

UNIVERSITÀ CA' FOSCARI VENEZIA
DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI EURASIATICI

Matteo Compareti - Simone Cristoforetti

**New Elements on the Chinese Scene
in the “Hall of the Ambassadors” at Afrāsyāb
along with
a reconsideration of “Zoroastrian” Calendar**

Matteo Compareti, Simone Cristoforetti, *New Elements on the Chinese Scene in the
“Hall of the Ambassadors” at Afrāsyāb along with a reconsideration
of “Zoroastrian” Calendar*

ISBN: 978-88-7543-158-7

Cover: photo by Gianluca Bonora (Panjakand Museum)

© Università Ca' Foscari Venezia
First edition: Venice, June 2007

Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina
Ca' Foscari, Dorsoduro 3259, 30123 Venezia
www.cafoscarina.it

All rights reserved.

Printed in Italy by Selecta SpA - Milano

CONTENTS

MATTEO COMPARETI

The paintings concerning Chinese themes at Afrāsyāb

<i>The Two Scenes on the Northern Wall</i>	13
<i>The Hunting Scene</i>	14
<i>The Aquatic Scene</i>	21
<i>Appendix. The Eastern Wall</i>	23
Captions for the figures	27

SIMONE CRISTOFORETTI

The “Hall of the Ambassadors” paintings in the frame of the calendrical systems of the Iranian world

<i>Farwardgān and Andargāh</i>	39
<i>The “kabīsa of the Persians”</i>	45
<i>The 5-day discrepancy between the ‘internal’ and ‘peripheral’ form of the Iranian calendar</i>	54
<i>The Summer Nawrūz</i>	58
<i>The Chinese sources</i>	62
Abbreviations used in the text	72
Literature	73

Undoubtedly, the hypothesis advanced some time ago by Ch. Silvi Antonini and B. I. Marshak¹, who recognize in the painting on the Western Wall the depiction of a royal Nawrūz, had a strong impact on our reading of the Northern Wall of the “Hall of the Ambassadors” at Afrāsyāb recently presented in St. Petersburg²: a not too incautious reading since in both cases Summer solstice festivities have been identified. Moreover, our reading clearly reinforces Silvi Antonini and Marshak’s opinion; but it is worth noting too that our identification in the light of the Dragon Boats Festival (or Duanwu jie 端午节) was quite plausible even on the mere basis of a careful consideration of the very features and formal elements of the scene in question.

It is beyond the aim of the present paper to discuss this festival once more, particularly due to the conference dedicated to Afrāsyāb held in Venice where M. Compareti discussed additional elements pointing out a mixture of different Chinese festivities superimposed by the Sogdian artist, all having characteristics originating in New Year’s celebrations³.

Here the writers intend

- 1) to cover some of the notable points dealing with the pictures in question at the iconographic level (Part I by Matteo Compareti);
- 2) to supply additional elements which support the thesis proposed in St. Petersburg based on a connection of the pictures in question with Nawrūz and the Summer solstice. In order to do so, it is helpful to attempt to shed more light on the complexities of the Iranian calendrical systems (Part II by Simone Cristoforetti).

¹ Silvi Antonini, 1989; Marshak, 1994.

² Compareti, Cristoforetti, 2005.

³ Compareti, 2006.a.

The paintings concerning Chinese themes at Afrāsyāb

by Matteo Compareti

Sino-Sogdian relationships are an historical fact attested to in Chinese chronicles and, less explicitly, in Sogdian sources as well. Important documents such as the so-called Sogdian Ancient Letters prove that, already in the beginning of 4th century CE, this Eastern Iranian people was present and had many representatives on Chinese soil, mainly for reasons connected with trade.

In the 6th century, during a period of territorial disunity in the Heavenly Kingdom, Sogdians worked in service of the Chinese “national” and “barbaric” dynasties and in many cases had important roles at court as ministers and translators. The discovery of several graves belonging to Sogdian dignitaries recently excavated in the area around Xi’an clearly supports such a view. The territorial unification achieved by the Sui and the Tang dynasties favoured the foreigner communities living within the boundaries of the Chinese empire and the Sogdians especially were able to maintain their positions at court. Famous artists of Sogdian origins are often mentioned in Chinese sources of this period but they recur also as traders, translators and soldiers. The exoticisms imported in China in all probability by the Sogdians were highly appreciated at court: in 605 the Sui Emperor Yangdi (604-618) even ordered He Chou, a man native of Kušanya (a region between Samarkand and Bukhara), as head of an imperial manufacture where precious brocades and architectural decoration were produced according to Iranian taste⁴. During the Tang period, until slightly after the middle of the 8th century, the power of the Sogdians living in China reached

⁴ It is not clear whether He Chou was actually born in Kušanya or simply his family hailed from that region of Sogdiana: de la Vaissière, Trombert, 2004: 941-942.

its apex: the most representative evidence is the rebellion of the Turco-Sogdian general An Lushan, which nearly caused the demise of the Tang Dynasty.

On the other hand, the knowledge that the Sogdians had about the Chinese can be traced in local arts (particularly paintings) and numismatic pieces and (less evident) also in literary sources and religious habits (mostly referred to Buddhism). As E. Kageyama has argued in an interesting study⁵, the Sogdians also had knowledge of Chinese art which was adopted at Afrāsyāb as well and more could be said on this point.

The analysis of the Sogdian paintings at Afrāsyāb had revealed since the beginning of the nineties of the last century the presence of several figures identifiable as members of the Chinese aristocracy among whom the Tang Emperor himself in one part of the Northern Wall and the Empress in the other. The mural paintings at Afrāsyāb were discovered by chance in 1965 but the first study of the scene depicted therein was published by L. Al'baum ten years later. The Russian scholar was also the first to call the room where the main scenes were recovered, the "Hall of the Ambassadors". Such a name was chosen because in the Western Wall several representatives of Asiatic countries in contact with Sogdiana are reproduced in procession and directed towards a main figure which was not preserved (most likely a sovereign or a divinity or, as argued by Markus Mode, two sovereigns).

Some fragmentary inscriptions on the same Western Wall report the episode of the visit by a delegation from Čaghanyān (a part of Bactria-Tokharistan) and Čāč to Samarkand in order to pay homage to the local king Varkhuman. It is not possible to establish exactly when the Sogdian inscriptions at Afrāsyāb were written and, consequently, if they are contemporary or subsequent to the paintings⁶. In any case, the name of the king of Samarkand has fortunately been preserved in more than one inscription on the Western Wall. The name of this king was preserved also in Chinese sources referring to the early Tang period. According to the *Jiu Tangshu* (composed in 945) and to the *Tangshu* (or *Xin Tangshu*, composed in 1061), the Chinese emperor Gao zong (649-683)

“fit de ce territoire le Gouvernement de K'ang-kiu (Kangju) et donna le titre de gouverneur au roi de ce pays, *Fou-hou-man*”⁷ (Fuhuman, a Chinese transcription for Varkhuman).

⁵ Kageyama, 2002.

⁶ For new recent information see Livshits, 2006.

⁷ Chavannes, 1903: 135.

This episode occurred in the period corresponding to 650-655, that is to say, when the Western Turkish Qaghanate—including Central Asia and Transoxiana as well—was still in existence. The Chinese chronicles do not specify when Fuhuman died, however Naršaḥī wrote that when Saʿīd ibn ʿUṭmān ibn ʿAffān conquered Samarkand in 676, he did not find any king there. So it is possible to suppose that Varkhuman was already dead or had been deposed before 676 (or in that very year)⁸.

At the time of the Arab conquest, Samarkand and the rest of Sogdiana were supposed to have been under Tang jurisdiction and for this reason there are paintings at Afrāsyāb which can be identified as scenes of the Chinese court. According to an interpretation accepted by nearly every scholar of Sogdian art, on the Western Wall there is a depiction of the Iranian New Year's Festival (Nawrūz). Some other aspects of this festival are depicted on the Southern Wall, and an important personality (most likely the same sovereign) is represented larger in size paying homage to the temple of his ancestors, a practice possibly traceable to an Iranian custom performed on the occasion of Nawrūz. Finally, on the Eastern Wall we find a problematic scene probably connected with India which was preserved in a very fragmentary state. According to very recent hypotheses, also on the Eastern Wall there is evidence of the interest that the Sogdians had for astrological-astronomical matters⁹.

In the last few years, several papers have been published on this subject and the study of the whole composition of the Hall of the Ambassadors would merit a work devoted to this;¹⁰ the first part of the present study will focus only on some features of the “Chinese scenes” on the Northern Wall.

The Two Scenes on the Northern Wall

As already observed above, the scene represented on the Northern Wall can be divided in two parts: the one on the right is dominated by the massive figure of the Chinese Emperor hunting on horse (fig. 1), while the one on the left has its focus in the person of the Empress represented in a boat (fig. 2). The painting has commonly been referred to as a generic reproduction of the activities performed at the Tang court. The hunt was an activity in keeping

⁸ Cf. Naršaḥī, *Taʿrīḥ*: 37 (48); Frye, 1954: 40; Smirnova, 1970: 275.

⁹ Grenet, 2003. See Appendix.

¹⁰ On the most recent collection of studies on the Afrāsyāb paintings, see: Royal Nawrūz in Samarkand. Proceedings of the Conference held in Venice on the Pre-Islamic Painting Afrāsyāb, eds. M. Compareti and É. de la Vaissière, Rome, 2006.

with the Chinese Emperor who in some ways, could have been considered an Iranian sovereign as well since he was officially the regent of Sogdiana. On the other hand the section on the left was considered to be a scene representing the pleasant activities of Tang ladies depicting racing in the rivers or lakes while listening to musicians.

This identification is correct but the analysis of some Chinese sources could give rise to a more precise one. Unfortunately, in the arts of the Tang period there are no depictions which could constitute an exact parallel to the paintings of the Northern Wall at Afrāsyāb and the only other sources (already considered by the present writer in a recent study¹¹) are all dated to the Han period (207 BCE- 220 CE).

The Hunting Scene

In Tang funerary paintings there are also depictions of hunts which could have had an Iranian source of inspiration (probably an imported metalwork or a textile) or they could have been executed by one of the celebrated Central Asian artists active at the Tang court¹². As is well-known, the Chinese imported many luxury goods from Persia and Central Asia. Subjects such as a hunter riding a horse and shooting an animal (a wild boar, deer or lion in particular) in the position commonly known as the “Parthian shot at flying gallop” were among the favored ones by the Sasanians and the Sogdians definitely appreciated hunting scenes.

An interesting reconsideration of the origin of the “Parthian shot at flying gallop” posture has been recently advanced by C. Lo Muzio, who observed that the motif was probably borrowed in Sasanian art from Central Asia (and not *vice versa*) and it has been rooted in far eastern art since very ancient times¹³. Moreover, the position of the “Parthian shot” in Chinese art seems to mirror local formulae not necessarily borrowed from Iranian culture¹⁴. However, such an observation does not exclude the possibility that the

¹¹ Compareti, 2006.a: 173-180. According to the sources, the hunting performed by the Chinese Emperor took place in winter. On this point see: Bodde, 1975: 349-359.

¹² Sirén, 1956: 68-77.

¹³ Lo Muzio, 2003: 529-533. In this sense it is interesting to consider the hunting scenes at Ṭāq-i Bustān which represent an unicum in (late) Sasanian art and where several Central Asian elements appear. In a recent article it was proposed that the hunts represented at Ṭāq-i Bustān were intended to be officed for Cosroe's *fravaši*: Heidari, 2002. A few hundred meters from the same site it is possible to observe the remains of a real enclosure dated to the late Sasanian period. I wish to thank Dr. Siyāmak Khavidi of the Mīrāt-i Farhangī at Ṭāq-i Bustān for providing me with a good map of such remains.

¹⁴ Takeuchi, 2004: 38.

Chinese considered the “Parthian shot” more appropriate for “barbarians” (*hu*), as it is quite clearly expressed in an inscription from the 2nd century Han tomb of Cangshan, in Shandong Province. The inscription describes, in a poetical manner, the presence of a “barbarian drawing his cross-bow” in the top left corner of a mural relief representing a procession of nobles crossing a bridge on horses and chariots¹⁵. It is significant that the barbarian in question has a beard, a pointed cap, and is represented in the position of the “Parthian shot at flying gallop” while all the other horses are depicted in a more naturalistic posture (fig. 3). Between the Han and the Tang dynasties, Chinese tombs were mainly embellished with themes proper of Confucian thought. As J. Lerner observed, hunting scenes continued to be among the preferred representations on the coffins and funerary beds of the foreigners living in China¹⁶. The same search for exoticism in Han art can be noted in a Tang funerary painting from the tomb of Li Shou (577-630), in Shaanxi Province, where, however, the hunter represented in the “Parthian shot at flying gallop” is now Chinese (fig. 4)¹⁷ exactly as in the paintings of the Northern Wall at Afrāsyāb.

Not many other specimens of Tang painting constitute a parallel for the Chinese themes at Afrāsyāb. Some Tang graves have a pictorial decoration clearly alluding to hunts with depictions of attendants with falcons, hounds and cheetahs, but the hunt itself is not reproduced¹⁸. An interesting painted hunting scene represented in a very elementary manner has been recently found at Astana grave 04TAM408, which can be dated to the early Tang period¹⁹. The only hunter in this painting is reproduced in the top left corner of the scene wearing a pointed cap and with a long spear in his hands. He could be identified as a warrior was it not for the dog and a horned animal beneath the horse; the camel and the man lifting the water from a well are

¹⁵ Wu, 1998: 22.

¹⁶ Lerner, 2005: 15-16.

¹⁷ Interestingly enough, hunting scenes appear only in Tang tombs belonging to male members of upper classes: Zhang, 1995: figs. 1, 105-113. The common scenes observed in funerary paintings belonging to female people comprise processions of attendants and, in some case, soldiers but in none is there a depiction of a hunt: Zhang, 1995; Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, 1997; Zhou, 2002. Some Chinese funerary statuettes (*mingqi*) of the Tang period represent also figures who can be recognized as particular female hunters with an animal on the back of the horse, most likely a cheetah: Department for the History of China's Ancient Societies, 1998: col. pl. between pp. 188-89.

¹⁸ Fong, 1984: figs. 11-15; Karetzky, 1984: figs. 2-5. See also: Acker, 1974: 214, 217, 247.+

¹⁹ Administration of Cultural Heritage of Turfan Prefecture, 2004: fig. 1. The present author had the occasion to personally visit the grave during the Second Conference on Turfan Studies held in Turfan between August 25th-30th 2005. The chronology has been established by the excavators on the basis of the recovery of Tang coins.

clearly part of another scene represented in front of him (fig. 5). The composition does not seem to owe much to Iranian hunting scenes, however it could hardly be considered a specimen of Chinese art. Astana is in fact situated in a territory corresponding to modern Xinjiang Province which, even if under direct Tang control since 640, was inhabited by non-Han peoples like Tokharians, Iranians (mostly Sogdians) and Turks. The Chinese living there were considered to be influenced by “barbarian” habits²⁰.

At this point of our research, it is extremely difficult to say if the painting at Afrāsyāb is a faithful depiction of a Chinese hunt of the Tang period or if it is merely a Chinese hunt represented according to Iranian taste. In the event of a copy from a Chinese painting, there is the possibility that the Sogdian artists copied a scroll representing the Emperor Taizong (630-649) hunting according to the “barbaric style”. The ministers of Taizong, in fact, were scandalized by the “barbaric” attitude of their Emperor too inclined to participate in frequent imperial hunts²¹ but most likely the object of the scandal was his way of riding the horse and not the hunt itself which had been performed in the Shanglin Imperial Park since the Han period. In Chinese art of the Han period, possible depictions of such hunts can be observed in some funerary reliefs where the most important figures are represented as larger in size and normally riding a chariot²². A Han funerary relief with the depiction of a group of hunters on horseback in the act of killing animals has been recovered at Mizhi (Shaanxi Province)²³. The scene reveals a curious resemblance with the paintings of the Northern Wall at Afrāsyāb, especially due to the presence of the central figure of a hunter represented in the act of piercing a large feline with a spear (fig. 6). Unfortunately, in Tang art nothing similar exists and the chronology of the Mizhi grave (early 2nd century) does not allow us to establish any direct parallel with the Afrāsyāb paintings.

In none of these mentioned cases was the occupant of the grave a Han Emperor and it is not clear if he was ever admitted to participate to any imperial hunt. It is probable in fact that the deceased never participated in the hunts personally but merely desired a representation which recalled his status as a member of the upper class. This kind of depiction has a clear parallel in the depiction of imperial hunts in Sasanian art. In fact, several

²⁰ Zhang, Rong (1998): 16, 19-20.

²¹ Marshak, 2004: 47. In this way, the hunting scene at Afrāsyāb could be considered as the result of a Sogdian artist who copied a Chinese painting which was based on an Iranian (or Turkish) prototype!

²² Compareti, 2006.a; Compareti, 2005.

²³ Jiang, Yang, 2003: 49, fig. 5.

metalworks executed according to Sasanian canons (but identified as goods intended for the peripheral nobility) continued to be produced after the fall of that Persian Dynasty²⁴.

As there is mention of the hunts of Taizong in Chinese sources it may be that at least during the early Tang period, some kind of hunt was still performed at court or there was a renewed interest for ancient habits, possibly due to the influence of the *hu*. The nature of the hunts performed by the Chinese Emperor is not clear but they do not seem to have had a religious connotation: as B. Marshak suggested, they could have had just a social value, a sort of obligation of Taizong regarding his Central Asian subjects (and in fact their execution attracted Taizong's ministers' criticism)²⁵. Some details of the imperial hunt at Afrāsyāb mirror formulae easily comprehensible by both Iranian and Chinese spectators. The position of the "flying gallop" has already been considered but there is another interesting element in this painting: the double representation of the animal pierced by the spear of the Chinese Emperor and dead beneath the horse. This is a well-known and well tested formula in Sasanian art where it referred to the infallibility of the Persian king beloved by the gods²⁶. However, the feline beneath the figure of the Chinese Emperor is smaller than the one in front of him possibly because it was not intended to be the same animal doubled as an inseparable part of that specific image. In Afrāsyāb, the spirit of the composition does not reflect that of a Sasanian hunting scene where even the position of the dead animals in many cases reflects a kind of established iconography expressing solemnity. The large felines in particular are reproduced too realistically and the one fallen does not seem to be dead but rather writhing in a deadly agony. This could be another hint that there existed an original Chinese model copied by the Sogdians.

As is reported in some Han poems, the "barbarians" also participated in the hunts²⁷. If the non-Han people had the permission to take part in the imperial hunt also during the early Tang period, then the Sogdians (who were clearly called *hu*, "barbarians", in Chinese literature²⁸) could also have been among them. The funerary monuments belonging to Sogdians found in the region of Xi'an reveal several representations of hunts

²⁴ Marschak, 1986: figs. 29, 31.

²⁵ Marshak, 2004: 47. On the importance of hunting among the ancient Iranians: Shabbazi, 2004.

²⁶ De Francovich, 1984: 89-97.

²⁷ Knechtges, 1976: 63.

²⁸ On this problem see: de la Vaissière, Trombert, 2004.

performed by *hu* people as well and hunting was one of the favored activity among Iranian nobles²⁹. If some Sogdians had participated in imperial hunts in China, it is easy to imagine that they could have described the scene to the artists of Samarkand or, as is more likely, they could have imported some painted scrolls with hunting scenes which would have been comprehensible to them.

In the Northern Qi (550-577) funerary monument commonly known as the An'yang couch, B. I. Marshak had recognized scenes which could be connected with the celebration of the New Year according to the Sogdian habits observed also at Afrāsyāb³⁰. In other funerary monuments belonging to Sogdian immigrants living in China, banquets and hunting scenes can be discerned quite often but it is not clear whether such depictions are connected with a religious celebration. Some information can be found in Chinese sources and in fact, in the *Xifan ji* (a 7th century Chinese text on the habits of the western barbarians which survived in Du You's *Tong Dian*, composed in the beginning of 9th century) it is clearly stated about the people of Kang (Samarkand):

ils font du premier jour du sixième mois le commencement de l'année; lorsque arrive ce jour, le roi et le peuple revêtent tous des habits nouveaux et se coupent les cheveux et la barbe; au pied d'une forêt qui est à l'est de la capitale, on tire de l'arc à cheval [maybe a kind of hunting scene?] pendant sept jours; lorsque arrive le dernier jour, on place une pièce de monnaie en or sur la feuille de papier (servant de cible); celui qui l'atteint a droit à être roi pendant un jour³¹.

It is worth noting that among the reliefs of the 6th century sarcophagus belonging to the Sogdian Wirkak recently found around Xi'an, a man is represented kneeling, wearing headgear resembling animal pointed ears while hunting a deer with a bow³². Other hunters around him are shooting arrows and piercing other animals from their horses (fig. 7). Very similar headgears can be seen on at least two painted caskets from the area around the Buddhist complex of Subaši (not far from Kuča) worn by musicians and dancers together with animal masks (fig. 8). It has been proposed in the past that in these scenes it could be recognized the depiction of a local festival

²⁹ Marshak, 2001: figs. 8.a, 9.b, 15-16, 18.

³⁰ Marshak, 1994: 12-13. See also: Lerner, 2005: Table 2.

³¹ Chavannes, 1903: 133.

³² The Institute of Archaeology of Xi'an, 2005: fig. 27.

connected with the New Year celebration³³. In the *Youyang zazu* (a Chinese text on exoticisms written in the 9th century) it is recorded:

au pays de Yanqi (Agni), le 1^{er} jour de l'année et le 8^e jour du 2^e mois, il y a *Pomozhe* 婆摩遮; le 3^e jour, on sacrifie dans les campagnes [sur les tombes]; le 15 du 4^e mois, on va se promener dans les forêts; le 5 du 5^e mois, Maitreya descend pour naître; le 7 du 7^e mois, on sacrifie aux ancêtres; le 9 du 9^e mois, on répand des grains de chanvre; le 10 du 10^e mois, le roi fait le rite de renunciation; le roi sort chez un chef de tribu; un chef monte le cheval du roi, et pendant un jour et une nuit il administre les affaires royales; le 14 du 10^e mois, on fait de la musique jusqu'à la fin de l'année³⁴.

The ancient inhabitants of Agni, Kuča and Turfan are all commonly known as Tokharians, a quite mysterious western “Indo-European” population who embraced Buddhism and disappeared with the turkization of the region. According to P. Pelliot, the Tokharians living in Turfan and Kuča performed a so called *Pomozhe* festival which was known under other names, such as *Poluozhe* (婆羅遮) or *Sumozhe* (蘇摩遮)³⁵. The latter name could be compared to *Somakusa* (蘇莫者), a festival which was introduced from the west through China into Japan to be celebrated by musicians and dancers wearing animal and monster masks³⁶. The name *Sumozhe* (reconstructed according to the pronunciation of the Tang period as **samacha* or **somacha*³⁷) and *Somakusa* probably have some connections with the Indian god Soma³⁸ and to the assumption of intoxicating beverages during specific celebrations: a habit well-known also among the ancient Iranians and in general among the ancient “Indo-European” societies, where the initiation of the young warriors was associated in some case to the consumption of intoxicating beverages and to an annual festival commemorating a dragon-slayer hero³⁹. The annual festival among the Iranians and the Tokharians could have coincided with the New Year's celebration, when people played

³³ Gaulier, 1973: 168-170; Gaulier, 1982: 338.

³⁴ Lévi, 1933: 12-13 n. 1.

³⁵ Pelliot, 1934: 104. See also: Liu, 1969: 10, 170; Jiang, 1996: 527-549.

³⁶ Eckardt, 1953. Specimens of these mask were preserved in the Shōsō-in Imperial Repository in Nara: Eckardt, 1953: fig. 3; Jiang, 1996: 536, fig. 3-4.

³⁷ The reconstructions are the ones proposed by Pelliot. According to Pulleyblank, 1991 it should be rendered, more specifically, as **suəmuatʃia*.

³⁸ Jiang, 1996: 529.

