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MINOR BACTRIAN INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE PALAMEDES INSCRIPTION

The explanation of the Palamedes inscription[1] offered good footholds for the interpretation of the great Surkh Kotal inscription. It is natural, however, that the rich linguistic material of the latter voluminous inscription allowed a much more detailed insight into the structure and vocabulary of the Bactrian language, and thus on the basis of this a possibility is rendered also for the correction of the explanation of the Palamedes inscription.

In the Palamedes inscription a serious difficulty was caused by the interpretation of the word *AÞIO[* in line x + 2. Since this word occurs in the enumeration of office names, I thought, that we have to see an office name also in this, and since from the Iranian languages we do not know any word corresponding to this, I presumed that the Gāndhārī Prakrit development **azyaṭṣa-* of the Old Indian word *adhyakṣa-* 'superintendent' came into Bactrian, and thus in the Palamedes inscription the form *AÞIO[* must be restored to *AÞIO[ÞO]*. Although the possibility of this conception cannot be denied, still several considerations speak against this explanation. In the first place it is questionable, whether under the Kuṣāṇa rulers the office name *adhyakṣa-* was used in Gāndhārī. In the inscriptions it has not occurred so far, and the circumstance, that it does not occur in the Kroraina Prakrit, definitely contradicts to the supposition, that this office name would have been in use in Northwestern India in the Kuṣāṇa period. A further difficulty is caused by the fact, that the office names occurring together with the word *AÞIO[* are all of Iranian origin, and it would be difficult to believe, that the word *adhyakṣa-* would have had no Iranian equivalent in Bactrian. If, however, this is the case, then it is not at all justified, that we should suppose an office title of Prakrit origin in the text of the Palamedes inscription.

Naturally, the difficulty, that in Iranian territory so far we do not know any office name beginning with *AÞIO[*, continues to exist. But this is just the point, where the text of the great Surkh Kotal inscription can help us to get on. From this we can namely establish, that among the titles of Nokonzoko,

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[1] J. HARMATTA: Acta Orient. Hung 11 (1960) 191 ff.

the superintendent of the Surkh Kotal sanctuary, there are not only office names, but also honorific titles. Thus in the enumeration of the office names we should not see office titles in every word in the Palamedes inscription either.

Consequently at the explanation of the word *AĐIO*[we can count also with the possibility, that we have to do not with an office title but with a honorific title. On the basis of a more thorough knowledge of the phonemic development of the Bactrian language today we are already aware of the fact, that in this language the cerebral *š* developed from the sound group *sr* or -*rš*-, and eventually from *š* following *i*. The latter case cannot come into consideration in connection with the word *AĐIO*[, and thus this word can be traced back to the forms **aršya-* or **asrya-*. While, however, we do not know what to do with the latter form, we find the exact equivalent of the form **aršya-* in Avestan, *viz. arašya-* 'recht handelnd, gerecht', *aršya-* 'EN. eines Gläubigen'. The meaning 'just' of the word *AĐIO*[, to be presumed on the basis of its Avestan equivalent, fits excellently in the context, *viz.:* . . . *I ZHNOBIAO I AĐIO* «the chief of prison, the righteous».

The end of line x + 3 of the Palamedes inscription can also be explained convincingly with the help of the great Surkh Kotal inscription. Here — as we have already pointed out — the context demands the interpretation «the sanctuary here» for the phrase *BAΓOΛAΓΓO M*[, but it was not at all clear how the word fragment *M*[should be restored. In the long inscription, however, the word 'here' presumed at this place, occurs, *viz. MAAO* 'hither, here'. Thus the probable restoration of the end of line x + 3 is given automatically, *viz. BAΓOΛAΓΓO M[AAO]*.

On the basis of the knowledge of the style and drafting of the long inscription we have to modify also our conception about the syntactic structure of the Palamedes inscription. The great inscription has namely proved, that the reports on construction in Surkh Kotal were drawn up not in the 1st, but in the 3rd person. Thus the idea, that to the subjects to be read in line x + 2 a 1st person predicate belongs in line x + 3, naturally, cannot be correct. On the basis of a more exact knowledge of the verbal system of the Bactrian language we must hold unlikely also the supposition, that the verbal form past tense singular 1st person could have been *KIPAOM* or *KIPAOMI*, since on the basis of several examples it is doubtless, that the end of this verbal form could be neither —*M*, nor —*I*, but very likely it must have sounded as **KIPAOMO*. Thus the principle of the explanation of the Palamedes inscription originating from R. Curiel, and accepted by W. B. Henning, Fr. Altheim, R. Stiehl, and also by myself,[2] according to which we must attribute the meaning «I caused the sanctuary to be built» to the phrase *KIPAOMI BAΓO-ΛAΓΓO*, has apparently to be given up.

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[2] See HARMATTA: *op. cit.* 193 and 220, with references to the earlier literature.

Since on the basis of the great inscription we must suppose, that the report on construction was drafted in 3rd person also in the Palamedes inscription, line x + 3 must be divided very likely as follows:]*O KIPΔO MI BAΓOΛAΓΓO M*[*AΛO*]. Thus we get a singular 3rd person predicate, and we can interpret the concluding part of the inscription as follows: «So-and-so . . . , the chief of prison, the righteous . . . caused to be built . . . the sanctuary here". In this case, naturally, the question arises, what is the function of the particle *MI* isolated as an independent part of a sentence. A pronoun would best fit into the context («t h i s Sanctuary here»), but we can hardly think of the Old Iranian demonstrative pronoun *ima-* 'this', because on the basis of our knowledge gathered so far *(cp.* Old Iranian *ida* > Bactrian *IΛO)* we could expect a form *IMO* for this.

Concluding on the basis of the ending -*I* of the genitive, the ending -*I* of the form *MI* can be traced back to the sound -*ī/-ē*, and this to the diphthong -*ai*, or to some even more complex sound group (for example -*ahya*, as in the case of the genitive). Thus the particle *MI* can be traced back to the form *mē* < Old Iranian *mai, etc*. It is obvious to compare this inferred antecedent *mē* < *mai* with the Avestan particle *mōi, mē*, which was originally the *dativus ethicus* of the singular 1st person personal pronoun, but this function of the same became eclipsed to a great extent already in Avestan. It is very likely that this small word in Bactrian is already only a particle without any special meaning, but if its use eventually still corresponds to that in Avestan, we can suppose, that Palamedes, the maker of the inscription, slipped this 1st person reference, consequently relating to himself into the final sentence of the inscription. The use of the particle here is from the syntactic point of view at any rate already looser, than in Avestan, where it stands in general after the first word of the sentence, or is separated from it at the most by another enclitic particle.

It is also possible, however, that in this case we have to deal with an exceptional order of words. On the basis of the great inscription we can namely hold it doubtless, that in Bactrian the predicate stood in general at the end of the sentence, cp. for example the following sentence: *OTHIO IIIΛO ACAΓΓE IΘO OIΛIPΛO* «and by him (the well) was strengthened with stones so, that . . .». In the great inscription there are, however, two such sentences, in which the predicate unlike the general practice does not stand at the end of the sentence. These two sentences are as follows:

21. foll.: *OTO EIIO MO CAΛO OΛO MAÞTO XIPΓOMANO KIPΛO AMO BOPZOMIYPO AMO KOZΓAÞKIIIOYPO . . .*

«Consequently the well and the terrace were made thus built of stone by both Borzomihro and Kozgaškipūro . . .»

24. foll.: *OTO EΠO MANO NOBIXTO AMO MIYPAMANO AMO
BOPZOMIYPOΠOYPO ...*

«Further the construction was written down thus by both Mihramano,
and Borzomihropūro ...»

As we can see, the differring place of the predicate in both sentences is
apparently connected with the circumstance, that the introductory part of
the sentence before the predicate received a special mental emphasis. This
shows, that in Bactrian the transfer of the predicate from the end of the sen-
tence was the means of mental stress or emphasis. This observation is very
important from the view-point of the judgement of the syntactical position
of the particle *MI*, and the interpretation of the whole Palamedes inscription.
It is namely doubtless, that this order of words which differs from the general
practice occurs in the final sentence also in the Palamedes inscription, just
like in the great inscription. We can assume, therefore, that the predicate
KIPΔO was transferred also in the Palamedes inscription to the beginning of
the sentence, or that the preserved parts of line $x + 3$ and line $x + 2$ actu-
ally belong to different main clauses or subordinate clauses. In accordance
with this the last sentence of the inscription can be reconstructed among
other things as follows: *OTHIO EΠ]O KIPΔO MI BAΓOΛAΓΓO M[AΛO]*
«Consequently thus was the sanctuary here built by him (through me)». In
this case the peculiar word order of the sentence and at the same time also
the syntactic position of the particle *MI* differing from Avestan become
comprehensible.

This reconstruction of the last sentence of the Palamedes inscription
involves the further conclusion, that the predicate of the fragmentary sentence
preserved in line $x + 2$ was in line $x + 3$ before the initial conjunction of
the last sentence. Thus we can to a certain extent get a footing regarding the
structure of the preceding part of the inscription. At this point, however, we
must raise the question of the setting up of the contents of the whole inscrip-
tion. If we compare line $x + 2$ from the view-point of the contents with the
great inscription, it will occur immediately, that the passage corresponding to
the enumeration *]BIΔO I ZHNOBIΔO I AÞIO]* follows in the great inscrip-
tion immediately after the part reviewing the earlier history of the building,
and before the description of the new construction work. Comparing the
structure of the contents of the two inscriptions we get therefore the following
picture:

great inscription[3]	Palamedes inscription
§ 1. Denomination of the building	?
§ 2. Earlier history of the building	?
§ 3. Name of the initiator of building, his titles — description of the construction work	Name of the initiator of building, his titles Denomination of the construction work
§ 4. Care of the building	—
§ 5. Summing up	—
§ 6. Preparation of the inscription	—

This comparison enables us to make a series of conclusions regarding the contents and structure of the Palamedes inscription. In the first place it seems to be doubtless, that in the Palamedes inscription the parts corresponding to the contents of §§ 4—6 of the great inscription are missing. The Palamedes inscription ends namely with the denomination of the construction work, while these parts of the great inscription from the view-point of the contents can follow only after the denomination, and even the description of the construction work. Thus the conclusion is obvious, that the passage corresponding to §§ 4—6 of the great inscription could not exist in the lost first part of the Palamedes inscription either. From this on the other hand the necessary result derives, that the Palamedes inscription was much shorter and more laconic, than the great inscription.

At the beginning of the inscription we can very likely suppose, similarly as in the great inscription, the denomination of the building. Regarding the more exact form of this, however, we can make a more or less probable supposition only, if we can establish, for which building or sanctuary the Palamedes inscription served as a building inscription. On the basis of investigations made so far, in the history of construction of the Surkh Kotal Sanctuary district[4] we can distinguish three periods in the framework of the Kuṣāṇa Age, viz. :

1. Construction of temple A with the enclosure equipped with a peristyle and niches, construction of the upper terrace.

2. Reconstruction of the sanctuary, digging of a well, construction of a square or terrace around the same, surrounding of the sanctuary district by a wall.

3. Construction of temple B.

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[3] Regarding the interpretation of the great inscription see J. HARMATTA: Acta Ant. Hung. 12 (1964) 373—471.

[4] See D. SCHLUMBERGER: JA 240 (1952) 433 ff., JA 242 (1954) 161 ff. The building activity of the 2nd construction period was reconstructed by me on the basis of the great inscription.

If we compare now the discovered inscriptions, or fragments of inscriptions with the periods of construction of the sanctuary district, we shall arrive at the following result. The great inscription is undoubtedly the relic of the 2nd period of construction. The large, monumental inscription, which has been preserved only in a few fragments, is in all probability the original foundation inscription of the sanctuary, consequently it is connected with the 1st period of construction. Since at the place of cult we do not know of the construction of any other additional temple, than sanctuary B, thus the Palamedes inscription, which reports on the construction of a sanctuary, can be brought into connnection only with temple B. A certain uncertainty could eventually exist in respect of the order of the construction periods, but fortunately the great inscription clearly says, that the sanctuary soon after its completion became desolate, and after this those construction works follow, which are enumerated by the great inscription, and which were placed by us above into the 2nd construction period.

On the basis of the results of investigations achieved so far the Palamedes inscription must therefore be regarded as the construction inscription of temple B. According to the unambiguous testimony of the archaelogical finds this temple was a fire-sanctuary, and thus it can to a certain extent be compared with the fire-sanctuaries of the Sassanian rulers, as this was referred to also by D. Schlumberger. This circumstance is important, because it renders some footing for the determination of the name of the sanctuary. The sanctuaries of the Sassanian rulers had always borne the names of the founding Kings. Thus the name of the fire-sanctuary of Šāhpuhr was *NWR' ZY šhpwhly* «fire(-sanctuary) of Šāhpuhr». Now and then the fire-sanctuary could bear also some honorific title of the ruler. According to the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* Šāhpuhr founded a *NWR' I hwslwb šhpwhry ŠM* «1 fire(-sanctuary) named 'Famous Šāhpuhr'». On the basis of the Sassanian parallels we can suppose, that the Surkh Kotal fire-sanctuary was also named after one of the Kuṣāṇa rulers. Now the question is, whether of the three Kuṣāṇa Kings to be taken into consideration, *viz.* Kaniṣka II, Huviṣka, and Vāsudeva, who was the founder of the sanctuary.

Of the three rulers Kaniṣka II can hardly come into consideration. Temple B could be built only after the reconstruction of sanctuary A and the solution of the water supply of the Sanctuary district had already taken place, that is, when the 2nd period of construction had come to an end. This falls presumably to the end of the thirties of the Kaniṣka Era, but at any rate to an earlier date than 40, because as from this time Huviṣka bears already the title *rajatiraja*. It is probable, however, that between the construction of temple B and the completion of the works belonging in the 2nd period of construction a longer time, at least a decade, elapsed, because in the Palamedes inscription already an official bearing completely different titles is at the head

of the construction works of the Surkh Kotal Sanctuary district, consequently in the meantime certain changes took place also in the administration of the place. Thus the construction of temple B can most likely be dated to the end of the forties or the beginning of the fifties of the Kaniṣka Era. Kaniṣka II, however, died in the 41st year or soon hereafter, thus the construction of the fire-sanctuary can by no means be attributed to him.

But the person of Vāsudeva, as the builder of temple B, can also be excluded at a high probability. It is namely obvious, that we can suppose the construction of a fire-sanctuary only about those Kuṣāṇa rulers, under whom we can trace also the fire cult. The cult of the Fire-God *AΘPO* under Kaniṣka I, Kaniṣka II, and Huviṣka is rendered doubtless by the fact, that this deity appears rather frequently on the reverse of their coins. But under Vāsudeva *AΘPO* does not appear on the reverse of his coins,[5] what would hardly be possible, if he had founded a fire-sanctuary bearing his own name. Thus it cannot be doubted, that sanctuary B in Surkh Kotal was caused to be built by Huviṣka, and thus this temple must have apparently borne his name. On the basis of all these, taking into consideration the sanctuary name *KANHPKO OANINAO BAΓOΛAΓΓO* of the great inscription and the Sassanian fire-temple names, the Bactrian name of sanctuary B can be reconstructed in the form *OOHPKO AΘPO BAΓOΛAΓΓO*.

If at the beginning of the Palamedes inscription, similarly as in the great inscription, we suppose the denomination of the sanctuary, and if the syntactic structure of this part could be even similar to the initial clause of the great inscription, it can hardly be doubtful, that in one point it differred from the latter. In the great inscription this part begins namely with the phrase *EIAO MAAIZO MO*, but the word *MAAIZO* is the denomination of the type of building of temple A surrounded by a wall, and thus this was very likely not applicable to sanctuary B. Instead of the word *MAAIZO* apparently some other, more general word meaning 'building' could have stood in the phrase in question. As such a word the basic word **MO* 'building' of the phrase *MAAIZO*, or the word *MANO* 'built; building; construction work' occurring in line 24 of the great inscription, can be taken into consideration. Thus on the basis of these considerations the initial sentence of the Palamedes inscription can be restored as follows:

$$[EIAO \ MANO \ MO \ OOHPKO \ AΘPO \ BAΓOΛAΓΓO]$$

In the great inscription the denomination of the sanctuary was followed by the subordinate clause *CIAO I BAΓO PAO KANHPKI NAMO BAPΓO KIPAO* «which was made by the Lord King the name-bearer of Kaniṣka».

[5] See R. GÖBL: Die Münzprägung der Kušān. 212 ff., 251 (Fr. Altheim — R. STIEHL: Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike. Frankfurt am Main 1957).

The equivalent of this in the Palamedes inscription can hardly be supposed, because there at the most such a variant of this sentence could appear: «which the Lord, the King of Kings, the Son of God, named after his own name», but the underlining of this obvious motif is not justified by anything. On the other hand, we can think of the possibility, that the denomination of the sanctuary in the inscription could be followed by such a formula, which we could read in the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* in connection with the fire-sanctuary foundations of Šāhpuhr I. Here the formula of the foundation of the fire-sanctuary is as follows: (Parthian version, lines 17—18) ... *YṬYBWm 'trw ḤD ḥwsrw-Šhypwhr ŠMH pty LN 'rw'n W p'šn'm* «. . . I found 1 fire(-sanctuary) by the name 'Xusrav-Šāhpuhr' for our soul and name-preservation». On the basis of this after the denomination of the sanctuary the following subordinate sentence could be presumed also in the Palamedes inscription: «which the Lord, the King of Kings, the Son of God, founded (or: caused to be built) for his (own) soul». In this case we must, naturally, also suppose, that between the fire(-sanctuaries) and the salvation of the founders also according to the religious conviction of the Kuṣāṇa rulers the same close relations existed, as according to the conception of the Arsacids and the Sassanians. Otherwise this is probable also by itself.

If we try now to restore this passage in the inscription, then, in accordance with the Indian titles *maharaja rajatiraja devaputra* of Huviṣka, instead of the phrase *BAΓO ÞAO* of the great inscription, we must suppore in it already the title *BAΓO ÞAONANO ÞAO* in Bactrian. For the time being we do not know the words 'own' and 'salvation' or 'soul' from Bactrian, but considering the close relationship between the Bactrian and Avestan languages, it can hardly be doubtful, that in Bactrian we can presume the forms **XHBAΔO* or **XHBA-ΘO* and **OPONO* corresponding to the Avestan words *xvaēpatay-* 'er selber, selbst' or *xvaēpaiθya-* 'eigen' and *urvan-* 'Seele, Geist'. In connection with the presumed forms of the former we have only to remark, that in Bactrian from the form **χvēβ-* the *v* disappeared apparently just like in Sogdian, where (Man. Sogd.) we find the form *xypδ*. Taking these into consideration, the formula regarding the foundation of the sanctuary can be restored as follows:

[*CIΔO I BAΓO ÞAONANO ÞAO IIIΔO I*XHBAΔO *OPONO KIPΔO*]

In the great inscription after this introductory passage the review of the earlier history of the sanctuary followed. Since sanctuary B was newly built, the equivalent of this was apparently missing from the Palamedes inscription. Thus in this after the introductory part immediately the name and titles of the founder must have followed, that is to say that part, whose last two lines have already been preserved in a fragmentary state. Now it is a question, how we can imagine the syntactic structure of this on the basis of the preserved part and

of the parallel § 3 the great inscription. As we have pointed out earlier, the of position of the predicate *KIPAO* in the order of words infers to the possibility, that immediately before it there stood some kind of conjunction (and eventually an adverb). From this it follows, that the part containing the titles of the initiator of the construction was a separate main or subordinate clause. This clause must have contained also the date of the construction, because on the basis of the other Surkh Kotal inscriptions we have to presume, that the dating was not missing also from the Palamedes inscription. It is doubtless, however, that the dating appeared at an other place, than in the great inscription, in which it follows after the enumeration of the titles of the initiator of construction. In the Palamedes inscription after the enumeration of the office names there is no place for the dating, and thus it could stand only at the beginning of the sentence.

