Insignia Summi Imperii and *Törü-yin Qadaqasun*.

The Wolf and Bundled Rods and their Role in Legitimising the Authority of the Roman and Mongol Empires.

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I, Jonathan Ratcliffe (23752165), declare that this thesis, except with the Graduate Research Committee's approval, contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution and affirm that to the best of my knowledge the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed ███████ Date: 06/11/13.

Changes to Thesis.

I would like to cordially thank my examiners for their perceptive suggestions and criticisms and for giving me the opportunity to both improve my work and learn a great deal more on the topics I have had to address during the process of resubmitting my thesis.

ERRATA (also highlighted in blue font in the text)**.**

P. XII (original p. VII) Spelling error 'symbollic' now reads 'symbolic'.

P. XVII (original p. XI) 'it' deleted before 'was also widely…'.

P. XXVI (original p. XXI). Grammatical error "Thus, I shall concentrate," amended to 'Thus I shall concentrate…'

P. 1. Spelling error 'symbollic' now reads 'symbolic'.

P. 4. Grammatical error "...as to who god and/or goddess..." amended to "…as to who the god or goddess…"

P. 21 (original p. 20). Grammatical error 'Mars was most likely came' amended to 'Mars most likely came'.

P. 65 (original p. 58). Grammatical error 'migrate out of Tibetan' now reads 'migrate out of Tibet'.

P. 71 (original p. 64). Spelling error 'legallistic conotations' now reads 'legalistic connotations'.

P. 77. n. 12. (original p. 70, n. 12) Spelling error 'adminsitration' now reads 'administration'.

P. 78. n. 14 (original p. 71, n. 12). Spelling error 'paralelled' now reads 'paralleled'.

P. 78 (original p. 71). Spelling error 'bare' now reads 'bear'.

P.78 (original p. 71). Grammatical error 'keep them it line' now reads 'keep them in line'.

P. 81 (original p. 74). Spelling error 'diffiuclt' now reads 'difficult'.

P. 84 (original p. 77). Spelling error 'revealled' now reads 'revealed'.

P. 108 (original p. 99). Spelling error 'bare' now reads 'bear'.

P. 136 (original p. 129). Mislabelling of Fig. 2 as Fig. 3 now amended.

P. 156 n. 43 (original p. 147, n. 47). Grammatical error 'connected' now reads 'connection'.

AMENDMENTS (also highlighted in blue font in the text)**.**

INTRODUCTION.

P. X (original p. V). Clarifications have been made on scholarly attitudes, especially as far as classicists are concerned, toward the role of nomadic peoples in shaping historical and cultural traditions. Also note the use of the terms "Inner Asia" and "Central Asia" throughout the amended thesis.

Pp. XIV- XV (original p. IX). The complexity of Sogdian trade relations with the Western Türks and other peoples has been added. This has also been expanded (where appropriate) in Chapters Two, Four, and Five.

Pp. XIX-XX (original pp. XV-XVI). A number of recent and more complex attitudes towards the role played by Inner Asian peoples in world history have been added.

P. XXI (original pp. XVI-XVII). Foundational efforts of Comparative Mythology have been added to display awareness of the history of this approach to myth and culture.

CHAPTER ONE.

Pp. 9, 10, 19, 22, 26 and -21,26- of Appendices. The theories of Carandini on the foundation of Rome, the *Lupa Capitolina*, Bolsena mirror, *Lupercalia* and the Roman twins have been added, where appropriate, as well as criticism of these by other scholars.

P. 8, n. 14. More recent bibliography has been added on the ongoing debate of the *Lupa Capitolina*'s dating.

P. 19, n. 34. Dumézil has been included in the text, not merely in footnote.

Pp. 27-28 (p. 26 of original). The direct associations between the Sogdian mural and gold medallion and the Roman twins are being queried, thus providing a greater range of approaches and questions for these artefacts' proper introduction in Chapter Two and their subsequent analysis in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER TWO.

Pp. 35-37 (original pp. 33-34) The history of Inner Asian nomadism has been treated in greater detail using more specialised sources and up-to-date approaches. The phrase "Mobile cavalry armies" has been deleted and recent theories on diversity of life-ways have been added. I also deleted n. 2 on retention of life-way from the Scythians to the Mongols.

ALSO NOTE: removal of Christian and other generic references THROUGHOUT thesis and their replacement with more specific studies and sources.

Pp. 37-38 (original p. 34). Further discussion on the term *haumavargā* has been added; the term is treated in depth in n. 7.

P. 38 para. 2 (original p. 34). The theories of Potts and Álvarez-Mon have been added to the discussion on the Achaemenids and analysed in n. 9.

P. 39 n. 12 (original p. 35, n. 9). Hamzeh'ee's approach to Mazdaism through the traditions of the modern Kurds has been deleted. I have also supplemented Hamzeh'ee's definition with that of Boyce.

Pp. 50-52. Note inclusion of greater discussion on the history of Sogdiana and Türco-Sogdian culture. This was requested for Chap. 4 and Chap. 5, but would appear very beneficial here for greater analysis later in the thesis. Note that much on this topic has also been added in Chap. 4 and Chap. 5, where requested.

Pp. 59-60 (original p. 53). Paragraph on Skrynnikova (2002) and Jacobson's (1993) treatment of deer-stone imagery has been moderated; the historicity of their approaches has been questioned.

P. 65 (original p. 58). As noted by examiner, Luke (1965) was absent from bibliography. This has now been fixed. Also note extra additions made to bibliography where necessary.

CHAPTER FOUR.

P. 94 (original p. 86). A more detailed approach to the evolution of the composite bow through burials has been added, and the footnote on the Hyksos has now been deleted. Also, the term "horse archer army" has been replaced with a more accurate and inclusive definition.

P. 99 (original p. 91). The paragraph on the importance of the family in Inner Asian myth and politics has been expanded and clarified with the inclusion of more recent and specific resources.

P. 92, n. 8. I have clarified my use of Pompeius Trogus' Scythian tale as a later myth of disputable value, as suggested by one of the examiners.

Pp. 100-103 (original p. 93, para 1). The cultural and historical context of the eighth century CE Sogdian fable and mural in question have been expanded to include the studies of de la Vaissière and others. Also note footnote on Manichaean connections between east and west as generally requested by the examiner. The Sogdian artefacts are now labelled under their own chapter subtitle numbered "3" so as to prevent confusion and anachronisms with the Tu-yü-hun fable, as occurred in the original version of my thesis. Grenet and de la Vaissière (2002) *The Last Days of Panjikant,* as requested, is also mentioned at this point; I made extensive use of this source further in Chapter Five (pp. 154-156).

P. 102 (original p. 93, para 3). Further details on the *Avesta* have been supplied in relation to the term Tūrān and its history.

Pp. 102-103 (original p. 94). The possibility of directly identifying the eighth c. mural as one of *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* has been moderated to include an alternative suggestion and a more multi-factorial approach.

P. 104 (original p. 94). Generic references have been replaced here as requested. Also note that the expanded discussion on the difficulties surrounding the dating of the invasion and degree of control by the Hephthalite and Göktürks in Sogdiana made on p.51, n. 38 in Chapter Two, which are brought up again at this point. However, the Hephthalites have been removed from this section, due to the historical priority of the Göktürks and the acknowledged late dating (eighth c. CE) of the Sogdian mural.

P. 102 (original p. 94). The discussion on the Tu-yü-hun has been removed from here, and as noted in amendments for pp. 100-103 above, there is now a separate section on the Sogdian artefacts in question. Cf. pp. 96-97 above for an improved discussion on the Tu-yü-hun fable and the difficulties in assembling a commensurate transmission path for the "bundle" fable in the Eastern Steppe during late antiquity.

P. 104 (original p. 95). Note inclusion of Stark 2008 throughout thesis and Stark 2006-2007 on the Western Türks included at this point, as requested by one of the examiners.

P. 120 (original p. 111). The discussion on Scythic elements in Mongolia has been moderated according to the examiner's request. Also note this clarification throughout Chapters Two and Four as expressly requested.

CHAPTER FIVE.

P. 123 (original p. 114). The generic statement concerning previous scholarship has been removed and replaced with a statement to the effect that the major theories on the two mythic patterns will be reviewed separately.

Pp. 124-127 (original pp. 115-117). The work of Brown and Anthony (2007, 2012) has been reanalysed to emphasise its overly broad utilisation of diverse Indo-European cultures. Moreover, the difficulties involved in these scholars' approach to associating purely archaeological cultures with the ancestors of the Indo-Iranian peoples and canine imitation rituals has been rewritten as a consequence of this rethinking.

P. 125, n. 5 (original p. 117, n.7). Sergis'(2010) belief that the Greeks considered rabies to be seasonal has been reinvestigated and found lacking in evidence.

Pp. 127-128 (original p. 120). Ginzburg's (1992) theory on a Eurasian "cultural" continuum has been reconsidered, and in light of the most recent theories on "Scythic" peoples, this overly-general approach to similarity in myth is now criticised accordingly.

P. 128 (original p. 120). The discussion of Scythian influence on Central Europe has been augmented and readdressed as a very complex problem not able to be solved at present due to lack of data for assembling the transmission of myths, an issue also complicated by the largely archaeological nature of the Central European civilisations in question.

P. 133, para 1 (original p. 125). Final comment on comparison of Romans to the Persians by the Greeks has been rescinded and replaced instead with a comment to the effect that the myth of Cyrus possibly offered a pre-existing narrative pattern without conscious comparison of these two peoples.

P. 137 (original pp. 128-9). Comment to the effect that the Sogdian artefacts were deliberately intended to imitate Rome has been removed. Rather Byzantine and Sogdian connections at this time are noted and the difficulty in assembling the intention behind these artefacts is acknowledged.

Pp. 154-156 (original pp. 144-147). Note the expansion of the discussion on "The Last Days of Panjikant" as generally requested by examiner. Much of this section has also been rewritten to improve the quality of the thesis' conclusions.

CHAPTER SIX: APPENDICES.

App. 4, p. 26 (original p. 23). The anachronistic comment on the political nature of Wiseman's theories has been removed and the sentence has been rewritten to affirm that the language used to describe the dynamic between Romulus and Remus was probably a narrative trope. Also note inclusion of material on Carandini and criticism of it here, as requested by examiner as well as on pp. 21-22.

App. 9, p. 37 (original p. 33). The Somadeva's *Kathāsaritasāgara* has been investigated as a possible Indic source for the "bundle" fable pattern in Sogdiana and Inner Asia, as requested by examiner. However, there is no indication of the presence of this pattern within the work.

Table of Contents

Abstract

The student undertook an exercise in comparative mythology tracing and analysing mythic motifs which defined the cultures of the ancient Romans and the subsequent Mongolian Empire. In particular, the thesis examines the motifs of the wolf and the bundle of sticks, both used to highlight the importance of ethnic unity. Although the relevant cultures flourished at different times and in different geographical locations, this is the first time that a thesis examines both the legacy of Roman culture in the east in the region of Inner and Central Asia, traditionally inhabited by nomads and often assumed to exist in a cultural void, as well as the role played by such peoples in the formation of the Classical Tradition itself. The thesis attempts a thorough review of all available evidence regarding the aforementioned motifs bringing together Roman and Asian sources: at times the review dispels misperceptions commonly repeated in the bibliography until now, at times it reveals parts of transmission paths long forgotten, and at times it defines more concretely the limitations of our knowledge.

Insignia Summi Imperii and *Törü-yin Qadaqasun*.

The Wolf and Bundled Rods and their Role in Legitimising the Authority of the Roman and Mongol Empires.

1. Introduction.

This thesis is an exercise in comparative mythology, centring on two strikingly similar series of symbols used to claim legitimate authority in the Roman and the Mongol Empires. These are the application of the wolf as an emblematic patron of ethnic character and the use of bundled rods as a symbol of the possession of imperial power. The symbol of the wolf, used in these two considerably different cultural systems in different historical periods for the same, nevertheless, political goals, has attracted scholarly attention since the eighteenth century. My close examination of the sources and of previous arguments will highlight past misinterpretations and methodological inaccuracies and will allow us to re-evaluate the ongoing importance of this pattern throughout Eurasian history. The association between bundled rods and the imagery of rulership amongst the nomadic peoples of Inner Asia was observed and acknowledged in the classical world, and as will be shown most likely formed the basis of the Aesopic tale *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons*. Further, the retention of such imagery amongst the nomad aristocracies of Inner Asia was also of chief importance later during the European Renaissance in representing the power and wisdom of the Mongol rulers through fables belonging to the same pattern as *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons*, at a time when any nascent revival of the Greek Aesopic connection would have been known to only a few scholars. Moreover, affinities between such symbols and the Roman imperial symbol of supreme authority, the *fasces*, have not yet been the target of analysis in modern scholarship and thus demand detailed examination.

In reassembling the history and transmission of these two mythic patterns, of primary importance will be investigations into their ongoing development within the civilisations from which the Romans and Mongols arose, and those who followed them and sought to imitate them. In the past, the disparities in space, time and perceived cultural differences between the Classical civilisations and the nomadic cultures of the Eurasian steppe regions referred to collectively as Inner Asia,[1] from the Scythians to the Mongols, led to widespread assumptions, especially amongst Classicists, that the two systems would not have been able to interact very much at all (Momigliano 1975: 8; Bremmer 1987: 34-50; Brunschwig 1999: 244; West 2004: 54-60 cf. Meuli [1936] 1975: II. 855ff; Dodds 1951: 141ff; Bolton 1962: *passim*). However, in the past twenty years many of these assumptions have undergone reassessment, albeit largely from the perspective of Inner Asian studies, in the context of which a number of more inclusive approaches to the history of myth and culture have been employed (Di Cosmo 1999: 12-19, 2002 *passim*; Sneath 2007: 120ff; Beckwith 2011: *passim*; Kingsley 2011: 148 n. 26). For that matter, in recent years renewed attempts at historicising the discipline of Comparative Mythology from the Classical perspective have been made through the efforts of scholars such as Walter Burkert (1979, 1992, 2004), M. L. West (1997) and Robin Lane Fox (2008), who have largely centred their efforts on Ancient Near Eastern cultures and their influence on the formation of Greek myth during the Archaic period. The work of these scholars

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[1] Di Cosmo (1999: 3) says in relation to this region: "*Inner Asia* is a term notoriously hard to define. There are major difficulties with the formulation of a viable definition that have long hindered efforts to represent it as a coherent historical concept. Having been written mostly by people outside Inner Asia, the historical narrative appears segmented across different regions and languages; its geographical and cultural boundaries remain controversial". However he (*ibid.*) then proceeds to perhaps over-generally define it in saying: "Here I use the term Inner Asia to refer to the area described by some scholars as greater Central Asia (that is, not restricted to the ex-Soviet republics), or Central Eurasia, or (in the past) High Asia. This includes the regions to the north and east of the Black Sea, north of Iran and the Himalayas, and to the west and north of China, including Manchuria." We may find perhaps more interculturally orientated, albeit dualistic, definitions in Lattimore ([1940] 1962: 17ff) in which the borders of the region are taken to be a series of ever changing "frontiers" between "nomadic" and "settled" peoples and in Sinor's (1990: 3) designation of areas such as Romania as part of "Inner Asia" during their possession by nomadic peoples of Inner Asian origin such as the Huns. However, the main matter at hand here would seem to remain to be one of balancing inclusiveness against generalisation. In my thesis I have made use of the term Central Asia in reference to the oasis states and trade routes of Xingjian, Sogdiana, Ustrushana, Ferghana and the modern Turkic Republics, and Inner Asia in reference to the northerly steppe belt stretching from Hungary and the Pontic steppe through the Kazakh steppe to Mongolia. However, in order to prevent generalisation, wherever possible throughout my thesis I have attempted to specify the precise area under discussion and the interconnections existent between different regions and cultures during the specific period in question. The cultural and political overlaps between the steppes, oasis states, bordering civilisations such as Greece, China and India, and the difficulties inherent in making delineations between "nomadic" and "settled" will be expressly discussed in my methodology section below.

has been invaluable in breaking down Eurocentric assumptions regarding the civilised, original, individualistic West and the receptive, decadent, collective East, which have long been ingrained in Classical Studies, as well as Egyptology and Assyriology (Said 1978: 8-13; Liverani 1996: 422; Burkert 2004: 1-3). Despite this, their work paid little attention to the interaction of the Classical World with the nomadic peoples of Inner Asia and therefore, the study of interactions between these two spheres is still plagued by the Eurocentric notions according to which the Classical world is the roots of settled, written, European "civilisation," while the Inner Asian nomads are seen as demonic, timeless and revelling in the "…the antithesis of "our" civilised world, [and the] history… of the Barbarian" (Beller and Leerssen 2010: 124; cf. Kingsley 2011: 147-152).

Nevertheless, the greatest problem would simply seem to be that both Classicists and Altaicists largely have little mutual knowledge of one another's fields of study, and even well respected Mongolists themselves have often engaged in Eurocentric prejudice, demonising the Mongols as little more than genocidal barbarians (Saunders 1971: 28), whose foundation of the largest land empire in history appeared more a matter of inexplicable luck when compared with hallowed European strategists such as Alexander the Great (Lamb 1936: 13; cf. Said 1978: 301; Giffney 2002: 15). Thus, it is one of the chief purposes of this thesis to remedy this by focussing equally on both cultural spheres, which will enable me to assess the parallels in question more accurately than previous attempts. For this reason a chapter on each mythic pattern in the two respective cultural spheres will be given, which will provide the material for my comparative exercise and synthesis in Chapter Five. A final sixth chapter will contain appendices to my thesis, including both charts for the sake of ease of comprehension, as well as extra material for further reading, if desired. Thus, it is now fitting to introduce the two mythic patterns I wish to investigate in greater detail and with reference to the past scholarly work on these subjects.

2. Prior Comparative Scholarship.

a.   The Wolf Pattern.

This pattern is prevalent in both cultural spheres as a means for elite groups and founding figures to partake in the ferocious and numinous nature of the wolf through

ritual imitation and myths of tribal origin. The following are two prominent examples of some of the evidence I shall be discussing:

> "…A she-wolf which had just given birth came miraculously to the abandoned twins [Romulus and Remus]… she didn't harm them; rather she helped them…you might know they were the sons of Mars: fear was absent. They sucked her teats.…" (Ov. *Fast.* II. 416ff, first century CE).

> "*Bu Jiu Ling*, his surrogate father, embraced *Kun-mo* and fled with him.…When he returned he noticed a wolf giving milk to the baby.… *Bu Jiu Ling* thinking that the baby might be a divine being picked him up and surrendered him to the *Xiong-nu*" (Bangu, *Han Shu* Jila trans. 2006: 164, first century CE).

Although much has been said of such similarities by scholars of both the Classical and Inner Asian worlds, a great deal of this remains *en passant* remarks of mere curiosity and incomplete theorising in need of some attention. In tracing the history of this, the first notable comparison between the myth of the Roman founding twins Romulus and Remus and that of an Inner Asian variant appears to have been de Guines' *Histoire Generale des Huns* in the eighteenth century, which suggested that a wolf-nurture myth given in relation to the Osmanly Türks was the result of the Huns' introduction of the Roman founding myth of the twins Romulus and Remus, given above, into Inner Asia (de Guignes I.ii.I: 171-173 *ap.* Czaplicka 1918: 14-15).[2] Although Czapliczka (1918: 15) claimed that "recent research" supported this, none is cited, and moreover, such a view does not take into account the evolution of wolf nurture myths in Inner Asia, as will be described in Chapter Two of this thesis. As will be shown, the history of such myths has no direct relevance to the Huns, and even prefigures them. Perhaps the first person to perform a detailed study of this topic was Alföldi (1974: 69-85,161) in his *Die Struktur des Voretruskischen Römerstaates,* in which he posits the notion that the similarities in wolf nurture and dual kingship myths in the Greco-Roman and Inner Asian worlds are the result of shared primordial Ur-myths. Despite this, Alföldi does not supply even a vague period when these Ur-myths and rituals could have jointly formed, nor does he investigate why or how double rulership

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[2] Edward Gibbon ([1780] 2000: V. §42. 175), commenting of de Guines' Türkic myth assumingly states: "Like Romulus the founder of that Martial people was suckled by a she-wolf…a fable was invented, without any mutual acquaintance by the shepherds of Latium and those of Scythia".

could have developed in different situations, leaving the reader, as has been said of Alföldi's text in general, with little more than inconclusive theorising (Wiseman 1995a: 98-99). Further, Alföldi (1974: 131) also discusses the symbolic use of wolf by Greco-Roman and Turkic-Mongolian warriors in reference to the concept of *Männerbund*, which refers to a league of men living in the wilderness and undertaking initiatory rituals by imitating animals and stealing from others. Much will be said of this particular concept in the first two chapters of my thesis as I attempt to place it in a historical and evolving cultural context, rather than reaching back to generalised abstract models such as Alföldi's (1974: 151-180) *Doppelmonarchie* (double rulership) and *Urkönigheit* (primordial kingship), which have little overall historical relevance.

Mircea Eliade also made several mentions of the similarities between the Romulus and Remus tale, Inner Asian wolf myths and other similar Indo-European traditions in his extensive corpus of research on world religions. In *From Zalmoxis to Genghis Khan*, for instance, though merely glossing over much of it, Eliade ([1970]1995: 20) states that wolf ancestor and nursing myths have been very popular amongst the Inner Asian nomads, without any reference to specific examples. Like Alföldi, Eliade ([1970]1995: 20-29) also speaks in great detail about the concept of *Männerbund* in relation to the wolf, both in a European and Inner Asian context, yet much of his material, especially on Wikander's (1938) theories of Iranian *Männerbund* remains dated and now nearly entirely discredited due to lack of evidence in this particular field (Boyce 1989: 102 n. 110; Skjærvø 2011: 88). Eliade ([1970]1995: 29) later terminates his investigation with a reference to how the Dacians, Romans and Mongols all had a profound influence on Romanian history and all coincidentally possessed myths of ethnic origination in conjunction with wolves. Nevertheless he provides no in-depth analysis on this, leaving only a series of ellipses, which supplies an ambiguous message at best as to his overall intention (Eliade [1970] 1995: 29).

Moreover, in his first volume of *History of Religious Ideas*, which pertains largely to the Neolithic era, Eliade ([1976]1981: 36) also mentions parallels between Ancient European and Inner Asian wolf myths in conjunction with warrior rituals. Once more little context is given to this and it is seemingly assumed that one is

necessarily already thoroughly familiar, yet again, with specific examples of the myths in question.[3] Hence, similarly to Alföldi, Eliade ([1976]1981:36) appears to suggest that the basis of such beliefs were widely spread Ur-myths, though he does add that this may be due to environmental factors, in which the wolf was the major predator in both Europe and Inner Asia, precipitating its imitation by diverse cultures. Thus in relation to Alföldi and Eliade's approaches, whilst some other scholars have linked mediaeval Turkic-Mongolian wolf-myths to a chain of descent from earlier Indo-Iranian myths in Inner Asia (Sinor 1997: 331; Golden 2010a: 163), a suggestion I find fitting (see Chapter Two), overly generalised Ur-myths, as mentioned, are in many ways something which refutes dating and cannot be tracked in time and space. They seem to offer an easy answer and they do not acknowledge the differences in how myths develop over time, nor the possibility of a polygenesis (multiple origins) of myths due to either environmental factors or parallel evolution. Consequently, one of the main concerns of this thesis will be to revaluate the use of Ur-myths in relation to this topic and reassess notions of how patterns themselves come to be perceived, created and rationalised by scholars.

Another popular suggestion as to how this mythic pattern took form is that of Negmatov (1973: 200-202 *ap.* Azarpay 1981: 202; 1992: 236), which at very least has its roots theoretically planted in determinable time and space. In her work on a series of murals from the *Kalah-i Kahkaha* palace in Sogdiana (modern Tajikistan), which she proposed appears to show Romulus and Remus being nursed by a wolf, Negmatov (1992: 236; Marshak and Negmatov 1996: 264-265) hypothesised that this motif was adopted by Sogdians due to pre-existing affinities with Türkic-Mongolian wolf nurture myths and Iranian myth in the form of the Achaemenid tale of the emperor Cyrus being nursed by a dog (Hdt. I. 107-110), which will be discussed imminently. Indeed, the history and culture of Sogdiana during the period to which these mural are commonly assigned- the sixth of seventh century CE (Azarpay 1981: 203, 1988: 362; Ota 2005: 193), is a very complex one during which control of this region, which was vital for the transmission of religions such as Nestorian Christianity, Manichaeism,

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[3] Cf. Mair (1998: 23) for another example of assumed knowledge of Central Asian wolf myths: "Given the great affection of the prehistoric Indo-Europeans for dogs and their reliance upon them for hunting and herding, it is not surprising that some Central Asian nomads would have adopted this animal as a tribal totem. Indeed, the existence of lycanthropy (wolfmanism) among certain Central Asian peoples would seem to indicate that esteem for this animal had developed even before it was fully domesticated".

and Buddhism and goods such as silk between east and west (Beckwith 2011: 116), appears to have been vied for by a number of rapidly succeeding peoples of Inner Asian origin.[4] Furthermore, cultural influences from Indian, Hellenistic, Chinese and Iranian myth also appear to have been manifest in the other murals of the palace in question (Compareti 2012: 303). In many ways it is with this degree of cultural and historical complexity in mind that I will necessarily build my comparative criticism in this thesis, which poses some interesting questions as to how a single cultural output such as the murals in question may have been viewed in multiple ways by differing cultural groups.

Negmatov (1973: 200-202 *ap.* Azarpay 1981: 202) also appears to be the first person to discuss the use of Persian seals and Byzantine coins featuring the Roman twins as the most likely artistic basis for these murals, which has been greatly added to by Azarpay (1988: 349-360) and supplies a strong link for the possibility of the transmission of the symbol of the Roman twins in Central Asia. In relation to this, Mary Boyce (1989: 279) has also suggested that the nativity myth of the prophet Zoroaster being relegated to a wolf's cave is due to the active dislike of the Roman wolf symbol by the Sasanid Persians. However, the myth in question appears far older than this, and some of its key ingredients- as will be shown in Chapter Two- appear to seriously contradict Boyce's interpretation. Further, Negmatov (1992: 236) goes beyond this immediate Sogdian sphere, theorising that the wolf-nurture mythic pattern reached Rome itself from a Persian origin during antiquity because of its similarity with the aforementioned canine nursing myth of the Emperor Cyrus. Her theory is that that the pattern in question came to Italia via the alleged Etruscan migration from Anatolia (Negmatov 1973: 183-202 *ap.* Jila 2006: 172-173; Negmatov 1992: 236). Conversely, as will be shown in Chapter Two, such a theory is anachronistic at best in relation to the supposed interactions of the Persians and the Etruscans, and there are no other examples of myths belonging to this pattern associated with Anatolia that

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[4] These Inner Asian powers were the Kidarites ("Red Huns") (c. 470 CE), the Hephthalites ("White Huns") (c. 509 CE), the First Türk Empire in alliance with Sasanid Persia (c. 560-563 CE) and then due to trade disputes over control of the silk road with one another, merely the Türks themselves (c. 569/570 CE) (Harmatta 1995: 475-476; Ecsedy and Sundermann 1995: 477-478; de la Vaissière 2005: 109-112, 132-134). These trade disputes with the Sasanids also led to a joint Byzantine-Sogdian embassy to the Türks (c. 575/576 CE) following which agreements were made between these parties to maintain trade in spite of a Sasanid embargo (Men. Prot. *Hist.* frag. 19.1-2; de la Vaissière 2005: 132-134). More on this historical situation and the difficulty in "fixing" the dates involved will be dealt with in Chapters Two, Four and Five.

date back to this time. Despite such concerns, this theory has remained popular amongst scholars of Inner Asian myth (Mori 1992: 340-344 *ap.* Jila 2006: 173-174; Ota 2005: 195; Jila 2006: 173), though with regard to its imperfections and lack of input from Classicists, Jila (2006: 174), in his study of the Kun-mo Wu-sun myth of wolf nurture, given above, has to correct a number of Roman and Etruscan names in order to even make sense of the theory.

More recently we find Altaicists and Turcologists such as Sinor (1982: 223-257; 1997: 327-336), Finch (1994: 1-2), Beckwith (2011: 366 n. 12) and Drompp (2011: 515-526) all making mention of similarities between the Roman she-wolf and Inner Asian myth, with the latter three settling on widely spread Eurasian Ur-myths to explain these. Moreover, in each of these cases little attentiveness has seemingly been expended on the Roman content and its direct interrelation with the other material. Sinor (1997: 336 n. 18), in comparison, merely says of affinities between the myth of Romulus and Remus, the Kun-mo wolf myth and possible influence from the former that it is: "…too complicated of a question to be discussed in this article"- an implicit promise which he is still to fulfil. Thus, one of the main purposes of this thesis is to attempt to synthesise the work of both disciplines accurately so as to answer and correct these past difficulties.

b. The Bundled Rods Pattern.

