2

# An Archaeologist's Approach to Avestan Geography

Frantz Grenet (CNRS / Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Paris)

When in 1980 Gherardo Gnoli published his *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland*, it would appear as if definitive progress had been made in the definition of the geographical horizon of the *Avesta*. All the countries mentioned there (especially in *Vd.* 1, the first chapter of the *Vidēvdād*) were identified, precisely or with a limited range of approximation, on the basis of a scrupulous discussion which took a century of research into account. All the countries were drawn into a coherent picture, firmly grouped around the Afghan mountains. The last ties with the western-centred tradition of Pahlavi commentaries seemed to have been severed for good.[1]

But instead of resulting in a pause, as one might have expected, Gnoli's synthesis reactivated the debate. One now has to take into account three other systems, more or less at variance with Gnoli as well as with each other: they were proposed by Helmut Humbach (1991), Willem Vogelsang (2000) and Michael Witzel (2000). At the same time Jean Kellens (1999–2000) expressed a strong (and, despite the call for unanimity, quite isolated) protest against the positivist approach shared by all rival systems: "Il serait aberrant que nous poursuivions l'analyse dans cette perspective historiquement connotée et que nous avons tous, en traitant d'autres questions, abandonnée".

What can an archaeologist working in the Central Asian field (in Afghanistan from 1975 until 1981, in Uzbekistan from 1989) bring to the debate? Probably a bias towards the "perspective historiquement connotée", at least as long as the identifications withstand not only the test of philology (i.e. arguable comparisons with toponyms attested in historical times) but also some practical issues. Does the proposed order of countries not just look nice on a large-scale map but correspond to attested historical routes? Were not some regions which today look insignificant well situated on transhumance itineraries? Do the descriptive words of the *Avesta* make sense on the ground? To take just one small example: the "thorns" mentioned in *Vd.* 1.4 as the Ahrimanic plague of "Gava inhabited by the Sogdians"[2] might appear trivial compared with the other counter-creations, but to somebody walking on ancient

Sogdian sites the shrub *alhagi camelorum* is a widespread nuisance and of concern to cowherds. In the same perspective, the recurrence of the formula *srīrąm ərəδβō.drafšąm*, "beautiful, with uplifted banners", for Bactria and Arachosia[3] is certainly influenced by rhetorical choices (the "mirror composition" of this chapter, evidence by Kellens). However, for a specialist of the Iron Age, Bactra and Kandahar, the capital of Arachosia, obviously match each other on both sides of the Hindukush: they were the largest fortified sites in this period, towering above rich plains, and hence suitable for military and/or religious gatherings.[4] In contrast, both Nisāya (Juzjān) and Ragha (in my opinion, in Badakhshān) lack a central plain and a fixed capital, and the recent reinterpretation of their common plague *uparō.vimanō.hiia-* as "neighbourhood discords" appears perfectly justified in a "realistic" perspective. It will be no surprise, eventually, to find out that I often side with W. Vogelsang, who is also an archaeologist, the main difference between us being that I reconstruct an overall order for the list of countries, while he does not for the second half of the list.

## The state of the research

It has long been recognised that some of the *Yašts* have a very precise setting in some eastern Iranian countries, albeit different ones in each case. The *Mihr Yašt* is clearly centred on the Bāmiyān and Band-i Amir area, upon which Mithra's gaze takes in those "Aryan countries" stretching along the rivers which spring from the central Hindukush.[5] A non-Buddhist painting which adorned the vault of one of the Bāmiyān Buddhas, until it was destroyed by the Taliban, actually showed Mithra riding his chariot across these mountains.[6] In a different setting, the *Zamyād Yašt* continuously celebrates the country now known as Sistān, with its rivers flowing into the Hāmūn lake; here the ultimate Saviours will eventually come on Mount *ušiδarəna*, the mountain "with reddish cracks"[7], a fitting descriptive epithet for the Kūh-i Khwājah basaltic island where an important Zoroastrian sanctuary was to stand in later times.[8]

Besides these pieces of regional patriotism, the "Younger Avesta" contains what purports to be a comprehensive list of countries (*šōiθra-*) created by Ahura Mazdā, each affected by a specific plague sent by Ahriman. This list constitutes the first chapter of the *Vidēvdād*. It starts with the country called Airyanem Vaējah, where winter lasts ten months, and it ends with another country affected by the same discomfort, the Raŋhā. Of a total of sixteen countries, seven have always been identified beyond doubt, as they kept their name until historical times or even to the present day. Five of these countries are at the beginning of the list, directly following Airyanem Vaējah: Gava "inhabited by the Sogdians", Merv, Bactria, Nisāya said to be "between Margiana and Bactria" and therefore corresponding at least in part to medieval Juzjān in northwest Afghanistan.[9] Then comes the sixth country, Harōiva, the

Herāt region. In addition, the tenth and eleventh countries are respectively Arachosia, the Kandahar region, named by its river Harahvaitī, and Sistān, named by the Hilmand river. In the following table I list, in the first column, the name of the country (under its modern form when it is known for certain); in the second column, its "Ohrmazdian" qualification (positive or neutral); and in the third column, its Ahrimanic plague.

| Airyanem Vaējah | "Aryan rapids(?) of the Good (river) Dāityā" | red snake (or dragon), demonscreated winter (gloss: which lasts ten months) |
|---|---|---|
| Gava | inhabited by the *suγδa* "Sogdians" | thorns fatal to the cows |
| Merv | strong, supporting the religious order | [unclear] |
| Bactria | beautiful, with uplifted banners | Barvara people and [unclear] |
| Nisāya | which is between Merv and Bactria | evil [neighbourhood] discords |
| Herāt | [unclear] | [unclear] |
| Vaēkereta | inhabited by the *dužaka* | the *pairikā* Khnathaitī whom Keresāspa seduced |
| Urvā | rich in pastures | evil masters |
| Khnenta | inhabited by the Vehr-kāna people | sodomy |
| Arachosia | beautiful [with uplifted banners] | neglectful abandonment of corpses (*nasuspaya*) |
| Hilmand | rich, possessing the Khvarenah "fortune, glory" | evil sorcerers |
| Ragha | of the three cantons | evil neighbourhood discords |
| Chakhra | strong, supporting the religious order | cooking of the carrion |
| Varena | with four corners (gloss: birthplace of Thraētaona who killed Azhi Dahāka) | untimely menstruations, non-Aryan masters |
| Hapta Hendu | | untimely menstruations, excessive heat |
| Over (...) the Ranhā | | demons-created winter, plunderer overlords |

As can be seen, almost all identified countries are situated beyond the present borders of Iran, to the east and northeast. The only exception is Sistān, and only for its westernmost part. It is only possible to draw the Iranian plateau

into the picture of early Zoroastrianism by recognising one or several of its regions in the remaining countries on the list. This has been the regular tendency of Zoroastrian scholarship since the Sasanian commentators of the *Avesta* and all modern scholars have followed suit, up until Arthur Christensen (1943). But in the last decades Gherardo Gnoli (most elaborately in 1980) (Fig. 1) has brilliantly argued for a scheme that pushes the list definitively outside the boundaries of Iran and substantially into Pakistan. Willem Vogelsang (2000) has presented what purports to be an improvement on this scheme. Discordant voices were heard at once, however, and after criticisms by Helmut Humbach[10] and Michael Witzel (2000) it now seems that the pendulum is again swinging back towards Iran, through Gurgān all the way to Ray near modern Teheran.
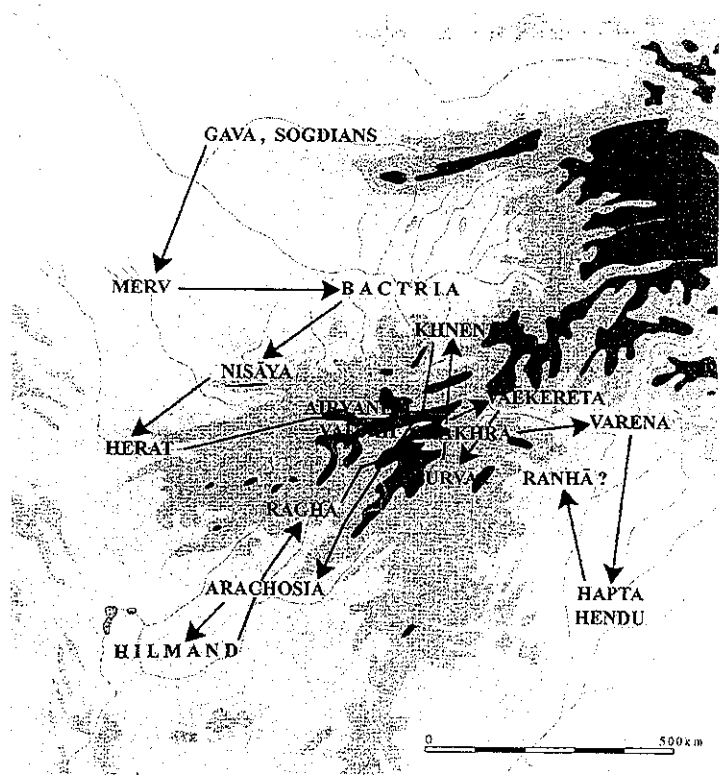


*Fig. 1: Map according to Gnoli (adapted from Gnoli 1980; this map and the following one have been drawn by François Ory, CNRS, Paris)*

In the present contribution I would like basically to suggest a return to Gnoli's and Vogelsang's conclusions, keeping in mind that some improvements can still be made using the same principles as they did. These principles are, first, a sceptical attitude towards identifications in Pahlavi texts, most of which

were clearly motivated by a wish to transfer as much as possible of the tradition to more central regions of the Sasanian empire. Secondly, great attention has to be paid to the geographical characterisation of the countries as they appear in the list: sketchy as they are, they sometimes offer precious clues to anybody familiar with natural conditions in these regions. To these points of method I would add the recognition of a simple and logical order. This was in fact the weak point in Gnoli's system, as Witzel did not fail to point out in his article, which otherwise recommends itself by many pertinent comparisons with the Rgvedic material. In particular, the middle part of the list as Gnoli reconstitutes it seems to proceed in huge zigzags, for example moving from Urvā in the Ghazni region to Khnenta, put in eastern Bactria, then leapfrogging to Arachosia and Sistān. Also, the sequence Ragha – Chakhra – Varena is made to go in the opposite direction from the preceding one, because Gnoli wants to put the particularly religious place Chakhra as close as possible to Sistān, which he takes as the real focal point. Vogelsang, though less committed in his identifications of countries south and east of the Hindukush, also does not claim to present a logical order as far as this part of the map is concerned (Fig. 2).
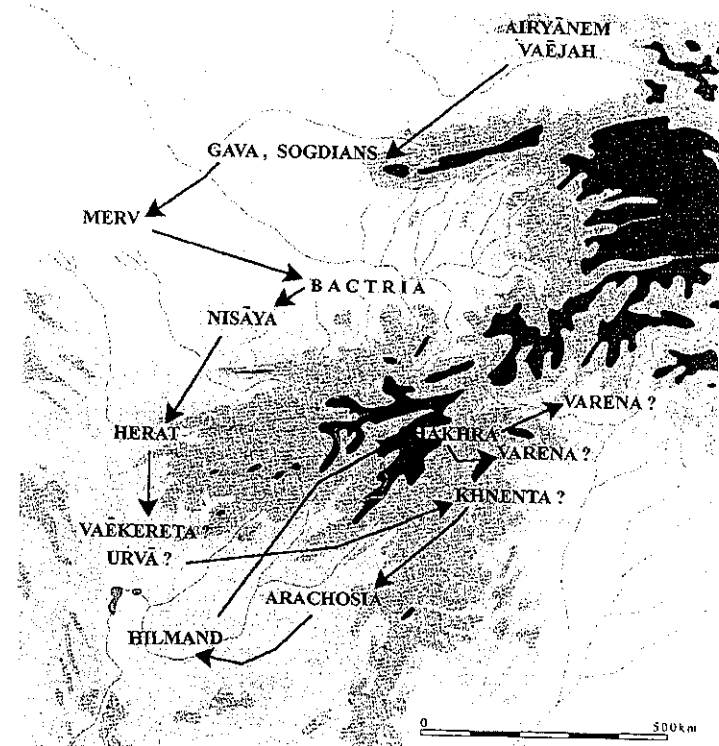


*Fig. 2: Map according to Vogelsang (reconstruction)*

Humbach stretches to the west as far as Hyrcania and Ray (which he considers the "obvious" candidates for Khnenta and Ragha). For the rest his system stands apart from all the others in that he puts in eastern Bactria the countries Varena and Hapta Hendu, which are held by all modern scholars (and, in the case of Hapta Hendu, even by the Iran-centred Pahlavi tradition) to be in northwest India (Fig. 3).
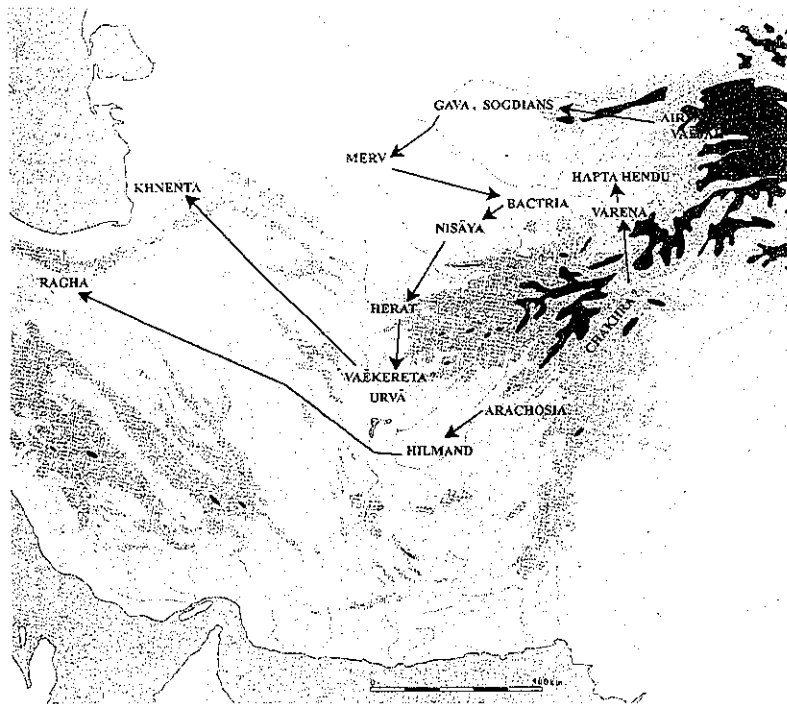


