recent affair because this lake "was formed in the late 1980s following a major flood and shows no sign of disappearing just yet" (Winter 2004: 152).

28. In the Tang chronicle JTS a line follows in commentary style saying that this river is the same as the "weak" river (弱水) of old. This so-called weak river is located in Indian mountains and remarkable for being unable to carry even the lightest item. Everything would drown into its waters. The motif has a number of repercussions in classical sources. Most (all after Karttunen 1985) name this river as Σιλλην or Σιλαν, but Ctesias is cited by Pliny (*Nat.Hist.* 31.21) as speaking of *Siden*. Karttunen (1985: 62) has shown that the *d*

against the λ or $\lambda\lambda$ is supported by the Pali *Nimijātaka* (no. 541), where the same river "in the north" appears as *sīdā*. Also it is often connected with producing gold. All forms with *d* are very close to *sinda*, the Burushaski name of the Ghizir/Gilgit River. For the gold cf. Schomberg (1935: 35), speaking of the Gilgit River west of Bubur: "women were washing for gold." A river propagated as drowning everything could be part of the Yasin Valley defensive system against intruders from south of the river.

29. "Throughout the year" must be compared to the march of Col. Kelly from March 23 to April 3, 1889 from Gilgit to the Shandur Pass, without horses but carrying two disassembled guns, for the relief of the beleaguered fort of Chitral, cf. Younghusband (1910: 84, 181), with a crossing in the middle of January on p. 11.

30. "They found the country uninhabited as they went along. The difficulties which they encountered in crossing the streams and on their route, and the suffering which they endured, were unparalleled in human experience" (Legge 1886: 15f.).

31. In A.D. 399, his companion Baoyun 寶雲 was 22 years old according to Chavannes 1903b: 431 (§ IV).

32. For Heard Chinese (HC) cf. Falk 2018: 4. Its principle can be illustrated with American greeting cards where the German *dankeschön* ("thank you very much") is rendered in Heard English through a homophonic translation as "donkey chain." In this example, as *mutatis mutandis* in HC, properly pronounced *chain* has little to do with the correct pronunciation of *schön*, but may have been used again in other contexts, as e.g. **chainborough*, or **chainfield*. In difference to a spontaneous *soramimi* (空耳) sort of homophonic translation our near-homophony is a necessity to express the sound of untranslatable names. It is applied by a great number of Chinese authors and follows an uncoded but still widely applied set of conventions.

33. BS 97: 權於(or于)摩國，故烏秣國也。其王居烏秣城。在悉居半西南，去代一萬二千九百七十裏。"Le royaume de K'üan-yu-mo [*quan-yu-mo*] 權於摩 est l'ancien royaume de Wou-tch'a 烏秣. Le roi réside dans la ville de Wou-tch'a. (Ce pays) est au sud-ouest de Si-kiu-pan [*xi-yu-ban*] 悉居半 (Karghalik)" Chavannes 1903b: 398, fn. 3.

34. Chavannes was only wrong in expecting *quan-yu-mo* to be Tashkurgan. Deeg (2005: 91) points out this flaw and uses it to eliminate Tashkurgan completely from further considerations.

35. Dao-an in the Shishi Xiyu zhi 釋氏西域記 (Peteck 1966: 173, § 7).

36. *jibin* 屬賓 is a flexible term describing the settlement area of the Scythians in Nangarhar after the Yuezhi had driven them from eastern Bactria. Over the centuries it is used for regions from Kāpīśī to the Indus, and can include Taxila, Hazara and Kashmir when these are governed by Scythians, as in the times of Maues. A comprehensive discussion of all aspects is

found in Hill (2015, II: 36-64 = Appendix F). He cites (p. 42) the idea of Parker (1905: 625) that MC *ki-pin* does not render a local term, but has to be taken literally meaning "Shawl-guests," because of the blankets the Scythian used. This idea has recently been presented by Willemen (2017: 119) anew. The inclusion of Kashmir and Taxila in Buddhist sources is treated by Sanclemente (2019: 51-55).

37. He does not report about each and every overnight station.

38. The latter is consistently used in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* (10,12; 14,6; 30; 69, 26), where parts of the Khasas appear further east. Witzel (1999: 346, n. 40) sketches their movements from A.D. 1150 at Kashmir up to Burma today. Their name is still present in the name of the Nepali language as a *khas kurā*.

39. 葛 is used in initial position when transliterating the place-names "Kanyakubja" and "Kurram."

40. The passage is translated in Nicol (2017: 351). The general outline is clear, but the Chinese author once, for the Gez River, changed correct Kashgar for mistaken Yutian (Khotan). For the various Chinese and other spellings of "Kopanto," cf. Falk 2018: 19f.

41. 水經注. 卷二. 河水 (not translated in Petech 1966): 有國名伽舍羅逝。... 城南有水，東北流出羅逝西山，山即蔥嶺也。逕岐沙谷，出谷分為二水。一水東流，speaking of the Yarkand River going east. The second river runs north and is the Gez River to Kashgar.

42. I abstain from discussing all the difficulties connected with the assumption that *jiesha* could be found south of the Pamir on the way to Kashmir, Hunza or Gilgit, which would turn the station of Karghalik into a part of an incomprehensible detour ("Schlenkerer," Deeg 2005: 102, fn. 456) when seen from Khotan as the start.

43. Deeg (2000: passim; 2005: 100), Drège (2003: 9, fn. 59); Neelis (2011: 273, fn. 54).

44. This may be compared to the "more than 20 days" which the general Gao Xian-zhi 高仙芝 in A.D. 747 needed to reach the "valley of the Pamir," the Wakhan, from where they attacked in three columns the Tibetan fort at Lien yun 連雪堡 (Chavannes 1903a: 154).

45. The incident is found in both Tang histories; cf. Chavannes 1903b: 152. In 1913, A. Stein (1916: 107f.) ascended the Darkot Pass from the south side and with his usual endurance found no reason to mention difficulties.

46. For a Chinese, a Dardic language like Shina must have appeared closely related to the Indic languages of their source books.

47. The spelling is identical with the one referring to Faxian's co-pilgrim Baoyun 寶雲.

48. Deeg (2005: 517); Kuwayama (2006a: 112) "around Chilas."

49. Cf. already Stein (1907, I: 7), copied into Hill (2009: 503 = 2015, II: 53).

50. For Hill (2015, II: 244, app. U) Faxian "travelled southwest across the *xuandu* ('hanging passages') and through the Indus valley," seeing the *xuandu* rather in the valley north of Hunza; Neelis (2002: 147-50) thought of a "dangerous route through the Indus [150:] gorge" as the "most direct path from Swat to the Upper Indus (. . .) taken by (. . .) Faxian" etc., based on Jettmar 1987, while Fussman (1989: 60a) has seen that all sorts of paths were used leading toward the Indus, but as good as none through the gorges of the Indus itself.

51. 36°14'40.63" N, 73°24'32.70" E.

52. 36° 15' 24.09" N, 73°22'47.54" E.)

53. 昔人有鑿石通路施傍梯者，凡度七百梯。The "staircase," 傍梯, is unique to this text. The last sign *ti* 梯, "ladder, steps, stairs," is not found in this place in the Faxian editions, only in the River Commentary quotation (Petech 1950: 16). In Faxian it occurs before 已, where it is missing in the River Book. It makes sense in both places. There are numerous renditions, here a selection with their implications: a) Steps lead up [and down] to the river: "The ancients had hewn a stairway-like path out of the rocks that has seven hundred steps. After climbing the stairway, the party crossed the river by walking carefully over a rope suspension bridge." Li (2002: 168), quoted by Neelis (2011: 274); b) 700 ladders: "In alter Zeit haben die Leute aus dem Fels einen Durchgang herausgeschlagen, und die Leitern, die sie [dort] errichtet und angelegt haben und die man überquert, [belaufen sich auf] insgesamt siebenhundert. Nachdem man die Leitern überquert hat, tritt man auf gespannte Seile, um den Fluß zu überqueren" (Deeg 2005: 481); c) no steps or ladders, but wooden pegs: "Men of former times had bored into the stone to affix *bāngtī* 傍梯 [or pole-steps] to secure a path, there are seven hundred (steps) we had to overcome. After traversing the steps, we had to walk on tiptoes along a suspended rope to cross the river" (Hu-von Hinüber 2020: 170).

54. The aerial view (fig. 4) also shows that the relatively simple construction a) up the rocky promontory and b) down to Khalti was planned to be continued by a second path met with further up in the gorge west of Khalti and continuing on the next wall to the left, west of Khalti at an even higher level above the river.

55. Found again in Faxian when he describes the large stūpa of Kaniṣka "next to" the small dirt stūpa at Peshawar.

56. Franke (1904: 57 with fn. 4): "In den Angaben über die fernen Länder ist der Ort erwähnt, aber Chang k'ien und Kan ying (ein Abgesandter des chinesischen Feldherrn Pan ch'ao im Jahre 96 n. Chr.) sind nicht hierher gekommen."

57. Hayward (1871: 39) refrains from describing the horrors of this path: "Yassin to Khulti: 11 miles, Road down Yassin valley to junction of Warchgam [= Yasin] and Ghirza [= Ghizr] Rivers. Continue up left side of the latter stream to the village of Khulti." In 1913,

A. Stein (1916: 107) went from Gupis to Yasin, without a hint at a bridge or the dangerous path. Either he used a different approach or he regarded the dangers of this path as not worth mentioning.

58. Jettmar (2002: 137): "a great number of petroglyphs was found in Yasin, at the Gilgit/Yasin confluence, and in the main valley immediately bordering this area on the western side." For the connection of high paths and petroglyphs cf. Hallier (1991: 6a) for the entry to the Ishkoman Valley. Hallier depicts only game for the Ishkoman and the Vasin valleys, but saw also human figures (5c).

59. In Fuchs (1938: 446) the 1st and 4th signs vary in form, but not phonetically.

60. It occurs as 越底延, P *huo-di-yan* or *yue-di-yan*, MC *yuot-tiei-jen*, HC *vi/vai-ti-yan* much later in a passage of the New Book of Tang, 新唐書 221 b (Chavannes 1903a: 160).

61. Chavannes (1904: 42) "Oudyâna," translated from the encyclopedia *ce-fu-yuan-gui* 冊府元龜, chapter 964 卷九百六十四, assembled in A.D. 1013.

62. Full translation in Beal (1884, I: 161), with interpretation p. xvii; a summary only in Watters (1904, I: 238).

63. The legend is dealt with by Carter (1993) pointing also at the many parallels in the Scythian world outside India. It is obvious that *śaka*, that is Scythian, invaders into Swat in the first century B.C. constructed an artificial relationship to the *śākya* clan and thus turned themselves on purpose to relatives of the Buddha. Cf. Deeg (2011), who in the main refers to similar attempts among the Mauryas and Sinhala kings.

64. 坐訖，南下，到宿呵多國。其國佛法亦盛。

65. Altitude 4158 m, at 35°52'29.23"N, 73°39'19.40"E.

66. Altitude 4733 m, at 35°51'8.04"N, 73°6'39.20"E.

67. Altitude 3812 m, at 35°33'19.86"N, 72°47'35.69"E, cf. Leitner 1896, App. 6: 3.

68. Altitude 5070 m, at 35°52'55"N, 72°32'27"E.

69. Altitude 4884 m, at 35°52'12.65"N, 72°29'55.08"E.

70. Altitude 3738 m, at 36°4'28.13"N 72°31'4.94"E.

71. Cf. Hallier (1991: 5a) for the complete trip from Darkot to Swat: "Auch der Weg vom oberen Yarkhun über den Darkot-Paß in das wichtige und fruchtbare Yasin-Tal hatte große Bedeutung. Reisende (. . .) konnten dort (. . .) flussaufwärts über Teru [neighbouring Handrap] und Kalam direkt nach Swat reisen." While the trek was dangerous in the days of Winter (2004: 151), requiring an armed guard, the internet offers at present (2020) to start the first day with a 5h walk from Handrap to the Handrap lake. The second day leads over boulders after 6h to the Ambesh base camp. Day three needs 8h through barren country for the Dadarili base camp. Day four leads to the pass in 5–6 hours, the descent to the base camp on the south

side needs the same time. There is no shelter anywhere. The last day leads over green ground to the Mahodand Lake in 7h. The path is also described in Mason (1895: 139–41), as Route no. 33, summing up: "fairly easy to Ambesh (. . .) Cattle are taken over this pass, but it [i.e. the pass with its glaciers HF] is very difficult, many [cattle HF] die on the way."

72. Altitude 4,970 m, at 35°51'3.13"N, 72°41'11.24"E.

73. For this rare sign cf. Nattier 2017 s.v. 舍衛 *shè wèi*, *śrāvastī*.

74. The compiler of the River Classic Commentary (Petech 1950: 58, § 60) simply copies from the Hanshu and Faxian without his own experience; the Shijia fangzhi 釋迦方志 of Daoxuan (ca. 596–667) and the *Creation of a Buddhist Sacred Geography of China* (ca. 596–667) T.2088, 969c10 gleans from the enhanced Song yun report with its "iron bridge."

75. This altitude is culled from the geographical description of "KP-21" in Hayat Khan 2018: 92, "Site No. 18." The accompanying geo data are given as 34.441364 N, 72.436683 E.

76. Legge (1886: 32, fn. 1) thought of a missing crossing point at a second place called Taxila on the western side of the Indus.

77. 去王城東南，山行八日，至如來苦行投身餓虎之處。

78. The text has "south-east," but this would imply instantly crossing the Indus again to where he came from. The exemplar probably had the inverse marching direction, from the tigress to a site north of Taxila.

79. Kuwayama 2006b: 71. The non-separation of Gandhara = Puṣkalāvātī and Gandhavatī leads to strange calculations, e.g. Kuwayama (2006b: 70): "Faxian also needed seven days to reach Charsada from Taxila" based on a "local system of measurement" in which one day is not one day. As a result Kuwayama declines to pin down the tigress geographically but expects it outside Wuchang.

80. At 34.383376 N, 72.652986 E.

81. Watters (1904, I: 255) deals with the texts and the interpretations, dismissing Manikyala for different reasons, while Deeg (2005: 231) holds that "Die Lokalisierung der Legende bei Taxila ist sicher alt." As seen by Chavannes (1903b: 411, fn. 3) the localisation is only as old as Cunningham (1871: 121–24).

82. Huber (1902: 257). Unfortunately, this report was condensed by a compiler for a collection, and thus the itinerary is rather confused. The visit to Kashmir could relate to nothing but Hazara, ruled or dependent in those days from Kashmir.

83. Prof. Ye informs me that a critical Chinese edition of Faxian's report refers to Adachi Kiroku 1940, 法顯傳—中亞・印度・南海紀行の研究, p. 36, saying that the river called "Xintou" (Indus) by Faxian should in fact be a side branch. And the editor further adds that it should be a branch on the north-western side of the Indus.

84. Still extant in Tang times with references listed in Chavannes 1903b: 431.

85. At the end of the third century two parties of locals started from Old Niya (*caṭota*) and went to Kucha (*kuci rajammi*), possibly on the same diagonal route across the desert. A number of them died on the way, either by murder or by thirst (Zhang 2013).

86. *bō-lún* 波淪, MC pua-liuēn, HC pa/pha/ba/-. If this term was not inserted by the compiler but part of the original report then this spelling would be the oldest evidence for the *palola* state.

87. Palumbo (2013: 24) takes Bolor here for Gilgit, which leads him way beyond the mountains into the Panjab for *jibin*. Still, he takes *jibin* for Kashmir, which is reasonable in other contexts, but does not explain the route to "Kapilavastu" with the Hadda relics as mixed in Zhimeng.

88. 飛絙為橋, 乘虛而過, 窺不見底, 仰不見天, 寒氣慘酷, 影戰魂慄。

89. 渡辛頭河, 至罽賓國。

90. 復南行千里至罽賓國, 再度辛頭河, 雲山壁立, 轉甚於前, 下多障氣, 惡鬼斷路。行者多死。猛誠心冥徹履險能濟。既至罽賓城。

91. Verbally they are arhats, but the Little Pamir lakes are sacred to a number of Indian religions, and many classical *sādhus* are constantly on the move, even today, whenever the weather permits.

92. Petech 1966: 178, § 17, citing from the 釋氏西域記 *shi-shi xi-yu-ji*, where *kun-lun* is a typical mistake for *cong-ling*.

93. Cf. Kuwayama (2006a: 129, fn. 19): "I surmise that Huijiao, the editor of the biography of Zhimeng, was quite careless about the precise locations of north Indian kingdoms, or he had little knowledge about Indian geography." Huijiao (ZhM2) probably copied the mistake from Sengyou (ZhM1).

94. A similar case is the duplicate death of Faxian's co-pilgrim Huijing. In the long version the "snow mountains" (Dadarili) are passed without notice, but when weeks later the "little snow mountain," the Safed Koh, is crossed Huisheng expires (Deeg 2005: 527). For the short version the compilers eliminated everything after the Dangerous Path [cf. Deeg 2005: 614] so that now the "little snow mountains" take the place of the more northern "snow mountains," making poor Huijing die prematurely.

95. H. Hu-von Hinüber (2020: 173, fn. 22–24) listed and translated some short references to Dharmodgata without relevance to our concern. She translates the whole chapter in the Gaosengzhuan 高僧傳, refers in her note 22 to a short mention of Dharmodgata in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (T55, 12a28–b2), but leaves the larger and earlier version in T55, 2145, 111b–112b out of account.

96. From Kashgar the easiest paths up to Tashkur-gan lead through the Gez Valley, in winter when the

river is frozen, or from Igisyar through the King Valley and over the Chichiklik Pass all through the year (Falk 2018: 8, fig. 4). Much longer would be the southern route reached through Yarkand, Karghalik and Kughiar.

97. 棧路險惡, 驢駝不通, 增水峨峨, 絕無草木, 山多障氣。

98. 又有毒龍, 若失其意, 則吐毒風, 雨雪, 飛沙礫石。

99. 障氣千重, 層冰萬里。

100. 於東西兩山之脇, 繫索為橋。

101. 相去五里。

102. 十人一過, 到彼岸已舉烟為識, 後人見烟知前已度, 方得更進。若久不見烟, 則知暴風吹索人墮江中。

103. The same observation led Shi (1968: 117) to translate "des trous disposés symétriquement."

104. 懸崖壁立無安足處。石壁皆有故杙孔, 處處相對。人各執四弋, 先拔下杙手攀上弋, 展轉相方過。

105. Dh1 三日方過。乃到平地 相待料檢。同侶失十二人。

106. Already Rémusat (1836: 36) has seen that this expression needs to be compared to what Chinese sources say about the origin of major rivers from the Anavatapta lake. There, the Sitā/Yarkand River has its origin in the mouth of a lion, while the Indus emerges from the mouth of a bull (e.g. Avatamsakasūtra, Dafang Guang Fo Huayan Jing 大方廣佛華嚴經 42: 師子口中出私陀河, 於牛口中出信度河). Chavannes (1903b: 436, fn. 3) follows, so does Shi (1968: 118, fn. 33) who takes the Dh2 reading 師子曰 for a Taisho printing mistake. The Dh1 reading 師子口河 seems in best order; cf. Palumbo (2013: 24). Based on Dh2 Hu-von Hinüber (2020: 184) has "(xintou) means lion in Chinese." Only after the Muslim conquest, the source of the Indus north of the Kailash is called "lion's mouth," *sīn kā bāb*. For some authors the lake on top of the Shandur Pass is taken for a "top of the world," too. It has two outlets, a western one feeding the Kunar, and an eastern one feeding the Ghizr/Gilgit River. Since both feed the "real" Indus their sources could have been attributed to animal mouths as well, with the Kunar starting from the "lion's mouth."

107. 香烟右旋, 須臾衆烟合成一盖, 右轉三匝, 漸漸消盡云々。

108. Chavannes (1903b: 383, fn. 4), citing from the Shijia Fangzhi 釋迦方志 2 (T.2088, 0969c04) of Daoxuan (ca. A.D. 596–667): "le çramaṇa Tao-yo entra (en Inde) par le chemin de Sou-lei (疎勒 Kachgar), il traversa les passages suspendus et arriva jusqu'au royaume de Seng-kia-che (Saṃkāçya)." He returned the same way, 及返還尋故道。

109. For the text history cf. Kuwayama 2006b: 65. For the ease of the reader I maintain the term "Song Yun" when referring to the composition of Yang Xuanzhi, translated by Beal and Chavannes.

110. T.2088, 0969c04-6; on the work as such cf. Nicol 2017.

111. 東有鉢盧勒國，路嶮，緣鐵鎖而度，下不見底。熙平中，宋雲等竟不能達。 The initial sentences are translated in Kuwayama 2006b: 65, who regards this as extracted from the personal report of Hui-sheng, but strangely enough he leaves out the final sentence.

112. 從鉢盧勒國向烏場國，鐵鎖懸度，下不見底，旁無挽捉，倏忽之間，投軀萬仞，是以行者望風謝路耳。

113. The Ain-i Akbari (Jarrett 1891, II: 392) speaks of “numerous passes” leading into Bajaur from the Kabul side.

114. Cf. Hu-von Hinüber 2020: 180.

115. 《三國志》《魏書九》《曹真傳》：會大霖雨三十餘日，或棧道斷絕，《三國演義》，“Romance of the Three Kingdoms”《漢兵劫寨破曹真，武侯鬥陣辱仲達》：連綿秋雨，棧道斷絕。

116. 土地亦與烏場國相似。

117. Tsuchiya (1999: 377); (2012: 3168, fig. 4).

118. Konow (1925: 7) took *poṣa* as developed from Skt *puṣpa*, and held (1929: 164) *puruṣapura* for a “paṇḍit’s etymology.” Baums (CKI 158) reads *toṣa*, but there is a clear left leg and the -o-stroke is attached to this left leg, excluding any form of *ta*. Errington (1994: 55b) summarizes the difficulties arising from the differences between Song Yun and Xuanzang.

119. Xuanzang (Beal 1884, I: 111) speaks of a place 跋虜沙 *ba-lu-sha*, HC *bha/va-?-sa/ṣa*, (*varṣa*?), but the name he gives to the site where Vessantara/Viśvantara donated the elephant is “mount *dantaloka*” (Beal), the Ranigat Mountain just above the city.

120. The full description of Ranigat ends in a statement that “the Great Wei *śramaṇa* Daoyao came here to worship and left. He did not dare to stay” (Kuwayama 2006b: 69).

121. *Shijia fangzhi* T.2088, 969b22.

122. Biddulph (see above p. 14a) expected Faxian to go southward through the Yasin Valley; he does not mention the Difficult Path.

123. 故其王每請衆僧，令麥熟然後受歲。On an unnecessarily accepted variant reading replacing *qing* 請 by *zan* 讚 cf. Deeg (2005: 516, fn. 2318). For the universal experience with winter wheat, G. Fussman (personal note) points to John 12:24: “Very truly I tell you, unless a kernel of wheat falls to the ground and dies, it remains only a single seed. But if it dies, it produces many seeds.”

124. The hardship connected with the onset of snow is described by Dauvergne (1892: 34f.) after crossing the Baroghil Pass in early October. On the other hand, some traders preferred to march in deep winter despite the cold and the snow since the frozen rivers allow speedy progress (Montgomerie 1871).

125. In fact the eastern end of the egg has an opening, too, but this is small and low and often covered to divert the rain water.

126. HC *da/dha-ta*(rarely *ṭa*)-*la/ra-ka*, certainly not ending in *-loka*, also an initial *daṇḍa-* is rather un-

likely. The reasoning of Lévi (1900: 32f.) leads to the same result, but still he guesses at a Turk origin.

127. 34°14'43.73"N, 72°23'43.35"E; cf. Nasim Khan 2020, citing most of the earlier literature, with no ancient name proposed.

128. This derives from some stanzas in the *Jātakamālā* of Haribhadra, who makes his hero hammer metal pegs into rocks one *kiṣku* deep. The translation of “yard” seems to be too large, as *kiṣku* rather comes close to an *aratni*, that is 30–40 cm. Whoever has tried to hammer a climbing aid nail into a rock for 10 cm knows that 30 cm would exhaust the hammerer for one full hour. Imagine what energy it would take to get that metal rod out again. There is only one explanation for Haribhadra’s lines: poet’s fancy.

129. *Vāyupurāṇa* 47, 52 reads *kharapatha* and *indraśaṅkhupatha*, the *Matsyapurāṇa* 121, 57 *kharapatha* and *ketraśaṅkupatha*, both to be corrected to *vetraśaṅkupatha*.

130. Cf. the *Petavatthu* 623 (=Vimānavatthu 7.10; 1240) where water and mountains are both involved (*vetṭācaram saṅkupathaṇ ca maggaṇ, nadiyo pana pabbatānaṇ ca duggā*).

131. The silk bundles found by A. Stein in Lou-lan established a standard loom width of 50 cm (19,83'), cf. O’Neale and Durrell (1945: 396f.). The 2,000 rolls donated by the nobility do not have indications of their lengths so that they could have been considerably shorter and lighter.

132. Huili, T.50, 2053, 225b; Beal (1914, I: 30).

133. Huili, T.50, 2053, 229c; Beal (1914, I: 60). It is not certain that one “coin” of gold (金錢) is equal to one *liang*.

134. There is a single rock carving illustrating the legend at Chilas, chiseled south of the river, which means on the way north after having visited the south including the tigress site, cf. Thewald 1983: pl. 4-6, fig. 5.

135. Because of Legge’s translation the statue is often said to have been sitting with crossed legs, but then the measurements would be out of proportion. For details cf. Deeg (2005: 114); the philological problems are dealt with in Weller (1923: 560–62).

136. Stein was looking for a sacred place in Darel and found the house of a holy man at Poguch, upper Darel, which attracted a number of pilgrims. He did not hesitate to understand its position as the one of that large Maitreya, first in (1916: 105), then in (1928, I: 30f.) with a number of guesses, including an etymology of Poguch as Buddha-gotra, “Buddha house.” Later (1944: 23) he regarded his guesses as proof “that the position of this famous Buddhist sanctuary is now marked by a much frequented Muhammadan ziyarāt at Poguch.”

137. Deeg (2005: 585).

138. Translated in Deeg (2005: 112f., fn. 511) = MSZ 26a.4ff.

139. Translated in Deeg (2005: 113, fn. 512) = MSZ 26a, 13ff.

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Two Gandharan Seated Buddha Images

OSMUND BOPEARACHCHI AND RICHARD SALOMON

I. Description of the Images (O. Bopearachchi)

This brief article introduces two Gandharan sculptures of the seated Buddha performing *abhayamudrā* that are now in a private collection in California. The base of the first image (fig. 1) contains an inscription (discussed in detail in part 2 of this article) in Gāndhārī language and Kharoṣṭhī script recording its donation by a certain Ṣavea (= Sanskrit Śrāvaka), son of Maruaka. The image was illustrated and the inscription briefly discussed recently by Harry Falk (2020–2021: 122), who reports that it “was allegedly found near Babuzai, on the western side of the Kashmir Smats mountain range,” and that it “was with a collector in London some decades ago.” The “alleged” provenance seems unlikely, but no further information is available.

The image (fig. 1), carved in gray schist, measures 13 inches (33 cm) in height and a maximum of 8 3/8 inches (21.3 cm) in width. The base is 8 inches (20.3 cm) wide and 3 inches (7.6 cm) in height. The Kharoṣṭhī inscription (fig. 3) is carved on the base between a saw-toothed cornice above and a prominent molding with an open cavetto below.

The Buddha is represented sitting cross-legged on a low seat and wrapped in a *saṅghātī* (over-robe). Although the right hand is badly damaged, the remaining silhouette suggests that the hand was originally held in *abhayamudrā*, the gesture of reassurance and safety, as seen in the second sculpture presented here (fig. 2).

The Buddha sits on a rectangular seat covered with leaves incised in a regular pattern. The head

is centered in front of a large but plain circular halo. The wavy hair is gathered back in strands of varying degrees of low relief to the *uṣṇīṣa* (protrusion on the top of the skull) and fixed by a thin twisted band at the base. The round *ūrṇā* (tuft of hair between the eyebrows)¹ appears in low relief on the forehead of a shapely and youthful face, the Buddha’s head itself taking the ideal oval form of an egg. The eyes with pupils are demarcated by curved eyelids with the distinct edges of the eyebrows gently curved. The long concave, well-formed ears with pierced earlobes lie nearly flat against the head.

The Buddha wears a thick *saṅghātī* covering both shoulders with a loose curved neckline. In his left hand is gathered a loop of the *saṅghātī* which falls from the hand to a stylized scalloped hemline.² The larger folds of the drapery are represented with thick, irregular ridges; a thick edge of the robe falling from the raised right arm lies in a semicircle in the lap. The *saṅghātī* completely covers the tucked feet of the Buddha.

This draped image of the Buddha is stylistically close to many sculptures from the heart of Gandhara, especially from Peshawar and Takht-i-Bāhī.³

A second sculpture in gray schist from the same collection allows us to understand the positioning of the right hand in *abhayamudrā*. This sculpture (fig. 2), measuring 20 inches (50.8 cm) in height with a maximum width of 13 inches (33 cm) and depth of 3 inches (7.6 cm), was first published by Isao Kurita.⁴ Broad zones of the original plaster on which the polychromy was applied are also preserved. Unlike the first sculpture, the raised right hand is preserved. However, the hand is not sculpted over the chest but rather



Fig. 1. Inscribed seated Buddha in *abhayamudrā*, ca. 2nd–3rd century C.E. Private Collection, California. Photo: O. Bopearachchi, courtesy of the owner.



Fig. 2. Seated Buddha in *abhayamudrā*, ca. 2nd–3rd century C.E. Private Collection, California. Photo: O. Bopearachchi, courtesy of the owner.

affixed separately and detached from the chest. The raised hand in *abhayamudrā* is webbed. According to the *Lakkhaṇa Sutta*, webbed fingers and toes (*jālahatthapādo*) are the sixth of the thirty-two marks of the *mahāpurisa*.⁵ The raised open palm displays a small central circular mark perhaps indicating a wheel (*cakra*).⁶

The head of the Buddha is oval in shape, with fine locks of hair undulating towards the *uṣṇīṣa*. The thin string at the base of the *uṣṇīṣa* is discreetly marked. The small purse-shaped mouth has a thin upper lip and a slightly larger lower lip over a small chin. The concave ears are relatively long with a groove in each lobe. The eyes are wide open and the sharp edges of the eyebrows join at the bridge of the nose, which features well-defined nostrils. The *ūrṇā* is engraved in low relief. The neck is defined by prominent dense folds

in high relief with a distinct back-throw over the left shoulder. The edges of a thick robe hanging from the raised right arm fall in a semicircle covering the lap, while the drapery under the left arm is gathered up by the lowered left hand. The draped seat on which the Buddha is sitting has lathe-turned legs; the one to the viewer's left is damaged. The drapery gathered on the sides is decorated with two large vertical bands representing a central undulating motif pointing downwards, bordered by a pattern of circular beads.

A notable feature of the sculpture is the halo resembling a circle of sunrays. Eleven pointed rays emanate from behind the head of the Buddha One. A stylized pattern between the rays imitates lotus petals. A similar halo is attested in a sculpture, probably from the Bajaur region, representing the standing Buddha.⁷



Fig. 3. Detail of the inscription on the base of the first sculpture. Photo: O. Bopearachchi, courtesy of the owner.

2. The Inscription (R. Salomon)

The inscription (fig. 3) on the first of the two images described above is carved neatly across the base of the statue, filling the entire flat space of 20.3 cm with letters up to 2 cm high. It records the donation of the image in the minimal formula for such records, giving only the name of the donor, his father, and the word *daṇamukha*- "gift."⁸ Here the father's name is cited first, although it is more usual for the patronym to follow the donor's personal name.⁹ The reading is entirely clear except for the slightly obscured final syllable, and our reading is virtually identical to Falk's.¹⁰

maruakaputrasa ṣaveasa daṇamukhe
 "Gift of Ṣavea, son of Maruaka."

However, on one key point, namely the name of the donor, our translation differs from Falk's: "This is the pious donation of a monk, son of Maruvaka."¹¹ (The difference will be discussed below.)

The form of *sa* with a slight upward extension of the vertical stroke past its junction point with the upper curve is slightly archaic and generally considered to be characteristic of the middle period of development of Kharoṣṭhī script, in and around the first century C.E. This seems inconsistent with the apparent date of the image, estimated above on stylistic grounds to the second or third century C.E. The discrepancy is however not too disturbing, given the imprecision of both dating methods, paleographic and stylistic, and such a later date for the inscription is by no means ruled out; it is rarely possible to propose with any

confidence a specific date for such a short inscription in Kharoṣṭhī.

The characters have a distinctively lapidary or monumental ductus with precisely upright orientation as in, for example, *ru* with an exactly vertical stem (fig. 4a), rather than slanting downward toward the left as in handwritten style and in lithic styles that attempt to imitate them. This contrasts with styles like that of, for example, the Mamāne Dherī inscription (CKI no. 161), whose curved, flowing lines reproduce the ductus of handwritten Kharoṣṭhī (fig. 4b).

The upright, squared letters of the new inscription resemble quite closely the style of some roughly contemporary inscriptions such as the Taxila reliquary inscription of Sihila and Siharakṣida (CKI 65), the Chalagram bowl inscription (CKI 367; further discussed below), and especially the Jamālgaṛhī inscription of the year 359 (CKI 116), with which it shares the sharp corners of the right angles at the upper right corner in consonants like *ka* and *va*, instead of a curved juncture as in more cursive styles such as the Kurram reliquary inscription (CKI 153),¹² see figures 5a–c.

An inscription on a headless standing Buddha published in Strauch 2009: 215–16 + figs. 6–8 (CKI 559) resembles the one under discussion here both in its paleographic features and in its formula: *jiveasa ṣamaṇasya daṇamukhe*, "Gift of the monk Jivea" (= Sanskrit Jivaka). The angular *v* and pointed *ṇa* are quite similar to those of the new inscription, but some letters differ in shape, especially *mu*, which in our inscription is sharply angular while in the inscription of Jivea it

Fig. 4a: *ru* in the new inscription.Fig. 4b: *ro* in the Mamāne Dherī inscription.

Figs. 4a–4b. Monumental and cursive forms of Kharoṣṭhī *r*.

is composed of two curves, a long one above and a shorter one below.

The name of the donor's father, Maruaka, is not elsewhere recorded, and as is all too often the case with proper names in Gandhāran inscriptions, no obvious etymology presents itself; it is perhaps of non-Indian (Iranian or Central Asian?) origin. The name of the donor himself is a familiar Indic word, namely *ṣavea*, the Gāndhārī equivalent of Sanskrit *śrāvaka*,¹³ "disciple [of the Buddha]." Although it might seem unusual to find this honorific title as a proper name, there is a probable parallel in the Chalagram monumental bowl (CKI 367), whose concluding portion reads in part *vāirasa daṇamukhe ṣaveasa uvajayasa arogaḍakṣiṇe*. This was translated by the editor (Falk 2005: 448) as "this donation of Vāira, for the bestowing of health on the monk Uvajaya," with the comment (p. 451), "we can chose [sic] between a personal name like Upajaya, or the designation *upādhyāya*, often found in Buddhist donation records, denoting a certain class of teachers." This seems to imply that Falk considered but rejected an alternative translation of *ṣaveasa uvajayasa* as "of Ṣavea, the preceptor." The problem here is that both of the terms in question, *ṣavea*–*śrāvaka*– and *uvajaya*– (Sanskrit *upādhyāya*–), are typically monastic titles rather than personal names. But the new inscription, showing *ṣavea* in a position where we would expect a personal name, indicates that Falk's implied alternative translation "of Ṣavea, the preceptor" is to be preferred. Dedications in honor of the donor's *upādhyāya* are not unusual among Gandhāran inscriptions, as in, for example, the Mamāne Dherī inscription, *upajayasa budhapriasa puyae*, "in honor of preceptor Buddhapriya," or in an inscribed bodhisattva (CKI 835), *uajayasa saghoramasa*¹⁴ *adhvadidasa puyae* "in honor of

Fig. 5a: *ve* in the new inscription.Fig. 5b: *va* in the Jamālgaṛhī inscription.Fig. 5c: *ve* in the Kurram inscription (A-3).

Figs. 5a–5c: Angular and cursive forms of Kharoṣṭhī *v*.

the late preceptor Saṅghavarma."¹⁵ A personal name such as *ṣavea*/*śrāvaka* might have arisen as a shortened form of an original name such as **buddha-ṣavea* = *buddha-śrāvaka*.

This is the previously mentioned point at which our interpretation differs from that of Falk, who takes *ṣaveasa* in the new inscription as a title rather than a personal name and accordingly translates "of a monk" rather than "of Ṣavea." In support of this interpretation, he cites a few other inscriptions in which a donor or an associate of the donor is represented by a patronymic alone, without his personal name (Falk 2006: 150–51). But most of the cases noted are Brāhmī inscriptions which follow quite different patterns from Kharoṣṭhī records and are thus of questionable relevance. Among Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, Falk cites the colophon of the gold plate inscription of Senavarma (CKI 249), involving what he candidly calls a "bold translation" (2020–21: 120) of *valieṇa makaḍakaputreṇa* (line 13e) as "by the *valia*, . . . son of Makaḍaka" instead of the conventional "by Valia, son of Makaḍaka." Here he explains *valia* as the Gāndhārī equivalent of Sanskrit/Pali *vārika*, "monastic official" (p. 121) rather than a proper name. But this case is hardly convincing, especially since the phonetic correspondence of Sanskrit *vārika* with Gāndhārī *valia* would be quite irregular.¹⁶

In conclusion, in our opinion the weight of the evidence is in favor of understanding *ṣavea*– in the new inscription as a personal name, rather than as a monastic designation. The latter interpretation would mean that the donor's name was

omitted from the inscription, which is unlikely though not impossible. We therefore choose the former interpretation, while without denying the possibility that the latter one is correct.

Notes

1. The *uṣṇīṣa* (Pali *uṇhīsa*) and *urṇā* (*uṇṇā*) are the last two of the 32 signs (*lakṣhaṇa/lakṣaṇa*) of a Great Man (*mahāpurisa/mahāpuruṣa*) as enumerated in the *Lakkhaṇa Sutta* (sutta 30 of the Pali *Dīgha-nikāya*, translated in Walshe 1995: 441–60 [442]). For the Sanskrit terms, see Edgerton 1953: 458–60 (s.v. *lakṣaṇa*),

2. See Zwalf 1996: 1.87, no. 22 and 2. fig. 22.

3. See Zwalf 1996: 1.86–87, no. 21 and 2. fig. 21.

4. Kurita (2003: 2.103, no. 273) suggests that it was probably found in Bajaur. The sculpture was purchased by the present owner from Christie's auction 2425, March 22, 2011 (lot 228).

5. Other than this one and the two mentioned above, the other 29 *lakṣaṇas* (feet with a level tread, soles with a thousand spokes, projecting heels, long fingers and toes, legs like an antelope's, etc.) are generally not depicted in Gandhāran art (but compare the next note).

6. *Cakra* (Pali *cakka*) on the soles of the feet (*hetṭhā pādālesu cakkāni*) is the second *lakṣaṇa*, but *cakra* on the hand is not among them. For a similar symbol in the middle of the right palm held in *abhaya mudrā*, see the seated Maitreya images in Kurita 2003: 2.23, no. 41 and 2.41, no. 97. (The latter is from Karki and is now exhibited in the Punjab Museum, Lahore). For the same symbol depicted in Buddha images, see Kurita 2003: 2.102, nos. 269, 271; both sculptures were probably found in Bajaur.

7. See Kurita 2003: 2.103, no. 272. The sculpture is from the Julian Sherrier collection.

8. The widely attested (in inscriptions) but grammatically peculiar term *dānamukha* (Sanskrit and Pali; Gāndhārī *daṇamukha*), conventionally translated as "pious gift," is perhaps best interpreted as a compound with the component members in reversed order, as is not uncommon in Sanskrit and various Middle Indo-Aryan languages (see, for example, Whitney 1889: 514, §1314d and Pischel 1900: 407, §603); thus, *dānamukha* = **mukh(y)adāna*, "principal/outstanding gift." The same may be true of the more or less synonymous and even more common (both in inscriptions and Buddhist literature) *deyadharma* 𑖢𑖦𑖫𑖜𑖫𑖱𑖫𑖱 *dharmadeya*, "to be given by/ according to / for the Dharma."

9. As in, for instance, the reliquary of Ramaka and Uḍita (CKI 243), *ramakaṣa mahāśravaputraṣa daṇamukhe*, "Gift of Ramaka, son of Mahāśrava."

10. *maruakaputrasya ṣaveasa daṇamukhe* (2020–2021: 122).

11. Sic; Falk reads the name correctly as *maruaka*, but translates "Maruvaka."

12. Konow (1929: 111) describes the Jamālgaṛhī inscription's "very ornamental look . . . The general impression left by the inscription is that it has been drawn up by a calligrapher and not by a person who was in the habit of using the alphabet for practical purposes." It is however not exactly clear what he means by "a calligrapher" in this context; perhaps he had in mind a stone engraver as opposed to an ordinary pen-and-ink scribe.

13. See, e.g., Salomon 2008: 439, s.v. *ṣavaa-/ṣavea*. This word also occurs in the aforementioned Jamālgaṛhī inscription (*ṣavaena*). For the development of *-aka* to *-ea*, see the examples cited in Falk 2005: 450.

14. So read in Strauch 2009: 209; the reading *saḡharamasa* in Karashima 2013: 28 and in CKI appears to be incorrect.

15. For *saghorumasa* = Saṅghavarma, compare *budhoruma* = Buddhavarma in CKI 112 and 131, as explained in Konow 1929: 106–7 and 108 and following him, Strauch 2009: 213.

16. Falk cites two cases in which Sanskrit *r* is represented by *l* in Gāndhārī (*jarāyujā/jalayuga* and *parichinna/palichina*), but both of these are special cases involving dialectal variations and/or etymologically motivated reformulations.

References and Abbreviations

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Konow 1929	S. Konow. <i>Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of Those of Aśoka</i> . Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum II.1. Calcutta.	Strauch 2009	I. Strauch. "Inscribed Objects from Greater Gandhāra." <i>BAI</i> 23 (2013 [2009]): 209–19.
Kurita 2003	I. Kurita. <i>Gandhāran Art</i> (revised and enlarged edition). 2 vols. Tokyo.	Walshe 1995	M. Walshe, trans. <i>The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Dīgha Nikāya</i> . Boston.
Pischel 1900	R. Pischel. <i>Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen</i> . Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde I.8. Strassburg.	Whitney 1889	W. D. Whitney. <i>Sanskrit Grammar Including Both the Classical Language, and the Older Dialects, of Veda and Brahmana</i> . 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA.
Salomon 2008	R. Salomon. <i>Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the Songs of Lake Anavatapta (Anavatapta-gāthā)</i> : British Library	Zwalf 1996	W. Zwalf. <i>A Catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculpture in the British Museum</i> . 2 vols. London.



A “Blessing” Hand Gesture in Images of Deities and Kings in the Arts of Bactria and Gandhāra (2nd Century B.C.E.–1st Century C.E.): The Sign of the Horns¹

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In religious and dynastic imagery the gestures performed by the characters with their hands are of primary importance. The position of the hands and of the fingers often has a particular significance. In our domain, two main gestures, frequently described as “blessing gestures,” are especially important and have received attention. One is the hand with the first and middle fingers raised, with the ring and little fingers bent and the thumb over them, similar to the *benedictio latina* or to the gesture of the Sabazian Hand. Regarding the second gesture of blessing, which is the subject of this article, C. Bromberg published an article devoted to “An Iranian Gesture at Miran,” where “the forefinger and the little finger are extended and the middle and ring fingers folded under.”² Beside Miran and Sassanian examples, this scholar brings to the picture some Gandhāran stone reliefs of stair risers depicting the same gesture but of an earlier date; we shall come to them below. Our purpose here is to add some precise details on this divine and royal gesture, to propose an extension of the occurrences of its representations and to suggest an interpretation leading to the question of the possible heroization/deification of sovereigns. We concentrate here on the Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian periods only.³

The gesture on which we focus is a version of the one studied by C. Bromberg, but appearing at an earlier date, from its beginnings in Central Asia, in Bactria in the 2nd century B.C.E. to the early Kushan period in the second half of the 1st

century C.E. This gesture can be called “the sign of horns,” and it has a long history in the arts, starting from Greek classical art.⁴ As we shall see, its possible meanings changed in time and place, but a polysemy must be considered throughout time. One of the first occurrences is the gesture of Nemesis on an Athenian amphora in Berlin;⁵ beside Etruscan paintings, another well-known example appears in a Pompeii wall-painting representing a theater performance.⁶ In a remarkable study of a representation of this gesture in a painting of Fra Filippo Lippi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (*Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement*, about 1440–1444), J. Russel Sale collected the ancient representation of the *mano cornuta* (or “horned hand”) in Antiquity (since the 6th century B.C.E), in the Middle Ages and in Byzantium.⁷ His enquiry leads him to conclude that the gesture is one of fertility and procreation in many cases, including the specific case of the man facing the woman in Lippi’s work, and many other occurrences, including satyrs represented in Antiquity.⁸

With such variations of meanings, polysemy and ambiguity in recognizing this gesture, we shall nevertheless proceed with new artefacts and a new examination of old ones in order to search the representations of the *mano cornuta* gesture and approach its meaning(s). We begin with clear representations of this gesture, performed by the Greek goddess Tyche in Bactria, and by aquatic deities in Gandhāra reliefs. Secondly, we shall tackle the images on coins, with some difficulties

in identification due to their small size but nevertheless allowing the introduction of new interpretations. Finally, we conclude with a reflection on the history, function and meaning of the *mano cornuta* in Bactria and Gandhāra and in the larger context of the sovereigns' power and their possible heroization/deification.

1. Observations in Bactria and Gandhāra

a. Tyche on the Amyntas Double Decadrachms and on the Emblema of the Gilded Silver al-Sabah Bowl

The most ancient representations of the *mano cornuta* in our area of study appear on Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, in any case after the conquest of NW India by the Graeco-Bactrians of Demetrios I and Eucratides, around 180 B.C.E. It is perfectly recognizable on three double decadrachms minted by King Amyntas Nikator around 95–90 B.C.E., the largest coins produced in Antiquity (fig. 1 [= table 2, no. 13]).⁹ They were discovered with the Qunduz treasure, in north Afghanistan, probably at Khisht Tepe, on the southern bank of the Oxus west of Qunduz. Along with two coins representing on the reverse Zeus on a throne, three represent Tyche also enthroned. Zeus Nikephoros holds a scepter and a palm in his left hand.

