
Alexander, Aï Khanum, Termez: Remarks on the Spring Campaign of 328

Author(s): FRANTZ GRENET and CLAUDE RAPIN

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F R A N T Z G R E N E T A N D C L A U D E R A P I N

Arrian and Curtius Rufus both narrate Alexander's military operations during the spring of 328. While the information they provide differs in various parts, it can be considered as complementary rather than contradictory.

Arrian (4.15.7): [Starting from Bactra, where he had wintered, Alexander] "returned to the river Oxus; he had determined to move into Sogdiana, since it was reported that many of the Sogdians had taken refuge in their forts and would not obey the satrap set over them by Alexander. While he was encamped on the river Oxus, not far from his own tent a spring of water, and another of oil nearby, came up from the ground . . ." (16.1–3): "Passing with part of his force into Sogdiana, he left behind Polyperchon, Attalus, Gorgias and Meleager there in Bactria and told them to protect the country, prevent the barbarians there giving trouble, and destroy those still in revolt. He himself divided the force with him into five parts, and appointed Hephaestion to command one, Ptolemy son of Lagus, the bodyguard, another; the third was put under Perdiccas, and the fourth brigade was commanded by Coenus and Artabazus; he took the fifth himself and invaded the country in the direction of Maracanda. Each of the other divisions carried out such attacks as its success allowed, violently destroying some of those who had taken refuge in the forts, and accepting the surrender of others by agreement . . . his whole force, after traversing the greater part of Sogdiana, arrived at Maracanda."¹

Curtius Rufus (7.10.13–15): "With his army thus increased the king marched forth to set in order the provinces which had been disordered by the revolt; and after putting to death the ring-leaders of the disturbance, he arrived on the

fourth day to the river Oxus. This river, because it carries silt, is always turbid and unwholesome to drink. Therefore the soldiers had begun to dig wells; yet, although they excavated the soil to a great depth, they found no water. At length a spring was found right in the king's tent. . . . Then [the king] crossed the rivers Ochus and Oxus and came to the city of Marginia [var. Margania]. Round about it six sites were chosen for establishing forts, two facing south and four east; they were distant from one another only a moderate space, so that they might be able to aid one another without seeking help from a distance. All these were situated on high hills."² Then Curtius Rufus comes directly to the capture of "the rock of the Sogdian Arimazus"; two at least of the commanders of columns, Hephaestion and Coenus, have joined him before the end of the siege (8.1.1). In Arrian this episode takes place only after Alexander's arrival at Maracanda-Samarkand and various operations in Sogdiana.

These passages have been interpreted in radically different ways by A. B. Bosworth³ and Paul Bernard.⁴ Bosworth considers that Alexander and his army marched first towards the eastern end of Bactria, crossed the Kunduz-āb (the Ochus according to Bosworth) along its lower course, then reconnoitered what was to become the future site of Aï Khanum, where they would have crossed the Daryā-e Panj (considered today as the upper course of the Amu-daryā, thus corresponding in principle to the Oxus of Curtius Rufus' text). The army would then have headed northwest towards Maracanda. Marginia-Margania should be looked for somewhere in the region of the hills of Tajikistan between Aï Khanum and the "Iron Gates" of Derbent, in

the Wakhsh valley perhaps or in the Kafirnigān valley.

Bernard, on the other hand, believes that during the march to Maracanda Alexander chose a more direct route, crossing the Oxus either at Kilif (as he had probably done during the spring of 329)⁵ or slightly further east but no further than Termez. According to Bernard, the mention of the Ochus is one of the numerous topographical confusions introduced by Curtius Rufus. Several rivers bore this same name but were situated to the west of Bactra. Having reached the right bank of the Oxus, Alexander would have dispatched five army columns to the north and the east, their division being clearly explained by the existence of five Oxus tributaries on the right bank. Turning to Marginia-Margania, the form should be corrected to Margiana (as most editors have done since the sixteenth century). This name would be a displaced reference to the capture of Merv by Alexander or by one of his lieutenants, a fact confirmed by Pliny the Elder (6.47) but which Bosworth considers unhistorical.

Let us first state that we share Bernard's position regarding the probability of the capture of Margiana by Alexander and his explanation for the five columns sent up the right bank of the Oxus. For the other points we side with Bosworth, but with some reservations.

The key to the problem is, in our opinion, correct identification of the point where Alexander entered Sogdiana. Curtius Rufus is not at error; rather, the problem lies with modern commentators who have all used incomplete documentation on the region's hydronymy. If we begin with the principle, widely verified in many areas, that the local names of rivers have an historical tendency to survive on their upper course only and usually do not shift from one valley to another, we can reach some precise conclusions. Let us examine the questions one by one:

a) The Kunduz-āb is out of the picture, as the river's ancient name is already well known: Ptolemy referred to it as the Dargomanes,⁶ and the river was called by this same name by the Arab and Persian geographers in the ninth-tenth centuries (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* 6.12: *D.rqām*).⁷

b) Bosworth did not suspect that upriver from a specific point, marked today by the triple confluence of the Wakhsh, the Daryā-e Panj, and the Kunduz-āb, the identity of the river which in antiquity was considered the Oxus is by no

means obvious. Bernard has shown better than anyone else that a problem existed regarding this, and he has demonstrated various possible solutions without really taking sides.⁸ For our part, basing our research into the matter on hydronymy, we will not be looking for the upper Oxus other than where maps still show it, that is in the Wakhsh (Wakhsh < anc.ir. *Waxšu-*, from the root *waxš-* "to leap, to grow" = Greek Ὠξος, Ὠξος).⁹

c) If the Daryā-e Panj was not the Oxus, under which name would it have been known? The answer, at least in Iranian, was given as early as 1877 by W. Tomaschek:¹⁰ it is the Wakh (or Wakh-āb, "the river Wakh," Persian-Tajik Vakh, Vakhāb). The clue is to be found in a passage of the geographer Ibn Rustah, who wrote at the beginning of the tenth century:¹¹ (93) "Several rivers flow into the Gaihūn [*Amu-daryā*], including a powerful river called the Wakhsh-āb, which comes from the upper part of the country of the Qarluq Turks, then flows in the country of Rasht [*Garm*], then in the country al-Kumēdh, from where it flows between the two mountains which lay between the Wāshgerd region [*Faizā-bād*] and a district in the Khuttal country called Tamliyāt; . . . it flows right up until it reaches the extremity of the country of Khuttal, where it joins with the Gaihūn at a place called Mila, upstream from the town of Termez. And the country of Khuttal lay between two rivers: on the right, looking towards the mountain which advances from the east, the river Wakh-āb, and on the left the Wakhsh-āb. On the right of the river Wakh-āb, further south, stretches a district called *Ārhan."¹² In his posthumous work published in 1938, *Wehrot und Arang*, Markwart showed, on one hand, that the name of the Wakh was preserved until the present period in the highest section: the Vakhān (with the -ān suffix of geographical names, the short form Wuḫ being found in the local Vakhi language), and on the other hand that the form stemmed from Old Iranian *Wahwī-* "the Good" (cf. in the Avesta the Vanquui Daitiia, "the Good River" of the Airianam Vaējah, the mountainous homeland of the Iranians; it is the river on the banks of which Zoroaster had his revelation).¹³

