

ТРУДЫ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОГО ЭРМИТАЖА  
LXII



СОГДИЙЦЫ,  
ИХ ПРЕДШЕСТВЕННИКИ,  
СОВРЕМЕННОКИ  
И НАСЛЕДНИКИ

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ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ ЭРМИТАЖ



TRANSACTIONS OF THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM  
LXII

**SOGDIANS,  
THEIR PRECURSORS,  
CONTEMPORARIES  
AND HEIRS**

Based on proceedings of conference  
“Sogdians at Home and Abroad”  
held in memory  
of Boris Il’ich Marshak  
(1933–2006)

St. Petersburg  
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ИХ ПРЕДШЕСТВЕННИКИ,  
СОВРЕМЕННОКИ  
И НАСЛЕДНИКИ**

На основе материалов конференции  
«Согдийцы дома и на чужбине»,  
посвященной памяти  
Бориса Ильича Маршака  
(1933–2006)

Санкт-Петербург  
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**Труды Государственного Эрмитажа** : [Т.] 62 : Согдийцы, их предшественники, современники и наследники : на основе материалов конференции «Согдийцы дома и на чужбине», посвященной памяти Бориса Ильича Маршака (1933–2006) / Государственный Эрмитаж. СПб. : Изд-во Гос. Эрмитажа, 2013. – 504 с. : ил., XXVIII, [8] с. цв. вкл.

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В 2008 г. состоялась конференция, посвященная памяти Б. И. Маршака. В настоящий сборник включены доклады, сделанные на этой конференции, и статьи, присланные по ее завершении. Композиционным центром сборника является раннесредневековая Согдиана: ее религия (Ю. Ёсида, С. Кристофоретти, Дж. Скарчия, П. Б. Лурье, С. Пелло), археология (Ф. Грене, К. Рапен, М. К. Ахмедов), монументальное искусство (Л. Ю. Кулакова, Дж. А. Лернер, В. Г. Шкода, Т. Г. Цветкова). Остальные статьи посвящены более ранним государствам Средней Азии (Э. Папшлардо, К. Лишполис, Н. Симс-Уильямс), близким (Е. А. Смагулов, А. Н. Подушкин) и дальним (Ю. А. Пятницкий, В. Н. Залеская) соседям согдийцев, тюркам, воспитанным на согдийской культуре (И. Л. Кызласов, А. И. Торгоев), отражению согдийских прототипов в искусстве исламского времени (Э. Й. Грубе, М. Компарети, Э. Симс, Д. К. Мирзаахмедов, А. А. Иванов, Е. А. Армарчук), ягнобцам – современным носителям языка, близкого к согдийскому диалекту (А. Панаино, П. Онъибене).

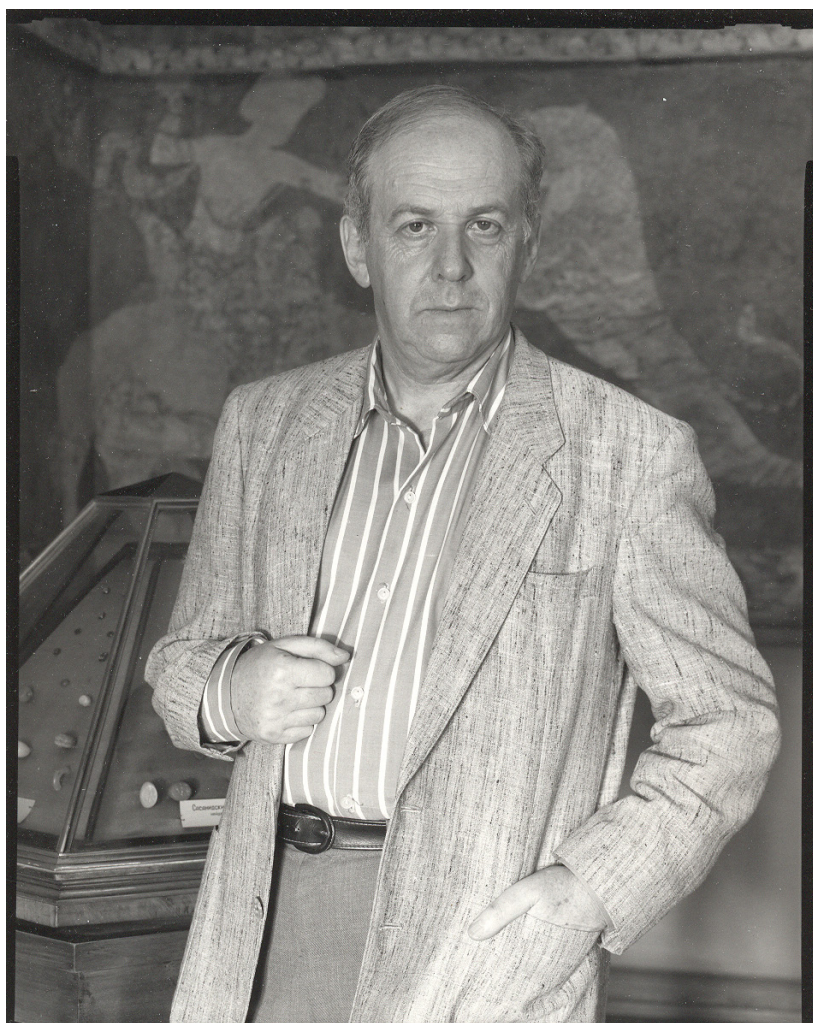
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*На обложке:* Светильник. Серебро, позолота. Согд, школа С. VIII–IX вв.  
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Борис Ильич Маршак  
1933–2006

*...Согдийские художники внесли замечательный вклад в сокровищницу мирового искусства. Сложение художественной среды, добившейся высокого профессионализма всех мастеров, преимущественное развитие повествовательных жанров – это достижения согдийской культуры, изучение которой заполняет пробел, находившийся между Ираном и Китаем, на карте цивилизованного мира эпохи раннего Средневековья. Согдийское художественное наследие донесло до нас вкусы и устремления народа, который знал почти все культуры своей эпохи, и при этом сохранил своеобразие своего искусства с его динамизмом и дидактизмом, связанными с задачей воспитания активного и обладающего самоуважением гражданина города-государства, преданного богам, верного героическому идеалу, стремящегося овладеть житейской мудростью.*

Б. И. Маршак. «Искусство Согда»

## ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ

В 2008 г. в Государственном Эрмитаже состоялась конференция «Согдийцы дома и на чужбине», посвященная 75-летию со дня рождения Бориса Ильича Маршака (1933–2006) – одного из крупнейших специалистов по истории культуры Согдианы и Средней Азии в целом. Название и тема конференции предполагали первоначально достаточно строгий регламент докладов, но уже при приеме заявок на конференцию мы столкнулись с постоянным расширением темы как в географическом, так и в хронологическом аспектах. Это разрастание выглядит совершенно закономерным. Сам Борис Ильич не ограничивался в своих исследованиях только Средней Азией, его научные интересы, по свидетельству его самого, с аспирантских времен в основном охватывали промежуток от III до XIII в. н. э. Однако и этот промежуток оказался мал. Если суммировать все написанное им, то получится, что хронология его исследований охватывала отрезок значительно большей длины – от истории античной торевтики Бактрии до серебра Золотой Орды. География же распространилась от Северного Китая и Монголии до Западной Европы. В последние годы своей жизни он с огромным интересом исследовал раннесредневековое небуддийское искусство Тибета. Исходя из работ самого Бориса Ильича, мы не стали искусственно ограничивать тему конференции и соответственно сборника лишь историей культуры Согда и согдийцев.

Формирование и генезис согдийской культуры стали неким лейтмотивом, отправной точкой для работы конференции. На ней звучали доклады, посвященные изучению культур близких и дальних соседей Согда, в соприкосновении с которыми согдийская культура и сама развивалась и обогащалась, и питала окружающие народы. В результате территориально-хронологический диапазон охватил время от становления античной культуры до позднего средневековья, и отчасти до этнографической современности: наследие согдийской культуры продолжало жить в веках. Предлагаемое название сборника, «Согдийцы, их предшественники, современники и наследники», как нам представляется, вполне отражает тематику как самой конференции, так и ее печатных материалов.

При подготовке конференции мы отказались от публикации тезисов, решив издать полноценные статьи по ее результатам. Но после ее проведения на наш адрес стали поступать статьи коллег, по разным причинам не сумевших участвовать



в конференции, которые тоже решено было публиковать, таким образом отдавая дань памяти и уважения Борису Ильичу, который сам очень внимательно относился к новой литературе, штудировал и комментировал появлявшиеся исследования. При этом многие статьи сборника могут быть интересны, в первую очередь, как введение в научный оборот новых материалов, полученных в последние годы. Редакция не сочла возможным всерьез вмешиваться в авторский текст, хотя наши взгляды на интерпретацию этих данных могут отличаться от тех, которые предлагаются авторами.

Круг близких Б. И. Маршаку людей неумолимо редет, не дожили до публикации материалов участвовавшие в конференции Эрнст Й. Грубе (1932–2011), его друг, коллега и соавтор, и Валентин Германович Шкода (1951–2012), ученик Бориса Ильича, многолетний соратник по Пенджикентской экспедиции и работе в Отделе Востока Эрмитажа. Письмо, отправленное организаторам конференции ныне покойным Олегом Андреевичем Грабарем (1929–2011), с теплыми воспоминаниями о Борисе Ильиче Маршаке открывает сборник; прочие статьи сборника расположены в хронологическом порядке.