On her coins Tyche, also enthroned, wears a chiton and himation, a *calathos*¹⁰ on her head; in her left hand she holds a cornucopia from which spring ears of corn and fruits. She makes a "blessing gesture," the "horns sign," with her right hand: the position of the fingers is visible and perfectly clear.¹¹ Curiel and Fussman observe that "Par ailleurs, la Tychè n'est pas couronnée de tours, et ne doit donc pas être nécessairement interprétée comme une Tychè poliade, mais peut représenter la Tychè du roi ou du Royaume." In a first approach, briefly, Zeus signifies victory and power, and Tyche abundance and prosperity, both concepts important for dynasties and kingdoms. We shall see below the possible meanings of Tyche in our area.

A remarkable recently published representation of Tyche appears on an *emblema* on a gilded Graeco-Bactrian silver bowl of the al-Sabah collection in the Dar Museum, Kuwait (fig. 2a).¹² Dated from the third to the mid-second century

B.C.E., the goddess is reclining or seated, dressed in a *chiton* tied under her breast, her *himation* falling in elaborate folds and covering her head. She has no *calathos* mural crown, and her hair is shown falling loosely over her shoulders. A foot and small sandal are visible beneath the dress. She is seated in a natural landscape indicated by small dots (rocks/vegetation) and two finely engraved flowers near the knee.¹³ In her left hand, arm and shoulder, she holds a cornucopia richly ornamented in six registers of ornaments and geometrized petals, out of which spring four round fruits, one bunch of grapes (?) and one lanceolate ear. Her right arm is outstretched, her hand making the sign of the horns clearly visible on figures 2a and 2b, but not mentioned by the author of the catalog,¹⁴ who correctly insists on the continuity of the image of Tyche in Gandhāra in later times, continued by the images of Ardoxšo and Hārithī that figure good fortune, money, wealth and progeny.¹⁵ In any case, the horns sign made by Tyche is of considerable significance, along with the cornucopia. As we shall see, in the context of the old Hellenized and Parthian worlds, the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek concept and the image of Tyche seem more complex and ambiguous. Before proceeding, however, we must look at some other clear representations of the horns gesture.

b. Gandhāran Reliefs with Aquatic Divinities and Paddles

As noticed by C. Bromberg,¹⁶ Gandhāran stair riser reliefs present aquatic male deities and male images with outstretched hands that make the *mano cornuta*. A deeply carved example in The Metropolitan Museum of Art¹⁷ shows between two Corinthian columns six bearded male figures standing in various poses, each dressed in a skirt in the shape of leaves, exhibiting sculptural muscles and holding a paddle (oar) in his left hand (fig. 3). The first figure at the right supports a dolphin in his raised right hand. This, plus the oars, a smooth transition between the leaves and the torso indicating the physical continuity of the body and the absence of clothing [places them in the category of aquatic deities (more than marine figures, or boatmen). Characteristically, the third figure from the left, standing in an elegant contrapposto and looking at the next figure at his left, makes the gesture of *mano cornuta* with his



Fig. 1. Enthroned Tyche with cornucopia, performing *mano cornuta* gesture. Amyntas double decadrachm from the Qunduz hoard. National Museum of Afghanistan Kabul. Courtesy Osmund Bopearachchi.



Fig. 2a. Seated Tyche holding cornucopia, performing *mano cornuta* gesture. Coll. Al-Sabah, Dar Museum, Kuwait, LNS 1223 M. Courtesy Dar Museum.



Fig. 2b. Detail of hand.

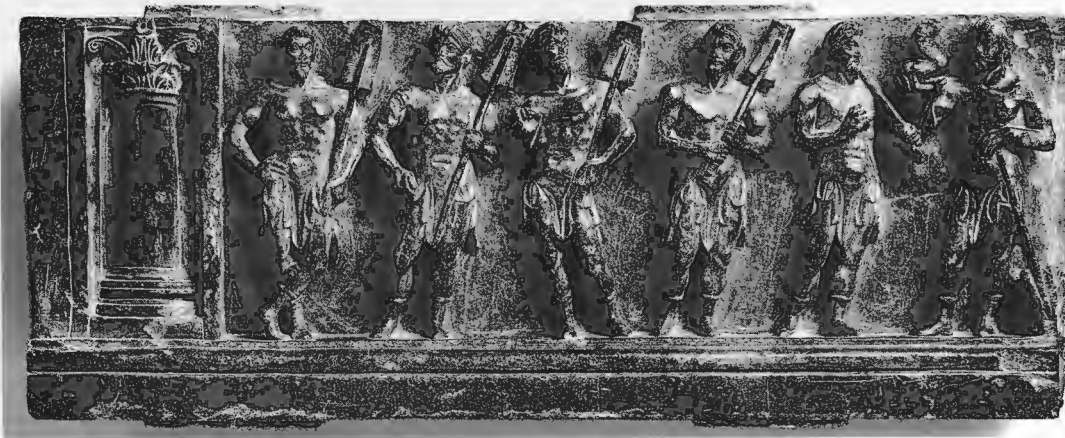


Fig. 3. Gandhāra relief depicting aquatic deities. The Metropolitan Museum, New York. MetDP138046, Rogers Fund, 1913, accession n° 13.96.21.



Fig. 4. Gandhāra relief depicting aquatic deities. British Museum, London. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1889-1016-1; 1889,1016.1.

raised right hand. The second figure at the right may begin the same gesture in the direction of the dolphin holder, but this is not absolutely clear. However, nothing distinguishes any of them from the others in the row.

A second relief of the same sort is held by the British Museum (fig. 4).¹⁸ The composition of the panel, six athletic-looking men shown between Corinthian columns, also depicts bearded aquatic deities, with leaves as a skirt and body part, who hold oars, in a vivid composition. But here the dolphin is held in the hand of the second figure from the right. The first on the right, the third and prob-

ably the fifth make the horns sign with their right hands. Again, it is not visible whether the sign is intended for the other aquatic deities of the frieze, or for a viewer. Apparently each signmaker is turned towards the next deity on his right. Therefore, it seems to be an internal gesture and pose, in a row of beings who seem to be equivalent to each other except for the dolphin holder.

On a third analogous relief from Buner, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, men and women are depicted in typically Greek fashion, as in many Gandhāran drinking scenes *à la grecque* (fig. 5).¹⁹ On the left, a bearded male in a short



Fig. 5. Gandhāra relief depicting a conversation and drinking scene. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Given by Professor Benjamin Rowland Museum, no. IS.3-1971 (06/06/2011).



Fig. 6. Gandhāra relief depicting Indo-Scythian men. Formerly in the Peshawar Museum. After Bromberg 1991, p. 50, fig. 9; Marshall 1960, fig. 46.

tunic presents a cantharus to a woman who is dressed in chiton and himation and wears a collar and a spiraled bracelet. On her right, another bearded male shown in a short tunic, his right arm naked, clearly addresses the gesture of *mano cornuta* to the woman on the right. He holds a long leaf (not a palm) resembling the *Asplenium scolopendrium* var. *scolopendrium* or other similar fern of wet, aquatic milieus.

The woman is dressed in chiton and himation and wears a collar, perhaps a torque, and a spiraled bracelet. The male on her right presents her with a goblet on a foot of typically Gandhāran shape. At the right of the composition, another woman also dressed *à la grecque*, wrapped in her hima-

tion with her right hand near the collar and neck, is seen in frontal view, like some divine or Buddha figures on coins and sculpture; she also holds a large fern leaf in her left hand. The male fern holder may represent a water and vegetation genius in a more Greek type of representation than the above paddle holders, close to a satyr image, as is the female fern holder in a hieratic, possibly divine, posture.²⁰

The fourth and last of our reliefs in this category once belonged to the Peshawar Museum and is apparently now in the Karachi National Museum, Pakistan (fig. 6).²¹ It represents, in the same sort of composition, six males (three bearded and three shaved) dressed in Scythian garb of tunic,



Fig. 7. Gold ornament representing an aquatic deity. Tillya Tepa. Kabul National Museum of Afghanistan. After Sarianidi 1985, pl. 86, p. 146.

trousers attached to the ankles and a pointed cap; they each hold a long sword attached to a belt with their left hand. These figures are probably Indo-Scythian warriors. The two on the left and the one on the right of the row have their right hands in a relaxed position. The three others make the gesture of *mano cornuta*, the third and the fourth from the left facing each other, while the fifth faces the last one on the right. Again, it is a mutual "blessing," except for the two on the left of the panel. What are warriors, not identified as divine beings, doing making this gesture here?

In sum, the Gandhāran reliefs just described exhibit anthropomorphic beings making the horns sign: clearly identified aquatic deities, a male being in a short tunic holding a large fern, probably an evocation of waters and vegetation, and warriors who are not immediately understandable in relation to the *mano cornuta*. These Gandhāran reliefs can be dated to the 1st–2nd centuries C.E. Moreover, the aquatic deities relate to similar

beings, for instance the one on the seven gold plaques from burial no. 1 of Tillya Tepa (Bactria), 1st century C.E. (fig. 7).²² They represent the torso of a water deity who holds an oar in his right hand and displays the head of a dolphin on one shoulder; ferns appear from behind his shoulders, and the lower part of his torso ends in ferns (*Asplenium scolopendrium*?) above waves (figured schematically by a frieze of posts). We are on safe ground here with water deities, but the short tunics of the beings holding ferns on the Gandhāran reliefs are not so easy to interpret, except perhaps by looking at their ears that are pointed, as in drinking scenes of Gandhāran art.²³ That gives to such attendants the character of beings close to the satyrs of Greek mythology, eventually expanded in Central Asia (Tillya Tepa again), and in such a case, the link with ferns seems more natural and logical. In brief, the aquatic deities and the quasi-satyrs, as representing the waters and the vegetation growth, appear in functional



Fig. 8. Tetradrachm of Demetrios I with enthroned Tyche holding cornucopia and anguiped under the seat. British Museum 1874,0716.230_1613561252.

continuity with Tyche. We shall see more about the aquatic aspect of Tyche below. However, the Scythian warriors of the Gandhāra relief do not fit well with this scheme if the *mano cornuta* is not a hierarchical sign of respect as proposed by C. Bromberg, or a gesture specific to deities, and consequently to heroized/deified rulers (see below). The date of the Gandhāran reliefs is later than the al-Sabah *emblemata* and the Amyntas coins, and this could be the reason for a possible change in the use and meaning of the *mano cornuta* horns sign. More investigation is required. We will now see, with the help of coins, if some consistency can be found at a greater scale. But before this, more words are necessary on the iconographic relationships between Tyche and aquatic deities.

2. Tyche and the Aquatic Deities: Some Iconographic Connections

Naturally, one has to begin by referring to the renowned Tyche of Antioch by Eutychides of Sy-cione, a pupil of Lysippos, who elaborated this image in bronze in the early third century B.C.E. The goddess is represented seated on a rock, wearing a mural crown and holding ears of grain in her right hand; at her feet there appears the torso of a swimming male figure, the river Orontes, flowing at Antioch. Many copies are known, from those in the Vatican Museum to smaller ones produced in

the Hellenized East: small statuettes, figurines, on lamps and on coins. Important for us here is the association of Tyche with waters (here, the Orontes) and fertility (here, ears of grain). The mural crown is significant for a city such as Antioch. However, in our domain Tyche often holds a cornucopia, symbol of fertility, and frequently wears a *calathos* or *polos*, a headdress for goddesses, related to fertility (*calathos*).²⁴ Beside cities (Antioch, Alexandria and many others) presenting Tyche as a poliad goddess, the Hellenistic monarchies also made frequent use of Tyche's image.

In a recent study of the coinage of Andragoras, satrap of Parthia around the middle of the 3rd century, Olivier Bordeaux reviews the evidence for images of Tyche in the Seleucid and Parthian worlds in Bactria and Central Asia.²⁵ He correctly points out that the crenelated mural crown refers to the poliad goddesses but possibly also to royal Tyches, following suggestions made by Paul Bernard: the mural crown indicates a poliad (or royal) fortune, while the cornucopia designates destiny and prosperity.²⁶

In the Seleucid world, a Tyche appears on a bronze coin, ca. 275–164 B.C.E., from Seleucia on the Tigris during the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes: she is standing, wears a *polos* and holds a cornucopia with protruding ears of grain.²⁷ The enthroned Tyche emerges on coins of Demetrios (161–150), on which she holds a short scepter in her right hand and a cornucopia in her left (fig. 8).²⁸ Demetrios II (145–141) minted similar types

with an enthroned Tyche holding a scepter and cornucopia.²⁹ Drawing on iconographic elements, we can focus our attention on the aquatic being supporting the throne of the goddess: it is a winged anguiped monster. In our perspective, it symbolizes the waters, perhaps the Tigris in the Seleucia emissions, being an equivalent of the swimming fluvial deities seen at the feet of the Eutychemes statue and copies. These motives, connected with Tyche or an "Oriental goddess," continue under the Parthian rule, adding more complexity in the combination of iconographic elements: Tyche standing or seated, wearing various headgear or *polos*, holding Nike, scepter, cornucopia, palm and rudder, with her seat supported by an aquatic monster. In this perspective, some coins minted by Maues and Azes I are especially interesting, also in relation to the aquatic deities of our Gandhāran reliefs (see below). The obverse represents Poseidon holding a trident, a foot on the shoulders of the bust of a swimming being, actually of a river god analogous to the Orontes of Antioch, but representing a local river or depicting the horned water deity Achelous.³⁰

The Parthian Tyche has attracted the attention of scholars in recent years. Sinisi wrote an important article, again separating the "polyad" deity from the "fertility" aspects, and searching for Oriental correspondences with the Mesopotamian goddess Nana and other goddesses.³¹ In a more recent detailed study, U. Ellerbrock attempts to trace the history of Tyche among the Parthians in three chronological phases.³²

In the first period (247–171 B.C.E.) the coins make no reference to deities; in the second (171–51 B.C.E.) a "Hellenistic Tyche" appears, subsequently surviving the death of Mithridates I for 20 years; the third phase (70 B.C.E.–51 C.E.) sees a "Graeco-Parthian Tyche" that is syncretic, transferring divine glory and fortune, or *khvarnah*,³³ to the king, a Zoroastrian idea; after 51 C.E., the type is purely Parthian. This scholar presents an enthroned Tyche holding a cornucopia and crowned by the Nike standing on her right hand, during phase II;³⁴ the aquatic monster is present. In Hellenistic Central Asia, beside the al-Sabah objects seen above and the possible Aī Khanoum Tyche, we must also mention a bronze statuette from Bactria shown holding a cornucopia, her right hand missing.³⁵ This is not much, and the painting of a mural headdress of Sroš (?) in Chor-

asmia adds no more than an interesting item.³⁶ But no enthroned Tyche. If we want to find one contemporary with our images, we must mention the seated stone statuette of Sirkap (Taxila) found by Marshall, possibly contemporary with the aquatic deities reliefs seen above: she wears a squat *calathos* and holds a cornucopia in her left hand while her right hand, as on the relief in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is wrapped in her himation.³⁷ The corpus is actually limited,³⁸ and, before proceeding further with the *mano cornuta*, our Ariadne thread, I propose a brief outline of the concept and cult of Tyche in the Graeco-Roman world and in our areas, before returning to images.

The Cult of Tyche in the Graeco-Roman World, Central Asia, and Gandhara

There is necessarily a relationship between the diffusion of the images we consider here, adopted especially on coinages, and the concept of Tyche or Fortuna in Central Asia and Gandhāra in general and notably in relation to the royal ideology. Many studies have been devoted to Tyche since Allegre, who collected all available evidence.³⁹ Since then, the religious and political conceptions have been restudied, relying mainly on Polybius and Plutarch, and we have nothing to add to these publications.⁴⁰ However, independently from the iconographic point of view and that of the arts, the Hellenistic conception of Tyche/Fortuna and the ideas prevailing in Rome during the wars with the Seleucids and the Parthians perhaps may have played a role. In this respect, the elite group in Rome known as "the circle of the Scipios" should be recalled,⁴¹ and we have to remember that a number of Seleucid and Parthian princes, heirs, were hostages in Rome. This was precisely the case of Antiochos IV, Demetrios I and others.⁴² The two Seleucid kings just mentioned are precisely those who introduced the images of enthroned Tyche with cornucopia and aquatic deity supporting the throne in their coinage in Seleucia on the Tigris.⁴³ In short, the idea of the uncertainty of destiny, especially appropriate for pretenders to thrones, prevails, while fertility, abundancy, bounty are crucial for the dynasty and the kingdom that rely on water and plants, espe-

cially when artificial irrigation provides bounty, such as is the case in Mesopotamia (Seleucia on the Tigris) in Parthia and in Bactria (see Aï Khanoum).⁴⁴ We can now consider the conditions of Oriental politics, international relationships in the context of the campaigns of Antiochos III the Great, his Anabasis and the long siege of Bactra, of the projects of Antiochos IV Epiphanes and his links with Timarchus, satrap of Media and usurper, but also their possible relations with Eucratides of Bactria.

Therefore, even if we do not go beyond coincidences and simultaneity, the advent in Bactria of the images and concepts related to Tyche does not look odd during the second half of the 2nd century B.C.E. The most striking example is given by the mention of Tyche in a Graeco-Bactrian dedicatory inscription to Hestia, allegedly discovered near Kulyab (Tajikistan), not far from Aï Khanoum.⁴⁵ This inscription mentions Euthydemus I of Bactria as protected by Hestia, "with the help of the divine Tyche,"⁴⁶ when he and his son Demetrios, "glorious winner," resisted for two years when besieged by Antiochos III in Bactra. Demetrios, the future Demetrios I, also conducted conquest expeditions to India. This mention of Tyche is extremely important in the perspective of the conquest of India and of the rivalry with Eucratides I, by its date and by the fact that the first receives a dedication to Tyche in Bactria, while the second minted coins with Tyche, but in Kapisa. The persistence of relations and of "cultural" exchanges after the fall of the Greek kingdoms, especially in NW India but also in Bactria,⁴⁷ allows the transplantation, implantation and transformation of the concept of Tyche and of its iconography, notably monetary, beginning with Eucratides I.⁴⁸

3. The *Mano Cornuta* Gesture on Coins: Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian

Now we come to the most problematic part of our study, an extension of the iconography of the horns sign to more coins. What about the possible connections between the "blessing gesture" of *mano cornuta* and Tyche, the aquatic deities, the bounty of cornucopia and the ruling dynasties?

Although this gesture, in the examined group of images, seems to be performed only by the Bactrian Tyche and the Gandhāran aquatic deities, we shall suggest that it actually was much more widespread among the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coinages, that is, it was made by gods and by kings.

The proper identification of the position of the fingers on coins is both complex and rare. However, in some cases, it is perfectly possible to recognize the *mano cornuta*. In other cases, the "caliper" shape made by the fingers represents a schematization of the fingers' position that certainly is not compatible with other hand gestures. In a third group of cases, it is simply not possible to identify the form of *mano cornuta*, but then we shall propose identifying this gesture, some gesture (?) or some artefact, such as "a torque" (see below). Why not simply, for the sake of "objectivity," refrain from trying to identify gestures and limit the descriptions to the usual formulas, i.e. "blessing gesture" or more simply "gesture?" The reason is simple: we consider that the iconic representations of goddesses or the queens or kings, whether images of presentation or images of action, would never be pictured by artists showing them making an indefinite "gesture" or a generic "blessing gesture" or a meaningless "outstretched hand." It is similar to the hands of the same deities and kings holding or exhibiting "something" definite with precision, on coins as well as on other kinds of representations. The figures never hold just "a thing" or simply "an object" but a precise attribute, some being attached to only one divine being. Indeed, they may hold Nike (meaning victory), a crown (victory/kingship), a scepter (kingship), a palm (victory), a weapon (whip, spear, shield, sword, armor, standard, etc.), a caduceus (Hermes) or a cornucopia (fortune, fertility), etc. For these reasons, we consider that the generic "gesture" or "blessing gesture," except when we can propose something clearly identified, is nonexistent. However, we understand that numismatists, occupied by matters other than iconography, have not often paid attention to the details of one hand. Here, in fact, we proceed by a generalization of the *mano cornuta* to a number of coins. Realistically, a dose of uncertainty is there, due to the small size of the images and to the schematization, resulting in the misunderstanding of the gesture by the die

engravers, who may have made or replaced the (forgotten?) gesture with an artefact, mostly in later cases, or a consequence of the poor conservation of the coins or finally our own limits of recognizing one or another gesture. Finally, beside the pictorial identification, the consistency of the corpus of identifications and interpretations will be to some extent the best test, without hiding difficulties and possible inconsistencies. But we shall reach the conclusion that in royal iconogra-

phy on coins in our area gods and kings don't just wave hands as if saying "Hi folks!"; they don't gesticulate haphazardly at random. For this purpose, all the possible types of coins that represent a deity or a mortal making the *mano cornuta* gesture, whether silver or bronze, round or square, with Greek or Indian legends, were collected. Thirty-four types of coins were identified, and a table was put together that will now be explained and commented on.

Table of Iconographic Types (see figs. pp. 68–70)

Ashmus (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); BN (Bibliothèque Nationale de France); BM (British Museum); CNG (Classical Numismatic Group)

- 01-Antimachos_II_upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commonsee5 Coin_of_Antimachus_II.jpg?uselang=fr
- 02-Eucratides_httpcatalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41759119q_BN_[Monnaie_Bronze_Incertain_Bactriane_[. . .] Eucratide_I_btv1b8510786h_2
- 03-Plato_Qunduz_plXXXIII
- 04-Agathocleia_1238852001_BM_Museum number_1888,1208.265
- 05-Philoxenos_BN_[Monnaie_Bronze_Incertain_Bactriane_[. . .]Philoxène_(roi_btv1b85112366_1
- 06-Philoxenos_-04.Bop_12A_courtesy Osmund Bopearachchi
- 07-Philoxenos_1263568001_BM_Museum number_1888,1208.361
- 08-Peucolaos_BN_[Monnaie_Tétradrachme_Argent_Incertain_[. . .]Peucolaos_Autorité_btv1b8511258s_2
- 09-Nikias_https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Nicias_(Indo-Greek_king)
- 10-Menander-II_Ashmus_45367of
- 11-Menander-II_guerrier_Coinindia_MIG0253-673.10_coinindia.com/galleries-menander2.html
- 12-Menander-II_CNG_86000438
- 13-Amyntas_Tychè Amyntas DSC03972_courtesy Osmund Bopearachchi
- 14-Amyntas_Ashmol_51999rf
- 15-Machene_BN_[Monnaie_Tétradrachme_Argent_Taxila_[. . .]Machéné_Autorité_btv1b8511557d
- 16-Maues_BN_[Monnaie_Tétradrachme_Argent_Taxila_[. . .]Maues_(btv1b8511562q_1
- 17-Maues_BN_[Monnaie_Drachme_Argent_Taxila_[. . .]Maues_(btv1b8511565z_1
- 18-Maues_CNG_75000673
- 19-Hermaios_BN_[Monnaie_Drachme_Argent_Incertain_[. . .]Hermaios_(0090-0070_btv1b8511311q_2
- 20-Telephos_CNG_81000698
- 21-Hippostratos_Ashmol_45473rf

Table of Iconographic Types and Plates—(*continued*) (see figs. pp. 68–70)

Ashmus (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); BN (Bibliothèque Nationale de France); BM (British Museum); CNG (Classical Numismatic Group)

- 22a-Hippostratos_num-org_1981.159.7.rev.noscale
- 22b-Hippostratos_1981.159.7.obv.noscale
- 23-Hippostratos_CNG_ Inc. <http://www.cngcoins.com>, CC BY-SA 3.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/index.php?curid=53793765>
- 24-rev_Azes_I_BN_[Monnaie_Drachme_Argent_Taxila_[. . .]btv1b85117736_2
- 25a-obverse-Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Bronze_Taxila_Indo_[. . .]btv1b85117877_1
- 25b-reverse-Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Bronze_Taxila_Indo_[. . .]btv1b85117877_2
- 26-rev_Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Bronze_Taxila_Indo_[. . .]btv1b8511792j_2
- 27-rev_Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Tétradrachme_Argent_Taxila_[. . .]btv1b85117699_2
- 28a-obv_Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Tétradrachme_Argent_Taxila_[. . .]btv1b8511731v_1
- 28b-rev_Azes_II_[Monnaie_Tétradrachme_Argent_Taxila_[. . .]btv1b8511731v_2
- 29a-obv_Azes_II_BN_[Monnaie_Bronze_Taxila_Indo_[. . .]btv1b8511753f_1
- 29b-rev_Azes_II_[Monnaie_Bronze_Taxila_Indo_[. . .]btv1b8511753f_2
- 30-Spalirizes_Ind-Ox_118
- 31a-Vonones_Spalahores_obverse_Ashmolean_66285of
- 31b-Vonones_Spalahores_reverse_Ashmolean_66285rf
- 32-Gondophares_Ind-Ox_128
- 33-Abdagases
- 34-Mao-014.B.Simon0013

Table of Iconographic Types and Plates

Sovereign	Date	Type: script	Obverse	Reverse	Left hand	Series OB 1991	References
1 Antimachos II	165–162 aC	King riding: Ind	Nike palm, crown	King riding	Horse's bridle	Ag série 1 indian	OB 1991, p. 196–197; 1998, 396–413; Bordeaux 2018, p. 141: dates
2 Eucratides I and posthum	171–145 aC	Tyche enthroned (City Kapisa ?)	King's bust	Poliad deity	Palm	Bze Série 24	OB 1991, p. 216; pl. 22; 1998, 610–611
3 Plato	145–140 aC	Helios: Gr	King's bust	Helios radiate standing	Scepter	Série 4 Ag tetradr attic	OB 1991, p. 221; pl. 24 ; Qunduz n° 389
4 Agathocleia Strato	135–125 aC	King standing (or Ares?): Ind	Queen's bust	King armed and armored	Spear and shield	Séries 1, 2	OB 1991, p. 251; pl. 34, 35
5 Philoxenos	100–95 aC	Tyche standing: Gr	Tyche	Zebu	Cornucopia	Série 10	OB 1991, p. 293; pl. 44; 1998, 1199–1214
6 Philoxenos	Id.	Helios: Gr	Helios	Nike crown, palm	Scepter	Série 12	OB 1991, p. 294; pl. 44
7 Philoxenos	Id.	King riding: Gr or Ind	King's portrait or bust with spear and aegis	King (or deity) armored riding	Horse's bridle	Séries 1 to 9	OB, p. 294; pl. 43, 44; 1998, 1163–1192; Ind-Ox, n° 103, 104
8 Peucolaos	90 aC	Zeus standing: Ind	King's bust	Zeus standing	Scepter	Série 1 Ag indian	OB 1991, p. 209; pl. 48
9 Nicias	90–85 aC	King standing: Ind	King's bust	King standing	Palm	Séries 2, 3 Ag indian	OB 1991, p. 311; pl. 49; 1998, 1264–1265
10 Menander II	90-85 aC	Athena: Gr	Athena	Lion seated	Palm, spear	Série 5, 6	OB 1991 p. 314; pl. 49
11 Menander II	Id.	King standing: Gr	Armed warrior	Lion standing	Sword	Série 7 Bronze	Ibid.
12 Menander II	Id.	King riding: Ind	King's bust	Armed warrior	Horse's bridle	Bronze	Bactr-Tapr, p. 487, n° 2; 1998, 1266–1268
13 Amyntas	95-90 aC	Tyche enthroned: Gr	King's bust	Tyche enthroned	Cornucopia	Série 2, Double decadr attic	OB 1991, p. 303 ; pl. 46 ; Qunduz, n° 621-623
14 Amyntas	Id.	Athena: Ind	Bust Zeus-Mithra	Athena standing	Shield, spear	Série 14 Bronze	OB 1991, p. 303; pl. 47; 1998, 1250–1253
15 Maues and Ma-chene	90–70 aC	Tyche enthroned (queen?): Gr	Tyche (queen?) enthroned	Zeus Nicephoros	Scepter	Silver	Ind-Ox, n° 115; Fröhlich sér. 1, pl.5
16 Maues	Id.	Zeus standing: Gr	Zeus standing	Nike holding crown	Scepter	Silver	Ind-Ox, n° 116 ; Fröhlich série 2
17 Maues	Id.	Tyche enthroned: Gr	Tyche enthroned	Zeus Nikephoros ?		Silver	McDowall 2007, 9.51, 9.52

18	Maues	Id.	Zeus enthroned: Ind	Gods in chariot	Zeus enthroned	Scepter	Silver	Fröhlich sér. 3; McDowall 2007 9.49 9.50
19	Hermaios and posthumus	90–70 aC /10 aC–20 pC	Zeus (Mithra) enthroned radiate: Gr or Ind	King's bust	Zeus / Mithra enthroned radiate or not	Scepter	Séries 1-5, 7, 10- 15, 12, 16-22	OB 1991, p. 326, 327, 330, 333, 335, 337, 338, 343; pl. 52 to 60; 1998, 1324– 1515; Ind-Ox, n°108–109
20	Telephos	75–70 aC	Zeus enthroned: Gr	Zeus enthroned	Man with spear "extend- ing right arm"	Scepter	Série 2 bze	OB 1991, p. 344; pl. 60
21	Hippostratos	65–55 aC	Tyche standing: Ind	King's bust	Tyche with polos standing	Cornucopia	Série 1, 2 indian	OB 1991, p. 356; pl. 64; 1998, 1614–1621; 2020, cat. n° 28
22	Hippostratos	Id.	Tyche standing: Ind	Anguiped hold- ing dolphin and oar	Tyche with crown stand- ing	Palm	Série 12	OB, p. 360; pl. 66; 1998, 1643–1645 Ind-Ox, n° 113
23	Hippostratos	Id.	King riding: Gr	King's bust	King armored riding	Horse's bridle	Série 7	OB, pl. 65
24	Azes I	55–35 aC /58–12 aC	Zeus standing: Gr (torque?)	Zeus standing	Nike with palm and crown	Scepter	Silver	Fröhlich, sér. 1
25	Azes II	30 aC–20 pC	Tyche enthroned: Gr	Tyche en- throned	Hermès standing caduceus	Caduceus	Bronze	Ind-Ox, n° 124; Fröhlich, 318
26	Azes II	Id.	Tyche standing: Ind	King on horse	Tyche standing cornucopia	Cornucopia	Bronze	Fröhlich, n° 375, 377
27	Azes II	Id.	Zeus: Ind (Shiva/ Poseidon?)	King on horse	Zeus standing (Shiva/Posei- don?)	Trident	Bronze	McDowall 2007, 9.61
28	Azes II	Id.	Athena: Ind	King on horse	Athena standing	Shield, spear	Bronze	Fröhlich, sér. 6-8, 10-17, pl. 15–18
29	Azes II	Id.	Hermes: Ind	King seated legs crossed	Hermes standing	Caduceus	Sér. 19–21, 24 Bze	Fröhlich, pl. 18, 19
30	Spalirizes	Ca. 70 aC	Zeus enthroned: Ind	King walking	Zeus enthroned	Scepter	Bronze	Ind-Ox, n° 118, p. 141
31	Spalahores- Vonones	80–50 aC	Athena: Ind	Heracles crown- ing himself	Athena standing	Shield, spear	Bronze	Senior ISCH: 66.2
32	Gondophares	20–50 pC	Zeus standing: Gr or Ind	King on horse	Zeus standing/ Shiva	Scepter / trident	Bronze	Ind-Ox, n° 128; Fröhlich, sér. 5, 6, pl. 25
33	Abdagazes	60–80pC	Horseman + Zeus	Horseman	Zeus standing	Scepter	Bronze	Fröhlich, sér.3–5, p. 131
34	Kanishka I and Huvishka	127–153 pC	Selene, Mao, Helios, Mi- iro Pharro, Asheikhsho	King	Deities and attributes		Gold	Rosenfield, p. 75, 77, 80, 96; coins n° 31, 52, 61, 70, 90, 100, 101, 102, 105, 112, 115, 116, 123, 124, 180

Illustrations of the Table of Iconographic Types (see figs. pp. 64–67)

Antimachus II:



1a



1b

Eucratides I (post.):



2

Plato:



3a

Agathocleia & Strato I:



3b



4a



4b

Philoxenus:



5



6a



6b



7a



7b

Peucolaos:



8

Nicias:



9a



9b

Menander II:



10



11a



11b



12a



12b

Illustrations of the Table of Iconographic Types (see figs. pp. 64–67)

Amyntas:



13

Maues & Machene:



14

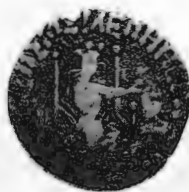


15

Maues:



16



17



18a



18b

Hermaios (post.):



19

Telephos:



20a



20b

Hippostratos:



21



22a



22b



23

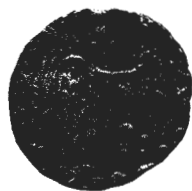
Azes I:



24a

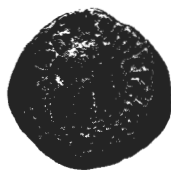
Illustrations of the Table of Iconographic Types—(continued) (see figs. pp. 64–67)

Azes I (cont.):

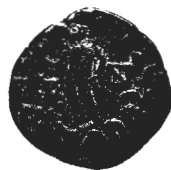


24b

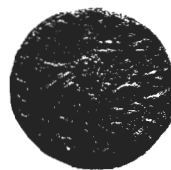
Azes II:



25a



25b

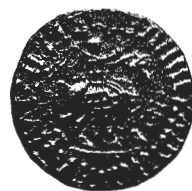


26



27

Sparilizes:



28a



28b



29a

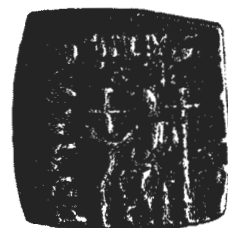


29b

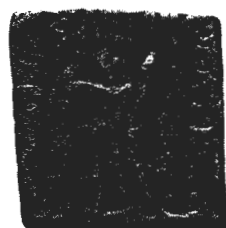


30a

Spalahores-Vonones:



30b

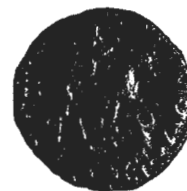


31a



31b

Gondophares:



32a

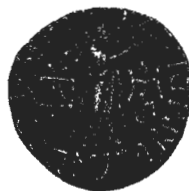
Abdagases:



32b



33a



33b

Kanishka I:



34

Preliminary Remarks on the Titles of Columns of Table of Iconographic Types (pp. 64–67)

- When not mentioned, the deity or king performing the gesture is standing;
- Gesture identified here was represented on coins of 19 *sovereigns* before the Kushans (plus perhaps Kujula Kadphises enthroned and Heraios drachmas?) in approximately a series of 32 types without taking into account some nuances or details that are not relevant;
- The *sovereign's name* is indicated in the first column, in approximate chronological order, from Antimachos II (165–62 B.C.E.) to Kushan kings, just mentioned but not studied, the types being different;
- The *date* column gives the reigns of the sovereigns and relies principally on the works of Osmund Bopearachchi (1991; 2020);
- The *type* column mentions the being making the gesture, either deity or mortal (or possibly heroized/deified mortal), his posture, standing (the default posture), enthroned or riding; the *script* is given in order to visualize the coins users/readers' cultural community (see below);
- The *obverse* column gives more precisions on the being gesturing (if on obverse) or on the type of obverse (if the gesturing being is on reverse);
- The *reverse* column gives the type represented, whether or not it is making the gesture;
- The *left-hand* column (since the gesture is always systematically made by the right hand) indicates the action performed, or the device held, by the being displaying the gesture;
- The *series OB 1991* column mentions the most detailed of catalogues and study of the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France by Osmund Bopearachchi;
- The *references* column cites works by Osmund Bopearachchi 1991; 1998; Bactr-Tapr = *From Bactria to Taprobane* (Bopearachchi 2015); Ind-Ox = the *From Indus to Oxus* catalogue (Bopearachchi, Landes and Sachs 2003); the catalogues by Christine Fröhlich (Fröhlich 2008); R. C. Senior (Senior 2001; 2006); J. Rosenfield (Rosenfield 1967); J. Mac Dowall (Mac Dowall 2007); see also bibliography and abbreviations.

Commentary on the Table (observations according to enlarged images)

The coins on which the gesture is best recognizable by the position of the fingers are the following

nos.: 4- Agathocleia (king armored); 5- Philoxenos (Tyche); 7- Philoxenos (king riding) "caliper hand" deliberately made visible, not holding reins, separated from the bridle; 8- Peucolaos (Zeus) with thumb, index and little finger visible as on Amyntas coins; 10- Menander II (Athena); 16- Maues (Zeus and scepter), three fingers visible like Peucolaos; 19- Hermaios (enthroned Zeus) three fingers visible; 22- Hippostratos (crowned Tyche palm) "caliper hand" with anguiped holding dolphin and rudder; 23- Hippostratos extended fingers visible, the hand above reins while on other types the hand is clearly holding the reins while on; 24- Azes (Zeus) "caliper hand"; 27- Azes II (Zeus, trident) "caliper hand." The "caliper hand" is, I propose, a schematization by die engravers of the *mano cornuta* represented in small format (or less understood by the engravers?); thus I suggest here to consider them as a version of the *mano cornuta* gesture. On the other coins, the gesture can be identified with a minimum of effort, if it is agreed, as said above, that deities and sovereigns do not gesticulate at random. However, there are some admittedly doubtful cases. Let us have now some more detailed discussions on the gesture's representations on coins, with additional observations, and considering possible variants and alternatives.

- Azilises coins (57–35 B.C.) are completely unclear, either a variant of the gesture, or simply an outstretched hand or a torque; they are not included in our table;
- 2- Eucratides I; 13- Amyntas; 15- Maues and Machene; 17- Maues; 24- Azes II: in our view, on these coins, Tyche is making the *mano cornuta* gesture whether holding a cornucopia or not (different point of view in Senior, vol. I, p. 158);
- 5- Philoxenos; 21–22- Hippostratos; 25- Azes II: in our view it is NOT a "deity standing left with torque and cornucopia" (Senior, vol. I, p. 158) but rather Tyche, standing with cornucopia and making the *mano cornuta*;
- 7- Philoxenos: the armored and helmeted king riding a prancing horse is extremely important. His right arm is extended and his hand, depicted above the reins, is not guiding the horse but clearly making the *mano cornuta*. The left hand, not visible, holds the reins (but on Hermaios and Calliope coins, the horseman holds the reins; he does not perform the horns sign);
- 10- Menander II; 14- Amyntas; 27- Azes II; 30- Spalahores-Vonones, do not simply figure an "arm raised" (Senior, vol. I, p. 160), but Athena

- performs the horns gesture;
- 14- Amyntas: Senior (vol. I, p. 158) considers that "she holds her right hand out in a sign of benediction, but on the following Indo-Scythian coins this has been translated into her holding a torque as on the Zeus types. . ."; but here we consider that, with few possible exceptions where a torque (or whatever?) actually appears, the "torque" in question is simply the *mano cornuta* represented in the "caliper hand" form, its schematic version;
 - 15- Maues and Machene: the "deity enthroned" with mural crown raises the important question related to the status of the queen (Senior, vol. I, p. 158); could it be a queen or a possibly heroized/deified queen? Bopearachchi and Sachs (Ind-Ox, p. 140, no. 115), compared to the Ptolemaic queens, and an identification of the queen with the goddess; Di Castro also suggests the Parthian favorite and Queen Musa;⁴⁹ the side with the Gr legend could be the reverse (see also below);
 - 16- Maues: Senior (vol. I, p. 149), who remarks on a hand gesture similar to Peucolaos and sees "a 'C'-shaped torque." However, perhaps not all are torques, or the torque could be a misunderstanding of the horns gesture? A problem arises with the torque having balls visible: is it a special gesture of investiture, a reinterpretation of the horns gesture or an imitation of the crowns brought by Nike? We cannot decide;
 - 19- Other types, of Hermaios with Calliope (Ind-Ox, no. 107), depict the horseman NOT performing the gesture, but simply grasping the bridle of the prancing horse;
 - 22- Hippostratos: issues of this type associates an anguiped holding a dolphin and oar with a Tyche making the horns gesture; we can compare it with the anguiped holding a dolphin and oar at Tillya Tepa and with Gandhāra reliefs with water deities (see above);
 - 23- Hippostratos: on this issue the armored king makes the gesture, hand extended above the head of the horse; the horse stands or walks; however, on other types the riding king holds the reins, the horse is prancing (OB 1991, series 3 to 6), similar to Hermaios and Calliope reverses, not making the *mano cornuta* gesture;
 - 24- Azes I: Zeus standing, Gr legend, seems on some issues to hold a torque (Senior, vol. I, p. 149). But perhaps not all hold torque, or the "torque"

could be a misunderstanding of the horns gesture (?). Interestingly, some torques seem to have balls visible, depicting a peculiar artifact;

- 27: Azes II: Zeus (Śiva /Poseidon), but we do not see a torque, or, once more, not all are torques (Senior, vol. I, p. 150) but rather it could be the gesture in "caliper hand," the schematic version of the *mano cornuta*;
- 28: Azes II: definitely depicts the gesture, not a torque (*contra* Senior);
- 34: Kushan coins of Kanishka and Huvishka are mentioned simply because the horns gesture can perhaps continue, not performed by gods or kings but only by gods on reverses, though apparently not by the standing or seated Tyche-type goddesses such as Ardoxšo or Hārītī.
- At the end of these brief comments, if the reader follows our hypothesis of an extensive use of the *mano cornuta* among Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins by deities and sovereigns, we may add some synthetic comments. They are based on our table and used for comparisons in the study of epithets and epicleses of the same kings by Callatāy and Lorber.⁵⁰

Synthetic Comments on the Table

The beings making the gesture are divine: Zeus = 10; Tyche = 9; King = 6; Athena = 3; Helios = 2; Hermes = 2.

The posture of the being making the gesture: they are generally standing, but some are enthroned, such as Tyche (= 5) and Zeus (= 4); we must also mention the king on horseback (= 4) and the king standing (= 3).

In sum, Tyche appears second, just after the images of Zeus. Similarly, she is with Zeus the only deity to sit on a throne, of a Greek type. Kings in general are armored and helmeted, whether standing or riding, and represent, because of the gesture they perform, some divine posture or supernatural power (see below their possible heroization/deification). This importance is totally supported by the evidence from Seleucia on the Tigris analyzed by P. Iossif.⁵¹ Collecting the representations of deities on coins and seals of the city, he remarks that Tyche is poorly represented on the obverse of coins, but that she is the third most popular on the reverse of coins and the second most popular on seals. That fits with our observations of the *mano cornuta* as

a gesture apparently expressing a divine power provided by some Olympians (Zeus or Athena, principally); but to this group Tyche and the sovereigns were aggregated.

We can also mention, in relation to iconography, the bounty and good sovereign epithets on coins of the kings proclaiming to be favored by the gods, and favoring their country and people by this power. The epithets of the kings listed in our table (but not only on the types with *mano cornuta*) are the following: *epiphanous sôteros* (Plato I, Peucolaos), *theotropou* (Agathocleia, Machene), *epiphanous* (Plato), *evergetou* (Telephos), *sôteros* (Strato I, Nicias, Hermaios, Hippostratos), *megalou sôteros* (Hippostratos), *dikaïou* (Menandros II), *dikaïou kai sôteros* (Strato I). It is different from the power and political epithets also expressed, such as the kings in our table (but not necessarily exhibiting the *mano cornuta*): *nikephorou* (Antimachos II), *aniketou* (Philoxenos), *nikatoros* (Amyntas), *megalou/megas* (Eucratides I), *basileos basileon megalou* (Spalirizes, Maues, Azes, Azilizes). The "religious" or "moral" epicleses (even if in reality they are also obviously political) are in greater number than those signifying simply power, military-political (8/5); however, if *dikaïos* is considered as belonging to military/political expression of power, the numbers are almost equal.

Gesture and script can be either Indian (= 17) or Greek (= 15). We may therefore suppose that the representation of the *mano cornuta* gesture is almost equally intended for the Indian and Greek readers and users of the coins. Epicleses and epithets exist in the Indian language, written in kharoṣṭhī, whether they were inspired by Greek originals or not. We may mention, among the kings of our table (who do not necessarily make the *mano cornuta*) the following formulae:⁵² *Maharajasa apadihatasa* "Great king invincible" (Philoxenos); *Maharajasa jayadharasa* "Great king victorious" (Amyntas); *Maharajasa tratarasa* "Savior" (Agathocleia and Strato, Nicias, Hermaios and Calliope); *Maharajasa tratarasa jayamṭasa* "Great king savior conqueror" (Hippostratos); *Maharajasa tratarasa dhramikasa* "Great king savior follower of the dharma" (Agathocleia and Strato); *Maharajasa dhramikasa* "Great king follower of the dharma" (Menander II); *Maharajasa dhramikasa tratarasa* "Great king follower of the dharma savior" (Peucolaos). All that possibly indicates shared cultural con-

cepts (see below). Indo-Scythians (Maues, Azes, Azilises) use also *basileos basileou megalou* "Great king of kings," in the old political tradition going back to the Achaemenids.

Sôter in various forms deserves some attention. It is used by six of our kings. *Sôter* (σωτήρ) was especially important from the time of the Diadochs, among the Lagids and of course the Seleucids (Antiochos I, Demetrios I). In Bactria it concerns major kings, such as Diodotos I (Diodotos II was *theos*—according to Holt 1999, p. 97f.), and Euthydemos I was also *theos* but only on later commemorative coins struck by Agathocles or Antimachos. However, it was used by Menander I in India. The exact meaning of the term is difficult to grasp beyond "savior." It could concern salvation for the kingdom (?) from military and political enemies but also from natural calamities or from spiritual disasters. In any case, as we shall see below, it appears not to be foreign to the question of possible heroization/deification of sovereigns.

