

Book of abstracts  
of the International conference

**SEEN FROM  
OXYARTES' ROCK:  
CENTRAL ASIA  
UNDER AND AFTER  
ALEXANDER**

**Third Meeting  
of the Hellenistic Central Asia  
Research Network**

14—16 November 2018

Faculty of Arts, Charles University  
Prague



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FACULTY OF ARTS  
Charles University



INSTITUTE OF  
CLASSICAL  
ARCHAEOLOGY

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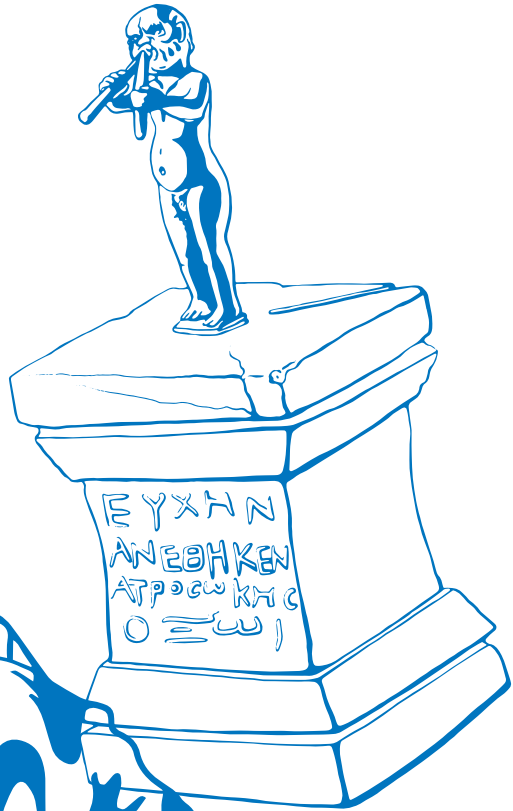
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# Introduction

The events directly connected with the campaign of Alexander the Great in Central Asia are described vividly and in detail by ancient Greek authors and have been thoroughly evaluated by modern historians. Numismatic studies have reconstructed the history of the following centuries. However, our understanding of the (mutual?) acculturation following the campaign remains limited. The aim of the conference was to discuss what actually happened in Central Asia at that time. It takes as much as possible a local point of view and ask how local people experienced these turbulent developments, and how they coped with the strange newcomers.

As in the previous meetings of HCARN group in Reading 2016 and Berlin 2017, the Prague conference brings together archaeologists, historians, and numismatists working on various aspects of the Hellenistic Central Asia.

## **Topics of interest include but are not limited to:**

- Locating the events of Alexander's campaign:  
  Combined analysis of archaeological and textual sources
- Settlement patterns and dynamics in the late Achaemenid  
  and Hellenistic Periods
- Structural changes in the local society
- Elites and their adapting to the new reality
- Material culture: local or introduced?
- New fieldwork at relevant archaeological sites

# Program

## Wednesday 14 November 2018

- 09:00—10:00 Registration  
10:00—10:15 Conference opening  
**Daniel Soukup**, Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Arts  
**Peter Pavúk**, Head of the Institute of Classical Archaeology  
10:15—10:30 Opening remarks  
**Ladislav Stančo**, **Gunvor Lindström**, **Rachel Mairs**

## HISTORY

- 10:30—11:00 **Nikolaus Leo Overtoom** A Fight to Reclaim the Central Asian Frontier: The Seleucid and Parthian Rivalry in the 230s BCE  
11:00—11:30 **Archil Balakhvantsev** — **Sergey Bolelov** Alexander the Great and Chorasmia  
11:30—12:00 Coffee break  
12:00—12:30 **Juping Yang** The Western Region (西域) after Alexander and Zhang Qian  
12:30—13:00 **Marc Mendoza** The forgotten ones: Thessalians and Thracians in Bactria-Sogdiana  
13:00—13:30 **Gunnar R. Dumke** Indian Rajas and ‘Greek’ Basileis  
13:30—15:00 Lunch break

## GEOGRAPHY

- 15:00—15:30 **Dmitry A. Shcheglov** Alexander’s Central Asian campaign: geographical misconceptions and strategic plans

- 15:30—16:00** **Lauren Morris** “South of the Hindu Kush”? Geographies of the Paropamisus
- 16:00—16:30** **Jakub Havlík** Terra multiplex et varia natura: Settlement patterns of Bactria in the Hellenistic period
- 16:30—17:00** **Mostafa Dehpahlavan — Zahra Alinezhad** “Dara” City in Dichotomy of Alexander’s and Isidore of Charax’s Sources
- 19:00 Conference dinner

## **Thursday 15 November 2018**

### ARCHAEOLOGY

- 09:00—09:30** **Laurianne Martinez-Sève** The beginning of Greek occupation at Maracanda (Sogdiana)
- 09:30—10:00** **Andrei Omelchenko** Pottery assemblages of Early Hellenistic time from Sogd
- 10:00—10:30** **Xin Wu** Mapping the Transition from the Achaemenid to Hellenistic Periods in Ancient Bactria
- 10:30—11:00 Coffee break
- 11:00—11:30** **Nigora Dvurechenskaya** Results of the excavations at the Bactrian Hellenistic fortress of Uzundara (2013—2018)
- 11:30—12:00** **Ladislav Stančo** In the shadow of the Wall: Hellenistic settlement in the Baysun and Kugitang piedmonts
- 12:00—12:30** **Kristina Junker** Alexander the Great and the potters in Bactria: The Greek influence on the local pottery production from 329 to 145 BCE in Bactria
- 12:30—13:00** **Viktor Mokroborodov** Gishttepa and others: Recent Russian-Uzbek archaeological works in the Pashkhurd area
- 13:00—14:30 Lunch break

- 14:30—15:00** **Shujing Wang** New Excavations of the Kurgan Burials at the Fringes of the Bukhara Oasis (Uzbekistan)
- 15:00—15:30** **Mohamad Ajmal Shah** Semthan: A Hellenistic outpost in Kashmir Himalaya
- 15:30—16:00** **Luca Maria Olivieri — Elisa Iori — Omar Coloru** Swat after the Indo-Greeks. Buddhism, Burials, Techniques and New Fortifications
- 16:00—16:30 Coffee break
- 16:30—17:00** **Gunvor Lindström** Between Hellenisation and innovation: sculptural art in the Hellenistic Far East
- 17:00—17:30** **Adam Kubik** Ram's horns as an element of the Royal Crown in Asia after Alexander the Great: the so called "Wall Painting of Alexander the Great" from Fayaz Tepe
- 19:00 Conference dinner