Oleg Grabar

[A LETTER TO THE ORGANIZERS OF THE CONFERENCE]

I regret very much that I am unable to be at the Hermitage to remember and to praise Boris Marshak. I have known him since 1960 or so when Alicia Bank introduced me to Vladimir Lukonin. I do not remember whether Marshak was there at that time, but Lukonin mentioned him to me as Belenitski's heir apparent in Panjikent and a member of a small collective of brilliant scholars emerging in then Leningrad from the tragic and somber decades of the thirties and forties. He inherited two intellectual and scholarly traditions which were little known in the rest of the world. One was an extension of Smirnoff's *Oriental Silver* into an idealized "Sasanian" art with its alleged impact on contemporary creativity from Ireland to Japan. The second tradition was that of Central Asian archaeology, probably one of the most successful enterprises of the late Soviet Union, and more specifically the site of Panjikent and the Sogdian world it had illuminated.

It is not my purpose in these brief remarks to relate his contributions to both of these traditions nor is it to describe the rigor and inventive precision of his scholarship. Others will do that and the fact that he was recognized and rewarded in Japan, Italy, Austria, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States is sufficient proof of his achievements.

What I simply want to do is, first, to proclaim once again the breadth of his knowledge over many centuries and in many areas; no one else has or had the same vision of silver plates or Sogdian heroes crossing centuries and deserts or mountain chains. And then I want to acknowledge a friend, long conversations around traditionally Russian cups of tea, often in our kitchen, about everything, objects and excavations, recent scholarly writings, the character of our colleagues, the politics of art and archaeology, and for men of our ages attempts to understand the tragic events through which we had lived. We disagreed sometimes on any one of these topics and our memories and judgments were not always the same, but I will always remember the peculiar staccato of his ironic laughter when judging a person, an object, or an event. His face and much of his body would shake softly and his eyes would shine to say that men are often foolish, but that they must be forgiven if the search for knowledge was what inspired them. This purity of belief in knowledge is rare indeed and Boris was fully devoted to it.

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*Составила В. И. Распопова при участии П. Б. Лурье, А. И. Торговаа*

<sup>1</sup> Библиография Б. И. Маршака до 2004 г. опубликована в сборнике в его честь (Ērān ud Anērān, Studies presented to Boris Il'ich Maršak on

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Simone Cristoforetti and Gianroberto Scarcia (*Venice*)

TALKING ABOUT SĪMURĠ AND ʦĀQ-I BUSTĀN WITH  
BORIS I. MARSHAK

The congress held in Venice on March 14, 2005<sup>1</sup> was a precious occasion for an exchange of views with Boris I. Marshak about some still unsolved issues of Iranian archaeology, such as the problem involving the iconography of the composite being still called SĪmurġ (in spite of the doubts on this name expressed more and more often) and the problem of dating of ʦĀq-i Bustān complex.

On the first issue, the opinion of the late scholar was verbatim as follows: “As, according to the widely accredited theory of A.M. Belenitsky, the most famous painting cycle of Panjikent represents Rustam’s saga, then, if Belenitsky’s hypothesis is accepted (and such was Marshak’s opinion), the flying monster visible in front of Rustam can logically be the SĪmurġ” (Marshak 2002a. P. 63; Marshak 2002b. P. 141 specially). Of course, this SĪmurġ does not correspond to the SĪmurġ as interpreted by C. V. Trever,<sup>2</sup> i.e. a standard animal image representing three natures. (Is it obvious that it does not correspond to the standard SĪmurġ of Persian classical miniatures concerning Rustam, this being a question of history of art and canons of iconography developing under subsequent influences, Chinese influences in the case.)<sup>3</sup> On the second issue we were in agreement on a late (even very late) dating of the complex of ʦĀq-i Bustān, in spite of a recent attempt to suggest an earlier date newly (Russo 2004).

We dedicate to the late Master our last considerations on the matter.

**On the so-called SĪmurġ**

The discovery of Afrāsyāb was also the discovery of another so-called SĪmurġ, not very different from the so-called SĪmurġ carved at ʦĀq-i Bustān.<sup>4</sup> But it is not the animal depicted in Panjikent in front of Rustam. The presence of a so-called SĪmurġ (an ancient one!) in Panjikent too can only enforce this distinction. There, the SĪmurġ is in another position, in another location (the Eastern wall of the Northern chapel of Temple II); it is dating from another period of time (end of the 5th century), and it has another function presumably.<sup>5</sup> Such a distinction leading to the necessity of a more accurate definition of the so-called

*Sīmurǧ* is enforced by A. Bausani. In an unfortunately neglected note published in 1978, the Italian scholar underlined that in a text of Īrānšahrī quoted by Bīrūnī *flying foxes* represent the Glory of the Kayanids (Bausani 1978. P. 317–319). He attributed the *entire Bīrūnian passage* on the 1st of Ādar to Īrānšahrī. Actually Bīrūnī quotes Īrānšahrī only regarding a single tradition related to the same Īrānšahrī by Armenian savants. Anyway, according to Īrānšahrī's tradition, in that day (the “Fox-day”) a white ram appeared giving ominous or propitious indications about the forthcoming agricultural year (see below). However, the attention given by Bausani to the matter is due to that lucky inexactitude: he intended to enforce by means of an “Armenian” quotation the parallel research by Ajello on the “flying dogs” (*arīlēz*) of the Armenian tradition.<sup>6</sup>

Consequently, to consider Iranian flying animals in canine shape as *Sīmurǧ* can not be so automatic. Indeed the flying foxes can reflect another animal without any difficulty (neither literary nor biological), i.e., the bat, or better a kind of bat.

The *Sīmurǧ* (Phl. *sēnmurv*, Av. *saēnō mərəyō*) is present in pre-Islamic and Islamic Persian sources. As Ajello – a scholar faithful to Trever's interpretation – observed, the Iranian (Zoroastrian) sources, however, give us no clear indications of it.<sup>7</sup> The most interesting of these – in our perspective – is the following passage of the *Wižǧdagihā ī Zādspram* IX, 23, which mentions *both* the *Sīmurǧ* *and* the bat:

“Among the birds two were of a different character from the rest, and those are the griffon bird *and* the bat, which have teeth *in* the mouth, *and* suckle *their* young with animal milk from the teat”<sup>8</sup>.

The “griffon bird” – which translates the “Pahl. *sēnō mûrûk*, the *sīmurgh* of Persian tradition, and Av. *mereghô saēnô* of Bahrām Yt. 41”, as E.W. West specifies (S. B. E. P. 50. N. 2) – appears in other Middle-Persian works also. It is defined “of three natures” in *Bundabišn* XXIV, 29:

“Of birds *Kamrô*s is chief, who is worth all the birds in *Khvanīras*, except the griffon of three natures” (S. B. E. P. 91).

It is necessary to check the quoted passage against the following passages from the *Bundabišn*:

(XIV, 11) “The fourth genus is the flying, of which the griffon of three natures is the largest, and the chaffinch the least” (S. B. E. P. 47).

(XIV, 23–24) “Tenth, one hundred and ten species of birds; flying creatures (*vey = vâi*) such as the griffon bird, the *Karsipt*, the eagle, [...]. There are two of them which have milk in the teat *and* suckle *their* young, the griffon bird and the bat which flies in the night; as they say that the bat is created of three races (*sardak*), the race (*âyina*) of the dog, the bird, *and* the musk *animal*; for it flies like a bird, has many teeth like a dog, *and* is dwelling in holes like a musk-rat” (S. B. E. P. 50).

In the *Wižǧdagihā ī Zādspram* IX, 23 and in the *Bundabišn* XIV, 24 the *Sīmurǧ* is quoted close to the bat probably because of the particular composite nature of mammal-birds of both of them; this nature being anatomical and physiological in the case of the bat and mythical in the case of *Sīmurǧ*, as nurturer of *Zāl*. Anyway a certain parallelism (not identity) between the two creatures is apparent in the texts.

The passage regarding the flying foxes is lacunous in Sachau's edition of Bīrūnī's *al-Āṭār al-bāqīya* and Bausani applied to the correspondent passage in Bīrūnī's *al-Qānūn al-mas'ūdi* (Chap. XI, *On the festivals of the Persians and their days*)<sup>9</sup>, that follows:

[بهار جشن]

[...]

