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Color plates including images from Penélopé Riboud, Pratapaditya Pal, and Frantz Grenet follow p. 34 in this volume.

Introduction to "Persia beyond the Oxus"

On April 22, 2010, an international symposium was held at UCLA on the theme "Persia beyond the Oxus: The Circulation of Iranian Languages and Cultural Practices in Central Asia," organized under the joint auspices of the Musa Sabi Term Chair of Iranian (2004–2009) and the UCLA Program on Central Asia (Asia Institute), and convened by Nile Green, History, UCLA; and M. Rahim Shayegan, Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, UCLA.

Bringing together specialists in philology, archaeology, art history, and religion, the conference strove to assess the contributions of both Iran and Central Asia to the dispersal and vigor of East Iranian languages and cultural practices, and thereby identify the processes and mechanisms of language dissemination and transculturation more generally in Iran and Turan. In particular, special heed was paid to factors favoring or adversely affecting the fortunes of Iranian and Central Asian languages, such as Bactrian, Sogdian, and Gāndhārī, and their distinctive cultures in Iran and Turan, as well as to the specific forces and mechanisms accounting for their circulation and eventual demise.

The wider implication of a conference on Iran and Central Asia in (Late) Antiquity is related to recent developments in major fields of Iranian Studies. Over past decades, Late Antique studies have come programmatically to encompass the Iranian world in reconstructions of ancient history, with mutual benefits to both disciplines, allowing one to integrate the imperial *other* (the Sasanian empire) into "world" history, and Iranian Studies to escape the isolating confines of "Oriental" studies. The understandable but inevitable westward inclination of scholarship devoted to Sasanian Iran and its antecedents, may occasionally lead to the neglect of the empire's eastern components, as well as the debt it owes eastern influences. Partially, in order to serve as corrective to this penchant, the conference provided a glimpse at the *stimuli* synchronic and diachronic perspectives on Iranian and Turanian exchanges could evince.

The organizers would like to take this opportunity to thank the distinguished speakers and discussants: Jason BeDuhn, Northern Arizona University; Carol Bromberg, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*; Michael Cooperson, UCLA; Susan Downey, UCLA; Frantz Grenet, CNRS / École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris; Stephanie Jamison, East Asian Languages and Cultures, UCLA; Daniel T. Potts, University of Sydney; Richard Salomon, University of Washington; Martin Schwartz, UC Berkeley; Nicholas Sims-Williams, SOAS, London; and Ursula Sims-Williams, The British Library. It is furthermore my pleasure to acknowledge the Sabi family for making this event possible, as well as for generously supporting the publication of the papers. I would also like to express my gratitude to, and admiration for, Carol Bromberg for graciously agreeing to publish them in the prestigious *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* with her usual care and excellence.

The following were among the papers presented during the symposium.

In "*Cataphractus* and *kamāndār*," Daniel T. Potts investigates the origins and diffusion of heavy cavalry, the so-called catafractarii (*kataphraktoi*), in ancient Iran and Central Asia. The four dominant schools of thought: Iranian, Turanian, Choresmian, and Parthian are considered. Potts, however, proposes to see in the Neo-Assyrian development of armor the predecessor of the

kataphraktoi. Assyrian armor technology, the author argues, may have penetrated into Iran in the wake of Assyrian campaigns against the Medes on the plateau, and thence into Central Asia, whence it was transferred *back* to Achaemenid Babylonia.

Frantz Grenet, in "Where are the Sogdian Magi?," draws attention to the relative inconspicuousness of Zoroastrian priests in Sogdian documentation and provides a survey of evidence, textual, visual, and archeological, attesting to their presence and activities. The visual evidence appears in funerary art (Sogdian ossuaries, tomb reliefs of Sogdian expatriates in China), where priests were clearly identified by their specific long dress, their mouth protection (*padām*), and their sacred girdle (*kustīg*), but on mural paintings, the representation of the magis is less marked, perhaps because of their adoption of an accoutrement similar to that of their patrons. Documentary evidence is provided by the fourth-century Sogdian Ancient Letter 1 and the mid-eighth-century Mugh material from Panjikent, in which two distinct titles, the *βγnpt* /*βaγnpat*/ "temple chief" and the *mγwpt* /*moγpat*/ "chief magus" are reported. The direct contribution of Sogdian magi to Sogdian literature is chiefly limited to several fragments, translated in appendices to the article. These consist of (1) two texts describing the ascent of Zarathustra to heaven and another on the prophet's questioning the supreme God *Āδβaγ* (= Ōhrmazd) about the reunion of family members in paradise; as well as (2) the longer Sogdian text P.3 that is concerned with rain-making, testimony to the efforts of late Sogdian magi to appropriate the influential position of "rain-maker" in the context of Turkic political dominion.

In "Gāndhārī in the Worlds of India, Iran, and Central Asia," Richard Salomon provides a sweeping and brilliant survey of Gāndhārī not only as an important administrative language *and* Buddhist literary vehicle in its Indian homeland but also as a significant frontier language in great parts of the eastern Iranian world in the first three centuries of the Common Era. The author, based on broad documentary evidence in Gāndhārī (Buddhist and other), clearly demonstrates how Gāndhārī rose to prominence, carried by the military might of successive states that occupied Greater Gandhāra before falling into disuse following the disintegration of the selfsame polities once responsible for its rise in the region.

While "Some Bactrian Terms for Realia," discussed by Nicholas Sims-Williams, differs from the original presentation of the author, it is included as its content proves to be of pertinence to the overarching themes of the symposium. In this study the author follows the intriguing journey of two Bactrian words, which although not attested in extant Bactrian documents, ought to be postulated, as they seem to occur as loanwords in other Middle and New Iranian languages; and a third, this instance an attested Bactrian word that the author derives from Chinese.

M. Rahim Shayegan
Guest Editor

Where Are the Sogdian Magi?

FRANTZ GRENET; WITH SAMRA AZARNOUCHE (APPENDIX 2)

CNRS / ÉCOLE PRATIQUE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES, PARIS; RESEARCH ASSISTANT, COLLÈGE DE FRANCE

Although Sogdiana offers substantial evidence of Zoroastrian orthopraxy, especially concerning the funerary rituals, the Zoroastrian clergy is relatively inconspicuous there and one has to draw upon a large variety of sources to gather some information.[1] This lack of visibility contrasts sharply with the situation in Sasanian Iran, where the Magi were organized according to a centralized hierarchy and appear omnipresent in the spheres of political power, administration, justice, and even trade, as shown by the large number of clerical seals stamped on bullae which had obviously sealed bags of merchandise as well as written documents. The immense social importance of the Magi of Iran had already been noticed in the fourth century by Ammianus Marcellinus (XXIII.6.32–35) who describes them as a "multitude," a "powerful race" possessing "flourishing estates" endowed with such respect that they need "no fortification walls."

The Textual Evidence

In accounts of the Arab conquest the Magi are often mentioned in connexion with the Sasanian empire, but almost never in Sogdiana. Here the protracted local resistance appears to have been conducted by local rulers sometimes allied with invading Turkish armies, and the religious component, which no doubt existed, very seldom comes to the fore. One exception is the official surrender of Samarkand in 712, which took place at the gate of the main city temple; the temple was then despoiled and the statues it contained, made of wood and precious metals, were publicly burnt by the conqueror Qutayba b. Muslim, but most accounts mention only Ghurak, king of Samarkand, and his aristocratic retinue in this context;[2] only Ibn al-Faqīh indicates that the "guardians of the idols" (*sadana*) tried to warn Qutayba against the consequences of his profanation.[3] The fact that Qutayba did not directly attack the clergy stands in contrast with his behaviour some months before in Khwārezm, the northern neighbour of Sogdiana, as recorded later on by Bīrūnī (*Chronology*): "After Qutayba b. Muslim had exterminated their scribes and executed their priests, and had burnt their books and rolls (the Khwārezmians) remained ignorant and had to rely upon their memory for their history."[4]

Here we have a clear mention of "priests" (*harābidha*, from Persian *herbēd*), but Bīrūnī does not give any such information about Sogdiana; on the contrary, he mentions that priestly writings from this country were still in circulation in his own time, a point to which I shall come back. The relatively detailed accounts we have of the conquest of Sogdiana ignore any role of priests in the resistance and, consequently, any mass persecution. The only priest mentioned in this context is a certain Khushtyār, qualified as *ʾālim al-majūs*, thus presumably a scholar-priest: according to the *Kitāb al-Qand*, a catalogue of the *muhaddith* of Samarkand, he polemicized with Qutayba when the latter captured Bukhara, and eventually became a Muslim scholar.[5] Reports from Arab travelers from the tenth century show the Zoroastrian community still flourishing in Samarkand, where they were in charge of the maintenance of the water supply.[6] Today a bridge on the main canal branch still carries the name *Pul-e āb-e moghān*, "The Bridge of the River of the Magians," but "Magians" (*moghān*, *majūs*) is a general name for "Zoroastrians," not a specific designation of the priestly class. Under the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn (813–833), the Zoroastrians of Samarkand addressed

the *hudēnān pēšōbāy*, the acknowledged leader of the Zoroastrians in Fārs and Kermān, to seek advice on the reconstruction of a stone *dakhma* (a building for the exposure of bodies).[7] In this context also the priests do not appear as distinct from the community of the Faithful, called simply *behdēn* "those of the Good Religion." At the same time this initiative suggests that one century after the conquest the Sogdian Zoroastrians had no superior religious authority of their own. But did they ever have?