According to Callataÿ and Lorber,⁵³ the royal epithets appear on coins in large number in the second half of the 2nd century, and so does our gesture. In regard to Graeco-Bactrians and Indo-Greeks, "*sôter*" is especially important, appearing 18 times ("*dikaïos*" appears 9 times).⁵⁴ But actually no regularity is discernible that connects the coins exhibiting the horns gesture and any specific epithet. On the other hand, it is interesting to repeat the great importance of Tyche, present almost as frequently as Zeus. Zeus is also represented on an Indo-Scythian seal of the 1st century in the Cabinet des Médailles in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris), holding a scepter and extending an arm apparently with two fingers outstretched, possibly our gesture (fig. 9).⁵⁵ By frequency of appearance there follows the images of the king standing or riding and then Athena, as we have seen. Regarding this goddess, we can establish a parallel with two engraved gems from Tillya Tepa on which the goddess is depicted with outstretched arm and hand, and in one case possibly making the *mano cornuta* gesture. (fig. 10).⁵⁶

Heroization/deification of Sovereigns

The representation of the helmeted and armored king making the gesture of the horns sign while riding or standing is especially important, too,



Fig. 9. Seal representing Zeus with extended hand gesture. Bibliothèque Nationale Paris Cabinet des Médailles. After Bopearachchi et al., *Ind-Ox*, no. 144.

in the perspective of a possible heroization/deification of sovereigns, beside the inscribed epithets.⁵⁷ A similar armored standing soldier/king is represented on a pair of gold pendants from Tillya Tapa, holding a spear and a shield, and wearing a helmet and a diadem (fig. 11). He is shown within a decorative frame representing a dragon, plants and birds, shaping a sort of *naiskos*.⁵⁸ Various attempts have been made to identify this soldier with a king, Ares or Alexander the Great.⁵⁹

If we consider the goddesses on other plaques that are also represented in three-storey frames shaping a pseudo-*naiskos* at Tillya Tapa,⁶⁰ and if we remember that a warrior figure with shield, sword and spear is also represented on some coins of Kujula Kadphises (fig. 12)⁶¹ that have been compared with our plaque with "a Greek soldier" from Tillya Tapa, the "soldier" actually appears as a king, recognized as a "possible deified king."⁶²



Fig. 10. Seal representing Athena with extended hand gesture. Tillya Tapa. Kabul National Museum of Afghanistan. After Sarianidi 1985, pl. 108, p. 168.

Without exception the anthropomorphic beings of the gold pendants and plaques of Tillya Tapa are systematically of divine character. We see Aphrodite, Psyche, Erotes, Master of Dragons, Artemis or Nana, water deities or Nike, enforcing the possibility of recognizing a representation of a heroized/deified king in this "Macedonian soldier."

In our table of coin iconography, some armored helmeted "kings" making the horns gesture appear on the reverse of coins on which the obverse represents the bust of the king, i.e. they appear at the place of the usual representations of deities, therefore perhaps being kings possibly heroized/deified, or representing the "heroization/deification" of their fathers or of an ancestor? We can remark that some bronze coins of Kujula Kadphises imitate Augustan issues: on the reverse they represent him, the first Kushan emperor, seated on a folding chair (*sella curulis*), and on the obverse a portrait type copying the Roman emperor deified or to be deified (*Divus Augustus*) with an extended arm and outstretched hand/fingers; however, except in some exemplars where

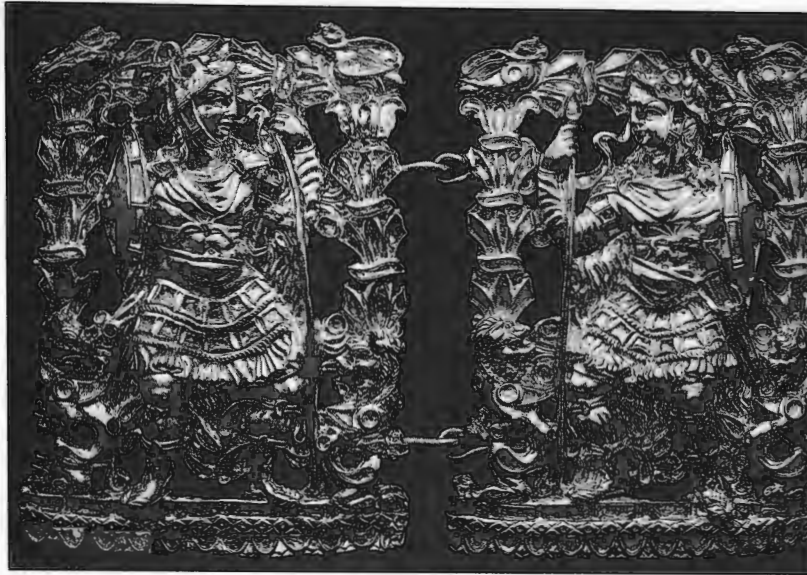


Fig. 11. Plaque with Greek armored king possibly deified. Tillya Tepa, Kabul National Museum of Afghanistan. After Sarianidi 1985, pl. 82, p. 141.



Fig. 12. Bronze coin of Kujula Kadphises with Greek armored king. After Rosenfield, 1967, coin no. 8.

two fingers seem visibly extended,⁶³ the details of the fingers are generally unclear.

The question here is of the heroization/deification of kings: if the kings in military dress make the *mano cornuta* gesture, the gesture of Zeus, Tyche, Athena and other gods, it becomes possible to consider their possible heroization/deification, in relation to the images of some Kujula Kadphises bronze coins (as soldier and enthroned), and to the Tillya Tepa plaque. Such are the soldiers shown standing on the reverse of the

king's bust: 4- Agathocleia-Straton (*soteros*); 9- Nicias (*soteros*); 12- Menander II (*dikaious*); or riding on the reverse of kings' busts: 7- Philoxenos (*aniketou*); 23- Hippostratos (*megalou soteros*). If the possible heroization/deification of kings appears to be a widespread idea in the period under consideration, it remains nevertheless poorly understood by scholars in the various regions here considered, regarding its relationship to the Seleucid or, less probably, the Roman variants of "deification" that are better known from texts.



Fig. 13. Philoxenos on prancing horse performing the *mano cornuta*. British Museum London.
wikipedia.org/wiki/Philoxenos_Aniketou
[#mediaFilePhiloxenosCoin2.JPG](#).

In any case, the Greek legends (*theos*) of coinages proclaim the deification of some sovereigns, beginning with Antimachos I (and retrospectively on commemorative later coins).⁶⁴ For the Indian legends the situation is more complicated (see below). They look very important, being used by Agathocleia and Strato (our no. 4) and by Machene and Maues (our no. 14), but, as seen above, its exact meaning is not totally clear. Nevertheless, their coins and the epithet *theotropos* are especially noteworthy in a study on heroization/deification, even if it is not decisive, the meaning being possibly "turning towards god" and not definitely "of divine character."⁶⁵

We examine, beside the Seleucid coins, the coinage of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings, but not only our selected *mano cornuta* coins; we can observe that *theos* was used by Diodotos I and II, Agathocles I (commemorative coins) and Antimachos I, who also used *sôteros*. Then, among Indo-Greeks, *theos* is not in use, but only *sôteros* as the closest to a proximity with the divine world, with *theotropos* for two queens. The Indian legends and epithets never use the equivalent of *theos* before the Kushans, as far as I know, but largely mint their legends with the kharoṣṭhī epithet equivalent of *sôteros*: *tratarasa*.⁶⁶

If we consider the armored riding sovereigns, they look very different from the obverses of Indo-Scythian coins with cataphractarii;⁶⁷ they make the horns sign gesture (fig. 13). Then is it possible

to see the making of this sign as a possible mark of heroization/deification? It is so in the cases of: 1- Antimachos II (*nikephorou*); 7- Philoxenos (*aniketou*); 12- Menander II (*dikaïou*); 23- Hippostratos (*megalou sôteros*); 33- Abdagazes. We have suggested recently with examples that their representation as riders in arms, helmeted and armored, could have been inspired and influenced by the battle customs of the steppe warriors populations that arrived in Bactria, i.e. the Saka heavy armored cavalry and the Yuezhi.⁶⁸

On our coins, because of the gesture of fingers, we are perhaps not facing simply a version of the king's representation (eventually repeating the bust portrait in a redundant image) but possibly a heroized/deified image, but we must also think of a possible assimilation to or representation of a riding god. Is that possible in our area? We know that riding gods existed in Thracia, Anatolia and in Danubian areas. But they also existed in Palmyra, generally in Syria, and specifically in the steppic areas near Emese, with representations of gods or heroes riding.⁶⁹

The social and religious contexts in our domain are favorable for representations of gods on horseback, or associated with horses. This is visible in the iconography of the Kushan period, and in some Iranian texts. But this will require a special study.

From all of our observations, we may suggest that the expression of the power of sovereigns and dynasties on coins changed at some moment around the middle of the second century B.C.E. with a large use of epicleses, a clear manifestation of a divine element inherent in this power, in our case the *mano cornuta* divine gesture. It is known in many cultures that the good sovereign brings prosperity and fertility to the people and the country, in the West and in the East, and therefore Tyche and related deities also appear with the horns gesture. This transformation process was also visible for example at Aï Khanoum, with its manifold links with India before 145 B.C.E.: the Agathocles coins and many objects from India during the reign of Eucratides I.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, a strong influence of Scythian, Iranian and Indian religions(s) in broad sense, seems probable. In this respect, the possible divine armored rider of the Indo-Greeks and Indo-Scythians, whether a deified king, or an ancestor, is another manifestation of these changes towards a specific more steppe "Oriental" branch of the transformations of the

Hellenic traditions, including religion and the conception of royal power. This demonstrates the heuristic potential of iconographic coin analyses, beside numismatics, for the understanding of the history of civilization when texts are lacking, as is the case in our region.

After this review, what about Miran, and more? The gesture of the busts in the Miran garland, if not transformed by Stein's modifications of the photo, is performed by beings inside the vegetation (again the vegetation and aquatic deities?), and the same seems also to appear on the Kanishka reliquary, but here the gesture is unclear, as fingers are not discernible.⁷¹ Who are these busts? The context is Gandhāran, not Iranian, and the composition is religious, but the gesture may have evolved from a gesture of power and fertility towards a different use and signification, i.e. transformed into a gesture of respect from an inferior to a superior or a divine being, here the Buddha. And the same appears in Sassanid court monumental arts, as observed by C. Bromberg. However, if the gesture is properly identified at Miran, and in spite of an earlier date of the paintings in the 1st century that was recently proposed,⁷² it is not impossible that some of the beings appearing as busts in the Buddhist garlands represent some transformed form of the aquatic/vegetation deities, in a different artistic and cultural context. We will not decide here.

Altogether, our purpose was to suggest some reflections on the history of a divine and well-identified royal gesture, the horns sign, or *mano cornuta*. This fingers gesture is especially performed by Tyche, on Amyntas coins and the al-Sabah *emblemata*, but also by aquatic/vegetation deities on Gandhāran reliefs. Then we have proposed an extension of the corpus by using monetary iconography, and we have identified this gesture performed by gods, above all Zeus, Tyche and Athena but also by queens and armored kings. More than simply using Hellenistic or Kushan information, we concentrated mainly on the Graeco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian periods evidence. Finally, we have suggested an interpretation, connected with ideas of fertility, power and prosperity, that leads to the question of the possible heroization/deification of some armored sovereigns, some riding horses, who appropriated this divine gesture, identifying themselves with gods, in a cultural context basically Greek, Indian and Iranian but

strongly influenced by the steppe Scythian (or Saka/Yuezhi) tradition.

Notes

1. I would like to express my warmest thanks to C. Bromberg, J. Zailo, O. Bopearachchi, O. Bordeaux and S. Kaoukji, who helped me improve this article, but all opinions expressed and all mistakes are mine, of course. Ed: Thanks also to Russell Harris, multilingual scholar and editor at the Institute of Ismaili Studies, London, for his consult regarding images.

2. Bromberg 1991: 50–51, nn. 25–26; C. Bromberg dates the examples given in this article to the 3rd century, but we must precise here that not only the Gandhāran stair risers but also the Miran representations are earlier (see Francfort: 2014).

3. We stop with the Indo-Parthians and just give some information on Kujula Kadphises and later. For a recent synthesis of the period considered here, beautifully illustrated, see the work of Osmund Bopearachchi (2020), especially pp. 1–70.

4. For an overview of the sign of horns, "les cornes" (Fr) or *mano cornuta* (It) and its complexity and variety of meanings (apotropaic, prophylactic, conjuration, blessing, fertility, irony, etc.) see: Carénini 1991, and especially for its uses in the Neapolitan region since Roman times and during history (Calabro 2013; De Jorio 1832 [2002] and Mertzani 2018a; b). Again, it must not be confused with the *benedictio latina*, and not with the simple hand showing the palm in the Roman East (Rosenthal-Heginbottom 2016) but was known by the Parthians, and of course it cannot be identified with the "devil horns" of rock music concerts. We can also mention that the *Karana mudrā* is quite similar, except for the position of one finger, but all its representations are of later dates than the examples we study here. The Iranian gestures of respect and submission towards higher rank beings are different; they have been studied by Choksy 1992 and in other articles.

5. See for an image: Classical Art Research Center, Oxford: 215552, ATHENIAN, Berlin, Antikensammlung, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg, 30036. Earlier attempts regarding Egyptian art are not convincing: (Wainwright 1961).

6. Supposedly with a conjuration purpose: Carénini 1991.

7. Sale 2016, with a number of relevant remarks and illustrations.

8. Ibid.: 74: ". . . to celebrate and protect from the evil eye the reproductive powers of the figure represented" with phallic symbolism in those cases. For our purpose and our period, the satyr on a 40–80 C.E. lamp of the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 5 and n. 41 with other examples) is especially important.

9. Curiel and Fussman 1965: 65–67, pl. LIII, 621–23; Bopearachchi 2020: cat. no. 26. In the treasure, beside some Alexander, Seleucid and Graeco-Bactrian coins, a great number of coins are of the latest Greek rulers of Bactria, or Indo-Greeks minting for Bactria, as well as imitations by "Saka-Yuezhi": Eucratides I and II, Heliocles, some Lysias, Theophilos, Antialcidas, Plato, Archebios, Philoxenos and Hermaios.
10. Here I shall not differentiate between *calathos* and *polos* for the cylindrical headdress of goddesses; since the use in the literature generally fluctuates, I will use both terms.
11. Bopearachchi 2020: 60, cat. no. 26 with an excellent image: the corn ears and fruits are visible emerging from the cornucopia, and the feet of the throne exhibit molding profiles similar to the real ones discovered at Ai Khanoum and Nisa, while the throne of Zeus is represented with different, no less Greek, moldings (Curiel and Fussman 1965: nos. 619–20). On Hellenistic types of the profiles of throne legs at Ai Khanoum and Nisa, see Bernard 1970; Manassero 2018.
12. Carter, Harper and Meyers 2015: 126–29; the *emblemata* is 12.3 cm in diameter. The bowl possibly comes from a cache near Nahrin in Bactria (Afghanistan) with other objects.
13. We can mention here that some silverwares of this region (Bactria-Gandhāra) depict important goddesses in landscapes with little flowers that are rarely mentioned, for instance: the Ai Khanoum Cybele plaque (Cambon and Jarrige 2006: no. 23) or the Miho bowl (Catalogue 2002: no. 114).
14. Neither Carter 2015 nor Bopearachchi 2020 mention the *mano cornuta* gesture made by the deity. Carter states that: "Her lower right arm, which is tridimensional, was broken off completely, but has recently been reattached. Its socket contains a cylindrical support. The delicate fingers are now bent out of shape but may have shown a gesture of benevolence." This is precisely the horned sign, and we have no reason to think that the restorers created such a gesture purely artificially. An examination of the details shows that the fingers were originally bent in this way. I thank the Dar Museum and Ms. S. Kaoukji warmly for her help in providing the close views.
15. Carter 2015, p. 128, writes about the possibility of a local Bactrian goddess of good fortune before the arrival of the Greeks but focuses on the Kushan and Indian successors. Apparently, a vegetation, water and fertility goddess had existed in Bactria since the Bronze Age and in the Iron Age and Achaemenid periods. I proposed to identify her with the goddess Wakhshu (Francfort 2012).
16. Bromberg 1991: 50, figs. 8 and 9.
17. MetDP138046, Rogers Fund 1913, accession number: 13.96.21; Bromberg 1991: 50, fig. 8.
18. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/A_1889-1016-1; 1889,1016.1. See the excellent article of J. Boardman (Errington and Cribb 1992: no. 129, pp. 126–27). The gesture was noticed by Sir John Marshall, who asked Alfred Foucher about its significance in a personal letter of June 6 1952 (see A. Fenet, 2009, "Lettre(s) d'Ajanta . . . et d'ailleurs: les correspondances d'Alfred Foucher," in *Bouddhismes d'Asie Monuments et Littératures: Journée d'étude en hommage à Alfred Foucher (1868-1952) réunie le vendredi 14 décembre 2007 à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Palais de l'Institut de France)*, ed. P.-S. Filliozat et J. Leclant, fig. 5, p. 89: photo of the letter [Paris]).
19. V&A Museum: Given by Professor Benjamin Rowland, Museum no. IS.3-1971 (06/06/2011); Errington and Cribb 1992: no. 130, pp. 127–28 and color ill. p. 25.
20. I draw attention to the similarity of guise of the Ai Khanoum Cybele on the plaque of the temple with niches and on Agathocles coins: Francfort 2012: 125–27, figs. 21, 22; the analogy of the *polos* headdresses with the Ai Khanoum Cybele is pointed out by M. Carter (2015: 150, n. 1) apropos the no. 30 of her catalogue, a "female bust" (Tyche) *emblemata*.
21. Bromberg 1991: 50, fig. 9; Marshall 1960, fig. 46.
22. Sarianidi 1985 (burial 1): cat. 1.1, p. 226, ill. 86, man with a dolphin.
23. Galli 2011: 310–16 and figs. 13–18 (including our V&A relief) interprets the bestial pointed ears as indicating satyrs who take part in bacchanals along with maenads (?), but in a policed way searching to display the urbanity and Hellenization via theatrical compositions. We recall the satyrs making the *mano cornuta* in Greek art (see above). Bernard and Bopearachchi 2002: 171, fig. 17 and no. 87 just speak of "élégantes à la mode grecque." Boardman (in Errington and Cribb 1992: 128–29) carefully comments on the reliefs with couples and consorts, with fine comparative studies and concludes that "they precede, if by little, in style, subject and date, reliefs with explicit Buddhist iconography." Here we refer not to social questions but only to artistic traditions and to a probable popular mythology, absent in the texts and in the most explicit arts.
24. In this paper we subsume under "Tyche" the "Oriental goddesses" wearing the *polos* (or mural crown) and cornucopia (or palm for instance), whether standing or seated.
25. Bordeaux 2020, especially pp. 102–9 and figs 12–17; Bordeaux 2018: 135–36.
26. P. Bernard, (in Bernard, Pinault and Rougemont 2004: 344, n. 271), gives a list of Tyches by Indo-Greeks and Indo-Scythians, following Bopearachchi 1991 and Senior 2001: 68. Ibid.: 104, nn. 136–37 for mural crowns, noting also the Bactrian Hellenistic bust of an

emblema in the al-Sabah collection (Carter 2015: cat. no. 30, pp. 150–53), where the *calathos* is ornamented with three stepped merlons and arrow-shaped decor (similar to brick merlons from Aī Khanoum and Nisa to Surkh Kotal) that could be named a Greek Tyche, or Cybele, proposing parallels in Aī Khanoum with the Cybele plaque and the clay mold of an *emblema* from the same sanctuary.

27. Le Rider 1965: 139, pl. XXVI, 305; see also pl. XLVII, 536–72 without *polos*.

28. Ibid.: 141, pl. XXVII a-s, XXVIII a-f; in Seleucia on the Tigris, with various obverses, in different denominations, with variants.

29. Ibid.: 150s.; pl. XXIX S-T; XXX A-C.

30. Bopearachchi 1991: 135; Fröhlich 2009, 62, and fig. 3 (Azēs I) where the river god possesses horns on his head, recalling the images of Achelous, the Greek waters and rivers god; on the reverse of the Maues and Azēs I coins appear what is called a *yakhshi*, a kind of vegetation female deity surrounded by vegetation (vines?): water and vegetation (for a good image see fig. 1 at: www.carc.ox.ac.uk/GandharaConnections (see Bhandare, gallery coin no.1). Regarding Poseidon in Bactria, if he is not a transitional figure announcing Śiva (as proposed by Fröhlich and others), it could be, as suggested by F. Holt (Holt 2005), Poseidon Hippios, therefore "explaining" the god related with horses in a world where cavalry played a major role in battles. But there could be also that Poseidon was the god of the "sea, earthquakes and horses" (Paus. 7.21.7), and that Achelous was also equated with the primordial Ocean, or all rivers and waters, the underground waters, in relationship with the nymphs. Waters, on the obverse, and vegetation, on the reverse? Achelous is represented in Bactria at Takht-i Sangin (Litvinskij, 2001: figs. 73–74; Litvinskij and Pichikian 1995), in the Mir Zakah 2 treasury as a finial of rhyton (Catalogue, 2002, no. 119), and at Nisa in the same position (Pappalardo, 2010: pls. 1–2), rhyton no. 2, also in Chorasmia (Vajnbarg, 2004: 151 s.). For Achelous and Gopatshah, its local equivalent in Central Asia: Francfort 2012: 117–21, 127–28; Bogomolov 2008.

31. Sinisi 2008 does not insist on the Indo-Greek or Indo-Scythian images but jumps to Kushan iconography; he proposes (n. 5) that the aquatic monster could be a Nereid; we have here a different point of view. The distinction made by Le Rider between Tyche and an Oriental goddess is mentioned (see above) but not commented on. The supposed assimilation with Nana is commonly suggested in the literature but evidence is lacking.

32. Ellerbrock 2013.

33. I use here the written form of the author, but others can be seen in publications, notably *xʷarənah*, and the form *farnah*. The idea of *xʷarənah* is widely used by archaeologists and art historians of Central

Asia to "identify" various animals or composite beings, flying or terrestrial.

34. Ibid.: figs. 4–6: coins of Phraates II, Artabanus I and Mithradates II.

35. Errington and Cribb 1992: no. 111, pp. 108–9, called by J. Boardman a "goddess" with a possible identification as a Hariti and comparison in Gandhāran art, in stone reliefs; but there is also a silver repoussé cup (ibid.: no. 97, pp. 91–94) where a standing statue of the goddess crowned with a *polos* is shown in a sacro-idyllic landscape sacrificing with a phiale, holding a patera and a rich cornucopia.

36. Betts et al. 2012; Minardi 2020; Grenet and Minardi 2021.

37. Marshall 1951, II: 699–700 (H. Hargreaves); III: pl. 211, no. 1, 1st cent. C.E. according to the authors. See above for standing "hieratic" female deities, so wrapped: Cybele of Aī Khanoum, Agathocles coins, Tyche of Swat, fern holder on our V&A relief. (This list is not exhaustive.) All except the last wear a *calathos*.

38. See also the remarks of Chr. Fröhlich on Tyche (Fröhlich 2009: 63–65).

39. Allègre 1889.

40. Becchi 2010; Brouwer 2011; Frazier and Leão 2010; Guelfucci 2010; Hau 2011.

41. Erskine 2016; Grimal 1953; Grimal 1975; Zetzel 1972, not only Cicero but also Polybius was a "member" of this literary circle.

42. We can recall Queen Musa, a slave given by Augustus to Phraataces (Phraates IV) who became his favorite (Strugnell 2008); Phraates IV is an important king for Central Asia, as seen from the presence of his coins and countermarked coins in Bactria; he fled to the Indo-Scythians during a civil war.

43. On images of Tyche on bullae of Seleucia on the Tigris, see Bollati 2003.

44. On the popularity of the Tyche images and statues in the Hellenized East, see for instance: Almasri et al. 2017; Matheson and Pollitt 1994; in our area see: Callieri 1997; Di Castro 2012; Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens 1994: figure on a Loulan textile and Rowland 1966; also the clay statue of Tepe Shotor in Hadda: Bopearachchi 2020: cat. no. 55: 3d–4th cent. C.E., with a strongly preserved Hellenistic flavor (*chiton*, *himation*, cornucopia).

45. Rougemont and Bernard 2012: no. 151, pp. 255–58.

46. Ibid.: n. 870; P. Bernard considered that the Tyche is not the poliad deity, or the personal genius attached to individuals or families but the higher principle presiding over the destiny of history and ruling its course (Bernard, Pinault and Rougemont 2004: 343).

47. Francfort 2020.

48. It is more probable that the two al-Sabah *emblemata* with Tyche mentioned above are to be dated

from the late 3rd to (mid-)2nd, not earlier in the 3rd century.

49. Di Castro 2017: 41–42.

50. Callataÿ and Lorber 2011.

51. Iossif 2014.

52. After Bopearachchi 1991: 389.

53. Callataÿ and Lorber 2011: 419–25 insist on Graeco-Bactrian innovations and monotony but also on Antiochos IV "theos epiphanes" and the circulation of his coins to the East; p. 428.

54. Ibid.: 446–49, the part of the table relevant for our coins.

55. Bopearachchi, Landes and Sachs 2003: 153, no. 144; G. Fussman (Fussman 1972.4: 27–28) proposes the 1st century B.C.E., and parallels with Zeus on the obverse of coins of Azilizes, Gondophares and Abdagases (see our types 27 and 32); an inscription in Kharoṣṭhī reads *Puñamataśa* "à la pensée pure."

56. Sarianidi 1985 (burial 2): cat. 2.1, p. 168, ill. 108, Athena; another seal also with Athena extending her arm (burial 3): cat. 3.73: p. 127, ill. 73, but the side of the seal is worn; among the amulets in the shape of hands found in burial 6, it is possible that a *mano cornuta* is present, but the publications are not accurate enough to ascertain it.

57. We use heroization/deification without trying to differentiate between them since for our region and period we have no data in order to distinguish clearly between the Hellenistic deified sovereigns and queens, for instance the royal cult of the Seleucids, with moreover the possible Iranian and Scythian "deification" of living kings, dead sovereigns or ancestors and the less probable in our area Roman post-mortem apotheosis of emperors.

58. Sarianidi 1985: burial/cat. 3.1, p. 236; ill. 81–84.

59. Abdullaev 2017, for a recent attempt for Alexander, with discussion and earlier bibliography.

60. Sarianidi 1985: burial 2, no. 7, p. 231, ill. 44–47 (master of dragons, male or female deity with crenelated crown); burial 6, no. 4, pp. 254–55, ill. 48–50 (mistress of animals).

61. Francfort 2011: 292 for the Tillya Tepa plaque and the Kujula Kadphises coin with a representation of a similar soldier, see following note.

62. Ibid.: 292–95, fig. 12, especially n. 77 about a possible heroization/deification of this "soldier" that is reproduced here, to be completed by the following note "studies have been devoted to this question; the texts, epigraphy and numismatics (with epithet/s of *theos*) are indeed abundant" Chr. Sachs (Bopearachchi, Landes and Sachs 2003), no. 150, p. 174: coins of Kujula Kadphises ca 30–80 p.C. (*Devaputrasa Kujula Kara Kapasa Mahatagasa rajathiraja*) and inscriptions of Kushans as at Mat in Mathura (*Maharaja rajatiraja devaputra*); at Surkh Kotal, *bago-pouro* and *bagashao*; Rosenfield (1967: 203) seeks the origin of the formula on the side of Western Asia, the Parthians, the Seleucids, the

Lagids and even the Romans. Let us recall here: Antimachos I *theos* [see the parchments of Bactria mentioning this sovereign (Rougemon and Bernard 2012: nos. 92, 93, pp. 192–94) with uncertainties about the date, and identification of the second Antimachos mentioned, who is perhaps our no. 2 here, Antimachos II, Antiochos II *theos*, Antiochos I of Commagene deified by his mother, a Seleucid, of the lineage of Alexander (?) while, on the paternal side, he claims Darius the Great, and established a cult (50 a.C.): βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀντίοχος θεὸς Δίκακος Ἐπιφανὴς Φιλορώμαιος καὶ Φιλέλλην.

The Macedonian soldier from TTP grave no. 3 is close to the coins of Kujula Kadphises mentioned above; moreover, he is a king, recognizable by ribbons (?) which can represent his diadem and his belt sign of power; moreover, he is represented in a frame in a "naiskos," like the figures of all the other plates of this set, which all carry divine effigies. In the Rabatak inscription (Afghan Bactria), Kanishka calls himself "god" and "son of god," and "he establishes a cult (128 p.C.)." In short, Kujula Kadphises is "son of god" while Kanishka proclaims himself "righteous, just, autocrat, god, worthy of worship" (Sims-Williams 2008 [2004]).

63. See the bronze coin of Kujula Kadphises with an Augustan obverse and a seated king with an extended hand gesture. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, (www.carc.ox.ac.uk/GandharaConnections [see Bhandare, gallery coin no.14]).

64. *Theos* was used first by Antimachos I among Graeco-Bactrian sovereigns: Bernard and Rapin 1994: 274; Euthydemus I is *theos* on commemorative coins only (I am grateful to Olivier Bordeaux for these precisions). There are a great number of studies devoted to the various aspects of Hellenistic and Seleucid deification, see previous note above (Caneva 2016; Caneva 2020; Caneva and Paul 2013; Iossif et al. 2011), but we cannot enter this subject here. On deification of kings in our domain, among the Parthians and the Indo-Greeks, see Bopearachchi 1990a; Dąbrowa 2014; 2015; 2017; Falk 2019; Invernizzi 2011a; Olbrycht 2016. Rosenfield (1967: 202–8) made an important review of deification from Seleucids to Antimachos I, the Frataraka and the Kushans, using also textual evidence and relevant comparisons with Rome and Commagene; however, as was usual at his time, he considered ceremonies, attitudes and representations in light of their "frontality," as did for instance Schlumberger (Schlumberger 1960a; b) but did not consider to a substantial degree hand gestures in the perspective of possible deification.

65. A specific article was devoted by G. Le Rider to Queen Machene (with Maues) and Queen Calliope (with Straton) (Le Rider, 1967).

66. Bopearachchi 1991: 387–89.

67. Bopearachchi 2003: 18–54 on the Bara hoard with a great number of Hermaios and Indo-Scythian coins, on which on the obverse the armored king stretches

out his hand but is always shown holding weapons; see also Bopearachchi and Sachs 2001.

68. Francfort 2020: 22–25.

69. Rivault 2018; Sartre-Fauriat 2012; Seyrig 1949. A. Sartre-Fauriat expresses, à propos the Syrian relief, important nuances about heroization and deification at a regional and local scale: "Mais contrairement aux stèles de Palmyrène, d'Apamène ou d'Émésène, Manémos, en l'honneur duquel est effectuée l'offrande de l'encens sur la stèle du Musée de Lyon, n'est pas qualifié de dieu, mais de 'héros' ce qui conduit à penser que l'on est en présence de quelque chose d'un peu différent car ce mot n'apparaît jamais sur les stèles de la Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest ni à Palmyre même. Certes, il n'est pas exclu que nous ayons là le premier témoignage d'une de ces multiples divinités locales ou génies propres à une tribu, un clan ou un individu . . . On pourrait envisager dès lors que l'on est plutôt en présence d'un mortel héroïsé après sa mort, survenue peut-être lors d'un combat."

70. Francfort 2021, in press, with bibliography.

71. Errington and Cribb 1992: no. 193, pp. 193–97: cast of the Kanishka reliquary and drawing p. 195; see also on its date Errington 2005.

72. Francfort 2014: the painting is dated to the 1st century; the beings in the garland are compared with the similar small personages of the Khalchayan monument.

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Letters from Kadagstān*

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More than twenty years have passed since Nicholas Sims-Williams began to publish the fruits of deciphering the Bactrian documents and the study of this Eastern Middle Iranian language reached a major turning point.¹ However, the understanding of the Bactrian documents is still based on Sims-Williams' research alone. I think that research scholars, like historians, can improve our comprehension of the documents by offering new interpretations. In this paper, I present the possibility of such interpretations concerning the documents related to the region of Kadagstān. In the first two chapters, I re-examine the origin of Kadagstān and the practical position of the regional authority with the title *kadag-bid*. Finally, I propose my own understanding of the word $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\omicron$ only seen in the documents concerning the *kadag-bid*.²

The Origin of Kadagstān

An interesting revelation from the Bactrian documents in relation to the history of pre-Islamic Central Asia concerns Kadagstān. A synopsis of this region, which Yutaka Yoshida likens to *Zhongyuan* 中原 in Chinese history,³ is as follows:

1. The area centred on the Baghlān plain was called "Kadagstān" ($\kappa\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\omicron$), meaning "land of the (royal) family."⁴
2. The name of this region appears in the seal of the late Sasanian period.⁵
3. The ruler of the region had the title *kadag-bid* ($\kappa\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma\omicron\beta\iota\delta\omicron$).
4. The ruler of the region called himself "king of the people of Kadag ($\kappa\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma\alpha\nu\omicron \beta\alpha\nu\omicron$)."

5. In the documents we find several *kadag-bids* from the late fourth century to the late eighth century and "Kadagstān" and "king of the people of Kadag" from the late fifth century to the late eighth century.

6. At the same time as the appearance of *kadag-bid* (380), the Middle Persian month-names appear in the documents, which continue until 483.

Sims-Williams initially attributed the sudden appearance of both the *kadag-bid* and the Middle Persian month-names, in the late fourth century, to the establishment of a new governmental structure by the Sasanian empire.⁶ Recently, however, he abandoned this idea and proposed a new hypothesis that the origin of Kadagstān dates to a period older than the late fourth century.⁷

He first showed that most of the documents bearing the Middle Persian month-names were written in Kadagstān and at the same time, the local Bactrian month-names were used in the documents written in Rōb.⁸ Based on these facts, he came to think that the use of Middle Persian may have been a phenomenon peculiar to Kadagstān, which had long been a royal demesne of the Sasanian kings, and the situation from the latter half of the fourth century to the late fifth century, seen in existing documents, belongs to the last hundred years. He does not clearly mention its origin. However, in this context he places a rock-relief, which had been found in Rāg-i Bībī, southeast of the Baghlān Plain near Puli-Khumri and was identified as representing Shapur I (241–272). Therefore, it indicates a rather old origin for Kadagstān.⁹ There is nothing contradictory about his new hypothesis, but it does not seem convincing enough to abandon the old idea.

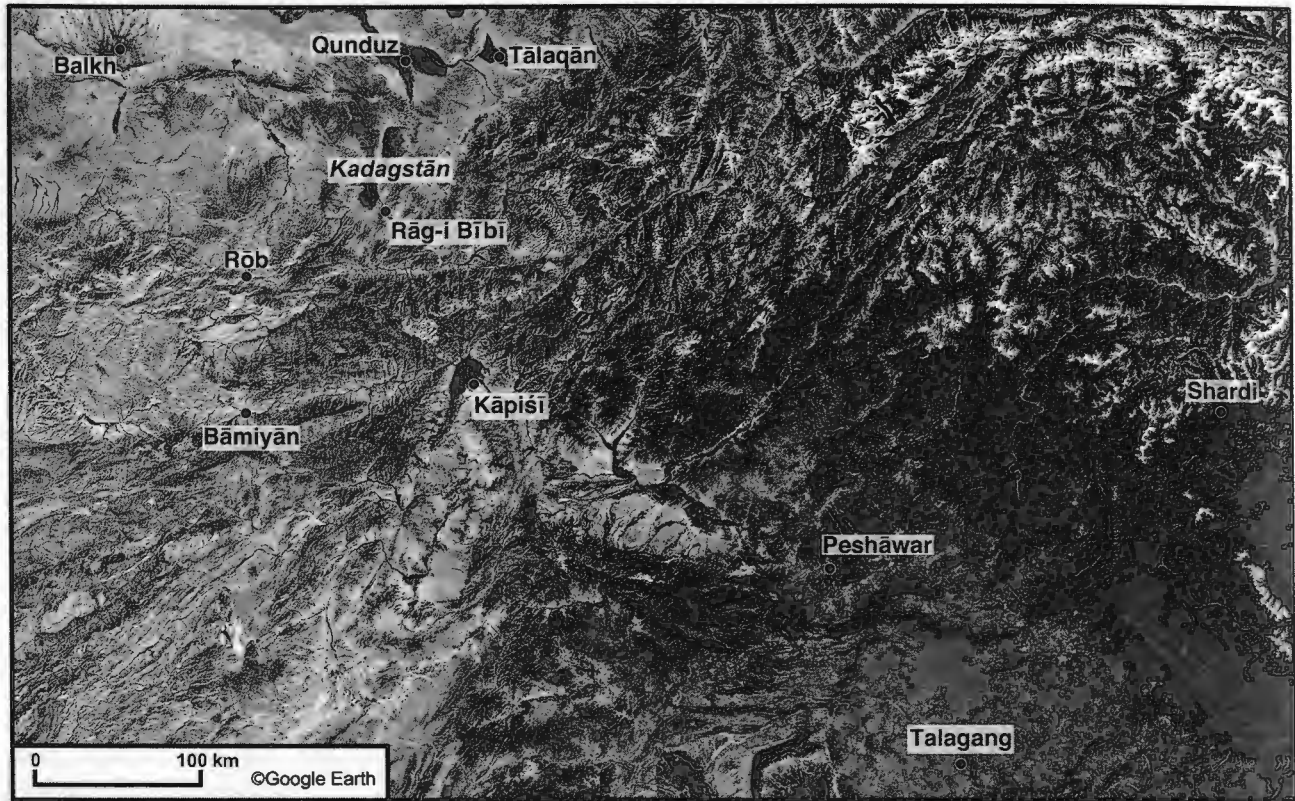


Fig. 1. Tukhāristān and Northwest India. Map by the author using Google Earth.

It is widely thought that after the Kushans lost an area north of the Hindu Kush to the Sasanian empire, it was controlled by the so-called “Kushano-Sasanians.” Although their details are largely unknown, there might have been about seven Kushān-shāhs between the third and late fourth centuries, and they are considered to have belonged to the royal family of the Sasanian empire.¹⁰ If the Baghlān Plain had been under the direct rule of the Sasanian king since the reign of Shapur I, how should we explain the relationship between the rule of the Kushān-shāh and the direct rule of the Sasanian king? Since Balkh, Merv, and Herat are now known as the mint-names of Kushano-Sasanians, we might be able to consider that in southern Tukhāristān, the area west of Balkh could have been governed by Kushān-shāhs and the eastern part by the governors of Kadagstān, under the Sasanian king (fig. 1).¹¹ However, there is no evidence to suggest that the Baghlān Plain had been under the direct rule of the Sasanian kings before the fourth cen-

tury, except for the rock-relief of Rāg-i Bibi. Of course, the coins of the Sasanian kings issued in Kadagstān are unknown.¹² In the next section, I will show a format in the Bactrian letters which is adopted only by the Kushān-shāh (or his family) and *kadag-bids*, and we can find the continuity between them. Therefore, it is not impossible to suppose that the demesne of the Kushān-shāh was originally in the Baghlān Plain, and that the practical ruler of Tukhāristān changed from the Kushān-shāh to the *kadag-bid* in the latter half of the fourth century.

According to Ammianus Marcellinus, in the 350s, Shapur II (309–379) confronted nomadic groups, such as Chionites, that appeared in the eastern region of his kingdom and eventually formed alliances, involving these groups in the war against Rome.¹³ The following scenario does not seem improbable to me: as a result of the king's aggressive activities in the east, the area formerly governed by the Kushān-shāh became a province under the direct rule of the Sasanian

king, and therefore came to be called Kadagstān, “the land of (king’s) family,” and the *kadag-bid* was placed in charge of this region.¹⁴ I still think it is better to consider that the situation changed in the latter half of the fourth century rather than to place the origin of Kadagstān at the time of Shapur I as we do not know the circumstances of the Sasanian empire north of the Hindu Kush. In any case, this problem will not be solved unless older documents with Middle Persian month-names are newly discovered.

Practical Status of the *kadag-bid*

There is an important study by Yoshida on the practical status of the ruler of Kadagstān, the *kadag-bid*.¹⁵ According to it, there are ten letters/documents (**cr**, **da**, **db**, **dc**, **dd**, **de**, **ea**, **ed**, **ja**, **Y**) dispatched from the *kadag-bid* in the Bactrian documents, and all of them have a common opening format ασο . . . αβο ~ “from . . . to ~.” So, the names of the addressers are always written before those of addressees. Moreover, the same format can only be found in one other letter from a Kushān-shāh (**ba**). Even the local ruler in Tukhāristān, called *khār*, did not use this format. This indicates that the status of the *kadag-bid* was as high as that of the Kushān-shāh.¹⁶

Conversely, Sims-Williams states that “the *kadag-bid* seems to have been regarded as a king in his own right, but at the same time as a governor or viceroy ruling on behalf of an overlord. Up to the time of Peroz, the overlord is the Sasanian emperor, but later it is the Hephthalite *yabghu*, later still a Turkish *qaghan*.”¹⁷ Since his idea is based on the names and titles of addressers written at the beginning of four Bactrian documents, I quote their texts and translations here. Incidentally, Sims-Williams translates *kadag-bid* as “governor” (underlined by the author).

ea (461/462) and **ed** (475)

μηταμο ναμοοινδ(α)δο αβζοδο πρωζο βανανοβαο
καδαγοβιδο καδαγανο βαο

Meyam, the king of the people of Kadag, the governor
of the famous (and) prosperous king of kings Peroz¹⁸

ja (ca. 485)¹⁹

κιλμανο ναμοοινδ(α)δο αβζοδο ιηβοδαλο ι(α)β[γο]
καδαγοβιδο κα[δα]γανο βαο

Kilman, the king of the people of [Ka]dag, the governor
of the famous (and) prosperous *yab[ghu]* of Hephthal²⁰

Y (771/772)

κηρανοτογγαυο τογγαυοσπαυο ναμοοινδαδο
αβζοδοφαυο χαγανο καδαγοβιδο καδαγανο βαυο
Kera-tonga Tonga-spara, the king of the people of
Kadag, the governor of the renowned *qaghan*, prosperous
in glory²¹

The above sentences are almost the same except for the personal names. If we translate the sentences of **ea** and **ed** as above, the two remaining documents are naturally interpreted similarly, leading to the idea that the *kadag-bids* were always under the overlords. Certainly, it is difficult to interpret **ea** and **ed** differently from Sims-Williams, but what about the other two documents?

As Yoshida already pointed out, the *qaghan* in **Y** could be appositive to the *kadag-bid* “the governor.”²² In other words, the above translation can be “Kera-tonga Tonga-spara, the king of the people of Kadag, the governor, the renowned *qaghan*, prosperous in glory.” If so, the above-mentioned sentence of **ja** can also be translated as “Kilman, the king of the people of [Ka]dag, the governor, the famous (and) prosperous *yab[ghu]* of Hephthal” and it might be possible to consider that the Hephthalite *yabghu* had the title *kadag-bid*. I will now examine these interpretations, starting with the older one.

The Hephthalite *yabghu* is mentioned in other letters (**eh** and **jb**), from which it is evident that the *khār* of Rōb, one of the local chiefs in Tukhāristān, was subordinate to the Hephthalite *yabghu*, and was called “the scribe of the Hephthalite lords (ηβοδαλοχοηοαγγο λαβιρο)” or “the judge of Tukhāristān and Gharchistān (τοχοαραστανο γαρσιγοστανο λαδοβαρο).”²³ Yoshida considered that these titles were honorific ones given to local chiefs by the supreme ruler of the Hephthalites.²⁴ The Hephthalites, however, were a mysterious group, and there are many unsolved problems, such as whether the highest ruler was the *yabghu* or had another title, and whether the ruler was one or more than one.

In recent years, numismatists have considered that within the group simply described as “the Hephthalites” in literary sources, there were two different groups with a common progenitor.²⁵ A group called “Alkhan,” based on the Bactrian inscriptions found in early coins, is considered to have begun their coinage in the south of the Hindu Kush using the dies of Shapur II or Shapur III (383–388), and that the *terminus post quem* of their activity was, therefore, around the end

of the fourth century. After that, the group began to issue their own coins depicting the portrait of a leader with a characteristic elongated skull. In contrast, numismatists call a group that issued coins with the inscription “Hephthalite” (ηβ/ηβο/ηβοδ < ηβοδαλο), “genuine Hephthalites” and place their existence north of the Hindu Kush because Balkh is a known mint name. Most of their coins are imitations of Peroz’s (457–484), and the *terminus post quem* of the rise of the group is estimated to be in the late fifth century.²⁶ The group also issued their original coins, depicting a ruler holding a cup.

The difference between the *terminus post quem*s of the beginning of the Alkhan’s and the genuine Hephthalite’s coinage is about 100 years, and this gap poses a difficult problem.