*Fig. 3: Map according to Humbach (reconstruction)*

He does not bother about recognising an overall order, but Witzel, adopting some of his identifications, does. His own scheme appears extremely complicated, although purporting to look like a spread-out *maṇḍala* (Fig. 4). One is invited to start from the highlands of central Afghanistan, to move northeast (to Sogdiana), northwest (to Hyrcania), then southwest (to Sistān), and finally to move right across from west (Ray) to east (Panjāb). This scheme would structurally correspond to that of the seven continents (*kišwar*) as expressed in Pahlavi texts, but in a reverse, anticlockwise order, and in addition each branch of the list would be affected by a pulsatory movement to and fro. One wonders whether it would not be simpler to assume that there is no order at all.
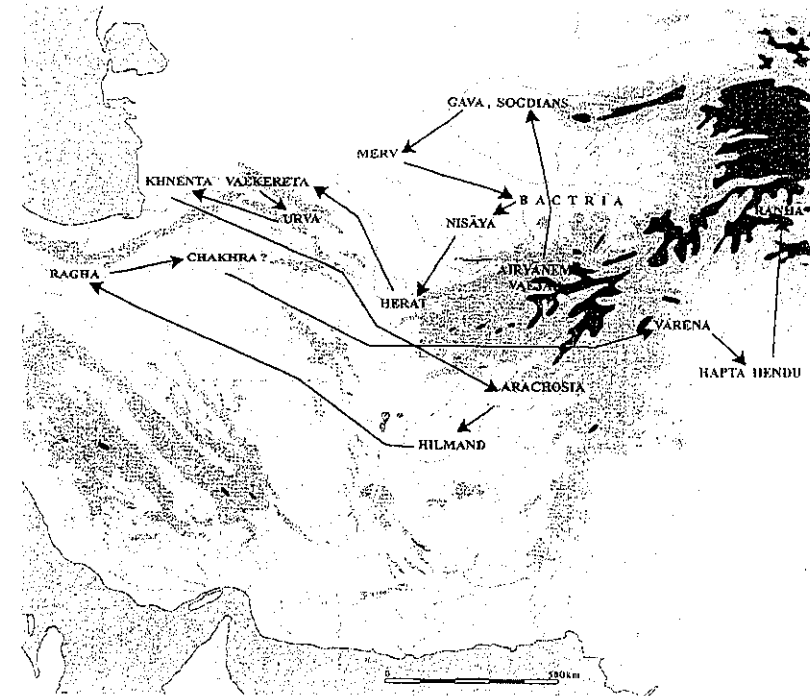
*Fig. 4: Map according to Witzel (reconstruction)*

## The starting point of the list: Airyanem Vaējah

Before reconsidering the list entirely, it might be worth examining the starting point, namely the Airyanem Vaējah, more precisely the "Airyanem Vaējah of the Good River". If this country is central Afghanistan, as assumed by Gnoli and Witzel, one wonders what the "Good River" can be. This difficulty has been challenged only by one scholar, the Russian Iranologist Ivan Steblin-Kamenskii, in a short article published 27 years ago which has remained largely unnoticed.[11] He drew attention to the fact that the name of the "Good River", Vahvī, had tenaciously survived until the early 20th century under the form Vakh, known to the Greeks as the "Ochos" and designating the river today known as the Daryā-i Panj on the upper course of the Oxus (it is now reduced to its uppermost section, the Vakhān = Vakh + ān). The name Oxus, which eventually spread to the whole river, originally belonged to a right-hand-side tributary that is still known locally as the Vakhsh. Consequently, the cold country of the *airyanəm vaējō vaŋhuiiā dāitiiaiiā*, best translated as "the Aryan rapids of the (river) Dāityā",[12] would rather correspond

to the water system of the Pamirs and the pre-Pamirian highlands (that part of Badakhshān which is now in Tajikistan).

## The Ragha question

We shall encounter the Good River again in connection with another problematic country, Ragha, which comes twelfth on the list. This country, identified as Ray in the Pahlavi commentary of the *Vidēvdād* (but not in the *Bundahišn*), has always been the focal point of those who wished to recognise in the *Vidēvdād* list an echo of the Median empire and of its reception of the Zoroastrian faith. Some interesting details are in fact mentioned concerning Ragha. Its Ahrimanic plague is *uparō.vimanah-*, generally translated as "extreme doubts". Moreover, in another Avestan passage from the *Yasna* (*Y.* 19.18) it is stated that Ragha is the only country that has only four *ratu-* (patrons) instead of the usual five: one for the *nmāna-* (family/house), one for the *vis-* (clan/village), one for the *zantu-* (tribe/canton), and above them Zoroaster himself, but no master for the *daińhu-* (people/country) as such; consequently it is called *zaraθuštriš* "belonging to Zarathuštra" or maybe just "Zoroastrian". These two sets of characteristics have provided the foundation for an imposing edifice, initiated by Martin Haug in 1857[13] and then built up step by step by successive scholars. In the most extreme elaboration of this theory, formulated by Humbach, Ragha, city of Media, would become "a sort of Mazdayasnian Vatican whose pope called "Zarathuštra" is simultaneously the worldly ruler of the country and its supreme religious authority". As for the "extreme doubts", they would refer to "an early religious disagreement, a schism between the Mazdayasnians of the east, represented by the majority of the geographical names in the list of lands, and those of the west".[14]

But these theories have recently been exposed to philological criticisms which I consider decisive. Jean Kellens has recently discovered that the expression understood as "extreme doubts" instead means something more mundane, probably "neighbourhood discords".[15] In fact the same epithet is met with for Nisāya (Juzjān), where no modern scholar ever proposed to locate a great Zoroastrian theological school. As for the country belonging to Zoroaster or to some carrier of this title, Xavier Tremblay has convincingly proposed that the information should be reduced to a mechanical consequence of the state of political fragmentation.[16] The successive stages can be viewed as follows:

a) Descriptive epithet. In *Vd.* 1.15, Ragha is simply qualified as *θrizantu-*, "of the three tribes/cantons", which implies a divided or partitioned country not organised above the tribal level; this detail, perfectly consistent with the Ahrimanic plague of "neighbourhood discords", might have been chosen in order to distinguish this Ragha from homonymous countries which did not share the same political characteristics (as aptly stressed by Tremblay, Media with its kings and chief city Ragā surely were in the latter category).

b) Scholarly development. In *Y.* 19 (a word-by-word exegesis of the prayer *Ahuna vairiia*), paragraphs 14–18 offer a formalistic digression about various things expressed in numbers. One of them appears to be the formula *θrizantu-*, found in *Vd.* 1.15 and brought to its seemingly logical consequence in paragraph 18: as Ragha has no organised social level above the *zantu-*, it has no *ratu-* ("patron")[17] for the *daińhu-* and people are referred directly to everybody's *ratu-*, i.e. Zoroaster; hence the new epithet given to the country, *raya zaraθuštri-*.[18]

c) Historicisation. This last qualification gave rise in its turn to the idea that Ragha was Zoroaster's homeland. In the Zoroastrian literature that has come down to us, this idea is expressed only in Pahlavi texts. In the commentary of *Vd.* 1.15 it is given as a non-unanimous opinion, "Rag (. . .); some say: Zoroaster was from this place", no doubt because of Azerbaijan's rival claim (the contradiction was solved by some exegets who plainly stated that Rag, i.e. according to them Ray, was in Azerbaijan).[19] The concept of Ragha as Zoroaster's country can also be traced in the seventh book of the *Dēnkard* (*Dk*) and in the *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram* (*WZ*), and this is all the more interesting as these two books draw from the *Spand Nask*, the Avestan book which contained the legend of Zoroaster, now lost but still in existence in the 9th century (as shown by its short summary in *Dk.* 8). They use its *zand* version (Pahlavi translation with glosses), which they either quote (*Dk*) or rephrase (*WZ*). In *Dk.* 7.2.9–10 we read that Zoroaster's mother, in order to be married, was sent "to the village (*deh*) of the Spitāmān, on the *rōstāg* of *'l'k* (. . .), to the house (*mān*) of Padīragtarasp". As noted by Humbach, *'l'k* appears to stand for *l'k*, the usual Pahlavi transcription of Ragha. Normally *rōstāg* means "district", but as in translations from the *Avesta* it is regularly used for *šōiθra-*, "country", one can conjecture that the underlying Avestan text of the *Spand Nask* had *\*rayąm šōiθrəm*. The regular transcription *l'k* appears in the formula *Rāg ud Nōdar* (*Dk.* 7.2.51, 3.19; *WZ* 10.14–15), which is best interpreted as uniting the names of Zoroaster's country and Vīshtāspa's clan.[20]

Besides these direct mentions of Ragha in connection with Zoroaster's legend, there are undirect ones.[21] Both the *Dēnkard* and the *Selections of Zādspram* describe how Zoroaster had his great vision of Wahman (Vohu Manah). These accounts are loaded with very precise topographical details that provide a decisive clue to the actual location of the Ragha country.

"It is revealed that after the passing away of thirty years since he existed (. . .), after Nowruz, there was a festival called Wahār-būdag, in a place particularly well known where people from many directions had come to the festive place (. . .). On the passing away of the five days at the festive place (. . .) Zoroaster went forth to the bank of the river Dāityā in order to squeeze the

*hōm* (. . .). The river was in four arms and Zoroaster crossed them, the first one was upto the feet, the second upto the knees, the third upto the parting of the two thighs, the fourth upto the neck (. . .). When he came out of the water and put up his cloth, he saw the Amahraspand Wahman in human form." (*WZ* 20.1–4) In the parallel passage *Dk.*7.3.51–54 (where the crossing of the four arms is marked as a quotation), it is stated that Wahman comes from the south, from which we can infer that Zoroster has crossed the river from the north.

Nothing in the logic of the narrative calls for this material detail of the "four arms", and Zādspram's gloss is clearly a scholastic addition ("This was a sign that religion will come to the height four times, the manifestation of which will be through Zoroaster, Ushēdar, Ushēdarmāh and the Sōshāns"). If we now look along the actual course of the Daryā-i Panj, to which the name of the Vahvī Dāityā was attached since at least the Achaemenian period (as shown by the Greek transcription Ochos, already found in the historians of Alexander), then we find one ford that corresponds very well to the description. This ford, known as the Samti or Badakhshān ford, always had great importance as it provided the main passage between the Kulyāb plain in the north and the valleys of western Badakhshān in the south. I quote the description given in the *Gazetteer of Afghanistan*: "The river which is here divided into four channels, 109, 207, 680 and 1012 paces, respectively, in breadth, with only a few paces of dry land between them is fordable. The current is rapid in the two middle channels, and the water waistdeep".

Even more interesting for our purpose is the fact that the region immediately to the southeast of the ford is still known as Rāgh. It was probably mentioned (as the "kingdom" of *Heluoho*) by the 7th-century Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang.[22] In the late 19th century, Rāgh was described as a cluster of valleys, six eventually uniting into one (the Sadda or Āb-i Rāgh) and two others (the Turghān and the Āb-i Rewinj) independently flowing into the Daryā-i Panj. This rings a bell when one remembers the "three cantons" of *Vd.* 1.15.[23] Further to the southwest there is a local toponym Rāgh Dasht, 20 kilometres north of the bend of the Kokcha river, the Rūd-e Badakhshān. In the only fragment of Zoroaster's legend preserved in the Avestan language, in the late passage *Vidēvdād* 19.18 (a recycled fragment of the *Spand Nask*?), Ragha is not named, but Zoroaster's father's house is said to stand "on the bend of the *darəjī*". It is tempting to identify this river with the *Dargoidos / Dargidos* mentioned by Ptolemy (6.11.2), in a position corresponding to the present Kokcha. Actually in *WZ.* 23.7–8 the last of the seven interviews between Zoroaster and the Amahraspands takes place at the confluence of the Darjēn (i.e. the *darəjī*) with the Dāityā; here "winter lasts five months", an indication which shows that this region lies out of what is properly called Aiyanem Vaējah where winter lasts ten months.

One cannot escape the conclusion that the redactors of the *Spand Nask*, probably in the Achaemenid period,[24] had precise knowledge of eastern Bactria.

# The list as a whole

## a) Along the Oxus

We can now reconsider the entire list of countries. If we take the Pamirian region as its starting point, it appears that the first part of the list, in which all countries can easily be identified, displays a simple order. There are neither to-and-fro movements nor important gaps, but rather several continuous sequences arranged in an anticlockwise order. The first chain of countries comprises "Gava inhabited by the Sogdians", then Merv. Gava, if its name survives in *Gabai* (Arrian, *Anab.* 4.17.4), should be looked for in the Bukhārā oasis or on the lower Kashka-daryā valley, in any case near the Oxus, which Achaemenid Sogdiana (a broader concept) also bordered.[25] In the Iron Age, the oasis of Merv reached closer to the Oxus than in later periods.[26] Therefore this first sequence moves along the Good River, the Oxus. The statement in the *Great Bundahishn* (XI A.7) according to which "the river Dāityā comes out of Ērānwēz and proceeds to *Gōbedestān*" is consistent with the interpretation of Gōbed as *\*gauua-pati-*, "lord of Gava".[27]

## b) North of the Hindukush

The second chain, starting again from near the Pamir, comprises Bactria, Nisāya (Juzjān) and Herāt. It proceeds along the northern foothills of the Hindukush.