³⁹ Ustinova, 2002: 105-115. It is worth remembering that the Sogdians were celebrated in Chinese sources as very fond of music, dance and wine: Chavannes, 1903: 134.

music and danced while actors performed wore animal masks⁴⁰. Most likely some hunts were performed exactly as is possible to observe in several Sogdian funerary monuments recovered in China and in some paintings from Panjakand,⁴¹ although it is not possible to establish the period of the year related to such scenes. One silver plate kept in the British Museum considered to be a provincial Sasanian work of art (possibly Kušāno-Sasanian) displays scenes connected by M. Carter to the celebration of the Nawrūz (fig. 9). The upper half of the central part of this plate most likely depicts “the apotheosized monarch installing an official of government, and a drinking ceremony of the ruler in the midst of his court”⁴². Other pseudo-Sasanian metalworks show enthronement scenes and in one case, in a 5th-6th century provincial Sasanian silver dish kept in the Hermitage Museum, the depiction of the king and four of his officials appears in a royal hunt⁴³. In the Hermitage plate the king is not represented in the act of swearing in one of the officials and in fact his hands do not hold a beribboned ring but lean on the sword (fig. 10). In any case, the reproduction of the court and the royal hunt in the same central space alludes to a very important occasion, probably an (annual?) elaborated celebration performed by the king himself. At least one other silver plate connected to the Sasanian taste shows a king and a queen sitting on a bed while performing a celebration with boar heads in the lower part of the scene (possibly an allusion to hunting trophies) but it is not clear whether there is any funerary connection⁴⁴.

Of course, the idea expressed is an hypothesis which merits further

⁴⁰ On representations of plays in Sogdiana when actors wore special costumes, see: Marshak, Raspopova, 1994: 200.

⁴¹ Marshak, Raspopova, 1994: 202, n. 80.

⁴² Carter, 1974: 188. See also: Harper, Meyers, 1981: 108-110, fig. 35. The scene on this silver plate has been compared to a 4th-5th Sogdian painting from Jar Tēpa depicting a hunt and an enthronement scene in the presence of Iranian divinities: Grenet, Marshak, 2001: 59.

⁴³ Harper, Meyers, 1981: 110-114, pl. 19. According to Marshak this plate could be Sassanian, specifically dated to 6th century: Catalogue Bruxelles, 1993: cat. 61. M. Carter did not make any connection between this plate in the Hermitage and the plate in the British Museum. On the other hand, the same author had linked the plate of the British Museum with a 5th century BCE relief from Çavuş Kōi (Anatolia), where a banquet scene and a hunt are reproduced together: Ghirshman, 1982: fig. 62. According to P. Harper, in Sasanian official art banquet scenes did not exist: Harper, 1991: 98-99. But see: Gyselen, 1995.

⁴⁴ Ghirshman, 1982: fig. 259. Another similar scene (but with the head of a ram below the scene) can be observed in a silver dish kept in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (see: Gunter, Jett, 1992: pl. 18) and in a seal (see: Harper, 1978: cat. 73; Gyselen, 1995). In the Iranian sphere many other examples of hunts and banquet scenes connected with funerals can be noted, like in Central Asian painting in general and, specifically, on the painted vase from Gjaur-kala (Merv): Silvi Antonini, 1996; Manassiero, 2003. See also the 8th century Bactrian paintings from Tavka: Rahmanov, 2001: pls. 30-55; Solov'ev, 2005.

research but, in consideration of the Sogdian funerary monuments mentioned above (as well as the Afrāsyāb paintings, the provincial Sasanian metalwork and several Han funerary reliefs), it is clear that the hunt had a special funerary function expressed in the art of many ancient countries⁴⁵. The Chinese celebrated the imperial hunts in some poems of the Han period which could constitute an interesting parallel with a group of Han funerary reliefs and possibly with the paintings at Afrāsyāb (and consequently, with Tang art). In this manner, there are several hints to the funerary character of the Chinese hunt, as at the conclusion of the game, the Emperor was expected to dedicate the meat of the dead animals to the ancestors' tombs or temples. This is clearly recorded in some sources referred to the Han period and the depiction of hunting scenes most likely connected with the imperial hunts performed in the Shanglin Park appears often in Han funerary reliefs⁴⁶.

The Aquatic Scene

It has been already observed that in Tang funerary paintings there is no exact parallel to the paintings of the Northern Wall at Afrāsyāb, but this is true both in the case of the hunting scene and of the aquatic scene. The attitude of the Empress (who most likely is Wu Zetian, 690-705) who is represented feeding the fish and of one attendant entering the water nearly nude with a stick (as if seeking something) constitute clear references to the Duanwu Chinese festival⁴⁷. Some other details may also be observed.

The celebration of the Duanwu festival as it is performed still today in China comes from the South and is strictly connected to the habits of peoples living in Indochina⁴⁸. This could constitute an interesting parallel since South East Asia was deeply influenced by Southern India where the Snake Boat mid-summer festivals are still performed today as with the Palliyodams or the Cambakulam chundan in Karnataka.

An interesting detail in the same scene is provided by the monstrous composite creature depicted beneath the boat which could be identified as

⁴⁵ See Silvi Antonini, 1996; Compareti, 2006.a. According to É. de la Vaissière, who was so kind as to discuss with me the Wirkak sarcophagus reliefs, the interpretation of the hunter wearing animal-like-ear headgear is different and possibly mirrors the habits of the steppe people still performed in Mongolia. For a connection between hunt and banquet as well, see: Melikian-Chirvani, 1992: 118.

⁴⁶ Compareti, 2005; Compareti, 2006.a. Cf. also note 14 of the present article.

⁴⁷ Compareti, Cristoforetti, 2005.

⁴⁸ Eberhard, 1968: 390-406. Traces of such festivals can be observed on the bronze drums very spread in ancient times in a big area from Indonesia into Yunnan Province (China): Heine-Geldner, 1932/1933; Feng, 1974: figs. 10-16.

the dragon of the Chinese New Year's celebration, represented according to Iranian and Chinese iconographical features⁴⁹.

For the other figures of the aquatic scene an identification has also been advanced, while the male figure in the water with his right hand raised as if to beat one of the two horses swimming in front of him raises some issues. It should be noted that during the Song Dynasty (960-1260), in Hangzhou, the fifth day of the fifth month of the lunar-solar Chinese calendar (that is to say, the day of the Duanwu festival) was the day of the horse, the animal associated with the element fire and with war⁵⁰.

A Chinese scroll kept in the Palace Museum collection (Beijing) could constitute an interesting parallel. As suggested in a recent study, this could help to identify the swimming horses in the painting at Afrāsyāb⁵¹. This possibility is reinforced by the consideration of the hypothetical depiction of different phases of the Sogdian Nawrūz on the Western and Southern Walls, particularly if in the *Youyang zazu*, the two horses appearing in association with the River Oxus have something to do with the New Year celebration in ancient Bactriana⁵². However, in the Chinese scroll, the scene appears to simply refer to the habit of washing horses and it does not seem to be connected with any religious event, Chinese or Iranian. In Chinese sources, a Sogdian celebration similar to the Bactrian one just proposed is never recorded⁵³. Furthermore, in the *Youyang zazu* it is clearly stated that only one horse (the gold-colored one) emerges from the water of the River Oxus and later reenters⁵⁴, while in that painting at Afrāsyāb there are two horses.

Most likely in the Sogdian painting the depiction is intended to be a Chinese scene and not an Iranian one. If the man about to beat the horses (who resembles the other male attendants of this part of the painting who seem to be Chinese) is intended to be a person performing a ritual, then his gesture is not respectful if one is dealing with a “holy horse”. It could be

⁴⁹ Compareti. Recently, Irina Arzhantseva and Olga Inevatkina presented quite good drawings granting better comprehension of the dragon in the aquatic scene at Afrāsyāb which allowed me to advance some hypotheses regarding its iconography and its presence in that scene: Arzhantseva, Inevatkina, 2006.b.

⁵⁰ Eberhard, 1968: 159.

⁵¹ Mao, forthcoming. For a reproduction of the scroll, see: 5000 ans d'art chinois, 1988: pl. 29. The scroll is probably a later copy of a Tang painting. Of course, the swimming horses and the man in the water at Afrāsyāb could allude just to the passage of a river. This could be an explanation, however the choice by the artist for something so practical is perplexing when all the other elements of the painting in the Northern Hall have such a specific connotation.

⁵² This could be deduced from the seasonal position of the event in the 5th Chinese month, see: Cristoforetti, 2003.b: 59 n. 6; Panaino, 1995: 105-106.

⁵³ On cults dedicated to aquatic divinities in the Iranian world: Bernard, 1994: 97-98.

⁵⁴ Chavannes, 1903: 201, n. 1; Drège, Grenet, 1987: 118.

argued that the Sogdian artist copied a Chinese scroll in a particularly realistic manner when the horses were forced to enter the water (possibly to reconstruct a kind of sacred play performed with real animals). This hypothesis is not entirely convincing and it would be necessary to examine similar depictions in Chinese art.

We may recall that in the *Songshu* (dated to the end of the 5th century) it is reported that

le 28^e jour du 6^e mois [of the Chinese lunar-solar calendar], deux chevaux divins, l'un noir et l'autre blanc, jaillirent soudainement du lac [called Zhen] et firent quelques pas sur la berge. Les habitants l'aperçurent très bien⁵⁵.

But although the horses at Afrāsyāb are of two different colors (one appears bright blue, the other one bright brown), they are not black and white and are definitely swimming, not walking on the shore. In any case, the contraposition between black and white is typical in the Iranian world.

In conclusion, although the Duanwu jie comprises a scene that may have been enriched with other *nawrūzī elements*⁵⁶, a definitive identification of *all* the elements present in the scene on the Northern Wall at Afrāsyāb is still not possible. A series of new hypotheses have rendered the general view more comprehensible, but much work is still to be done. A promising field of investigation for the understanding of these paintings regards Chinese sources which require a specific approach. It is not to be excluded that new discoveries by Chinese archaeologists (particularly active today in the field of Tang and pre-Tang studies) could shed light on this episode of Sogdian art as well.

Appendix. The Eastern Wall

At present, many scholars agree in attributing the scene of the eastern wall to Indian representation mainly on the bases of the passage in the *Tangshu* concerning a royal pavillion in He (Kušanya, in central Sogdiana) whose walls were embellished with the sovereigns of neighbouring kingdoms⁵⁷. The eastern wall in Kušanya had the representations of Brahmans (that is to say Indians) and Turks although no representative of the latter appears on that wall at Afrāsyāb (fig. 11). Unfortunately, the Chinese source is not

⁵⁵ Riboud, 2003: 153.

⁵⁶ See Compareti, 2006.a.

⁵⁷ Chavannes, 1903: 145.

specific about the subject of the scenes depicted in the pavillion at Kuṣanya and the fragmentary state of the painting at Afrāsyāb renders the identification extremely hard.

The surviving fragments are concentrated just in the lower part of the wall. Starting from the left part, one can observe two sitting people facing each other in an attitude of teacher and student. Between them is a round object which was probably intended to be an armilla used for astronomical purposes. In a recent paper, F. Grenet recognized this image as a representation of the transmission of astrology from the Greeks to the Indians according to an iconography rooted in Classical art⁵⁸. Next to them is a rider on a horse but this subject has not yet been identified. After the entrance, on the right portion of the wall, a second enigmatic scene can be discerned: a person wearing a long robe is carrying a child while two big birds spread their wings on an aquatic background. Grenet proposed to identify this scene with a representation of Kṛṣṇa and his foster-mother, Yaśodā, just before the attack of the crane-demon Putānā⁵⁹. Above them, fragments of an image of a horse and the legs of a person could be intended as another episode of Kṛṣṇa youth, when he fought the horse-demon Keśin⁶⁰. On the right part of the painting, the background is still aquatic but infant-archers and a man grabbing the tail of a bull together with a kneeling person appear among fishes, turtles, water-birds and flowers. Grenet identified the infant-archers as a multiple representation of Kama, the Indian god of love who was reproduced according to an iconography borrowed from Classical art⁶¹. However, as Grenet himself noted, Markus Mode had already observed that those archers should be better identified with pigmies fighting cranes exactly as it is described (although differently represented) in Roman sources⁶².

Among the different scenes which compose the representation of the eastern wall, the fragments of “teacher and student” with armilla and the inferior parts of the horse close to the legs of a person are bigger in proportions than the other figures in the same composition. Possibly, this last detail is not to be neglected especially for the scene identified by Grenet as Kṛṣṇa fighting Keśin since, on the other walls, bigger characters have very important roles.

The very presence of a horse represents an interesting element well fitting with the general interpretation of the whole cycle of paintings at Afrāsyāb. In

⁵⁸ Grenet, 2003.

⁵⁹ Grenet, 2005: 128.

⁶⁰ Grenet, 2005: 128; Grenet, 2006: 45.

⁶¹ Grenet, 2006: 45.

⁶² Mode, 1993: 98; Grenet, 2006: 46-47.

fact, on the southern wall a funerary sacrifice is going to be accomplished in the presence of royal characters as a continuation of the Nawrūz on the western wall. The harnessed horse and the four geese were probably the sacrificial animals. On the northern wall the Chinese Emperor and Empress are performing local rituals connected with calendrical matters which correspond quite precisely to the Sogdian recurrences. Both in the scenes of Sogdian and Chinese rituals the presence of the horse seems to be a very important element. According to Persian literary sources of the Islamic period, the connection between the horse and water is clearly stated⁶³. Moreover, it is worth noting that two horses are swimming on the northern wall since the connection with the aquatic element should have been extremely important for the Chinese too⁶⁴. So, if the hypothesis of the Indian character of the eastern wall is correct and if that fragmentary painting actually represents the lower parts of a man with a horse, then one should expect to find also there the depiction of an Indian festivity or celebration connected with royalty when a kind of horse sacrifice occurred. Such a ritual is reported in Indian literary sources explicitly and it is described as the most important royal sacrifice that only important sovereigns could have afforded to celebrate since Vedic period: the *aśvamedha*⁶⁵.

The aim of the horse sacrifice, or *aśvamedha*, in ancient India was the recognition of a king as an universal sovereign. It took place around February-March or in Summer and had very clear calendrical connections. It was also a magical ritual with very ancient solar reminiscences celebrated in order to ensure fecundity to the kingdom and, in fact, the king was expected to accomplish it in the end of his reign, when it was almost time for the succession of the designated new king⁶⁶.

Other details of the eastern wall could be considered a precise parallel with the other three painted scenes at Afrāsyāb. Exactly as in the scenes representing Sogdiana and China, where the sovereign was depicted together with his queen, also for the celebration of the *aśvamedha* the presence of the royal couple was requested. The character of the Indian sacrifice concerned the legitimacy of a king and at Afrāsyāb the representation of such a concept can be observed on two opposite walls: the eastern (or Indian) one and the western (or Sogdian) one where the Nawrūz is celebrated in conjunction with the coronation of Varkhuman. Finally, all the scenes on the four walls present clear connections with astrological-astronomical matters which could

⁶³ Cristoforetti, 2006.a.

⁶⁴ Riboud, 2003; Mao, forthcoming.

⁶⁵ Compareti, 2006-07.

⁶⁶ On the celebration of the *aśvamedha*, see Dumont, 1927.

be considered reciprocally (although not exactly) balanced: when a king decided to perform the *aśvamedha*, this had to happen around February-March, a period of the year quite close to the celebration of the Chinese New Year Festival (January-February) or in Summer, when the Sogdian Nawrūz fell. The Sogdian artists and their patrons were certainly aware of the astronomical-astrological common notions of ancient neighbouring countries such as India, Byzantium, Persia and China. For this reason they cleverly opted for representations of the Chinese New Year Festival, which fell approximately during the *aśvamedha*, and the *Duanwu*, which fell around the Sogdian *Nawruz*, on the northern wall.

In Indian art there are very few specimens which could be identified as representations of the *aśvamedha*. Nevertheless, an interesting horn cilinder seal from the Greco-Bactrian site of Takht-e Sangin that has been recently attributed to India⁶⁷ presents a scene very similar, possibly, to the reconstruction of that detail of the Afrāsyāb painting reconsidered here. It is not possible to be too specific about the attitude of the man towards the horse in the horn seal since the scene is depicted too sketchly and it could represent just a rider with his steed or even a procession⁶⁸.

It is possible to observe scenes very similar to the Takht-e Sangin horn seal in a problematic 7th century (?) textile fragment acquired on the antiquary market embellished with nine horses on three parallel lines with people wearing caftans bearing in one hand the bridles and in the other one a weapon or a stick. The position of those men denotes a clear hostile attitude towards the horses and for this reason the scene of the textile could be intended as a representation of a sacrifice⁶⁹. That fragmentary textile which denotes a Persian execution or, at least, inspiration offers a good (enigmatic) parallel with the Indian seal from Takht-e Sangin.

If ancient Iranians knew the Indian iconography for the horse sacrifice and had even adopted it, then it could be considered likely that it is something similar that the Sogdians copied for the representation of India on the eastern wall at Afrāsyāb.

⁶⁷ Bernard, 1994: 112-113.

⁶⁸ Rapin, 1995: 275-281.

⁶⁹ Kitzinger, 1946: fig. 46; Trilling, 1982: pl. 17.

CAPTIONS FOR THE FIGURES

- Fig. 1. After: Al'baum, 1975: fig. 16.
- Fig. 2. Elaboration of the reconstruction by Al'baum of left part of the Northern Wall at Afrāsyāb.
- Fig. 3. After: Wu, 1998: fig. 1.a.
- Fig. 4. After: Zhang, 1995: fig. 1.
- Fig. 5. After: Administration of Cultural Heritage of Turfan Prefecture, 2004: fig. 1 (detail).
- Fig. 6. After: Jiang, Yang, 2003: 50, fig. 5.
- Fig. 7. After: The Institute of Archaeology of Xi'an, 2005: fig. 27 (detail).
- Fig. 8. After: Sun Ji, *The Holy Fire of China*, Shenyang, 1996: fig. 28.
- Fig. 9. After: Marschak, 1986: fig. 96.
- Fig. 10. Scheme after: Harper, Meyers, 1981: pl. 19.
- Fig. 11. Reconstruction of the fragmentary paintings on the Eastern Wall at Afrāsyāb after F. Ory in: *Royal Nawrūz in Samarkand. Proceedings of the Conference held in Venice on the Pre-Islamic Paintings at Afrasiab*, eds. M. Compagnoni and É. de la Vaissière, Rome, 2006: pl. 3 at p. 27.



Fig. 1

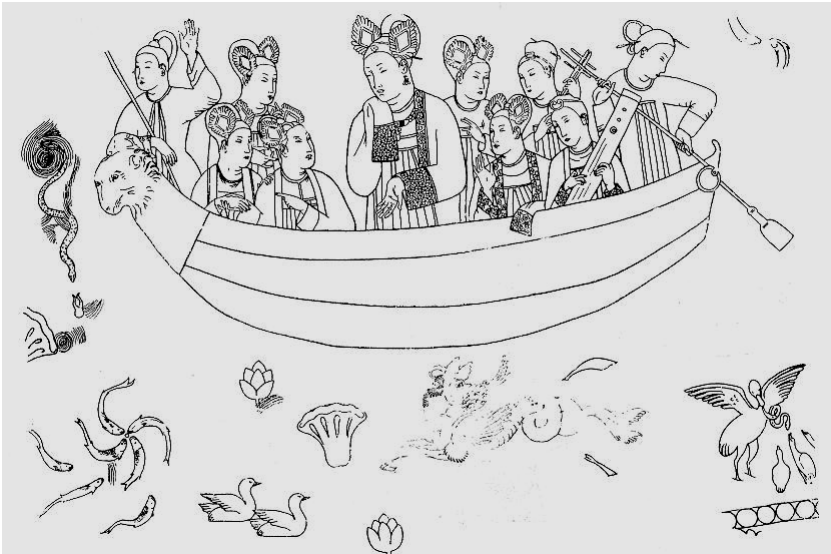


Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8

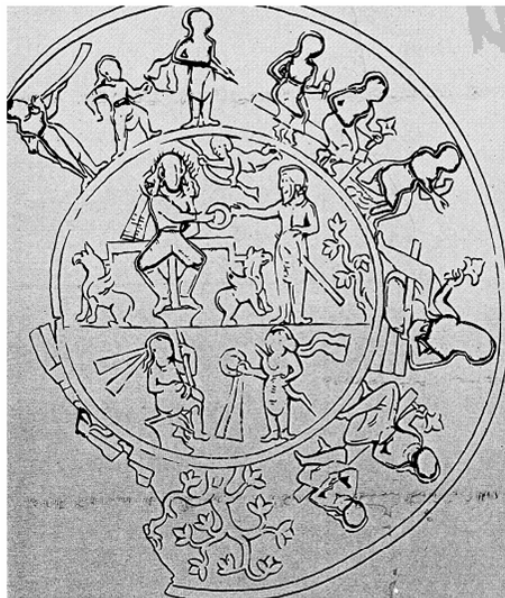


Fig. 9



Fig. 10

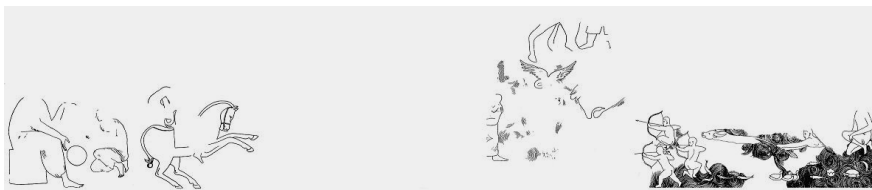


Fig. 11

The “Hall of the Ambassadors” paintings in the frame
of the calendrical systems of the Iranian world

by Simone Cristoforetti

The epochal coincidence between Nawrūz¹, the New Year's Day of the official Iranian solar calendar (during the 7th century, near to the Summer solstice—and for some years coinciding exactly with it), and the Duanwu jie, movable feast of the 5th day of the 5th month of the Chinese lunisolar calendar, which occurs ordinarily in June/July and when not coinciding exactly with Summer solstice, often celebrated in the days immediately preceding or following that date, could have constituted the impetus to undertake a cycle of paintings focused on the festivities of the season. In such a cycle everybody could have recognized something familiar.

The writer had occasion to draw attention to another interesting 'medieval' case involving contiguity (at the least) between an Iranian celebration and one from another cultural environment; it is the case of a wintry celebration; the Sada festival². Naturally in the near-Eastern Christian environment, there are more historically confirmed interconnections with Iranian elements³. There is a particularly close relationship between Christmas and the Sada. Leaving aside the origins of these two

¹ For ease of use, I have preferred a uniform transcription of Iranian terms in the manner generally used for Arabic.

² See Cristoforetti, 2002.

³ Testimony of this, for example, is the ritualism connected to the figure of the military saint on the white horse recognized in the Iranian-Armenian Saint Sergius, the Sūrṗ Sarkīs of the Armenians from Kazzāz (area of Arāk, see Injawī-yi Šīrāzī, 2000-2001: II, 176-178), celebrated the third-to-last Saturday before Lent, in Ḥīḍr-Ilyās of the whole Iranian Azerbaijan, celebrated three days before the end of Bahman or the last Wednesday of Bahman (*idem*: II, 73-76) and in Isfandyārmaḍ, celebrated the night of the 1st of Isfand - i.e. the night preceding the 1st of Isfand – in the region of Maḥallāt and Jāsb (south of Qumm, see *idem*: I, 73-74). On the substantial functional sameness of these fabulous figures, see Cristoforetti, 2002: 275-278.

holidays, which could also be of a same root mythic type⁴, there remains a contiguity which at times, though not always, is superimposition⁵. The hypothesis formulated today therefore leads to a category of investigation which has been fruitfully investigated. The Iranian world has seen phenomena related to contiguity/superimposition of elements of different cultural types and seems particularly predisposed to syntheses of great breadth, which at times end up presenting themselves in an almost archetypal fashion when subsequently considered a posteriori as the sole lectio of more extensive cultural factors.

A few centuries after the era in which the Afrāsyāb pictures are situated, Central Asia itself came to experience a great taking up and rereading of the Iranian epic heritage by the Turkic world, largely in Persian language, and therefore fully part of the cultural and literary heritage of the Iranian world⁶.

All of this stands to dispel doubts about the plausibility per se of an interpretation of the sort proposed. Such a proposal, which is not at all reckless, is actually yet another observation of a constant tendency towards osmosis and cultural synthesis common to the Iranian world. In any case, in addition to our underlying hypothesis, further points must be considered regarding the complex and varied calendrical situation in the Iranian world during the 7th century in general and require us to take into account for the first time some written Chinese sources in the following considerations. The authors permit themselves to make recourse to literature on the subject which has been too often neglected, perhaps because it is expressed in languages which are not usually taken into consideration, including, paradoxically, modern Persian.

During the 7th century, both the Nawrūz of the solar Iranian calendar (the ‘internal’ Nawrūz corresponding to that which is known as Yazdgardī) and the ‘peripheral’ one (that of Armenians, Corasmians and Sogdians etc.), which differed from each other by 5 days, fell around the Summer solstice. In fact, given the nature of that calendar (which lacked an intercalary mechanism to match the civil year with the solar tropical year), any date from the two forms of that calendar was behind a day every four years with respect to

⁴ Scarcia, 2000: 218-219.

⁵ Scarcia, 2000: 192-194, 210.