Regarding the people called “Hephthalites” in literary sources, one may suppose that their origin consisted either of the Alkhan who had advanced to the north of the Hindu Kush and the genuine Hephthalites who emerged from them or of the genuine Hephthalites who spread to the south and absorbed the Alkhan. Chinese sources and Arabic chronicles refer to areas south of the Hindu Kush, such as Jibin 罽賓 or Kābulistān, as well as Tukhāristān, Sughd, and oases of the western part of the Tarim Basin as areas controlled by the Hephthalites.²⁷ Song Yun 宋雲, who visited the Baghlān Plain and Northwest India between 519 and 520, stated that there were Yeda 嚙哒 (= Yeda 嚙哒, i.e., the Hephthalites) in each region, and their territory reached Dieluo 牒羅 (probably Zābul) in the south, Chiqin 敕勤 (or Chile 敕勒) in the north, Yutian 于阗 (Khotan) in the east, and Bosi 波斯 (Persia) in the west.²⁸

When we consider the relationship between the *kadag-bid* and the Hephthalites, taking into account what has been mentioned in the previous paragraph, the view that the geographical background of the famous Sanskrit copper-scroll inscription of the Schøyen collection (492/493 or 495/496) can be located north of the Hindu Kush has importance.²⁹ The main, unnamed, donor of this copper plate dedicated to the donation of a stupa has the title *tālagānikadevaputraśāhi*. There is an idea that this **tālagāna* can be identified with Tālaqān to the east of Kunduz.³⁰ The four kings, named together with the family and people concerned with the main donor, Khīngila, Toramāna, Mehama, and Javūkha are known as rulers who issued Alkhan-type coins, but Me-

hama also issued a scyphate dinar (type 84A) that descended from Kushano-Sasanian scyphate dinars and Kushan gold coins.³¹ As for Mehama, this inscription clearly states that the plate was made during the reign of this king. It is considered that this name, Mehama, is identical to Meyam, who has the title *kadag-bid* in *ea* and *ed* mentioned above.³² Since the dates of these two types of materials are 20 to 30 years apart, we cannot conclude that Meyam in the Bactrian documents and Mehama in the Sanskrit copper plate inscriptions were the same person, but it is quite possible to consider that they were related by blood, taking into account the naming customs of this area, in which grandfathers and grandsons often have the same name.³³

If Meyam, the *kadag-bid* in *ea* and *ed*, was the same person as Mehama (or his grandfather), one of the so-called “Hephthalite” rulers, who could issue his own coins, we can assume that Kilman, the *kadag-bid* in *ja*, was also one of the “Hephthalite” rulers and called himself *yabghu*.³⁴ If we do not consider the Hephthalite *yabghu* and the *kadag-bid* as equivalent, we must assume that the *yabghu* was superior to the *kadag-bid*, who could issue his coins as is the case with Meyam/Mehama, but I find it difficult to imagine such a situation.³⁵

Next, we consider the case of *Y*. Whether we regard the *qaghan* as superior to the *kadag-bid* or both as appositive, the identity of *qaghan* in 770/771 must be considered. The *qaghan*, who arrived in Tukhāristān at the time closest to this document, was Sulu 蘇祿 of the Türgesh, who was active in the first half of the eighth century.³⁶ After the assassination of Sulu in 738, the Türgesh fell into internal discord and declined, and it is said that the Qarluq replaced them by 766. Since *Y* was written immediately after that, it was possible that there was a remnant of the Türgesh in Tukhāristān and its leader called himself a *qaghan*. Alternatively, it could be assumed that the ruler of Kadagstān proclaimed himself “the *kadag-bid* (under the rule) of *qaghan*” during the heyday of Suzlu, and this convention continued at the time of *Y*.

In 770/771, the date of *Y*, Qarluq was dominant in the western part of Central Asia. It is generally understood that this group was led by the *yabghu*, and that the leader did not use the title *qaghan*, but the inscription of *qaghan* (x’γ’n) in Sogdian is seen on Qarluq’s coin issued in Semirechye.³⁷

Also, this period was ruled by Mouyu Qaghan 牟羽可汗 (759–779) of the Uyghur Khaganate. Could it have been that a local ruler in Tukhāristān regarded Qarluq's or Uyghur's *qaghan* as suzerain in this period?³⁸

Be that as it may, as can be seen from the Arabic documents of the same period as **Y**, the Abbasids had already started to collect taxes in this area.³⁹ Under these circumstances, it seems better to assume that someone who identified himself as *qaghan* in this area also had the title *kadag-bid*, than to suppose that there was a *qaghan* above the local ruler of Kadagstān.

Based on what I have mentioned before, I would like to consider the following possibilities regarding the practical status of the *kadag-bid*. First, from the end of the fourth century, when the title appeared in the Bactrian documents, until Peroz was defeated by the Hephthalites, the *kadag-bid*'s supreme ruler was the king of kings of the Sasanians, although the former was the practical ruler of the region. After the end of the Sasanian rule in the region, however, the title *kadag-bid* became an honorific one, meaning that the head of the group based in the Baghlān Plain continued to use the traditional title of the preceding time.⁴⁰ The fact that the *kadag-bid* began to call himself “king of the people of Kadag (καδαγανο βαυο)” after the above-mentioned **ea** in 461/462 also suggests that the character of *kadag-bid* changed.⁴¹

παροαναγο: Order from the *kadag-bid*

Looking over the letters/documents dispatched from the *kadag-bid*, we find that the word παροαναγο (or its variants παροοαναγο and παροσηναγο) appears in half of them (**cr**, **dd**, **de**, **ea**, **ed**). In fact, with one exception (**ci**), the word appears only in the letters from the *kadag-bid* and, as will be seen later, **ci** can also be related to the *kadag-bid*. Sims-Williams translates this word as “authorization, authority.”⁴² As an example, let us look at the text and English translation of **cr** (underlined by the author).⁴³

(1) ασο κηραο ωρομοζδανο καδαγοβιδο αβο β[αβο οδαβο] (2) μιν[ο]σπαλο οδαβ[ο] βανδαγο οδαβο οινδοσαναγο[οδαβ[ο] ν[. . .] (3) οβανδαγο λροδο μισιδο λαυηδο τω[τ]μαχο ασο[. . .] ναρ[ο] (4) λαργο ζιο μιοβανδαγανο ιαο παρο σηλαγο τασκο[ι οισ]πο (5) οτο οιζαγγοδαρο μακιρηδο

χθονο ρύζμαο σ[] (6) πανδαρομιδο σ[πι]ιο λαβιρο παροοαναγο[(7) αβο βαβο βαν (8) δαγο οινδοσαναγο (9) traces (10)]τασκο ι

(1) From Keraw Ormuzdan, the governor, to B[ab and to]

(2) Mir-spāl and to Bandag and to Wind-sanag [and to] N[. . .] (3–4) bandag, greetings.

Moreover, on account of the grain owed by/to the [. . .]-keeper Ziy Mirbandagan, you should give all(?) the [ten] quarters of wine. (5) And do not do otherwise. Year 157, month (6) Spandarmid. On the authority of S[pi]y(?) the scribe.

(7–9) To Bab, Bandag, Wind-sanag. . .

(10) . . . ten quarters.

Even though it is very difficult to correctly understand this kind of short document, there is no doubt that the addresser, Keraw Ormuzdan, orders the addressees to offer wine in this letter. In addition, the sentence οτο οιζαγγοδαρο μακιρηδο “and do not do otherwise” in line 5 seems to indicate that this letter is a type of mandate.⁴⁴ The sentence in question containing the word παροαναγο, i.e., σ[πι]ιο λαβιρο παροοαναγο, follows the body and the date of the letter and is translated as “On the authority of S[pi]y (?) the scribe.” It seems from this translation that Spiy, the scribe, gives authority to the order issued by Keraw Ormuzdan, the *kadag-bid*. Indeed, Sims-Williams describes this Spiy as follows: “a scribe who ‘authorizes’ a letter for the governor Keraw Ormuzdan” in his *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* II/7.⁴⁵ As can be seen in the Table “Bactrian Documents Concerning the *kadag-bid*,” Warazbursam, the record-keeper (σιρολαρο) (**dd**), Mirbandag, having no title (**de**), Mir-bandag, a native of Murwand⁴⁶ (**ea**), and Keraw, the quartermaster (?) (ναβαραγοβιδο⁴⁷) play the same role as Spiy in **cr**.⁴⁸ Sims-Williams, therefore, explains these people in the same way as Spiy.⁴⁹

Although it may be certain that Sims-Williams does not think that the statuses of scribe and others were higher than that of *kadag-bid*, the status of *kadag-bid* was as high as that of the Kushān-shāh, as we have already seen in the previous chapter. Accordingly, even if the understanding that the word παροαναγο has a non-material meaning of “authorization, authority” is correct, it seems to me that the authority lies not with the scribe and others but with the *kadag-bid* and that there is room for reconsideration in Sims-Williams’ translation, which can be read as if a subordinate person gave authority to an

order issued by a higher one. In fact, a sentence including this word is a row of nouns, and various translations can be made depending on the interpretation of the translators. In the following section, I examine some possibilities with reference to other language materials.

The Relationship between παροαναγο and Words in Other Languages: a) New Persian parvāna

To explain the meaning of παροαναγο, Sims-Williams referred to the word *parvāna* in the administrative documents of the Mughal period written in New Persian, which means “edict issued by an authority at the central government, based on royal orders.”⁵⁰ So far as I have noticed, Chapter XV of Nizām al-Mulk’s *Siyar al-Mulūk*, whose title is “on being careful about messages in drunkenness and sobriety,” is interesting in relation to our topic (underline and parentheses by the author).

Messages (*parvāna*) [from the king] reach the divan and the treasury concerning matters of state, fiefs, or gifts. It may be that some of these commands are [given] in a state of merriment. Now this is a delicate matter, and it needs the utmost caution. Or possibly the spokesmen may not agree or have not heard correctly. Such a mission must be entrusted to one person only, and he must deliver the message personally, not through a deputy. And it must be the rule that, in spite of the fact that an order has been delivered, it must not be executed or acted upon until its substance has been referred by divan back to The Sublime Intellect [for confirmation].⁵¹

The term *parvāna* in New Persian has various meanings. But here, based on the contents of the chapter, it clearly means “message,” i.e., “oral order.”⁵² Although it may be unsafe to apply this meaning directly to the Bactrian word, the fact that *parvāna* was an order issued by a supreme lord can be a reason to assume that Bactrian παροαναγο also means an order issued by the *kadag-bid*. In addition, if the Parthian word *prw’n* “in front of” is related to παροαναγο, it is likely that the Bactrian word also has a meaning of “oral order (issued in front of the supreme lord).”⁵³ We can therefore assume that the combination of personal name, title, and παροαναγο in the letters of the *kadag-bid* indicates a situation in which a

person received an oral order from a *kadag-bid* on the subject mentioned there. If this supposition is correct, the sentence σ[πι]ιο λαβιρο παροαναγο (**cr** mentioned in the previous section) might be translated as “S[pi]y(?) the scribe (got/received) the oral order.”

However, we must note that there is a letter (**da**) which clearly states that the *kadag-bid* himself gave an order. Instead of finding the combination of personal name, title, and παροαναγο in other letters, here we see the following sentence that χοηο χοαδο φρομαδο “Ordered by the lord himself.”⁵⁴ If we place importance on the existence of this sentence, we might be better able to translate παροαναγο as “authorization, authority” like Sims-Williams and consider that a person with a title such as scribe gave an order on behalf of the *kadag-bid*, rather than to regard παροαναγο as a *kadag-bid*’s oral order.⁵⁵ Thus, we can assume that these two types of sentences represent some difference in the process of transmitting orders but we cannot investigate the details. Hence, I keep my supposition as a possibility.

The Relationship between παροαναγο and Words in Other Languages: b) Sogdian prw’nk’ and Gāndhārī pravamṇaga

Next, I will examine several words in the linguistic materials of the surrounding regions, which might be comparable to παροαναγο. To the best of my knowledge, there is a title *prw’nk’-kr’k* in Sogdian documents of the early eighth century (documents from Mount Mugh).⁵⁶ In the document A-5 listing various expenditures under the rule of Dhēwāshtich, who had been the lord of Penjikent and had called himself the lord of Samarkand and king of Sughd since 721, it is written that a person bearing this title, whose name is not mentioned, received eight dirhams. Livshits translated it as a “compiler of decrees or documents.”⁵⁷ Since *prw’nk’-kr’k* originally means “(a person who) does/makes *prw’nk*,” we can consider that Livshits considered *prw’nk’* to be a decree or document. If his consideration is correct, it might be possible that Bactrian παροαναγο was a type of document on which orders were written.⁵⁸

In this regard, I should pay attention to the Gāndhārī word *pravamṇaga* in the Niya documents, which means “deed, document.” Although

Bactrian Documents Concerning the *kadag-bid*

doc.	Bactrian Era (CE)	addressers (title, epithet)	addressees	persons mentioned with <i>παροῦν</i> <i>ayo</i> (title)
cr	Spandarmid 157 (Jul./Aug. 380)	Keraw Ormuzdan (<i>kadag-bid</i>)	Bab Mir-spāl Bandag Wind-sanag N[...]bandag	Spiy (scribe)
da	Adur 198 (Apr./May 421)	Keraw Ormuzdan (<i>kadag-bid</i>)	Bijan-bid Pesh-lad Wibriy Nabag Dog	
db	ca. 420	Keraw Ormuzdan (<i>kadag-bid</i>)	Bijan-bid Pesh-lad Wibriy Nabag	
dc	ca. 420	Keraw Ormuzdan (<i>kadag-bid</i>)	Bijan-bid Pesh-lad Nabag Wibriy Dog	
dd	Dadw 198 (May/Jun. 421)	Keraw Ormuzdan (<i>kadag-bid</i>)	Bijan-bid Asp-yun Pesh-lad Asbid Nabag Wibriy Dog	Waraz-bursam (record-keeper)
de	Ab 199 (Mar./Apr. 422)	Keraw Ormuzdan (<i>kadag-bid</i>)	Benabid (= Bijan-bid) Wibriy (?)	Mir-bandag
ea	Sharewar 239 (Dec. 461/Jan. 462)	Meyam (king of the peopole of Kadag, <i>kadag-bid</i>)	Briyog Das Spalf Kafan	Mir-bandag of Murwand
ed	Mihr 252 (Jan./Feb. 475)	Meyam (king of the peopole of Kadag, <i>kadag-bid</i>)	Zarwe Das Spalb (= Spalf) Dog	Keraw (quartermaster?)
ja	ca. 485	Kilman (king of the peopole of Kadag, <i>kadag-bid</i>)	Aba[gan?]	
Y	549 (771/772)	Kera-tonga Tonga-spara (king of the peopole of Kadag, <i>kadag-bid</i>)		

it is supposed that this word might be related to the Sanskrit word *prapanna* (< *pra√pad*), we cannot confirm this.⁵⁹ In Gāndhārī, the prefixes *pra-* and *par-* can be replaced before *v-*, as in *pravaja* ~ *parvaja*, *pravayadi* ~ *parvayadi*, and *pravayida* ~ *parvaida*. In addition, apart from *pravaṃnaga*, there are two words ending with *-vaṃnaga* in the Niya documents, i.e., *thavaṃnaga*⁶⁰ and *spāṣavaṃnaga*, and although this can be mere coincidence, both are considered to be derived from Iranian words.⁶¹ Therefore, I proceed with my consideration of the supposition that Gāndhārī *pravaṃnaga* and Bactrian *παροαναγο* have some relationship.⁶²

If we consider *pravaṃnagas* prefixed with *ganamṇa-* “accounting,” *lekha-* “document,” and *rayakaūti-* “royal camel,” we have many examples of this word.⁶³ Although we cannot find a common feature in all these variants, when we look at the cases of sale contracts among them, we notice that they deal with things that seem to have been under the control of the Shanshan 鄯善 kingdom, such as jars (for wine), lands, vineyards, and slaves. When the *pravaṃnaga* represented a sale contract, it was an official document proving that the contract was concluded under the authority of the kingdom.⁶⁴

Referring to the examples in Sogdian and Gāndhārī, we can consider that the combination of personal name, title, and *παροαναγο* in the letters from the *kadag-bid* indicates that the person drafted or witnessed the publication of an official document in which the order from the *kadag-bid* was written. If this supposition is correct, the sentence mentioned in **cr** and discussed in chapter 3, i.e., σ[πι]ο λαβιρο παροαναγο, can be translated as “S[pi]y(?) the scribe (drew up) the deed/document.” In this case, *παροαναγο* can refer to a letter in which the word appears, or to another document. Here, I would like to investigate the latter possibility by focusing on **Y**, which is one of the ten documents dispatched from the *kadag-bid*.⁶⁵

Although this document looks like a letter with the preposition *ασο* “from” at the beginning, there is no name of the addressee after the addresser. In fact, it is a pardon from the *kadag-bid* to a person called Mir, son of Bek, who was living near Madr, to the south of Rob. It states that Mir does not have to pay the debt of his brother Bab, who has disappeared.⁶⁶ In other words, this is not a letter but an official document issued by the

kadag-bid to be kept by Mir. Would it be possible that *παροαναγο* refers to a document like this one?

In this regard, we can refer to another letter (**ea**) from the *kadag-bid* in which he states that a man called Shabur Peshladan does not have to pay his brother Deyag Peshladan’s debt, and the intent of the letter is the same as **Y**. However, it has a different target from **Y** and addresses those who might have demanded Deyag’s debt from Shabur. Though it does not exist, is it too reckless to imagine that Shabur received a pardon like **Y**, and it was *παροαναγο*? Among the ten documents issued by the *kadag-bid*, nine had the typical format of the letter (format 3), while only **Y** was in format 2a, suggesting that these two types had different characteristics.⁶⁷

In addition, the following sentence just before the date at the end of **Y** might be beneficial for understanding *παροαναγο*: οδο λιστοληραγο πιδδου σαχοανο ωζο κοροαδο νομαρογαρ “And the enforcer in respect of this agreement (is) Oz, the treasurer of Kurwad.” The person named with the word *παροαναγο* in the letters from the *kadag-bid* may have played the same role as λιστοληραγο “enforcer” in this document.⁶⁸

παροαναγο in Document **ci**

Incidentally, *παροαναγο* appears once in another letter (**ci**), apart from the five letters mentioned previously. Here is the quote along with Sims-Williams’ text and translation (underlined by the author).⁶⁹

(1) Αβο βαγωρομοζδο βαγατανο χοχο ναζαρο βηοαρο
 λροδο ναμωσο α⁽²⁾σο γαρσογο υωστιγο χοβο μαρηγο
 στανο οαλο βαταρανο καλδανο αβο ⁽³⁾το χοχο χοαδο
 λρογο σηνανο
 μισιδο αγαδο μαρο ασο το χοχοι πωστογο ⁽⁴⁾ταδομο
 ναγατο σαγωνδο ναβιχητιμο κοαδανο ναοαζο χαραγανο
 αβο ⁽⁵⁾χοχοι πιδοσαυαδηιο κοαδο αβο ιοχρσοιρλο ζαμιγο
 αστηιο σιδο ⁽⁶⁾ιαπισοδαρο οαβολανζο ασταδο ταδοιηο
 φαραμαγο λαυηιο ταδο ⁽⁷⁾χοχοι ασο ναοαζο πιδοσαυανο
 ναγατο οτο ζαμιγο φαρο ναοαζο ⁽⁸⁾φρομαδο λαδο οτοιηιο
αβο το χοχοι παροαναγο λαδο ταδο το χο⁽⁹⁾ηοι χοαδο
 βηιηιο ζαναδο κοαδο ασο χοχηναγγο καδγο ναιωγο
 καβιζ⁽¹⁰⁾ο ιαιο λαυινδο οδο ναιωγο σαγο μολο φαρο
 κοαδο μολραγο ταβδογο ⁽¹¹⁾ναβαρηιο υιρζανο ζαμιγο ασο
 αλδομο ναοα⁽¹²⁾ζο ασο χοχοι πωστογο αβαραδο πιδο λοοι
 μολρο ⁽¹³⁾ταδοιηιο αζο οιζανδο ναβαρανο ασιδοιηιο να⁽¹⁴⁾
 μοπαλο ζαμιγο λαυανο

(15) Α βο βαγωρομοζδο (16) βαγατανο χοηο λροδο (17) *traces*

(1) To Bag-ohrmuzd Bagatan the lord, a thousand (and) ten thousand greetings (and) homage from (2) Garsug the *hostig*, his servant. And then I would be more happy when (3) I myself might see your lordship healthy. Moreover, a letter has come hither from your lordship, (4) so I have heard how (your lordship) has written to me, that Nawaz Kharagan (5) has appealed to the lord (saying): “At Yukhsh-wirl there is a (piece of) land which (6) was formerly a hayfield and you should give it to me.” Then, (7) the lord listened to the request (made) by Nawaz and (8) ordered the land to be given to Nawaz, and he gave it on your lordship’s authority. Your (9) lordship yourself ought to know that they do not give one quart of grain from the lord’s house, (10) nor one gallon of wine, to (anyone) who does not bring a sealed document, (11) let alone a (piece of) land! But if Nawaz (12) brings me a document with two seals from the lord, (13) then I will not do him any injury, but (14) will give him the land immediately.

(15–17) To Bag-ohrmuzd Bagatan the lord, greetings . . .

The outline of this letter is that the addresser, Garsug,⁷⁰ informs the addressee, Bag-ohrmuzd, of the matter of a man named Nawaz Kharagan receiving land. Here, I have to verify two important points in the interpretation of this letter. The first is the identity of χοηο “the lord” mentioned in the body of the letter (the second paragraph of the text and translation). This person can be the same as Bag-ohrmuzd, the addressee, because he is called “the lord” at the beginning and end of the letter. On the other hand, when the addresser, Garsug, refers to Bag-ohrmuzd in the body of the letter, the former always refers to the latter as το χοηο “your lordship,” so it is possible that “the lord” mentioned in the body and Bag-ohrmuzd are different persons.⁷¹

The next point is παροσαναγο in question. Sims-Williams translated a sentence containing this word as follows: στοιηιο αβο το χοηοι παροσαναγο λαδο “and he (i.e., the lord, R. M.) gave it (i.e., the land, R. M.) on your lordship’s authority.” Examining the latter part of the letter (lines 11–14), however, reveals that Nawaz Kharagan has not yet been given the land, and it appears that this translation does not make sense.⁷² To consider another possibility, I translate this sentence as follows, assuming that the addressee, Bag-ohrmuzd, and “the lord” mentioned in the body of the let-

ter are different persons: “he (i.e., the lord) gave παροσαναγο to your lordship.” According to Sims-Williams’ detailed study on the differential object marking in the Bactrian language, when a verb is ditransitive, its indirect object is marked by specific prepositions, or, more precisely, the preposition αβο is used for an inanimate object, and for an animate one the preposition φαρο is employed.⁷³ Although my translation against this rule does not seem to be acceptable, there is an example where an animate indirect object is marked by αβο (xa, lines 6–8): ταδομο πιδο πωστοβαργο αβο το χοηο νιταδο “I have sent it to your lordship by the bearer of (this) letter.”⁷⁴ Moreover, we have another example in the Rabatak inscription (line 22) in the Kushan period: [καν]η[βκε] βαι μα λιζα αβο βαγανο λαδο “King [Kanishka] gave the fortress to the gods.”⁷⁵ My translation, therefore, seems well founded.⁷⁶

If παροσαναγο is an oral order or a deed/document describing the order, the sentence in ci can be translated more precisely as “he (i.e., the lord) gave the oral order/the deed to your lordship.” Based on my interpretation and translation, the scenario revealed by this letter concerning the land grant to Nawaz would be as follows (see also fig. 2):

1. Before this letter (ci), Bag-ohrmuzd had written a letter to Garsug in order to convey Nawaz’s complaint to “the lord” about the land.
2. “The lord” who heard Nawaz’s appeal, gave an oral order or a deed/document (παροσαναγο) to Bag-ohrmuzd.
3. By this letter, Garsug told Bag-ohrmuzd about the procedure for Nawaz to obtain the land.⁷⁷

If my scenario is correct, Bag-ohrmuzd would have had a higher status than Nawaz Kharagan. In addition, the epithet Kharagan (χαρογανο < χαρο + -γανο) borne by Nawaz indicates that he belonged to a family of the *khār* and is a member of the local aristocratic class. In addition, we also know the following from other documents: he sent a person to Rōb (cf); he was asked to receive a person who had left the fortress of Bāmiyān (cg); he had the title “commander of the fortress (λιζοβιδο)” (cp). Taking all this into account, it is possible that Bag-ohrmuzd may have been a *khār* of Rōb, even though it is not mentioned in the letter.

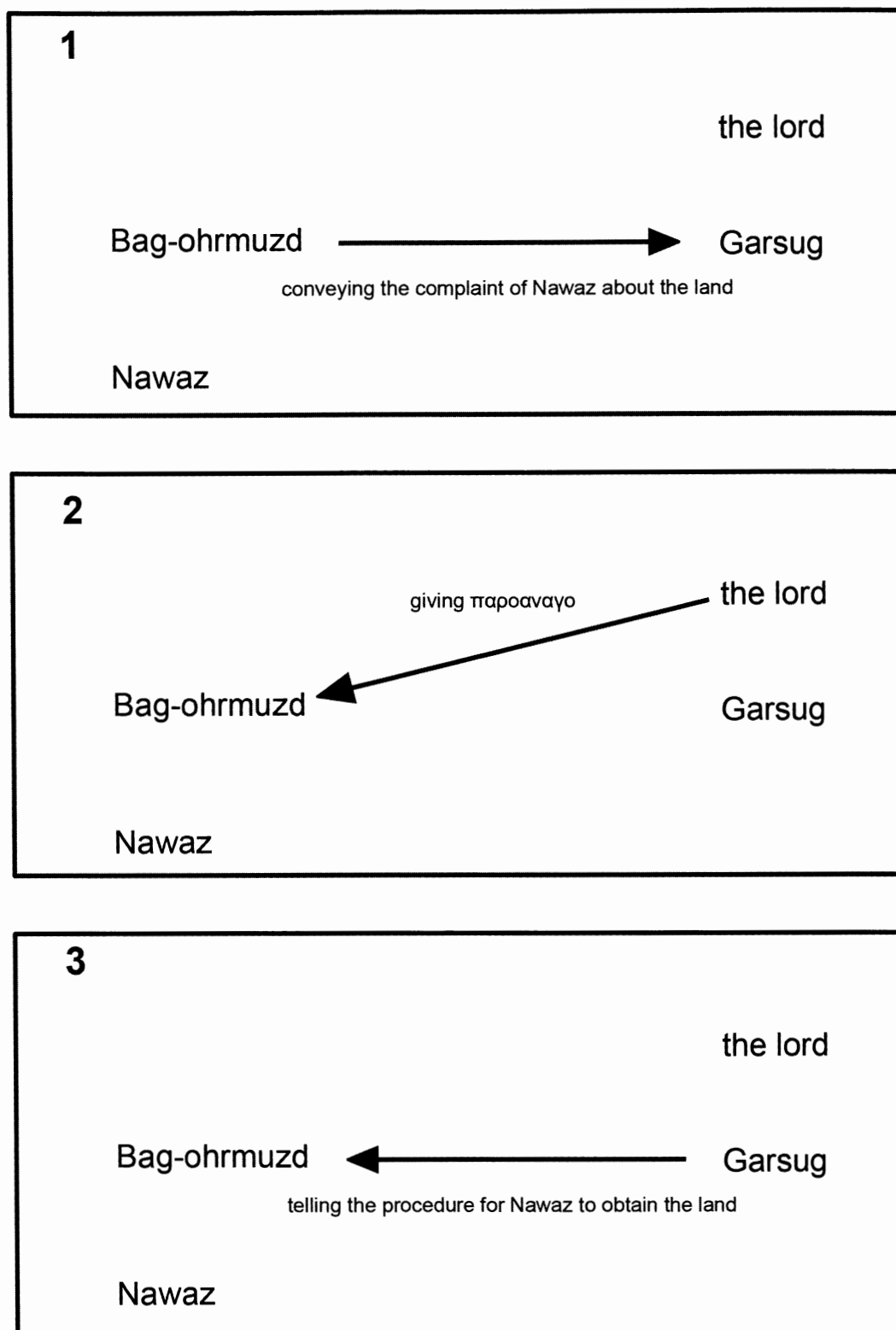


Fig. 2. Scenario concerning the document ci.

Then, who was “the lord” who was able to give land to Nawaz? It is considered that **ci** in question is contemporaneous with **C** written in 380, and in this period, the *kadag-bid* may be assumed as a candidate for “the lord.”⁷⁸ I think that this assumption is possible for the following reasons: First, all the other documents in which *παροαναγο* is mentioned are letters dispatched from the *kadag-bid*. Second, at the end of this letter (**ci**), it is written that Nawaz would be given land if he brought a document with two seals from “the lord.” It is considered that the letter from the Kushān-shāh (or his family) (**ba**), who had an equivalent position as the *kadag-bid*, originally had two seals because of the number of holes in it.⁷⁹

Another Note Related to παροαναγο

Finally, I will suggest a new interpretation of a word which appears in the document related to *παροαναγο*. It is the word Murwandig (*μοροσανδικο*), which appears between the personal name Mir-bandag and the word *παροαναγο* in **ea** and is considered by Sims-Williams to be a toponym.⁸⁰

The first part of this word, **μοροσανδο*, clearly consists of two elements, i.e., **μορο-* and **-σανδο*. Looking at the glossary of the Bactrian documents, we find the word *μολρο* “seal” similar to the word **μορο-*.⁸¹ Although *μολρο* is a genuine Bactrian word, Parthian and Middle Persian have the word *mwhr* “seal” and Bactrian **μορο-* could be related to it.⁸² If *mwhr* was transcribed directly into Bactrian, it would have become **μουρο*, but as *πουρο* and *πορο* “son” show, *υ* /*h*/ often falls (or is omitted) in Bactrian, so that it is not problematic to relate **μορο* and *mwhr*.⁸³ As for the latter part of **μοροσανδο*, **-σανδο*, we can assume a relationship with a possessive suffix *-wnd* in Parthian and Middle Persian.⁸⁴ If these suppositions are correct, **μοροσανδο* may be interpreted as a title borne by one who possesses a seal.⁸⁵

While it is strange that this title, which seems to be important, does not appear in the Sasanian seals bearing many administrative titles, we might be able to explain its absence in the Sasanian administrative structure by assuming that **μοροσανδο* was an honorific title for the *kadag-bid*.⁸⁶ Since *μοροσανδικο* in question has an ad-

jective-forming suffix *-ικο*, one might consider that this is a title borne by those who were under **μοροσανδο*, i.e., the *kadag-bid*, referring to other titles with this suffix, such as *λασοβιδικο* “belonging to the decurion” and *λιζοβιδικο* “belonging to the fortress guard.”⁸⁷

Three of the five persons mentioned along with the word *παροαναγο* had some titles. Moreover, if *μοροσανδικο* was also a title, it would be tempting to suppose that the last one, Mir-bandag (**de**), also had some title. In this document, however, the word *παροαναγο* is written immediately after the personal name, and there is no room for a title. In addition, while the latter part of this personal name, *-bandag*, is quite illegible, there seems to be no room for doubt, as Sims-Williams, who deciphered the document, states “the traces are faint but easily compatible with this reading.”⁸⁸ Nevertheless, his reading cannot be confirmed from the published photograph, and the name Mir is also attested. Hence, I cannot completely rule out the possibility that some title was written in place of *-bandag*.⁸⁹

Conclusion

Since the discovery of the Bactrian documents, information on the history, geography, and society of Tukhāristān has greatly increased, and the revelation concerning Kadagstān, which is extremely important for understanding the political history of pre-Islamic Central Asia, is one such new finding. While it is impossible to overemphasise the importance of Sims-Williams’ series of studies, we should further develop our studies on the strong foundation built by him. Although it was difficult to reach a clear conclusion on any problems addressed in this paper because of the use of fragmentary sources, it is certain that presenting a new interpretation, whether it is ultimately correct or not, will lead to the progress of our research.

Notes

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1. As for the overview of the Bactrian documents and their studies, see Sims-Williams 1997; idem 2012c; Yoshida 2013.

2. In this paper I present Bactrian documents in bold letters. For example, **ba** signifies the document **ba**.

3. Yoshida 2013: 46–47.

4. The reason why the centre of Kadagstān is considered to have been in the Baghlān Plain is because the toponym Warlu (* *οαρλο* < *οαρλογανο*), mentioned at the same time as Kadagstān in the same document (T), was identified as the castle of *Huolu* 活路 of *Dahan/Taihan Doudufu* 大汗/太汗都督府 in Chinese sources, which is also supposed to have been located in the plain (Yoshida 2003: 158 b; cf. BD I²: 99–103).

5. Gyselen 2019: 115.

6. Sims-Williams 2008a: 98–99; idem 2009.

7. Sims-Williams 2020: 237–39.

8. As for details of the Bactrian era, see Sims-Williams and de Blois 2018. As opposed to the year of the beginning of this era considered by Sims-Williams and de Blois, i.e., 223, Schindel 2011 and de la Vaissière 2018 propose a new theory that the era began in 227, i.e., the beginning of the second century of the Kushan era. In respect to this new theory, Sims-Williams reaffirmed his own theory (Sims-Williams 2020: 231–35). In this paper, I follow Sims-Williams' and de Blois' conversion.

9. Grenet et al. 2007.

10. de la Vaissière 2016; Schindel 2016.

11. See Kuwayama 1990: 399–411 for the idea regarding how to divide the eastern and western parts of southern Tukhāristān.

12. It is known that the coin with the abbreviation of KT was issued in the third year of Khosrow I (531–579), but Rika Gyselen states that it is difficult to consider that the Sasanian coin was issued in this area before the alliance between the Sasanian empire and the Turks (Gyselen 2019: 115b).

13. Rolfe 1950.

14. Afterwards, the title Kushān-shāh was used by the Kidarites, a Hunnic group that arrived in Central Asia. See the inscription on the seals dated to the Kidarite period (ur Rahman et al. 2006).

15. Yoshida 2013: 58–60.

16. As for **ba**, see BD II: 52–55. The very fact that the preposition *αοο* comes first when the addresser is in the higher position had been pointed out earlier by Sims-Williams (Sims-Williams 2006: 703).

17. Sims-Williams 2020: 237–38.

18. BD II: 108–9, 114–15.

19. As for the date of this document, see Sims-Williams and de Blois 2018: 72–73.

20. BD II: 124–25.

21. BD I²: 142–43.

22. Yoshida 2013: 54 n. 34.

23. BD II: 122–23, 126–27. The idea of the relationship between the *khār* of Rōb and the Hephthalite *yabghu* is based on Yoshida's suggestion (Sims-Williams and de Blois 2018: 131–32; Sims-Williams 2020: 242 n. 37).

24. Yoshida 2013: 57.

25. Alram and Pfisterer 2010; Alram 2014; idem 2016; Vondrovec 2014. As for their origin, see also de la Vaissière 2005; idem 2007.

26. As if to support this supposition, the messengers of the Hephthalites were recorded since 456 in Chinese records. Moreover, in the Bactrian documents, "the Hephthalite tax (*ηβοδαλαγγο τωγο*)" is mentioned in I (483), II (483), and J (517) (BD I²: 44–55).

27. The Chinese sources here refer to *Weishu*, *Li-angshu*, *Tongdian*, etc., and the Arabic chronicles are *Kitāb al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl* by Dinawarī, anonymous *Nihāyat al-arab fī tārikh al-Furs wa-al-'Arab*, etc. For information other than *Nihāyat*, see Balogh 2020. See also *Nihāyat*: 270.

28. As for the identification of these place names, see Balogh 2020: 64–65.

29. For the edition of this inscription, see Melzer 2006; Balogh 2020: 322–326.

30. Sims-Williams apud Melzer 2006: 256. This idea is reinforced by Yoshida's theory that the name of the village where the stupa was built, *śārdīysa*, was a place name in Bactrian (Yoshida 2013: 60 n. 47). In contrast, de la Vaissière proposed to identify **tālagāna* as Talagang in the Salt Range of Punjab, and it was supported by Hans Bakker, who argued that *śārdīysa* still remains in Kashmir as the name of a village called Shardi via Sanskrit *śārada/śārādīya* (de la Vaissière 2012; Bakker 2018). Indeed, any metal plate inscriptions in such fine Sanskrit have not yet been found north of the Hindu Kush, and this point helps to put the inscription within the geographical context of Northwest India. If we consider, however, that the place where the inscription was made/written and the place where it was dedicated were different, we can resolve this weak point in identifying **tālagāna* as Talaqān in Tukhāristān. Furthermore, the reconstructed pronunciation of *śārdīysa* at that time by Bakker, on the advice of Oskar von Hinüber, i.e., *śār^adīza*, seems to reinforce Yoshida's idea that the first part of this toponym has the same etymology as Bactrian *χαρο* "ruler" < **xšāθriya-* and the second part contains an Iranian word *diz* "fortress" (cf. Bakker 2018: 13). At present, therefore, I do not accept de la Vaissière's and Bakker's ideas. For the Buddhistic aspects of the inscription, see Scherrer-Schaub 2018.

31. Vondrovec 2014: 142–44, 153.

32. Sims-Williams 2010: no. 244, cf. nos. 246, 247. The mention of the four kings together suggests that they ruled different areas simultaneously. The idea that the four kings existed simultaneously in the north and south of the Hindu Kush fits perfectly with the route taken by Song Yun. In contrast, de la Vaissière assumes that these kings were mentioned in chronological order, and that the first two had already passed away when this inscription was written (de la Vaissière 2012: 128). Obviously, we cannot abandon this hypothesis. But the silver bowl in the British Museum, on which the four hunting rulers are depicted, is thought to have been made in this period, suggesting the possibility that several kings coexisted in the Kidarite and the Hephthalite periods (cf. Grenet 2002: 211–12). As for the new reading of the inscription on the silver bowl, see Bakker 2020: 43–47.

33. There might, however, be a possibility that both are father and son, because there appear father and son of the same name, e.g. Yamsh-spāl in C and Zar-yol in V (BD I²: 32–33, 116–17; Sims-Williams 2010: nos. 147, 171). Of course, we cannot also rule out the possibility that Meyam and Mehama have no connection with each other, but I do not take it into account, because now I consider the sphere of activity of Meyam/Mehama to be north of Hindu Kush as stated in note 30.

34. The etymology of the name Kilman is unknown (Sims-Williams 2010: no. 214). The latter part of his name (-μavo), however, seems to be the same element as the latter part of Adomano and Toramana (ibid.: nos. 9, 476).

35. At present, no Hephthalite coin with the title *yabghu* is known, but there is a seal with Bactrian inscriptions which might contain the title *yabghu* (Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011: 83–84, 181). It seems that the name Javūkha, a king of the Alkhan, is not very similar to *yabghu* (Sims-Williams 2010: no. 139).

36. Regarding Sulu and the Türgesh, see Stark 2016.

37. Yoshida 2018: 160–61. As for the *qaghan* of Qarluq in Balamī's *History*, see Karev 2015: 188.

38. The Karabalgasun inscription erected in the later period describes the relationship between the Uyghur Khaganate and Dashi 大食 (the Abbasids) as an event at the end of the reign of Huaixin Qaghan 懷信可汗 (795–808), that is, “the fortunate emperor (= *qaghan*) . . . sent an order to the *amir* of Khorasan and to [many other] local *amirs* and rulers.” For details of the Karabalgasun inscription, see Moriyasu and Yoshida 2019; Yoshida 2020. If it had been in this period, the local ruler of Tukhāristān could have regarded the Uyghur *qaghan* as his nominal overlord.

39. Khan 2007.

40. This recalls the Kushano-Sasanians and the Kidarites using the title *Kushān-shāh* after the col-

lapse of the Kushan dynasty to the north of the Hindu Kush.

41. The two documents (*ea* and *ed*), in which Meyam calls himself as “*kadag-bid* of . . . Peroz,” were written before the death of Peroz by the Hephthalites. Since he already called himself “king of the people of Kadag,” it might be possible that at this point Meyam was practically the highest ruler of the region, and that Peroz's rule in this region was already nominal.

42. BD II: 252a.

43. BD II: 98–99.

44. This must be a conventional phrase, since the same sentence was also found in other letters (*da*, *dc*, *dd*, and *de*) dispatched from the *kadag-bid* (cf. BD II: 246).

45. Sims-Williams 2010: no. 451.

46. As for this toponym, I will discuss it later.

47. Concerning this title, see also Sims-Williams 2015: 262 n. 34.

48. The table contains information on all the letters/documents dispatched from the *kadag-bid*.

49. Sims-Williams 2010: nos. 210 (v), 255 (iii, iv), 309.

50. BD II: 252a.

51. Darke 1978: 88; cf. Itani and Inaba 2015: 110.

52. Cf. Steingass 1982: 245b. With regard to the meaning of *parvāna*, see also Darke 1978: 249. This word was used in the same meaning in contemporary literature, *Qabūs-nama*, and referred to a specific governmental post in the court of Rum Seljuk Sultanate (Itani and Inaba 2015: 329 n. 171).

53. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Yutaka Yoshida for informing me of this Parthian word. See also Durkin-Meisterernst 2004: 280a.

54. BD II: 100–101.

55. In that case, the combination of personal name, title, and *παροναγο* might be translated as “on the authority (delegated/entrusted to) someone” with a slight modification to Sims-Williams' translation.

56. This word can also be read as *prw'nkh-kr'k* (cf. Bogolubov i Smirnova 1963: 51, 97; Gharib 2004: 291b–292a).

57. Livshits 2015: 161–66, 185 esp. 164. In considering the meaning of this title, he referred to Middle Persian *parwānag*, Syriac *parwānqā*, Arabic *barwāna*, *fuānīq*, Tajik and Uzbek *parvonači* as well as New Persian *parvāna*.

58. It is noteworthy that there are dated letters in both the Bactrian documents from Tukhāristān and the Sogdian documents from Mount Mugh. All dated letters in the former are from the *kadag-bid*, and there is a dated letter (doc. A-16) in the latter, in which it is written that Dhēwāshtich sealed the letter and had it copied. The date mentioned in the Bactrian letters from the *kadag-bid*, therefore, may also have been the date on which the copy was made (Livshits 2015: 115–18; cf. Yoshida 2019: 52 n. 59).

59. Baums and Glass 2002b: *prapaṃnaga*; cf. Burrow 1937: 107.

60. Including related terms *kaṭahavaṃnaga* and *havaṃnaga*.

61. Burrow 1934: 512–13. These words have the forms without suffix, as *pravaṃna*, *kaṭathavaṃna*, and *sṗaṣavaṃna*.

62. It should be noted, however, that the form of **parvaṃnaga* is not attested in the documents.

63. CKD 59, 72, 81, 86, 100, 159, 180, 275, 278, 289, 348, 369, 370, 416, 419, 443, 549, 571, 573, 579, 580, 582, 586, 587, 589, 590, 633, 648, 654, 655, 710, 715, 782, 795, 805.

64. CKD 591 (a slave contract), however, is called *lihitaga* “[something] written,” not *pravaṃnaga*, and the difference in the two names is not clear. We know of another similar case, i.e., the two vineyard contracts (CKD 419 and 581). Although the former is called *pravaṃnaga* and the latter *hastalekha* “written document,” their shapes and formats are the same. We might suppose that *lihitaga* and *hastalekha* might have become *pravaṃnaga* after some formality, such as being formally permitted at some special place.

65. BD I²: 142–43.

66. As for the genealogy of the family of Mir, see Yoshida 2013: 52–55 and Sims-Williams and de Blois 2018: 37–39. Their genealogies are slightly different.

67. The latest letter in format 3, however, is **xq**, dated 485–579. Hence, it is possible that the form of official document issued by the *kadag-bid* has changed over time, that is, the above-mentioned **ea** and **Y** were practically the same kind of documents. As for the formats in the Bactrian documents, see BD III: 9–10, and especially for the format 3, see also Yoshida 2013: 47–49. In addition, the custom of indentation seen in **Y** was transmitted from Sughd to Tukhārīstān (see Yoshida 2013: 48; idem 2019: 49 n. 52).

68. As for **λιστοληργο** “enforcer,” we have another example. At the end of **T**, a person named Baralbag, the commander of the army of Kadagstān, the lord of Warluga, is called the “enforcer” of this document (BD I²: 102–3). This document dated 700 June/July is a deed in which the princess of the Khalaj tribe, who married the lord of Kadagstān (i.e., the *kadag-bid*), gave land and a female slave to a priest who healed her son. Although this document is written in the typical format of the Bactrian contract (format 1), differently from **Y**, the two documents (**T** and **Y**) are the same in that they were issued by the lord (or his family) of Kadagstān and that the names of the “enforcers” were written at the end of the documents.

69. BD II: 84–85.

70. As for the *hostig* (υωστιγο), the title borne by Garsug, and another form with a suffix, υωστιγανο, Sims-Williams did not give its meaning and etymology in his glossary (BD II: 237b). In addition to **ci**, we know another letter (**ee**) dispatched from the *hostig*,

in which there are following sentences: ωσιδο ζαμα(ν) ο ι πωστιγο οινηδδο ταδο ι μολρογο ταβηδδο “Now, as soon as you see this letter, you should seal the sealed document” (BD II: 116–17). Therefore, we find a strong connection between this title and the sealed document. Here, as a possible word related to this Bactrian title, I would like to draw attention to a Middle Persian loanword *ostikan* “Aufseher, Verwalter, Präfekt” in Armenian sources, which appears as a word referring to a government official (Hübschmann 1897: 215–16; Garsoïan 1989: 551; Thomson and Howard-Johnston 1999-II: 328). Considering these cases, we might be able to suppose that the *hostig* in the Bactrian documents had a meaning similar to the *ostikan* in Armenian and served as a treasurer. In addition, an inscription on a silver pyxis in the Kushan period, on which two seated Buddhas and four figures are depicted, can also be helpful in understanding this title (Falk and Sims-Williams 2017). These four figures are Vasudeva the Kushan, Narkas the *karalrang*, Ram the *hostig*, and Humyug-agad. Since the *hostig* was shown with Vasudeva and a high official *karalrang*, it can be assumed that the *hostig* was also of considerably high status. Concerning the title *karalrang*, see also Henning 1965: 77–79; Sims-Williams 2012d; idem 2013: 197.

71. It seems to me that Sims-Williams thinks of them as the same person (Sims-Williams 2010: no. 57).

72. Alternatively, we could translate this sentence as “and he (supposedly) gave it on your lordship’s authority.” In that case, however, it would be expected that the initial conjunction would have a hypothetical suffix -avo, i.e., στυαβο and that the verb would be the third-person singular optative form, i.e., λαδηο. For example, see the following sentence (**bg** lines 11–12): ταδανο [το] χορο πιδονωγαρο φαρο χοαδηροσσαννδο λαδηο “[your] lordship again (supposedly) gave it to Khwadewanind” (BDII: 64–65; cf. Sims-Williams 2011: 33).

73. Sims-Williams 2011: 30–35.

74. BD II: 140–41.

75. Sims-Williams 2008: 57; cf. idem 2011: 36.

76. Since both **ci** and **xa** are older in the Bactrian documents, they might retain a more archaic character. For the date of **xa**, see Sims-Williams and de Blois 2018: 75.

77. Alternatively, *παροαναγο* might not have been passed from Bag-ohrmuzd to Nawaz Kharagan for some reason, and Nawaz might have gone to Garsug without it; hence he could not follow the procedure to receive the land. In this case, it might be considered that Garsug, through this letter, warned Bag-ohrmuzd to follow a proper procedure.

