



THE BONGARD-LEVIN INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE  
OF THE CLASSICAL WORLD

# SCRIPTA ANTIQUA

Ancient History, Philology,  
Arts and Material Culture

The Almanac

*Volume Seven*

Sobranie  
Moscow 2019

МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЙ ИНСТИТУТ АНТИЧНОГО МИРА  
имени Г.М.Бонгард-Левина

# SCRIPTA ANTIQUA

Вопросы древней истории, филологии,  
искусства и материальной культуры

Альманах

*Том седьмой*

Собрание  
Москва 2019

НАУЧНЫЙ СОВЕТ:

*Г.Бауэрсок (США), Ж.-Ш.Балти (Бельгия),  
М.Д.Бухарин (Россия), П.Дюкре (Швейцария),  
П.-Ф.Кальери (Италия), Н.Н.Казанский (Россия),  
М.Марот (Венгрия), Ф.Миллар (Великобритания), Г.Парцингер (Германия),  
С.Розен (Швеция), Н.Симс-Виллиамс (Великобритания), И.Х.Урилов (Россия),  
Ж.-Л.Феррари (Франция), Л.Ханнестад (Дания), М.Хатзопулос (Греция),  
Ш.Шакед (Израиль), В.Шильтиц (Франция)*

ГЛАВНЫЙ РЕДАКТОР

*М.Д.Бухарин*

РЕДКОЛЛЕГИЯ:

*A.Yu.Алексеев, N.P.Гринцер, D.V.Журавлев, A.A.Завойкин, S.G.Карпюк,  
L.L.Кофанов, I.A.Ладынин, A.V.Муравьев, A.A.Немировский, A.V.Подосинов,  
I.E.Суриков, С.Ю.Сапрыкин, С.Р.Токтасьев*

SCIENTIFIC COUNCIL:

*G.W.Bowersock (USA), J.-Ch. Balty (Belgium),  
M.D.Bukharin (Russia), P.Ducrey (Switzerland),  
J.-L.Ferrary (France), L.Hannestad (Danemark), M.Hatzopoulos (Greece),  
P.-F.Callieri (Italy), N.N.Kazansky (Russia),  
M.Maróth (Hungary), F.Millar (Great Britain), H.Parzinger (Germany),  
S.Rosen (Sweden), N.Sims-Williams (Great Britain), V.Schiltz (France),  
S.Shaked (Israel), I.Kh.Urilov (Russia)*

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

*M.D.Bukharin*

EDITORIAL BOARD:

*A.Yu.Alexeev, N.P.Grintser, D.V.Zhuravlev, A.A.Zavoykin, S.G.Karpyuk,  
L.L.Kofanov, I.A.Ladynin, A.V.Muravyev, A.A.Nemirovsky, A.V.Podosinov,  
S.Yu.Saprykin, I.E.Surikov, С.Р.Tokhtasyev*

## СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

### АРХЕОЛОГИЯ

*С.С.Иванов*

- Культура саков Притяньшанья: современное состояние  
и важнейшие проблемы исследования . . . . . 11

*Б.А.Железняков*

- Культовое сооружение XIII в. на городище Каялык  
и манихейское наследие средневековой Центральной Азии . . . . 24

### ИСТОРИЯ ДРЕВНЕГО И СРЕДНЕВЕКОВОГО ВОСТОКА

*А.В.Сафронов*

- Можно ли использовать греческую эпическую традицию  
для реконструкции истории Восточного Средиземноморья  
в конце Позднебронзового века? . . . . . 43

*А.К.Нефедкин*

- «Множество стрел закроет солнце»: тактика персидской  
пехоты в первой половине V в. до н.э. . . . . 62

*H.Khorikyan*

- On the Location of the Herodotus' Utii and Mysci . . . . . 76

*В.В.Тишин*

- Некоторые вопросы датировки памятников древнетюркской  
рунической письменности бассейна р. Енисей . . . . . 81

### ИСТОРИЯ СЕВЕРНОГО ПРИЧЕРНОМОРЬЯ

*М.В.Скрябинская*

- Скульпторы и ювелиры в Ольвии (VI–IV вв. до н.э.) . . . . . 157

### ИСТОРИЯ ЭЛЛИНИСТИЧЕСКОГО МИРА

*Э.В.Ртвеладзе*

- Дорога от Келифа на Амударье (Оксе) по долине  
Кугитангдары через Керчак и по ущелью Така-шур  
в согдийскую область Наутака . . . . . 189

