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Владимиру Ароновичу Лившицу — 90 лет!

Данный том — сборник научных статей, которые были собраны по случаю славного юбилея. Идея тома возникла спонтанно и, по меркам редакционной работы, совсем недавно, всего за год до юбилея. Владимир Аронович, человек огромных знаний и шедрой души, всегда приковывал к себе копилет и учеников. И его публикации, и длинные подробные письма, и пометы на полях и обертках данных ему на рецензирование черновиков или грант, часто превышающие написанное самим автором по объему и почти всегда — по значимости, и выступления на научных заседаниях, и застольные речи, и рассказы, вообще, ярость личности и значимость его трудов — стали причиной того, что в очень короткие сроки 64 автора прислали свои работы. Пришли статьи из Санкт-Петербурга и Москвы, Ташкента и Нукуса, Новополоцка и Берлина, Оксфорда и Бордо, Нью-Йорка и Пекина, Лондона и Парижа, Иерусалима и Тегерана. Все наши авторы знакомы В.А. Лившицу по публикациям, очень многие знакомы с ним и лично, многие бывают у него в гостях, многим он помогал советом, для многих был и остается Учителем, некоторые его так и именуют — Моя звёздочка. Есть в сборнике и его сослуживцы по «золотому веку лингвистической институции», и даже старшие коллеги Владимира Ароновича!

Не будем здесь останавливаться на биографии юбиляра — многое было указано в предыдущем, втором по счету, фестивале в честь В.А. Лившица, все-что можно


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*Michael Shenkar*

**A Sasanian Chariot Drawn by Birds and the Iconography of Sraoša**

The Sasanian art produced few indisputable divine images. Of the dozens of divine beings in the populous Avestan pantheon, so far only images of Ahura Mazda, Anāhītā, Mithra and the moon-god Mērō have been definitively identified. It is for this reason that any additional deities that can be added to the limited Sasanian iconographic corpus would significantly contribute to our understanding of Sasanian art and religion.

A curious Sasanian seal (jasper, 12.7x17.2x15.8 mm), formerly in the Molsen Foroughi collection, depicts a beardless male head above the protomes of two birds facing in opposite directions (Fig. 1). The face, shown in full frontal view with a triangle shape, has large eyes, a large, fleshy nose and a small, open mouth. It seems to be bearded, although this cannot be established with certainty because the upper part of the seal is worn. However, two perfectly round curls that form part of the coiffure are clearly discernible.

The birds, identical and joined, are rendered in profile. They have large eyes, a slightly crooked beak, four vertical outgrowths on their heads and three avian claws on each leg. The wings are rendered by three lines bended upwards. The birds most resemble roosters; their somewhat unusual wings are typical for winged creatures on Sasanian seals, regardless of species. Below the images, the seal has a Middle Persian inscription, part of which is read by Ph. Gignoux and R. Gymelen as *pfhgh* (Farnbag).

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1 I would like to thank Franz Grenet for his help and valuable comments.
3 Gignoux, Gymelen, 1982, p. 143, identify them as griffons.
A frontal bust above two juxtaposed animal protomes is a conventional symbolic representation of a divine chariot in the Sassanian sigillography. The Sassanian art has thus far provided three representations of the chariot of the Sun god Mithra (Fig. 2) and one of his astral companion, the Moon god Māh (Fig. 3). These images differ from the present seal in that they include two circles symbolizing wheels below the mounts. Although in the present image the wheels are missing and the face has no specific attributes, there can be little doubt that this seal is an example of such a chariot. It should be viewed as a more abbreviated and crudely executed variant of the similar divine chariot

Only divinities are depicted in this manner on Sassanian seals. Mithra is recognizable by his horns and his distinctive rayed crown, and Māh can be safely identified by the bulls harnessed to his chariot and the moon crescent behind his head. But who is the deity riding the chariot drawn by roosters? Unfortunately, the god on the seal is devoid of any crown or headgear (or at least such headgear is not preserved), so the only clue to his identity can be provided by the mounts of his chariot.

In the Zoroastrian tradition, the rooster is most closely associated with the god Šnāoš (Mr. Sārōh), the prominent Avestan yazata whose name means “obedience,” “hearkening”, or “readiness to listen”⁴. There are certain textual indications suggesting that Šnāoš was perhaps an Avestan creation rather than an ancient deity of the Indo-Iranian tradition. The Zoroastrian scriptures associate Šnāoš with prayer and stress his close link with Mithra and the goddess An. He also serves as a mediator between meōg (the incorporeal world, unperceived by the senses) and gētīy (the material world, perceived by the senses) and often acts as the divine messenger.