78. As for the date of **ci**, see Sims-Williams and de Blois 2018: 49–50, 69, 82.

79. It should be noted, however, that **ba** does not deal with an issue related to the land (BD II: 52–55). In addition, **dd**, which refers to *παροαναγο* and whose seal

is in existence, has only one seal (BD II: 23–24). There may have been some relationship between the number of seals and what was given or dealt with, but this question must be considered again after all seals have been published.

80. My interpretation is based on advice given by an anonymous reviewer when I published another article in Japanese (Miyamoto 2018). I would like to express my sincere gratitude to this reviewer, and I should make it clear that I am responsible for any errors which may be contained in the following parts. For your information, the essence of my article in Japanese is incorporated in Miyamoto 2019.

81. BD II: 235a.

82. Cf. MacKenzie 1971: 56; Durkin-Meisterernst 2004: 233.

83. Cf. BD II: 258a.

84. Professor Yoshida kindly taught me about this suffix (cf. Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: § 358). I had supposed that *-oavδo was related to the verb *bnd-* “to tie, bind” in Parthian and Middle Persian or to its nominal form *bnd* “bond, link” (MacKenzie 1971: 17; Durkin-Meisterernst 2004: 108a). Although both *bnd-* in Parthian and Middle Persian derived from Old Iranian **band*, the intervocalic *-b- became b /β/ in Parthian and w /w/ in Middle Persian, as shown by Parthian *pdbnd-* < **pati-band* and Middle Persian *plwnd* < **pari-band*, suggesting that Bactrian *-oavδo seems to correspond to the latter (Durkin-Meisterernst 2014: § 254, 257; Cheung 2007: 4–5).

85. We could refer to the title *mwdrwrt/mwhrwrt* “seal-setter” in the Parthian economic documents from Nisa (Diakonoff and Livshits 1977–2001: 197b).

86. As for the seals of *kadag-bids*, see Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011: 81–82, 193–94, 203.

87. Cf. BD II: 164–65, 226a, 227b.

88. BD II: 105 n. 140.

89. BD III: pl. 169a; Sims-Williams 2010: no. 253.

Abbreviations and References

BD I²: Sims-Williams 2012a

BD II: Sims-Williams 2007

BD III: Sims-Williams 2012b

CKD = Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī documents in Baums and Glass 2002a

DG = Baums and Glass 2002b

Nihāyat: anon., *Nihāyat al-arab fī tārikh al-Furs wa-al-‘Arab*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānīsh-pazhūh. Tehran, 1996.

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Aram and Pfisterer 2010

Bakker 2018

Bakker 2020

Balogh 2020

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Baums and Glass 2002b

Bogolubov i Smirnova 1963

Burrow 1934

Burrow 1937

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Two Judaeo-Persian Letters from Eighth-Century Khotan*

ZHANG ZHAN

In memory of my mentor Duan Qing

Introduction

On 5 January 1901 when Sir Aurel Stein returned to his camp after a day's excavation at Rawak, a minor site about 11 km to the north of Dandan-Uiliq (a major site roughly 130 km northeast of Khotan that Stein excavated from 19 December to 3 January), he was surprised to see that several workmen, who had been dismissed the previous day at Dandan-Uiliq, were waiting for him. They told him that they had not gone back to their village as instructed but continued "treasure-hunting" for another day and had come to present him with their discoveries: a piece of stucco with effaced Chinese characters and a lump of crumpled paper with writings in Hebrew. Stein carefully cross-examined the workmen and found their statements consistent and credible (Stein 1907, v.1: 306–7). Since it was not feasible for him to revisit Dandan-Uiliq, he continued his journey and eventually brought these items, together with many other finds, back to London.

After being unfolded by expert hands, the paper, though severely damaged, turned out to be a 38-line letter in Judaeo-Persian, dated to the late eighth century according to the archeological context of Dandan-Uiliq, and thus was the earliest material in New Persian known at that time. D. S. Margoliouth (1903) published the first edition of the letter (henceforth Du1), with a Persian transcription and an English translation. He read *sb'bd* in line 23 as *Ispahbud*, the title of a ruler of Tabaristān, and dated the letter to about 718 C.E. accordingly. This article was later reproduced as Appendix C in Stein 1907. In 1957, when W. B. Henning published three short JP rock inscriptions found at Tang-i Azao in western Afghanistan dated to 752/753 C.E., he discussed some

passages of Du1 in the footnotes. See Henning 1957: 341, nn. 2–4, p. 342, n. 1, n. 3. He continued to do so in Henning 1958: 79–80. In 1963, Gilbert Lazard included Du1 in his monumental work on Early New Persian *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*. (Lazard 1963: 31) In 1965, J. P. Asmussen (1965: 49–50) touched upon Du1 in his edition of the "Law Report," a legal document from Khuzistān preserved in the Cairo Geniza. In 1968, Bo Utas (1968) published an updated edition of Du1. He correctly rejected Margoliouth's identification and dated the letter to the late eighth century. In 1988, Lazard (1988) published a short article solely devoted to the first sentence of Du1 *zyzd kwdh 'y y'r b'sd*, which he translated as "que le Seigneur Dieu [nous] aide." Interestingly, at the end of the article, Lazard lamented the fragmentary state of the manuscript and admitted that many obscure points in it would remain so for a long time without some interference from Providence, and ended the article with the very sentence *zyzd kwdh 'y y'r b'sd* "May God the Lord be (our) helper!"

In 2004, Professor Lazard's prayers were answered. On a chilly November morning that year, as I was having a one-on-one Pahlavi class with Prof. Duan Qing, my mentor and Master's Thesis advisor, in her office in Peking University, someone knocked on the door. We weren't expecting anyone. It turned out to be a man in his thirties, a complete stranger. He came to show photographs of some manuscripts that he "accidentally" discovered in his old family house in Khotan to see if they were of any value because he had learned that Professor Duan was an expert on Khotanese. Among these manuscripts, mostly genuine Khotanese, is a Judaeo-Persian one, which is almost intact and bears a striking resemblance

to that acquired by Stein from Dandan-Uiliq. As I had some biblical Aramaic and modern Persian (both very elementary), a rather rare combination in China at that time, the task of deciphering this JP manuscript was assigned to me. I collaborated with Dr. Shi Guang, my Persian teacher, and first produced a preliminary edition of it as a writing sample for my application to the doctoral program at Harvard, then an improved Chinese version with input from my future doctoral advisor Prof. P. Oktor Skjærvø for my Master's Thesis in 2006. I presented my work on this important manuscript in multiple workshops and conferences and received helpful feedbacks from numerous scholars, including Prof. Shaul Shaked, Prof. Maria Macuch, Dr. Tamar Gindin, and Prof. Ludwig Paul, among many others, whose contributions are all duly acknowledged in the edition that Shi Guang and I published in Chinese in 2009. In our article (Zhang and Shi 2009), we demonstrated that the newly discovered JP letter (henceforth Du2) agrees with Du1 in terms of materiality (similar paper and ink), diplomatics (same number of lines, same curvature of the lines, similar handwriting), orthography, grammar, lexicon, and content, and established that both letters were almost certainly written by the same person. In other words, Du2 is also from late eighth-century Dandan-Uiliq. It is reported in Du2 line 31 that "the Tibetans have all been captured and killed." We linked this event with the clashes of the Tibetans and the Uyghurs in the Tarim Basin in the early ninth century and dated Du2 to around 802 C.E. accordingly (Zhang and Shi 2009: 79–81). After realizing that the latest dated document from Dandan-Uiliq is from year 791 and the site must have been abandoned shortly afterwards, I (Zhang 2016a: 667–68) revised the dating of Du2 to around 791 C.E. In the same year, I published an English translation of Du2 (Zhang 2016b). Ludwig Paul provided quite a few important new readings and interpretations of the two letters in *A Grammar of Early Judaeo-Persian* (Paul 2013). Lazard (2014: 90) also took notice of Du2 in one of his last articles. Yoshida Yutaka (2016, 2017, 2019) published three articles in Chinese, Japanese, and English, and illuminated several points in these two letters. His most important discovery is that *dihgān* in Du2, which we translated literally as "the landlord," actually refers to the king of Khotan, Viśa' Vāham.

So, many years after that chilly morning in 2004, the time is ripe to publish updated editions of Du1&2, with translation, commentary,

and a comprehensive glossary. Before embarking on that, I would like to briefly discuss the significance of these two letters for the study of the birth of New Persian, the history of Inner Asia in the late eighth century, and the activities of the Jews in the East.

The language of Du1&2 is clearly New Persian, since it does not have the ergative alignment, a characteristic feature of Middle Persian, but it still retains other elements of Middle Persian, as well as those of Sogdian, Hebrew/Aramaic, Arabic, and Chinese, including:

Elements of Various Languages in Du1 and Du2

Elements of Middle Persian:

1) Subjunctive:

'mdh b'd *āmada bād* "to come" past subj.

3s.

kr'm *xarām* "to buy" subj. 1s.

qwn'd *kunād* "to do" subj. 3s.

rs'd *rasād* "to reach" subj. 3s.

2) Use of *ezāfe* as a relative pronoun

3) Lexicon

by *bē* "towards"; "but"; preverb.

qrbqr *kirbakar* "beneficent."

bysp'n *bayaspān* "messenger."

qw *kū* "that," dependent clause introducer.

zy'n *wmnd zyān-ōmand* "harmful."

II. Elements of Sogdian:

1) The ordinal suffix -my -mī.

dh my *dahmī* "tenth" Sogd. *δsm'yk*.

pnc my *panjmī* "fifth" Sogd. *pncmyk*.

šš my *šašmī* "sixth" Sogd. *wxšmy(k)*.

2) Loanwords

'ndryq *andarik* "eunuch" Sogd. *'ntryk*.

cmkwy *čamxuy*, "harp" (or similar stringed instrument) Sogd. *cmxwy*.

gwlyq *γulik* "vessel, pitcher" Sogd. *γwδ'k*.

ptqw *patku* "string, 1,000 coins" Sogd. *ptkwk*.

3) Personal names

bgydy *Bagidi* lit. "female slave of God" Sogd. *βγγδ'y*.

kwdynq *Xudēnak* lit. "little queen,"
diminutive of Sogd. *γwt'ynh* "queen."
šw'prdr *Šawāfradar* lit. "going better" from
Sogd. *šw-* "to go" and Sogd. *prtr* "better."

4) Title

kwdh rb *khudā rab* "lord, master," probably
a calque of Sogdian *βγw xwβw* "the lord,
sovereign."

5) Epistolary formula

wmrdmq'n 'y k'nh p' nyrw yzyd kwdh t
ymrwz u-*mardamakān ī xāna pa nērō*
īzid xudā tā imrōz "By the power of the
Lord God, children of the house (are good)
till today." Compare GXW 0114.6: *ms*
m'xw pr βγy z'wr kw nwr myδ prm 'z-c't
's(kw)ym "We too, by God's help (lit.
power), are well up to the present day (=
today)." See Bi and Sims-Williams 2015:
262.

6) In Du2.11, the author of the letter
reported that the ruler of Khotan called
the Jewish merchant "Sogdian." From the
perspective of the Khotanese, however,
these Persian-speaking Jews coming from
Sogdiana were perfectly Sogdian. For more
on this, see commentary on Du2.11.

Elements of Hebrew and/or Aramaic:

1) The Hebrew script

The orthography of Du1 and Du2 agree with
each other and Tang-i Azao, but differs
from later JP texts. See Lazard 1968: 83,
Zhang and Shi 2009: 76, and Paul 2013:
29–41.

2) Loanwords

šlm' *šalamā* "greeting," from Aramaic ~.
mmzyr *mamzēr* "bastard, illegitimate
child," from Heb. *mamzer*.

3) Title

rb *rabī* "Rabbi."

4) Personal names:

dwyd *Dawīd* "David."

yqh *Ičhak* "Itzhak."

mwsq *Mōšak* diminutive of *Mōše* "Moses."

Elements of Arabic:

1) Loanwords

gwl'm *γulām* "slave" Ar. ~.

hrb *harb* "battle," Ar. *ḥarb* or *harab*

"escape," Ar. ~.

kwz'm *xuzām* "defeats," Ar. *hazā'im*, plural
of *hazīmat*.

kzym *xazīm* "defeat," Ar. *hazīmat*.

rqbyrn *rakībain* "stirrups," dual form with
imāla from Ar. *rikāb*.

sl'm *salām* "peace," Ar. ~.

tyb *tīb* "perfume." Ar. *ṭīb*.

2) Personal names

'bw shq *Abū Sahak*.

hqym *Hakīm* Ar. *Ḥakīm*.

hrwn *Harūn* Ar. *Hārūn*.

3) the opening formula

pnn'm yzyd kwdh yqrbqr *pannām īzid xudā*
ī-kirbakar "In the name of God, the Lord,
the benevolent." This is an imitation of
the *Basmala*. See commentary on Du2.1.

Elements of Chinese:

1) loanwords from Chinese

šg *šag* a unit of volume, from Chin. *shí* LMC
šhiajk 石.

šmsy *šamsī* probably "shirt," from Chin.
shān zi LMC *šam tsz* 衫子.

2) titles in Chinese

qynq'k *kinkāx* "runner, messenger," from
Chin. *jīn jiǎo* LMC *kin kiak* 筋脚.

pnkw'n *panxwān*, "Administrative
Assistant," from Chin. *pàn guān* LMC
p^huan kuan 判官.

(py)nb'šy *pēnbāšī* "Commissioner of
Soldiers and Horses," from Chin. *bīng mǎ*
shǐ LMC *piayη ma šr* 兵馬使.

pwšy *fūšī* "the Vice Commissioner," from
Chin. *fùshǐ* LMC *fjyw/fuw šr* 副使. For
more on this title, see commentary on
Du2.31.

3) "The Chinese scent" in Du2.15 may refer
to the musk. See commentary on Du2.15.

All of the above vividly reflect the multi-linguistic/cultural background of the author of Du1 & 2. Due to its archaic features, the language he spoke, in which the percentage of loanwords from Arabic is significantly lower than that in classical New Persian, can be characterized as a kind of New Persian before the birth of New Persian, or “embryonic” New Persian. This is more in favor of the view that New Persian was the result of a creolization process, a product of the socio-political environment of multi-ethnic Central Asia in the first several centuries of the Islamic Conquest (Utas 2013: 89).

Transmitted historical sources in Chinese, such as *Xin Tangshu*, *Jiu Tangshu*, and *Zizhi Tongjian*, do not contain much information on the history of the Tarim Basin in the second half of the eighth and the ninth centuries because the Tibetans cut off communication between hinterland China and the Tarim Basin shortly after the An Lushan Rebellion broke out in late 755 C.E. Drawing on the large amount of documents discovered from Khotan, Turfan, and Dunhuang, among others, scholars have illuminated much of this shrouded period of history. For a brief survey of the history of Khotan during this period, see Zhang 2016c: 66–86. Khotan was still under Chinese control until 789, when the pilgrim Wukong traveled through the Tarim Basin on his way from India back to China. By 796, Khotan was already under Tibetan control because the Tibetan ruler Khri srong lde btsan, whose reign ended in 796, was able to collect taxes from Khotan (Yoshida 2009: 354). The defeat of the Tibetans in Kashgar recorded in Du2, which is tentatively dated to around 791, must have reflected the initial set-

backs that the Tibetan forces suffered as they attempted to wrest control of the Tarim Basin from the Chinese forces. It is interesting to note how the Jewish merchants tried their best to use their financial leverage to influence the course of political and military affairs of the region.

The discovery of JP materials from such an early date in Khotan is unexpected, if not surprising, at first glance. If we enlarge the scope of our investigation, however, it turns out to be less so. Three short JP inscriptions at Tang-i Azao in western Afghanistan date from 752/753 (Henning 1957). An undated inscription in Hebrew letters has been found in the valley of the Upper Indus (Jettmar 1987). A one-page amulet in Hebrew from Dunhuang dates from the ninth century (Wu 1996). The Quilon Copper Plates from south India, which contain a witness clause in JP, also date from the ninth century, showing that the Iranian Jews were using the maritime route (Cereti 2009). In the late ninth century, Jews were already present in South China, as it is recorded in Arabic sources that the rebel forces led by Huang Chao massacred a large number of Jews and Arabs in Guangzhou (Ferrand 1922: 76). Last but not least, the Jews who settled in Kaifeng in the 11th century were also Persian-speaking, as witnessed by the JP titles and colophons of their Haggadah (Wong and Yasharpour 2011). Du1 & 2 represent but a missing link in the spreading of the Jewish network in the East.

This short article could not and is not meant to exhaust all aspects of these two precious letters. My main purpose is to make them accessible and to invite others to study them further.

Du1 (fig. 1)

Provenance: Dandan-Uiliq, Khotan, China

Date: around 791 C.E.

Catalogue number: Or.8212/166

Location: The British Library

Size: 10–20 × 40 cm, recto 38 lines, verso blank

Previous editions: Margoliouth 1903, Utas 1968

Transliteration

- 1 yzyd kw dh 'y y'r b'šd zwd rwz 'g
- 2 dh wbyst n'mh byš qrdwm by š[m']
- 3 ngr qw c'mq 'y \mn/ p' cy rsd wp' dzt
- 4 'sy rsd yš by prmy d'dn 'ny mr' b[y prmy d'dn]



Fig. 1. DU1 (Or. 8212/166).

5 ybryn kry t' mn 'br kstwmy prwd šwdwmy w
 6 n 'y kwš twr' yzyd kwdh pdyš mwzd 'y [n]yyq
 7 d dwr by wpt'd t' nwh my mh wt' dh m[y mh]
 8 [gw]spnd by bwd wswstr krnd wyzyd kwdh kwkw
 9 (q)wn'd cy qs 'z yš'n ??wd n' bwd cwn yš'(n)
 10 ny cmh 'y prwkth bwd'[s][?] (hmg)yn p' rwy ym' 'b(z)[wd]
 11 [p]rwkth bwd qs n' bwr sd mrdwm'n 'y šhr pd
 12 ('n syh ptqw 'y kr'm wcyz bd n' pydh hst y
 13 cwn 'ny mn p' tw wmrđ d'rwmy yqy q'(r)
 14 swd wzy'n 'y mn by šn'ktn w-š šbyly y
 15 [hm][g]y(n) gwspnd 'z swy 'y mnr' krydn t'
 16 'ydw n gwpty qw rby syh
 17 [']mdn wskt zy'n wmdn hs[t]
 18 ' wr' 'z swy 'y mn yz typ
 19 qw kwd krydy wkwd prwkty wkwd m
 20 'gr mnr' swd bkt b'ysty bwdn mn
 21 by tw 'z šmr {ytw} 'y kwš cyz 'ndwh m' p(r)[my kwrđn]
 22 [p](r)ystydy wny 'ydr bwd wswd 'y gwspnd ydw n drws(t)
 23 [by] \tw/ rsd cwn yzyd kw'hd wtn yšm' nz(dy)q sb'b(d)
 24 y r' sb'bd ydw n qwptyd qw mr' cmkwy yqy
 25 cmkwy 'ry mn qnyzq r' 'mwzwm wend cwst
 26 ' bh byndwm n' bynd'dwm by 'z nwrby yqy (c)[mkwy]
 27 [sb'bd dhwm t' bgydy r' b[y] 'mwzd 'ndryq 'y sy[h]
 28 š qw n'mh yšm' yptwm by yqy byh 'z 'n gwptyd '[gr]
 29 y q'r 'y prmwdy 'š skt qwnwm t' qr dh bwd
 30 hwšwm cyz 'ndwh m' kwr cy hwšwm r' kwsth b(y)
 31 'z sw(y) 'y ?gwšt rwbhh pwsydw n ydw n qwpty
 32 p' prw'n wkwd 'z 'n swy kw'st'ry prmy qr dn
 33 (w)'(nd)r n'mh yšm' prystydy qw p' sd wpn(c)
 34 bwndh 'y 'n pšyz 'y gwspnd yn 'y š(m)[']
 35 ['z] (š)hr by rwn n'mdh hy 'z swy '[y]
 36 (s)mwr 'z zyn wrqby n wdw'l
 37 'z hr cy hyz 'y bryn 'z
 38 kr

Transcription

1 īzid xudā ē yār bāšad. zūd rōz ag
 2 dah u-bīst nāma bēš kardum bē š[mā.]
 3 nigar kū: jāmak ī man pa čē rasad? u-pa dazt
 4 ā sē rasad-iš bē framāy dādan. ān-ī marā b[ē framāy dādan]
 5 ī-barēn xarē, tā man abar xāstumē, frōd šudumē
 6 n ī xwaš torā īzid xudā pad-iš muzd ī nēk
 7 dūr bē ōftād, tā noh mī māh u-tā dah m[ī māh]
 8 [gō]sfand bē buwad. u-sustar xarand. u-īzid xudā xuxu(.
 9 kunād. čē kas az ēšān . . . na buwad? čūn ēšān
 10 nī jama ī frōxta būd-a(st). hamagīn pa rōy ī-mā ab(z)[ūd.]
 11 [f]rōxta būd. kas na būd. sad mardōmān ī šahr pad
 12 (ā)n sīh patkū ī xarām. u-čīz bad na paydā hast. y
 13 čūn ān-ī man pa tō u-mard dārum. yakē kār
 14 sūd u-zyān ī man bē šnāxtan. u-š Šabilī

15 [hama]([gīn]) gōsfand az sōy ī man-rā xarīdan, tā
 16 ēdōn guftē kū: “rabī sīh
 17 [ā]madan. u-saxt zyān-ōmand has[t.]
 18 ā ō-rā az sōy ī man iz tīp
 19 kū xwad xaridē, u-xwad frōxtē, u-xwad ran
 20 agar man-rā sūd baxt bāyistē būdan, man
 21 bē tō az šmar ī xwaš čiz andōh ma f[armāy xwardan.]
 22 frēstidē. u-nē ēdar buwad. u-sūd ī gōsfand ēdōn drus(t)
 23 [bē] tō rasad, čūn īzid xwāhad. u-tan išmā nazdīk spābad
 24 rā spābad ēdōn guftēd kū: “marā čamxuy yakē
 25 čamxuy ārē, man kanīzak rā āmōzum. u-čand čust
 26 ābah bindum, na bindādum. bē az Nūrbak yakē (č)[amxuy]
 27 [spā]bad dahum, tā Bagidi rā bē āmōzad. andarīk ī si[yāh. . .
 28 kū nāma išmā yaftum. bē yakē bih az ān guftēd. a[gar]
 29 kār ī framūdē aš saxt kunum, tā kar-da buwad.
 30 hōš-um čiz andōh ma xwar. čē hōš-um rā xwasta bē
 31 az sōy ī !gušt rwbhh pursīdum. ēdōn guftē
 32 pa parwān. u-xwad az ān sōy xwāstārī framāy kar-dan.
 33 (andar) nāma išmā frēstidē kū: “pa sad u-panj
 34 bunda ī ān pašiz ī gōsfand ēn ī šmā
 35 [az ša]hr bērōn nāmada hē. az sōy ī
 36 (s)amūr az zēn u-rikībain u-dawāl
 37 az har čēhiz ī barēn, az
 38 xar

Translation

1 May the Lord God be [our] helper. Soon the day
 2 I wrote more than twenty letters to you
 3 look! What will my clothes become? By the hand (?)
 4 Please give his three shares. [Please give] that of mine.
 5 You buy the upper . . . so that I would have arisen and gone down.
 6 of oneself, the Lord God [will give] you good reward for it.
 7 it has been delayed till the ninth month and till the tenth [month].
 8 it/he becomes . . . of the sheep. They buy more loosely. The Lord God
 9 He shall do Who among them is not . . . ? Because they
 10 the clothes that have been sold, all increased in front of our face
 11 was sold. There was nobody. A hundred people of the city on
 12 (of) these thirty strings (of coins) which I shall buy. Nothing bad is found.
 13 because I have/hold that of mine upon you and the man, one work
 14 they understood my profit and loss. Šabilī . . . it.
 15 they bought all the sheep on my behalf so that. . .
 16 you said thus: “Rabbi, thirty
 17 They came. It is a heavy loss.
 18 him also for me
 19 that you bought by yourself, sold by yourself, and by yourself . . .
 20 if for me the profit shall have been the fate, I
 21 but, you, please don’t worry about (your) own account. . .
 22 you have sent . . . It is not here. The profit of sheep is so healthy (= high)
 23 It will reach you, when God wills (it). You (pl.) (are) physically close to the army
 commander

- 24 the commander said thus: "(give) me a harp
 25 . . . (if) you bring a harp, I will teach the slave-girl, and several (pieces) quickly
 26 I am looking for (a harp), but have not found (it). But from Nūrbak, (I received) a (harp)
 27 I will give the army commander (the harp) so that he may teach Bagidi. The (black)
 eunuch
 28 that I received your letter, but you said (there is) one better than that.
 29 I am working hard on the matter that you ordered, till it is done.
 30 Don't worry at all for my mind. Whatever intention for my mind
 31 I asked on behalf of *!gwšt Rwbhh*, You said thus:
 32 to Parwān. Please make a request yourself on behalf of that.
 33 in the letter that you sent that: "on 105
 34 the *bundah* of that money of the sheep, this of **yours**
 35 you have not come out of the (city). On behalf of
 36 sable from saddle, stirrups, and straps
 37 from anything above, from
 38 ??

Commentary

Line 1: As Yoshida (2019: 386) points out, this is not the opening of the letter, since it does not contain the opening formula attested in Du2. On the other hand, in my opinion, Du1 is not a direct continuation of Du2 either. By the way, neither Du1 nor Du2 reaches the end of the letter, since no margin is left at the bottom of the letters, and the closing formula is also missing. In other words, Du1 is at least three pages long.

Line 2: "I wrote more than twenty letters to you." Du2 lines 29–30 read: "I sent thirty letters to you." It seems that Du1 was written before Du2 and was among the thirty letters mentioned in Du2.

Line 9: Utas' reading of the lacuna (*far*)*sū(d)* "worn, decayed" is not supported by the manuscript (1968: 128, 129).

Line 14: For the *shin* in *u-š*, Utas (1968: 128, 129) reads it as *teth* and interprets it as the numeral 9. I think this is just a deficient *shin* because Hebrew numerals and *teth* are not attested elsewhere in Du1/2, and a numeral does not fit the context here either.

Line 15: Here, the sender talks about trading sheep, a topic that also appears in Du2 lines 20–24. Since sheep cannot travel very far, it seems that the author and the recipient of the letters were engaged in local trade.

Line 16: The sender quotes the words of the recipient: "Rabbi, thirty" In other words, the recipient addresses the sender as "Rabbi." This is in line with Du2 line 4, in which the sender identifies himself as "Rabbi."

Line 19: Utas (1968: 128, 129) restores the last word as *ran[jīdē]* "to strive," past 2s.

Lines 23–27: It seems that the army commander was an acquaintance of the sender's, and agreed to teach a girl/maid named Bagidi to play the harp. The sender, however, did not have a harp. Fortunately, Nurbak brought him a harp. He would then give the harp to the army commander so that the latter could teach the girl. Yoshida (2019: 389–90) links the teaching of playing the harp with the trade of skilled female slaves along the Silk Road, which is reflected in Chinese documents from Turfan. The scenario he proposes is plausible, but I would not expect an army commander to be a harp teacher of slave girls. Perhaps *sp'bd* is a personal name, not a title.

Line 25: This line is still within the quotation of the army commander's words.

Line 32: Parwan is present-day Aqsu, about 550 km north of Khotan, right across the Taklamakan Desert. This place was well within reach of the travelers from Khotan. The sender of a Sogdian letter discovered in Khotan says that "I went to Parwan . . . I sent the letter from Parwan" (no. 5, lines 17–18, Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 266).

Du2 (fig. 2)

Provenance: Dandan-Uiliq, Khotan, China

Date: around 791 C.E.

Catalogue number: BH1-19

Location: National Library of China

Size: 28 × 40 cm, recto 38 lines, verso blank

Previous editions: Zhang and Shi 2009 (in Chinese), Zhang 2016b (English translation only)

Transliteration

1 pnn'm yzyd kwdh yqrbqr sd hzr šlm' by kwdh rb nysy cyl'g by 'zrmy
 2 'bw shq by gr'my br'dr šw'prdr by ychq wby mwšq wby hrwn by
 3 k'šq by kwhrq kwdynq by hmgyn mrdwm'n yš m' bzwrg wqwdq 'z mn
 4 rbyy drwd wdrwsty 'ghy yš mr' nbyswm qw mn whqym wpyrw wmmzyr šbly
 5 drwst wnyyqwm wmrmdm'n 'y k'nh p' nyrrw yzyd kwdh t' ymrwz ps 'z yn
 6 'ghnwm by br'd šw'prdr qw \nwrpq/ 'ndr kwtn 'md wn'mh yš m' 'wrd wyptw\m/
 7 wbr kwndwm 'ny nbyšt bwdy hmgyn qw yš m' p' tn 'y kwš drwst wnyyq
 8 hyd m' 'z dwr skt š'd b' šym wsb's d'ry qwnym 'pyš yzyd kwdh
 9 wps tw 'gh \b'š/ qw m' gwspnd 'yptwm 'z dyhg'n skt 'zdyhh hdyh 'y
 10 prmwdy bwdym yš r'st cwn tyb 'ndr bwrwmm hmndr zm'n tyb p'n
 11 by qr dyd wmr cyk'šy r' prmw qw zwd gwspnd yn swgdy by dyh
 12 wcykšy w'n bd pywstn by dyhg'n kyšm qrypt wcyz skwn 'y bd mrdwm
 13 n' grypt chr mrnd d'd šbly whqym wdw gwl'm rptn p' qwh
 14 šš my mh p' dh sgd dyhg'n r' yqy gwlyq wyq qpyz qbr wpnc šg
 15 dwgbyk wyq šg dmyr wyq styr bwy 'y cyny h(dy)h 'z mr syky r' yqy
 16 prny'n wyqy šmsy hydyh cy nyyq qrdyd syky (cy)k'šy 'y dwktr 'y dyhg'n \ r/
 17 ???ryq qr'q n'm hst yqy prny'n wdw gnd wdw lymcw hdyh yq pnkw'n
 18 'y br gwspnd myhtr' yqy lyqyn wyqy gnd yqy lymcw hdyh dw mrnd
 19 r' qw sr šmr 'y gwspnd myhtr bwdn yq yq lyqyn wyq yq gnd wd lymcw
 20 hdyh šb'n'n r' bgdw wgnd wlymcw hdyh wšdn p' qw\h/ by nwz gwspnd
 21 by dyst m' n' rsyd wpyrptn qw gwspnd skt nyyq dyhym wp' n'mh
 22 nbyšt bwdy qw nyz pšyz kwstn p' gwspnd wn' d'dwm wn' nyyq qr dy
 23 'g(r) yn n'mh by šm' rs'd wd\w/ktr 'y dy\h/g'n by rwn n'mdh b'd
 24 [hr] \c\nd pšyz kw'(h)\d \p' gwspnd 'š by prmy d'dn wb' wy byrwn 'yy
 25 [mr' t]w cyšm wrwšny'y hm yn dwktr hst dyhg'n r' wskt sb's qwn
 26 [g]r sb's 'y wr' qwny cyz gwm n' bwd mn skt bysy'r n'mh prystw\m/
 27 [by] šm' ps n' d'nwm qw by šm' n' rsd (p)\p\c) my m' p' hzd hsgd
 28 šbly 'ndr 'md p' byst wpnc sgd dw qynq'k dyhg'n nzdyq 'y
 29 dwktr prystyd mn p' dyst 'y hm 'n qynq'k syh n'mh prystydwm
 30 by šm' hr cy 'ghy 'y šhr wny q'šgr bwd hmgyn nbyšt bwdwm 'ghy 'y
 31 (q)\šgr yn hst qw twpyty'n r' p'q by qwštn wbgdw bstn wsb'pwšy šwd
 32 [p'] q'šgr 'b' p' sd mrnd cy sw'r wcy py'dh wsbs 'y sb'pwšy {hb}
 33 [py]nb'šy hrb r' wsl'm wkzym r' bysp'n prystyd wmn hrb r' cyz
 34 d'dwm p' m'yh 'y sd ptqw pšyz wndrz qr dydwm 'z swy 'y dwyd r'
 35 psr 'y nysy wkhr z'dh yš m' r' hm hrb r' wsl'm wkzw'm r' qw
 36 'gr 'mdh b'd p' q'šgr hr cnd kwzynh kw'hnd cyz b'z m'
 37 m' d' ryd by ydwn šnydwm qw hm dwyd whm
 38 kw'hr z'dh

[illegible]

Fig. 2. Du2 (BH1-19).

Transcription

1 pannām izid xudā i-kirbakkar. sad hazar šalamā bē xudā rab Nisī Čilāg, bē āzarmī
 2 Abū Sahak, bē grāmī brādar Šawāfradar, bē Ičhak, u-bē Mōšak, u-bē Harūn, bē
 3 Xāšak, bē xwāharak Xudēnak, bē hamagīn mardōmān iš-mā buzurg u-kōdak, az man
 4 rabī. drōd u-drustī. āgahī iš-marā nibēsum kū: man u-hakīm u-payrō u-mamzēr Šablī
 5 drust u-nēk-um. u-mardamakān i xāna pa nērō izid xudā tā imrōz. pas az ēn,
 6 āgahanum bē brād Šawāfradar kū: Nūrbak andar Xōtan āmad. u-nāma iš-mā āward, u-yaftum.
 7 u-bar xwandum ān-i nibišt būdē. hamagīn kū iš-mā pa tan i xwaš drust u-nēk
 8 hēd. mā az dūr saxt šād bāšim. u-spās-dārī kunēm apēš izid xudā.
 9 u-pas tō āgah bāš kū: mā gōsfand ayāftum az dihgān saxt āzadihā. hidya i
 10 framūdē būdēm iš rāst. čūn tīb andar burdum. hamandar zamān tīb pān
 11 bi-kr dīd, u-mar Čikāši rā framūd kū: “zūd gōsfand ēn sugdī bē dihi!”
 12 u-Čikāši u-ān bad paywastan. bē dihgān xišm grift. u-čiz saxwan i bad mardum
 13 na grift. čahar marand dād. Šablī u-hakīm u-dō yulām raftan pa kūh
 14 šaš-mī māh pa dah sayd. dihgān rā: yakē yulik u-yak kafiz kabar u-panj šag
 15 dugbix u-yak šag dambir u-yak satēr bōy i činī hidya. az mar sīxī rā: yakē
 16 parnyān u-yakē šamsi hidya. čē nēk kardēd! sīxī čikāši i duxtar i dihgān rā,
 17 ???rik krāk nām hast, yakē parnyān u-dō gand u-dō limčū hidya. yak panxwān
 18 i bar gōsfand mihtarā: yakē likin u-yakē gand yakē limčū hidya. dō marand
 19 rā, kū sar šmar i gōsfand mihtar būdan, yak yak likin u-yak yak gand u-dō limčū
 20 hidya. šubānān rā: bagdū u-gand u-limčū hidya. u-šudan pa kūh. bē nūz gōsfand
 21 bē dist mā na rasid. u-padiriftan kū: “gōsfand saxt nēk dihēm.” u-pa nāma
 22 nibišt būdē kū: “nīz pašiz xwāstan pa gōsfand, u-na dādum.” u-na nēk kar-dē.
 23 agar ēn nāma bē šmā rasād, u-duxtar i dihgān bē-rōn nāmada bād,
 24 [har] čand pašiz xwā[had] [(p)a gōsfand aš, bē framāy dādan. u-bā ōy bērōn āyē.
 25 [marā] t[ō] čišm u-rōšnī-ē. ham ēn duxtar hast dihgān rā. u-saxt spās kun.
 26 [aga]r spās i ō-rā kunē, čiz gum na buwad. man saxt bisyār nāma frēstum
 27 [bē] šmā. pas na dānum kū bē šmā na rasād. (p)[a pan]j-mī mā pa haždah sayd,
 28 Šablī andar āmad. pa bīst u-panj sayd, dō kinkāx dihgān nazdik i
 29 duxtar frēstid. man pa dist i ham ān kinkāx sīh nāma frēstidum
 30 bē šmā. har čē āgahī i šahr u-nē kāšgar būd hamagīn nibišt būdum. āgahī i
 31 kāšgar ēn hast kū: tūpityān rā pāk bē kuštan u-bagdū bastan. u-spāfūši šud
 32 [pa] kāšgar abā pa-sad marand čī sawār u-či payāda. u-spas i spāfūši,
 33 [pē]nbāši harb rā u-salām u-xazīm rā bayaspān frēstid. u-man harb rā čiz
 34 dādum pa māyah i sad patku pašiz. w-andarz kar-dēd-um, az sōy i Dawīd rā,
 35 pisar i Nisī u-xahar zāda iš-mā rā, ham harb rā u-salām u-xuzām rā, kū:
 36 “agar āmada bād pa kāšgar, har čand xuzīnah xwāhand, čiz bāz ma
 37 ma dā-rēd.” bē ēdōn šnīdum, kū ham Dawīd u-ham
 38 xwāhar zāda.

Translation

¹In the name of God, the Lord, the benevolent. A hundred thousand greetings to the lord master Nisi Chilag, to the honorable ²Abu Sahak, to (my) dear brother Shawāfradar, to Issac, to Mushak, to Harun, to ³Khashak, to (my) little sister Khudenak, to all your people, old and young from me, ⁴Rabbi. Regards and greetings! I write to inform you that: I, Hakim, the attendant, and Shabilī, the illegitimate, ⁵are healthy and good. By the power of the Lord God, children of the house (are good) till today. After this, ⁶I inform (my) brother Shawāfradar that: Nūrbak came to Khotan. He brought your letter, and I received (it). ⁷I read what you had written. All of you are physically healthy and sound. ⁸We are, from afar, very happy. We give thanks before the Lord God. ⁹And then, be aware of the fact that: We obtained sheep

from the local ruler very generously. The gifts that ¹⁰we had ordered [are] correct. When I brought in the perfume, as soon as he saw the perfume on that ¹¹maiden, he ordered *Āikāšī* that: Quickly deliver the sheep of this Sogdian! ¹²*Āikāšī* and he did not get along. But the ruler became angry. He did not ¹³accept any words of the bad people. He [the ruler] gave four *marand* (?). Shabilī, Hakim, and two slaves went to the mountain ¹⁴on the 10th (day) of the 6th month. The gift for the ruler: a vase, one *kafīz* of capers, five *šag* of ¹⁵*dugbīkh*, one *šag* of *dambīr*, one stater of the Chinese scent [= musk?]. The gift for *sīkhī*: one (bolt of) ¹⁶silk and one shirt. How well you have done! For *sīkhī cīkāšī* of the ruler's daughter, whose name is ¹⁷ *rīk krāk*, the gift is one (bolt of) silk, two (units of) sugar and two (units of) *līmčū*. For the Executive Officer, ¹⁸who is in charge of the sheep, the gift is one *līkīn* and one (unit of) sugar and one (unit of) *līmčū*. For the two *marand* (soldiers?) ¹⁹who are in charge of sheep-counting, the gift is one *līkīn* for each and one (unit of) sugar for each and two (units of) *līmčū*. ^{20–21}For the shepherds, the gift is *bagdū* (= slave?), sugar and *līmčū*. They have gone to the mountain, but we have not yet obtained the sheep. They promised that: we will give the sheep very properly. In the letter ²²you had written: They still wanted money for the sheep, and I did not give. You did not do well. ²³If this letter shall reach you, and the ruler's daughter has not come out, ²⁴however much money she may ask for the sheep, please give it to her, and come out with her. ²⁵[For me,] you are the eye and the light. This daughter is just like that for the ruler. Thank her a lot. ²⁶If you thank her, nothing will be lost. I will send a great many letters ²⁷to you. But I do not know whether these (letters) shall reach you or not. On the 18th of the 5th month, ²⁸Shablī came in [to Khotan]. On the 25th, the ruler sent two runners to ²⁹(his) daughter. By the hands of these runners, I sent thirty letters ³⁰to you. I have written about all the cities except for Kashgar. The news of ³¹Kashgar is this: They captured and killed all the Tibetans. The Vice Commissioner of the Army went ³²to Kashgar with 500 *marand* (= soldiers?), some on horseback, some on foot. After the Vice Commissioner of the Army, ³³the Commissioner of Soldiers and Horses sent a messenger for the battle and for peace and victory. For the battle, ³⁴I donated a sum worth 100 strings of coins. You have given me advice for the sake of David, ³⁵Nisi's son and your nephew, also for the battle, for peace and victory: ³⁶"If it [the war] had come to Kashgar, however much they may want ³⁷do not hold back anything." I listened to it [= followed your advice] as well as that of David ³⁸and the nephew.

Commentary

- Line 1: "In the name of God, the Lord, the benevolent." This is clearly an imitation of the *Basmala* formula, which is also partially attested in Sogdian and Bactrian. It is not surprising to find that Mount Mugh I.I., a letter in Sogdian sent by an Arab to the ruler of Panjikent, opens thus: *prn'm βγγ δ'mδn'k* "In the name of God, the Creator." See Yakubovich 2002: 234, 235. This formula may have also appeared in GXW 0434, a Sogdian manuscript recently discovered from Khotan: [*pr*] *βγγ n'm* "In the name of God." See Yoshida 2019: 391. Note that Bi and Sims-Williams (2010: 504–5) read differently. Two 10th-century Sogdian manuscripts from Dunhuang (DTS A = *Pelliot Chinois* 3134 verso and DTS D = *Pelliot Chinois* 2782 recto) contain the same formula. See Sims-Williams and Hamilton 2015: 28, 47. Document Y, a Bactrian document from 771 C.E., the latest dated one in the corpus of Bactrian documents from Northern Afghanistan, opens with the same formula: *πιδο ναμο ιεζιδ* "In the name of God." See Sims-Williams 2000: 144–45. All of above must be influenced by the original Arabic formula, which is attested in 31 out of the 32 documents in the corpus of Arabic documents from Northern Afghanistan, which are dated between 755 and 777 (Khan 2007: 92–165).
- Line 1: *kwdh rb* "lord, master," is probably a calque of Sogdian *βγw xwβw* "the lord, sovereign," amply attested in Mount Mugh documents, used as an honorific address. See Livshits 2015: 176.
- Lines 1–3: Personal names and epithets of those from the recipients' side and the sender's side, together with the languages from which they come, are listed below. Note that a female addressee is included, showing that the community was not made up of all male members doing short-term business. They have brought with them women and children and may have established at least two settlements in the Khotan area, doing local short-distance trade of sheep. For the trade of sheep, see Du1.15 and

Du2.20–24. The multilingualism of these names and epithets demonstrates the multi-cultural (Hebrew, Persian, Arabic and Sogdian) background of the community.

Name	Language	Epithet	Language
The recipients' side			
Nīsī Čilāg	?	lord master <i>xudā rab</i>	Persian
Abū Sahak	Arabic	honorable <i>āzarmī</i>	Persian
Šawāfradar	Sogdian	dear <i>grāmī</i>	Persian
Ičhak	Hebrew	n/a	n/a
Mōšak	Hebrew	n/a	n/a
Harūn	Arabic	n/a	n/a
Xāšak	?	n/a	n/a
Xudēnak (f.)	Sogdian	little sister <i>xwāharak</i>	Persian
The sender's side			
(the sender)	Hebrew	Rabbi <i>rabī</i>	Hebrew
Hakīm	Arabic	n/a	n/a
n/a	n/a	attendant <i>payrō</i>	Persian
Šablī	?	illegitimate <i>mamzēr</i>	Hebrew
David	Hebrew	n/a	n/a
Bagidi	Sogdian	maiden <i>kanīzag</i>	Persian

Lines 3–4: “From me, Rabbi.” The sender identifies himself as a rabbi. In Du1.16, the sender also identifies himself as a rabbi, though in a somewhat indirect manner. This strongly suggests that the two letters were written by the same person.

Line 5: “By the power of the Lord God, children of the house (are good) till today.” A close parallel is found in line 6 of GXW 0114, a Sogdian letter from Khotan: *ms m'xw pr βγγ z'wr kw nwr myδ prm 'z-c't 's(kw)ym* “We too, by God's help (lit. power), are well up to the present day (= today).” The words in the brackets are mine. See Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 262. Du2 is clearly following the epistolary convention of Sogdian letters.

Line 6: “Nūrbak came to Khotan.” In Du1.26, Nūrbak probably brought a harp to the sender. In other words, not only is the name Nūrbak attested in both letters, the person who bears this name also travels as a messenger between the recipient and the sender in both letters.

Lines 10–11: *hmndr zm'n tyb p'n by qr dyd* “As soon as he saw the perfume on that maiden” This passage is troubling. Here, I take *tyb* as “perfume” and *by qr* as one word *bikr* “virgin, maiden.” The subject of the sentence is *dyhg'n*, the ruler of Khotan.

Line 11: “Quickly deliver the sheep of this Sogdian!” These are the words of *dihgān*, presumably in Khotanese originally, which would be something like *thyau tye sūlyā pasi haura*. As the numerous Sogdian elements in the letters show, these Persian-speaking Jews came from Sogdiana, and were perfectly Sogdian in the eyes of local Khotanese, regardless of the language they actually spoke. Based on this passage and the Sogdian ordinal suffix *-my* used in these letters, however, Yoshida (2019: 390–91) argues that the native language of the sender of the letters was Sogdian, and Persian was his secondary language. I would imagine, on the other hand, that our Jewish friends in Khotan

formed close-knit communities and shared the same native language. That they used the Hebrew script to write the letters shows that they were corresponding within the community, and there was no need to use a secondary language. If Sogdian had been indeed their first language, they would have written in Judaeo-Sogdian. These people were Persian-speaking Jews from Sogdiana. In other words, they were culturally Jewish, linguistically Persian, and geographically Sogdian at the same time.

Lines 14–20: These lines contain six sets of gifts to six different parties, probably in descending hierarchy.

Recipient	Quantity	Unit	Item
<i>Dihgān</i> ruler of Khotan	1	n/a	vase (Sog.)
	1	<i>kafīz</i>	capers
	5	<i>šag</i>	<i>dugbīx</i> ?
	1	<i>šag</i>	<i>dambīr</i> ?
<i>Sīxī</i>	1	stater	Chinese scent (= musk?)
	1	n/a	silk
	1	n/a	shirt (Chin.)
<i>Sīxī cīkāšī</i> of the ruler's daughter	1	n/a	silk
	2	n/a	sugar
	2	n/a	<i>līmčū</i> ?
the Executive Official in charge of sheep	1	n/a	<i>līkīn</i> ?
	1	n/a	sugar
	1	n/a	<i>līmčū</i> ?
two <i>marand</i> (soldiers?) in charge of sheep-counting	1 each	n/a	<i>līkīn</i> ?
	1 each	n/a	sugar
	2	n/a	<i>līmčū</i> ?
shepherds	n/a	n/a	<i>bagdū</i> (slave?)
	n/a	n/a	sugar
	n/a	n/a	<i>līmčū</i> ?