In approaching the use of bundled rods in the Ancient Mediterranean and Inner Asian cultural spheres it is difficult not to observe the prominent association of these symbols in contemporary twenty-first century political mythology's reception of Classical symbolism. This is particularly in relation to the symbol of the bundled rods of the Roman *fasces* and the question as to how they came to take on their modern meaning of popular collective power- as found from the French Revolution (Meslier 1970: 501; Doyle 1990: 246) to nineteenth century Marxism (De Man 1928: 144; Callahan 2010: 176), twentieth century Fascism (Falasca- Zamponi 2000: 95; Francese 2007: 123) and contemporary Ecology (Goldstein 2004: 49). Often modern analysis appears to implicitly and erroneously posit the Aesopic fable, commonly known as *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* as the basis behind this Roman symbol (Goldstein 2004: 49; Sherk 2004: 268-269; Bray 2010: 21). However, as will be shown, no explicit reference to collective power and the *fasces* is ever made in

antiquity, nor is there any variant of the *Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* in Latin before the Renaissance reintroduction of Aesop to Western Europe.[5] Moreover, to my knowledge, this topic has seemingly escaped the notice of both historians of ancient and modern culture. Thus, I would like to propose to amend this by opening up this area of investigation into how these two uses of bundled rods came to be intertwined for further research.

Such research, in my view, would have to take into account the history of the pattern of *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons*, which despite its important appearance in the Greek Aesopic tradition (Chambry ed. 1925-1926: §86; Perry ed. 1936: §53; Hausrath 1957: 73; Babrius §47) and the works of Plutarch (*Mor.* 174f, 511c), was also widely disseminated in the imperial mythology of the nomad dynasties of Inner Asia, from the ancient Scythians to the Mongol Empire. The concentration of scholarly focus on the Aesopic tradition has in many ways caused this other transmission path to receive less than adequate attention. For this reason in order to present and consider a more holistic reading of the history of this fable, this must be amended. Here are two examples of the "bundle" fable pattern from each of the cultural spheres in question:

> "In former times there was a very old man… 'Try for me, children, [he said] 'with all your might, to break these rods bound together'. But they were not able to do this. 'Now try a single one,' he said. Each of them having been deftly broken, he said: 'If you were of the same mind as one another, then no one would be able to beat you, even if he were the strongest. But if any of you is apart from any other in his judgement, each of you will be relying in these same matters upon but a single stick…". (Babrius §47, second century CE).

> "[A-ch'ai] then designated Mu-kuei to succeed him in the affairs [of state] [*sic*]. A-ch'ai …said: 'Let each of you bring me an arrow and throw it on the ground…and he at once commanded his youngest uterine brother Mu-li-yen: 'Take an arrow and break it. Mu-li-yen did so. 'Take nineteen arrows and break them,' A-ch'ai said again, but Mu-[li] [*sic*]- yen could not manage to break them. A-chai [then] [*sic*] said: 'Have

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[5] Although much has been said in relation to the origin of the axe which accompanied the bundled rods (Drews 1972; Marshall 1984; Torelli 2011), there has been little discussion on the rods themselves. I will also attempt to remedy this imbalance where possible.

you understood or not? A single [arrow] [sic] is easily broken but it is difficult to [break] [*sic*]…" (*Wei Shu* Molé trans. 1970: 5-6, sixth century CE).

Upon investigation, prior comparative research on this topic has largely centred on the similarities between a particular variant of this pattern involving the Mongol matriarch Alan Qo'a's quarrelling sons in the thirteenth century CE *Secret History of the Mongols* (§18-23) and the Aesopic tradition (Cleaves 1982: 4 n. 11; Moses 1987: 64-67; Bira 1989: 1; de Rachewiltz 2004: 262-263; Kingsley 2011: 167-170).[6] Aside from purely pointing out the said similarity, to my knowledge only Moses (1987: 64-67), who approached the tale from a Structuralist manner, and de Rachewiltz (2004: 262-263) who noted parallel tales amongst the Scythians and the Tu-yü-hun story of Achai, given above, have had anything to add to the discussion. Moses (1987: 64-67), as a Structuralist, refers to the pattern merely as 910 F and has seemingly little concern for its historicity or change of meaning in different cultural contexts beyond the association with the bow in Inner Asia. Further, he concludes that the Mongol version came from India, giving no evidence for this, and no reference to other nomadic versions (Moses 1987: 66). De Rachewiltz (2004: 262-263), on the other hand, merely suggests that this was a widely spread myth amongst Inner Asian nomads and was simply retained, without reference to other intermediary Türkic variants- which admittedly are rarely discussed in scholarship (cf. Luther 2001: 167 n. 21; *ON* 36-40). For that matter, de Rachewiltz (2004: 262-263) agrees with Pelliot (1936: 37 *ap.* de Rachewiltz's 2004: 262-263) in citing this fable as analogous with one found in the classical world concerning the general Sertorius (Plut. *Sert.* XVI; Val. Max. VIII.3.6) - the meaning of which is to weaken one's enemies one by one- a structurally inverted and admittedly opposite meaning to the "strength in unity" message of the *Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* pattern.

Further, little comparative work has been written except by the scholars of the *China and Mediterranean World Project* (Durkin-Meisterernst et al. 2009: 5) in reference to variants of this fable pattern found on an eighth century CE mural at

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[6] Kingsley (2011: 167-171) mentions Alan Qo'a and Scythic connections, but not Plutarch's rendition of this fable. He also connects the variant in *The Secret History of the Mongols* to the Iroquois chief Hiawatha's use of a similar fable to evoke a unity of Native American tribal nations, through an assumption that it must have existed prior to Native American migrations into the Americas from Siberia (2011: 167-171). These assumptions are dealt with in **App. 12** of my thesis.

Panjikant in Tajikistan, as well as some Parthian language fragments of the same Aesopic tale found in Xingjian of a similar period. Marshak (2002: 89; Compareti 2009: 303-304) appears to have been aware in his study of the mural that such a myth had both Aesopic as well as Türkic parallels, and appears to be one of the few who do so. Adrados and Van Dijk (2003: 75-76), for that matter, in the third volume of their highly scholarly catalogue of Aesopic variants mention the Parthian and Mongol versions only in passing in connection with *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons*. No other Inner Asian variants are given, except one connected with the Bulgars (Adrados and Van Dijk 2003: 76), which as will be shown is most likely a Post-Renaissance creation (see Chapter Five). Also the use of this fable in relation to the Mongol ruler Chingis Khan in popular mediaeval European works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries CE (Het. *Flos. Hist.* III.17.37g; *Mand.* 24 p. 148) would also seem to need further analysis, as it most likely would have been more widely circulated than the Greek Aesopic version at this time, which was limited to a very small academic audience (Kristeller 2003: xiii-xiv). To my knowledge this aspect of the analysis of the fable pattern is yet to be attempted at all, aside from a remark by Moseley (1983: 20) in his introduction to the portmanteau of texts, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, in which he posits the fable's origin as Hetum of Corycus' earlier work *The Flower of Histories*.

3. Constructing a Comparison of the Romans and Mongols: a Theoretical and Conceptual Framework.

a. A Multilateral Approach to Inner and Central Asia.

As we move towards tracing the paths of these mythic patterns, there are a number of basic notions that must be highlighted in relation to the complex, multilayered nature of culture in the Central and Inner Asian regions, and the need to find an appropriate methodological approach capable of dealing with this. The steppes of Inner Asia and the oasis states of Central Asia have been compared with an ocean of swirling contradictory cultural currents (Whitfield 2001: 9). This complex of contiguous yet diverse regions and succeeding cultures defies absolutist terms such as "East" and "West" and for this reason it presents a great many contradictions and originalities in the way its inhabitants have received and re-elaborated influences exerted upon them (Akbari 2003: 3). For instance, from antiquity to the middle ages, Indo-Iranian

speaking and Turkic-Mongolian speaking nomadic herding peoples from the Inner Asian "heartland" of the Pontic, Kazakh, and Mongolian steppe regions often served as military allies and trading partners to settled peoples such as the Chinese, Greeks, Persians and other nomad groups who had already become settled, and were regularly absorbed themselves into sedentary and semi-sedentary existence through these interactions (Di Cosmo 1999: 12-19; Akbari 2003: 3; Sneath 2007 *passim*). For this reason, attempting to construct purely dualistic theories of the history of this region in terms of "nomadic" versus "agriculturalist" in relation to the growth of Inner Asian polities such as the Xiong-nu, Türks, and Mongols is far too simple and generalised an approach (Di Cosmo 1999: 10-19; Sneath 2007: 120ff). Most importantly, it does not take into account the complex endogenous (internal) and exogenous (external) interplay of trade, intermarriage, raiding and warfare between the peoples of Inner Asia, the Central Asian oasis states of Xingjian, Ferghana and Sogdiana and contiguous "undecidable" settled nomadic dynasties of steppe origin such as the Jürchen and Kitan which "…constitute a transitional zone where balances between pastoral and farming economies shifted over time" (Di Cosmo 1999: 10-19; cf. Krader 1955: 28-30, 1958: 76-80; Barfield 1981: 46). However, it is imperative to note that Central and Inner Asian history has been written largely by those living on the edges of this "ocean" - by the settled civilisations of China, the Middle East, and Europe, who have had overly generalised, timeless and negative conceptions of its inhabitants (Di Cosmo 1999: 3; Sneath 2007: 221ff; Rossabi 2012: 3). Often it is only through these neighbouring cultures that the myths, culture, and history of the peoples of Central and Inner Asia have come down to us (Whitfield 2001: 9; Rossabi 2012: 3). For that matter, clichés regarding the "exotic" Silk Road and Mongol barbarism still abound in modern scholarship and form barriers to accurate study (Akbari 2003: 3-5; Beller and Leerssen 2010: 124). If we attempt to move beyond this, and sift through the biases of those outsiders who recorded much of this region's history, as well as the biases of the nomads themselves, then we may be able to reassemble a cogent continuum of cultural development in relation to the two mythic patterns at hand. By doing this, the voice of the Inner Asian nomads, largely written out of conventional historiography due to the principally oral nature of their traditions (Halperin 1985: 123), may then emerge. Reinforced by examples from substrata extant in living oral tradition, which will be cited where necessary, this may then come to form a more accurate picture of cultural development. For this reason, in order to navigate around

these difficulties, I must detail in the following section the exact application of the methodological approach I wish to implement.

b. A Short History of Developments in Comparative Mythology.

Comparative Mythology is a term which in some ways still bears the stigma of its nineteenth century origins. This is because such approaches largely developed in tandem with the then nascent discipline of anthropology, which was used to underwrite colonial agendas of the assumed progressive trajectory of man from primitive tribal rituals of fertility and protection to scientific enlightenment (Lang 1884 *passim*; Frazer [1922] 1998 *passim*; Harrison [1912] 1927: 45-46, 82-83; cf. Dowden 1992: 24-30; Bernal 1991: 4-10; Csapo 2005: 10, 40-57, 280). The majority of comparative work at this time concentrated on linguistic and mythic affinities held in common by Indo-European cultures, some of which developed into the Modernist mythological system of Aryanism, further damaging the attractiveness of such studies (Müller 1867: 1-141; Wikander 1938: *passim*; cf. Bernal 1991: 4-10; Csapo 2005: 18-20). Attention to cultural interrelations and similarities between the Greco-Roman and Ancient Asian world remained sparse during this period, and were often criticised as baseless (Brown 1898: 203ff; Hooke 1963 *passim*; cf. Mondi 1990: 144; Bernal 1991: 4-10; Burkert 2004: 3). However, following this, a number of theories which posited atemporal universal similarities held in common by all human cultures came to dominate the study of comparative myth during the early to mid twentieth century: the Cambridge Ritual School, Jungian and Freudian Psychoanalysis and Structuralism (Harrison 1912/1927; Hooke 1933; Freud 1953-1974: IX. 169-185; Lévi-Strauss [1964] 1969: 313ff; Jung 1964 *passim;* Campbell 1972 *passim*; cf. Puhvel 1987: 18-19; Dowden 1992: 28-38 Csapo 2005 *passim*). Although some thinkers questioned the values and truth of these both Eurocentic and essentialist means of analysis, it was for the most part not until the rise of Post-Modern intellectual movements such as Post-Colonialism and Post-Structuralism during the mid-to-late twentieth century that these assumptions and others employed by students of mythology came to be questioned seriously (Bernal 1991: 6; Burkert 2004: 3). Thus, the works of Burkert and other similar contemporary comparativists in their reading of myth as something of

historically transmitted "collective importance" are generally characterised as Post-Structural in application (Morford and Lenardon 1999: 11-12).[7]

c. Some Observations on Post-Structural Method.

Key to the paradigmatic shift towards Post-Structuralism was the idea that all symbols are composed of a series of layers accrued over time, "…whose body contains finally no body, no heart, no kernel, no secret…which envelop nothing more than the unity of its own surfaces" (Barthes 1971: 10), which must be stripped back in order to analyse their historical and ideological development. One of the first intimations of this move away from Structuralism may be found in Burkert's (1979: 28) early work on comparative myth, in which he propounded the notion that "myths are not amorphous pebbles but meaningful structures transmitted…[which] can be seen evolving in consecutive layers". Arguably, such an approach, now more fully developed (cf. Burkert 2004; Lane Fox 2008), would seem to allow for a greater depth of historical and cultural analysis as well as aid in dispelling assumptions about inherent essential differences between the "hearts" of Western and Eastern cultures-aspects which are necessary for my study. If we are to investigate the means by which contemporary comparativists have reapproached such issues of cultural comparison, we may note that one common element is that this has largely been undertaken by targeting specific historical events such as the fall of the Assyrian Empire (Burkert 2004: 3) and trade relations at Pithekousai (the modern Italian island of Ischia) during the Archaic period of Greek history (Lane Fox 2008: 130-151; 298-300).

Nonetheless, in the case of my proposed study, as we are obliged to acknowledge that we are working with far greater distances and periods of time, my

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[7] Post-Structuralism, as the name suggests, was the result of criticism beginning in the 1960's of Structuralism- a linguistic methodology most famously associated with Claude Lévi-Strauss, Roman Jacobson and Vladimir Propp (Csapo: 2005: 182) Structuralism centred on the notion that inbuilt dualistic opposites such as "man" and "woman", "cooked" and "raw" were seen to be embedded in language and thus formed the basis for explaining all human activity via their syntagmatic interrelationships (Lévi-Strauss [1964]1969 *passim*; Leach 1970: 21). Structuralism thus assumed that comparisons between cultures regardless of historical or geographical context could be made without problem, in spite of valid criticism concerning contradictions between the operations of cultures (Dowden 1992: 24; Csapo 2005: 280). Post-structuralism began as a leftist reappropriation of the Structuralist method and sought to liberate individuals from the perceived inescapable, essentialist absolutes of Structuralism and other universalist theories by placing an emphasis on empirical reality and synchronism- the effects of the cultural environment of a particular point in time on the formations of people and ideas (Doty 2002: 147; Csapo 2005: 280). Burkert (1979: 11) in his reaction to Structuralism's ahistoricism in fact went as far as saying: "I don't think that Levi-Strauss has proven anything".

aim is to concentrate on the notion of continuities and explore how the patterns under scrutiny and their variants evolved and were adapted to contemporary preoccupations. Simultaneously, by building upon previous studies, I will aim to concentrate more upon the detail of each specific example and the points in space and time where these patterns appear to have coalesced and come into contact with one another as intercultural phenomena. Examples of this, some already mentioned, include: the role played by Indo-Iranian nomads on the formation of later Turkic-Mongolian nomadic mores and traditions; the place of the Scythians and Persians in Greco-Roman historiography; and the Classical heritage circulated in Central Asia during the seventh and eighth centuries largely by diasporic Sogdian merchant communities.[8] These comprise Byzantine coins, Sasanian seals, Parthian fragments of Aesop and wall murals in Tajikistan featuring both examples of the mythic patterns in question. Also, integral to this comparative approach will be the Islamic and Mediaeval European historiography of the Türks and Mongols and the reintroduction of Greek learning to Western Europe, including the Aesopic corpus, during the thirteenth century CE. By centring my approach on points of overlap such as these, I will endeavour to trace these patterns, their reception and evolution where best possible. Moreover, I believe with regard to the question of how to approach the reading of such data, much can be learnt from Burkert (2004: 5) and what he says of his particular approach:

> "…A more dimensional view will yield more adequate descriptions. Hence the dynamics of cultural interaction will be in focus here. It is true that the mere statement of influence is unsatisfactory. One has to seek out all kinds of response to cultural influence, the modifications that occurred, including possible progress by misunderstanding. We shall meet both with positive input, such as the transfer of technology, skills, and ideas in a large sense, and also with negative input, such as invasion, oppression and exploitation. The main question will be how and how much were the existing social and economic systems affected by such events, whether they were brought to further development, or else inhibited and destroyed in the process".

On reflecting upon this, we are seemingly invited to take a more holistic view of intercultural influence rather than simply observing the communication of the "same"

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[8] The key role played by these communities in the rise of the Göktürk and Uyghur Empires will be discussed in detail in Chapters Two and Four.

idea between two overlapping cultural spheres. Thus, as we attempt to seek out tracing the two mythic "patterns" in question, we must be aware that these *do not* mean the diffusion of single insoluble concepts through time and space. Perhaps as Mondi (1990: 145) has suggested in relation to Greek and Near Eastern myth, myth should be read as a series of discreet conceptual *foci*, which should not be identified with any particular narrative realisation. Motifs and symbols are appropriated and reappropriated due to needs and interests already existing within cultures (Dench 1995: 41). As has already been noted, the possibility of Sasanian impetus towards adoption of the symbol of the Roman twins Romulus and Remus being nursed by a she-wolf may be due both to attempts to imitate the power of Rome, as well as pre-existing wolf and animal nurture myths, such as that of Zoroaster, as Azarpay (1988: 349-360) and Boyce (1989: 279) have discussed. Thus, clearly what the symbol of wolf-nursing may mean in fifth century BCE Etruria does not necessarily mean the same things as it does to the sixth century CE Sasanians or Göktürks of the same period in Mongolia. For that matter, within a single evolving culture itself, such as Rome in its path from city state to Christian empire, symbols are forever being reread and thus we must keep in mind how the perceived nature of them is forever changing due to a culture's needs and preoccupations at any given point in history. For instance in the Classical tradition, this is often connected with the concept of *exempla* and *chreia* or the reapplication of standard anecdotal structures used for political, moral and artistic purposes (Hardwick 2003: 24-25; Shepard 2003: 100)- a technique employed widely by Greco-Roman historians and their medieval heirs. Similarly in the histories and oral epics of the nomads of Inner Asia do we find standard "structures" employed, reemployed and altered in reference to founding ancestors and culture heroes over long periods, as regimes sought to imitate earlier rulers and legitimise their own specific historical situation (Chadwick 1969: 156, 169; DeWeese 1994: 273-278; Abazov 2005: 122).

In addition, perhaps because of the long protest in academia against the view that Greco-Roman cultures were influenced by their Asian and African neighbours, modern comparativists sometimes conversely appear to take their analyses too far

(Yurco 1996: 98; Morris 1996: 171).[9] My approach aims to look beyond merely ideas such as "Classical" and "Eastern" and will not read "origination" as equivalent to prioritisation. My interest lies rather in the affirmation of mythopoeic (myth-making) adaptation and continuation over time through transmission and determinable intercultural phenomena. In order to emphasise the activity of ongoing mythic evolution, methodologically I suggest for this thesis that a purely dichotomous comparative analysis- the absolutist and overly general distinction between phenomena as either fitting with or contradicting a single given definition, should be eschewed, and rather, that attention should be paid to the specific nature of each mythic variant and its intercultural and historical context as they are given.

In order to undertake this in reference to the ongoing evolution of myth in both cultural spheres, I would like to make use of a form of "polythetic categorisation". This approach to categorisation has its roots in Wittgenstein's (1953: 31-32 §66-67) analogically named concept of *Familienähnlichkeit* ("family resemblance") which he compares to a multitude of overlapping threads that share in some qualities with one another but do not possess all the same qualities. Thus, rather than the more traditional absolute either/or logic of Aristotelian categorisation, such a methodology emphasises the empirical observation that "…natural categories are fuzzy and contextually flexible". (Suau Jiménez 2011: 158-159). "Polythetic categorisation" was introduced into anthropology by Needham (1975: 361,365) [10] and

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[9] Some have even warned that with the return of Comparativism that the excesses of earlier movements such as Aryan and Afrocentric diffusionism, which posited a single origin for the majority of Classical myths (Upadhyay and Pandey 1993: 144, 151; 1996), may be returning (Yurco 1996: 98; Morris 1996: 171). This charge was especially aimed at Martin Bernal's *Black Athena*, which at the time of its release was highly contentious (Baines 1996: 27-28; Morris 1996: 171). Further, on the subject of what might appear "internal" methodological criticism Bernal (2001: 19-20, 39) praises Burkert, West and others greatly "both for courage in the face of entrenched discipline and for their scholarship". Bernal (2011: 98) also admits that whilst Burkert in many ways started the move towards reassessing the influence of Ancient Near Eastern and African cultures on the formation of the Greco-Roman culture, he suggests with regard to *The Orientalising Revolution* that Burkert "…goes a bit too far". This is in connection with Burkert's (1992: 35) suggestion of linguistic borrowings from South Western Asian languages during the Archaic period based on the phonetic similarity of certain words, in spite of his admission that Greek seems to reject the use of unadapted loan words prior to the Hellenistic *koine*.

[10] For an example of this method Needham (1975: 351) gives the following table in reference to three imaginary societies and overlapping customs *r* and *t* in concepts of familial descent.

$$A\ p,q,r$$
$$B\quad r,s,t$$
$$C\qquad t,\ u,\ v$$

As we may see such a method as this enables us to deal with mythic *foci* far more easily than other approaches which might assume the transmission of solid unchanging mythic structures. Barnes (1997:

has been made use of notably by Barnes (1997: 13) concerning the intercultural and multifaceted nature of the West African god Ogun to "…shift the discussion of meaning from singular to plural". As Eleanor Rosch (1978: 36) in her work on this subject points out in evaluating Wittgenstein and this method: "categorical judgements become a problem only if one is concerned with boundaries".[11] Thus, as the purpose of this thesis is to navigate the ever changing world of myth and symbol through time and space across Eurasia, clear yet elastic boundaries are a must for the best to be made of interpretative analysis. This will allow us to note how mythic *foci* overlap with one another, but not force ever evolving mythic patterns into overly-general static definitions.

Concerns such as these with regard to specifics rather than generalities are also useful in addressing some of the difficulties a Post-Structural methodology may present in relation to the topic of imperial symbolism as a whole. The Post-Structural preoccupation that truth is little more than power supported by attempts to legitimise it through representation (Foucault 1980a: 92-108), has come under fire in recent times for its seeming abstract and universalist connotations divorced from specific historical context (Lenski 2009: 4). By concentrating on these contexts and the continuation and evolution of symbols of power, I aim to avoid this, and rather show the key differences as well as similarities inherent in notions of power in the cultural spheres I investigate, as well as the elite groups who creatively partook in it. Thus I shall concentrate much on the needs of specific cultures and individuals at specific times to both creatively reanimate and reappropriate ideas and symbols. For that matter, the relations between the symbolism of power and actual physical force have

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14) says of this: "Taken as a domain of related ideas, diversity and unity in meaning can then be thought of as being simultaneously present. One of the most useful implications of being able to think of meanings in the plural is that we can, by extension, visualize the processes by which some meanings remain unchanged while, at the same time, other meanings can be added, subtracted, or altered, little by little, over time and space".

[11] We should also note the analysis of Chaney (1978:139) with regard to the difference in intentions inherent in Wittgenstein and Needham's work: "I applaud Needham for explicitly bringing Wittgenstein's work to bear on anthropological perplexities of description and comparison. However, the reader is led to believe at many points that the works of Wittgenstein and Needham point in the same general direction. Fortunately, they do not. Wittgenstein illustrated that the idea that we can discover an ideal notation is an illusion; Needham's "formal properties" are references to ideal notation. Whereas the 'wildernesse of formes' sends Needham scurrying back to his intellectual tower of formal properties and terms, Wittgenstein works among the 'wildernesse of formes' to discover how language expressions acquire their meanings through use in our practical dealings with one another and the world". This means that in adopting this methodology we must make sure that it is used to describe the *actual* myths in question and not structuralist archetypes.

also long been the target of serious Post-Structural debate, though it would seem most appropriate that they be placed on a continuum or spectrum of social relations (Lenski 2009: 3; Mason 2012: 119),[12] well grounded in their own cultural and historical specificity to avoid absolute distinctions between them. In relation to this, the symbolism of the Roman *fasces* is particularly poignant at this point as it is difficult to deduce whether or when it was used merely symbolically and when it was used as an actual instrument of state punishment and execution. The regular repetition by writers from the Republican through to Christian periods of its bloody and deadly nature further obscures this (Cic. *Leg. Agr.* I.3.9; Liv. XLV.29.2; Plin. *H.N.* XVI.30.75; Lactant. *Div. Inst.* V.6.5), leaving the researcher confused as to whether in fact this language too is in its own right metaphorical. In consequence, as will be analysed further in Chapter Three, there would seem to be no absolute difference between said extremes in the Roman mind throughout the majority of this symbol's history.

Lastly and most importantly, Post-Structuralism in its emphasis on deconstructing the symbolism of ideology and power remains, consciously, a Post-Industrial and somewhat implicitly Marxist method with its origins in disarming propaganda and advertising, and late twentieth century aspirations towards social equity and demythologisation (Doty 2002: 148; Csapo 2005: 280; Calhoun, Gerteis et al. 2012: 291). Thus, Post-Structuralism in itself is the product of its social and historical environment. As Vattimo (1992: 39) has said in his criticism of it, its preoccupations and methods "…disregard the question of their *own* historical contextualisation far too hastily". Thus we must temper these, lest this methodology's

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[12] Others such as Arendt (1972: 119-120) have claimed that "power needs no justification, being inherent in the very existence of political communities; what it does need is legitimacy…Legitimacy, when challenged, bases itself on an appeal to the past, while justification relates to an end that lies in the future. Violence can be justifiable but it will never be legitimate. Its justification loses in plausibility the farther its end recedes into the future". This definition, upon inspection, would appear a very modern one and far too clear cut in its understandings of the future and past to be applied universally to pre-modern cultures. Foucault (1982: 220; 1990: 83-84) for that matter claims that that power and violence are not mutually co-dependent processes. This may in itself also be anachronistic in relation to pre-modern peoples. Foucault ([1976]1980b: 135) at the end of *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1* charts the development of power from sovereign power- that over life and death, and makes mention of ancient Roman paternal rights in connection with this. Thus power and violence are taken to be the same at this point. His notion that power is separate from violence centres on the evolution of the concept of "biopower"- the power over masses of people in a post-French Evolutionary context ([1976]1980b: 139-150 cf. 1980a: 59). In this case, thinkers such as Lenski (2009: 3-4) in their mentioning of Foucault in conjunction with late antiquity, may be employing the modern "biopower" anachronistically, as may Foucault himself in thinking of the Roman understanding of power/violence in such a generalised and concrete manner.

tools reflect merely contemporary preoccupations, and like Structuralism before it, present a universalist façade under which pre-modern and modern peoples alike are judged by Post-Industrial means of categorisation in relation to power and attempts to undermine it. For this reason I would like to also make use of the discipline of Phenomenology as a dual methodological focus, so as to hopefully avoid some of Post-Structuralism's ideological excesses and rather emphasise the validity of the cultural practices and individual beliefs of the peoples under scrutiny themselves.

d. The Phenomenology of Myth and Culture.

Phenomenology was originally intended by its inventor Edmund Husserl as a means to scientifically study man as a subject living in the world, rather than merely an objective target of study such as was the reductionist habit of psychology and anthropology during the late nineteenth century (Husserl [1900-1901] 2012: §52, 62). In approaching what a subject perceives and attempts to communicate, therefore, this should be undertaken with a suspension of judgement as to whether the content of such observations are "true" or "false" and with attention instead "*zu den Sachen*" (to the phenomena themselves)- only later "bracketing" these perceptions for conscious analysis (Husserl [1900-1901] 2012: §41-46).[13] By doing this it will be possible to understand how a subject operates within their own *Lebenswelt* ("life-world"), and thus develop a fuller appreciation of the implications of myth and belief on a given individual and culture (Scarborough 1994: 79, 85). Much in fact has been said in relation to Phenomenology and the nature of myth itself. Myth is commonly regarded as intrinsically possessing a narrative or oral component. It has also been poignantly suggested that myth is a pre-lingual function developed by an individual during their early childhood in relation to the perceived structure of their social and natural environment (Carr 1986: 72; Scarborough 1994: 89). Only later does this actively develop into fully conscious narrative, echoing the above mentioned phenomenological process of *epoché* ("bracketing"), in which pure perception is halted and active analysis of the content of perception takes place (Carr 1986: 57-64; Scarborough 1994: 89; 2002: 48). This is where Post-Structuralism in conjunction with Phenomenology would seemingly become a versatile choice, as it would

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[13] As Scarborough (2002: 88-89) points out, phenomenological approaches are diverse. Some in fact find the act of *epoché* (bracketing) "controversial" and reductionist, preferring to rely upon raw perception (Scarborough 2002: 88-89). As will be shown in the following paragraph, the construction of narrative and history appears itself a form of consciously bracketing one's life-world.

seemingly allow us to navigate the contents of the living, synchronous, mythopoeic world of the subject in a more detailed manner.