## Friday 16 November 2018

### NUMISMATICS

- 09:00—09:30** **Olivier Bordeaux — Osmund Bopearachchi** Sophyros and Andragoras: Pioneering coin-strikers in Bactria?
- 09:30—10:00** **Aleksandr Naymark** Hyrcodes' Firebird and Antiochus-Apollo of Nakhsha
- 10:00—10:30** **Razieh Taasob** The Attribution and Chronology of the Heraios Coinage: A Reassessment
- 10:30—11:00 Coffee break

### SOCIETY AND CULTURE

- 11:00—11:30** **Guendalina Daniela Maria Taietti** Alexander III's Empire: Macedonian, Achaemenid or Oecumenic Greek?
- 11:30—12:00** **Marco Ferrario** Memory and Communities in 329 B.C. Bactria: Beyond HDT 4. 204
- 12:00—12:30** **Michail Iliakis** Flipping the Coin: Alexander the Great's Bactrian-Sogdian Expedition from a Local Perspective
- 12:30—13:00** **Olga Kubica** Meetings with the 'Naked Philosophers' as a case study for the Greco-Indian relations in the time of Alexander
- 13:00—13:30** **Rachel Mairs** The Hellenistic Far East in Historical Fiction: Ancient History, Modern Ideologies
- 13:30—14:00** **Closing remarks and discussion**





An aerial photograph of a rugged mountain range. The terrain is characterized by steep, rocky slopes with patches of green vegetation. A prominent feature is a winding, light-colored road or path that snakes through the valley and across the mountain ridges. The lighting creates strong shadows, emphasizing the topography. In the foreground, there is a dense thicket of green bushes and some yellow flowers.

# BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

# Alexander the Great and Chorasmia

**Archil Balakhvantsev** IOS RAS, Moscow

**Sergey Bolelov** SMOA, Moscow

In 2016, E. V. Rtveladze, after analyzing the reports of Arrian and Curtius Rufus about the Chorasmian embassy to Alexander, came to the conclusion that the sources dealt with two different embassies: the first was headed by Pharasmanes, the king of western (left bank) Chorasmia, and arrived in Bactra in winter or early spring of 328 BCE; and the second was sent by Phrataphernes, the king of eastern (right bank) Chorasmia, and visited Alexander in Marakanda in summer of the same year. However, this conclusion was wrong.

Firstly, in the Arrian's narrative about the campaigns of Alexander in 328 BCE there is a six-month lacuna, which caused numerous doublets and inconsistencies in the story. Secondly, Arrian and Curtius unanimously testify that at the same time when the Chorasmian mission arrived, Alexander was also visited by the second embassy of the European Scythians with his own envoys sent in summer of 329 BCE. This allows us to conclude that both historians of Alexander reported about the same event.

Thirdly, it is unlikely that Chorasmia (especially left-bank) felt the urgent need to send ambassadors to Alexander in winter of 329/8 BCE, when a significant part of Bactria and Sogdiana was up in revolt. Also, Alexander said to Pharasmanes, that his thoughts were occupied with India, and these words could not be uttered at that time. The mission of Pharasmanes and the Alexander's words correlate much better with the situation of the late summer of 328 BCE, when the main centers of revolt were suppressed. It was then that Chorasmia could try to appease the victor and also to exploit the Macedonian army against the Colchians, while Alexander was already making plans for the invasion of India.

Fourthly, in the IV—II centuries BCE we can see a surprising uniformity of material culture in the region of the lower reaches of the Amu Darya — Chorasmia. It was the most clearly manifested in the standard modules used for the manufacture of ceramics,

as well as in the organization of handicraft industry: both were common for the entire region. In our opinion, these facts are evidence for the formation of a single centralized economic system throughout Chorasmia. The only major settlement that could very likely be the capital center of Chorasmia at that time is Akchakhan-kala located on the right bank of the Amu Darya.

Different royal names can be best explained by the assumption that by the time the embassy was sent, the ruler of the unified Chorasmia was Phrataphernes, who died while his son (and possibly co-ruler) Pharasmanes was in Marakanda, and after that Alexander recognized the right of Pharasmanes to the title of king.

# Sophytos and Andragoras: Pioneering coin-strikers in Bactria?

**Osmund Bopearachchi** University of Berkeley

**Olivier Bordeaux** Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan

The death of Alexander the Great brutally interrupted the process of setting up a unified monetary system in his empire, and left Bactria still as an un-monetized territory while cities were already founded and colonists settled. In this context, the pre-Seleucid strikes imitating the Athenian owls, as well as the “eagle” coins and the coinage of Sophytos have puzzled numismatists and historians for a long time, whether regarding their chronology, iconography or minting place. The publication of the funerary epigram of Sophytos in or near Kandahar in 2004 led Paul Bernard to attribute to Arachosia the coinage of the homonymous ruler. Recent discoveries however still pinpoint the location of this coinage north of the Hindu Kush. What is more, a reassessment of the origin of Athenian owls is now necessary, in view of their links with the coinage struck in the name of Andragoras, especially monograms.

This presentation thus aims to present the results of a die-study conducted on a corpus of over 330 coins of both rulers, which provides an unprecedented frame for their monetary politics. The period between 323 and 294 BCE, that is before the first Seleucid coins are struck in Bactria, still indeed remains a blur, in part due to the lack of well-identified archaeological discoveries related to this period. The questions raised by these coinages mainly focus on attribution problematics, recently challenged chronologies, and territorial implementation. Which monetary politics were adopted by Sophytos and Andragoras in order to make Bactrians accept their coinage? The study will also address the question of iconographical cross-influence with their immediate neighbours.

# “Dara” City in Dichotomy of Alexander’s and Isidore of Charax’s Sources

**Mostafa Dehpahlavan** Department of Archeology, University of Tehran

**Zahra Alinezhad** Department of Archeology, University of Tehran

In various historical sources, and especially Alexander’s historians were mentioned that the Parthian Tiridates I (or Arsaces I) after standing against Seleucus II, at the locale called Apavorten founded a fortified city called “Dara”. Later, in the same city Artabanus I fights against Antiochus III and forces him to peace. At this time, the formation fields of the Parthian power were provided and the city of Dara has played a significant role in forming the Parthian rule. The exact location of this important city has not been determined to date up to now.