## c) South of the Hindukush

After this section come the countries Vaēkereta, Urvā, Khnenta, followed by the more familiar Arachosia and Sistān.

In the case of Vaēkereta, the identification with "Kābul" unanimously proposed in the Pahlavi tradition seems, for once, well grounded. In a decisive article, Sylvain Lévy showed a long time ago that this identification is mirrored by the *Mahāmāyūrī*, a Buddhist list of countries considered an excellent source, which gives Vaikṛtika as the name of the spirit (*yakṣa*) of Gandhāra.[28] This proposal has since been generally accepted, the only challenge having come from Humbach, who writes that "its place in the list does not favour this equation" (see below on this particular question). Should an attempt be made to displace Vaēkereta to the north of the Hindukush (for his own part Humbach would put it between Sistān and Herāt), one could play with a comparison with Wēshgird <*\*vayuš-kṛta-*, "made by Vayu", the ancient name of an important town near Dushanbe, in the easternmost part of Achaemenid Sogdiana. But the etymology Vaēkereta <*\*vayu-kṛta-* upheld by several authors, including Humbach, is at least questionable.[29] To sum up, no credible alternative has been proposed to the firm testimony of the *Mahāmāyūrī*. A possible specification would be to consider the western part of historical Gandhāra (Kapisa, the Kābul region), rather than the eastern part, as the "Seven Rivers" of India (Hapta Hendu in our list) included the Kābul river. This brings us back again not far

from Pamir, while the two last names in this section, Arachosia and Sistān, invite us to look for an itinerary in the southern foothills of the Hindukush.

The arguments for locating the following country, Urvā, in the Ghazni region were excellently presented by Christensen[30] and endorsed by Gnoli.[31] The epitheth *pouru.vāsta-*, "rich in pastures", echoes the 19th-century travellers who were very concerned about the military potential of Afghanistan and mentioned the exceptional capacity of the plain immediately to the north of Ghazni for maintaining cavalry; 60 kilometres westwards, the Dasht-i Nawur was still in the 1970s a major gathering point of Pashtun nomads in summer.[32] The name Urvā reappears in the *Zamyād Yasht* (*Yt.* 19.67) as the river Urvadhā (with the same epithet, *pouru.vāstra-*), listed among the tributaries of the Hāmūn lake. Historically, though it does not correspond any more to physical reality, the Ghazni-rūd was considered to be linked to the Arghandāb through the lake Āb-i Istāda and the Lōra river. The alternative identification proposed by Humbach and Vogelsang (between Sistān and Herāt) is based upon a speculative localisation of the river Urvadhā.[33] The solution suggested by Witzel (on the Kopet-dagh foothills) is a *petitio principii*.

Next comes Khnenta "inhabited by the Vehrkāna" (*vəhrkānō.šaiiāna-*). As the coupling of these names has always been the core of the argument, one should perhaps begin with a preliminary evaluation of the particular meaning of *šaiiāna-* (in principle "inhabited by") in this context. The word also appears with Gava (*suyδō.šaiiāna-*) and Vaēkərəta (*dužakō.šaiiāna-*). The *dužaka-* is a problem,[34] but there is no doubt that *suyδa-* is the name of the people known as the Sogdians through history. The *Mihr Yašt* (*Yt.* 10.14) also associates "Gava, Sughdha", but on an equal footing, suggesting two adjacent areas, as is surely the case with "Ishkata, Pouruta". As Gava appears to correspond to the western (lowland) part of Achaemenid Sogdiana, one could suggest that the Sughdha inhabited the eastern (highland) part of the region and used the plains as winter pastures.[35] I think a similar reasoning might help in clarifying the situation with Khnenta "inhabited by the Vehrkāna".

The name Khnenta (*xnənta-*) is not recorded elsewhere in historical geography. Humbach proposes to emend it to *\*xrənda-*, later Hirand, today the river of Gurgān (given as a people in Ptolemy 6.9.5: Khrendoi). As Gurgān, ancient Hyrcania, carries the same name as the Vehrkāna, the solution seems attractive and Witzel eventually adopts it. But there are difficulties. Leaving aside for the moment the huge consequences for the geographical cohesion of the list, the form *xnəntəm* is given by all manuscripts. Though the initial cluster *xn-* is indeed atypical for Indo-Iranian words, there is one other case in *xn-* Avestan, and it is surely no coincidence that it is Khnathaitī (*xnəθaitī*), the name of the *pairikā-* (evil female being, witch) of Vaēkereta (Kabul). Therefore the form Khnenta, however non-Indo-Iranian it may be, is not so easy to discard. Vehrkāna, ultimately from *vṛk-*, "wolf", undoubtedly underlies "Hyrcania". But it is also attested in Waziristān, a hilly region on the Indo-Afghan border, with the town Urgūn (Pashtun Wərgūn < *vəhrkāna-*).[36] The name seems to be mirrored on the Indian side by the *Vṛcīvant* people,

whom the *Ṛg-Veda* (6.27.5) locates just to the south of Waziristān, on the Hali-āb and Zhob rivers; Witzel briefly contemplates them as a possible alternative to Gurgān.[37] Vogelsang, for his part, accepts the identification Vehrkāna – Urgūn as "a distinct possibility".[38] Gnoli once inclined in the same direction but eventually rejected it in favour of southeast Bactria, at great cost to the coherence of his system (see Fig. 1) and on the sole evidence of the imprecisely situated Barkanioi mentioned by the court physician Ctesias, who probably never set foot in those eastern regions.[39]

But did Khnenta occupy the very same spot? If we suppose the same sort of relationship between Khnenta and Vehrkāna as between Gava and Sughdha, we are allowed a certain latitude. In fact, assuming that Urvā/Urvadhā is the Ghazni-rūd, the position of Khnenta between Urvā and Harahvaitī (the river of Arachosia, i.e. the Arghandāb) leads us to the Tarnak valley, where today the main centres are Mukur (upstream) and Kalāt-e Ghilzai (downstream). Confirmation of this identification can be found by comparing the list of rivers given in the *Zamyād Yasht* (*Yt.* 19.67) as tributaries of the Hāmūn lake.[40] Thanks to the conservatism of local toponymy, the first five rivers (Khvāstrā, Hvaspā, Fradathā, Khvarenahvaitī, Ushtavaitī) are safely identified as northeastern and northern tributaries of the lake, enumerated in anticlockwise order (merely with interversion of the last two). Then come Urvadhā, Erezī, Zarenumaitī and Haētumant. Gnoli rightly recognises the first and third ones as eastern tributaries, not flowing directly into the lake but eventually collected by the Haētumant (Hilmand) and again enumerated anticlockwise: the Ghazni-rūd (continued by the Lōra) and the Arghandāb.[41] Strangely enough, he leaves the intermediate Erezī out of this group and without a firm identification. It can be no other than the Tarnak "sandwiched between the Arghandāb and Arghastān [the lower course of the Lōra]",[42] a straight river, which is precisely the meaning of *ərəzī-*. Therefore the sequence Urvā – Khnenta – Harahvaitī – Haētumant in *Vd.* 1 corresponds to Urvadhā – Erezī – Zarenumaitī – Haētumant in *Yt.* 19.76.

The town Urgūn is 130 kilometres east of Moqur. In the 19th century, nomadic groups belonging to the Ghilzai confederation used to ascend every year from the plains beyond Urgūn, via the Tochi and Gomal valleys, to "spread out in small [summer] camps over the countryside, usually on the stretch south of Ghazni to Muqur and Kalât [i.e. the Tarnak valley]".[43] The fort at Kalāt-e Ghilzai indicates military organisation. There is no question of asserting that migration patterns remained unchanged in this sector over two and a half millennia, but I would suggest "Khnenta inhabited by the Vehrkāna" should be visualised in such a way.

### d) The path to India

The last chain of countries starts with Ragha and eventually brings to northwest India, the Hapta Hendu (the *Sapta Sindhavas* of India, i.e. the five rivers of Panjāb, plus the Kābul river, plus the Indus). Humbach's attempt to shift this country to the upper Oxus basin is rightly rejected by Witzel[44] (and

ignored by the others) in view of the Ahrimanic plague of Hapta Hendu: the "excessive heat". The preceding country, Varena has been identified with Bunēr on the unanimous testimony of Pāṇini and the Buddhist literature, including the authoritative *Mahāmāyūrī*, which has already provided the identification of Vaēkereta with Gandhāra.[45] Between Ragha and Varena comes Chakhra, which in this perspective would probably correspond to Chitrāl.

There is, however, a possible alternative more to the south, as the chief town of the Lōgar valley south of Kābul is called Chakhr (the name is attested since the 14th century).[46] From here, heading east towards the Kurram valley, one could eventually reach the Indian plains through Bannu whose name, like that of Bunēr, reflects Varena. Though only the northern Varena was recorded in Indian literary and scholarly tradition, the original form of the southern one is attested by Xuanzang (*Falana*, with indications of distances which correspond only to Bannu).[47] But if so, one would have to assume a severe disturbance in the order of countries. The road between Kapisa–Kābul (Vaēkereta) and Ghazni (Urvā) goes through Lōgar, which therefore should have been mentioned at this place. The same remark applies for the position of Kapisa–Kābul between Badakhshān and Lōgar. In the latter case, one cannot *a priori* exclude the possibility that the Ragha of the *Vidēvdād* (*raya θrizantu-*) was a different country from the Ragha the redactors of the *Spand Nask* had in mind (obviously Badakhshān), the more so if the first text is pre-Achaemenid and the second one late Achaemenid. But such a hypothesis does not get us very far. Where should we put "Ragha of the three cantons"? Just after Sistān, which precedes it in the list? This is Gnoli's choice, "with a fair degree of approximation . . . in an area that includes the modern districts of Zamīn-Dāvar and Qal'at-i Gilzai".[48] But at this stage of our argument it seems that all this sector is already distributed between the basins of Tarnak (Khnenta), Arghandāb (Harahvaitī) and Hilmand (Haētumant). Or should we place Ragha next to Lōgar? The only possible direction is to the west and there is hardly any room there, except in the small valley of Wardak.[49]

All things considered, the sequence Badakhshān – Chitrāl – Bunēr seems more coherent than the Zamīndāvar – Lōgar – Bunēr proposed by Gnoli, while Vogelsang is committed to none of the three names (Ragha is not situated, Lōgar "may be correct" for Chakhra, Varena is either Bunēr or Bannu). One should keep in mind that regional names travelled in groups across the Hindukush and across the Kābul river: as the couple Khōst–Warnu of eastern Bactria is mirrored by Swat–Bunēr to the north of Gandhāra,[50] by Khōst–Bannu in the Kurram valley, the possibility that there once existed a Chakhra to the west of Swat should not be discarded. Badakhshān communicated with Chitrāl through the Kokcha valley (probably the *darejī* of the *Avesta*, see above) and several high passes, mainly the Dorah pass and those leading to the Pech valley. The fact that specific religions related to an archaic Indian stratum survived in Chitrāl and in the higher valleys until recent times does not rule out ancient attempts at spreading Zoroastrianism. Chakhra's positive and negative characteristics are, respectively, the best and the worse possible ones : on the

one hand *ašauuan-* "upholding the religious order", an epitheth shared only with Merv, on the other hand *nasu.spačya-* "cooking of the carrion", a term which can refer to various inexpiable sins : anthropophagy, cynophagy, defilement of the (sacrificial ?) fire with impure dead matter[51] Such a contrast suggests the coexistence of several populations, some of them religiously controlled and some of them not at all. Also, traditional communications between Chitrāl, Swat and Bunēr did not necessarily use the valley of the Kābul river.

In any case the list eventually ends up near its starting point with the last country, Ranhā, Sanskrit Rasā, where winter lasts ten months like in the Airyanem Vaējah. This country is endowed with mythological features but also, as Witzel rightly argued, it has some basis in reality, namely some upper tributary of the Indus.[52]

* * *

The relative uncertainty about the last section does not break the logical construction of the list (Fig. 5). Far from reflecting an elaborate cosmogony like that of the list of the seven parts of the world, it is a group of four sequences, each starting from roughly the same area and each arranged according to the principle of continuity. This is exactly the underlying principle of the list of countries in most of the inscriptions of Darius,[53] except that the general order is clockwise in the inscriptions and anticlockwise in the *Vidēvdād*. Witzel draws attention to the fact that, in Indo-European concepts and rituals, the counter-clockwise order is in principle associated to inauspicious contexts, and puts forward the interesting suggestion that its use in the *Vidēvdād* should be linked with the fundamentally exorcising character of this book.[54] At the same time, the selection of countries in the first section directly results from them bordering on the Vahvī Dāityā, which flows through Airyanem Vaējah, and this initial choice could well have dictated the overall order.