Line 25: [*mr' t*]w cyšm wrwšny'y hm yn dwktr hst dyhg'n r' "[For me,] you are the eye and the light. This daughter is just like that for the ruler." I restored the beginning of the line a bit boldly. Concerning the daughter of the ruler, the following passage from *Xin Tangshu* v. 110 is of great interest:

安祿山反，勝使弟曜攝國事，身率兵五千赴難。國人固留勝，勝以少女為質而行。

"When An Lushan rebelled (in 755/756), Yuchi Sheng made his younger brother Yao (= Viša Vāham, our *dihgān* here) in charge of the statel affairs (of Khotan), and led 5,000 soldiers himself to rescue the country out of the disaster. The people of the state insisted that Sheng stay. Sheng left his young daughter as hostage and departed."

The daughter of the ruler could be our *dihgān*'s niece, his elder brother Yuchi Sheng's daughter, who had been left as a hostage 35 years before.

Lines 27–30: On the 18th of the fifth month, Shablī came to Khotan, presumably bringing a message from the recipients to the sender. One week later, on the 25th, the sender sent 30 letters to the recipients via two runners of the ruler of Khotan, and wrote about “all the cities except for Kashgar.” Apparently, the sender was very eager to share information with the recipients. This reminds us of the Sogdian Ancient Letter No. 2 (Sims-Williams 2001), in which the sender shared political and financial information in China with his business partners in Samarkand. Du2 must have been written after the 10th of the sixth month, mentioned in line 14. Presumably, the incident in Kashgar happened after the 25th of the fifth month when he had sent the 30 letters.

Line 31: “They captured and killed (?) all the Tibetans.” The subject of the sentence should be the Chinese army stationed in Kashgar. Since Du1 was found in Dandan-Uiliq, Du2 in all likelihood should also be from Dandan-Uiliq, which was abandoned shortly after 791, probably a result of the political turmoil caused by the invasion of Tibetans. The incident at Kashgar reflects the initial attempt of the Tibetans to take control of the southern Tarim Basin in the late eighth century. Ten years later, in the early ninth century, the Uyghurs clashed with the Tibetans in Kashgar (Yoshida 2009).

Line 31: *sb'pwšy* “The Vice Commissioner of the Army.” This Vice Commissioner of the Army could not be the Vice Commissioner of the Military Command of the Four Garrisons (headed by) Anxi (= Kucha) 安西四镇节度副使, who was none other than the king of Khotan himself (Zhang and Rong 1997: 343), but the Vice Commissioner of the Garrison of Khotan 于阗镇守副使, subordinate to the Commissioner of the Garrison of Khotan 于阗镇守使, also known as the Great Commissioner of the Army of Khotan 于阗军大使 (Meng 2012: 123). By the same token, the Vice Commissioner of the Garrison of Khotan 于阗镇守副使 could also be called the Vice Commissioner of the Army of Khotan 于阗军副使, with the Vice Commissioner of the Army 军副使 corresponding to *sb'pwšy*. Another variant of this title, Vice Regulatory Commissioner of Khotan 于阗经略副使, is attested in three newly discovered Chinese documents from Khotan (Meng 2014: 4–5). Yoshida (2019: 387) proposes a different reading. He reads the first part *sbā* as a Chinese surname, from Chin. *sīmǎ* LMC *sźma* 司马. Someone bearing this surname is attested in a manuscript fragment in Chinese discovered in Khotan (Or.8212/1576, see Sha and Wood 2005, v.2: 227). In two cases in *Mahrnāmag*, *'wlwgfwsy* (M1.94) and *l'fwšyy* (M1.95), the name and the title are written together as one word. If *sb'pwšy* is indeed such a combination of a Chinese surname and a title written together, I would expect a Chinese surname or just a name before (*pē*)*nbāšī* “the Commissioner of Soldiers and Horses” too, but there is none.

Lines 33–34: “I donated for the battle a sum worth 100 strings of coins.” One string equals one thousand coins. One hundred thousand coins is a good deal of money. The sender was trying very hard by using his financial leverage to intervene in the political and military affairs. An even greater amount of money, 1,000 strings or 1 million coins, is mentioned in GXW 0434, a Sogdian manuscript from Khotan. Yoshida (2019: 391) suggests that there may be some connection with these two manuscripts. He even muses about the possibility that a Jew composed the Sogdian manuscript. Unfortunately, GXW 0434 is just too fragmentary for any decisive conclusion to be drawn. It is conceivable, however, that the Sogdians in Khotan were also doing their best to maximize their interest.

Glossary

???ryq qr'q pn.

Du2.17

?gwšt ?guš-t unclear. Utas (1968: 168) reads (g)wšt *gōšt* “meat” and treats the trace before *gimel* as a deleted letter. Paul (2013: 98, n. 1) reads 'gwš-t *āgōš-t* “your bosom.” The context is not clear enough to warrant this reading. I

think it is better to admit that the first letter is damaged and illegible. From the context, this is more likely a personal name.

Du1.31

'b' *abā* “with.” MP *abāg* NP *bā*.

Du2.32

'br *abar* “up.” MP ~ NP *bar*.

- Du1.5
'br kstn *bar xastan* "to rise, get up." MP *abar āxistan* NP *bar xāstan*.
'br kstwmy *abar xastumē* past irrealis 1s. See Paul 2013: 130.
- Du1.5
'bw shq *Abū Šahak* pn.
Du2.2
'bzwdn *abzūdan* "to increase, grow." MP ~ NP *afzūdan*
'bzwd *abzūd* past 3s.
- Du1.9
'gh *āgah* "aware, knowing." MP *āgāh* NP *āgah, āgāh*.
Du2.9
'ghn- *āgahan*- "to inform." MP *āgāhēn*-, NP *āgāhān*-.
'ghnwm *āgahanum* pres. 1s.
Du2.6
'ghy *āgahī* "awareness, information." MP *āgāhīh* NP *āgāhī*.
Du2.4, 30*2
'gr *agar* "if." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.20, 28, Du2.23, [26], 36
'mwz- *āmōz*- "teach." MP *hammōz*- *hammōxtan* NP *āmōz*- *āmōxtan*.
'mwzd *āmōzad* pres. 3s.
Du1.27
'mwzwm *āmōzum* pres. 1s.
Du1.25
'n *ān* "that." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.28, 32, 34, Du2.12, 29
'ndr *andar* "inside." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.33, Du2.6, 10, 28
'ndryq *andarik* "eunuch." Sogd. 'ntryk, see Utas 1968: 135.
Du1.27
'ndwh *andōh* "grief, worry." MP ~ NP ~ Sogd. 'ntwyc.
Du1.21, 30
'ndwh kwrđn *andōh xwardan* "to worry, lit. to eat anxiety." The same expression is found in two Sogdian letters, one from Khotan (GXW0114), the other from Dunhuang (Or.8212/86): "ycw 'ntwxch ZYL' prm'y xwrt "Please don't worry," 'ntwxc n' xwr', "Don't worry." See Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 262, 266, and 267.
'ndwh m' p[rmy kwrđn] *andōh ma f[armāy xwardan]* impv 2s.
Du1.21
- 'ndwh m' kwr *andōh ma xwar* impv. 2s.
Du1.30
'ny *ān-ī* = *ān* + *ī* "that of."
Du1.4, 13, Du2.7
'pyš *apēš* "before." MP *pēš* NP *pēš*.
Du2.8
'[w]r-, 'wrđn *āwar*-, *āwardan* "to bring," MP ~ NP ~.
'ry *ārē* pres. 2s. with the shorter stem.
Du1.25
'wrd *āward* past 3s.
Du2.6
'š -aš "his/her, to him/her," enclitic pronoun 3s., see Paul 2013: 98.
Du1.29, Du2.24
'y *ī ezāfe*. MP ~ NP *i*. It is usually written independently as such, but sometimes as /y-/ together with the following word, especially when followed by a pronoun. See *ym'*, *yšm'*, *yqrbqr*.
Du1.3, 6*2, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 27, 29, 31, 34*3, 35, 37, Du2.5, 7, 9, 12, 15, 16*2, 18, 19, 23, 26, 28, 29, 30*2, 32, 34*2, 35
relative pronoun.
Du1.10, 12, 29, Du2.9
'y *ē* hortative particle. MP *ē[w]/hēb*. See Lazard 1988: 208; Paul 2013: 115, 122.
Du1.1
'y -ē "you (sg.) are" enclitic copula 2s.
Du2.25
'ydr *ēdar* adv. "here," MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.22
'ydw n *ēdōn* adv. "thus, so," a variant of *ydw n*. MP ~ NP *ēdūn*.
Du1.16
'yptwm *yaftum* v., see *yptn*.
Du2.9
'y- 'mdn *āy- āmadan* "to come," MP ~ NP ~.
'yy present 2s., though impv. 2s. is expected.
Du2.24
'md *āmad* past 3s.
Du2.6, 28
'mdh b'd *āmada bād* past subj. 3s.
Du2.36
[']mdn *āmadan* past 3pl.
Du1.17
n'mdh b'd *nāmada bād* negative past subj. 3s.
Du2.23
n'mdh hy *nāmada hē* perfect. 2s.
Du1.35
'yptn *ayaftan* "to obtain." MP *ayāftan* NP *yāftan*.
'yptwm *ayaftum* past 1s.

- Du2.9
yptwm *yaftum* past 1s.
Du1.28, Du2.6
'z *az* prep. "from," MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.9, 15, 18, 21, 26, 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37*2,
Du2.3, 5, 8, 9, 15, 34
'zdyhh *āzadihā* "generously." MP *āzād* NP *āzād*
"free, generous," with the MP adverbial end-
ing *-ihā*. See Paul 2013: 83.
Du2.9
'zrmy *āzarmī* "honored, respected." MP *āzarmīg*.
Du2.1
b' *bā* "with." MP *abāg* NP ~.
Du2.24
b'š- *bāš-* "to be." See Paul 2013: 139.
b'š *bāš* impv. 2s.
Du2.9
b'šd *bāšad* pres. 3s., used in conjunction with the
hortative particle 'y *ē*.
Du1.1
b' šym *bāšīm* pres. 1pl.
Du2.8
b'yst *bāyist* "it is necessary, should," MP *abāyist*
NP ~.
b'ysty *bāyistē* irrealist 3s., see Paul 2013: 130-31.
Du1.20
b'z *bāz* "back." MP *abāz* NP ~.
Du2.36
b'z d'r- *bāz dār-* "to withhold" MP *abāz dār-*.
b'z d'r m' m' d'ryd *bāz ma ma dārēd* impv. 2pl.
The repeated prohibitive particle is either a
dittography or an emphasis. It should not be
parsed as *bāz mā ma dārēd* "do not keep any-
thing from us," as Paul (2013: 143) did, since
such a reading does not fit the context.
Du2.36-37
bd *bad* "bad." MP *wad* NP ~.
Du1.12, Du2.12*2
bgdw *bagdu* meaning unclear. From the context,
it could mean "slave, captive."
Du2.20, 31
bgdy *Bagidi* pn. lit. "female slave of God," Sogd.
βγγδ'y (M1.134). See Yoshida 2019: 389.
Du1.27
bkt *baxt* "fate, fortune." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.20
br *bar* "upon." MP *abar*, NP ~.
Du2.7, 18
br kwndn *bar xwandan* "to read." NP ~ "to
enumerate."
br kwndwm *bar xwandum* past 1s.
- Du2.7
br'd *brād* "brother." MP ~.
Du2.6
br'dr *brādar* "brother." MP ~ NP *barādar*.
Du2.2
bryn *barēn* "upper," see Paul 2013: 82.
Du1.5, 37
bstn *bastan* "to bind." MP ~ NP ~.
bstn *bastan* past 3pl.
Du2.31
bwdn *būdan buw-* "to be." MP ~ NP *būdan*.
bwd *būd* past 3s.
Du1.8, 11*2, Du2.30
bwd *buwad* pres. 3s.
Du1.9, 22, 29, 39, Du2.26
bwd'(st) *būdast* periphrastic perfect 3s., but the
reading is uncertain.
Du1.10
bwdn *būdan* inf.
Du1.20
bwdn *būdan* past 3pl.
Du2.19
bwndh *bunda* unclear, perhaps "servant." MP
bandag NP *banda* This may be only the lat-
ter part of a word. Utas (1968) read (kw)ndh.
Du1.34
bwr probably a mistake for bwd *būd*.
Du1.11
bwrnd *burdan* v. "to carry, take." MP ~ NP ~.
bwrndwm *burdum* past 1s.
Du2.10
bwy *bōy* "odor, scent." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.15
bwy 'y cyny *bōy ī čīnī* n. "Chinese scent," prob-
ably referring to musk. For more on the trade
of musk from Tibet to the Islamic world, see
King 2011 and 2017.
Du2.15
by¹ *bē* "to, towards." NP *bi*.
Du1.2, 30, Du2.1*2, 2*5, 3*2, 6, 11, 21, 23, 27,
30, 37
by² *bē* "but." MP ~.
Du1.21, 26, 28, Du2.12, 20
by³ *bē* preverb. MP ~. For a detailed discussion on
the function of this preverb, see Lazard 1963:
298-326; also see Paul 2013: 115, 120-21,
123-24, and 128-29.
Du1.4, 7, 8, 14, 27, Du2.11, 24, 31
With present stems:
by prmy d'dn *bē framāy dādan* impv 2s. "please
give!"

- Du1.4, Du2.24
by dyh *bē diḥ*, impv 2s. "give!"
Du2.11
by bwd *bē buwad* pres. 3s "[there] is/will be," see Lazard 1963: 317–18.
Du1.8
b(y) 'mwzd *bē āmōzad* pres. 3s. "he will teach."
Du1.27
With past stems:
dwr by wpt'd *dūr bē ōftād* past 3s. "to be delayed," with the old MP meaning "out, away," see Paul 2013: 129.
Du1.7
by šn'ktn *bē šnāxtan* past 3pl. "they understood."
Du1.14
by qwštn *bē kuštan* past 3pl. "they killed."
Du2.31
byh *bih* "better." MP *weh* NP ~.
Du1.28
by qr *bikr* "virgin, maiden."
Du2.11
bynd- bynd'dn *bind- bindādan* v. "to find." MP *wind- windādan*.
bynd'dwm *bindādum* past 1s.
Du1.26
byndwm *bindum* pres. 1s.
Du1.26
byrwn *bērōn* "outside." MP ~ NP *bērūn*.
Du1.35, Du2.23, 24
byrwn 'mdn *bērōn āmadan* "to come outside," idiomatic "to make a deal (?)." The idiomatic usage of this phrase is conjectured from context.
Du2.23, 24
bysp'n *bayaspān* "messenger." MP ~.
Du2.33
byst *bīst* "twenty." MP *wīst* NP ~.
Du2.28, Du1.2
bysy'r *bisyār* "much." MP *wasyār* NP ~.
Du2.26
byš *bēš* "more." MP *wēš* NP ~.
Du1.2
bzwrg *b(u)zurg* "big." MP *wuzurg* NP ~.
Du2.3
c'mq *jāmak* "clothing, garment." MP *jāmag* NP *jāma*.
Du1.3
chr *čahar* "four." MP *čahār* NP *čahār*.
Du2.13
cmh *jama* "clothing, garment." MP *jāmag* NP *jāma*.
Du1.10
cmkwy *čamxuy*, "harp (or similar stringed instrument)." Sogd. *cmxwy*. See Utas 1968: 135.
Du1.24, 25
cnd *čand* "some, a few." MP ~ NP ~. Also see *hr cnd*.
Du1.25, Du2.36
cwn *čūn* "when, because." MP *čiyōn* NP ~.
Du1.9, 13, 23, Du2.10
cwst *čust* "quick," though this meaning does not fit the context well. NP ~.
Du1.25
cy *čē* "what." MP ~ NP *či*.
Du1.3, 9, 30, Du2.16, 30, 32*2
cy hyz *čēhiz* "everything." See Paul 2013: 105.
Du1.37
cyk'šy probably "prefect" *cīshī* 刺史 LMC *ts^hz sṛ* (Pulleyblank: 64, 283); MMP *cygšyy* Khot. *tsīšī*.
Du2.11, 16
cykšy a variant of *cyk'šy*.
Du2.12
cyny *čīnī* "Chinese." NP ~. Also see *bwy 'y cyny*.
Du2.15
cyl'g *Čīlāg* pn. meaning unclear.
Du2.1
cyšm *čišm* "eye." MP *čašm* NP ~.
Du2.25
cyz *čiz* "thing, anything." NP ~.
Du1.12, 21, 30, Du2.12, 26, 33, 36
d'n- *dān-* "to know." MP ~ NP ~.
d'nwm *dānum* pres. 1s.
Du2.27
d'r- *dār-* "to hold, keep." MP ~ NP ~. Also see *b'z d'r*.
d'rwm *dārum* pres. 1s.
Du1.13
d' ryd *dārēd* impv. 2pl.
Du2.37
dh-/dyh- d'dn *dah-/dih- dādan* "to give." MP *dah- dādan* NP *dih- dādan*.
d'd *dād* past 3s.
Du2.13
d'dn *dādan* inf.
Du1.4, Du2.24
d'dwm *dādum* past 1s.
Du2.22, 34
dhwmm *dahum* pres. 1s.
Du1.27
dyh *dih* impv. 2s.
Du2.11
dyhym *dihēm* pres. 1pl.
Du2.21
dh *dah* "ten." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.14
dh m[y] *dahmī* "tenth." Sogd. *δsm'yk*.

- Du1.7
dmbyr *dambīr* an item on a list of gifts, exact meaning unclear.
Du2.15
drwd *drōd* "health, greeting." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.4
drwst *drust* "correct, healthy." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.22, Du2.5, 7
drwsty *drustī* "healthiness." MP *drustīh* NP ~.
Du2.4
dw *dō* "two." MP ~ NP *du*.
Du2.13, 17*2, 18, 28
dw'l *dawāl* "strap." NP ~.
Du1.36
dwgbyk *dūgbīx* an item on a list of gifts, exact meaning unclear.
Du2.15
dwktr *duxtar* "daughter, girl." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.16, 23, 25, 29
dwr *dūr* "far." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.7, Du2.8
dwyd *Dawīd* pn. "David."
Du2.34, 37
dydn *dīdan* "to see." MP ~ NP ~.
dyd *dīd* past 3s.
dyst *dist* "hand". MP *dast*. See Paul 2013: 62. Bact. $\lambda\sigma\tau\omicron$. This form is also attested in a JP letter from 11th-century Afganistan (Heb. 8333.4=4.6). See Haim 2014: 104.
Du2.11
dyhg'n *dihgān* lit. "landlord." NP ~. Here, it most likely refers to Viśa' Vāhaṃ, the ruler of Khotan at that time, just as Dēwāštīč, the ruler of Panjkent in the early eighth century, is referred to as *dihqān* in Ṭabarī. See Yoshida 2019: 392–94. For more on Viśa' Vāhaṃ, see Zhang 2017: 149–50.
Du2.9, 12, 14, 16, 23, 25, 28
dyst *dist* 'hand'. MP *dast* NP *dast*. See Paul 20113: 62. Bact. $\lambda\sigma\tau\omicron$. This form is also attested in a JP letter from 11th-century Afghanistan (Heb. 8333.4–4.6). See Haim 2014: 104.
Du2.21, 29
dzt *dast* (?) "hand." For the neutralization of z/s before t or p, see Paul 2013: 51. The attestation of "dyst" twice in Du2, however, makes this solution less probable. On the other hand, the parallelism between p' dzt (Du1.3) and p' dyst (Du2.29) is in its favor.
Du1.3
gnd *gand* "sugar, candy." Yoshida (2017: 274) pointed out that this must be the Tashkent honey 石蜜 in Chinese sources.
Du2.17, 18, 19, 20
gr'my *grāmī* "respected, dear." MP *grāmīg* NP ~.
Du2.2
gryptn *griftan* "to take, receive." MP ~ NP *griftan*.
grypt *grift* past 3s.
Du2.13
qrypt *grift* past 3s. The initial g is written with a *qof*. See Paul 2013: 55.
Du2.12
gwl'm *γulām* "slave." NP ~, from Ar. ~.
Du2.13
gwlyq *γulik* "vessel, pitcher." Sogd. $\gamma w\delta'k \gamma\delta\delta\bar{e}$ NP *γolin*. Sogdian δ regularly becomes *l* when borrowed into New Persian. See Henning 1939: 97. Khot. *gūthaka* (Or.11252/10v.1). See Yoshida 2006: 112. I imagine this pitcher would be similar to the elaborate ewers found in various places along the "Silk Road." For three examples, with images and description, see Whitfield 2019: 192–93.
Du2.14
gwm *gum* "lost." NP ~.
Du2.26
gwptn *guftan* "to say." MP ~ NP ~.
gwpty *guftē* past 2s.
Du1.16
gwptyd *guftēd* past 2pl.
Du1.28
qwpty *guftē* past 2s. The initial g is written with a *qof*. See Paul 2013: 55.
Du1.31
qwptyd *guftēd* past 2pl.(?) The expected form here seems to be *guft* past 3s. The initial g is written with a *qof*. See Paul 2013: 55.
Du1.24
gwspond *gōsfand* "sheep." MP *gōspand* NP ~.
Du1.8, 15, 22, 34, Du2.9, 11, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24
h- *h-* "to be". MP ~. See Paul 2013: 138.
hst *hast* pres. 3s.
Du1.12, 17, Du2.17, 25, 31
hyd *hēd* pres. 2pl.
Du2.8
hdyh *hidya* "gift." NP ~.
Du2.9, 15, 17, 18, 20*2
hm *ham* "also, same." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.25, 29, 35, 37*2
hmgyn *hamagīn* "all." MP *hamāg* NP *hamagī*.
Du1.10, 15, Du2.3, 7, 30
hmndr *zm'n hamandar zamān* "as soon as."
Du2.10
hqym *Hakīm* pn., from Ar. *ḥakīm* "wise."
Du2.4, 13

- hr *har* "every." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.37, Du2.30
- hr cnd *har čand* "however much." NP ~.
Du2.[24], 36
- hrb *harb* "battle," from Ar. *ḥarb* or *harab* "escape," from Ar. *harab*.
Du2.33, 35
- hrwn *Harūn* pn. "Harun."
Du2.2
- hwš *hōš* "consciousness, intelligence, mentality." MP *ōš* NP ~.
Du1.30*2
- hwšwm *hōš-um* "my intelligence."
Du1.30*2
- hydyh *hidya* "gift," a variant of *hdyh*.
Du2.15, 16
- hyz see *cy hyz*.
Du1.37
- hzdh *haždah* "eighteen." MP *haštdah* NP *hiždah*.
Du2.27
- hxr *hazar* "thousand." MP *hazār* NP *hazār*
Du2.1
- k'nh *xāna* "house." MP *xānag* NP ~.
Du2.5
- k'šq *Xāšak* pn.
Du2.3
- khr z'dh *xahar zāda* "nephew," a variant of *kw'hr z'dh*.
Du2.35
- krydn kr- *xarīdan xar-* "to buy" MP *xrīdan xrīn-* NP ~.
Du1.12
- kr'm *xarām* subj. 1s.
Du1.12
- krnd *xarand* pres. 3s.
Du1.8
- kry *xarē* pres. 2s., used as an imperative with a softened tone. See Paul 2013: 124.
Du1.5
- krydn *xarīdan* past 3pl.
Du1.15
- krydy *xarīdē* past 2pl.
Du1.19
- kstwmy see 'br *kstn*
Du1.5
- kw'hr *xwāhar* "sister." MP *xwahar* NP ~.
Du2.38
- kw'hr z'dh *xwāhar zāda* "nephew." NP ~.
Du2.38
- kw'st'ry *xwāstārī* "request." NP ~.
Du1.32
- kwd *xwad* "self." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.19*3, 32
- kwdh *xudā* "lord." MP *xwadāy* NP ~.
Du1.1, 6, 8, Du2.1*2, 5, 8
- kwdynq *Xudēnak* pn., lit. "little queen," diminutive of Sogd. *γwt'ynh* "queen."
Du2.3
- kw'hrq *xwaharak* "little sister," diminutive of *kw'hr* "sister."
Du2.3
- kwkw[. . .] unclear.
Du1.8
- kwndn *xwandan* "to read." MP *xwandan xwān-* "to call" NP *xwāndan xwān-*.
Du2.7
- kwndwm *xwandum* past 1s.
Du2.7
- kwrdn *xwardan xwar-* "to eat." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.30
- kw'r *xwar* impv. 2s.
Du1.30
- kwrdn *xwardan* inf.
Du1.21
- kwsth *xwasta* "desire, intention." NP *xwāsta*.
Du1.30
- kwstn kw'h- *xwastan xwāh-* v. "to want." MP *xwāstan xwāh-* NP *xwāstan xwāh-*.
Du1.23, Du2.24
- kw'(h)[d] *xwāhad* pres. 3s.
Du1.23, Du2.24
- kw'hnd *xwāhand* pres. 3pl.
Du2.36
- kwstn *xwastan* past 3pl.
Du2.22
- kwš *xwaš* "self." MP *xwēš* NP *xwēš*.
Du1.6, 21, Du2.7
- kwtn *Xōtan* "Khotan." By the way, Yoshida (2010: 6) found Sogd. 'xwδ'n, xwδn' "Khotan" in IOL Khot 158/5, a previously neglected Sogdian fragment from Khotan.
Du2.6
- kwz'm *xuzām* "defeats," from Ar. *hazā'im*, plural of *hazīmat*. The alternation of x- and h- is also seen in *kwzynh xuzīna* and *kzym xazīm*.
Du2.35
- kwzynh *xuzīna* "cost, expenditure." NP *hazīna* Paz. *xazīna*. See Lazard 1995: 136.
Du2.36
- kyšm *xišm* "anger." MP *xēšm* NP ~.
Du2.12
- kzym *xazīm* "defeat," from Ar. *hazīmat*. Also see *kwz'm*.
Du2.33
- lymcw *līmčū* an item on the gift lists, exact meaning unclear.
Du2.17, 18, 19, 20
- lyqyn *likīn* an item on the gift lists, exact meaning unclear.
Du2.18, 19

- m' *mā* "we, us." MP *amā* NP ~.
Du2.8, 9, 21
- m' *mā* "month," a variant of *mh*.
Du2.27
- m' *ma* prohibitive particle. MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.21, 30, Du2.36, 37
- m'yh *māyah* "sum, capita." NP ~.
Du2.34
- mh *māh* "month." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.7, Du2.14
- mmzyr *mamzēr* "bastard, illegitimate child," from Heb. *mamzer*. Technically, this term refers to a person whose parents could not legally marry, a result of incest or adultery, for instance. It is used here as an epithet of Sablī, without any apparent pejorative connotations.
Du2.4
- mn *man* "I, me." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.3, 5, 13, 14, 18, 20, 25, Du2.3, 4, 26, 29, 33
- mnr' *manrā* = *man rā*.
Du1.15, 20
- mr . . . r' *mar* . . . *rā* = *rā*. See Lazard 1963: 382.
Du2.11, 15
- mr' *marā* = *man rā*
Du1.4, 24
- mrđ *mard* "man." MP ~, NP ~. See Utas 1968: 133. Following Margoliouth, Paul (2013: 56) read *wmyd um(m)ēd* "hope."
Du1.13.
- mrđmq'n *mardamakān* "children," lit. "little people," diminutive of *mardōm* "people."
Du2.5
- mrđwm *mardōm* "people." MP ~ NP *mardum*.
Du2.12
- mrđwm'n *mardōmān* "people."
Du1.11, Du2.3
- mrnd *marand* meaning unclear. From the contexts, it could mean "soldier." Yoshida (2017: 280, n. 22) drew attention to its relationship with *γulām* "slave" and the famous *čakar* "slave/soldier" in Sogdiana.
Du2.13, 18, 32
- mwšq *Mōšak* pn., diminutive of *Mōše* "Moses."
Du2.2
- mwzd *muzd* "reward." MP *mizd* NP ~.
Du1.6
- my *-mī* ordinal suffix from Sogd. *-myk*. See *dh my*, *pnc my*, *šš my*.
Du2.14, 27
- myhtr *mihtar* lit. "elder, senior, chief," according to the contexts, "in charge of." MP ~ NP ~. For the MP short vowel *e*, see Paul 2013: 42.
Du2.18, 19
- myhtr' *mihtarā* = *mehtar rā*.
Du2.18
- n' *na* "not." MP *nē* NP *na*.
Du1.9, 11, 12, 26, Du2.13, 21, 22*2, 26, 27*2.
- n'm *nām* "name." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.1, 17
- n'mh *nāma* "letter." MP *nāmag* NP ~.
Du1.2, 28, 33, Du2.6, 21, 23, 26, 29
- n'mdh see *'mdn 'y-*.
Du2.23, 35
- nbyštn nbys- *nibištan nibēs-* "to write." MP ~ NP ~.
nbyswm *nibēsum* pres. 1s.
Du2.4
- nbyšt bwdwm *nibišt būdum* pluperfect 1s.
Du2.30
- nbyšt bwdy *nibišt būdē* pluperfect 2s.
Du2.7, 22
- ngr *nigar-* "to look." MP *niger-* NP *nigar-*. For the MP short vowel *e*, see Paul 2013: 42.
- ngr *nigar* impv 2s.
Du1.3
- nwh my *nohmī* "ninth," with the ordinal suffix *-my*, as opposed to MP/NP *nohom*.
Du1.7
- nwrbyq *Nūrbak* pn.
Du1.26, Du2.6
- nwz *nūz* "still, yet."
Du2.20
- ny *nē* "no, none," negation of a noun or a sentence, different from n' *na* "not," negation of the verb. See Lazard 1963: 440-41.
Du1.22, Du2.30.
- nyrw *nērō* "strength, power." MP *nērōg* NP ~.
Du2.5
- nysy *Nīsī* pn. This name is also attested four times in Heb. 8333.4-4, a JP letter from 11th-century Afghanistan. See Haim 2014: 104-5.
Du2.1, 35
- nyyq *nēk* "good, beautiful." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.6, Du2.5, 7, 16, 21, 22
- nyyqwm *nēk-um* = *nyyq* + *-wm*. "I am well."
Du2.5
- nyz *nīz* "still, yet." MP *anī-z* "other also" NP ~.
Du2.22
- nzdyq *nazdik* "close, near." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.23, Du2.28
- p' *pa* "to, at, in, on," = *pd pad*. MP *pad* NP ~.
Du1.3*2, 10, 13, 32, 33, Du2.5, 7, 13, 14, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27*2, 28, 29, 32[*2], [32], 34, 36
- p'n *pān* = *pa ān*. "on that." It also appears in other JP texts. See Paul 2013:143.
Du2.10

p'q *pāk* "clean." MP ~ NP ~.

Du2.31

pd *pad* "to, at, in, on," = p' MP ~ NP *pa*.

Du1.6, 11

pdryptn *padiriftan* "to accept." MP ~ NP
padiruftan

pdryptn *padiriftan* past 3pl.

Du2.21

pdyš *pad-iš* "on it," = pd + -yš. It also appears in other JP texts. See Paul 2013:143.

Du1.6

pnc *panj* "five." MP ~ NP ~.

Du1.33, Du2.14, [27], 28

[pn](c) my *panjmī* "fifth." Sogd. *pncmyk*.

Du2.27

pnkw'n *panxwān* "Administrative Assistant (of the Military Commissioner)," a title from Chin. *pàn guān* LMC *p^huan kuan* 判官, lit. "decision-making official," see Hucker 1985: 363. This title also appears in Khotanese as *phqnā kvqnā* (Hedin 16 *passim*, for example, Bailey 1961: 30–31), in Tumshuqese as *pham kwā nā* (HL 13.7, Ogihara and Ching 2017: 468), and in Manichean Middle Persian as *p'nxw'n* (M1.106–7, Yoshida 1994: 371). For more on Fu Weijin, an official bearing this title in the Chinese and Khotanese documents from Khotan, see Zhang 2018: 67. It is possible the *panguan* here also refers to Fu Weijin.

Du2.17

pnn'm *pannām* "in the name (of)" = *pad nām*.

Du2.1

prmw'dn prmy *framūdan framāy-* "to order, command." MP ~ NP *far-*.

prmy *framāy* impv. 2s.

Du1.4, 32, Du2.24

prmw'd *framūd* past. 3s.

Du2.11

prmw'dy *framūdē* past 2s.

Du1.29

prmw'dy bwdym *framūdē būdēm* pluperfect 1pl. The expected form is *prmw'd bwdym*. Paul (2013: 46) read it as *prmw'dy bwdy*.

Du2.10

+ inf., a polite way to make a request, modeled on the same construction in Sogdian, see Yoshida 2019: 390.

kw'st'ry prmy qr dn *xwāstārī framāy kardan* "please make a request."

Du1.32

by prmy d'dn *bē framāy dādan* "please give."

Du1.4, Du2.24

prny'n *parnyān* "painted silk." NP ~.

Du2.16, 17

prw'n *Parwān* present-day Aqsu, corresponding to Chin. *bō huàn* LMC *pua x^huan* 撥換, also attested as MMP *prw'nc* (M1.77, the adjectival form), Sogd. *prw'n* (Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 269). See Yoshida 2017: 284 and idem 2019: 386, n. 9.

Du1.32

prwd *frōd* "down." MP ~ NP *furō(d)*.

Du1.5

prwktn *frōxtan* "to sell." MP ~ NP *furōxtan*.

prwkth bwd'st *frōxta būd ast* passive perfect 3s. The reading is uncertain.

Du1.10

prwkth bwd *frōxta būd* passive 3s.

Du1.11

prwkty *frōxtē* past 2s.

Du1.19

prystydn pryst- *frēstīdan frēst* "to send." MP ~ NP *fristādan*.

prystwm *frēstum* pres. 1s.

Du2.26

prystyd *frēstīd* past 3s.

Du2.29, 33

prystydw *frēstīdum* past 1s.

Du2.29

prystydy *frēstīdē* past 2s.

Du1.22, 33

ps *pas* "then, afterwards." MP ~ NP ~.

Du2.5, 9, 27

psr *pisar* "son." MP *pusar* NP ~.

Du2.35

pšyz *pašiz* "small coin, money," corresponding to Khot. *mūrā*, Sogd. *pn̄y*, referring to the copper coins circulating in Khotan.

Du1.34, Du2.22, 24, 34

ptqw *patku* "string, 1,000 coins," Sogd. *ptkwk*, "a string (of coins) = 1,000 coins," from *ptkwc-* "to thread, string together," translated from Chin. *guàn* 贯 "to run a thread through; a string of 1,000 coins." See Bi and Sims-Williams 2010: 505–6. Yoshida (2022: 70) argues more convincingly that Sogd. *ptkwk-* means "to fish," and Sogd. *ptkwk* is a calque of *mñn* 緡 "a fishing-line."

Du1.12, Du2.34

pwrsydn *pursīdan* "to ask." MP ~ NP ~.

pwrsydw *pursīdum* past 1s.

Du1.31

- py'dh *payāda* "on foot, foot-soldier." MP *payādag* NP *piyāda*.
Du2.32
- pydh *paydā* "found, revealed." MP *paydāg* NP ~.
Du1.12
- (py)nb'šy *pēnbāšī* "commissioner of soldiers and horses," from Chin. *bīng mǎ shǐ* LMC *piayŋ ma š* 兵馬使. This title is also borrowed into Khotanese as *peṃ'bašī*, attested in IOL Khot Wood 3. See Yoshida 2019: 386-87.
Du2.33
- pyrw *payrō* "follower, disciple." NP ~.
Du2.4
- pywstn *paywastan* "to join, connect." MP ~ NP ~.
pywstn *paywastan* past 3pl.
Du2.12
- q'r *kār* "work." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.13, 29
- q'šgr *Kāšgar* "Kashgar." Khot. **kāša-* loc. s. *khyeša* loc. pl. *khyešvā* MMP *k'šy* (adjectival). For a somewhat lengthy discussion on the etymology of this place name, see Bailey 1985: 50-54.
Du2.30, 31, 32, 36
- qbr *kabar* "caper," referring to the pickled flower buds of *Capparis spinosa*, a plant native to the Mediterranean, used as seasoning. This must have been exotic in Khotan.
Du2.14
- qnyzq *kanīzak* "girl, maid." MP ~ NP *kanīz(ak)*.
Du1.25
- qpyz *kafiz* a unit of weight or volume, originally from MP *kabīz*, later borrowed into Arabic as *qafīz*, with great local variations. In the 10th century, for example, one *kafiz* was equal to 56.23 kg in Nīshapūr, and 3.2-6.4 kg in Fārs. See E. Ashtor and J. Burton-Page, "Makāyil (a.)," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs.
Du2.14
- qrbqr *kirbakkar* "beneficent." MP ~.
Du2.1
- qrdn qwn- *kardan kun-* "to do, make." MP ~ NP ~.
qrdwm *kardum* past 1s.
Du1.2
- qr dh bwd *karda buvad* passive present 3s.
Du1.29
- qr dn *kardan* inf.
Du1.32
- qr dy *kardē* past 2s.
Du2.22
- qrdyd *kardēd* past 2pl.
Du2.16
- qr dydwm *kardēd-um* past 2pl. plus 1s. enclitic
Du2.34
- qwn *kun* impv. 2s.
Du2.25
- qwn'd *kunād* subj. 3s.
Du1.9
- qwnwm *kunum* pres. 1s.
Du1.29
- qwny *kunē* pres. 2s.
Du2.26
- qwnym *kunēm* pres. 1pl.
Du2.8
- qrypt *grift* see "gryptn."
Du2.12
- qs *kas* "person, somebody." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.9, 11
- qw *kū* "that," dependent clause introducer. MP ~.
Du1.3, 16, 19, 24, 28, 33, Du2.4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 19, 21, 22, 26, 27, 31, 35, 37
- qwdq *kōdak* "young, small." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.3
- qwh *kōh* "mountain." MP *kōf* N ~.
Du2.13, 20
- qwpty see *gwptn*.
qwptyd see *gwptn*.
- qwštn *kuštan* "to kill," MP ~ NP ~.
qwštn *kuštan* past 3pl.
Du2.31
- qynq'k *kinkāx* "runner, messenger," from Chin. *jīn jiǎo* LMC *kin kiak* 筋脚, attested in contemporary Chinese documents from Khotan, see Bi 2015: 340.
Du2.28, 29
- r' *rā* "for," marker of direct object. MP *rāy* NP ~.
"for"
Du1.30, Du2.14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 25, 33*3, 34, 35*3)
- marker of direct object
Du1.25, 27, Du2.11, 31
- unclear
Du1.24
- r'st *rāst* "true, correct." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.10
- rb *rab* "lord." NP ~.
Du2.1
- rby *rabī* "rabbi."
Du1.16

- rbyy *rabī* "rabbi." We (Zhang and Shi 2009: 89) thought that the final -y is the indefinite article -ē, and translated it as "a Rabbi." This may not be correct. The three dots on top of this word probably means deletion.
Du2.4
- rn[. . .] Utas (1968: 134) suggested two possible restorations: *ranjidē* "you (s.) strove" *rāndē* "you (s.) drove."
Du1.19
- rptn *raftan* "to go, move." MP ~ NP ~.
rptn *raftan* past 3pl.
Du2.13
- rqbybn *rakībain* "stirrups," from Ar. *rikāb*, dual form with *imāla*, see Utas 1968: 136.
Du1.36
- rsd *rasad* "share, portion." NP ~. The context does not allow a verbal form here. See Utas 1968: 132.
Du1.4
- rsydn, rs- *rasīdan* *ras-* "to arrive, reach." MP ~ NP ~.
rs'd *rasād* subj. 3s.
Du2.23
- rsd *rasad* pres. 3s.
Du1.3, 23, Du2.27
- rsyd *rasīd* past 3s.
Du2.21
- rwbhh pn. or an epithet, perhaps *rōbāh* "fox" MP ~ NP ~. Paul's (2013: 83) reading *kwbhh* is impossible.
Du1.31
- rwšny *rōšnī* "light, brightness." MP *rōšnīh* NP *rōšanī*.
Du2.25
- rwy *rōy* "face." MP ~, NP ~.
Du1.10
- rwz *rōz* "day." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.1
- sb'bd *spābad* "army commander." MP *spāhbed* NP *sipāhbud*. Margoliouth (1903: 747–48) took this word as *Ispahbud*, the title of the prince of Tabaristan and dated the document to 718 C.E. Utas (1968: 34) correctly rejected this identification, but did not translate it. Paul's (2013: 111) reading of it as a verbal form from *sabāb-* 'to abuse' or 'to decorate' does not fit the context. I think Margoliouth's initial reading is correct, but it is not a specific title, but a general one. For the neutralization of *b* and *p*, see Paul 2013: 51.
Du1.23, 24, 27
- sb'pwšy *sbāfūšī* "the Vice Commissioner of the Army." This title consists of two parts. The first part is sb' *sbā*, "army," MP *spāh* NP *spāh*. The second part is pwšy *fūšī* "vice commissioner," from Chin. *fūshī* LMC *fjyw/fuw* 副使, also attested in MMP *fwšy* (M1.70, 94, 94–95, 95, Müller 1912.8, 11) and Toch. B *hwuṣṣi* (Cp.37+36.82, Ching 2017: 69). For more on this word, see Commentary on Du2.31
Du2.31, 32
- sb's *spās* "service, thanks." MP ~ NP ~. For the neutralization of *b* and *p*, see Paul 2013: 51.
Du2.8, 25, 26
- sb's d'ry *spās-dārī* "gratitude." MP *spās-dārīh* NP *sipās-dārī*.
Du2.8
- sbs *spas* "next, afterwards." NP *sipas*. For the neutralization of *b* and *p*, see Paul 2013: 51.
Du2.32
- sd *sad* "hundred." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.11, 33, Du2.1, 32, 34
- sgd *sayd* "passed," part of the dating formula. OP *θakata-*, MMP *sxt*, Bact. *σαχτο*, Sogd. *sy-*, Khot. *skyätä-*. All of the cognates are part of the dating formula.
Du2.14, 27, 28
- shq *Sahak* pn.
Du2.2
- skt *saxt* "hard, very." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.17, 29, Du2.8, 9, 21, 25, 26.
- skwn *saxwan* "word, speech." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.12
- sl'm *salām* "peace." NP ~, from Ar. ~.
Du2.33, 35
- smwr *samūr* "sable." NP ~. Utas (1968: 135) mentioned this reading as a faint possibility but preferred (h)mwr *hamwār* "suitable." Its plural form, however, *samāmīr* is attested twice in BH2-28, a newly discovered Arabic manuscript from Khotan, and corroborates the current reading. See Qian 2022: 153–54.
Du1.36
- sr *sar* "head," MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.19
- sr šmr *sar šmar* "head count."
Du2.19
- styr *stēr* "stater," a unit of weight (8.6g, with local variations), from Gk. *στατήρ*, also in Khot. *satīra-*, Sogd. *st'yr-*, Uig. *sītīr*.
Du2.15
- sw'r *sawār* "horseman, rider." MP *aswār* NP ~.

- Du2.32
swd *sūd* "profit." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.14, 20, 22
swgdy *sugdī* "Sogdian."
Du2.11
swstr *sustar* = *sust-tar* "looser, weaker." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.8
swy *sōy* "side, direction." MP *sōg* NP *sō(y)*.
Du1.15, 18, 31, 32, 35, Du2.34
sy *sē* "three." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.4
sy[ʰ] *syāh* "black." MP *sya* NP ~.
Du1.27
syh *sīh* "thirty." MP ~ NP *sī*.
Du1.12, 16, Du2.29
syky *sīxī* title of an official, probably from Chinese.
Du2.15, 16
-š -š enclitic pronoun 3s. "his, her, its."
Du1.4, 14, Du2.10
š'd *šād* "happy, joyful." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.8
šb'n'n *š(u)bānān* "shepherd." MP ~ NP ~.
Du2.20
šbly *Šablī* pn.
Du2.4, 13, 28
šbyly *Šabili* pn., a variant of *Šablī*.
Du1.14
šdn *š(u)dan* see *šwdn*.
Du2.20
šg *šag* a unit of volume, from Chin. *shí* LMC *šhīajk* 石, also Sogd. *š'γ*, Bact. *σαγο*, Toch. B *cāk*, Uygh. *šīγ*. See Sims-Williams 2007: 261.
Du2.14, 15
šhr *šahr* "city." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.11, 35, Du2.30
šlm' *šalamā* "greeting," from Aramaic ~, also attested in the opening formula of an 11th-century JP letter from Afghanistan. See Haim 2016: 109.
Du2.1
šm' *šmā* "you (pl.)." MP *ašmā* NP *šumā*.
Du2.23, 27*2, 30
šmr *šmar* "counting, account." MP *ōšmurdan* *ōšmār* "to count" NP *šumār*.
Du1.21, Du2.19
šmsy *šamsī* "shirt," from Chin. *shān zi* LMC *šam tsz* 衫子, also Sogd. *š'mtsy*, Uig. *šamsī*. See Yoshida 2019: 388.
Du2.16
šn'ktn *šnāxtan* "to know, recognize." MP ~ NP *šināxtan*.
šn'ktn *šnāxtan* past 3pl.
Du1.14
šnydn *šnīdan* "to hear, understand." MP *ašnūdan* NP *šinīdan*.
šnydwm *šnīdum* past 1s.
Du2.37
šš my *šašmī* "sixth," with the ordinal suffix -my *mī*. Sogd. *wxšmy(k)*.
Du2.14
šw'prdr *Šawāfradar* pn., from Sogd. *šw-* "to go" and Sogd. *prtr* "better," "the one who goes better," similar to an attested Sogdian name **γtprtr*, "the better one who has come." See Lurje 2010: 67.
Du2.2, 6
šwdn *šūdan* "to go." MP ~ NP ~.
šdn *š(u)dan* past 3pl.
Du2.20
šwd *šud* past 3s.
Du2.31
šwdwmy *šudum-ē* irrealis 1s.
Du1.5
t' *tā* "till, so that." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.5, 7, 15, 27, 29, Du2.5
tn *tan* "body." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.23, Du2.7
tw *tō* "you (s.)." MP ~ NP ~.
Du1.13, 21, 23, Du2.9
twpyty'n *tūpityān* "Tibetans." Sogd. *twpytstn* "Tibet." See Bi and Sims-Williams 2015: 262.
Du2.31
twr' *tōrā tō + rā*.
Du1.6
tyb *tīb* "perfume." NP ~, from Ar. *tīb*. This may refer to the "Chinese scent" (musk?) mentioned in Du2.15.
Du2.10*2
w- *u-* "and." MP ~ NP ~.
passim
w'n *w-ān* = *w-* + *ān*.
Du2.12
wd a mistake for *wdw u-dō* "and two."
Du2.19
-wm -*um* "my, me," enclitic 1s. pronoun.
Du1.30, Du2.34
-wm -*um* "am" enclitic 1s. copula.
Du2.5
wndrz *w-andarz* = *u + andarz* "advice." MP *handarz* NP ~.
Du2.34
wpt'dn *ōftādan* "to fall." MP ~ NP *uftādan*.
wpt'd *ōftād* past 3s.