Priests are mentioned on several occasions in documents written in Sogdian. Here I shall use only documents produced by followers of the "indigenous" religion, as Buddhist, Manichaean, or Christian texts often twist the indigenous religious terminology in a negative sense considerably changing the original meanings, or refer only to realities belonging to the Sasanian empire. The earliest mention is in the *Ancient Letter* 1, written in 314 C.E. by a Sogdian merchant's wife who lived in Dunhuang.[8] The priest is designated as *vaghnpat* (*βγnpt*), literally "master of a temple," a term unknown in Sasanian Iran (except in the Manichaean polemical text M 219 with the meaning "idol-priest"), but whose cognates exist in Armenian (*bagnapet*, borrowed from Parthian) and Middle Indian (*bakanapati* or *vakanapati*, borrowed from Bactrian). It is always applied to a priest serving a temple containing images.[9] In the Dunhuang letter the *vaghnpat* is not named, which might indicate that he is the only holder of this office in the community; he provides the author of the letter, who has been abandoned by her husband and by everyone in his clan, with material support and promises to give her a camel and a bodyguard if she decides to go and join her husband. Thus the Zoroastrian clergy appears in the same institutional role of protector of the poor as in Sasanian Iran.

The other references to priesthood are in the documents from Mount Mugh, issued by various individuals and administrations in Panjikent in the years before the Arab conquest in 722. The title *vaghnpat* occurs a few times. One instance is in the political letter Nov. 5, but the context is not clear.[10] Vladimir Livshits has argued for another occurrence in a fragmentary letter seemingly addressed by the Arab governor of Khurāsān and dealing with matters of high-flying diplomacy (the Chinese emperor and the Turkish *qaghan* are mentioned), but his reading "*vaghnpat* of Samarkand" for the title of the addressee is partly restored; a more plausible restoration *dapirpat* "chancellor" has since been proposed.[11] Another document, 1.I, a letter issued by an agent of the Arab governor and also dealing with diplomacy, actually mentions "Kurchī the *vaghnpat*" as a trusted intermediary who transmits oral messages of the governor to Dēwāshtīch, ruler of Panjikent and claimant to the throne of Samarkand.[12] This document at least shows that some Zoroastrian priests played a significant political role, apparently skillfully balancing between the local powers and the conquerors at a time when the latter had not yet adopted a policy of mass conversion.

One Mugh document, and one only, attests another religious title, *moghpat* (*mγwpt*), the equivalent of Middle Persian *mowbed* "chief Magus": it is document A-5, a list of allowances granted to various people belonging to the court of Dēwāshtīch.[13] Among them is the *moghpat*, not named, which suggests he is the only *moghpat* in Panjikent. As Sogdiana had no higher level of political organization than the various principalities, the local *moghpat* might well have constituted the main religious authority known to the Sogdian Zoroastrians.

The Archaeological Evidence: The Temples

Let us now try to situate these priests in their environment. We know that at Panjikent, the only pre-Islamic Sogdian city which has undergone large-scale excavations, two temples and two temples only coexisted (fig. 1). They were built side by side when the town was founded, during the first half of the fifth century C.E., taking up about one fifth of the original surface area of the walled town, and they occupied the same territory for three centuries, until the capture of the town by the Arabs in 722. The successive architectural phases, the decoration, and the various findings were re-published or published for the first time recently in a comprehensive book by Valentin Shkoda.[14] While referring the reader to this book for specific details, one should consider here the most important facts. Both complexes were focused on a building raised on a platform (fig. 2), with several niches intended to shelter sculptures; though both cellas were found

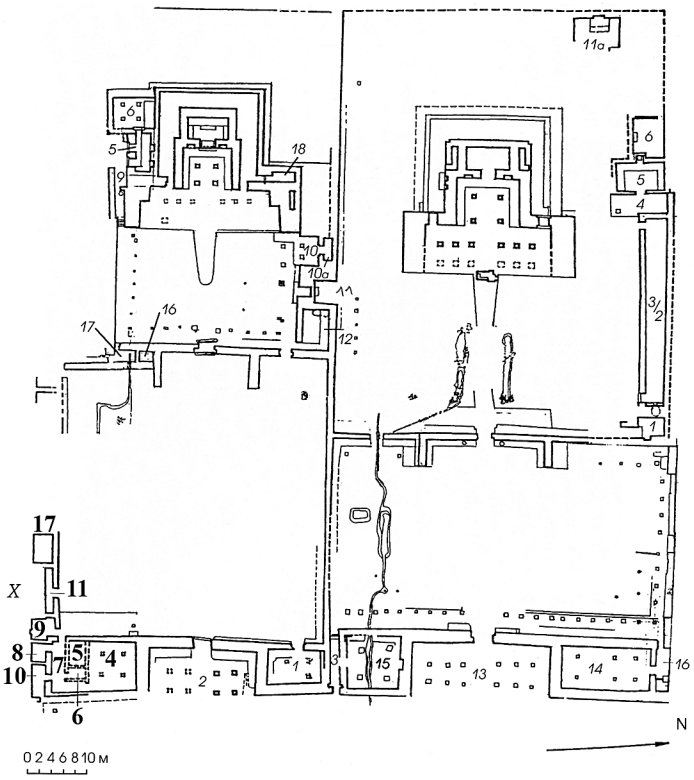

Fig. 1. The Panjikent temples (left: Temple I; right: Temple II), last phases, 7th–early 8th c. Rooms 4–10 in the southeast of Temple I were then converted into a house, room 15 in the southeast of Temple II into a Shivaite chapel. After Shkoda 2009, fig. 43.

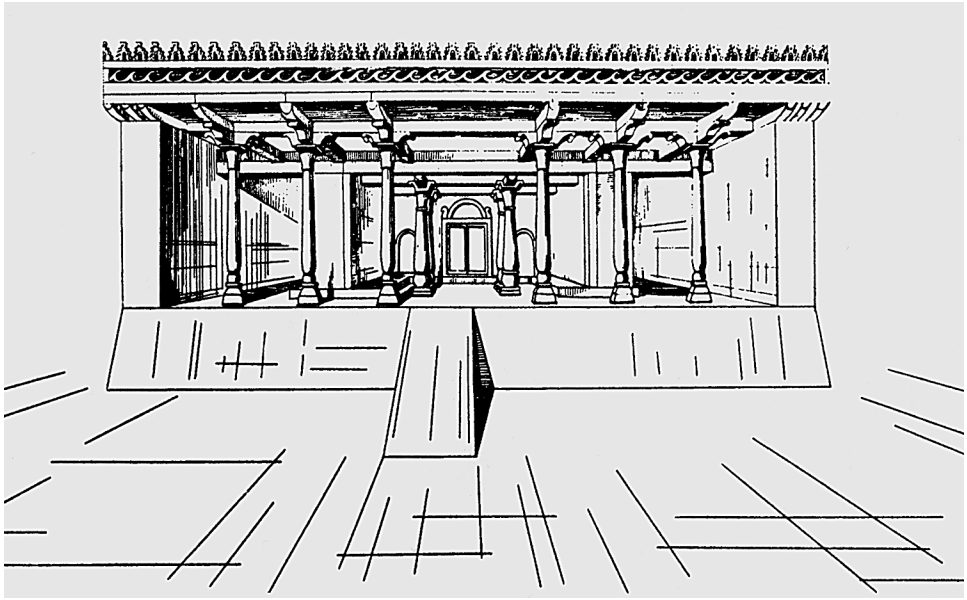

Fig. 2. Temple I, main building, first phase, ca. mid 5th c. reconstruction B. I. Marshak. After Shkoda 2009, fig. 7.