A second observation, on which I side entirely with Gnoli and Vogelsang, is the total exclusion of the Iranian plateau. Everything stops on a line Merv – Herāt – Sistān. As a cluster of countries, it seems to prefigure two historical constructions that were later created by horsemen descended from the north: the Indo-Scythian kingdoms in the 1st century BCE, then the Hephtalite empire in the 5th century AD.[55]

The early list in the *Vidēvdād* bears witness to a period when the main focus of the Zoroastrian priests, or maybe the rulers, was still along the Indian border, with combined or alternating phases of defence and encroachment.[56] This impression is reinforced by the mention of "non-Aryan masters" as the specific plague of Varena or "plunderer overlords" in Ranhā,[57] maybe the "evil masters" in Urvā. No wonder the *Avesta* associates these southeastern countries with typical "frontier heroes": the dragon-slayer Thraētaona, born in Varena; Keresāspa, lover of the witch from Vaēkereta and whom his exploits against

bandits and a *gandarəuua-* (loanword from Sanskrit *gandharva*?) bring to Lake Pishinah, the name of which survives today in the Pishin plain to the south of the Lōra river (lower Urvadhā).[58] The grazing lands of southeastern Afghanistan are in fact over-represented in the list, suggesting a horizon centred rather on Arachosia and the neighbouring valleys. The more landlocked east-west valleys of the Hindukush, today Afghanistan's "central road", are left out of the picture, though they are mentioned in the *Mihr Yasht* : Ishkata (the Bāmiyān and Band-i Amir region), Pouruta (Ghōr).[59] As Vogelsang aptly writes: "While in this part of the Iranian world [i.e. south and east Afghanistan] the composer names a number of obscure districts that otherwise remain unknown, his series of lands mentioned at the beginning of the list (nos. 1–6) is remarkable by the mentioning of merely the most famous lands".

composed anywhere other than in South Afghanistan and later than the middle of the 6th century BCE.
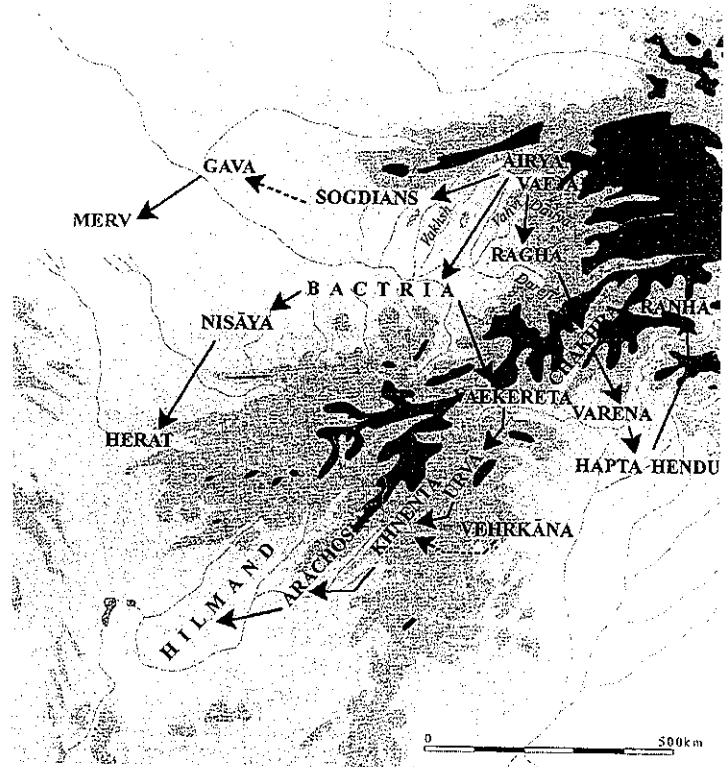


*Fig. 5: Map according to the present author*

The reception of the Zoroastrian faith by the Medes, then by the first Achaemenids, lay in the future, or maybe it was not a main concern from the viewpoint of those who composed the text. Deioces, Cyrus and Darius were still very much in the wings. It is difficult to imagine that the text was
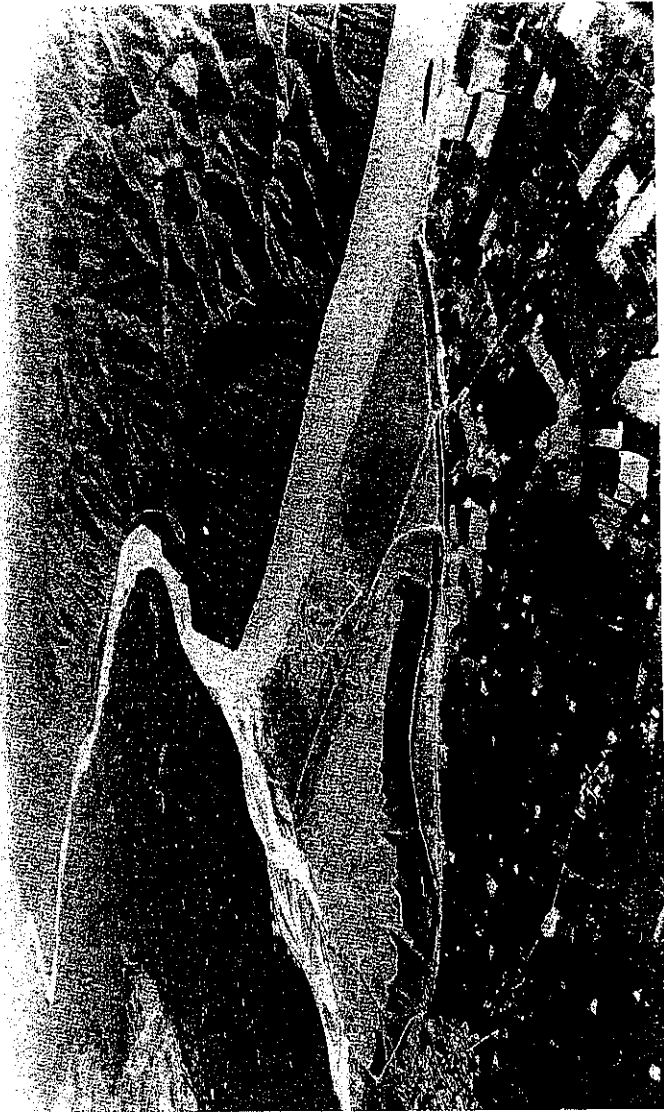
*Fig. 6: Aerial photograph of the Hellenic town of Ai Khanum, showing the juncture of four countries on the Vidēvdād list. The river to the right is the Daryā-i Panj (the Vahvī Dāityā), the river to the left is the Kokcha (probably the Darejī). The town may have occupied the western end of Ragha (the Samti ford is 60 kilometres upstream on the Daryā-i Panj). Bactria commences beyond the Kokcha. The mountains on the right bank of the Daryā-i Panj belong to Airyanem Vaējah, those far away to Sogdiana. (Photo.ACTED, 2000)*

## Notes:

1. Gnoli 1989 repeats the same views with an updated bibliography. Skjærvø (1995: 163–5), though less committed in detail, shares the eastern-centred approach.
2. For *skaiti-*, "thorn", see Henning 1947: 52, n. 1.
3. In the case of Arachosia, *arəδβō.drafšqm* is restituted by Kellens (1999–2000: 739), like *uparō* before *vimanō. hiia-* for Nisāya. In the present article the scientific transcription of Avestan is used only for direct quotations; more familiar transcriptions are used in the text, long vowels being indicated in order to avoid ambiguity.
4. For Kandahar: Helms 1982; McNicoll and Ball 1996 (the 90-hectare walled city dates from the Iron Age). For Bactra: summary and bibliography in Grenet 1989; the long-suspected Achaemenid levels under the 120-hectare citadel were discovered in 2004 (to be published by Roland Besenval and Philippe Marquis). For *arəδβō.drafša-*, cf. the city Drapsa/Drapsaka; the possibility of its location in the Baghlān plain in southeast Bactria, contemplated in Grenet 1995 (after J. Harmatta and H. Humbach), has now indirectly been confirmed by the identification of Kunduz, the rival claimant, with Warnu, Greek Aornos (Sims-Williams 1997: 16-17, n. 28). Cf. also the festival of the "raising of the standard" still held on *Nowruz* at Mazar-i Sharif near Balkh (Dupree 1980: 105; Vogelsang 2000: 52, n. 20).
5. Gnoli 1980: 84–7.
6. Grenet 1994.
7. K. Hoffmann, *apud* Hintze 1994: 73.
8. Grenet 2002–2003: 154–6.
9. Marquart (1901: 78–9) drew attention to the name Nsai-mianak (*\*Nisāg ī miyānag*, "The middle Nisa") in the 7th-century *Armenian Geography*, probably to be identified with Maymanah.
10. Main discussion in Humbach 1991: I, 33–6, with reference to earlier articles by him.
11. Steblin-Kamenskii 1978.
12. Witzel 2000: 329–30. According to him, it corresponds to central Hindukush, as it does for Gnoli. Vogelsang put it far in the north, beyond the Syr-darya, according to his conception of a Scythian migration underlying the whole structure. Humbach 1991: I, 36 favours the Pamir region. Kellens 2003 :104 translates *dāitiiā-* as "suitable" and interprets this epithet as referring to "an appropriate seasonal flow". By the way this is exactly how modern geographers characterise the Daryā-i Panj : "Of all the rivers of the region the Panj is the most regular, as it comes from the highest and most glaciate point"; consequently it always carries a sufficient amount of water, except during winter frosts, and its spring rise is more controllable than that of other rivers, in particular the Vakhsh (Pierre Gentelle, pers. comm.). There is probably a contrasting effect between the name of the Vahvī Dāityā and that of the Vakhsh ("the leaping / surging one").
13. *Apud* Bunsen 1857: V/2, 116.
14. Humbach 1991: I, 45–6, elaborating upon Hoffmann 1979. Witzel (318–19) accepts the western Ragha, while not excluding that "there may also have been two different *Rayas*".
15. As a marginal note to a forthcoming article "Après avoir brisé l'obstacle", where it is demonstrated that the abstract meaning "superior" usually assigned to Avestan *upara-* is not generalised, the word having in certain cases (like in *uparō.vimanah-*)

kept its Indo-Iranian meaning "next, ulterior". I am grateful to Jean Kellens for this information.

16. Tremblay 1999: 45–8 (unpublished PhD); more details in a letter dated 29.1.2004 in which he traces the history of this idea. I express my thanks to him; though agreeing in the main, my views differ from his in some details and he cannot be held responsible for the presentation given here.

17. For Young Avestan *ratu-*, meaning "patron, model", not "master, chief", see Tremblay 1998: 192–6. Cf. Plutarch's obviously well informed translation of Tishtrya's epithet *ratūm paitī.damča:* "guardian and watcher" (*philaka kai prooptēn*) (*De Iside et Osiride* 47 ; see de Jong 1997 : 193-194).

18. Consequently I cannot side with Gnoli's attempt to rescue the Median theological centre at Ray by assuming that *raya zaraθuštri-* is a different place from *raya θrizantu-* (Gnoli 1985).

19. Rightly noticed by Mary Boyce in Boyce and Grenet 1991: 81–2; but she shares Gnoli's view about "holy Raga" (a coined expression by her) being Median Ray, "whose Zoroastrian traditions went back perhaps to the eighth century B.C.".

20. Lastly Humbach 1991: I, 47–9 (and see p. 46 on *'l'k*).

21. From here to the end of this section I summarise and update an earlier article including detailed maps of the sector under discussion (Grenet 2002).

22. Watters 1904–1905: 273. According to Yutaka Yosida (pers.comm.), the reconstructed early middle Chinese form $\gamma at$-$la^h$ -$\gamma\partial$ with the normal prothetic $\gamma at$- before initial $r$- indicates Rāgh (as assumed by Watters, quoting H. Yule) rather than Rāwan, a district just to the west of the Kokcha river proposed by Marquart [1901: 237–8], who supposed that this name [<*Rāγwan] derived from Rāgh anyway. The form Rāgh instead of the expected *Ragh can be explained, as a *vṛddhi* form generalized from the name of some part of the country, e.g. "plain of Ragha" or "river of Ragha" (both possibilities are suggested by X. Tremblay, pers.comm.). The name Badakhshān, mentioned besides Heluoho by Xuanzang (Boduochuangna) and already attested for the 5th century by the *Weishu* (Futisha), cannot pre-date the Sasanian conquest of Bactria in the 3rd century since it contains the Middle Persian title *bidaxš*, "viceroy, chief minister". The list in Eilers 1954: 300–301 gives the impression that there are more recorded "Rāgh" toponyms than in reality. The name is actually generic ("plain near a mountain"), but in eastern Iranian countries there are only two clusters, one in western Badakhshān and one in the Toba Kakar range to the southeast of Kandahar. Lur'e 2004: 143–4 adds a few local toponyms scattered in Sogdiana. See also the village Ragh, just north of the town Chitrāl, and the town *Ragau* in Apavarticene to the west of Merv (Isidorus of Charax, 13).

23. For "neighbourhood discords", cf. the formulas a good observer of rural conditions uses about Badakhshān: "ces conflits séculaires qui ensanglantent périodiquement certains des villages de la région – et dont l'origine est à rechercher plutôt dans des vols de troupeaux, des disputes de bornage ou des contentieux sur l'usage des hauts pâturages que dans des différences cultuelles" (Puig 2005: 98; the "différences cultuelles" of today are between Ismailis and Sunni Muslims). The epithet *uparō.vimanah-* can be considered, geographically, as a characteristic of countries where good pasture is scarce or not controlled by a recognised authority, the opposite of *pouru.vāstra-* (characteristic of the country Urvā, see below). Ideologically it appears the opposite to *vouru.gaoiiaoiti-*, "with large pasture rights", epithet of Mithra.

24. It may seem extremely adventurous to propose a date for a text that no longer exists, but there are some indications. In those sections of *Dk.* 7 which are not marked as quotations from the *zand* of the *Spand Nask*, Wishtāsp is titled either *šāh*, in conformity with the tradition embodied in the Sasanian *Xwadāy-nāmag*, or *dahibed*; in the quotations he is not called *šāh* (which has no corresponding Avestan word) but *Kay Wištāsp*, as everywhere in the subsisting *Avesta*, and in one place (4.86) *dahibed burzāwand Kay Wištāsp*. The underlying Avestan words *daiŋhupati-* and *bərəzant-* could echo the Achaemenid royal titles *xšāyaθiya vazraka ... xšāyaθiya dahyūnām* (for other sparse indications in Yashts 5 and 19 of a "royalisation" of the Kavis see Kellens 1979: 51, who suggests Achaemenid influence). The central episode of the *Spand Nask* (the revelation from Vohu Manah) was known to Greek philosophers of the Academy and the Peripatos in the 4th or 3rd century BCE, as shown by the remarkable account in Diodorus Siculus 1.94.2: "Thus it is recorded that among the Arians Zathraustes claimed that the Good Spirit gave him his laws, among the people known as the Getae who represent themselves to be immortal Zalmoxis asserted the same of their common goddess Hestia, and among the Jews Moyses referred his laws to the god who is invoked as Iao" (De Jong 1997: 266–7). I tentatively suggested (Boyce and Grenet 1991: 158, n. 26) that this first-hand information (demonstrated by the form *Zathraustes* for Zoroaster) came from Clearchus of Soli, a disciple of Aristotele, known to have visited eastern Bactria in the early 3rd century BCE and to have compared in his works various religious teachings, including those of the Magi and the Jews.