- Du1.7.
 wr' $\bar{o}$ - $\bar{r}\bar{a}$ or wa - $\bar{r}\bar{a}$ = $\bar{o}y + \bar{r}\bar{a}$. See Paul 2013: 95.
 Du1.18, Du2.26
 wš w -š = $w + -š$ "and his."
 Du1.14
 wy $\bar{o}y$ "he, she, that." MP ~ NP ~.
 Du2.24
 y'r $y\bar{a}r$ "helper, friend." MP $ay\bar{a}r$ NP ~.
 Du1.1
 ybryn $\bar{i}$ - $\bar{b}ar\bar{e}n$ The *ezāfe* is written together with the modifier. See *bryn*.
 Du1.5
 ychq *Ičhak* pn. "Itzhak."
 Du2.2
 ydwn $\bar{e}d\bar{o}n$ "thus" MP ~ NP $\bar{e}d\bar{u}n$.
 Du1.22, 24, 31, Du2.37
 yq yak "one." MP $\bar{e}k$ NP ~.
 Du1.13, 24, 26, 28, Du2.14, 15*2, 17, 18, 19*4
 yqy yak - $\bar{e}$ "one," with the indefinite article $\bar{e}$.
 Du2.14, 15, 16, 17, 18*2
 ym' i - $\bar{m}\bar{a}$ = $\bar{i}$ $\bar{m}\bar{a}$ "of us."
 Du1.10
 ymrwz $imr\bar{o}z$ "today." MP ~ NP ~.
 Du2.5
 yn $\bar{e}n$ MP ~ NP $\bar{i}n$.
 Du1.34, Du2.5, 11, 23, 25, 31
 yptwm $yaftum$ see $'yptn$.
 yqrbqr $\bar{i}$ - $\bar{k}irbakkar$. The *ezāfe* is written together with the modifier. See *qrbqr*.
 Du2.1
 yš $\bar{i}š$ enclitic pronoun 3s. "his, her, its."
 Du1.4, 6, Du2.10
 yš'n $\bar{e}š\bar{a}n$ personal pronoun 3pl. "they, them."
 Du1.9*2
 yš m' $išm\bar{a}$ = $\bar{i} + šm\bar{a}$.
 Du1.23, 28, 33, Du2.3, 6, 7, 35
 yš mr' $išmar\bar{a}$ = $\bar{i} + šm\bar{a} + \bar{r}\bar{a}$.
 Du2.4
 -yz $\bar{i}z$ "also." MP ~.
 Du1.18
 yzyd $\bar{i}zid$ "god." MP $yazd$ NP $\bar{i}zad$. For its vocalization, see Lazard 1988: 205–6.
 Du1.1, 6, 8, Du2.1, 5, 8, 23
 zm'n $zam\bar{a}n$ "time." MP ~ NP ~.
 Du2.10
 zwd $z\bar{u}d$ "quickly." MP ~ NP ~.
 Du1.1, Du2.11
 zy'n $zy\bar{a}n$ "loss, harm, damage." MP ~ NP $ziy\bar{a}n$.
 Du1.14
 zy'n $wmnd$ $zy\bar{a}n$ - $\bar{o}mand$ "harmful." MP ~.
 Du1.17
 zyn $z\bar{e}n$ "saddle." MP ~, NP $z\bar{i}n$.
 Du1.36

Note

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A New Collection of Bactrian Letters on Birchbark

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A group of some twenty-nine Bactrian letters has recently come to light in a private collection in London. According to the present owner, they were brought from Afghanistan to London for safety shortly after the Soviet invasion in 1979. Unlike the previously known Bactrian documents from northern Afghanistan,¹ almost all of which are written on parchment or leather, these letters are written on birchbark. Though they require expert conservation before they can be fully read, it is already possible to provide a preliminary report on their contents and their historical significance. As a sample, this article contains a tentative reading and translation of five of the most legible and comprehensible letters.²

There is no record concerning the place where these documents were found, but it seems clear that they belong to a single archive. All or most of them are addressed to an individual named Sansidd, whose name is wholly or partly preserved in at least seventeen letters. In view of the extreme deference with which he is addressed, and the fact that his son, the author of letter **kc**, bears the title "prince," it seems that Sansidd has quasi-royal status. The use of birchbark,³ together with the presence in the same collection of a few documents in Brahmi and Kharoshthi,⁴ suggests that these letters come from somewhere within the Indian cultural sphere. Taking these facts together with the use of the Bactrian script and language, as well as further details of language and content to be mentioned below, one may conclude that the territory ruled by Sansidd was somewhere in what is now south-eastern Afghanistan.

The only place directly mentioned in the letters seems to be **κασπινο** "Kashmir" in **kd12**, which is referred to as a distant land. The writer of letter

kw describes himself as **χοασταο-βιγανο**, which could be interpreted as "the royal retainer of Khwastu" or perhaps "member of the royal house of Khwastu." The place-name **χοασταο**, modern Khost, is attested via the adjective **χοασταιογο** "(inhabitant) of Khwastu" in a Bactrian contract from northern Afghanistan (**P8**; in **BD1**: 85), where it may refer to a place of that name to the east of Baghlan (Sims-Williams 1997: 18 n. 34). Here it is more likely to refer to the better-known Khost to the east of Ghazni, near what is now the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. In theory, Khwastu could also refer to Swat, whose name (Skt. *Suvāstu*-) is its Indian cognate, but this seems unlikely in view of the fact that the author of **kw** bears an Iranian name ([. . .] **ιαμβο**, a compound containing the name of the Bactrian god Yamsh as its second component). Swat was conquered in the 5th century by the Kidarites and then by the Hephthalites,⁵ but it was never part of the Kushano-Sasanian kingdom nor of the Indian territories subsequently controlled by Shapur II, so the presence of aristocrats with Bactrian names is unlikely at the time of these letters. Be that as it may, there is no reason to suppose that the Khost mentioned here was within the region ruled by Sansidd.

The only person mentioned in the letters who is identifiable in any other source is the *shahan-shah* Shapur, who is mentioned unambiguously in letter **ke** as **βαγανο βαοβορο βαυανοβαο** "His Majesty Shabur the *shahan-shah*" and who also appears to be alluded to in Sansidd's regular title **υαβρο βαοβορο βιγανο**. As was first recognized by Frantz Grenet, this probably means something like "the royal retainer of the just Shabur," implying that Sansidd acknowledges Shapur as his

overlord. The Shapur in question is hardly Shapur I (240–272). Both palaeographical and historical considerations suggest the late 4th century, in which case the *shahanshah* may be either Shapur II (309–379) or Shapur III (383–388). The loyalty of Sansidd to the Sasanians is also indicated by his concern, expressed in letter **kd**, for the βαγοπορο, lit. “son of god, *devaputra*.” This title, originally that of the Kushan emperors, must here refer to the Sasanian Kushanshah,⁶ who is apparently living in the vicinity of Sansidd’s correspondent Razzshamsh. The personal name Hiyonel (υιωνηλο), if it derives from the name of the Chionites, who became allies of the Sasanians in 359 C.E. (see below, commentary to **kd12**), provides a further pointer to a date in the late 4th century.

The fact that these letters come from an area different from that of the documents previously known is underlined by the presence of many unusual features of orthography, language and phraseology, such as the writing of double σσ for [ʃ] in words such as ναμωσσο “homage” (see below on **ka2f**), contracted spellings such as αμο for αβο μο “on the” and ταδμο for ταδο μο “then by me,” or the previously unattested adjective ανωυγο, ανουγο “immortal,” often used in the honorific expression το ανουγο χοαδηο, τανουγο χοαδηο “your immortal lordship.” Some features point towards the Sasanian connections of the writers, e.g. the use of the title σπαοβιδο, σπαυοβιδο “army-commander, general,” i.e. Middle Persian *spāhbed*, in letters **kk** and **km** rather than its Bactrian equivalent (α)σπαλοβιδο, or the reference to ωρομοζδο βαγο “god Ohrmuzd” in the salutation formula of letter **kb**. Others must be due to the vicinity of the Indian subcontinent. In addition to some possible Indian names, none of them quite certain (cf. below on σανοσιδδο “Sansidd,” **ka1** and passim, [α]ρζονο “Arjuna,” **kc3**, ραζζοβαμβο “Rāja-śaṃsa,” **kd2**), we may note the mention of a brahmin (βραυμανο) in letter **lc**, and Indian loanwords such as αβιπραιο “wish” (Skt. *abhiprāya*-) in **kd8** and μαρανο “death” (Skt. *maraṇa*-) in **lc18**.⁷

A particularly interesting feature is the title γοσοβοργο [γʊsvurg] “prince,” which is found in **kc3** in place of its etymological equivalent, the standard Bactrian form οισβοργο. A dialectal development of *wu-* to *γʊ-* is already attested by γολο [γʊl] “wife” for usual οολο [wul] in a Bactrian document which appears to come from south-eastern Afghanistan: see Sims-Williams

2015: 46–7, where references are given to the examples of the same development in other Iranian languages of the region, e.g. *γʊzbe* “elm” (with *γʊ-* < **wu-* < **wi-*) in the language of Zabulistan as cited by al-Beruni. In the case of the word for “prince,” Eastern Iranian forms with initial *g-* or *γ-* are attested both in modern Shina (*gušpūr*) and in the Gandhari documents from Niya (*guśura*), as noted by Burrow *apud* Bailey 1948: 149–50. In addition, some Indian documents which form part of the same collection as these Bactrian letters contain the same title in various spellings with initial *g-*: Kharoshthi *guśura*, Brahmi *guśūra* and *giśūra*. Like γολο “wife,” γοσοβοργο “prince” may be interpreted either as a form belonging to a local Bactrian dialect or as a loanword from a related language of the region. In either case, it neatly situates these documents in or near south-eastern Afghanistan.

For further discussion of the historical and geographical context of these letters see the note by Frantz Grenet below.

Texts and Translations

- ka1** Αβο ιαζανοβιζγο αβο ιαζανομοβαγο
αλοπιδοφ[α]ρ[ο] αβο] σανοσιδδο ιραβτο βαβορο
*To Sansidd, worthy (and) excellent, of a
worthy lineage, honoured, the royal re-
tainer of the*
- ka2** βιγανο ιμανο ιζιαδιγο ανουγο χοαδηο υαζαρο
βηοαρο λρουδο οδο ν-
*just Shabur, my revered immortal lord,
one thousand (and) ten thousand greet-
ings and*
- ka3** αμωσσο σπαζαγγο πιδμο σαρο ιθο σαγωνδο
αβο βαγανο ασο βαβορο μοβχαρογα-
*homage on bended knee, with the
head, just as to the gods, from Shabur
Mushkharugan,*
- ka4** νο ασο ιχοβο μαρηγο οτο μανο ναγατο σιδο το
χοαδηο λρουγο ταδο βαδη-
*his servant. And (since) I have heard that
your lordship (is) healthy, therefore I am
happy;*
- ka5** μο ασιδανο οαλο βαταρανο καλδανο αβο το
χοαδηο χοαδο λρουγο ο-
*but then I would be more happy when I
myself might see your lordship healthy*
- ka6** ηγανο ναμωσσο βαρανο μισιδο αγαδο μαρο
ασο το χοαδηο πω-

- ka7** (and) might pay homage. — Moreover: a letter has come here from your lordship, στογο ταδομο ναγατο σαγωνδο το χοαδη φρομαδημο νοβιχτο
so I have heard how your lordship ordered me to write
- ka8** ζαγγοζαγγο σαχοανανο τασιδο αζο πιδο ιερο αβο λαδοβαρο πορδο
various statements. Then whatever I was due to say to the judge regarding the matter,
- ka9** χοανδο σταδημο ταδομο χοανδο ταδο το χοαδη πιδο οισ-
(that) I said. So may your lordship be informed concerning every-
- ka10** πο ειρο ασοο πωστογο αζδδιργο βοο σιδασο λαδοβαρο αβο τ[ο]
thing by that letter which they will bring from the judge to your
- ka11** χοαδη αβαρινδαδο lordship.
Verso: illegible traces
- kb1** Αβο ιασηδανζιγο χοαδη αβο σανοσιδδο ιραβτο βαοβορο ριγανο ιαβτοσαλγο μανο ιζιαδιγο ανουγο χο[αδη αβο]
To the eternal lord Sansidd, the royal retainer of the just Shabur, the asht-wal, my revered immortal [lord],
- kb2** ιαζανοβιζιγο αβο ιαζανο αλοπιδοφαρο αζαρο βηοαρο λρουδο οδο ναμωσο σπαδοζαγγο πιδο μο σα[ρο ιθο σαγωνδο]
worthy (and) excellent, worthy, honoured, one thousand (and) ten thousand greetings and homage on bended knee, with the he[ad, just as]
- kb3** αβο ωυρομοζδο βαγο ασο πεινδογιγο ασο χοβο βανζο οδασο βαυροχωζο ασο ιχοβο κοδο λιστο[γιρδο μα]-
to the god Ohrmuzd, from Peindogig his maid-servant and from Shahr-khoz his insignificant depen[dant and ser]-
- kb4** ρηγο στομο βαγο νογατο σιδο τανουγο χοαδη λρουγιηο ταδο βαγο βαδημο ασιδανο οαλο βαταρανο [καλδανο]
vant. And, sir, (since) I have heard that your immortal lordship is healthy, therefore, sir, I am happy; but then I would be more happy [when]
- kb5** αβο τανουγο χοαδη χοαδο λρουγο σηνανο στανο ασο νοζδο σπαδοζαγγο να[μωσ]ο βαρανο μισιδο βαγο α[γαδο μα]-
- I myself might see your immortal lordship healthy and might pay homage from nearby on bended knee. — Moreover, sir:*
- kb6** [ρο] ασο τανουγο χοαδη πωστογο ταδομο σπαδοζαγγο αμο σαρο πιδορο[βδο] ιστομο βαγο []
a letter [has come here] from your immortal lordship, so I have receiv[ed it] on bended knee, upon (my) head. And, sir, . . .
- kb7** [] νο νοβιχτο πιδο χοβο ριζιγο ο[το]
[I have heard how your immortal lordship] has written in his goodness, [and . . .]
An unknown number of lines missing
Continuation in the margin:
- kb8** πη[] ο σωλγο αβ[α]πο α[] σα]-
. . . the tax back . . .
- kb9** γωνδο ι. ο ταδα[νο] βαγο [τανουγο χοαδη αζ]-
as the . . . So, sir,
- kb10** δδιργο βοο may [your immortal lordship] be informed.
Verso blank
- kc1** [Αβο ιασηδα]νζιγο χοαδη αβο σανοσιδδο ι ραβτι βα-
[To the eter]nal lord, Sansidd, [the royal retainer of] the just Sha[bur],
- kc2** [βορο ριγανο ι]φριο πιδο αζαρο βηοαρο λροδο οδο[ν]-
(my) dear father, one thousand (and) ten thousand greetings and
- kc3** [αμωσο σπα]ζαγγο [ασο α]ρζονο ι γοσοβοργο ασο ι [χο]-
[homage on bended] knee [from A]rjun the prince, [his]
- kc4** [βο μαρηγ]ο μισιδο[α]γαδο μαρο βαοροχωζο[] [servant]. — Moreover, Shahr-khoz . . . the freeman has come here
- kc5** [] ιζαδοβ[ορ]γο στοιηιο αγαδημο ασο τ[ο]
and he has brought me a letter from y[our]
- kc6** [ριγανο π]ωστογο ταδομο σπαζαγγο αβο μο σ[α]- [excellency]. So I have [recei]ved it on bended knee, upon (my) h[ead].
- kc7** [ρο πιδορο]βδο οδο καλδομο [τ]ο ριγανο λρογο- And when I [have heard] (of) your excellency's health
- kc8** [στανο οδο] ι οανινδανο οδο ι ριζγοαρμασ[το] [and] victoriousness and well-being,
- kc9** [νογατο] ρ. χοβο ζ[α]ο ασο νωγα[ρο]

- kc10** [then . . .] I shall [experience] my life anew
[ζαν]ημο ωσιδο σαγωνδο το ριγ[α]νο
λρο-
... Now, in as much as your excellency
[is] healthy
- kc11** [γαδο οδο ι β]αγανιγο ζιναγο σαχοαδο ταδμο π-
[and your] divine body is strong,
- kc12** [ιδο ιχοβο ρι]ζι φρομιο νοβιχτο τακαλδο
[in your good]ness please write to me.
When
- kc13** [ασο το ριγ]ανο ι λρογοστανο οδο ι οανινδανο
I hear [from your excellen]cy (of) [your]
health and victoriousness
- kc14** [οδο ι ριζ]οαρμαστο ναγαυαν[ο τ[αδ]ανο κα-
[and well-]being, then . . .
- kc15** []ο αζο πιδο το ριγανο φ[α]ρ[ο]
... I by your excellency's grace . . .
- kc16** []ο πιδοο αβο το ριγανο ν•[] . . . [γ-
... thereby to your excellency . . .
- kc17** []ο οδο σιδμο μισο πιδοχοανο τα-
... and whatever my further reply,
- kc18** [δο ι πιδοχο]ανο ασο ραοροχωζο πηδανο βο-
[that re]ply will be made known by
Shahr-khoz.
- kc19** [ο] σαχτι β' []
[Month . . .], day 2.
Address on the Verso (written the opposite
way up to the text on the Recto)
- kc1v1** [ρα]-
kc1v2 βορο ρ-
kc1v3 [ι]γανο
kc1v4 ιφριο[πι]-
kc1v5 [δ]ο ι []
kc1v6
[To] the royal retainer [of the just Sha]bur,
(my) dear [father], the . . .
- kd1** Αβο ιασηδανζιγο χοαδηο αβο σανοσιδδο ι
ριγανο ι ανουγο βαγο αζ-
To the eternal lord Sansidd, the royal re-
tainer, the immortal lord, one thousand
- kd2** αρο βηοαρο λροδδ οδο ναμωσο σπαζαγγο
πιδμο σαρο ασο ραζζορβαμφο
(and) ten thousand greetings and hom-
age on bended knee, with the head, from
Razz-shamsh
- kd3** ασο ι χοβο μισταμγο μαρηγο αβαριδο βαγο
αγαδο μαρο ασο ριγανο σπα-
his greatest servant. — Next, sir: there has
come here from (your) excellency an atten-
- kd4** σιγο οδο πωστογο ταδμο βαγο ι πωστογο
σπαζαγγο αβο μο σαρο πιδρο-^{sic}
- dant and a letter, so, sir, I have received
the letter on bended knee, upon (my) head.
- kd5** οβδο οτομο βαγο οσο^{sic} ναγατο σαγωνδο
ριγανο πιδο ι χοβο ριζγο π-
And, sir, now I have heard how (your) ex-
cellency in your goodness
- kd6** ιδο ι βαγοποορο λρουγοστανο οδο οανινδανο
νοβιχτο οδο πι-
has written (enquiring) concerning the
son of god's health and victoriousness and
concerning
- kd7** δαμαγο χοβο μαρηγο ταδο βαγο ι βαγοποορο
μαρο λρουγο οτο οι-
me, his servant. So, sir, the son of god here
(is) healthy, and every
- kd8** σπο βρανο ριζγο σαγωνδο ι βαγοποορο οδο
ριγανο αβιπραιο ο-
... (is) well, according to the wishes of the
son of god and of (your) excellency. And,
- kd9** δο βαγο αζισο πιδο ριγανο φαρο λρουγημο οδο
σαγωνδο πιδο-
sir, I too by (your) excellency's grace am
healthy. And in as much as (there is any)
- kd10** βισταρο πιδοβανδο ταδο βαγο ριγανο ασο
τιρογολο πηδανο βο-
more extensive answer, sir, (your) excel-
lency will be informed by Tir-gul.
- kd11** οαδο
πιδοβανδο ταδο βαγο ωρομοζδο ασ-
... answer. So, sir, Ohrmuzd, (your) excel-
lency's own (servant), has come from
- kd12** ο κασπιρο αγαδο ι ριγανο χοβο οτο βαγο
υιωνηλο αβο ριγα-
Kashmir, and, sir, (if) Hiyonel should come
to (your)
- kd13** νο παλ[α]νο ηρσαδο ταδο βαγο ριγανο ασο
ωρομοζδο πη-
excellency's . . . , then, sir, (your) excel-
lency will be informed by Ohrmuzd.
- kd14** δανο βοοαδο
Address on the Verso
- kd1v1** σανοσι-
kd1v2 δδο ι
kd1v3 ρ[ιγ]α]ν-
kd1v4 ο[]
(To) the royal retainer Sansidd.
- ke1** []•[]
ke2 χο•[]
υαρσο α-
... whoever

as “slave” (< “lowly (person)”?) could suit both contexts.

kb6 αμο = αβο μο, cf. Gershevitch 1985: 61 n. 1. In these letters the phrase αβο (μο) σαρο “(received) upon the (= my) head” is kept distinct from πιδο μο σαρο, πιδομο σαρο “(homage) with the head (touching the ground)(?)” by the use of a different preposition, but the manumission contract F uses the expression “to receive on (πιδο) one’s own head” (see BD2: 256).

kb8 The reading σωλγο is uncertain here but fits the traces well. Richard Salomon kindly suggests a possible comparison with Gandhari *sulga*, which means something like “tax” or “fee.” This meaning seems to suit letter **kr**, which attests both σωλγο “tax”(?) and σωλγωζα[μο] “tax liability”(?).

kc3 [α]ρζονο ι γοσοβοργο “Arjun the prince.” The restoration of the Indian name Arjun is of course speculative. Since the sender addresses the ruler Sansidd as [ι]φριο πιδο “(my) dear father,” there can be little doubt that his title γοσοβοργο [γusvurg] means “prince” and is a variant of standard Bactrian οσοβοργο “id.” The significance of the variant with initial γ- has already been discussed above.

kc8 οανινδανο “victoriousness,” probably formed from οανινδο “victorious” + abstract suffix -δανο, was previously attested only as a place-name in the much later document S2 (“Wanindan, the court of the fortress,” BD1: 94–95).

kc9f . . . χοβο ζ[α]ο ασο νωγα[ρο] . . . ζαν]ημο “[then] I shall [experience] my life anew.” Cf. **xe15–17** (in BD2: 146–47): ταδο αβο ρωσο νωγογιριγο ζαιο ζανανο “(when I . . . hear from your lordship of your health and all good things,) then on (that) day I shall experience renewed life.”

kc11 [ι β]αγανιγο ζιναγο σαχαδο “(in as much as your majesty is healthy) [and your] divine body is strong.” The adj. [β]αγανιγο “divine” (= Sogd. *βγ’nyk*, Parthian *bg’nyg*) was previously known only from the Turfan fragment MB4, line 3: [σα]-γονδο ι βαγανιγο νινωπα[λο] “like the divine blue lotus.” The phrase [β]αγανιγο ζιναγο corresponds to *divya-śarira-*, *divya-kaya-* “divine body” in the epistolary formulae of the Gandhari letters from Niya. The previously unknown adjective σαχο “*strong” may be compared with Middle Persian *saxt* “strong, hard” etc. In view of the retention of the final -ο, i.e. [-w], before 3 sg. subj. -αδο, its closest formal cognate may be Vedic *śákvan-* “able.”

kc17f Like some other letters (see Sims-Williams 2007: 709, §5.3), this one ends by referring to additional news which will be conveyed orally by the messenger, in this case the same Shahr-khoz who brought the letter to which this is the reply. In this context it seems likely that πιδοχοανο is “reply,” a derivative of **pati-hvan-* “to reply,” cf. χοην-, χοαν- “to say” and Khot. *patāhvānā-* “command.” (Admittedly, this interpretation does not suit πιδοχοανο in **ea5**, 9f, see BD2: 108–9, whose meaning remains unknown.) Letter **kd** below uses the synonym πιδοβανδο “reply” in an identical context. As for the expression πιδανο βο-, which also occurs in **kd10**, 13f, it seems that this must mean “to be informed.” It is presumably connected with πιδαγο “revealed, shown, known,” though the details are not clear.

kd2 The name ραζζοβαμφο perhaps represents Skt. *Rāja-śaṃsa-*, with assimilation of the two sibilants.

kd3 μισταμγο “greatest” from **masita-tama-ka-*, cf. Khot. *māstama-*, or perhaps from comparative **masyah-* + *-tama-ka-*, cf. Khot. *mištama-* (see Skjærvø in Emmerick-Skjærvø 1982: 104–5). In this context, where the sender may be expected to demean rather than aggrandize himself, “greatest” may be taken to mean something like “most loyal.”

αβαριδο “next” (< αβαρο “back, in return” + sentence-initial particle -δο) occurs in several of the new letters as an alternative to μισιδο “moreover” in its function of introducing a new topic.

kd3f σπασιγο is a variant of ασπασιγο in **bh8**, which I previously translated “groom” (BD2: 66–7, 196–7) in view of the context in which it is associated with horses and horsemen. Here a more general meaning “servant, attendant” seems likely.

kd4f πιδρο|οβδο: mistake for πιδροβδο or πιδοροβδο.

kd5 οσο: variant spelling of ωσο “now.”

kd8 βρανο is an unknown word, but αβιπραιο “wish” (also previously unattested) is clearly a loanword from Skt. *abhiprāya-* “intention, wish.”

kd9f πιδοβισταρο: the hypothetical translation “more extensive” is based on the notion that the word is a comparative formed from a pp. **πιδοβιστο* “connected, extended.” The parallel passage in **kc17** above has μισο “more, further.”

kd10 It seems likely that Tir-gul is the “attendant” (σπασιγο) mentioned in lines 3–4 as bringing Sansidd’s letter to Razz-shamsh, since he would be the obvious person to return to Sansidd

with the reply. A second messenger, Ohrmuzd (lines 11, 13), described as Sansidd's "own servant," is apparently expected to bring some other news to Sansidd. It is said that he "has come from Kashmir," but the place to which he has come is not stated; it may be that Razz-shamsh has only indirect knowledge of Ohrmuzd's arrival, since he does not appear to know precisely what Ohrmuzd has to report. Alternatively, as Frantz Grenet suggests to me, it may be that Ohrmuzd transmits state-level intelligence to which the writer is not privy.

kd12 *κασπιρο* "Kashmir." Forms of this name with *-p-* (ultimately of Prakrit origin) are well-attested in Central Asia: Parthian *qšpyr*, Khot. *kaspāra-*, Tibetan *kaspara*, etc. (Henning 1947: 55–56; Bailey 1985: 44–45).

υιωνηλο is surely a derivative of the name of the Huns, probably used as a personal name (cf. the Sogd. names *xwn*, *xwn'kk* etc., Lurje 2011: 441–43). The suffix *-ηλο* may be a variant of hypocoristic *-ila-*, which is attested in the onomastics of the Iranian peoples of the steppe: see Grenet 2012: 20 n. 8 on names such as Arseiles and Azilises. Further names of this sort which are attested in Bactrian sources include *εβκιγγιλο*, *χιγγιλο*, *μασιλο* and perhaps *νωσπιλο*. In Sims-Williams 2010: 7, I assumed that the hypocoristic suffix in such names is of Indian origin, but, as Frantz Grenet has pointed out to me, some of those who bore these names had no connection with India. The present *υιωνηλο* may be another "steppe Iranian" name of the same type, perhaps slightly adapted in its phonology to conform with *Hyōn*, the usual Middle Persian form of the name of the Huns. The person so named perhaps belonged to the branch of the Huns known as "Chionites," who were allied with the Sasanians at the siege of Amida in 359 C.E. some of whom seem to have settled in Bactria (cf. Sims-Williams 2010: 56 on the personal name *γοραμβαδο* "Grumbates").

ke2–4 The sentence can be partially restored on the basis of a parallel passage in **kr3**: *βαγο κιδο αβο μο λαμινδο ταδο οισπο φαρο τανουγο χοαδηο παυριγο βοοινδηο* ["sir, may all (those) who are in the world (*λαμο*, see Sims-Williams 2010a: 204) be respectful towards your immortal lordship." That the new word *παυριγο* (< **pāθraka-* or **pāθriyaka-*) may mean "respectful" is suggested by Sogd. *p's* < **pāθra-*, a word whose many senses include "respect, honour."

ke4 *ληπο* is unclear, while *ναηιο* is another new word, perhaps a negated form (2 sg. pres., 2 or 3 sg. opt.?) of the verb "to be."

ke6f Here too the sense is clarified by a parallel passage in one of the unpublished letters: . . . *βριγανο πιδο χοβο βιζγο ασαμαγο ιλρογοστανο αλο[σιχτογηιο . . .]* ". . . (your) majesty in your goodness [is] des[iring to hear] from me (of my) health" (**kj2**). On the rare construction with *αβο* + infinitive (here *αβο νογα[το]* "to hear") see BD2: 45, 185. There may be another instance in line 8 (*αβο πιδοροβ[δο]* "to accept"), though the construction of the sentence is not clear.

ke9 *βαγανο παοβορο παυανοβο* "His Majesty Shabuhr the *shahanshah*." The use of the *pl. majestatis* *βαγανο* as a royal title, e.g. *awēšān bayān Šāhbuh* "His Majesty Shabuhr" (Nyberg 1974: 42), is characteristically Sasanian.

Additional Note on the Historical and Geographical Context of the Letters

Frantz Grenet

In his presentation of these letters, Nicholas Sims-Williams has given reasons for supposing that they were written somewhere in or near south-eastern Afghanistan in the late 4th century, during the reign of either Shapur II (309–379) or Shapur III (383–388). This historical and geographical context can perhaps be made more precise by examining the functions of the various characters who appear in the documents.

As already mentioned, Sansidd, the addressee, is portrayed as a quasi-royal figure, although he is not referred to as a *khar*, *shāh* or *rājā*, but merely as a "lord" (*χοαδηο*), a title which originated as a calque on Greek *αὐτοκράτωρ* but which came to be widely used as a term of respect for persons of high status. He appears as a local representative of the *shahanshah* Shapur, of whom he is a "royal retainer" (*βριγανο* "king's (man)," see below on **kalf**); he is also an *ashtwalg*, a Kushan title of which the etymology and meaning are unfortunately unknown.⁸ He controls a wide network of political contacts or intelligence, extending as far as Kashmir, but whether this is in the service of the Sasanian state or on his own behalf we have no means to decide.

To judge from his coinage, Shapur II, in the 340s or some time thereafter, gained control of areas

south of the Hindukush previously delegated to the subordinate dynasty of the Kushano-Sasanians. In about 364 a central mint was transferred to Kapisa, no doubt in order to finance further Indian campaigns; under the following *shahan-shahs* Ardashir II and Shapur III, this mint issued Sasanian dirhams until 384/385.⁹ It is generally assumed that from about 375, towards the end of the reign of Shapur II, Kushano-Sasanian control under Sasanian overlordship had ceased in Tukharistan after two military defeats in which the Sasanian army had been directly involved.¹⁰ According to the same reconstruction the coin hoard at Tepe Maranjan in Kabul, contemporary with the end of the Sasanian mint, would testify to political troubles due to the arrival of the invaders who had already put an end to Sasanian rule to the north of the Hindukush: “Huns” *lato sensu*, perhaps the Alkhan, whose name appears subsequently on coins issued in Kapisa reusing old dies of Shapur II, or according to some the first Kidarites.¹¹ This gives a theoretical span of 20 years for the activity of Sansidd, which can perhaps be narrowed. The *shahanshah* Shapur is called “just” (παῖστο), which corresponds to *rāst* written on the shaft of the fire altar on the reverse of coins from Shapur II to Yazdgird II.¹² But in two letters not included in the present article (**kk**, **ku**), one of Sansidd’s correspondents, Siyar-wesh, gives Shapur the additional epithet “beneficent” (οὐρηγᾶπο). The Pahlavi equivalent of this epithet, *wahigār*, is not attested on coins; one might tentatively speculate that it was used for Shapur III in non-monetary contexts, bearing in mind that among Sasanian rulers of this time he is the only one who is credited with having “written letters to the provincial governors enjoining them to good conduct and to kindness with the subjects (*fī ḥusnī al-sīra’ wa al-rifq bi-l-ra’iyya’*).”¹³

Another important piece of information is the presence within Sansidd’s sphere of activity of an anonymous βαυτοποο “son of God,” a title specifically used by the Kushano-Sasanian rulers. The “son of God” seems to be under Sansidd’s protection, this duty being entrusted to his subordinate Razz-shamsh, whose name seems to be Indian and who is in a position to report the arrival of a messenger from Kashmir (see letter **kd** above). This information seems consistent with what can be deduced from a small series of dirhams (23 specimens known to Göbl in 1967; a few more have been published since).¹⁴ Those whose

provenance is known were found in Peshawar and Rawalpindi, in one case Jalalabad. They carry legends in Brahmi or both Brahmi and Pahlavi; in the later case the title *kušānshāh* can be read on the best specimens. Two names of rulers appear on this series: Peroz and Kay Wahram. The latter is also (according to my guess) named on dinars struck in Balkh, which are the last Kushano-Sasanian denominations present in the Tepe Maranjan hoard.¹⁵ His second crown (foliated) is the same as that of the supposed “Kay Wahram” of the dinars, while the first crown with ram’s horns continues that of Peroz (found earlier on rare coins of Shapur II and on coins of a Bactrian Kushanshah named simply Wahram). The Gandhara series is followed, apparently not immediately, by dirhams of different types on which the name Kidara clearly appears in Brahmi. All matters considered, a likely date for our documents would be the period when the last Kushanshahs expelled from Tukharistan were relocated to Gandhara, i.e. after about 375, and when Sasanian control over Kapisa was still attested by coin issues, i.e. not later than 384/385. This would correspond either to the last years of Shapur II (375–379) or the first years of Shapur III (383–385) (the reign of Ardashir II, 379–383, being excluded by the mention of the name Shapur in the letters).

Besides being a local ruler in his own capacity, Sansidd might have been the chief political agent of the Sasanians in Kapisa. If he was located elsewhere, one could think of a place between Kapisa and Gandhara, e.g. Lampaka or Nagarahara,¹⁶ which would explain why he received news from the Gandharan Kushanshah as well as from Kashmir.

Notes

1. Sims-Williams 2012 (= BD1), 2007a (= BD2) and 2012a (= BD3).

2. Since the texts will surely become clearer once they have been conserved, photographs are not included in this preliminary presentation. For the same reason, the texts are presented in a slightly simpler form than in BD1–2, without detailed indications of the degree of certainty or uncertainty of the readings, such matters being reserved for a comprehensive edition of the complete collection. No particular significance should be ascribed to the order of the signatures (**ka–kz**, **la–lc**) which have been given to these documents for the sake of convenient reference.

3. The only Bactrian text on birchbark so far known is a short devotional text (zd) inserted secondarily in a manuscript of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* which is said to come from Bamiyan (see Sims-Williams 2010a: 203–5 with fig. 1–2 on p. 10).

4. The Sanskrit and Gandhari texts are being studied by Mark Allon, Richard Salomon and Ingo Strauch, who have kindly allowed me to cite some of their preliminary results.

5. See Grenet 2002.

6. A passage in the fragmentary letter lc can possibly be restored as [κοβανο]βαο ι β[αγο]ποο[ρο] “the Kushanshah, the son of god,” but the crucial part of the first compound is unfortunately missing.

7. The latter was already indirectly attested through the adjective μαρανιγγο “deadly” in one of the Berlin “Hephthalite” fragments (see Sims-Williams 2006: 113–14).

8. In Kushan times (*h*)*ashtwalg* seems to have been a rank intermediate between αμβουκαιο (also of unknown meaning) and *karalrang* “margrave,” see Sims-Williams 2016: 259.

9. Schindel 2004: I, 238, 246–47, 273 (the final date of 384/385 is Schindel’s estimate based on the proportion of coins of various reigns in the Tepe Maranjan hoard).

10. Most recently Grenet 2022: 92.

11. On this point see note 15 below.

12. Schindel 2004: I, 94.

13. Ṭabarī, i.846 [Bosworth 1999: 68].

14. Göbl 1967: I, 39–43 (emissions 1–10); III, pl. 9–10; Cribb 2010: 108–9, pl. 5 (nos. 41–43); Vondrovec 2014: I, 27–31, 52–59, types 1–10. Based upon typological comparisons with Sasanian coins, Göbl considered that the sequence spanned the late years of Shapur II down to the early years of Shapur III; Vondrovec, who has produced the most detailed analysis, agrees for the initial stage but extends the issues of Kay Wāhram down to the reign of Yazdgird II (438–457), partly from a *petitio principii* according to which the title *Kay* could not have been introduced on Kushano-Sasanian coins earlier than on Sasanian coins. However long the Kushano-Sasanians epigones in Gandhara outlived Sasanian rule in Kapisa, the proposed initial date is consistent with our perception of the context of the birchbark documents.

15. Grenet 2002: 206 with pl. 1: a–b, taking KIO-POOOO to be a corruption of *KIO OAPAPANO (or something like that). Differently Göbl 1984 (emissions 736–38), Cribb 2010: 93, 99, and Vondrovec 2014: 26, who all interpret this sequence as KIDAPO “Kidara.”

16. Faxian travelled in these regions in the beginning of the 5th century, but being interested only in Buddhist cult places he gives no information about the rulers. In the 630s Xuanzang describes Lampaka as a former kingdom where “great families fought for pre-eminence” until it was recently submitted to Kapisa.

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Studies in Some Documents from the “Pahlavi Archive” (4):
The Meaning and Use of ⟨sp’lk’⟩ *spārag*
‘Charging, Committing’¹

DIETER WEBER

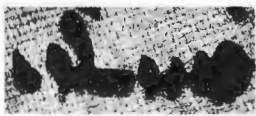
BERLIN

Contents

Discussion of the following documents:

Berk. 16, Berk. 71, Berk. 148, Berk. 233 + Berk. 234, Berk. 238

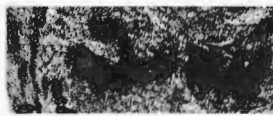
These documents contain a formula that has raised problems of interpretation. First, Ph. Gignoux read the word in question as ⟨st’lk’⟩, an interpretation I immediately adopted but replaced by ⟨dyp’lk’⟩ ‘evening’, see the discussion in Weber 2011, 289f. The reading *sē-pārag* ‘(in) three parts/portions’ was promoted in Weber 2016, 88, and again was a misinterpretation. It is simply to be read ⟨sp’lk’⟩ = *spārag* ‘charging, committing’, cf. NP سپاریدن *sipārīdan* ‘to delegate, empower, commit, charge’ [Steingass] and other formations beginning with *sipār-*. Cf. ⟨sp’l⟩ *spār* ‘*appointment, commission, charge, assignment’ Tab. 13, 13. Tab. 15, 17. Tab. 26, *12.



Berk. 16, 5



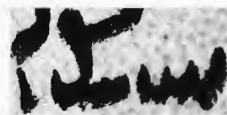
Berk. 71, 7



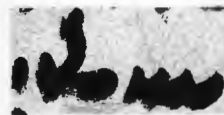
Berk. 148, 7



Berk. 233, 5

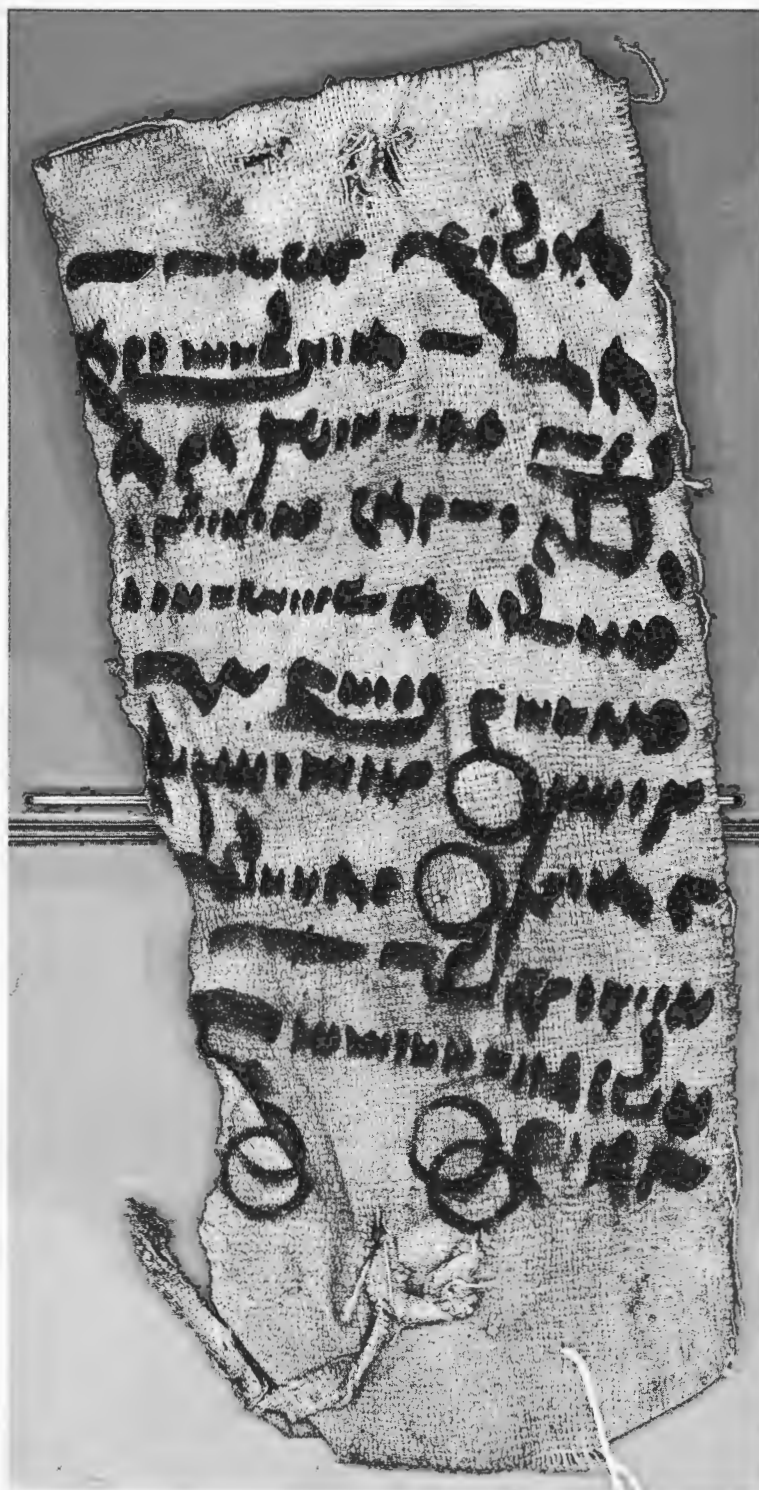


Berk. 234, 7



Berk. Tab, 4

A. Berk. 16



Textile, vertical rectangle, 17 × 7 cm,
bulla absent, bands at bottom flanked by circles.
Recto 11 lines, *verso* marked.

Transliteration

- 1 MKBLWNty 'št'twy Y
- 2 MN ml Y mtrhdyb'lgwšnsṗ ZNH
- 3 BYRH ddw'Y ŠNT' x-I W YWM
- 4 wlhl'n 'D YWM-c ddw' PWN dyn'
- 5 sp'lk' MN d'tynwnd't Y PWN
- 6 yzd'n'pst'n bwnp'n ŠG
- 7 G-I K-#III ○ 'spst' III gl't'
- 8 grmk' G-II ○ ZNH ptgl'b
- 9 PWN gwk'dymwdlyh' Y
- 10 pylwc'mt' Y ptwyškst'n
- 11 ḤTYMWNt

Transcription

- 1 *padirēd Aštādōy ī*
- 2 *az mar ī Mihr-ayār-Gušnasp ēn*
- 3 *māh Day ī sāl 41 ud rōz*
- 4 *Wahrām tā rōz-iz Day pad Dēn*
- 5 ***spārag*** *az Dādēnwindād ī pad*
- 6 *Yazdānābestān bunbān jaw*
- 7 *grīw 1 kabiz 4 ○ aspast 4 gird*
- 8 *garmak grīw 2 ○ ēn padirāy*
- 9 *pad gugāy-muhrīhā ī*
- 10 *Pērōzāmad ī Paywēšagestān*
- 11 *āwišt*

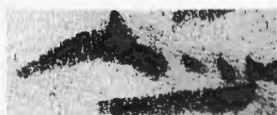
Translation

[1] *Aštādōy* receives [2] from the account of *Mihr-ayār-Gušnasp* this [3] month *Day* of the year 41 and day [4] *Wahrām* (20th day) until day *Day pad Dēn* (23rd day) [5] **(actually) binding** from *Dādēnwindād*, the [6] *bunbān* on *Yazdānābestān* barley: [7] 1 *grīw* (and) 4 *kabiz*, lucerne 4 bundles, [8] *beans 2 *grīw*. This receipt (is) [9–11] sealed by the witness' seals of *Pērōzāmad* of *Paywēšagestān*.

Commentary

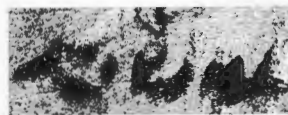
Ed. Gignoux 2010, 90f. with ill.