The Greek form Ὠξος, Ὠξος corresponds to *Wahwī-* or to its masculine equivalent *Wahu-*. Markwart of course knew this¹⁴ but had not contemplated the possibility that the Wakh of eastern Bactria could have had something to do

with the Ochus mentioned by Curtius Rufus (7.10.15), nor with that of which Strabo (11.11.5) wrote: "According to some, the Ochus flows through Bactria; according to others, alongside it. And according to some, it is a different river from the Oxus as far as its mouths, being more to the south than the Oxus, although they both have their outlets into the Caspian Sea in Hyrcania, whereas others say that it is different at first, but unites with the Oxus."¹⁵

This last detail should have alerted Markwart, but like most modern commentators he remained a prisoner to a "conservative" interpretation of Ptolemy's map, which places the Ochus on the western border of Bactria (as well as another Ochus whose position corresponds to that of the Atrek). Because of this, Markwart identified the Ochus with the Heri-rud (today Tejen). Without relinquishing the idea of also identifying an Ochus in the east, ignored according to him by Ptolemy, he wanted to apply Strabo's comments only to the Ochus of the Bactro-Areian border. In reality, as aptly stressed by Bernard, the position of the Oxus tributaries is very distorted in Ptolemy.¹⁶ In the case of the Ochus, it is all the more obvious as, according to Ptolemy, it receives the Dargomanes as a tributary from the right bank. We know that this river is in fact the Kunduz-āb, tributary of the *left* bank of the Ochus—Daryā-e Panj! There were never more than two Ochus rivers (= *Wahwī-* or *Wahu-*): the one which corresponds to the Daryā-e Panj and the one which corresponds to the Atrek, the two contradictory interpretations that Strabo speaks about applying respectively to the second and the first.¹⁷

We can now return to the spring of 328. Leaving from Bactra, Alexander reaches the Oxus in three days according to Curtius Rufus. Did he at first envisage crossing towards Termez, then change his campaign plan to strike with all his force at the eastern valleys, main harbor of the new rebellion, before the rebels could join the pockets of resistance persisting in Bactria? (The fact that such pockets existed is shown by the fact that he left four commanders there.) Or was the army's bank-side itinerary planned from the start? The *Metz Epitome*, a sketchy but, on the whole, exact summary of the Alexandrian "Vulgate" upon which Curtius Rufus drew, completes the information regarding the time of the march, indicating that Alexander reached the Ochus eleven days after leaving Bac-

tra, thus eight days after reaching the Oxus.¹⁸ Curtius Rufus and Arrian agree on the fact that the army suffered from a lack of drinking water. Strabo (11.11.5) situates the miraculous appearance of oil at the Ochus, while Arrian places it explicitly at the Oxus. It is impossible to determine which of the two mistakenly copied his source (or if the mistake occurred in later transmission), but it is certain that the banks along the entire lower course of the Kunduz-āb and the Daryā-e Panj were swamp and jungle (*jangal*). It is this picture that the survey directed by J.-C. Gardin has brought to life. Even south of the Panj's loop in the Imām Sahib plain, it is not certain that the meandering waters were controlled by this time: traces of channels attributable to the Achaemenid and Greek periods were few and the object of divergent opinions on the part of the survey team.¹⁹ And oil deposits are known in the Kunduz plain.²⁰ If Curtius Rufus and Arrian are to be believed, one would assume that the river had been turned particularly muddy by the spring rise, hence the search for cleaner water in the water table, which in its turn led to the discovery of oil.

Then comes the crossing of "the Ochus and Oxus," that is, the Panj and the Wakhsh. This double crossing is clearly indicated, both in Curtius Rufus and the *Epitome*, probably because it marked the entry into Sogdiana. The wording also suggests that the rivers were crossed one immediately after the other or at least without any major obstacles intervening. The first "ford"²¹ regularly attested to is at Ārhan, at about 75 km upstream from the Wakhsh and Panj confluence; we have at least one historical example of its use by an army, that of Tamerlane in 1363.²² In reality the Panj could be crossed in several places, and it is more probable that it was crossed closer to the confluent. The ford facing Takht-i Sangin, on the short section between the Wakhsh and Panj confluent and the mouth of the Kunduz-āb, is in principle out of the question, because the first two rivers had already merged upstream from this point.

On reaching Sogdiana, Alexander began to divide up his army and sent the divisions to methodically put down the fortresses which were resisting his authority. Like Paul Bernard, we think that geography allows a precise role to be assigned to each of the five columns mentioned by Arrian. It would appear that the names of the commanders were not enumerated at

random but in the order in which they were detached from the main body of the army. The first column, entrusted to Hephaestion, if we follow our hypothesis, must have traveled up the frontier valley of the Panj. The main bank, the left one, belonged to Bactria, but contrary to the Kunduz-āb (held, in principle, since the capture of Drapsaka²³ the previous year), this valley, which extends far in an easterly direction, must still not have been under Alexander's direct control. The plains of Archi and Aï Khanum were richly irrigated and endowed with large fortified sites. The Kokcha, left-bank tributary of the Panj, gave access to the lapis-lazuli mines of Badakhshān on which the Achemenid kings had levied a tribute. Alexander certainly knew all of this in the spring of 328. Is it by chance that the general given responsibility for this reconnaissance mission was probably Hephaestion, trustworthy executor of Alexander's great vision, who shortly afterwards installed the first colonists in the Maracanda region (Arrian 4.16.3)? Did Alexander take a few days to accompany him to the Aï Khanoum plain or was he too preoccupied with his own military operations to spare the time? We have no way of knowing. If one of the reconnaissance outings merited his curiosity it was certainly this one. But Aï Khanum cannot be the *Alexandria Oxiana* mentioned (on the Sogdian bank) by Ptolemy, since neither the Panj nor the Kokcha that join up there were considered the Oxus. Aï Khanum is found in Ptolemy's *Geography*; but it is under the name *Eucratidia*, which it received in the last stage of its history, under King Eucratides (ca. 171–145 B.C.), as explicitly stated by Strabo (11.11.2).²⁴ We have no way of knowing what it was called before, even if the information from the archaeological excavations appears to indicate a foundation at the beginning of the Seleucid period.

