THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE HELLENISTIC FAR EAST: A SURVEY
Bactria, Central Asia and the Indo-Iranian Borderlands, c. 300 BC – AD 100

Supplement 1 (February 2013)

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Notes and Acknowledgements

This is the first of a projected series of supplements to my handbook to the archaeological literature on the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek Kingdoms, The Archaeology of the Hellenistic Far East: A Survey (Oxford: BAR, 2011). It contains more than two hundred additional items of bibliography, some, but by no means all, dating to the past two years. Many new publications appeared or were made known to me even before the initial volume came off the press. A still greater number of older publications have come to my attention in the meantime, whether through their appearance in the references of more recent works, suggestions from colleagues and students, or (increasingly commonly) through the serendipities of the internet.

Problems remain. I am aware that my coverage of Russian-language resources, and those published in Central Asia, remains patchy. After ‘playing catch-up’ to a certain extent in this first supplement, I hope that subsequent updates will lean more decisively towards current archaeological fieldwork and historical research, as I gradually come up to date with older publications, or acquire those to which it has been difficult for me to gain access. It has sometimes been difficult for me to decide whether or not to include forthcoming works. In general, my policy has been to include those publications which are on the point of being issued, on which I have detailed information, and/or which are of especial significance, and to omit those on which my information is less complete or reliable, or which are further away from actually being issued. Full details of all ‘forthcoming’ items will be given in subsequent updates, as and when they are formally published.

Supplement 2 will review the most recent compendia of Greek inscriptions from the Hellenistic Far East.

In the following sections, I assume that the reader has the 2011 literature review (hereafter, ‘HFE 2011’) to hand. It is available online, or may be purchased in hard copy from Oxbow Books (<www.oxbowbooks.com>).

There has been some reorganisation of the structure of HFE 2011, but I have kept this to a minimum. Section 5.2.6 ‘Maracanda – Samarkand – Afrasiab’ has been renamed ‘Samarkand and the Zeravshan Valley’, to reflect an intensification of archaeological work, and corresponding increase in publication, on the Zeravshan Valley and its sites as a whole. Section 7.4. ‘Field Archaeologists’ Webpages’ is now ‘Scholars’ Webpages’. A mistake in HFE 2011 led to the duplication of Section 7.3: there are no updates to these sections in the present supplement, but henceforth they will be subdivided into 7.3a ‘Publications’ and 7.3b ‘Field Projects’.

Stanley Burstein, Matthew Canepa, Getzel Cohen, Anjelina Drujinina, Kathryn McBride, Michael Iliakis, Lauren Morris, Cameron Petrie, Zachary Silvia, Dorothy J. Thompson and Michael Weiskopf were kind enough to share details of items missing from my bibliography and/or copies of their own publications. My sincere thanks are also due to the Inter-Library Loan department of the Rockefeller Library, Brown University.

Future updates will be published on, I hope, at least an annual basis. Readers are invited to submit corrigenda or details of new publications for inclusion to rachel.mairs AT gmail.com – any such information will be gratefully received.
Corrigenda to HFE 2011

p. 46, Section 7.5: for ‘Megram’ read ‘Begram’

Note a major error corrected under Section 6.3.1.2, below.
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1.2 Chronological and Geographical Parameters

As in HFE 2011, I relegate to this section works relating to periods outside the strict chronological parameters of the survey (from the turn of the fourth-third centuries BC, to the end of the last Indo-Greek kingdoms in north-western India). This includes works on Alexander the Great’s campaigns in the ‘Far East’, and the Graeco-Macedonian military settlement of the region.


Benjamin 2004 and Benjamin 2007 discuss the Yuezh, their origins and conquest of northern Bactria in the latter part of the second century BC.

Wagner, et al. 2009 propose, somewhat fancifully, that the tapestry depicting a scene of centaurs from which a pair of trousers in a tomb at Sampula, Xinjiang, were cut may have been looted by nomads from a Graeco-Bactrian palace, such as that at Ai Khanoum.

Raschke 1976 – and other articles in the same volume – contain much useful material on Roman dealings with the (former) Hellenistic Far East and beyond, including a large and useful bibliography of publications to that date.

2.3 Indian and Chinese Sources

Abdullaev 1999 assesses connections between Greek and Buddhist philosophies, drawing on material from the Milindapañha. Virgilio 1999 revisits Tarn’s comparison of the Milindapañha with the Letter of Aristeas (The Greeks in Bactria and India 1938/1951, Excursus) and proposes closer connections to an Asokan trope of a powerful king converting to Buddhism. In an article in the same volume, Betrò 1999 proposes an identification of the name of the Mauryan Emperor Asoka in a Demotic text from Roman Egypt.