و في هذا اليوم زعموا ظهر خراسانخرو<sup>10</sup> و هي ثعالب طياره كانت على عهد الكياني اماره لسعادتهم و بطلت بانقراضهم

However, we dispose of the Arabic text and the Russian translation of the entire *al-Āṭār al-bāqīya*'s passage by A.B. Chalidov<sup>11</sup>, the editor of some passages lacking in Sachau's edition on the basis of St. Petersburg and Istanbul manuscripts:

اوقد يسمّى هذا اليوم ايسال وهار وكان يسمّيه الكيانيون من الملوك بمارجشن وهو اول يوم ظهر فيه جرسانخرو و كانت ثعالب طيارة على عهد الكيانيين و بما كانت سعادة زماخهم و نضارة ايامهم فبادت معهم و انقرضت بانقراضهم و من اجل ذلك يتبرك فيه بالنظر الى الثعلب، وربما يتعجب السامع لذكر الثعالب الطيارة وليس بعجب فقد احبراني من ائق به وهو ابو القاسم على بن احمد الطاهري ان والى اسبيحاج اهدى في سنة تسع وسبعين و ثلاثمائة الى نوح بن منصور صاحب خراسان فرسا له قرنان ظاهران و ثعلبا له على جنبه اجنحة من ريش اذا قرب منه الانسان نشرها و اذا بعد سكنها و ألصقتها بالجنب و ذكر انه عاينه وهو في قفص

“This day [*i.e.*, the 1<sup>st</sup> of Āḍar] is also called *īsāl wabār* [*< ī-sāl-bahār?*] and the Kayanids called it Spring Festival (Bahārjašn). It is the first day in which appeared the Ḥurāsānḥurra<sup>12</sup>: they were flying foxes in the time of the Kayanids and in them consisted the happiness of that time and the welfare of that days. They disappeared along with the Kayanids and finished along with their fall. For that reason it is considered auspicious to look at a fox in this day. The hearer of such flying foxes happens to remain astonished, but there is nothing astonishing: a trustworthy man, Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭāhirī, told me that in 379 A. H. [= 990–991 A. D.] the *wālī* of Isfijāb presented to Nūḥ ibn Maṣṣūr, the lord of Khorasan, a horse with two visible horns and a fox having feathered wings on its flanks. When a person approached, it spread its wings and when that person departed it folded them. [Al-Ṭāhirī] told that he saw such a fox kept in a cage<sup>13</sup>.”

The report on the flying foxes related by Bīrūnī is of great interest, because it demonstrates that the great scholar identified naturally the animal representing the Glory of the Kayanians as the “mammal-bird” of exceptional nature associated with the Sīmurġ in the *Selections of Zadspram*. One thinks spontaneously of the so-called flying fox (*Pteropus Giganteus*), a kind of big-sized fruit-eating bat diffused throughout the Indian subcontinent, which can be kept in captivity also. The usual name is due to its head shape very close to that of the fox. The reference to a horned horse in this passage could indicate a sort of antelope. The feathered wings of the flying fox are not surprising, as, when speaking of wings, this association is spontaneous (every wing is feathered!) and this realistic detail puts an emphasis on the *mirabilia* reported by Ṭāhirī.

Bīrūnī does not identify the Ḥurāsānḥurra as Sīmurġ. The non-correspondence between Ḥurāsānḥurra and Sīmurġ is a first indication. We can find a second one in the above-mentioned passage of Bīrūnī's text on the 1st of Āḍar preserved in Sachau's translation also<sup>14</sup>:



“Al-Ērānšahrī says: I heard a number of Armenian learned men relate that on the morning of the *Fox-day*<sup>15</sup> there appears on the highest mountain, between the *Interior* and the *Exterior* country, a white ram that is not seen at any other time of the year except about this time of this day. Now the inhabitants of that country infer that the year will be prosperous if the ram bleats; that it will be sterile if he does not bleat.”

Thus, according to this tradition (related to Bīrūnī by Armenian savants!), in that day appeared a white ram giving indications about the forthcoming agricultural year. The function guaranteeing the welfare of the whole community clearly attributed to the way of acting of the ram represents a case of superimposition of a theme strictly connected with Sovereignty (*i.e.*, the *pharmakos* rite of universal phenomenology<sup>16</sup>) on a symbol of the Kingly Glory, or *farr*/*hurra* (Av. *x<sup>a</sup>aranab-*, Phl. *xvarrab*)<sup>17</sup>, *i.e.*, the *white ram* of the *Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān* (4.11.16, 22–23).

In his Italian translation of the *Kārnāmag*, A. Pagliaro followed the reading of the term indicating the animal symbol of the Kingly Glory given by Th. Noeldeke and E.K. Antia (*\*warrag*)<sup>18</sup>. Such a reading is usually enforced by the confrontation with the corresponding passage in the *Šāhnāma* (Gnoli 1999. P. 316), in which the animal is named *gurm*, *i.e.*, male mountain sheep. In Bīrūnī’s text we find Ar. *kaḅš* and not *ḥamal*, *i.e.*, the corresponding Arabic term of the Middle-Persian *warrag* (NP. *barra*) indicating the sign of Aries as well. It is to be remembered that “in a curious version of the epic of Ardašīr I a great dog, rather than the ram usually mentioned in the text, is said to have followed him during his flight”<sup>19</sup>. This dog could be not devoid of importance if one hypothesizes that the different terms identifying the symbolic animal are affected by misunderstandings concerning two animals, the Ḥurāsānḥurra and the Ram (*kaḅš*/*gurm*): only one of them more or less obvious, but both of them connected with the Spring Festival (Bahārjašn).

One of the most interesting verses from the corresponding passage in the *Šāhnāma* is the following:

یکی غرم بود از پس یک سوار      که چون او ندیدم بایوان نگار

“A ram followed one horseman | I did not see such an image on a royal mansion”  
(*Firdawsī*, *Šāhnāma*. P. 155. V. 324).

It reveals in *Firdawsī* a spontaneous association – but pour cause, presumably – between that animal shape of Kingly Glory and a *depicted image*, or idol (*nigān*), located in *royal mansions*! The amphibology of the verse is unsolvable unfortunately: “such an image” could mean “an image as beautiful as this *gurm*” or as well “a similar beautiful *gurm*”. Anyway, a gloss (from the Ms. C. III 24 of the British Library, dated 1217 A. D.) to the above-mentioned verse describes the fabulous ram of Ardašīr, clearly clarifying the fact that it is neither the *Simurḡ* nor a peacock:

چو سیمرغ بال و چو طاؤس دم      چو رخش دلاور سر و گوش و سم  
برنگ ارغوان او بتگ تند باد      ند ارد بران سان کسی غرم یاد

“Like those of the *Simurḡ* his wings, he has a peacock-tail. | Like those of the brave *Raḥš* [*i.e.*, the *Rustam*’s horse] his head, ears and hoof.  
Red his colour, as fast in running as the wind! | Nobody remembers such a *gurm*”  
(*Firdawsī*, *Šāhnāma*. P. 155. N. 34)

A provisional conclusion is that when in the texts (Bīrūnī's texts, *Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān*, *Šābnāma*) we find an explicit reference to an animal representing the Kingly Glory of a dynasty *we do not have to do with the Sīmurġ*.

Moreover there is a fundamental objection to the association of the Sīmurġ with the Kingly Glory. There is incongruence between a hypothetic Sīmurġ as an image of Kingly Glory and a textual Sīmurġ of the epic which is the enemy of a Zoroastrian dynasty. In New Persian literature the Sīmurġ is the heavenly tutor of Rustam's family and as such, it is very far from being a possible representation of whatsoever Kingly Glory. This fact is particularly evident in the legend of Isfandyār where the Sīmurġ is the cause of the ruin of that young hero, the Son of the King. In some way, such incongruence has been perceived also by Schmidt: "The Simorġ, protector of Zāl and Rostam, has an evil counterpart called by the same name. She lives on a mountain [...]. It is not impossible that both birds are originally identical and the Simorġ is ambivalent" (Schmidt 2002). Also F. de Blois clearly says that "la fonction de l'arbre guérisseur paraît s'inverser dans l'histoire ou Sīmurġ emporte Rustam vers un arbre lointain dont les branches lui fournissent la flèche fatale [...]" (de Blois 1997. P. 638).

To sum up: the artistic evidences at our disposal probably are fancy elaborations starting from the flying fox, in some way dignifying and embellishing<sup>20</sup> the natural starting point. Nikitin and Roth convincingly write that in "a series of different Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian drachms and imitations [...] a winged animal [...]" is "flying to the right together with a short legend in the Sogdian script: *prn* (= *farn*, 'glory, splendour, fortune'). [...] The winged animal in question, conventionally defined as 'Senmurv' [...] was most probably associated with 'farn' by Iranians and by their eastern neighbours in the Sasanian and Early Islamic period. [...] It appears on numerous countermarks stamped on Sasanian and Sasanian-type coins somewhere in Tokharestan and Sogd. The image of 'Senmurv'" on the countermark published by Nikitin and Roth "is more elaborately executed than on most previously known countermarks of the same group" (Nikitin, Roth 1995. P. 277). The Sīmurġ appears in Persian Islamic art and in Islamic art *tout court* in Chinese shape mainly<sup>21</sup>. Then, the original Iranian iconography of Sīmurġ remains unknown at the moment, but there is no reason to assert it is not a bird simply, as it appears in the *Avesta* and afterwards in Firdawsī<sup>22</sup>, and so on up to Russian folklore<sup>23</sup>.

Surely, the flying being in front of Rustam at Panjikent is not only a composite creature, but it also changes its own shape in its different representations (Azarpay 1975). Grenet recognizes it at Rag-i Bībī in a relief not devoid of exotic elements. Exoticism could explain the presence there of a Sīmurġ independently from the possibility that the king's "intention was to emulate Rustam" (Grenet 2007. P. 261)<sup>24</sup>. Anyway, starting from the Birunian name given to the flying foxes representing the Kayanian Kingly Glory, one could infer the existence of regional variations of *farr/burra* and connected images as substantially inferred by Herzfeld. The illustrious scholar proposed to translate as "gloria orientis" the *burāsānburra* quoted by Mas'ūdī II, 228 (Herzfeld 1938. P. 157).