Šnāoš is not the only Iranian divinity to be linked with the rooster in the written sources. In the Middle Persian Book of Deeds of Ardāşīr son of Pābāg, the victorious Ādūr-Farnābāg, assuming the form of the “red cock” (šrōs-ē šsuar), saves Ardāşīr by dashing a cup containing a poisonous drink from his hand. Ādūr Farnābāg was one of the three main fires in the Sassanian Empire and was associated with priests. Since the inscription on the seal also contains the name “Farnāb”, it was suggested by Frantz Grenet that the character depicted on it could in fact be an anthropomorphic representation of Ādūr Farnābāg or a manifestation of Ādūr, the god of fire. However, “Farnāb” (alone or as a part of a compound containing it) is a common personal name frequently encountered on Sassanian seals, and this therefore may be pure coincidence.

The second allusion to a cock is found in the intriguing account of Zoroastrianism written by Syriac author Theodor bar Koni (eighth-ninth c. CE). In his account, which resembles Avestan stories, he tells us that the Earth was an adolescent virgin betrothed to Parsiš (Av. Partihāš), and that the Fire was gifted with an ability to speak and was walking with Gourrap (Av. Kəhəŋāž). Parsiš was once either a fish, an ant, or an old dog; the Kouni (Av. Hūma) was a dolphin and a cock that swallowed Parsiš; and Kīku'-z (Av. Kərūz-Uantu) was a mountain ram. This report might be initially based on some lost Avestan account, but the meaning of ascribing deities and mythical heroes these zoomorphic transformations is unclear and the association of the Hūma with the cock is not supported by any other source. Therefore, Šnāoš appears to be a much better candidate for the rooster-riding god.

One must note, however, that Šnāoš is never described in Iranian literacy sources as riding a chariot drawn by roosters. Like many other Avestan deities, his chariot is harnessed to four white, radiant steeds. However, the fact that Šnāoš has survived in the Islamic tradition as a cosmic cock, a rooster angel encountered by Muhammad during his ascension to heavens, testifies to the unusual endurance and longevity of the deity’s association with a cock in Iran.

Roosters are also found depicted alone, like dozens of other animals and birds appearing on Sassanian seals. In light of the textual evidence, they are often thought of as zoomorphic representations of Šnāoš. I have addressed elsewhere the problem of identifying individual animals from the repertoire of Sassanian glyptic art as symbols of Zoroastian deities. Attempts to “read” the Sassanian art using the extant Avestan and Middle Persian literature have

Footnotes:
⁴ Ghirdman, 1962, p. 243; Gubac, Logirov, Nikitin, 1996, sealing No. 1.3; Gignoux, Gyselen, 1982, No. 10.9.
⁶ It is worth noting that on one of the three seals depicting the chariot of Mithra, the Sun god is shown in a four-wheeled chariot and the horses are omitted. Gignoux, Gyselen, 1982, No. 10.9.
⁷ For a general discussion of divine imagery on Sassanian seals, see the article of Frantz Grenet in this volume.
⁸ See Kreyenbroek, 1985, p. 118, who provides references to Middle Persian sources.
¹⁰ Skjærve, 2011, p. 15.
¹¹ Kreyenbroek, 1985, p. 164.
¹² KNA 10.7.
¹³ See Boyce, 1985.
¹⁴ Personal communication.
¹⁵ See Gignoux, 1986, Nos. 343-347.
¹⁶ Bar Koni 11.13.
¹⁷ Y. 57.27.
¹⁸ The motif of the cosmic cock in the Islamic literature and art is treated in Sabtely, 2011.
¹⁹ For instance, Gignoux, Gyselen, 1982, 30–71–30.79. There are also images of a cock with a human head Gignoux, Gyselen, 1982, 40.56; Lemer, 1975, Pl. II, 4–5), which visually resemble the Sogdian “bird-priests” (see below), though they are unrelated. The Sassanian representations may be influenced by Roman portraits of Mercury in a similar form (Lemer, 1975, p. 168, Pl. II, 2). Mercury’s affiliation with a cock and his role as a psychopomp makes him an appropriate model for the Sassanian Šnāoš. However, the Sassanian “human-cocks” are part of a larger group of “hybrid cocks”, which also include moufflon- and ibex-headed cocks (Lemer, 1975, Pl. II, 6–7), which cannot be explained as representations of Iranian deities.
not proven very productive and are not without methodological pitfalls. One can hardly dispute that the overwhelming majority of themes and motifs in the Sasanian art are clearly inspired by other sources and do not illustrate any known Iranian text.