2.6 Historical Fiction

The date of publication of Teodor Parnicki’s Koniec Zgody Narodów in the original Polish is 1955, in Mexico City; the French edition (Parnicki 1991) came out in 1991, after the author’s death. Parnicki’s (1908-1988) personal history is of some relevance, in the extent to which it must have informed his interest and priorities in writing about the Hellenistic Far East (readers of Polish may consult the Parnicki webpage at <https://sites.google.com/site/parnickiwsieci/>, accessed 11 August 2012). Born in Berlin to a Polish father and Polish-Jewish mother, Parnicki’s family moved to Russia when he was a child. At the age of 12, he ran away to Manchuria from his military school in Vladivostok. His later life encompassed periods teaching Russian and Chinese literature in Poland, travelling in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East, several years in a Gulag following the Soviet occupation of Poland, and stints as cultural attaché to embassies of the Polish Government in Exile in Russia and Mexico. Koniec Zgody Narodów was published in Mexico, after the Mexican government had withdrawn its recognition of the Polish Government in Exile, and he was making his living as a writer (in Polish, for the local Polish community). The culture of the Hellenistic Far East has proven an attractive and resonant topic for many scholars and creative writers alike with the personal experiences of the ethnic and national conflicts, and unprecedented possibilities for international travel, of the twentieth century.

Oikonomides 1984 translates C. P. Cavafy’s ‘Coins with Indian Inscriptions’, and suggests that that the first volume of Whitehead’s Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum Lahore, on the coins of the Indo-Greeks (Whitehead 1914), was the basis for the σοφό βιβλίον of the poem.

On a (much) lighter note, two more recent English-language novels take inspiration from the history of Hellenistic Central Asia. In The Venetian Betrayal (Berry 2007, who draws some of his source material from Holt 2003), a dictator in post-Soviet Central Asia searches for the lost tomb of Alexander and Hephaistion (which apparently lies in the Pamir Mountains...). Anabasis: A Novel of Hellenistic Afghanistan and Asia (Storey 2009) recounts the story of Demetrios 1’s invasion of north-western India.

3 Culture and Identity in the Hellenistic Far East

Traina 2005 questions whether hellenization is a useful or accurate paradigm for cultural interaction in the ‘Iranian East’ (on which see also Mairs 2013) and the extent to which the Greek language in the Iranian world and Central Asia was ever a ‘language of the street’ rather than a register of administration and literate culture.

Mairs 2012b attempts to identify some distinctive common features of Hellenistic Bactrian culture and identity.

Wolski 1960 (=Wolski 1969) considers the position of Iranians in, and their relations with, the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.
Burstein 2012 argues against the common assumption that the Greek and Macedonian settlers of Bactrian exclusively married local women, suggesting that many instead married and fathered children with captive women from other regions through which Alexander campaigned. Olbricht 2011 argues for an Iranian component in Alexander’s settlements in Central Asia.

4.2 Synthetic Historical Studies (General Publications >)

Lerner 2013 surveys the history of Bactria and its material remains.

I have not yet been able to locate a copy of Scott 1849, the publication of an undergraduate essay on Bactria awarded a prize at the University of Cambridge.

Sartre 2009 includes a brief overview of the Greek kingdoms of Bactria and India - introducing material from Ai Khanoum, and the Sophytoï inscription from Kandahar, inter alia - as one of his ‘Snapshots from Antiquity’.

Wolski 1982 discusses the foundation of the Graeco-Bactrian state.

4.3 Edited Volumes (General Publications >)

A Festschrift for Paul Bernard (Abdullaev 2010) contains a collection of articles in Russian and in French. Those of particular relevance are cited under the appropriate sections, below. Likewise, Saidov 2004 and Yusupova, et al. 2007 are Festschrift volumes for E. V. Rtveladze.

Masson 1999, the proceedings of an international conference on the cultural heritage of the East, contains a number of articles of relevance to Central Asia, as does Nikonorov 2005, on Central Asia from the Achaemenids to the Timurids. Specific papers are, again, cited in the appropriate sections above and below.

The proceedings of a 2007 conference accompanying the exhibition Afghanistan, i tesori ritrovati in Turin are published in a special volume of the journal Parthica (11, 2009). Aruz and Valtz Fino 2012 contains the collected papers from a symposium during the Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: some individual articles are singled out in the relevant sections, below.