(S.C.)

## On the so-called Farhād

It is known that a somehow justified confusion is to be noticed in both Arabic and Persian literature dealing with the issue of the patronizer of works in Ṭāq-i Bustān, or better dealing with questions associated with the legend of the unfortunate lover and sculptor Farhād.

This confusion concerns first of all the two neighbouring sites (the two spots are contiguous both geographically and phonetically) named Ṭāq-i Bustān and Bīsūtūn, both of them inhabited by dramatic petrified ghosts of an illustrious past.

As far as the Islamic sources are concerned, the thirty-year-old survey by Priscilla Soucek remains an exhaustive one. However, nothing has ever been said about some impressive analogies between the two personages Bastām and Farhād: historical the former (Scarcia 1980; Eilers 1989), mythical or semi-mythical the latter (Moayyad 1999).

On the meaning of Ṭāq-i Bustān we have first of all to forget, or better neglect, the Turkish-flavoured *dāği-būstān*, that is *mountain garden*, of some travelers from the West, that perhaps influenced even Soucek, this *lectio faciliior* melting into the more plausible *paradise*, a garden or hunting preserve.<sup>25</sup>

No doubt, we have to take into due consideration the two words *ṭāq* and *bustān*, the former absolutely clear, the latter a little (but just a little) problematic.

On the latter as a personal name, the entry of Eilers in the Encyclopaedia Iranica is inspired by a prudential caution: the name appears in Armenian “both as Vstam [...] and Vēstam [...] in Greek as Bestām and Bestán [...]. In New Persian either as Gostah(a)m [...] or as Bestām, most often written Beṣtām” (Eilers 1989. P. 175). But we cannot swear on the Bible or on the Qur’ān, or on the Kitāb-i aqdas, which one among the historical personages named Bastām is meant there. That is, no doubt, that the *Arch* in question is the *Arch of Bastām*, but who or which one is the Bastām of the Arch?

Apart from the opinion of the anonymous author of the precious *Mujmal al-tawārīḥ*, apart from the refined horse-sense of its editor M. Bahār<sup>26</sup>, I think that further logical considerations could contribute to turn the scale in the right way, that is towards the attribution of the Ṭāq to the celebrated (and not less noble and unfortunate in comparison with Farhād) maternal uncle of Ḥusraw Parwīz (Scarcia 1980; Shahbazi 1989).

On saying this, I am aware of one difficulty left, that is the alternative: the Arch of the Uncle of Ḥusraw Parwīz or the Arch in the village named after the Uncle of Ḥusraw Parwīz?

In my opinion, the first choice is supported by the striking analogies occurring between Bastām and Farhād; but the second one too is far from precluding the hypothesis I am dealing with. Unfortunately, Iranian philology is the best field of enduring exercises for the human restless thirst of knowledge: but this is also a welcome input to our stubbornness too, when searching *‘ilm wa law fī ‘ṣ-Ṣīn*.

At any rate, the analogies I see between Farhād and Bastām are as follows.

1) As it is the case of Bastām – the matter being reflected with particular emphasis in the polemic on sovereign legitimacy between the nephew and his uncles (an echo of Ḥusraw’s first struggle with Bahrām Čübīn) – Farhād (Phraates) pertains to a Parthian ancestry. Other sources add nothing to this scanty information, but the *Mujmal al-tawārīḥ* states that Farhād descended from Zawāra, the brother of Rustam<sup>27</sup>, the latter too being more and more involved in Parthian affairs according to recent investigations (Davis 2007). So, in the famous and rather curious triangular love story (which seems to reflect the puzzling

position of Sebeos' "Armenian nation"<sup>28</sup>), we have not the rivalry between the *šāh* and the *gadā*, but rather the rivalry between a Sasanian *šāh* and an Ashkanian *šābzāda*.

2) The personality of Farhād wavers between the artisan and the prince in another case: the same *Mujmal al-tawāriḥ* attributes to him the dignity of a *sipābbud*, when Tāq-i Bustān is on the background. And this is not only the profession of Bastām, especially as the heir of Bahrām Čübīn (not to say of the connected Romanzo; Czeglédy 1958): this is *tout court* the "family name" of Bastām. It is difficult to renounce to the idea that a *sipābbud* dealing with Tāq-i Bustān (= the Arch of Bastām) should logically be the *sipābbud* Bastām.

3) Farhād is now a "Chinese" prince, now an Iranian that travels to China, the Urheimat of art, to acquire mastery in the field. Thence he comes back in love with an Armenian woman. Bastām too comes back from China (from Khorasan to Media) being supported by some Armenian fans (Scarcia 1980); of course these are soldiers not necessarily in love with him, but a kind of heart-felt affection is meant possibly. In the *Mujmal al-tawāriḥ* the Chinese skill of Farhād is shared by (or transferred to) "a friend". At Tāq-i Bustān the *sipābbud* is assisted by a colleague, a *Rūmī* master. The result is that we have there the activity of two persons, a *Rūmī* master and a *Chinese* patron: a possible memory of somebody in charge of the Arch who *is not* an artist, but also a possible hint to the hybrid character or eclectic features of that decoration: something that was observed long before Herzfeld. A Central-Asian horse in the motif, but produced by a Greek (Herzfeld 1938. P. 97–99; Soucek 1974. P. 33), a hunting not devoid of a "Chinese" flavour (Demange 2006. P. 41), but the presence, too, of Kītūs, the son of Simsār-i Rūmī, the celebrated architect of Ḥawārnaq, whom "*Farhād-i sipābbud farmūd-aš bā ustādān-i diġar*" (*Mujmal al-tawāriḥ* P. 79). Apart from the inconsistency of the chronology (unless we come back to a Tāq-i Bustān by far preceding Ḥusraw Parwīz), the possibility of an Arch selected by Bastām himself to celebrate his fleeting moment of glory (he was beaten not very far from there) is enforced by the alleged participation of Chinese masters. However, it is partially called in question by the invitation of an architect from Rūm as the uncles of Ḥusraw Parwīz are depicted by Firdawsī as obstinate *refuseniki* of the Christian penchant of their nephew (Scarcia 2003b. P. 71–73). Bastām could have abandoned his unfinished Arch at the moment of the pro-Christian triumph of Ḥusraw Parwīz.

4) But there are more astonishing arguments. Both Farhād and Bastām are in love with a woman, which is married by Ḥusraw Parwīz. And this is not enough. In the poetical Persian tradition this woman appears as the sister of a certain Bahrām too (Orsatti 2007. P. 159); as we know, it was the case of the wife of Bastām, an item of the complex inheritance of Bahrām Čübīn, that he unfortunately accepted without benefit of inventory. In another version of the poetical pastiche that was celebrated around the adventures of our heroes – a version that seems a complete, but regular and logical overturn – a Farhād/Ḥusraw, a painter who is the son of the Faġfūr, is dispossessed of his kingdom by his uncle (Orsatti 2007. P. 162). On the ties between Farhād and China and between Farhād and the Faġfūr, the mourning *kurdiyyāt* collected by Mokri are a meaningful evidence.<sup>29</sup>

5) The woman we are speaking of, married with due hesitation by Ḥusraw Parwīz, is the cause of the death of Farhād, just as she is the cause of the death of Bastām. The former was killed by her indirectly, the latter directly. But this happens, in both cases, to assure the triumph of Ḥusraw Parwīz. The bad reputation of the beautiful Širīn has been not denied, but only remitted by Firdawsī, in whose work the negative aspects of the woman are not

concealed. Nizāmī is more generous. It is a matter of point of view whether to consider her performance either positively or negatively. The doubling of images is quite expected in the whole of Persian poetry. Šīrīn/Kurdiyya could have been a perfidious witch (like the Fate itself) in the *Romanzo* of Farhād. In the late elaboration by Nizāmī and followers the unveiled assassin is absolved as such, but her vices are transferred to the hideous ‘*ajūz*’ (the Fate, again). She retains in twice her very virtues of inconsolable widow, but even in the climax of her despair, the desolate *pleureuse* of the *kurdiyyāt* fails to convince us that she is not a sophisticated *fravashi* of Lady Macbeth.

These are arguments – of increasing force in my opinion – for a possible identification of the *sipābbud* Farhād operating in Tāq-i Bustān and the *sipābbud* Bastām. To my mind, this is evident. I dare add that this is a discovery of an apparent truth. Ancient scholars instructed us on the existence of a Bahrām Čübīn *Romanzo*. Perhaps the Bastām *Romanzo* – suggested by Czeglédy as a sort of doubling of the same Bahrām Čübīn *Romanzo*<sup>30</sup> – is the basis of a Western-Iranian popular accommodation resulting, with its Armenian contaminations, in the story of Farhād. The chronicle of Iran related by Firdawsī is no less far from the historical truth, even when it concerns the Sasanian period, think of the story of Maryam, the alleged daughter of the Roman Emperor (Scarcia 2004).

