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SINO—INDICA

I

It is a well-known fact that the oldest data on the relations between India and China have been preserved in the Buddhist tradition. According to these Emperor Ming-ti introduced Buddhism in China officially between 64 and 67, and it is said that on this occasion one of the Indian missionaries, named Kāśyapa Mātāṅga, also referred to a tradition according to which in the distant past King Aśoka had already built Buddhist sanctuaries in China.<sup>1</sup> Scientific criticism has, however, proved that this tradition is nothing else but a religious legend, and that we can count with the broader expansion of Buddhism in China only from the middle of the second century.<sup>2</sup> The beginning of this period is marked by the arrival in China of the Parthian prince An-shī-kao, an eminent Buddhist missionary, in 148.<sup>3</sup> Although according to this the authentic historical tradition of Buddhism begins only in the second century, it can still not be doubtful, that in China there were Buddhist communities also earlier.<sup>4</sup> Therefore we must suppose that the first relations between India and China were constituted much earlier, at the latest during the reign of Emperor Wu-ti, where after the occupation of the Silk Route the Chinese started their large-scale caravan trade towards Central Asia. So this statement is very plausible indeed, yet we know hardly anything about the details of this important historical process. Therefore in the followings I should like to draw the attention to a few data which elucidate at least to a certain extent the formation of Sino-Indian historical relations in the Saka and Kuṣāṇa periods.

In the history of the expansion of Buddhism the age of Aśoka was of decisive importance. According to Aśoka's rock edict N<sup>o</sup> II the Buddhist missionary ambitions spread not only over India, but also over the island of

<sup>1</sup> See *e. gr.* R. GROUSSET: Histoire de l'Extreme-Orient. I. Paris 1929. 243 foll.; TAN YUN-SHAN: Sino-Indian Relationship, in the following work: V. G. NAIR: Professor Tan Yun-Shan and Cultural Relations between India and China. Commemoration Volume. Santiniketan 1958. 71 foll.; E. ZURCHER: The Buddhist Conquest of India. Leiden 1959. 19 foll.; recently S. L. MALHOTRA: Sino-Indian Relations. Vishv. Ind. Journ. 1 (1963) 162 foll.

<sup>2</sup> H. MASPERO: Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming. BEFEO 10 (1919) 5.

<sup>3</sup> GROUSSET: *op. cit.* 244.

<sup>4</sup> P. PELLLOT: BEFEO 6 (1906) 393 foll.

Ceylon, and the countries of the Greek ruler Antiochos and his neighbours (K: *Tambapanni Amtiyoge nama yonalājā ye cā amne tassā Amtiyogassā sāmamtā lājāno*). An eloquent monument of the expansion of Buddhism towards Iranian Central Asia is the bilingual (Greek-Aramaic) inscription of Aśoka from Qandahar,<sup>5</sup> to the inhabitants of the westernmost part of the Maurya Empire, the peoples *yonakamboja* mentioned in rock edicts N<sup>os</sup> V and XIII, who spoke Greek and Iranian. Thus it seems to be very likely that Buddhism reached to those parts of Western India and Eastern Iran which were inhabited by Greek and Iranian population already during the reign of Aśoka.

A really favourable situation for the spreading of Buddhism towards Inner Asia arose when the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom, after the decline of the Mauryan Empire, grew into a large state which besides Bactria included also parts of Western India, Eastern Iran, and Central Asia. During the existence of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom Buddhism undoubtedly reached such important centres of this state, as Kāpiśa — Begram. This is clearly shown by those Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions which were found during the French excavation of Begram. As it is known, the cultural layer of Begram is divided into three different levels. Among these level N<sup>o</sup> I, on the basis of the coins found in it (coins from the period from Eukratidas to Hermaios), can be dated to the Age of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom and its successor states, level N<sup>o</sup> II to the Kuṣāṇa period, and level N<sup>o</sup> III to the early Sassanian epoch.<sup>6</sup> At Begram the following Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions were found:

Level N<sup>o</sup> I: R. Ghirshman, Bégram, p. 46, fig. 22 = pl. XXIX. B. G. 444 (see here fig. 1a —b). The inscription is engraved on a small earthen object



Fig. 1 a-b

of unknown purpose, Ghirshman did not publish its photograph, he gave only a drawing of it. On the basis of the drawing it can be concluded that the inscription was preserved in a somewhat damaged condition. Since in the case of another Kharoṣṭhī inscription, on which Ghirshman published a drawing as well as a photograph, the drawing differs from reality in several points, we can count with a certain inaccuracy also in the drawing of the inscription discussed. The first three remainders of strokes can most easily be completed

<sup>5</sup> See D. SCHLUMBERGER — L. ROBERT — A. DUPONT-SOMMER — É. BENVENISTE: JA 246 (1958) 1 foll.

<sup>6</sup> R. GHIRSHMAN: Bégram. Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans. Le Caire 1946. 24, 26, 31.

into the akṣara *pu*. The remainder of the *u* mātrā can be observed well. The next letter fragment could most probably be the akṣara *ṅa*. The third letter is clearly a *me* akṣara. Since, however, the *e* mātrā did not remain in full, we can also think that originally the stroke marking the *e* mātrā continued also farther downwards, and thus actually there stood a *mi* akṣara here. The fourth

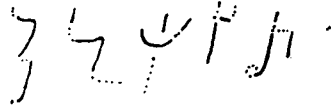


Fig. 2

letter fragment can be interpreted as a *ta* or *ra* akṣara or it can possibly be restored as *tra* akṣara. Thus after the reconstruction of the defectively preserved letters of the inscription (see fig. 2) we get the following legend:

*pu-ṅa-me/mi-ta/ra/tra-sa*

Of the possible readings of the inscription only *puṅamītaśa* and *puṅamītraśa* seem to be most probable. These could be the genitive cases of the names



Fig. 3

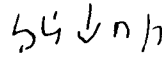


Fig. 4

\**Puṅyamīta-* and \**Puṅyamītra-*, meaning «of firm morals» and «friend of moral». Knowing the role of the word *puṅya-* in the Buddhist terminology, it seems to be very likely that this inscription has preserved the name of a Buddhist person. The nearest parallel to this can be found in the inscription of the Paris cornelian gem<sup>7</sup> which originates from the same period, and contains the name *Puṅamata* (< \**Puṅyamata-*). It is not impossible either that the stroke interpreted as the remainder of the *i* mātrā in the Begram inscription is only an accidental scratching, and thus in fact there is only a *ma* akṣara in the inscription. In this case the name occurring in the Begram inscription is exactly identical with that of the Paris cornelian gem. But whether the name *Puṅyamīta-*, or *Puṅyamata-* occurs in the earliest Begram Kharoṣṭhī inscription, this inscription clearly shows the presence of Indian, and at the same time Buddhist influence in this important centre of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom. As it is shown by the other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from Begram, this connection with India existed also in the subsequent centuries.