Now the question is, what could be the dating of the inscription. Regarding this we can receive some footing from the coinage of Huviṣka. The construction of the Surkh Kotal fire-sanctuary could have been surely a significant event under the reign of Huviṣka, and thus it can be presumed, that it left some trace also in the coinage. As it has turned out from the elaboration of R. Göbl, the reverse of coins showing *AΘPO*, the Fire-God, is not at all general under the reign of Huviṣka, on the contrary, it can be regarded as definitely unfrequent. This circumstance shows, that the appearance of *AΘPO* on the coins is connected with some event, or some occasion. It is most obvious to bring this occasion in relationship with the construction of the fire-sanctuary of the ruler. Earlier, from the data of the history of construction of the Surkh Kotal Sanctuary district, we have already concluded, that temple B could be built at the end of the forties or at the beginning of the fifties of the Kaniṣka Era. Now the numismatic data fully corroborate this supposition. As it was namely shown by R. Göbl, the coinage of Huviṣka can be divided into three great chronological groups. It is now very important to observe, that according to the classification of Göbl, coins bearing the delineation of *AΘPO* occur in the 2nd series of the third chronological group.[6] Since the coinage of Huviṣka infers the taking up of the title *PAONANO PAO*, and this could take place only in the 40th year of the Kaniṣka Era, therefore the entire coinage falls between the 40th and 60th years of this era. If the three chronological groups follow each other more or less proportionally within the framework of the 20 years, then counting 6 to 8 years for a group, the beginning of the third group can be dated to a time around the 52nd year. Of the coins belonging to the third group mint *A* issued 9 series. If we devide the issue of these series on certain years, then the third group comprises 9 years, and exactly the years from the 52nd to the 60th of the Kaniṣka Era. According to this

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[6] R. GÖBL: *op. cit.* 192 ff. and 200.

chronology the 2nd series of the third group falls to the 53rd year of the
Kaniṣka Era, therefore this can be regarded with a high probability as the date
of construction of the $A\Theta PO$ temple in Surkh Kotal.

Since after the dating the denomination and titles of the initiator of
construction follow, the relationship between the two syntactic units can be
imagined only so, as in the similar part of the great inscription, *viz.:* «in the
53rd year so-and-so, the superintendent, *etc.* came here» (eventually: «in the
53rd year so-and-so was the superintendent, *etc.* here»). Thus in the Palamedes
inscription the dating could very likely be connected with the arriving there
(or appointment) of the official directing the construction work, as in the great
inscription. In this case, however, the sentence containing the dating, as well
as the name and titles of the official directing the construction work, as a
subordinate clause of time, must have depended from the last sentence, be-
cause otherwise the text of the inscription would not contain just the date of
the construction. On the basis of these considerations we must imagine the
structure of this part of the inscription as follows: «When in the 53rd year
so-and-so, the superintendent . . . came here, the sanctuary was built by him
then here». According to these the text of lines x + 2 and x + 3 can be
completed as follows:

line x + 2 [   ]$BI\varDelta O$ I $ZHNOBI\varDelta O$ I $A PIO$ [$MA\varLambda$]
line x + 3 [O $A\varGamma A\varDelta O$ $TA\varLambda HI$]O $KIP\varDelta O$ MI $BA\varGamma O\varLambda A\varGamma\varGamma O$ M[$A\varLambda O$]

The beginning of this part of the inscription, on the basis of the above
arguments, can be restored on the basis of the corresponding passage of the
great inscription. The sentence started obviously with the conjunction $KA\varLambda\varDelta O$
'when', after which, however, not the name and titles of the initiator of con-
struction, but the dating must have followed. The syntactic structure of the
dating on the basis of the great inscription cannot be doubtful, *viz.:* $III\varDelta O$ I
numeral $X PONO$ name of month MAO. It is also possible, that this more la-
conic inscription did not contain the denomination of the month. Of the pre-
sumable numerals, 'fifty' and 'three', of the dating, neither is known so far in
Bactrian, but on the basis of the knowledge of the phonemic development of
the Bactrian language the forms of both can be reconstructed. The Bactrian
development of Old Iranian *$pan\check{c}asant$- 'fifty' (cp. Avestan $pan\check{c}a$-$sant$-
'fünfzig'), supposed on the basis of the development Old Iranian *$\theta risant$-
'thirty' > Bactrian $YIPCO$, could be *$\Pi ANCACO$. And the Bactrian form
of Old Iranian *$\theta rayah$ 'three' can be reconstructed presumably in the form
*$YIPI$, or eventually *$YIPO$. According to these the dating could be $III\varDelta O$ I
*$YIPI$ $O\varDelta O$ *$\Pi ANCACO$ $X PONO$.

After the dating could follow the titles of the official, the end of which
has also been preserved in line x + 2. The order of the enumeration of the

titles apparently differred from that of the great inscription. In that namely
the denomination of the official function of the official follows immediately
after his name, and after this already only his honorific titles are enumerated,
while in the Palamedes inscription the enumeration of the titles ends with
two office names and a honorific title. Since in the case of such enumerations
the general practice is, that first the denomination of the official function
follows, and only afterwards the honorific titles, we must think of the possi-
bility, that also in the Palamedes inscription after the name stood the denomi-
nation of the official function, this was followed by some honorific titles, and
then the whole enumeration with the turn *IΔO* 'at the same time' passed over
to the two office names to be read in line x + 2, and then ended in the hono-
rific title *AÞIO*. As for the official function following the name, on the basis of
the great inscription we can conclude, that the initiator of the construction
could be *KAPAΔPAΓΓO* also in this case. If the explanation of this office
name given by me is correct, according to which in its bearer we must see the
superintendent or principal of a certain block or quarter of town *(kara)*, then
on the one hand it is likely, that at the Surkh Kotal Sanctuary district one or
more such officials acted also in the later period of the reign of Huviṣka, and
on the other hand it is also obvious, that the construction works of the new
sanctuary were directed exactly by the superintendent of the Sanctuary
district, the *KAPAΔPAΓΓO*. The office names occurring in line x + 2 can
also be well adjusted with the function of the district-superintendent, in as
much as the maintenance of public security could also belong under the author-
ity of this official, thus in one person he could be also the police chief and the
chief of the prison.

For the reconstruction of this whole part besides the parallel passage
of the great inscription the letters]OB[fragmentarily preserved in line x + 1
render some footing. Naturally, we have to hold unlikely already in advance,
that in the Palamedes inscription the enumeration of the titles of the official
would have been so voluminous, as in the great inscription. This is clearly
excluded by the laconic character of the inscription. Thus we think most of the
use of those honorific titles, which emphasise the loyalty of the official towards
the ruler, and which follow immediately after the denomination of the official
function also in the great inscription. These are the phrases *KIΔO ΦPEICTA-
PO ABO ÞAO I BAΓOΠOYPO* and *XOBOCAPO*. The letter fragments
]OB[are well compatible with the use of both phrases, because this group of
letters actually occurs in the word *XOBOCAPO*, and it can also be presumed
in the other phrase, in as much as in that we reconstruct the entire series of
titles *BAΓO ÞAONANO ÞAO I BAΓOΠOYPO* of the Kuṣāṇa rulers. Of the
two possibilities perhaps the latter is the more likely, because the phrase
KIΔO ΦPEICTAPO ABO BAΓO, etc. stresses the loyalty of the official
directing the construction towards the ruler much more definitely, than the

simple word *XOBOCAPO*. Taking all this into consideration this passage can be reconstructed as follows:

line x — 1   [*KAΔΔO ΠIΔO I YIPI OΔO ΠANCACO*]
line x   [*XÞONO . . . . I KAPAΔPAΓΓO KIΔ-*
line x + 1   [*O ΦPEICTAPO AB*]*O B*[*AΓO ÞAONANO ÞAO I BAΓO-*
line x + 2   [*ΠOYPO IΔO I . . . *]*BIΔO I ZHNOBIΔO I AÞIO* [*MAΔ-*]
line x + 3   [*O AΓAΔO TAΔHI*]*O KIPΔO MI BAΓOΔAΓΓO M*[*AΔO*]

In this passage the two office names occurring in line x + 2 are to a certain extent still problematical. The word *ZHNOBIΔO* was earlier brought by me in relationship with the office name *jenavida* occurring in the Kroraina documents. The latter occurs in the Kroraina document No. 506, in which a person named Kuviñeya, who bears the office name *jenavida caṃkura*, together with several other officials, reports on the investigation of the case of a fugitive slave. It can hardly be disputed, that the two office names of Kuviñeya denote official functions connected with each other, and since the word *caṃkura* can with sufficient reliability be identified with the office of the Sanskrit *nagara-rakṣaka-* 'police chief', it was obvious to attribute to the word *jenavida* the meaning 'chief of prison'. The Kroraina *jenavida* can be traced back to an Iranian form **zēnəβiδo*, which can be identified directly with the Bactrian office name *ZHNOBIΔO*. To these data we could link further the following office names: Parthian *zyndnyk*, Middle Persian *zynd'nyk* 'prison inspector', and Parthian *zynpty*, and Middle Persian *zynpt*.[7] The latter was interpreted by M. Sprengling as 'Lord Chief Armorer',[8] and by H.W.Bailey as 'armourer.[9] Joining this opinion I attempted the explanation of the whole group of words. I assumed as a basic word Old Iranian **zaina-* 'equipment, weapon' (cp. Avestan *zaēna-* 'Waffe'), and from this I derived the compound **zaina-pati-* 'comander of military equipment' on the one hand, and the compound **zaina-dāna-* 'military equipment depot', on the other hand, from which then the Bactrian *ZHNOBIΔO* 'prison inspector', Parthian *etc. zyndnyk* 'prison inspector', Parthian *etc. zynpty* 'chief of military depot' could be derived with the assumption, that originally the military depots were also used as prisons. From this the further conclusion results, that the meaning of Bactrian *ZHNO-BIΔO* and Kroraina *jenavida* was actually 'chief of military depot and prison', while at the beginning of the Sasanian Age this function was differentiated into two separate offices, *viz.* the office of the *zynpty* 'chief of military equipment', and that of the *zyndnyk* 'chief of prison'.

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[7] See J. HARMATTA: Acta Orient. Hung. 11 (1960) 217 foll. Independently from me W. B. HENNING collated the word *ZHNOBIΔO* with the Parthian office name *zynpty*, BSOAS 23 (1950) 50.

[8] AJSL 57 (1940) 406.

[9] Donum nat. H. S. NYBERG obl. 6.

This conception, however, which wanted to explain the presumable meaning of the Kroraina word *jenavida* mainly on the basis of the earlier explanations of the words *zynpty* and *zyndnyk*, has certain difficulties. Thus in the first place in the case of the office name **zaina-pati-* the relationship of the functions 'chief of military equipment' and 'prison inspector' is not quite obvious. Besides this it is also not quite sure, that the title *zynpty* is really to be interpreted as 'chief of military equipment'. The titles *zynpty* and *zyndnyk* do not namely occur simultaneously, side by side, but the office name *zynpty* appear under the reign of Artaχšahr, and the office name *zyndnyk* under the reign of Šāhpuhr I. Since the Greek version of the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* does not translate the office name *zynpty*, but only transliterates it, thus actually we have no footing from Parthian and Middle Persian regarding the function of this official.

Sprengling and Bailey in the interpretation 'Lord Chief Armorer' and 'armourer', respectively, were obviously lead by the circumstance, that they identified the element *zyn-* of the word with the Middle Iranian word *zēn* 'equipment, armour'. It is a question, however, whether an office 'chief of military equipment' can be presumed under the reign of Artaχšahr at all. At any rate it is remarkable, that this office disappears under Šāhpuhr I, although otherwise the organization of offices was considerably expanded during his reign. At the same time, under Artaχšahr we do not find the equivalent of the office *zyndnyk* 'prison inspector' appearing under Šāhpuhr. The most simple solution of the arising problems would be to see in the element *zyn-* of the title *zynpty* not the word *zēn* 'equipment, armour', but the Middle Iranian word *zēn* 'guarding, custody' (cp. Avestan *zaēnaŋhan-* 'wachend, wachsam' *zaēni.buδra-* 'reg, eifrig wachend, wachsam', *zaēnahvant-* 'wachsam, regsam' etc., Parthian *zyn'yy* 'zur Hut, bewacht', *hwzynyy* 'in guter Hut', Buddh. Sogdian *zynyh* 'dépot, gage', Man. Sogdian *zynyy* 'zur Hut anvertrautes Gut, Depot', Saka *ysīnīya-* 'entrusted', Kroraina *jheniga-* 'under the care of'[10]). In this case the Bactrian *ZHNOBIΛO*, Kroraina *jenavida*, Parthian *zynpty*, and Middle Persian *zynpt* could be alike the 'chief of custody', and the Parthian, Middle Persian word *zynd'n* could have the meaning 'place of custody'.

If we accept this explanation, then the word *zynpty* appearing in the enumeration of the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* among the offices under Artaχšahr would denote substantially the same office, as the word *zyndnyk* appearing at the time of Šāhpuhr. In this case the Bactrian *ZHNOBIΛO* could be directly identified with the Parthian title *zynpty*, and Middle Persian *zynpt*. The circumstance, that in Kroraina Prakrit in the word *jheniga- jh-*, and in

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[10] Regarding the quoted data see CHR. BARTHOLOMAE: Altiranisches Wörterbuch. Strassburg 1904; W. HENNING: Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtenbuch. APAW 1936. 89; ST. KONOW: Primer of Khotanese Saka. Oslo 1949. 128; E. BENVENISTE: Vessantara Jātaka. Paris 1946. 98; T. BURROW: The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan. Cambridge 1937. 93.

the title *jenavida j-* corresponds to the Iranian initial *z-*, does not cause any difficulty. On the one hand the two words originate namely from two different Iranian languages, from Bactrian and from Saka, and can be adoptions from different times, and on the other hand the alternation *j* and *jh* can also otherwise be proved from the Prakrit documents written in Kharoṣṭhī script. Thus for example the word *dhyāna-* appears in Kroraina Prakrit in the form *jāna-*, while in the inscription of the Taxila copper ring we find the development *Jhanapriya-* of the name *Dhyānapriya-*. If, however, we should still adher to the conception, according to which the title *zynpty* is in relationship with the word *zēn* 'equipment, weapon' (cp. Middle Persian *zynkly* 'armourer' on the Pārsīγ ostracon from Dura-Europos, Armenian *zinvor* 'Soldat, Krieger' < Iranian **zēnvar, etc.*), then we must completely separate from this the Bactrian office name *ZHNOBIΔO*, and the Kroraina office name *jenavida*.

Since in the word *AÞIO* following after the title *ZHNOBIΔO*, according to the interpretation given above, we must see a honorific title, thus the preceding title *]BIΔO* can better correspond to the office *caṃkura* 'police chief' appearing together with the Kroraina title *jenavida*, whose equivalent was sought for by us earlier in the word *AÞIO*. Unfortunately, among the Iranian office names the title denoting the office of the 'police chief' is so far not known. For the denomination of this office the title *typty'* (pl.) known from the Old Testament (Dan. 3,2) and the Elephantine papyri (Cowley No. 27.9) can perhaps be taken most into consideration. This appears in Cowley No. 27 in the enumeration *dyny' typty' gwšky'* «judges, *typty'*, detective», and this context here makes the interpretation 'police chief' obvious. This is supported also by the occurrence of the word in the Old Testament, where it is found similarly in an enumeration, *viz.:* . . . *dtbry' tpty'* . . . «judges, *tpty'*». The context requires also here some kind of public security office.

The word *typty'* has so far no acceptable explanation. Among the explanations made so far, the conception of I. Scheftelowitz, according to which the Aramaic form would be the transliteration of an Old Persian word **θayapati-* 'Lagerkommandant',[11] cannot be accepted either from the phonetic, or from the semantic point of view.[12] On account of similar difficulties the explanation of E. Benveniste is also unlikely, according to which this word would be the adoption of an Old Persian form **θahyapati-*.[13] From the phonetic point of view satisfactory is the etymology of W. B. Henning, who traced back the Aramaic form to Old Persian **tāyupātā-* 'der vor den Dieben schützt'.[14] H. H. Schaeder argued against this explanation saying, that the meaning of

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[11] Scripta Univ. atque Bibl. Hierosol. I. 1923. (It was not accessible for me.)
[12] Cp. H. H. SCHAEDER's remarks, Iranische Beiträge. I. Halle (Saale) 1930. 65 foll.
[13] JA 225 (1934) 185 ff. Cp. W. B. HENNING's remarks, *op. cit.* 90.
[14] F. C. ANDREAS—W. HENNING: Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan. SPAW Berlin 1933. 359.

the compound *tāyu-pātar- could be only 'protector of the thieves', which would not be a quite felicitous title for a 'police chief',[15] but later on Henning modified his conception to a certain extent, and on the basis of the meaning 'Diebe bewachen' of the Sogdian verb "p'y- occurring on one occasion, interpreted the Old Persian word as 'der die Diebe bewacht'.[16] Henning's explanation from the semantic point of view would correspond to the interpretation 'police chief' resulting from the context, the difficulty is, however, that the meaning of the Sogdian continuation of the Old Iranian verb *ā-pāy-, occurring on one occasion, can hardly be presumed in Old Persian in connection with the simple verb pāy-. Thus against the etymology *tāyu-pātar- the objection continues to exist, that the meaning of such a compound in Old Persian could only be 'protector of the thieves'.

These difficulties of the explanation of the word typty' can be solved, if we trace it back to the Old Persian form *tāyu-pati-. The meaning of this is, of course, not 'lord of the thieves' or 'head of the thieves', which would not be a very felicitous denomination for a police chief either. In recent times H. W. Bailey pointed out on several occasions, that the meaning of the Indo-Iranian word pati- in office names can be not only 'lord of', but also 'official in charge of', as this frequently occurs in both Old Indian and Old Iranian.[17] Thus the meaning of the Old Persian title *tāyu-pati- could be 'official entrusted with the affairs, supervision of the thieves', and this fully corresponds to the inferred meaning 'police chief' of the Aramaic word typty'. Since the Old Iranian word *tāyu- 'thief' (cp. Avestan tāyav- 'Dieb') seems to be fairly wide-spread in the Iranian language area (cp. Middle Persian t'y 'Dieb', Buddh. Sogdian t'yh 'voleur', Man. Sogdian t'ywnyy 'Diebstahl',[18]), the possibility is not excluded, that the Old Persian title *tāyupati- survived also in Bactrian territory. Thus we can think eventually about the possibility, that the title standing in line x + 2 of the Palamedes inscription before the word ZHNOBIΛO, can be restored in the form *TΛIO]BIΛO.

On the basis of the above argumentation we can restore the text of the Palamedes inscription in its main features. This reconstruction, naturally, cannot claim to be regarded as an authentic and precise litteral restoration of the text of the inscription, but with the help of the parallel passages of the great inscription and the preserved parts the contents of the inscription can be defined with considerable certainty, and part of the text can be reconstructed with a high probability. Those words, which have not occurred so far in

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[15] Iranica. Berlin 1934. 5. Cp. also W. Eilers: Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferungen. Leipzig 1940. 126.

[16] Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtenbuch. 90. Henning repeated this explanation even in recent times, see Fr. Rosenthal: A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic. Wiesbaden 1961. 58.

[17] BSOAS 14 (1952) 421, TPhS 1956. 113.

[18] Cp. W. Henning: op. cit. 10; E. Benveniste: Vessantara Jātaka. 18.