*Ш.З.Нурмухамедова*

Архитектура Бактрии античного периода – этапы становления и развития (на примере гражданской архитектуры) . . . . . 203

## НУМИЗМАТИКА

*М.М.Чореф*

Биография Андрагора по нумизматическим данным . . . . . 231

## ИСТОРИЯ ДРЕВНЕГО РИМА

*С.В.Телепень*

Солдатский брак и отношение к нему императора Адриана . . . . . 249

## ЯЗЫКОЗНАНИЕ

*В.А.Чирикба*

Вклад Н.С.Трубецкого в северокавказскую филологию . . . . . 259

## ИЗ ИСТОРИИ НАУКИ

*М.Д.Бухарин*

Работа Первой Русской Туркестанской экспедиции 1909–1910 гг. в записных книжках академика С.Ф.Ольденбурга . . . . . 289

*В.Г.Ананьев*

Ф.И.Шмит по эпистолярным материалам из архивного фонда С.Ф.Платонова . . . . . 393

## «СОВЕТСКАЯ ДРЕВНОСТЬ»

*С.Г.Карпюк*

Диалог ученых поверх «железного занавеса»: Мозес Финли и Эмили Грейс . . . . . 411

*С.Б.Крих*

Борьба за прошлое: В.И.Авдиев, Н.М.Никольский и В.В.Струве о своей роли в ранней советской историографии. . . . . 420

*И.А.Ладынин*

«Своевременный феодализм»: образ древнего Египта в работах Д.А.Ольдерогге 1920-х гг. . . . . 433

*О.В.Метель*

Секция докапиталистических формаций Института истории Коммунистической академии . . . . . 447

Список сокращений . . . . . 463

## CONTENTS

### ARCHAEOLOGY

*S.S.Ivanov*

- The Culture of Saka Tribes of Tien Shan Region: Present State  
and General Problems of Research ..... 11

*B.A.Zheleznyakov*

- The Cult Building of the XIII cent. on Kayalyk Site  
and the Manichaean Heritage of Central Asia ..... 24

### HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL ORIENT

*A.V.Safronov*

- Is it Possible to Use Greek Epic Tradition for Reconstruction  
of the Eastern Mediterranean History at the End  
of the Late Bronze Age? ..... 43

*A.K.Nefedkin*

- “A Lot of Arrows Close the Sun”: Tactics of the Persian Infantry  
in the First Half of the 5th Century BC ..... 62

*H.Khorikyan*

- On the Location of the Herodotus’ Utii and Myci ..... 76

*V.V.Tishin*

- Some Problems of Dating of Old Turkic Writing Monuments  
of Yenisei River Valley ..... 81

### HISTORY OF NORTHERN BLACK SEA REGION

*M.V.Skrzhinskaya*

- Sculptors and Jewellers in Olbia (VI–IV B.C.) ..... 157

### HELLENISTIC HISTORY

*Э.В.Rtveladze*

- The Road from Kelif on the Amudarya (Oxus) along the  
Kugitangdarya Valley across Kerchak and along  
the Taka-shur Ravine to the Sogdian Region of Nautaka ..... 189

*Sh.Z.Nurmukhamedova*

- Architecture of Bactria of Classical Period – Stages of Formation  
and Development (on Example of Civil Architecture) . . . . . 203

## NUMISMATICS

*M.M.Choref*

- Biography of Andragoras According to Numismatic Data . . . . . 231

## HISTORY OF ANCIENT ROME

*S.V.Telepen*

- The Marriage of Soldiers and Attitude towards it  
of Emperor Hadrian . . . . . 249

## LINGUISTICS

*V.A.Chirikba*

- Contribution of N.S. Trubetskoy into North  
Caucasian Philology . . . . . 259

## HISTORY OF SCIENCE

*M.D.Bukharin*

- The Work of the First Russian Turkestan Expedition  
in 1909–1910 in the Field Diaries of S.F.Oldenburg . . . . . 289

*V.G.Ananiev*

- Ф.И.Шмит по эпистолярным материалам  
из архивного фонда С.Ф.Платонова . . . . . 393

## “SOVIET ANTIQUITY”

*S.G.Karpyuk*

- Dialogue of Scholars over ‘The Iron Curtain’:  
Moses Finley and Emily Grace . . . . . 411