Some possible and logical consequences of what I said in the domains of archaeology and history of art are out of reach for me as they require a technical talent I am far from possessing.

(G. S.)

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<sup>1</sup>The proceedings are titled *Royal Naurūz in Samarkand*. M. Compareti, É. de la Vaissière (eds.), Rome 2006.

<sup>2</sup>Trever 1933; 1938; 1964. We can refer now to the most recent “codifications of her earlier publications on this subject”, *i.e.*, Trever 2005, “submitted



- to Mr. Glucks in the late 1970s". Trever's "opacities" are "elucidated and clarified" – but newly discussed too – by Schmidt 2002, based mainly on Schmidt 1980. The above-mentioned words of the editor could represent an answer to the fact that Trever's theory on Sīmurǧ is considered obsolete nowadays. "Many scholars agreed with Schmidt about the connection of the creature identified as the *Senmorv* with the concept of *Kbwarnā*" (Compareti 2006. P. 186). At least – as Schmidt 2002 states, following R. Göbl – if it is "not an exclusively royal symbol", it is "a more general one of good fortune".
- <sup>3</sup> Russel 1987. P. 308–309, patronizes an internal development on the basis of an Armenian *siramarg* = peacock, starting from an original eagle. Cf. also Schmidt 2002.
- <sup>4</sup> Other representations are well known throughout Persian, Byzantine and Islamic world, from Afrāsyāb, through Moshhevaja Balka up to the Armenian city of Ani (Compareti 1997–1999) and maybe to "such a later date" as that of the smoking pipe of Perm (Trever 2005. P. 174–175).
- <sup>5</sup> We obviously mean the animal reproduced for instance in Belenitskii, Marshak 1981. P. 71. Fig. 34.
- <sup>6</sup> Ajello 1978. On the intriguing Armenian interest in Sasanian eastern affairs see also Herzfeld 1938. P. 152, 153; Scarcia 1980.
- <sup>7</sup> Ajello 1978. P. 315. It is better to speak of "no clear indications" given by sources, rather than "contradictions" as Schmidt 2002 does.
- <sup>8</sup> S.B.E. P. 182. Gignoux-Tafazzoli 1993. P. 52, 53 give us the transcription along with a translation of the above-mentioned passage, as follows: "(3.65) andar murwān dō jud-čīhrag be dād az abāriḡān ī ast Sēn murw ud šawāg kē dahān ud dandān dārēnd pas šīr ī az pestān parwarēnd baččagān" – "Parmi les oiseaux, il créa deux, de natures différentes entre autres, qui sont l'oiseau Sēn/le simory et les chauve-souris qui possèdent une bouche et des dents et nourrissent leurs petits avec le lait de leurs mamelles".
- <sup>9</sup> Bīrūnī, Qānūn: *maqāla* III, *bāb* XI (= Vol. I P. 258): [*Bābār-jašn* = 1<sup>st</sup> of *Ādar-māh*; see the *Table on the festivals of the Persians in Bīrūnī*, Qānūn: *maqāla* III, *bāb* XI (= Vol. I P. 260)]: "On that day – they say – appeared the Ḥurāsānḥurra and they were flying foxes existing in the times of the Kayanian kings and guaranteeing their happiness. They disappeared after their fall".
- <sup>10</sup> The ductus corresponds to that of the ancient Berlin ms. of al-Qānūn; see Taqīzāda 1978–1979. P. 306.
- <sup>11</sup> Chalidov 1953. P. 157–159 (text), 165–166 (translation).
- <sup>12</sup> Chalidov 1953. P. 158, reads *j.r.sān.j.ra* as it is in the Istanbul Ms. (جرسانجره), because in the St. Petersburg Ms. diacritical points are missing (see n. 10), but he adds an alternative defective reading of this word, *i.e.*, *h.r.sān.bra* (خرسانجره). The Russian translator of Taškent edition of the text – which integrated this point on the basis of St. Petersburg Ms. of *al-Āṭār al-bāqīya* – also reads *ḥursānjara*; see Bīrūnī, Pamjatniki. P. 237. Our reading (Ḥurāsānḥurra) corresponds to the ductus of the ancient Berlin ms. of *al-Qānūn*, see n. 17, and to the object of the *naqṣ* on the second royal seal of Ḥusraw Parwīz according to Mas'ūdī II, 228 (see Mas'ūdī Murūj. P. 320 Ar. Text; P. 243 French tr). Unfortunately Ar. *naqṣ* ("bild oder legende", see Herzfeld 1938. P. 157) is ambiguous. As far as I know, nobody observed that this word has a parallel in an anthroponyme, that appears as patronymic of the translator into Arabic of the Middle-Persian astrological work attributed to Zoroaster and titled *Kitāb al-mawālīd*, *i.e.*, Sa'īd ibn Ḥurāsānḥurra. This information is given in the introductory section of this Arabic work, preserved in Nurosmāniye Ms. 2800: ff. 236–250 and Escorial Ms. 939: ff. 18<sup>v</sup>-foll. (but see Sezgin 1967 VII. P. 86 on the presence in Tehran of other five mss.). As it results from the text the Iranian translator worked "for the Ispahbadh, Sunbadh, in the time of Abu Muslim; this would date the translation to the years between 747 and 754" (Pingree 1989. P. 234).
- <sup>13</sup> Our translation takes into consideration the above mentioned passage of *al-Qānūn al-mas'ūdī*, thus corresponding to the Sal'e's translation rather than the Chalidov's one. Cf. Bīrūnī. P. 237.
- <sup>14</sup> Bīrūnī, Chronology. P. 211.
- <sup>15</sup> Here we have "fox" and not "flying fox", but the equivalence is obvious in this contest. Cf. Bausani 1978. P. 318.
- <sup>16</sup> At this regard, it is to take in due consideration the fact that the passage on flying foxes is part of the section on the "Spring Festival" (Bahārjašn) of the 1st of Ādar. In this day the people celebrated the *kūsa barnīšm*, or *rukūb al-kūsay*, *i.e.*, the Iranian performance thematically corresponding to the Western *pharmakos*. The following passage by Bīrūnī (Chronology. P. 211) also demonstrates the clear *nawrīzī* character of that day: "Its most lucky hours are those during which Aries is the horoscope. People consider the hour of morning [see N. 18] as of good omen – I mean the cherm-mongers –

- and they maintain that everything that is mentioned during this hour exists absolutely. Besides they say that he who tastes a quince and smells an orange in the morning of this day before speaking will be happy during that same year”.
- <sup>17</sup> On the matter see Gnoli 1999; on the issue about the etymology of the term see also Gnoli 2006. P. 468.
- <sup>18</sup> This reading is accepted by Grenet 2003. P. 43 as well: “L’on à pu aller jusqu’à douter que le mot *narrag* fût bien celui écrit [...] mais l’on n’à rien pu proposer d’autre qui pût courir”. Contra Farahwašī P. 1976: 39. N. 2. See the text and the translation of the Kārnāmag 4.11 by Grenet 2003. P. 70–71. The Italian translation of the passage by Pagliaro 1927. P. 31–33, is as follows: “Ardavān preparò subito un esercito di 4000 uomini e mosse alla volta del Pārs dietro Ardashīr; quando fu mezzogiorno giunse in un luogo dove passava la via verso Pārs e chiese: ‘A che ora sono passati di qui quei due cavalieri?’. La gente rispose: ‘Stamani presto [see N. 16], al sorgere del sole, essi sono passati rapidi come il vento furioso. E dietro ad essi correva un ariete di eccezionale grandezza di cui uno più bello mai fu visto [...]’. Ardavān non si fermò ivi nemmeno un istante e continuò oltre di carriera, finché giunse in un altro luogo e chiese di nuovo alla gente: ‘A che ora son passati di qui due cavalieri?’ Anche di quelli la risposta fu: ‘A mezzogiorno sono passati rapidi come vento furioso. Con essi a paro correva un ariete’. Ad Ardavān sembrò cosa assai strana e disse: ‘Pensa bene, i due cavalieri noi sappiamo chi sono, ma questo ariete che cosa vuole essere?’. Interrogò in proposito il capo dei sacerdoti. E costui rispose: ‘Questa è la Gloria regale e ancora non si è unita a lui [...]’. Allora Ardavān continuò via rapidamente con i suoi cavalieri. Nel giorno successivo essi avevano coperto 70 parasanghe, quando s’incontrarono con una carovana. Ardavān chiese loro dove avessero incontrato i due cavalieri. La risposta fu: ‘Fra voi ed essi c’è ancora una distanza di 20 parasanghe. A noi sembrò che insieme con uno di quei cavalieri stesse a cavallo un ariete molto grande e forte’. Ardavān interrogò il sacerdote: ‘Quell’ariete che è con lui sul cavallo che cosa significa?’. E quegli rispose: ‘Siate immortale! La Maestà regale ha raggiunto Ardashīr; non c’è più mezzo d’impossessarsi di lui’”. For an English translation see Ettinghausen 1972. P. 42.
- <sup>19</sup> Omidasalar, Omidasalar 1995. P. 463. The “curious version” quoted by Omidasalar is part of a Persian work composed by Mir Maḥmūd Fuzūnī Astarābādī in the first half of the XVII sec. in India and titled *Kitāb-i mustaṭāb-i Buḥayra* (Tehran, lith. ed. by Maṭba‘a-yi ustād al-māhir Mirzā Amanullāh šawwāl 1328 / 1910). At P. 418, the court astronomer, explicating to Artabanus the meaning of the “flying dog” (*sag-i rawān*) following Ardashīr, states that in ancient times it was called *ḡurm-i šīyān!* About the Indo-Persian writer is possible to find some scarce information in Devare 1961. P. 318–324.
- <sup>20</sup> See an “anthological” attempt in the above quoted gloss to Firdawsī.
- <sup>21</sup> See for instance Alabiso 1994. P. 164. But see Swietochowski, Carboni, Harton 1994. P. 33, 71. Fig. 17, P. 82 Figs. 25–26, and cf. Asmussen 1990. P. 1–5. See also above N 4.
- <sup>22</sup> Cf. Compareti 2006. If – as stated by de Blois 1997. P. 638 – “il n’est pas autrement surprenant de voir le Sīmurgh de la mythologie iranienne amalgamé avec la ‘*ankā*’ arabe (“phénix” [cf. Herzfeld 1938. P. 152, regarding the numismatic “*pfauegreifen*” = “den ‘*ankā*’ des b. al-Faḡīh”]), voire avec Garuḍa, l’oiseau géant qui, dans la mythologie hindou transporte le dieu Viṣṇu”, we must remember that the ‘*ankā*’, the Western Phoenix, is a bird – exceptional, but a bird – and it is *mūḡrib* (i.e., *raptor*) like Zeus’ eagle and Aelian’s eagle (XII, 2) too in the case of Achaemenes’ rearing. Furthermore there is a typological connection between the couple Sīmurḡ-Zāl and the couple Phoenix-Aiōn. But what about Garuda in whose iconography appears something at least exceeding the canons of ornithology? The Iranian Phoenix named *samandar* for obvious igneous suggestions is even more exceeding: it is a kind of Pegasus, but the phonetic closeness to *samanda-salār* (a flying horse) is not to be forgotten in this case; see Scarcia 2003a.
- <sup>23</sup> See Lelekov 1978. P. 25–26. Meaningfully enough, the Russian scholar warpedly tries to demonstrate why the Russian Simargl is merely a bird – see Lelekov 1978. Fig. 6 – in spite of the claimed Iranian origin of its iconography. Paradoxically, such an object as the “Gnezdov plate” (Trevor 2005. P. 74, 75), testifying the presence of a Sīmurḡ in “the mythology of Upper-Dniepr”, is not typically Russian in Lelekov’s reconstruction.
- <sup>24</sup> See also Grenet 2005. About “Rostam’s tangential relationship to both the Iranian polity and its culture, and to the religion which became most strongly identified with Iran [...]” see Davis 2007.
- <sup>25</sup> Herzfeld 1938. P. 93, just observed that the supposed “Gartengrotte ist ein nur europäischer name”.