25. See Grenet and Rapin 2001. Recent excavations at Koktepe near Samarkand and at Sangyr-tepe in the Kashka-daryā valley have yielded remains of a fire platform and a fire place with clear indications of a preliminary phase of purification of the ground; these remains, dating probably from the 6th century BCE, give the earliest indications in the eastern Iranian countries of a fire cult organised at community level (Rapin, forthcoming).

26. Gubaev, Koshelenko and Tosi 1998.

27. Rejected by Humbach 1985 in favour of "lord of cattle", but I see no compelling reason for it. The geographical link between Gōbed and the Dāityā provides the best explanation for the choice of the Persepolitan (originally Assyrian) image of the man-headed bull, interpreted as "Gōbedšāh" in the *Mēnōg ī xrad* 62.30–35 (text quoted in Humbach's article), in order to symbolise the god Oxus on the seal of his temple included in the late Achaemenid "Oxus Treasure" (Grenet 2002–2003: 157).

28. Lévi 1925, commenting upon his edition of the *Mahāmāyūrī* (Lévi 1915).

29. P.Ø Skjærvø, letter of 9.4.2004: "Vaēkereta cannot contain Vayu- by regular sound changes, since Vayu only becomes Vaē- before nasal (Vaēm, Acc. of Vayu-) (. . .) The underlying word would be *vikərət-* or *vikərəta-*. This is to my knowledge not attested in Avestan, but it ought to mean 'done apart, removed'."

30. Christensen 1943: 33–4.

31. Gnoli 1980: 26–39.

32. Fussman 1974a: 4, with n. 5.

33. Ultimately Monchi-Zadeh 1975: 119–24.

34. Generally identified as the hedgehog (or porcupine?), a beneficent animal from the Zoroastrian viewpoint, but this particular name is considered depreciative in *Vd.* 13.2, whilst in our list it is mentioned on the positive or neutral side. Witzel 2000: 309, n. 55, suggests another ethnic name.

35. These hypotheses seem compatible with the etymologies proposed in Tremblay 2004, see esp. pp. 125 and 132–5 on Gava and Sogdians.

36. Morgenstierne 1979: 29.

37. Witzel 2000: 318, n. 72–73. In this context the name is "from fém. *vrkī*, 'she-wolf', a strange name for an area, if not taken metaphorically as a tribe 'having sorceresses, witches' ".

38. Vogelsang 2000: 54–5, but his attempt to locate here the people of the Parikanioi (Herodotus 7.68, 86). Elamite *Barrikana*, Aramaic *prkn*. is not tenable because of the initial consonantism *p- / b-* instead of *w-*. The Parikanioi should rather be looked for in Gedrosia (Bernard 1972: 172) or in Kermān as ancestors of the Barizān (Bivar 1985: 30–35).

39. Gnoli 1980: 39–42. Ctesias' Barkanioi might in fact be the same people as Herodotus' Parikanioi (cf. Elamite *Barrikana*).

40. *Ibid.*: 27–39.

41. *Pace* Witzel 2000: 308, n. 52, I trust the identification of the Zarenumaitī ("of gold") with the Arghandāb, established by Monchi-Zadeh (1975: 120–23) on the basis of a passage in the *Tārix-e Sīstān*, where it is stated that this river was particularly renowned for its gold.

42. Dupree 1980: 39.

43. Ferdinand 1962: 125 and map p. 127 (reproduced with additions in Dupree: map 9).

44. Witzel 2000: 312, n. 65.

45. Lévi 1915: 71–3, from which Henning (1947: 52–3) drew the inference for Varena of *Vd.*1.17 (adducing also the fortress Aornos captured by Alexander in the region that is today Bunēr).

46. Monchi-Zadeh 1975: 126. "Carx in Khorasan", mentioned by Humbach (1991: I, 34) as an alternative to Chakhr in Lōgar, is in fact Jary / Šary (*Čary?) near Bukhārā, not related etymologically to *Čaxra* (Lur'e 2004: 182, n. 255).

47. Watters 1904–1905: 262–3; Lévi 1915: 73. *Pace* Witzel 2000: 311, Pāṇini's *Varṇu* is Bunēr, not Bannu: see Lévi. There was a third Varena in eastern Bactria: Warnu (see Sims-Williams 1997:16–17 with n. 28). It is Humbach's choice for the country in *Vd.*1 but has not gained support for the same reason that applies to Hapta Hendu: the "untimely menstruations", referring probably to the early puberty of Indian girls (Darmesteter 1892-3: II, 15, n. 43).

48. Gnoli 1980: 65–6.

49. Perhaps the town Bagarda in Ptolemy 6.18.5, if Wardak < *Waγardak? There was actually a Kushan walled town in Wardak (Fussman 1974b). But there is no proof that Wardak is an ancient name. The identification Bagarda – Vaēkereta, suggested by Darmesteter (1892-3: II, 10, n. 22), and more or less upheld by all modern authors except Humbach, is hardly tenable as it would be difficult to account for the loss of -ē- in the first syllable (N. Sims-Williams, pers.comm.).

50. Sims-Williams 1997: 16–18, notes 28 and 34.

51. Schwartz 1990 proposes recognising cult practices similar to those of the Kafirs of the upper Chitrāl valleys (including the spilling of blood in the fire and the cooking of the head in it) in those attributed to the Vyāmburas in *Yt.* 14.54–56.

52. Witzel 2000: 312–16, with various proposals for the translation of the Ohrmazdian and Ahrimanic parts of the description.

53. Most clearly at Naqsh-e Rostam, but demonstrably so in other inscriptions as well, except the one on Darius' statue at Susa where it reflects the centred scheme of the seven parts of the world. I refer in advance to C. Rapin, *Géographie historique et géographie mythique (Génèse des cartes antiques de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et de l'Europe)*, chap. 30 (forthcoming).

54. Witzel 2000: 322. It is also the order of the list of rivers of Sistān in the *Zamyād Yasht*, but they are introduced in a purifying context (*Yt.* 19.68: the Khvarenah they carry "could sweep away therewith all the [inhabitants of the] non-Aryan lands in one sweep"). In the *Mihr Yasht* the countries are enumerated in clockwise order, a natural option as they are surveyed by the rising Mithra.

55. But Vogelsang's idea that these countries already shared a Scythian aristocratic stratum at the time of the composition of *Vd.* 1 rests on a disputable equation between "Scythians" and "horsemen costumes" such as those depicted at Persepolis. Cf. the reservations in Lyonnet 1997: 118.

56. The recent discovery of potteries of the "Yaz I" type (14th to 10th century BCE) near Peshawar attests to intrusions from regions north of the Hindukush in a period prior to the composition of the Young *Avesta* (Henri-Paul Francfort, pers.comm.).

57. Kellens (1999–2000: 741) interprets some features of Varena and Ranhā as referring to monstrous populations: *čaθru.gaoša-*, "four-eared", *asāra-*, "headless". One can object that *čaθru.gaoša-* is in the Ohrmazdian part of Varena's description, while physical monstrosities are Ahrimanic (cf. the "three mouths" of Aži Dahāka). The term *čaθru.gaoša-* is more probably "with four corners" and refers to the shape of the country or of its chief fortress. In this context *Cartana oppidum sub Caucaso quod postea Tetragonis dictum* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI .92) is often mentioned, but it is rather to be looked for in or near Kapisa. Bunēr is roughly rectangular, bound by the Indus, the river of Kābul and the curving Swat; the plain of Bannu is usually described as an "irregular oval", which does not bring to mind "four corners". As for *asāra-* in Ranhā, there are several possible interpretations: see Witzel.

58. Monchi-Zadeh 1975: 114. The name of Urvākhshaya, Keresāspa's brother (*Y.* 9.10; *Yt.* 15.28), has generally been explained as "king of Urvā" since Darmesteter (II: 586, n.18), but see now Kellens 2002: 435–7 for a discussion of the meaning of *xšā* in Avestan. Other etymologies are possible, including from *uruuāxš-*, "joy" (Mayrhofer 1979: No. 321).

59. See Grenet 1994 : 91-92.

## Editions of the Avesta and Pahlavi texts

*Avesta, die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*, ed. Karl F. Geldner, I–III, Stuttgart, 1889–95.

*Avesta, die heiligen Bücher der Parsen*, translated on the basis of Chr. Bartholomae's *Altiranischem Wörterbuch* by Fritz Wolff, Strassburg, 1910.

*Dēnkard (Dk.)*,VII: Marijan Molé, *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevis*, Paris, 1967.

*Great Bundahishn: Zand-Ākāsīh, Iranian or Greater Bundahišn*, transliteration and translation in English by Behramgore T. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1956.

*Pahlavi Vendidād*, transliteration and translation in English by Behramgore T. Anklesaria, Bombay, 1949.

*Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram (WZ)*: Philippe Gignoux, Ahmad Tafazzoli, *Anthologie de Zādspram*, Paris, 1993 (*Studia Iranica* – Cahier 13).

## Abbreviations:

| | |
|---|---|
| Dk, DkM | Denkard |
| GBd | Greter Bundahishn |
| RV | Rigveda |
| Y | Yasna |
| Yt | Yasht |

## Bibliographical Abbreviations:

| | |
|---|---|
| AAASH | *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* |
| AfO | *Archiv für Orientforschung* |
| AIr | *Acta Iranica* |
| AMI(T) | *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (und Turan)* |
| AOAT | Alter Orient und Altes Testament |
| ArO | *Archiv Orientální* |
| AS | *Anatolian Studies* |
| BAI | *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* |
| BiOr | *Bibliotheca Orientalis* |
| BSOAS | *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* |
| CHIr | *Cambridge History of Iran* |
| CAH | Cambridge Ancient History |
| CUP | Cambridge University Press |
| DAFI | Délégation archéologique française en Iran |
| EncIr | *Encyclopædia Iranica* |
| IrAnt | *Iranica Antiqua* |
| JNES | *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* |
| JA | *Journal Asiatique* |
| JSAI | *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* |
| OIP | Oriental Institute Publications |
| OLP | *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* |
| OLZ | *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* |
| RA | *Revue d'Assyriologie* |
| RE | *Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen alter-tumswissenschaften* |
| SEL | *Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente* |
| St Ir | *Studia Iranica* |
| TCS | Texts from Cuneiform Sources |
| UET | Ur Excavations Texts |
| ZA | *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* |
| ZDMG | *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* |

## Bibliography:

Ahn, Gregor (1992). *Religiöse Herrschaftslegitimation im achämenidischen Iran [AIr* 31], Leiden-Louvain.

Alizadeh, A. (1985). "A tomb of the Neo-Elamite period at Arjan, near Behbahan", *AMI* 18: 49-73.

Alram, M. (1999). "The Beginning of Sasanian coinage", *BAI* N.S., 13: 67-76.

Alvarez-Mon, J. (2004). "Imago mundi: cosmological and ideological aspects of the Arjan bowl", *IrAnt* 39: 203-38.

Amarelli, F. (1988). "Il processo di Sabrata", *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 54: 110-46.

Amiet, P. (1973). "La glyptique de la fin de l'Elam", *Arts Asiatiques* 28: 3-45.

Andreas, F.C. (1904). "Ueber einige Fragen der aeltesten persischen Geschichte", *Verhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, Hamburg, September 1902.* Leiden: 93-9.

Badian, E. (1985). "Alexander in Iran", *CHIr* II: 450-61.

Bailey, H. W. (1943), *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books,* Oxford, 1943.

— (1971). *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books,* Oxford.

— (1987), "Arya".

Bakker, E.J., De Jong, I., and Wees, H. van (eds) (2002). *Brill's Companion to Herodotus,* Leiden.

Barnett, R.D. (1956). "The treasure of Ziwiye", *Iraq* 18: 111-116.

— (1962). 'Median Art', *IA* 2: 77-95.

Bashshash Kanzaq, R. (2000). *Decipherment of Kalma-Kare Inscribed Vessels,* Tehran.

Beaulieu, P.-A. (1989). *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon, 556-539 B.C.* New Haven: Yale Near Eastern Researches 10.

Bellwood, P. (2001). "Early agriculturalist population diasporas? Farming, languages, and genes", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 30: 181-207.

Benveniste, Emile (1932). "Les classes sociales dans la tradition avestique", *JA* 221: 117-34.

— (1938). *Les Mages dans l'Ancien Iran,* Paris.

— (1969). Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes, Paris.

Berger, P.-R. (1975). "Der Kyros-Zylinder mit dem Zusatzfragment BIN II Nr. 32 und die akkadischen Personennamen im Danielbuch", *ZA* 64: 192-234.

Bernard, Paul (1972). "Les mortiers et pilons inscrits de Persépolis", *St Ir* 1: 165-76.

Bickerman, E.J., and Tadmor, H. (1978). "Darius I, Pseudo-Smerdis, and the Magi", *Athenaeum* 56: 239-61.

Bivar, A.D.H. (1985). "A Persian fairyland", in *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce,* Leiden [*AIr* 10]: 25-42.

Boas, F. (1940). *Race, Language and Culture.* New York.

Bollweg, J. (1988). "Protoachämenidische Siegelbilder", *AMI* 21: 53–61.

Bowman, Raymond A. (1970). *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis*, Chicago.

Boyce, Mary (1975). *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. I, Leiden.

— (1982). *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. II. *Under the Achaemenians*, Leiden and Cologne.