<sup>7</sup> See ST. KONOW: Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions with the exception of those of Aśoka. CIIInd Vol. II. Part I. Calcutta 1929. 7, N<sup>o</sup> IV.

Level N° II: R. Ghirshman, Bégram, p. 57, fig. 23 = pl. XXXVIII. B. G. 169 (see here fig. 3). This inscription is engraved in a similar earthen object, as the former one. Judging on the basis of Ghirshman's drawing, these letters have been preserved in a rather perfect state, but between the two published drawings there are minor differences, and this partly renders the reading of the 2nd and 4th letter uncertain, and partly creates distrust as to the authenticity or fullness of the forms of the other letters. On the basis of fig. 23 of Ghirshman we can read the inscription as follows:

*pa-śa-me-de-sa*

At the same time on the basis of Ghirshman's pl. XXXVIII. B. G. fig. 169 (see here fig. 4) we get the following reading:

*pa-ya-me-te/re-sa*

In this case we have also evidently to deal with a name standing in the genitive case, the exact form of this, however, is very difficult to be determined. The first part of the name could be *paśa-* < \**pāśa-*, or *paya-* < \**pāya-*, but neither of these is a very frequent element of the personal names. In the second part of this name first of all the root vowel *-e* is curious, instead of the *-a* or *-i* to be expected, but the form *meda-* or *meḍi-* (= OInd. *meḍi-*), and *mera-* or *meti-* (< OInd. *metr-*), respectively, would also be difficult to be interpreted as the second element of the name. These difficulties can only be solved by

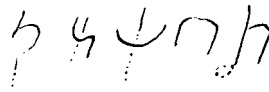


Fig. 5

supposing, that in the inscription the lower parts of the letters broke down, or became indistinct, and on account of this Ghirshman in his autography could not reproduce the letter forms correctly. This supposition is strongly supported by the fact, that in the figure of pl. XXXVIII. B. G. 169 the whole lower part of the akṣara *sa* is missing. We must apparently suppose the same also in the case of the other letters. On the basis of this consideration we can propose the following reading of the inscription:

ṛ*pa*<sup>1</sup>-*ya*-ṛ*mi*<sup>1</sup>-*ti*<sup>1</sup>-*sa*

In the first element of the name reconstructed in this way (see fig. 5) we can see the word *pūjā-*, and in the second the word *mīti-*, and taking into consideration the role of the word *pūjā-* in the terminology of the Buddhist inscriptions, we can very likely see a Buddhist also in the bearer of this name.

Level N° III: R. Ghirshman, Bégram, p. 61 pl. XVI 9 = pl. XXXVII. B. G. 240a (see here fig. 6a, b, c). This inscription can be read on a glass paste

medaillon, of which, however, only about the half has been preserved, and thus the beginning of the inscription is defective. Ghirshman gave the reading of the remaining part in the form *Jta-ma-sa*, this however does not agree either with his own autography, or with the letters to be read on the photograph. Disregarding now the autography of Ghirshman,<sup>8</sup> on the basis of a highly magnified reproduction of the photograph we can give the following reading of the inscription (cf. fig. 6a):

*J-<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>-bo-ya-sa*

The reading of the first akṣara is somewhat uncertain, because its right side part is broken down, and besides it seems as if its remaining horizontal stem



Fig. 6 a, b, c

would be crossed by an *i* mātrā. It is possible, however, that this is only the chipping of the glass paste, because similar or irregular lines can be observed also around the other akṣaras. At any rate the end of the inscription can quite clearly be read as *Jboyasa*, and this is apparently the second part of a name, whose nearest parallel can be found in the name *Miraboyana-* of the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription.<sup>9</sup> This is the Prākṛit form of the Iranian name *Mihrbōzan*, or *Mihrbūzan* (Old Iranian \**Miθra-bauṣana-* and \**Miθrabuṣana-*, respectively). This Iranian name, however, had also a variant *Bōzmihr* (Old Iranian \**Bauṣamiθra-*),<sup>10</sup> and on the basis of this we can count by all probability also with a form \**Mihrbōz* (Old Iranian \**Miθra-bauṣa-*). The adoption of this in Prākṛit

<sup>8</sup> GHIRSHMAN also publishes two drawings of the medaillons, and on both he also indicates inscriptions. On the upper figure two akṣaras can be seen: *J-ma-sa*, and on the lower, on which the script is upside down, *J-.ya-sa* can be read (only traces of the first two akṣaras can be seen). It is possible that GHIRSHMAN's figures show the frontal side and the reverse side of the medaillon, and that there are really inscriptions on both, but we find no clear reference to this in the book. The inscription to be read on the photograph pl. XVI. 9 agrees at any rate with the lower figure pl. XXXVII. B.G. 240a, but the form and placement of the letters on the latter differ a little from the original.

<sup>9</sup> ST. KONOW: *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, 57 foll. N<sup>o</sup> XX. This part of the inscription was read and interpreted by KONOW as follows: *saputradhītara Mira Boyanasa* «together with his son and daughter, in honour of Mira the Saviour» (p. 62). But first of all the meaning of the word *boyana-* < Iranian \**bōjan* < \**bauṣana-* — as it is shown by the name *Μηροβουζάνης* — was not «saviour», but «saved», and on the other hand, after the word *saputra-* there is simply no sufficient space for the word *dhītara* read by KONOW. The most likely reading and interpretation of the undoubtedly difficult place seems to be as follows: *saputrasa śi miraboyanasa* «together with his son, Śri Miraboyana», or «together with his son (in honour of) Śri Miraboyana».