There are two groups of historical sources about the location of “Dara”. The first are classical historians (Greek and Roman) or the Greek historians of Alexander’s conquests, such as Quintus Curtius Rufus, Plutarch, Arrian, Justin, Pliny, Polybius, who have considered it in the ancient Qumis-Hyrcania road and the second group according to Isidore of Charax, believes that the city is located in the southern part of Turkmenistan and close to the Abivard (near to modern Dargaz).

In this article, on the one hand, we have tried to realize and investigate the offered viewpoint and analysis the written sources attributed to Alexander the Great and Isidore of Charax. On the other, we look into the archaeological evidence of recent archaeological studies in the Dargaz area (Chapeshlu) and archaeological findings in the Ahvanu Valley. The results of our study suggest that the environmental conditions and the location of the Ahvanu Valley are much more match with Alexander’s historians’ views and also, the Ahvanu area, due to the existing capabilities, can be a rational choice for the place name of „Dara“. The main conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that considering available archaeological findings, Alexander’s historians’ statements are more prominent than those of Isidore of Charax.

# Indian Rajas and ‘Greek’ Basileis

**Gunnar R. Dumke** Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology  
Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg

After crossing the Hindu Kush Mountains southwards, the ‘Greeks’ continued to rule over a vast area in nowadays Pakistan and North-Western India. Although we do not have any authoritative numbers how many of them ended up in Hellenistic India, we can quite safely assume that the number could not have been really large. In addition, it has long been recognized that the number of Indo-Greek kings is too high to fit them all in consecutive reigns; therefore, their reigns have to have overlapped somehow. This inevitably leads to the question of how the Indo-Greeks managed to rule these large areas. A look at other Hellenistic dynasties, especially the Ptolemaic and Seleukid ones, teaches us that the local elites played a key-role in securing foreign domination over the indigenous people. The special situation in Hellenistic India makes such an endeavor rather delicate. The only sources we have in abundance are coins, supplemented by a small corpus of inscriptions (mostly Indian) and some archaeological sites (which tend to make things even more complicated than easier to understand). Therefore, in an attempt to solve this puzzle, I want to present a model — based on the information the coins and inscription provide for us — for Indo-Greek rule in Hellenistic India and the role of the indigenous elites therein.



# Results of the excavations at the Bactrian Hellenistic fortress of Uzundara (2013—2018)

**Nigora Dvurechenskaya** Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

The fortress of Uzundara was built on the mountain of Susiztag (in the north-west of the Surkhandarya Province in the mountains of Baysun) at an altitude of 1700 m.a.s.l. It consists of main quadrangle (rhomboid in its ground plan) of the fortress, adjacent triangular citadel, section of the external walls and three external towers. The total length of the walls is almost one kilometre, while the area is less than 2 hectares. Powerful ramparts with an internal gallery are reinforced by towers (at least ten of them can be traced). The fortress is located on the narrow isthmus of 220 m between steep cliffs of the Kara-Kamar tract and Uzundara gorge, and blocks the passage for any cavalry army intending to bypass the main border wall of Darband located 7 km to the north. The prevention of a sudden attack of nomads from the Karshi steppes was the main task of the fortress.

The Russian-Uzbek team carries out the complex archaeological investigation of Uzundara since 2013. To date, the citadel (τὸ φυλακτήριον — phylacterion) of the fortress (τὸ φρούριον — frouirion) has been almost completely excavated, its architectural plan has been revealed, and preliminary 3-D model of the entire fortress has been created. In contrast to the previously studied Hellenistic sites on the right bank of the Amu Darya, this fortress is not covered by later layers. Its rich archaeological materials and stratigraphy are reliably supported by an extensive numismatic material (see below).

The principle of external walls — τὸ περιτείχισμα — periteichisma, supplementing the main body of a fortress or city, and, as a rule, using features of the natural relief, was widely used in Greece and was not known in Bactria before the arrival of the Greco-Macedonians. The same goes for the external towers.

A large number of coins from the territory of the fortress allows us to speak about the well-received salary of the soldiers of the garrison. Besides, they could spend them, without leaving a place of a dislocation. This is evidenced by the commercial area,

which was recorded near the main gate. Residents from the neighbouring villages of the valley flocked here to exchange their agricultural or handicraft products for the money they needed primarily to pay state taxes.

In the fortress of Uzundara, coins of various denominations and periods were found. The silver drachma of Alexander's posthumous issue minted in the period 310—301 in Asia Minor (Lampsacus) belongs to the earliest Seleucids. However, the largest number of coins is copper, including a very small denomination, such as the hemichalk of Antiochus I. The lower layers of the Citadel are dated by the coins of this ruler. Moreover, the coins of almost all the Greco-Bactrian kings of various denominations are well represented. The number of Euthydemus' coins significantly exceeds the monetary finds of all the other kings (79 copies).

It can be argued that the border fortress of Uzundara was the main hub of the extensive fortification system protecting the northern borders of the agricultural oases of ancient Bactria for many tens of kilometers. Its construction dates back to the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, when Antiochus I arrived here. In his extensive work on bringing order to the upper satrapies, Antiochus I used outstanding achievements in architecture, engineering and military strategic planning. There is no other way to explain such a complex hub of interrelated fortification objects (the border wall of Darband, the fortress of Uzundara, the fortress walls and signal towers on Susiztag, and close of the village of Sairob), concentrated in the area of the so-called Iron Gates. The garrison, stationed here in the period of the early Seleucids, performed a complex of functions: on one hand protected the borders of Bactria from the threat of nomad invasion from the north-west, and on the other protected the power of the Seleucids from the insurrection of the local population and maintain order.

During the period of deposition of Bactria and the creation of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, the fortress continues to function, and its garrison regularly receives money and other allowances, apparently, directly from the state capital from all the Greek-Bactrian kings, beginning with Diodotus and ending with Eucratides. From this point on, its tasks are somewhat adjusted from protecting the Seleucid empire to protecting the Greco-Bactrian kingdom while preserving the main task — protecting the fertile valleys of the Sherabaddarya and Surkhandarya rivers from the nomads of the northern borders of Bactria.