The edited volume Ray and Potts 2007 focuses on the Legacy of Alexander in Asia. I do not list the various chapters separately, but would like to draw particular attention to Ray 2007, discussing the impact – or otherwise – of Alexander’s conquests on the archaeological record of north-western India; Bracey 2007 on coins and Graeco-Bactrian/Indo-Greek history (as noted in HFE 2011 4.5, I will not be maintaining a full bibliography of publications on Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek numismatics); and Parker 2007, who briefly surveys the material from Ai Khanoum and questions what it means to speak of ‘Hellenism in an Afghan context’.

Kouremenos, et al. 2011 contains several articles which discuss material from the Hellenistic Far East: Kopsachili 2011 provides a brief discussion of the Ai Khanoum palace; Shenkar 2011, on temples of the Iranian world, covers the Temple of the Oxus and the temples of Ai Khanoum, as well as later Bactrian sites; Wood 2011 treats the votives from Takht-i Sangin; and Mairs 2011 on hybridity and middle ground theory in relation to the Hellenistic Far East was cited as Mairs 2010b in HFE 2011.

The first edition of a new journal, Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia, published by the University of Rzeszów, Poland, appeared in 2010. The inaugural volume, Orientis Splendor: Studies in Memory of Józef Wolski, edited by M. J. Olbricht, has several contributions of relevance to the Hellenistic Far East (e.g. Litvinski 2010a; Lerner 2010; Rtveladze 2010; Piankov 2010; Gorin 2010; Mordvintseva 2010). The second volume, for 2011, contains, inter alia, a new study on the treasury of Ai Khanoum, its chronology and the activities undertaken there (Lerner 2011).

5.1.1 History of Archaeological Research (Archaeology > Introduction >)

There have been several recent publications on the history of archaeology in Afghanistan and Central Asia, and several more which were overlooked in HFE 2011.

See Foucher 1927 for a contemporary account of the very early years of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan. The study and publication of his archive have resulted in a slew of studies, notably by Annick Fenet, on Alfred Foucher and his mission to Afghanistan: Fenet 2008; Fenet 2010a (with primary documents and a detailed bibliography of Foucher’s publications); Fenet 2010b (on the support received by Foucher and his mission in Afghanistan from members of the École française d’Athènes); Filiozat and Leclant 2009 (the edited volume resulting from a 2007 Journée d’étude en hommage à Alfred Foucher in Paris). The life and career Foucher’s successor as DAFA director (1945-1965), Daniel Schlumberger, are surveyed by Amandry 1978 and Gelin 2010. The article on Ena Bazin-Foucher announced in Fenet 2010a as Fenet forthcoming does not yet appear to have been published.

Massoudi 2012 presents the history of the National Museum of Afghanistan, in Kabul.

For Central Asia (north of the Oxus/Amu-darya), Pugachenkova and Germanov 1996 discuss the establishment of a circle of amateur archaeologists in Turkestan in the late nineteenth century. On the French institute at Tashkent, established in 1993, see Chuvin 2003. See also Gorshenina 2004 on private collecting of antiques and antiquities in Russian Turkestan in the late
nineteenth-early twentieth centuries and Gorshenina 2000a on foreign travellers in Central Asia.

The latter author has also written a biography of archaeologist Galina Pugachenkova, excavator of a number of sites in northern Afghanistan and southern Uzbekistan (Gorshenina 2000b).

Barger 1939 is the preliminary report on the northern Afghan portion of the expedition recounted in Barger 1941 (HFE 2011 5.3.3.).

The pamphlet Wheeler 1959 is the transcription of a lecture on Greeks and Romans beyond the Himalayas, which, despite the somewhat misleading title, discusses both the Greek kingdoms of Bactria and India, and the later Roman maritime trade with southern India.

5.1.3 Research Tools and Thematic Studies (Archaeology > Introduction >)

An ‘Archaeological Information System of Central Asia’ (AISCA) is online in embryonic form at <http://www.ub.edu/aisca/indexeng.htm>, accessed 11 August 2012. This version has at present only basic functionality (and some broken links) but aims to create an online repository of databases, digitised publications, maps and other resources relevant to the field of Central Asian archaeology. Details of this project are also given in Maksudov, et al. 2009 (in Catalan). See, too, the brief but eloquent proposal for resolving the ‘chaos’ of Central Asian archaeological documentation through the production of a GIS in Stride 1999.