The second column, probably entrusted to Ptolemy, was given the task of the Wakhsh valley and its annex, the Kyzyl-su (right-bank tributary of the Panj whose natural communication, however, is with the Wakhsh, with which in the Middle Ages it formed the principality of Khuttal). The third column, confided to Perdikkas, traveled up the Kafirnigān valley. It suffices to cast one's eye over the map (fig. 1) to understand that given the proximity of the mouths of the Kafirnigān and the Wakhsh, the three first col-

umns were detached almost at the same point, justifying the long detour towards the east imposed on the whole army.

The fourth column, entrusted to Coenus and Artabazus, was given the responsibility of the Surkhān-daryā, a long valley with many branches, which is probably why it was assigned to two commanders who were to lead separate operations. Alexander kept the fifth and last column for himself, and they took the direct route to Maracanda. Coming from the south-east, the army had to pass through the "Iron Gates" of Derbent, at the end of the valley of the Sherābād-daryā, the lower part of which was the most easily accessible by traveling along the right bank of the Oxus.

According to Curtius Rufus, at some stage Alexander fortified the site of Marginia/Margania or at least gave the order for this to be done. Like Bosworth, we think that there is no reason to correct the two forms given by the manuscripts and to suppose a third one, Margiana. Marginia/Margania is well explained as a term derived from the word for "meadow" (Old Ir. * *marga-aina*- cf. in Ferghana Marghīnān, today Margilan). For us, the description given by Curtius Rufus strongly evokes Termez, to the west of the Surkhān-daryā and Amu-daryā confluence: to our knowledge this is the only urban site of major strategic and economic importance in these low valleys of the tributaries of the right bank. Moreover it is surrounded by a string of clearly defined hillocks (fig. 2).²⁵ Let us describe them from the north towards the west and passing back towards the south. The first in the formation lies behind the Buddhist monastery of Faiaz-tepe and today carries a radar used by Russian frontier guards; then comes the triple hill in which the Buddhist monastery of Kara-tepe is hollowed; then the big hill of Chingiz-tepe and the smaller one of Mala Chingiz; finally that of the citadel, perched 12 meters high atop a natural rock on the edge of the cliff of the Amu-daryā (like the two preceding).²⁶ From the northern side it is possible that other low ridges could have been the site of other forts. The only difficulty with this site location is that one must infer an inversion of orientation in Curtius Rufus or in his source, "east" being in the place of "west." But Curtius Rufus does speak of *oppida* and of *colles*, contrary to the six cities surrounding Cyropolis for which

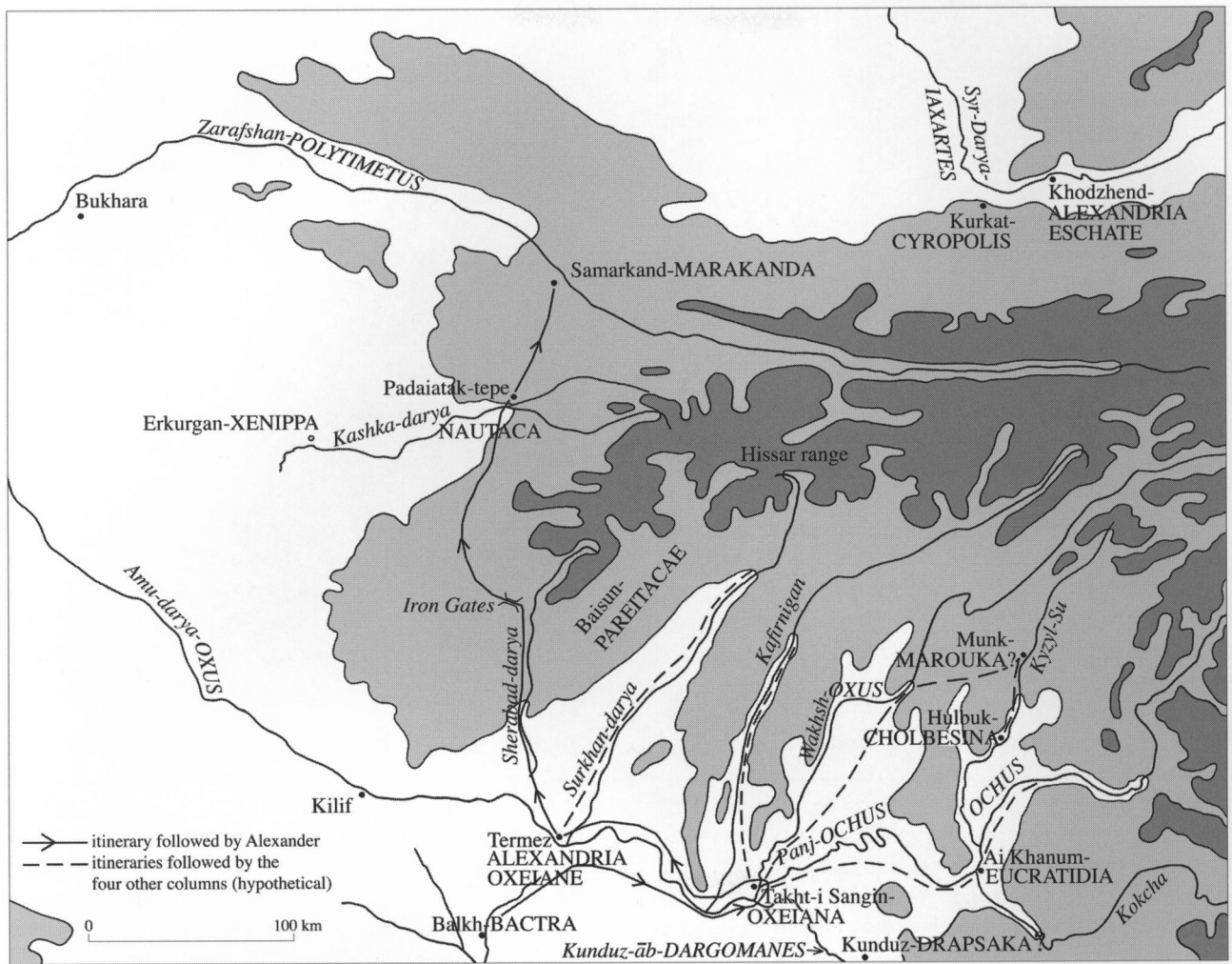


Fig. 1. Proposed reconstruction of Alexander's spring campaign of 328.

he employed the word *urbs* (7.6.16–23; *polis* according to Arrian). The difference of scale is evident, and consistent with the reality.