<sup>26</sup> *Mujmal al-tawārīḥ*. P. 77. N 3. Herzfeld 1938. P. 93, only observed that “der eigennamen des gegners Khusrau Parwēz’ [ist] ein merkwürdiger volkstümlicher name für das denkmal”. Cf. Herzfeld 1938. P. 98, about the alleged presence of Bahrām Čübīn, a Gegner par excellence.

<sup>27</sup> *Mujmal al-tawārīḥ*. P. 25. But see Moayyad 1999. P. 257, “The anonymous author of the *Mojmal al-tawārīḥ* *wa’l-geṣaṣ* [...] refers both to the Kayanian

Farhād [...] and the Farhād of *Ḳosrow Parwēz’* reign”.

<sup>28</sup> See Sebēos’ History, specially Chap. XXI and Chap. XXIII. See also Mokri 1995. P. 473, “O toi, descendant de Khākân de Chine [...] Pour moi tu as renoncé à la couronne royale, Pour moi tu as pris le chemin de l’Arménie”.

<sup>29</sup> See for instance Mokri 1995. P. 472–480.

<sup>30</sup> See N 28.

Симоне Кристофоретти и Жанроберто Скарчия

БЕСЕДЫ С Б. И. МАРШАКОМ О СИМУРГЕ И ТАКИ БУСТАНЕ

В статье суммируются выводы дискуссий, которую авторы вели с Борисом Ильичем Маршаком в Венеции: об иконографии фантастического животного, все еще именуемого Симургом, и о проблемах датировки комплекса в Таки Бустане. По первому вопросу мы согласились с тем фактом, что так называемый Симург К. В. Тревер не может соответствовать Симургу персидской традиции. Изначальная иранская иконография симурга остается неизвестной, и нет никаких оснований думать, что он не изображался просто как птица. Что касается второго вопроса, мы также сошлись на поздней датировке комплекса в Таки Бустане (несмотря на попытки исследователей выдвинуть более раннюю дату). Новой является гипотеза о том, что фигура Бастама, знаменитого дяди сасанидского шахиншаха Хосрова Парвиза, может быть скрыта в романтическом одеянии несчастного Фархада персидской литературы: в биографиях обеих персонажей имеются удивительные совпадения.

Djamal K. Mirzaakhmedov

ON THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GLAZED POTTERY OF TRANSOXIANA IN THE 9TH – EARLY 13TH CENTURIES

The work is based on pottery complexes collected on the main urban centers of present-day Uzbekistan (Samarkand, Bukhara, Kuva, Akhsikat and Paykend), with analysis and separation of the distinctive features of glaze-works from the 9th – early 13th centuries. The origin of its relation to the metal and wooden dishes is elucidated. The direction of changes in its stylistic features is defined, the growth of conservative trends from the 11th century onwards is expressed by simplification of decorative design, which is closely related to aftermath of “silver crisis”.

The gradual decline of economic situation is characterized by the loss of the population's purchasing power and, consequently, adaptation of production of ceramicists to the market demand, the reduction of quality and quantity of production.

As a whole the aftermath of the “silver crisis” which is evident in the spheres of pottery production, monetary system, as well as degradation of other branches of manufacture and economical activity, led to the impoverishment of the population of this land. In its turn, this process led to partial reversion to the natural economy, throughout ruralization of the overwhelming part of minor and medium-size towns. These tendencies mark the interruption of progressive character of social and economic development of Middle Asia in the named period and its gradual transformation into a new, but more conservative phase of development, the Late Mediaeval one, which lasted until the end of the 19th century.

Asan I. Torgoev

BELT DECORATION OF KARAKHANIDS (TOWARDS FORMULATION OF THE PROBLEM)

The metal decoration of leather belts is a typical feature of the culture of nomads of inner Eurasia. The Karakhanid kaganate, being, on the one side, a Muslim state in the 10th–12th centuries, and, on the other side, preserving Old Turkic traditions and nomadic lifestyle, developed its own type of belt decoration. However, it is by now hardly recognizable because there are no burials with artefacts coming from the Muslim Karakhanid population and because there are very few elements of belt decoration found in stratigraphic layers of the Karakhanid towns. However, there is a large amount of metal artefacts found accidentally in Semirechie, the Karakhanid Hinterland.

## ПРИНЯТЫЕ СОКРАЩЕНИЯ

|                |   |
|----------------|---|
| АВ             | Археологические вести. Санкт-Петербург  |
| АО             | Археологические открытия. Москва  |
| АРТ            | Археологические работы в Таджикистане. Душанбе  |
| Бюллетень САГУ | Бюллетень Среднеазиатского государственного университета. Ташкент                                   |
| ВДИ            | Вестник древней истории. Москва   |
| ЗВОРАО         | Записки восточного отделения Российского [императорского] археологического общества Санкт-Петербург |
| ЗИВ            | Записки Института востоковедения. Москва ; Ленинград  |
| ИАН            | Известия Академии наук. Москва  |
| ИАИАНА         | Историко-археологические исследования в Азове и на Нижнем Дону. Азов                                |
| ИМКУз          | История материальной культуры Узбекистана. Ташкент, Самарканд                                       |
| ИППО           | Императорское православное Палестинское общество  |
| КД             | кандидатская диссертация  |
| КСИА           | Краткие сообщения Института археологии. Москва  |
| КСИИМК         | Краткие сообщения Института истории материальной культуры   |
| МБАЭ           | Материалы Бухарской археологической экспедиции. Санкт-Петербург                                     |
| МИА            | Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР. Москва   |
| МИЦАИ          | Международный институт центральноазиатских исследований. Ташкент                                    |
| МНВО НАН       | Министерство наук и высшего образования. Национальная академия наук                                 |
| МОН РК         | Министерство образования и науки Республики Казахстан   |
| МПАЭ           | Материалы Пенджикентской археологической экспедиции. Санкт-Петербург                                |
| МХЭ            | Материалы Хорезмской экспедиции   |
| ОПИ ИА РАН     | Отдел полевых исследований Института археологии Российской академии наук. Москва                    |
| ПППИКНВ        | Письменные памятники и проблемы истории и культуры народов Востока. Ленинград                       |
| РА             | Российская археология. Москва   |