In the case of single roosters on Sasanian seals, an association with Sraoše is certainly possible, but it is important to keep in mind that when depicted alone they are devoid of any additional divine context like that provided by the symbolic divine chariot on the seal presently under discussion.

Assuming that the deity on the seal is indeed Sraoše, it may be useful to reassess what is known about the iconography and early history of the god in pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia. Sraoše is not attested as part of personal names in the Achaemenian period, but is found in a Greek papyrus from Hellenistic Egypt. His name also appears in several anthroponyms on Parthian ostraca from Nisa. However, no identical representations of Sraoše are known in Western Iran from these periods. In addition, very few Sasanian personal names contain his name as a theophoric compound.

That Sraoše, like other Iranian deities, was perceived in Sasanian Iran as an anthropomorphic being, is clear from the Middle Persian literature, or more specifically from the Ardī Wīrāz-nāmag where Sraoše together with Ādur accompanies Wīriz through his journey to Heaven and Hell.

Besides Ahriman, Sraoše (NP. Surişš) is the only pre-Islamic deity to appear in the Shāh-nāma. In Ferdowsi’s epic poem, Surišš acts as the divine messenger, an echo of one of his roles in the Zoroastrian tradition. He is described as very fine-looking, with long musky hair, a face like that of a heautōs and two wings. He is sent to warn Siyāvash while “in the form of a pari wearing a leopard skin” and comes to the rescue of Xusrō II dressed in green clothes and mounted on a white horse.

In the Eastern Iranian world, we find further possible evidence for Sraoše’s linkage with the rooster as well as several candidates for his anthropomorphic portrayal. His earliest attestation comes from the Kushan Rabatak inscription that commemorates the construction of the still-unexcavated sanctuary called Boyuqšo (God’s Water), probably located at Rabatak in northern Afghanistan. Sraoše (ie. eroberpe) appears fifth in the list of gods invoked by the Kushan king Kanishka in this inscription. However, no deity named “Shrosh” is known from the extraordinary rich and heterogeneous Kushan numismatic pantheon.

Between lines 9 and 10, where Sraoše’s name appears, there are traces of an additional interlinear inscription in smaller letters: “...who in Indian is called Maeso (Skr. Mahāsena) and he is called Bizago (Skr. Viṣākha).” Mahāsena and Viṣākha are both generally considered manifestations of the Indian god of war and sacred wisdom, also known under the names of Skanda, Kumāra and Kārttikeya. J. Cribb commented in the editio princeps that it is not clear to which Indian god the names Maeso and Bizago were meant to relate. However, most scholars have sound reasons to believe that they refer to Srošard.

The visual appearance of the Kushan Masseo (MAACHNO) is known from the coins of Huvishka, Kaniškha’s successor on the Kushan throne. Unlike most Kushan deities, Masseo’s body and head are both depicted in frontal view (Fig. 4). He wears a cloak slipped over his shoulders and has a nimbus surrounding his head. In his right hand, Masseo holds a long staff surmounted by the figure of a cock, and in his left hand he claps the hilt of a sword.

If the Maeso mentioned in the interlinear phrase in the Rabatak inscription is in fact the interpretatio Indica of Srošard, then the deity of the same name on the coins of Huvishka is the Kushan representation of Sraoše, making this a unique case in which an Iranian divinity was represented under the name of his Indian counterpart on Kushan coins. The rooster perched on his staff also appears to contribute to this identification. Like Mahāsena, Srošard’s personality has a pronounced warlike aspect, and his role as the vanquisher of demons is specifically emphasized in the Zoroastrian literature. Among his common epithets are “strong of arm” (Av. bāzūk Routing) and “with mighty club” (Av. darši dru). In the Middle Persian Zoroastrian literature, Srošard is referred to as “the chief over material world” (pad gēst sālā) and he is in charge of the “defense and protection of the creatures of the material world” (pāshāni ud pānagāh i gētigān). It is possible that the Bactrian Srošard-Maeso was even more bellicose.