In relation to our attempt to fuse Phenomenology with the socio-cultural aspects of Post-Structuralism, perhaps some benefit and clarification will be found in reference to several other key thinkers. One of these is Geertz (1973: 90), who posits the theory that religion poses not only "models *of* reality" but also "models *for* reality" meaning that as myths reflect reality, so too do they continually act to create it for a subject or a society. We may further develop the constituent elements used in this ongoing process with the addition of Assman's (1995: 132) concept of cultural memory, which "…comprises that body of reusable texts, images and rituals, specific to each society in each epoch, whose "cultivation" serves to stabilize and convey that society's self image. [14] Another seemingly useful concept in relation to the phenomenological study of the reality created by myth might also be Heidegger's ([1927] 1996: §385) *lesen* ("gathering up") or conscious analysis of the past and future relevant to the envisioning of the present. Thus, in Heidegger's view, history is reread and changes its emphasis for each subject attempting to communicate it in reference to *their own* existence (Fineman 1989: 58; Rappaport 1991: 109). This is especially valid in relation to describing the often opaque concept of ethnic "identity", which is perhaps best understood as the assumption of personal continuity with the past viewed through an individual's available cognitive models and social paradigms for understanding time and collective categorisation (Byron 2002: 292-"Identity"). For this reason we would seemingly need both socio-economic and subjective methods in order to exact the greatest result in our attempt to unravel the processes by which the narrative of history comes to be created and partaken in by various social groups from the elite possessors of power to those over whom control was exercised. With this said, I will now present the evidence for the two mythic patterns under scrutiny.

NOTE:

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[14] Husserl (H XXIX text 30: 444-445 *ap.* Steinbock 1995: 191) also later attempted to add to his method the concept of *Gedächtnis* or the communal participation in the externalisation of past perceptions so as to "generatively" recreate them. This is in itself a very interesting idea, but appears undeveloped in comparison with thinkers such as Assman (cf. 1995: 132).

Due to there not being any set system for translating Middle or Modern Mongolian, within this thesis I have made use of Ligeti's (1971) transcription of the text of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, de Rachewiltz's (2004) transliteration of names,[15] and Sanders' and J. Bat-Ireedui's popular *Colloquial Mongolian* (1999: 3-16) for the latter. However, I have not amended names or other terms when given in quotes by particular scholars. The text of the *Oguz-Nāme* is given as in Shcherbak's (1959) Cyrillic transliteration. I have made an English translation of this, which may be viewed as **App. 13** to this thesis. Maršak, B./Marshak, B. and Kljaštornyj, S.G./Klyashtorny, S.G. represent alternate spellings of the same two scholars, which have been left unamended due to publishing under both names. Further, I have chosen Uyghur instead of Uighur as the spelling for this ethnonym throughout and Türk/Türkic in reference to the Göktürks, Oguz, Seljuk and Ottoman dynasties in comparison with the wider definition of Turkic speaking peoples such as the Bulgars who did not belong to this specific line of historical descent. Lastly, transliteration of Chinese names and terms is in conjunction with the pinyin system, though as with the decision on Mongolian, quotes demonstrating alternative means of transliteration have been left unaltered.

List of Textual Abbreviations.

a. Greek and Latin.

Ael. *Var. Hist.* = Aelian, *Varia Historia.*
    de Nat. An. =   *The Characteristics of Animals*.

Aesch. *PV.* = Aeschylus, *Promethius Bound.*
   Agam. =   *Agamemnon.*

Ant. Pal. = *Anthologia Palatina.*

Apollod. *Bib.* = Apollodorus, *The Library.*
    Epit. =   *Epitome of the Library.*

Ar. *Ach.* = Aristophanes, *The Acharnians.*
  Ran. =   *The Frogs.*
  Lys. =   *Lysistrata,*
  V. =   *The Wasps.*

Arist. *Hist. An..* = Aristotle, *History of Animals.*
    Poet. =   *Poetics.*

Arnob. *Adv. Gen.* = Arnobius, *Against The Heathen.*
    Adv. Nat. =   *Against The Nations.*

Asc. *ad. Cic. Pro Milo.* = Asconius, *Commentary on Cicero's in Defence of Milo.*

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[15] I have been unable to find any trace of an uppercase Unicode "ǰ", for which reason Jamuqa and other names have unfortunately not received this spelling convention used by de Rachewiltz (2004) and others.

Aur. Vict. *De Caes.* = Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus.*

Call. *In Del.* = Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos.*

Cato. *De Agr.* = Cato, *On Agriculture*.

Cic. *Cat.* = Cicero, *Against Cataline.*
  Div. = *On Divination.*
  Leg. Agr. = *Agricultural Law.*
  Pis. = *Against Piso.*
  Pro Cael. = *In Defence of Caelius.*
  Rep. = *The Republic.*
  Rosc. Am. = *Against Roscius Amulius.*
  Verr. = *Agaisnt Verres.*

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptorum Latinorum.*

Const. Porph. *De Admin.* = Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio.*

Ctes. frag. = Ctesias. *Fragments.*

Dio. Cass. = Cassius Dio, *Roman History*.

Diod. Sic. = Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*.

Dion. Hal. = Dionysius of Halicarnasus, *Roman Antiquities.*

Eus. *Vit. Const.* = Eusebius, *Life of Constantine.*
  Eccl. Hist. = *Ecclesiastical History.*

Eurip. *El.* = Euripides, *Electra.*

Flor. *Epit.* = Florus, *Epitome of Works.*

Gell. *N. A.* = Gellius, *The Attic Nights*.

Harp. *Medon.* = Harpocration, *Against Medon.*

Herod. = Herodian, *History of the Roman Empire from the Death of Marcus Aurelius to the Accession of Gordian III.*

Hdt. = Herodotus, *The Histories.* Listed as *The Persian Wars* in Loeb Classical Library.

Hes. *Theog.* = Hesiod. *Theogony.*
  Cata. = *Catalogue of Women.*

Hippoc. *Aer.* = Hippocrates.,*On Airs and Waters.*

Hom. *Il.* = Homer, *Iliad.*
  Od. *The Odyssey.*

Hor. *Carm.* = Horace, *The Odes.*

Hyg. *Fab.* = Hyginus. *Fabulae.*

Justin. *Epit.* = Justin, *Epitome of the Philipic History of Pompeus Trogus*.

Juv. *Sat.* = Juvenal, *Satires.*

Lactant. *Div. Inst.*= Lactantius, *The Divine Institutes.*

Liv. = Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita.*

Luc. *de Sacr.* = Lucian, *On the Gods*.

Macr. *Sat*. = Macrobius. *Saturnalia*.

Mar. = Martial, *Epigrams*.

Men. *Epit.* = Menander, *Epitrepontes.*

Men. Prot. *Hist.* = Menander the Guardsman. *History.*

Nic. *Brev.* = Nicephorus, *Brevarium.*

Nic. *Th.* = Nicander of Colopho. *Theriaca.*

OGR = *Origo Gentis Romanae.*

Ov. *Met.* =　Ovid,　*Metamorphoses.*
　Cons. ad. Liv. = 　Consolation to Livia.
　　Fast. = 　　　Fasti.

Paul. *Epit.* = Paulus. *Epitome of Festus' De Verborum Significatione*.

Paus. = Pusanias, *The Description of Greece.*

Pind. *Nem.* = Pindar, *Nemean Odes.*
　Pyth. =　　Pythian Odes.
　Ol. =　　　Olympian Odes.

Plat. *Leg.* = Plato, *The Laws.*
　Phaed.　　*Phaedrus.*
　Prt.　　　*Protagoras.*

Plin. *H.N.* = Piny, *Natural History.*

Plut. *Mor.* = Plutarch, *Moralia*.
.　　　Lives:
　　Ant. = *Mark Anthony.*
　　Arist. = *Aristides.*
　　Cam. = *Camillus.*
　　Crass. = *Crassus*
　　Luc. = *Lucullus.*
　　Lyc. = *Lyrcurgus*
　　Pomp. = *Pompey*
　　Rom. = Romulus.
　　Sert. = *Sertorius.*
　　Tib. Gracch. = Tiberisu Gracchus.

Polyb. = Polybius, *The Histories*.

Prisc. frag. = Priscus. *Fragments.*

Prop. *Eleg.* = Propertius, *Elegies.*

Prudent. *C. Symm.* = Prudentius, *Agaisnt Symmachus.*.
　　Perist. = *The Crown of Martyrdom.*

Sen. *Contr.* = Seneca, *Controversiae*.

Serv. *ad. Aen.* = Servius, *Commentary on the Aeneid.*

Sil. Ital. = Silius Italicus, *Punica.*

Soph. *Ant.* = Sophcoles, *Antigone.*
　El. =　　　Electra.
　Philoct. =　　Philoctetes.

Steph. Byz. = Stephanus Byzantinus, *De Urbibus.*

Strabo. = Strabo, Geography.

Suet. = Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars.*
　　Div. Aug. = .Augustus.
　　Div. Iul. = Julius Caesar.
　　Galb. =　　Galba.

Tac. *Ann.* = Tacitus, *Annals.*

Theo. *Chron.* = Theophanes*, Chronographia.*

Thuc. = Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War.*

Val. Max. = Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings.*

Varro. *Ling. Lat.* = Varro, On *the Latin Language.*

Verg. *Aen.* = Vergil, Aeneid.
　Georg. =　　Georgics.

Ver. Schol. *ad* Hom. *Od.* = Verona Scholiast on Homer, *Odyssey.*
Ver. Schol. *ad* Cato *Orig.* = Verona Scholiast on Cato, *Origins.*

Xen. *Lac.* = Xenophon, *On the Constitution of the Lakedaimonians.*

Zon. = Zonaras, *Annales.*

b. Turkic-Mongolian and Chinese.

AT = Luvsandandzan, *Altan Tobči (Golden Summary).*

ET = Ssanang Sechen, *The Bejewelled Summary of the Origins o the Khans (Qad-un ündüsün-ü Erdene-yin Tobči).*

ON = *Oguz-Nāme.* (Shcherbak text).

SHJ = *Shan Hai Jing (Classic of Mountains and Seas).*

SHM = *Monγgul-un Niγuča Tobčiyan* (*The Secret History of the Mongols*).

SWCCL = *Shen Wu Ching Chen Lu.*

c. European Renaissance.

Bozon. *Les Contes* = Nicole Bozon, *Les Contes Moralisés.*

Carp. *Hist. Mong.* = Carpini. *Historia Mongolorum Quos Tartaros Apellemus.*

Het. *Flor. Hist.* = He'tum/Hayton of Corycus. *The Flower of Histories of the East.*

Lyd. *Serp.* = John Lydgate. *The Serpent of Division.*

Mand. = *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville.*

Op. Fab. = *The Opusculum Fabularum.*

Rem. *Fab.* = Remmicius (Rinuccio). *Fables.*

Spec. Mor. = Etienne de Bourbon, *Speculum Morale.*

Val. *Fab.* = Laurentius Valensis. (Lorenzo Valla). *Fables.*

d. Persian and Semitic.

Biblical:
Gen. = *Genesis.*
Ex. = *Exodus.*
Deut. = *Deuteronomy.*
Num. = *Numbers.*
Ezek. = *Ezekiel.*
Acts = *Acts of the Apostles.*

EIO. = *Encyclopedia Iranica Online.*

Juv. *HWC.* = Juvaynī, *Ta-rikh-i- Jahan Gusha (History of the World Conqueror).*

RaD. *Succ. Ch. Khan.* = Rashīd-al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan.* (A portion of the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*).

RaD. *Hist. Oguz.*= Rashīd-al-Dīn, *History of the Oguz (Oguz- Nāme).*

RaD. *JAT.* = Rashīd-al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh.*

SN = *Shah Nāme.*

Vend. Farg. = *Vendidad Fargard.*

e. Sanskrit.

AV. = *Atharva Veda.*

Kaut. *Arth.* = Kauṭilīya, *Arthaśāstra.*

RV. = Ṛg *Veda.*

Chapter One: Romulus and Remus and the Roman Wolf-Myth.

In this first chapter I aim to lay the ground work for the comparison of the mythic pattern of the wolf as symbolic originator of ethnic character and its role in representing legitimate imperial power, by addressing the origins and ascent of the Roman myth of Romulus and Remus. Romulus and Remus' nursing by a she-wolf is perhaps the most prominent myth of Roman tradition. Nevertheless, in spite of its ongoing emblematic importance throughout world history, it has also been called "the least highly regarded root of western culture" (Scarborough 1994: 109), because of the seemingly fantastical nature of many of its elements. Upon closer inspection, however, it would appear that this myth comprises in fact a series of individually relevant mythic strata accrued over a long period, from primordial rites of wolf-imitation to the official founding ideology of Republican and Imperial Rome. Further, having become the chief symbol of the very essence of Rome, the image of the she-wolf did not simply disappear. Rather, it appears to have been retained and reinterpreted in order to partake in Rome's numinous authority by diverse peoples from the rulers of Sasanian Persia and the Sogdians of Ustrushana in Central Asia to the Roman Empire's Germanic successors in Northern Europe. Given that several Central and Inner Asian cultures appear to have held myths similar to that of the Roman twins and their lupine foster mother, the intercultural value of this symbol will be the focus on my first chapter.

In approaching the history and transmission of Roman myth it must first be borne in mind that Rome appears to have possessed very few individual myths of her own. In fact, it is as though much of her early history was constructed out of borrowings from other cultures which were "reclothed in Roman dress" (Ogilvie 1980: 13), or were even transformed from Indo-European root myths, such as exposed infants nursed by animals, into desacrilised "historicised" figures (Bloch [1914] 1960: 57). In addressing this, it is essential to note that the Romans during their early period sent their young to Etruria for education (Liv. IX.36) and that founding history was "at first…written in Greek, and then in the vernacular" (Von Albrecht 1997: 364). Thus it is difficult to deduce the nature of Roman myth prior to Etruscan and other Italic influences and the revolutions in history writing and cultural aetiology

introduced by Herodotus and Thucydides who "…provided for historians from non-Greek lands a template of how to present themselves to a Greek public" (Marincola 2001: 54). Despite this, by carefully exploring the layers accrued in the mythic tradition of the Roman foundation, it may be possible to reconstruct them and present a cogent continuum of mythic development.

1. Romulus, Remus and the *Lupercalia.*

Key to commencing an analysis of the myth of the Roman founding twins Romulus and Remus is the fact that even when it had been formalised by the Late Republican Period of Roman history, it still contained strong links to a much older Roman festival known as the *Lupercalia*, which was celebrated on the fifteenth of February (Ov. *Fast.* II.267). This connection will remain of paramount importance throughout this chapter in reassembling this myth's oldest aspects. A concise description of the myth and these connections is given by Ovid in the *Fasti* (II.381-421):

> "Perhaps you also ask why that place is called the *Lupercal* and what is the reason for denoting the day by such a name. Silvia, a Vestal had given birth to heavenly progeny, when her uncle sat upon the throne. He ordered the small ones be carried away and drowned in the river…the hollow vessel in which the babes were laid supported them on the water…the vessel drifted towards a shady wood… A she-wolf which had just given birth came miraculously to the abandoned twins…she didn't harm them; rather she helped them…you might know they were the sons of Mars: fear was absent. They sucked her teats.…the she wolf (*lupa*) gave her name to the place, and the place gave its name to the *Luperci*".[1]

From the Late Republic onwards Cicero (*Rep.* II.2.4), Dionysius of Halicarnasus (I. 77-86), Livy (I.3-6) and Plutarch (*Rom.* III-VII) had recorded versions of this myth, reaching back to the first well attested Roman historian Fabius Pictor in the third century BCE, the alleged source of all later authors (Plut. *Rom.* III.1, VII.8). However, central to all of these recounts remained the coordination between the *Lupercalia* and the Roman twins. In fact, Greek and Roman historians associated the festival with Romulus and Remus on three separate occasions: the date of their abandonment (Ov. *Fast.* II 381-421; Val. Max. II.9; Plut. *Rom.* XXI.4); the capture of Remus (Liv. I.6)

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[1] See **App. 1** for Latin and Greek original texts as cited during this chapter.

and their victory over their uncle Amulius who had usurped the throne from their grandfather Numitor (Plut. *Rom.*XXI.6). This suggests that the mythic material was sufficiently malleable as to suit a range of interpretations over time, though despite this, the two subjects still remained inherently bound together. One important detail in relation to this is that nearly all the ancient historians who mentioned the *Lupercalia* seem to have believed it to be older than the foundation of the city of Rome and the myth of the twin brothers (Liv. I.5; Ov. *Fast.* II.280-282; Plut. *Rom.* XXI.3). As Wiseman (1995a: 87-88) suggests: "…the myth was evidently not primeval… the story of Romulus and Remus evolved later…and had to be adapted to [the *Lupercalia*]". Thus, it is imperative to investigate the origins and elements of the *Lupercalia* so as to discern how the Roman founding myth developed.

In describing the *Lupercalia*, it appears to have involved two main rites: a feminine fertility rite (Ov. *Fast.* II.445-452; Plut. *Rom.* XXI.5) and a rite of passage celebration for young men (Plut. *Rom.* XXI.4). In order, the *Lupercalia* appears to have included the sacrifice of hot salt (Ov. *Fast.* II 23-24; Varro, XXII.15), a she-goat (Ov. *Fast.* II.361), and a dog (Plut. *Rom.*XXI.8). [2] Next followed the pouring of the sacrificial blood onto two of the young men who were new initiates into the *Luperci*'s two *sodalites* (brotherhoods) (Plut. *Rom.* XXI.4-7) and a ritual running by the near naked groups of men around the city or Palatine hill's boundaries (Varro VI.34; Plut. *Rom.*XXI.4-5). This last action was performed whilst whipping women with pieces of the sacrificial goat hide to promote fertility (Ov. *Fast.* II.445-452; Plut. *Rom.* XXI.5).[3] The two *sodalites* of the male devotees, or *Luperci*, bore the names *Qunictii* and *Fabii*, the names of two ancient and prominent Roman patrician *gentes* (families) (Plut. *Rom.*

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[2] Ovid also claims it was a *caprum* (he-goat) (Ov. *Fast.* II.445). This seems to be a deliberate connection to the bestiality laden comment that a male goat should "enter" the women (Ov. *Fast.* II.441). Plutarch merely says *aigas* (Plut. XXI 4), which could be masculine or feminine. Ovid (*Fast.* II. 361) also says that Faunus was sacrificed a *capella* (she goat) *de more* (in accordance with custom) in the primordial version ascribed to Romulus and Remus. This suggests the male goat is a deliberate interpolation by Ovid to make sense of the fertilisation of women through the link with Pan.

[3]The origin of the whipping of women by the *Luperci* seems to stem from a primordial analogy between women and goats in order to ensure the bounty of the herds and the women of the tribe. Whipping also has an initiatory aspect of humiliation to it which can be traced from *The Frogs* of Aristophanes (Ar. *Ran.* 640-660) to the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii where a girl being whipped is illustrated and has been described as receiving it as "a mark of her entry into a cult" (Beard, North and Price 1998: 162). It has even been said regarding the fifth century BCE Etruscan *Tomba della Fustigazione* (Tomb of the Whipping) at Tarquinii and its scenes that it "…recalls the fertility rites of the feast of *Lupercalia* in Rome" (Steingräber 2006: 100). However, Wiseman's (1995a 84) suggestion that the whipping of women was a late development at Rome due to a large number of miscarriages occurring during 276 BCE would appear to lack evidence to support it.

XXI.4-7). For this reason, it is possible to suggest that the *Luperci* were most likely drawn from the patrician class, and thus that the male ritual was one primarily associated with the initiation of young aristocratic men.[4] The fact that no historian records all these details most likely suggests that either the constituents of the festival were regarded as obvious to their reading audience or that there was a mystical aspect to the festival which precluded the uninitiated from knowing it fully.

As to the origins of the *Lupercalia*, in ancient sources this festival was portrayed either as a primordial native pastoral rite (Prop. *Eleg.* IV 1.25-27) or as an introduction by Greek immigrants from Arcadia who settled at the Palatine hill and named it after Pallentium in their home country (Liv. I.5; Dion. Hal. I. 32.4; Plut. *Rom.* XXI 1.3). As a native rite it was primarily associated with a little known god called Inuus by the Imperial Period, who was also equated with Pan and Faunus (Liv. I.5), and etymologically with sexual fecundity and penetration, as is suggested by Ovid's (II. 440) *"inire"* (enter into).[5] Nevertheless, it should be stated that Roman writers of the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods seem by this late stage to have possessed little knowledge as to who the god or goddess of the *Lupercalia* actually were (Fowler 1899: 313; Wiseman 1995b: 2). Thus, various interpretations abounded, but for reasons of cultural legitimacy, the Arcadian theory, by linking primitive Rome with a Greek people, appears to have been the more prevalent view (Ov. *Fast.* II.424; Plut. *Rom.* XXI.3).

The Arcadian theory in question appears to have had its basis in similarities Greek historians drew between the *Lupercalia* and the rites of Arcadian Pan (Liv. I.5; Dion. Hal. I. 32.4; Plut. *Rom.* XXI 1.3), determinably from the third century BCE onwards.[6] These Arcadian rites involved the transformation of the devotees into

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[4] Wiseman (1995a: 81) makes a suggestion, following Mommsen (1881: 16), that the Roman *praenomen* (first name) Caeso was only used by members of the *Quinctia* and *Fabia gens* because of its derivation from *caedere* (to strike/cut) in relation to these two families' privileged association with the *Luperci* and their ritual striking of women.

[5] Innus appears to have had a cult location on the coast of Italia near Lavinium (Verg. *Aen.* VII. 775), but otherwise is rarely attested. Arnobius (*Adv. Gen.* III. 23; Wiseman 1995b: 6 n. 49) refers to him as a guardian of flocks in the third century CE, though at a late date such as this it is difficult to deduce his earlier function.

[6] The earliest solid evidence for Pan's connection to the *Lupercalia* by the Greeks first appears in the third century BCE, in a fragment of Eratosthenes appended to Plato's *Phaedrus* by a scholiast (Wiseman 1995b: 3). This reads: "The fourth is the Italian [Sibyl]. It was her lot to spend her life in the

wolves (Paus. VIII.44.3; Plin. *H.N.* VIII. 81), which was most likely also a central part of the tradition of the *Luperci*, whose name suggests a strong connection with the word *lupus* (wolf), and one which most likely provided a prerequisite for the later addition of the Roman founding myth of the she-wolf and the Roman twins.[7] By imitating wolves, the *Luperci* appear to have attempted to preserve the fecundity and life-force of their flocks with a ritual sacrifice of a goat, thus preventing actual wolves from depredating them (Forsythe 2006: 133). Moreover, implicit in this Arcadian link is the notion that to Greek observers of the *Lupercalia*, the early Romans were regarded as existing in a situation similar to the primordial Golden Age. As Ovid (II.290-291) says of the nature of the *Lupercalia*'s originators:

> "Arcadians their race is older than the moon too. Similar to wild animals in their way of life, which was put to no use…"

In relation to affinities between the *Lupercalia* and the rites of Arcadian Pan it should also be noted that both featured corresponding male and female fertility rites (Paus. VIII.44.5), which may have exacerbated the comparison by Greek writers.[8] Despite this, it is unlikely that Pan was known beyond Arcadia and could have come to Rome prior to the fifth century BCE (Wiseman 1995a: 86). Because of this, in attempting to establish the nature of the *Lupercalia* prior to Greek influence, it is perhaps best to begin with investigations into wolf-worship amongst the other cultures of Ancient Italia, which is testified by evidence from at least the seventh century BCE onwards.

2. The Wolf in Ancient Italia.

The central defining feature of the various wolf-worshipping cults of Ancient Italia appears to have been attempts to imitate wolves in order to partake in their sacred power, or to repay the creatures for killing or persecuting them.[9] Aside from the possibility of a Bronze Age genesis of the *Lupercalia*, as suggested by Gjerstad (1962:

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wilderness of Italy; her son was Evander, who founded the cult-place of Pan in Rome, which is called Luperkon. Eratosthenes wrote about her". (Schol. Plat. *Phaed.* 244b *ap.* Wiseman 1995b: 3, 18).

[7] The suggestion to the contrary that the devotees were goats and not wolves is only a late edition (Festus *Epit.* 315; Just. *Epit.* XLIII.1.7), by which stage the nature of the ritual seems to have been greatly obscured by time and accrued elements.

[8] In fact, the Arcadian origin of the festival was such a popular theory that it even inspired a Pseudo-Plutarchian Arcadian version of the Romulus and Remus myth (Plut. *Mor.*.314e-f).

[9] Pliny the Elder (XIII.80) records in the first century CE that many Italic peoples regraded it as very dangerous to even look upon a wolf, and that one could be struck dumb temporarily by doing this.

27), the earliest evidence is its appearance on the pre-Julian calendar, which may extend back beyond the fifth century BCE into the Roman Regal Period (Wiseman 1995b: 1). It may also be suggested that the overall roots of such practices in Ancient Italia may have been prehistoric in origin (King 2006: 200), though this is difficult to either prove or refute. As to their basis, such rituals of wolf imitation appear to have stemmed from a similar analogy between death, repayment and initiation that was also present in the form of female bear substitution and imitation in honour of Artemis Mounychia or Artemis Brauron in Attica (Ar. *Lys.* 644; Harp. *Medon.* Frag. 8). Vidal-Naquet (1968: 146) says of this rite:

> "The explanation offered …involve[d] the original killing of a bear by some boys, the retribution for which was originally human sacrifice and later the ritual of substitution performed by girl bears".

However, in the case of the *Lupercalia* and the other wolf cults of Ancient Italia, wolf imitation appears to have largely been undertaken by groups of young men. A term often used to describe groups of young male warriors engaged in primordial initiatory rituals is that of *Männerbund* (a league of men), of which much has been said regarding a number of poignant Ancient Greek and Roman initiatory rituals (Alföldi 1974: 122, 148; Burkert 2001: 102). For instance it is documented that in parts of Greece *ephebes* (young men) awaiting ritual initiation into adulthood manifested their liminal existence by imitating ghosts during a period known as the *phouaxir* (fox time) (Kennel 1995: 74; Bowie 1996: 90). In Sparta during this period *ephebes* (young men) were charged with stealing as many geese as possible from the temple of Artemis Ortheia whilst those standing guard attempted to whip them (Plut. *Arist.* XVII; Xen. *Lac.* II.9). This was part of the period in which such youths became *kryptos* (hidden) for up to a year and were also charged with killing Helots (serfs) (Plat. *Leg.* 633b; Plut. *Lyc.* XXVIII.2). Part of this liminal existence involved nakedness (Plat. 633b), as was also a feature of the rites of the *Luperci* (Dion.Hal.I.80.1; Ov. *Fast.* II.299-304).

With regard to dating, the earliest solid evidence of initiatory wolf imitating practices in Italia which we possess is that of an Etruscan *situla* featuring a wolf-man surrounded by armed men with spears from the seventh century BCE and a wolf mask from the sixth century BCE (Elliot 1995: 18). This suggests that this act of imitation

extends back as far at least as the early origins of the Etruscan culture, which may be traced to the eighth century BCE (Woodard 2008: 141). Further, it appears that the Etruscans of Ancient Italia associated the wolf with the underworld and threats presented to the newly dead in their journey to the afterlife. Etruscan images on funerary urns from the first and second centuries BCE depict groups of men haranguing a wolf spirit as it emerges from a well like structure in the earth (Elliot 1995: 17-18. **Fig. 1**).[10] Some versions depict it with a man's body or as a man wearing a wolf-skin cap, similar to the Etruscan death god Aiti (Hades) as depicted at the *Tomba d'Orvieto* (Ginzburg 1991: 158; Bonfante and Swaddling 2006: 72. **Fig. 2**).[11] This wearing of a wolf cap appears to very clearly show the centrality of wolf-imitation and controlling the deathly power of the wolf in these rituals.[12] As well as this, the Sabines appear to have practised somewhat similar rites to the Etruscans in their cult of Soranus, the god of the dead, at Mount Soracte. This involved the imitation of wolves by male devotees as an act of supplication (Serv. *ad.Aen.*XI.785). The mythic origin of these rites have their basis in an aetiological story that a pack of wolves stole sacrifices from the altar of Soranus, and when pursued to their lair, were defended by a subterranean miasma, which killed many of the devotees (Serv. *ad.Aen*

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[10] Preceding this in the Greek tradition we also find several other examples of wolf imitation which upon inspection do not appear to have possessed any particular ritual significance, but rather seem to embody deceitfulness. The first of these is Dolon's putting on of a wolf skin in Euripides' *Rhesos* (208f), which involves a soliloquy as to how with the donning of the skin, he will become the animal by imitation. The last word used in this passage is *dolos* (a trick), which appears to reflect his own name (Eisler 1969: 166). We also find in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* (I.21), the antagonist Dorkon, whose name suggests a "spy" (Eisler 1969: 217) creating a scheme "worthy of a shepherd" by putting on a wolf's skin in order to imitate the animal and carry off Chloe. There are also a number of coins from Amisos on the Black Sea Coast from the early to mid first century BCE in which an unknown goddess or "Amazon" is illustrated also wearing a wolf-skin headdress (Alföldi 1974: 82; Sayles 2003: 161). Although Furtwängler (1895: 80 n. 1) went as far to suggest that the figure was actually Perseus wearing the cap of Hades, deducing the meaning of these coins remains extremely difficult.