Bactrian, were marked by us with an asterisk (*). Thus the presumable original lext of the inscription, with the above reservations, can be illustrated as foltows:

line x − 3   [*ΕΙΔΟ ΜΑΝΟ ΜΟ ΟΟΗÞΚΟ ΑΘÞΟ ΒΑΓΟΛΑΓΓΟ ϹΙ*]
line x − 2   [*ΔΟ Ι ΒΑΓΟ ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ ΠΙΔΟ Ι *ΧΗΒΑΔΟ *ΟΡΟ*]
line x − 1   [*ΝΟ ΚΙΡΔΟ ΚΑΛΔΟ ΠΙΔΟ Ι *ΥΙΡΙ ΟΔΟ *ΠΑΝϹΑϹΟ*]
line x   [*ΧÞΟΝΟ . . . . Ι ΚΑΡΑΛΡΑΓΓΟ ΚΙΔ*]
line x + 1   [*Ο ΦΡΕΙϹΤΑΡΟ ΑΒ*]Ο Β[*ΑΓΟ ÞΑΟΝΑΝΟ ÞΑΟ Ι ΒΑΓΟ*]
line x + 2   [*ΠΟΥΡΟ ΙΔΟ Ι *ΤΑΙΟ*]ΒΙΔΟ Ι ΖΗΝΟΒΙΔΟ Ι ΑÞΙΟ[*ΜΑΛ*]
line x + 3   [*Ο ΑΓΑΛΟ ΤΑΔΗΙ*]Ο ΚΙΡΔΟ ΜΙ ΒΑΓΟΛΑΓΓΟ Μ[*ΑΛΟ*]
line x + 4   ΔΙΑ ΠΑΛΑΜΗΔΟΥ

Translation:

[«This building here is the «Huviṣka» Aθṣo-sanctuary,]
[which the Lord, the King of Kings caused to be built]
[for his own soul. When in the fifty-third]
[era-year. . . . . . . the district superintendent,]
[who is most devoted t]o the L[ord, the King of Kings, the]
[Son of God, and simultaneously the police] chief, the inspector
    of prison, the righteous
[came here], then caused the sanctuary to be built (through me) h[ere]
                through Palamedes.»

II. THE UNFINISHED SURKH KOTAL INSCRIPTION

I

In the course of the excavations at Surkh Kotal an unfinished inscription was found, of which only the first line was scratched in by the stone-cutter, and only the first six or seven letters of it were carved by him permanently. The inscription was reviewed first by R. Curiel,[1] and later on in its first 5 letters W. B. Henning recognized the word *ΧÞΟΝΟ* = Saka *kṣuṇa-* 'regnal year, reign'.[2] The further deciphering and interpretation of the inscription was rendered impossible by the circumstance, that on the photograph published by Curiel only the first six, permanently carved letters were legible, and the autography made by Curiel on the scratched in letters did not seem to be reliable. The possibilities for the study of the inscription have become, however, much

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[1] Inscriptions de Surkh Kotal. JA 242 (1954) 189 ff.
[2] Surkh Kotal. BSOAS 18 (1956) 367.

more favourable on account of the fact, that A. Maricq published an excellent photograph of the latex impression made by him.[3] Maricq also recognized, that after the word $X\bar{P}ONO$ a date follows, and thus he read and interpreted the first 9 letters of the inscription as follows: $X\bar{P}ONO\ \Sigma OE\ M[$ «an 285, mois . . .».[4] This surprising dating makes the inscription especially important and interesting from the viewpoint of the history of the Kuṣāṇas. Thus, however, hopeless the deciphering of the scratched in letters appears to be at the first glance, the historical meaning of the inscription demands from us to attempt to solve this task.

The reading of the first 6 letters cannot be doubtful, *viz.* $X\bar{P}ONO\ \Sigma$. The seventh letter was read by Maricq as O, but the form of this is somewhat different from that of the previous two O-s. While those are slightly oval, this is smaller in size and its form is nearer to the circle. Besides this, below in the middle a short line starts out from it. All this renders it likely, that we have to deal not with an O, but with a qoppa. Its correct reading therefore will be Q. According to Maricq the next letter is E. To this reading contradicts, however, the circumstance, that the outer contour of the letter apparently represents a closed oval, which in the middle is divided into two parts by a horizontal stroke It can therefore hardly be doubted, that instead of an E a Θ should be read. Thus the figure standing after $X\bar{P}ONO$ 'year of reign, year of era' will not be $\Sigma OE = 275$, but $\Sigma Q\Theta = 299$. The circumstance, that the qoppa occurs in the Bactrian Greek alphabet, should not surpise us. The letters used as numerals remain as a rule in use also in the case if otherwise in the script they are no longer applied. The form of the sigma used to denote the numeral 200 in this inscription also preserves a much earlier form, in as much as this variant of it consisting of four lines was in use only till Kujula Kadphises.[5]

The next letter was read by Maricq as M, most probably lead by the presumption, that after the date of year the word MAO 'month' must follow in the dating. On the photograph, however, clearly enough a B can be read, to the right of which still the vertical branch of a letter is discernible in the 1st zone of the photograph. (Maricq publishes namely the long line of the inscription divided into 5 photographic zones, however he unfortunately omits to mark the places where the certain zones of the photograph are linked to each other.)

At the beginning of the 2nd photographic zone ΘB can be read. Since the form of the letters exactly coincides with that of the letters to be seen at the end of the 1st photographic zone, here the two photographic zones are apparently overlapping each other. After the B we can see even with the naked

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[3] La grande inscription de Kaniṣka et l'étéotokharien. JA 246 (1958) Plate III.
[4] JA 246 (1958) 416. The date 285 with MARICQ is apparently a clerical error in place of 275.
[5] See I. H. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW: The «Scythian» Period. Leiden 1949. 378.

eye a small size A, whose lower part falls in one line with the lower part of the B. To the right from the A, looking through a magnifying glass, in a somewhat higher level than the A, a Γ and an O are discernible very vaguely. After the O, where there is a hole in the stone, as if the outlines of a dim $\dot{P}$ would be visible under the magnifying glass, and to the right from this two inclined lines connected above, that is presumably an A, and then again a vague O can be observed. Hereafter an N discernible also with the naked eye follows, and then a scratch reminding of a below opened triangle, hardly visible even under a magnifying glass, very likely an A, on the right side branch of which a fairly definite vertical scratch passes through. After this quite clearly an N is discernible, whose left side upper corner is occupied by a hole in the stone. To the right from the N a long vertical scratch can be seen, this is apparently not a character, and then clearly enough the outlines of an O are discernible. Thus the reading of the 2nd photographic zone could be as follows: $\Theta B A^{\Gamma} \Gamma O \dot{P} A O^{\dagger}$-$N^{\Gamma} A^{\dagger} N O$. And in this we can immediately recognize the titles $B A \Gamma O$ and $\dot{P} A O$-$N A N O$ of the Kuṣāṇa Kings. Thus on the basis of the aforesaid we can state, that in our inscription after the date of year not a more precise dating (month, day), but immediately the titles of a King followed.

At the beginning of the 3rd photographic zone the scratched in figure of a slightly angular $\dot{P}$ is fairly well seen. After this two inclined lines crossing each other above can be seen, which could most probably be interpreted as a scratched in A put up in all haste. To the right from this a well discernible O follows, and then similarly clearly enough a B can be read, whose upper part is unproportionately bigger than its lower part. Hereafter a slightly arched, vertical long scratch can be observed (apparently not a character), and then we can see an A of fairly regular figure, whose two upper branches slightly cross each other. The scratch marking the lower cross line of the A, crossing its right side upper branch, goes over into another letter, which can be regarded as an obliquely drawn Z. The lower branch of the Z is again interconnected with the next letter, which looks like an oval of fairly irregular shape, with a horizontal scratch in its middle. The whole scratch was perhaps made as a result of repeated attempts, in its present form it can be interpreted as Θ or O. After this an obliquely standing, small size triangle is visible, apparently a Δ. To the right from the Δ a fairly regular H can be observed, whose lower part stretches much lower, than the Δ preceding it. Now still a letter of similar form, but slightly bigger and placed somewhat higher, follows, in which the scratch marking its middle cross line starts out from the upper end of the preceding letter. Then again a long, oblique, definite scratch (apparently not a character) can be seen, to the right of which a clear O can be read. After the O a large size B follows, the lower part of which is much larger, than its upper part, and stretches deeply below the lower lines of the other letters. At the edge of the photographic zone still the vertical branch of a letter is discernible.

Thus the reading of the 3rd photographic zone can be as follows: *ÞAOBAZOΔ-HHOB*. From this we receive the word *ÞAO* and the name *BAZOΔHHO*. The former together with the word *ÞAONANO* of the 2nd photographic zone gives the well known title *ÞAONANO ÞAO* 'King of Kings' of the Kušāna Kings, while the form *BAZOΔHHO* can be identified with the name of the Kušāṇa ruler Vāsudeva, which appears on the coins in the form *BAZOΔHO*. The form to be read on our inscription can be interpreted as an orthographic variant of this name, or — taking into consideration the provisional character of the scratching — it can be regarded simply as an error of the stone-cutter, which apparently would have been corrected by him at the final carving.

At the beginning of the 4th photographic zone we can see the same letter *B*, as at the end of the 3rd photographic zone, thus here we have again to do with overlapping. After the *B* we can observe a vertical scratch and a horizontal scratch crossing the top of the former one at right angles, which could be most easily interpreted as a *Γ*, or eventually as an improvised *A*. After this we can read a smaller and a larger *O*, then a *Π* standing very near to a *P* follows, which is crossed by a long oblique scratch (not a character!). This character differs from the *P* in as much as its right side is arched like an inverse *S*, and it differs from the usual form of the *Π*, in as much as its right side arched part is not linked in an angular form to its upper horizontal line, and that below it approaches more closely the left side vertical stem. This deviation from the regular form is very likely the consequence of the improvised scratching. To the right from the *Π* a recumbent, not entirely closed oval divided in the middle by a vertical scratch into two parts can be seen. A similar, but upright oval could be observed in the 3rd photographic zone in the name *BAZOΔHHO*. Like there, very likely also here we have to do with an *O* or eventually *Ω* scratched in with repeated attempts. After this the scratch of a slightly improvised *Y* can be read (its left oblique stem does not reach quite its right vertical stem), and then the outlines of a *P* can very vaguely be seen, they are almost to be guessed, an oblique scratch (not a character!) passes through it. To the right from this an *O* can be read, whose lower part is touched by an oblique strong scratch. To the *O* on the right side still an ovally arched line is linked, which is perhaps the result of the repeated attempts for the scratching in of the *O*. At the edge of the photographic zone under a magnifying glass well discernible is still a narrow scratched in *K*, around whose right side oblique stems the stone was chipped off. According to these the 4th photographic zone can be read as follows: *BΓ/AOOΠO/ΩYPOK*. From the reading as an independent word can be separated the form *BΓ/AOOΠO/ΩYPO*, which can be identified with the title *BAΓOΠOYPO* occurring in the Nokonzoko-inscription. The slightly differing form of our inscription arose very likely so, that the stone-cutter at the scratching in left out the letter *A* after the *B*, and then writing down the word *BΓO* he observed the mistake, but did not hold it
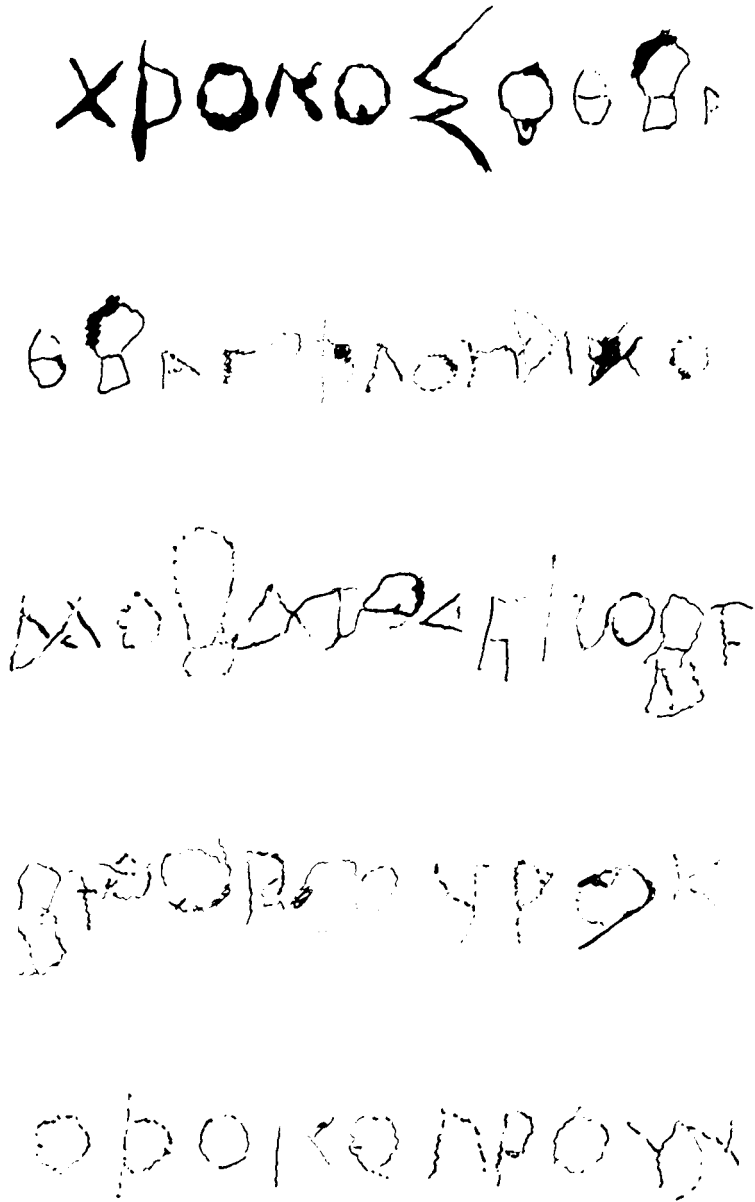
Fig. 1

necessary to re-scratch the letters, but he added another O to the form $B\Gamma O$ in order to insure the 4 spaces required for the form $BA\Gamma O$ at the carving. Thus the correct reading of the word will be as follows: $B\langle A\rangle\Gamma O\{O\}\Pi OYPO$.

At the beginning of the 5th photographic zone again a smaller overlapping can be observed, *viz.* the right side oblique stems of the K to be read at the end of the 4th photographic zone are well discernible. This is followed by

a vaguely scratched in O, and then a considerably large size $\flat$ can be seen. To the right from this 3 clearly discernible letters, *viz. ONO*, are situated. And now a Λ follows, whose two branches below are crossed by a long oblique scratch (this apparently does not belong to the letter). After this a slightly oblique P is to be seen, around which the stone has been chipped off at several points. The last 3 letters of the photographic zone can clearly be read, *viz. OYN*. Between the two stems of the N below in the stone a hole can be observed. Thus the reading of the 5th photographic zone is as follows: $KO\flat ONO\Lambda PO YN$. From this the form $KO\flat ONO$ can without any difficulty be identified with the word $KO\flat ANO$, known from the Kuṣāṇa coins, which on the late Kuṣāṇa coins appears in the form $KO\flat ONO$, just like in our inscription.[6]

Thus we can give the following reading of the whole inscription according to the division of the photographs published by Maricq:

$$X\flat ONO\ \ \Sigma \dot{\varrho}\Theta\ \ B$$

$$\Theta\ \ B^\Gamma A\Gamma O\ \ \flat AO^{\gimel}N^\Gamma A^{\gimel}NO$$

$$\flat AO\ \ BAZO\Lambda H\{H\}\dot{O}B$$

$$B\langle A\rangle \Gamma O\{O\}HO YPO\acute{K}$$

$$KO\flat ONO\ \ \Lambda PO YN$$

Eliminating now the overlappings we get the following text: $X\flat ONO\ \Sigma \varrho \Theta$ $BA\Gamma O\ \flat AONANO\ \flat AO\ \ BAZO\Lambda H\{H\}O\ \ B\langle A\rangle \Gamma O\{O\}HO YPO\ KO\flat ONO$ $\Lambda PO YN$.

II

From the linguistic point of view our inscription with the exception of one word can easily be interpreted, *viz.* «(In) the 299th year. The magnificent King of Kings Vāsudeva, the Son of God, the Kuṣāṇa . . .». Disregarding for the time being the unidentified word $\Lambda PO YN$, we can state that the scratched in 1st line of the inscription contains the dating and the complete set of titles of the Kuṣāṇa King Vāsudeva. In the Indian inscriptions Vāsudeva bears the titles *mahārāja rājatirāja, devaputra,* and *ṣāhi.*[7] Of these *ṣāhi* is very likely the title of the Kuṣāṇa rulers in their own Kuṣāṇa language, which — in as much as it occurs at all - appears always before the name in an uninflected form, while the other elements of the titles stand in genitive.[8] Therefore at the comparison of the Bactrian and Indian titles of the Kuṣāṇa Kings this must be disregarded. Of the other titles *rājatirāja* is apparently the equivalent of $\flat AONANO\ \flat AO$, and *devaputra* the equivalent of $BA\Gamma OHO YPO$. As we can see, the Bactrian $BA\Gamma O$ has no equivalent in the Indian set of titles, while in Bactrian there is no equivalent for the Indian *mahārāja*. The presumption,

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[6] See R. GÖBL in the following work: FR. ALTHEIM—R. STIEHL: Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike. Frankfurt am Main 1957. 250.

[7] See the list of MARICQ: JA 246 (1958) 392 foll.

that the titles of the Kuṣāṇa rulers in our inscription can be traced back to an older past in Bactria, and all their elements are of a stereotype character, is proved by the fact that all their component parts can be found in the earlier monuments of Bactrian writing. Thus the titles *BAΓO ÞAO* and *BAΓOΠOYPO* occur already in the Nokonzoko-inscription dated to the 31st year of the Kuṣāṇa Era, while *ÞAONANO ÞAO* is a permanent element of the Kuṣāṇa coin legends.

As it is known, the origin of the set of titles of the Kuṣāṇa Kings is a rather complicated problem. In contrast to the earlier conception, founded by Lüders, according to which the set of titles of the Kuṣāṇa Kings, and especially the set of titles of Kaniṣka II in the Ārā inscription, reflects the claim for the domination of the world, and besides the characteristic Kuṣāṇa title of the ruler also contains the office names of the Chinese, Indian, and Roman rulers,[9] more recently Maricq expounded the theory that the most important elements of the titles of the Kuṣāṇa rulers are of Parthian origin, and that the Bactrian and Indian titles of the Kuṣāṇa Kings exactly cover each other.[10] According to his opinion namely the Parthian, Kuṣāṇa, and Indian titles correspond to each other in the following way: $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\varepsilon\acute{v}\varsigma = ÞAO = mahārāja$, $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\varepsilon\grave{v}\varsigma \ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\acute{\varepsilon}\omega\nu = ÞAONANO \ ÞAO = mahārāja \ rājātirāja$, $\Theta\varepsilon\sigma\pi\acute{a}\tau\omega\varrho = BAΓOΠOYPO = devaputra$, and the last two are adoptions from the Parthians.