The Silk Road 2.2 (2004; online at <www.silk-road.com/newsletter/vol2num2.html>, accessed 11 August 2012) contains several articles relating to the use of GIS in archaeological projects in Central Asia. Some of these were already noted in HFE 2011, others are cited in the relevant sections, below.

The second part of Litvinskii and Sedov 1983 explores the origins of later Kushan funerary practice in Hellenistic-period Central Asia.

Martinez-Sève 2010b examines the religious policies of the Seleucid and Graeco-Bactrian kings.


5.2.1 Takhti Sangin and the North-East (Archaeology > Sites: Bactria, Sogdiana, Margiana, Chorasmia >)


Takhti Sangin, the ‘Temple of the Oxus’ and the ‘Treasure of the Oxus’

There were a number of omissions from HFE 2011 on the Temple of the Oxus (Takht-i Sangin), Oxus Treasure, and north-eastern Bactria in general, most notably Bernard 1981’s survey of the publications on the Temple of Oxus in the Revue archéologique. The north-western ‘altar-tower’ room of the temple and its ceramics were published by Pichikyan and Kerzum 1989 and Kerzum 1989. Pugatchenkoa 1990 treats the culture of northern Bactria and the site of Saksanokhur.

A collection of material from Takht-i Sangin and other Tajik sites, including Saksanokhur, was exhibited in Leningrad (Belenitskii and Zeimal’ 1985), Zürich (Belenitskii and Zeimal’ 1989) and Turin (Zeimal’ et al. 1993) in the late 1980s/early 1990s.

Pichikyan 1991 is essentially the Russian Urtext of Ptitchikyen 1992 (HFE 2011 5.2.1), but with additional material.

The third volume of reports on the Temple of the Oxus at Takht-i Sangin has now appeared, with a focus on objets d’art and musical instruments (Litvinskii 2010b; in Russian, but with English summary, 654-660; reviewed by Shenkar 2012). Litvinskii states that he has chosen not to make reference in this work to the excavation reports published by A. Druzhinina (=Drujinina), whose intention to publish the ceramics and terracottas from the site is also signalled.

There have been several recent reports on work at the site: Druzhinina and Khudzhageldiev 2008, Drujinina 2008, the latter including details of the bronze-casting mould with Greek inscription also discussed in Ivantchik 2011 (see 6.2.2.1 below), Druzhinina, et al. 2010. I have not been able to access all of the field reports published in the Bulletin of the Miho Museum, such as Drujinina, et al. 2009. Druzhinina, et al. 2011 report the discovery of further metallurgical material, as well as the remains of wells and a ‘reservoir’, as well as investigations in a residential district and the necropolis. Kuwabara 2010 contributes C14 analysis of some material from the site. The most recent publication, Drujinina and Lindström 2013, addresses the question of continuity of cult and occupation at the site through the second-century BC upheavals in Bactria.

On individual items from the temple and fort: bronze appliqués of Erotes and stylistic comparanda from the Roman world (Litvinsky 2006); clay portraits (Litvinskij 2003); finials (Litvinskij 2000; Ščapova 2000); a rhyton (Litvinsky and Pichikyan 1995); a stone pyxis lid (Druzhinina 2004); a silver statuette, possibly of a goddess (Uzyanov 1987). See also Shenkar 2011 and Wood 2011, noted in 4.3, above.

Litvinskii 2010a (his last published article, submitted to Anabasis shortly before his death in 2010; cf. 4.3, above) surveys the Temple of the Oxus and Treasure of the Oxus...
in general, with discussion of the views of other scholars on these and related matters, and sets the temple in its broader context of Achaemenid and Hellenistic Central Asia. See also, more briefly, Litvinskii 2004. Grenet 2005 discusses the cult of the deified Oxus, with reference to material from Takht-i Sangin, and elsewhere.

Curtis 2004 surveys and responds to recent discussion of the Oxus Treasure, the proposed provenance of Takht-i Sangin, the association with the objects in the Miho Museum, and the question of authenticity, challenged by Muscarella 2003 (note that Takht-i Kuwad = Takht-i Kobad). Curtis and Searight 2003 discuss the gold plaques from the Oxus Treasure. Zeimal’ 1979 is an exhibition catalogue of material from the hoard. Curtis 2012 provides a well-illustrated introductory guide to the Oxus Treasure material in the British Museum.

5.2.2 Ai Khanoum and its Hinterland (Archaeology > Sites: Bactria, Sogdiana, Margiana, Chorasmia >)

City

Robert 1965 is a brief report to the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres on the site of Ai Khanoum and initial DAFA work there. Bernard 2009 also recounts the site’s discovery and subsequent excavation.