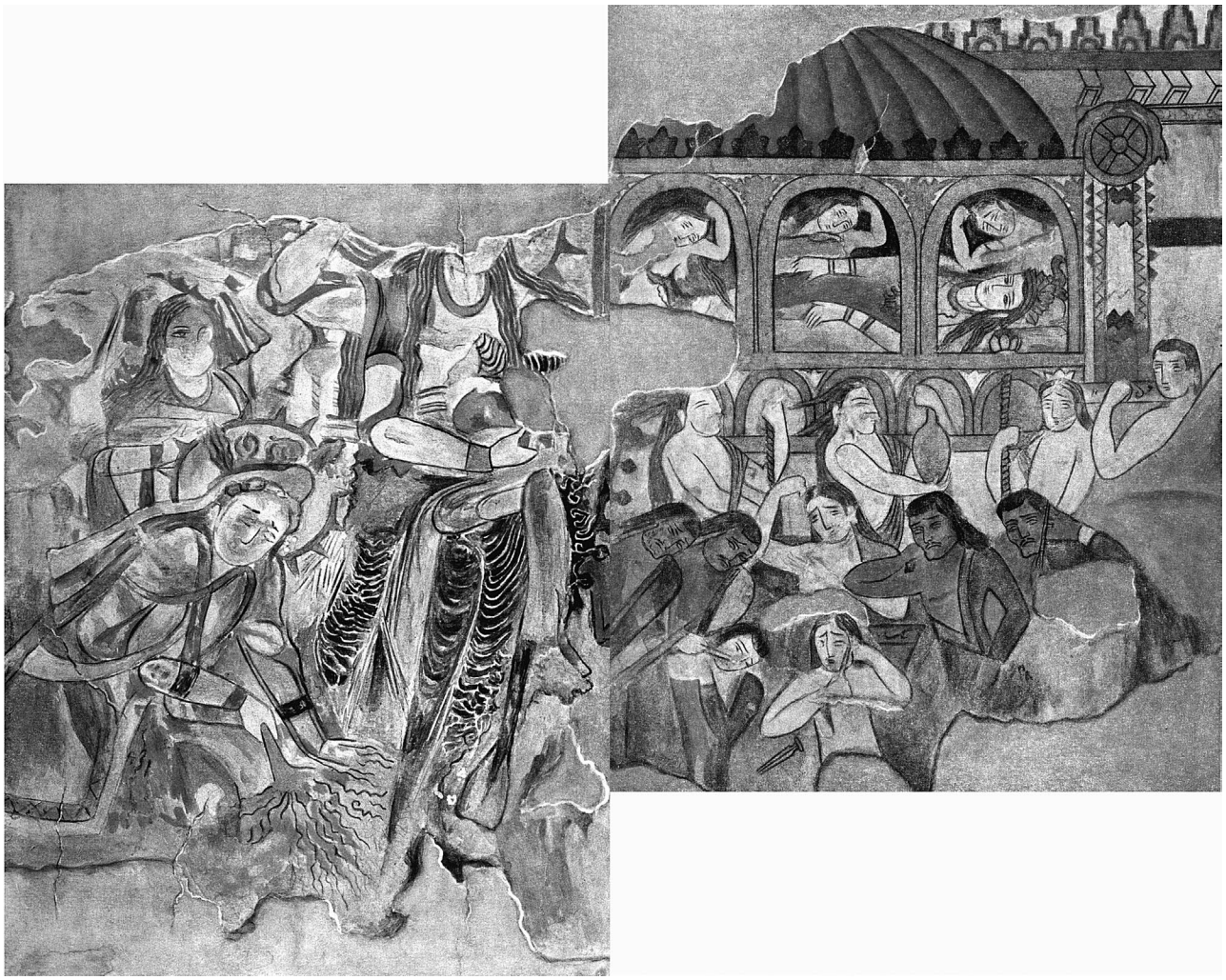

Fig. 3. Temple II, antecella: lamentation scene with Nana (standing, dishevelled) and Demeter (kneeling, holding a torch), 6th c. F. Ory after D'iakonov 1954, combined colour plates XX–XXIII (watercolours).

empty, there is no doubt that each contained one or several cult images and no central fire altar. Notwithstanding their considerable similarity in broad architectural outlines, the temples present significant differences.

The northern temple, conventionally known as "Temple II," never contained any specific room for a sacred fire. Its decoration shows beyond any doubt that it was dedicated to Nana, the major goddess of Sogdiana, whose concept, associated myths, and attributes obviously owed more to the Mesopotamian Nana-Ishtar than to the Anāhitā of the Avesta with whom she was usually identified in Iran. Almost all paintings and clay statues found in the precincts of this temple depict her seated on her lion, or closely associated deities (the Fravashis, the Vaiśravaṇa-like guardian of Hell).[15] In the antecella of the temple itself, she is shown in the company of the Greek goddess Demeter (fig. 3; pl. 15), who gave her name to a month in both the Bactrian and Sogdian calendars (Bactr. *Dēmatrigano*, Sogd. *Zhimtich*). They preside over violent lamentations for a dead or apparently dead young girl, who in a Greek "reading" should be Persephona and in a Mesopotamian "reading" Gesthinanna, sister of Tammuz; at Samarkand this myth was enacted in a festival which took place in July, as it had always done in Mesopotamia, thus independently from the moving year of the Zoroastrian calendar.[16] In the last

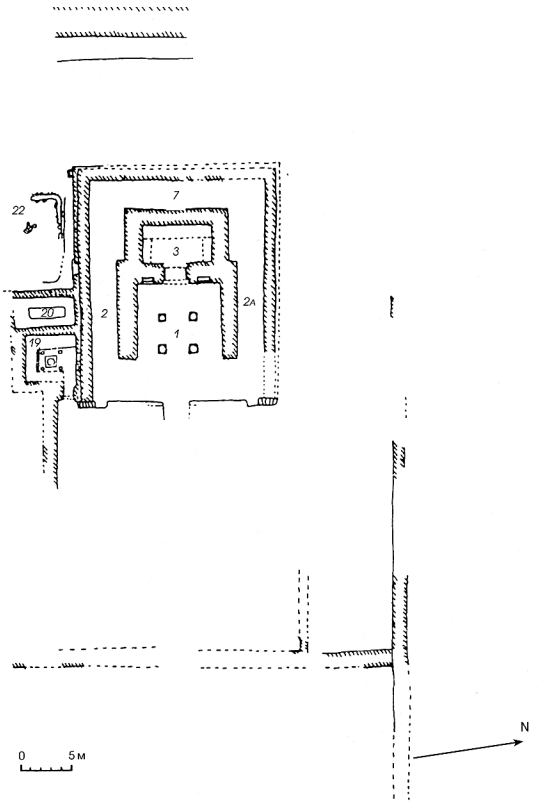

Fig. 4. Temple I, second phase, 2nd half of 5th c., with additional row of rooms at the foot of the platform (19: *ātešgāh*; 20: prayer room; 22: courtyard with a pistachio or a willow). After Shkoda 2009, fig. 11.