# Memory and Communities in 329 B.C. Bactria: Beyond HDT 4. 204

Marco Ferrario Università degli Studi di Trento

In an overlooked passage of Book 4 of his *Histories* (§204) Herodotus informed us that, during the Persian conquest of Lybia, a city called Barce was completely destroyed, its population enslaved and deported to Bactria. There, a city with the same name of its Lybian ancestor still existed at the time of Herodotus. Most of Herodotus' scholars have disregarded such information: Herodotus himself seems to ignore everything about Bactria: what we find in Hdt. 4. 204 is usually considered as nothing more than a mere τόπος. Yet, what if Herodotus really knew more about this population's displacement to the Far East than it has traditionally been held? What kind of stories circulate in Greece about the most Eastern provinces of the Persian Empire? The aim of this paper is exactly to reconsider such information. If the story of Barce was really built around a kernel of truth, what are the cultural implications of this aspect for our understanding of the relations between the Greeks and the Bactrian élite? And, in the instant case, we should ask ourselves "What kind of Greeks were the inhabitants of Barce"? Could some sort of Greek diaspora to Bactria have really taken place more than a century before Alexander conquered this satrapy? How should we then re-read the history of the Branchidae (Diod. Sic. 17. 84) if another Greek community had already been thriving in Asia for more than a century? What kind of implications does this scenario entail when it comes to the settlement of Alexander's veterans and the establishment of the first generation of would-be Graeco-Bactrians? This paper attempts to provide an answer to these questions.

# **Terra multiplex et varia natura: Settlement patterns of Bactria in the Hellenistic period**

**Jakub Havlík** Charles University in Prague

It has been already pointed out by several scholars, that the settlement situation of the region of Bactria in the Hellenistic period doesn't correspond to its image created by a few written sources of later date, which present Bactria as an urbanised area. However, a still unsolved question is, how organised this "less-urbanised settlement" was, and what kind of settlement patterns were applied by new coming rulers of Bactria after the turbulent period which followed the fall of the Achaemenid empire. Did the Seleucids and their independent successors carry on the indigenous land management of the preceding rulers, or rework it anew? Is it even possible to answer these questions, based on the current state of archaeological research? The paper presents detailed study of a few selected areas — lesser regions in both northern and southern Bactria — which offer sufficient data, in order to highlight general trends connected with the rule of Alexanders heirs in different environments of the region. Data were processed using GIS tools and methodology of landscape archaeology. Particular interest is devoted to rural agglomerations and their relation and interconnection to local (urban?) central sites. The aim of the paper is thus not to present a complex image of historical settlement, but to contribute to a longstanding archaeological (re)construction of Hellenistic-period settlement.

# Flipping the Coin: Alexander the Great's Bactrian-Sogdian Expedition from a Local Perspective

**Michael Iliakis** Institute of Historical Research,  
National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens

Alexander the Great's sojourn in Western Central Asia is well documented in written sources and thoroughly researched by ancient and modern scholars. Equally investigated, if not more, due to the complexity and diversity of the available testimonia, is the Hellenistic period of this region and its cultural inheritance to the successor states. Less examined, however, are the Achaemenid era of Bactria-Sogdiana and the impact of Alexander's conquest on the region's economic and socio-political status quo. This paper aims, first, to assess the immediate repercussions (economic, political, military etc.) of said campaign to the indigenous population (sedentary and nomadic, ordinary and elite) of Bactria-Sogdiana. Second, it aims to examine how the local elite reacted initially to Greek presence and how, eventually, they adapted to the new reality.

# Alexander the Great and the potters in Bactria: The Greek influence on the local pottery production from 329 to 145 BCE in Bactria

**Kristina Junker** Eurasia Department, German Archaeological Institute;  
Free University of Berlin

With the conquest of Bactria by Alexander the Great, a new era — the Hellenistic period — began, during which a new material culture was formed by the locals and immigrants. However, the influence of new settlers from the West is not equally distinctive in archaeological finds and is not regularly recorded throughout the Bactrian territory. Unlike metal (recyclable) and wooden objects (perishable), ceramics provide a suitable tool to investigate the question the Greek influence on the local cultures.

While undertaking research on the Hellenistic pottery from the sanctuary of Torbulok, it became apparent that the Greek influence on the ceramic assemblage of this rural site is less visible and concentrates on the second building phase of the sanctuary. Compared to the pottery collection of Ai Khanoum the date of the second phase can now be placed in the Greco-Bactrian period from the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE. But which shapes were produced during the first building phase?

This contribution will therefore focus on the technological and typological evolution of ceramics during the early Hellenistic period (329 — middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE), as well as during the Greco-Bactrian period (middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup>—2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE). During the eventful decades after Alexander's conquest a developed ceramic production according to Greek standards is not to be expected. Therefore, one should expect an early Iron Age influence on the early Hellenistic pottery in Bactria. And only with the formation of the Greco-Bactrian dynasty does a change in the pottery appear to become observable, even though these changes cannot be found evenly in all the Bactrian sites.

# The Western Region (西域) after Alexander and Zhang Qian

Yang Juping Nankai University

There are some chapters in the ancient Chinese books such as the known “the Former Four Histories” that evidently and certainly include or contained some Hellenistic information from the western Regions, but too vague and hidden to be recognized clearly only depending on the literal records themselves. However, through careful mutual comparison between literature from China and the West and archaeological finds, some information could be searched out and identified. The numerous sites of Greek cities and settlements, the surviving Hellenistic kingdoms, the products such as grape and wine related to the Greeks there, the writing materials and ways, and the Greek styled coins, and so on had been referred to and indicated indirectly. Especially the political and social environment had been changed much more since the conquest of Central Asia by Alexander the Great and the exploration of Zhang Qian. One new civilization, the Far-east Hellenistic Civilization had emerged with the area between the valley of the Amu Darya and Indus River as the center. The Influence of Hellenistic Civilization actually gradually expanded beyond Central Asia with the opening of the Silk Road.

# Meetings with the “naked philosophers” as a case study for the Greco-Indian relations in the time of Alexander

**Olga Kubica** Independent researcher

The motif of the meetings with the “naked philosophers” is one of the *τόποι* of Greek literature about India, and for good reason, because this event may shed light on Greco-Indian relations in the time of Alexander, especially on the level of the exchange of philosophical thought. In the accounts of Alexander’s historians there seem to be two separate events, which can be described as meetings with “naked philosophers” or gymnosophists (*γυμνοσοφισταί*). One of them is asking riddles by Alexander to a group of sages, the so-called riddle contest; the second is meeting with Calanus and Dandamis, two most respected among the gymnosophists. These accounts are preserved in Strabo (XV 1, 61–66), who quoted Aristobulus, Onesicritus, and Nearchus; Plutarch (Alex. 64–65); Arrian (An. VII 1, 5–6) and in the Alexander Romance. The purpose of this paper is a combined analysis of these accounts together with archaeological sources on the ascetic life in India in order to investigate the following problems: the veracity of the story about the naked sages of India; the Greco-Indian relations and the communication problems, which occurred between the Greeks and the Indians; the relation between the asceticism in India and the Cynic philosophy in Greece; the relation between the Buddhist and early Indian sceptical thought and Greek philosophy. Because the study of these problems can lead to a biased search for influences, proposed in this paper way of looking at them is the so-called middle ground.