⁶ A typical case is that of Abū Muslim’s *Romanzo*, see the still applicable Mélikoff, 1962. On the theme of Afrāsyāb, which re-emerges in our case as well, see Cristoforetti, 2006.a.

a fixed seasonal date⁷. In the course of 7th century, Nawrūz moved from an initial period when it fell after the solstice, to a brief period of several years when Nawrūz and Summer solstice coincided exactly, afterwards reaching a period in which Nawrūz fell before the Summer solstice. More concretely, taking the date of the Summer solstice to be the 1° Cancris (June 19th of the Julian calendar during the 7th century)⁸, we observe the following cases of contiguity with the solstice:

1) dates of the Nawrūz of the ‘internal’ form of Iranian calendar

years 612-615	June 21 st
years 616-619	June 20 th
years 620-623	June 19 th (Summer solstice)
years 624-627	June 18 th
years 628-631	June 17 th

2) dates of the Nawrūz of the ‘peripheral’ form of Iranian calendar

years 632-635	June 21 st
years 636-639	June 20 th
years 640-643	June 19 th (Summer solstice)
years 644-647	June 18 th
years 648-651	June 17 th

However, the writer prefers to speak of moments of *contiguity* rather than *coincidence* because the exact determination of the solstice created some problems for ancient peoples, given that around the solstice, the daily variation in angles is minimal (barely exceeding 5") so as to make the use of the astrolab impossible. In fact for several days around the solstice, just as indicated by the word itself (*Solis statio*), the sun does not appear to change its course in the

⁷ We are not dealing with the problems connected to the hypothetical presence of fixed Iranian calendars, not only regional (as is the case of some calendars from the Caspian region according to certain scholars), but also used by the state administration, a hypothesis on which Hūmand insists, 1996: 56, 85-88; see *infra*: 43-45.

⁸ This is the date of the Summer astronomical solstice (Sun at 90° of the ecliptic) which Grumel, 1958: 315, calculates for the year 650 on the basis of data from R. Schram’s tables. The date which I indicated in the summary presented at St. Petersburg (June 18th, cf. Compareti, Cristoforetti, 2005) was obtained from the Gregorian June 21st indicated as the “traditional” beginning of the astronomical Summer in *La nuova Enciclopedia delle Scienze Garzanti*, see “Stagioni”, Cernusco s/N (MI), 1998, where after having provided the traditional dates of the beginning of the seasons, it is specified that “the passage of the Earth through equinox and solstice, corresponding to the beginning of the seasons is never off by more than a day with respect to these”.

sky. An effective approximate method (which is simple to put in practice for *expert* astronomers) consisted in deducing the solstice point by mean of calculating the average time transpired between the two passages of the extremity of the meridian shadow of a gnomon (placed in a perpendicular manner in a vertical wall) in relation to the same point before and after the solstice⁹. Other methods could make use of observation of star cycles such as the heliacal or cosmic rising and setting of some stars, on which basis a certain seasonal date could be observed etc. Such systems were known both in the Iranian¹⁰ and in the Central Asian world¹¹. We stress that given the previously mentioned difficulties, it is methodologically more appropriate to refer to the ‘solstice period’ rather than the exact Summer solstice. Whoever could individuate the solstice period simply making rapid daily observations from the same position with a point of reference (which can be natural: trees, hills, etc.); the sunrise or sunset is virtually the same for several days. Keeping in mind that as an alternative, it was possible to avail oneself of the liturgical-calendrical habits of Christians, such as the holiday for the birth of Saint John. And possibly this was a system widespread in urban settings¹². The Jacobite liturgical, Byzantine and Latin calendars considered it a fixed holiday on the 24th of June, while for Armenians the celebration of the birth of Saint John the Baptist fell on the Thursday of the second week of Pentecost (in this case with deviations which depended on the date of Pentecost itself). Or else one could refer to the Holiday of the Twelve Apostles which closes the Week of the Apostles of the Syrian Melkite liturgical calendar which (according to Bīrūnī) places the birth of John the Baptist on the 25th of Ḥazīrān (June 25th)¹³. This Sunday has remained known as “Nosardil” (= “New Year”!) and it is the first Sunday of Summer¹⁴. It is clearly significant that it is called the first Sunday of Summer (see *infra*: 58-62). In any case, use of even a relatively fixed calendar such as the lunisolar Hebrew calendar could provide less certain guarantees for the identification of Nawrūz still in the time of Majlisī¹⁵.

⁹ Bīrūnī, *Qānūn*: II, 620-622. The method described allows to discern if the solstice occurred towards midnight (odd number of days passed) or towards noon (even number of days passed) of the intermediate day.

¹⁰ See Belardi, 1977: 165, 175 e 138 n. 19, *contra* Bausani, 1974: 354.

¹¹ See Bazin, 1991: 498-525.

¹² Between the end of the 9th century and the 60s of the 10th century, two official reforms of Iranian calendars in use in administration took place; they were implemented by the Caliph al-Muṭaḍid and the Ḥ^wārazmšāh Abū Saʿīd. Both tried to stabilize Nawrūz making it correspond in both cases to a date of the Christian (Syriac) solar calendar. See Cristoforetti, 2003.b: 137-148.

¹³ Bīrūnī, *Āḡār al-bāqīya*: 299 r. 17.

¹⁴ Grumel, 1958: 342, and see *infra*.

¹⁵ See Walbridge, 1997: 90.

Farwardgān and Andargāh

Concerning the Iranian calendar situation of the 7th century, other observations on Farwardgān¹⁶ are in order. Farwardgān is the celebration for the temporary and periodic return to their homes of the souls of the “ancestors”¹⁷ (NP. *farwahar* / *frawahr*), immediately preceding Nawrūz. From the fact that Nawrūz in that time was solstitial, one could automatically deduce that the Farwardgān of Sogdiana was also situated immediately before Nawrūz in the position occupied by the five days of the Epagomenae (NP. *Andargāh* / *Panja-yi duzdāda*, Ar. *Ḥamsa al-mustaraqā*) in the ‘peripheral’ form of the Iranian calendar and therefore also in the period of the Summer solstice. Caution is needed before postulating a mechanical relationship between Farwardgān and Andargāh, in that we have certain modern examples of non-coincidence¹⁸, as well as clues in this light which regard the more peripheral Iranian zones, given the possibility of a decoupling between Farwardgān and Andargāh conceivable even in Transoxiana¹⁹. It is a natural fact: a ritual celebration such as Farwardgān is phenomenologically tied to universal rituals of rebirth of the end of Winter/beginning of Spring. Therefore even in the presence of a Nawrūz which follows the seasons, due to its function of indicator of the first day of the year on a vague solar calendar, pulling with itself (as we will see better) the Epagomenae (Andargāh), Farwardgān (or that which corresponds it ritually) could easily conserve its fixed seasonal position at the end of Winter/beginning of Spring independently from any official calendar²⁰.

If Nawrūz was at the Summer solstice at the time of the paintings of Afrāsyāb, it is possible to inquire about a progression of a cult of ancestors along with Nawrūz. Was the ritual nature of Farwardgān disconnected from the end of Winter and did it precede a Nawrūz which had become solstitial? Or were there perhaps two competing Farwardgāns, one around the official New Year and one immediately preceding the Spring equinox?

¹⁶ Here I use the NP. word corresponding to the Ph. *Fravardīgān*, rather than his arabicized form *Farwardijān* typical of the Islamic sources.

¹⁷ This is a practical simplification of the terms. On the gentilital nature of these spiritual entities see Boyce, 2005: 6. For an analogy, see Apuleius, *De deo Socratis*: VI-VII, XV (where all the demonology is of *Manes* and *Lares*), and Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*: 591 E-F, where general “oriental” influences are evoked. It is however natural that the Chinese sources—see *infra*: 63-64—spontaneously understand these *farwahar* / *frawahr* simply as ancestors.

¹⁸ In Abiyāna ceremonies commemorating the dead (such as Farwardgān) lasted until the first half of the 20th century. They followed Andargāh, in the local calendar positioned between Bahman and Isfand; see Ḥ^vānsārī-yi Abiyāna, 1999-2000: 140-142.

¹⁹ Cristoforetti, 2003.a: 86-87.

²⁰ *Contra* Boyce, 2003: 60.

We know as well (or we realize today at least) that Nawrūz had reached the Summer solstice by intrinsic and inevitable effect of the long retrogression (one day every four years) through the seasons due to the particular structure of the Iranian year (vague solar) and not to the inattention in carrying out of the planned intercalations, as Bīrūnī—who represents one of the most authoritative voices in the *communis opinio* of the Islamic age—asserts when dealing with *kabīsa* (normally understood to be intercalation). Even only one intercalation in the official Iranian calendar not applied in Transoxiana would have displaced the ‘peripheral’ form of the calendar to a greater distance from the internal one than the five days of which Bīrūnī speaks²¹. In addition, Bīrūnī (who writes more than three centuries after the years which interest us here), in order to lament the “forgotten” intercalations, moves from an idealization of the ancient Iranian calendar in which the collection of taxes (*iftitāḥ harāj*) coincided with the first Summer period, which pleased the state administration and agrarian interests, and which was possibly true once upon a time. Yet Bīrūnī also was aware of the concept of an original Farwardīn coinciding with Aries²², in the context of Iranian tradition which would prefer Farwardīn situated at the end of Winter. This is incoherent. But it is to stress specially that the very odd Birunian ‘Iranian style’ of intercalating is incoherent with the calculations performed by the same Bīrūnī in order to explain the happenings of the neglected intercalary system. As that scholar states, the Iranian way of intercalating consisted in doubling every one hundred twenty (or one hundred sixteen) years, one after the other, all twelve months, displacing Andargāh as a signal indicating which month had been intercalated²³. Therefore we arrive at “the elegant solution [...] accepted by modern historians”²⁴, whose plausibility

²¹ Bīrūnī, *Ālār al-bāqīya*: 233. This objection—for which cf. de Blois, 1996: 46-47—makes no longer sense if one postulates—see. *infra*: 46-54 —a *kabīsa* taking place tacitly or popularly all over, independently from an official sanction. In such a case Central Asia could have remained exempt only from the displacement of Andargāh.

²² Bīrūnī, *Ālār al-bāqīya*: 45. The order of the Iranian months is that of an ideal Iranian calendar starting with Farwardīn coinciding with the Aries and ending with Isfand coinciding with the Pisces. It is also the case of the official calendar nowadays used in the Islamic Republic of Iran. I indicate here the names of months as they are nowadays in modern Persian language. The order is the following: Farwardīn, Urdībīhišt, Ḥurdād, Tīr, Murdād, Šahrīwar, Mihr, Ābān, Āḡar, Day, Bahman, Isfand. The ordinal numbers indicating Iranian months in the follow refer to this mould.

²³ See Bīrūnī, *Ālār al-bāqīya*: 45, l. 36 and followings.

²⁴ Bickerman, 1967: 199. To follow the stages of this “elegant solution” see *idem*: 197-199; cf. de Blois, 1996: 40-41. In any case, Bickerman, 1967: 203, wrote: “It is rather probable that the Persian intercalated haphazardly, according to need”. This scholar questioned the regularity of the intercalation, not its very existence, and it is Baliński who, when he uses the

had been at one time nearly universally taken as a given, according to which retrogression through the seasons regarded the ‘civil’ calendar, whereas the ‘religious’ calendar would have been rearranged periodically to maintain the correspondence Farwardīn/Aries: for which only in the ‘civil’ calendar (that is the only calendar of which we have historical traces) the original Nawrūz would have been displaced, occurring in Summer before returning to Spring. The 120-year intercalations (or 116-year intercalations) would have produced another calendar, the ‘religious’ one, whose seasonal ‘objectivity’, theoretically should not have been off by more than thirty days. There are literary traces²⁵ of this ‘religious’ calendar, but it had no influence on daily life (which means it is as if it did not exist). Only the transfer of the Andargāh from the position between Isfand (XII) and Farwardīn (I) to that between Ābān (VIII) and Āḍar (IX) would have been the sign, in the ‘civil’ calendar, of a ‘religious’ Farwardīn collocated in its right place.

What to say therefore of an *iftitāh harāj* rendered problematic by its relationship to the ‘civil’ Farwardīn? Each Islamic administration which considered the problem attempted obviously to *stabilise* the ‘civil’ calendar²⁶ and not to adopt an imaginary calendar in some way fixed²⁷.

We do not know the attitudes of the religious currents present in the variegated Zoroastrian world of the late Sassanian and proto-Islamic era, yet we know nevertheless that there were considerable differences between different currents regarding calendrical matters: some groups were even contrary to the most ‘orthodox’ among the possible systematizations in theory of the calendar²⁸. In addition, there is a long-standing cultural practice

term *intercalation*, first places it in quotes; he writes in 1990: 103 n.19: “The notion ‘intercalation’ [...] is also of an arbitrary character”.

²⁵ See Taqīzāda, 1937-1938, *passim*; but see *infra*: 46-53.

²⁶ It would be lengthy, and superfluous here, to recall those who attempted to deal with this issue. For a historical reconstruction of the events, v. Cristoforetti, 2003.b: 118-166.

²⁷ To an eventual objection that the governing Muslims had voluntarily ignored the values of the Majūs one may reply that given the legal impediments concerning alterations of the lunar calendar of Hejira, (at times extended to various operations on various calendars) and therefore given the absence of an Islamic practice regarding the issue, administrators found it natural to consider solar calendars used for fiscal purposes in various regions of the Islamic world, and took action while making reference to commonly used methods in various local traditions.

²⁸ A polemic between Zoroastrians on the adoption of the new calendar with Andargāh after Isfand, in addition to Bīrūnī, *Qānūn*: I, 76 rr. 5-11, results from the content of a *riwāyat*, almost at the same time as the operation (1008), noted by J. de Menasce, *C.H.I.*: 553, and recently translated by de Blois, 2003: 142-143, who does not agree with the former on the person responsible for the operation indicated there. In any case, the reform was performed under Buwaihīd rulers. The *Qānūn* translation by P. Bulgakov and B. Rozenfel'd (Tashkent, 1973: 104) attributes the responsibility of such an operation to Magians. For the relevance in

among the Zoroastrian community (which has an extraordinary affection for the vague solar calendar, that of ‘their fathers’). Repugnance for the general confusion that the use of an intercalary day would have introduced in the liturgical system (*an* ‘angel’ for *every* day)²⁹? Certainly, the only official displacement of the Andargāh generally accepted and documented in pre-Islamic Iran, if not its first use³⁰, produced a greater disorder than would have an ‘empty’ intercalary day, ‘not to be counted’: a disorder later absorbed into a new liturgical system presenting reiterated holidays.

Though not generally accepted, ulterior wanderings of the Andargāh could have produced (and they did produce³¹) a greater disorder. It is a fact that the attempted reform towards a solar astronomical fixed calendar with 4-year or 5-year intercalations of one day (as was done for the Jalālī calendar and as currently occurs with the official calendar of the Islamic Republic of Iran) between the 19th and 20th century brought about a schism of the Indian Zoroastrian community, at times with intense battles.

Given prevailing historical hostility to changes in the calendar in Zoroastrian quarters, when Bīrūnī expounds on his version of the theory of the *kabīsa* “of the Persians”, informing us of the fact that such a *kabīsa* occurred one by one to all of the months, he helps us understand what we are dealing with. In fact, an *effective* intercalation displaced month by month in 120- (or 116-) year turns is nonsensical: he who intercalates, always doubles the last month of the calendar or inserts a certain number of days, always at the end of the year³². A *kabīsa* like that described by Bīrūnī reveals that which actually occurred: it was not an addition, but rather a popular (or an agrarian?) practice of delaying Nawrūz or the relative *ā’in*³³ month by month

an Iranian Islamic context of the date of the reform, see. Cristoforetti, 2004: 10-14. For similar controversies between Zoroastrians, see the two passages in Qazwīnī quoted *infra*: 47-48, but the matter is witnessed even later, during Safavid times; cf. Mullā Muẓaffar-i Gunābādī’s *Šarḥ-i bīst bāb, bāb* II, [section] 3: “A surviving group of the ahl-i majūs continues to add the ḥamsa to the end of Ābān-māh and considers illicit to change it” ...

²⁹ But in this regard, for a supposed Iranian origin of the Julian system, see Boyce, 2005: 22.

³⁰ No matter if this first calendar reform is of Achaemenian or Sasanian times; Boyce, 2003: 60.

³¹ See *infra*: 000.

³² The position at the end of the year of intercalary days seems to be a spontaneous fact. The position between the second and third month of the Julian/Gregorian intercalary day is indirect testimony of this fact, while Bickerman uses it in the other direction, *C.H.I.*: 788. In fact, when the solar year with a 4-year intercalary day was adopted (imitating the Ptolemaic Egyptian reform of 238 BCE) by the Julian reform, January became the first month of the year, but the Roman lunisolar calendar—used for religious purposes for long time to come—began with March, possibly preceded by the embolismal month Mercedonius occupying the final position in the course of the year.

³³ Using the term *ā’in* / *āyīn* (“usage”, “custom”) I intend to take up the expression of

given the seasonal needs. Such a practice could disturb the sensitivities of many observant persons. This is not all: such a delaying of Nawrūz probably took place with a concomitant effect on Farwardgān (a religious fact tied to the natural renewal which follows the Winter season) but not necessarily on Andargāh (a structural element of the calendar)³⁴. It is interesting to note that in the region of Kashan (Kāšān), characterized by the presence of Isbandī, i.e. the celebration of the 1st of Isfand³⁵, some villages transferred and kept Andargāh at the end of Bahman, and others (the majority) brought it to the end of Isfand. The calendar of Abiyāna still maintains Andargāh after Bahman, while Kashan's follows the structure of the Jalālī calendar: Andargāh after Isfand in spite of the presence of the celebration for the 1st of Isfand³⁶. The different position of Andargāh in calendars of the same area is therefore certain.

An analysis—even a brief one—of the regional names of Iranian months leads to the same results: a gradual movement of the months (of the *same* months) through the seasons. The months acquire modified names with respect to their new seasonal position as is the case of the “month of Nawrūz” which indicates the last month in the current Caspian calendars³⁷. We have some similar cases, in which the new names of the months are popularly explained by real para-etymologies somehow justifying their newly acquired seasonal position. For example, Barfnamā-māh³⁸, indicating the central month of the summer in the local calendar of Gilan (Gīlān), is an evident popular transformation/deformation of the ancient name (Bahman) in a new name perceived to be currently meaningful³⁹. At a certain point, the term

Nawrūznāma: 11 l. 16 (*ā'īn-i īsān*, “their [calendrical] custom”; cf. also *idem*: 10 l. 16, 11 ls. 11 and 14), which is perfectly suited to refer to practices linked to the *popular* Iranian calendrical custom. For a philological analysis of *Nawrūznāma*'s passages regarding the history of the Iranian calendar, see. Cristoforetti, 2000: 60-66.

³⁴ It is possible to discuss whether Nawrūz ‘attracts’ Farwardgān or vice versa (something of an academic question given that Nawrūz indicates here the beginning of Spring and therefore the seasonal moment immediately preceded by the rites of Farwardgān.

³⁵ Injawī-yi Šīrāzī 1379/2000-2001: I, 133-161. Such celebrations have pronounced *nawrūzī* characteristics, see for example *idem*: I, 141: “In Qamṣar [Kashan area] for Šab-i Isfand they practice the same customs as Šab-i ʿīd-i Nawrūz”.

³⁶ For a detailed account of the situation of the calendar in the area of Kashan, see Taqīzāda, 1350/1971-1972: 139-154. For the situation in Isfahan during the 17th century, see Cristoforetti, 2002: 64-69.

³⁷ For “the Sangisarī month Nūsāl [...]”, an island in this archipelago, which “does not occupy the place of the Persian first month [...] but that of the twelfth”, see Sims-Williams, de Blois, 1996: 159.

³⁸ Sutūda, 1954: *sub voce*. The name of this month is recorded as Warfa-na-mā in Pāyanda, 1976-1977: 137, Warf-namā in Muẓaffarī, 1981(a), but Wahmana (!) in Hūmand, 1996: 63.

³⁹ To see this, it is sufficient to compare the list of the months from Mazandaran and Gilan,

Bahman had become inadequate. The following very common par-etymology explaining the month's new name could have permitted the survival of the new month name itself: "warf + na + mäh, i.e. 'barf nayāmada mäh' i.e. month in which the snow did not fall"⁴⁰. In a similar way, "the mountain dwellers are saying: warf = barf, na mā = nayā mā > barf nayā mā [...] = month in which snow does not fall"⁴¹.

Another example regards the deformation of Šahrīwar-mäh. In the local popular calendars, it is Šarīr-mā⁴², i.e. literally "the severe month". Surely, during the second half of the 19th century, it roughly "corresponded"⁴³ to the month of Day of the official calendar (December-January): if we consider this acquired position in a very cold period, full of snow, the new deformed name becomes quite understandable⁴⁴.

The transformation of Mihr-mäh > Amīr-mäh (i.e. "the month of the prince") is also of great interest⁴⁵. Further, given the shifting of the months

see Cristoforetti, 2000: 48, with the order of the months from the Iranian calendar. For these regional months' names see Tāhbāz, 1963: 64; Pūr Karīm, 1968; Sutūda, 1954; Pāyanda, 1976-1977: 131-139; Muẓaffarī 1979, 1981(a), 1981(b), 1981(c), 1990-1991; Hūmand, 1996: 57-64.

⁴⁰ Muẓaffarī, 1981(a).

⁴¹ Pāyanda, 1976-1977: 137. Of course it is very curious, and suspect, to stress that there is no snow in a Summer month. But this para-etymology may have been favoured by the difficulty in perceiving the passage from the original wintry month called *Bahman-mäh*, first to *Barf-nimā-mäh* (or *Barf-numā-mäh*, "month which shows snow") in keeping with a cold period, subsequently slightly modified in *Barf-na-mā-mäh* ("month in which there remains no snow") in an era (more recent) in which the month ended up occupying a position in Summer. In addition, it is noteworthy that the meaning "avalanche" of the term *bahman* leads lexicographers to stress that one is dealing with snow which breaks away subsequent to an increase in *heat*: an allusion to a midway season in which the snow thaws.

⁴² Sutūda, 1954: *sub voce*; Muẓaffarī, 1990-1991: 407; Hūmand, 1996: 62; Pāyanda, 1976-1977: 135.

⁴³ Generally, even scholars who do not believe in the fixed nature of Caspian calendars such as Tāhbāz, 1963: 64-65, and P. Ḥānlārī (see Pāyanda, 1976-1977: 138-139), speak of "correspondence" which certain months of the official solar Hejira calendar, which are obviously stable. Another sound reason for placing this term in quotes is the fact that the correspondence is not exact even in the current historical moment: one should say "such a date *currently* corresponds" and point out the equivalent date in a solar calendar which is notoriously and unequivocally fixed.

⁴⁴ The tendency to link the months' names to the seasonal position in which the months nowadays occur by means of para-etymology is also widespread among the shepherds of the Caspian area. For example, about the para-etymology of Šarīr-mā, of Murāl-mā and of Siyā-mā, see Pāyanda, 1976-1977: 134-136.

⁴⁵ In *Wāẓānāma-yi buẓurg-i ṭabarī*, I: 176, we find an "Amir mā/Mirmā/Mirēmā" in "correspondence" with Isfand (!); see Taqīzāda, 1937-1938: 24; Muẓaffarī, 1990-1991: 409; Hūmand, 1996: 114; Pāyanda, 1976-1977: 135. The Caspian name of this month, if seen in relation to the seasonal moment indicated, leads one to think of a reference to the custom of

throughout the seasons, it is possible to discern the meaning of Tīr (IV) as “Autumn” (moreover attested to by the literary lexicography⁴⁶). This could be of particular interest in the field of researches about Tīštrya⁴⁷.

However, at least in Mazanderan (Māzandarān), we find ‘dialect’ forms of months’ names of the official calendar that are identical to the traditional ones. Thus, if there are no mistakes or misunderstandings on the concept of ‘correspondence’ (a very ambiguous word in this matter), “Owne-mā” is the name of the month followed by the five Epagomenae days in the local solar calendar as well as the ‘dialect’ form indicating the month Ābān of official solar calendar used in the country⁴⁸. In addition, there are not only shifts, but also stratifications of successive shifts different from place to place and which regard even *single* months of the calendar of the same place. As we do not possess a general repertory on this matter, for the moment we have *one certainty*: some shifts, with repeated use (in different spots) of the same 12 months’ names (always recognizable, even with alterations), have *undoubtedly taken place*. This is the only clearly established fact when facing the puzzling question of the Iranian calendar and its *kabīsa*.