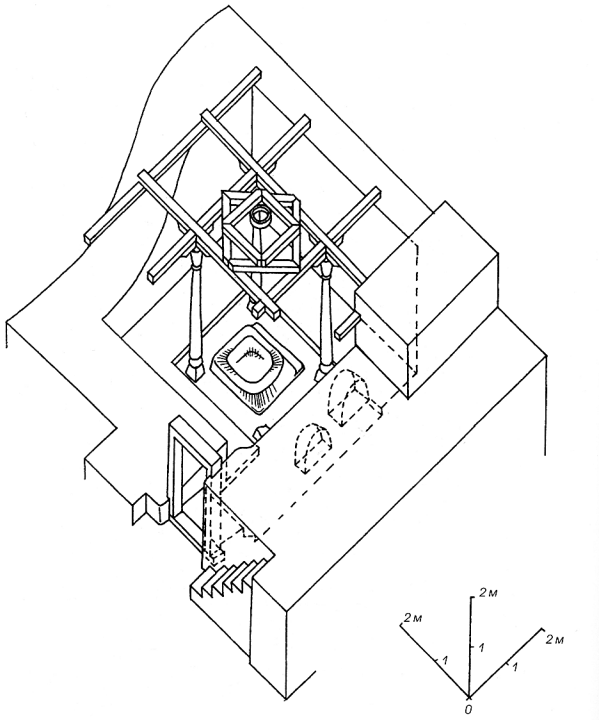

Fig. 5. Temple I, *ātešgāh* with staircase connecting with main temple building, reconstruction B. I. Marshak and S. V. Gil. After Shkoda 2009, fig. 17.

period a Shivaite sanctuary was created along the street side at the expense of the temple territory.[17] All this looks quite un-Zoroastrian and, in fact, the condemnation of Nana's lamentations set out in the Manichaean Sogdian text M 549[18] probably reflects an attitude shared by stricter Sogdian Zoroastrians who adhered to the religious norms of the Sasanian empire. A passage in the Chinese *Tangshu* suggests that such people existed in Central Asia: "The various Barbarians of the Western countries have received from Persia all the rules established there to sacrifice to the Heavenly God."[19] Another Chinese source, a list of sects in Turfan, distinguishes between "worshippers of the mourned deity" (*ku shen zhi bei*), clearly Tammuz mourned by Nana, and "worshippers of Fire and Heaven" (*huo xian*), the conventional designation of Zoroastrians *stricto sensu*.[20]

If something closer to the latter category existed in Panjikent, this was in the other temple, the so-called "Temple I" (fig. 4). In the second phase of its existence this complex was expanded by a series of rooms built along the southern face of the main platform: a four-columned *ātešgāh* (fig. 5) with a central fire altar and no cult image, and, on its western side, a prayer room with a water container for ablutions. Contrary to the main building, which in both temples belongs to an architectural tradition originating in Bactria in the Greek period, these additions are in perfect conformity with the temple architecture of Sasanian Iran. A staircase on the edge of the temple platform provided direct communication between the *ātešgāh* and the main building, implying a ritual connection between the two forms of cult practices within this temple; the excavators assume, plausibly, that embers of the sacred fire were brought in front of the cult images.[21] However, this additional cluster of rooms functioned only for a few decades, between the late fifth and the early sixth century; there is no evidence of these functions having then been transferred to another part of the temple.[22]

Notwithstanding this puzzling fact, the decoration all over the temple territory shows no image of Nana, except possibly in one case, and the two deities who can definitely be identified belong to the Avestan pantheon: Mithra[23] and Druwāsp, protectress of horses (fig. 6). Another painting shows a fire altar of the Sasanian type,[24] another an armoured god with a horse who could be either Wahrām or Tishtrya (fig. 7),[25] another a scene borrowed from the epic stock of the Yashts reworked in the "Book of Kings," namely the temporary success and the subsequent defeat of Zahhāk, the demoniac king with snakes rising from his shoulders.[26] In the northern chapel 10/10a two paintings appear to depict festivals integrated in the Zoroastrian calendar and associated with the turn of the year: the Ābrēzagān (half-nude people pouring water on each other and playing drums)[27] and the Frawardīgān (banqueters seated with yellow flowers in their caps, a custom still associated with funerary celebrations in the mountains of Tajikistan).[28] In the later phases, a house occupied the southeastern corner of the temple enclosure (see fig. 1). Perhaps it is not too daring to identify this place as the lodging of the *moghpat* of Panjikent, while a *vaghnpat* might well have served the neighbouring Nana temple.

Sherds bearing the alphabet indicate that the temples housed schools, though it is not possible to determine whether (to use Middle Persian terms) they were *frahangestān*, schools in general, or *hērbedestān,* priestly schools.

When the Arabs captured Panjikent in 722, they behaved differently with the two temples. The Nana temple was not burnt and one modest chapel continued to be frequented, but the more Zoroastrian Temple I was set on fire. Later on its abandoned ruin was used for performing the purification ritual of the "*barešnum* of the nine nights," as shown by nine pits dug on the side of the courtyard (fig. 8).[29] Though the evidence is slender one cannot forget that in the Mugh documents the *moghpat*, the plausible holder of the latter temple, appears only in the entourage of King Dēwāshtīch, while in another document one *vaghnpat*, an office more likely associated with the Nana temple, appears in truce with the Arab governor. During the reign of Dēwāshtīch the Nana temple had issued coins in the name of the goddess without any mention of the ruler, an unprecedented fact which suggests that this temple might have acted as a sort of counter-power.

Another Sogdian temple which probably had Nana as its chief goddess was excavated at Dzhartepe, halfway between Samarkand and Panjikent.[30] On the oldest painting it contained, at the back of the cella, a goddess seated on a throne supported by lions can be seen. The Dzhar-tepe temple was burned at the time of the Arab invasion, but was subsequently modestly restored above the ruin and remained in use for some time. The excavations have provided a set of cult objects far richer than those in the Panjikent temples. This material comprises a scale armour, arrows, and an iron mace with a human head made of bronze (fig. 9). The display in the fire temples of India of weapons (ox-headed maces, swords, daggers, shields) occasionally worn in processions by the priests is a well-known fact, explained as symbolizing the role of the temple in the struggle against the forces of Evil.[31] This detail has some bearing on the search of priestly figures in Sogdian iconography.

The Archaeological Evidence: Images of Priests

The earliest image so far identified is painted on a column in a temple at Erkurgan, the major ancient site in the present oasis of Qarshi (fig. 10).[32] Priests are dressed in white, the colour worn by the Magi, as attested first by Plutarch (*Roman Questions* 26.270 D–E), then by the *Bundahišn* (*Gr.Bd*.III.3)[33] and by modern custom. Due to the poor state of conservation it is impossible to decide whether they are wearing the *padām,* the mouth protection required in the presence of the sacred fire. They appear in pairs, a characteristic we shall often find elsewhere. The character at the rear carries a wreath and perhaps a schematized *āfrīnagān* (miniature altar), the one in front a similar object and another one which is indistinct.[34] In subsequent centuries we find quite a rich series of depictions of priests in Sogdian funerary art, both in Sogdiana, on figured ossuaries, and abroad, on funerary monuments belonging to rich Sogdians living in China. I reproduce here (fig. 11) a selection of the most characteristic examples: an ossuary from the Shahr-i Sabz region (top left),[35] another one from a Sogdian colony in present Kirghizistan (bottom),[36] and a detail from the funerary relief of the Sogdian notable Wirkak who died in Xian in 579 (top right).[37] On

Fig. 6. Temple I, portico of outer courtyard, last phases, 7th–early 8th c.: Druwāsp, drawing V. A. Fominykh, adapted (the horse is enhanced in grey). After Shkoda 2009, fig. 120.

Fig. 7. Temple I, portico of outer courtyard, last phases, 7th–early 8th c.: Wahrām or Tishtrya (?), drawing I. G. Nakhimova. After Shkoda 2009, fig. 118.

Fig. 8. Temple I, outer courtyard, *barešnum-gāh*, post-abandonment period, 722–ca. 750. After Shkoda 2009, fig. 87.

Fig. 10. Erkurgan temple, brick column in the cella, 3rd-4th c.: priests. After Khakimov 2004, fig. 110 (colour photograph).

Fig. 9. Dzhar-tepe temple, cult mace (iron with bronze head), 6th-7th c. After Berdimuradov and Samibaev 1999, figs. 92–93.

all three examples the priests wear the *padām* and long dresses contrasting with the trousers usually worn by Sogdian men; the triple winding up of the *kustīg*, the initiation cord, is visible on both ossuaries; they carry no weapons but various cult implements: a spoon, a dish containing animal fat, a bag presumably containing incense, and the *barsom*s, the sacred twigs, in one case touching a frame which contains the *drōn*, the small loaves of bread used in the ritual.