Our interpretation could breathe life back into the proposal, put forward for the first time by Tarn, to identify Termez with the Sogdian town of *Alexandreia Oxeiane*: in all that has been passed on to us about the campaigns of Alexander, *Marginia/Margania* is the only site on the northern bank of the Oxus where there is a record of him fortifying a town. According to Curtius Rufus he does not do it for the needs of his immediate operations but rather has the future in mind. One thinks of Lysimachus at Ephesus, fortifying the high parts overlooking the plain where he had planned to build the city along a

large perimeter. Termez is known in ancient tradition under two other names (but not by Ptolemy, who ignores them): *Antiochia* and *Tarmita*. The Peutingar Table couples one to the other (*Antiochia T(h)armata*); a Middle Persian graffito at Kara-tepe probably dating from the end of the third century A.D. gives *Andyōk*;²⁷ about 630, Xuanzang gives the Chinese transcription *Damo* (restituted form *Tat-māt*); a document from the Bactrian archive of Rōb gives *Tarmid-digo* "inhabitant of Termez," which would imply for the toponym the form *Tarmido*;²⁸ and finally we have *Tarmita* in the Buddhist Sanskrit texts. *Antiochia* evidently indicates a Seleucid foundation or re-foundation.²⁹ *Tarmita*, which is the origin of the present name Termez, is an

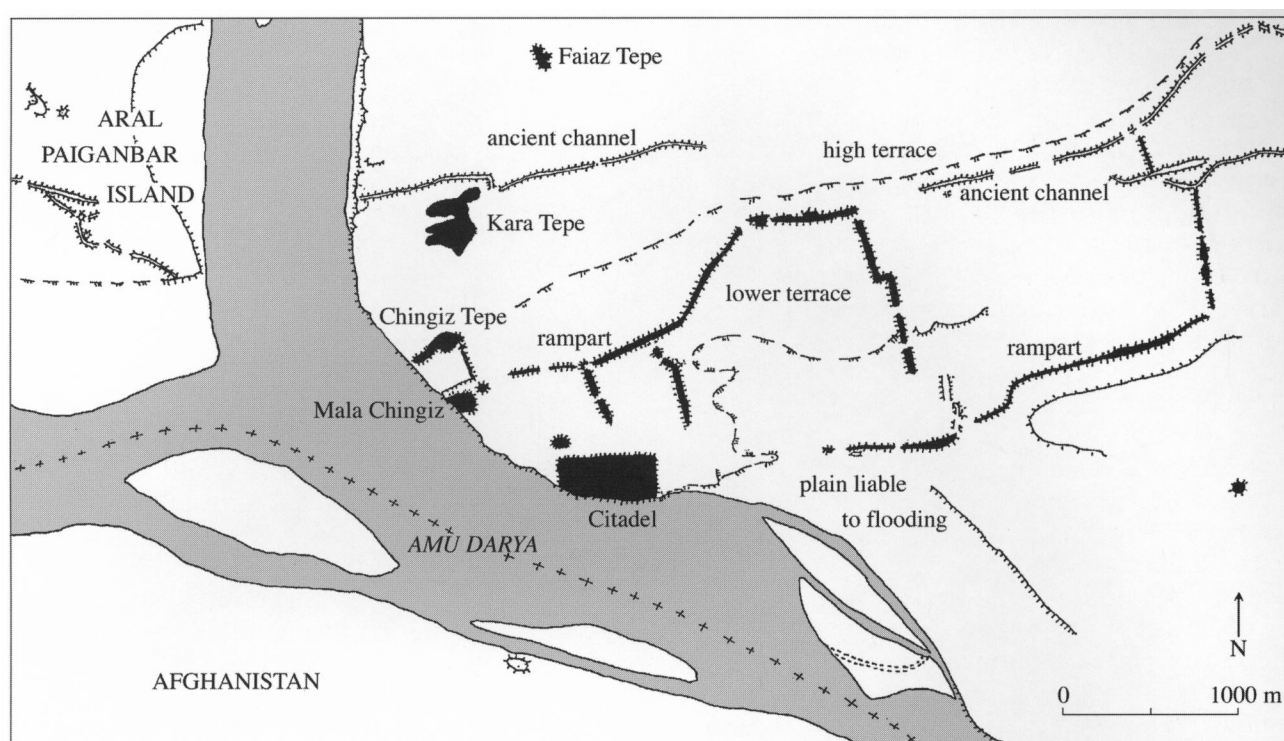


Fig. 2. The ancient Termez. After S. Stride.

Iranian name: * *tara-maiθa*- "settlement on a crossing."³⁰ Thus, there would have been a double concurrence, on one hand between two local names (Marginia and Tarmita) and on the other, between two Greek names (Alexandria and Antiochia). None of these creates any real difficulty: Marginia could have designated the plain, Tarmita the ford, and it is this last term which eventually would have been given to the ensemble. The re-foundation of an Alexandria, which becomes an "Antiochia," is not without examples: in Central Asia we have Alexandria-in-Margiana becoming Antiochia-in-Margiana (Pliny 6.47), and probably Alexandria Eschate becoming Antiochia-in-Scythia, mentioned by Stephen of Byzantium.³¹ The fact that Ptolemy ignored the re-foundation of Termez would indicate that on this point his documentation dates back to Alexander's historians, or at the latest to the first half of the third century B.C. (one could have in principle christened various Antiochias in Central Asia up until Antiochus II).