[11] Aiti is clearly a borrowing of Greek Hades in name (Bonfante and Swaddling 2006: 72). However, Hades does not appear to have possessed any connections with wolves. This suggests that the wolf aspect was native to Italia.

[12] To add to this Pausanias (VI.6.10-11) also gives a description of a copy of an ancient image from the city of Temesa in which a frightening black wolf-spirit called Lycas was regularly propitiated with young maidens until the hero Euthymius vanquished it into the sea, which also appears to mirror such traditions of appeasing and nullifying the predatory forces of the wolf. In Vergil's *Aeneid* (VII. 682, XI. 677) we also find various Etruscan warriors described as wearing wolf skins, including the maw of the wolf as a hat. These are very broad descriptions and do not seem to suggest specific cults and rituals, but rather Vergil's attempt to paint a generalised and artistic image of the peoples of Ancient Italia. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XII. 380) we also find a listing of heroes slain by Peleus which includes one Dorylas who is described as wearing a wolf-skin, which curiously also appears to feature a pair of bloody cow's horns. No further context is given for this, and thus as with Vergil it appears to remain merely artistic description. Polybius (VI.22.1-3) speaks of a rank of Roman skirmishers that existed to the times of Marius' military reforms called *velites* who wore wolf-skin caps in order to be differentiated from other kinds of soldiers. How old such traditions were and whether they had any meaning beyond heraldry is very difficult to answer.

XI.785). In order to overcome this, and to honour the wolves, the act of imitation was initiated (Serv. *ad.Aen* XI.785), causing this to appear to deftly mirror the Etruscan and Greek bear rituals already described. Also, as with the rites of Lycaon in Arcadia and the *Lupercalia*, the rites at Mount Soracte featured both masculine and feminine mysteries undertaken at different parts of the mountain (Strab.V.2.9),[13] suggesting a further parallel.

Moreover, it is also amongst the Etruscans and the sphere of their cultural influence that we first come across images of a she-wolf nursing human children, albeit singularly compared with the later Roman twins. These are found on a *stele* from Bologna and the foot of a Praenestine bronze *cista*, both dating from the late fifth century BCE (Wiseman 1995a: 63-66.**Fig.3-4**) .[14] The discovery of both these items in tombs would seem to indicate that the image of the nursing wolf in Etruscan culture possessed a funerary meaning (Banti 1973: 155; Kleiner 2010: XL), as with the wolf-costumes pointing to imitation cults on the funerary urns described above. This suggests that nursing by a wolf may have been closely connected with earlier Etruscan concepts regarding the wolf's role in the transition into the afterlife, or through controlling its power: transition of the *Männerbund* of young men from their liminal state into adulthood. Animal nursing myths of culture heroes are perhaps best understood in relation to the animal as a totem of "the power of the clan in its

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[13] For example, the ritual of fire-walking was amongst the initiatory rites of the mountain's goddess Feronia (Strabo.V.2.9).

[14] Wiseman's (1995a: 65) view that these images are of lions is not commonly supported by other academics. The stele, at very least, is "normally said to represent a wolf" (Cornell 1995: 413 **Figs. 3-4**). It should also be taken into account that since restorations made between 1997 and 2000, the usually accepted sixth century BCE dating of the famous *Lupa Capitolina* statue has been the source of much debate (Mazzoni 2010: 36-37), as the restorer Anna Maria Carruba's (2006: 17-19) radiocarbon dating and view that the "lost wax" method of bronze casting was not known in Ancient Italy, place its creation as late as the ninth century CE. These theories have been upheld by Formigli (2008: 15-14), but criticised by Carandini (2008: 67-72) on the basis of the work's similarities with Etruscan bronzes. Lombardi's (2002: 601-612; 2008: 37-38) archaeometical studies of the statue reveal that although the twins and wolf's tail appear to have been a sixteenth century CE addition (*ibid.* 602; 37-38), and that many ongoing restorations were made to the wolf in periods prior to this (2002: 603; 37-38), there is little scientific work in his studies on the original date of the main portions of wolf, which are merely described as "…ancient and their style may be traced to the fifth century BC" (2002: 603). Notably, however, his analysis of the statue's casting core places all of the statue's materials as sourced from between Rome and Orvieto along the Tiber (*ibid.* 610-611; 37-38). This would seem to suggest that the statue is a peculiarly Roman creation, even if it is ancient, and not an Etruscan product, as has been prioritised previously (cf. Cornell 1995: 412-413; Wiseman 1995a: 63-65). For this reason, I have not made use of the *Lupa Capitolina* as an early source, Etruscan or otherwise, on the history of the Roman twins until more final answers can be given.

collectivity [which] they symbolise" (Csapo 2005: 139).[15] For this reason, in being nursed by the totemic wolf, young Etruscan men entered the adult community of their tribe. In light of this, Jurgeit (1980: 272-275) has suggested that the child being nursed on the foot of the *cista* may represent Caeculus, the Praenestine founder. The evolution from nursing those in the liminal world of newly born/newly dead/newly arrived into adulthood to key ancestral culture heroes and initiatory patrons thus seems a natural and viable trajectory for the myth, and as will be discussed in Chapter Five may extend as far back as the Indo-European cultures of the Late Bronze Age in Inner Asia. It is also highly conceivable that this was passed to the Romans who integrated it into the *Lupercalia* and their myth of twin founders nursed by a she-wolf.

One piece of evidence which may shed some light on the transmission of the wolf-nursing myth to Rome is that of the Praenestine mirror from Bolsena, dating to around 330 BCE (Cornell 1995: 64; Wiseman 1995a: 70; Carandini 1997: 180; **Fig. 5**)- an item which curiously appears to feature scenes from both the *Lupercalia* and the proximal Roman *Feralia* festival of the dead, held between the eighteenth and twenty-first of February (Ov. *Fast.* II.533-616).[16] This mirror is also the earliest

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[15] Aelian (*Var. Hist.* XII.42) presents a catalogue of animal nursing myths from the Greco-Roman tradition, which includes Paris being nursed by a bear, Telephus the son of Heracles being nursed by a deer and Zeus by Amaltheia the goat. Hyginus (*Fab.*252) lists several others including Romulus and Remus in the first century CE. Lucian (*de Sacr.* 5) also lists Zeus, Telephus and Cyrus and comes close to developing a "Structuralist" view of hero myths. Clearly nursing myths were widespread, though none are recorded from antiquity which either mirror the complexity of the Romulus and Remus story or its connection specifically with a single wolf. Possible interconnections with the myth of Cyrus' nursing by a dog will be explored in Chapter Two.

[16] The Praenestine mirror has been the target of various academic interpretations as to the nature of the figures it represents. These include a number of vague and seemingly indefinite observations. The figures who have received the most attention are those at the far left and right (see **Fig. 5**), which have been variously interpreted as "a" *lupercus*; "a" shepherd, as well as suggestions of Faustulus, Thybris and Qurinus (Klügman 1879: 38-53; Peter 1886: 1461-1469; Wiseman 1995: 65). Carandini (1997: 180; 2000: 102, 233; [2007] 2011: 38) identifies them as the primordial deities Faunus and Latinus- the latter he regards as only later becoming Faustulus the herdsman, and curiously takes the lion at the bottom to be a second wolf- a pair representing Faunus and Fauna as twin wolf gods (see **App. 4**). Other interpretations have centred on the topmost figure representing "a protective genius or Faustulus" (Adam and Briquel 1982: 33-65; Pairault Massa 1992: 109-145), when the two other masculine figures more readily possess the likeness of a shepherd and the topmost one is clearly not dressed in this manner. In spite of this, one of the least problematic deductions that has been made remains the theory of Wiseman (1995a: 67-70) that the top most two figures represent Mercury and Lara/Tacita– two key deities in the myth of the proximal *Feralia* festival (Ov. *Fast.* II.571-616). Mercury's involvement in the *Feralia* relates to the story that he was sent by Jupiter to take the over-talkative Lara/Tacita to the underworld and seduced her in a grove, engendering the *Lares Compitiales/Praestites* (Ov. *Fast.* II.607-616). These *Lares* were minor deities who protected Rome at the *compita* (crossroads) (Ov. *Fast.* II.616). Little is known about them except that they were sometimes represented as twins. However, Wiseman's (1995a: 69-71; 1997: 441-443; 2001: 183-187) oft repeated theory based on the presence of both the *Feralia* and *Lupercalia* imagery on the mirror, that the *Lares* formed the basis of Romulus and

example of the image of a she-wolf nursing twins, which would seem to represent a fusion between Roman and Praenestine themes. This intercultural interplay in the creation of the Romulus and Remus myth is deepened when we examine what Cato and Servius (Ver. Sch. *ad* Cato. *Orig.*, Serv. *ad. Aen.* VII.678-681 *ap.* Bremmer and Horsfall 1987: 42), tell us of the legendary foundation of Praeneste, in which the child Caeculus was either fathered by Vulcan upon a girl with twin brothers as she swept the hearth, or that the child was found in a hearth- both of which possess close parallels to alternative versions of the Romulus and Remus story found in Plutarch (*Rom.* II.6). In these the mother is a serving girl and the father of the abandoned divine twins is a fire spirit, either a *Lar* of the hearth or Vulcan, and not the god Mars who is usually associated with being the father of Romulus and Remus in more conventional versions.[17] A very similar story involving a phallus emerging from the hearth is recorded regarding the conception of the Etruscan king of Rome Servius Tullius, whose mother also seems to have been a servant (Plut, *Mor.* 323d). If we represent the main *foci* of these myths using Barnes' (1997: 12-14) representation of "polythetic categorisation" as detailed in the Introduction, we may see that there is a certain amount of overlap between them myths. Even in the case of (A) the retention of Romulus and Remus' mother Rhea Silvia or Ilia as a vestal virgin in the official myth (Liv. I.4; Dion. Hal. I.76.4), this further suggests that the official myth's origin

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Remus is not particularly tenable as they do not appear to have been paired before the Late Republic (Jones 1997: 35). This could well have been due to the influence of Romulus and Remus upon them instead. Therefore this suggests that elements may have been exchanged between the proximal festivals even at a relatively late date, and the mirror may simply represent illustrations of two proximal festivals anyway. Wiseman's identification of Lara/the *Lares*/Mercury is largely agreed with by Carandini (1997: 180-181)- with the exception that Carandini (*ibid.*; 2000: 102) insists that Mercury here is a replacement for Romulus and Remus' father Mars, which assumes unsubstantiated connections between these figures at this early stage (Wiseman 2001: 185). Most importantly, Wiseman (1997: 441-443; 2001: 182-187) disagrees with Carandini (1997: 76-77, 81, 82-84) taking *Lares* as a general term for ancestors rather than the opaque guardian spirits they seem to be amongst whom he includes Faunus and Latinus and Romulus and Remus as paired ancestral pre-urban and urban protective ancestral spirits. Wiseman (2001: 187) has criticised this view on the basis that not only little is known about the *Lares*, but also that Carandini's theories conjure up a primordial Rome "teem[ing] with divine twins" (*ibid.*), for which he finds little evidence. Thus even if the twins pictured as being nursed by a wolf do not represent a fully formed Romulus and Remus, as they were to become in Fabius Pictor's time around 200 BCE, the Praenestine mirror remains invaluable in determining the late forth century BCE as an integral period in the formation of notions of founding twins and wolf nurture. For this reason I believe that readings of the mirror should be taken more closely in connection with intercultural relations with Praeneste, rather than more abstract theorising on the nature of the almost indeterminable *Lares Compitiales/Praestites*.

[17] In more detail, Plutarch (*Rom.* II.6)'s alternative version records that Romulus and Remus were the Alban sons of a serving girl. This is the result of attempts by the ruler to expose his own daughter to a magical phallus that has emerged from the hearth. The princess, not desiring this substitutes her servant instead, which infuriates the king and leads to the exposure of the twins and nursing by the wolf (Plut. *Rom.* II.6).

was in keeping with the others in question, where the central symbolism was that of fire deities.[18]

Romulus and Remus (Plut. *Rom.* II.6):	**A**	B			**E**	F	**G**
"Official" Romulus and Remus[19]:	**(A)**		C	D	**E**	F	**G**
Servius Tullius:		**A**	B		**E**		**G**
Caeculus:		**A**	B		**E**	(F)	**G**

> A= Fathered by hearth spirit. B= Mother a serving girl. C= Mother daughter of usurped ruler. D= Fathered by the god Mars. E= Abandoned in wilderness. F= Nursed by she-wolf. G= Becomes culture hero and founder.

However, as there is no prior Roman evidence for the presence for the symbol of a nursing wolf existing in their culture at this stage, in comparison with the Etruscan and Praenestine examples given, it would appear more likely that the Romans were the recipients of this symbolism. In fact, upon inspection, Plutarch's (II.6) alternative Romulus and Remus myth appears to share the same mythic *foci* as that of the details we may reassemble of the Caeculus myth (A,B,E,F,G), strongly reinforcing this notion of a transmission to Rome. The late fourth century BCE would seem an appropriate point for this to have taken place, as relations between Rome and Praeneste appear to have been rather peaceful at this point compared with much of the earlier part of this century.[20] In adding to this, it bears noting that the *Feralia* draws its name from the word *feralis* (adj. "associated with death or the dead"). This seems to have a close affinity with the word *fera* (Traupman, 2007: 81 "*fera*" n. "wild beast"), implying the Romans possessed a conception of death and initiation in relation to the wolf as was believed by the Etruscans and Sabines during the period, thus supplying a basis for the introduction of the wolf-nursing and myth to be laid on top of the

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[18] Bremmer and Horsfall (1987: 47) note with regard to the similarity between these stories and the simplicity of the Praenestine narrative that "…the omission of circumstantial details may be a natural result of the processes of summarizing and transmission which underlie our texts". In spite of this, as noted by Wiseman (1994: 35) they both contradict this and assume with little evidence that the Praenestine tale was borrowed from the Romans due to the "vagueness" and lack of "colour" of the former city's foundation story (Bremmer and Horsfall 1987: 57). Wiseman (1994: 35), in concluding his comments on this topic suggests that a transmission to Rome of this mythic imagery is just as likely.

[19] Common elements found in Cicero (*Rep.* II.2.4), Dionysius of Halicarnasus (I. 77-79), Livy (I.3-6) and Plutarch (*Rom.* III-VII) reaching back to Fabius Pictor (c. 200 BCE).

[20] It should be noted regarding the interrelations between these two city states in the fourth century BCE, that Praeneste was defeated by the Romans in 380 BCE and thereafter sided against Rome with the Gauls and Aequi, and became an allied state after its defeat by the Romans in 338 BCE (Buchet 2012: 356). Thus by the late fourth century BCE interrelations appear to have been reasonably stable.

Lupercalia and pre-existing dual founding figures.[21] As to the basis for the acceptance of such a cult of animal nursing, it should be noted that Plutarch (*Rom.* IV. 1) mentions another aspect of goddess worship at the sacred cave of the Romulus and Remus story. This entailed the ritual of making milk sacrifices at the sacred *ficus ruminalis* (ruminal fig)[22] in the *Lupercal* cave, as it was called (Plut. *Rom.*IV.1). He further claims that such offerings were to the goddess Ruma or Rumilia who was associated with childbirth (*Rom.* IV.1). Even in the Early Imperial Period, the goddess of the festival was not the she-wolf, but a figure often associated with Juno as goat goddess, Lucina- she who had power over the young coming into the world (Ov. *Fast.* II.449-452).[23] Moreover, the original goddess is further obscured due to the difficulty in dating when there actually had been a fig tree at the *Lupercal*.[24] However, the goddess's strong connections with fertility, milk and birth still would seem to shine through. Thus, together the elements of the male wolf-god of the *Luperci* and this goddess of birth and nursing would seem to present a firm basis onto which the nursing she-wolf was to be placed and ultimately outshine both of them.

3. The Twin Founders and the Construction of Rome.

The next important aspect of the myth of Romulus and Remus and the she-wolf to be analysed is the nature of the founders themselves as twins, which has been compared by Alföldi (1974: 151-180) with many Inner Asian peoples who appear to have possessed similar wolf-myths and dual rulerships. In relation to Rome it has already been mentioned that the foundation of Praeneste was connected with twin brothers, and thus in light of this it should also be pointed out that Praeneste was ruled by two

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[21] As Ginzburg (1991: 196) remarks of the *Lupercalia*: "…it seems significant that the ceremony should have taken place during the nine days (13-21 February) in which, according to the Roman calendar, the dead wandered about, eating the food that the living had prepared for them".

[22] In order to comprehend the symbolism of the affinity between the milk and fig tree it is imperative to note that the sap of the fig tree in Latin is the same word for milk (Traupman 2007: 240 "*lac*").

[23] *"quia principium tu, dea, lucis habes"*(because you, goddess, have power over light/life) (Ov. *Fast.* II.451). Pliny (*H.N.* XVI. 235, cf. Dion. Hal. IV. 15) says that a temple to Juno Lucina was built in 375 BCE, in a grove which had apparently been sacred to her since time immemorial. This conflation of Lucina into an aspect of Juno would seem to echo that of several other key goddesses at Rome and in Ancient Italia who also bore strong connections with fertility and goats. The first of these is the Roman protectress *Juno Sospita*, who was often pictured wearing a goatskin headdress, and whose celebrations fell on the first of February, two weeks before the *Lupercalia* (Ov. *Fast.* II.19-46; Harvey 2006: 213). Another is *Juno Seispes Mater Regina*, who was also similarly adorned, functioned as a protector of fertility and royalty and was the patron deity of the city of Lanuvium (Liv. XXI. 62.4; Littlewood 2006: lv). Beard, North and Price (1998: 82-83) appear to take both of these Junos as the same goddess, which is neither defended nor explained. See **App. 3** of this thesis for discussion on yet another example of such associations in the form of *Juno Caprontina*.

[24] See **App. 4** of my thesis for an extended discussion on this problem.

leaders called *praetors*, like the twin Roman consuls, as was Umbria, which had two officials called *marones* (Cornell 1995: 230). It is even recorded by Dionysius (I.84.4) that Romulus and Remus were instructed in Greek culture at Gabii, which another source reveals also had twin founders,[25] suggesting that the notion of twin founders may have come from several possible sources and that double rule was a widely spread institution in Ancient Italia. As was mentioned previously in relation to the Praenestines, by embodying the power of wolf-nursing in cultural founders, this most likely gave rise to the figures of Romulus and Remus as they are later known in myth. If, in fact, Rome already possessed a pair of legendary founders, arising out of joint political organisation, as with these other cities, then this would most likely have made the adoption of the she-wolf as nurse from the Praenestines all the more valid for the Roman people.

In analysing the development of the mythology of the Roman twins it should also be borne in mind that the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, may have had a great influence on the Romulus and Remus myth, as one twin was deified and the other was mortal (Hom. *Il.* III.243; Pind. *Nem.* X.50; Apollod. *Bibl.* III.10.7). In the same way Romulus became the god Quirinus (Liv. I.16; Ov. *Fast.* II.475-480), and Remus was connected with the *Lemuria* festival of the dead (Ovid V.479). Worship of Castor and Pollux began in Italia at an early time at Lavinum near Rome in the sixth century BCE (Gardner 1993: 65) and was in Rome by the early fifth century BCE (Wiseman 1995a: 86). An influence on their adoption in the formation of the Roman founding story may have been the fact that the Dioscuri were the aetiological basis of the double monarchy in Sparta (Paus. III.1.5). The dual Spartan kings are the only other double rulership attested in the Mediterranean outside of Italia (Kennel 2010: 81),[26] and later during Rome's expansion, it was famously compared with warlike Sparta for this reason (Polyb. VI.50). Further, the dual kingship at Sparta and the two consuls at Rome have both been suggested as examples of the joining of two groups into a single community, known as *synoikism*. According to the Greeks, Sparta was the union

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[25] Any suggestion that the twin Sicilian brothers who founded Gabii were the basis of Romulus and Remus is not particularly tenable as it occurs only as an aside in the third century CE work of Solinus (I.4.10).

[26] Although, as Alföldi (1974; 163) notes, the dual rulership of Menelaus and Agamemnon also seems similar, we should recall that in Homer the former is the king of Sparta (*Il.* VII. 470) and latter of Mycenae (*Il.* II.10), not both dual rulers of Argos as in Aeschylus (*Agam.* 40-47) and Sophocles (*Philoct.* 1023), which would seem a later conflation.

between the Achaeans and Dorians (Thuc. I.10.2; Cartledge 2002: 90). The Roman union was most likely that of the Palatine and Quirinal communities in the early sixth BCE (Gjerstad 1962: 27-28; Cornell 1975: 31), though many other surrounding villages may have been involved over time from the ninth century BCE onwards (Grandazzi 1997: 141-142; Forsythe 2006: 98). The other Italian communities detailed above may also have been the result of similar amalgamations. In comparison, however, with the other Italian examples of double rule given, the Romulus and Remus myth remains thoroughly different in that it focuses on the disparity between the two brothers; with Remus represented as the doomed foil to Romulus as the legitimate founder.

Attention to the Roman twins since the beginning of modern scholarship has largely centred on attempts to solve this necessity for the failure of Remus. In approaching the various theories on the origins and purpose of Remus in the myth, it should first be remarked that in the major versions of Romulus and Remus' foundation of Rome and fratricide do not differ greatly from one another (Dion. Hal. I.85-87; Ov. *Fast.* IV.807-862; Liv. I.16; Plut. *Rom.* IX-X).[27] The overall myth is given most clearly by Livy (I.6) in his *Ab Urbe Condita* as follows:

> "The affairs of Alba having been passed to Numitor, a desire took hold of Romulus and Remus to build a city at that very place where they were exposed and where they had been brought up….And thus a disgraceful quarrel arose…so that tutelary gods in that place should give them a propitious sign as to which of them ought to give his name to the new city, and which of them should rule the new settlement, Romulus took up the Palatine, and Remus the Aventine Hill as their places for indication. It is said that Remus was the first to receive a sign- six vultures- and almost immediately double the number revealed themselves to Romulus… thus when they came together with angry words, these were turned to blows, and there in the riot a blow felled Remus. There is a more popular story that Remus was overleaping his brother's new walls in jest, when he was killed by Romulus who was enraged at this".[28]

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[27] This is most likely because their main source was Fabius Pictor, who drew on Diocles of Peparethus as the first known historian to have written on the foundation of Rome (Plut. *Rom.* VIII.7).

[28] The only other truly notable difference between versions is the concept of *Remuria*. This is the city Remus wanted to separately build and is said to not have been on the Aventine, but at some distance from Rome (OGR XXIII.1; Dion. Hal. I.86.2). *Remuria* and the various theories concerning it are detailed in **App. 4** of my thesis as they are not exactly relevant to the present study. To add to this, according to several versions of the tale, Remus was killed by the servant Celer instead of Romulus

The majority of influential arguments on the topic of the disparity between Romulus and Remus' as twin founders were first furthered during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In spite of great changes in academic attitudes to mythic traditions since this time, these theories have often resurfaced and been renewed. One of the most complex and influential of these is the theory that Remus represented a political allegory of the slow witted, detracting *proles* of Rome as apposed to the *patres* of Romulus (Mommsen 1881: 10-12; Wiseman 1995a: 106-110).[29] However, an evaluation of its overall plausibility is perhaps put best by Grandazzi (1997: 173) when he writes: "…it would have been a curious and peculiarly dangerous constitutional model, since, in the end Romulus killed Remus…" These final ellipses are Grandazzi's own and thus suggest the danger such a myth would hold for the overall cohesion of Roman society. No violence is specifically recorded following the various constitutional emendations of which Wiseman makes use in his theories (Liv. III.50.14, VII.17.10, VI.35.5; Cic. *De Rep.*II.63). In addition, the negative and literate approach to Remus throughout the versions of the story would seem to preclude much of the way of the story originating from the *proles* themselves. Thus it can be suggested that Wiseman and Mommsen's views naturally tend towards the idea that all of the dissatisfaction of the *patres* was projected into the creation of a story of foundation as a form of catharsis, which is not attested in any determinable manner.

Further, the union between the Romans and Sabines in 338 BCE and their subsequent falling out (Carcopino 1925: 76) has also been suggested an allegorical basis for the dynamic between the Roman twins, though it possesses little credible evidence.[30] Rather, Remus' near immediate replacement following his death by the

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directly (Ov. *Fast.* IV.837-844; Plut. *Rom.* X.1; Dion. Hal. I.87.4). This, so it would seem, could quite reasonably be put down to a simple desire by Roman historians to expiate Romulus' guilt through personifying his disastrous *celeritas*, or impetuousness. Ovid (*Fast.* IV. 837) claims that "Romulus himself named him". This is very suggestive of symbolic manifestation of character. This would seem to require little further attention.

[29] A full in-depth analysis and refutation of this complex series of theories may be read in **App. 4** owing to lack of space in this chapter.

[30] It would seem unjustified to take the single reference to Remus' foundation of the Sabine city of Capua (Dion. Hal. I.73.3) to indicate a need to symbolically kill Remus for Capua's joining with Hannibal in 216 BCE as Carcopino (1925: 67) has suggested. Not only are the dates of the Roman and Sabine coalition in 338 BCE and Hannibal in 216 BCE very distant from one another, but they are also fairly late compared with other theories of the twins' development. Further, the Greek source in Dionysius is unreliable in that it may be missing several lines regarding which towns the brothers

Sabine leader Titus Tatius in the foundation myth (Dion. Hal. II.50.1-2; Plut. *Rom.* XX.4), upon inspection, would seem to be of far greater consequence than this late theory of Carcopino. Tatius' taking up of his portion in the joint rule on the Capitoline and Quirinal hills and Romulus on the Palatine (Dion. Hal. II.50.1-2; Plut. *Rom.* XX.4) suggests that the necessity in the mythopoeia was the retaining of order between the two rulers who already existed from the Palatine and Quirinal unity (Cornell 1975: 31). The fact that "…the two kings did not at first hold council in common with one another" (Plut. *Rom.* XX.4) seems to reinforce this idea very reasonably. Thus the redundancy suggests that there may have been no animosity between the primal double founders originally, and that this was added against Remus so that the Sabines could partake in the existent myth of dual rulership through Tatius. Moreover, in relation to the previously discussed *synoikism* (agglomeration of communities) at Sparta, there appears to have also been no animosity between the parallel and influential Dioscuric founders there (Pind. *Nem.*X.85-89; Apollod. *Bib.* III.11.2). On the other hand, there was a great deal of aetiological bitterness between the twins Eurysthenes and Proclus as the alternative Spartan founding twins (Hdt. VI.52; Paus. III.1.7). This suggests that the hostility between Romulus and Remus may also even have been a Greek adaptation from this latter variation of the origins at Sparta by early historians of Rome. The retention of two parallel priest castes for both the *Luperci* and *Salii* in unified Rome (Gjerstad 1962: 28-29), further suggests a lack of animosity in origin, as one would assume one group would have been demoted or pejorated if there was a need for dual founders to have their earliest origins as enemies. The dual priesthoods at Sparta (Hdt.VI.56) further encourage this suggestion that the myth of animosity was later than the actual origins of the conjoined community.