Surprisingly enough, no figure corresponding to this canonical portrait of the Zoroastrian priest exists in monumental Sogdian painting, although cult scenes are quite numerous both in the Panjikent temples and in private houses. In some cases there is no doubt that the offering to the fire is performed by the master of the house, as seen for example in a painting from the "Blue

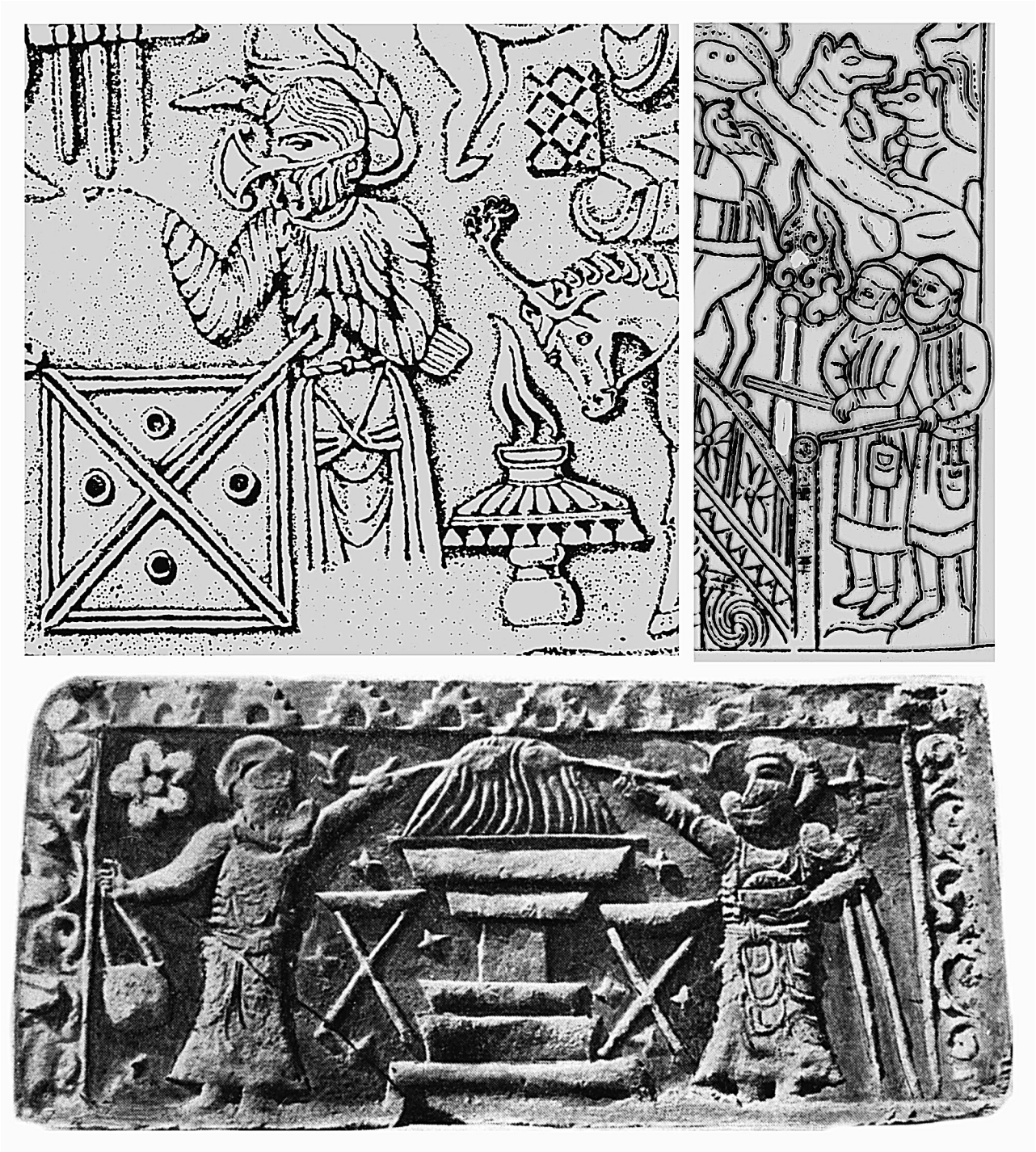

Fig. 11. Selection of images of priests in Sogdian funerary art, 6th–7th c. Table compiled by F. Ory; see main text for the identifications.

Fig. 12. Panjikent, Temple I, room 10, last phases, 7th–early 8th c.: cult scene. After D'iakonov 1954, colour plate VIII (watercolour).

Hall" in the palace of the *Bukhār-khudāt* (the kings of Bukhara) at Varakhsha: the king and his wife are clearly identified by their pearl crowns and haloes.[38] But at Panjikent some examples are more open to discussion. On a painting from a chapel in Temple I (fig. 12, pl. 15) it seems that the entire family group is shown at the rear, with the parents on top and the children below. All are kneeling except for the woman, probably because the most sacred texts have to be recited in contact with the ground and women were not supposed to recite them in public, as observed by Mary Boyce in 1964 among the very conservative Zoroastrians of the village of Sharifābād near Yazd: "women (. . .) also said two sets of prayers; but the priests of old declared that, although a man has the duty to pray, a woman's best act of devotion is the work of her hands, as she serves father, husband, or son."[39] On our painting the oversized character pouring a libation is generally identified as a priest.[40] His dress is almost entirely white, but so are those of the family members. The face is damaged and one cannot completely exclude the possibility that the man is wearing the *padām*; moreover, this is not compulsory for minor rituals (at least in modern use). The only seemingly odd detail is the dagger at the belt.

On the great pictorial cycle depicting ambassadors and the New Year procession at Samarkand (fig. 13, pl. 16),[41] the fact that one of the two char-

Fig. 13. Samarkand, "Ambassadors painting," ca. 660, southern wall, detail: procession with sacrificial animals. Photo: Courtesy State Museum of History of Culture of Uzbekistan, Samarkand (watercolour).

acters wearing the *padām* has a dagger and even a sword has so far prevented most scholars from identifying them as priests. But Matteo Compareti does so in his recent book on this painting,[42] and he seems to have sound reasons for it. Both characters are accompanying animals (a saddled horse and four geese), destined to be sacrificed at the mausoleum of the royal ancestors, according to the description of the Sogdian Nowruz given by Chinese chronicles. Their dresses, certainly, are not entirely white, but the other colours are more discreet than on any other dress in this painting.

To sum up this survey of depictions or possible depictions of Magi in Sogdian painting, it can be suggested that priests serving at court or in aristocratic families tended to adopt a fashion not very distinct from that of their patrons, while funerary art shows a more conservative outfit.

Literary Productions of the Sogdian Magi

This review of the evidence for Sogdian Magi would not be complete without an attempt to evaluate their contribution to Sogdian literature. Almost all the religious texts in the Sogdian language which have come down to us belong to missionary religions to which Sogdians converted in large numbers, either in Sogdiana or in

China: Buddhism, Christianity, Manichaeism. The fact that these religions prevail over the indigenous one in the body of surviving Sogdian texts is not surprising, in view of the predominantly oral character of Zoroastrian teaching. This does not imply that Sogdian Magi did not keep, copy, or even compose Zoroastrian books. Together with Pénélope Riboud and Étienne de la Vaissière, I have proposed to recognize in a Panjikent painting the image of a large-size codex containing the Avesta or part of it, carried in procession and from which a golden statue of the god Srōsh emerges, thus illustrating the concept of *Sraoša tanu.mąθra*, "Srōsh whose body is the Sacred Word."[43] In fact one Avestan text, the prayer *Ašəm vohu*, has survived transcribed in a form of archaic Sogdian.[44] This text is followed by a fragment of another text describing the ascent of Zoroaster to Paradise and the beginning of his dialogue with Ohrmazd, here called Ādhvagh "Supreme God," his usual epithet in Sogdian (see the Appendix, text 1 a). Many expressions appear as culled from the Avesta, in particular from the passage in the *Ard Yašt* (*Yt.* 17.21–22) where the goddess Ashi invites Zoroaster to rejoin her in her chariot, obviously in order to carry him to Paradise, and similarly executes gestures "from the right to the left, from the left to the right"; our Sogdian text might well derive from a lost Avestan passage that narrated the continuation of this episode. Another Sogdian fragment (text 1 b) takes over Zoroaster's questions to Ohrmazd about the reunion of family members in Heaven; in this case the account of the Resurrection in the *Bundahišn* (*Gr.Bd.*XXXIV.9,14) offers a close parallel in wording.[45] This fragment in fact comes from a different manuscript and, contrary to the previous one, contains traces of a Manichaean rewording, but there is hardly any doubt that it originally proceeds from the same Zoroastrian composition.