The “kabīsa of the Persians”

The written sources (therefore of a certain cultural level) deal with practices of a different type, in which the retouching of months names is just more sophisticated and self-conscious. One of these is from the 11th century. According to the *Zij al-mufrad* by Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb al-Ḥāsib al-Ṭabarī:

Mīr-i nawrūzī (the ephemeral “king for one day”) in the process of transformation (Mīhr-māh > Amīr mā) and stabilization of the name of the month itself.

⁴⁶ See Rūh al-Amīnī, 1997-1998: 107-108; Hūmand, 1996: 64.

⁴⁷ Cf. Boyce, 2005: 2.

⁴⁸ Apparently so, from the *Wāzanāma-yi ṭabarī* by ṣ. Kiyā, according to Rūh al-Amīnī, 1998: 105 n. 2. From the new *Wāzanāma-yi buzurg-i ṭabarī*. I, 213, there appears, in ‘correspondence’ with Farwardīn, an “Unēmā/Owlēmā” which is always a variant of Ābān; on this relation see. Taqīzāda, 1937-1938: annotation at p.24, and cf. also Hūmand, 1996: 63. From the same *Wāzanāma-yi buzurg-i ṭabarī*, I: 104, appears, in ‘correspondence’ with Urdībihišt, an “Arkē mā” (which according to *Wāzanāma-yi ṭabarī* by ṣ. Kiyā, quoted by Rūh al-Amīnī, 1998: 105 n. 2, ‘corresponds’ to Āḍar) in the areas of Qāʾimšahr, Sārī, Bihšahr, Kurdkūy, and a “Dēmā/Deyemā” in the areas of Bābul, Āmul, Nūr, Kajūr, Nawšahr, ʿAbbāsābād, Tunakābun, in a more explainable fashion for us.

شمار کبیسهٔ پارسیان بهر صدوبیست سال در قدیم ماهی بوده است و اکنون آن عادت برفت ... و رسم ایشان چنان بود که اول ماه دی چون آفتاب باول حمل آمدی اورا آذرماه خواندندی و آذرماه را آبان و دوزدیده در آخر ماه آبان داشتندی چهار ماه مانده تا آفتاب بحمل شود در روز هرمز ماه دی یزدجرد هلاک شد و آن عادت کبیسه کردن بیفتاد

“*šumār-i kabīsa-yi pārsiyān ba-har šad-u-bīst sāl dar qadīm mäh-ī būda-ast wa aknūn ān ʿādat biraft [...] wa rasm-i īsān čunān būd ki awwal-i mäh-i day čūn āftāb ba-awwal-i ḥamal āmadī ū-rā āḡar-māh h^wāndandī wa āḡar-māh-rā ābān wa duzdīda dar āḡar-i mäh-i ābān dāštandī čahār mäh mānda tā āftāb ba-ḥamal šawad dar rūz-i hurmaz-i mäh-i day Yazdajird halāk šud wa ān ʿādat-i kabīsa kardan biyuftād*”⁴⁹.

“The calculation of the *kabīsa* by the Persians in antiquity was a month in every 120 years, and now that practice has been left behind. [...] Their practice was the following: when the Sun reached the First Point of Aries in the first of the month of Day, they called this month *Āḡar-māh* and *Ābān* the month of *Āḡar*. And the five stolen days [*scil.* the *Andargāh*] were counted at the end of the month of *Ābān*, four months remaining before the entrance of the Sun into Aries. The day *Hurmaz* [= 1st] of the month of Day, Yazdajird was killed and the usage of *kabīsa* was discontinued”.

A difficult arises. At first sight, one could think that the order of the two last sentences has been reversed. In such a case, the passage could be plainly understandable: the fall of the Sasanian sovereignty involved a fossilization of the late-Sasanian calendrical scheme with *Andargāh* positioned between *Ābān* and *Āḡar*. But the verbal forms *āmadī ... h^wāndandī ... dāštandī* induce to think of a logical sequence, thus averting from this hypothesis, while introducing the possibility of an inserted gloss (i.e. *čahār mäh mānda tā āftāb ba-ḥamal šawad*). I rather think that this important text—on which the writer has been working for sometime—explicitly refers to a new *kabīsa*, which occurred after the “last” one, recorded by *Bīrūnī*; but there is a sort of contradiction due to an extreme form of synthesis. In the first part, the text explains clearly the ‘intercalary’ mechanism as a renaming of the months with explicit reference to ancient times (*dar qadīm*) i.e. to the moment (Sasanian age) in which the month *Āḡar* was astronomically the first month of the Spring. Time passes and the mechanism implies that, when the Sun enters Aries on the 1st of Day, the month of Day must become the new *Āḡar*, and thus the month of *Āḡar* must become the new *Ābān*. This mechanism is

⁴⁹ Ms. (Browne) O.1.10 of the Cambridge University Library: 3a.

blocked by the fact that just when the new *kabīsa* should have been operated, Sasanian sovereignty came to an end. Therefore, given the non-functioning of the mechanism, the Andargāh remains positioned in a point in which four months remain before the entrance of the Sun into Aries: a situation which reflects at the same time the ‘ideal’ scheme (Farwardīn in Aries) and the ‘real’ (actual, contemporary to the author) scheme of the calendar. In other words sometime before the moment in which the author wrote his work, the Andargāh (positioned between Ābān and Āḍar) fell in fact four months before the period in which the Sun reached the vernal equinox point.

In any case, the most relevant fact in the text is that for this author the *kabīsa* of the Persians implied a veritable ‘renaming’⁵⁰.

Another interesting testimony concerning the problem comes from an illustrious author of the 13th century. In the section of the *‘Ajāyib al-maḥlūqāt wa ḡarāyib al-mawjūdāt* dedicated to the Persian months, Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyā’ ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī refers to the Ḥamsa al-aḥīra (= Andargāh)⁵¹. He says that these five days fall on the end of the year (*fī āḥar al-sana*)⁵², clearly according to the Iranian calendrical situation of his own times. Some pages later⁵³, he gives the description of the month of Ābān. Here, Qazwīnī affirms that the Ḥamsa al-aḥīra occurs in this month and he explains that these are the days devoted to the return of the “souls” (*arwāḥ*) of dead people to their homes. In this case the stated position of the Ḥamsa al-aḥīra reflects a typical attitude of a person who spends his time over the books. Then, he continues:

ثم وقع بينهم اختلاف فزعم بعضهم انها الخمسة الاخيرة من ايام ماه وزعم بعضهم انها
الخمسة الاخيرة من اذر ماه فاخذوا جميعها تأكيدا اذ هو ركن من اركان دينهم

⁵⁰ The current natural equivalence Āḍar = Aries witnesses for the plausibility that the so-called 8th intercalation was the only one ever operated or at least the only one that had an appreciable impact on the Iranian sensibility. Curiously enough, a “Latter Ābān” could “be understood as a later name of the 9th month”, but so according to “a document written in the year 260 = A.D. 492” (!), cf. Sims-Williams, de Blois, 1996: 155. A certain degree of confusion can not be excluded in the sources used by Ṭabarī.

⁵¹ Sarton, 1975: 869 writes: “The establishment of the original text and its dating is thus exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. The two shorter versions are dated 1262-1263 and 1275-1276; these seem to be nearer to the original”. The authorship of the testimony could change but not the testimony per se.

⁵² Qazwīnī, *‘Ajāyib al-maḥlūqāt*: 79.

⁵³ Qazwīnī, *‘Ajāyib al-maḥlūqāt*: 82.

“*tumma waqa^ca baynihim iḥtilāf fa-za^cama ba^cḍihim anḥā al-ḥamsa al-aḥīra min ābān māh wa za^cama ba^cḍihim anḥā al-ḥamsa al-aḥīra min aḍar māh fa-aḥaḍū bi-jami^ciḥā ta'kīdan iḍ huwa rukn min arkān dīnihim*”.

“Among them [*scil.* the Persians] there exists divergence on this, some people asserting that the Ḥamsa al-aḥīra pertains to Abān-māh [*sic*] and some people asserting that the Ḥamsa al-aḥīra pertains to Aḍar-māh [*sic*]; they keep to this scrupulously, because this is one of the pillars of their religion”.

Given the importance of this divergence, which involves “a pillar of the religion”, it is clearly rather a divergence on the right occurrence time of Andargāh than a mere academic question whether the Andargāh is the end of Ābān or the beginning of Āḍar. It is on this matter that the *Zīj al-mufrad* is enlightening. While in the *Zīj al-mufrad* we find the explanation of a sort of ‘refined’ theory on the Persian ‘intercalary’ system (other than the mathematical-astronomical theory on Persian intercalation elaborated by Kūšyār and Bīrūnī)⁵⁴, in this text we find just an information regarding a position of the Andargāh (following Āḍar) which is different from the traditional position (following Ābān). In the case of an Andargāh following Āḍar two possibilities may be noted:

- 1) someone has simply moved the Andargāh to after Āḍar.
- 2) someone has done that which Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb says in his *Zīj al-mufrad*, i.e. he has called Ābān the month of Āḍar, and has placed the five days of Epagomenae after a new Ābān (which is *the facto* an old Āḍar).

In both cases, he who moved the Andargāh and then states that “the five days pertain to (i.e. follow) Āḍar-māh” expresses himself in traditional terms, i.e. referring to the traditional scheme of the calendar, ignoring any renaming of the months. However the Andargāh after Ābān could also be attributed to those who had moved it and renamed all the months of the year. Both the mere moving and the moving along with months’ renaming are defined *kabīsa* in the texts.

We lack evidence on a further *kabīsa* moving the Andargāh to a position between Day and Bahman, but we have many on a subsequent *kabīsa* moving it to a position between Bahman and Isfand. Its memory is so effective as to be reflected or reproduced even in the Jalālī calendar. This

⁵⁴ For the section of the ms. in Berlin of the *Zīj al-jāmi^c* by Kūšyār on the intercalation of the Persians, see Ideler 1825-1826: 547-548 (transl.), 624-625 (text). Bīrūnī, *Āṭār al-bāqiya*: 10 l. 21 and foll., 44 l. 8 and foll.

concerns the Ā'in-i Isfand⁵⁵, the “usage of Isfand”; an ‘old’ Nawrūz which everyone remembers. Innumerable testimonies (more or less explicit) on the Nawrūz of Isfand speak to his diffusion in large part of the Iranian territory and beyond. A. Krasnowolska, who does not demonstrate particular interest in our problem: “The first of Esfand as the year’s beginning is still known in some regions of Central Iran (Kāšān, Natanz, Sāve) [...]. This seems to be a relic of a non-intercalated, early Sasanian year. In the Kāši time-reckoning where the months have 30 days each, the *panje* falls between Bahman and Esfand. A festival held on the first of Esfand combines the features of Nouruz and of the ancient Esfandarmaz day”⁵⁶. It appears as a duplicate Iranian New Year: “in numerous instances an equivalent to Nouruz (replacing or doubling the ordinary Nouruz) was celebrated on the first of Esfand, in Iran and Tajikistan as well as among the Zoroastrians in India (Nouruz-e Daryā’i or Zavoli)”⁵⁷.

Indirect testimonies in this regard are numerous and are largely cited in the valuable book by A. Injawī-yi Šīrāzī on Winter festivals, customs and beliefs. We have already made reference to Šab-i Isfand, or Isbandī, particularly present in the area of Kashan⁵⁸. In Karūd (near Ṭālaqān) the month of Āftāb ba-ḥūt (“Sun in Pisces” = Isfand) is considered part of Spring. The first day of Āftāb ba-ḥūt is a holiday particularly appreciated by locals, characterized by typical *nawrūzī* customs⁵⁹. In Alwīr (baḥš-i Ḥarqān, šahristān-i Sāwa) the holiday is held the 1st of Isfand and explicitly called Nawrūz-i qadīmīn (“New Year’s Day of the ancestors”)⁶⁰.

The author of the *Zīj al-mufrad*, contemporary of Alp Arslān and the Seljukid ruler Malikšāh, gives his own interpretation of the question of the Iranian time-reckoning regarding a calendrical practice still in use possibly in his time in some areas or some environments—recognized as typical of the “old” calendar. As we know, this practice would have consisted in displacing the

⁵⁵ For a description of the holiday in the era of Šāh ‘Abbās II see the *Šarḥ-i ā'in-i sipand* in Waḥīd Qazwīnī, *‘Abbās-nāma*: 198-199.

⁵⁶ Krasnowolska, 1998: 38.

⁵⁷ Krasnowolska, 1998: 67. The identification of the Parsi holiday with the customs of the 1st of Isfand is incorrect, see *infra*: 56-57. This oversight was incautiously accepted by Cristoforetti, 2000: 131-132.

⁵⁸ See n. 93. Just as occurs on the Caspian for the names of the months, in Kashan they attempt to attribute to the Nawrūz of Isfand (Isfand 1st), which is in reality simply a Nawrūz from another era, some current and local *seasonal* attributes: so that the certitude of the end of the bad season would be more *important and solemn* than the Nawrūz of Farwardīn itself!

⁵⁹ Injawī-yi Šīrāzī, 2000-2001: I, 80-82.

⁶⁰ Injawī-yi Šīrāzī, 2000-2001: II, 167. For similar cases, see Cristoforetti, 2000: 131-134.

Andargāh to the following month with *renaming* of all the months⁶¹. When al-Ṭabarī states “now (*aknūn*) it has been abandoned” (now, not in the times of Yazdgard III) this could also be a reference to the new Jalālī reforms, intended to stabilize the calendar. But, while identifying the new Nawrūz could have always been simple enough, possibly the displacement of the Andargāh could have been more difficult, an act requiring sovereign assent. A precise echo of this matter may be found in the discourse on chronology of the *Muntahā al-idrāk fī taqāsīm al-aflāk* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ṭābitī al-Ḥaraqī⁶². Concerning the year 500 Yazdgardī (beginning Feb. 12th, 1131, ending Feb. 11th, 1132), the author writes:

و قد عادت نوبة الكبيسة الى فروردين ماه الى اردبيهشت ماه يوم السبت الثاني عشر من شهر ربيع الاخر سنة خمس سنة خمسمائة من تاريخ يزجرد فكبسنا فروردين ماه والحقنا الخمسة الايام باخر ايامه فصارت ايامه خمسا و ثلثين يوماً

“*wa qadd ʿādata nawbat al-kabīsa [[ilā farwardīn māh]] ilā urdībihišt māh yawm al-sabt al-īānī ʿašar min šahr rabīʿ al-aḥīr sana ḥams [wa ʿiṣrīn wa ḥamsamiʿa] sana ḥamsamiʿa min taʿrīḥ Yazdajird fa-kabsanā farwardīn māh wa alḥaḡnā al-ḥamsa al-ayyām bi-aḥīr ayyāmihi fa-ṣārata ayyāmuhu ḥamsan wa ṭalaṭīn yawman*”⁶³.

“The Saturday, 12th of the month of Rabīʿ II in the year [52]5, year 500 in the era of Yazdajird, the turn of the *kabīsa* returned to the month of Urdībihišt and therefore we held *kabīsa* in the month of Farwardīn and we added the 5 epagomenal days to its last days and so its days numbered thirty-five”⁶⁴.

⁶¹ *Infra*; see also Cristoforetti, 2000: 64-66 e 138-142.

⁶² In some manuscripts, such as the Berliner one studied by Taqīzāda (see n. 123), he is called Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Jabbār ibn Muḥammad. He was a Persian astronomer, geographer and mathematician of the first half of 12th century, writing in Arabic. His name refers probably to the village named Ḥaraq near Marw. For that reason he is also called al-Marwazī. He composed the text in 527 ca. (1132-1133). He died in Marw in 533 (1138-1139).

⁶³ Ms. Orientale 110 of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence: 93b.

⁶⁴ Taqīzāda, 1937-1938: 151, (who studied the Ms. Lbg. 33 from the Königlischen Bibliothek of Berlin) translated the passage as follows: “...*dar rūz-i šanba-yi 12 rabīʿ al-āḥar-i sana-yi 525 hijrī muṭābiq-i sana-yi 500 yazdgardī nawbat-i ----- [illegible term] ba-urdībihišt bar gašt wa mā farwardīn-māh-rā kabīsa karda wa ḥamsa-rā ba-āḥar-i ān ilḥāq kardīm wa farwardīn 35 rūz šud...*”. The Iranian scholar following the illegible term adds “(? *zāhiran kabīsa*)”, i.e. “evidently *kabīsa*”; this conjecture is confirmed through comparison with the ms. from Florence, in which we clearly read *nawbat al-kabīsa*. Here we find the words between double square brackets which do not appear in the Berliner Ms. Lbg. 33, expunged by me. It was not possible for me to proceed to a further comparison with the Ms. 2499 in Paris.

So at this time (Rabī^c II 12th, 525 Hijrī = March 14th, 1131 = Urdībihišt 1st, 500 Yazdgardī = vernal equinox) the Andargāh was shifted to the end of Farwardīn, but the place and the person responsible for this operation are not indicated in the text. The same information is to be found as a prevision in Šahmardān b. Abī al-Ḥayr Rāzī's *Rawḍat al-munajjimīn* (ms. Or. Quart. 848 of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin: fol. 1. For the restitution of this title to the incomplete ms. containing it, see Taqīzāda, 1937-1938:

“... when the Sun will reach the first of Aries in the month of Urdībihišt it will be necessary to operate so that Isfandārmaḍ becomes a 30-day month, the five epagomenal days being shifted to the end of Farwardīn”.

The persistence of this practice is confirmed by observations on the modern calendars of at least two regions of Iranian world: one from the extreme eastern periphery, Pamir, and one not far from Tehran (Ṭalaqān), although the zones are both very isolated due to the mountainous and difficult terrain. In Pamir (in many centers of Badakhshan such as Āwšān e Šuḡnān and surrounding areas) there are three Nawrūz coexisting today: the ‘regular’ Nawrūz of 1st of Farwardīn, one preceding 17-18th February (end of Bahman)⁶⁵ and one following Urdībihišt⁶⁶.

On the uses of the area of Ṭalaqān (ca. 30 km south of Fūman—region of Rašt in the Gilan province) located in a mountainous area, we have the following report: “Panje days begin from 25th of Farvardin of every year called ‘Panje Pitok’ in Taleghan and its surrounding villages. Like people of other cities, people of Taleghan calculated every month for thirty days which totally became 360 days in every year. By this calculation, there were five days that belonged to none of the months; even people did not consider these days as the days of their age [in the old fashion]”⁶⁷. While in the case of Nawrūz of Urdībihišt of Pamir the author of the article does not provide any information on Andargāh, in the case of Ṭalaqān, it is evident that we are in the presence of a memory of an Andargāh situated between Farwardīn and Urdībihišt⁶⁸.

⁶⁵ The holiday, characterized by lighting of bonfires, implies precisely a Wednesday. This must have to do with the typology of the Čahāršanba-yi sūrī, the eve of the Wednesday preceding Nawrūz, which in some regions expands to cover all the Wednesdays of the month of Isfand; see Cristoforetti, 2002: 69.

⁶⁶ Karamšāhyef, 1997: 687-688; unfortunately, the author does not specify the exact days.

⁶⁷ Vakilian, 2001: 202.

⁶⁸ A verse by Daqīqī, included in the *Šāhnāma* by Firdawsī, recites, Wolff, 1935: 15-155, *hamī tāfīṭ bar jahān yaksarra čū urdībihišt āftāb az barra*, “...as the Sun in the month of Urdībihišt which shines in the Zodiac sign of Aries”. Taqīzāda, 1937-1938: 175 n. 336, had

The shift of the Andargāh must have occurred after the reform of Malikšāh (1076-1079), i.e. even after the moment in which officially and scientifically the method for maintaining Nawrūz on the 1° Arietis was established⁶⁹. In these places (rather different) the displacement of Nawrūz was accomplished by following an ancestral system.

Seventy years before the Seljuk reforms of time-reckoning, in fact, the Nawrūz of the vague solar calendar, due to slowly falling behind, ended up occupying the position of 1° Arietis (March 15th) during four years (1004-1007). For the first time, the official Nawrūz was located in proximity with the seasonal moment to which it ideally belonged according to the Iranian tradition; vernal equinox. In the Iranian world, this event was seen to be relevant. This is witnessed by the fact that in the time of the Buwaihid rulers of the Caliphate the Andargāh of the Yazdgardī calendar was moved from the position between Ābān and Āḍar, which it occupied officially in the Sasanian era, to the year's end after the twelfth month (Isfand). We have

already observed that in the time of Daqīqī (second half of the 4th century of the Hejira; corresponding to the last four decades of the 10th century and first decade of the 11th) in the month of Urdībihišt the Sun was not in Aries but between Taurus and Gemini, and that “even calculating like those who considered that Ḥamsa-yi mustaraqa fell at the end of Isfandārmaḍ—i.e. those whose Nawrūz fell five days later—it is not possible that a day in the month of Urdībihišt fell in Aries before 374 Hijrī Qamarī [*sic*: evidently Yazdgardī]”. Therefore, if the Sun could not have been in Aries during Urdībihišt before the end of the first decade of the 11th century (in that period the 1st of Urdībihišt began to fall in Aries in the last days of that astronomical month) the correspondence given in the text could denounce an interpolation in the original operated between the beginning of the 11th century and the first half of the 12th, or some time later, while the memory of an Urdībihišt practically contemporaneous with Aries was still vivid; consider that the 30th of Urdībihišt still coincided with the vernal equinox in 1244-1247. The accurate Ḥāliqī Muṭṭlaq's edition of the *Šāhnāma*: 90 see. 148, n. 22, does not recognize interpolation, but it is significant that the verse in question is missing in the Cod. L, i.e. the British Or. 1403.

⁶⁹ This happened under the Turk sovereigns, who far from forbidding the Zoroastrians to intercalate, rather attempted to induce them to intercalate in a scientific manner. In fact, a certain propensity to maintain ties with the ancient sensitivity may be deduced from the beginning of the Jalālī calendar on the 19th of the Zoroastrian Farwardīn of the time, that is the day of the Nawrūz-i Ḥ^wārazmšāhī, the day of Sun exaltation. Historically, the first in Iran to definitively fix (i.e. astronomically fix) the Nawrūz to the vernal equinox was the Turk sovereign, Jalāl al-Dawla Malikšāh, who instituted the calendar known as Jalālī or Malikī. Previously, the idea of the necessity of a Nawrūz fixed to the solar year, in addition to numerous projects and attempts at reform of the Persian calendar by the Caliphs, is reflected in Nuṣayrī literature. In *Majmū^c al-a^cyād*, the “Book of Festivals”, Abū Sa‘īd Maymūn b. Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī (d. 424/1034-1035) opens the chapter on Nawrūz saying: “[Nawrūz] *always* falls on the fourth day of April” [my italics]; see Bar-Asher, 2003: 21. The Yazdgardī Nawrūz fell April 4th in 924-927. Therefore the author could not have made reference to the 1st of Farwardīn Yazdgardī, but rather to the Nawrūz-i Ḥ^wārazmšāhī at 19° Arietis.

already mentioned the initial hostility of certain Zoroastrian circles. However, the whole of the Zoroastrian communities ended by accepting the new calendrical form; and this is the only change to the calendar generally considered by all Zoroastrians. This is the era in which we find the first, and for time to come, the only, solar Iranian dating (certainly a dramatic event!) in a monumental inscription⁷⁰. These data confirm the general tendency to place Andargāh at the end of Winter. In the isolated regions mentioned above people simply retouched the calendar by repeating the operation of 1006. Probably around the 20s of the 12th century—when, in a calendrical system which still remained solar and vague, Nawrūz was behind by roughly a month with respect to the beginning of Spring—the Andargāh and Nawrūz were displaced by a month, thus giving birth to a calendar with Nawrūz on the 1st of Urdībihišt and Andargāh immediately before, i.e. at the end of Farwardīn (putting into practice the ‘intercalary’ method mentioned in *Muntahā al-idrāk*).

Later, due to the contact with the fixed and official forms of the calendar, an automatic identification of the local months’ names with the official ones was probably performed there, celebrating the Nawrūz of the 1st of Farwardīn, while maintaining the memory of the presence of an Andargāh at the end of Farwardīn; this was the case of Ṭalaqān. In the case of Pamir, side by side with the ‘regular’ Nawrūz of Farwardīn, the memory of a Nawrūz of Urdībihišt has survived. There we find no evidence of the survival of Andargāh too, but the question requires an on-site investigation to confirm.

The Indian Parsees appear to have applied another kind of *kabīsa*, the one described in the *Zīj al-mufrad*, paraphrasing which, one could describe it in the following manner: when the Sun reached the First Point of Aries on the first of Urdībihišt, they called this Farwardīn, and Farwardīn became Isfandārmaḍ. In spite of a prevailing hostility to changes in the calendar in Zoroastrian quarters, rather than think of the *only* effective insertion of a supplementary month in the entire history of the Iranian calendar⁷¹, it is preferable to conceive of it as something that is amply testified as widespread throughout the Iranian world. Yet again a *kabīsa* according to a traditional custom.