In the same list as Alexandria Oxeiane, Ptolemy names at the same latitude to the east

Indikomordana and to the northwest Trybakta (variant Tribaktra). This latter most probably owes its name to the people of Drybaktai that Ptolemy situates alongside the mountains of Sogdiana. It ought to be looked for in the foothills of the Baisun Mountains, therefore in the valley of the Sherābād-daryā or on the tributaries of the right bank of the Surkhān-daryā. The intense surveys and probe trenches carried out for over forty years in this sector by the "Art History Expedition of Uzbekistan" directed by G. A. Pugachenkova and E. V. Rtveladze has given us a vision of urban life that we can consider complete. We are dealing with medium-sized fortified towns: during the Achaemenid period, Bandykhan II (14 ha) and Kyzyl-tepe (22 ha) west of the Surkhān-daryā; in the Greek and Kushan periods, Kafyr-kala near the Sherābād-daryā (ca. 10 ha) and Ialangtush-tepe (ca. 20 ha) west of the Surkhān-daryā.³² The other town mentioned by Ptolemy, Indikomordana, is at the same latitude as Alexandria Oxeiana and must therefore also be situated somewhere along the river. The second part of the name, Mor-

dana, could have something to do with the people of Mardiyenoi that Ptolemy places in this sector "below the mountains." The first element, Indiko, can only be an allusion to India or to Indians. Traveling the Oxus upstream from Termez, the first ancient site that one finds (and it appears to be the only important urban site before Takht-i Sangin = Oxeiana)³³ is 18 km further on, beyond the mouth of the Surkhāndaryā: it is Airtam, an unfortified city, spread out over 150 hectares and facing a ford. Excavation attests to occupation from Greco-Bactrian times to the Kushan period with important Buddhist monuments dating from this last period, in which works of great artistic quality were found.³⁴ This is where we would envisage situating the "Mordana of the Indians," or the "city of the Indians and the Mardiyenoi." In this precise case we would be led to suppose in Ptolemy an updating of his documentation, because in the Greek period one does not see how to account for a toponym linked to India in this region. We know Ptolemy's last stage of information dates back to the agents of the merchant Maes Titianus, who was trading towards the turn of the first century A.D.³⁵ Nothing leads us to suppose that they could not have encountered Indian merchants and perhaps also Indian religions that had already arrived on the northern bank of the Oxus.

Apart from the Termez fortification episode, linked to the personal action of Alexander, it appears that another of the columns could have left traces of its itinerary in our documentation, in this instance in Ptolemy. It is the column responsible for the Wakhsh and Kyzyl-su. On the upper course of Ptolemy's Oxus, which we identify as the Wakhsh, one finds mention of three "mountain towns" (*oreinai de eisi poleis*) on the Sogdian side: Oxeiana, Marouka, and Cholbesina (variant: Chombisina). Indeed, the medieval itineraries that branch off the left bank of the Wakhsh give as principal stages, successively, Munk and Hulbuk.³⁶ The first corresponds to the actual Baljuvān and is located on the upper Kyzyl-su, the second, which has retained its name to this day, is lower down on the same river to the southwest of Kulyāb. In terms of their principal element, the forms Hulbuk and Cholbesina are identical (Hulb- = Chalb-, as Greek χ regularly renders Iranian h/x); there is only a suffix differentiation: -aka- for

Hulbuk, * -iĉ-aina- or * -aĉ-aina- for Cholbesina (this last reconstruction is proposed by Nicholas Sims Williams, who was consulted on the subject).³⁷ The identification Marouka-Munk is less obvious but possible, by supposing, for example, a nasalized form such as **Māruⁿka*. As for Oxeiana, the site furthest downstream in Ptolemy's list, doubt as to its location is no longer possible: it is the great temple of the god Oxus, situated facing the confluence of the Wakhsh and Panj. The monument excavated at Takht-i Sangin and the town that surrounds it date back to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, but the temple had an Achemenid predecessor, which gave us the "Oxus Treasure." Whether this first sanctuary was situated at Takht-i Sangin itself or five kilometers to the south at Takht-i Kuvād is secondary to our purpose.³⁸

There would be nothing surprising about the fact that, among the five columns on campaign in the spring of 328, only that of the Wakhsh had left a trace in our sources if, as we assume, it had been entrusted to Ptolemy: the places he took by force or which surrendered to him would have been mentioned in his memoirs, which were at the time still directly or indirectly accessible to the geographer Ptolemy.

On the question of the border between Bactria and Sogdiana, the two texts relating the campaign of 328 are very clear: Sogdiana began beyond the Oxus and, concerning the upstream portion, beyond the Ochus, i.e. the Panj. The forts of those "Sogdians" whose rebellion was the cause of the expedition were situated in the valleys on the right bank. Next, "having crossed the greater part of Sogdiana," the army detachments converged on Maracanda. Strabo and Ptolemy both took the Oxus as the limit between Bactria and Sogdiana, at least until the confluence between the Wakhsh and the Panj, upstream of which only Strabo reproduces the true information (the frontier on the Ochus), while Ptolemy's perception is muddled.

However, efforts to situate Alexandria Oxeiane at Aï Khanum, and consequently the latter in Sogdiana, caused research to lose sight of these landmarks. Initially it was proposed that the upper Oxus be relocated towards the south, placing it on the Kokcha.³⁹ Even the Kunduz-āb was considered a candidate,⁴⁰ although its ancient name, the Dargomanes, was already known. Paul Bernard then notably altered his position, at least

that concerning the middle course of the Oxus, relocating the border to the north, where it would coincide with the Hissar and Baisun mountain ranges.⁴¹ These successive proposals have all been able to cite some excellent arguments: particular affinities between the ceramic complexes of southeastern Bactria and those of the right bank of the Amu-daryā (Lyonnet 1997); the transit of lapis-lazuli from Badakhshān through Sogdiana during the Achaemenid period (Bernard 1978); conversely, that the right bank of the Oxus was part of the area in which the Bactrian language was used, at least from the Kushan period on (Bernard 1990). It is evident that the frontiers of material cultures, economic networks, and languages move over time and do not always coincide with administrative boundaries; but when one deals with classical geography (Greco-Latin, Arabo-Persian) and political history, administrative demarcations count first.

Attempts to find information in texts other than that which appears in Strabo and Ptolemy did not have very convincing results. Concerning eastern Bactria, these efforts were vitiated from the beginning by an ignorance of the real identity of the Ochus River. For regions further to the west, while the two passages invoked by Paul Bernard to ascribe the Pareitacae (the Baisun Mountains and their foothills)⁴² to Bactria betray a certain confusion on their authors' part, they do not signify a contradiction of the remaining sources: Arrian (4.21.1) reports that "after completing his work in Sogdiana, with the rock [of Sogdiana] now in his possession, Alexander advanced to the Pareitacae, since many of the barbarians were reported to be holding a strong place in their country, another rock, called the Rock of Chorienes"; for his part, Strabo (11.11.4) explicitly situates in Bactria the Rock of Sisimithres (which may or may not have been identical with that of Chorienes), where "Oxyartes kept his daughter Roxhane." In fact it is probable that Strabo rationalizes excessively because of a troubling fact, which is that this rock was controlled by Oxyartes, who was known to be a Bactrian (in this case taking refuge with the Sogdians). Arrian, meanwhile, does not at all maintain that the Pareitacae were part of Bactria; his point is only to underline the insubordination of this mountain stronghold in comparison to the rest of Sogdiana, which was already pacified.