Even before these texts were identified, the fact that Sogdian Zoroastrians were credited with a literary activity of their own was known from one passage in Bīrūnī's treatise on mineralogy: here he mentions a "Book of the Zoroastrian Sogdians" (*kitāb al-majūs al-Sughd*),[46] still in circulation in his time and called in their language the *Nawapōstē*, probably to be understood "the Book of the Nine"—the nine precious stones associated with the nine planets of the Indian astronomy. The first part of the long magical Sogdian text known as P.3, which Samra Azarnouche and I recently re-edited (see the Appendix, text 2, section a), represents a parallel version to this text, though not identical as shown by comparing its quotations in Bīrūnī. A text on the healing and magical properties of stones is included in the *Pahlavi Rivāyat* (64), but here the stones are only seven, in conformity with the Irano-Babylonian system. The main part of the text P.3 is concerned with the making of rain, a specialty of the Turkish culture of Central Asia, and in the form it has come down to us the text can be considered as a "collage" of various elements ultimately compiled in a context of Turkish political domination, possibly the Uighur kingdom in the eighth or ninth century.[47] In addition to the lapidary, the text includes a lot of Indian mythological and astrological lore (beginning of section b), a fact which calls to mind a hitherto overlooked passage in the dynastic chronicle of the Tang dynasty: "(in Samarkand) they have Hindus who examine the stars in order to be able to distinguish between good and evil."[48] But the Zoroastrian background of the compiler appears clearly in the prayer to Wādh, the Iranian god of Wind (section c), in part composed of formulas borrowed from the Avesta, just like the story of Zoroaster's assumption I have just mentioned. In the present case the most obvious sources are the *Hādōxt Nask* (*HN* 2.7–8, with the description of the perfumed southern wind that welcomes the blessed soul in Paradise) and the *Rām Yašt* (*Yt.* 15.44–45, with the epithets of Vayu, the other Wind-god, "vanquisher of all, swift, the swiftest"; see also 57 for his golden ornaments, to be compared with "red-adorned" in our passage). So, no matter how the Sogdian Magi of this late period may have appeared as eclectic and practitioners of sorcery, they certainly had not lost the contact with the sacred scriptures of Zoroastrianism.

Appendix 1: An account of Zoroaster's assumption to Heaven

a) BL Fragment 4, translation Sims-Williams 1976, pp. 46–47, slightly modified:

"At that time, when the king of the gods, the famous, skilful Ādhvagh ("Supreme God"), was

residing in the sweet-smelling Paradise in Good Thought, there came thither the perfect, righteous Zoroaster, paid homage to him, from the left knee to the right, from the right knee to the left, and addressed him thus: 'O God, beneficent lawmaker, justly deciding judge. . .'"

b) Continuation of the story: fragment published by Yoshida 1979, p. 187, reproduced with some changes inserted by the translator:

"Righteous Zoroaster asked: 'O Father, good Ādhvagh! Please explain to me thus: whether there is such a fate that these souls, when one dies on this earth, then such a fate occurs that he can reach his own house or not. And after having died, might the father see the son or not, the son the father, the mother the daughter, the daughter the mother, the sister the sister, the brother the brother, and moreover the family the family, the relative the relative, the friend the friend? And if the son is good, is there contentment from his father's soul?'"

Appendix 2: A composite text on the magic of stones and rain-making (P.3 + BL Or 8212/80B) (Azarnouche and Grenet 2010, revised by the translators):[49]

a) Healing and magic properties of the nine stones (lines 1–122)

"It is called 'Fortunate stone,' and one needs[50] this first kind of stone which in itself should be black-coloured, and when it is rubbed a white 'water' should come out, and the power of this stone is of a multiple kind, for when a woman cannot give birth, one should rub this stone and have the woman drink the 'water' produced by rubbing, she will give birth quickly. And if somebody has haemorrhoids at the anus, whether another haemorrhoid begins to grow, or they become swollen with air, and consequently eat the flesh from inside, one must rub the lesion with it, and soon he will be healed and recover.

Also one needs a kind of stone, the second one, which in itself should be white, and when it is rubbed a black-coloured 'water' should come out, and this stone has all kinds of powers, for if it is kept at home wealth will never be lacking, and moreover nobody will be able to cast evil spells on this house. And if someone has it on him, he will be endeared to all. And it has many more such powers, so many that they cannot be expounded very easily,[51] and it is called 'Very fortunate stone.'[52]

One needs a third stone which in itself should be blue-coloured, and when it is rubbed a greenish 'water' should come out, and the power and strength of this stone are manifold. For if a man catches heat and has fever, shivers, or feels any attacks, or has been caught in a strong draught, one must rub this stone and have (him) drink the 'water' produced by rubbing, it will be utterly fitting against everything[53] and he will recover.

One needs a fourth stone, which considering its colour should in itself be of a greenish colour, and when it is rubbed a blue 'water' should come out, and moreover the power of this stone is boundless and limitless, diverse and manyfold. For if a man picks up this stone on the ground early in the morning, before he has eaten and spoken, and if he has a quarrel with somebody and goes to court, if with this stone he hits the back of his adversary so gently that the latter does not realize, if he then goes to court, his speech will have an effect and he will be victorious over his adversary and enemy.

One needs a fifth stone which in itself should be red-coloured, and when it is rubbed a black 'water' should come out, and this stone has powers of all sorts, evil, not good, and it has all sorts of harmful (?) effects, for it is active in provoking the expulsion of parts of the body (?). And if this stone is placed on a woman in labour, her child dies and the woman herself is severely ill, and if it is put on a pregnant woman, she expels her child prematurely, and if put on the eyes of a blind man who suffers from his eyes, the eyeballs come out.

One needs a sixth stone which in itself should be black, and when it is rubbed a yellow 'water' comes out, and the one who finds this stone should not give it as a present to anybody outside of his house. For this stone is for the man a great antidote, because if someone is bitten by a snake, or a tarantula, or a scorpion, or any other kind of insect, one must rub this stone and apply it on the lesion from the bite, and at once he is healed and recovers.

One needs a seventh stone which in itself should be yellow, and when it is rubbed a red 'water' comes out, and this stone is called 'Against harm' (?), and this stone is a great protection and repulsive of harm, and inside any house it brings great fortune and joy, and the power, strength, and value of this stone cannot be expounded very easily.

One needs an eighth stone which in itself should be sandalwood-coloured, and when it is rubbed a blue-coloured 'water' comes out, and in this stone there is a great strength and usefulness. And it is called 'Supremely victorious,' and whoever keeps this stone at home is superior to all his rivals, and great joy and great happiness will come to him, and for him every day will be better than the previous one.

The ninth stone is called 'Very living,' and by itself it is white-coloured, and outside it has a black vein, and when it is rubbed a blue 'water' comes out. And to whoever keeps this stone, harsh punishment, regret, suffering, sorrow, sadness will always afflict his house, for this stone is utterly ferocious; in fact it is ill-disposed and a troublemaker. This stone must be buried outside the house, underground, isolated, and alone."

b) Material preparations for the rainmaking ritual (lines 123–300)

"And when a man wants to undertake the rainmaking ritual, he will need to make a 25-headed tent and to unfold it on a large waterside: either near a large pool, or near running water, or near a spring, let him unfold the tent. On a blue damask he must draw the water of the Mahāsamudra, and in the water draw the nāgas, and he must also draw the aquatic Gandharva, and the large expanse (?) full of water. On the back, up to the foam of the edge, he must draw all sorts of nāgas: one serpent-headed, one horse-headed, one elephant-headed, one lion-headed, one tiger-headed, one panther-headed, one pig-headed, one dog-headed, one bull-headed, one donkey-headed, one bird-headed, one man-headed, one god-headed, one fish-headed, one yaksha-headed, one with the heads of various game, one with many different heads, and he must unfold the tent from the inside of the water towards the east. And besides this, on another sky-blue damask, he must also draw the shining moon, the houses of the 12 heavenly bodies above Mount Sumeru, and also the 28 heavenly bodies, and the 11 great and terrible Hours, and the other stars of the zodiacal circle, he must draw them all. And moreover he must draw all sorts, kinds, and shapes of clouds, all in the (above-mentioned) manner of nāgas, every body and every head; he will unfold this (wall) hanging inside the tent, on the eastern side,[54] and he must unfold the first hanging inside the tent, on clean ground. And beforehand, inside the tent, he must sweep the ground very carefully and make a four-cornered mandala; one needs the nine kinds of stones which have been described above. And he must fill up a cauldron with water and thoroughly rub all these nine kinds of stones, and throw in the cauldron these stones together with the 'water' which will have settled, and this is called *sārāgh ēt*, and (that) is called *ghadhōz ēt*. And he must take camphor, sandalwood, fat-based unguent, safflower (?), costus, (-?-)-based unguent, salt ammoniac in pieces, saffron, musk, with all these in equal quantities he must make a drug, pound it very finely, and throw it in the cauldron together with the stones, and he must cook one half (of it) on the fire,[55] so that the smoke rises little by little. And a cover should be made with a block of white sandalwood, and as there are wooden boards for drawing, he must engrave these boards like this: camel fights with camel, horse with horse, donkey with donkey, bull with bull, ram with ram, dog with dog, bird with bird, man with man. And he must order a good wood carver to engrave these drawings entirely on the boards, and he must put them up where the water in the cauldron is, then with the drug he must smear the sandalwood cover little by little, and he must order the draughtsman to draw the seven kinds of small winds well on the boards, and he must stick a reed below and hang the boards on the reed."