⁷⁰ See Cristoforetti, 2004: 10-14.

⁷¹ Boyce, 2005: 20, writes: “[...] when the reform of 1006 was implemented, it was resolved among all Zoroastrians concerned that regular intercalations of a month every 120 years should be maintained thereafter”. But only the Parsees - and not “their co-religionists in Iran”, “[...] made the only intercalation of a month ever actually attested in the history of the Zoroastrian calendar”.

So the cultured Parsi priests performed a renaming of the months, evidencing a *reasoning* concerning the topic. In Iran in popular environments, the inevitable contradictions were resolved through the use of popular para-etymologies. The result at any rate is the same⁷². Subsequently, nothing similar was apparently done by the Indian Parsees, but it would be necessary to investigate the matter in a more specific venue.

In conclusion, the mechanism afterword defined by Arabographic astronomers as *kabīsa* was extremely simple, but gave rise to various confusions. There was no true intercalation but rather a periodic readjustment, with or without renaming of the month. This practice occurred only on the popular—also provincial in case—level, as officially only once in the Sasanian era the Andargāh seems to have moved to a place following Ābān⁷³. At the beginning of the 11th century, something similar was done displacing the Andargāh until after Isfand, but during the whole of Islamic age we can observe less thoroughly welcomed practices.

The 5-day discrepancy between the ‘internal’ and ‘peripheral’ form of the Iranian calendar

We have now to deal with the question of the origin of the disjunction between the ‘internal’ form and the ‘peripheral’ form of the Iranian ‘civil’ calendar. This (according to most scholars) had presumably to do with a displacement of Andargāh in the original common calendar. The positioning of it after Ābān would have taken effect only on territories under Sasanian control, leaving out Transoxiana and Armenia (a fact inducing to think of a sovereign act)⁷⁴.

⁷² If the great cycle of the Iranian vague solar calendar – which includes as many years as it takes for Nawrūz to return to the First Point of Aries (“*wa āftāb ba-farwardīn-i h̄wīs ba-awwal-i hamal bāz āmad*”, see *Nawrūznāma*: 8 ll. 7-8) after having gone backwards through all the seasons, was over in 1004, it should have begun roughly one and a half thousand years prior. See Bickerman, 1967: 198, 204. De Blois, 1996: 48, writes: “[...] the attempts by scholars, from Bērūnī to Marshak, to calculate the date of the introduction of the Zoroastrian calendar by counting the number of supposed intercalations and then reckoning backwards from the assumed date of the last intercalation, are all of no avail”. However, both in the case in which one affirms the existence of an effective intercalary system and in the case of *kabīsa* as described in the *Muntahā al-idrāk*, the difficulty in tracing the origins of the Iranian calendrical system remains the same.

⁷³ Baliński, 1990: 101, hypothesizes two displacements of Andargāh: one in Parthian and the other in Sasanian age.

⁷⁴ Boyce, 2003: 59, coherently with his own theory, finds “traces of the same double

Regarding the official reasons for the displacement of Andargāh, so following Ābān, the question is open. If the readjustment was done to place Andargāh in the natural position of Farwardgān, this must have occurred in an era in which Nawrūz fell at the beginning of Āḍar and in which Āḍar was the first month of Spring. Apart from the real motivations of this official displacement, it could have produced the ‘disorder’ of which we have written, that is the 5-day discrepancy between the two calendar forms⁷⁵. Caution is needed on the matter, as M. Boyce objected many years ago: “All such explanations fail, however, because of a fact that has hitherto passed unnoticed, namely that the duplication affected not only Nō Rōz and Mihragān, but also all six *gahāmbārs*, and so ran right through the religious year. No mere mistake following an intercalation could have had so general a result; and no discrepancy in placing the Epagomenae could have affected *all* months of two different calendars”⁷⁶. This is certainly true. We know that recurrence of doublings covers the entire arc of the calendar, but one can also turn the reasoning around: the presence of doubles may lead one to imagine the occurrence of many a *kabīsa*, even if not attaining official status. The problem is complicated by the fact that these interventions can have taken place not everywhere, not at every moment theoretically available and—what is worse—at times here and at times there. With the additional consequence that what may have had place is not only iterations in one calendar, but also holidays celebrated in the same moment, which is identified by a date which differs by five units in two different regional variants of the calendar: one variant (which underwent *kabīsa*) dating from a certain 10th, the other (which did not undergo *kabīsa*) dating from the 5th. One may think—but other scenarios are possible—of the case of Bar-Sada of the 5th of Bahman, which Bīrūnī records, without specifying further (in spite of the use, common also to other authors, of mythological webs woven to

celebration of feasts [...] in other Iranian calendars from different regions of the former Achaemenian empire, and Armenia, which can be shown to represent unquestionably a pre-Sasanian tradition”. Contra Baliński, 1990: 99: “The bringing forward of the beginning of the calendar year in Iran by five days following the first ‘intercalation’, would constitute a logical reason for the establishing of the Great New Year (Great Nō Rōz) celebration on the sixth day of the year, this not being known in Chorasmia (and Sogdiana)”. As far as it regards Nawrūz, however, Baliński—see the previous note—is not in disagreement with Boyce, 2003: 59, according to whom Hormizd I—or rather Kerdir—“joined the pairs of festival days into a single six-day observance”. Moreover, Baliński’s idea could explain the curious limit of a maximum of five intercalations imposed by *Dēnkart*; see Baliński, 1990: 100.

⁷⁵ On the question see de Blois, 1996: 47. G. Scarcia, 2003 has provided us with a hypothesis based on the exegesis of a passage from Bīrūnī. Higgins 1939: 1-21 also touched upon the issue.

⁷⁶ Boyce, 1970: 514.

explain the distinction between the two holidays)⁷⁷. We know that the data collected by Bīrūnī concern several levels, not a single system with a general internal coherence⁷⁸. Therefore, the Birunian Bar-Sada or Naw-Sada could be the fruit of the recording in a one and only Iranian scheme of holidays of news regarding the same occurrence of a holiday, originating from various sources who refer to two variants of the Iranian calendar. He who refers to a calendar undergoing *kabīsa* will speak of Sada as the holiday of the 10th of Bahman; he who refers to a calendar not undergoing *kabīsa* will say that that Sada falls on the 5th of Bahman and is the “new” Sada, i.e. that of those who follow the new calendar, i.e. have undergone *kabīsa*⁷⁹.

A situation that is not identical but is related to the same correspondence mechanism between a calendar which has undergone *kabīsa* and one which has not, is found in India. With the Šenšāi Parsee faction—“[...] which [...] begins all of his months exactly 30 days later than the Qadīmī months with the same name”⁸⁰—there is a holiday of the 6th of Isfand (Awardādsāl⁸¹ or Nawrūz-i daryā’ī or Nawrūz-i zāwulī⁸²) which *coincides* with the Nawrūz of

⁷⁷ See Cristoforetti, 2002: 203. It is to be kept in mind that the ‘peripheral’ Bahman is a month that keeps pace with the ‘internal’ one.

⁷⁸ The following note by Belardi is vital in this regard, 1977: 84: “Al-Bīrūnī riferisce ora per esperienza personale, ora sulla base di testimonianze, ora riportando opinioni di ‘interpreti’ della tradizione persiana, ora, infine, corredando il suo discorso di citazioni derivate da dottrine cosmologiche arcaiche”.

⁷⁹ During the 20th century, we find a *Sada* in the 5th of *Bahman* in Hūr (baḥš-i Jandaq wa Biyābānak); see Cristoforetti, 2002: 73. In this case there is an ulterior complication constituted by the presence of a monthly Jalālī scheme, or even by the adoption of the Hījri Šamsī calendar (in use in Iran from March 25th, 1925). It should also be considered the possibility that, for example, in certain areas of Mazanderan and in the region of Sangsar near Simnān, the five days of Epagomenae did not occupy the final position in the local Jalālī calendar, rather following the month of Ābān by inertia and were not counted since they were not present between Isfand and Farwardīn; in this case, the 5th of Bahman of that local calendar would correspond to the 10th of the official one. Šahrwīnī, 1978: 55, speaks of the 10th of Bahman referring to the custom of Hūr, in spite of the fact that he cites expressly Yağmā’ī, 1946: 34, who speaks of the 5th of Bahman.

⁸⁰ de Blois, 1996: 50.

⁸¹ Boyce, 2005: 20: “Awardādsālgāh, ‘Time of the abandoned (New) Year’ or, in colloquial Parsi Gujarati, *Šōdī Nahrōj*, ‘Given-up Nō Rūz’”.

⁸² The existence of a holiday with this ‘marine’ name among the Indian Parsees—attested to by the second half of the 14th century, Katrak, 1960: 110—in addition to reveal an obvious relation with the coastal areas of the Persian Gulf, if compared with the Nawrūz-i daryā’ī / Nawrūz-i ‘arab of the Hurmuzgān Region, tells us probably that that adjective is used to counterpose a popular local Nawrūz to an official one. But why a Nawrūz-i zāwulī, which presupposes a background of a different nature? One could think of the Sistanic reform of the calendar by Ḥalaf ibn Aḥmad of which we read in *Nawrūznāma*. In this case the Sistanic ruler

the Qadīmī calendar (= Yazdgardī calendar post 1006), in which there is no a similar festival in the 6th of Isfand. Dastūr Mollā Fīrūz (belonging to the Qadīmī current) maintained in 1830 that the holiday of the 6th of Isfand was instituted by the Parsi Indians, when they used an “intercalary month”, forming the Parsee or Šenšāī calendar, to commemorate Nawrūz of the Qadīmī (= Yazdgardī) calendar that they had used up to that point⁸³. Therefore, contrary to Krasnowolska’s claims that the Parsee Awardādsāl corresponds to the customs of the 1st of Isfand, we see the record of a holiday (Nawrūz) of a *first* day of the month celebrated in a *sixth* day, separated by five days.

But problems of this type can be found also in Central Asia, where the non-occurred displacement of the Andargāh should not have provoked reiterations. In this venue we are interested instead in the eventuality of reiterations in Central Asia as well. In fact, what do we know about a curious ‘Nawrūz of the sixth day’ in Central Asia as well where it should not occur? From a passage of Naršahī’s *Ta’rīḥ-i Buḥārā* it is possible to deduce the importance of the 6th day of the first Sogdian month⁸⁴. Moreover, some clues about the importance of the 6th day of the first Sogdian month could be deduced from the Firdawsian statement according to which, the coronation of Bahrām Čübīn—for better or worse the supposed ancestor of the Samanid dynasty of Bukhara—would have taken place in the 11th of Āḍar⁸⁵. The fact that we are dealing with Āḍar and not the obvious Farwardīn is no bother, since we are dealing with the ‘true Farwardīn’ of the time, i.e. the month of Aries⁸⁶. The 11th of Farwardīn in Ctesiphon corresponded to the 6th day of the 1st Sogdian month, i.e., in such a case, to a hypothetical “Great Nawrūz” of the Sogdians. All this to say that

could have attempted to fix the Nawrūz of Isfand. This hypothesis was not considered in Cristoforetti, forthcoming.

⁸³ M. P. Khareghat agrees with Mollā Fīrūz. Katrak, 1960: 110.

⁸⁴ For a detailed discussion, see Cristoforetti, 2006.b.

⁸⁵ The possibility of the coronation of Bahrām Čübīn on the 11th of Āḍar *after* meeting with nobles (a Firdawsian statement) could reverse the judgement of Inostrancev, 1909: 92. This scholar, concerning the attribution of six segments of five days each in which the month of Farwardīn was divided, preferred Kasrawī’s testimony to that of Bīrūnī. In fact, while Kasrawī speaks of the first segment (1st-5th of the month) as that of the “nobles” and of the second segment (6th-10th of the month) as that of the “king”, in Bīrūnī we have the opposite situation: the segment dedicated to the nobles is the second one (6th-10th of the month).

⁸⁶ Higgins, 1939: 10, tried to explain the 11th of Āḍar in Firdawsī’s *Šāhnāma* as a 6th of Āḍar (= 6th of Farwardīn = “Great Nawrūz”) placed on the 11th in consequence of the “cut” of the five days of Epagomenae by Ḥusraw II. According to G. Scarcia, 2000: 199, Higgins can be criticised given that, if that cut is the cause of the subsequent duplication of Nawrūz (and therefore of the becoming into existence of the Great Nawrūz), how is possible to have a reference to a Great Nawrūz in the same time of this cut of five days?

one can not exclude a priori some eventual relevance of the 6th day of the 1st month even in Central Asia (6th day of the 1st month of the ‘peripheral’ form of Iranian calendar = 11th day of the 1st month of the ‘internal’ one). Such a relevance would be indispensable to some of F. Grenet’s arguments⁸⁷.

The Summer Nawrūz

One final issue: there are many modern traces of a Nawrūz or popular New Year close to the Summer solstice or in the middle of Summer.

On the basis of informations provided by Šan[°]atī⁸⁸, in the area of Kerman (Kirmān) known as Lālazār (in the district of Bardsīr/Sīrjān), beside the official calendar and the Hejira lunar calendar used for religious purposes, there is a local calendar divided in two variants: an “agrarian” (*rūstā’ī*) variant and a “shepherds” (*čūpānī*) variant. The former begins the year with vernal equinox. The latter, according to the local expression, begins the year *az ḥawālī-yi nawadum*, i.e. “around the 90th day [after the vernal equinox]”. This indicates that the vernal equinox is the canonical seasonal reference point. The first five days from *nawadum* cover the Summer solstice period exactly⁸⁹. These are called days “not to be counted” (*nābur*) and represent the local form of Andargāh. The remaining 360 days are divided into months of 30 days in the ancient style⁹⁰. The months’ names of the local calendar correspond more or less to the astrological ones (Ḥamal, Ṭawr etc.) with some noteworthy exceptions⁹¹, and the modern ‘Zoroastrian’ months’ names came into use only in the last century with the spread of schooling.

⁸⁷ Grenet, 2005. On the importance of the 6th day in universal phenomenology, see Belardi, 1977: 72-75.

⁸⁸ Šan[°]atī, 1980-1981: 692-694.

⁸⁹ The correspondence is with the period Ḥurdād 29th-Ṭīr 2nd of the official solar calendar, and Ṭīr 1st-5th of the Jalālī calendar, i.e. June 19th-23rd; current average Summer solstice date = June 21st.

⁹⁰ Along with the ‘astrological’ division of the year in twelve months / Zodiac signs, there is another way to divide the principal seasons (Summer and Winter), in “big” and “small” *čilla* (periods of 40 or 20 days) according to a widespread Iranian model.

⁹¹ Šan[°]atī, 1980-1981: 693, records, for example, a Mīzān (= Libra) oddly corresponding to Šahrīwar, which is the month of Sunbula / Ḥūša (= Virgo). The month of Libra is the following month (Mīhr), called locally Mīhrjūn, with clear reference to the holiday of Mīhrgān which in ancient times characterised that month. Displacements such as the one mentioned lead one to imagine readjustment periods on this calendar with archaic characteristics, even if, given the unsystematized facts supplied by the Iranian scholar (interesting for the anthropological aspects of the local traditions) it is not possible to formulate a precise hypothesis on the matter.

Beside this Nawrūz-i čūpānī falling on the Summer solstice, widespread on the Persian Gulf coast there are various testimonies of a Nawrūz differing from the official Spring Nawrūz and clearly connected to the *sea*. However this Nawrūz is not as much solstitial as it is rather related to mid-Summer. The local scholar Sadīd al-Salṭana reported: “The Nawrūz-i daryā or [Nawrūz-i] [°]arab⁹²—on the basis of which the captains unfurl the sails and undertake the voyage—is really the ancient Nawrūz, the Nawrūz-i [°]amma. Its beginning is from the first of the ancient month of Farwardīn, which corresponded to the sign of the Lion and the Western month of August [...]”⁹³. Sadīd al-Salṭana records the information in an approximate manner. Defining Nawrūz-i [°]amma (“common”) this Summer New Year of the Persian Gulf coast, he creates a curious pastiche of modern data and literary notions, which after a few lines is reflected in the definition he gives of the official Nawrūz of the 1° Arietis as Nawrūz-i ḥāṣṣa (“particular”). The approximate nature of these informations can be seen by comparing the dates of the Nawrūz-i daryā (which seems to correspond to the 1° Leonis, conventionally considered the 1st of Murdād = July 23rd) and the dates indicated in a sort of proverbial almanac reporting the subdivisions of the year and the principal atmospheric events characterizing it⁹⁴. Well, on the basis of the correspondences indicated, the Nawrūz-i daryā should correspond to the 31st of Murdād (= August 22nd) of the official calendar, i.e. between the sign of Leo and that of the Virgin! I. Rā’īn, informing us that Nawrūz-i daryā is considered the beginning of the year and nautical activities following the end of the 60-day typhoon, gives us the precise date: the 9th of Murdād (= July 31st)⁹⁵. Z. [°]Aršī, who while knowing of the text of Sadīd al-Salṭana bases himself on the dates of Rā’īn, speaks of the local peasant custom in starting the year in Summer: “The people of the sea had their own particular calendar and, coherently with the agrarian (*maḥallī*) and marine (*daryā’ī*) calendars, consider the 9th of Murdād [= July 31st] to be the start of Farwardīn-i daryā’ī”⁹⁶.

⁹² This name formally recalls one of the musical modes dedicated to Nawrūz; see Amīnī Sum, 1993: 89-90.

⁹³ Sadīd al-Salṭana, 1992-1993: 35-36.

⁹⁴ The author places this almanac after the lines quoted in the text. Given its relative interest for the matter discussed here, I excerpt the following in translation: “Sixty days after Nawrūz[-i daryā] there will be the *lukīdīb* typhoon; eighty days after Nawrūz[-i daryā] α Virginis will rise [...]; the 212th day is the 1° Arietis, the *Nawrūz-i ḥāṣṣa* [...]; the 260th day, the Pleiades set [...]”.

⁹⁵ Rā’īn, 1971-1972: 511.

⁹⁶ [°]Aršī, 1997: 18. Unfortunately, ignoring at the moment the local months’ names, I have no way to know if [°]Aršī’s name for the first month of this Gulf calendar corresponds effectively

The New Year's Day in the sign of Leo of the Persian Gulf coast finds its equivalent in Gilan, where the year begins with a month named significantly the "month of Nawrūz" close to the halfway through the sign of Leo: "The most important holiday of the Daylamits [of Gilan] is that of the harvest in mid-Summer at the start of Nawrūzmā, the start of the new year in the Daylamī calendrical system (Nawrūzmā goes from the 14th of Murdād [August 5th] to the 12th of Šahrīwar [September 3rd] and counts thirty days. The Daylamī year begins the night of the 15th of Murdād [*scil.* the night following the sunshine of the 14th of Murdād]. People at sunset [...] to greet the New Year, light a great pyre similar to that of Sada which they call Nawrūz-bal (pyre of Nawrūz)"⁹⁷. This date does not coincide with that provided by the editorial of the local magazine *Gīla-wā*, dedicated to "Nawrūz-bal", which provides the 10th of Murdād instead⁹⁸. The local scholar Hūmand provides yet another date for the New Year of Gilan in 1996 (1375) and 1997 (1376), i.e. Murdād 17th (= August 8th)⁹⁹.

Beside the Nawrūz-bal of Gilan we have the Ṭabarī New Year of the Mazanderan whose first month ("Ferdine-mah") begins fifteen days before the calendar of Gilan, the 2nd of Murdād (= July 24th)¹⁰⁰.

We have testimony on the importance of the Summer solstitial moment as a moment that 'separates' in an article dedicated to the meteorological calendar of Kamara (near Hūmayn). M. Farhādī deals with the traditional division of the seasons in various periods characterised by particular atmospheric phenomena influencing activities related to the local agrarian economy, but does not provide precise information on the structure of the traditional calendar. He informs us that in the villages in the area of Kamara, the five days of the end of Spring and start of Summer are called Hāmsa,

to the local custom. At any rate, a "Farwardīn-i daryā'ī" is an excellent example of how the national spirit may understand the renaming diffusely discussed in the previous papers, no matter whether it is a local name or an expression created by 'Aršī herself.

⁹⁷ 'Aršī, 2000: 24. It is interesting to note the intense Shiite Islamicisation of the Summer New Year's Day, with transposition to this (fixed) moment of the solar year of the rituals pertaining to the first ten days of the lunar Islamic year, i.e. the customs of 'azādārī of the month of Muḥarram with 'alambandī and the subsequent 'alamwācīnī, on which, more diffusely, see *idem*: 24-25. Given that the author provides various dates—always in the beginning of Murdād—for the ritual of 'alambandī, there must be a fluctuation in the celebration of the local New Year's Day, as it results by the comparison with other reports. For recent Zoroastrian-Shiite contaminations see also Walbridge, 1997; Boyce, 2005: 29-30.

⁹⁸ "Nawrūz-bal" (editorial), in *Gīla-wā*, I-2, 1371/1992: 3. The difference of five days could have to do with questions of counting the five days of Epagomenae.

⁹⁹ Hūmand, 1996: 107-119.

¹⁰⁰ Hūmand, 1996: 107.

“the five (days)”, a typical name for *Andargāh*¹⁰¹. This name does not recur in the rest of the year. In addition, the last three days of Spring and the first three of Summer are called “*Ruzāye tarr*” or *Āftāb-i muḥallaq*, names which hark back to the idea of a year with a “sharp break”¹⁰². These days are marked by ominousness of natural phenomena; the ominousness is another characteristic of the *Epagomenae*. Therefore, even if the author does not say that the year begins or was considered to begin at the Summer solstice, there are good reasons to believe that the *Kamara* calendar reflects a situation similar to that of the *čūpānī* calendar of *Lālazār* in *Kirmān*.

Along with the modern testimonies, one should also note the following ancient traces. The first is *Birunian*, the second dates from the 16th century.

Indirect testimony on the importance of the “mid-Summer” (*Ajgār*) in *H̄wārazm* is found in *Bīrūnī*’s report¹⁰³ about the local calendar reform attempted by the third *H̄wārazmšāh* of the line of the *Banū ʿIrāq*, *Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿIrāq ibn Maṣṣūr*¹⁰⁴ in 1270 of the era of *Alexander* (Oct. 1st, 958-Sept. 30th, 959). In those years (956-959) the local New Year Day fell on the 1st of *Nīsān* (= April 1st), but it was moved to the 3rd of *Nīsān* (or 2nd of *Nīsān*)¹⁰⁵ and fixed in this new position with the adoption of the Julian intercalation. According to *Bīrūnī*, the reform was enacted with the precise scope of regulating agrarian dates such as sowing, harvest, etc. The fixed Spring position of the *Chorasmian* New Year was above all a consequence of the sovereign aims: the stabilizing of the holiday of *mid-Summer* (*Ajgār*)¹⁰⁶. In fact, following the reform, it should have always fallen on the 15th of *Čīrī* corresponding to *mid-Tammūz* (= July); then the 3rd (or 2nd) of *Nīsān* was reached by calculating backwards. Such a reform reflected a typical need of the agrarian economy, in that seventy days after *Ajgār* the people should proceed to sowing. Making reference to *Ajgār* to divide the year in periods can be considered a clue of the importance of that seasonal moment for the local population¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰¹ Farhadī, 1986: 42.

¹⁰² *Ruzhā-yi tarr*: “cutting days”; *āftāb-i muḥallaq* = “shorn Sun”, i.e. “shorn period”. For the concept in Altaic world cf. Bazin, 1991: 505, 508-509, 518.

¹⁰³ *Bīrūnī*, *Āṭār al-bāqīya*: 241-242.

¹⁰⁴ For the uncertain dates of his reign see Fedorov, 2000: 73-74.

¹⁰⁵ *Bīrūnī*, Persian *Taḥfihim*: 272

¹⁰⁶ *Bīrūnī*, *Āṭār al-bāqīya*: 241-242. Here unlike many other works on reforms of the Iranian calendrical system in an Islamic context, there is a novelty: collection of taxes is not spoken of in conjunction with *Nawrūz*. Was the collection connected to *Ajgār*? That could be an additional reason for taking into particular consideration this occurrence.

¹⁰⁷ For other reasons, different from those adopted by *Bīrūnī*, that could have induced the local sovereign to reform the calendar, see Cristoforetti, 2003.b: 141-146.