Nevertheless, ancient southeast Sogdiana was eventually to become part of a single political entity with Bactria, during the Kushan period. A little later this entity would be known as Tokharistān. Then the gorges of Pareitacae, the crossroads of internal communications in Sogdiana at the time of Alexander's conquest, became a fortified frontier, at least in the main sector, at the "Iron Gates" of Derbent.⁴³ It is also at this time that the Bactrian language, written in an adapted Greek alphabet, is attested on the northern bank of the Oxus, as opposed to the Sogdian language and script in use beyond the "Iron Gates." The respective control, on one side, by the Kushan empire administration and on the other by the Sogdian principalities (Samarkand, Bukhara, Kesh), has probably created the illusion of a clear-cut linguistic delimitation, while the reality must have been more fluid.⁴⁴

Notes

1. Trans. P. A. Brunt, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1976).
2. Trans. J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), slightly modified.
3. A. B. Bosworth, "A Missing Year in the History of Alexander the Great," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 101 (1981), pp. 17–37.
4. P. Bernard, "Alexandre et Aï Khanoum," *Journal des Savants* (1982), pp. 125–38.
5. This point was convincingly established by Fr. von Schwarz, *Alexander des Grossen Feldzüge in Turkestan* (Munich, 1893), pp. 30–33 (a reliable guide for the campaign of 329, but very little usable for that of 328).
6. The last critical edition of Book 6: H. Humbach and S. Ziegler, *Ptolemy: Geography, Book 6. Middle East, Central Asia and North Asia, China*, pt. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1998), has to be used with caution due to many word-processing errors. Still indispensable is the earlier work, very meritorious although open to criticism in various details, by I. Ronca, *Ptolemaios, Geographie 6, 9–21: Ostiran und Zentralasien*, IsMEO Reports and Memoirs 15.1 (Rome, 1971). See his reconstructed map, reproduced in C. Rapin's article in this volume.
7. Also in Ṭabarī ii.1219, an episode situated near Surkh Kotal, see F. Grenet, *StIr* 13 (1984), p. 204 (not taken into account by M. Hinds, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 23 [Albany, 1990], p. 166). The names Dargomanes and Dargoidos have in common the ele-

ment Dargo- = Old Ir. *darga-* "long." If the Dargoidos was correctly placed by Ptolemy, it corresponds to the present-day Kokcha. Were the Kunduz-āb and Kokcha called "long rivers" because, together with the Ochus and Oxus, they were the only Bactrian rivers to have a full course? There was another Dargomanes, the long channel derived from the Zarafshan upstream from Samarkand and joining it again downstream; it still carries the name Dargom. Very probably this homonym led Ptolemy to place Maracanda on the Bactrian Dargom: see W. Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien: Sogdiana* (Vienna, 1877), Sitzungsber. der phil.-hist. Klasse der kais.-kön. Akad. der Wiss., 87, p. 147 (p. 83 in the offprint); J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), p. 29; P. Bernard, "Maracanda-Afrasiab, colonie grecque," in *La Persia e l'Asia centrale da Alessandro al X secolo*, Atti dei convegni Lincei 127 (Rome, 1996), p. 344.

8. In P. Bernard and H.-P. Francfort, *Etudes de géographie historique sur la plaine d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)* (Paris, 1978), *passim*.

9. Contrary to Markwart: "Der alte Name ist sonst mindestens seit der Abbasidenzeit auf einem der wichtigsten Zuflüsse beschränkt, welche der Strom von rechts empfängt" (*Wehrot und Arang*, p. 33), only W. Barthold clearly expressed this view: "The ancient Aryan name of the Amu-Darya, Vakhshu or Wakhshu, was preserved in the name of the river Wakhsh (Surkhab), from which it may be concluded that in ancient times this river was considered to be the head-water of the Amu-Darya" (*Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, 3d ed. [London, 1968], p. 65). Together with the identification Ochus-Wakh, this is the only important fact that was missed by Tomaschek, who, as we shall see, had often understood earlier and better than others.

10. Tomaschek, p. 109 (p. 45 in the offprint). Taken over (without acknowledgement) by Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion*, p. 65, and Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 28.

11. Ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Araborum*, vol. 7 (Leiden, 1892). Translated according to J. Marquart [Markwart], "Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i," Abhandl. der kön. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge Bd. III.2 (Berlin, 1901), pp. 233–34.

12. Convincingly restored by V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-ʿĀlam "The Regions of the World": A Persian Geography 372 A.H.–982 A.D.*, 2d ed. (London, 1979), pp. 208–9, instead of Pārgar proposed by de Goeje, followed by Markwart (the manuscript bears *.arʿn*).

13. *Wehrot und Arang*, pp. 50–52. This question was subsequently confused (for once) by G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-iranian Frontier Languages*, vol. 2 (Oslo, 1938), p. 433, who proposed Vakhī Wuḫ < Old Ir. *Waxšu-* (followed by H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Prob-*

lems in the Ninth-Century Books, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1971), pp. 67–68). Since then, I. M. Steblin-Kamenskii has shown that only the derivation *ḫ < hw* is possible in Vakhī (where *xš* always becomes *š*), and has clearly posed the two distinct series ("Reka iranskoi prarodiny," in *Onomastika Srednei Azii* [Moscow, 1978], pp. 72–74):

Old Ir. *Wahwī-* / Greek Ὠχος, Ὀχος / Vakhī Wuḫ / Pers. (Tajik) Vakh;

Old Ir. *Waxšu-* / Greek Ὠξος, Ὀξος / Pers. (Tajik) Vakhsh.

In addition, Steblin-Kamenskii refers to the ethnograph N. A. Aristov, "Etnicheskie otnosheniia na Pamire i v prilegaiushchikh stranax po drevnim, preimushchestvenno kitaiskim, istoricheskim izvestiiam," *Russkii antropologicheskii zhurnal* (Moscow, 1902, no. 3), who states that in his time the name Vakhān was not confined to the high valley thus named today but was used all along the Panj until its confluence with the Wakhsh.