<sup>10</sup> In an inscription from Bori, see FR. ALTHEIM: *Literatur und Gesellschaft im ausgehenden Altertum*. II. Halle/Saale 1950. 46 foll. ALTHEIM is mistaken, when he maintains that in the Iranian languages we have no data on the type of naming represented by the name *Bōzmihr* «save (him), Miθra».

would be \**Miraboya-*, that is such a form of name, into which the inscription *J<sup>r</sup>ra<sup>1</sup>boyasa* can be restored without any difficulty. It is true that the reading of the first akṣara as *ri* (or eventually *ti*) cannot be excluded either, and thus in itself the restoring *Ti<sup>j</sup>r<sup>i</sup>boyasa* would not be impossible either. But the derivations of the root \**baug-* «to redeem» do not occur as names in compounds with the name of the god *Tir*, and even if theoretically we cannot completely reject the possibility of a name \**Tiribauṣa-*, in the Begram inscription we can still count most probably with the name \**Miraboya-*.

Level N<sup>o</sup> III: R. Ghirshman, Bégram, p. 72, fig. 28 = pl. XIX. 4 = pl. XLVI. B. G. 132 (see here fig. 7). This inscription can be read also on such



Fig. 7

an earthen object, as the first two inscriptions. Of the Begram Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions this one has been preserved in the best condition, and on the basis of the published photograph it can be read with full certainty. Ghirshman read the inscription as *Dhumritamītrasa*, this however cannot be accepted with the exception of the last two akṣaras. On the basis of the photograph the reading of the inscription is clearly as follows:

*saṃ-gha-raṃ-kṣi-tra-sa*

This inscription also contains the genitive case of a personal name. The name *Samgharamkṣitra-* is the Prākṛit form of the name *Samgharakṣitr-* «defender of the *saṃgha-*», with inetymological *m-* and with the gliding over of the *-tr-* roots into the declension of the *-a-* roots which can be observed also in other cases.<sup>11</sup> *Samgharamkṣitra-* is a typical Buddhist name which is known already from the Kharoṣṭhī inscription of Bedadi. On this Konow read the form *Samgharakṣidasa*,<sup>12</sup> but on the published photographs the penultimate akṣara seems quite clearly to be *tra-* (see here fig. 8),<sup>13</sup> so that the form of the name was

<sup>11</sup> See e. gr. *dhūtra*, *matra* (nominatives), ST. KONOW: Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions. CXIV.

<sup>12</sup> ST. KONOW: Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions. 88, No. XXXIV.

<sup>13</sup> See with KONOW (*op. cit.*) the two right side figures of photograph pl. XVII. 4. About the fact that the akṣara in question cannot be *da*, as read by KONOW, we can be convinced at once, if we compare it with the *da* of the subsequent word *dana*. N. G. MAJUMDAR: JPASB 19 (1923) 347 read this akṣara more correctly as *ta*, but with KONOW, on the second figure from the right of photograph pl. XVII. 4 the part of the *tra* denoting *r* can also be seen well.

here also apparently *Samgharakṣitra*-. This Begram inscription therefore does not only prove that the Indian influence in Eastern Iran continued also in the early Sassanian period, but it renders also doubtless the survival of Buddhism there.

## II

These short Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of Begram elucidate some very interesting aspects of the historical connections between India, Central Asia and China. In connection with these inscriptions two characteristics can be observed. In Eastern Iran and Inner Asia the Indian influence is very closely connected

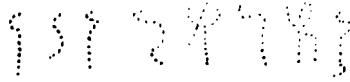


Fig. 8

with the Iranian population. When Indian merchants and administrative officials, as well as Buddhist monks appear in these territories, at the same time Iranians appear in North-Western India. In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions there about 30 per cent of the persons bear Iranian names. The other important feature of the Indian relations with Inner Asia and China is that with these the spreading of Buddhism goes side by side from the very beginning. This organic connection of the Iranians and Indians, as well as Buddhism in the relations developed with China through Inner Asia, can be observed from the period of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom at least to the end of the Kuṣāṇa period.

The appearance of the Kharoṣṭhī script and an Indian Buddhist name in the earliest level of Begram indicates, that the expansion of Indian influence and Buddhism towards Inner Asia could start already very early, probably already about 200 B. C. This date precedes considerably the starting of regular caravan trade on the Silk Route standing under Chinese control, but put in a proper historical connection it may be understood easily. Strabon preserved the report of Apollodoros of Artamita, according to which the Graeco-Bactrian kings spread their realm up to the Seres (*Σῆρες*) and the Phryni (*Φρυνοι*, in the manuscripts: *Φαῦνοι*).<sup>14</sup> There was much dispute in scientific literature, whether the people's name *Σῆρες* mentioned by Apollodoros can be meant the Chinese, and that after all how these two ethnical denominations can be identified. A. K. Narain<sup>15</sup> recently revived an idea of A. Cunningham,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Strabon XI. 11, 1.

<sup>15</sup> A. K. NARAIN: *The Indo-Greeks*. Oxford 1957. 170 foll.

<sup>16</sup> A. CUNNINGHAM: *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East*. London 1884. 148 foll.

according to which in the quoted passage of Strabon on the basis of the reading  $\Sigma\acute{\rho}\omega\nu$  of some manuscripts, instead of  $\Sigma\eta\acute{\rho}\omega\nu$  we have to read  $\Sigma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ , and this in turn can be identified with *Su-lé*, the Chinese name for Kāšgar, and the people's name  $\Phi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omicron\iota$  with the country name *P'u-li* (= Yasin) known also from Chinese sources. Other investigators raised the objection against the identification of the Seres and the Chinese that the more detailed description of Apollodoros on the Seres preserved by Pliny (*n. h.* VI 88) contains such elements (tall, red-haired, blue-eyed people, they pursue mute commerce, etc.) which can by no means be applied on the Chinese, but rather on the Indo-European tribes living near the western border of China.<sup>17</sup>

Since the report of Apollodoros is of essential importance for the formation of the relations between India and China, we have to examine the questions connected with it more thoroughly. First of all we must state that the description of Pliny on the Seres (*n. h.* VI 88) does not come from Apollodoros, but according to the evidence of another passage of Pliny (*n. h.* VI 54–55) this was taken over by him from the work of Amometus,<sup>18</sup> who wrote a book on the Uttarakuru, the Asian Hyperborei. Pliny compares the work of Amometus to the book written by Hekataios of Abdera on the Hyperborei, and this gives a clear orientation as to its character. This was obviously a utopian and mythological geographico-ethnographical work which used real geographical and ethnographical data only to seem authentic. Therefore as to the identification of the Seres we must completely disregard the data of Pliny taken from Amometus. Consequently there is no obstacle to identify the Seres of Apollodoros with the Chinese.