This conception has, however, several difficulties. First of all the titles of the Indian inscriptions, as we have seen, do not correspond exactly to those used on the linguistic monuments of Bactria. But apart from the mutual absence of the equivalents of the titles *BAΓO* and *ṣāhi*, the titles *ÞAONANO ÞAO* and *mahārāja rājātirāja* do not correspond either exactly to each other. It is true that to the Bactrian set of titles *BAΓO ÞAONANO ÞAO BAΓO-ΠOYPO* in India as a rule *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* corresponds, but from this we can draw the conclusion, that the translation of the title *ÞAO-NANO ÞAO* is *mahārāja rājātirāja*, with as little justification, as the conclusion, that the office name *mahārāja* is the equivalent of *BAΓO*. According to Maricq the title *mahārāja* in itself renders the meaning of the word *ÞAO*. Thus we could expect that in accordance with the Indian title *mahārāja rājātirāja* in Bactria we find the expression *ÞAO ÞAONANO ÞAO*. This, however, never occurs, and cannot occur either, and exactly this circumstance clearly shows, that *mahārāja* is a characteristically Indian ruler's title. In Bactrian the title *ÞAO* denotes namely such a king, over whom the *ÞAONANO ÞAO* rules. Consequently the title *ÞAO ÞAONANO ÞAO* would be a complete nonsense. In India, however, *mahārāja* in itself is already the title of such a ruler, who rules over several minor kings, or *rājas*, and thus as an office name of

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[8] MARICQ: JA 246 (1958) 383.
[9] H. LÜDERS: Philologica Indica. Göttingen 1940. 233 foll.
[10] JA 246 (1958) 372 ff.

similar meaning can stand beside the title *rājātirāja*. The circumstance that the word *mahārāja* serves sometimes not only for the rendering of the title βασιλεύς μέγας, but also for the rendering of the simple title βασιλεύς, is apparently explained by the fact, that the sphere of power of the βασιλεύς concerned (Demetrios) in India or according to the Indian conceptions corresponded to that of a *mahārāja*.

From all this it is clear that the word *mahārāja* in the set of titles of the Graeco-Indian, Saka, and Kuṣāṇa kings always reflects charateristically Indian conditions or aspect, and thus its use expressed a political claim or claim of suppremacy over India. At the same time the use of the title *rājātirāja* of similar meaning beside *mahārāja* undoubtedly indicates, that the former is a semantic borrowing of a foreign phrase, that of the Greek βασιλεύς βασιλέων or the Saka *ṣāhānu ṣāhi* or the Bactrian *PAONANO PAO*. Since in Parthian the title βασιλεύς βασιλέων = *MLKYN MLK'* occurs much earlier, in this case we can accept the presumption, that the source of the quoted Saka, Bactrian, and Indian titles can be traced back to the titles of the Parthian Kings.

The question of the origin, formation, and development of the rulers' titles is, however, not a mere problem of the history of language, but is in a close connection with the formation of the ideology of politics and power, and exactly this is the factor, which determines the philological side of this procedure. Thus we cannot have any doubt about the fact, that the taking up of the title βασιλεύς βασιλέων of the Parthian rulers on part of Moa was not done accidentally, but it was a political step of great importance. The Indo-Scythian King apparently wanted to show by this also in the international relationship, that he holds himself an equal power with the Parthian rulers. An examination of the historical circumstances renders also likely, that this step on part of Moa meant the shaking off of the political dependence from the Parthians just like in the case of Tigranes, King of Armenia, as this was clearly seen already by St. Konow.[11]

In this case, however, the supposition becomes forthwith unlikely, according to which the Kuṣāṇa title *BAΓOΠOYPO* = *devaputra* would be the adoption of the Parthian Θεοπάτωρ. Let us examine namely a little more closely the historical and linguistic conditions of this conception. The title Θεοπάτωρ is used among the Parthian rulers for the last time by Phraates III (69—57 B. C.), and with the Kuṣāṇas the title *devaputra* is taken up for the first time by Kujūla Kadphises, and at accomparatively late date, it occurs namely only in the Taxila inscription dated to year 136 of the Old Saka Era, and on a series of his coins of late issue. Year 136 of the Old Saka Era according to our calculation (see later) corresponds to 70/71 A. D., thus between the last use of the Parthian title Θεοπάτωρ and the appearance of the Kuṣāṇa royal title *deva-*

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[11] ST. KONOW: Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. II. Part I. Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the exception of those of Aśoka. Calcutta 1929. XXX—XXXI.

putra there is a space of time corresponding to over one and a quarter of a
century. In the age of Kujūla Kadphìses the Parthian title was apparently
already no more in use, and it could by no means have any political actuality,
so that from a historical point of view we cannot even think about the possi-
bility, that it could have been the source of the element *BAΓOΠOΥPO* =
devaputra of the Kuṣāṇa royal titles.

Besides this, however, it seems to be also very doubtful that the Parthian
word *baypuhr* corresponding to the Greek θεοπάτωρ would have ever occurred
among the Parthian titles of the Parthian Kings. The titles of the Parthian
Kings appeared at least in three languages, *viz.* Greek, Babylonian, and Par-
thian (Aramaic). Of these we know best the Greek titles, fairly well the Baby-
lonian titles, and we have only a few data on the Parthian titles.[12] We can at
any rate state also on the basis of data available so far, that the titles of the
Parthian rulers used in these three different languages covered each other as
inaccurately, as the Bactrian and Indian titles of the Kuṣāṇa Kings. Thus
as long as the word *baypuhr* will not be found among the titles used by the
Parthian rulers in the Parthian language, we must hold absolutely uncertain
the supposition, according to which the Kuṣāṇa *BAΓOΠOΥPO* could be the
adoption of the Parthian word *baypuhr*.

The phonemic form of the word *BAΓOΠOΥPO* also contradicts to the
adoption from Parthian. If namely this word would be the adoption of
the Parthian form *baypuhr*, then it ought to appear in Bactrian in the form
*BAΓΠOΥPO. The fact, however, that the word occurs in the inscription in
the form *BAΓOΠOΥPO*, on the one hand clearly shows, that it is a compound
which arose in Bactrian itself, and on the other hand its phonemic form also
betrays, that this composition cannot be traced back to a longer past. In the
rootwords and in the older compounds the continuation of *-p-* between two
vowels in Bactrian is *-B-* (see for example *NOBIXTO* < **ni-pišta-* in the Nokon-
zoko-inscription), and thus if in the word *BAΓOΠOΥPO* we find *-Π-*, this
indicates that the compound was formed at a comparatively recent time.

On the basis of all these we can hold it doubtless that the Bactrian title
BAΓOΠOΥPO and the Indian title *devaputra* of the Kuṣāṇa rulers does not
originate from the titles of the Parthian Kings. Considering the historical con-
ditions of the formation of royal titles, we must also presume, that the adop-
tion of this title on part of Kujūla Kadphises is connected with some concrete
historical event, or with the general historical situation of his reign. A closer
investigation of the historical conditions of the age of Kujūla Kadphises will
show that it is really not very difficult to find the factor, which lead to the
insertion of the title *BAΓOΠOΥPO* into the series of titles of the Kuṣāṇa Kings.

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[12] On the Nisa ostrakon No. 1760: '*ršk MLK*' (Н. М. Дьяконов — В. А. Лившиц:
Документы из Нисы I в. до н. э. Moscow 1960. 113), in the Xvāsaγ-inscription of Susa:
'*rtbnw MLK'N MLK*' (W. B. Henning: AN NS 2 (1952) 176.

Those sporadical historical data, in the first place the laconic reports of the Chinese sources, which are at our disposal regarding the history of the Kuṣāṇas in the Ist century A. D., bear testimony about the fact, that in this period the first relations were already established between the newly founded Kuṣāṇa Empire and China. Even if we disregard the obscure report, according to which the first Buddhist works came to China[13] in 2 B. C. from the Yüe-chï we cannot completely ignore the Buddhist tradition, according to which the introduction of Buddhism in China took place during the reign of Emperor Ming-ti, in the years 64—67 A. D.[14] Although this tradition, according to which Buddha's figure appeared to Ming-ti in his dream, bears the character of a religious legend, and cannot be regarded as authentic already on account of the fact, that Buddhist communities can be traced in China already earlier, its element, that at this time Ming-ti sent a delegate to India, that is to the Kuṣāṇa Empire, to get closer acquainted with Buddhism, can well correspond to reality, because the brother of the Emperor himself was a patron of the Buddhist communities in China.

On the other hand, on part of the newly formed Kuṣāṇa Empire also a great interest was shown towards the Han Empire. The basis of this was in the first place the commerce carried on with China on the «Silk Route», which meant an important factor in the economic life of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. Thus it can well be understood, that Kujūla Kadphises strived to establish friendly relations with China, and by the end of the eighties rendered help to the Chinese governor fighting in East Turkestan, and then soon after this he sent delegates to China to ask for a Chinese princess as his wife. Even if this mission was frustrated as a result of the short-sighted prestige policy of Pan Ch'ao, the Chinese governor of East Turkestan, and moreover it came even to an armed clash between the Yüe-chï and the Chinese, the peaceful relations continued further very soon, and between 89 and 105 already again a delegation arrived from India, the Kuṣāṇa Empire, in China.[15]

The taking up of the title *BAΓOΠOYPO* 'son of God' on part of the Kuṣāṇa ruler can also be inserted well into the framework of the historical relations of the Kuṣāṇa Empire and China outlined above. The legend of Emperor Ming-ti proves at least as much that at this time, around the middle of the sixties, closer relations were established between China and the Buddhist areas belonging in the framework of the Kuṣāṇa Empire. At this time, therefore, also Kujūla Kadphises could already acquire a precise orientation about the weight and importance of the Han Empire. The circumstance, that by the

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[13] See R. GROUSSET: Histoire de l'Extrême-Orient. I. Paris 1929. 243.
[14] See regarding this H. MASPERO: Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming. BEFEO 10 (1910) 5.
[15] Regarding the Kuṣāṇa—Chinese relations see W. M. McGOVERN: The Early Empires of Central Asia. Chapel Hill 1939. 276 foll., 285 foll., Н. Я. Бичурин (ИАКИНФ): Собрание сведений о народах обитавших в Средней Азии. II. М.—L. 1950. 227—229.

end of the eighties he thought already of marriage relations with the Han
dynasty, clearly shows that he regarded himself as of equal rank with the
Chinese Emperor. Therefore it is evident that he must have taken up the title
BAΓOΠOΥPO, corresponding to title *t'ien-tsï* 'Son of Heaven' of the Chinese
Emperor, which clearly expressed this claim for equality of rank, before this
date. We have already referred to the fact, that among the titles of Kujūla
Kadphises the title *devaputra* appears already in the Taxila inscription dating
from year 136 of the Old Saka Era (= 70/71 A. D.). This supports our conclu-
sion well, and at the same time it renders also likely, that the adoption of the
title *BAΓOΠOΥPO* = *devaputra* falls just to the middle of the sixties, or to
the time, to which on the basis of the legend of Emperor Ming-ti the first rela-
tions between the Kuṣāṇa Empire and China can be dated.

The Bactrian translation *BAΓOΠOΥPO* of the Chinese title *t'ien-tsï*
'Son of Heaven' raises several philological problems. As regards in the first
place the difference of meaning between the two words ('Son of Heaven' —
'Son of God'), this is only illusive. In the Chinese Imperial title 'Heaven'
represents namely the 'God of Heaven', who stood in the centre of the imperial
cult.[16] Since the Iranians had no precise equivalent for this, they substituted
it with the general word *βαγο, βαγ* meaning 'god'. The circumstance, that the
Bactrian word *BAΓOΠOΥPO* was not used simply as a title meaning 'Son
of God', but at the same time it could also denote the Chinese Emperor himself,
is rendered very probable by the fact, that in the Sogdian «Ancient Letters»
the Sogdian word *bgpwr* exactly corresponding to the Bactrian title appears
just in the meaning 'Chinese Emperor'. Since the Sogdian «Ancient Letters»
were very likely written in 196 A. D.,[17] the Sogdian evidence is separated from
the first appearance of the title 'Son of God' of the Kuṣāṇa rulers only by one
and a quarter of a century. On account of the lack of direct data for the time
being it would be difficult to establish, when this phrase denoting the Chinese
Emperor appears in Sogdian, it is, however, doubtless that its occurrence in
the Sogdian «Ancient Letters» falls still in that category of time, in which the
corresponding title *BAΓOΠOΥPO* was used among the titles of the Kuṣāṇa
rulers.

As it was already earlier recognized by research, the word *bgpwr* cannot
be an original Sogdian phrase, because in this case its written form ought to
be **bgpš* or **bgplr*. H. H. Schaeder interpreted the Sogdian word as an adop-
tion from Saka,[18] but W. B. Henning convincingly pointed out the impossibil-
ity of this.[19] Henning himself thought of an adoption from Parthian, because
the phrase *bgpwḥr* 'Son of God, Jesus' can be pointed out from Man. Parthian,

[16] See M. GRANET: La religion des Chinois. Paris 1922. 56 ff.
[17] See for the time being J. HARMATTA: Acta Ant. Hung. 12 (1964) 17.
[18] BSOS 8 (1936) 737 ff.; OLZ 41 (1968) 598.
[19] BSOS 10 (1940) 94.

and the development βγπυ‐ργč 'Göttermädchen' of the word *βγπυr adopted from this language is also known from Man. Sogdian besides the original Man. Sogdian form βγpšyy 'Göttersohn'.[20] The question of relationship to each other of the Sogdian and Parthian words, however, is now rendered more complicated by the turning up of the Bactrian word ΒΑΓΟΠΟΥΡΟ. It cannot be doubted also hereafter, that the Man. Sogdian word *βγπυr is the adoption of the Man. Parthian bgpwḥr, because this belongs in the framework of Manichaean religious terminology, from which also several other Parthian loanwords were adopted by Sogdian. This adoption, however, must have taken place by the end of the IIIrd century at the earliest, consequently much later, than the occurrence of the word bgpwr in the «Ancient Letters». Besides this, the Sogdian phrase bgpwr 'Chinese Emperor' can only be explained so, that either the Sogdians themselves translated the title t'ien-tsï of the Chinese Emperor, or so, that they adopted this word from another Iranian language already with the meaning 'Chinese Emperor'. In the first case, however, obviously an original Sogdian phrase, *bgpš or *bgpylr would have been formed (cp. the Man. Sogdian form βγpšyy), and we ought to find this in the «Ancient Letters».[21] This possibility, therefore, has to be excluded. In the second case, on the other hand, the word bgpwr 'Chinese Emperor' occurring in the Sogdian «Ancient Letters», from the view-point of its origin, must be separated from the Man. Sogdian phrase *βγπυr 'Son of God', and it has to be interpreted as the adoption of either the Bactrian ΒΑΓΟΠΟΥΡΟ 'Chinese Emperor; Son of God', or an eventually presumed Parthian word *baγpuhr 'Chinese Emperor'. Since from the phonological point of view the Sogdian bgpwr can equally be the adoption of either the Bactrian, or the Parthian form, the question can at most be decided, whether the existence in Parthian of the phrase *baγpuhr 'Chinese Emperor' can be rendered likely already at a time preceding the formation of the Bactrian title ΒΑΓΟΠΟΥΡΟ.

The formation of the title *baγpuhr 'Son of God' in Parthian was imagined by A. Maricq so, that the Parthians translated the Greek title θεοπάτωρ into Iranian.[22] Since this title appears first on the coins of Phraates II about 128 B. C., thus according to these in Parthian this title would be two centuries earlier, than with the Kuṣāṇas. We have earlier pointed out, however, that nothing proves the supposition according to which the titles of the Parthian rulers in Parthian language would have been identical with the Greek. Besides this it is not likely either, that the Greek title θεοπάτωρ would have been

[20] Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtenbuch. APAW Berlin 1937. 73; BSOS 10 (1940) 94.
[21] Eventually we can also count with the possibility, that the compound *βγπυr was formed in Sogdian itself, because the Parthian (?) word pwḥr penetrated into Sogdian also separately (cp. Chr. Sogdian pwryč 'Jungfrau', and W. Henning: BBB 73), but also this adoption cannot be earlier than the IIIrd century A. D.
[22] JA 246 (1958) 380 foll.

translated as *baγpuhr. As it is shown by the name of the Parthian King
Phriapites, in Parthian there was a possibility for the rendering of the name
Θεοπάτωρ with a similar compound. The name *Phriapites* is namely obviously
the transliteration of an Iranian form *Friyapitā, and this is obviously nothing
else, than the Iranian equivalent of the Greek Φιλοπάτωρ. At any rate, even if
the name *Friyapitā came into existence independently, its type must have
surely existed in Parthian, and on the basis of this we have to presume a form
*baga-pitā > *baγpiδ as the most likely translation of the name Θεοπάτωρ.
Thus for the time being we can hardly count with a Parthian title *baγpuhr
'Son of God' at the end of the IInd century B. C.

The question can, however, arise, whether the Iranian translation of the
title *t'ien-tsï* of the Chinese Emperor could not come into existence in Parthian
earlier, than the time of its appearance among the titles of Kujūla Kadphises.
According to the Annals of the Early Han-dynasty the first direct connection
between An-si (= Parthia) and China came into existence during the reign
of Emperor Wu-ti in 115 B. C. and in the following years. At this time a Chinese
delegation visited the Parthian ruler, and then escorted by the Chinese, a
Parthian delegation went to China.[23] At this time there was undoubtedly a pos-
sibility for the Parthians to get acquainted with the title *t'ien-tsï* of the Chinese
Emperor and to create the phrase *baγpuhr for its rendering. Whether this
happened at that time or not, we cannot decide, it is, however, doubtless,
that even if the title *baγpuhr appeared as the denomination of the Chinese
Emperor on occasion of the visit of the Chinese delegation at the Parthian court,
no trace of it remained. At the time of the visit of the Chinese delegation Mithri-
dates II was the Parthian ruler, and peculiarly enough we do not find the title
Θεοπάτωρ exactly on his coins. Thus we cannot even think, that at this time,
upon the influence of the title of the Chinese Emperor, they substituted with
*baγpuhr the presumable Parthian translation *baγpiδ of the title Θεοπάτωρ.
It is obvious, that even if the title *baγpuhr turned up on occasion of the visit
of the Chinese delegation, it was forgotten very soon in the Parthian Court.
After the death of Mithridates II Eastern Iran seceded from the Parthian
Empire, and for centuries the states of the Sakas, Indo-Parthians, and then
the Kuṣāṇas got wedged between the Parthians and China. Only in 87 A. D.
arrived again a delegation from the Parthians in China according to the Annals
of the Late Han-dynasty.[24] At this time, however, Kujūla Kadphises had al-
ready borne the title ΒΑΓΟΠΟΥΡΟ for a long time.

On the basis of all these we can hold it likely that the Iranian equivalent
of the title *t'ien-tsï* of the Chinese Emperor came into existence first in Bactria,
at the Court of Kujūla Kadphises, and here it was taken up immediately among
the titles of the Kuṣāṇa ruler, as an expression of the claim for equality of

[23] See W. M. McGOVERN: *op. cit.* 146 foll.; Н. Я. БИЧУРИН: *op. cit.* 157.
[24] Н. Я. БИКУРИН: *op. cit.* 225.

rank with the Chinese ruler. The Bactrian *βαγοπūρο* 'Son of God' could equally be used for the denomination of the Chinese Emperor and as the title of the Kuṣāṇa King and it could easily reach also the Sogdians, who were under Kuṣāṇa regime.[25] This is, how the Sogdian word *bgpwr* 'Chinese Emperor' can turn up in the «Ancient Letters». Later on, with the spread of Manichaeism, the Sogdiens adopted also the Parthian word *bgpwḥr* 'Son of God; Jesus', this however could be limited only to the religious literature, while the word *bgpwr* 'Chinese Emperor' in the form *faypur* was later adopted also by Persian.[26]

In connection with the titles of Vāsudeva to be read on the inscription we must still point out, that so far this is the first complete series of titles of a Kuṣāṇa King in Bactrian inscriptions. Although thus we do not dispose of Bactrian comparative material, still it is remarkable, that the name of the ruler does not stand before or after the titles, but among the titles in a way that the titles *BAΓΟ ÞAONANO ÞAO* precede, while the titles *BAΓΟΠΟΥΡΟ KOÞONO* follow the name *BAZOΔHO*. This peculiarity of the word order of the inscription strikes one's eyes especially sharply, if we compare it with the similar passages of the Prakrit inscriptions. In the latter it can be regarded as a general rule, that the titles precede the name of the ruler, as for example in the Ārā inscription, *viz.: maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa kaisara Vajheṣkaputrasa Kaniṣkasa*. On the other hand, the practice of the Sasanian rulers to a certain extent reminds of the distribution of titles on the inscription, which places certain elements of the titles also before the name, while the others after the name, as it can be observed also in the titles of Šāhpuhr I, *viz.: mzdysn bgy šhpwḥry MLK' 'yr'n W'nyr'n MNW čtry MN yzd'n*. It is interesting to observe, that the titles of the Kuṣāṇa rulers are divided also on their coin inscriptions. Thus the titles of Vāsudeva appear on his coins in the following form: *ÞAONANO ÞAO BAZOΔHO KOÞONɔ*. We can state that in this coin inscription those elements of the titles of Vāsudeva, which appear at all, are arranged in the same order, as in the unfinished Surkh Kotal inscription, *riz.:* the title *ÞAONANO ÞAO* precedes, while the title *KOÞONO* follows the name *BAZOΔHO*. Thus it is obvious that here we have to do with a Bact-

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[25] The circumstance, that the Sogdians were under Kuṣāṇa regime already at the time of Kujūla Kadphises, appears from the fact, that upon the request of Pan Ch'ao the Yüe-chï ruler intervened in K'ang-kü that the aid of the King of Kāšyar, who revolted against China, should be discontinued (see W. M. McGOVERN: *op. cit.* 277). It is obvious that Kujūla Kadphises could exercise pressure on K'ang-kü only if the two countries were neighbouring with each other. Since K'ang-kü was situated farther to the north from the territory of the Sogdians, the territory under the authority of Kujūla Kadphises could be in contact with K'ang-kü only if the Sogdians were under his regime. Those who think that the Kuṣāṇas at this time did not yet subject the Sogdians, identify K'ang-kü with the territory of the Sogdians. This is, however, incorrect, because K'ang-kü cannot be identified with Sogdiana, but — as this was pointed out by G. HALOUN already a long time ago (ZDMG 91 [1937] 252) — this Chinese geographical name would denote the area in the region of the Čū, the Talās, and the middle course of the Sīr-darya river.