# Ram's horns as an element of the Royal Crown in Asia after Alexander the Great: the so called "Wall Painting of Alexander the Great" from Fayaz Tepe

Adam Lech Kubik Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities

Totemism in which humans are said to have relation with animals or plants was the earliest form of religious beliefs in human history. Later it didn't disappear completely. Based on Athenaeus (Athen. XII.53) who cited Ehippus of Olynthus:

"And Ehippus tells us that Alexander used to wear even the sacred vestments at his banquets; and sometimes he would wear the purple robe, and slit sandals, and horns of Ammon, as if he had been the god"

On well-known Hellenistic tetradrachms images of Alexander the Great are decorated with ram's horns. The image of Alexander the Great heavily influenced further iconography as well as current scholars' imaginations which led to search for some correlations between Seleucid symbols of royal/god power and further Iranian Zoroastrian religious tradition where the image of ram and ram's horns spread in Persia as a symbol of royal xwarrah. In my presentation, I would like to show how far Alexander the Great influenced current Asian scholarship — with example of Fayaz Tepe wall painting head-gear reconstruction. What's more I would like to answer on the question how far we can connect 'reborn' ram and ram's horns depictions known from Sasanian period Kušānšār territory with horned image of Alexander the Great.

# Between Hellenisation and innovation: sculptural art in the Hellenistic Far East

**Gunvor Lindström** Eurasia Department, German Archaeological Institute;  
Free University of Berlin

From Hellenistic Central Asia, there is a wealth of sculptures and reliefs, often closely aligned with Greek style and iconography. Greek impact on art continued long after the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom and the rise of the Kushan Empire.

To explain this long-lasting influence, a narrative from a 'classical' perspective would be as follows: After the conquest of Alexander the Great, Greek craftsmen and workshops realised that they could conquer a new market: Central Asia. They went east, carrying a set of Greek style, iconography and technology. As there was no (or only a weak) local tradition of sculpture, the (superior) Greek influence was so formative that it continued for centuries.

The paper will tell the history of sculptural art in the Hellenistic Far East from a different perspective, looking 'from Oxyartes' Rock'. It has to be admitted that the evidence of figurative art from the centuries before Alexander is too few to describe a pre-Hellenistic 'Bactrian style'. However, there could have been a local tradition. For the sculptors of the well-known statues for the sanctuaries in Ai Khanoum and Takht-i Sangin evidently had access to a fully developed technique: The statues were modelled in unfired, partly tempered clay on wooden frames and metal fittings, covered with stucco and painted. This technique is more akin to the specific use of clay (for example, in architecture) in Central Asia than to Greek techniques. The use of clay allowed the production of sculptures with great expressiveness. Moreover, the material was well suited for the climatic conditions in Bactria. It is therefore not surprising, that this innovation — the modelling of sometimes large size statues — is the main legacy of Bactro-Greek sculptors to the art of Central Asia.

# The Hellenistic Far East in Historical Fiction: Ancient History, Modern Ideologies

Rachel Mairs University of Reading

It has become a truism that it is not possible to reconstruct a narrative history of Central Asia in the period after Alexander. Scant literary or epigraphic sources, and the pitfalls of reconstructing dynastic histories from coins, make scholars wary of writing 'history' in the traditional academic sense. It may therefore come as a surprise that Hellenistic period Central Asia has emerged as the setting for a number of historical novels. This paper aims to deconstruct the research process that lies behind the crafting of narrative in several such pieces. It will identify the primary sources and works of scholarship used by authors, and explore how these have been used to construct visions of Hellenistic Central Asia which reflect not just on the ancient record, but on the modern authors' political and social context. The works discussed will include Rudyard Kipling's *The Man Who Would Be King* (on Alexander and his routes in Afghanistan), Teodor Par-nicki's (1955) *Koniec Zgody Narodów/The End of the Concord of Nations* (which explores the resonances of cultural encounter in Hellenistic Central Asia for the post-War world), and — on a lighter note — Gillian Bradshaw's (1990) *Horses of Heaven* (which uses a hypothetical Graeco-Bactrian alliance with Ferghana as the backdrop for historical romance). I will conclude by reflecting on the ways in which academic as well as literary writers have interpreted Central Asia after Alexander in ways that speak to their own times.

# The beginning of Greek occupation at Maracanda (Sogdiana)

Laurianne Martinez-Sève Université de Lille

When he arrived in Sogdiana in 329, Alexander the Great relatively easily seized Maracanda, which was the regional capital located in a vast oasis. He stayed there on several occasions with his army and members of his entourage. The city was the scene of several episodes of his expedition, including the famous murder of Cleitus, killed by Alexander in the satrapic palace during an altercation that broke out in the course of a banquet. The ancient site, identified as Afrasiab, has been explored since the late nineteenth century by several archaeological missions, but the remains of the early Hellenistic period are still very little known. They are most often buried deep below the later levels, especially those of the Sogdian and Islamic periods, when the city was densely populated. However, ceramic assemblages dating from the reign of Alexander and the first Seleucid kings were isolated within the material and evidence the beginning of Greek presence. The city had a military function and housed a large garrison.

The purpose of my paper will be to present the results of the excavations of the Franco-Uzbek Archaeological Mission (MAFOUz), conducted from 1992 under the direction of F. Grenet, and more particularly the discovery of a granary in the centre of the upper town. Its monumental appearance and the care taken in its construction, as well as its location, suggest that it was a public construction built under the Greek authorities. It housed the garrison's supplies, probably obtained from taxes levies collected in kind on the surrounding populations. The building was destroyed by a violent fire, which explains its good conservation. It contained little material and is not easy to date precisely for this reason. But the format of the bricks used for the construction suggests that it was built in the early years of Greek occupation.

# The forgotten ones: Thessalians and Thracians in Bactria-Sogdiana

**Marc Mendoza** Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

The account of the conquest and colonization of Bactria-Sogdiana is usually rendered as a tripartite conflict between the local people, the Macedonian power and the unruly Greek settlers. But in the middle of all this three main protagonists, there were some others that they did not fit in any of these groups. Even though they possibly played an important part, they are usually forgotten. In this presentation, I want to focus on the role carried out by the Thessalians and the Thracians. The presence of people from the Northern Greek world in the region is well-attested, but his position is ambiguous. Were they forced settlers? Or were they collaborators of the Macedonians? Was his status permanent or did it change along the years? In order to try to clarify these questions, we may take a look to the situation of these peoples during Alexander's campaigns, their position in other territories and the role taken in other Hellenistic kingdoms. Through this compared analysis, we can establish some parallelisms and differences, and assess if the viewed models can be applied in Bactria-Sogdiana. This case of study can also show that, as everywhere around, it is not all about black and white, but it exists a long range of shades of grey in the middle, and to enrich our knowledge of the population of early Hellenistic Bactria too.