Narain 1987 provides a critical dissection of several assumptions which have passed into scholarly literature regarding matters such as the date of the city’s foundation, its ancient name and the identity of the Klearchos of the Delphic inscription from the temenos of Kineas.

Francfort 1976 analyses the schist and steatite pyxis-style vessels from Ai Khanoum, and their relationship to later Buddhist reliquaries. Further specific studies include Rohr 1980 and Janin 1978 (sundials); Bernard 1970 (ivory furniture legs); Bernard 1972 (columns); Petitot-Biehler 1975 (a hoard of Greek and Graeco-Bactrian coins); Buchet 1977 (osteological remains – I have not been able to locate a copy of this journal). Bernard 1971 gives a brief report on oriental influences in the archaeology of Ai Khanoum.

Martinez-Sève 2010a is a new study of the Temple with Indented Niches. Canepa 2010 identifies the ‘stone vault mausoleum’ as a royal tomb. Lerner 2011 argues that the ‘officials’ of the treasury texts are in fact depositors of private wealth.

Several thematic works on other subjects include material from Ai Khanoum: the extramural mausoleum in Besenval 1984 on vaulted architecture; the palace in Nielsen 2001 on the gardens of Hellenistic palaces and also in Nielsen 1994 [2nd ed. 1999], 124-129, more generally on its relationship to Hellenistic and Achaemenid palaces.

Several recent studies review the ceramic evidence and offer proposed revisions for the chronology of Ai Khanoum, introducing comparative material from Samarkand and Kok-tepe: Lyonnet 2010, Lyonnet 2012 and Lerner 2010. Lecuyot and Rapin 2000 discuss brick marks at Ai Khanoum and at Samarkand, while Leriche 2000 treats raw brick construction on a more regional level, with extensive use of material from Ai Khanoum.

Lecuyot and Ishizawa 2006 and Lecuyot 2005 outline the project to create a 3D reconstruction of Ai Khanoum; both are well illustrated. The accompanying documentary L’Alexandrie oubliée (NHK-France 5 2003) on may be viewed on YouTube, with English commentary (<www.youtube.com>), accessed 11 August 2012, search query ‘The Forgotten Alexandria’.

Some more popular accounts: Bernard 1974 in Archeologia-Dossiers de l’Archéologie, with other articles in same issue on Greco-Iranian art, Parthia, Graeco-Buddhist art and the Indo-Greek kingdoms; Bernard 1982a is the French edition of his Scientific American article of the same year (Bernard 1982b, HFE 2011 5.2.2). See also Bernard 2012, in the proceedings of a symposium at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Boppearchichi 2005 treats the finds from site post-cessation of excavations, including illicit antiquities: coin hoards, a helmeted statue of Athena, ivories, gold and silver jewellery, items depicting Herakles and Aphrodite, and the gold bracelets already noted in HFE 2011 6.2.1. Boppearchichi 1998 notes also the faience head of statue of king.

Mairs forthcoming will discuss the foundation of the city, the Delphic inscription from the shrine of Kineas and Achaemenid and Bronze Age settlement in eastern Bactria.

5.2.4 Termez, the Surkhan-darya and the North-West (Archaeology > Sites: Bactria, Sogdiana, Margiana, Chorasmia >)

Pugachenkova 1996 surveys archaeological work in southern Uzbekistan 1985-1990. See also Pougatchenkova 1976 on the art of northern Bactria from the fourth century BC to fourth century AD, based on excavated material from Uzbekistan.

Termez

Castagné 1925 gives an early report of the ruins at Termez. His career and travels are described by Gorshenina 1997. The volume Karamatov and Rtveladze 2001 is a popular work on the history and archaeology of Termez.

Gelin 2000 compares the use of baked brick construction at Termez with that at Dura-Europos.
Kampyr-tepe


The Surkhan-darya


The most recent report of the work of the International Pluridisciplinary Archaeological Expedition to Bactria is Gurt and Pidaev 2009, online at <http://diposit.ub.edu/dspace/handle/2445/16442>, accessed 11 August 2012.

The Hellenistic fortress of Kurganzol, in the Surkhan-darya, 100 km north of Termez, is reported in Sverchkov 2008. Remains date from the late fourth to early second centuries BC, so Kurganzol is unusual as a northern Bactrian site with a solely Hellenistic period occupation, not on the site of an earlier foundation or covered by later layers. There was a pre-existing settlement to the north.