[26] The Armenian *čenbakur* 'Titel des Kaisers von China', naturally cannot be a loan-word from the Arsacid period, but it originates from a much later time.

rian linguistic peculiarity, which equally appears in the inscriptions as well as on the coins, with the only difference that on the latter, on account of lack of space, the titles appear in an abbreviated form.

III

The last scratched in word of the inscription, *APOYN*, was so far not known in Bactrian. It seems to be clear, that the form of the word is defective, because otherwise it ought to end in a vowel. Thus it is likely that the form *APOYN* has to be completed at least to *APOYN[O]*. Since the name and titles of Vāsudeva represent in fact only the first syntactic unit of the sentence, in order to get a picture of the meaning, and structure of the sentence, as well as of the purpose of the whole inscription, we have to determine the meaning of the word *APOYN[O]*.

In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa period, which furnish the nearest parallels of structure and contents to the Bactrian inscriptions, the name and titles of the ruler can occur in three different connections. These are as follows:

1. The inscription starts with dating, and this is followed by the name and titles of the ruler in genitive case, as a complement of the dating. Type: Khalatse inscription (CIInd II. 1. No. 29):

1 *saṃ I C XX XX XX XX IV*
2 *maharajasa Uvima Kathvesasa*

«In the 184th year, (under the reign of) Uvima Kathvesa».

2. The inscription begins with the name and titles of the ruler in genitive case, and these are followed by the date of year. The name and titles of the ruler represent also here a complement of the dating. Type: Ārā inscription (CIInd II. 1. No. 85):

1 *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa kai⌐sa⌐rasa*
2 *Vajheṣkaputrasa Kaniṣkasa saṃbatsarae ekachapar⌐i⌐*
3 ⌐śai⌐ *sam XX XX I Jeṭhasa masasa di XX IV I*

«(Under the reign) of the *maharaja, rajatiraja, kaisara*
Kaniṣka son of Vajheṣka, in the forty-first year,
(in) the 41. year, the 25th day of the month of Jyaiṣṭha».

3. The name and titles of the ruler do not appear in the dating, but at the beginning of that enumeration, which contains the names of those, for whose welfare the pious endowment was founded by the setter of the inscription. Type: Taxila silver scroll (CIInd II. 1. No. 27):

3 ... *maharajasa rajatirajasa devaputrasa Kuṣanasa arogadakṣinae*
«for the welfare of the *maharaja*, the *rajatiraja*, the *devaputra*,
the Kuṣāṇa»

Another variant of the same type appears on the Wardak inscription
(CIInd II. 1. No. 86):

2 *maharaja rajatiraja Huveṣkasra agrabhagrae*

« ... for the highest bliss of the *maharaja*, the *rajatiraja*, Huveṣka»

Comparing the text of the Surkh Kotal inscription with the above for-
mulae of the Prakrit inscriptions, we can immediately see that it can only cor-
respond either to type 1 or to type 3. The Bactrian text seemingly differs in
both cases from the Prakrit formula in as much as the name and titles of the
ruler are not in genitive. In connection with this we must, however, point to
the occurrence, that in Bactrian at the time of the Great Kuṣāṇas obviously
sets in the dropping of flexion. The collective declension can be observed
already in the great Surkh Kotal inscription, which means the first step in
this direction. The circumstance, that on some of the late series of coins of
Huviṣka the form *OOHÞKI* is replaced by *OOHÞKO*, is apparently connected
with the same process. Finally it is a significant fact, that on the coin inscrip-
tions of Vāsudeva does not already appear any other form, than *BAZOAHO*.
Thus it is very likely, that the form of name *BAZOAHO* can be equally inter-
preted as nominative or casus obliquus also in the unfinished inscription, and
so its syntactic function can be identical with the role of the royal titles to be
observed in the Prakrit formulae.

Of course it can only be decided on the basis of the syntactic relation-
ship to which of the 1st and 3rd Prakrit formulae the text of the Surkh Kotal
inscription corresponds. From this point of view the words following the titles
have a very important role. In the Prakrit inscriptions we can observe several
kinds of structure after the dating, *viz.*: in the case of type 1 the next word
can be the name of the donor, or the denomination of the present or endow-
ment, and eventually also a predicate, while in the case of type 3 a word mean-
ing 'welfare, bliss' follows the titles. In Bactrian, however, judging on the basis
of the syntactic structure of the Surkh Kotal inscription, such a freedom of
the word order can hardly be presumed.[27] If we consider the syntactic structure
of the great inscription, then — presuming that the titles of Vāsudeva belong
to the dating — we ought to expect very likely a conjunction (for example
KAAAO) or a demonstrative word (for example *EIAO*) at the beginning of
the new sentence. It is clear, however, that the word *APOYN[O]* cannot be
either a conjunction or a demonstrative word. Thus there is no other possi-

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[27] The interpretation of the great inscription see J. HARMATTA: Acta Ant. Hung.
12 (1964) 390 ff.

bility, than to include the text of the Surkh Kotal inscription in formulatype 3, and to see in the form *APOYN[O]* a word meaning 'welfare, bliss'.

If thus we attribute the meaning 'welfare, bliss' to the word *APOYN[O]*, its explanation does not give any greater difficulty. The form **lrūno* in Bactrian can be traced back to the Old Iranian form **druvana-* or̃ **dravana-*, cp. for example *APOYO* 'stream, canal' Old Iranian **drava-*.[28] Of the two possible Old Iranian antecedents the form **druvana-* can be collated with Avestan *drva- (*druva-)* gesund, heil', *drvatāt- (*druvatāt-)* 'Gesundheit, Heiltum', *etc.*, and on the basis of this its meaning 'welfare, health' can be presumed. The continuation of the presumed Old Iranian **druvana-* 'welfare, health' can be pointed out also in Saka, where we find the forms *drrąnā-* 'health', and *drrūnaa-* 'healthy'. In accordance with this the text of the Surkh Kotal inscription can therefore be interpreted as follows: «(In) the 299th year. (For) the welfare of the majestic King of Kings, Vāsudeva, the Son of God, the Kuṣāṇa...».

This interpretation of the introductory part of the inscription enables us to some extent to make a picture of the structure and contents of the whole inscription. It strikes namely one's eyes immediately, that the introductory part of this inscription differs entirely from that of the other Surkh Kotal inscriptions known so far, while from the viewpoint of the contents and structure it agrees with the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Northwestern India. As a rule the latter also begin with the dating, which is followed in different order by the denomination of the purpose of the pious foundation (e.g. for the welfare of his father and mother, his relatives, all beings, etc). the denomination of the foundation (e.g. construction of a well, a water-conduit, etc), and the denomination of the institutor of the foundation. The beginning of the unfinished Surkh Kotal inscription agrees in such an extent with this structure of the contents, that its make-up must have been similar.

Thus it is likely, that after the scratched in part of the text the enumeration of those persons continued for whose «salvation» the pious foundation was made by the establisher of the inscription. To this part a good parallel is rendered partly by the inscription of the Taxila silver scroll, and partly by that of the Wardak vessel.[29] It is a noteworthy fact, which is important also from the viewpoint of relationship with the Surkh Kotal inscription, that the establishers of the two latter Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions were also Bactrians, in as much as the orderer of the Taxila silver scroll calls himself straight *bahalia*, that is 'Bactrian', while the pious founder appearing in the Wardak vessel inscription must be regarded a Bactrian on the basis of his name, *Vagramaregra* = Bactrian **BAΓOMAPHΓO*.[30]

[28] See J. HARMATTA: Acta Ant. Hung. 12 (1964) 449 foll.
[29] CIInd II. 1. Nos. 27 and 86.
[30] See J. HARMATTA: Acta Orient. Hung. 11 (1960) 206, and Acta Ant. Hung. 12 (1964) 375, 381.

After this enumeration could follow the denomination of the pious foun-
der and eventually the enumeration of his titles, and then the description of
the foundation (some construction or the placing of relics, etc.). Knowing the
style of the Bactrian inscriptions, we can take it almost for certain, that the
sentence was closed by the predicate *KIPAO*.

This reconstruction of the contents of the inscription raises three interest-
ing questions. In the first place it seems probable, that the inscription is con-
nected with some religious establishment. Since the preparation and setting
of the inscription could obviously be the concluding phase of the activity of
the founder, archaeological investigations will eventually be able in the future
to identify the religious foundation in connection with which the inscription
would have been prepared and set.

The agreements to be observed between the introductory part of the
inscription and the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Northwestern India render it
also likely, that in this case we have to deal not with an official but with a pri-
vate inscription. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility, that the in-
scription was eventually set, or was intended to be set, by a high dignitary.
We have a similar case also in the Māṇikiāla stone inscription, which was set
by Lala *dadaṇayago*, that is by a high dignitary. While, however, the other
Surkh Kotal inscriptions immortalized constructions ordered by the Kuṣāṇa
ruler, in this case the motive of the foundation was not a royal order.

Finally the agreement of the structure and style of the inscription with
the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Northwestern India is so obvious, that similarly
to these we can hold it of Buddhist character with a high probability. The for-
mula *APOYNO = arogadakṣinae* is the characteristic style peculiarity of the
Buddhist inscriptions, while in the Jaina inscriptions we find other expressions,
like *mahābhogatāya, agrapratyaśatāye*, etc. The formula corresponding to the
initial *siddham* in the Jaina inscriptions is also missing in the Surkh Kotal
inscription. All this clearly points to the circumstance, that the establisher of
the inscription was a believer in Buddhism.

Thus according to these observations during the reign of Vāsudeva Bud-
dhism appeared also in Surkh Kotal. This alone would not be surprising at all,
because the spreading of Buddhism in Bactria started already in the Greco-
Bactrian Age, and Buddhist inscriptions can be traced already in the earliest
layers of Begram.[31] The only question is, what role could Buddhism play in
Surkh Kotal, at the dynastic place of cult of the Kuṣāṇa rulers. If the unfinished
inscription is really the foundation inscription of some religious establishment,
what seems to be probable, then we can suppose, that in the Surkh Kotal
sanctuary area there were also Buddhist buildings during the reign of Vāsu-
deva. A reply to this question can be expected only from further inscriptions
of Buddhist character, or from further archaeological investigations.

[31] See J. HARMATTA: Acta Ant. Hung. 12 (1964) 4 ff.

IV

Of the problems connected with the unfinished Surkh Kotal inscription most interesting is the question of dating. In connection with the dating $X PONO \Sigma Q\Theta$ «299th era-year» we must clarify in the first place, to what era the date 299 has to be referred. This can be decided with a doubtless certainty on the basis of the scratched in text of the inscription, which contains the name and the full series of titles of Vāsudeva.

Although according to the general opinion[32] we have to distinguish several Kuṣāṇa rulers bearing the name Vāsudeva, and there are investigators according to whom in the northwestern part of the Kuṣāṇa empire the Sasanian invasion occurred under Vāsudeva II, who assumed power after Vāsudeva I, it is at any rate doubtless, that in this inscription we have to do with such an era, the 299th year of which falls on the time of the reign of Vāsudeva I, or that of Vāsudeva II. The reign of Vāsudeva I can be counted from the 61st year of the Kaniṣka Era, it is however uncertain how long it lasted. In scientific literature in general the dominant opinion is, that Vāsudeva was in power up to the 98th year of the Kaniṣka Era. This is namely the last year of the Kaniṣka Era known so far. Although this conception is undoubtedly possible, we cannot hold it for excluded either, that the period from the 61st to the 98th year of the Kaniṣka Era has to be divided between Vāsudeva I and Vāsudeva II. The two rulers can only be separated on the basis of their coinage, which, however, does not render any basis for an absolute chronology.

Whichever of these opinions is adopted by us, it seems to be doubtless, that the change of the era in use, or the introduction of another era can be imagined at the highest probability in connection with the accession to the throne of a new ruler. Thus we have to choose between two possibilities, *viz.:* either Vāsudeva I reigned from the 61st to the 98th year of the Kaniṣka era, and in this case the Vāsudeva appearing on the Surkh Kotal unfinished inscription is identical with Vāsudeva II, — or we must put Vāsudeva I and Vāsudeva II between the 61st and the 98th year of the Kaniṣka era, and in this case the Vāsudeva mentioned in the Surkh Kotal inscription can only be identified with Vāsudeva III.

The choice between the two possibilities is easy. According to the evidence of the Kuṣāṇa coinage Vāsudeva III was not the direct successor of Vāsudeva II, but of Kaniṣka III.[33] Thus, if we should like to identify the Vāsudeva appearing on the Surkh Kotal inscription with Vāsudeva III, we should have to presume, that during the time between the 61st and the 98th year of the

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[32] See for example J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN—DE LEEUW: The «Scythian Period». Leiden 1949. 318; R. GÖBL: Die Münzprägung der Kušān von Vima Kadphises bis Bahrām IV. 210 (in the book of FR. ALTHEIM—R. STIEHL: Finanzgeschichte der Spätantike. Frankfurt am Main 1957.).

[33] See J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW: *op. cit.* 306 ff.; R. GÖBL: *op. cit.* 210.

Kaniṣka Era three rulers reigned, *viz.* Vāsudeva I, Vāsudeva II, and Kaniṣka III. This supposition, however, is evidently impossible. Kaniṣka III, concluding on the basis of the spread of his coins, ruled already only over the eastern part of the former Kuṣāṇa Empire, remaining after the Sasanian conquest, and the same applies, of course, also for his successor, Vāsudeva III.

Thus the conclusion renders itself necessarily, that the Vāsudeva appearing on the Surkh Kotal inscription can only be identical with Vāsudeva II, and the reign of Vāsudeva I — as this has been held by historical research also so far — lasted from the 61st up to the 98th year of the Kaniṣka era. This is supported also by the fact, that in Begram, which according to the probable opinion of R. Ghirshman was destroyed by the Sasanian troops, Kuṣāṇa coins later than those of Vāsudeva I have not been found. On the basis of the data known so far we can, therefore, get the impression, that the last Kuṣāṇa ruler, who still reigned over Bactria, could be Vāsudeva I, and the Sasanian conquest falls on the end of his reign or just on the time of the accession to the throne of his successor.

According to these that Vāsudeva, who appears on the unfinished Surkh Kotal inscription, must be identified with Vāsudeva II, and thus the historical background of the inscription can be reconstructed as follows. Up to the 98th year of the Kaniṣka Era Vāsudeva I reigned over the Kuṣāṇa Empire. His successor, Vāsudeva II, gave up the time reckoning on the basis of the Kaniṣka Era and introduced another era, whose 299th year corresponded to the 99th year of the Kaniṣka Era following the death of Vāsudeva I. In itself we can naturally count also with the possibility, that the 299th year appearing in the Surkh Kotal inscription does not correspond to the 99th year of the Kaniṣka Era, but to some later year. The probability of this, however, is very little because if Vāsudeva II would have reigned in Bactria for a longer time, his coins ought to be found in the pre-Sasanian layer of the settlements destroyed on the occasion of the Sasanian invasion. Thus we can suppose at a high probability, that the unfinished inscription of Surkh Kotal falls on the 1st year of the reign of Vāsudeva II, or that the 299th year of the era appearing on it follows immediately after the 98th year of the Kaniṣka Era.

After these the definition of the era appearing in the inscription does not render any major difficulty. There is namely only one era, whose 299th year could correspond to the 99th year of the Kaniṣka Era, *viz.*: the Old Saka Era. J. E. van Lohuizen-De Leeuw pointed out convincingly, that in the use of the Old Saka Era a great gap occurs as from the 200th year up to the 303rd year, and that the use of the Kaniṣka Era must be placed exactly between the 200th and the 303rd year of the Old Saka Era.[34] It is doubtless that the use of the two eras complete each other well, in as much as the 98 (according to J. E.

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[34] J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW: *op. cit.* 62 foll.

van Lohuizen-De Leeuw the 89) years of the Kaniṣka Era span fairly well the
102 years' gap of the Old Saka Era. Since, according to the evidence of the in-
scriptions, the Kaniṣka Era was introduced by Kaniṣka I, who reigned immediat-
ely after Vima Kadphises, and the reign of the latter falls on the last decades
of the IInd century of the Old Saka Era (the Khalatse inscription mentioning
Vima Kadphises is dated to the 184th year of the Old Saka Era), it cannot be
doubtful either, that the beginning of the Kaniṣka Era — as it was correctly
emphasized by J. E van Lohuizen-De Leeuw — must be dated to a time around
the 200th year of the Old Saka Era. The unfinished Surkh Kotal inscription
now enables us to determine precisely the chronological relationship to each
other of the Old Saka Era and the Kaniṣka Era. The occurrence of the 299th
year of the Old Saka Era reduces namely the 102 years' gap observed earlier
in its use to exactly 98 years, or exactly to such a period, which is represented
by the use of the Kaniṣka Era.

Thus it seems to be very likely that the 1st year of the Kaniṣka Era
corresponds to the 201st year of the Old Saka Era, that is, that the Kaniṣka
Era, as a matter of fact, is an organic part of the Old Saka Era, and its dates
of year differ from it only in the leaving off of the centenary numbers. Since
the two eras organically complete each other, there is little probability of their
parallel use, or for the use of the Kaniṣka Era even after the 98th year. Thus
the attempt of J. E. Lohuizen-De Leeuw to refer the dating of a group of the
Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā inscriptions — with the supposed leaving off of the centenary
figures — to the IInd century of the Kaniṣka Era can hardly be correct.[35] The
leaving off of the centenary figures in connection with the dates of the Kaniṣka
Era is not likely already on account of the fact, that the Kaniṣka Era came
into existence also by the leaving off of the centenary figures from the Old
Saka Era.

After these the question is raised, what could be the reason for the re-
introduction of the Old Saka Era on part of Vāsudeva II. The question can
also be put in the form, what could be the motive of Kaniṣka I to replace the
Old Saka Era by his own era. The introduction of a new era used to be connected
mostly with the accession to the throne of a new dynasty, or with the formation
of a new state organization. It is doubtless, however, that in the present
case to this explanation contradicts the circumstance that Kujūla Kadphises
and Vima Kadphises, users of the Old Saka Era, Kaniṣka, introducer of his
own era, and his successors including Vāsudeva I, as well as Vāsudeva II,
restorer of the Old Saka Era, and his successors, equally belonged to the Kuṣāṇa
ruling clan.