As regards the identification of the Seres (or Syres) with *Su-lé*, and the Phryni with *P'u-li*, this proves to be impossible immediately, if we examine the Chinese forms of names more closely from the phonological point of view. The phonemic form of *Su-lé*, or more correctly *Shu-lé* 蔬勒 in the T'ang period could be \**Šiwo-lək*,<sup>19</sup> and in the north-western T'ang dialect \**Šiwo-ləγ*.<sup>20</sup> The fact that the name of Kāšgar sounded really like this, can be proved also by its Tibetan transliterations: *Šulig*, *Šuleg*.<sup>21</sup> This name, however, can by no means be identified either with the form  $\Sigma\eta\acute{\rho}\epsilon\varsigma$  or with the supposed variant  $\Sigma\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omicron\iota$ . Similar difficulties arise also in connection with the identification

<sup>17</sup> See A. HERRMANN: *Das Land der Seide und Tiber im Lichte der Antiken*. Leipzig 1938. 27 foll.; R. HENNIG: *ZfR* 2 (1935) 90.

<sup>18</sup> Thus correctly already FR. ALTHEIM: *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*. I. Halle/Saale 1947. 65.

<sup>19</sup> B. KALGREN: *Grammata Serica*. BMFEA 12 (1940) 90d + 928f. I quote the Chinese forms of names uniformly according to the transliteration system of KALGREN.

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the north-western T'ang dialect see LUO CHARNGPEIR: *The North-western Dialects of T'ang and Five Dynasties*. *Sehanqhae* 1933., and the remarks of G. HALOUN in the work of H. W. BAILEY: *Khotanese Texts*. IV. Cambridge 1961. 171 foll., cp. also the remarks made by B. CSONGOR in one of my papers: *Acta Ant. Hung.* 10 (1962) 141.

<sup>21</sup> See H. W. BAILEY: *AM* 2 (1951) 9.



of the Phryni and *P'u-li*. The phonemic form of the name *P'u-li* 蒲犁 to be reconstructed on the basis of the Ts'ie-yün could be in the T'ang period \**B'uo-lji*,<sup>22</sup> and in the north-western T'ang dialect \**B'uo-lji*. This can be the transliteration of a foreign form of name \**Bol-*, and phonetically it can be compared with the Sanskrit name *Bhautta-* which as a geographical term marked the same territory as the Chinese *P'u-li*. Consequently we have to reject the identification of the name of the Phryni with this.

Since the name of the Seres cannot be connected either with an Indo-European tribe living near the western border of China, or with *Kāšyar*, and since this name in the Greek literature did not probably denote any other people than the Chinese, we must suppose that it was used to denote the Chinese already in the report of Apollodoros. As regards its origin a certain orientation can be given by the fact that in the Greek geographical literature this name was used later on only for the denomination of North-Western China, while South-Eastern China was known under the name *Σῶαι*. Therefore the name *Σῆρες* likely denoted at first only North-Western China, that is just that part of China, with which the Graeco-Bactrian rulers got in contact.<sup>23</sup>

If the name *Σῆρες* in the report of Apollodoros denominated the inhabitants of the north-western part of China, then the people or geographical name *Φρῆνοι* must also be sought in its vicinity. In fact we know in East-Turkestan a place-name, with which the name *Φρῆνοι* can be identified.<sup>24</sup> It occurs in Saka texts as an important centre of the Buddha cult: *brrūya bisai jasta be'ysa* «the Buddha residing in Brrūya.»<sup>25</sup> As it is shown by the variants *Nina* and *Niña* of the name *Niya*, among the dialects of East-Turkestan there were such, in which the *-y-*, *-n-* and *-ñ-* could alternate with each other. Thus we can suppose that the name *Brrūya* also had the variants \**Brrūna* ~ \**Brrūña*. As regards the beginning of the word, in Saka the initial *br-* developed from an earlier *fr-*, so that we can suppose the form \**F'rūña-* as the earlier form of the name *Brrūya*. This form explains well the place-names *phru-ño*, *phru-ña*<sup>26</sup> occurring in Tibetan texts, and the Greek *Φρῆνοι* can be regarded as the exact transliteration of this form of name.

Thus on the basis of all these we can identify the names *Σῆρες* and *Φρῆνοι* mentioned in the report of Apollodoros with North-Western China,

<sup>22</sup> B. KALGREN: *Grammata Serica*. 102/n' + 519/g.

<sup>23</sup> We should like to deal with the origin of the name *Σῆρες* at another place.

<sup>24</sup> Since in Greek geographical literature this people's name occurs uniformly with the initial *Φρ-*, the conjecture *Φρῆνοι* in the text of Strabon must by all means be regarded as correct. The corruption of the form of name could take place in the third or fourth

century A. D., when the forms of *P* and *A* ( *𑖑* - *𑖒* ) stood very near each other.

<sup>25</sup> See H. W. BAILEY: BSOAS 10 (1942) 894.

<sup>26</sup> Cp. H. W. BAILEY: BSOAS 10 (1942) 920.

and with the inhabitants of *Brrūya* < \**Frūña* of East-Turkestan. And from this we can further conclude that the Graeco-Bactrian kings have already taken under their control the section of the Silk Route leading up to China. In connection with this two questions arise: 1. what was the reason of the conquering ambitions of the Graeco-Bactrian rulers in Inner Asia ? and 2. to what time can we date the Graeco-Bactrian occupation of the section of the Silk Route crossing in East-Turkestan ?