The Sherabad-darya

For Czech-Uzbek excavations and survey in the Sherabad-darya district see Danielsová, et al. 2010 and Tušlová 2011. The first volume of reports for the site of Jandavlattepa, on excavations 2002-2006, is now available as Abdullaev and Stančo 2011, with an accompanying CD-ROM of maps and figures. The earliest coin from the site dates to Euthydemos, there are four Graeco-Bactrian coins in total, a fair number of imitation Heliodcles, but the vast majority are later, Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian. According to the 2011 report, a GIS database will be published online, and two additional volumes of excavation reports are also projected.

5.2.5 Derbent – The ‘Iron Gates’ (Archaeology > Sites: Bactria, Sogdiana, Margiana, Chorasmia >)


5.2.6 Samarkand and the Zeravshan Valley (Archaeology > Sites: Bactria, Sogdiana, Margiana, Chorasmia >)

Given the recent increase in archaeological work and publication on the region around Samarkand, including the site of Kok-tepe, I have renamed the ‘Maracanda – Samarkand – Afrasiab’ of HFE 2011 ‘Samarkand and the Zeravshan Valley’. There is, inevitably, some overlap of material in the sub-categories listed below.

Issue 341 of the magazine Dossiers d’Archéologie (September/October 2010) is devoted to Samarkand and its region, with articles on Alexander the Great and the Graeco-Bactrian kings in Sogdiana; Koktepe; irrigation in the Zeravshan valley; and Hellenistic Samarkand, inter alia.

Samarkand

Shishkina 1969 discusses the identification of the ancient Marakanda with the site of Afrasiab at modern Samarkand, and remains of the first millennium BC, including Hellenistic-contemporary material.

Lecuyot and Rapin 2000 discuss brick marks at Ai Khanoum and at Samarkand (cf. Section 5.2.2, above).

Lerner 2010 offers revised chronologies for Ai Khanoum and Samarkand-Marakanda-Afrasiab. On the ceramics from Samarkand compared to those of Ai Khanoum, see also Lyonnnet 2012.

In HFE 2011 1.3 I noted that the series Afrasiab had not been available to me. I have since been able to remedy this: the four volumes of reports naturally cover multiple periods (Gulyamov 1969; Gulyamov 1973; Gulyamov 1974; Tashkhodzhaev 1975).

Kok-tepe

A number of reports on work at Kok-tepe, in Russian and French, are now available online on the webpage of Claude Rapin – see section 7.4, below. In addition to general excavation reports and overviews (Isamiddinov, et al. 2001; Rapen, et al. 2004; Isamiddinov, et al. 2002; Isamiddinov, et al. 2003; Rapen, et al. 2003; Isamiddinov, et al. 2006), these cover: material of the Iron Age to the Achaemenids (Rapin 2007); stratigraphy (Isamiddinov and Rapen 1999a, Isamiddinov 2010); Kok-tepe and urbanisation in the Zeravshan plain (Rapen and Isamiddinov 2008, Isamiddinov and Rapen 2000).

Lyonnet 2010 and Lyonnnet 2012 discuss the dating of ceramics from Kok-tepe and Ai Khanoum.

The Zeravshan Valley

On irrigation and water management in the Zeravshan valley, and Samarkand oasis, see Rapen 2010; Rapin, et al. 2010; and Mantellini, et al. 2011. There are other
relevant chapters in this volume (Цивилизации и культуры Центральной Азии в единстве и многообразии - Civilizations and Cultures of Central Asia in Unity and Diversity), which I have not been able to obtain. See also, briefly, Isamiddinov and Rapen 1999b on cultural continuity in early Iron Age Sogdiana.

A joint Uzbek-Italian project aims to look at the Achaemenid period in the Samarkand area, in particular the site of Koj tepa. Publications to date include discussion of several small sites with Hellenistic contemporary strata: Genito, et al. 2009; Genito, et al. 2010; Genito and Raiano 2011; Abdullaev, et al. 2011.

Berdimuradov, et al. 2007 review work on an archaeological map of Samarkand and its territory, for the purpose of exploring the relationship between processes of settlement dynamics and landscape transformation.

Mantellini, et al. 2009 compare excavation and survey data from the plain of Samarkand and Zeravshan valley with sites in the region of Tashkent.

5.2.9 Alexandria Eschate – Khujand (Archaeology > Sites: Bactria, Sogdiana, Margiana, Chorasmia >)

Excavations at the site of Nurtepa are reviewed by Belyaeva 2004.