Although thus the Kuṣāṇa rulers form a coherent series from the dynas-
tic point of view, still the possibility exists, that in the course of time different

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[35] J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW: *op. cit.* 263 ff.

branches of the ruling clan replaced each other in the regime. Thus it seems to be very likely that in the person of Kaniṣka I a branch of the Kuṣāṇa clan different from that of the two Kadphises came to the throne, which then replaced the Old Saka Era by its own. From the viewpoint of the judgement of this event it would be important to know, exactly at what date the accession to the throne or coming to power of Kaniṣka I took place. Since, if the coincidence of the 1st year of the new era with the 201st year of the Old Saka Era is not a mere chance, but Kaniṣka I came to power somewhat earlier, and chose the beginning of a new century of the Old Saka Era intentionally as the first year of his era, then from this two further important conclusions could be drawn. One of them would be, that Kaniṣka, in the spirit of the world-era theory, wanted to make his reign the beginning of a new happy century — *saeculum*. The circumstance, that such conceptions, as a result of the Hellenistic influence, were not unfamiliar to the Kuṣāṇa rulers, is shown also by the coin inscriptions of Vima Kadphises, the direct predecessor of Kaniṣka, in as much as among the titles of the ruler they also give the title *tradara* or σωτήρ μέγας. The other conclusion would be, that Kaniṣka by placing the beginning of his era on the 201st year of the Old Saka Era preserved the connection with the earlier time-reckoning used by the former ruling members of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. Thus the new era remained an organic part of the Old Saka Era, and the memory of the latter was very likely never overshadowed by it. If the Old Saka Era would have been forgotten, then after the 98th year of the Kaniṣka Era it could not have been introduced again.

We could similarly presume, that with Vāsudeva II again another branch of the Kuṣāṇa clan came to power, which then returned to the use of the Old Saka Era. In this case, of course, it seems to be strange, that the branch of the ruling clan, which came newly to power, did not start a new era, but revived an era, which had not been used for 98 years. This attitude could really be understood only if Vāsudeva II would be the descendant of that branch of the Kuṣāṇa clan, whose representatives were also Kujūla Kadphises and Vima Kadphises. In this relationship a special meaning can be attributed to an interesting peculiarity of the history of Kuṣāṇa coinage, to which recently R. Göbl drew the attention of the investigators emphatically.[36] One of the characteristic features of the coins of Vima Kadphises is the use of the *triratna* symbol (according to Göbl «Vimasymbol»). As from Kaniṣka I this disappears from the later Kuṣāṇa coins, and appears again only on the coins of Vāsudeva II. Thus its use is parallel with the use of the Old Saka Era. As in the re-introducing of this Vāsudeva II goes back to Vima Kadphises, he acts in the same way also in the revival of the *triratna*-symbol. If R. Göbl is correct in maintaining that this symbol has a peculiar role in the coinage of Vima Kadphises, or if

[36] R. GÖBL: *op. cit.* 178, 210, 216.

we can presume that Vāsudeva II really had to go back to Vima Kadphises in the re-introduction of this symbol, as in the revival of the Old Saka Era undoubtedly this was the case, then we can think with a high probability that Vāsudeva II really originated from the clan branch of Vima Kadphises, or by these acts he wanted at least to create this appearance.

<div align="center">V</div>

The unfinished Surkh Kotal inscription renders also another important historical lesson. As we have pointed out earlier, the Sasanian invasion against the Kuṣāṇa Empire took place in all probability immediately after the accession to the throne of Vāsudeva II, or exactly in the 299th year of the Old Saka Era, from which also the unfinished inscription originates. This historical relationship gives at the same time an obvious explanation of the unfinished state of the Surkh Kotal inscription under review. If this inscription originates from the first year of the reign of Vāsudeva II, in which the Sasanian troops destroyed also the Surkh Kotal sanctuary district, then we can think with a high probability, that it was this event, which interrupted also the final carving.

Thus the unfinished Surkh Kotal inscription preserves the memory of an important historical event, and at the same time in the Old Saka Era it gives also the date of this event. If we can determine the date in which the Sasanian invasion against Surkh Kotal occurred, then at the same time we get a firm basis also regarding the much disputed absolute chronological position of the Old Saka Era and the Kaniṣka Era. Thus we can solve the century long problem of the time of reign of Kaniṣka I, which in recent times has become already a symbol of the insolvable scientific questions in international scientific common knowledge.

Regarding the date of the Sasanian war of conquest launched against the Kuṣāṇa Empire we find in scientific literature very different views. Th. Nöldeke was very sceptical about the authenticity of Ṭabarī's report, according to which already Ardaχšahr, the founder of the Sasanian Empire would have lead a warfare against the Kuṣāṇa Empire, and he would have compelled the Kuṣāṇa ruler to acknowledge his superiority.[37] E. Herzfeld[38] and A. Maricq,[39] on the other hand, tried to prove the authenticity of Ṭabarī's report. According the conception of R. Ghirshman[40] Ardaχšahr, immediately after the defeat

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[37] TH. NÖLDEKE: Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden. Leyden 1879. 17 foll.
[38] E. HERZFELD: Paikuli. Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire. Berlin 1924. 37 ff.
[39] A. MARICQ: Recherches sur les *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*. Bruxelles 1953. 106 ff.
[40] R. GHIRSHAM: Bégram. Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans. Le Caire 1946. 59 ff.

or Ardaβān V, got implicated in war with Vāsudeva, which, however, two years later (in 229), came to an end, and the western part of the Kuṣāṇa Empire was conquered only by Šāphuhr I. Recently R. N. Frye is of the opinion,[41] that the Kuṣāṇa Kingdom was in satellite dependence from the Sasanian Empire already during the reign of Ardaχšahr, and later on it was actually annexed by Šāphuhr I.

We have two sources for the fights carried on by the Sasanians against the Kuṣāṇa Empire, *viz.:* the reports of Movses Xorenaçi and Ṭabarī. The former, in the narration of the history of Xosrov, King of Armenia, mentions the fight between Ardaχšahr and the Kuṣāṇas also on two occasions. In these two passages Movses Xorenaçi relies on two different sources.

In the first passage he says on the basis of the report of Agathangelos, that after the death of Ardaβān Xosrov in revenge invaded the territory of Persia, and then he continues as follows:

«Darnach führt er (= Agathangelos) an, dass Chosrow in sein Vaterland ins Gebiet der Khuschanier schickte, dass seine Verwandten ihm zu Hilfe kämen und dem Artaschir sich entgegenstellten. Aber diese, sagt er (= Agathangelos), hatten kein Ohr dafür; denn sie standen viel lieber unter der Herrschaft des Artaschir als unter der ihres Verwandten und Bruders.»[42]

In the other passage the source of Movses Xorenaçi «is a certain Barsuma, whom the Persians call Rastsohun (= Middle Persian *Rāstsaχvan* 'True-voiced')», and whose book was translated by Xorohbut. On the basis of this he reviews in some more detail on the history of the war between the Kuṣāṇas and Ardaχšahr. Xosrov with the help of the Romans defeats Ardaχšahr, and then he sends delegates for further help:

«Er schickt wieder Boten zu seinem verwandten parthischen und pahlavischen Geschlechte und an alle Truppen des Landes der Khuschanier, dass sie zu ihm kommen und Rache an Artaschir nehmen sollten, . . .».[43]

The two branches of the Parthians give negative answer, but certain delegates come back with favourable news:

«Zu derselben Zeit kommen zu ihm Einige von seinen Gesandten, welche zu dem edelsten Volke, in das tiefste Land, nach Bahl selbst gegangen waren, und bringen ihm die Nachricht: Dein Verwandter Wehsadschan hat sich mit seiner Linie, dem karenischen Pahlav, dem Artaschir nicht unterworfen, sondern kommt zu dir, auf deinen Ruf herbeieilend.»[44]

After this news, however, Xosrov learns, that Ardaχšahr marched with his Army against the Karen Pahlav branch, and killed all its male members with the exception of an infant, who was taken over «to the land of the Kuṣā-

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[41] R. N. Frye: The Heritage of Persia. Cleveland—New York 1963. 202.

[42] Des Moses von Chorene Geschichte Gross-Armeniens. Aus dem Armenischen übersetzt von M. Lauer. Regensburg 1869. 127.

[43] Des Moses von Chorene Geschichte Gross-Armeniens. 131.

[44] *Loc. cit.*

ṇas». Xosrov continued the fight also alone, while at last Ardaχšahr had resort
to a trick. He endeavoured to induce the Parthians, that one of them simulating
betrayal should get near Xosrov and should kill him:

«Er versprach ihnen ihr angestammtes Haus, welches Pahlav genannt
wurde, die königliche Stadt Bahl und das ganze Gebiet der Khuschanier wiederzugeben; er versprach ihnen auch Form und Glanz des Königtums, dieHälfte
der Arier und die zweite Stelle unter seiner Oberhoheit.»[45]

From the narrative of Movses Xorenaçi it turns out, that according to
both of his sources there was relationship between the Parthian Karen Pahlav
branch and the Kuṣāṇas, or that according to these sources the Kuṣāṇa dynasty
was counted direct to the Parthian Karen Pahlav branch. Whether this assertion is based on an old historical tradition, on a naive etymologic combination,
or on both, cannot be seen clearly for the time being. It is a fact, that Movses
Xorenaçi in the narration of the origin of the Arsacids derives the title
Pahlav from the city name Bahl,[46] and it is not impossible, that his source
linked the Karen Pahlav branch and the Kuṣāṇas together on the basis of
this defective etymology. The possibility, however, also exists, that at the time
of the existence of the Indo-Parthian Kingdom a relationship was made
between the family of Gondophares and the Kuṣāṇa dynasty.[47] The appearance
of Prince Kapa *(erjhuṇa Kapa* = Kūjula Kadphises) in the 26th year of Guduvhara (=Gondophares) on the Takht-i-Bāhī Kharoṣṭhī inscription supports
this supposition to a certain extent.

At any rate apart from this detail the reports of both Agathangelos and
Barsuma are sufficiently clear. After the death of Ardaβān V (in 224) Xosrov
marched into Persian territory for the first time. It seems, however, that at
this time it did not come to a clash between him and Ardaχšahr. Hereafter
with Roman aid he again marched into the territory of the Sasanian State,
and at this time he gave battle to Ardaχšahr and gained victory over him.
According to the narrative it was at this time, that Ardaχšahr lead a campaign
against the Karen Pahlav branch, Bahl, and the Kuṣāṇas, which seems to
have been entirely successful, because Ardaχšahr at the organization of the
attempt promises to the person, who undertook the murder, «Bahl and the
whole territory of the Kuṣāṇas».

At the same time it seems, that the report understood only Bactria under
the «whole territory of the Kuṣāṇas», because the only surviving member of
the Karen Pahlav branch was rescued from Ardχšahr exactly «to the country
of the Kuṣāṇas». This narrative has apparently a sense only if we suppose,
that the campaign of Ardaχšahr touched only the western part of the Kuṣāṇa

[45] Des Moses von Chorene Geschichte Gross-Armeniens. 132—133.
[46] Des Moses von Chorene Geschichte Gross-Armeniens. 128.
[47] Of course, in this case we must give up the widespread, but unsatisfactorily
proved supposition (see for example E. HERZFELD: AMI 4 1932 70 ff., 80), according to
which Guduvhara was a descendant of the Suren Pahlav branch.

Empire, that is Bactria, and thus they could render protection to the fugitives from Bactria.

As regards the range of time in which the events took place, the narrative of Movses Xorenaçi does not furnish an obvious basis for this. We cannot establish from it the duration of the fight, after the death of Ardaβān, between Ardaχšahr and Xosrov till the campaign launched by the former on the Kuṣāṇa Empire, and it does not contain any data either regarding the duration of the war waged by Ardaχšahr against the Kuṣāṇas. Thus we can by no means conclude from the report, that the fight between Ardaχšahr and the Kuṣāṇas would have ended already in 229. Only that much seems to be likely, that quite a number of years must have elapsed after the victory of Ardaχšahr over Ardaβān, until it could come to the campaign against the Kuṣāṇa Empire, and that this could be preceded by a fairly long period of fight against Armenia.

For the control of the data given by the Armenian source some possibility is rendered by the report of Ṭabarī:

«Darauf (= after the defeat of Ardaβān) zog er von dort nach Hamadhân und nahm es mit Gewalt ein, ebenso das übrige Bergland, Âdharbâigân, Armenien und (das Gebiet von) Môṣul nach Sûristân, d. i. das Sawâd, ergriff davon Besitz und erbaute am westlichen Ufer des Tigris gegenüber der Stadt Ctesiphon . . . einen anderen Ort, den er Beh-Ardašîr nannte, . . . Dann zog er von Sawâd wieder nach Istachr, von dort zuerst nach Sagistân, dann nach Gurgân, dann nach Abrašahr, Marw, Balch und Chwârizm bis zu den äussersten Grenzen der Länder von Chorâsân, worauf er nach Marw zurückkehrte. Nachdem er viele Leute getödtet . . . hatte, kehrte er von Marw nach Pârs zurück und liess sich in Gôr nieder. Da kamen zu ihm Gesandte des Königs der Kûšân, des Königs von Ṭûrân und des von Mokrân mit der Erklärung ihrer Unterwürfigkeit. Hierauf begab sich Ardašîr von Gôr nach Baḥrain und belagerte den dortigen König Sanatruk, . . . Dann kehrte er nach Madâin zurück, blieb daselbst einige Zeit und krönte noch bei Lebzeiten seinen Sohn Šâpûr.»[48]

Ṭabarī's report follows apparently the narrative of a single source, because he relates the supplements originating from other sources only hereafter.[49] Thus his present report gives a clear survey of the campaigns of Ardaχšahr. According to this, after the defeat of Ardaβān, Ardaχšahr marched with his army against Ecbatana — Agbatana, the capital of Media, and then after the occupation of this, he occupied the territories of Atropatene and Adiabane, belonging to Media. These territories are geographically closely connected with each other, Armenia proper, however, is out of the route of Ardaχšahr's campaign. Exactly for this reason it is likely, that the denomination Armenia of the original source relates only to the part of Armenia adjacent to Media

[48] TH. NÖLDEKE: Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden. Leyden 1879. 15—19.
[49] NÖLDEKE: op. cit. 19, Note 1.

Atropatene, or exactly to a part of Media Atropatene, but it can by no means stand for Great Armenia, whose occupation took place only later on, eventually only under Šāhpuhr I.[50] It is possible that this campaign of Ardaχšahr is in relationship with the Salmas rock relief (exactly in Atropatene), which represents, according to a generally spread opinion, the surrender of a local Armenian Prince or notability to Ardaχšahr and Šāhpuhr.[51]

After the acquisition of the territories of Iran proper, Ardaχšahr conquered the economically most valuable territory of the Arsacid Empire, the fertile area situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates. The Parthian capital, Ktesiphon, was also situated here, opposite to which Ardaχšahr now founded a city of his own, and he reorganized the whole territory from the economic as well as from the administrative point of view. Only after this he marched again to Pārs, to Istaχr, the old seat of his family, and from here he organized his great eastern campaign, whose first target was Siγistān, and then after the occupation of this, the conquest of Gurgān, Aβaršahr, and Marv followed. Only after the acquisition of Marv, an indispensable military base, his two further campaigns followed against Bactria and Xvārizm. After the end of these campaigns Ardaχšahr returned from Marv again to Pārs, and hereafter he conquered only Baḥrain, and then in Mesopotamia, in Veh-Ardaχšahr, he caused his son to be crowned still in his life-time.

This report reviews the campaigns of Ardaχšahr from the political and strategical points of view in such a convincing order that its correctness as a whole can hardly be doubted. Several details of the narration can be proved also on the basis of other sources. Thus the historical authenticity of exactly the part relating to the eastern campaigns was recently rendered very probable by A. Maricq[52] with the help of the data of the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*. The value of Ṭabarī's report lies in the fact, that it enables us to arrange more accurately the events touched in the narration of Movses Xorenaçi within the span of time of Ardaχšahr's reign. It seems namely to be doubtless that the eastern campaigns could take place only in the second half of the about 15 years' reign of Ardaχšahr, that is approximately about the year 232. The years following after the victory over Ardaβān (in 224) were fully occupied by the conquest and organization of the western part of the Empire. It is obvious, that before consolidating his regime in the territories belonging to Iran proper, and in the economically most important Mesopotamia, Ardaχšahr could not think of an invasion of the great Kuṣāṇa Empire. Thus it seems to be doubtless that the campaign against Bactria could not start before 232.

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[50] Cp. W. ENSSLIN: Zu den Kriegen des Sassaniden Schapur I. München 1949. 18 foll.
[51] See for example ENSSLIN: *op. cit.* 6 foll., 9, who, however, brings the relief into connection with a partial success achieved by Ardaχšahr and Šāhpuhr against Armenia in 238, which, however, is not mentioned by any of the sources.
[52] A. MARICQ: Recherches sur les *Res Gestae Divi Saporis*. 106 ff.

These conclusions are fully confirmed by the Greek and Latin sources, which render more detailed data on the first part of the reign of Ardaχšahr, but just for this reason they facilitate the closer dating of the events described in the Armenian and Arabic sources. Among these sources most important is the report of Dio Cassius (LXXX. 1,2 ff).:

Ἀρταξέρξης γάρ τις Πέρσης τούς τε Πάρθους τρισὶ μάχαις νικήσας, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Ἀρτάβανον ἀποκτείνας, ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄτρα ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐπιβασίαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιούμενος. καὶ τὸ μὲν τεῖχος διέρρηξεν, συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἀποβαλὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Μηδίαν μετέστη, καὶ ἐκείνης τε οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ τῆς Παρθίας, τὰ μὲν βίᾳ τὰ δὲ καὶ φόβῳ, παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἤλασε, κἀνταῦθα πρός τε τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ πρὸς Μήδων τινῶν τῶν τε τοῦ Ἀρταβάνου παίδων πταίσας, ὡς μέν τινες λέγουσιν, ἔφυγεν, ὡς δ' ἕτεροι, ἀνεχώρησε πρὸς παρασκευὴν δυνάμεως μείζονος. οὗτός τε οὖν φοβερὸς ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, στρατεύματί τε πολλῷ οὐ μόνον τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἄλλα καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐφεδρεύσας . . .

We can further complete this fragment of Dio Cassius from Zonaras, who use his report (XII, 15):

εἶτα Καππαδοκίαν ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης οὗτος σὺν τοῖς Πέρσαις κατέτρεχε καὶ ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Νίσιβιν.

The passages quoted review the events from the outbreak of hostilities between Ardaχšahr and Ardaβān to the Persian campaign of Alexander Severus. According to these Ardaχšahr, after his final victory over Ardaβān in 224, marched against Hatra, then from here he turned against Media and Parthia, and after conquering these provinces he attacked Armenia. This latter campaign of his, however, was not successful, or at least it did not bring a decisive result. Taking into consideration all three sources and eventually the evidence of the Salmas relief, we can interpret the Armenian campaign of Ardaχšahr so, that this was directed in the first place to the insurance of the proper Iranian territories, especially Media Atropatene, against the Arsacid Princes invading these territories with the support of Xosrov, King of Armenia. Ardaχšahr presumably did not achieve a decisive military success, but at any rate he could secure Media Atropatene for himself, and thus he could have caused the Salmas relief to be prepared.

Since according to the report of Movses Xorenaçi, on this occasion Xosrov received Roman aid, it was apparently on this motive, that Ardaχšahr recognized the necessity of a warfare against the Romans. The Roman aid rendered to Xosrov made it namely clear, that the conquest of Armenia, or at least the liquidation of attacks coming from there, can be achieved only through a military victory over the Romans. It could have been for this reason, that he for the time being retreated, to gather — as it is said by Dio Cassius — greater forces. The report of Ṭabarī renders it clear, that Ardaχšahr conquers Mesopotamia at this time, and by the administrative and economic organization of this he creates a material basis for his further campaigns.