# Gishttepa and others. Recent Russian-Uzbek archaeological work in the Pashkhurt area

**Viktor Mokroborodov** Institute of archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences

The Pashkhurt basin is a geographically isolated zone in the foothills of Kugitang (Southern Uzbekistan), which has recently attracted more and more attention of archaeologists around the world. Unique in historical and archaeological significance, different-time sites of this territory became the object of study of Soviet and Russian archaeologists, who were at the origins of the total survey of Pashkhurt and its surroundings. The investigations of such objects as Tillyabulak, Gaskala, Maydankurgan, Dabilkurgan joined the database on the archaeology of Late Bronze Age and Antiquity, and excavations of the Gishttepa settlement of the 4<sup>th</sup>—3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE greatly expanded our understanding of Central Asian archaeological complexes of the time of Alexander the Great.

# “South of the Hindu Kush”?: Geographies of the Paropamisus

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Despite the extreme flexibility of boundaries in various contemporary definitions of Central Asia as a region, many working on Central Asia in antiquity draw its southern limit across the Hindu Kush. Frequently in scholarship, the vast mountain range is conventionally used to delineate between Bactria and India, or, as it is also commonly framed, North and South of the Hindu Kush. Basic variations in landscape, climate, material culture and language between the two areas are obvious, but this perspective can be nuanced.

The Paropamisus — a toponym indicating the Hindu Kush or “Caucasus” as well as the region inhabited by the Paropamisadae, the latter association emphasised here — rarely figures in current research beyond references to Alexander’s itinerary and the Alexandria he founded there, and is certainly grouped with India, “South” regions, or Arachosia. This paper attempts to show that examining geographies of the Paropamisus — physical and human — can help to illuminate the nature of the Hindu Kush as a frontier from the Achaemenid to the Kushan period.

Gathering textual references to the Paropamisus, the location of its limits, features, and places are discussed. Then considered are its mythical associations in Greek eyes, confluences with the Caucasus proper, and Quintus Curtius’ unflattering view of its environment and its inhabitants. Insights from Achaemenid studies are then brought to the fore, regarding the integration of this into the imperial administrative landscape, and highlighting relationships between the satrapies of Gandhara and Bactria, seen also in Alexander’s time. Then, we see what scant archaeological and numismatic evidence from the region can tell us about its cultural and political history, especially in the Hellenistic period. Finally, examples are raised to demonstrate the porosity of the Hindu Kush, and argue for its status as a quasi-boundary with its permeability set by factors beyond the physical environment.

# Hyrcoades' Firebird and Antiochus-Apollo of Nakhshab

**Aleksandr Naymark** Hofstra University, New York

Around the beginning of CE, the mint responsible for the middle Zarafshan branch of the Sogdian Antiochus imitation coinage introduced a new obverse portrait of a man with circular cranial deformation and long nose, wearing long hair, mustache, and goat-ee. The appearance of this ruler testified to his nomadic origin, while the Greek legend ΥΡΚΩΔΟΥ — “of Hyrcoades” reveals a non-Greek (Sarmatian — ?) name. For a short time, the reverse of Hyrcoades coins kept being struck by Antiochus imitation dies with distorted horse head image, but eventually new dies with a protome of bridled horse racing right replaced them. Simultaneously, the same mint issued a twice heavier denomination with the identical obverse, but with a firebird and inscription ΟΡΑΗΘΡΟΥ ΜΑΚΑΡΟΥ on the reverse.

The portrait on the “mule stage” of Hyrcoades coins inspired the die sinker of the earliest known Nakhshab issue. Mule's reverses, however, were practically unreadable and the moneyer picked for the prototype a horse image from a much earlier Antiochus imitation. Coins with these types were struck until the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, when Nakhshab mint introduced two denominations with a new image of a nomadic ruler identified by Sogdian inscription as 'št'tw — Ashtat. Of two different reverses, a reworked horse head occupied the smaller one, while the larger carried an image of an archer in Greek armor and inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ. The Greek warrior is arguably a Seleucid king (Antiochus I or II), who figures on these coins as the progenitor of Nakhshab dynasty. The pose he assumed on the coin was unique to the Apollo type of Leochares, suggesting that a statue of Antiochus as Apollo survived in a local shrine until the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE.



# Swat after the Indo-Greeks. Buddhism, Burials, Techniques and New Fortifications

**Luca M. Olivieri** ISMEO Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat

**Omar Coloru** ArScAn-HAROC, Nanterre

**Elisa Iori** ISMEO Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat / University of Bologna

Starting from the evidence of a tripartite vaulted family ossuary for which we obtained radiocarbon dates and DNA information, the contribution will focus on the phase of transition between the Indo-Greeks and the Saka and Parthian dynasties in Swat (100 BCE—50 CE). The contribution will discuss a set of coeval evidence related to the reconstruction and reinforcement of the Barikot urban defenses (BKG Macrophase 3b), to the associated introduction of cultural material and technologies from the West at Barikot (cooking, milling and looming techniques), to the reconstruction of the dhar-marajka stupa of Butkara I (Great Stupa Phase 3) and the associated establishment of nobiliary burials ad sanctos (Butkara IV), within the framework of the Apraca and Odirajas donations to Buddhist establishments in Swat and surrounding regions.

# Pottery assemblages of Early Hellenistic time from Sogd

**Andrei Omelchenko** State Hermitage Museum, Petersburg

Recent archaeological excavations on such large sites as Podayatak-tepe and Sangyr-tepe in Southern (Kashkadarya) Sogd, Afrasiab and Kok-tepe in Central (Samarkand) Sogd and Paikend in Western (Bukharan) Sogd revealed new ceramic materials of the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> — the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BCE.

They make it clear that overall phenomena of transition of so-called Achaemenid pottery assemblage to one which was under influences of a novel ceramic tradition imported from the Greece world (Asia Minor?) and in a further evolution of it were occurring. These changes were initiated by incorporation of the Central Asian historical-cultural regions into the empire of Alexander the Great and then were gave a boost by politico-economic processes in the beginning of Seleucid and Greco-Bactrian kingdoms. Concurrently, some differences in Sogdian regions are visible as well. It was depended on degrees of Hellenization of them, as well as the influence of neighbors: Bactria, Margiana, Khorezm and the nomadic world.