— (1987) "Astvatərəta", in Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *EncIr* II/8, London: 871-3.

— (1989). *A History of Zoroastrianism I* 2nd ed.; *The Early Period*, Leiden.

— (2003). "Preliminary note by Professor Mary Boyce to Agha Homayoun Sanati's translation of her article 'On the calendar of Zoroastrian feasts' ", in C.G. Cereti and F. Vajifdar (eds), *Ātaš-e dorūn. The Fire Within. Jamshid Soroush Soroushian Memorial Volume II*, n.p.: 57–61.

Boyce, Mary, and Grenet, Frantz (1991). *A History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. III: *Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule*, Leiden.

Bresciani, E. (1985). "The Persian occupation of Egypt", *CHIr* II: 502–528.

Briant, P. (1984). "La Perse avant l'empire (un état de la question)", *IrAnt* 19: 71–118.

— (1996). *Histoire de l'empire perse. De Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris.

— (2002). *From Cyrus to Alexander*, trans. P.T. Daniels, Vinnova Lake, Indiana.

Bunsen, Christian (1857). *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, V, Hamburg.

Burn, A.R. (1984). *Persia and the Greeks*, London.

Calmeyer, P. (1979). "Fortuna-Tyche-Khvarnah", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 94: 347–65.

— (1981). "Zur bedingten Göttlichkeit des Grosskönigs", *AMI* 14: 55–60.

— (1982). "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive. VIII. Die 'Statistische Landkarte des Perserreiches' I", *AMI* 15, 105-187.

— (1983). "Zur Genese altiranischer Motive. VIII. Die 'Statistische Landkarte der Persernreich' II", *AMI* 16, 109-263.

Cameron, George G. (1948). *Persepolis Treasury Tablets*, Chicago.

Cantera, A. (2004). *Studien zur Pahlavi-Übersetzung des Avesta* (Iranica 7), Wiesbaden.

Carter, E. (1981). "A summary of the Shimashki, sukkalmahhu, and transitional phases at Tepe Farukhabad", in H.T. Wright (ed.), *An Early Town on the Deh Luran Plain: Excavations at Tepe Farukhabad*. Ann Arbor: Memoirs of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, no. 13: 218–23.

Cassel, Paulus (1886). *Zoroaster. Seine Name und seine Zeit* [Berliner Studien für classischen Philologie und Archeologie IV/1], Berlin.

Cereti, C.G. (2001). *La letteratura pahlavi. Introduzione ai testi con riferimenti alla storia degli studi e alla tradizione manoscritta*, Milan.

Christensen, Arthur (1933). *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen.

— (1943). *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes*, Copenhagen.

Contenau, G., and Ghirshman, R. (1935). *Fouilles du Tépé-Giyan près de Néhavend*, Paris.

Curtis, J.E. (1983). "Late Assyrian bronze coffins", *AS* 33: 85-95.

— 1984. *Nush-i Jan III: The Small Finds*, London.

— ( 2005). "The material culture of Tepe Nush-i Jan and the end of the Iron Age III period in Western Iran", *IA* 40: 233-246.

Curtis, V.S. (1988). "Report on a recent visit to Iran", *Iran* 26: 145.

Dandamaev, M. (1993a). "Cyrus iii. Cyrus II the Great", *EncIr* 6: 516–21.

— (1993b). "Cyrus iv. The Cyrus cylinder", *EncIr* 6: 521–22.

Darmesteter, James (1892–3). *Le Zend-Avesta*, I–III, Paris.

Denyer, N. (2001). *Plato. Alcibiades*, Cambridge.

De Jong, Albert. (1997). *Traditions of the Magi. Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 133), Leiden.

— (2002). "Animal sacrifice in ancient Zoroastrianism: a ritual and its interpretations", in A.I. Baumgarten (ed.), *Sacrifice in Religious Experience* (Studies in the History of Religions 93), Leiden: 127–48.

— (2003). "Dions Magierhymnen: zoroastrischer Mythos oder griechische Phantasie?", in H.-G. Nesselrath, B. Bäbler, M. Forschner and A. de Jong, *Dion von Prusa. Menschliche Gemeinschaft und göttliche Ordnung: Die Borysthenes-Rede* (SAPERE 6), Darmstadt: 157–78.

— (2004). "Zoroastrian Religious polemics in context: interconfessional relations in the Sasanian empire", in T.L. Hettema and A. van der Kooij (eds), *Religious Polemics in Context* (Studies in Theology and Religion 11), Assen: 48–63.

— (2005). "The first sin: Zoroastrian ideas about the time before Zarathuštra", in S. Shaked (ed.), *Genesis and Regeneration. Essays on Conceptions of Origins*, Jerusalem: 192–209.

Delattre, A. (1883a). "Encore un mot sur la prétendue origine susienne de Cyrus", *Le Muséon* 2: 53.

— (1883b). "Cyrus d'après une nouvelle méthode historique", *Le Muséon* 2: 442–59.

Diamond, J., and Bellwood, P. (2003). "Farmers and their languages: The first expansions", *Science* 300: 597–603.

Dickson, H.R.P. (1956). *Kuwait and her Neighbours*. London: Allen & Unwin

Duchesne-Guillemin, Jacques (1962). *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, Paris.

— (1963). "Le Xwarenah", *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientali di Napoli* 5: 19–31.

Dupree, Louis (1980). *Afghanistan*, Princeton.

Dusinberre, E.R.M. (2002). "An excavated ivory from Kerkenes Dag, Turkey: Transcultural fluidities, significations of collective identity, and the problem of Median art", *Ars Orientalis* 32: 17–54.

Dyson, R.H., and Muscarella, O.W. (1989). "Constructing the chronology and historical implications of Hasanlu IV", *Iran* 27: 1-27.

Dyson, R.H., and Voigt, M.M. (1989). "East of Assyria: the highland settlement of Hasanlu", *Expedition* 31, nos.2-3, Philadelphia.

Eilers, Wilhelm (1954). "Der Name Demawend", *ArO* 22: 267–374.

Evans, J.A.S. (1991). *Herodotus. Explorer of the Past. Three Essays*, Princeton.

Fales, F.M. (2003). "Evidence for east-west contacts in the 8th century BC: the Bukan Stela", in Lanfranchi, Roaf and Rollinger 2003: 131-147.

Ferdinand, Klaus (1962). "Nomadic expansion and commerce in Central Afghânistân", *Folk* 4:123–59.

Flower, M.A. (2000). "From Simonides to Isocrates: the fifth-century origins of fourth-century Panhellenism", *Classical Antiquity* 19: 65–101.

Forbiger, A. (1844). *Handbuch der alten Geographie aus den Quellen bearbeitet*, i–ii. Leipzig: Mayer & Wigand.

Fragner, Bert G. (1999). "Der politische Begriff 'Iran' in der Neuzeit und seine historischen Wurzeln", in G. Gnoli and A. Paniano (eds), *Proceedings of the First International Conference of Iranian Studies*, Rome: 365–76.

Frye, R.N. (1962). *The Heritage of Persia*. London.

Fussman, Gérard (1974a). "Documents épigraphiques kouchans" [I], *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* 61: 1–66.

— (1974b). "Ruines de la vallée de Wardak", *Arts Asiatiques* 30: 65–130.

Gadd, C.J., Legrain, L., and Smith, S. (1928). *Royal Inscriptions*. London: UET 1.

Garrison, M.B., and Root, M.C. (1996). *Persepolis Seal Studies: An introduction with provisional concordances of seal numbers and associated documents on Fortification Tablets 1–2087*. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten [*Achaemenid History* 9].

Geiger, W. (1882). *Ostīrānische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen.

Georges, P. (1994). *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience. From the Archaic Period to the Age of Xenophon*, Baltimore/London.

Gershevitch, Ilia (1959). *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* Cambridge.

Ghirshman, R. (1954). *Iran from the Earliest Times to the Islamic Conquest*, Harmondsworth.

Gillman, I., and Klimkeit, H.-J. (1999). *Christians in Asia before 1500*, Richmond.

Gnoli, Gherardo (1980). *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland*, Naples.

— (1985). "Ragha la zoroastriana", in *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, Leiden [*AIr* 10]: 217–28.

— (1989). "Avestan geography", *EncIr*, London–New York.

— (1989). *The Idea of Iran. An Essay on its Origin*, Rome.

— (1998 [2001]). "Xerxès, Priam, et Zoroastre", *BAI* 12: 59–67.

Graf, F. (1996). *Gottesnähe und Schadenzauber. Die Magie in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Munich.

Grayson, A.K. (1975). *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Locus Valley: TCS.

— (1991). "Assyria: Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II (744-705 B.C.)", *CAH* III/2, 2nd edition, Cambridge: 71-102.

Grayson, A.K., and Levine, L.D. (1975). "The Assyrian relief from Shikaft-i Gulgul', *IA* 11: 29-38.

Grenet, Frantz (1989). "Balk, vi: Monuments of Balk", *EncIr*.

— (1994). "Bāmiyān and the *Mihr Yašt*", *BAI* 7 (Iranian Studies in Honour of A.D.H. Bivar): 87–94.

— (1996). "Drapsaka", *EncIr VII, 537*.

— (2002). "Zoroastre au Badakhshān", *St Ir* 31: 193–214.

— (2002–2003). "Religions du monde iranien ancien. II. Traditions zoroastriennes sur le territoire actuel de l'Afghanistan", *Ecole pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses, Annuaire*, 111: 154–8.

— (ed.) (2003). *La geste d'Ardashir fils de Pâbag. Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pābagān*, Die.

Grenet, Frantz, and Rapin, Claude (2001). "Alexander, Aï Khanum, Termez: remarks on the spring campaign of 328", *BAI* 12 [Alexander's Legacy in the East. Studies in Honor of Paul Bernard]: 79–89.

Grillot, F. and Vallat, F. (1978). "Le verbe élamite 'pi(š)ši' ", *Cahiers de la DAFI* 8: 81–4.

Gubaev, A., Koshelenko, G. and Tosi, M. (eds) (1998). *The Archaeological Map of the Murghab Delta. Preliminary Reports 1990–95*, Rome.

Gunter, A. (1982). "Representations of Urartian and western Iranian fortress architecture in the Assyrian reliefs", *Iran* 20: 103-12.

Gyselen, R. (1995). "Les sceaux des mages de l'Iran sassanide", in R. Gyselen (ed.), *Au carrefour des religions. Mélanges offerts à Philippe Gignoux* (Res Orientales 7), Bures-sur-Yvette: 121–50.

Halévy, J. (1883). "Cyrus et l'origine des Achéménides", *Le Muséon* 2: 43–52, 247–60.

Hall, E. (1989). *Inventing the Barbarian. Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*, Oxford.

Hallo, W.W., *et al.* (eds) (2000). *The Context of Scripture II. Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World*, Leiden.

Hallock, Richard T. (1969). *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (OIP 92), Chicago.

— (1985). "The evidence of the Persepolis Tablets", *CHIr* II: 588–609.

Haṇsman, J. (1975). "An Achaemenian stronghold", in *Hommages et Opera Minora III. Monumentum H.S. Nyberg* III [*AIr* 6]. Leiden: Brill.

Harlez, C. de (1882). "Même sujet" [rejoinder to Sayce 1882], *Le Muséon* 1: 557–70.

— (1883). "Conclusion", *Le Muséon* 2: 261–8.

Harmatta, J. (1971a). "The rise of the Old Persian Empire: Cyrus the Great", *AAASH* 19: 3–15.

— (1971b). "The literary patterns of the Babylonian edict of Cyrus", *AAASH* 19: 217–31.

Helms, Sven (1982). "The city and famous fortress of Kandahar, the foremost place in all of Asia", *Afghan Studies* 3–4: 1–24.

Henkelman, W. (2003a). "Review of M. Waters, *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History*", *BiOr* 60: 251–63.

— (2003b). "Persians, Medes and Elamites: Acculturation in the Neo-Elamite period", in G.B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf and R. Rollinger (eds), *Continuity of*

*Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia.* Padua: History of the Ancient Near East/Monographs 5: 181–231.

Henning, Walter Bruno (1947). "Two Manichaean magical texts", *BSOAS* 12: 39–66. [Reprinted in W.B. Henning, *Selected Papers*, 1 *AIr* 14 (Leiden 1977): 273–300.]

Herrenschmidt, Clarisse (1976). "Désignation de l'empire et concept politiques de Darius Ier d'après ses inscriptions en vieux-perse", *St Ir* 5: 33–65.

— (1979). "La première royauté de Darius avant l'invention de la notion d'empire", in *Pad Nam i Yazdan. Etudes d'epigraphie ancien. Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Iraniennes* 9, Paris: 23–33.

— (1980). "La religion des Achéménides: état de la question", *St Ir* 9: 325–39.

— (1991). "Vieux-perse *šiyāti-*", in Jean Kellens (ed.), *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide*, Gent: 13–21.

— (1995–6). "Histoire du judaïsme à l'époque hellénistique et romaine", *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section sciences religieuses* 104: 230.

— (1996). "Writing between visible and invisible worlds in Iran, Israel, and Greece", in Bottéro, Jean, Herrenschmidt, Clarisse, and Vernant, Jean-Pierre, *Ancestors of the West. Writing, Reasoning, and Religion in Mesopotamia, Elam, and Greece*, Chicago and London: 115–17.

Herzfeld, Ernst (1948). *Zoroaster and his World*, Princeton.

Hinz, W. (1979). *Darius and die Perser*, II, Baden-Baden.

Hintze, Almut (1994). *Der Zamyād-Yašt. Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Beiträge zur Iranistik 15), Wiesbaden.

— (2004). "On the ritual significance of the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti", in M. Stausberg (ed.), *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context* (Studies in the History of Religions 102), Leiden: 291–316.

— (2004). " *'Do ut des'*: Patterns of exchange in Zoroastrianism", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Ser. 3, 14: 27–45.