Comparatively, others have viewed Remus as the original founder with Romulus as *altellus/alterus* (the other one) (Kretschmer 1909: 288) and as the personification of an Etruscan *remne gens* who settled at Rome along with the *rumali gens* of Romulus during the fifth century BCE (Schultze 1904: 219). Despite these suggestions, both of these theories are reliant upon obscure tribes and etymologies

founded. Cary's (1937:242) footnote on Dionysius I.73.3 referencing Sauppe and his insertion of *onomastheis* is required at very least to make sense of the line.

rarely attested and with little historical context.[31] Further, Wiseman (1995a: 125) also offers another theory on the origins of the death of Remus in connection with the leaping of the *fossa* (ditch) dug by Romulus during his act of laying the foundations of Rome. This last idea involves a particular reading of the Romulus and Remus story in connection with a universalist ritual notion of requiring human sacrifice for the construction of a city (Sartori 1898: 5), reinvigorated and reconceptualised by Wiseman (1995a: 119-125) in connection with a possible human sacrifice at Rome in 296 BCE in the face of an Etruscan-Samnite-Gallic coalition against Rome, when according to one very late and highly dubious source there is some suggestion that this practice was considered (Wiseman 1995a: 118-119; Zon. VIII.1).[32] Rather, the story of Remus' murder for overleaping his brother's foundations has two close Greek parallels. These are the stories of Oeneus and Toxeus (Apollod. *Bib.* I.8.1) and that of Poimander and Leucippus (Paus. IX.20.2). It is in fact equally possible to read both of

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[31] The term *altellus* (the other one) in relation to Romulus and the description of Remus as the older of the twins are also not very solid evidence for a theory. Festus (*Epit.* 6-7L) offers several forced derivations for the term *altellus* in connection with Romulus, but none of them mention Remus. The idea that Remus was older is offered only by John Lydus (I.5) at the late date of the sixth century CE. On another note, the suggestion of Schultze (1904:581), that Romulus and Remus were created out of the names of two Etruscan tribes as the Praenestine founder Caeculus seems to have been from the *Caecula gens* (Fest. *Epit.* 38L; Schultze 1904:581) also appears untenable. The Remnii (*remne*) tribe appear on record at Rome only in the first century BCE (Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 55) and do not seem to have been a major tribe either before or after this date. The same applies to the *gens Romilia*, of whom Grandazzi (1997:172) writes: "…its only distinction in the history of the city lay in its obscurity! ... Romulus seems to be the name of an ethnic group more than *gens*". Another theory that Remus represented the original founder (Kretschmer 1909:202-203) is taken largely from the Greek recording of his name as *Rhomos* (Dion.Hal. I.72-73; Plut. *Rom.* II.1), which on first glance appears slightly closer to the city's name of *Roma*. However far back Greek usages of Romulus and Remus as eponyms of Rome stretch, Greek writers seem to have been more interested in associating Roma with the feminine Greek noun *rhome* (strength), most likely due to Rome's military expansion during this period. Thus the founder was portrayed in many instances as feminine in order to fit with the gender of this Greek choice of words (Plut. *Rom.* I.2; Dion.Hal. I.72.5). Greek derivations and recordings thus do not seem viable evidence for constructing a theory of this sort as the overall appearance is that they are forced. This returns the argument to the eponymous use of Romulus and Remus by the Greek historians with little solved.

[32] Curiously, the idea of Remus as a sacrifice for the city was suggested prior to modern thinking by the Romans themselves during the early Imperial Period (Prop. *Eleg.* III 9.50; Flor. *Epit.* I.1.8), though not fixed to any specific date. There is little evidence besides these two late references that anything of the sort ever happened during the third century BCE. Wiseman (1995a:124) even admits that "explicit examples [of human sacrifice] from the Greco-Roman world are not easy to come by", although he paradoxically sides with Hughes (1991:191) who claims that "the extant literature gives an impression of an increase in human sacrifices in Classical and Hellenistic times". Zonaras' (VIII.1) ἀπαισὸς (disgusting) sacrifice (Zon. VIII.1), recorded in relation to the events of 296 BCE, whilst suggesting something thoroughly unconventional, is said to have not been required in the end due to an Etruscan augur's reinterpretation of the auspices (*ibid*). As a result, Wiseman's (1995a:119-120) subsequent claim that this relenting from the sacrifice is in fact a later attempt to cover up the fact that a human sacrifice really did happen, would not seem to be a strong argument in relation to the evidence. Also from Zonaras' position as a twelfth century CE Byzantine historian, it is difficult to judge how well he was aware of the event or its written sources.

these stories as aetiological of early conflicts between conflated communities during the foundational period of a city, rather than a purported universally practised ritualistic observance during foundation or a resort in times of peril. It is thus possible, then, that elements of this pattern of Greek tale may have been added over time in expanding the formulation of the two brothers' falling out, if it already existed in some form due to the merging of two communities who appeared to bear one another animosity. This seems to connect well with what has been suggested regarding the early Sabine introduction as founders into the tale.

In spite of these arguments, which all posit late evolutions of the story of the Roman twins, there is another which is perhaps more closely related to the notions of initiation and myths of exposure and foundation with which this chapter began. This is Alföldi's (1974: 131) theory regarding a sacred period spent by Romulus and Remus living in the wilderness by thievery (Dion. Hal. I.79.11; Liv. I. 4.8, I.5.7) and the genesis of the *Luperci*. Alföldi (1974: 131) claims that the *Luperci* had a parallel in the Brettioi or Brutti who were young men of the Lucanians sent off to shepherds who taught them how to survive in the wild by robbery. This Lucanian ritual is detailed by both Diodorus Siculus (XVI. 15.1) and Pompeius Trogus (Just. *Epit.* XXIII.1.7-17). The latter begins in describing it by saying: "…the Lucanians employed the same system of education for their children as the Spartans" (Just. *Epit.* XXIII.1.7). As has already been noted, the *Lupercalia* and the Spartan *krypteia* appear to share several important parallels, as do the ancient wolf cults of the Etruscans, Sabines and Arcadians in relation to initiation. Alföldi's argument is that the foundation of Rome as given by Livy and others is a historicising of this period of the previously discussed concept of *Männerbund* (league of men), after which Romulus created an asylum between two groves for wanderers and vagrants and even slaves to swell the much needed population of the city. Livy (I.8) writes:

> "…He created an asylum between two groves. To him a whole mob from amongst the nearby peoples came without discrimination- both free men and slaves, keenly in pursuit of a new life. It was this that was the first stage in the beginning of the growth of Rome's power".

In this context, it is also worth noting that Dionysius of Halicarnasus defended the writing of his Roman history to his readers by refuting the claim that some prior historians had regarded the Romans as "various vagabonds without house or home, and barbarians and even those not free men" (Dion. Hal. I.IV.2). The Brutti themselves, as has been noted: "…are only hear[d] about…because they had become a nuisance after having founded a separate community" (Bremmer and Horsfall 1987: 38). For this reason it does not seem unreasonable to imagine that Rome was settled in a similar manner at some point early in its history, though whether or not originally is debatable.[33] Further, Briquel (1980: 299-300) in expanding these ideas has referred to Remus as an archetype of the *Lupercus* who failed initiation. However, the *inter duos lucos asylum* (asylum between two groves) given by Livy (I.8), would suggest that the construction of the city took part after the symbolic ending of the period in the wilderness. Alföldi (1974: 131), to the contrary, suggests that the "between" was a later invention and that each grove originally was a community founded by an individual brother or ruler.[34] Thus it is difficult to associate Remus directly with failure of the initiatory process, when disagreement between parties on where to found the city and who was to lead it appears to be the matter at hand. It is more likely then than when the notion of enmity between joint communities was added, as has been discussed in detail, Remus was made to fail for the sake of mythic unity.

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[33] We should note here Carandini's ([2007] 2011: *passim*) more recent theories that Romulus and Remus represent real historical founders who were retained in Latin oral tradition. Coupled with this literal minded approach is also Carandini's (2005: 70-79) belief that he has excavated the actual house of the Tarquin kings at Rome on the Palatine hill and the city wall constructed by Romulus, based largely on the dating of some of his recent findings to the eighth century BCE. Torelli (2011: 25-28) agrees upon the dating of this wall calling it "incontestabile" (incontestable) and a unique discovery with much potential for archaeological discussion. However, he (*ibid.* 27-29) is greatly concerned by Carandini's attempts to connect the long development of settlement at Rome with pre-urban periods named after the supposed rulerships of various Latin deities and folk heroes- and most importantly the "fantasie" of the single event of Romulus' founding of the city. Carandini's attitude towards these finds has also led to much castigation from Wiseman (2008: 15ff; 287-291) for endorsing a viewpoint on Roman history that makes use of "…the legends of Romulus in the Greek and Latin authors (writing seven centuries or more after the alleged events) as if they were historical evidence that can explain the results of his excavation". As the emphasis of this thesis is the growth of myth over time and the exploration of its intercultural value, I believe that more can be learnt of Rome's foundational myths by discussing them with reference to similar mythic patterns throughout Ancient Italy, rather than targeting those of Rome on their own as literal and unchanging.

[34] "*…wenn dabei den beiden Jugengruppen der Gründer-Zwillinge je ein Hain zugeschrieben wurde… Zwischen den beiden lagern muß einer spätere Entwicklungsstufe gewesen sein*". "At that time a grove was ascribed to each of the groups of young men belonging to the founding twins…[what was] between both locations must have come into being at some later stage of development" (Alföldi 1974:133).

Moreover, the basis of such periods in the wilderness and the subsequent foundation of new cities appear to have their roots in a widely spread ritual found throughout Ancient Italia known as the *ver sacrum* (sacred spring)*,* as it is termed by Festus (*Epit.* 397). The *ver sacrum* was centred on the apotropaic promising and sacrificing of all new animals and children produced in a year to an influential deity (Bremmer and Horsfall 1987: 43). One result of this was in order to avoid such sacrifice, young men were sent off beyond the borders of their homeland to found their own colonies, as Strabo (V.4.12) says of the promise by the Sabines to Mars. Dionysius of Halicarnasus (I.16.23) also describes both the Aborigines and Tyrrhenians undertaking similar practices to their equivalents of Apollo and Jupiter. This practice of devoting children to a deity and then exiling them may well have developed into the mythic basis for the fathering by a god, abandonment, and survival in the wilderness inherent in the Praenestine myth of foundation, as well as the various versions of the Romulus and Remus tale discussed earlier in this chapter. As was also mentioned earlier, the original god in the case of the twins may not necessarily have been Mars, but a fire deity. It is thus necessary to establish the god Mars' growth and his application to this common pattern of tales in the creation of the Romulus and Remus myth, which appears to have taken place in order to construct a legitimate sense of military authority during Rome's expansion in the Mediterranean from the third century BCE onwards.

4. Mars and the Roman Twins.

Upon investigation, the Roman god Mars appears to have developed from complex of various protective agricultural deities worshipped in conjunction with varying months throughout Ancient Italia (Cato *De Agr.* 141; Ov. *Fast.* III. 87).[35] As to explaining how he came to become a deity primarily connected with war, in Rome's earliest history, we must remember, her armies were largely composed of farmers, who after fulfilling their duties returned to their fields (Duicker and Spielvogel 2009: 137). Hence, although Dumézil ([1966] 1970: 205-245) spent a great deal of energy on attempting to square Mars with his second "tripartite" social function, that of warriors, he seemingly ignored Mars' patronage of farmers and instead relegated them rather

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[35] Mars is mentioned earliest in the archaic Roman *Carmen Arvale.* As the hymn's inscription was most likely made around 218 CE, it is very hard to judge the age of its contents, further obscured by "apparent blunders and uncertain letters" (Baldi 2002:213). For this reason using it to date the period of Mars' transition or origins as a war god proves highly difficult.

awkwardly to associations with the apotheosised Romulus-Quirinus. As a result his approach is still discussed by scholars, but is regarded as forcing the complexity of Roman culture into a highly reductive series of abstract categories (Beard, North and Price 1998: 15). More reasonably, the trajectory from protector and benefactor of livelihood to that of patron in battle would appear a more appropriate answer, and we may note fertility elements in association with the god were persevered at least as late as Cato's time in the mid second century BCE (Cato *De Agr.* 141). In conjunction with this, the earliest direct mention of Romulus and Remus beyond mere eponyms for Rome is from an inscription at Chios from the late third century BCE (Derow and Forrest 1982: 80) in a dedication to the Romans and the goddess of Rome (*Dea Roma*) from an unnamed Chian benefactor.[36] Of paramount relevance is the fact that it also makes mention of Mars's fathering of them as a clear aetiology of Roman expansion in the Mediterranean during this period:

> "…He had made with his own money an offering to [the goddess] Roma at the cost of a thousand Alexandrian drachma…encompassing the origins of the founder of Rome, Romulus and his brother Remus, according to which it came about that were begotten by Ares himself, which one might consider rightly to be true, due to the bravery of the Romans. He also took great care in the preparation of the shields which had been presented by the people to those winners of the athletic tournaments and he was mindful that myths to the glory of the Romans were engraved on these same items" (*SEG* XXX. 1073 lines 23- 35 *ap.* Salvo 2013: 126-127, trans. Ratcliffe 2013). [37]

With this evidence we must now ask how Mars most likely came to be inserted or attached to the myth of the Roman twins. This appears to stem from the way in which the god developed an association with wolves during the formative period of Roman military expansion in Italia, in the third century BCE. There are two other instances aside from the she-wolf and twins myth recorded in Roman history in which he was associated with this animal. These are an omen at Sentium in 295 BCE during the Third Samnite War (Liv. X 27), and the sweating of a statue of the god surrounded by

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[36] In **App. 2** this key intercultural and political use of the Romulus and Remus myth at Chios is discussed in further detail in reference to efforts by the Attalids of Pergamum in Anatolia to reappropriate Roman symbolism for their own ancestor Telephus during this integral period of Rome's military and cultural growth. I have not included it in the Comparative Section (Chapter Five), as intercultural connections between Rome and Central Asia are obviously of greater importance.
[37] This epigram is also listed as *SEG* XVI. 486 in Derow and Forrest (1982:80).

wolves on the *Via Appia* during the invasion of Hannibal during the late third century BCE (Liv. XXII. 1.12). The first omen, of far more chronological importance, involved the pursuit of a hind by a wolf, which the Romans took to be a sign of their impending victory against the Gauls, which was subsequently vindicated (Liv. X 27). Integrally, the year 296 BCE is also the first recorded instance of the manufacture of an image of the she-wolf by the Ogulnii brothers, which was accompanied by the action of the construction of a path to the temple of Mars (Liv. X.23. 11-12).[38] The proximity of these two events would seem to pinpoint this period as integral in the myth's development. Further, it is also under the name of one of the Ogulnii brothers, Quintus, who was serving as consul in 269 BCE (Mazzoni 2006: 180) that the image of the nursing she-wolf first appeared on Roman coinage.[39] Thus it would appear that Mars, who is not present amongst the figures on the late fourth century BCE Praenestine mirror,[40] came to be connected with wolves in general during the early third century BCE and moreover that his connections with the Roman founders also appear to have been made during this same period.

5. Written Evidence.

In spite of the late fourth century BCE Praenestine mirror and Chian inscription of the late third century BCE, the first written version of the full Romulus and Remus story we are aware of is that of Fabius Pictor which was most likely written around 200 BCE (Plut. *Rom.*III.4). It has already been mentioned that Pictor's version of events was most likely the inspiration for the for the "official" Romulus and Remus myth. According to Plutarch, Fabius drew his version of events from a Greek writer called

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[38] On an interesting note Pliny the Elder (*H.N.* X. 16) says that prior to Marius' renovation of the Roman military system that the wolf along with the Minotaur, boar and other animals were the common standards of the legions. After this only the eagle would come to be used.

[39] In relation to this period and numismatics there are several coins from Kydonia, a minor city on Crete dating to the early third century BCE on which the city's eponymous founder Kydon appears to be nursed by a hunting dog (Cook 1925: 414-415; Rose 1964: 238). Although some have claimed that the Romans used this design for the first she-wolf coins under the Ogulnii brothers in 296 BCE , the Romulus and Remus myth, as discussed, appears much older than this, and moreover Kydonia was relatively uninfluential at this time (Manolis 2000: 81-83). It has also been suggested that such coins might represent a nativity myth of Zeus Cretagenes, nursed by the nymph Kynosoura (dog's tail) (Svoronos 1893: 6-7 *ap.* Manolis 2000: 85). However, all of these interpretations remain highly theoretical.

[40] As noted previously in relation to the Praenestine Bolsena mirror, Carandini (1997: 180-181; 2000: 102) takes the topmost figure on the mirror to be Mars, who he sees as replaced only later in the *Lares* legend by Mercury. Regarding what has been said of the opacity of the *Lares* and the hearth deities of exposure myths, this would seem both anachronistic as well as illogical in relation to collapsing the clearly very different Mercury and Mars into one with no explanation.

Diocles of Peparethus, about whom almost nothing is known. Although Plutarch (III 1) claims that Pictor followed Diocles of Peparethus' version "εν τοῖς πλείστοις" ("for the most part") and that it had "πλείστους μάρτυρας" ("the most supporters"), it cannot be known exactly to what degree this was so. Plutarch (VIII. 7) says that Diocles, like Pictor, used fabulous and dramatic elements in the story but excuses this on the ground of the "miracles fortune often provides". This would seem to suggest that Diocles' version contained mythic elements such as the she-wolf and the abandonment of the children, which exemplify such a statement as this. This is of course unless Plutarch was generalising, or had not actually read Diocles directly.

How much of the story was Diocles' outside prior Greek interpolation and how much was Roman seems difficult to answer. Key to this notion of a Greek construction of the story is the theory of Strasburger (1982: 1044-1047) and Jocelyn (1971: 54-57) which claims that the overall negativity of the Romulus and Remus story from the wolf and Acca Larentia as prostitute element to the vultures and fratricide is due to it being anti-Roman propaganda created by the Greeks during Roman military expansion. In solving this, it is certainly possible to consider this with regard to linking the gods Ares and Mars together, as the Chian epigram shows. It has been established thus far that the nursing she-wolf, the divine fathering and abandonment all have notable parallels in native Italian mythology, though we should perhaps also consider Greek figures such as Perseus[41] and Nelias and Peleus[42] as

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[41] Perseus, whose mother Danaë was locked up in a brass or stone chamber and then put out to sea with her son, due to a prophesy that any child of hers would kill its grandfather Asacrius (Soph. *Ant.* 947; Hor. *Carm.* III.16), may appear on the surface to be somewhat similar and bridge the gap between Italia and the Greek tradition. However, we should recall that it is not an animal nursing myth. As we have seen the shutting up of the mother with a god or being ravished by one whilst at the hearth appears to have been widely spread in Italia, though we cannot discount wholly the Perseus myth's influence on the representation of this specific aspect of the Romulus and Remus myth in literature. Servius gives two curious tales regarding Danaë and her "wandering" to Italia in the chest she was put to sea in, though both would seem very hard to date. One is that she was found by Pilumnus, married him, and they founded Ardea (Serv. *ad. Aen.* VII.372). The other is that she came with two other sons, not Perseus, but Argos and Argeus, and they lived where Rome was later built (Serv. *ad. Aen.* VIII.345). The latter sounds very much like the many Greek myths regarding Rome's foundation involving Aeneas, Odysseus and others given by Dionysius of Halicarnasus (I.72-73). The involvement of two brothers in curious and may be yet again connected to the various dual rulerships throughout ancient Italia.

[42] One supposed example of this is the Greek myth of Neleus and his brother Pelias, the twin sons of Poseidon who were exposed, found and reared by herdsmen like Romulus and Remus (Men. *Epit.* 108-116; de Selincourt 1980: 13). Moreover according to the scholiasts on Homer (Eust. *ad* Hom. *Od.* XI.253; Schol. *ad* Hom. *Od.* XI. 253) Neleus and Pelias were nursed by a bitch and a horse respectively. Outside of these comments, though references to Pelias' dark face are aetiologically taken from the notion he was kicked by the horse when abandoned (Apollod. *Bib.* I. 9.8) he alone appears the recipient

having exerted some influence on textual representation as an upper layer to this. The addition of the fratricide for leaping over Romulus' foundations, on the other hand, may be a negative Greek addition, as has also been discussed. The same may be true for the particular use of vultures rather than other birds in the augury contest, though Plutarch (*Rom.* IX. 6) attempts to defend the birds as "harmless". Thus, it would seem unlikely that whatever aspects of the myth were the creation of the colonial Greeks in Italia, Diocles and Pictor most likely did not add a great deal except by bringing all the pre-existent elements together into a written form which greatly influenced the later historians in the production of an official version of the myth.

6. The Ascension of the She-Wolf.

Following the full written development of the Romulus and Remus myth, the she-wolf became the symbolic essence of Roman power during the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods. The first intimations of this, from the evidence available, may be found in reference to Oscan coinage manufactured by the rebelling Italian city states during the Social War (90-89 BCE) upon which the image of a bull, representing the eight states that rose up demanding Roman citizenship, is shown pejoratively goring the Roman she-wolf (Ostler 2007: 55-56 **Fig. 6**).[43] Amongst the Romans themselves we may first find such political sentiments in relation to the she-wolf image in Cicero's *Catiline Orations* (III.19.231-233), in which a gilded statue of the she-wolf, described in detail with Romulus sucking from its teats, was struck by lightning in 65 BCE and was used by the orator as an ill omen for Rome due to the travesty perpetrated against the city's founders by the conspiracy.[44] Imperial use appears to begin determinably with Caesar's ascension on the *Lupercalia* through the agency of Mark Anthony, who crowned him whilst running as a *Lupercus* (Suet. *Div.*

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of animal nursing (Ael. *Var. Hist.* XIII. 42). In fact, Neleus and bitch are not discussed at all, suggesting a late development of this idea. In reference to more solid similarities with Romulus and Remus, as was noted by Trieber (1888: xliii 568), the same term "σκάφη" (cradle) is used both by Sophocles in his lost play on the twin sons of Poseidon, *Tyro* (Arist. *Poet.* 1454b 25), and by Plutarch (*Rom.* I.3.4) in describing the device in which the Roman twins were also abandoned. This suggests that this specific vocabulary, as σκάφη remains a word largely associated with scooping and shovelling (Liddel and Scott 1889: 731 "σκάφη"), most likely indicates the former myth's influence on the latter. Even more importantly, if we inspect Dionysius of Halicarnasus' (I. 79.4). account which also makes use of σκάφη, we should note how it is strongly tied to Fabius Pictor, suggesting that usage of the term went back as far as written versions of the Romulus and Remus myth. This supplies strong ties to Neleus and Pelias as predecessors on this account.

[43] The term for bull in Oscan *vitulus* apparently forms a pun on the name of Italia in the language (*Viteliu*) (Ostler 2007: 55).

[44] This ill omen and damage to the statue are also mentioned again by Cicero in *de Divinatione* (I.20; II.47).

Iul. LXI; Plut. *Ant.* XII). Augustus' desire to link himself with both the *Julii* and the kings of ancient Rome may have led to the festival being reinvigorated through the creation of a third *sodales* (brotherhood) under the name of the *Julii* (Suet. *Div. Aug.* XXXI) clearly suggests this, as well as the literature and art of the period. The she-wolf was illustrated on the Ara-Pacis (Mazzoni 2006: 188); on Aeneas' shield in Vergil's *Aeneid* (VIII. 632) with the boys "fearlessly nuzzling", and in Ovid's *Fasti* (II. 419) was the device for conveying the impression that: *"Marte satos scires"* ("you would know they were the sons of Mars"). All of these are clearly the use of the myth as a basis of imperial power. Thus the *Lupercalia* due to the symbolic political *numen* vested in the she-wolf and the foundation of Rome became a very potent political institution.

As a result of these changes we also begin to see the she-wolf being rephrased in different ways by Roman historians and poets from the Early Imperial Period onwards. In many of the sources (Dion. Hal. I. 84. 4; Liv. I. 4; Plut. *Rom.* IV.3) we find the nursing *lupa* (she-wolf) of the story rationalised as a vernacular term for prostitute, thus also emphasising the lowly nature of the twins' foster mother Acca Larentia. This appears to have been a Greek invention, and as will be shown in Chapter Two has strong affinities with the dog nursing myth of the Emperor Cyrus. However, its popularity amongst Roman historians may well also be due to efforts to demythologise and undermine their own founding legends. In comparison with this, Both Propertius (*Eleg.* II. 6.19-20) and Pompeius Trogus (Just. *Epit.* XXXVIII.6.7-8)[45] definitely appear to have made use of the wolf's nursing of feral and martial character into the Roman people as a basis for reflection on the negativity of Roman society during the early emperors.[46] Further, in one late version of the Romulus and Remus myth, the twins are also nursed by a woodpecker (Plut. *Rom.* IV.2), an animal

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[45] Prop. *Eleg.* II. 6.19-20: "You, O Romulus, criminal founder, were nursed by the harsh milk of the she wolf: you thought it reasonable to snatch the virginal Sabine women with impunity". Just. *Epit.* XXXVIII.6.7-8: "As they themselves say, their founders were mighty because of the she wolf's teats, which is why that their entire people possess the mindsets of wolves, insatiable for blood, and both greedy and hungry for riches and power".

[46] Prior to this we also find derision being poured on the *Luperci* for being "an institution from before civilisation and laws" in Cicero's *Pro Caelio* (II.26). This appears to be more a rhetorical trick to discredit Caelius' opponent's character due to his membership of one of the *Luperci's* brotherhoods rather than a political statement against the institution as a whole.

which was most likely also sacrificed to the god Mars (Murray 2004: 78).[47] The addition of the woodpecker is not otherwise attested in other variants of the myths and strongly suggests the idea that it was added to the story in an effort to deliberately emphasise the god's role as father and protector of the twins and Roman people around Plutarch's time of the second century CE. The *Lupercalia* also underwent strict changes from this period onwards, most likely because of its increased role in celebrating Rome's legitimate political authority. For instance, the near nakedness of the *Lupercalia's* initiates appears to have been censored by Augustus (Suet. *Div. Aug.* XXXI). This attempt to "civilise" the *Luperci* seems to have continued on into the first and second centuries CE, where they are found illustrated wearing long aprons and wielding conventional whips instead of the more traditional goat-skin thong (Wiseman 1995a: 83). In this same period, the traditional aristocratic association of the *sodalites* (brotherhoods) with the two ancient Roman *gentes* (families) of the *Quninctilii* and *Fabii*, for that matter, appears to have passed to the lower *eques* (knight) class instead (Wiseman 1995a: 83). Moreover, because of its strong connections to the Roman founding myth and imperial power, the Lupercalia did not simply disappear with the adoption of Christianity by the Roman state; in fact it was still celebrated at Rome until 494 CE (Browning 1976: 160), and elements of it may have been retained in Constantinople until the tenth (Wiseman 1995b: 17). This demonstrates its use as a political symbol of Rome's ancient origins, far outweighing Christian concerns regarding paganism.

Furthermore, images of the she-wolf nursing the twins regularly appeared on Roman coins in the West following their inception under Q. Ogulnus in 269 BCE, but in the East, where this imagery was to be long retained and reappropriated by many

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[47] Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I. 14.5-6) connects the woodpecker with an oracle to Mars amongst the Aborigines in Matiene. Pliny (XXV.29; XXVII. 85) refers to the woodpecker as "*martius picus*" (the woodpecker of Mars) in reference to its well-known hate for the herb peony (*glycyside*). This suggests that the animal most likely had a long connection with divinities in Italia who later came to be identified with Mars. Overall, the minority attestation of this animal's connection with Romulus and Remus would appear a later edition. The only other Roman myth concerned with woodpeckers is that of Picus, the son of Saturn and father of the god Faunus (Verg. *Aen.* VII. 45-49) who was transformed into one for turning down Circe's affections (Ov. *Met.* XIV. 320-395). This would not appear to have any connections with Mars' associations with this animal at all. Carandini (1997: 45-46, 80, 153) takes Picus to be the primordial storm god of the Romans due to a legend recorded by Ovid (*Fast.* III.315-316) in which he is present during Jove's hurling of a thunderbolt to expiate the second ruler of Rome, Numa. However, as Wiseman (2001: 183) has shown, Picus possesses no connections with being a storm god- the thunderbolt in the story of is wielded by Jupiter, *not* Picus who remains merely a bystander (Ov. *Fast.* III.315-316). Moreover, neither of the two birds pictured on the mirror would seem to possess any characteristics specific to woodpeckers.

cultures, this was mainly from the late second century CE onwards (Harrison 2011: 331 n. 5). Prominent examples of this are from Caeserea in Palestine as well as Neapolis and Sebaste in Anatolia where local governors used the symbol on bronze coinage to express their political status (Belayche 2009: 171-173). During the late fifth century under the emperor Zeno and again during the sixth century CE under Justinianus I and his reissuing of Zeno's series of coins, the she-wolf made a re-emergence on Byzantine bronze *denarii* (Metcalfe 2012: 634-638). Further east Persian Sasanian era royal seals and gems from the sixth century CE also appear to have frequently made use of this Roman symbol (Brunner 1978: 76; Gylesen 2007: 82, 97, 334), albeit often mixed with Persian motifs such as the substitution of one of the twins for a wolf-man as wells as scenes of warriors clubbing to death an *ithyphallic* wolf-man as a mark of the ruler's protection against his enemies (Brunner 1978: 75-76; Azarpay 1988: 354; Gylesen 2007: 82 **Fig. 7**). Ironically, these enemies may well have included Rome, revealing the multiplicity of individual reasons for different cultures to reappropriate the Roman image. With regard to the appeal of such symbols within the framework of Persian culture itself, symbols such as wolf-men and the nursing wolf appear to echo a number of important myths such as those of the exposure and nursing by a dog of the Achaemenid Emperor Cyrus and the exposure and preservation against a wolf of the prophet Zoroaster. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two, as we examine similar symbolism amongst the Indo-Iranian nomads of Inner Asia and their Turkic-Mongolian successors. Moreover, there is also the question of the nature of a gold medallion from Sogdian Panjikant in Transoxania (modern Afghanistan) (Azarpay 1981: 203 **Fig. 8**) and a wall mural in Ustrushana (modern Tajikistan) (Azarpay 1988: 354 **Fig. 9**), dating to the sixth and seventh centuries CE respectively. These have been suggested by several scholars to represent Central Asian Sogdian reappropriations of the Roman twins and their lupine nurse (Azarpay 1981: 202-203; 1988: 354; Marshak and Negmatov 1996: 264-265) and will be discussed in full with the introduction of their cultural and historical context in Chapter Two and subsequently in the Comparative Section.[48] These will offer

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[48] The Undley Bracteate, from fifth century CE Denmark, which copied its image from a fourth century CE Roman coin featuring the she-wolf and the head of Constantine the Great (Hines and Obenstedt 1987: 73-94); the Frank's casket from c. 700 CE, which features a scene of the Roman twins and wolf being discovered by armed men as well as Germanic and Biblical stories (Webster 1999:227-246); the Mediaeval European construction of the *Lupa Capitolina*, as well as the earlier Diptych of Rambona, in which the wolf looks up to Christ for authority (Mazzoni 2006:195), suggest attitudes towards imitating

important points in dissecting the intercultural value of the symbol of the lupine nurse, its connection with cultural founders in multiple traditions, and the question as to whether or not Roman influence is present at all in these artefacts. If such influence indeed does appear to be present, it will therefore also be of equal importance to attempt to ascertain whether this was consciously recognised by the Sogdians and was mixed with their own mythic traditions.