The possible meanings of Nawrūz are not clear in the case of Nawrūz-i Ṭabarī reportedly recorded by Mullā Muẓaffar-i Gunābādī. The famous astronomer of Šāh ʿAbbās I, in his *Šarḥ-i bīst bāb*, could speak in fact of Ābrīzgān (holiday on the 13th of Tīr) as Nawrūz-i ṭabarī¹⁰⁸. In many villages of Mazanderan there is a holiday the evening before the 13th of “Tīr-è māh” in the regional calendar, which currently corresponds to the 12th of Ābān¹⁰⁹. Keeping in mind that the 3rd of Tīr in the official calendar ‘corresponds’ to the 1st of “Nurzè- māh” (“month of Nawrūz”) of the local calendar¹¹⁰, it is possible that Mullā Muẓaffar, knowing that in the Caspian region the 13th of Tīr was celebrated and that there was a Summer New Year’s Day, put the two things together, given that according to the monthly Jalālī scheme, Tīr was the first month of Summer. In any case, the holiday for the evening before the 13th of “Tīr-è māh” of the Ṭabarī calendar is characterised by customs that “are very similar to those of the night before Nawrūz”¹¹¹.

Taking into account the whole of previous considerations, it follows that in the 7th century, when the official Iranian calendrical Nawrūz ended up in covering Summer solstitial positions, it could have coincided more or less with one of these popular New Years. The coincidence between a holiday specifically connected to the idea of royalty and a diffuse popular sentiment which recognized in that moment of the year a sort of summing up of the past and triumphal starting of a new cycle could have had an impact in a pictorial project which celebrated the sovereignty in the most comprehensive manner.

The Chinese sources

The ten Chinese sources mentioned in the following table were pertain to a period of five centuries (from the beginning of the second half of 6th century until the first half of the 11th century). They deal with the calendar holidays of the Iranian peoples. Here follows a summary:

¹⁰⁸ Rajabī, 1996-1997: 86, n. 2. This point does not appear in the *bāb* XV, 13, where Ābrīzgān is concerned, in the lithographic edition of Tehran (1267/1851) in my possession; probably P. Rajabī used an edition unknown to me.

¹⁰⁹ Hūmand, 1996: 110; Rūḥ al-Amīnī, 1997-1998: 109.

¹¹⁰ Hūmand, 1996: 118.

¹¹¹ Rajabī, 1996-1997: 86. For a detailed description of these customs, see Rūḥ al-Amīnī, 1997-1998: 109-112.

	Persia	Samarkand	Čăč (Tashkent)
<i>Weishu</i> (554 o 572) ¹¹²	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The 6th month is for them the beginning of the year. - They pay particular attention to the 7th day of the 7th month and the first day of the 12th. In those days, from the most humble stratum of the people to the highest, all exchange invitations, hold get together, play music in great joy. - The 20th day of the 1st month they honour ancestors¹¹³. 		
<i>Zhoushu</i> (625)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They make the 6th month the beginning of the year. - The 7th day of the 7th month a large party is held. - The 1st day of the 12th month there is a large party with dance and music. - The 20th day of the 1st month they honour ancestors¹¹⁴. 		

¹¹² According to Daffinà, 1983: 123, the text is dated 554, while according to Needham, 1981: 336, it was composed by Wei Shou in 572.

¹¹³ Daffinà, 1983: 164.

¹¹⁴ Miller, 1959: 15; Daffinà, 1983: 164; Yu, 2005: 529.

<p><i>Beishi</i> (629)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They make the 6th month the beginning of the year. - The 7th day of the 7th month a large party is held. - The 1st day of the 12th month there is a large party. - The 12th day of the 1st month they make sacrifices to the ancestors¹¹⁵. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In the 6th month there is a holiday in honour of ancestors and the nobles from neighbouring towns take part¹¹⁶. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - On the 6th day of the 1st month the sovereign honours ancestors and the nobles from neighbouring towns participate¹¹⁷.
<p><i>Suishu</i> (636)</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - On the 6th month they honour the ancestors and the nobles from neighbouring principates participate¹¹⁸. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - On the 6th day of the 1st month the sovereign honours ancestors. - On the 15th day of the 7th month they honour the ancestors¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁵ Daffinà, 1983: 164; Yu, 2005: 647.

¹¹⁶ Marshak, 1992: 150; Yu, 2005: 664.

¹¹⁷ Marshak, 1992: 151; Yu, 2005: 666.

¹¹⁸ Xu, 2002: 122; Yu, 2005: 560.

¹¹⁹ Yu, 2005: 563-564.

	Persia	Samarkand	Čăč (Tashkent)
<i>Xifan ji</i> (7 th century) ¹²⁰		<p>- They make the 1st day of the 6th month the beginning of the year. Starting from this day, during the seven days which follows it, in the forest in the eastern neighbourings of the capital they shoot by bow. The last day there is the competition of gold; who wins is honoured as a king during one day.</p> <p>- They maintain that the heavenly boy died in the 7th month and his body got lost. They search for that body leaving off on the 7th day¹²¹.</p>	
<i>Tong Dian</i> (812)	- They make the 1 st day of the 6 th month the beginning of the year ¹²² .		
<i>Jiu Tangshu</i> (954)	- The 1 st day of the 6 th month is for them the beginning of the year ¹²³ .	<p>- They consider the 12th month as the beginning of the year.</p> <p>- In the 11th month they beat a drum asking for cold and reciprocally squirting water for fun¹²⁴.</p>	

¹²⁰ The original text got lost. This passage is recorded in the *Tong Dian*.

¹²¹ Chavannes, 1903: 133; Xu, 2002: 122.

¹²² Daffinà, 1983: 164; Wakeman, 1990: 821; Xu, 2002: 122.

¹²³ Daffinà, 1983: 164.

¹²⁴ Chavannes, 1903: 135.

<i>Tang huiyao</i> by Wang Pu; Song age (960-1279)	- The 1 st day of the 6 th month is the beginning of the year ¹²⁵ .		
<i>Xin Tangshu</i> (1043)		- The 12 th month is the beginning of the year ¹²⁶ .	

	Western Regions (probably Sogdiana)	Marw	The Nine Families' Barbarians	Judejian (Qubādyān, area of Bactriana)
<i>Jing xinji</i> (probably 9 th century) ¹²⁷		- Traditionally they make the 5 th month the beginning of the year ¹²⁸ .	- Traditionally they make the 5 th month the beginning of the year ¹²⁹ .	
<i>Youyang zazu</i> (863)	- They consider the 5 th month as the beginning of the year ¹³⁰ .			- In the Western Regions ¹³¹ they make the 5 th month the beginning of the year ¹³² .

¹²⁵ Xu, 2002: 122.

¹²⁶ Xu, 2002: 121-122.

¹²⁷ This text was composed after the Talas' battle (751), probably in the beginning of the 9th century. The famous man of letters Du You (735-812), author of this text and also of the *Tong Dian* was a nephew of a Chinese soldier captured by Arabs in this battle. The Chinese captive lived for longtime in the regions of Central Asia subjected to the Arabic rule and was an eyewitness of many of the events later recorded by his nephew.

¹²⁸ Xu, 2002: 123.

¹²⁹ Xu, 2002: 122.

¹³⁰ Xu, 2002: 123.

¹³¹ The texts clearly refers to Judejian.

¹³² Chavannes, 1903: 201, n. 1; Drège, Grenet, 1987: 118.

Two of the five texts which mention Persia are nearly contemporaneous (*Zhoushu* and *Beishi*). These are chronologically preceded by a text composed at least fifty years prior (*Weishu*). There are two remaining texts, the first (*Tong Dian*) composed nearly two centuries after the first two, while the other (*Tang huiyao*) is from the Song era. All five speak of a Persian New Year occurring at the start of the 6th Chinese month (= June-July). Supposing that the most ancient text speaks of the Nawrūz of Farwardīn 1st, it should record data relating to the coincidence between the 1th day of the 6th Chinese month and the Nawrūz taking place in a period between the 6th and 7th century (average date for the start of the 6th Chinese month = July 4th; Nawrūz between 576 and 629 moved back from the 30th of June to the 17th). Supposing that *Zhoushu* and *Beishi* speak of the Nawrūz of Farwardīn 1st, these two texts should also record news regarding the coincidence between the 1st of the 6th Chinese month and Nawrūz taking place in a period between the 6th and 7th century. The *Tong Dian*—a work composed roughly two centuries after *Zhoushu* and *Beishi*—either repeats this information verbatim from more ancient texts, or it speaks of a fully Summer Nawrūz, according to a possible popular custom of Iranian peoples. For the *Tang huiyao* the same observations may also be effective. Two possibilities exist:

- 1) the text uses ancient materials;
- 2) between the 10th and 13th century, in addition to the Yazdgardī and Jalālī Nawrūz (the first coinciding with the First Point of Aries during 1004-1007, to then fall back to the final months of Winter; the second fixed to the vernal equinox from 1079 on) a Summer New Year's Day was in use, as it is still today in certain areas of the Iranian world.

The three most ancient texts, which seem to be related among themselves, provide us with other informations as well referring to celebrations on the 7th day of the 7th month and on the 12th month. In this last case, it is specified: there is a holiday on the 1st day of the 12th month, and it is described like that of the 7th day of the 7th month. Regarding the following celebrations in honour of ancestors the first two texts (*Weishu* and *Zhoushu*) diverge from *Beishi*: they are performed on the 20th day according to *Weishu* and *Zhoushu* and on the 12th day according to *Beishi*. Regarding the holiday of the 7th day of the 7th month, it should be said that the information—nearly identical in the three texts—is recorded with additional details in a lost text cited in the *Tong Dian*, the *Xifan ji*, probably from the same era of the others, which speaks however of things relating to Samarkand (see *infra*). The average date for the 7th day of the 7th Chinese month is August 9-10th. The texts could be recording either the Yazdgardī Nawrūz or a popular Summer's New Year.

Alternatively, looking at what the text says regarding Samarkand (*Xifan ji*), one might think of Tīrgān (Tīr 13th), in which case see *infra*. The average date for the 1st day of the 12th month is January 5-6th. In the years 596-603, Mihrgān (Mihir 16th) fell firstly January 6th, then January 5th. Again we find possible coincidences at the turn of the 6th century.

The difference of eight days in the two texts concerning the date of the “ancestors’ holiday” of the 1st month could be a clue in favour of the reciprocal independence of the two sources. The average dates are 12th day of the 1st month = February 14-15th, 20th day of the 1st month = February 22-23rd. Between the end of the 6th century and the 30s of the 7th, the five days of Epagomenae between Ābān and Āḍar moved from February 21st-25th (592-595) to February 13rd-17th (624-627). Once again both of them seem to refer to the turn of the 6th century, reflecting plausible Chinese correspondences of celebrations of a Farwardgān coinciding with Andargāh, slightly before Spring.

There are two later texts (*Tong Dian* and *Jiu Tangshu*) separated by a century and a half, which speak similarly of a Persian New Year: the 6th month is the beginning of the year. *Jiu Tangshu* (the latter of the two) specifies that it is the 1st day of the 6th month. The texts seem to repeat more ancient sources, unless they are referring to popular customs regarding the Summer New Year given that between the beginning of the 9th century and the first half of the 10th, Nawrūz fell back every four years from the beginning of May to the end of March.

The five texts which speak of the calendrical customs of Samarkand can be divided in two groups: the first dating from the 7th century, composed of *Xifan ji*, which has a Sogdian New Year on the 1st day of the 6th month, and *Beishi* and *Suishu*, which speak in a nearly identical manner of festivities in honour of ancestors during the 6th month. If, given the remarkable similarities, *Suishu* had taken from *Beishi*, we can stress that *Beishi* is the text informing us also about the ancestors’ festivities in Persia on the 12th day of the 1st month. This could be considered a clue in favour of the existence of two dates for the ancestors’ festivities: the period of the Epagomenae between Ābān and Āḍar (Persia), the period of the Epagomenae between the 12th and 1st month (Sogdiana). Between 592 and 639, the five days of Epagomenae immediately preceding the 1st of Nawasard, the Sogdian New Year, moved from the period of June 26th-30th (592-595) to June 18th-22nd (624-627), a well situated day for such a celebration near New Year. Once again the texts seem to refer to a situation close to the turn of the 6th century. Moreover, *Beishi* and *Suishu* record the presence of foreign ambassadors. Here we should recall the processions for

ancestors of the Hall of Ambassadors of Afrāsyāb. The games and the competition and the “King of one day” following New Year constitute an isolated report, provided to us by means of the *Tong Dian* by the *Xifan ji* only. The custom of the “King of one day” is typically *nawrūzi*¹³³. This latter text records another particularly interesting isolated fact concerning the celebration of the “heavenly boy”, consisting in the search for his body during the first seven days of the 7th month. In my opinion, it should be connected to the information concerning a great holiday of the 7th day of the 7th month found in two more ancient sources (*Zhoushu* and *Beishi*), which speak of Persia however. The report on the lost body of the divine boy seems to recall the myth of the dismembering of Āriš and therefore Tīrgān¹³⁴. But we have no information on the existence of a Sogdian equivalent of this Persian holiday. In the event that the Chinese text gives us the only testimony of the celebration of a Central Asian Tīrgān, a correspondence with the 13th day of the 4th Sogdian month, such as it could be provided by *Xifan ji* could be plausible for the 8th century, i.e. for an era following that of the text itself. However, that very evocative scene could also induce us to think of another possible data for a Central Asian celebration.

A second group is formed by two texts, composed considerably later: *Jiu Tangshu* (10th century) and *Xin Tangshu* (11th century). They present a nearly identical information on New Year: it occurred in the 12th month. Nevertheless, the average date for the beginning of the 12th month is January 5-6th. The Sogdian New Year from the 10th century until mid-11th century moved back from April 15th (900-903) to March 11th (1040-1043), occupying the vernal equinox position of March 15th during 1024-1027; thus excluding reference to the New Year. In his important essay on the historical-cultural significance of the Sogdian calendar B. I. Marshak writes: “In Tang Shu the January new year is mistakenly attributed to the Sogdians, possibly on the information of some Christians there who used the Julian calendar”¹³⁵. However there is another possible explanation, which does not require a Christian connection. Looking at the table on Sogdian festivities in Bīrūnī we see that in the 10th Sogdian month there is a holiday period of ten days from the 5th to the 15th¹³⁶. This period at the start of the 10th century occurred in January 4th-14th (900-903) before falling back regularly one day every four years. This means that the 10th Sogdian month nearly matched January. In addition, the Birunian table on Chorasmian holidays indicates the Nīmḥab

¹³³ Cf. Marshak, 1992: 150.

¹³⁴ See Cristoforetti, 2002: 237.

¹³⁵ Marshak, 1992: 150-151.

¹³⁶ Bīrūnī, *Āṭār al-bāqīya*: 235 rr. 7-8.

festival in the 15th of the 10th month¹³⁷. Given that the holiday in question constituted locally the opposite pole of the mid-Summer holiday (Ajġar), being one of the two poles in which traditionally (and not calendrically) the year was divided¹³⁸, there is the possibility that the texts record informations concerning this great celebration, which existed in Sogdian and Chorasmian areas, calling it New Year.

Another particularly interesting fact appears only in *Jiu Tangshu*: the people asking for cold with water jokes vividly recalls Bahārjašn of the 1st of Ādar (with the custom of Rukūb al-kawsaj = Kūsa), which is not attested in Sogdian areas¹³⁹. Did the text confuse Persian and Samarkandan matters? In such a case, the correspondence leads to think of information pertaining to the first years of the 10th century.

Concerning the area of Čāč (Tashkent), two 7th century texts (*Beishi* and *Suishu*) speak of the sovereign custom of honouring ancestors on the 6th day of the 1st month (average date: February 8-9th). The report, which refers to the presence of foreign ambassadors, recalls that concerning Samarkand recorded by the same texts (where the holiday is placed in the 6th month), and recalls the informations on ancestors' festivities in Persia from *Zhoushu* and *Beishi*. We have already seen that between the end of the 6th century and the 30s of the 7th, the five days of Epagomenae placed between Ābān and Ādar moved from February 21st-25th (592-595) to February 13rd-17th (624-627). This could mean that in Čāč it was customary to celebrate Farwardgān during the five days of Epagomenae, following a typical 'internal' scheme¹⁴⁰. In such a case, *Suishu* should be checked against a problematic passage by Kūšyār, which seems to speak of the five days of Epagomenae positioned after Ābān somewhere in Transoxiana¹⁴¹. However this text adds another interesting report on another ancestral celebration of the 15th day of the 7th month (generally August 17-18th), i.e. in full Summer. The correspondence is in agreement with an Andargāh positioned before Nawrūz in the Sogdian manner only on condition that the report is from a period prior to that of the texts' composition. But, as we have realized, in other cases the texts furnished correspondences in agreement with the end of 6th and the beginning of the 7th century. The report could alternatively regard a local religious holiday such as the Sogdian Rāmūš Āgam (Nawasard 28th) or

¹³⁷ See. Cristoforetti, 2002: 115 e 203.

¹³⁸ Taqīzāda, 1937-1938: 108 n. 222; Bazin, 1991: 540-541.

¹³⁹ Cf. Bīrūnī, *Ātār al-bāqiya*: 235.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. *supra*: 68.

¹⁴¹ Cristoforetti, 2003.a: 86-87.

something like Farwardgān (Farwardīn-rūz-i Farwardīn-māh) of Farwardīn 19th. But in this last case, it would be necessary to suppose the existence in Čāč of holidays calculated according to an ‘internal’ calendrical order. In such a case, we would be dealing with the turn of the 6th century. On this problem Marshak writes: “They were, most probably, the principal festivals of the year, as they are the only ones mentioned. In the texts concerned with the beginning of the year in one or other of the moons, the numeration of the months is, naturally enough, Chinese, since for the Sogdians the New Year month was always the first; but in this instance the numeration is possibly Chāchian. If this is so, then one may detect in the two Chāchian festivals the Greater Nau Rūz and the eve of Mihragān”¹⁴² (= 15th of Mihr, the 7th Iranian month).

Scarce informations on the Western Regions, Marw, Nine Families’ Barbarians, Judejian (Bactriana) appear in texts composed in the 9th century. They all speak of a New Year’s Day in the 5th Chinese month. They seem to refer to a ‘civil’ Nawrūz (probably according to Sogdian custom) of the second half of the 8th century. The most interesting aspect is the décalage of the date of the Iranian New Year from the 6th month to the 5th month between the most ancient sources (7th century) and those thereafter (9th century). This clearly demonstrates

- 1) that the reference goes clearly, naturally enough, to Chinese months;
- 2) that the New Year’s Day most considered was the mobile one of the Iranian solar calendar, which moved back through the seasons.

In conclusion, the Chinese sources give us a varied picture of the Iranian holidays, reflecting regional differences as well. In any case, nothing is possible to infer from them that could constitute a barrier to recognize the holiday of ancestors close to the Summer solstice New Year, in spite of the possibility that somewhere Farwardgān was observed in its ‘natural’ position at the end of Winter. The situation is described in Chinese terms (days and months)¹⁴³, except possibly for information contained in *Sui shu*, which could reflect a Chāchian numbering, as hypothesized by B. I. Marshak.

¹⁴² Marshak, 1992: 151.

¹⁴³ A definitive proof on the matter is provided by comparing two testimonies recorded respectively in *Beishi* and in *Zhoushu*, i.e. two nearby coeval text. They speak of the same Iranian celebration in honour of ancestors: in the first text it is positioned on the 12th and in the other on the 20th day of the 1st month.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

Ar. = Arabic

C.H.I. = *The Cambridge History of Iran.*

*E.I.*² = *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2nd edition.

NP. = New-Persian

Ph. = Pahlavi

LITERATURE

5000 ans d'art chinois. Peinture 2. La Peinture sous les Sui, les Tang et les Cinq Dynasties, Beijing-Bruxelles, 1988.

W.R.B. Acker, *Some T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, Vol. II, Leiden, 1974

Administration of Cultural Heritage of Turfan Prefecture, "A Brief Report of the Excavation of Tomb 408, 409 at the Western Section of Astana Tombs, Turfan", *Tulufanxue Yanjiu*, 2, 2004: 1-12.

L. I. Al'baum, *Živopis' Afrasiaba*, Taškent, 1975.

M. H. Amīnī Sum, *Nawrūz*, sine loco, (Dey) 1371/1993.

Z. °Aršī, *Junūb; az Būšīhr tā Jāsk* (photos by N. Kasrā'iyān) Tehran, pā'īz 1376/1997 (1st ed.).

Z. °Aršī, *Šumāl* (photos by N. Kasrā'iyān), Tehran, pā'īz 1379/2000 (2nd ed.; 1st ed. pā'īz 1374/1995).

I. Arzhantseva, O. Inevatkina, "Afrasiab wall-paintings revisited: new discoveries twenty-five years old", in: *Royal Nawrūz in Samarkand. Acts of the Conference held in Venice on the Pre-Islamic Afrāsyāb Painting*, eds. M. Compareti and É. de la Vaissière (Suppl. n. 1 a Rivista degli Studi Orientali, LXXVIII), Rome, 2006: 185-211.

A. Baliński, "'Intercalation' of the 'Zoroastrian' calendar in ancient Iran", *Folia Orientalia*, XXVII, 1990: 97-106.

M. M. Bar-Asher, "The Iranian component of the Nuṣayrī Religion", *Iran*, XLI, 2003: 217-227.

A. Bausani, "Osservazioni sul sistema calendariale degli Hazāra di Afghanistan", *Oriente Moderno*, LIV-5/6, 1974: 341-354.

L. Bazin, *Les systèmes chronologiques dans le monde turc ancien (Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica, XXXIV)*, Budapest/Paris, 1991.

W. Belardi, *Studi mithraici e mazdei*, Roma, 1977.

P. Bernard, "Le temple du dieu Oxus à Takht-i Sangin en Bactriane: temple du feu ou pas?", *Studia Iranica*, 23, 1, 1994: 81-121.

E. J. Bickerman, "The 'Zoroastrian' Calendar", *Archiv Orientalní*, XXXV-2, 1967: 197-207.

E. J. Bickerman, "Time-reckoning", in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, III Vol., Cambridge: 778-790.

Abū al-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī al-Ḥuwārazmī, *al-Āṭār al-bāqīya ʿan al-qurūn al-ḥāliya*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig, 1923.

Abū al-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-qānūn al-masʿūdī (Canon Masudicus). An Encyclopaedia of Astronomical Sciences*. 3 voll., Hyderabad 1373-1375/1954-1956.

Abū Rayḥān-i Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-taḥḥīm li-awāʿil ṣanāʿat al-tanjīm*, ed. J. Humāʿī, (fourth edition), Tehran, 1367/1988, (first ed. 1318/193-1940).

F. de Blois, "The Persian Calendar", *Iran*, XXXIV, 1996: 39-54.

F. de Blois, "The reform of the Zoroastrian calendar in the year 375 of Yazdgird", in: (*Ātaš-e Dorun*) *The Fire Within. J. S. Soroushian commemorative Volume* (II Vol.), ed. C. G. Cereti and F. Vajifdar, U.S.A., 2003: 139-145.

D. Bodde, *Festivals in Classical China. New Year and Other Annual Observances During the Han Dynasty 206 B.C.-A.D. 220*, Princeton, Hong Kong, 1975.

M. Boyce, "On the Calendar of Zoroastrian Feasts", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXXIII-3, 1970: 513-539.

M. Boyce, "Preliminary note by Professor Mary Boyce to Agha Homayoun Sanati's translation of her article 'On the Calendar of Zoroastrian Feasts'", in: (*Ātaš-e Dorun*) *The Fire Within. J. S. Soroushian commemorative Volume* (II Vol.), ed. C. G. Cereti and F. Vajifdar, U.S.A., 2003: 57-61.

M. Boyce, "Further on the calendar of Zoroastrian feasts", *Iran*, XLIII, 2005: 1-38.

M. L. Carter, "Royal Festal Themes in Sasanian Silverwork and Their Central Asian Parallels", *Hommage Universel. Volume 1. Acta Iranica*, Leiden, Téhéran, Liège, 1974: 171-202.

Catalogue Bruxelles, 1993: *Splendeur des Sassanides. L'empire perse entre Rome et la Chine [224-642]*, B. Overlaet (curator), Bruxelles, 1993.

E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, Paris, 1903.

M. Compareti, "Literary Evidence for the Identification of Some Common Scenes in Han Funerary Art", *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 160, September 2005.

M. Compareti, "A Reading of The Royal Hunt at Afrāsyāb Based on Chinese Sources", in: *Royal Nawrūz in Samarkand. Acts of the Conference held in Venice on the Pre-Islamic Afrāsyāb Painting*, eds. M. Compareti and É. de la Vaissière (Suppl. n. 1 a *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, LXXVIII), Rome, 2006.a: 173-184.