*S.B.Krikh*

- Struggle for the Past: V.I. Avdiev, N.M.Nikolsky and V.V.Struve  
on Their Role in Early Soviet Historiography . . . . . 420

*I.A.Ladynin*

- The Image of Ancient Egypt in the Works  
by D.A.Olderogge in 1920s . . . . . 433

*O.V.Metel*

- Section of Precapitalist Formations of the Institute  
of History of the Communist Academy . . . . . 447

*H.Khorikyan*

## ON THE LOCATION OF THE HERODOTUS' UTII AND MYCI

Some important and wrinkled issues on the administrative policy and historical geography of Achaemenid Persia were examined in the article, the elucidation of which has an important meaning for studying the history of the Empire as well as obeying peoples. The Utians and Mycians of the XIV Satrapy are situated only in Kerman and Maka.

*Key words:* Utii, Myci, Hecataeus of Miletus, Herodotus, Great Armenia, Utik', Maka, Mughan, the Araxes river.

The location of the Utii and Myci has caused various speculations in historical science, whereas the available primary source data seemingly allows to localize the above-mentioned people more precisely. In this regard, undoubtedly, one should be careful not to artificially combine the asynchronous source data without substantive justification by making unfounded identifications and localizations leading far away. First of all, it refers to the information provided by Hecataeus of Miletus and Herodotus, which has become a subject of study, never touching upon the rest of the information of the ancient sources linked to the Utii and Myci<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, Greek historian Herodotus writes: “The fourteenth province was made up of the Sagartii, Sarangeis, Thamanaei, Utii, Myci, and the dwellers on those islands of the southern sea (The Red Sea. – *Kh.H.*) wherein the king plants the people said to be “removed”; these together paid a tribute of six hundred talents” (*Hdt. III. 93*)<sup>2</sup>. As we can see, the quoted information places the XIV satrapy far beyond Armenia and its borders between the Persian Gulf and Southern Afghanistan. However, some scholars believe Herodotus speaks about two different groups of the Utii – one in the inner

---

*Hovhannes Khorikyan Georgi* – Leading Researcher of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Candidate of Historical Sciences, Docent (National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, Yerevan, Armenia); e-mail: hovhkhor78@mail.ru; 0019, Yerevan, Marshal Baghramyan Ave. 24/4, +374-94-11-13-23.

<sup>1</sup> Below several studies are highlighted as important: Hakobyan 2009: 401–420; Акопян 2015: 129–147; Акопян 1987: 74–84; Khorikyan 2012: 337–341.

<sup>2</sup> Άπο δὲ Σαγαρτίων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων καὶ Ούτιων καὶ Μύκων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇσι νῆσοισι οἰκεόντων [τῶν] ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἔξακόσια τάλαντα ἔγινετο φόρος.

regions of Iran (III. 93. 2) and the other (*Hdt.* VII. 68) southwards from the Araxes in Iranian Azerbaijan<sup>3</sup>.

According to I.Diakonoff, the near-Araxes Utii formed part of the Scythian kingdom of Transcaucasia<sup>4</sup>. E.Grantovsky considers there was one tribe of the Utii located southwards from the Kur and westwards of the lower stream of the Araxes<sup>5</sup>, that is, virtually meaning the territory of Utik' province of Great Armenia.

The Utii are linked to the old Persian Yautiyā<sup>6</sup> and were probably the ancestors of the Juts of the Islamic period of Kerman who should not be confused with the Zutt 'gypsies'<sup>7</sup>. The Utii inhabited in Kerman. Following the localization of Yautiyā in Kerman R. Melikov groundlessly excludes<sup>8</sup> the identification of the Utii with Yautiyā of the Behistun Inscription<sup>9</sup>. It should be noted that in professional literature an attempt was made to link the toponym of Armenian province of Utik' (Ωτηνή of the ancient greek authors) with the word "hnүhun-hovit" or "nүhun-ovit" (Arm. "valley, field") which has no genealogical relationship with the tribal name of the Utii, and no source does not consider Utik' as the district of the Utii<sup>10</sup>. Participating in the Greek invasion of Xerxes, the Utii, Myci, Paricanii, according to Herodotus, were equipped like the Pactyes, in this the Utii and Myci are represented together while the Paricanii were presented separately (VII, 68). Therefore, the identification of the Utii, as well as the Myci with Utik' and Mughan is artificial and baseless.