H. P. Francfort, in his contribution to *Etudes de géographie historique*: "Zulm-Andijarag, métropole de la plaine à l'époque islamique pré-mongole," pp. 27–31, 81–84, has left aside the testimony of Ibn Rustah in favour of other works (the *Hudūd*, Istakhrī, and Ibn Hauqal), which either do not name the Panj, or call it Jayhūn (in anticipation of what it becomes downstream) or Jaryāb (in confusion with its left-bank tributary, the Kokcha).

14. *Wehrot und Arang*, pp. 3–4.

15. Trans. H. L. Jones, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1969).

16. *Etudes de géographie historique*, esp. pp. 7–8. For the principles of the distortion of Ptolemy's map of Central Asia, see C. Rapin's article in this volume.

17. If, as proposed by Steblin-Kamenskii (art. quoted), the name is shortened from that of the "Good River" of the Avesta, this duplication could be viewed as another example of the translation of sacred geography from east to west at the initiative of the Medes, then of the Parthians.

18. *Incerti auctoris Epitoma Rerum Gestarum Alexandri Magni cum Libro de Morte Testamentoque Alexandrii*, ed. P. H. Thomas, Teubner (Leipzig, 1960), 14: *Deinde post diem undecimum ad flumen Ochum pervenit. Id transit. Inde ad Oxum flumen devenit.*

19. J.-C. Gardin, ed., *Prospections archéologiques en Bactriane orientale (1974–1978)*, vol. 1 (P. Gentelle; Paris, 1989); vol. 2 (B. Lyonnet; 1997); vol. 3 (J.-C. Gardin; 1998). For a development of the Imām Sahib plain already in that period: Lyonnet, pp. 112–14, 150–51, fig. 37. *Contra*: Gardin, pp. 64–65, maps with commentary, pp. 222, 267.

20. Bernard, "Alexandre et Aï Khanoum," p. 134.

21. "Ford" in quotation marks: the crossing was not on foot, but on skins filled with straw (see Curtius

Rufus 7.5.17, about the crossing at Kilif in 329), or on rafts pulled by swimming horses (described at the Ārhan ford in the early twentieth century). For a detailed examination of the historical and ethnographical testimonies on the crossing of the Amu-daryā, see E. V. Rtveladze, "Sogdiitsy–moreplavатели," *Obshchestvennoe mnenie: Prava cheloveka* 3–4 (1999): 99–109.

22. Bernard, "Appendice III: Les sites anciens riverains du moyen Oxus," in *Etudes de géographie historique*, pp. 53–61, esp. p. 55.

23. Corresponding to the present-day Kunduz or perhaps to another site upstream on the Kunduz-āb, see Grenet, "Drapsaka," in *Elr*, vol. 7, pt. 5 (1995), p. 537.

24. P. Bernard, "Campagne de fouille 1978 à Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)," *BEFEO* 68 (1980), p. 38 (as a hypothesis); more distinctly, Cl. Rapin, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum*, vol. 8: *La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d'Aï Khanoum*, MDFA 33 (Paris, 1992), p. 293. The location of Eucratidia on Ptolemy's map, as well as some facts from the excavations (the grand-scale reconstruction of the palace under Eucratides, the presence in his treasury of spoils from his Indian campaigns) no longer leave much doubt, at least to our minds.

25. The site of Takht-i Sangin (see below) is excluded, as it is squeezed between the mountain and the bank of the Amu-daryā. The only real alternative would be the Kobadiān plain, on the lower Kafirnigān. It includes two fortified towns, of modest scale: Kala-i Mir and Kei-Kobād-Shāh, built, according to the first excavators, in the Achaemenid and Greek periods respectively (these dates have since been challenged); but the published descriptions and maps do not show any semicircle of hills; there is, to the north, a defense wall, of uncertain date, touching a natural slope at one end, but it is straight (M. M. D'iakonov, "Arxeologicheskie raboty v nizhnem techenii reki Kafirnigana [Kobadiān] [1950–1951 gg.]," *MIA* 37 [Moscow, 1953], pp. 253–93; B. Ja. Staviskij, *La Bactriane sous les Kushans* [Paris, 1986], pp. 75–78, map fig. 6; Lyonnet, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 141, 149, for the date of Kei-Kobād-Shāh).

26. See P. Leriche et al., "Bilan de la campagne 1997 de la MAFouz de Bactriane," *BAI* 11 [1997 [2000]], pp. 17–52. Claude Rapin has visited the site. Information from past and recent excavations does not contradict our hypothesis. At the citadel, probe trenches dug until the earliest levels have confirmed the reality of a Greek occupation, which "avait une emprise nettement plus réduite que celle de l'actuelle citadelle" (art. quoted, p. 34; about a possible Achaemenid level, see Sh. R. Pidaev, "Stratigrafiia gorodishcha Starogo Termeza v svete novykh raskopok," in *Gorodskaya kul'tura Baktrii-Tokharistana i Sogda*,

ed. G. A. Pugachenkova and A. A. Askarov [Tashkent, 1986], pp. 87–88). At Chingiz-tepe, remains of a Kushan fortification have been put to light; they directly surmount the bedrock, but the excavation has touched only part of the hill. The low terrace below the hills, which lies beside a plain liable to flooding, has not been submitted to any stratigraphic exploration. The city itself must have stood there. This sector, occupied by a military zone, is inaccessible, but since the beginning of the twentieth century it has provided an abundance of chance finds, in particular Greco-Bactrian coins.

27. [?](n)tywk: W. B. Henning *apud* V. G. Lukonin, "Srednepersodskie nadpisi iz Kara-tepe," in B. Ia. Staviskij, ed., *Buddiiskie peshchery Kara-tepe v starom Termeze* [Kara-tepe, vol. 2] (Moscow, 1969), p. 46, n. 24.

28. See N. Sims-Williams, *New Light on Ancient Afghanistan: The Decipherment of Bactrian. An Inaugural Lecture Delivered on 1 February 1996* (London: SOAS, 1997), p. 14 (mentioned in Doc. 114; I thank the author for further details).

29. H. W. Bailey, "Irano-Indica III," *BSOAS* 13 (1950), pp. 401–4. Bailey has definitely established the correct reading of a Tibetan colophon, an erroneous decipherment of which had given rise to the assumption that the name Termez reflected that of the Greco-Bactrian king Demetrius; see also R. B. Whitehead, *NC* (1947), p. 9; W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1951), p. 525 (in a list of corrections to his 1st edition). This correction has not been noticed by P. Leriche et al., who still take seriously the identification Termez-Demetrias (art. quoted, p. 51, n. 4).