M. Compareti, "On the Meaning of the Dragon in the Paintings at Afrasyab (Ancient Samarkand)", *Eurasian Studies*, 6, 2006.b = 64-76.

M. Compareti, "Further Evidence for the Interpretation of the «Indian Scene» in the Pre-Islamic Paintings at Afrāsyāb (Samarkand)", *The Silk Road*, 4/2, 2006-07: 32-42.

M. Compareti, S. Cristoforetti, "Proposal for a New Interpretation of the Northern Wall of the «Hall of the Ambassadors» at Afrasyab", in: *Central Asia from the Achaemenids to the Timurids: Archaeology, History, Ethnology, Culture. Materials of an International Scientific Conference Dedicated to the Centenary of Aleksandr Markovich Belenitsky*, ed. V. P. Nikonorov, St. Petersburg, 2005: 215-220 (Online publication at: <http://www.cinaoggi.it/storia/tipica-festa-cinese.htm>, 2004).

S. Cristoforetti, *Forme "neopersiane" del calendario "zoroastriano" tra Iran e Transoxiana*, (*Eurasiatica* n. 64 Quaderni del Dipartimento di Studi Eurasiatici - Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia), Martellago (VE), 2000.

S. Cristoforetti, *Il Natale della Luce. Il sada tra Baghdad e Bukhara tra il IX e il XII secolo*, (*Sīmory*, Collana di Studi Orientali diretta da A. Panaino), Milano, 2002.

S. Cristoforetti, "'Ā'īn-i īshān', un lapsus di Kūshyār e il *farwardgān* di Abiyāna", in: *Religious themes and texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia - Studies in honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the occasion of his 65th birthday on 6th December 2002*, ed. by C. G. Cereti, M. Maggi, E. Provasi (Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag), Wiesbaden, 2003.a: 79-90.

S. Cristoforetti, *Izdilāq: miti e problemi calendariali del fisco islamico*, Venezia, 2003.b.

S. Cristoforetti, “Una premessa un po’ più ampia dell’usato”, in: *L’Onagro Maestro. Miscellanea di fuochi accesi per Gianroberto Scarcia in occasione del suo LXX sadé*, a c. di R. Favaro, S. Cristoforetti, M. Compareti, Venezia, 2004: 7-15.

S. Cristoforetti, “Afrāsyāb toponimo e Afrāsyāb eponimo: considerazioni sulla riemergente plausibilità di una *lectio facilior*”, in: *Royal Naurūz in Samarkand. Proceedings of the Conference held in Venice on the pre-Islamic paintings at Afrasiab*, a c. di M. Compareti - É. de la Vaissière (Suppl. n. 1 a *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, LXXVIII), Rome, 2006.a: 163-171.

S. Cristoforetti, “Calendars in Narshakhī’s *Ta’rikh-i Bukhārā*”, in: *Ancient and Mediaeval culture of the Bukhara oasis. Materials of the Conference based on the joint Uzbek-Italian researches in archaeology and Islamic studies. Bukhara, 26-27 Sept. 2003*, eds. Ch. Silvi Antonini, D. K. Mirzaakhmedov, Samarkand-Rome, 2006.b: 100-103.

S. Cristoforetti, “Ipotesi sulla *kabāsa* sistanica di Khalaf b. Aḥmad”, paper presented to the Vth European Conference of Iranian Studies, (Ravenna, Oct. 6th-11th, 2003), forthcoming.

P. Daffinà, “La Persia sasanide secondo le fonti cinesi”, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, LVII, 1983: 121-170.

G. De Francovich, “Il concetto della regalità nell’arte sasanide e l’interpretazione di due opere d’arte bizantine del periodo della dinastia macedone: la cassetta eburnea di Troyes e la corona di Costantino IX Monomaco di Budapest”, in: *Persia, Siria, Bisanzio e il Medioevo artistico europeo*, ed. V. Pace, Napoli, 1984: 78-138.

É. de la Vaissière, É. Trombert, “Des Chinois et des Hu. Migration et integration des Iraniens orientaux en milieu chinois durant le haut Moyen Age”, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 5-6, 2004: 931-969.

Department for the History of China’s Ancient Societies, *History of the Society During the Sui, Tang and the Five Dynasties Periods*, Beijing, 1998.

J. P. Drège, F. Grenet, “Un temple de l’Oxus près de Takht-i-Sangin, d’après un témoignage chinois du VIII^e siècle”, *Studia Iranica*, 16, 1987: 117-121.

P.-E. Dumont, *L’Ásvamedha. Description du sacrifice solennel du cheval dans le culte védique d’après les textes du Yajurveda blanc*, Paris, 1927.

- W. Eberhard, *The Local Cults of South and East China*, Leiden, 1968.
- H. Eckardt, "Somakusa", *Sinologica*, 3, 1953: 174-189.
- M. Farhādī, "Taqwīm-i āb-u-hawā'ī dar 'Kamara'", *Čīstā*, IV-1, Šahrīwar 1365/1986: 39-51.
- M. Fedorov, "The Kh^wārazmshāhs of the Banū 'Irāq (fourth/tenth century)", *Iran*, XXXVIII, 2000: 71-78.
- Feng Han-chi, "Studies on the Bronze Drums Unearthed at Tsinning County, Yunnan Province", *Wenwu*, 1, 1974: 51-61.
- Abū al-Qāsim Firdawsī, *Šāhnāma*, ed. J. Hāliqī Muṭlaq, V Vol., Costa Mesa (California), 1375/1997.
- M. H. Fong, "Tang Tomb Murals Reviewed in the Light of Tang Texts on Painting", *Artibus Asiae*, 45, 1984: 35-72.
- R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara. Translated from a Persian Abridgment of the Arabic Original by Narshakhī*, Cambridge, 1954.
- S. Gaulier, "Aspects iconographiques des croyances eschatologiques dans le Bassin du Tarim d'après deux documents Pelliot", *Arts Asiatiques*, XXVIII, 1973: 165-184.
- S. Gaulier, "Les boîtes funéraires de Soubachi", in: *Douldour-Āqour et Soubachi. Mission Paul Pelliot IV*, Paris, 1982: 331-347.
- R. Ghirshman, *Arte persiana. Parti e Sassanidi*, Milano, 1982.
- F. Grenet, "L'Inde des astrologues sur une peinture sogdienne du VII^e siècle", in: *Religious Themes and Texts in Pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, eds. C. Cereti, M. Maggi, E. Provasi, Wiesbaden, 2003: 123-129.
- F. Grenet, "The Self-Image of the Sogdians", in: *Les Sogdiens en Chine*, eds. É. de la Vaissière, É. Trombert, Paris, 2005.a: 123-140.
- F. Grenet, "What was the Afrasiab painting about?", in: *Royal Naurūz in Samarkand. Proceedings of the Conference held in Venice on the pre-Islamic paintings at Afrasiab*, a c. di M. Compareti - É. de la Vaissière (Suppl. n. 1 a *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, LXXVIII), Rome, 2006: 43-58.

F. Grenet, B. Marshak, “Notes additionnelles”, in: A. Berdimuradov, M. Samibaev, “Une nouvelle peinture murale sogdienne dans le temple de Džartepa II”, *Studia Iranica*, 30, 1, 2001: 45-66.

V. Grumel, *Traité d'Etudes Byzantines*, I (*La Chronologie*), Paris 1958.

A. C. Gunter, P. Jett, *Ancient Iranian Metalwork in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington D.C., 1992.

A. Gutschmid, “Über das iranische Jahr”, *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* (Phil.-Hist. Classe), XIV, 1862: 1-9.

R. Gyselen, “Une scène de banquet rituel dans la glyptique sassanide”, in *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*, Rome, 1995: 245-254.

P. O. Harper, *The Royal Hunter*, New York, 1978.

P. O. Harper, “Luxury Vessels as Symbolic Images: Parthian and Sasanian Iran and Central Asia”, in: *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique*, ed. P. Bernard, F. Grenet, Paris, 1991: 95-100.

P. O. Harper, P. Meyers, *Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period. Volume One: Royal Imagery*, New York, 1981.

A. Heidari, “The Rock Carvings of Tāq-i Bustān as a Tomb-Commemorative Monument”, *Asar*, 33-34, 2002: 89-99.

F. Heine-Geldner, “Bedeutung und Herkunft der ältesten Hinterindischen Metalltrommeln (Kesselgongs)”, *Asia Major*, 8, 1932/33: 519-537.

M. J. Higgins, *The Persian war of the emperor Maurice (582-602)*, I. Part, Washington, 1939.

N. Hūmand, *Gāhšumārī-yi bāstānī-yi mardumān-i Māzandarān wa Gilān wa pažūhiš-ī dar buniyān-i gāhšumārīhā-yi īrānī hamrāh bā taqwīm-i bāstānī-yī tabarī-daylumī* (*The ancient chronology of the people of Māzandarān and Gilān*), Āmul (Mazanderan) 1375/1996.

Z. H^wānsārī-yi Abiyāna, *Abiyāna wa farhang-i mardum-i ān*, Tehran 1378/1999-2000.

L. Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie, aus den Quellen bearbeitet*, vol. II, Berlin 1825-1826.

S. A. Injawī-yi Šīrāzī, *Jašnā wa ādāb wa muʿtaqidāt-i zimistān*, 2 voll., Tehran 1379/2000-2001 (2nd reprint; 1st ed. 1354/1971-1972).

The Institute of Archaeology of Xi'an, "Excavation of Shi's Tomb of the Northern Zhou Dynasty at Sabao Near Xi'an", *Wenwu*, 3, 2005: 4-33.

K. A. Inostrancev, *Sasanidskie étyudy*, St. Peterburg, 1909.

Jiang Boqin, *Art, Religion, and Ritual in Dunhuang Culture*, Beijing, 1996.

Jiang Yingju, Yang Aiguo, *Mural Paintings and Reliefs of the Han Period*, Beijing, 2003.

E. Kageyama, "A Chinese Way of Depicting Foreign Delegates Discerned in the Paintings of Afrasiab", *Iran. Questions et connaissances*. Vol. I: *La période ancienne*, ed. Ph. Huyse, Paris, 2002: 313-327.

D. Karamšāhyef, "Az ʿumūmiyat wa tafawut-i rusūmāt-i ištīlāhāt-i nawrūzī-yi Badaḥšān", in: *Pažūhiš dar farhang-i bāstānī wa šināht-i Awistā* (Proceedings of the Conference held in Amersfoort, Oct. 7th-11th, 1977), Vol. II, ed. M. Mīrshāhī, Vincennes, 1997: 685-693.

P. E. Karetzky, "Foreigners in Tang and Pre-Tang Painting", *Oriental Art*, XXX, 2, 1984: 160-166.

J. C. Katrak, *Iranian and Oriental papers*, Tehran, 1339/1960.

E. Kitzinger, "The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks: A Study in Coptic and Sassanian Textile Design", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 3, 1946: 1-72.

Ḥ. Kiyā, *Wāžanāma-yi Ṭabarī*, Tehran 1327/1948-1949.

D. R. Knechtges, *The Han Rhapsody. A Study of the Fu of Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.-A.D. 18)*, Cambridge, 1976.

A. Krasnowolska, *Some Key figures of Iranian calendar mythology (Winter and Spring)*, Kraków, 1998.

J. Lerner, "Aspects of Assimilation: the Funerary Practices and Furnishings of Central Asians in China", *Sino-Platonic Papers*, 168, December, 2005.

S. Lévi, "Le «tokharien»", *Journal Asiatique*, CCXXII, 1933: 1-30.

Liu Mau-Tsai, *Kutscha und seine Beziehungen zu China vom 2. Jh. v. bis zum 6. Jh. n. Chr. Vol. I*, Wiesbaden, 1969.

V. A. Livshits, "The Sogdian Wall Inscriptions on the Site of Afrasyab", in: *Royal Nawrūz in Samarkand. Acts of the Conference held in Venice on the Pre-Islamic Afrāsyāb Painting*, eds. M. Compareti and É. de la Vaissière (Suppl. n. 1 a Rivista degli Studi Orientali LXXVII), Rome, 2006: 59-74.

C. Lo Muzio, "Una scena di caccia dalla necropoli di Kopeny (Minusinsk)", in: *Studi in Onore di Umberto Scerrato per il suo settantacinquesimo compleanno*. Vol. II, a cura di M. V. Fontana, B. Genito, Napoli, 2003: 519-538.

N. Manassero, "Il vaso dipinto di Merv", *Parthica*, 5, 2003: 131-152.

Mao Min, "The Scene of the Bathing Horses at the «Hall of the Ambassadors» in Afrasyab (Samarkand): Its Iconography Influence from China and Its Cultural Link with the Nawruz Festival", *Paper presented to the Second Conference on Turfan Studies, Turfan, August 25th-30th 2005*, forthcoming.

B. I. Marschak, *Silberschätze des Orients*, Leipzig, 1986.

B. I. Marshak, "The historico-cultural significance of the Sogdian calendar", *Iran*, XXX, 1992: 145-154.

B. I. Marshak, "Le programme iconographique des peintures de la «Salle des Ambassadeurs» à Afrasiab (Samarkand)", *Arts Asiatiques*, XLIX, 1994: 1-20.

B. I. Marshak, "La thématique sogdienne dans l'art de la Chine de la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle", *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, I, 2001: 227-264.

B. I. Marshak, "Central Asian Metalwork in China", in: *China. Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 AD*, J. C. Y. Watt (curator), New York, 2004: 47-55.

B. I. Marshak, V. I. Raspopova, "Worshippers from the Northern Shrine of Temple II, Penjikent", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 8, 1994: 187-207.

A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "The Iranian Bazm in Early Persian Sources", *Banquets d'Orient. Res Orientales*, IV, ed. R. Gyselen, Bures sur Yvette, 1992: 95-119.

I. Mélikoff, *Abū Muslim. Le "porte-hache" du Khorassan dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne*, Paris, 1962.

J. de Menasce, "Zoroastrian Literature after the Muslim Conquest", in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, IV, Cambridge, 1975: 543-565.

R. A. Miller, *Accounts of Western Nations in the History of the Northern Chou Dynasty*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1959.

- M. Mode, *Sogdien und die Herrscher der Welt*, Frankfurt am Main, 1993.
- M. Mużaffarī, “Diya mā”, *Dāmūn (Našriya-yi farhangsarāy-i ḥalq-i Gīlān)*, I-4, 28 Ḥurdād 28th, 1358 / June 18th, 1979: 2.
- M. Mużaffarī (a), “Warf namā”, *Dāmūn (Našriya-yi farhangsarāy-i ḥalq-i Gīlān)*, II-2, Ḥurdād 15th, 1360 / June 5th, 1981: 2.
- M. Mużaffarī (b), “Taqwīm-i gīlānī”, *Dāmūn (Našriya-yi farhangsarāy-i ḥalq-i Gīlān)*, II-2, Ḥurdād 15th, 1360 / June 5th, 1981: 2, 8.
- M. Mużaffarī (c), “Taqwīm-i gīlānī. ‘Yak-i ziyād’ yā kabīsa”, *Dāmūn (Našriya-yi farhangsarāy-i ḥalq-i Gīlān)*, II-3, Tīr 15th, 1360 / July 6th, 1981: 2.
- M. Mużaffarī, “Gāhšumārī-yi Gīlān”, in: *Gīlān-nāma, Majmu‘a-yi maqālāt-i Gīlānšīnāsī*, II (ba-kūšīš-i M. P. Jaktājī), Rasht, 1369/1990-1991: 398-413.
- C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, V (a cura di M. Nallino), Roma, 1944.
- Abūbaktar Muhammad binni Ja‘far Naršaxī, *Ta’rihi Buhoro*, ed. N. Kasymov, Dušanbe, 1979.
- Nawrūznāma, risāla’i dar munšā’ wa tārīḥ wa ādāb-i jašn-i Nawrūz. Niğārīš-i ‘Umar-i Ḥayyām*, ed. Muġtabā Mīnuwī, Tehran, 1933.
- J. Needham, *Scienza e civiltà in Cina*, Vol. I (*Lineamenti introduttivi*), Torino, 1981. (Italian transl. of *Weishu. Science and Civilisation in China*, Cambridge, 1954).
- A. Panaino, *Tištīrya (part II). The Iranian Myth of the Star Sirius* (Is.M.E.O., S.O.R. LXVIII, 2), Roma, 1995.
- M. Pāyanda, *Ā’īnhā wa bāwardāštānīhā-yi Gīl u Daylam*, Tehran 1355/1976-1977.
- P. Pelliot, “Tokharien et koutchéen”, *Journal Asiatique*, CCXXIV, 1934: 23-106.
- E. G. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*, Vancouver, 1991.
- H. Pūr Karīm, “Marāsīm-i Nawrūz wa jašnīhā-yi bāstānī dar yak-ī az dihkadahā-yi Māzandarān”, *Hunar wa mardum* (dawra-yi jadīd), LXVI, 1347/1968: 19-27.
- Zakariya Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini’s *Kosmographie* (Erster Theil): *Kitāb ‘ajāyib al-maḥlūqāt, Die Wunder der Schöpfung* (aus den Handschriften del

Bibliotheken zu Berlin, Gotha, Dresden und Hamburg), ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1849.

Š. A. Rahmanov, *Tavka*, Taškent, 2001.

I. Rāʾīn, *Daryānawardī-yi īrāniyān az dawrānhā-yi afsānaʾī tā zuhūr-i islām*, Tehran 1350/1971-1972.

P. Rajabī, *Jašnhā-yi īrānī*, Tehran 1375/1996-1997.

C. Rapin, “Hinduism in the Indo-Greek Area. Notes on Some Indian Finds from Bactria and Two Temples in Taxila”, in: *In the Land of the Gryphons. Papers on Central Asian Archaeology in Antiquity*, ed. A. Invernizzi, Firenze, 1995: 275-291.

P. Riboud, “Le cheval sans cavalier dans l’art funéraire sogdien en Chine: à la recherche des sources d’un thème composite”, *Arts Asiatiques*, 58, 2003: 148-161.

M. Rūh al-Amīnī, *Āyīnhā wa jašnhā-yi kuhan dar Īrān-i imrūz*, Tehran 1376/1997-1998.

M. ʿA. Ḥ. Sadīd al-Salṭana-yi Bandar ʿAbbāsī, *Pīrāmūn-i Ḥalīj-i Fārs wa daryā-yi ʿUmān*, Tehran 1371/1992-1993.

H. Šanʿatī, “Taqwīm-i čūpānī wa nujūm-i kūhistānī dar Lālazār-i Kirmān”, *Āyanda*, VI-9/12, Āḍar-Isfand 1359/1980-1981: 690-699.

G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, 3 voll., Huntington, New York, 1975.

G. Scarcia, “Cosroe II, San Sergio e il *sade*”, *Studi sull’Oriente Cristiano*, 4-2 (Miscellanea Metreveli), Roma, 2000: 171-227.

G. Scarcia, “Zoroastrian calendar and its myth”, in: *Central Asia. A decade of reforms. Centuries of memories*, eds. G. Bellingeri, G. Pedrini, *Orientalia Veneziana* 15, Firenze, 2003: 133-141.

Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology, “A Brief Report on Excavation of the Elder Princess Xincheng’s Tomb of Tang Zhaoling Mausoleum”, *Kaogu yu Wenwu*, 3, 1997: 3-38.

Sh. Shahbazi, “Hunting. i. In the Pre-Islamic Period”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, XII Vol., ed. E. Yarshater, New York, 2004: 577-580.

C. Silvi Antonini, "The Paintings in the Palace of Afrasyab (Samarkand)", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, LXIII, 1-3, 1989=109-144.

C. Silvi Antonini, "Il tema del banchetto nella pittura dell'Asia Centrale", in: *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo*, Roma, 1996: 439-460.

N. Sims-Williams, F. de Blois, "The Bactrian Calendar", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, X, 1996: 149-165.

O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting Leading Masters and Principles. Part I. The First Millenium. Vol. I. Early Chinese Painting*, New York, 1956.

O. I. Smirnova, *Očerki iz istorii Sogda*, Moskva, 1970.

V. S. Solov'ev, "Datirovka i interpretacija nastennoj živopisi Tavki", in: *Central Asia from the Achaemenids to the Timurids: Archaeology, History, Ethnology, Culture. Materials of an International Scientific Conference Dedicated to the Centenary of Aleksandr Markovich Belenitsky*, ed. V. P. Nikonorov, St. Petersburg, 2005: 194-195.

M. Sutūda (Sotoodeh), *Farhang-i gīlakī*, Tehran (Bahman) 1332/1954.

S. Tāhbāz, *Yūš*, Tehran, (Hurdād) 1342/1963.

R. Takeuchi, "The Parthian Shot in Hunting Scenes", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, X, 2004: 29-49.

S. H. Taqīzāda, *Gāhšumārī dar Īrān-i qadīm*, in: *Maqālāt-i Taqīzāda* (ba-kūšīš-i Ī. Afšār), X, Tehran 1357/1978-1979.

S. H. Taqīzāda, "Taqwīm wa panja-yi Kāšān", *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, XVIII, Tehran, 1350/1971-1972: 139-154.

J. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage. Textiles from Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean 300 to 600 A.D.*, Washington D.C., 1982.

Y. Ustinova, "Lycanthropy in Sarmatian Warrior Societies: the Kobyakovo Torque", *Ancient West & East*, 1, 1, Leiden, 2002: 102-123.

A. Vakilian: "Panje Pitok a Memorial of Nowruz Festivals in Taleghan", in: *Articles presented to the 1st symposium on Nowruz* (Spring 2001), Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation, Anthropology Research Center, Tehran, 2001: 201-209.

J. Walbridge, "A Persian Gulf in the Sea of Lights: the Chapter on Naw-rūz in the *Bihār al-anwār*", *Iran*, XXXV, 1997: 83-92.

C. B. Wakeman, *Hsi Jung (The Western Barbarians): An Annotated Translation of the Five Chapters of the "T'ung Tien" on the Peoples and Countries of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Ph.d. unpublished dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1990.

Muḥammad Ṭāhir Waḥid-i Qazwīnī, *ʿAbbās-nāma yā šarḥ-i zindagānī-yi 22-sāla-yi šāh ʿAbbās-i Ṭānī (1052-1073)*, ed. I. Dihgān, [Tehran], 1329/1951.

Wāžanāma-yi buzurg-i Ṭabarī, I, Tehran, 1377/1998-1999.

F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname* (Festgabe des deutschen Reiches zur Jahrtausendfeier für den persischen Dichturfürsten), Berlin 1935.

Wu Hung, "Where Are They Going? Where Did They Come From? – Hearse and «Soul Carriage» in Han Dynasty Tomb Art", *Orientalism*, 29, 6, 1998=22-31.

Xu Xuya, "An Investigation and Discrimination of the Religious States in Central Asia Recorded in the Sect of Western Regions of New History of the Tang Dynasty", *Studies in World Religions*, 4, 2002: 121-129.

Ḥ. Yağmā'ī, Report on the Sada festival written for the Anjuman-i Īrānšīnāsī and published in the miscellany *Jašn-i sada*, Tehran, 1324/1946: 34-35.

Yu Taishan, *An Annotated Register on the Western Regions in the History of the Two Han, Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties*, Beijing, 2005.

Zhang Guangda, Rong Xinjiang, "A Concise History of the Turfan Oasis and Its Exploration", *Asia Major*, Third Series, XI, 2, 1998: 13-36.

Zhang Hongxiu, *A Collection of China's Tang Dynasty Frescoes*, Shenzhen, 1995.

Zhou Tianyou, *Mural Paintings in the Mausoleums of Princess Xincheng, Fangling and Yongtai*, Beijing, 2002.

QUADERNI

del Seminario di Iranistica, Uralo-Altaistica e Caucasologia dell'Università degli Studi di Venezia

1 – Giacomo E. CARRETTO

Saggi su Mes'ale. Un'avanguardia letteraria turca del 1928, Venezia 1979 (Roma, Arti Grafiche Scalia).

2 – *Zurvan e Muhammad*. Comunicazioni iranistiche e islamistiche presentate al Primo Simposio Internazionale di cultura transcaucasica (Milano-Bergamo-Venezia, 12-15 giugno 1979), Venezia 1979 (Roma, Arti Grafiche Scalia).

3 – Giacomo E. CARRETTO

Hars-Kultur. Nascita di una cultura nazionale, Venezia 1979 (Roma, Arti Grafiche Scalia).

4 – Giorgio VERCELLIN

Afghanistan 1973-1978, dalla Repubblica Presidenziale alla Repubblica Democratica, Venezia 1979 (Roma, Arti Grafiche Scalia).

5 – *Soltaniye II*, Venezia 1979 (Roma, Arti Grafiche Scalia).