c) The hymn to the Wind (lines 201–19)

"And when he has carried out this task, after having finished, he must kneel down and say: 'I pay Thou homage, O perfumed South-Wind, powerfully blowing Wind, swift in thought and decision, grant me an equivalent favour, just Wind, perfume-bearer, red-adorned, son of Ādhvagh, Thou, take pity on me, and for the sake of all living beings in the seven continents grant me today favour for the land! Today,[56] grant me such a

strength that the cloud will rise and the timely[57] rain will fall, so that cultivation will succeed, healthy plants and healing herbs grow, so that the entire community will have food its fill,[58] so that they will stay satisfied,[59] calm and peaceful, thanks to your glory and to your strength!' "

d) Rituals accompanying and controlling the rain (lines 219–304)

"And now the nāgas will have taken a great oath with Mahākāla, and the preparation I have described will have been done entirely and perfectly; then he may bring[60] the nāgas here with the wind in order to produce rain and moisture[61] here, on the spot. And when the wind blows, (the rainmaker) must set sulphur and realgar ablaze and lay them on the door of the tent, and he must wrap the sulphur in black felt and put it under water; then it will start to rain little by little. The rainmaker will have to get on a bay horse, he must take the bridle in his hand, urge (the horse)[62] forward seven times from the east and seven times from the west, call three times with loud voice, vigorously and strongly, and below the bridle hang feathers of vulture and pheasant, and rub the unguent, and the rainmaker must smear his face with the unguent. And when it starts to rain, in case it does not consent[63] to rain much, then he must put on a wolf's skin and turn all around the tent seven times, and give a loud howl with a wolf's voice. And if it does not consent to rain much, he must take a snake and hang it straight[64] upside down, and tie a cat on one side. In addition he must tie a frog by[65] the water, and tie a sheep[66]to a corner, and in addition he must tie the wolf's skin to a corner, tie a bird to a corner, tie a dog to a corner, so that all these living beings will be frightened by each other; hereafter there will be heavy rain.

And if at this moment, suppose,[67] it starts to get cold, then he must remove all the wind boards, remove the stones from the water, lay them outside, and stoke the fire, and afterwards it will not be cold anymore, and when there has been enough rain, if he wants no more rain, then he must remove the clouds from the boards (?), and the stones, and bury[68] them, and at once the rain will cease.

And if he wishes thus: 'I shall make the day clear,' he must take camphor, white nutsedge, white sandalwood, saffron, unguent, with all these in equal quantities he must make a drug, pound it finely, and he needs a sheep shoulder-blade, he must make a hole in it and draw out the marrow, he must mix the drug together with this marrow and bury it in the house. If then he wants to make the day clear, he must smear his face with the drug, and also his eyes, and at once it will become clear. And if in spite of this it is not clear, he needs also the head of a black sheep, and he must not damage[69] it, but he must cook it intact, and once cooked scrape the skin carefully, and he must make a hole in the forehead, and bring white hellebore, rat poison, rye ergot, (. . .), he must pound[70] all these together very finely, to make it very fine, mix it with the marrow from the sheep shoulder blade and make eight meatballs, and he must put these meatballs in the head of the animal: he must put two meatballs in the eyes, two meatballs in the nose, two meatballs in the ears, two meatballs in the mouth. And inside (the tent) he must plant a long wooden (pole) upright with its top attached (?)[71] to the light opening of the tent, and he must put the head through (?)[72] the opening, and consequently it will become clear at once. And if the rain does not cease, but on the contrary falls a lot, then he must quickly rinse the cauldron, and pour the water on the ground, and in addition he must place a mirror facing the sun, and the rain will cease at once."

Notes

1. This article is based on a paper delivered by Frantz Grenet at the conference "Persia beyond the Oxus: The Circulation of Iranian Languages and Cultural Practices in Central Asia" (UCLA, 22 April 2010), organized by Prof. Rahim Shayegan. I wish to thank him for the opportunity he offered me to present and discuss this research. I also thank Dr. Yuri Karev for his help in checking the Arab sources in the original texts.

2. Main accounts: Ṭabarī II.1245–46 (trans. Hinds 1990, 193–94); al-Kūfī (ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān 1968–1975, vol. 7, p. 244). Balʿamī adds the detail that Ghurak met Qutayba "at the gate of the idol-temple" (*be dar-e botkhāna*) (ed. Rawshan 2009, vol. 4, p. 844). The Syriac version of the *Alexander Romance* seems to preserve an echo of the great Samarkand temple, its lavish decoration, and its dedication to the goddess Nana, like the Temple II at Panjikent (trans. Budge 1889, 115). The Persian *Qandiya*, dating in its present form from the 15th century but based upon earlier information, states that the temple was situated under the Friday Mosque

(trans. Viatkin 1906, 250), but archaeological investigations have not provided definite proof (Grenet 2008, 12–13; the legend of the photograph fig. 1, "Enceinte en *pakhsa* du palais arasée sous la partie nord-est," has to be corrected into "Enceinte en *pakhsa* arasée sous la partie nord-est du palais").

3. Ed. al-Hādī 1996, 624.

4. Trans. Sachau 1879, 58 (text p. 48), improved by Yu. Karev.

5. Tafazzoli 1995, 11–12.

6. See especially Ibn Hawqal, trans. Kramers and Wiet 1964, vol. 2, p. 473 (text p. 493).

7. Dhabhar (ed.) 1932, 104–5. The date is inferred from the fact that the *hudēnān pēšōbāy* is Ādurfarnbag Farrokhzādān who is known to have held this office under al-Maʾmūn.

8. Sims-Williams 2005.

9. See Grenet 1988.

10. Livshits 2008, 201–2 (line 5).

11. Livshits 1962, 221; Lurje 2009, p. 39 n. 1.

12. Yakubovich 2002 (line 13); Livshits 2008, 117–26 (who contrary to Yakubovich takes Nizhitak, the character mentioned just before, as another priest playing the same part).

13. Livshits 2008, 213–20 (line 18).

14. Shkoda 2009. Reference can be found here to previous interim reports published under the direction of B. I. Marshak and V. I. Raspopova, in particular in the annual series *Otchët o raskopkakh gorodishcha drevnego Pendzhikenta* (Gosudarstvennyi Èrmitazh, Sankt-Petersburg), which must still be consulted directly for some descriptions and illustrations.

15. Images grouped conveniently in Shkoda 2009, figs. 121, 123.

16. See Grenet and Marshak 1998, esp. 8–9; Grenet 2009, 283–89. The summer festival was described by the Chinese envoy Wei Jie who was at Samarkand in 607 (text in Chavannes 1903, 133.) The eleventh Bactrian month *Dēmatrigano* means more precisely "containing the festival of Demeter" (cf. the month *Mirogano* "Mihragān," i.e. "festival of Mithra"). Because of its position this month can hardly correspond to the "Great Mysteries" of Eleusis which in Greece took place at the end of summer, while in the Seleucid period (when a festival of Demeter is likely to have been introduced in Bactria and Sogdiana) the eleventh Zoroastrian month fell in winter, so in this case one should rather consider the Little Mysteries which were celebrated in this season (albeit later). Perhaps the verse by the anonymous Roman tragic author quoted by Cicero, *De natura deorum*, I.119, mentioning Eleusis "where peoples of the extremities of the earth are initiated," was more to the point than hitherto assumed.

17. For the cult statue see Shkoda 2009, pp. 48, 78, fig. 122; Grenet 2010, p. 92, fig. 13.

18. Revised translation in Grenet 2009, 283–89, with an additional note by N. Sims-Williams, 291–92.

19. Chavannes 1903, 170.

20. Ms. BL Stein 6551. For the relevance of this text on the respective functions of the Panjikent temples see É. de la Vaissière and P. Riboud *apud* Grenet 2001, 179; Marshak and Raspopova 2004, 46. I owe the new translation "mourned god" (rather than "mourning deity" hitherto assumed) to my student Mr. Yin Lei.