30. Already Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien*, p. 91 (p. 27 in the offprint): "jenseitige Ansiedelung?"; also H. W. Bailey, *The Culture of the Sakas in Ancient Iranian Khotan* (Delmar, New York, 1982), p. 27. The place *Tarmantis* in the *Epitome*, 4 (*deinde pervenit ad oppidum Tarmantidem quod est positum in flumine Medorum*) presents us with a difficult case. The radical emendations proposed by the editors are not justified, as the form transmitted by the manuscript is perfectly recognizable: **tara-mant-* "provided with a crossing" (cf. the Avestan name of the river Hilmand: *Haētumant-* "provided with fords"). It is cognate, but not identical with **tara-maiθa-* = Termez, and moreover it appears in the narration of 329, just before Bessus' capture. But how to interpret the "river of the Medes": an epithet of the Oxus, which seems hardly justifiable? the Kashka-daryā? For other conclusions see P. Bernard, "Diodore XVII, 83, 1: Alexandrie du Caucase ou Alexandrie de l'Oxus?" *Journal des Savants* (1982), pp. 217–42, esp. pp. 233–35.

31. Bernard, *Abstracta Iranica* 10 (1987), no. 203.

32. G. A. Pugachenkova and E. V. Rtveladze, *Severnaia Baktriia-Tokharistan* (Tashkent, 1990), pp. 23 (map), 26–33, 68–71. On the occupation of Kyzyl-tepe from the pre-Achemenid period to a limited Greek occupation, see Lyonnet 1997, above, n. 19 (numerous references in the index).

33. Except, further upstream, the “Kushan” site of Khatyn-rabat, on which information is lacking.

34. Last presentation: G. A. Pugachenkova, “The Buddhist monuments of Airtam,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 2 (1991–1992), pp. 23–41.

35. Another probable example of a post-Greek toponym in Ptolemy is Chatracharta (var.: Charracharta), in Bactria. The first element Chatra- (*xāthr) can be perfectly placed in the evolution line from Old Ir. *xšāθriya- “ruler” to Late Bactr. xāupo (xāhr or xahr), xapo (xār or xar) “king.” These are dialectal forms, with a development xš- > x- different from xš- > š- normal in Bactr.; these forms have hitherto been noted only in the documents from the Rōb kingdom, along the Tashkurgan River (Sims-Williams, *New Light on Ancient Afghanistan*, pp. 15–17). Chatracharta probably means “royal foundation” (-charta = -karta, by graphic mistake or spirantization). Was this name temporarily assumed by the capital of this kingdom, otherwise known as Warnu (Greek Aornos)? This figures in Ptolemy but only as the name of a people. It is tempting to suppose that he used the form Chatracharta for the town.

36. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-Ālam* “The Regions of the World,” pp. 71, 119–20, 208, 359–60, 369, map ix p. 339.

37. The identification Hulbuk-Cholbesina had already been proposed (without a philological argumentation) by Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien*, p. 100 (p. 36 in the offprint).

38. See for the discussion B. A. Litvinskii and I. R. Pichikian, “The Hellenistic Architecture and Art of the Temple of the Oxus,” *BAI* 8 (1994 [1996]), pp. 47–66; P. Bernard, “Le temple de Takht-i Sangin en Bactriane: Temple du feu ou pas?” *StIr* 23 (1994), pp. 81–121; B. A. Litvinskij and I. R. Pichikian, *Ellinisticheskii khram Oksa v Baktrii*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 2000). Bernard on one side, Litvinskii and Pichikian on the other, agreed about the “sacerdotal” character of the Oxus Treasure. Was the part that is attributable to the Achemenid period—in fact everything but the coins—buried at the time of the arrival of Alexander’s army?

39. This is the solution that emerges in Bernard and Francfort, *Etudes de géographie historique*.

40. Lyonnet 1997, pp. 154–55.

41. “Alexandre et l’Asie centrale: Réflexions à propos d’un ouvrage de F. L. Holt,” *StIr* 19 (1990), pp. 21–38.

42. Pareitacae = *para-tāka- “along the watercourses,” or *pāra-tāka- “beyond the watercourses,” or *upari-tāka- “above the watercourses,” with a Greek plural ending. Cf. Nautaca = *nawa-tāka- “new watercourse” or “nine watercourses”; the site is now marked by the group of mounds called Pada-iatak-tepe and Uzunkyr, near Shahr-i Sabz. As for Xenippa, mentioned in Curtius Rufus 8.2.14 (in the lower Kashka-daryā valley, probably the large site called Erkurgan), its name could come from a Greek adaptation of *axšaina-āp- “dark water,” cf. the widespread toponyms Siyāb (in Tajik), Karasu (in Turkish languages).

43. See for the moment Sh. Rakhmanov and C. Rapin, “Les Portes de Fer près de Derbent (Ouzbékistan),” *Dossiers d’Archéologie* 243 (Dijon, 1999), pp. 18–19. An earlier wall had functioned in the Greek period, presumably under the first Greco-Bactrian kings, at a time when northern Sogdiana may have temporarily escaped their control (see also B. Lyonnet’s article in this volume). It has been suggested that at least one episode of Alexander’s mountain sieges, that of the Rock of Chorienes, had taken place in the immediate vicinity of the future “Iron Gates”: see in particular Tomaschek, *Centralasiatische Studien*, p. 94 (p. 30 in the offprint); E. V. Rtveladze, “On the Historical Geography of Bactria-Tokharistan,” *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 1 (1990), pp. 1–33, esp. pp. 4–9. These views can be substantiated by closer inspection of the sector: see C. Rapin and Sh. Rakhmanov, forthcoming.

44. Some of the Sogdian inscriptions on the Upper Indus, attributed to the 4th to 6th centuries, were written by merchants who, judging from their names or ethnonyms, directly or indirectly originated from the former Kushan territories: see N. Sims-Williams, *Sogdian and Other Iranian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus*, vol. 2, CIIr, II.3.2 (London, 1992), s.v. kwš²n, etc.

[Additional note: Since this article was sent to press, we have realized that the identifications Oxus-Wakhsh and Ochus-Wakh-Panj had already been understood by H. Yule, “Essay on the Geography of the Valley of the Oxus,” in J. Wood, *A Personal Narrative of a Journey to the Source of the River Oxus*, 2d ed. (London, 1872), p. xxiii, n. 1.]