Line 1: Instead of ⟨MKBLWNm⟩ 1st sg. (Gignoux) I read here just as in comparable cases ⟨MKBLWNty⟩ with 𐭠 as complement to the heterogram. The interpretation as complement ⟨-ty⟩ is particularly based on palaeographical reasons. Note the difference between:



Berk. 244, 6

vs.

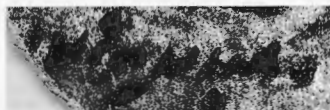


Berk. 244, 6

Line 2: The name must be read *Mihr-ayār-Gušnasp*, not *Mihr-abarmenišn* (Gignoux); cf. the following instances:



Berk. 16, 2



Berk. 100, 12



Berlin 38, 4

Line 5: According to Gignoux **stārag* (*sic*) should "rapporter à Wahrām (la planète Mars) et non à Day pad Dēn, elle est donc apparemment mal placée, ou du moins la syntaxe est ici très libre"; criticism already in Weber 2011: 289f. Meanwhile the suggestions made there are obsolete now, and I now read the word in question *spārag* '(by) binding commitment', see above.

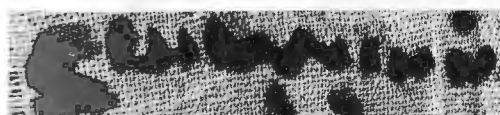
Line 6: Instead of ⟨bwnyšt⟩ (Gignoux) read ⟨bwnp'n⟩. *Dādēnwindād* alone is mentioned as *bunbān* several times, e.g. in Berk. 11, 2, Berk. 76, 2, Berk. 79, 2, Berk. 122, 2, perhaps also in Berk. 123, 2, and also in Berk. 148, 1, Berk. 189, 2. He is responsible for the *bun*, i.e. he manages input and output of finances and contributions in kind of the *bun* (so Gignoux 2010, 48 in comm. *ad* Berk. 76).

Line 7: For <glṭ'> as an improved interpretation of earlier <glṭk> cf. Weber 2016, 71, 74 and 75.

Line 8: Instead of <gwmk> (?) [Gignoux] read <grmk> '*beans'.

Lines 8–9: *ēn pādīrāy pad gugāy-muhrihā* was already quoted by Gignoux in a letter of 18-07-2002. The word *pādīrāy* is written <ptglṭb> as usual—against the remarks made by Gignoux—; the character <-g-> is hidden beneath the <-l->.

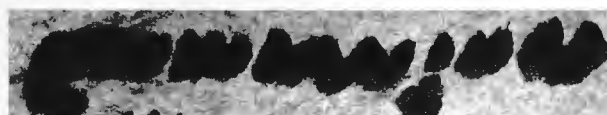
Line 10: In addition to this occurrence here this geogr. name is also attested in **Berk. 27, 4**, **Berk. 73, 3** and **10**, **Berk. 110, 5**, **Berk. 189, 18**, **Berk. 225, 9** and **Berlin 37, 11** (amended, not given here); the following conspectus of the different occurrences underlines our interpretation and those in **Berk. 27, 4** and **Berk. 189, 18** as being very clear and significant:



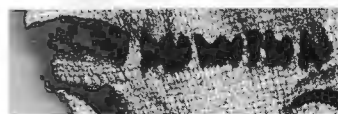
Berk. 27, 4



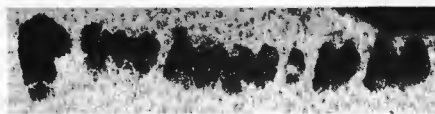
Berk. 110, 5



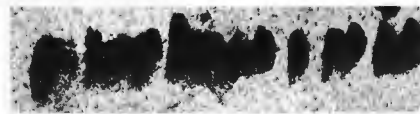
Berk. 189, 18



Berk. 16, 10



Berk. 73, 3



Berk. 73, 10



Berk. 225, 9

Regarding the etymology of this geographical denomination the only thing we can say is that it must be formed of *wēšagestān* 'woodland' (CPD) and the prefix **pati-* of a modifying but still unknown meaning.²

B. Berk. 71



Parchment, bent wedge, 13 × 6.5 cm, bulla absent.
Recto 13 lines (!), at top are 5 lines perpendicular to text,
verso no digital image.

Transliteration

- 1 d'tynwnd't ZNH
- 2 ddw' PWN mtr'
- 3 ŠG K-#II SWSY'
- 4 (ZK Y) sy'l'n
- 5 YHBWNt'
- 6 YWM mtr'
- 7 sp'lk'
- 8 'stl Y
- 9 'tward't' 'lt (?)
- 10 ŠG K-#I
- 11 wh'k...

above vertically

- 1 SWSY' Y
- 2 plhwz't'
- 3 YWM mtr'
- 4 sp'lk'
- 5 K-#II

Transcription

- 1 *Dādēnwindād ēn*
- 2 *Day pad Mihr*
- 3 *jaw k(abīz) 2 asp*
- 4 *(ān ī) syārān*
- 5 *dād*
- 6 *rōz Mihr*
- 7 ***spārag***
- 8 *astar ī*
- 9 *Ādurdād ārd (?)*
- 10 *jaw k(abīz) 1*
- 11 *wahāg...*

- 1 *asp ī*
- 2 *Farrozzād*
- 3 *rōz Mihr*
- 4 ***spārag***
- 5 *k(abīz) 2*

Translation

[1] *Dādēnwindād* this [2] (day) *Day pad Mihr* (15th day) [3] 2 *kabīz* of barley horse [4] that one with black legs [5] is to give [6] (and) day *Mihr* (16th day) [7] **(actually) binding** [8] mule [9] of *Ādurdād* flour (?) [10] 1 *kabīz* of barley [11] and — *above vertically* [1] horse of [2] *Farrozzād* [3] on day *Mihr* (16th day) [4] **(actually) binding** [5] 2 *kabīz*.

Commentary

Ed. Gignoux 2010, 114f. with ill.

The text represents a simplified list of (legally binding) issues of barley by *Dādēnwindād* for two horses on the 15th day and for one mule and a horse on the 16th day.

C. Berk. 148



Leather, vertical rectangle, 11.5 × 7.5 cm,
bulla absent, bands at top center.
Recto traces of 11 (!) lines, *verso* blank.

Transliteration

- 1 d'tynwnd't Y PWN [yzd'n'p]st'n bwnp'n
- 2 ZNH BYRH štrywr Y ŠNT ŠX-III-III
- 3 'MṬ L YBLWNtny Y ['HRN] GMR'-'n Y
'yw'cyk'n Y wltk
- 4 MN zywsn' Y PWN yzd'n'p'st'n plmwṭ
B'YHWNstn'
- 5 'Y(K) 'L LKWM 'mṭ' HWHm PWN
- 6 (SWSY)-I Y kwlṭwy W SWSY-I W 'stl I
- 7 Y L W 's[ṭ] I Y PWN wc'l'n sp'lk'
- 8 nyṭl ŠG G-I K-#III 'sp'st' X-II ○
- 9 gl't ṬBN' cnd psck' YHBWNṭ' l'd
- 10 ck' yzd'np'ṭ' l'HTYMWNT(sic)

Transcription

- 1 *Dādēnwindād ī pad [Yazdānāb]estān bunpān*
- 2 *ēn māh Šahrewar ī sāl 38*
- 3 *ka man burdan ī [any] uštarān ī ēwāzīgān ī wardag*
- 4 *az zīwišn ī pad Yazdānābestān framūd xwāstan*
- 5 *k(ū) ō ašmā āmad hēm pad*
- 6 *(asp) 1 ī Kurdōy ud asp 1 ud astar 1*
- 7 *ī man ud as[ta]r 1 ī pad wizārān spārag*
- 8 *nidar jaw g(rīw) 1 k(abīz) 4 aspast 12 ○*
- 9 *gird kāh čand passazag dād rāy*
- 10 *čak Yazdānpādār āwišt*

Translation

[1] *Dādēnwindād*, *bunpān* in *[Yazdānāb]estān*: [2] this month *Šahrewar* of the year 38, [3] when I ordered that it be asked (line 4) that the transport of the individual camels in heat [4] with regard to the food in *Yazdānābestān* he wanted to request, and [5] (when) I will have come to you (pl.), for [6] 1 (horse) of *Kurdōy* and 1 horse and 1 mule [7] of mine and 1 (other) m[ul]e for completion in order to give you (*rāy*, line 9) as a **binding commitment** [8] of at least 1 *grīw* 4 *kabīz* of barley, 12 [9] bundles of lucerne (and) straw as much as is fitting, [10] *Yazdānpādār* sealed the *čak*.

Commentary

Ed. Gignoux 2010, 42, with incorrect counting of the lines: line 5 has been ignored, therefore the counting must be raised by 1.

Line 2: The number of the year must be ⟨ŠX-III-III⟩ since 37 would have been expressed by ⟨ŠX-III-III⟩; the sequence ⟨ŠX-III-III⟩ is not common with the ones. — Between lines 2 and 3 the heterographically written [any] has been inserted.

Line 3: The complement with the verb ⟨YBLWN-⟩ is not ⟨-m⟩ but ⟨-tny⟩ (for this see Weber 2008a, 226); it marks the infinitive which could be understood as a noun (here translated by 'transport'). Syntactically it is object to *xwāstan* in line 4.

Line 4: The verbal heterogram in this line definitively is not ⟨YHBWNṭn⟩ (Gignoux) but ⟨B'YHWNstn⟩.

Line 5: At the beginning of this line and of this sentence an adverb is to be expected; judging from the remainders of characters to be seen very probably ⟨'YK⟩ is to be assumed.

Line 7: The reading ⟨PWN wc'l'n⟩ is most likely.

Line 8: ⟨nyṭl⟩ = *nidar* (missing in CPD) < **nitara-*, cf. *nidom* 'least, smallest' (CPD) < **nitama-*.

Line 9: For ⟨gl't⟩ as an improved interpretation of earlier ⟨gl'tk⟩ cf. Weber 2016, 71, 74 and 75.

Line 10: The verb ⟨HTYMWNT⟩ (*sic*) must not be put in square brackets (so Gignoux) since the word is completely preserved and may be read clearly.

D. Berk. 233



Parchment, vertical rectangle, 17.5 × 8.5 cm,
bulla is at upper left.
Recto 18 lines, *verso* marked.

Transliteration

- 1 d'tynwnd't Y PWN yzd'n'p'st'n
- 2 g'lyk MN ZK Y 'L bwn' ZNH
- 3 BYRH 'p'n Y ŠNT' X SWSY'
- 4 II Y 'p'twr' Y gwšns-p-hwlwnd'n
- 5 YWM 'p'n y'wl W YWM hwl sp'lk'
- 6 l'd ŠG K-#III-III W 'sp'st'
- 7 X gl't' TBN'-II dwl 'L lsyk'n
- 8 Y 'p'twr' SWSY'-I W HMR'
- 9 II Y MN ml
- 10 Y kwl'twy
- 11 YWM hwl
- 12 W m'h l'd
- 13 ŠG G-I K-#II W 'sp'st'
- 14 III-III gl't' TBN'
- 15 III dwl HMR'-I Y z't'nplhw'
- 16 Y zyšt sylwck' l'd
- 17 'sp'st' III <gl't' TBN'> III dwl
- 18 YHBWN't' 'wst'nd'l
- 19 [HTYMWNT]

Transcription

- 1 *Dādēnwindād ī pad Yazdānābestān*
- 2 *gālīg az ān ī ō bun ēn*
- 3 *māh Ābān ī sāl 40 asp*
- 4 *2 ī Āb-Ādur ī Gušnasp-X^warwandān*
- 5 *rōz Ābān jār ud rōz X^war **spārag***
- 6 *rāy jaw k(abīz) 8 ud aspast*
- 7 *10 gird kāh 2 dōl ō rahīgān*
- 8 *ī Āb-Ādur asp 1 ud xar*
- 9 *2 ī az mar*
- 10 *ī Kurdōy*
- 11 *rōz X^war*
- 12 *ud Māh rāy*
- 13 *jaw grīw 1 k(abīz) 2 ud aspast*
- 14 *8 gird kāh*
- 15 *4 dōl xar 1 ī Zādānfarrox*
- 16 *ī zišt sē-rōzag rāy*
- 17 *aspast 3 <gird kāh> 3 dōl*
- 18 *dād ōstāndār*
- 19 [*āwišt*]

Translation

[1–2] *Dādēnwindād*, member of the family in *Yazdānābestān*, from that which (belongs) to the *bun*, this [3] month *Ābān* of the year 40, for (*rāy*, line 6) horses [4] 2 of *Āb-Ādur*, son of *Gušnasp-X^warwandān* [5] day *Ābān* (10th day) and day *X^war* (11th day) as a **binding commitment**, [6] barley 8 *kabīz* and lucerne [7] 10 bundles, straw 2 *dōl* to the boys [8] of *Āb-Ādur*, (and for) 1 horse and donkeys [9] 2 from the account [10] of *Kurdōy* [11] (for) day *X^war* (11th day) [12] and (day) *Māh* (12th day) [13] barley 1 *grīw* (and) 2 *kabīz* and lucerne [14] 8 bundle, straw [15] 4 *dōl*; (and) for 1 donkey of *Zādānfarrox*, [16] the ugly one, on behalf of a (ration) for three days [17] lucerne 3 <bundle, straw> 3 *dōl* [18–19] is to give. The *Ōstāndār* [sealed the voucher].

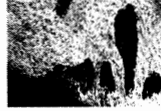
Commentary

Ed. Gignoux 2010, 76f. with ill.

Line 4: For ⟨hwlwnd'n⟩ Gignoux reads—with reservation—⟨YB⟩LWNym) 'j'amène' (?) pointing to **Berk. 234, 4**; but, in this place, no verb is to be expected and the occurrence in **Berk. 234, 4** does not allow a heterogram ⟨YBLWN-⟩ as the following confrontation clearly shows:



Berk. 233, 4



Berk. 234, 4



Berk. 148, 3 (YBLWN (*tny*))

Gušnasp-X^warwandān is patr. of a personal name **Gušnasp-X^warwand* which is semantically to be understood like *Dazišn-Gušnasp* **Berk. 120, 12**.³ For the suffix *-wand*, missing in Weber 2007, but cf. *astwand* 'corporeal, material', *druwand* 'evil, sinful, unrighteous' (CPD), or Man. Parth. *h'm'wxwnd* 'einmütig' (cf. Henning, *List* 83).

Line 5: Instead of ⟨yʷl⟩ Gignoux has ⟨pwl⟩ which is impossible because of the missing ⟨-w-⟩; *jār* 'time, occasion' fits the context very well as well as the same formula in **Berk. 234**, 11. — The following †⟨YWM hwl stʰlkʰ⟩ by Gignoux (letter dated 29.11.2007) was critically reviewed already in Weber 2011, 290.

Lines 7 and 14: For ⟨glʰ⟩ as an improved interpretation of earlier ⟨glʰk⟩ cf. Weber 2016, 71, 74 and 75.

Line 10: The name *Kurdōy* also in **Berlin 8**, 4.

Line 15: The name ⟨zʰnplhwʰ⟩ is clear.

Line 16: The sequence of characters connected by the *lṣāfe* could well be a patronymic or rather an attributive, but must be at any rate — notwithstanding the very different-looking spellings — identical with that one in **Berk. 234**, 14 and can be identified as ⟨zyštʰ⟩ = *zišt* 'hateful, ugly':



Berk. 233, 16



Berk. 234, 14

The following verbal heterogram cannot be read ⟨ʰSLWN-⟩ *bandan* but must be read as the already known formula *sē-rōzag* 'for (the period of) three days'.

Line 17: The emendations are justified by the context.

Lines 18–19: Following *dād* the word *ōstāndār* is clearly to be seen. Since the bottom margin of the leather is cut off it is reasonable to assume another line which contained the verb [āwišt] as in **Berk. 234**, 15 (in the actual document, however, without *čak*).

E. Berk. 234



Parchment, bell-shaped, 20 × 14 cm,
bulla is at bottom.
Recto 15 lines, *verso* marked.

Transliteration

1 d'tynwnd't Y PWN yzd'n'p'st'n
 2 g'lyk ZNH BYRH 'p'n Y ŠNT
 3 𐭠 W YWM 'whrmzd SWSY-I Y
 4 mtr'twrgwšnsp' Y gwšnsp-hwlwnd'n
 5 ŠG K-#III 'spst' III glt'
 6 ṬBN-I dwl W hm YWM 'whrmzd
 7 sp'lk' SWSY-I Y d'tynpn'hgwšnsp'
 8 W SWSY-II Y plhw'n Y hwsłwb'n W SWSY-I
 9 Y PRŠY Y yzd'n-γyw'c ŠG K-#III-III
 10 'spst' III-III glt' ṬBN-III dwl W HMR-I
 11 Y z't'nplhw' Y ZWZN 𐭠 P'd 'D YWM whwmn'
 y'wl
 12 sylwck' ŠG K-#III-III 'spst' III-III glt' ṬBN'
 13 II dwl W ŠG K-#III ṬBN-I dwl 'L hwlšyt' wlc
 W tk sgl
 14 Y msg'lyk' ŠG K-#III-III 'L z't'nplhw' Y zyšt
 15 YHBWN't' ck' 'wst'nd'l HTYMWN't

Transcription

1 *Dādēnwindād ī pad Yazdānābestān*
 2 *gālīg ēn mäh Ābān ī sāl*
 3 *40 ud rōz Ōhrmazd asp 1 ī*
 4 *Mihr-Ādur-Gušnasp ī Gušnasp-X^warwandān*
 5 *jaw k(abīz) 4 aspast 3 gird*
 6 *kāh 1 dōl ud ham rōz Ōhrmazd*
 7 *spārag asp 1 ī Dādēn-panāh-gušnasp*
 8 *ud asp 2 ī Farroxān ī Xusrōyān ud asp 1*
 9 *ī aswār ī *Yazdān-ēwāz jaw k(abīz) 8*
 10 *aspast 8 gird kāh 3 dōl ud xar 1*
 11 *ī Zādānfarrox ī drahm 40 rāy tā rōz Wahman*
jār
 12 *sē-rōzag jaw k(abīz) 6 aspast 6 gird kāh*
 13 *2 dōl ud jaw k(abīz) 4 kāh 1 dōl ō X^waršēd*
warz ud tag sēr
 14 *ī mehgālīg jaw k(abīz) 6 ō Zādānfarrox ī zišt*
 15 *dād čak ōstāndār āwišt*

Translation

[1–2] *Dādēnwindād* who is a member of the household in *Yazdānābestān*: this month *Ābān* of the year
 [3] 40 and day *Ōhrmazd* (1st day) on behalf of (*rāy*, line 11) 1 horse of [4] *Mihr-Ādur-Gušnasp*, son of
Gušnasp-X^warwand, [5] 4 *k(abīz)* of barley, 3 bundles of lucerne, [6] 1 *dōl* of straw and the same day
Ōhrmazd (1st day) [7] as a **binding commitment** (on behalf of) one horse of *Dādēn-panāh-gušnasp* [8] and
 2 horses of *Farroxān*, (son) of *Xusrōyān*, and of one horse [9] of the officer of **Yazdān-ēwāz* 8 *k(abīz)* of
 barley, [10] 8 bundles of lucerne. 3 *dōl* of straw, (on behalf of) 1 donkey [11] of *Zādānfarrox* for 40 *Drahm*
 until the time of day *Wahman* (2nd day) [12] for three days 6 *k(abīz)* of barley, 6 bundles of lucerne, [13] 2
dōl of straw and 4 *k(abīz)* of barley, 1 *dōl* of straw to *X^waršēd*, who is tired of agriculture and the running
 of the business, [14] an elder member of the family, and barley 6 *k(abīz)* to *Zādānfarrox*, the ugly one,
 [15] is to give. The *Ōstāndār* sealed the *čak*.

Commentary

Ed. Gignoux 2010, 74f. with ill. Very cursive writing with some considerable simplifications.

Line 4: For *Gušnasp-X^warwandān* see commentary ad **Berk. 233**, 4.

Lines 5, 10 and 12: For ⟨gl't'⟩ see commentary ad **Berk. 233**, lines 7 and 14.

Lines 6–7: Cf. commentary ad **Berk. 233**, line 5.

Line 7: The name *Dādēn-panāh-gušnasp* is proved by the occurrence in **Berk. 243**, 4 and 5.

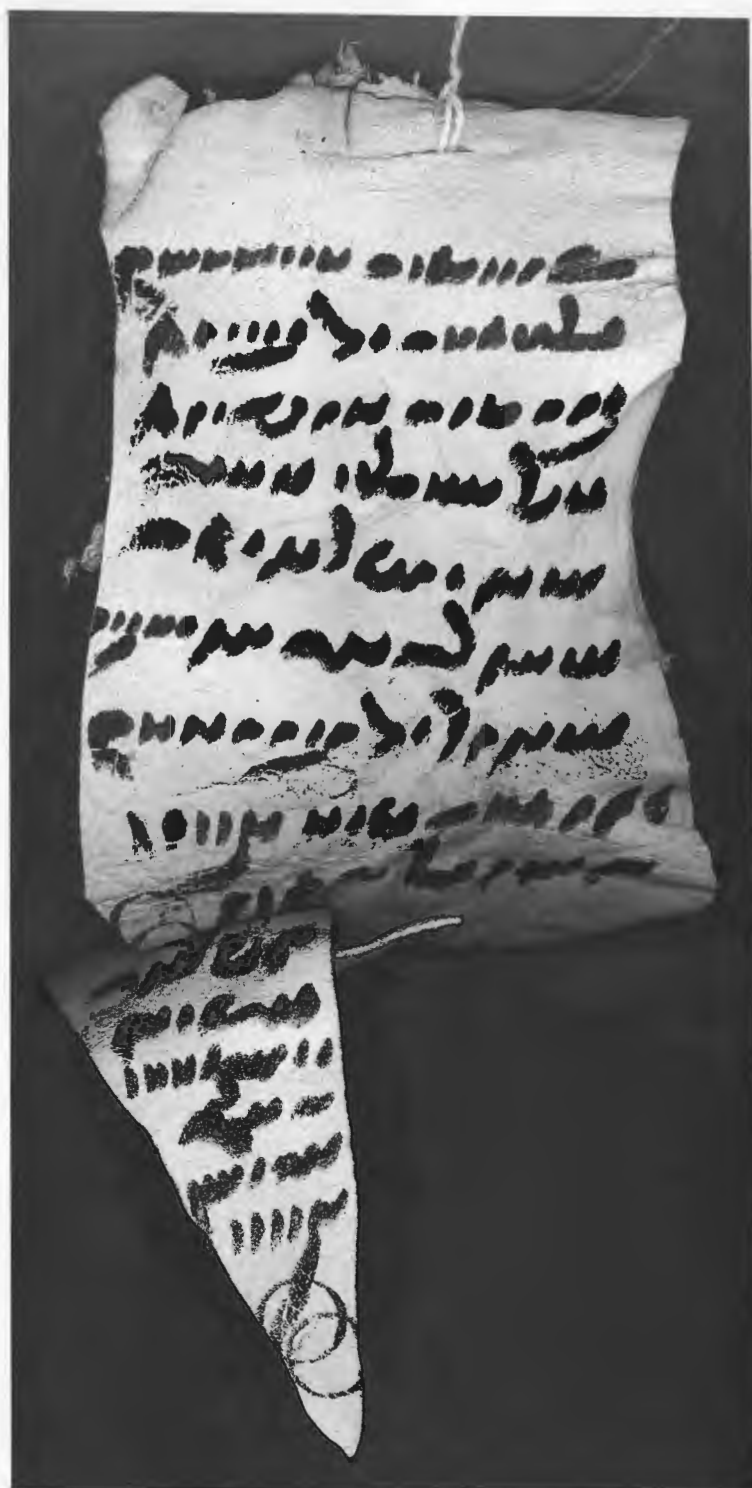
Line 9: ⟨yzd'tp't'⟩ is impossible, cf. **Berk. 104**, 6, where we indeed have a *Yazdbād*. On the other hand
 ⟨yzd'n-γyw'c⟩ = **Yazdān-ēwāz* 'having God's word' could well be the only reasonable reading.

Line 11: The name at the beginning of the line, viz. *Zādānfarrox*, is written very carelessly indeed. In line
 14 another *Zādānfarrox* is mentioned specified by the attributive *zišt* 'ugly, nasty, unpleasant'. — ⟨KR'
 P'd⟩ is impossible since both hooks cannot represent an *aleph* in this cursive writing but rather two
 twenties for '40'; instead of ⟨KR'⟩ we have to read ⟨ZWZN 𐭠⟩.

Line 12: If the rations, as assumed by Gignoux, were issued for '30 days' (1 month), the term *ēw-māhag*
 would have been used (**Berk. 83**, 5; **Berlin 40**, 2). ⟨sylwck'⟩ is attested also in **Berk. 33B**, 4.

Line 13: ⟨wlc W tk sgl⟩ = *warz ud tag sēr* 'tired of agriculture and the running of business', an adequate
 reason for 'an elder member of the family' as noted in the following line.

F. Berk. 238



Parchment, wedge, 18.5 × 6 cm,
bulla absent, was attached at top.
15 lines, *verso* marked.

Transliteration

- 1 d'tynwnd't Y PWN yzd'n'p'st'n
- 2 g'lyk MN ZK Y 'L bwn' ZNH
- 3 BYRH 'p'n Y ŠNT' X W YWM
- 4 t'yl sp'lk' SWSY'
- 5 III-II W 'stl II W HMR'
- 6 III-III l'd ŠG G-II W TBN'
- 7 III-II dwl 'L GBR' Y dhywpt
- 8 W 'whrmzd Y d'tks YHBWN't'
- 9 'wst'nd'l HTYMWN't
- 10 ywdt'l II Y
- 11 yzdtwd'n
- 12 'whrmzd'p'zw't'
- 13 Y slm
- 14 ŠG K-#III
- 15 YHBWN't'

Transcription

- 1 *Dādēnwindād ī pad Yazdānābestān*
- 2 *gālīg az ān ī ō bun ēn*
- 3 *māh Ābān ī sāl 40 ud rōz*
- 4 *Tīr spārag asp*
- 5 *5 ud astar 2 ud xar*
- 6 *6 rāy jaw g(rīw) 2 ud kāh*
- 7 *5 dōl ō mard ī dehbed*
- 8 *ud Ōhrmazd ī dādkeh dād*
- 9 *ōstāndār āwišt*
- 10 *juttar 2 ī*
- 11 *Yazdōyān*
- 12 *Ōhrmazdabzūd*
- 13 *ī Sarm*
- 14 *jaw k(abiz) 3*
- 15 *dād*

Translation

[1–2] *Dādēnwindād*, member of the household in *Yazdānābestān*: from that which (belongs) to the *bun*, this [3] month *Ābān* (8th month) of the year 40 (PYE = 691/692 c.e.) and day [4–7] *Tīr* (13th day) as a **binding commitment** for [*rāy*, line 6] 5 horses and 2 mules and 6 donkeys 2 *grīw* of barley and 5 *dōl* of straw to the people of the *dehbed* [8] and *Ōhrmazd*, the younger, is to give. [9] The *Ōstāndār* sealed (it). [10] Apart from that (for) 2 of [11] *Yazdōyān* [12] *Ōhrmazdabzūd* [13] from *Sarm* [14] 4 *kabiz* of barley [15] is to give.

Commentary

Gignoux 2010, 78f. with repr., Weber 2016, 87–89.

Line 4: The reading *sē-pārag* '(in) three parts/portions', always written ⟨sy'p'lk'⟩, was promoted in Weber 2016, 88,⁴ and is a misinterpretation. It is simply to be read ⟨sp'lk'⟩ = *spārag* 'charging, committing', NP سپاریدن *sipāridan* 'to delegate, empower, commit, charge' [Steingass] and other formations beginning with *sipār-*; see above.

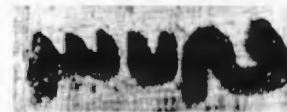
Line 7: The term **dānbān* 'grainwatch > custodian of the grain supplies' was erroneously identified (starting with the occurrence in P. 139, 2, see below) earlier.⁵



Berk. 238, 7 <dhywpt'>



P.Pehl. 577, 4 <dhywpt'>



P. 139, 2 <dhywpt'n>

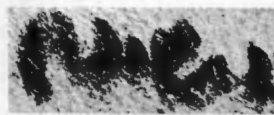
Though <dhywpt'n> is not attested elsewhere I am convinced now that the writing does not allow any other interpretation as **-bān** which is a well known element in word formation meaning '- keeper, -guard' (CPD), see Weber, *Pahlavi Letters*, 205.

Line 8: The reading ⟨štrp⟩ assumed by Gignoux is impossible. With all reserve we proposed **gcwp* = **gač-waf* with the meaning 'plasterer' (?) in Weber 2016, 88f.; this interpretation again is obsolete now. Albeit its very cursive writing it must be read *dādkeh* 'smaller, younger' (missing in CPD) which obviously is built after *dādmeh* 'adult, elder' (CPD).

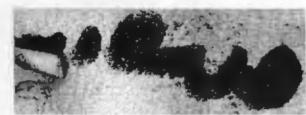
Line 11: The name *Yazdōyān* is also attested in **Berk. 88, 7**; here both writings for comparison:



Berk. 238, 11



Berk. 88, 7



Berk. 46, 7: <yzdtwy>

Line 12: The name *Ōhrmazd-abzūd* also in **Berk. 74, 5**, **Berk. 142, 1**, and **Berk. 143, 1**.

Line 13: The geographical name *Šarm* is already known from **Berk. 32, 5**; cf. Gignoux 2001/2003a (No. 6), Gignoux 2010b, 70f. with repr. This place (possibly modern *صرم* *Šarm*) is to be located in the district of *Kahak*, situated ca. 20 km south of Qom.⁶

Word Index (BAI 32)

A = **Berk. 16**
B = **Berk. 71**
C = **Berk. 148**
D = **Berk. 233**
E = **Berk. 234**
F = **Berk. 238**

ʾHRN any other C, [3].
ʾlt (?) *ārd* flour B, (9).
ʾMT *ka* when C, 3.
ʾmtʾ *āmad* prt. come: ʾmtʾ HWHm C, 5.
ʾpʾn *Ābān* cal. 8th month D, 3. E, 2. F, 3.
ʾpʾn *Ābān* cal. 10th day A, 5.
ʾpʾtwrʾ *Āb-Ādur* p.n. D, 4. 8.
ʾspstʾ *aspast* lucerne A, 7. C, 8. D, 6. 13. 17. E, 5. 10. 12.
ʾstl *astar* mule B, 8. C, 6. E, 5. ʾs[t]l C, 7.
ʾštʾtwy *Aštādōy* p.n. A, 1.
ʾtwdʾtʾ *Ādurdād* p.n. B, 9.
ʾwhrmzd *Ōhrmazd* p.n. F, 8.
ʾwhrmzd *Ōhrmazd* cal. 1st day E, 3. 6.
ʾwhrmzdʾpzwʾtʾ *Ōhrmazdabzūd* p.n. F, 12.
ʾwstʾndʾl *Ōstāndār* title D, 18. E, 15. F, 9.
ʾY[K] *kū* where; that; than C, 5.
ʾywʾcyk *ēwāzīg* particular, individual pl. C, 3.
ʾD *tā* until; so that A, 4. E, 11.
ʾL *ō* prp. to, at C, 5. D, 2. 7. E, 13. 14. F, 2. 7.
BʾYHWN- *xʾwāstan*, *xʾwāh*- vb. seek, want, desire:
BʾYHWNstnʾ inf. C, 4.
bwnʾ *bun* basic means (for living, foodstuff); a form of inventory holding of the community which contained corn, oil and other things of daily maintenance D, 2. F, 2.
bwnpʾn *bunbān* keeper of the *bun* A, 6. C, 1.
BYRH *māh* month A, 3. C, 2. D, 3. E, 2. F, 3.

-c -iz (enclitic) also, even: YWM-c A, 4.
ckʾ *čak* document, voucher C, 10. E, 15.
cnd *čand* some, a few C, 9.
dʾtks *dādkeh* younger F, 8.
dʾtynpnʾhgwšnsʾpʾ *Dādēn-panāh-gušnasp* p.n. E, 7.
dʾtynwndʾtʾ *Dādēnwindād* p.n. A, 5. B, 1. C, 1. D, 1. E, 1. F, 1.
ddwʾ *Day* cal. 10th month A, 3.
Name of days: ddwʾ PWN dynʾ *Day pad Dēn* cal. 23rd day A, 4. ddwʾ PWN mtrʾ *Day pad Mihr* cal. 15th day B, 2.
dhywptʾ *dehbed* ruler of the land F, 7.
dwl *dōl* bucket D, 7. 15. 17. E, 6. 10. 13(2x). F, 7.
dynʾ *Dēn* cal. 24th day: ddwʾ PWN dynʾ A, 4.
G *grīw* abbr. measurement for cereals etc.:
G-I K-#II D, 13.
G-I K-#III A, 7. C, 8.
G-II A, 8. F, 6.
gʾlyk *gālīg* member of the household D, 2. E, 2. F, 2.
GBRʾ *mard* man, people F, 7.
glʾtʾ *gird* bundle A, 7. C, 9. D, 7. 14. <17>. E, 5. 10. 12.
GMRʾ *uštār* camel: GMRʾʾn pl. C, 3.
grmkʾ *garmak* *beans A, 8.
gwʾkʾdymwdlyhʾ *gugāy-muhrīhā* witnessʾ seals A, 9.
gwšnsʾp-hwlwndʾn *Gušnasp-Xwarwandān* patr. D, 4. E, 4.
hm *ham* also, same E, 6.
HMRʾ *xar* donkey D, 8. F, 5.
HMRʾ-I D, 15. E, 10.
HʾTYMWNtʾ *āwišt* prt. seal: A, 11. D, [19]. E, 15. F, 9. HʾTYMWNtʾ(sic) C, 10.
HWH- *h*- vb. be (defective): ʾmtʾ HWHm C, 5.
hwl *Xʾwar* cal. 11th day D, 5. 11.

hwlšyt' *Xwaršēd* p.n. E, 13.
 hwsłwb'n *Xusrōyān* patr. E, 8.
 K *kabiz* abbr. measurement for cereals etc.,
 grīw:
 K-#I B, 10.
 K-#II B, 3.
 K-#III F, 14.
 K-#III E, 5. 13.
 K-#III-III E, 12. 14.
 K-#III-III D, 6. E, 9.
 kwlṭwy *Kurdōy* p.n. C, 6. D, 10.
 L *man* I, me C, 3. 7.
 l'd *rāy* postpos. for, for the sake of C, 9. D, 6. 12.
 16. E, 11. F, 6.
 LKWM *ašmā* you (pl.) C, 5.
 lsyk *rahīg* boy pl. lsyk'n D, 7.
 m'h *Māh* cal. 12th day D, 12.
 MKBLWN- *padiriftan*, *padir*- vb. receive, accept:
 MKBLWNty A, 1.
 ml *mar* number, account A, 2. D, 9.
 MN *az* from A, 2. 5. C, 4. D, 2. 9. F, 2.
 msg'lyk' *mehgālīg* elder member of the house-
 hold E, 14.
 mṭr' *Mihr* cal. 16th day B, 6. vert. 3. ddw' PWN
 mṭr' B, 2.
 mṭr'twrgwšnsp' *Mihr-Ādur-Gušnasp* p.n. E, 4.
 mṭrhdyb'lgwšnsp' *Mihr-ayār-Gušnasp* p.n. A, 2.
 nytl *nidar* at least C, 8.
 plhw'n *Farroxān* p.n. E, 8.
 plhwz't' *Farroxzād* p.n. B, vert. 2.
 plmwṭ *framūd* prt. order, command C, 4.
 PRŠY' *aswār* officer E, 9.
 psck' *passazag* fitting C, 9.
 ptgl'b *padirāy* receipt A, 8.
 ptwyšksṭ'n *Paywēšagestān* geogr.n. A, 10.
 PWN *pad* prp. to, at, in, on, for A, 5. 9. C, 1. 4. 5.
 7. D, 1. E, 1. F, 1.
 ddw' PWN dyn' A, 4.
 ddw' PWN mṭr' B, 2.
 pylwc'mṭ' *Pērōzāmad* p.n. A, 10.
 sgl *sēr* sate, satiate, tired of E, 13.
 slm (possibly modern *صرم*) *Šarm* geogr.n. F, 13.
 sp'lk' *spārag* (as) binding commitment A, 5. B, 7.
 vert. 4. C, 7. D, 5. E, 7. F, 4. See above.
 SWSY' *asp* horse B, 3. B, vert. 1. D, 3. F, 4.
 SWSY'-I C, 6. D, 8. E, 3. 7. 8. (SWSY')-I C, 6.
 SWSY'-II E, 8.
 sy'l'n *syārān* with black legs, *lit.* thighs B, 4.
 sylwck' *sē-rōzag* (ration) for three days D, 16. E,
 12.
 ŠG *jaw* barley A, 6. B, 3. 10. C, 8. D, 6. 13. E, 5. 9.
 12. 13. 14. F, 6. 14.

ŠNT' *sāl* year A, 3. C, 2. D, 3. E, 2. F, 3.
 štrywr *Šahrewar* cal. 6th month C, 2.
 ṬBN' *kāh* straw C, 9. D, 14. <17>. E, 12. F, 6.
 ṬBN'-I E, 6. 13.
 ṬBN'-II D, 7.
 ṬBN'-III E, 10.
 ṭk *tag* running, attack E, 13.
 tyl *Tir* cal. 13th day F, 4.
 W *ud* and A, 3. C, 6(2x). 7. D, 5. 6. 8. 12. 13. E, 3.
 6. 8(2x). 10. 13(3x). F, 3. 5(2x). 6. 8.
 wc'l'n *wizārān* (for) completion C, 7.
 wh'k... B, 11.
 wlc *warz* work, agriculture E, 13.
 wlhl'n *Wahrām* p.n. A, 4.
 whwmn' *Wahman* cal. 2nd day E, 11.
 wlṭk *wardag* on heat C, 3.
 Y i *Izāfe* relative particle A, 1. 2. 3. 5. 9. 10. B, (4).
 8. vert. 1. C, 1. 2. 3(3x). 4. 6. 7(3x). D, 1. 2. 3.
 4(2x). 8. 9. 10. 15. 16. E, 1. 2. 3. 4. 7. 8(2x). 9(2x).
 11(2x). 14(2x). F, 1. 2. 3. 7. 8. 10. 13.
 y'wl *jār* time, occasion D, 5. E, 11.
 YBLWN- *burdan*, *bar*- vb. carry, bear, take:
 YBLWNtny C, 3.
 YHBWN- *dādan*, *dah*- vb. geben: YHBWNt' prt.
 B, 5. C, 9. D, 18. E, 15. F, 8. 15.
 ywdtl *juttar* different, otherwise F, 10.
 YWM *rōz* day A, 3. B, 6. vert. 3. D, 5(2x). 11. E, 3.
 6. 11. F, 3. YWM-c A, 4.
 yzd'n'p'st'n *Yazdānābestān* geogr.n. A, 6. C, 4. D,
 1. E, 1. F, 1. [yzd'n'p]st'n C, 1.
 yzd'n'-yw'c **Yazdān-ēwāz* p.n. E, 9.
 yzd'np't'l *Yazdānpādār* p.n. C, 10.
 yzdtwd'n *Yazdōyān* patr. F, 11.
 z't'nplhw' *Zādānfarrow* p.n. D, 15. E, 11. 14.
 ZK *ān* that, he B, (4). D, 2. F, 2.
 ZNH *ēn* this A, 2. 8. B, 1. C, 2. D, 2. E, 2. F, 2.
 ZWZN *drahm* drachm E, 11.
 zyšt *zišt* hateful, detestable, ugly D, 16. E, 14.
 zywšn' *zīwišn* livelihood C, 4.

I C, 6. 7.
 II D, 4. 9. E, 13. F, 5. 10.
 III D, 17(2x). E, 5.
 IIII A, 7. D, 15.
 III-II F, 5. 7.
 III-III E, 12. F, 6.
 IIII-III D, 14. E, 10.
 X D, 7.
 X-II C, 8.
 X-III-III C, 2.
 XX-XX D, 3. E, 3. 11. F, 3.
 XX-XX-I A, 3.

Notes

1. I am indebted to Carol Bromberg, who kindly corrected and improved my English.

The following *sigla* will be used:

Berk. Pahlavi documents, Berkeley.

Berlin Pahlavi documents, Berlin, ed. Weber 2008.

P. Pahlavi papyri and parchments, ed. Weber 2003 (P. 125 - P. 343).

P.Pehl. Pahlavi papyri and parchments of the *Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna (with original inventory number, mostly unpublished)

2. The region was described in Weber 2014, 44–45, and possibly is to be identified with *Jāsb*.

3. ¹**wnd**-prs. 'preisen, anflehen' M 28 II R I 3; **wynd**-M 198 V 4; **wynd'm** M 763 R II 3; **wndyd** M 763 V I 14; **wnd'm** M 32a V 2. • He., *Verbum* 171 (< **vand*-).

4. First, Ph. Gignoux read the word in question as ⟨st'lk'⟩, an interpretation I immediately adopted but replaced with ⟨dyp'lk'⟩ 'evening', see the discussion in Weber 2011, 289f.

5. Earlier read as *Jāwēdān* acc. to Weber 2008, 136 (where other discussions are listed).

6. Weber 2014, 43.

References

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Abbreviations		CDAFI	<i>Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran</i>
AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>		
AAAnASH	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>	CHFB	<i>Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae</i>
AAs	<i>Arts asiatiques</i>	CHIr	<i>Cambridge History of Iran</i>
ActIr	<i>Acta Iranica</i>	CIr	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>		
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>	CRAI	<i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i>
AMI	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>	DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
AN	<i>Akademii nauk</i>	Elr	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i>
AO	<i>Arkheologicheskie otkrytiia . . . goda</i>	EPROER	<i>Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain</i>
APAW	<i>Abhandlung der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>		
ARIRIAB	<i>Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University</i>	ESM	<i>E. T. Newell, The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints, from Seleucus I to Antiochus III, 2d ed., New York, 1978</i>
ArsIs	<i>Ars Islamica</i>	EV	<i>Epigrafika Vostoka</i>
ArsOr	<i>Ars Orientalis</i>	EW	<i>East and West</i>
ART	<i>Arkheologicheskie raboty v Tadzhikistane</i>	FGrHist	<i>F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, Berlin, 1923–1958</i>
ArtAs	<i>Artibus Asiae</i>	HdO	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik Iranica Antiqua</i>
BAI	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute, n.s.</i>	IA	<i>Izvestiia [Imperatorskoï] arkheologicheskoi komissii</i>
BAI(P)	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University</i>	IAK	<i>International Association for the Study of the Culture of Central Asia</i>
BAII(P)AA	<i>Bulletin of the American Institute of Iranian (Persian) Art and Archaeology</i>	IASCCA	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>	IF	<i>Izvestiia Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>	IIRGO	<i>Istoriia material'noi kul'tury Uzbekistana</i>
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient</i>	IMKU	<i>Izvestiia otdeleniia obshchestvennykh nauk Akademii nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR</i>
BIIAA	<i>Bulletin of the Iranian Institute for Art and Archaeology</i>	IOON	<i>Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente</i>
BMC	<i>G. F. Hill, Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia & Persia, London, 1922</i>	IsMEO	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
BMFEA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities</i>	IstMitt	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>	JA	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>	JAOS	<i>Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>	JASB	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
		JHS	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>
		JIABS	

Abbreviations

JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>		classischen Altertums-
JNSI	<i>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India</i>	RAA	wissenschaft
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>	RAAO	<i>Revue des arts asiatiques</i>
KSIA	<i>Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta arkheologi AN SSSR</i>	REA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et archéologie orientale</i>
KSIMK	<i>Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta istorii material'noi kul'tury AN SSSR</i>	RLA	<i>Revue des études anciennes</i>
KSINA	<i>Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta votokovedeniia/Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta narodov Azii [AN SSSR]</i>	RN	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
KSIV	<i>Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta vostokovedeniia</i>	RSO	<i>Revue numismatique</i>
KZ	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</i>	SA	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i>	SE	<i>Sovetskaia arkheologiia</i>
MAFAC	<i>Mission Archéologique Française en Asie Centrale</i>	SEG	<i>Sovetskaia etnografia</i>
MDAFA	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan</i>	Selected Papers	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
MDAI	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>	SGE	<i>W. B. Henning, Selected Papers, ActI 14–15, Leiden, 1977</i>
MDP	<i>Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Perse</i>	SINV	<i>Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha</i>
MIA	<i>Materialy issledovaniia po arkheologii [SSSR]</i>	SPA	<i>Strany [i] Narody Vostoka</i>
MKT	<i>Material'naia kul'tura Tadzhikistana</i>	SPAW	<i>A. U. Pope, ed., A Survey of Persian Art, London, 1938</i>
NAA	<i>Narody Azii i Afriki</i>	StIr	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
NABU	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires</i>	TGE	<i>Studia Iranica</i>
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle [London]</i>	TIUTAKE	<i>Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha</i>
NGWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse</i>	TKhAEE	<i>Trudy IUzhno-Turkmenistanskoï arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi ekspeditsii</i>
ONU	<i>Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane</i>	TOVE	<i>Trudy Khorezmskoï arkheologo-etnograficheskoi ekspeditsii</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i>	Tr IIA AN	<i>Trudy Otdela Vostoka ([Gosudarstvennogo] Ermitazha)</i>
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>	UzSSR	<i>Trudy Instituta istorii i arkheologii Akademii nauk Uzbekskoï SSR</i>
PG	<i>J. P. Migne, ed., Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeco-latina</i>	TSAGU	<i>Trudy Sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta</i>
PPPIKV	<i>Pis'mennye pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka</i>	USA	<i>Uspekhi Sredneaziatskoï arkheologii</i>
RE	<i>Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie der</i>	VDI	<i>Vestnik drevnei istorii</i>
		ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft</i>
		ZIRGO	<i>Zapiski Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestva po otdieleniiu etnografii</i>
		ZVORAO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnago otdieleniia [Imperatorskago] russkago arkheologicheskago obshchestva</i>