Ardaχšahr started his attacks against the Roman Empire in possession of the rich Mesopotamian plain and the proper Iranian territories. The increase of his military power is shown by the circumstance, that he acted as an aggressor, and shifted the front over to Roman territory. The campaign of Ardaχšahr against the Romans is generally dated to 231,[53] but the words of Dio Cassius and Zonaras permit the conclusion, that this campaign had several phases, or that we have to do not with one, but with two campaigns. Ardaχšahr threatens first with a great military force the Roman Mesopotamia and Syria, «then» he attacks Cappadocia and besets Nisibis. The invasion against Mesopotamia and Syria supposes a march along the Euphrates, while the attack launched against Nisibis and Cappadocia points to a march along the Tigris. Thus it is not impossible, that Ardaχšahr's military actions against the Romans started already in 230 first with a march against Syria, and then in 231 they continued with an attack against Cappadocia and the siege of Nisibis.

In the next year, in 232, the counter-action of the Romans took place under the personal command of Alexander Severus, which with the avoiding of the plain land occurred somewhere at the border of Armenia, or partly in Armenian territory, because according to the data of Zonaras among the Romans many died in the mountains of Armenia as a result of the cold. The engagement or engagements between Ardaχšahr and Alexander Severus did not bring a military decision. At any rate the Romans were compelled to withdraw. It is possible that just this retreat took place among the mountains of Armenia, and the Romans suffered at this time a serious loss of their troops on account of the cold. From the viewpoint of Ardaχšahr the retreat of the Roman Imperial Army meant an earnest success. It was namely evident that the Romans after the departure of the Imperial Army cannot launch a direct attack against the territory of the Sasanian Empire, and cannot render an active aid to Xosrov either for the starting of aggressive military operations.

Thus Ardaχšahr succeeded in bringing about such a favourable military situation in the west, which enabled him to start a large-scale aggressive operation for the conquest of the Eastern Iranian territories. This order of the events clearly shows, that the Sasanian invasion against the Kuṣāṇa Empire could take place only in 233.[54] It is exactly one of the most important meanings of the data of Greek and Latin sources, that they render doubtless the military activity of Ardaχšahr in the west from 224 to 232.

The main target of Ardaχšahr's eastern campaign was apparently the Kuṣāṇa Empire, which according to the historical tradition preserved by Movses Xorenaçi was willing to render help to Armenia against the Persians, so

[53] See for example B. NIESE — E. HOHL: Grundriss der römischen Geschichte. München. 1923. 351.
[54] This is the opinion, without any nearer motivation, also of R. GÖBL: *op. cit.* 102, but in connection with this his reference to R. GHIRSHMAN: Les Chionites-Hephtalites. 70, is erroneous.

that on account of this reason the danger of a two-front war existed for Arda-χšahr. Since the minor Eastern Iranian principates, such as Siɣistān, Gurgān, Aβaršahr, and Marv could hardly mean a more serious difficulty for Ardaχšahr marching up with a great military force, and perhaps they also surrendered voluntarily, it is obvious, that we must date the devastation of Bactria, and at the same time the ravages of Begram and Surkh Kotal still to the first year of the campaign, that is to 233. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine, that the attack launched against Xvārizm would have also taken place still in this year. It is more likely, that Ardaχšahr after the devastation of Bactria returned to Marv, and from there he organized a campaign against Xvārizm. On account of the lack of sources it is for the time being difficult to establish, what was the nearer objective of this and what was its result. At any rate it is likely — since Ṭabarī definitely refers to this —, that after the campaigns against Bactria and Xvārizm, Ardaχšahr returend to Marv as his base, and spent some time here in order to organize the conquered eastern provinces. Thus it is likely, that we have to date the invasion of Xvārizm to 234, and the stay in Marv to 235.

Ardaχšahr could withdraw to Pārs in the following year, and here according to the report of Ṭabarī, he was still occupied with the relations with the Eastern Iranian countries. Thus the warfare against Baḥrain could occur only in 237, and after this, in 238, he must have been again in the west. This conclusion is partly confirmed by the data of Ṭabarī, according to which Ardaχšahr after the campaign against Baḥrain returned to his capital. On the other hand, this is rendered doubtless also by one of the Dura-Europos inscriptions, whose text is as follows: [1] ἔτους νφ' μηνὸς [2] Ξανδικοῦ λ' κατέβη [3] ἐφ' ὑμῶν Πέρσης «in the 550th year, on the 30th of the month Xandikos the Persian marched up against you».[55] The 550th year of the Seleucid Era and the 30th day of the month Xandikos corresponds to April 20th 239, thus the Persian troops invaded the Roman territory already in the Spring of the year 239, and appeared in the vicinity of Dura Europos. Consequently the preparation of this campaign must have taken place still in the preceding year, and this also presumes the presence of Ardaχšahr in Mesopotamia already in 238.

As we can see, the chronological survey of the campaigns of Ardaχšahr does not allow anything else, than that we should date his campaigns against

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[55] See SEG VII. Leiden 1934. No. 743/b 15—17. Cp. W. ENSSLIN: Zu den Kriegen des Sassaniden Schapur I. 6. According to a generally spread opinion, in this inscription the form ὑμῶν stands for ἡμῶν, and in this case the interpretation «the Persian marched up against us» results. Although this supposition is possible, it is still not sure, whether in Dura there were such elements, who wished the defeat of the Romans. It is possible, that Nebuchelos, in whose house this inscription was found, also belonged among these, and thus it would not be surprising, if under the phrase «against you» he would have understood the Romans.

the Eastern Iranian countries between the two Roman Wars, that is between 232 and 238. But this period is made still narrower by the campaign against Baḥrain and the stay of Ardaχšahr in Pārs, so that for his invasions against the Kuṣāṇa Empire and Xvārizm, and his stay in Marv only the years 233, 234, and 235 remain. Since the main purpose of Ardaχšahr was the weakening of the Kuṣāṇa Empire, it is obvious, that first of all he had to defeat the Ku-ṣāṇa ruler. As long as in Bactria intact Kuṣāṇa troops existed, he could not even think of a campaign against Xvārizm. Thus, taking all this into consider-ation, the attack of Ardaχšahr launched against Bactria must be dated in all probability to 233.

If now we collate this result with the evidence of the Surkh Kotal unfi-nished inscription, we can draw from this the following conclusions. The carv-ing in of the Surkh Kotal inscription — as we pointed out this earlier   was started in the 1st year of the reign of Vāsudeva II, in the 299th year of the Old Saka Era, but this work was interrupted by the attack of the Sasanian troops, which devastated and partly destroyed also the Surkh Kotal sanctuary district. Since the Sasanian invasion occurred in 233, thus it is doubtless, that the 299th year of the Old Saka Era corresponds to 233 A. D. Since thus we get a firm basis for the absolute chronological situation of the Old Saka Era, of the Kaniṣka Era, as well as of the Kuṣāṇa rulers, a whole series of long dis-puted chronological questions have become solvable.

In the first place we must, of course, state, how the 299th year of the Old Saka Era compares with 233 A.D. As it was already pointed out by St. Konow, according to the calendar used at the time of the Old Saka Era and the Kaniṣka Era the year began in October.[56] Taking this into consideration, we can count the 299th year of the Old Saka Era from October 232 to October 233. According to this we have to place the beginning of the Kaniṣka era to 134/135 A.D., and that of the Old Saka Era to 67/66 B. C.[57]

According to this chronology Vāsudeva I could die before the Autumn of 232, and Vāsudeva II could ascend the throne in this year, and then as from October 232 he re-introduced the Old Saka Era. This reconstruction of the historical events is in full harmony also with the reports of the Chinese sources. According to the history of the Wei dynasty, the *Wei lio*, whose writing was interrupted under the reign of Emperor Ming (227—239), the Kuṣāṇa Empire included the following countries: «Le royaume de Cachemire *(Ki-pin)*, le royaume de Bactriane *(Ta-hia)*, le royaume de Kābul *(Kao-fou)*, le royaume de l'Inde *(T'ien-tchou)*, qui tous dépendent des *Ta-Yue-tche*».[58] This report

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[56] St. Konow: Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions. Calcutta 1929. LXXXIX.

[57] We shall give the complete elaboration of the problems of the Kaniṣka Era at another place. To this we need the collation of the chronologies of the Indo-Parthian dy-nasty, the Saka Kṣatrapas, the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, and the Sātavāhanas, and the clarifica-tion of the date of origin of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*.

[58] See Éd. Chavannes: T'oung Pao 6 (1905) 538 foll.

clearly shows that about 230 A. D. the Kuṣāṇa Empire did not yet loose Bactria, consequently the attack of Ardaχšahr did not yet take place. The source of this information regarding the area of the Kuṣāṇa Empire was apparently that Kuṣāṇa delegation, which according to the information of *San-kuo-chï* arrived at the Court of the Wei dynasty on January 5th, 230.[59] This delegation was sent by Po-t'iao, «King of the *Ta-Yüe-chï*», in whom at a high probability, we can recognize Vāsudeva I.[60] The delegation of the Kuṣāṇa ruler was very likely in connection with the danger threatening on part of Ardaχšahr, and Vāsudeva very likely endeavoured to secure himself, for the case of a Sasanian invasion, from the direction of Inner Asia with good relations established with the Wei dynasty.

Thus the Kuṣāṇa delegation sent to the Wei dynasty means a definite *terminus post quem* regarding the date of the Sasanian invasion, and therefore it fully supports that conclusion drawn on the basis of the other sources, that the campaign of Ardaχšahr against the Kuṣāṇa Empire was realized in 233. The Kuṣāṇa ruler at this time, however, was not Vāsudeva I, but Vāsudeva II, who just ascended the throne. If we observe the dates of the campaigns of the Parthian and Sasanian rulers, we come to the interesting statement, that they had a liking to start their invasions at such dates, when in the country attacked there was just a change of the throne, and eventual inner disturbances could be counted for. Thus was attacked the Roman Empire among others at the time of the accession to the throne of Marcus Aurelius by Vologaises III, who wanted to wage war against the Romans already under Antoninus Pius. Considering these tactics of the Parthian and Persian rulers, it seems to be likely, that Ardaχšahr also used the opportunity of the change of the throne to start his invasion planned against the Kuṣāṇa Empire. Perhaps the exploitation of this favourable possibility was the reason, why he did not continue his invasions against the Roman territories after the withdrawal of Alexander Severus. The period of calm from 232 to 239 for the eastern Roman provinces resulted from this.

III. THE MONUMENTAL WALL INSCRIPTION

In the course of the excavations of 1952–1953 and 1954–1955 in Surkh Kotal also fragments of a monumental wall inscription were unearthed. The 12 fragments *(a—l)* consist of 5 to 35 centimetres thick stone blocks, each of which contains 3 to 5 letters. The height of the letters vary between 5.4 and 7.5 centimetres. Fragment *i* was found in the supporting wall of the lower

[59] Cp. P. PELLIOT: JA 224 (1934) 40.
[60] An explanation of the phonemic correspondence betwen the names *Po-t'iao* and *Vāsudeva* will be given at another place.

terrace of the sanctuary, and it is possible, that this was the place, where it was originally built in.[1]

The large size of the letters of this inscription obviously underlines its importance. Thus its preparation can very likely be connected with the construction of the sanctuary, or it can evidently be regarded as the foundation inscription of the sanctuary. This assumption is to some extent supported also by the circumstance, that neither the Nokonzoko inscription, nor the Palamedes inscription is in connection with the foundation of the sanctuary, but they relate to its later periods of construction. Thus this monumental inscription is in fact the only inscribed monument in Surkh Kotal, which can be brought into connection with the foundation of the sanctuary.

From the fragments no closer conclusion can be made regarding the size of the inscription, and it is also very difficult to give an account of its contents on the basis of the small number of word fragments. This was obviously the reason, why in the course of investigations no special attention was paid so far to this inscription. But now, on the basis of the interpretation of the great inscription, and the restoration of the Palamedes inscription and the unfinished inscription, as well as on the basis of a more precise knowledge of the Bactrian language we have some possibility for the interpretation of the fragments. Since the great inscription reports on the earlier history of the sanctuary, and mentions at least part of the establishments, which had existed also earlier, by this it renders a good basis also for the reconstruction of the contents of the monumental foundation inscription.

Fragment *a* consists of four letters, *viz.*:]*ANΔI*[. In connection with the restoration of this we can think in the first place of two possibilities, *viz.*: it is either the *casus obliquus* of a word ending in]*ANΔO*, or it is the preserved first part of a compound word formed with Old-Iranian **ham-*. While in the first case no obvious interpretation of the fragment can be given, in the second case it can be completed to *ANΔI[CTO]*, and this can be regarded as the passive past participle of the verb **ham-dais-* 'to show, to order', or of the verb **ham-daiz-* 'to build up'. Since, however, there is no example in the Avesta for the passive past participle of the otherwise frequently occurring root *daēs-*, and it is possible that this verbal noun was not used in Old-Iranian at all, it is more likely to identify the form *ANΔI[CTO]* with the Old-Iranian verbal noun **ham-dišta-* 'built up'. The presence of the word in Bactrian is made probable by the derivative *ANΔHZO* < **ham-daiza-* 'fort, fortress' of the verb **ham-daiz-*. The word *ANΔI[CTO]* occurred apparently in the report of construction on the inscription, and thus we can reconstruct the following context: [*MAΔIZO* (or: *BAΓOΛAΓΓO*)] *ANΔI[CTO]* «the building (or: the sanctuary) was built».

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[1] For the publication of the fragments *cf.* R. CURIEL: JA 242 (1954) 191 foll., A. MARICQ: JA 246 (1958) 414 foll.

Fragment *b* consists similarly of four letters, *viz.:*]*AOOB*[. Since in Bactrian the word-ending -*A* is very rare, and a word beginning with *OOB*- is not at all likely, this fragment must be divided into a word ending in -*AO* and a word beginning with *OB*-. In Bactrian we know so far only three words ending in -*AO*, *viz: MAO*, *MANAO*, and *ÞAO*. Of the three most likely is the occurrence of the word *ÞAO* 'king' in the inscription, which appears several times also in the great inscription. Thus we can restore the beginning of the fragment to [*Þ*]*AO* or [*ÞAONANO Þ*]*AO*. Concluding on the basis of the parallel of the great inscription, we can count with the occurrence of the title 'king' or 'king of kings' either in the beginning of the inscription, or among the titles of the official directing the construction work. While, however, in the beginning of the inscription after the title 'king' we can expect the occurrence of the name of the ruler, in the second context a word expressing the loyalty of the official mentioned towards the king must follow. Since the initial *OB*- cannot be completed into the name of any Kuṣāṇa ruler, it can hardly be doubted, that the fragment originates from the enumeration of titles of the official directing the construction work. In this case we can think of the restoration *OB*[*OCAPO*], and the word received thus can be traced back to Old-Iranian *upačara-, for which, on the basis of the Old Indian words *upačara*- 'stepping there, approaching with respect', *upačāra*- 'respect, willingness to help, politeness', the meaning 'respectful, willing to help' can be presumed. Thus the word *OB*[*OCAPO*] could be a synonym of the title *XOBOCAPO* 'respecting the Lord, servant of the Lord', occurring in the great inscription, and the whole context, on the basis of the parallel passage *KIAO ΦPEICTAPO ABO ÞAO I BAΓOΠOYPO IAO I XOBOCAPO* ... occurring in the great inscription, can be imagined as follows: [*KIAO ΦPEICTAPO ABO BAΓO ÞAONANO Þ*]*AO OB*[*OCAPO O.10* ... «who is most devoted to the Majesty, the King of Kings, is willing to help and . . .».

Fragment *c* contains the letters]*OCAB*[. In connection with this we can think of the possibility, that the ending -*O* of a word and the initial *CAB*- of another word have been preserved in it. Naturally, the possibility also exists, that the first letter of the fragment is the rest of a preposition or a praeverbium (as for example *ABO, OBO*, etc.), and that in fact we have to do here with a compound word. Since, however, within a word the sound-group -*učap/b*- or -*usap/b*- is not at all presumable in Old-Iranian, therefore it is expedient also in this case to examine the letter-group *CAB*- as a separate word. Behind the script *CAB*- an Old-Iranian initial **čap/b*- or **sap/b*- can be hidden. Of the four possible interpretations in the first place *čap- can be taken into consideration, because this verbal root, which is very likely an accessory form of the root *kap- 'to hold, etc.' can be shown in Saka *(cev*- 'hold, get, bring') and in Sogdian *(čp'yš* 'leader' > Turkish *čavuš)*.[2] If in the letter-

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[2] *Cf.* H. W. BAILEY: TPhS 1955. 155.

group CAB- we see the verbal root *čap-, then for the time being we cannot get on, because the fragment can be restored equally to a verbal form (for example $[AB]OCAB[ON\Delta HIO]$), and a compound containing a substantive and a preposition (for example $[AB]OCAB[HCO]$). It is a question, however, whether we can regard the existence of the root *čap- in Bactrian as sure. According to the data at our disposal[3] the root čap-, contrary to the root *kap-, was not known in the whole Iranian language-area. Thus its use in Bactrian is also uncertain, and therefore we must take into consideration also another possibility of explanation in the case of this fragment. In Bactrian from the sound-group -θr- the sound-group -hr- developed, which in turn was simplified into -r-. Thus the continuation of the Old-Iranian god name *Miθra- is in Bactrian $MIOPO = Mihro$, and $MEIPO = Miro$. On the basis of this we can count with a similar development -hv- or -hβ- > -β- also in the case of the sound-group -θv-. It is doubtless, therefore, that there is a possibility to restore the fragment $CAB[$ into the form $CAB[APO]$, and to see in this the Bactrian development *šaβāro < *čahβāro < *čaθvāro of the Old-Iranian numeral *čaθvārah 'four' (cp. Avestan čaθwārō).

Very interesting is fragment d, which contains the letters $]TEAO[$. Since in Bactrian neither the word ending -EAO, nor the word ending -EA is likely, it is obvious to divide this fragment into the elements -TE AO-, and to see in the first of them the nominative plural of a noun (cp. $BA\Gamma E$), and in the second the beginning of another substantive or a verb. But we can go even further. In Bactrian the sound -t- is the development of the Old-Iranian sound-group -rt-[4], thus the word ending -TE can be traced back to an Old-Iranian form *-rtāh. There are not many Old-Iranian words ending in -rta, which from the semantic point of view fits well into the context of such an inscription. We can think especially of the following words: *marta- 'mortal, man', *varta- 'prisoner, servant', *varta- 'abode', *avartā- 'article of value, property', and eventually *āvṛti- 'conviction, conversion'. In the case of the latter word it is not quite sure, whether we can presume a -ṛt- > -t- development. Since the development of Old-Iranian *kṛta- is $KIP\Delta O$ in Bactrian, it is possible, that we have to count with a continuation *$AOP\Delta O$ also in the case of the word *āvṛti-. A choice among these words can only be rendered possible eventually by the following a word beginning with AO-. This word is namely either a verbal form, or an attribute relating to the preceding word, or again a substantive with a meaning similar to it. Whichever of these possibilities should exist, to a certain extent we get a basis also for the definition of the meaning of the first word.

The sound-group AO- in Bactrian cannot be traced back to an Old-Iranian initial *ava-, because the continuation of this is Ω (cp. $\Omega CO\Gamma\Delta O$- <

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[3] For the evidence cf. H. W. BAILEY: op. cit. 146 foll.
[4] See J. HARMATTA: Acta Ant. Hung. 12 (1964) 442 foll.