[31] Shāh-nāma, Vol. 8, 144, 1903.

[34] Sims-Williams, Cart, 1996, p. 85.
[38] Boyce, 1975, p. 61.
[40] Bd 27.6.
[41] It is interesting to note that Mann, 2005, who discusses the formulation of the iconography of Mahāsena in India sees both the cock and the warlike appearance as borrowed from Sraoše.
Sraoša was also known in other regions of Central Asia. A name containing the theonym sraoša is attested at Topprak-kala, Chorsinmīn, and in Sogdiana40. Furthermore, the Sogdian visual representation of Sraoša is probably found on an ossuary fragment from the environs of Samarkand currently kept in Tashkent, depicting a scene of the Judgment of the soul (Fig. 5)41. A figure wearing a crenellated crown is seated cross-legged on the left far side and holding scales in his hand. He is approached by another personage, portrayed with a similar crown. The latter holds in one hand what seems to be a small, portable altar; in the other, he grasps the hand of a third character, who unfortunately remained outside of the preserved fragment. Although this ossuary is not inscribed, the imagery leaves no reasonable doubt that it depicts a scene from the Final Judgment of the soul in the afterlife as described in Zoroastrian texts. Therefore, the left figure with the scales would be the god Rašnu, while the one who leads the soul into Rašnu’s presence is most probably Sraoša, who assists the soul in passing the Činvad bridge42.

F. Grecet notes that the garments worn by Sraoša and Rašnu are not typical of the Sogdian gods, but rather resemble those of priests43. Their crowns are also closer to those worn by divinities on Sasanian reliefs than to the headresses of the Sogdian deities, which are usually more elaborate and consist of several elements. Furthermore, Sraoša appears as a judge of souls only in the Sasanian Middle Persian texts, but not in the Avesta44. Therefore, it is possible that the scene on this ossuary betrays Sasanian influences not only in iconography but also in the theology underlying the whole scene45.

Just as statues of Sraoša-Maaseno undoubtedly existed in Kushan Bactria, his cultic sculptures in round were probably also housed in Sogdian sanctuaries. In Panjikent XXVI/3, the fragments of painting that were discovered depict a golden statue probably carried in a

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41 Lurje, 2010, Nos. 61, 1092.
43 MX 2.114; Grecet, 2002, p. 94.
44 Grecet, 2002, p. 94.
45 Kreyenschrook, 1985, p. 4.
46 However, see De Jong, 2012, p. 21; who ascribes Sraoša’s transformation to the Achaemenian period, when both Pars and Sogdiana were parts of a single political unity. However, apart from the introduction of the Zoroastrian calendar, evidence for any religious reforms or a deliberate policy of religious consolidation and unification attempted by the Achaemenian monarchs is lacking.
procession (Figs. 6–7). The statue is shown above a large codex47 or a litter48 decorated with two divine figures, and appears to be “rising” from it. A mace is painted in the god’s right hand and his other hand probably holds an altar or a portable incense burner.

F. Grenet, who thinks that the statue is emerging out of a codex, has suggested that this is an image of Sraoša. According to the French scholar, the curious combination of anthropomorphic statue with book may be a literal illustration of the Avestan epithet of Sraoša, tana. mhdr: “whose body is the Sacred Word”49.

Another tentative image of the Sogdian Sraoša might be recognized in one of the five divinities in a badly preserved mural from Panjikent XXVI/2 (Fig. 8). Of the god pictured to the right of the central figure of Nana, only the end of the scabbard of the sword and the avian claw of the mount has survived. The excavators reasonably suggest that this god rides a giant bird or a griffon. It is therefore tempting to suggest that this divine mount could be a rooster, meaning its rider is likely Sraoša, but this is no more than a conjecture.

The discussion of possible Sogdian representations of Sraoša would not be complete without mentioning several Sino-Sogdian tombs on which a curious design of two half-men, half-birds attending a fire-altar is depicted on walls, stone couches and sarcophagi (Fig. 9)50. The dated examples all belong to a short period between 579 and 592 CE51. They wear pārām and are obviously performing the duties of a priest tending the fire. Similar “human-bird priests”, but without the fire-altar, are also shown flanking the chariot of Mithra in the painting next to the head of the Small Buddha at Bānīmar52, and probably also appear on the fragments of two ossuaries discovered in Samarkand in 199953.