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| СА                    | Советская археология. Москва   |
| СГЭ                   | Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа. Ленинград (Санкт-Петербург)                       |
| СНВ                   | Страны и народы Востока. Москва  |
| СТ                    | Советская тюркология. Баку   |
| СЭ                    | Советская этнография. Москва   |
| ТА                    | Татарская археология. Казань   |
| ТАЭ                   | Туркестанская археологическая экспедиция   |
| ТИИАЭ                 | Труды Института истории, археологии и этнографии им. Ч. Ч. Валиханова. Алма-Ата        |
| Тр. ИИАЭ АН Тадж. ССР | Труды Института истории, археологии и этнографии Академии наук Таджикской ССР. Душанбе |
| ТХАЭЭ                 | Труды Хорезмской археолого-этнографической экспедиции                                  |
| ТЮТАКЭ                | Труды Южно-туркменской археологической комплексной экспедиции. Ашхабад                 |
| УСА                   | Успехи среднеазиатской археологии.   |
| ЭВ                    | Эпиграфика Востока. Москва ; Ленинград   |
| АbA                   | Artibus Asiae. Zurich  |
| AA                    | Arts Asiatiques. Paris   |
| AJA                   | American Journal of Archaeology.   |
| AJN                   | American Journal of Numismatics.   |
| AI                    | Acta Iranica. Tèhèran ; Liège  |
| AI <sub>s</sub>       | Ars Islamica. Michigan   |
| AM                    | Asia Major. London ; Taipei  |
| AMI(T)                | Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (und Turan). Berlin                               |
| AO                    | Acta Orientalia. København   |
| AOASH                 | Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest                             |
| AoF                   | Altorientalische Forschungen. Berlin   |
| АРАW                  | Abhandlungen der (königlich) Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin           |
| ArsO                  | Ars Orientalis. Michigan   |
| AWE                   | Ancient West & East. Leuven  |
| BAI                   | Bulletin of the Asia Institute. Bloomington  |
| BAR                   | Int. ser. British Archaeological Reports. International Series.                        |
| BBAWBA                | Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Berichte und Abhandlungen. Berlin |
| BGA                   | Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum. Ed. M. J. de Goeje. Leiden ; Brill                |
| BSL                   | Bulletin de la Société de linguistique. Paris.   |
| BSO(A)S               | Bulletin of the School of oriental (and African) Studies. London                       |
| BTT                   | Berliner Turfantexte. Berlin, Turnhout   |
| CAJ                   | Central Asiatic Journal. Wiesbaden   |
| CAr                   | Cahiers Archeologiques. Paris  |
| CESR                  | Central Eurasian Studies Review. Oxford, Ohio  |
| CII                   | Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. London  |
| CRAIBL                | Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Paris                 |
| DAFA                  | Délégation archeologique français en Afghanistan. Paris                                |

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|-------|---|
| DOP   | Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Washington   |
| EI    | The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition. Leiden                                     |
| EIr   | Encyclopaedia Iranica. NY etc.  |
| HdO   | Handbuch der Orientalistik. Leiden.   |
| IA    | Iranica Antiqua. Leuven.  |
| IF    | Indogermanische Forschungen. Berlin.  |
| IJ    | Indo-Iranian Journal. Leiden.   |
| IsA   | Islamic Art   |
| JA    | Journal Asiatique. Paris  |
| JAOS  | Journal of the American Oriental Society. New Haven etc.                            |
| JIAAA | Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology. London                                  |
| JRAS  | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. London  |
| LCI   | Lexicon der christlichen Ikonographie. Freiburg im Breisgau<br>u.a. Mesopotamia     |
| MsOr  | Manuscripta Orientalia. St.-Petersburg ; Helsinki                                   |
| MSS   | Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft. München                                   |
| RSO   | Rivista degli Studi Orientali. Roma   |
| SOR   | Serie Orientale Roma  |
| SPAW  | Sitzungsberichte der (königlich) Preußischen Akademie<br>der Wissenschaften. Berlin |
| SRAA  | Silk Road Art and Archaeology. Kamakura   |
| StIr  | Studia Iranica. Leiden. Syria   |
| TPhS  | Transactions of the Philological Society. London                                    |
| ZaS   | Zentralasiatische Studien. Bonn   |
| ZfA   | Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. Berlin  |
| ZII   | Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik. Leipzig                                    |
| BL    | British Library   |
| TKS   | Topkapı Saray Müzesi/Kitapxanesi  |

## СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Предисловие   | 7   |
| <span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Олег Грабарь</span><br>[ПИСЬМО К ОРГАНИЗАТОРАМ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ]      | 9   |
| Дополнения к библиографии Б. И. Маршака   | 10  |
| Франц Грене, Клод Рапен ( <i>Париж</i> )<br>ФОРМАЦИОННЫЕ ЭТАПЫ СОГДИЙСКОЙ КУЛЬТУРЫ                                    | 13  |
| С. Б. Болелов ( <i>Москва</i> )<br>РЕМЕСЛО ДРЕВНЕГО ХОРЕЗМА НА РАННИХ ЭТАПАХ РАЗВИТИЯ<br>ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОСТИ            | 29  |
| Элеонора Паппалардо ( <i>Турин</i> )<br>РИТОНЫ ИЗ СЛОНОВОЙ КОСТИ ИЗ СТАРОЙ НИСЫ.<br>ЗАМЕТКИ ПО МЕТОДОЛОГИИ            | 45  |
| Карло Липполис ( <i>Турин</i> )<br>«ТЕМНЫЙ ПЕРИОД» СТАРОЙ НИСЫ:<br>ПОЗДНЕПАРФЯНСКИЕ СЛОИ В МИХРДАТКИРТЕ?              | 60  |
| В. А. Лившиц ( <i>Санкт-Петербург</i> )<br>ПАРФЯНСКИЕ ШУТНИКИ   | 71  |
| Николас Симс-Уильямс ( <i>Кембридж</i> )<br>«ВИХАРА ПРАВИТЕЛЯ» В КАРА-ТЕПЕ  | 77  |
| А. Н. Подушкин ( <i>Чимкент</i> )<br>ЭПИГРАФИЧЕСКИЕ АРТЕФАКТЫ ГОРОДИЩА КУЛЬТОВЕ                                       | 82  |
| Е. А. Смагулов ( <i>Туркестан</i> )<br>КУЛЬТОВЫЕ ПОСТРОЙКИ ХРАМОВОГО КОМПЛЕКСА НА ГОРОДИЩЕ<br>СИДАК (ЮЖНЫЙ КАЗАХСТАН) | 96  |
| Джудит А. Лернер ( <i>Нью-Йорк</i> )<br>ИДУ: КИТАЙСКО-СОГДИЙСКАЯ ГРОБНИЦА?  | 129 |



## CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Preface   | 7   |
| <u>Oleg Grabar</u><br>[A LETTER TO THE ORGANIZERS OF THE CONFERENCE]  | 9   |
| Additions to Boris Marshak's Bibliography   | 10  |
| Frantz Grenet, Claude Rapin ( <i>Paris</i> )<br>THE FORMATIVE PERIODS OF THE SOGDIAN CULTURE  | 13  |
| Sergey B. Bolelov ( <i>Moscow</i> )<br>CRAFTSMANSHIP OF ANCIENT KHOREZM IN THE EARLY STAGES<br>OF THE FORMATION OF THE STATE                | 29  |
| Eleonora Pappalardo ( <i>Turin</i> )<br>IVORY RHYTONS FROM OLD NISA.<br>METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS  | 45  |
| Carlo Lippolis ( <i>Turin</i> )<br>THE "DARK AGE" OF OLD NISA:<br>LATE PARTHIAN LEVELS IN MIHRDATKIRT?                                      | 60  |
| Vladimir A. Livshits ( <i>St. Petersburg</i> )<br>PARTHIAN JOKERS   | 71  |
| Nicholas Sims-Williams ( <i>Cambridge</i> )<br>THE "LORD'S VIHĀRA" AT KARA-TEPE   | 77  |
| Alexander N. Podushkin ( <i>Chimkent</i> )<br>EPIGRAPHIC ARTEFACTS FROM THE SITE OF KULTOBE   | 82  |
| Jerbulat A. Smagulov ( <i>Turkestan</i> )<br>RELIGIOUS STRUCTURES OF THE TEMPLE COMPLEX IN THE SETTLEMENT<br>OF SIDAK (SOUTHERN KAZAKHSTAN) | 96  |
| Judith A. Lerner ( <i>New York</i> )<br>YIDU: A SINO-SOGDIAN TOMB?  | 129 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>В. Г. Шкода</b> ( <i>Санкт-Петербург</i> )<br>Б. И. МАРШАК И ЖИВОПИСЬ ПЕНДЖИКЕНТА (МЕТОД ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЯ)  | 147 |
| Л. Ю. Кулакова ( <i>Санкт-Петербург</i> )<br>РОСПИСИ ПАРАДНОГО ЗАЛА XXI ОБЪЕКТА<br>ДРЕВНЕГО ПЕНДЖИКЕНТА   | 159 |
| Маттео Компарети ( <i>Венеция</i> )<br>КОРОНАЦИЯ И НАВРУЗ: К ВОПРОСУ О РЕКОНСТРУКЦИИ УТРАЧЕННОГО<br>ИЗОБРАЖЕНИЯ ЦАРЯ НА РОСПИСИ ИЗ АФРАСИАБА              | 174 |
| М. К. Ахмедов ( <i>Самарканд</i> )<br>РАННЕСРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫЙ «ДОМ ВИНА» НА АФРАСИАБЕ  | 190 |
| Т. Г. Цветкова ( <i>Москва</i> )<br>РЕЗЬБА ПО ГАНЧУ В ДЕКОРЕ ДВОРЦА ВАРАХШИ: МОТИВЫ,<br>КОМПОЗИЦИОННЫЕ ПРИЕМЫ И ЖИВОПИСНЫЕ ТРАДИЦИИ                       | 196 |
| Ютака Ёсида ( <i>Киото</i> )<br>ГЕРОИ ШАХНАМЕ В ТУРФАНСКОМ СОГДИЙСКОМ ТЕКСТЕ.<br>СОГДИЙСКИЙ ФРАГМЕНТ ИЗ КОЛЛЕКЦИИ ОТАНИ В ЛУШУНЕ                          | 201 |
| П. Б. Лурье ( <i>Санкт-Петербург</i> )<br>О СЛЕДАХ МАНИХЕИЗМА В СРЕДНЕЙ АЗИИ  | 219 |
| Стефано Пелло ( <i>Венеция</i> )<br>БУМАЖНЫЙ ХРАМ: АРЖАНГ МАНИ В ПЕРСИДСКОЙ ЛЕКСИКОГРАФИИ<br>И ВОКРУГ НЕЕ   | 252 |
| И. А. Кызласов ( <i>Москва</i> )<br>ЕНИСЕЙСКАЯ РУНИЧЕСКАЯ НАДПИСЬ С ИРАНСКИМ ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЕМ   | 266 |
| Ю. А. Пятницкий ( <i>Санкт-Петербург</i> )<br>ГОЛГОФА И ЧЕТЫРЕ РАЙСКИЕ РЕКИ: НОВОЕ СЕРЕБРЯНОЕ<br>ВИЗАНТИЙСКОЕ БЛЮДО НАЧАЛА VI ВЕКА<br>В СОБРАНИИ ЭРМИТАЖА | 295 |
| В. Н. Залеская ( <i>Санкт-Петербург</i> )<br>К ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИИ СЮЖЕТА НА НЕСТОРИАНСКОМ ДИСКОСЕ<br>ИЗ СЕЛА ГРИГОРОВСКОЕ                                      | 331 |
| Симоне Кристофоретти и Джанроберто Скарчия ( <i>Венеция</i> )<br>БЕСЕДЫ С Б. И. МАРШАКОМ О СИМУРГЕ И ТАКИ БУСТАНЕ   | 339 |
| Д. К. Мирзаахмедов ( <i>Самарканд</i> )<br>К СОЦИАЛЬНО-ЭКОНОМИЧЕСКИМ ФАКТОРАМ РАЗВИТИЯ<br>ГЛАЗУРОВАННОЙ КЕРАМИКИ МАВЕРАННАХРА IX – НАЧАЛА XIII В.         | 353 |
| А. И. Торгоев ( <i>Санкт-Петербург</i> )<br>УКРАШЕНИЯ КАРАХАНИДОВ<br>(К постановке проблемы)  | 376 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Valentin G. Shkoda ( <i>St. Petersburg</i> )<br>BORIS MARSHAK AND PANJIKENT PAINTING (RESEARCHER'S METHOD)  | 147 |
| Larisa Ju. Kulakova ( <i>St. Petersburg</i> )<br>MURALS OF THE CEREMONIAL HALL OF THE SECTOR XXI<br>OF ANCIENT PANJIKENT  | 159 |
| Matteo Compareti ( <i>Venice</i> )<br>CORONATION AND <i>NAWRUZ</i> : A NOTE<br>ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MISSING KING AT AFRĀSYĀB  | 174 |
| Mukhammad K. Akhmedov ( <i>Samarkand</i> )<br>EARLY MEDIAEVAL "HOUSE OF WINE" ON AFRASIAB   | 190 |
| Tatyana G. Tsvetkova ( <i>Moscow</i> )<br>GUNCH CARVING IN THE VARAKHSHA PALACE DÉCOR: MOTIFS,<br>COMPOSITIONS AND PAINTING TRADITIONS  | 196 |
| Yutaka Yoshida ( <i>Kyoto</i> )<br>HEROES OF THE <i>SHAHNAMA</i> IN A TURFAN SOGDIAN TEXT.<br>A SOGDIAN FRAGMENT FOUND IN THE LUSHUN OTANI COLLECTION                                   | 201 |
| Pavel B. Lurje ( <i>St. Petersburg</i> )<br>ON THE TRACES OF MANICHAËISM IN MIDDLE ASIA   | 219 |
| Stefano Pellò ( <i>Venice</i> )<br>A PAPER TEMPLE: MANI'S <i>ARZHANG</i> IN AND AROUND PERSIAN<br>LEXICOGRAPHY  | 252 |
| Igor L. Kyzlasov ( <i>Moscow</i> )<br>A JENISSEAN RUNIC INSCRIPTION WITH AN IRANIAN LOAN-WORD   | 266 |
| Yury A. Pyatnitsky ( <i>St. Petersburg</i> )<br>GOLGOTHA AND FOUR HEAVENLY RIVERS: A NEW BYZANTINE SILVER<br>PLATE OF THE EARLY 6TH CENTURY IN THE COLLECTION<br>OF THE STATE HERMITAGE | 295 |
| Vera N. Zalesskaya ( <i>St. Petersburg</i> )<br>SOME ADDITIONS TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SUBJECT<br>OF THE NESTORIAN PATEN FROM THE VILLAGE GRIGOROVSKOE                             | 331 |
| Simone Cristoforetti and Gianroberto Scarcia ( <i>Venice</i> )<br>TALKING ABOUT SĪMURĠ AND TĀQ-I BUSTĀN WITH BORIS I. MARSHAK   | 339 |
| Djamal K. Mirzaakhmedov ( <i>Samarkand</i> )<br>ON THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE<br>GLAZED POTTERY OF TRANSOXIANA IN THE 9TH – EARLY 13TH CENTURIES         | 353 |
| Asan I. Torgoev ( <i>St. Petersburg</i> )<br>BELT DECORATION OF KARAKHANIDS<br>(Towards Formulation of the Problem)   | 376 |

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|  |     |
|--|-----|
| А. А. Иванов ( <i>Санкт-Петербург</i> )<br>ТАИНСТВЕННЫЙ МАСТЕР МУХАММАД-АЛИ ИНАЙАТОН   | 402 |
| Е. А. Армарчук ( <i>Москва</i> )<br>ДЕКОРАТИВНЫЕ НАДГРОБИЯ ХОРЕЗМА И ЗОЛОТОЙ ОРДЫ  | 408 |
| Эрнст Й. Грубе ( <i>Лондон</i> )<br>НЕСКОЛЬКО ЗАМЕЧАНИЙ О ПРОДОЛЖИТЕЛЬНОСТИ БЫТОВАНИЯ<br>СОГДИЙСКОЙ ИКОНОГРАФИИ В МУСУЛЬМАНСКОМ МИРЕ | 431 |
| Элеанор Симс ( <i>Лондон</i> )<br>РУКОПИСЬ «ШАХНАМЕ» СТЕФЕНС ВРЕМЕНИ ИНДЖУ. МЫСЛИ НОВОГО<br>ТЫСЯЧЕЛЕТИЯ И ДАНЬ Б. И. МАРШАКУ         | 450 |
| Антонио Панаино ( <i>Равенна</i> )<br>ИТАЛЬЯНСКАЯ НАУЧНАЯ ЭКСПЕДИЦИЯ В ТАДЖИКИСТАН:<br>СИТУАЦИЯ В ДОЛИНЕ ЯГНОБА                      | 461 |
| Паоло Оньибене ( <i>Балонья</i> )<br>ИТАЛЬЯНСКАЯ НАУЧНАЯ ЭКСПЕДИЦИЯ В ТАДЖИКИСТАНЕ   | 477 |
| Резюме   | 481 |
| Принятые сокращения  | 495 |

CONTENTS

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|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Anatoliy A. Ivanov ( <i>St. Petersburg</i> )<br>THE MYSTERIOUS CRAFTSMAN MUHAMMAD-'ALI INOYATON  | 402 |
| Ekaterina A. Armarchuk ( <i>Moscow</i> )<br>DECORATIVE GRAVESTONES OF KHOREZM AND THE GOLDEN HORDE   | 408 |
| Ernst J. Grube ( <i>London</i> )<br>SOME THOUGHTS ON THE LONGEVITY OF SOGDIAN ICONOGRAPHY<br>IN THE MUSLIM WORLD                                   | 431 |
| Eleanor Sims ( <i>London</i> )<br>THE STEPHENS' <i>INJU SHAHNAMA</i> MANUSCRIPT: MILLENNIAL THOUGHTS<br>AND A TRIBUTE TO THE LATE BORIS I. MARSHAK | 450 |
| Antonio Panaino ( <i>Ravenna</i> )<br>THE ITALIAN SCIENTIFIC MISSION IN TAJIKISTAN. THE CASE<br>OF THE YAGNOB VALLEY                               | 461 |
| Paolo Ognibene ( <i>Bologna</i> )<br>ITALIAN SCIENTIFIC MISSION IN TAJIKISTAN  | 477 |
| Summaries  | 481 |
| Abbreviations  | 495 |

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