Thus, if some scholars artificially affiliate the Utii with the province of Utik' of Great Armenia, then the Myci should be with the same principle searched in neighborhood of the Utii, for which the similar pronunciation of the valley of Mughan was considered enough.

The Myci are divided in two groups by the researchers; the first one is localized in the inner regions of Iran and the second one-at the Araxes river<sup>11</sup>. R.Melikov excludes the identification of the Myci with the land of Maka of old Persian inscriptions and localizes them in Mughan<sup>12</sup>. R.Frye

<sup>3</sup> Marquart 1905: 172; Алиев 1960: 103, n. 5; Меликов 2003: 117.

<sup>4</sup> Дьяконов 1956: 280.

<sup>5</sup> Грантовский 1962: 239.

<sup>6</sup> Laird 1921: 310.

<sup>7</sup> Фрай 1972: 79. See also: Herzfeld 1968: 300. E.Herzfeld also links the Utii with Yautiyā and the Myci with Maka (Herzfeld 1968: 196, 300).

<sup>8</sup> Меликов 2003: 115.

<sup>9</sup> Kent 1953: 125; Murray, Moreno 2007: 490; Jacobs 1994: 198–199.

<sup>10</sup> Арутюнян 2005: 144–146. Cf.: Karagozyan 1998: 185.

<sup>11</sup> Marquart 1905: 174; Алиев 1960: 103, n. 5; 104, n. 6.

<sup>12</sup> Меликов 2003: 122.

considers the Myci a single tribe and identifies with Maka-Makran<sup>13</sup>. E.Grantovsky speaks about a group of Myci and localizes it at the region of lower stream of the Araxes river, that is, in the territory of Mughan<sup>14</sup>. But the identification of Mughan and the Myci is excluded as the more ancient name of Mughan is Movakan, Movkan, Movkanq preserved in Georgian sources<sup>15</sup>, thus, in this case the linguistic connection of the name Myci with Mughan has no ground.

We consider that the toponym of Mughan is largely connected with the magi, than the Myci as I. Aliev finds so<sup>16</sup>. In this regard, it is necessary to pay attention to the district names of the province of Paytakaran of Great Armenia, the affiliation of the latter with the Zoroastrian worship and the beliefs is quite possible. For instance, the district name of Ormizdperož is connected with Ahura-Mazda and means “a place of Ormizd’s (Hormizd’s) victory”<sup>17</sup>. Hrak’otperož district of Paytakaran province<sup>18</sup>, which is localized at the valley of Movakan, is linked to the meaning of Iranian \*Frāhat-pērōž>\*Frādat-pērōž “a place of promoting the successfulness of victory”. Spandaranperož district is affiliated with Esfandiyār-Sepandiār, an Iranian epic hero, as \*Spandaðātān pērōž/ž “the victory of Spandadat, victory of Spandadat and his companions-in-arms”<sup>19</sup>.

The reason for these disagreements is the following information of Hecataeus of Miletus: “...from the Myci up to the Araxes river”<sup>20</sup>. This information merely shows the border of Asia from the south, that is from the Myci dwelling on the coast of the Red Sea up to the north-Araxes river, which could be either the Amu-Darya or Indus. Therefore, the identification of the Araxes of the given information with Armenian Yeraskh is excluded, as Herodotus’ Araxes corresponds to the Sefid-Rūd, Danube, Amu-Darya, but never to the Yeraskh<sup>21</sup>.

Thus, we can insist that the Utii and Myci of the XIV satrapy neither geographically nor ethnically are absolutely connected with Utik’ and Movakan-Mughan.

<sup>13</sup> Фрай 1972: 79. See also: Bailey 1982: 10–13; Jacobs 1994: 262–265.

<sup>14</sup> Грантовский 1962: 236.

<sup>15</sup> Melikset-Bek 1934: 143–144, 147, 165–166, 168.

<sup>16</sup> Алиев 1987: 63.

<sup>17</sup> Хуршудян 2003: 228, n. 332–333.

<sup>18</sup> Hakobyan 2013: 140.

<sup>19</sup> Амбарцумян 2016: 8.

<sup>20</sup> Müller 1841: 11–12, fr. 170, 183.