7. Concluding Remarks

In bringing together the various discussions which have arisen in this chapter, due to the complex and conflicting nature of the evidence and dominant theories concerning the *Lupercalia* and myth of the Roman twins, a basic outline of what has been discovered concerning their development should first be given prior to further efforts to analyse their content and influence. Of primary concern is the fact that origins of the *Lupercalia* and the other wolf-imitation cults of Ancient Italia and Greece present great difficulty in dating. Each of them appears to share keen parallels with the others in the initiatory participation in the chthonic nature of the wolf in order to control it. In many ways it is inviting to regard such rituals' structures and mutual affinities as prehistoric, as with similar beliefs which will be discussed in the following chapter in relation to the nomads of Inner Asia. In the following chapter there will be several points which shall be noted and discussed in length where the wolf myths of the Ancient Mediterranean and Inner Asia appear to overlap such as in the pairing of the wolf with a bird, the rationalising of the she-wolf as a human woman of low social status and the use of wolf-nursing as a scape goat for a people's perceived negative personality traits. Such notions of widely spread mythic structures retained over long periods from prehistoric times is both encouraged and simultaneously discouraged by the lack of any real evidence in Ancient Italia prior to the previously discussed Etruscan *situla* and wolf mask of the seventh and sixth centuries BCE respectively. For this reason, much effort will be put into analysing possible intercultural meetings between the two spheres of Inner Asia and the Ancient Mediterranean during the first millennium BCE in the Comparative Section of this thesis as well as Late Bronze Age Indo-European myth in an attempt to historicise such notions (see Chapter Five).[49]

Rome continuing in the West. However, as will be shown in Chapter Two and Five, we must be mindful of the intercultural value of such symbols in different locations and periods of history.

[49] As well as this more may be found in **App. 2** of this thesis.

Rather, what does appear datable in relation specifically to the Roman wolf-myth is the union of communities to produce Rome and its dual political organisation in the early sixth century BCE; the introduction of the she-wolf as nurse and divine fathering during the late fourth century BCE via Praeneste; the application of Mars to the legend around the turn of the third century BCE due to the expanding military might of Rome and both the god and the Roman twins' connection with wolves; and the first influential written version occurring around 200 BCE. Moreover, the use of the she-wolf as a symbol of state power appears to be a relatively late evolution- only beginning with the construction of the Ogulnii monument and the omen of the wolf at Sentium in 296-295 BCE, which was further transformed with the death of the Republic through Caesar's ascension on the *Lupercalia*. Hence, most important for our intercultural investigation remains the expansion of the Roman Empire eastwards, where, as discussed, images of the she-wolf were used by regional governors, the Sasanian Emperors and the Sogdians as late as the seventh century CE. Key to the discussions which will take place in later chapters, including the Comparative Section, then, is in the possible drifting of this symbol as far east as Tajikistan, whether it really was of Roman origin and whether the name and power of Rome was still attached to it, or, on the other hand it had a more profound local consequence due to Sasanian usage and local Central and Inner Asian myth.

List of Figures.

Fig. 7. Foot of a Praenestine *cista*, fifth century BC. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: photo by courtesy of the Museum.

Oscan-language coins from the Social War, 90–89 BC. Eight warriors swear a pact against Rome, and the Italian bull gores the Roman wolf.

Chapter Two: Kun-mo, Ashina and Börte Činō: The Wolf as Ancestor and Patron amongst the Nomads of Inner Asia.

With this chapter, we now move into the second cultural sphere of this thesis, where the mythic patterns of wolf-nurture and imitation previously discussed in the context of the Ancient Mediterranean will be explored in relation to the Mediaeval Turkic-Mongolian nomads of Inner Asia. In the first chapter I argued that the peoples of Ancient Italia appear to have venerated the wolf in order to partake in its chthonic power over life and death and substantiate the sacred nature of their ancestry, which gave rise to the Roman myth of Romulus and Remus. In this chapter it will be shown that the wolf amongst the warrior aristocracies of the Turkic-Mongolian peoples appears to have been used to represent divine power and ethnic origination, embodied in tales of wolf nurture and descent in a manner similar in many ways to that of the Roman twins. However, there are several important differences with regard to the history and transmission of myth in Inner Asia compared with those of the Classical Mediterranean World. These must first be dealt with in order to provide a basis on which the ongoing cultural values and imperial symbolism of the nomads may be reconstructed.
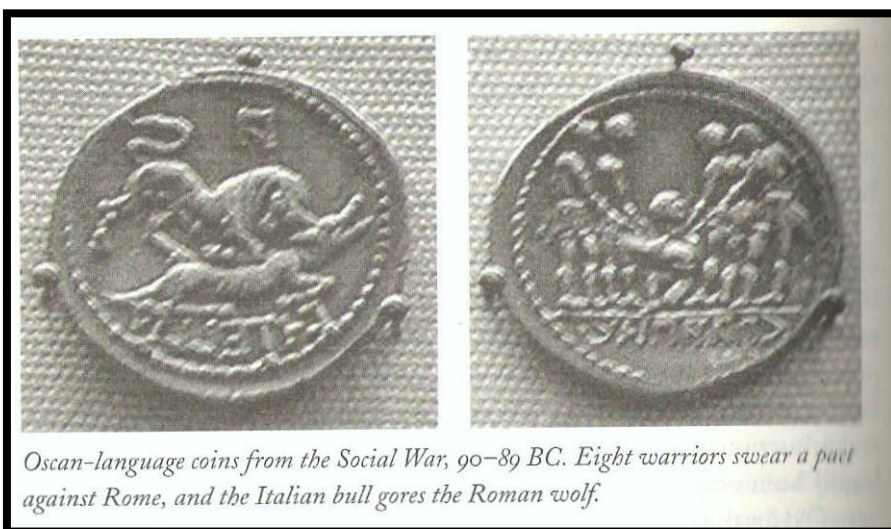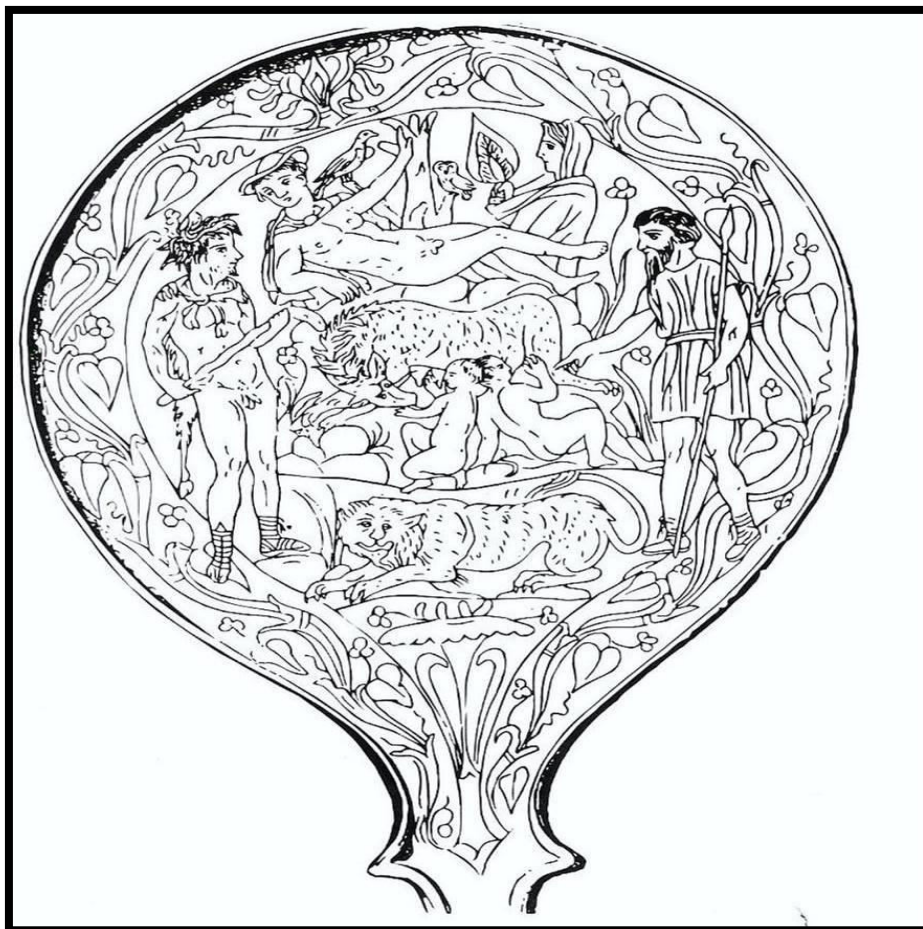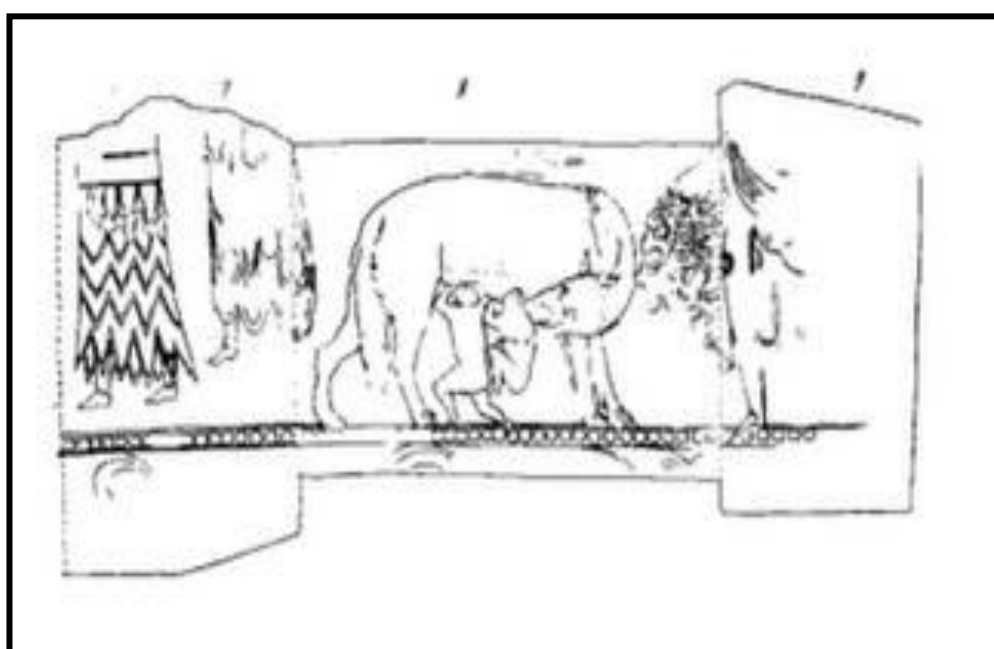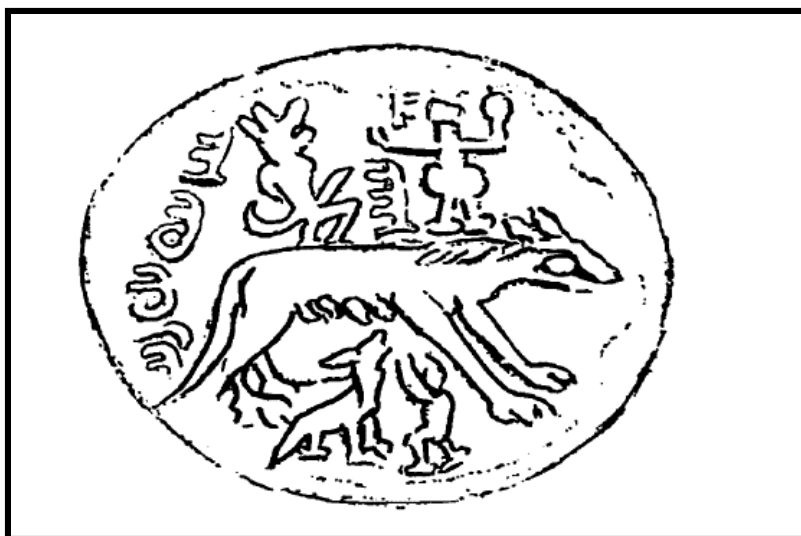
1. The Indo-Iranian Heritage in Mongolia.

In order to commence a study of wolf ancestry and nursing myths amongst the Turkic-Mongolian nomad confederations of the middle ages we must first look to the Indo-Iranian speaking peoples who existed in the regions bordering Mongolia and Northern China prior to the emergence of more clearly Turkic-Mongolian speaking ethnicities in the first millennium CE (Rolle 1989: 65; Nicols 2011: 178). As was detailed in the Introduction, for the majority of their history the nomadic peoples of Inner Asia were largely orally literate and for the most part their myths have only come down to us through written records made by neighbouring settled civilisations around the rim of Central and Inner Asia: in Europe, China and the Middle East (Halperin 1985: 123). Because of these settled peoples' largely negative and anachronistic attitudes towards the nomads, which assumed them unchanged from the time of the Scythians and homogenous to one another (Beller and Leerssen 2010: 124), each of these records must thus be taken closely in conjunction with the cultural

context of those who recorded them. Further, in the rare cases where these myths have come down to us through the recordings and oral cultural retentions of the nomads themselves, such as the thirteenth century CE *Secret History of the Mongols* (Rossabi 2012: 3) or the living Turkic-Mongolian epics such as the Kyrgyz *Manas* (Sultanova 2010: 65),[1] it must also be borne in mind that oral traditions actively change over time and are retold in different ways due to environmental factors and individual reinterpretation (Finnegan 1991: 113). For this reason, in attempting to trace mythic patterns and cultural retentions over long periods amongst the nomads of Inner Asia, each of these elements must be taken into account so as to present an accurate picture of the overall traditions. This will provide a basis for the tracing of the origins and evolution of key mythic elements or *foci*, in the same ways as the Greek and Etruscan cultural heritage amongst the Romans was explored previously.

The move towards nomadism on a mass scale based around mobile stock-raising and mounted warfare in the Inner Asian steppe region between Eastern Europe and the borders of Mongolia, modern Iran and India, appears to have taken form around the commencement of the Iron Age there, at the turn of the first millennium BCE (Jacobson 1993: 20; Di Cosmo 2002: 39-40). However, recent archaeological studies also suggest that intimations of this move towards mobile pastoralism may be found in the aristocratic mass horse sacrifices of the Bronze Age complex of *khirigsuur/kereksur* (stone mound erecting) cultures of Western Siberia, the Altai-Sayan Mountains and Central Mongolia (1200-800 BCE) (Allard and Erdenebaatar 2005: 547-563; Hanks 2012: 97-99) as well as earlier in the form of progressive developments made independently throughout the steppe from the fourth millennium BCE onwards (Frachetti 2012: 1-25).[2] The peoples who took up mobile pastoralism in

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[1] Living oral epics such as *Manas* represent a great difficulty in dating, as although more modern elements from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century CE are perhaps more obvious (Chadwick 1969: 142; Sultanova 2010: 65-66), it is also possible to suggest that historical events such as the ninth century CE wars between the Uyghurs and Kyrgyz in Mongolia laid many of the foundations for the epic's basis (*ibid.*).

[2] We should also note Frachetti's (2012: 1-25) recent theories regarding the multi-regional development of the roots of mobile pastoralism from the fourth to second millenniums BCE, in which integral building blocks for later fully mobile pastoral societies such as the domestication of cattle, horses and the wheel developed separately rather being diffused purely from a single location such as the western steppe. Frachetti (2012: 21) concludes on this matter: "…new archaeological findings from Central Eurasia enable us to explore the intricate interrelationships among regionally conscribed societies whose microeconomy was independently motivated yet whose macroeconomy grew networks over unprecedented scales." What this means is that in considering both these earlier developments as

Inner Asia at this time appear to have been largely Indo-Iranian speaking (Abetekov and Yusupov 1994: 28; Nicols 2011: 178). Because of the "striking" nature of the perceived uniformity of much of their material culture in the form of the "Scythic Triad" of weapon design, horse harnesses and Scytho-Siberian "animal" art (Barfield 2006: 14), peoples from the Pontic steppes to the Altai mountains on the northern borders of Mongolia have often been regarded as belonging to a complex of cultures referred to generically as "Scythic" by scholars (Abetekov and Yusupov 1994: 28; Stark 2012: 106-126). Therefore, although the terms *sakā/iškuzāia*, *skythai* and *sai* attested by the Achaemenids, Greeks and Chinese respectively appear to reflect a widely spread confederation of related peoples across Eurasian at this time (Beckwith 2011: 377-378), we should perhaps emphasise the diversity and looseness of those peoples who partook in some of the elements of what are usually regarded as the "Scythian triad", as well as the overlapping nature of Inner Asian cultural networks between the trading centres of the Black Sea, Achaemenid Iran, China and Western Siberia (Sneath 2007: 22ff; Wagner et al. 2011: 15733; Stark 2012: 108-110).[3]

With reference to the Turkic-Mongolian peoples it appears that it was not until around the mid-first millennium BCE that mobile Indo-Iranian pastoralists would push beyond the Altai mountain into the regions of Central and Eastern Mongolia, which at this point was still largely the domain of settled proto-Turkic and Mongolic speaking agrarians and forest dwellers (Abetekov and Yusupov 1994: 46; Nicols 2011: 178). Accordingly it is somewhat likely that nomad groups during this period would also have contained many members who spoke early Turkic-Mongolian languages, but may have also adopted Indo-Iranian culture, values and beliefs through trade and intermarriage (Zvelebil 1980: 252-256; Mallory 1989: 288; Nicols 2011: 178).[4] For

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well as those at the dawn of the Iron Age in Inner Asia, we should be mindful not to "fix" specific singular points of origin for phenomena and life-ways without great deliberation.

[3] Moreover, recent scholarship has begun to highlight the role played by agriculture and other ongoing life-ways as well as mobile pastoralism in the transition towards the complex overlapping cultural networks of Inner Asian peoples from this time onwards (Chang 2008: 329-342; Wagner et al. 2011: 15733). The coining of terms such as "multiresource pastoralism" (Sneath 2007: 21; Chang 2012: 147) and "vertical economy" (Chang 2008: 330) to describe more holistically life-ways which encompassed diverse practices from agriculture to fishing and hunting throughout yearly nomadic cycles and amongst diverse Inner Asian confederations would seem to be extremely useful for discussing the similarities and differences inherent in different epochs and geographical locations throughout Inner Asian history.

[4] A recent genetic study of frozen burials in the Altai region by members of Barcelona University has suggested an expansion westwards by the genetically East Eurasian inhabitants on the eastern side of the Altai Mountains between the fifth and third centuries BCE, due to the technological boost received

this reason, in searching for the roots of mediaeval and even modern Turkic-Mongolian beliefs, many thinkers such as Eliade ([1951]1989: 266, 272-274) in his studies on shamanic practice and cosmology, and Skrynnikova (2002: 70; 2004: 527) who has identified a profound south-west Asian influence in the beliefs of the Western Mongols, have attempted to trace these phenomena back to the Inner Asian Indo-Iranian cultures of antiquity.

Thus, with particular reference to the topic of the symbolic use of the wolf amongst the Indo-Iranian nomads of the first millennium BCE there are several sources which would appear to prove useful in attempting to reassemble a possible picture of this.[5] Key to this is the notion that some of these appear to suggest the presence of *Männerbund*-type traditions in which groups of warriors imitated wolves in order to partake in their sacred power, as have already been discussed with regard to Ancient Italia and Greece in Chapter One. For instance, the tribal name *Sakā Išpakaya*, which is found in the Assyrian annals of 676 BCE, and whose name suggests "Dog Scythians" appears to be but the first of many contemporary seventh century BCE references to the Scythians as "valiant dogs" (Ivančik 1993: 326).[6]

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from interactions with mobile pastoral peoples of Western Eurasian descent who belonged to what is generally termed the Pazyryk culture of eastern Kazakhstan and southern Siberia (González-Ruiz et al. 2012 "Discussion"). Prior to this period Eastern and Western Eurasian genetic types appear to have existed entirely separately on the respective eastern and western sides of the Altai (*ibid.*). This discovery comes on the back of several other notable genetic researches beginning with Rudenko's (1970: 46-52) morphological designation of a wealthy couple interred at the site of Pazyryk in the Altai as a male of East Eurasian and a female of West Eurasian descent, and still appears to be upheld by modern scholars (Kim 2009: 114; González-Ruiz et al. 2012 "Introduction"). More recently Clisson et al.'s (2002: 304-308) and Ricault et al.'s (2004: 351-360) respective genetic studies of burials of third century BCE Kazakhstan and the fourth century BCE Altai region both suggest what appear to be double inhumations of a female of largely East Eurasian and a male of largely West Eurasian descent, neither of whom appear to be related directly to one another, and thus were most likely husband and wife.

[5] Jacobson (1993: 53) has pointed out the wolf in first millennium BCE Scytho-Siberian art appears to play an "ambiguous" role, fighting with other predatory mammals and birds of prey, but rarely if ever with deer, as other predators are often pictured. This leaves the nature of the animal in this context difficult to answer. However, it may be suggested that by posing the wolf against other predators its specific power was being emphasised. The early first millennium BCE rock carving at Baga Oigor in Mongolia in which pair of wolves attack a deer is a rare exception to this (*idem.* 2006: 185).

[6] To add to this, a fragment of the second century CE Greek military historian Polyaenus (VII.2.1 *ap.* Ivančik 1993: 316) has been understood to indicate a possible Greek recording of a portion of a Scythian epic (Ivančik 1993: 306-329), referring to the Scythians who fought and displaced the Cimmerians during the seventh century BCE as "most valiant dogs", appearing to link back also to *Männerbund* based canine imitation (Ivančik 1993: 311-312; Speidel 2004: 12). An Akkadian oracle from the God Shamash to the king Assarhaddon in 670 BCE also seems to confirm this regard for the Scythians as "valiant dogs" with the question: "Are they placing the valiant dogs of evil in their midst?" (v. 6 *ap.* Ivančik 1993: 323; Kershaw 2000: 172). Overlaps between the wolf and dog will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

Overlaps between the wolf and dog amongst the Scythians will be discussed in full in Chapter Five, but in relation purely to the wolf we should note the suggestion that the Scythian tribal name *haumavargā* recorded in Achaemenid Persian texts (DNa, 25, DSe, 24, XPh, 26 *ap.* Ivančik 1993: 316), may indicate "soma-wolves", the second half stemming from Iranian **v'rkta/* Avestan *vəhrka* ("wolf") (Ivančik 1993: 316; Golden 2010a: 153)[7] and Herodotus' (IV.105) description of the Neuri, another branch of the Scythic culture, who had the ability to take on the form of wolves once a year. All of these seem to indicate myths of tribal identity in connection with canids as well as possible sacred wolf and dog imitation by Inner Asian nomad warriors (Ivančik 1993: 316; Golden 2010a: 153).[8]

Further, Scythic peoples during the middle of the first millennium BCE most likely possessed a great deal of linguistic and cultural features in common with the most well attested Indo-Iranian people of antiquity, the Persians (Ivančik 2006: 147), though we should also be mindful of the strong influences which appear to have been exerted upon the formation of their imperial culture by the neighbouring Neo-Elamite Empire.[9] The story of the Persian Emperor Cyrus II (Cyrus the Great) offers a good

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[7] The worship of the sacred intoxicant *hauma* (Skt. *soma*) by pre-Zoroastian Indo-Iranian nomads, from the Khotanese Saka to the Kushans is widely attested linguistically (Harmatta et al. 1994: 315-316). Other suggested etymologies for *haumavargā* are the rather stretched "soma-drinkers" (from Ir. *–velg* "damp" Schmid 1978: 21), and "soma-worshippers" (from Av. hapax *var-əxədra* "ritual utterance" Bailey 1971: 15 *or* the unsupported IE. **bhergh-* "worship" Gershevitch 1969: 168). "Soma-layers" (from Av./Ved. *Varj* "lay [around]/turn over" which is used in relation to sacred grass cf. Hoffman 1976: 612 n. 6; Jacobs 1982: 78) is perhaps more reasonable, but is reliant on regarding *soma* as a burned ritual intoxicant- utterly unattested elsewhere- and with equivalency to cannabis, which is described as being used in Herodotus (IV.75.1) as an intoxicant in ritual steam baths by the Scythians. There is also the possibility that the Amyrgioi Saka tribe mentioned in Herodotus (VII. 76.4) are in fact a Greek rendering of the *haumavargā,* though Narain (1987: 30) has noted that whilst the former appear to represent a confederation of tribes, the latter are simply a single tribe.

[8] However, Wikander's (1938) Iranian lupine *Männerbund* theory based upon the word *mairiya* (thief), which is never found in the plural, is now generally regarded as baseless (Boyce 1989: 102 n. 110; Skjærvø 2011: 88).

[9] Recently Potts (2005: 7-28; 2008: 195-206) and Álvarez-Mon (2013: 457-459) have emphasised the Neo-Elamite influence on the rise to power of Cyrus the Great and Achaemenid political structure, due to a perceived imbalance caused by treating the Persians through a largely "Indo-Iranian lens" in previous scholarship (Potts 2005: 7; cf. Sumner 1986). This indeed appears to be of great value in developing a more holistic analysis of the ascension of the Achaemenids and their cultural *milieu*. However, suggestions to the effect that the Persians were already present in *Fārs* prior to the second millennium BCE, made purely on the archaeological "cultural diversity" of these regions (Potts 2005: 7-9; cf. Waters 2011: 286-287) would seem to remain largely hypothetical at present. Previously scholars have read the abandonment of the Neo-Elamite capital Anšan (Tal-e Manyan) c. 900 BCE as a Persian invasion from the Inner Asian steppes (Curtis 2005: 112-132), and the archaeologically paucity of *Fārs* between 1000 BCE and the rise of the Achaemenids as signs of a nomadic pastoralist society in the region (Sumner 1986). Until more evidence is uncovered, however, both Potts (2005: 21) and Álvarez-Mon (2013: 457, 470) willingly admit that these usual assumptions, though weak, remain

example of animal nurture, which appears to share key parallels with the Indo-Iranian wolf and dog connections already described. Cyrus was exposed as a baby in the wilderness, we are told, due to his grandfather Astyages' fear that the child would usurp him and was nursed by a dog, which was rationalised to a nursemaid named *Cyno* in Greek and *Spaka* in Median (both meaning "bitch") (Hdt. I. 107-110; Justin. *Epit.* I.4).[10] Herodotus (I.122.3) tries to further rationalise the story, which appears to have been fairly well known, in the following manner after Cyrus' later return to his actual parents:

> "He (Cyrus) said that he had been nursed by the wife of the herdsman. He was always praising her and Kyno was constantly part of his conversation. So that their son's survival would seem to the Persians to be of greater divinity, his parents took up the name and they concocted the story that a dog had nursed Cyrus when he had been abandoned. It is from this that the story spread" (Hdt. I.122.3).[11]

Thus, it is also apposite to note at this point in the discussion in relation to Cyrus, that in the Zoroastrian or Mazdean religion,[12] practiced by the Achaemenid Persians, the

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themselves not necessarily invalid possibilities. As Henkelman (2012: 933ff) suggests, the Achaemenid culture was "inclusive and far from limited to inherited Indo-Iranian traditions", and for this reason no aspect of the Persian culture should be downplayed. Nonetheless, I am yet to find any connections within the bounds of Elamite or other Near Eastern cultures of this period in relation to canine imitation or nursing.