21. Shkoda 2009, 27–32, 99–108.

22. Marshak and Raspopova 2004, 45–46, suppose that they were in fact transferred to a room at the western end of the same row. Despite the *petitio principis* ("one could not see clearly what could have prevented the inhabitants of Panjikent to give up such an important cult"), the archaeological evidence is not convincing and this supposed fire chamber would have lacked direct connection with the main temple building, contrary to its predecessor. Shkoda is clearly reserved (p. 108: "It is however not excluded that the House of the Fire was just transferred").

23. A juvenile god with a solar halo, in room 5 built over the earlier *ātešgāh* complex: D'iakonov 1954, pl. VI.

24. Shkoda 2009, fig. 119. This image of Druwāsp holding a small rearing horse on her knees perfectly reflects the idea of this goddess nourishing the horse (or horses) of Khwarshēd the Sun god, which is found in a passage of the *Bundahišn* (*Gr.Bd.* XXVI.65) for which Dr. Enrico Raffaelli (personal communication) proposes a new interpretation based on the more complete text given by the manuscript TD 2: *u-š arwāndaspīh ēd kū asp ī nēk abar Druwāsp handām, čē Druwāsp [abar] handām bārag dārēd* "and his possession of a swift horse (/swift horses) is that: (his) good horse is on Druwāsp's limbs, for Druwāsp holds the mount on (her) limbs."

25. The position in front of the horse is reminiscent of Druwāsp (LROOASPO) on Kushan coins, himself modeled on a Dioscurus, but we have just seen that the same Panjikent temple contains an image of Druwāsp of a completely different type (female, in conformity with her gender in Avestan). The armour and the horse would be fitting for either Wahrām or Tishtrya, but the situation is complicated by the probable existence of Indianized variants for both gods, influenced by Kārttikeya (Grenet 2010, pp. 92–94 and figs. 16–17). The inscription painted on the god's left hand, *y'z(t) 'spy* (?), probably "the god with a horse," is no more than a description (Shkoda 2009, 76).

26. Belenitskii and Marshak 1981, fig. 33.

27. D'iakonov 1954, pl. XIV (watercolour). The excavators speak in more general terms of a "carnival" scene (see Shkoda 2009, 73), but cf. the *Tangshu* about Samarkand: "In the eleventh (*local*) month they beat drums and dance in order to incite the cold; they throw water to each other for fun" (Chavannes 1903, 135). This is clearly a description of the Ābrēzagān, which according to Bīrūnī took place in Iran on the last day of the Bahman month, i.e. the eleventh (trans. Sachau, 215–16, text pp. 228–29).

28. D'iakonov 1954, pls. IX, X, XII (watercolours). See Shkoda 2009, 76, with earlier references.

29. Shkoda 2009, 118–20. There are still nine pits as in the ritual described in the Avesta (*Vd.* 9), replaced by nine stones in the modern ritual.

30. Berdimuradov and Samibaev 1999; Berdimuradov and Samibaev 2001.

31. Boyce 1968, 53.

32. See Suleimanov 2000, pp. 88–111, figs. 39–52, 76–87.

33. Ed. trans. Anklesaria 1956, 36–37.

34. Marshak 2001 recognizes the objects as a wreath, a distaff, and perhaps a doll. His interpretation of the two characters as women symbolizing the Fates (in the Hellenistic tradition) fails to convince.

35. See Krašeninnikova 1993 and F. Grenet, "Remarques," 60–63.

36. See Grenet 1986, pp. 104–5, fig. 38.

37. See Grenet, Riboud, and Yang Junkai 2004.

38. See Shkoda 2009, fig. 145.

39. Boyce 1977, 30.

40. D'iakonov 1954, 104; Shkoda 2009, 111 (a drawing of the painting is reproduced fig. 117).

41. For the general interpretation see most recently Grenet 2007; Compareti 2009. Colour photographs of this detail from the original painting are reproduced in Grenet 2007, fig. 10, and Khakimov 2004, fig. 157a.

42. Compareti 2009, 104.

43. la Vaissière and Riboud 2003; Grenet 2010, pp. 94–96, fig. 19.

44. Sims-Williams 1976, 46–48, and Appendix by I. Gershevitch, 75–82.

45. (5) "Then, men will recognize men, that is, a soul (will recognize) a body: 'this is my father, this is my mother, this is my brother, this is my wife, and this is whoever of my closest relatives'; (14) (. . .) when the righteous will be separated from the wicked (. . .) when they will separate the son from the company of the father, the brother from his brother, the friend from his friend" (trans. Anklesaria 1956, 287, revised by the present author).

46. Ed. al-Hādī 1995, 354.

47. Even in late ninth- and early tenth-century Dunhuang where Chinese control was reestablished the Sogdian temple cult of calendar deities is still attested: Grenet and Zhang Guangda 1998.

48. *Jiu Tangshu* (information reproduced in the *Tang Huiyao*), see Compareti 2009, 171 and 200.

49. We incorporate the valuable suggestions communicated by Pavel Lurje (PL) and Yutaka Yoshida (YY) after our French edition came out (when necessary we quote this edition in English translation). These are mainly points of philological detail which do not affect the interpretation of the ritual, for which we refer to our article. Contrary to what we wrote there (p. 28, reproducing an error in Benveniste and Gronbech 1940), no page is left blank except for the recto of folio I, a practice also found in some Christian Sogdian manuscripts. The possibility exists, however, that in the copy we have the beginning of the text and perhaps also its end were dropped, for in their present state both look quite abrupt (we owe these remarks to YY).

50. *γwt*, literally "is necessary (in itself)" (YY), rather than "must be (such as. . .)." Similar correction for the other stones.

51. *xw'yr xw'yr* "very easily" (YY), not "in detail."

52. *γwty* "very" rather than *xwty* "itself, by itself" (also for the ninth stone: "Very living," not "Living by itself"): Yakubovich 2004, 395–96.

53. *pč'y-* "be fitting," not "get rid of" (YY).

54. *'sky kyr'n* "eastern side" (literally "upper side," according to the Sogdian perception of the direction of rivers) (YY), not "side of the rising sun."

55. *čnn nym'k ZKwh ''try* "one half (of it) on the fire" (YY) rather than "on one half of the fire."

56. *nwr* "today" (YY) rather than "now."

57. *rδy* "seasonal, timely," not "favourable": Sims-Williams 1986, p. 422 n. 10.

58. *'np'rt* "full" (YY), not *'zp'rt* "pure."

59. *š'twx* "satisfied (of hunger)" rather than "happy": Sims-Williams 1976, p. 56 with n. 47.

60. *''γt* past stem of *''βr-* "bring" (YY) rather than of *'ys-* "come."

61. *nnp'k* "moisture" (from rain) (YY) rather than "dew."

62. *r'n-* "urge (the horse)" (YY), not "agitate (the bridle)."

63. *nm'y-* "accept, consent" (YY).

64. *mrxy* "straight" (PL, YY), not *mrγy* "bird." With this new reading one can avoid adding ‹ *rty ZKw (. . .) ZY* ›.

65. *nβ'nt* "by, beside" (YY).

66. *'st'wr* "sheep" rather than "cattle": Sims-Williams 1985, index s.v. *stwr*. Similarly below, line 282.

67. *δβ't* "perhaps, suppose" (YY).

68. *'nš'yp'-* "bury" (YY) rather than "hide."

69. *'nxw'y-* "damage" (YY), not "cut."

70. *nxw'y-*, here "pond" (YY), not "cut."

71. *nβ'ynth* "attached?," probably different from *nβ'nt* "by, beside" (YY).

72. *''w'xs,* uncertain, possibly "through" (YY).

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Plate 15 (Grenet, figs. 3, 12). Above: Temple II, antecella: lamentation scene with Nana (standing, dishevelled) and Demeter (kneeling, holding a torch), 6th c. F. Ory after D'iakonov 1954, combined colour plates XX–XXIII (watercolours). Below: Panjikent, Temple I, room 10, last phases 7th–early 8th c.: cult scene. After D'iakonov 1954, colour plate VIII (watercolour).

Plate 16 (Grenet, fig. 13). Samarkand, "Ambassador painting," ca. 660, southern wall, Detail: procession with sacrificial animals. Photo: Courtesy State Museum of History of Culture of Uzbekistan, Samarkand (watercolour).