As regards the first question, it is not difficult to find a reply on this. It is generally known that the Hellenistic states strived to find, occupy, and further develop the important international commercial roads. This is clearly shown by the sea journey of Nearchos, the purpose of which was to discover the sea route of commerce between India and Persia.<sup>27</sup> In general, international commerce which promoted the development of slave-holder commodity production, became a decisive factor of economic life in the Hellenistic states. The ambition of the Graeco-Bactrian rulers for the acquisition of the Silk Route becomes comprehensible in this connection. If the importance of Indian commerce directed towards the Pontos area was clear already for Antiochos I, then the decisive significance of commerce between India and China to be carried on through Inner Asia, must have been even clearer for the Graeco-Bactrian rulers. There cannot be any doubt that the Graeco-Bactrian kings, who proved their political discernment on several occasions, have clearly realized the role of essential importance for their own country of commerce between India and China, these great and rich states, with a developed commodity production and, on account of the highly centralized state organization, disposing over large supplies of goods. It is not an exaggeration, if we say that one of the main *raisonns d'être* of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom, the Indo-Scythian State, and the Kuṣāṇa Empire as a political power including North-Western India and Inner Asia, was exactly the pursuance of commerce between India and China (as well as the West).

Regarding the time of the conquests by the Graeco-Bactrian kings in East-Turkestan, the report of Apollodoros preserved by Strabon gives also some orientation, in as much as in connection with the successful expansion of the Bactrian Greeks he mentions the names of two rulers, viz. Menandros, and Demetrios, son of Euthydemos. It is easy to decide which of the two rulers gained control over the Silk Route. It is namely evident that the Graeco-Bactrian rulers could extend their regime over East-Turkestan only before the defeat of the *Yüe-chi* by the *Hsiang-nu* and their migration towards the

<sup>27</sup> On the exploratory expedition of Patroklos see recently W. W. TARN: *The Greeks in Bactria and India.*<sup>2</sup> Cambridge 1951. 488 foll. TARN, however, denies without foundation the existence of the commercial route between India, Oxos and the Pontos area, since the use of this is proved by rich archeological finds, see J. HARMATTA: *Studies on the History of the Sarmatians.* Budapest 1950. 34.

West, since the first period of the *Yüe-chi* migration completely overturned the ethnic and political relations of Inner Asia, and its second phase destroyed already the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom itself. We can place the first phase of the *Yüe-chi* migration between 174 and 160 B. C.,<sup>28</sup> thus the regime of the Graeco-Bactrian rulers over East-Turkestan can be placed only before this date. Thus it cannot be doubtful that the conquest of East-Turkestan by the Graeco-Bactrian rulers could take place only under Demetrios, son of Euthydemus (between 200—185 B. C.).<sup>29</sup>

If the Graeco-Bactrian rulers tried to take the Silk Route under their control already in the first decades of the second century B. C., then naturally we must suppose that the importance of this commercial route leading to China at this time was already known in Inner Asia. From this it follows on the other hand that there must have been at least indirect commercial relations — if not a direct caravan trade — between China and Central Asia already before the reign of Demetrios I, that is already in the second half of the third century B. C. The recent Soviet archeological investigations fully justify this conclusion.<sup>30</sup>

In this connection we can find the solution of two old problems, viz. the origin of the words *cīn* and *cīna-*, the former being the Iranian and the latter the Old Indian name for China, and the origin of *Xumdān*, the Iranian name for the Chinese capital. Scientific research has recognized already long ago that the above mentioned Iranian and Indian names for China, and the European forms derived from the same can be traced back to the name of the state *Ts'in*, or the *Ts'in* dynasty.<sup>31</sup> Similarly the supposition also came up that *Xumdān*, the Iranian name for *Ch'ang-an*, the capital of the Western Han Dynasty, originates from *Hien-yang*, the name of the capital of the *Ts'in* dynasty.<sup>32</sup> The main difficulty of these suppositions was that they could be correct only if there existed certain relation between India, Inner Asia and China already at the time of the *Ts'in* dynasty (221—207). For the supposition of such relations, however, some basis was rendered only in the period after Demetrios by the nickel alloys of supposedly Chinese origin to be traced in the Graeco-Bactrian coins.<sup>33</sup>

As we have seen, however, the conquests of Demetrios in East-Turkestan already suppose the commercial relations between China of the *Ts'in* period and Inner Asia, and thus from a historical point of view there is no obstacle

<sup>28</sup> See J. HARMATA: *Studies on the History of the Sarmatians* 27.

<sup>29</sup> On the basis of other arguments similar results were received also by FR. ALTHEIM: *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*. I. 348 foll.

<sup>30</sup> Kind verbal communication of Prof. M. I. ARTAMONOV.

<sup>31</sup> See P. PELLISOT: *T'oung Pao* 9 (1912) 727 and 10 (1913) 427.

<sup>32</sup> G. HALOUN: *BSOAS* 12 (1948) 608.

<sup>33</sup> G. HALOUN: *loc. cit.*; FR. ALTHEIM: *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*. I. 349.

for the supposition that the names *Ts'in* and *Hien-yang* became known to the Iranian peoples of Inner Asia in the last decades of the third century B. C. It is namely an ascertained fact that both names came to India, as well to other peoples, such as the Parthians and the Persians, only through the Iranian languages of Inner Asia.<sup>34</sup> A clear evidence for this is the phonetical correspondence of the name *Ts'in* and the old Indian *cīna*-. The name *Ts'in* 秦 in the third century B. C. could be in the pronunciation of the dialect of Chang-an \*dz'ǰěn,<sup>35</sup> and in the north-western dialects \*dz'in. If the Indians had taken over this name directly from the Chinese, they would have certainly rendered the initial consonantal group *dzh*- surely not as *c*-, but as *jh*-, and thus the form of the name in Old Indian would have been \**jhina*- and not *cīna*-. In the Iranian languages of Inner Asia, thus first of all in the Sogdian, however, there were no aspirated affricates, and so for the rendering of the initial *dzh*- they could choose only between *č*- and *ǰ*-. Among the two alternatives, for the rendering of *dzh*- (which developed later on into *tsh*- also in the Chinese), phonetically giving rather the impression of a voiceless sound, apparently the *č* corresponded more properly, and thus the form of the name of China in Sogdian became *čīn* (written *čyn*-), the adoption of which in Old Indian was *cīna*-.