[10] Hdt. I.110.1: "He (Harpagus) straight away sent a messenger to one of Astyages' cowherds he knew pastured most suitable fields and mountains infested with wild beasts. His name was Mitradates, and he lived together with another of his slaves, and the name of the woman with whom he lived was Kyno in Greek, and in Median Spako: for the Medes call a dog *spaka*". Refer to **App. 1** for original Greek text. Note that in Justin's (*Epit.* 1.4) version there is a dog found nursing the child and later the woman's name is changed to *Spako* as a result of this. This will be analysed further in Chapter Five.

[11] The protests inherent in Herodotus' (I.122) "Ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε" ("it is from this that the story spread") suggests that notion that he had been nursed by a dog was well known. As seen in Chapter One Cyrus' canine nursing appears in many later catalogues of animal nurses.

[12] Mazdaism is succinctly summarised by Hamzeh'ee (1997: 108) as the "pre-Zoroastrian religious system which remained strong in Western Iran even after the reform of Zoroastrianism and its adoption by ruling Persian families….our knowledge of Mazdaism is very limited". Nevertheless, to what degree Cyrus was "Zoroastrian" or "Mazdean" appears to be a difficult matter to solve. Boyce (1989 *passim*) seems to assume him to be thoroughly Zoroastrian, though she also makes mention of other Indo-Iranians such as the Vedic and Scythic peoples in reference to the burial of Achaemenid aristocrats in cairns after Cyrus' time and the regular horse sacrifices performed at Cyrus' tomb to ensure a pleasant afterlife (*ibid.* 111-112, 122-123). De Jong (1997: 43-60) presents a thorough overview of the difficult problem of delineating Zoroastrianism from pre-existing Mazdean belief in which he aptly divides the prevalent attitudes amongst scholars into *fragmentising* (that Indo-Iranian religion in antiquity represented many different practices which overlapped with one another cf. Widengren 1988: 1-22), *harmonising* (conflating diverse Indo-Iranian beliefs into an equivalency with Zoroastrianism cf. Boyce 1989 *passim*) and *diversifying* (that Indo-Iranian religion and even formalised Zoroastrianism during the Sasanian period was naturally diverse and should not be tied down to a single definition cf. Shaked 1994 *passim*). In light of this, I believe we should note parallels between

dog was regarded as the animal of the chief god (Ahura) Mazda, and in its protective capacity over herdsmen's flocks is somewhat directly opposed by the wolf, which was regarded as purely evil under the religion's dualistic schema (*Vend. Farg.* XIII. 8, 10, 11; Boyce 1989: 279; Simoons 1994: 241-242).[13] Thus older Indo-Iranian wolf-nurture mythic structures may have been civilised to that of the more positive dog in connection with Cyrus, especially as the area the child was supposed to be exposed in was one synonymous with being θηριωδέστατα (infested with wild beasts) (Hdt. I. 110.1).

In support of this, we also find in relation to the Persian prophet Zoroaster one late myth from the ninth century CE *Denkart* (VII. 3.15-17; Hinnells 1985: 94), in which the young prophet is exposed to a number of ordeals including being nursed by a sheep in the lair of a wolf that is miraculously struck with lockjaw by Ahura Mazda. Boyce (1989: 279 n. 9), as mentioned in the Introduction, has suggested that the lateness of the written *Denkart* Zoroaster wolf-myth in conjunction with the wide attestation of Sasanian seals featuring twins being nurtured by a she-wolf (see Chapter One), may suggest that this wolf myth did not take form until this period, under Roman influence. However, contrary to Boyce's (1989: 279) view that the she-wolf "accepted him among her own cubs", the wolf's cubs are first slaughtered in the *Denkart* (VII. 3.15-17) in order to encourage the wolf to harm Zoroaster. Nothing is said of the wolf accepting Zoroaster, merely her being struck with lockjaw and a sheep being brought to feed the infant prophet (VII.3. 15-17; Hinnells 1985: 94). More importantly, Book VII of the *Denkart* appears to be composed of much earlier poetic quotations from now lost Avestic works (Widengren 1988: 5-6). As we only have a single extant *Vita* (life) of the prophet Zoroaster it is difficult to judge the age of its contents, though it most likely originated in antiquity and not the usually agreed ninth century CE dating for the completed *Denkart* (Widengren 1988: 5). Thus, the notion that this tale may have its basis in the Romulus and Remus story appears less likely; on the contrary it seems that the Persians already possessed similar myths, and hence adoption of the image of Romulus and Remus and the she-wolf because of its

Indo-Iranian religions where they appear to exist, but simultaneously also be aware that the outgrowth of myth and ritual is naturally diverse and meaning is apt to change over time and between cultures.

[13] Plutarch (*Mor.* V. 369d) refers to the sacrifice of wolves to Ahriman, the evil god of Zoroastrianism, though this may represent Ahriman as a lower Mithraic "archon" demon to be appeased rather than the higher position ascribed to this deity in Zoroastrian thought (Bianchi 1975: 458-460). However, the connection between wolf sacrifice and negative spirits would still seem to stand.

correspondence with some of their own beliefs seems more plausible (Azarpay 1988: 354). In fact, the coordination of the nursing of a wolf cub and the beating of wolf-men with clubs alongside the Roman insignia on Sasanian seals (see Chapter One) suggests a complex system of positive and pejorative wolf-myths and lupine imitation, which due to lack of other contemporary evidence on this subject is now sadly very difficult to reconstruct (Azarpay 1988: 354).

This having been said with regard to wolf and dog nurture amongst the Persians, it would seem reasonable to conclude that in reference both to Cyrus and Zoroaster, deliberate anti-wolf nurture myths may have taken form in antiquity against earlier pre-Zoroastrian beliefs regarding powerful culture heroes and tribal names, as are attested amongst the Scythians. Moreover, in mediaeval Iranic epic both dog and wolf nursing myths and metaphors came to be primarily used as stock methods for explaining the wickedness and violent natures of antagonistic characters.[14] This, however, does not account for the attitudes of antiquity and the positive light with which the rituals of the Scythians and Persians seem to associate both the dog and the wolf on one hand, and on the other the appearance of merely the dog, though the clear retentions of wolf worship from prior to Zoroastrianism have also been shown. Further grounds for the suggestion that amongst pre-Zoroastrian Indo-Iranian nomads the wolf was not regarded as entirely evil, but merely a powerful entity may be suggested by Edel'man's (2003: 126-127) proposed analysis of the wolf euphemism and root *daiua* as "belonging to god, raised by God, God's creature" rather than the demonic connotations it would later seem to have taken on in the living south-western Indo-Iranian languages.[15] If this is so, then it may explain to

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[14] Mediaeval Persian epics and historical chronicles regularly appear to make use of the motif of dog and wolf nurture (Binder 1964: 17-57; Digard et al. 2011: VII.5 463), but in a thoroughly negative manner, where it often is seen as a stock symbol of violence and wickedness. For instance, the twelfth century CE *Mojmal al-tawārīḵ* chronicle (*ibid*) ascribes Soqlāb's father's violent behaviour to him having been nursed by a bitch. Also in its sections pertaining to the *Bahman-nāma* epic cycle this is repeated several times in the *Mojmal al-tawārīḵ* in relation to other violent characters (Īrānšāh 268. 4379 *ap.* Digard et al. 2011: VII.5 462-463) Further, in oral versions of the *Shah-name* the chartacter Afrāsīāb also receives this same mythic treatment (Enjavī 1354 Š./1975L 96-97 *ap.* (Digard et al. 2011: VII.5 463), as does the wicked king Żaḥḥāk, who is said to have been nursed by a she-wolf (Enjavī 1357 Š./1978: 23 *ap.* Digard et al. 2011: VII.5 463), and not merely a dog. Boḵtonnaṣr (Nebuchadnezzar), also, as a wicked ruler in Persian epic is sometimes characterised as having been nursed by a dog three times a day when abandoned by his parents as a child (Enjavī 1973b: 27 *ap.* Digard et al. 2011: VII.5 463).

[15] In relation to this divine *daiua-* stem basis for the wolf, it should be noted that Eisler (1969: 136-137) and Eliade ([1958]1995: 11-12) have observed that Strabo (VII. 3, 12, XI. 508, 511,512) lists the Scythians of the Caspian coast under the name Δάοι on multiple occasions. Hesychius also records that

some degree the miracle inherent in the abandonment of blessed founding figures and their survival due to the divine ownership of the wild animal in question. This will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

In relation to the intercultural value of the Cyrus myth and the Greco-Roman tradition, the rationalisation of the dog as a nurse with a dog's name would seem to echo the pejorative *lupa* as prostitute rather than wolf in connection with the Romulus and Remus myth, as well as the exposure of the child on the basis of the ruler's fear of usurpation (see Chapter One). In addition, it has also been suggested, that like the Romulus and Remus myth and the *Lupercalia*'s patrician and later *eques* (knight class) *sodalites* (brotherhoods), that the story of Cyrus' abandonment and nursing may also have had an initiatory aspect to it in relation to a *Männerbund* of young Persians aristocrats of this period (Binder 1964: 17-39; Alföldi 1974: 135-141), as is detailed by Strabo (XV.3.18) in his etymology of the Persian *kárdakes* as "living by brigandage". These historiographical similarities will be discussed in full detail in the Comparative Section of this thesis (see Chapter Five). A further reason for pursuing this line of investigation regarding Cyrus and Romulus is that thinkers such as Negmatov (1992: 236), Mori (1992: 340-344 *ap.* Jila 2006: 173-174) and Ota (2005: 195) have considered these two myths as possibly linked through migrations by the Etruscans from Asia Minor. However, this view would seem to be highly anachronistic, as the Etruscans most likely were in Italia by the early first millennium BCE (Kleiner 2009: 143), and the Persians before their first mention as 646 BCE appear to have still been dwelling in the modern eastern Iranian province of *Fārs*, nominally under the rule of the Neo-Elamite Empire (Dandamaev 1989: 10-14; Waters 2011: 290-292).[16] Further, there are no other Anatolian myths recorded, which appear to approximate the two in question during this formative period.[17] Rather, as

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Phrygian Δάος as meaning wolf, with which Iranian *daunus/daulus* "wolf" may also be connected (Eisler 1969: 136; Eliade [1958] 1995: 11). Latvian *dieva suns* (God's dog= wolf) (Edel'man 2003: 126) may also fit this trend.

[16] Even this relatively late date appears to rely upon taking the seventh century BCE figure Cyrus the Anšanite from the PFS 93* seal, Cyrus of Parsumaš, who deigned to Ashurbanipal in 646 BCE and Cyrus the Great's grandfather, Cyrus I, to be the same person, for which there is very little historical grounds and only evidence for Cyrus II claiming rulership of both Anšan and Parsumaš at a much later date (Potts 2005: 13ff; Waters 2011: 292-293). The name Cyrus (*Kuraš*) may in fact represent an Elamite throne name or toponym (Potts 2005: 21-22), which appears to be reflected in a river "Cyrus" mentioned by Strabo (XV.3.6) from which the ruler is said to have taken his name, though such explicit connections remain difficult to verify (Waters 2011: 289-290).

[17] Later ones from the Hellenistic Period may be found in **App. 2** of my thesis.

will be shown in Chapter Five a more holistic approach to mythic *foci* in Eurasia and chief role played in this by Scythic cultures during the early and mid- first millennium BCE would seem a more reasonable suggestion.

2. Kun-mo and the Wu-sun Myth of Wolf- Nurture.

With this is mind it is now suitable to proceed to the first of the wolf myths of the nomads of Mongolia and Northern China, which scholars such as Sinor (1997: 331) and Golden (2010: 163) have suggested as bearing strong elements of Indo-Iranian influences in reference to the warrior as wolf and the miraculous nurture themes described. The myth in question concerns the origins of the Wu-sun, a people closely neighbouring, politically involved with and compared on a cultural level to the Xiong-nu confederation of nomads in Chinese sources, due to the perception of similar nomadic herding practices and political influence (So 2009: 133). The Xiong-nu Empire ruled over much of Mongolia, Eastern Kazakhstan and Northern China between the third century BCE and the first century CE through loose intertribal ties encompassing both nomadic and agro-nomadic peoples (Barfield 1981: 45-47; Amartuvshin et al. 2009: 372; Kim 2013: 173ff).[18] The myth in question occurs in two slightly different versions in both the late first century BCE *Shi Ji* of Sima Qian and the *Han Shu* of Bangu that followed it in the late first century CE (Hardy and Behnke Kinney 2005: xxi). In both cases it is related through Zhang Qian, a Han diplomat who was sent by the Emperor Wu-di to build ties with the nomad Zou-zhi (Yuezhi) people in 139 BCE, but was captured and held prisoner by the Xiong-nu for ten years before he finally reached his destination (Jila 2006: 163). The myth in question is given in the *Shi Ji* from the Xiong-nu perspective as:

> "The Wu-sun live about two thousand miles northeast of Da-yuan. The country moves and lives from cattle. The customs are the same as those of the Xiong-nu…Later I heard many times about the emperor Da-xia from Zhang-qian. After Qian had lost his rank of *hou* he said the following: 'At the time he had lived among the Xiong-nu he had heard that the Wu-sun call their king Kun-Mo. Kun-mo's father had been a king of a small country to the west of the Xiong-nu. The Xiong-nu had

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[18] Kradin (2002: 368-388) proposes that the Xiong-nu were not a "state" because they did not have a proper fixed beaurocracy, which is necessary for his definition. Both Sneath (2007: 21ff) and Kim (2013: 173) disagree with this view, positing models of valid "statehood" in which the rulership is decentralised and was dependant upon the charisma of the ruling elite.

attacked Kun-mo's father and had attempted to kill him [Kuno-mo] by exposing him in the desert while he was still alive. A crow[19] appeared and flew over him with meat in its beak. A wolf also arrived and gave him its milk to drink. Chan-yu found this to be strange and wondered whether Kun-mo might not be a god. He took him in and raised him. After he had grown up and was entrusted with leading the troops he distinguished himself repeatedly in war. Upon this Chan-yu entrusted him with his father's people. For a long time he protected the western lands. Kun-mo invited these populations to accept his rule and settle. He attacked the neighbouring small countries and eventually he became the ruler over several tens of thousands of people, whom he accustomed to warfare. When Chan-yu died Kun-mo led the people to a far place, and made them independent. In this way he stopped paying homage to the Xiong-nu. The Xiong-nu dispatched cavalry to attack him but they could not overcome him. And so they thought that he might be a god and moved far away from him". (Sima Qian *Shi Ji* 1972.3168 Jila trans. 2006: 163-164).[20]

In order to analyse this myth it is apposite to begin with the ethnic composition and cultural influences which may have given rise to the Wu-sun myth in question. During the period of the Xiong-nu Empire the core tribes of the Xiong-nu most likely spoke early dialects of the Turkic and Mongolian languages, though Indo-Iranian cultural elements during this period most likely still remained highly influential (Janhunen 1996: 189; Nicols 2011: 168; Kim 2013: 29).[21] More importantly, in reference to the myth it should be noted that the name Kun-mo is actually a title, and

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[19] Hulsewé (1979: 215) translates the single crow here as "ravens…hovering at [the child's] side" in reference both to the *Han Shu* and his description of the *Shi Ji* (Hulsewé 1979: 215 n. 805). However, the multiplicity or singularity would not appear to implicate a serious issue of symbolism here.

[20] See **App. 1** for the later *Han Shu* variant, in which Zhang Qian himself is entrusted with bringing up Kun-mo and is thus directly involved in the tale rather than merely hearing of it during his captivity. Pulleyblank (1970: 154-160) has recognised that this variant is littered with later interpolations and anachronisms by the chronicler, so as to connect the Zou-Zhi (Yuezhi) migration into Dayüan (Bactria/Ferghana) with Kun-mo's revenge against them, rather than the Xiong-nu in the earlier version.

[21] In reference to the Wu-sun themselves, a late seventh century CE comment appended to the *Han Shu*, describes the Wu-sun as possessing Europoid features such as green eyes and red hair (Jila 2006: 162). We are also told that there were both strong *Sai* (Scythic) and Zou-Zhi (Yuezhi) elements amongst the Wu-sun population (Pulleyblank 1970: 159). For this reason, the possibility of the retention of earlier Indo-Iranian nomadic traditions in connection with the wolf would seem highly likely, whether or not the Wu-sun were the Turkic ancestors of the Kyrgyz and Kazakh peoples (Jila 2006: 162), or Indo-Iranian, as others have asserted (So 2009: 132-137). The notion that the Xiong-nu were composed of a Yeniseian Indo-Iranian elite due to the perceived Iranic nature of their rulers' names and exerted rulership over a largely Turkic-Mongolian speaking core further east (Bailey 1985: 24ff; Pulleyblank 2000: 62-65; Vovin 2000: 87-104) or were completely Türkic-speaking (Benjamin 2007:49), are perhaps too clear cut in its centring of Xiong-nu rulership upon a specific linguistic and racial basis (Kim 2013: 29). As mentioned in n. 4, during the Xiong-nu period genetic populations appear to have been thoroughly mixed on both sides of the Altai, which suggests the possibility that linguistic ones most likely also were.

not the ruler's name, which is later given in the *Shi Ji* as Lieh-chiao-mi (Pulleyblank 1970: 158). Zuev (2002: 26) has explained the Chinese transcription Kun-mo as "…khun-mo (< γuən-mak)" meaning Iranic "*hvar-baγ* (sun-god)".[22] However, *Fuli*, a title generally accepted as a Chinese transcription of *böri* (wolf) amongst the later Türks (Findley 1995: 38-39), and first found in reference to the son of a second century BCE Wu-sun ruler (Zuev 2002: 36; Jila 2006: 168; So 2009: 132-133), may shed some more light on this. In a later passage in his work Zuev (2003: 36) contends that *Fuli* shares the same root as Avestan *wahrko* (wolf) and Sogdian *wyrk* (wolf), with the final –k lost. Thus, it would seem just as appropriate to suggest that the *hvar* of *hvar-baγ* (Kun-mo) might also mean "wolf" and thus the compound "wolf god" instead.[23] This would fit well with both the wolf and the element of perceived divinity by the Xiong-nu given in both versions of the Kun-mo story, rather than Zuev's (2002: 10) proposed solar ruler symbolism. The use and continuation of *Fuli* by the Göktürk aristocracy would also appear to connect the ongoing importance of wolf nature myths in this same region (Findley 1995: 38-39).

Moreover, the crow aspect to this nurture myth also seems to deserve some attention. Literally the name Wu-sun, possibly pronounced *asman* during this period (Zuev 2002: 23), would seem to literally mean "grandsons of the crow" in Chinese (Pulleyblank 1970: 156; Hulsewé 1979: 215 n. 805). This suggests that the crow possessed just as much importance to these people as the wolf did as a tribal benefactor.[24] The importance of the crow in conjunction with the wolf in the Wu-sun myth is defended by the connections Jila (2006: 162,166) has endeavoured to show with regard to the well attested joint relationship between these two animals as co-nurturers of divine children in Inner Asian oral myth, extending to that of the prominent nineteenth century CE Mongolian Buddhist lama Jiambel Jöngdiu and the

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[22] Findley (1995: 45) believes *bag* came into the culture of the Türks due to Sogdian influence. However, as Maciuszak (2010: 49-57) has shown the presence of the same root in Vedic Sanskrit, Avestan and the Scythian title *Βάγης* it is just as possible to assume that it belonged to an older Indo-Iranian linguistic stratum amongst the Wu-sun.

[23] For this reason, *böri* and its Chinese transcription *Fuli* may represent a later pronunciation of *hvar*, perhaps a proto-Turkic one, as it appears multiple times amongst the later Göktürks and their descendants (Findley 1995: 38-39).

[24] Pulleyblank (1970: 156), to the contrary, has denied this and insists that the crow element is entirely the result of Chinese folk etymology based on a pun on the Wus-sun's unknown actual name, and that originally only the wolf was present in the tale. Zuev (2002: 23), comparatively, suggests that *asman* (Wu-sun) was from an Iranian word meaning sky, but gives no evidence for this. Rather, regardless of the actual name of the Wu-sun people, what is given appears at very least a phonetic transcription of the name (Beckwith 2011: 366 n. 12).

eponymous hero of the living Oirat Mongol epic cycle *Jangar*. This relationship pattern is also enforced with earlier evidence in a statement made by Chingis Khan to his warrior Gunigadai Qunang in the thirteenth century CE *Secret History of the Mongols* in which he is praised as attacking "in the dark night like a male wolf, in bright day like a crow" (§ 210; de Rachewiltz 2004: 795; Jila 2006: 167).[25] Jila (2006: 168) also points out several Mongolian proverbs which would appear to further illuminate the nomads' ongoing belief regarding the wolf and crow and a magical symbiotic relationship they are seen to possess in connection with supplying the location of carrion to one another.[26] These are: "*bookhai-yin terigün-dü keriye; borugan-u terigün-dü salhi*" ("before the wolf, the crow; before rain, the wind") and "*chino dagagsan keriye shig; jobalga goridagsan nohoi shig*" ("like a crow who has followed a wolf; like a dog who has devoured the leftover bones") (Jila 2006: 168). This suggests that as wild animals connected with carrion and killing, the wolf and crow symbolically reinforced the militaristic and numinous quality of the Wu-sun ruler and later nomad culture heroes in this region. Further, as to the perceived "divinity" of Kun-mo by the Xiong-nu as both warrior and the recipient of wolf and crow nurture (Sima Qian *Shi Ji* 1972.3168 *ap.* Jila 2006: 163-164), this would seem to suggest the possibility that the myth in question may have been connected with a Wu-sun or Xiong-nu deity who ruled over these aspects as a patron to the tribal ruler. In defence of this, it is useful to note Jila's (2006: 168) citation in connection with the Wu-sun myth of the widely spread modern Mongolian oral folk tale of *Boldog Ugei Boru Öbgön* (The Impossible Old Man Boru), in which the wolf and crow work together as servants to the chief god *Han Hormazd Tenger* (The Chief of the Gods

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[25] In the *Secret History* several disparaging references to the crow as a negative and lowly carrion eater are found such as when Čilger, cheated out of the captured fiancée of Temüǰin, Börte Üǰin, describes himself angrily as a black crow fated to live off eating skin and carrion (§111). Further, when Jamuqa is betrayed to Chingis Khan by his own men he tells Chingis "It has come to pass that the black crow has captured the mandarin duck. It has come to pass that the commoner and slave has captured his master and *khan*" (§200). The wolf is also regarded as a monstrous animal in the text, such as in its inclusion in Hö'elün Üǰin's poetic abuse to Temüǰin and her other sons for killing their older half brother (§78). Both animals would thus seem to be capable of embodying both strong positive and negative qualities depending upon the situation due to their connection with carnivorousness and death.
[26] The Inner Asian nomads have lived since antiquity largely on a diet of meat and milk, which is what is supplied in this myth by the wolf and crow respectively (Sima Qian *Shi Ji* 1972.3168 *ap.* Jila 2006: 163-164). In many of the Turkic-Mongolian epic cycles which began during the middle ages such as *Manas, Er Töshtük* and *Khan Märgan* heroes often develop at fantastic rates, eating meat and drinking up all their mother's breast milk as soon as they are born (Chadwick 156-157; cf. RaD.*Hist. Oguz* XVIII section 590v 54; *SHM* §244). Premature adulthood with regard to food and hunting appears to be a symbol of foreboding power (Chadwick 156-157).

Ahura Mazda).[27] For this reason, and with these connections in mind, it might be possible to suggest that beneath *Han Hormazd Tenger* there may lay an older substratum connecting these two animals with ancient Indo-Iranian notions of animal nurture, a supreme male deity,[28] and divine patronage of powerful figures through abandonment in the wilderness.[29] Moreover, as is noted by Jila (2006: 173-174) and Beckwith (2011: 366 n. 12) in relation to this myth's twin nurses and Plutarch's coupling (*Rom.* IV. 2) of the wolf and woodpecker nursing Romulus and Remus, these would seem to present an uncanny similarity in some ways between these two myths (see Chapter One). As both the wolf and woodpecker were animals sacred to the twins' father Mars (Plut. *Rom.* IV.2) in the same way the proposed Indo-Iranian Wu-sun deity may also have shared similar qualities in connection with his holy servants, the crow and wolf. These similarities will be dealt with in full in the Comparative Section of this thesis (see Chapter Five).

3. Ashina and the Türks.

We now move onto the second mythic example to be discussed in this chapter. It should be noted that with the disintegration of the Xiong-nu Empire in the first century BCE, we begin to see the rise of nomad ethnicities in the regions of Mongolia

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[27] However, Jila does not expand on this notion. In enlarging this, little more than the name and supremacy of the Persian Zoroastrian deity Ahura Mazda would seem to be indicated in modern Mongolian religious thought. Waida (1996: 222) points out a good example of this in a Buriat myth involving a flower growing contest between the sons of Ormazd Tenger (Ahura Mazda). The flower story is of Buddhist origin but has been seemingly adapted to the older Buriat pantheon. This suggests the ease with which layers could be added to the name and figure of *Han Hormazd Tenger* as the supreme deity. For that matter, *Han Hormazd Tenger* is found only in the beliefs of the Western Mongols, Tuvans and Siberian Buriats (Van Deusen 2006: 45), amongst whom, more importantly, there is strong evidence of ancient pre-Zoroastrian Indo-Iranian influence in reference to religious social structure and a hierarchy of many opposed left/right-east/west deities (Skrynnikova 2002: 70). Rather, the Eastern Mongolian and early Turkic peoples prior to conversion to Manichaeism, Islam and Buddhism appear to have venerated merely the twin deities of Sky (*Tngri*) and Earth (*Umai*) (Skrynnikova 2002: 70).
[28] Buriat and Yakut Ülgen (The Great One) who rules over thirty-three *tngri* assistants (Eliade 1996: 61), appears to represent a similar figure to the pre-Manichaean supreme divine position suggested.
[29] In the thirteenth century CE *Kitabi Dedem Korkut* the hero Basat is nursed by a lion, and when found repeatedly returns to the lion's den (VIII 140), exemplifying his later fearlessness as a warrior. Bodončar, a divinely blessed ancestor of Temüjin (Chingis Khan) in *The Secret History of the Mongols* survives in the wilderness due to adopting a falcon that catches so much game for him that hung from the trees it rots (§25-27). According to Ibn Dawadari's fourteenth century CE account of the origins of the Mongols, they were descended from a Tibetan woman who gave birth to a child who was carried off into the forest by an eagle and raised by beasts. The wild boy then married a woman who was one of seven people fleeing the destruction of a previous tribe. From this union Tatar Khan, ancestor of Chingis Khan was born (Deweese 1994: 281-282). All of these suggest the divine abundance inherent in myths of abandoned children who are blessed by the gods through the agency of wild animals.

and Northern China which appear to show Turkic-Mongolian aspects more clearly (Rolle 1989: 65; Nicols 2011: 178). Confederations of largely Turkic-Mongolian tribes such as the Tiele and Xianbei were to arise during this period, until they themselves crumbled by the middle of the first millennium CE with the formation of the First Göktürk (Türkic) Empire centred in the Orkhon valley in Mongolia, first mentioned in 439 CE as servants of the Rouran (Juan-Juan) (Golden 1992: 116).

It is amongst the Göktürks, particularly their ruling family called the Ashina that a particular variation on the pattern of wolf-nurture is found, which in many ways was to form a myth of sacred ancestry the various Turkic peoples and later the Mongols would attempt to partake in, in order to cement their power bases as divine rulers. The first written records of the Ashina myth in question comes from the Chinese early seventh century CE *Zhou Shu* chronicle:

> "Enemies defeated and destroyed all the Ashina, except for a ten-year-old boy, whose feet they cut off.[30] A she-wolf saved him, feeding him meat. He grew up and mated with her. Learning that the boy was still alive, the neighbouring king again sent troops to destroy him. The she-wolf escaped to a mountain cave near Turfan in what is now Xinjiang province. Inside the cave was a large grassy plain surrounded by mountains. Hiding in those mountains, the wolf gave birth to ten boys, each of whom grew up, married a woman from outside, and had children. Each child took a family name, one of them taking the name A-shih-na. After several generations, they emerged from the cave and became subjects of the Rouran, working for them as ironsmiths". (*Zhou Shu* fol. 50. 908 *ap.* Findley 1995: 39).[31]

In beginning with the analysis of this wolf-nurture variant, perhaps it should be noted that it appears to possess a circularity. From the evidence given in would seem that the Ashina people have to be destroyed for the child Ashina to recreate them (*Zhou Shu* vol. 50 *ap.* Findley 1995: 39). In order to explain this it may be possible to suggest that the myth or the major *foci* of it at least, had been borrowed from an earlier nomad group to whom the Ashina belonged and had split from. Inner Asian

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[30] The Chinese version also claims that the soldiers spared Ashina and only cut his limbs off out of "compassion" (Sinor 1982: 226; Drompp 2011: 516)

[31] The *Sui-Shu* illuminates this a little, placing their slavery as "five hundred families" to the Rouran in The Golden Mountain, which is most likely the Altai region, and listing their persecutor as Tai Wei, the emperor of the Later Wei dynasty (*Sui Shu* 84.1863 *ap.* Mau-Tsai 1958: 40).

nomad rulers from antiquity to the Mongol Empire were reliant upon assembling a band of warriors to enforce their *törü* (power)[32] via their divinised *sülde* (charisma) (Skrynnikova 2004: 528; Allsen 2009: 1-3; Sneath 2007: 178-180). The retention of the earlier attested Wu-sun title *Fuli* (*böri-* wolf) by the Göktürks to illustrate in their culture the band of aristocratic warriors surrounding the *khan* or ruler (Findley 1995: 38-39; Stark 2008: 243) suggests this as a likely possibility.