The analysis of finds in some Sogdian and Bactrian sites of the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the very beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE testified the old “cylindro-conical” tradition (Yaz-3) dominated in so-called transitional pottery assemblage. Only some ceramic forms showed Hellenic influences. In my opinion, the same trend existed in Bactria, and that can serve as a starting point for the dating of archaeological complexes like Kurganzol, the earliest Kampyr-tepe and Uzundara.

The Sogdian pottery assemblage of the 3<sup>rd</sup>— the first half 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE is basically similar to the ceramics of Bactria, northern Parthia, Margiana, Khwarazm and even of the region of the lower reaches of the Syr-Darya River (the Chirikrabort archaeological culture). Thus new trends in the “Hellenistic fashion” in ceramics were able to quickly cross political borders. Determining how this happened is an intriguing aspect of the studying of the Central Asian pottery as well.

# A Fight to Reclaim the Central Asian Frontier: The Seleucid and Parthian Rivalry in the 230s BCE

**Nikolaus Leo Overtoom** University of New Mexico

This presentation reconsiders geopolitical developments in the middle third century BCE that immediately followed the establishment of the Parthian state on the frontier of the Central Asian steppe to help determine the policies of Arsaces I to ensure the survival of his new kingdom. After the death of Alexander the Great, the Seleucid Empire ruled over much of the Middle East; however, disastrous military conflicts at home and abroad caused a sudden decline of Seleucid power in the 240s—230s BCE. The troubles of the Seleucid state damaged Seleucid hegemony over the Iranian plateau, encouraging Seleucid satraps in Parthia and Bactria to declare their independence. Moreover, the deleterious civil wars between Seleucid dynasts and the rebellions of eastern satraps encouraged the nomadic Parni tribe from the Central Asian steppe (later known as the Parthians), who had been seeking a new homeland for decades, to invade Parthia and establish a new kingdom. With the emergence of the Parthians under Arsaces as a rising power in what is modern Turkmenistan and northeastern Iran, the international environment became increasingly unstable, making conflict between the Seleucids and Parthians likely.

Although Arsaces had defeated the rebellious Seleucid satrap, Andragoras, in Parthia and had seized the neighboring territory of Hyrcania, Parthia remained vulnerable between the Seleucid power base in western Iran and the new Kingdom of Bactria in what is modern Afghanistan. Meanwhile, both the Seleucids and the Bactrians had good reason to find Arsaces' success concerning, and vengeance against the Parthians became a priority for the Seleucid king, Seleucus II. This presentation investigates the failed effort of the Seleucids to reclaim their eastern frontier along the Central Asian steppe in the late 230s BCE, concluding that the political, administrative, and military measures that the Parthians implemented under Arsaces I allowed them to resist immediate Seleucid retaliation.

# Semthan: A Hellenistic outpost in Kashmir Himalaya

**Mohammad Ajmal Shah** Centre of Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir

Semthan is a village situated about 44kms from Srinagar in Bijbihara town, in Anantnag district on Srinagar-Jammu highway. Semthan is situated on a loess deposit on the left bank of the river Jehlum, rises an elevated plateau known by the name Taskdar ancient Chakradhara mentioned by Kalhana and was reported first time by Buhler. Apart from Kalhana the site has been mentioned by every chronicler of Kashmir. The interesting contribution made by Semthan excavations to Kashmir archaeology is continuation of cultural settlement from 800 BCE to 500 AD. Semthan is the only site which bridged the gap between the Neolithic and the Kushan period in Kashmir valley.

Semthan has provided important evidence about three hitherto-unknown cultures in the valley of Kashmir, the Pre-NBP, NBPW and the Indo-Greeks. The Small terracotta figurines from Semthan have been distinguished on the basis of having Hellenistic and Indian subject matter. The excavations at Semthan and the large number of stray finds of coins of Euthydemus, Eukratides I, Apollodotus, Menander, Antimachus II and Hippostratos indicate that Indo-Greek settlement took place in the valley sometime around 200 BCE and continued to flourish till the arrival of Kushans on the political scene as evidenced from Gandhara region as well. Semthan excavations have provided clue to some of the mysterious problems in Kashmir history and archaeology.

This paper will highlight the archaeological evidence of the Indo-Greek settlement of Semthan in Kashmir Himalaya. As Semthan would not have been an only Greek settlement, an attempt will be made to discuss the possible sites in the northern most regions in Kashmir valley. The Indo-Greek and Kushan art in Kashmir Himalaya having Hellenistic influence will also be discussed in relation with the silk route region of Central Asia.

# Alexander's Central Asian campaign: geographical misconceptions and strategic plans

**Dmitry A. Shcheglov** St. Petersburg Branch of the S.I. Vavilov Institute for the History of Science and Technology, RAS

As is well known, Alexander and his companions believed that the Don and the Syr-Darya are different parts of the same river named Tanais. The nomads living north of the Syr-Darya were, in their views, nothing else but the European Scythians. Accordingly, by crossing the Syr-Darya, Alexander's army would have come to the Northern Black Sea region and could have reached Macedonia. However, it is a common scholarly opinion, starting at least with W.W. Tarn and F. Schachermeyr, that Alexander had no far-reaching military plans on the Central Asian nomads because he did not intend to go beyond the limits of "civilization". In this paper I will try to show that the conflict between Alexander and the so-called European Scythians from the other side of the Syr-Darya was probably something more than just a border incident. This conclusion is directly supported by a number of passages from Strabo, Arrian, and Curtius Rufus. Furthermore, an analysis of the broader context of this conflict allows us to hypothesize that Alexander regarded his Central Asian campaign as a prologue for the full-scale invasion into the land of the European Scythians with a possible prospect of returning to Macedonia through the northern steppes. This assumption makes it possible to cast some new light on a series of strange events that took place during that campaign (the exchange of embassies with several distant peoples, the sudden revolt of Spitamenes, etc.) and to gain a clearer and more coherent picture of the processes behind these events.