The pronunciation of *Hien-yang* 咸陽, the name of the capital of the *Ts'in* dynasty, to be restored on the basis of the *Ts'ie-yün*, could be in the *T'ang* period \**ɣim-ɣiang*, while its pronunciation in the *Chou* period could be \**G'em-dǰiang*.<sup>36</sup> In the north-western *T'ang* dialects we can suppose the form \**Xum-ǰā*, the antecedent of which in the *Ts'in* period can be very likely reconstructed in the form \**G'em-dǰā* which is still closer to the form of the *Chou* period. It is evident that the Sogdian form \**Xumdān* (in writing *'hwm't'n* and *ɣwmt'n*-) of this name can be explained only from the latter. The natural rendering of the final *-dǰā* of the Chinese form of the name is *-dān* in Sogdian, the initial syllables *G'em*- and *Xum*-, however, seemingly differ from each other considerably. The explanation of the correspondence of the initial Chinese *G'*- ~ Sogdian *X*- is that in Sogdian there was no aspirated *kh*- or *gh*-, but only spirant *ɣ*- and *χ*-, and of these for the rendering of the aspirated Chinese *G'*- phonetically the *χ* was more convenient. As regards the divergence of the vocalism, this is actually only virtual. In fact in the *Shih king* the archaic Chinese final *-em* belongs to the same riming class with the finals *-əm* and

<sup>34</sup> The supposition according to which *'eres sīnīm*, occurring in the Old Testament (Yeš. 49, 12), would denote China, (thus recently also S. L. MALHOTRA: *op. cit.* 103), must be regarded as impossible from the viewpoint of phonemic development. The authentic name of China in Talmudical Aramaic is *רר שין*, in the word *dršyn* «cinnamon», and also this name came into the Aramaic undoubtedly through Iranian mediation, see ZS. TELEGI: Phonetics of the Iranian loan-words in the Talmudic literature. Budapest 1933. 50.

<sup>35</sup> B. KALGREN: *Grammata Serica*. 380 a.

<sup>36</sup> B. KALGREN: *Grammata Serica*. 671 a + 720 e.

-um,<sup>37</sup> what could only be possible if the phonetical impressions created by these finals were approximately identical, or at least similar. Thus it is easy to understand that the Sogdians rendered this short, presumably reduced sound after the velar  $\chi$  and before the labial  $m$  as  $u$ .

On the basis of all these we can imagine the relations between China and India developing through Inner Asia, so that the Iranian peoples of Inner Asia had commercial relations with China already in the third century, and the name of the *Ts'in* dynasty and its capital, *Hien-yang* became familiar to them in this period. In the first decades of the second century B. C. the Graeco-Bactrian ruler Demetrios took the Silk Route leading through East-Turkestan under his control, and created for the first time the possibilities for the direct commercial relations between India and China. The name of the *Ts'in* dynasty reached India at this time in the form *cīna*- through Iranian mediation, and it is not impossible that the name *Xumdān* of the *Ts'in* capital became also known already at this time. As a result of this Sino-Indian commerce the infiltration of the Indians started into the important centres of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom, and simultaneously with this Buddhism also sets out on its triumphal march through Inner Asia.

### III

These relations of India with China leading across the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom could exist undisturbed only as long as the *Yüe-chi* migration in the sixties of the second century B. C. did not confuse essentially the ethnic and political conditions of Inner Asia. Somewhat later, about 133 B. C., the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom<sup>38</sup> rendered the maintenance of commercial relations with China even more difficult. The difficulties of the travel of Ch'ang Kien indicate well enough the conditions of the period. The development of commercial and cultural relations between India and China started again, now already on a large scale, only when the political relations of the Iranian peoples living in the territories of Central and Inner Asia became consolidated again, and the Indo-Scythian, and then the Kuṣāṇa Empire came to existence, and at the same time the Han Empire took the Silk Route under its control for a long time.

The fact, that already at the beginning of this new period, or at the middle of the first century B. C., also the Indian merchants themselves reached China, was clearly pointed out by an interesting find of Sir Aurel Stein along the Chinese limes. Beside the watch-tower N<sup>o</sup> XV, in the rubbish heap marked *a. III*, Stein found a stripe of silk bearing a Brāhmī inscription which dates

<sup>37</sup> See B. KALGREN: *Grammata Serica*. 28, cp. also 22.

<sup>38</sup> Regarding the date see J. HARMATTA: *Studies on the History of the Sarmatians*. 28.

perhaps from the middle of the first century B. C., because the two dated Chinese documents found at the same place originate from 61, and 53 B. C., respectively.<sup>39</sup> The inscription is as follows:

†*aiṣṭasya paṭa giṣṭi śaparīśa*

As a result of the efforts of M. Boyer, R. Hoernle, G. Grierson, and A. Stein, the inscription has become partly intelligible, viz.: «piece of *aiṣṭa*: 46 *giṣṭi*».<sup>40</sup> Since H. Lüders defined the meaning of the word *paṭa* more precisely as «(silk)roll», «(silk)length»,<sup>41</sup> we can correct this translation to «*aiṣṭa*'s (silk)roll: 46 *giṣṭi*». The word *aiṣṭa*, however, has remained mysterious up to the present day, what is the more interesting, because its equivalent has been known for several decades from the Prākṛit documents of Krorayina. The word *ajīṣḍha* ~ *akiṣḍha* ~ *ajīṣṭa* occurs several times, thus in document N<sup>o</sup> 207, in a list of goods: *kośava 4 2 akiṣḍha 1 thavaṃnae 4 1* «6 (long-haired) blankets, 1 *akiṣḍha*, 5 homespuns». In several other documents (N<sup>cs</sup> 431 and 432) the word *ajīṣḍha* occurs also along with the word *kojava* «long-haired blanket». On the basis of this Lüders determined its meaning in «blanket» or «carpet».<sup>42</sup> Since in the Krorayina Prākṛit the sounds *-k-* and *-g-* standing between two vowels can become *-y-*, or can disappear,<sup>43</sup> there cannot be any doubt that the word *aiṣṭa* is a possible variant of the forms *ajīṣṭa*, *akiṣḍha*.