<sup>21</sup> On the identifications of the Araxes see: Акопян 1987: 76; Khorikyan 2007: 27; Khorikyan 2008: 229.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Акопян 1987 – *Акопян А.А.* Албания-Алуанк в греко-латинских и древнеармянских источниках. Ереван, 1987.
- Акопян 2015 – *Акопян А.А.* К хронологии завершения этноконсолидации удинов и лезгин: (период ослабления Арабского халифата) // *Albania Caucasicia*. М., 2015. Вып. I / отв. ред. А.К.Аликберов, М.С.Гаджиев. С. 129–147.
- Алиев 1987 – *Алиев И.Г.* Племена и племенные группы в Атропатене. Формирование мидийско-атропатенского этноса // Вестник древней истории. 1987. № 3. С. 62–83.
- Алиев 1960 – *Алиев И.Г.* История Мидии. Баку, 1960.
- Амбарцумян 2016 – *Амбарцумян А.* Область Пайтакаран и гора Сабалан: филологические и этимологические очерки // Вестник арменоведения, 2016. № 2. С. 5–25.
- Арутюнян 2005 – *Арутюнян Б.* Рец.: Рауф Меликов. Этническая картина Азербайджана в период ахеменидского владычества (VI–IV вв. до н.э.) // Глобус науки. 2005. 5. С. 144–146.
- Грантовский 1962 – *Грантовский Э.А.* Сагартии и XIV округ государства Ахеменидов по списку Геродота // Краткие сообщения Института народов Азии. М., 1962. Вып. 46. С. 227–251.
- Дьяконов 1956 – *Дьяконов И.М.* История Мидии. М.; Л., 1956.
- Меликов 2003 – *Меликов Р.* Этническая картина Азербайджана в период ахеменидского владычества (VI–IV вв. до н.э.). Баку, 2003.
- Фрай 1972 – *Фрай Р.* Наследие Ирана. М., 1972.
- Хуршудян 2003 – *Хуршудян Э.* Армения и сасанидский Иран. Алматы, 2003.
- Bailey 1982 – *Bailey H.W.* Maka // Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1982. Vol. 114. P. 10–13.
- Hakobyan 2009 – *Hakobyan A.* Historico-Geographical and Epigraphic Studies (Artsakh and Utik'). Wien; Yerevan, 2009. In Armenian.
- Hakobyan 2013 – *Hakobyan A.* The 7<sup>th</sup>-century Anonymous' Ashkharhats'oyts' (Armenian Geography) // Handes Amsorya = (Zeitschrift für Armenische Philologie). 2013. No 1/12. P. 35–194. In Armenian.
- Herzfeld 1968 – *Herzfeld E.* The Persian Empire. Studies in Geography and Ethnography of the Ancient Near East. Wiesbaden, 1968.
- Jacobs 1994 – *Jacobs B.* Die Satrapienverwaltung im Perserreich zur Zeit Darius' III. Wiesbaden, 1994.
- Karagozyan 1998 – *Karagozyan H.* Cuneiform Toponyms: (in Ayrarat and Neighbouring Districts). Yerevan, 1998. In Armenian.
- Kent 1953 – *Kent R.* Old Persian. Grammar. Texts. Lexicon. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New Haven, 1953.
- Khorikyan 2007 – *Khorikyan H.* On the Location of the XVIII Satrapy Matienians of Achaemenian Persia // The Countries and Peoples of the Near and Middle East. 2007. Vol. 26. P. 25–35. In Armenian.
- Khorikyan 2008 – *Khorikyan H.* On an Information of Apollodorus // Historical-Philological Journal. 2008. No 1. P. 222–231. In Armenian.
- Khorikyan 2012 – *Khorikyan H.* On Media's Ethnic Structure According

to Strabo // Republican Scientific Conference. Gyumri, 2012. P. 337–341. In Armenian.

Laird 1921 – *Laird A.G.* The Persian Army and Tribute Lists in Herodotus // Classical Philology. 1921. Vol. XVI, no. 4. P. 305–326.

Marquart 1905 – *Marquart J.* Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran II. Lpz., 1905. (Philologus: Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum; Supplementband X, 1).

Melikset-Bek 1934 – *Melikset-Bek L.* Georgian Sources about Armenia and Armenians. Yerevan, 1934. Vol. I. In Armenian.

Müller 1841 – *Müller C.* Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum. P., 1841. Vol. I.

Murray, Moreno 2007 – *Murray O., Moreno A.* A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV. New York, 2007.