5.2.9 Merv and Margiana (Archaeology > Sites: Bactria, Sogdiana, Margiana, Chorasmia >)

Coloru 2013 briefly surveys the history of Margiana and its capital in antiquity.

See Bader, et al. 1997 on settlement and irrigation in the Merv Oasis; Cerasetti 2004 on the defensive systems of the Murghab; Sverchkov 2005 on Alexander the Great in Margiana; on the defences of Gyaur-kala, the Hellenistic-period city, Zav'yalov 2005; and on Hellenistic Margiana, Košelenko, et al. 1996.

5.3.1 Begram (Archaeology > South of the Hindu Kush: The Kabul Region, Arachosia and India >)

On the successors of the Indo-Greeks at Begram, see MacDowall 1985; at the other end of our chronological range see also Ray 2007 (Section 4.3, above).

Rapin 1992, 383-385, suggests connections between the palace at Begram and the traditions of monumental architecture represented in the palace at Ai Khanoum.

The Begram ivories are studied by Simpson 2011 (accompanying the Afghanistan: Hidden Treasures exhibition at the British Museum: HFE 2011, 4.4.2).

Rogers 1952 focuses on one particular fantastical figure, and Mehendale 2012 discusses, inter alia, the question of whether the ivories were produced locally by itinerant craftspeople. Whitehouse 2012 questions the Roman origin of some of the glassware. Mairs 2012a contextualises the finds from Begram within Red Sea as well as overland Eurasian trade routes.

Two early popular accounts by Hackin appeared in the American magazine Asia: Hackin 1940a; Hackin 1940b.

5.3.3 Gandhāra and Northwestern India (Archaeology > South of the Hindu Kush: The Kabul Region, Arachosia and India >)

Magee and Petrie 2010 review the archaeological evidence for Achaemenid presence in northwestern India. See also Ray 2007 (Section 4.3, above).

Gandhāra – Swat – Bahājaur

Faccenna, et al. 2003 present the work of the Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente (ISIAO) mission to Swat. See also on the development of Gandhāran art Filigenzi 2012 and Galli 2011. Lo Muzio 2011 proposes a new, later, dating for the Gandhāran toilet trays, of the first-second century AD.

Taxila

Kuraishi’s guide to The Archaeological Museum and Monuments of Ancient Taxila (Kuraishi n.d.) refers to the same author’s Urdu translation (Marshall and Kuraishi 1924) of Marshall’s (1960) Guide to Taxila (HFE 2011, 5.3.3).

Several articles, old and new, on particular categories of artefact at Taxila escaped my attention in HFE 2011: Beck 1941 (beads); Fabrègues 2006 (earrings of Achaemenid derivation); Rees 2008 (the production of Hellenistic figurines).

Architecture: Dar 1976, on Hellenistic elements in the architecture of Taxila, is a summary in English of Dar 1973 (in Greek); Mairs 2009 discusses the urban plan of Sirkap and the possible influence of Greek and Indian traditions.

Virtual Sirkap (<www.virtuaisirkap.com>, accessed 11 August 2012) allows the user to ‘walk’ through a virtual reconstruction of the city, c. 100 CE. See also the article Michon and Antably 2012, which I have not been able to obtain. The application runs on Windows, but not Mac.

Charsadda

Coarelli 1966 studies bronze handles in the form of dolphins over human busts, probably from a sarcophagus found in vicinity of Charsadda, and traces possible western influence and comparanda.
Charsadda is mentioned in Wheeler 1959, a more general lecture on Greeks and Romans in Bactria and India (see Section 5.1.1, above).

5.3.4 India (Archaeology > South of the Hindu Kush: The Kabul Region, Arachosia and India >)

Waddell 1903 gives an account of archaeological investigations at Pātaliputra/Palibothra. The site was further excavated in 1955-56: Sinha and Narain 1970.

Foucher 1941 discusses the question of the birthplace of the Indo-Greek king Menander.

See also Ray 2007 (Section 4.3, above).

6.2.1 Corpora, Bibliographies and General Works (Languages and Texts > Greek >)

Rougemont 2012a and Rougemont 2012b review the Greek epigraphic material from Central Asia and North-Western India and discuss the implications for our understanding of Greek culture and identity in the region.

Burstein 2010 considers the fate of Greek after the nomad conquest, and evidence that it survived as an official language under the Kushans.

Hollis 2011’s discussion of ‘Greek letters in Hellenistic Bactria’ draws on the various Ai Khanoum epigraphic and documentary texts, as well as the Kuliab inscription of Heliodotos and the inscription of Sophytos from Kandahar. Derrett 1992 indulges in some speculations about ‘Homer in India’.