6 – *Studi su Harran*, Venezia, La Tipografica, 1979.

7 – *Transcaucasica II*, Venezia 1980 (Roma, Arti Grafiche Scalia).

8 – *Problemi dell'età timuride* Atti del III Convegno Internazionale sull'Arte e sulla civiltà islamica (Venezia 22-25 ottobre 1979), Venezia, La Tipografica, 1980.

9 – *Soltaniye III*, Venezia 1982 (Roma, Tipografia Don Bosco).

10 – *Isfahan*, Venezia, La Tipografica, 1981.

11 – *Tehran-Kabul. "A Tale of Two Cities"*. A cura di Silvia CURZU, Lucia Serena LOI, Gianroberto SCARCIA, Venezia 1980 (Roma, Arti Grafiche Scalia).

12 – Mario NORDIO

Lessico dei logogrammi aramaici in Medio-Persiano, Venezia, La Tipografica, 1980.

13 – *L'avanguardia a Tiflis*. A cura di Luigi MAGAROTTO, Marzio MARZADURI, Giovanna PAGANI CESA, Venezia 1982 (Roma, Arti Grafiche Scalia).

14 – *La lingua e la cultura ungherese come fenomeno areale*. Atti del III Convegno Interuniversitario degli studiosi di lingua e letteratura ungherese e di filologia ugro-finnica (Ca' Foscari, 8-11 novembre 1977). A cura di Andrea CSILLAGHY, Venezia 1977-1981.

15 – Gianroberto SCARCIA

Kabul come test. Note di un viaggio autunnale tra Kosovo e Kashmir, Venezia 1981 (Roma, Tipografia Don Bosco).

16 – *Il Tesoro nascosto degli afghani*. A cura di Lucia Serena LOI, Bologna, Il Cavaliere Azzurro, 1987.

17 – Frederick Mario FALES

Cento lettere neo-assire. Traslitterazione e traduzione, commento e note, Venezia, La Tipografica, 1983

18 – Elisabetta GASPARINI

Le pitture murali della Muradiye di Edirne, Padova, [Sargon Ed.], 1985.

19 – *La Bisaccia dello Sheikh. Omaggio ad Alessandro Bausani islamista nel sessantesimo compleanno*, Venezia 1981 (Roma, Arti Grafiche Scalia).

20 – (I PARTE) *Studi Miscellanei uralici e altaici dedicati ad Alessandro Korosi-Csoma nel secondo centenario della nascita (1784-1984)*. A cura di Andrea CSILLAGHY, Venezia, Libreria Editrice Cafoscarina, 1987.

20 – (II PARTE) Rita BARGIGLI

'Unsurì, lettura dei Nasib, Venezia, La Tipografica, 1982.

21 – *Per l'Undici di Marzo*, 7 voll., Venezia, [La Tipografica], 1983.

Parte 1 – *Bilancio*;

” 2 – Rita Bargigli, *Riccioli in 'Unsurì e Farruhi*;

” 3 – Giampiero Bellingeri, *Molla Penah Vaqif, Vita e Qosma*;

” 4 – Giovanni Curatola, *Kalat-i Nadiri, Note sul "Barocco" indo-persiano*;

” 5 – Maurizio Pistoso, *Note ad alcuni capitoli del Siyasatname*;

” 6 – Giorgio Vercellin, *AWQ*;

” 7 – Riccardo Zipoli, *Il marchio rovente, Dag in Kalim e 'Urfi*.

22 – *Georgica I*. A cura di Luigi MAGAROTTO e Gianroberto SCARCIA, Roma, Arti Grafiche Scalia, 1985.

23 – Gennadij AJGI

I canti dei popoli del Volga, I. Antologia ciuvascia. A cura di Gianroberto SCARCIA e Alessandra TREVISAN, Roma, Arti Grafiche Scalia, 1986.

EURASIATICA

Quaderni del Dipartimento di Studi Eurasiatici dell'Università degli Studi Ca' Foscari di Venezia

1 – Irina SEMENKO

Poetika pozdnego Mandel'shtama, Roma, Carucci Editore, 1986.

2 – Giulio BUSI

La istoria de Purim io ve racconto... Il libro di Ester secondo un rabbino emiliano del Cinquecento, Rimini, Luisè Editore, 1987.

3 – *Georgica II. Materiali sulla Georgia Occidentale*. A cura di Luigi MAGAROTTO e Gianroberto SCARCIA, Bologna, Il Cavaliere Azzurro, 1988.

4 – *Sebéos, Storia*. A cura di Claudio GUGEROTTI, Verona, Casa Editrice Mazziana, 1990.

5 – *Studi Eurasiatici in onore di Mario Grignaschi*. A cura di Giampiero BELLINGERI e Giorgio VERCELLIN, Venezia, Libreria Universitaria Editrice, 1988.

6 – Stefano CARBONI

Il Kitab albulhan di Oxford, Torino, Editrice Tirrenia Stampatori, 1988.

7 – Igor' TERENT'EV

Sobranie sochinenij. A cura di Marzio MARZADURI e Tat'jana NIKOL'SKAJA, Bologna, S. Francesco, 1988.

8 – *Istituzioni e poteri all'epoca Il-Khanide* Atti del II Simposio internazionale "Armenia-Assiria". A cura di Mario NORDIO e Boghos Levon ZEKIYAN, Padova, Editoriale Programma, 1988.

9 – Daniela RIZZI

La rifrazione del simbolo. Teorie del teatro nel simbolismo russo, Padova, Edizioni GB, 1989.

10 – Abdul Halim SHARAR

Il matrimonio di Agha Sadiq. Traduzione e nota di Daniela BREDI, Venezia, [Poligrafo], 1989.

11 – *La Palestina nella produzione a stampa italiana, 1475-1900. Saggi e bibliografia*. A cura di Chiara BRUNELLI [...et alii], Le Monnier, 1989.

12 – Daniela MENEGHINI CORREALE, Giampaolo URBANI, Riccardo ZIPOLI *Handbook of Lirica Persica* (Lirica Persica 1), Venezia, Poligrafo, 1989.

13 – Daniela MENEGHINI CORREALE

Hafez – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 2), Venezia, Poligrafo, 1989.

14 – Giulio BUSI

Libri e scrittori nella Roma ebraica del Medioevo, Rimini, Luisè Editore, 1990.

15 – Giovanni CURATOLA

Draghi. La tradizione artistica orientale e i disegni del tesoro del Topkapı, Venezia, Poligrafo, 1989.

16 – Vladimir N. TOPOROV

Neomifologizm v russkoj literature nachala XX veka. Roman A.A. Kondrat'eva "Na beregah Jaryni", Trento, M.Y., 1990.

17 – Roscianach HABIBI, Riccardo ZIPOLI

Faghani – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 3), Venezia, Poligrafo, 1990.

18 – Daniela MENEGHINI CORREALE

Taleb – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 4), Venezia, Poligrafo, 1990.

19 – Alessandro BAUSANI

L'Italia nel Kitab-ı Bahriyye di Piri Reis. A cura di Leonardo CAPEZZONE, Venezia 1990 (Roma, Tipografia Don Bosco).

20 – Narges SAMADI, Riccardo ZIPOLI

Naziri – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 5), Venezia, Poligrafo, 1990.

21 – Glauco CIAMMAICHELLA

Il 'Giornale Istorico' di Marino Doxarà. Vertenze veneto-tunisine e osservazioni di un commerciante sulle Reggenze barbaresche (1783-84), 1.a ed.: Pordenone, Edizioni CLAPS, 1990; 2a ed.: Pordenone, Biblioteca dell'Immagine, 1991.

22 – *Che cos'è l'Ucraina? Shcho take Ukraina?*

A cura di Gianfranco GIRAUDO (Ucrainica Italica 1), Abano Terme, Piovani Editore, 1996.

23 – Sergio MOLINARI

Lo spirito del testo. Saggi e lezioni di letteratura russa 1965-1989. A cura di Gianroberto SCARCIA, Venezia, Il Cardo, 1993.

24 – Mario NORDIO

Malta e l'Europa. Un caso di immaginario politico [in stampa].

25 – Daniela MENEGHINI CORREALE

Farroxi – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 6), Venezia, Poligrafo, 1991.

26 – Riccardo ZIPOLI

Statistics and Lirica Persica (Lirica Persica 7), Venezia, Poligrafo, 1992.

27 – Giusto TRAINA

Il complesso di Trimalcione. Movsês Xorenac'i e le origini del pensiero storico armeno, [Venezia, Casa Editrice Armena], 1991.

28 – *Asik-Kerib*. A cura di Gianroberto SCARCIA, Venezia 1991 (Roma, Tipografia Don Bosco).

29 – Mauro ZONTA

La "Classificazione delle scienze" di al-Fàrabi nella tradizione ebraica. Edizione critica e traduzione annotata della versione ebraica di Qalonymos ben Qalonymos ben Me'ir, Torino, Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1992.

30 – Aleksandr VOLKOV

Motivi Uzbecchi. A cura di Giampiero BELLINGERI, Cristina MANFREDI e Gianroberto SCARCIA, Venezia, Poligrafo, 1998.

31 – Matthias KAPPLER

Turcismi nell' "Alipasiadha" di Chatzi Sechretis, Torino, Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1993.

32 – Setrag MANOUKIYAN, Riccardo ZIPOLI

Sa'di – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 8), Venezia, Poligrafo, 1992.

33 – *Canti Lapponi*. A cura di Giorgio PIERETTO, Venezia 1992 (Roma, Tipografia Don Bosco).

34 – Daniela MENEGHINI CORREALE, Valentina ZANOLLA

'Attar – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 9), Venezia, Il Cardo, 1993.

35 – Riccardo ZIPOLI

The technique of the Gawab – Replies by Nawa'î to Hafiz and Gami, Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1993.

36 – Daniela MENEGHINI CORREALE

The handling of Ab/Water in Farruhi, Hafiz and Talib (Lirica Persica 10), Venezia, Il Cardo, 1993.

37 – *Ad limina Italiae. Ar druns Italiy. In viaggio per l'Italia con mercanti e monaci armeni.* A cura di Boghos Levon ZEKIYAN, Padova, Editoriale Programma, 1996.

38 – Johannes REUCHLIN
L'arte cabbalistica (De arte cabbalistica). A cura di Giulio BUSI e Saverio CAMPANINI, Firenze, Opus Libri, 1995.

39 – Mauro ZONTA
Un interprete ebreo della filosofia di Galeno. Gli scritti filosofici di Galeno nell'opera di Shem Tob ibn Falaquera, Torino, Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1995.

40 – *Ex libris Franco Coslovi.* A cura di Daniela BREDI e Gianroberto SCARCIA, Venezia, Poligrafo, 1996.

41 – Riccardo ZIPOLI
Bidel – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 11), Venezia, Il Cardo, 1994.

42 – Marco SALATI
I viaggi in Oriente di Sayyid 'Abbâs b. 'Alî al-Makkî, letterato e cortigiano, Padova, Editoriale Programma, 1995.

43 – *Studi slavistici in onore di Natalino Radovich.*
A cura di Rosanna BENACCHIO e Luigi MAGAROTTO, Padova, Cleup, 1996.

44 – Daniela MENEGHINI CORREALE
Salman – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 12), Venezia, Il Cardo, 1996.

45 – Mahmud DARWISH
Meno Rose. Traduzione di Gianroberto SCARCIA e Francesca RAMBALDI, Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1997.

46 – *Aristoteles Hebraicus. Versioni, commenti e compendi del Corpus Aristotelicum nei manoscritti ebraici delle biblioteche italiane.* A cura di Giuliano TAMANI e Mauro ZONTA, Venezia, Supernova, 1997.

47 – Valentina ZANOLLA
Sana'i – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 13), Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1997.

48 – Timur ZUL'FIKAROV
Leggenda di Ivan il Terribile. Traduzione di Gianroberto SCARCIA e Alessandra TREVISAN, Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1997.

- 49 – Boghos Levon ZEKIYAN
The Armenian Way to Modernity Armenian Identity Between Tradition and Innovation, Specificity and Universality, Venezia, Supernova, 1997.
- 50 – Riccardo ZIPOLI
Kamal – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 14), Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1997.
- 51 – Daniela MENEGHINI, Valentina ZANOLLA, Riccardo ZIPOLI
Outline of a Persian-English Dictionary, Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1997.
- 52 – *L'Ucraina nel XX secolo*. Atti del II Congresso dell' AISU, Venezia 3-5 dicembre 1995. A cura di Luca CALVI e Gianfranco GIRAUDO (Ucrainica Italica 2), Padova, E.V.A., 1998.
- 53 – Daniela MENEGHINI CORREALE, Riccardo ZIPOLI
The Collected Lirica Persica I, ('Attar, Bidel, Faghani, Kamal, Naziri, Sa'di, Salman, Sana'i, Taleb), vol. I, Index and Texts; vol. II, Lemma Concordance and Frequency List (Lirica Persica 15), Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1998.
- 54 – Marco SALATI
Il passaggio in India di 'Alikhan al-Shirazi al-Madani (1642-1707), Padova, CLEUP, 1999.
- 55 – *Il libro del Falcone*. A cura di Daniele GUIZZO e Gianroberto SCARCIA, Venezia, Cafoscarina 2001.
- 56 – *Bipolarità imperfette*. A cura di Gianroberto SCARCIA, Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1999.
- 57 – *Presenze femminili nella letteratura russa*. A cura di Emilia MAGNANINI, Padova, CLEUP, 2000.
- 58 – *L'Ucraina del XVIII secolo, crocevia di culture*. A cura di Adriano PAVAN, M. Marcella FERRACCIOLI e Gianfranco GIRAUDO (Ucrainica Italica 3), Padova, E.V.A., 2000.
- 59 – Danilo CAVAION
Aspetto verbale e racconto, Padova, CLEUP, 2000.
- 60 – Daniela MENEGHINI CORREALE, Valentina ZANOLLA
Eraqi – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 16), Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1999.
- 61 – Daniela MENEGHINI CORREALE, Valentina ZANOLLA
Amir Xosraw – Concordance and lexical repertories of 1000 lines (Lirica Persica 17), [in stampa].

62 – *Miti antichi e moderni tra Italia ed Ucraina*. A cura di Ksenija KONSTANTYENKO, M. Marcella FERRACCIOLI e Gianfranco GIRAUDO (Ucrainica Italica 4), Padova, E.V.A., 2000.

63 – Loredana SERAFINI AMATO

Indice lessicale dei Punktay Sakimu di K. Sirvydas. Parte I (1629), Padova, CLEUP, 2000.

64 – Simone CRISTOFORETTI

Forme “neopersiane” del calendario “zoroastriano” tra Iran e Transoxiana, Venezia, Grafiche Biesse, 2000

65 – *Gli armeni lungo le strade d'Italia*. Atti del convegno Internazionale di Torino, Genova e Livorno 8-11 marzo 1997. A Cura di Claudia BONARDI [in stampa].

66 – *Studi e scritti in memoria di Marzio Marzaduri*. A cura di Giovanna PAGANI-CESA e Ol'ga OBUCHOVA, Padova, CLEUP 2002.

67 – Daniele GUIZZO

I tre classici della lessicografia persiana d'epoca Moghul (Farhang-i Jahangiri, Burhan-i qati', Farhang-i Rashidi), Venezia, Cafoscarina 2002.

68 – *Le minoranze come oggetto di satira*. Atti del convegno “Le minoranze come oggetto di satira”, Jesolo 13-15 ottobre 2000. A cura di Gianfranco GIRAUDO e Adriano PAVAN, postfazione di Gianfranco GIRAUDO, (Studi sulle minoranze, 1), 2 volumi, Padova E.V.A., 2001.

69 – Mirza HABIB-I ISFAHANI

Dabistan-i persi. Una grammatica persiana del XIX secolo. A cura di Stefano PELLO', Venezia, Cafoscarina 2003.

70 – *La teoria della qafiya nel Mizan al-Afkar di Muhammad Sa'd Allah-i Muradabadi*. A cura di Stefano PELLO', Venezia, Cafoscarina, 2003.

71 – *Nasir al-Din-i Tusi's contribution to the Arabic-Persian theory of qafiya*. Edited by Riccardo ZIPOLI, Venezia, Cafoscarina 2003.

72 – Daniela MENEGHINI

Letteratura persiana in epoca selgiuchide, Venezia, Cafoscarina, 2004.

73 – *Una giornata con Abbas Kiarostami – Laurea ad Honorem* a cura di Riccardo Zipoli e Biancamaria Tagliapietra, Venezia, Cafoscarina 2005.

74 – *Studies on the Poetry of Anvari*, a cura Daniela Meneghini, Venezia, Cafoscarina 2006.

75 – “*Poesie*” di Nazir Akbarabadi. Introduzione e traduzione di Daniela BREDI, Venezia, Cafoscarina, 2006.

76 – Michela ANDREATTA

Poesia religiosa ebraica di età barocca. L'innario della confraternita “Shomerim la-boqer” (Mantova 1612). Padova, Studio Editoriale Gordini 2007.

77 – Alessia DAL BIANCO

La qāfiya nel Kaššāf ištīlāḥāt al-funūn, Venezia, Cafoscarina, 2007.

PUBBLICAZIONI FUORI COLLANA

Riccardo ZIPOLI

The Tomb of Arghūn, Venezia-Tehran, Roma, [Arti Grafiche Scalia], 1978.

Incontri tra Oriente ed Occidente, 4 voll., Venezia 1979.

1. Luigi MAGAROTTO, Pier Giovanni DONINI, Ginroberto SCARIA, *Russia e Oriente: il caso Griboedov*.
2. Riccardo ZIPOLI, *Aspetti dell'opera iranistica di Italo Pizzi*.
3. Giovanni CURATOLA, *Sui "Bianchi e Blu" cinesi: il problema della provenienza del cobalto*.
4. Adriana BOSCARO, *Sulle spezie e dove crescono: lettera di Tom, Pires a re Manuel, da Cochín*.

Carla COCO, Flora MANZONETTO

Baili veneziani alla Sublime Porta. Storia e caratteristiche dell'ambasciata veneta a Costantinopoli, Venezia, Stamperia di Venezia, 1985.

Mariola OFFREDI, Vincenzo MINGIARDI, D. DI VIRGILIO

Saggi sulla poesia Hindi contemporanea. Milano, Cesviet, 1986. (Studi e ricerche. Letteratura. 5).

Cecilia COSSIO

Il romanzo anchalik hindi, Milano, Cesviet, 1987.

Pankaj BIST, Asgar VAJĀHAT

Dal buio. A cura di Mariola OFFREDI e Patrizia DI COCCO, Milano, Cesviet, 1987.

PHANISHVARNATH "RENU"

Il lembo sporco. A cura di Cecilia COSSIO, Milano, Cesviet, 1989.

Carla COCO, Flora MANZONETTO

Da Mattia Corvino agli Ottomani. Rapporti diplomatici tra Venezia e l'Ungheria, 1458-1541, Venezia 1990.

10th EUROPEAN CONFERENCE ON MODERN SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES

Proceedings

1. *Trade and politics in the Indian Ocean, historical and contemporary perspectives*. A cura di Giorgio BORSA, New Delhi, Manohar, 1990.
2. *Regional disparities in India, rural and industrial dimensions*. A cura di Dietmar ROTHERMUND and Suranjit KUMAR SAHA, New Delhi, Manohar, 1990.
3. *Rites and beliefs in modern India*. A cura di Gabriella EICHINGER FERRO-LUZZI, New Delhi, Manohar, 1990.
4. *Language versus dialect, linguistic and literary essays on Hindi, Tamil and Sarnami*. A cura di Mariola OFFREDI, New Delhi, Manohar, 1990.

5. *Islam, politics and society in South Asia*. A cura di André WINK, New Delhi, Manohar, 1990.
6. *Nationalism, ethnicity and political development in South Asia*. A cura di Diethelm WEIDEMANN, New Delhi, Manohar, 1990.
7. *Capitalist form of production in South Asia, consequences of British policies*. A cura di Franco FARINELLI, New Delhi, Manohar, 1990.
8. *Gender, caste and power in South Asia, social status and mobility in a transitional society*. A cura di John Peter NEELSEN, New Delhi, Manohar, 1990.

Mohan RAKESH

Il signore delle rovine e altre novelle. A cura di Cecilia COSSIO, Milano, Cesviet, 1990.

Mariola OFFREDI

Lo yoga di Gorakh, tre manoscritti inediti, Milano, Cesviet, 1991.

Rahi MASUM RAZA

Topi Shukla. A cura di Cecilia COSSIO. Milano, Cesviet, 1992. (Testi a disposizione, 10).

Atti del quinto simposio internazionale di arte Armena. Venezia – Milano – Bologna – Firenze, 28 maggio – 5 giugno 1988. A cura di Boghos Levon ZEKIYAN, Venezia, c. 1991 [Venezia, Tipo-Litografia Armena, 1992].

Literature, Language and the Media in India. Proceedings of the 11th European Conference on modern South Asian Studies, Amsterdam 1990, Panel 13. A cura di Mariola OFFREDI, New Delhi, Manohar, 1992.

Mohan Rakesh: un dramma in tre parti. A cura di Cecilia COSSIO. Milano, Cesviet, 1993.

Cecilia COSSIO

Shashi Kapur: una stella coperta da una nube. Milano, Cesviet, 1993 (Studi e ricerche. Cinema. 1)

PREMCHAND

Godan = (Il dono della vacca). A cura di Mariola OFFREDI. Milano, Cesviet, 1994 (Studi e ricerche. Letteratura. 12).

Franco COSLOVI

Lingua e poesia dell'Islam indiano. A cura di Daniela BREDI e Gianroberto SCARCIA. Venezia, 1996 (Grafiche Biesse).

Mariola OFFREDI

La poesia di Vinod Kumar Sukl. Milano, Cesviet, 1998 (Studi e ricerche. Letteratura. 7).

Carlo ARENA

Raghuvir Sahay nella solitudine di una strada affollata. Milano, Cesviet, 1999 (Studi e ricerche. Letteratura. 8).

Mariola OFFREDI

Il poemetto citrekha di Malik Muhammad, Milano, Cesviet , 1999 (Studi e ricerche. Letteratura. 9).

Boghos Levon ZEKIYAN

L'Armenia e gli armeni. Polis lacerata e patria spirituale: la sfida di una sopravvivenza (Carte armene), Milano, Guerini e Associati, 2000.

Emanuela TREVISAN SEMI

L'epistolario di Taamrat Emmanuel. Un intellettuale ebreo d'Etiopia nella prima metà del XX secolo (Il Politico e La Memoria) , Torino, L'Harmattan Italia, 2000.

The Banyan Tree. Essays on Early Literature in New Indo-Aryan Languages. Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Early Literature in New Indo-Aryan Languages, 2 voll., Venice, 1997. A cura di Mariola OFFREDI, New Delhi, Manohar, 2000.

Aristotele e i suoi commentatori nel mondo arabo. A cura di Giuseppe SERRA. Padova, Il Poligrafo Casa Editrice srl., 2002.

L'albero della Croce: prima, dopo, nell'esilio e nell'Islam. A cura di Rudy FAVARO. Roma, 2003.

Il falcone di Bistam. A cura di Gianroberto SCARCIA, Matteo COMPARETI, Venezia, Cafoscarina, 2003.

La Russia verso Oriente: il crocevia del Caucaso. A cura di Sergio BERTOLISSI, Luigi MAGAROTTO. Napoli, M. D'Auria, 2004.

Islam e diritti umani: un (falso?) problema. A cura di Mario NORDIO e Giorgio VERCELLIN. Reggio Emilia, Diabasis, 2005 (I Muri Bianchi).

Alessandro GORI

Contatti culturali nell'Oceano Indiano e nel Mar Rosso e processi di islamizzazione in Etiopia e Somalia. Venezia, Cafoscarina, 2006.

QUADERNI DI STUDI ARABI

Studi e testi Del Dipartimento dell'Antichità e del Vicino Oriente. Sezione di Arabistica

A reader of Classical Arabic Literature. Annotated and edited by S. A. BONEBAKKER and Michael FISHBEIN. Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1995.

Maria Pia PEDANI FABRIS

La dimora della pace. Considerazioni sulle capitolazioni tra i paesi islamici e l'Europa. Venezia, Cafoscarina, 1996.

Scienza e Islam. Atti della giornata di studio (Venezia, 30 gennaio 1999). A cura di Giovanni CANOVA. Roma, Herder, 1999.

Il Kitab Aristatalis al-faylasuf fi l-firasa nella traduzione di Hunayn B. Ishaq. A cura di Antonella GHERSETTI. Roma, Herder, 1999.

Maria Pia PEDANI

Dalla frontiera al confine. Roma, Herder, 2002.