Regarding the origin of the word *ajīṣṭa* Lüders expressed his conjecture that as regards its form this word seems to be rather of Iranian than of Indian origin. In fact we can look for the origin of this word in the Iranian languages of Inner Asia. On the basis of the forms *aiṣṭa*, *ajīṣṭa*, *akiṣḍha*, etc. the source of this word can be reconstructed in the form *\*akiṣṭa-* which creates the impression of a verbal noun with the suffix *-ta-*. The verb *akiṣ-* remaining after the separation of the suffix *-ta-* is also known from Sogdian, where it occurs in Buddhist texts in the forms *''kyš-*, *''k'yš-*.<sup>44</sup> The meaning of the verb *''kyš-* is in Sogdian «to draw, to hang»,<sup>45</sup> and similarly the verbal noun *\*ākišt-* formed from it could have the meaning «drawn, hanged». From this basic meaning of the word *\*ākišt* most plausibly the meanings «curtain, blanket hanged on the wall, wall cover» can be derived. This could be the meaning of the word *aiṣṭa* ~ *ajīṣṭa*, and thus the oldest Brāhmī inscription found in Inner Asia can be translated as follows: «wall cover silk roll: 46 *giṣṭi*».

<sup>39</sup> A. STEIN: Serindia. II. Oxford 1921. 699, 701 foll.

<sup>40</sup> A. STEIN: Serindia. II. 702—703.

<sup>41</sup> H. LÜDERS: Textilien im Alten Turkistan. APAW 1936 Ph.-h. Kl. Nr. 3. 24 foll.

<sup>42</sup> H. LÜDERS: Textilien im Alten Turkistan. 12.

<sup>43</sup> See T. BURROW: The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi. Documents from Chinese Turkestan. Cambridge 1937. 6.

<sup>44</sup> E. BENVENISTE: Textes sogdiens. Paris. 1940. 40.

<sup>45</sup> Cp. also W. B. HENNING: BSOAS 11 (1946) 734.

This fortunate find of A. Stein has two important historical lessons from the viewpoint of the relations between India and China. On the one hand it clearly proves that around the middle of the first century B. C. Indian merchants visited China already regularly, and on the other hand it also shows that the Indian merchants collaborated most closely with the Iranian merchants of Inner Asia. Only this can be the explanation for the fact that a Sogdian loanword appears already in this earliest Inner-Asian Brāhmī inscription, and that also in the Krorayina Prākṛit dialect almost all the expressions denoting textiles, as *e. gr. aḡiṣ ʔha, tavastaḡa, namata, thavaṃna*, etc.<sup>46</sup> are of Iranian origin. As a matter of fact this naturally follows from what we could state already on the basis of the Begram Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions about the entry of Indian merchants and Indian Buddhism into Central and Inner Asia.

This close collaboration of the Iranian — especially the Sogdian — and the Indian merchants lasted up to the end of the Kuṣāṇa period. One of the most important documents for this, and for Indian merchants acting in China in general, is another famous find of Sir Aurel Stein, N<sup>o</sup> II of the Sogdian «Ancient Letters», the dating of which according to my recent investigations, must be placed not to the beginning of the fourth century, as it is generally thought today,<sup>47</sup> but to 196 A. D. In the text of the letter reconstructed by me we can read the followings:

- 35 'YKZY MN kč'n  
 36 *s'rth wyt'rt 'HRZY wr wḥwš[my]ṛk[w] 'ḥw m'ṛḥ[w] ṛwṛm't 'HRZY 'YK*  
 37 *'t srg pr'gt-nt 'HRZY wr 'pn[št'n]t 'PZY 'yntkwrt 'PZY swglykt*  
 38 *'HRZY MN lbz wysp mrt-nt*

«. . .When from Ku-tsang

the caravan went away, thereafter downwards it was the sixth month that it arrived in Lo-yang. Afterwards down both the Indians and Sogdians became ruined, and all died of hunger.»

From this tragic report now the most important thing is that the Indians and Sogdians organized joint caravans to China which points to the fact that their economic interests were closely connected. Naturally in the course of collaboration not only the Indians adopted the Sogdian and Saka names of the articles, but many Indian cultural words were borrowed also by the Sogdian and the Saka. Thus we find in the Sogdian «Ancient Letters» for example the Indian loanwords *lekha-* and *prastha-*.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> See H. LÜDERS: *Textilien im Alten Turkistan*. 12, 13, 21.

<sup>47</sup> Since the study of W. B. HENNING: *BSOAS* 12 (1948) 601 foll.

<sup>48</sup> W. B. HENNING: *BSOAS* 12 (1948) 603, 3. jz.

## IV

We find so to say the reflection of the data from East-Turkestan in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of North-Western India originating from the Saka and Ku.āṇa periods. Part of these inscriptions were set by Iranians, who came to Northern India from distant lands. Their majority consisted very likely of merchants, who carried on most of their business transactions just along the commercial route between India and China. The recognition of the meaning of these inscriptions from the viewpoint of the relations between India and China was rendered difficult up to the present time by the lack of the identification of the expressions and place-names of Iranian origin occurring in them.

One of the most interesting inscription of this character is the inscription of the Taxila silver scroll<sup>49</sup> of the year 136 of the older Saka era (that is from 70/71 A. D. according to our calculation). On this a person from Bactria records his pious foundation, and also marks his dwelling place:

Lines 1—2

*Urasakeṇa Imtavhriaputraṇa Bahalieṇa Noachae ṇagare vastaveṇa*

that is

«By Urasaka, of the Imtavhria sons, the Bactrian,  
resident in the town of Noachaa.»

Urasaka bearing an Iranian name held it necessary to mention the place of his residence apparently because he was not a local inhabitant. On the basis of the denomination «Bactrian» it is most plausible to seek the city of Noachaa in Bactria. However, we must not understand under this denomination necessarily only Bactria proper, but also the territory of Central Asia under the Ku.āṇa regime. The name of the town *Noachaa* could not be identified as yet, but if we reconstruct its earlier phonemic form, which could serve as the basis of this apparently prākritized form, then this strange sounding town name becomes at once familiar. As the antecedent of the name *Noachaa*- we can suppose the form *\*Navathyaka*-, in which we can immediately recognize that town name recorded from the territory of Central Asia which appear in Greek sources in the form *Nautaka*. This town situated in the most distant northern part of Bactria, or already exactly in Sogdiane was the home of Urasaka occurring in the silver scroll of Taxila.