Hoffmann, Karl (1968). "The *Avesta* fragment FrD. 3", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 10: 282–8. [Repr. in *Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden 1975: 221–7.

— (1979). "Das Avesta in der Persis", in J. Harmatta (ed.), *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Budapest: 89–93.

Hoffmann, K., and Narten, J. (1989). *Der sasanidische Archetypus. Untersuchungen zu Schreibung und Lautgestalt des Avestischen*, Wiesbaden.

Hoffmann-Kutschke, A. (1907). "Iranisches bei den Griechen", *Philologus* 20: 173–91.

Hübschmann, H. (1894–5). "NP Iran", *Indogermanische Forschungen* IV: 119–20.

— (1897). *Armenische Grammatik: I. Armenische Etymologie*, Leipzig.

Huff, D. (2004). "Archaeological evidence of Zoroastrian funerary practices", in M. Stausberg (ed.), *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context*: 593–630, with plates V to XII.

Humbach, Helmut (1985). "About Gōpatšāh, his country, and the Khwārezmian hypothesis", in *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, Leiden [*AIr* 10]: 327–34.

— (1991). *The Gāthās of Zarathushtra*, I–II, Heidelberg.

Humbach, Helmut, and Skjærvø, Prods Oktor (1983a). *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*, pt. 3.1. *Restored Text and Translation*, Wiesbaden.

— (1983b). *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*, pt. 3.2. *Commentary*, Wiesbaden.

Hunink, V. (1997). *Apuleius of Madauros pro se de magia (Apologia)*, Amsterdam.

Hüsing, G. (1908). "Die Namen der Könige von Ančan", *OLZ* 11: 318–22.

Huyse, Philip (1999). *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)*, 2 vols (Corp. Iscrip. Iran. III, Vol. I, Text I), London.

Jacobs, Bruno (1991). "Der Sonnengott im Pantheon der Achämeniden", in Jean Kellens (ed.), *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide*, Gent: 49–80.

Johnston, S.I. (2004). "Magic", in S.I. Johnston (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient World. A Guide*, Cambridge, MA: 139–52 (with references).

Josephson, J. (2003). "The 'Sitz im Leben' of the Seventh Book of the *Dēnkard*", in C.G. Cereti, M. Maggi and E. Provasi (eds), *Religious Themes and Texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli* (Beiträge zur Iranistik 24), Wiesbaden: 203–212.

Jullien, C., and Jullien, F. (2002). *Apôtres des confins: processus missionaires chrétiens dans l'Empire Iranien* (Res Orientales 15), Bures-sur-Yvette.

Kellens, Jean (1979). "L'Avesta comme source historique: la liste des kayanides", in J. Harmatta (ed.), *Studies in the Sources on the History of pre-Islamic Central Asia*, Budapest: 41–53.

— (1998). "Considérations sur l'histoire de l'Avesta", *JA* 286: 451–519.

— (1999–2000). "Langues et religions indo-iraniennes: Promenade dans les Yašts à la lumière de travaux récents (suite)", *Annuaire du Collège de France 1999–2000*, Paris: 721–51.

— (2002). "L'idéologie religieuse des inscriptions achéménides", *JA* 290: 417–64.

— (2003) « Le mot « aryen » ou le fantasme contre l'analyse », *Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*, Brussels, 6e série t. 14, 1-6 : 99-112.

Kent, Roland G. (1953). *Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, 2nd rev. edn, New Haven.

Kingsley, P. (1990). "The Greek origin of the sixth-century dating of Zoroaster", *BSOAS* 53: 245–65.

— (1995). "Meetings with Magi: Iranian themes among the Greeks, from Xanthus of Lydia to Plato's Academy", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: 173–209.

Kinneir, J.M. (1813). *A Geographical Memoire of the Persia Empire*, London.

Klima, O. (1967). "The official name of the pre-Islamic Iranian state", in *Sir J.J. Zarthoshti Madressa Centenary Volume*, Bombay: 144–7.

Koch, Heidemarie (1977). *Die religiösen Verhältnisse der Dareioszeit. Untersuchungen an Hand der elamischen Persepolistäfelchen* (Göttinger Orientforschungen III.4), Wiesbaden.

König, F.W. (1965). *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*. Graz: AfO Beiheft 16.

Kotwal, F.M., and P.G. Kreyenbroek, P.G. (1995). *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān Volume II. Nērangestān, Fragard 1* (Studia Iranica Cahier 16), Paris.

— (2003). *The Hērbedestān and Nērangestān Volume III. Nērangestān, Fragard 2* (Studia Iranica Cahier 30), Paris.

Kreyenbroek, P.G. (1987a). "The *Dādestān ī dēnīg* on priests", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 30: 185–208.

— (1987b). "The Zoroastrian priesthood after the fall of the Sasanian empire", in Ph. Gignoux (ed.), *Transition Periods in Iranian History* (Studia Iranica Cahier 5), Paris: 151–66.

— (1994). "On the concept of spiritual authority in Zoroastrianism", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 17: 1–15.

— (1996). "The Zoroastrian tradition from an oralist's point of view", in *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute Second International Congress Proceedings*, Bombay: 221–37.

— (2002). "Millennialism and eschatology in the Zoroastrian tradition", in A. Amanat and M. Bernhardsson (eds), *Imagining the End: Visions of Apocalypse from the Ancient Middle East to Modern America*, London/New York: 33–55.

Kroll, S. (2005). "The southern Urmia basin in the Early Iron Age", *IA* 40: 65–85.

Lamberg-Karlovsky, C.C. (2002). "Archaeology and language: The Indo-Iranians", *Current Anthropology* 43: 63–88.

Lamberterie, Charles de (1989). "Armenien *ari* et *anari*", *Etudes irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*, Paris: 237–46.

Lanfranchi, G.B., Roaf, M., and Rollinger, R. (eds.) (2003). *Continuity of Empire (?) Assyria, Media, Persia*, HANE/M-V, Padua.

Lecoq, P. (1997). *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*, Paris.

Lévi, Sylvain (1915). "Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūrī", *JA*, 11è série t. 5: 19–138.

— (1925). "Notes indiennes", *JA* 206: 17–69.

Levine, L.D. (1972). *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*, Royal Ontario Museum Occasional Paper 23, Toronto.

— ( 1974). "Geographical studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros II", *Iran* 12: 99–124.

Liverani, M.(2003). "The rise and fall of Media", in Lanfranchi, Roaf and Rollinger 2003: 1-12.

Luck, G. (1985). *Arcana Mundi. Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Baltimore/London.

Luckenbill, D.D. (1924). *The Annals of Sennacherib*. Chicago: OIP 2.

Lur'e, Pavel (2004). Istoriko-lingvisticheskii analiz Sogdiiskoi toponimii, St Petersburg [unpublished PhD, accessible at www.orientalstudies.ru/pers/z_lurje.html]

Lyonnet, Bertille (1997). *Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane orientale (1974–1978)*, vol. 2: *Céramique et peuplement du Chalcolithique à la conquête arabe*, Paris.

MacKenzie, D. Neil (1989). "Kerdir's inscription", in *Iranische Denkmäler*, Lief. 13, Reihe II: *Iranische Felsreliefs* I. *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Naqsh-i Rustam*, Berlin: 35-72.

— (1998). "*Ērān, Ērānšahr*", *EncIr* VIII: 535.

Madan, Dhanjishah Meherjibhai (ed.) (1911). *The Complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkard*, Bombay.

Majidzadeh, Y. (1992). "The Arjan bowl", *Iran* 30: 131-44.

— ( 2001). *The Ancient Ozbaki site, Savoudjbolaqh, Iran*, Tehran (in Persian and English).

Mallowan, M.E.L. (1966). *Nimrud and its Remains*, 2 vols., London.

Marcus, M.I. (1996). *Emblems of Identity and Prestige: the Seals and Sealings from Hasanlu, Iran*, Hasanlu Special Studies III, Philadelphia.

Marquart, J. (1891–3). *Die Assyriaka des Ktesias*. Göttingen: Philologus Supplementband 6.

Marquart, J. (1895). "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Ērān", *ZDMG* 49: 628–9.

— (1901). *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'I* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft des Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Neue Folge, Band III, No. 2), Berlin.

Matīnī, J. (1990). "Īrān dar 'aīnay-e dīgarān", *Majallay-e Iranshenasi* I/1 (Spring): 3–31.

— (1992). "Īrān dar dowrān-e Eslāmī", *Majallay-e Iranshenasi* IV/2 (Summer): 243–68.

Mayrhofer, M. (1973). *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namengut der Persepolis-Täfelchen*. Vienna: Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl. 286.

— (1979). *Iranisches Personennamenbuch, Band I: Die altiranischen Namen*, Vienna.

McNicoll, Anthony, and Ball, Warwick (eds) (1996). *Excavations at Kandahar 1974 and 1975*, Oxford (BAR International Series 641).

Medvedskaya, I.N.(1988). "Who destroyed Hasanlu IV?", *Iran* 26: 1-15.

— (1991). "Once more on the destruction of Hasanlu IV: problems of dating", *IA* 26: 149-161.

Melikian-Chirvani, A.S. (1987). "The wine-bull and the Magian master", in Ph. Gignoux (ed.), *Transition Periods in Iranian History* (Studia Iranica Cahier 5), Paris: 101–134.

Menasce, Jean de (1973). *Le troisième livre du Dēnkart*, Paris.

Meyer, E. (1980). *Geschichte des Altertums*, ed. The Phaidan, Vienna.

Miroschedji, P. de (1985). "La fin du royaume de l'Anšan et de Suse et la naissance de l'empire perse", *ZA* 75: 265–306.

Mohl, Jules (ed. and trans.) (1838–68). *Le livre des rois*, Paris.

Molé, Marijan (1963). *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, Paris.

— (1993). *La légende de Zoroastre selon les textes pehlevis*, Paris.

Monchi-Zadeh, Davoud (1975). *Topographisch-historische Studien zum Iranischen Nationalepos*, Wiesbaden.

Moorey, P.R.S. ( 1980). *Cemeteries of the First Millennium B.C. at Deve Hüyük*, BAR-S87, Oxford.

— (1986). Review of Curtis 1984 in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 43: 800-803.

Morgenstierne, Georg (1979). "The linguistic stratification of Afghanistan", *Afghan Studies* 2: 23–33.

Moulton, J.H. (1913). *Early Zoroastrianism. The Origins, the Prophet, the Magi*, London (repr. Amsterdam, 1972).

Mousavi, A. (1994). "Une brique à décor polychrome de l'Iran occidental (VIIIe-VIIe s. av. J.-C.)", *StIr* 23: 7-18.

— (2005). "Comments on the Early Iron Age in Iran", *IA* 40: 87-99.

Muscarella, O.W.(1980). *The Catalogue of Ivories from Hasanlu, Iran*, Hasanlu Special Studies II, Philadelphia.

— (1987). "Median art and Medizing scholarship", *JNES* 46: 109-127.

— (1988). *Bronze and Iron: Ancient Near Eastern Artefacts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York.

Negahban, E.O. (1996). *Marlik: the Complete Excavation Report*, 2 vols., Philadelphia.

Nöldeke, Th. (1887). "Üeber die Namen Persien und Irān", in *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte*, Leipzig: 147–9.

Ogden, D. (2001). *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, Princeton/Oxford.

Oppenheim, A.L. (1985). "The Babylonian evidence of Achaemenid rule in Mesopotamia", *CHIr* II: 529–87.

Ouseley, William (1819–23). *Travels in Various Countries of the East, More Particularly Persia in 1810, 1811, 1812*, II, London.

Overlaet, B. ( 2003). *The Early Iron Age in the Pusht-i Kuh, Luristan*, Luristan Excavation Documents IV, Leuven.

— (2005). 'Chronology of the Iron Age in the Pusht-i Kuh', *I A* 40: 1-33.

Panaino, Antonio (1990). "Calendars i. Pre-Islamic calendars", in Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *EncIr* IV/6, London: 658-68.

Parpola, A. (2002). "Pre-Proto-Iranians of Afghanistan as initiators of Šāktā tantrism: On the Scythian/Saka affiliation of the Dāsas, Nuristanis and Magadhans", *IrAnt* 37: 233–324.

Pines, S. (1990). "A parallel between two Iranian and Jewish themes", in S. Shaked and A. Netzer (eds), *Irano-Judaica II*, Jerusalem: 41–51.

Porten, Bezalel *et al.* (1996). *The Elephantine Papyri in English. Three Millennia of Cross-cultural Continuity and Change*, Leiden and New York.

Posener, G. (1963). *La première domination Perse en Égypte*, Cairo.

Potts, D.T. (1999). *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State*. Cambridge.

Prášek, J. (1912). *Kyros der Große*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Puig, Jean-José (2005). *La pêche à la truite en Afghanistan*, Paris.

Radner, K. (2003). "A Median sanctuary at Bit-Ishtar", in Lanfranchi, Roaf and Rollinger 2003: 119-130.

Rapin, Claude (forthcoming). "Nomads and the shaping of Central Asia (from the early Iron Age to the Kushan period)", in G. Herrmann and J. Cribb (eds), *After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam*, Oxford (forthcoming 2006).

Razmjou, Shahrokh (2001). "Des traces de la déesse Spenta Ārmaiti à Persépolis", *St Ir* 30: 7–15.

— (2004). "The *Ian* ceremony and other ritual ceremonies in the Achaemenian period: the Persepolis Fortification Tablets", *Iran* 62: 103-117.

— (2005). "In search of the lost Median art", *IA* 40: 271-314.

Reade, J.E.(1976). "Elam and Elamites in Assyrian sculpture", *AMI* 9: 97-106.

— (1977). "Shikaft-i Gulgul: its date and symbolism", *IA* 12: 33-44.

— (1995). "Iran in the Neo-Assyrian period", in Liverani, M. (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Rome: 31-42.

Reiner, E. (1973). "The location of Anšan", *RA* 67: 57–62.