*avasuχta-). Thus we can only think of an Old-Iranian initial *āva- as an antecedent. In this case the connection with the verb av- 'provide for, help' is discarded in advance, and only a verb or substantive beginning with va- combined with the particle ā can come into consideration. The praeverbium ā with a verb beginning with va- does not occur in the Avesta, and even if this circumstance is not entirely decisive, it still shows, that it is less expedient to presume a verbal form behind the initial AO-. Of the substantives adequate from the viewpoint of phonemic development first of all the following can be taken into consideration: *āvarna- 'confession', *āvṛti- 'conviction, conversion', *āvarna- 'protection', *āvṛz- 'accommodation' (cp. Avestan vəraz-'Wohnung, Stätte'). If we complete the word ending in -TE into [Ω]TE, and identify it with the Old-Iranian word *avartā- 'article of value, property', then we could think about the word *āvṛz- 'accommodation' in the case of the second word. In this case we would have to do with a donation connected with the foundation of the sanctuary, and the two words could be placed in the following relationship: [OTHIO BAΓANO Ω]TE AO[PZO ΛΛΛO] «then by him to the gods articles of value and an abode were given». Supposing the same context, the words *varta- 'servant' or *varta- 'abode' could also be taken into consideration as the first part of the enumeration.

Fragment e consists of five letters, viz.:]ANENA[. Since in Bactrian E occurs in the interior of a word only exceptionally (in the great inscription only in the word KEΛO, and otherwise only in the letter-group EI), it is obvious to see in letters]ANE of this fragment the end of a word appearing in nominative plural, and in its letters NA[the beginning of another word. There are very many possibilities for the completion of the first word, since -ănă- is one of the most frequent Old-Iranian word-endings. The initial NA[, on the other hand, in the framework of the content of the foundation inscription can be collated at the most with three words. These are as follows: Old-Iranian *nā-man- 'name', *namah- 'respect', and *nāfa- 'clan, family'. In case of substitution of any of these words, the use of the plural is not justified in connection with any of them. Thus the word ending in]ANE cannot be the attribute of the word beginning with NA[, but it would be also difficult to find to these words a word in plural standing with them in co-ordinate relation. Most likely seems to be the supposition of genitive relation or some similar syntactic structure between the two words.

Considering these conceptions, the circle of words to be taken into consideration for the restoration of the fragment]ANE is already reduced considerably. If we start out from the restoration of the word NA[MO] 'name', then we could eventually think of the Bactrian equivalent *ACOMANO of the Avestan word hača.mana- 'treu, ergeben', and we could suppose the following structure: [ACOM]ANE NA[MI KOÞANO] «the devoted adherents of the name Kuṣāṇa». But ·on the basis of the passage MAPHΓO ΠIΛO I

XOAΛHO ΦPOMANO «with servile obedience to the order of the King» of
the great inscription, we could expect also here rather the structure **ACO-
MANE ΠIΛO I NAMO KOÞANO* «adherents to the name Kuṣāṇa», and it
is questionable, whether we can presume in Bactrian such a use of the word
NAMO 'name'.

In the case of the restoration *NA[MO]* 'respect', the Bactrian equivalent
*ΦPOCKAMANO of the Avestan *fra-skəmba-* 'Stütz-, Tragbalken; Vorhalle,
Säulenhof' could be taken into consideration. In this case we should get the
phrase *[ΦPOCKAM]ANE NA[MI]* «pillars of respect (= colonnade of re-
spect)». This conception, however, is also rendered questionable by the circum-
stance, that, on the one hand, in Surkh Kotal we do not know so far such a
structure to which this expression could be referred, and on the other hand,
for the time being we cannot identify even the conception itself manifested in
the phrase, either in Bactrian, or in any other Middle- or Old-Iranian langua-
ge.

Finally, if we try to accept the phrase *NA[ΦO]* 'clan', then in the pre-
ceding word we could see the Bactrian equivalent **OZOΛANO* of the Avestan
phrase *uz-dāna-* 'Aufbau zur Aufnahme der Gebeine des Toten, astōdān', and
could think of the following context: *[OZOΛ]ANE NA[ΦI KOÞANO MAΛO
KIPΛO]* «he caused to be built here the burial places of the Kuṣāṇa-clan».
From the linguistic point of view this restoration does not encounter any
difficulty, and since Surkh Kotal could be the cultic centre of the Kuṣāṇa
dynasty, it is obvious to presume, that the ossuaries of the deceased members
of the Royal clan were also placed here. If this restoration proves to be correct,
then this passage could belong in the syntactic context identical with the
fragment *]TEAO[*, and the whole train of thought can be restored as follows:
«then he gave to the gods articles of value (= presents), and abode, and caused
to be built here the burial places of the Kuṣāṇa-clan ».

Fragment *f* contains only three letters, *viz.:* *]CTO[*. This is obviously
the ending of the passive past participle of a verb, and can be collated with
the forms *NICTO* and *OZOOACTO* of the great inscription, or with the word
ANΛI[CTO] mentioned above. Thus this fragment may be connected with
the fragment *]ANΛI[*. If the two stone blocks do not fit together, then it is
most probable, that it has to be restored into the form *[OA]CTO*. Concluding
on the basis of the great inscription, the canal securing the water supply was
namely constructed at the time of the building of the sanctuary, consequently
this was surely mentioned in the foundation inscription. In accordance with
this the fragment could belong in the following context: *[OTHIO KAPANO
ABO ΠIΛO APOYO ABO BAΓOΛAΓΓO ΦPOOA]CTO* «Then pure water
was conducted by him in the canal to the sanctuary».

Fragment *g* consists of 4 letters, *viz.:* *]CAPΛ[*. The last letter can even-
tually be also *Λ*. W.B. Henning, taking the reading *]CAPΛ[* as a basis, recog-

nized in this fragment the Bactrian equivalent *CAPAO* of the Avestan word *sarəd-* 'Jahr'.[5] In fact this explanation is the most likely one, because the otherwise possible reading]*CAPA*[can be collated only with the Old-Iranian word **sarta-* 'cold', and eventually with the Old-Iranian word *srta-* 'boiled', but these can hardly be imagined in the context of the inscription from the viewpoint of semantics. Since in Bactrian the word *XÞONO* was used in time-reckoning for the expression of 'year', the phrase *CAPAO* in the inscription can relate only to space of time. Thus it is obvious to think, that before this a numeral could stand, and since in the fragment]*OCAB*[very likely the numeral *CAB[APO]* 'four' was preserved, we can eventually suppose, that these two fragments originate from the same context, and originally could stand side by side. In a foundation inscription the recording of a space of time could relate most probably to the length of the time of construction, and thus the two fragments can origin from the following context: [*MAAIZO* (or: *BAΓOΛAΓΓO*)] *CAPA|O CAB[APO ΦPOΓIPAO]* «the building surrounded with walls (or: sanctuary) was completed in four years».

On fragment *h* we can again read only three letters, *viz.:*]*IPA*[. These letters apparently represent the fragment of one word, and remind of the word *EIPO* 'refreshing drink' of the great inscription. Of the word *EIPO*, however, only its genitive plural could come into consideration at this place as a restoration, but this could hardly be placed into a proper syntactic relation. We could, however, think of the possibility, that: the form *E]IPA[NO* to be restored is an attributive derivative with the formative syllable *-na-* of the word *ira-* 'strength, energy; refreshing drink'. In this case we should have to do with the Bactrian equivalent of the presumable Old-Iranian word **īrana-* 'strong, energetic'. Besides the form *E]IPA[NO* the restoration *ZE]IPA[NO* is also possible. The resulting Bactrian word **zirano* could be the equivalent formed with the formative syllable *-na-* of the Old-Iranian word **ǰīra-* 'quick, quick minded', (cp. with Middle-Persian *zīr* 'intelligent, wise' etc.). We may choose any of the possibilities, the fragment]*IPA*[, similarly to the fragment]*AOOB*[originates very likely from the enumeration of titles of the official directing the construction work.

Fragment *i* contains 5 letters, *viz.:*]*IZΓET*[, but only the horizontal branch of the *T* has been preserved. Since the occurrence of *E* in the interior of a word is not likely, we must see in the letter-group]*IZΓE* also in this case the ending of a word in plural, and in *T*[the beginning of another word. If we regard the letters *IZΓE* as a complete word, we can trace it back to an Old-Iranian form **izuka-* or **izaka-*, and this can be collated with the Avestan word *ižā-* 'Streben, Eifer; Ziel des Strebens; Erfolg, Glück'. A certain difficulty is caused by the circumstance, that — in case we have to deal with a substan-

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[5] W. B. HENNING: BSOAS 23 (1960) 48.

tive — we could expect rather a form *IZAΓO* from the basic word *ĭžā-*.
Besides this, in the Avestan word the initial *i-* is very likely long, so that we
ought to complete an *E* at the beginning of the word. On account of these
difficulties it is worth while to consider also the possibility, that the word
E]IZΓE can eventually be traced back to an Old-Iranian form *aizaka-* or
aizuka-. This can be regarded as the equivalent formed with the formative
syllable *-ka* of the Avestan word *aēzah-* 'Verlangen'. If this explanation is
correct, then the use of this word, from the semantic point of view, can be
most easily imagined in the enumeration of the titles of the official directing
the construction work. We could think also in this inscription of such a phrase
as: *KIΔO ΦAPO OICΠOANO MO ZOΔO BAPΓANO ΩCOΓΔOMAΓO*
«who wishes glory, and all-winning life with whole heart», to be read in line 9
of the great inscription. If we accept this supposition, then after the word
E]IZΓE 'wishes' we can expect either a phrase meaning 'to come true', or a
phrase meaning 'to surpass'. Taking this into consideration, the initial *T[* can
plausibly be completed to *T[APANO]*, and in this form we can see the verbal
noun with the formative syllable *-ana-/-āna-* of the Old-Iranian verb *tar-*
'pass, surpass, defeat, outdo'. On the basis of the quoted passage of the great
inscription, from these phrases we can reconstruct the following context
[KIΔO E]IZΓE T[APANO ΦAPO BAPΓANO] «who wishes glory surpassing
desires».

Fragment *j* consists of 4 letters, *viz.:* *]OABO[.* A. Maricq recognized in
this the preposition *ABO* < Old-Iranian *abi*.[6] We can, of course, think with
the same justification also of the word *ABO* 'water', and moreover, at the in-
terpretation of the fragment the verbal root *vap-* 'to throw' (> Bactrian
OAB-) can also be taken into consideration, although the use of this in the
inscription is less probable. If we identify the form *ABO* with the word mean-
ing 'water', then the fragment could occur in the phrases *[KAPAN]O ABO*
«pure water», or *[OTHI]O ABO* «then by him the water . . .». In the first case
it originates from a context identical with fragment *f*. If, however, we inter-
pret the word *ABO* as a preposition, then the fragment can be part of the
phrases *[ΦPEICTAP]O ABO* or *[APOY]O ABO*, that is it belongs to the
context of fragment *b* or similarly to that of fragment *f*.

Fragment *k* is important from the viewpoint of the whole inscription
whose letters *]ΩΓO[* were completed by Maricq to *[I]ΩΓO*, thus he saw in it the
Bactrian numeral 'one'.[7] Since in Bactrian the word-ending *-ΩΓO* occurred so
far only in the word *IΩΓO*, the interpretation of Maricq is very likely, although
we cannot exclude completely the possibility either, that the development of
the Old-Iranian word-ending *-avaka-* was also *-ΩΓO* in Bactrian (cp. for example
Middle-Persian *nērōk* < *naryavaka-*). The word *[I]ΩΓO* occurred in the

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[6] A. MARICQ: JA 246 (1958) 415.
[7] A. MARICQ: *loc. cit.*

inscription very likely in the dating formula, just like in the great inscription, *viz.*: *ΠΙΔΟ Ι ΙΩΓΟ ΟΔΟ ΥΙΡCΟ ΧÞΟΝΟ* «in the 31st era-year» (line 10). If we accept this obvious explanation, we can put the question of the dating of the foundation inscription, and along with this that of the time of construction of the Surkh Kotal sanctuary.

It is namely doubtless, that the occurrence of the numeral *[I]ΩΓΟ* 'one' in the dating formula of the inscription reduces the dating of the inscription already in advance to three possible dates, *viz.*: the 1st, 11th, and 21st years of the Kaniṣka Era. Of these dates the first seems to be excluded, and the second seems to be not very likely. Kaniṣka in the 1st year of his reign could still hardly start such a large-scale construction work, like the one represented by the Surkh Kotal sanctuary district. Besides this the great inscription clearly states, that the sanctuary became desolate soon after its construction, and that Nokonzoko went there in order to regulate the water supply only in the 31st year of the Kaniṣka Era.[8] It is now quite unlikely, that Kaniṣka would have left this monumental establishment of his desolate for several decades, when its water supply could be solved comparatively easily by the digging of a well. For this reason we must date the construction of the sanctuary at a high probability to the end of the reign of Kaniṣka, that is of the three possible datings of the inscription only the 21st year of the Kaniṣka Era seems to be acceptable. In this case the dating formula on our inscription can be reconstructed as follows: *[ΠΙΔΟ Ι Ι]ΩΓΟ [ΟΔΟ ΟΙCΑΔΟ ΧÞΟΝΟ ... ΜΑΟ]* «in the 21st era-year in the month . . .».

The question could eventually also be raised, that perhaps the numeral *CΑΒ[ΟΡΟ]* 'four', discussed earlier, belongs to the dating formula, and therefore would it not be expedient to count with the 4th, 14th, and 24th years of the Kaniṣka Era from the viewpoint of the construction of the sanctuary. This possibility is rather definitely excluded by the dating formula of the great inscription, according to the testimony of which before the first numeral the definite article *I* must stand. Since before the numeral *CΑΒ[ΟΡΟ]* undoubtedly a word ending in -*O* stands, its belonging to the dating formula must be held as unlikely.

A further problem is, how should we appraise the dating of the inscription chronologically. In the great inscription the dating marks only that date, when Nokonzoko, the official entrusted with the reconstruction of the sanctuary, arrived in Surkh Kotal and the construction work started. Since in the foundation inscription very likely also the duration of the construction work is mentioned, it seems to be obvious, that the dating recorded also in this the arrival there of the official entrusted with the direction of the construction work, that is the start of the construction work. Thus we have to conclude,

[8] See J. HARMATTA: Acta Ant. Hung. 12 (1964) 470—471.

that the building works of the Surkh Kotal sanctuary started in the 21st year
of the Kaniṣka Era, and were carried on for four years, that is they were completed in the 24th year of the Kaniṣka Era, very likely already under the reign
of Vāsiṣka.

If we accept this supposition, the history of the Surkh Kotal sanctuary
becomes at once clear. This monumental construction was started by Kaniṣka
I in the 21st year of his reign, and the construction works lasted for 4 years,
so that Kaniṣka very likely did not live to see their completion, because in
the 24th year of the Kaniṣka Era already Vāsiṣka appears as ruler. It seems,
that under the reign of Vāsiṣka troubles arose in the water supply of the sanctuary district, so that not much — perhaps one or two years — after the
completion of the construction the place of cult had to be vacated. Vāsiṣka
ruled only for 5 years, and during this time he had to face very likely many
difficulties, because during his reign he could not issue even coins. Thus it is
clear, that if the Surkh Kotal sanctuary became unusable in the 26th or 27th
year of the Kaniṣka era, there was already no possibility for Vāsiṣka to get
the place of cult renovated. As from the 28th year of the Kaniṣka Era the Chief
King of the Kuṣāṇas was very likely already Kaniṣka II, and Huviṣka the
viceroy of India. When under these two rulers again favourable conditions were
formed in the Kuṣāṇa Empire, then, in the 31st year of the Kaniṣka Era Huviṣka sent an official to Surkh Kotal to have the sanctuary reconstructed.

Fragment *l* contains 3 letters, *viz.:*]*BAΓ*[. It was correctly pointed out
already by Maricq, that this fragment can be completed to *BAΓ*[*O*], *BAΓ*[*O-
ΛAΓΓO*], or to *BAΓ*[*OΠOYPO*].[9] This fragment eventually belongs together
with fragment *j*, *viz.:* [*ΦPEICTAP*]*O ABO* | *BAΓ*[*O* . . .].

As we can see, although the small number of fragments of the monumental
inscription does not allow for us even an approximate reconstruction of its
text but on the basis of the words and phrases to be explained at a high probability, we can still get an outline of the contents of the inscription. If we
take the division of the contents and structure of the great inscription as a
basis, we can sum up the above observations as follows.

§ 1. This part must have contained the denomination of the sanctuary,
the titles of Kaniṣka, as well as his instructions on the construction work, very
likely in formulae corresponding to those of the great inscription, *viz.:* [*EIΔO
MAΛIZO MO* . . . *BAΓOΛAΓΓO CIΔO I*] *BAΓ*[*O ÞAONANO ÞAO KAN-
HÞKO BAΓOΠOYPO KOÞANO* . . . *KIPΔO*]. «This building here surrounded with walls is the . . . sanctuary, which the Majesty, the King of Kings,
Kaniṣka, the Son of God, the Kuṣāṇa caused to be built . . .». Of this part
obviously nothing was preserved, at the most fragment *l* could belong here.

§ 2. Name, titles of the builder, dating. The structure of this part can
be imagined in accordance with § 3 of the great inscription. The official direct-

9 A. MARICQ: JA 246 (1958) 416.

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ing the construction works could be a *karalrango* also in this case. Very likely to this part of the text belong fragments *b*, *h*, *i*, *j*, and *k*, on the basis of which the following reconstruction of the contents results: [*KAΛΛΟ* ...... *I* *KAPAΛPAΓΓO I E]IPA[NO KIΔO ΦPEICTAP]O ABO | BAΓ[O ÞAONA-NO Þ]AO OB[OCAPO OΔO E]IZΓE T[APANO ΦAPO BAPΓANO ΩCOΓ-ΛOMAΓΓO IIIΔO I Γ]ΩΓO [OΛO *OICAΛO XÞONO ... MAO MAΛO AΓAΛO*] «When .... the energetic *karalrango*, who is most devoted to the Majesty, the King of Kings, is willing to help and wishes glory beyond desires with whole heart, in the 21st era-year in month ... arrived here».

§ 3. Description of the construction work. On the basis of the preserved fragments this part was somewhat more detailed, than the corresponding part of text in the great inscription. Fragments *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, and *g* can belong to this part. On the basis of these on the description of the construction work the following picture can be reconstructed: [*TAΔIIO MAΛIZO* (or: *BAΓO-ΛAΓΓO*)] *CAPΛ|O CAB[APO] ANΛI|CTO [OTIIO BAΓANO Ω]TE AO[PZO ΛAΛO OTIIO OZOΛA]NE NA[ΦI KOÞANO KIPΛO OTIIO KAPANO ABO IIIΛO APOYO ABO BAΓOΛAΓΓO ΦPOOA]CTO* «Then he caused the building (or: sanctuary) surrounded with walls to be built up in four years. Hereafter he gave articles of value and abode to the gods. Then he caused the burial places of the Kuṣāṇa clan to be built. Then he conducted in a canal pure water to the sanctuary».

§ 4. Maintenance of the building. It is questionable, whether provisions were made regarding this already then. It is likely that the regulation of this was only made at the time of the reconstruction of the sanctuary, so that the existence of this § in the foundation inscription is more than dubious. No fragments have been preserved from this part.

§ 5. The summary. The existence of this part is also uncertain in the foundation inscription. In the great inscription this was partly justified by the circumstance, that several *karalrango*-s became connected with the reconstruction work, who did not appear earlier in the inscription, but the summary mentioned their names. No fragment was preserved from this part either.

§ 6. Preparation of the inscription. Although no fragment was preserved from this part either, on the basis of the great inscription it is still difficult to imagine, that from the foundation inscription the mentioning of the preparation of the inscription would have been omitted.*

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* See Acta Ant. Hung. 12 (1964) 373, note 1 and 471, additional note.