Thus the inscription of the Taxila silver scroll clearly reflects those relations which existed under the earlier Kuṣāṇa rulers between India and the remotest territories of Bactria along the commercial route. Even more distant relations are referred to by an interesting group of those Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions which are connected into a unit by the fact that these were set by an organization, whose members call themselves *sahaya* or *sahayara* «companions».

<sup>49</sup> Sr. Konow: Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, N° XXVII.



Beside this expression there is always also another denomination which apparently defines the character of this society, Konow, however, did not succeed to clarify the meaning of any of these denominations. Regarding this I only want to say here that the obscure expressions are the denominations of certain commercial branches, and are mostly of Iranian origin.

Among these inscriptions from the viewpoint of our subject the most important is now the inscription of the Peshāwar Museum<sup>50</sup> of the year 168 of the older Saka era. The text of the inscription is as follows:

- 1 *Sam 1 100 20 20 20 4 4 . Jethamase divase paṃchada<sup>r</sup>ś'e*
- 2 *Khudaniami sahayana bravaśakuraṇa danaṃmu-*
- 3 *khe kue khaṇavide viharami*

«In the year 168, in the month of Jyaiṣṭha, on the fifteenth day as a present of the companions pursuing commerce in Khu(m)dani this well was caused to be dug in the *vihāra*.»

We must differ from Konow's reading in three points. In line 2 in the word *Khudaniami* we must read undoubtedly *ni* (or eventually *na*), and not *chi*. Konow was evidently misled by the circumstance that in line 6 of the Mānikīāla inscription the form *Khudachieṇa* can be read, and he thought that the same must stand also here. Besides this, similarly in line 2 instead of Konow's reading *sahayara* we have to read *sahayana* and lastly in the place of Konow's form *travaśakuraṇa*, which cannot be explained, the reading *bravaśakuraṇa* seems to be more correct which can be interpreted easily. Paleographically there is no obstacle for this reading, because on the one hand the akṣaras *ta* and *ba* are very similar to each other even in the most carefully written inscriptions, and on the other hand because in our inscription this is its only occurrence, so that we have no basis of comparison in the inscription itself for the distinction of the two characters.

The word *bravaśakura-* can be held the development of an Old Iranian compound *\*fravaχša-kṛna-* meaning «pursuer of commerce» in a Saka dialect, in which the continuation of the initial *fra-* was *bra-*. In this from the form *\*fravaχša-kṛna-* according to phonemic law the form *\*bravaśśakurra-* > *\*bravaśakura-* could develop which occurs in the inscription. The form *Khudaniami* must undoubtedly be interpreted as a locative with the suffix *-ami* which was added to the place-name *Khudani*. The place of this name in the order of words contradicts to its being linked to the word *vihāra*, as it was done by Konow. Thus we can hold it only the denomination of the place of activity of the company. The form *Khudani* according to the orthography of the Kharoṣṭhī script can stand in the place of *Khu(m)dani*, and exactly agrees

<sup>50</sup> ST. KONOW: Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, N° XXVIII.

with the Iranian name *Xumdān* of the Chinese capital. It is very likely, that the inscription was set by such a company of merchants which acted in the Chinese capital, and carried on business transactions between India and China.

We can similarly see the name of the Chinese capital also in the word *Khudachieṇa* of the Māṇikiāla inscription.<sup>51</sup> This occurs in the inscription as the attribute of a personal name: *Veśpašieṇa Khudachieṇa* «by the *Khudachia Veśpašia*». Since a *Veśpaši* occurs in the inscription also before, the compiler of the inscription wanted to distinguish the two persons with similar names by the attribute *Khudachia-*. The original form of the word *Khudachia-* can be reconstructed in the form *\*Khumdamchika-*, and this is nothing else than the adjectival form *\*Xumdāncīy* «of *Xumdān*», of the Iranian name *Xumdān* for the Chinese capital, supplied with the Iranian suffix *-čīy*. Thus the *Veśpašia* in question acted apparently in the Chinese capital, and arrived from there in Northern India.

These data of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, whose number can still be increased considerably, however laconically, but still clearly show the importance of the commercial relations between India and China in the Kuṣāṇa period. As it is proved by these inscriptions, those Indian and Iranian merchants who carried on commerce between India and China were Buddhists. Thus through them Buddhism was also spread everywhere in Inner Asia and China along the commercial routes. If the interpretation of the inscription of the Peshāwar Museum proves to be correct, then we can most probably see a Buddhist community acting in the Chinese capital also in the «companions pursuing commerce in *Khūṇḍani*».

The meaning and size of Indian cultural influence in this period is most clearly indicated by the fact that parallel with Indian commerce also Buddhism spread in a wide circle among the Iranian peoples dwelling between India and China, and these did not only participate in the negotiation of the Indian goods, but played an important role also in the propagation of Buddhism. The best example for this is the case of the Parthian prince An-shī-kaō who arrived in China in 148. The phonemic form of the name An-shī-kaō 支世高 to be reconstructed on the basis of the Ts'ie-yün is *\*ān-šīi-kāu*.<sup>52</sup> In the second century we must count more probably with this possibility, than with a form standing close to the form *\*ān-šīal-kog* of the Chou period (from the eighth century B. C.). The form *\*ān-šīi-kāu*, taking into consideration the Chinese transcription practice of the Han period,<sup>53</sup> can be the transliteration of an Iranian name *\*Arša(γ) Kav*. The first element of this is identical with the name of the Parthian ruling dynasty, and the other is a well-known title

<sup>51</sup> ST. KONOW: Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions. N° LXXVI.

<sup>52</sup> B. KALGREN: *Grammata Særica* 146a + 339a + 1129a—c.

<sup>53</sup> See P. PELLIOU: JA 224 (1934) 30 foll., T'oung Pao 34 (1937) 146 foll.

of rulers which is known also from the Persian and the Sogdian in the forms *kay* and *kav*, respectively.<sup>54</sup> Thus An-shī-kao was probably a member of the dynasty of the Arsacids. The importance of the Indo-Iranian relations and the great influence of Indian Buddhism can be demonstrated most clearly perhaps by the fact, that the member of one of the most eminent ruling dynasties of the age devoted his life to Buddhist mission *sarvasatvapa hidasuhae* «for the welfare and happiness of all beings».

<sup>54</sup> Regarding the title *kav* see W. B. HENNING: Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abt. IV. Bd. 1 Absch. 53.