Roaf, M.D. (2003). "The Median dark age", in Lanfranchi, Roaf and Rollinger 2003: 13-22.

Roaf, M., and Stronach, D. (1973). "Tepe Nush-i Jan, 1970: second interim report", *Iran* 11: 129-140.

Rollinger, R. (1998). "Der Stammbaum des achaimenidischen Königshauses oder die Frage der Legitimität der Herrschaft des Dareios", *AMIT* 30: 155–209.

— (1999). "Zur Lokalisation von Parsu(m)a(š) in Fars und zu einigen Fragen der frühen persischen Geschichte", *ZA* 89: 115–39.

Roustaei, K. and Potts, D.T. (20040. "The ICAR–University of Sydney Joint Archaeological Expedition in Mamasani, Fars Province: A preliminary report on the fieldwork", *Archaeological Reports* 2: 9–26 (in Persian).

Rudenko, S.I. (1970). *Frozen Tombs of Siberia*, London.

Russell, J.R. (1987). *Zoroastrianism in Armenia* (Harvard Iranian Series 5), Cambridge, MA.

Sarfaraz, A(1969). "The discovery of an Assyrian relief", *Iran* 7: 186.

Sarraf, M.R.(1990). "The bronze bowl of Kidin-Hutran discovered at Arjan, Behbehan", *Athar* 17: 4-61 (in Persian).

Sayce, A.H. (1882). "Cyrus était-il roi de Perse ou de Susiane?", *Le Muséon* 1: 548–56.

— (1886). "La situation géographique d'Anzan", *Le Muséon* 5: 501–505.

Schaeder, H.H. (1941). *Das persische Weltreich*, Breslau.

Schmidt, Erich F. (1953). *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, OIP LXVIII, Chicago.

— ( 1957). *Persepolis II: Contents of the Treasury and other Discoveries*, OIP LXIX, Chicago.

— (1970). *Persepolis*, vol. III. *The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*, Chicago.

Schmitt, R. (1967). "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot", *ZDMG* 117: 119–45.

— (1991a). *The Bisitun Inscriptions of Darius the Great. Old Persian Text*, CII, Pt I, vol. I, Texts I, London.

— (1991b). "Zu dem 'arischen Ahuramazda' ", *St Ir* 20/2: 189–92.

— (2000). *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum Part I, Vol.1, Texts II.

Schwartz, Martin (1985). "The old Eastern Iranian world-view according to the Avesta", *CHIr* II: 648–50.

— (1990). "Viiamburas and Kafirs", *BAI* 4: 251–5.

Seipel, W. (ed.), (2000). *7000 Ans d'Art Perse: chefs d'oevre du Musée National de Téhéran*, Milan and Vienna.

Shahbazi, A. Shapur (1974). "An Achaemenid symbol" I, *AMI*: 135–44.

— (1980). "An Achaemenid symbol II. Farnah 'God-given Fortune' symbolised", *AMI* 13: 119–47.

— (1983). "Darius' Haft Kišvars", in H.-M. Koch and D.N. MacKenzie (eds), *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben*, AMI Ergänzungsband 10, Berlin: 242–6.

— (1993). "Cyrus ii. Cyrus I", *EncIr* 6: 516.

— (2001). "Early Sasanians' claim to Achaemenid heritage", *International Journal of Ancient Iranian Studies* I/1 (Spring and Summer): 61–73.

— (2002). "Goštāsp", *EncIr* X: 171–6.

Shaked, S. (1990). "Administrative functions of priests in the Sasanian period", in G. Gnoli and A. Panaino (eds), *Proceedings of the First European Conference of Iranian Studies 1. Old and Middle Iranian Studies* (Serie Orientale Roma 67.1), Rome: 261–73.

— (1994). *Dualism in Transformation. Varieties of Religion in Sasanian Iran*, London.

— (1996). "The traditional commentary on the Avesta (Zand): translation, interpretation, distortion?", in *La Persia e l'Asia Centrale da Alessandro al X secolo* (Atti dei convegni Lincei 127), Rome: 641–56.

— (2004). *Le satrape de Bactriane et son gouverneur. Documents araméens du IVᵉ s. avant notre ère provenant de Bactriane* (Persika 4), Paris.

— (2005). "Zoroastrian origins: Indian and Iranian connections", in J.P. Arnason, S.N. Eisenstadt and B. Wittrock (eds), *Axial Civilizations and World History* (Jerusalem Studies in History and Culture 4), Leiden: 183-200.

Shapira, D. (1998). *Studies in Zoroastrian Exegesis: Zand*, PhD dissertation, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Shoberel, Frederick (1828). *Persia: Containing a Description of the Country*, London.

Sims-Williams, Nicholas (1997). *New Light on Ancient Afghanistan. The Decipherment of Bactrian*, SOAS, London.

Sims-Williams, N. and Cribb, Joe (1995). "A new Bactrian inscription of Kanishka the Great", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4: 75–142.

Skalmowski, W. (1993). "Two Old Persian names", *OLP* 24: 73–7.

Skjærvø, Prods Oktor (1995). "The Avesta as source for the early history of the Iranians", in G. Erdosy (ed.), *The Indo-Aryans of Ancient South Asia. Language, Material Culture and Ethnicity*, Berlin – New York: 155–75.

— (1997). "The state of Old-Avestan scholarship", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117/1: 103–114.

— (1999). "Avestan quotations in Old Persian? Literary sources of the Old Persian inscriptions", in Shaul Shaked and Amnon Netzer (eds), *Irano-Judaica* IV, Jerusalem: 1–64.

— (2002). "Praise and blame in the Avesta. The poet-sacrificer and his duties", in *Studies in Honour of Shaul Shaked* I [*JSAI* 26], Jerusalem: 29-67.

— (2003a). "Truth and deception in ancient Iran", in Farrokh Vajifdar and Carlo G. Cereti (eds), *Jamshid Soroush Soroushian Commemorative Volume*, vol. II. *Ātaš-e dorun`– The Fire Within*, 1st Books Library: 383–434.

— (2003b). "Zarathuštra: First poet-sacrificer", in Siamak Adhami (ed.), *Paitimāna. Essays in Iranian, Indian, and Indo-European Studies in Honor of Hanns-Peter Schmidt*, Costa Mesa: 176-8.

— (2004). "Smashing urine: on *Yasna* 48.10", in Michael Stausberg (ed.), *Zoroastrian Rituals in Context*, Leiden and Boston: 253–81.

Smith, J.Z. (1995). "Trading places", in M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (eds), *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 129), Leiden: 13–27 [reprinted in J.Z. Smith, *Relating Religion. Essays in the Study of Religion*, Chicago 2004, 215–29].

Smith, S. (1924). *Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon*. London: Methuen.

Spiegel, F. (1871–8). *Erânische Altertumskunde*, i–iii. Amsterdam: Oriental Press (1971 reprint).

Stausberg, M. (1998). "The invention of a canon – the case of Zoroastrianism", in A. van der Kooij and K. van der Toorn (eds), *Canonization and Decanonization. Papers presented to the International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions (LISOR) held at Leiden 9–10 January 1997* (Studies in the History of Religions 82), Leiden: 257–77.

Steblin-Kamenskii, Ivan (1978). "Reka Iranskoii prarodiny", in *Onomastika Srednei Azii*, Moscow: 72–4.

Stolper, M.W. (1984). *Texts from Tall-i Malyan, I. Elamite administrative texts (1972–1974)*. Philadelphia: Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 6.

Stronach, D. (1969). "Excavations at Tepe Nush-i Jan, 1967", *Iran* 7: 1-20.

— (1978). "Excavations at Tepe Nush-i Jan. Part 2. Median pottery from the fallen floor in the fort", *Iran* 16: 11-24.

— (1978). *Pasargadae*, Oxford.

— (1990). "On the genesis of the Old Persian cuneiform script", in F. Vallat (ed.), *Mélanges Jean Perrot*. Paris: 195–203.

— (1997a). "Anshan and Parsa: Early Achaemenid history, art and architecture on the Iranian Plateau", in J. Curtis (ed.), *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Persian Period: Conquest and Imperialism 539–331 B.C.* London: 35–53.

— (1997b). "On the interpretation of the Pasargadae inscriptions", in B. Magnusson, S. Renzetti, P. Vian and S.J. Voicu (eds), *Ultra terminum vagari: Scritti in onore di Carl Nylander*. Rome: 323–9.

— (1998). "On the date of the Oxus gold scabbard and other Achaemenid matters", *BAI* 12: 231–48.

— (2000). "Of Cyrus, Darius and Alexander: A new look at the 'epitaphs' of Cyrus the Great", in R. Dittmann, B. Hrouda, U. Löw, P. Matthiae, R. Mayer-Opificius and S. Thürwächter (eds), *Variatio delectat: Iran und der Westen, Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer*. Münster: AOAT 272: 681–702.

— (2003a). "Independent Media: archaeological notes from the homeland", in Lanfranchi, Roaf and Rollinger 2003: 233-248.

— (2003b). "The tomb at Arjan and the history of southwestern Iran in the early sixth century BCE", in N.F. Miller and K. Abdi (eds), *Yeki bud, yeki nabud: Essays on the Archaeology of Iran in Honor of William M. Sumner*. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Monograph 48: 249–59.

— (2005). "The Arjan tomb", *IA* 40: 179-196.

Stronach, D. and Roaf, M. (1978). "Excavations at Tepe Nush-i Jan. Part 1. A third interim report'", *Iran* 16: 1-11.

Tavernier, J. (2002). *Iranica in de Achaemenidische Periode (ca. 550–330 v. Chr.): Taalkundige studie van Oud-Iraanse eigennamen en leenwoorden, die geattesteerd zijn in niet-Iraanse teksten*, 3 vols.

Teixidor, J. (1999). "L'inscription araméenne de Bukân: relecture", *Semitica* 49: 117-121.

Toynbee, A. (1954). *A Study in History*, VII, Oxford.

Tremblay, Xavier (1998). "Sur *parsui* du Farhang-ī-Ōim, *ratu-*, *pərətu-*, *pitu-* et quelques autres thèmes avestiques en -u", *St Ir* 27: 187–204.

— (1999). Etudes sur les noms suffixaux athématiques de l'Avesta, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, IVe section, Paris [unpublished PhD].

— (2004). "La toponymie de la Sogdiane et le traitement de *xθ* et *fθ* en iranien", *St Ir* 33: 113–49.

Vallat, F. (1980). *Suse et l'Elam*. Paris.

— (1984). "Kidin-Hutran et l'époque néo-élamite", *Akkadica* 37: 1-17.

— (1993). *Les noms géographiques des sources suso-élamites*. Wiesbaden: Répertoire géographique des textes Cunéiformes 11.

Versnel, H.S. (1991). "Some reflections on the relationship magic–religion", *Numen* 38: 177–97.

Vogelsang, Willem (2000). "The sixteen lands of Vidēvdād 1. A'ryân'm Vaêjah and the homeland of the Iranians", *Persica* 16: 49–66.

Voigt, M. and Dyson, R.H., Jr (1992). "The chronology of Iran, ca. 8000–2000 B.C.", in R.W. Ehrich (ed.), *Chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (3rd edn). Chicago/London: 122–78.

Voigtlander, E.N. von (1978). *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great. Babylonian Version* (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum I.II.1), London.

Waters, Matthew W. (1996). "Darius and the Achaemenid line", *The Ancient History Bulletin* 10: 11–18.

— (1999). "The earliest Persians in southwestern Iran: the textual evidence", *Iranian Studies* 32: 99–107.

— (2000). *A Survey of Neo-Elamite History*. Helsinki: State Archives of Assyria Studies 12.

— (2004). "Cyrus and the Achaemenids", *Iran* 42: 91–102.

Watters, Thomas (1904–1905). *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (A.D. 629–645)*, London.

Weidner, E. (1931–2). "Die älteste Nachricht über das persische Königshaus: Kyros I. ein Zeitgenosse Assurbânaplis", *AfO* 7: 1–7.

Weissbach, F.H. (1924). "Kyros 4", *RE* 23: col. 188.

West, M.L. (1993). "Simonides redivivus", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 98: 1–14.

Widengren, G. (1965). *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart.

— (1977). "The Persian period", in J.H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller (eds), *Israelite and Judaean History*, Philadelphia: 489–538.

Wilkinson, C.K. (1975). *Ivories from Ziwiye*, Abegg-Stiftung Bern.

Wilson, H.H. (1851). *Ariana Antiqua*, London.

Wiesehöfer, J. (1999). "Fars ii. History in the pre-Islamic period", *EncIr* 9: 333–7.

— (2002). "Gebete für die 'Urahnen' oder: Wann und wie verschwanden Kyros und Dareios aus der historischen Tradition Irans?", *Electrum* 6: 111–17.

Witzel, Michael (2000). "The home of the Aryans", in A. Hintze und E. Tichy (eds), *Anusantatyai. Festschrift für Johanna Narten zum 70. Geburtstag*, Dettelbach: 283–338.

Yarshater, E. (1985). "Iranian national history", *CHIr*, III: 359-447.

Young, T. C. (1967). "The Iranian migration into the Zagros", *Iran* 5: 11–34.

— (1985). "Early Iron Age Iran revisited: preliminary suggestions for the re-analysis of old constructs", in *De l'Indus aux Bálkans: à la memoire de Jean Deshayes*, Paris 361-378.

— (2003). "Parsua, Parsa, and potsherds", in N.F. Miller and K. Abdi (eds), *Yeki bud, yeki nabud: Essays on the Archaeology of Iran in Honor of William M. Sumner*. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Monograph 48: 243–8.

Zadok, R. (1976). "On the connections between Iran and Babylonia in the sixth century B.C.", *Iran* 14: 61–78.

— (1991). "Elamite onomastics", *SEL* 8: 225–37.

— (2002). *The Ethno-linguistic Character of Northwestern Iran and Kurdistan in the Neo-Assyrian Period*. Jaffa.