Ray 2007 (Section 4.3, above) includes discussion of Greek inscriptions, and references to Greeks in inscriptions in other languages, from the north-west of the Indian subcontinent.

6.2.2.1 Bactria (Languages and Texts > Greek > Stone Inscriptions >)

Ivantchik 2011 introduces some new Greek inscriptions from Takht-i Sangin and discusses the problem of the Bactrian alphabet.

See also Hollis 2011 (Section 6.2.1, above) and Bernard and Rougemont 2003 (6.2.2.2, below).

6.2.2.2 Arachosia and India (Languages and Texts > Greek > Stone Inscriptions >)

Robert 1964 contains Louis Robert’s initial very brief report to the Académie des inscriptions on the discovery of the monolingual Greek Asokan inscription at Kandahar; likewise Robert 1958 on the Greek-Aramaic bilingual.

Scott 1985 and Scott 1986 examine questions of interaction of Buddhism with the Hellenistic world, with relation to Asokan edicts from Kandahar and elsewhere.

Bernard and Rougemont 2003 is a brief resumé in the Comptes rendus de l’Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres of the fuller article Bernard, et al. 2004 in the Journal des Savants, on the inscriptions of Sophytos (Kandahar) and Heliodotos (Kuliab). The epitaph of Sophytos is considered in the context of other Greek and Latin acrostich inscriptions by Mairs 2012c.

6.2.4.1 Bactria (Languages and Texts > Greek > Texts on Papyrus and Skin >) AND

6.4.2 Prākīt / Middle Indo-Aryan (Languages and Texts > Other Languages >)

Bennett and Falk 2009 propose a new date for the Indo-Greek era, of 175/4 BC. Rapin 2010 revisits the question of this same Yavana era with regard to the Graeco-Bactrian parchments of Asangorna and Amphipolis.

Francfort 1976 (see also Section 5.2.2) identifies models for the inscribed reliquaries detailed in HFE 2011 among vessels from Ai Khanoum. On the Bajaur inscription, see also Sircar 1941-2.

4.3 Aramaic (Language and Texts >)

See Frye 2006 on Aramaic in the East.

6.3.1.2 Arachosia and India (Language and Texts > Aramaic > Stone Inscriptions)

Corrigendum: in HFE 2011 I stated, incorrectly, that there were a monolingual Aramaic and a bilingual Prakrit-Aryan text from Kandahar. These are in fact one and the same inscription.

6.3.2.1 Bactria (Language and Texts > Aramaic > Texts on Durable Materials)

The Ai Khanoum Aramaic-script ostrakon is also discussed by Harmatta 1994, 390, who offers a fuller reading and reconstruction of the document as a record of grain delivery. It includes the Oxus-name [Ux]sebovak, the Oxeboakes of the treasury texts.

In HFE 2011, I noted a ring from the Treasure of the Oxus inscribed ‘to the Oxus’ in Aramaic. This reading does not derive from Dalton 1964, as suggested in the text, but from a discussion in Pittsikhan 1992, 101.

6.4.2 Prākīt / Middle Indo-Aryan (Languages and Texts > Other Languages >)

An early report on the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros appeared in the Comptes-rendus de l’Académie des

**inscriptions et belles-lettres:** Senart 1909.

Lerner 1999-2000 discusses the appearance of Yavanas in cave temple inscriptions from western India.

I have not been able to locate a copy of Ghosal 1981 on the Swat reliquary of the meridarch Theodoros.

### 7.4 Scholars’ Webpages (Online Resources >)


Claude Rapin’s website (<http://claude.rapin.free.fr/>), accessed 11 August 2012) has been updated with PDF files of additional articles.


### 7.6 Other Relevant Sites (Online Resources >)

Virtual Sirkap: <www.virtualsirkap.com>, accessed 11 August 2012: see Section 5.3.3 above.

The website of the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (<www.archaeolog.ru/>) accessed 11 August 2012 has much useful information on archaeological projects and publications in Russia and the former Soviet Union, including full PDF files of issues of the journal Sovetskaya Arkheologiya (1936-1992) and more limited information on its successor Rossiiskaya Arkheologiya (-2012).

See Section 5.1.1., above, for the Archaeological Information System of Central Asia website.

*From Bactria to Taxila* (<http://frombactriotaxila.wordpress.com/>), accessed 11 August 2012) is a new portal to online publications on ‘Hellenistic and Imperial Central Asia’, such as those available through Google Books, Persée, etc.
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