# In the shadow of the Wall: Hellenistic settlement in the Baysun and Kugitang piedmonts

Ladislav Stančo Charles University, Prague

A total disaster, abandonment of the towns and villages, complete destruction of well-established settlement pattern of the Achaemenid period, this is firmly established scholarly view of the period of Alexander the Great and shortly afterwards in southern Central Asia. Was this picture valid for Bactria as a whole, or is it possible to redraw it here and there with a fresh archeological data? Last decade experiences the new excavations of the Hellenistic fortresses of Kurganzol and Uzundara in the Baysun foothills confirming strategic importance in this region for the protection of northern border of both the Seleucid and Greco-Bactrian kingdoms.

The most recent surveys of the Czech-Uzbekistani team show clearly that these lands were not barren wastelands, resembling military buffer zones furnished only with sophisticated fortifications, but also spaces for living of mixed population with strongly helenized material culture. In 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE, each valley in the Kugitang and Baysuntau foothills got its own centrally placed agricultural settlement. Thus, this region was settled systematically for the first time in history in a few decades after Alexander's eastern campaign. New data from the surface surveys in the Sherabad and Baysun Districts of southern Uzbekistan are corroborated by the materials from recent archaeological excavations (Iskandar Tepa).

Additionally, apparent absence of the archaeological material belonging to the so-called Achaemenid / Yaz III / Kuchuk IV period in the research area allows us to re-open the discussion on identification of particular places located around Baysun and Darband with those mentioned by Greek and Latin written sources, even if not solving it with an definite answer.

# The Attribution and Chronology of the Heraios Coinage: A Reassessment

Razieh Taasob Princeton University

The controversial attribution and chronology of the Heraios coinage has been widely debated in numismatic study of Central Asia by scholars such as Macdowall and Wilson 1970, Davidovich 1980, Zeymal 1983, Cribb 1993, Alram 1996. Cribb in 1993 made an impressive work and tried to remove the flaw from the previous reading and interpretation of inscription on the Heraios tetradrachm by emphasizing the context in which Heraios coinage was minted. No single study after Cribb has elaborated on those drawbacks associated with his explanations and rather contradictory attribution and interpretation of the names attested on the Heraios tetradrachms. Admittedly, much research up to now has been descriptive, focusing on the nature of the Heraios coinage in the context of the Bactrian coin tradition. Despite this, their arguments, if any, are based upon the data provided by Cribb 25 years ago. The controversial paleographical aspects suggested by him highlights the need to be explicit about what exactly each names designates and whether they could be an indication to consider another probable issuer for the Heraios coinage series.

This paper sets out with the aim of assessing the concrete die analysis of 89 Heraios tetradrachms and attempting to examine the situation of the minting system in Bactria. Further to this, a relative chronological development and a probable association with other coinage systems of the region have been assessed. Accomplished examination of the characteristics of each die features, its paleographic analysis, the degeneration processes in the lettering system and denomination allowed us to suggest several Bactrian rulers as issuers of the so-called Heraios coinages. The conclusions drawn from this study could help to reconstruct the political domination of the Early Kushan over the vast region of Bactria and fill the historical and numismatic gap regarding the existence of the Early Kushan north of the Oxus.

# Alexander III's Empire: Macedonian, Achaemenid or Oecumenic Greek?

Guendalina Daniela Maria Taietti University of Liverpool

In less than twelve years (334—323 BCE) Alexander the Great built a huge empire, going from Macedon in the West to Ancient India (today's Pakistan) in the East. This vast empire united the then known oecumene and its different populations under a single political institution, but did not seem to manage to create deep inter-cultural connections among the Macedonians, the Greeks, the Egyptians and the many Iranian populations of the Achaemenid Empire or to establish a long-lasting administrative system which would work for every province. Scholarship has often excused Alexander's disinterest in innovating the political fabric of the Persian Empire with the brevity of his rule; it has interpreted his actions as those of a brutish conqueror when he rejected or took down Achaemenid institutions, or as those of the 'last of the Achaemenids'- after Pierre Briant's expression — when he appropriated Oriental etiquette.

The aim of this paper is to reassess Alexander's statesmanship and his impact on the local populations of the Iranian Plateau: although he was surely more of a conqueror and a general rather than a political leader, I argue that his administrative choices, which combined conservation and transformation, show acute political awareness and a good sense of adaptation to the different ethnic and cultural backgrounds of the empire, more admirable if we think of him in his fourth-century BCE context. In fact, from the ancient Greek sources it appears that the Macedonian Conqueror fostered intercultural exchanges, but also wanted to keep the ethnic identities distinct.

Concluding, the paper also seeks to challenge ancient and modern scholarship's 'Hellenocentric' view and to investigate how the local society in central Asia actually responded to Alexander's leadership.



# New Excavations of the Kurgan Burials at the Fringes of the Bukhara Oasis (Uzbekistan).

**Shujing Wang** Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

This paper will investigate the kurgan burials in the peripheries of the Bukhara Oasis (present-day central Uzbekistan) at the borderlands of the Hellenistic world. This rich funerary ensemble includes more than 1000 kurgans located between the intensively farmed river oasis and the desert steppes of the Kara-Kum and the Malik-Chöl. Around 200 of these kurgans from several burials clusters have been excavated between the early 1950ies and the late 1970ies. The results of these excavations have been only partially reported and are inadequately studied. Most of these kurgans are dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE to the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, during which period, based on the limited historiographical sources, this region has been repeatedly conquered by armies of different origins (especially nomadic origins).

In order to further explore this local frontier community in this dynamic era, I started renewed excavations of Bukharan kurgans in 2017 and continued in 2018. The newly found material allows us to adopt present-day chronological, bio-archaeological and archeometric analyses, and at the same time to recontextualize the previous excavations. My preliminary research shows a surprising diversity of mortuary practices both within one burial cluster and between different burial clusters. This diversity suggests the potentially important role played by the local community/communities of Bukhara in the interactions between the Eurasian steppe and the settled lands of Central Asia. Meanwhile, this diversity also indicates to the complex scenarios of the complexities of agro-pastoral lifestyles and of their evolvments in a frontier society at the edge of the Hellenistic world.

# Mapping the Transition from the Achaemenid to Hellenistic Periods in Ancient Bactria

**Wu Xin** Department of History, Fudan University

This paper tackles the question of the “transition” from the Achaemenid to early Hellenistic periods in southern Central Asia in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BCE. It offers an understanding of the impacts of the rise and fall of the Achaemenid Empire and the conquest of Alexander the Great on the Central Asian landscape. It illustrates through material remains the nature and process of the transition from the Achaemenid to the early Hellenistic era in northern Bactria, drawing on archaeological evidence from Kyzyltepa and its surrounding area in the Surkhandarya Valley in Southern Uzbekistan and administrative texts from Afghanistan.

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