The bird portion of these priests is probably that of a rooster. In a passage in Viśeśthātī (18.14), the rooster is presented in the role of priest54. Therefore, those scholars seeking to interpret these “human-bird priests” within the Zoroastrian tradition tended to identify them with Sraoša, following the oral suggestion made by P.O. Skjervo55. In Sogdiana, representations of half-birds, half-women were found at Varakhsha and Pendjikent, including on ossuaries56. Although they closely resemble Indian kinnaras and kinnaris, they seem to be related to harpies/iris, who in Greek mythology accompanied souls on their journey to the underworld57. However, the “human-bird priests” on Sino-Sogdian tombs are always male, and this specific type may have originated in China58.

48 Preferred by the excavators, Marshak, Raspopova, 2003, p. 50–51.
49 de la Vaisière, Riboud, Grenet, 2003, p. 134. This possibility is also discussed by Marshak, Raspopova, 2003, p. 50–51.
54 Riboud, 2012, Fig. 16.
57 For illustrations, see Berdimuradov, Bogomolov, 2008, Figs. 3–4.

A similar composition, but featuring fully anthropomorphic priests and lacking the complete symmetry found between the two Sino-Sogdian characters, are found on two Sogdian ossuaries, from Molla Kurgan and Krassorecheskoe Gorodishche56. P. Riboud, who has recently analyzed the origin of the bird-priest composition, convincingly suggested that it was the result of the encounter between two funerary motifs: that of two birds found on Chinese tombs and that of Sogdian priests57. Based on this observation, it seems likely that these are not actually divine images, but rather pictorial representations of Central Asian priests performing a funerary ritual merged with typically Chinese birds to fit the Chinese funerary settings. It is not improbable that the harpy-siren motif known in Sogdiana facilitated this fusion, which resulted in the creation of hybrid, Sino-Sogdian “bird-priests”.

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In conclusion, based on the textual evidence and the relevant iconographic parallels, I suggest that the seal from the former collection of Mohsen Foroughi depicts a unique image
Резюме
М.А. Шенкар

Сасанидская коленница запрещения птиц и иконография Сасанидия

Сность внесения сасанидской печати из бывшей коллекции М. Форуг и её изображением человеческого лица над дверями противопоставленными изображениями птиц. Опираясь на письменных, это изображение может интерпретироваться как символ божественной коленницы, запрещенной птицам. В хронистической традиции, божественное сведение с высотой гетура, является Сасанидностью.

Исходя из данных идентификации, предпринимается попытка пересмотра всех известных данных о кузнеца и иконографии Сасанидий в варварском мире. Божественный писец на рассматриваемом сасанидской печати является, по-видимому, единственным изображением Сасанидий в западном Иране, тогда как в восточной части варварского мира известно как минимум два его вероятных изображения: на могилах кушанского царя Хуанханя и на фрагментах кушанского стукера из Сивирканди.

О.М. Чупакова

Пехлевийский текст Sîr saxwan: проблемы интерпретации


Текст Sîr saxwan хорошо знает иранята, — особенно те, кто изучает административное и политическое устройство сасанидского Ирана, — потому что в § 9–14 упоминаются титулы Sāhān šāh — «царь царей», pus i wāsahr i šāhān — «принцессы», wucēr frāmādār — возможно, оленевой распорядитель царского хозяйства, свиту wāsāhēr — «командующих армией» востока, запада и юга, āshār dādwarān — возможно, императорский (судебный) судья, mōγārā handečbed — «советник могов» и hasčbed, — возможно, исполнитель каких-то военных функций. Эти паррафы построены по образцу Ḥamāzhōr šāhān šāh — Ḥamāzhōr pus i wāsahr, Ḥamāzhōr wucēr frāmādār и т.д. Вслед за Дж. Тавадией исследователи переводят их, соответственно, как «(достоин) всех возвышенных ("worthy of all the offerings") царей царей», «(достоин) всех возвышенных наследных принца и т. д. (см., например, Хуршудян, 2003, 121), и пытаются понять смысл этого списка: значение данных титулов и должностей, порядок их следования в списке, не совпадающий с данными сасанидских надписей, а также упоминание трех сарабов вместо ожидаемых четырех.

Последнее несоответствие пехлевийскому тексту другим историческим источникам объясняется по-разному: опиской переписчика, забывшего назвать сараба севера (например, Christensen, 1943, 522), умышленными пропусками последнего, — так как,