Thus, it appears possible to suggest that in this situation, either a long lasting retention of the Indo-Iranian tradition of the *Männerbund* of wolf-warriors and myths of wolf-nurture, or a coincidental parallel occurring at this time amongst the Göktürks, gave rise to a multiple of "wolves" who periodically broke from their rulers, migrated to found their own tribe, and reappropriated the myth in order to substantiate their own legitimacy. The ongoing pattern of the combination of warrior as wolf and wolf as totemic ancestor or patron of the Inner Asian nomad ruler from antiquity to the middle ages would seem to suggest more than a coincidental parallel, even if elements behind these traditions changed over time and under specific cultural conditions. To reinforce this, from the time of the Göktürks, Chinese scholars attest at least one other ancestral use of the wolf amongst a Turkic-Mongolian confederation - that of the Gao-che (High-Cart) people, a faction of the Tiele, who possessed a male lupine ancestor (Golden 2010a: 154).[33] This difference of a male wolf ancestor, as will be later shown in connection with the Mongols, may represent a possessor of the proposed aristocratic wolf nature, inherited from earlier myths, which over time came to emphasise him as founder, obscuring the seemingly older she-wolf nurture myth.

With regard to the intercultural value of this myth, it should also be noted that the first intimations of the Ashina myth can be traced to the Bugut monument in Mongolia, constructed during the First Göktürk interregnal period of c. 581-587 CE

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[32] The Turkic term is *kut* or divine order, which descends through the ruler to his people (Findley 1995: 44, 49; Allsen 2009: 1).

[33] We should emphatically note that this section is a political tract in which the Han are vindicated for *not* having an animal ancestor (Golden 2010a: 154). Further, in the Chinese sixth century CE *Wei Shu* chronicle and then again in the ninth century CE *Pei Shi*, a wolf nurture myth for the Xiong-nu is also given (White 1991: 135), though the lateness of the material would seem to suggest that this myth may have belonged to another nomadic people and was reappropriated by the Chinese historians anachronistically. See **App. 1** for the text of this.

(Kljashtornyj and Livšic 1972: 69-104; Yoshida and Moriyasu 1999: 123),[34] which features an image of a wolf with a human child beneath it (Zuev 2002: 88; Aylimaz 2006: 53 **Fig. 1**). This is the earliest example of the many Orkhon Türk rock inscriptions, and the only one to date from the period of the First Göktürk Empire (Drompp 2011: 521). Curiously, in comparison with the later use of the Orkhon Türkic runic alphabet of the Second Göktürk Empire (eighth to ninth c. CE), the two inscriptions on the Bugut monument are in Sogdian and Sanskrit, suggesting the strong influence of both Sogdian and Indic culture at this time (Golden 2006: 142; Drompp 2011: 521).[35] The choice of the image of the child and wolf for this monument also suggests such a symbol's prominence to the Göktürks and the need to communicate it to an outside audience through trade languages, rather than their own or Chinese (Drompp 2011: 521).[36] Such intercultural concerns will be dealt with at fuller length in Chapter Five of this thesis.

It is also apposite to mention here that in their emergence into empire during the sixth and seventh centuries CE, the loose confederation of tribes which composed the Göktürk state came to carve out a territory extending across the steppe region from Manchuria to the Black Sea by the 570's (Czeglédy 1983: 25-125; Golden 1992:

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[34] As to dating, the monument makes mention of both the ruler Muhan-Tegin (reigned c. 554-572 CE) and what Kljaštornyj and Livšic (1972: 69-102) translate as Mahan-Tegin (*my'n tykyn*). Mahan-Tegin appears to be merely another name, or mistranslation on Kljaštornyj and Livšic's part for Muhan's Buddhist successor Maγan Taspar/Tatpar Qagan (ch. *Anluo*) who ruled from 572 CE to 581 CE (cf. *my' t'tp-'r* in Yoshida and Moriyasu 1999: 122-124). Stark (2008: 72 n. 320) has also noticed the problem that both readings of the monument mention a Niwār Qaγan (*nw'r x'γ'n*) (Kljaštornyj and Livšic 1972: 69-102; Yoshida and Moriyasu 1999: 123), presumed to be Ishbara (Er Shad/ Ch. *Shabolue*) (r. 581-587), who, following Taspar's death was one of the four successors to the throne, until he and another of the contenders *Apa* (Toremen) died in 587 CE. Stark (2008: 72 n. 320) thus suggests two possibilities: either the monument was started during Tatpar's reign and was finished by Niwār, or earlier duing Tatpar's reign and mention's Niwār because he was serving as the vice-ruler and official successor. More will be said in relation to this period and the Bugut monument in Chapter Five of my thesis.

[35] The Orkhon runic alphabet was most likely not in use until the 720's (Róna-Tas 1991: 56-57). Thus the choice of which foreign language and script to employ would seem to have important political consequences. We do know that Taspar Khan who died in 581 CE converted to Buddhism and patronised it heavily (Findley 1995: 39; Yoshida and Moriyasu 1999: 122-124), which might seem to explain the use of Sanskrit.

[36] As Drompp (2011: 521) points out, the base of the Bugut monument features a turtle shaped pedestal, a common Chinese emblem for monuments of this period. This seems to clash with the use of Sogdian and Sanskrit rather than Chinese for the monument's inscriptions, suggesting the language choice was motivated politically, whilst with the use of the turtle- still borrowing the legitimising semiotics of Chinese monument making. Further, Drompp (2011: 522) suggests that the wolf of this monument had "no antecedent in Inner Asian art", and yet was made to conform with the stylistic basis of Chinese dragons from the period. He also claims that that the Bugut monument originally featured a pair of wolves back to back- as dragons on Chinese monuments of the time were illustrated. More will be said of this in Chapter Five of my thesis.

115-154). As was mentioned in the Introduction, one particularly culturally diverse and liminal region which the Türks invaded was that of Ustrushana and Sogdiana, in modern Afghanistan and Tajikistan, where in the 560's CE in a coalition with Sasanid Persian forces they removed from power the Hephthalite "White Huns", a nomad group most likely of mixed Turkic-Mongolian and Indo-Iranian origin (Babayarov 2006: 71; Kurbanov 2010: 223ff).[37] The evidence we possess suggests that the Hephthalites invaded the region around 509 CE and removed another group of Inner Asian origin from power, the Kidarites ("Red Hun"), who's rulership in Sogdiana appears to have been on the wane from c. 470 CE, due to prolonged wars with the Persians and Hephthalites from this time onwards (de la Vaissière 2005: 107-109).[38] It was also during this late sixth or early seventh century CE period that the aforementioned Sogdian golden medallion found at Panjikant palace and the Ustrushana *Kalah-i Kahkaha* wall murals suggested by several scholars as featuring the Roman twins Romulus and Remus being nursed by a she-wolf are dated (Azarpay 1981: 202-203; 1988: 354; Marshak and Negmatov 1996: 264-265) (see Chapter One). For this reason this historical and geographical point presents the possibility that Roman, Iranian, and Turkic wolf nurture myths may have intersected or presented a

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[37] Sinor (1997: 300) suggests that the Hephthalites were Indo-Iranian. Canfield (1991: 49) remarks that with the Hephthalites "…this was the last time in the history of Central Asia that Iranian-speaking nomads played any role; hereafter all nomads would speak Turkic languages". For this reason Turkic elements may have already been strong amongst them. Most recently Kurbanov (2010: 223), after a great synthesis of the literature admits: "Different nomadic tribes of various language groups presumably united to one main horde. This horde, forming the dominant layer, provided the ruling circle, and spoke a specific language, perhaps alien to the subordinated peoples. Thence some of the confusion about the proper names of people, princes, language, and the difficulties in the description of the appearance of each tribe. The language of the Hephthalites has not yet been sufficiently studied scientifically, since we dispose only of a very small database. As judged by separate words, they spoke Turkic, Iranian, as well as some elements of debatable origin".

[38] We must be mindful that the period of the fifth to seventh centuries in Sogdiana is one which is hampered by a great paucity of written and archaeological evidence with which to assembled accurate the accurate dating and image of the culture of this period (de la Vaissière 2005: 97). What appears to be the case is that the Kidarites ("Red Huns"), Hephthalites ("White Huns") and Göktürks, peoples from the heartland of Inner Asia, were successively active in this region from around 441 CE when there is a break in Sogdian communications with China, suggesting the invasion of the first of these three peoples (de la Vaissière 2005: 108-110; Kurbanov 2010: 162). This appears to be followed by Hephthalite expansion into Tocharistan around 457 CE, after which the Kidarite empire seems to have been divided into two territories uneasily sandwiched between the Hephthalites and the Sasanids, whose wars over the eastern region of Bactriana during the 470's appear to have precipitated increased urban and artistic growth in Sogdiana and embassies to China- particularly in Panjikant, due to the resettlement of numerous refugees from Bactriana by the Kidarites (de la Vaissière 2005: 108-110; Grenet 2005: 93). The Hephthalite invasion of Sogdiana is commonly assigned to c. 509, and is troubled by the fact that there are no written or obvious archaeological records of this (Grenet 2002: 211; de la Vaissière 2005: 108-110; Kurbanov 2010: 176). This year is usually taken as the date, however, due to the sudden ending of Sogdian embassies to China, and their replacement with Hephthalite ones (Grenet *ibid*; de la Vaissière *ibid.*).

device by which similar beliefs present in this place at this time could be appreciated by a diverse audience, including the strongly Sogdian influence exerted upon the construction of the Bugut monument. This will be expressly dealt with in Chapters Four and Five, as wall murals from the palace at Panjikant also appear to display images of the Aesopic tale of *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* (Marshak and Negmatov 1996: 256).

These possible intercultural connections are further deepened by several theories regarding the Ashina name itself. The Ashina represented the sacred aristocracy of the Göktürks, recorded as the "supreme leader" *Arsilas* by the Byzantine Menander the Guardsman (*Hist.* frag. 19.1.34; Golden 2006: 142) in the late sixth century CE and as *Ansā* by the Islamic writers in reference to the ninth century CE Turkic Khazars, who also appear to have traced their origin back to the same divine ancestor (Noonan 2012: 89). Most importantly it has been suggested that the term Ashina may not be Turkic in origin, however, and may instead stem from an Indo-Iranian term for the colour "blue", due to the cultures with whom the Turkic peoples interacted in the Tarim basin Silk Road area during the sixth century CE, that is, the period of their ascent (Shervashidze 1989: 79-80; Klyashtorny 1994: 445-447). Primary amongst these remain the Sogdians, who as noted regarding the Bugut monument, introduced the Türks to writing and gradually took on the increasing role from merchants, bankers and ambassadors to almost a professional civil service for their empire (de la Vaissière 2005: 201ff; Stark 2008: 301-314). Thus, though many travelling Sogdian merchant communities remained Iranian speaking, some became increasingly Türkified so that "….the sixth and seventh centuries indeed witnessed the creation of a mixed civilisation, at least within the ruling strata" (de la Vaissière 2005: 202).[39] However, the links between the concepts of blue, divinity and the wolf inherent in this myth and its vocabulary appear, rather, to have their origin within the native shamanic beliefs of the Turkic-Mongolian peoples themselves. These, which I

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[39] Both Khotan-Saka *aşşeina* (Klyashtorny 1994: 445-447) and Sogdian *axšina* (Shervashidze 1989: 79-80) meaning the colour "blue" have been suggested, and would seem to approximate and echo the Turkic *gök* (blue) of the Göktürk ethnonym (Findley 1995: 39). It has been further added by some scholars that the core of the original Ashina ethnicity may have been culturally Indo-Iranian themselves, speaking Sogdian or a variant of Tocharian, which is supplemented by the observation that the cave in Turfan mentioned in the *Zhou Shu* myth may have been near the largely Indo-Iranian Tocharian city of Qocho, and Ashina would also seem to approximate the Tocharian title *aršilanci* (Beckwith 1993: 206-208).

shall explore, most likely came to form a series of coordinate affinities through Indo-Iranian influence exerted upon the Göktürk Ashina hierarchy.

In order to explain this, it must first be remarked that the native religions of the Buriats and western Mongols appear to have been the greater recipients of Indo-Iranian mythology and beliefs in comparison with the Eastern Mongols and Türks, who venerated merely the Earth (*Umai*) and Heaven (*Tngri*) during their periods of early emergence. It should be also be further noted that amongst those who emerged from the eastern regions, the major yearly rituals were performed by the chief of the tribe, and not a shaman priest caste (Skrynnikova 2002: 74-77). For this reason the sacral nature of the *khan* amongst the early Türks and later the Mongols was one which overlapped in many ways with that of divine power and military maintenance of world order (Skrynnikova 2002: 76; 2004: 530). As has been said: "The Turco-Mongolian imperial religion was dominated by the God of Heaven Tengri, the absolute master of the universe, who delegated and inspired a universal sovereign on earth" (de Laet 1994: 467). Thus, the tent, throne and standard of the *khan* were all seen to represent an *axis mundi* (axis of the world), or *törü-yin qadaqasun* (pillar of state) by which *törü* (divine law) descended to earth through the ruler (Skrynnikova 2004: 530). Hence, the majority of attention appears to have been paid by these peoples in the historical chronicles handed down to us to the sky deity, *Tngri*, rather than *Umai*, due to their strong beliefs in conjunction with the heavens and their leaders.[40]

Thus, in the eighth century CE Orkhon rock inscriptions of the Second Göktürk empire, connections between the blue of the god *kök tänri* (Blue Heaven) and notions of predestination and the empowerment of those the god presides over with his "will" may be clearly seen (Dennison Ross 1930: II.E3, II. E10 pp. 863-864). We also may note the often used phrase *tängridä* (conceived by heaven) in the titles of many of the Göktürk *khans* and regional rulers to legitimise the ideal of heavenly descent (Golden 1982: 46). These heavenly connections would seem to explain further the importance of the *gök* (blue) of the Göktürk ethnonym and the usage of the

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[40] The idea that "Turko-Mongolian religion was essentially monotheistic" and that Umai and other spirits were "aspects" of *Tenger/Tngri* (Leeming 2001: 178) is largely incorrect. In both *The Secret History* and the histories of Rashīd-al-Dīn no deities besides *Tngri* and The Earth (*Umai*) are mentioned (Skrynnikova 2002: 75 cf. *SHM* §121,125), but both are emphasised.

Indo-Iranian term Ashina, as discussed. In conjunction with this, the wolf amongst the Turkic-Mongolian peoples, in turn, due to its blue-grey colouration would seem to partake in this same arrangement of symbols as is testified in the later Turkic Turfanian *Oguz-Nāme* epic's *kök böri* (blue-grey wolf) (*ON* 11; de Rachewiltz 1997: 155).[41] As was noted at the beginning of this chapter with regard to the stem **daiua* amongst Indo-Iranian nomads and its suggested meaning of "belonging to god, raised by God, God's creature", the symbolism inherent in the "blue wolf" would appear to share in a very similar pattern. For this reason, the possibility of Indo-Iranian influence in reference to the divine symbolism of the wolf amongst the Turkic-Mongolian peoples would seem a strong one, most likely brought about through the previously discussed cultural influence played by Indo-Iranian peoples on the nascent Göktürk ethnicity. Thus, this having been said, in completing this series of affinities of heaven, ruler, *Männerbund* and wolf with regard to the Türks, we find in the Orkhon inscriptions a pertinent statement linking them together deftly (Dennison Ross 1930: II.E11 p. 865):

"As Heaven gave them strength, my father, the *kagan's* army was as wolves and his enemies as sheep".

4. The Importance of the Ashina myth and its Legacy.

The various coordinate elements of the Göktürk mythology of power having been discussed, it is integral to note that the Ashina myth has been referred to as a myth of "nationalisation" (DeWeese 1994: 277 n. 87) whereby strong hierarchies were built between Turkic-Mongolian nomad factions by reaching back to older myths of cultural "emergence" held in common by these peoples in connection with the sacred mountain of *ötüken yiš* ("the sacred mountain forest") (Clauson 1972: 976; DeWeese 1994: 276; Stark 2008: 140), which was most likely in the Khangai mountain region of Mongolia, between the Tamir and Selenge rivers due to Mongolian retentions of the toponym in the region (Giraud 1960: 692; Stark 2008: 140-141), though the Altai has also been suggested due to the centring of Rouran and Türkic activity here in Chinese sources (*Zhou Shu* Vol. 50.908 *ap.* Golden 1990: 294; Sneath 2007: 24). Either way, by transferring the mythic landscape of the cave of the Ashina myth to

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[41] See Chapter Four and **App. 13** of my thesis for more details on this fascinating text.

Ötüken, and monopolising access to both the myth's power and this mountain, those who traced their lineage back to Ashina or simply reappropriated the name possessed legitimacy and thus the loyalty of other subsidiary groups (DeWeese 1994: 287 n. 87; Findley 1995: 48-49; Wink 1997: 67-68). Ideas such as this appear to have been vital in the political structure of the Göktürk confederation and those who immediately followed it, in which there was very little "settled" infrastructure amongst the warrior classes, and legitimate authority was conveyed almost entirely by myth, titles and personal charisma (Sneath 2007: 115-117). Thus it is important to note that the *Zhou Shu* (*Zhou Shu* Vol. 50.908 *ap.* DeWeese 1994: 276) describes the Göktürk aristocracy as being the only people allowed to fulfil yearly rites at the cave where the Ashina myth was said to have taken place. As has already been highlighted, in the Turkic-Mongolian tradition in question, it was the chiefs who performed the important rituals, thus reinforcing the notion of their divinity even further. The Orkhon inscriptions also enforce this proposal, claiming: "So long as the Turkish *kagan* rules in the forest of Mount Ötüken without the wickedness of to-day the kingdom suffers no ill" (Dennison Ross 1930: I. S2 p.862). This may explain and support further another important notion: that the borders which existed between the East and West administrative divisions of the two Göktürk Empires did so with the sacred cave in question housed between them so that both rulers could participate in such rituals (Sinor 1990: 295).[42]

Moreover, as DeWeese (1994: 273- 278) has further shown, certain elements of the Ashina myth and its later variants exhibit a pattern of origination that appears to describe not only the emergence of the Göktürk and later Turkic ethnicities, but that of the human race and first man as a whole. By harkening back to this idea of the first man and "emergence", it is possible that the Türks of the middle ages further solidified their power by claiming authority and ownership of the world (DeWeese 1994: 277 n. 87).[43] In order to understand the application of this idea to myth it is necessary to note what DeWeese (1994: 44, 276) has referred to as the "Mountain/Tree/Cave/Water/Female Spirit complex" of mythic *foci*, which are seen

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[42] More will be said about such divisions in Chapter Four and Five, as Alföldi (1974: 151-180) has compared such dual rulerships to those in the Ancient Mediterranean in connection with wolf-myths.

[43] This cultural attitude is further supported by a statement of primal world rule recorded in the epitaph to Kül Tegin in the Orkhon Turkic inscriptions of the eight century CE: "Over the human beings reigned my ancestors Bumin Qaghan and Istämi Qaghan" (de Laet 1994: 467).

to reappear many times throughout the Islamicised records of Turkic and Mongolian origin mythology during the high middle ages (DeWeese 1994: 273- 278), as well as being central to living Turkic-Mongolian shamanic ritual and cosmogony (DeWeese 1994: 44). The Ashina myth, with the inclusion of the extra detail that Chinese source the *Youyang Zazu* describes the original Ashina people as living near a lake/sea called *Xi Hai* before their destruction (Howorth 1876: 33), appears to possess all these key ingredients except that of the tree.[44] As will be shown the usage of this pattern of mythic ingredients would seem to deftly show their importance to the Turkic-Mongolian peoples in their need to represent a legitimate political identity and the appeal for succeeding groups to reappropriate and re-envision these key mythic *foci* over long periods.

For these reasons, from the period of the First Göktürk Empire onwards references to the importance of the wolf in Turkic-Mongolian political mythology appear to become increasingly more common. Both the *Zhou Shu* and ninth century CE *Pei Shi* mention the fact that the *Tu-kiu* (Göktürks) placed golden wolf standards in front of their encampment so as to not forget their lupine origins (Sinor and Klyarshtorny 1999: 329). This would seem to suggest both a powerful mnemonic device both for the consolidation of internal cultural values as wells as to demonstrate power to outsiders coming into the Türkic camp. In the epic cycle of the Kyrgyz *Manas*, which appear to possess substrata as far back as the ninth century CE (Sultanova 2010: 65), the hero is described as "grey maned" (2), "a wolf for his foe" (622), his companion Bëgël is described "as a wolf he could be" and his men are called "forty wolves of outstanding fame" (1489), which have all been linked back to the Ashina myth (Orozbakov 1999: 322).[45] It is imperative then to look into the

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[44] The suggestion that *Xi Hai* or the "western sea" reflects folk-memories of partaking in the Xiong-nu migration myth west as the Huns (Christian 1998: 249), perhaps misses the point. Rather, water in an archetypal colossal quantity would seem to reflect the primal creative nature the myth would seem to be reaching back to.

[45] According to the ninth century CE *Yu-yang-tsa-su* the Kyrgyz did not belong to the same wolf origins as the (Oguz) Türks, though they did possess a myth of ancestral emergence from a cavern (Sinor and Klyarshtorny 1999: 329). Thus the adoption of elements of the Ashina wolf myth into *Manas* would seem to indicate a later addition, but one which exemplifies the power of this myth in the mediaeval Turkic world. A ninth century CE Tibetan record from stories told by Uyghur travellers also attests that a she-wolf was involved in the origins of the *drugu* (Türks), though only indirectly, as it was the wife of two dogs who later with a human girl begat this people (White 1991: 134-135). Further, similes found in the *Lay of Igor's Campaign* such as "Boyan the seer…ran as a grey wolf across the land" (I p. 139), "they race into the prairie like grey wolves" (II p. 142), "Khan Gza flees like a grey wolf" (IV. p. 143) and "he (later) springs from it like a grey wolf" (XII p. 158) concerning

outgrowth of the Ashina myth which came to develop into various forms during the middle ages and have been recorded in a diverse collection of Turkic-Mongolian, Near Eastern Islamic and Christian sources, both prior to and during the reign of the Mongol Empire, which also appears to have participated in this pattern on several accounts.

The first of these examples may be found in the works of the eleventh century CE Persian historian Gardizi, who, quoting an older unknown source, explains the perceived "wicked nature" of the Türks using a story that their founder, Yafith (the biblical Japheth son of Noah) was reared on wolf's milk (Czegledy 1973: 261; Drompp 2011: 519).[46] However, in relation to fuller recordings of the Ashina and "emergence" pattern itself in Mediaeval Near Eastern sources, we first find this in the twelfth century CE *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian, who on the topic of the Oguz Türks of Anatolia describes a "magical dog like creature" (III. 152), leading them out of a mountain of iron with the cry of "*gūš*!" (Türk. "migrate!") (III. 153). This mountain of iron may refer back, as Sinor (1997: 336) has suggested, to certain sacred mines the Türks possessed during their legendary servitude to the Xiong-nu and Rouran (Juan-Juan) nomad confederations, which gave their tribe a venerated association with smithing. As an "emergence" myth it might also aetiologically illustrate the earlier Göktürk liberation from this servitude into their own ethnicity in the sixth century CE, due to the fact that even during the Göktürk ascent into power at this time, the Rouran (Juan-Juan) ruler Anakei still pejoratively dismissed their *khan* Tümen as his blacksmith and slave (*Zhou Shu* fol. 50.908 *ap.* Beckwith 2011: 9). This will be explored in greater detail in reference to the Mongols, below, who appear to also have reused some of the chief *foci* of this mythology and been the recipients of a similar series of smithing traditions. In relation to the wolf, however, the Turfanian *Oguz-Nāme* epic tradition, which came to its most probably fourteenth century CE

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the Russian wars with the Turkic Kumans in the twelfth century CE may also be connected with this pattern, though they are used to describe positively the fleetness and power of both the protagonists and their enemies.

[46] As may be noted, the origins of this aetiology would most likely have been the Ashina myth, but with the addition of Old Testament genealogy in order to fit with Islamic myths of racial origin, popularised in the tenth century CE by the geographer Mas'ūdi, in which the Türks, Chinese, Franks and others were taken to be the descendants of Japheth (Tolan 2012: 13). Curiously, this also brings to mind the Roman usage of the she-wolf's nursing to denigrate the perceived violence inherent in the Roman personality (Prop. *Eleg.* II. 6.19-20; Just. *Epit.* 38.6) (see Chapter One). However, whilst Gardizi's myth of origin is clearly viewed through the lens of an outsider's biases, that of the Romans' remains internal self-criticism.

form[47] between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries CE as a court cycle to celebrate rulers' mythic Oguz Türk ancestors (Abazov 2005: 122), also includes a similar element of the Oguz progenitor Oguz Kagan being awoken and led off by a talking formulaically titled "blue-furred, blue-maned massive, powerful wolf" to invade many lands (*ON* 16, 18, 25, 33). This in some ways appears to mirror Michael's earlier tale, and suggest an overall tradition retained in oral history throughout the Oguz migrations westward.[48]

5. The Blue Wolf and the Mongols.

We now move from the world of the Türks and their successors to that of the Mongol Empire during the thirteenth century CE. The term Mongol, though the etymology is uncertain, is first attested for several nomad groups by Chinese Tang historians around the mid tenth century CE (Eisma 2006: 138-139). However, it was not until the culturally diverse Turkic-Mongolia-Tungusic confederation of *Qamuγ Mongγul* (All Mongols) emerged from the east of Mongolia during the late twelfth century CE under the leadership of Chingis Khan that the term came to possess its more common usage (Fletcher 1986: 12-13). Defeating and uniting the Turkic and Sinified kingdoms in the west of the country and northern China, the Mongols expanded outwards to form the largest land empire in history before crumbling a century and a half later and largely being absorbed into the predominantly Turkic nomadic and later local settled populaces (Golden 2000: 21-41).

Key to understanding the myths of the Mongol Empire is the thirteenth century *Secret History of the Mongols*, which supplies in many ways a unique perspective of this period from the nomads themselves, with few external influences (Rossabi 2012: 3; Onon 2001: 17). In a similar manner to that of many of the other texts described thus far in this chapter it most likely began as an oral tradition, albeit one that also appears to have made use of some historical documentation (de

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[47] For debates on dating see **App. 13** of my thesis.

[48] With further regard to the Oguz Türks, in the thirteenth century CE Oguz *Kitab-i Dedem Korkut* the hero Kazan encounters a wolf when he is alone in the wilderness. Kazan praises the wolf's power greatly before realising the fact that it would be ludicrous for a wolf to reply and help him (II. 47). This is perhaps a deliberate Islamic slight against the talking wolf of the *Oguz-Nāme* tradition. The migration and retention of such mythic structures is further deepened by the discovery of modern scholars of the tale of the hero Oruzmek, still told amongst the Turkic Karachay people of the Caucasus, which involves his nursing by a wolf in a sacred cave and subsequent learning of the art of smithing (Golden 2007: 165; Drompp 2011: 521).

Rachewiltz 2004: xxxiv-xxxv).[49] It is within the *Secret History of the Mongols* that there is recorded the ancestry of Chingis Khan beginning with Börte Činō, The Blue Wolf, when he and his wife Qo'ai Maral, the Beautiful Deer, migrate across the *Tenggis* (World Sea or Lake)[50] in order to reach the mountain of Burqan Qaldun and give birth to the first of the Mongols (§1). This is given as:

> "(1) The Secret History of the Mongols: The ancestry of Chingis Khan (was) the Blue Wolf who was born fated from Heaven Above. Together with his wife the Beautiful Doe he came, crossing over the *Tenggis* (World Sea), and at the source of the Onon River (a son) Batačiqan was born".[51]

Both Howorth (1876: 33-34) and more recently de Rachewiltz (2004: 221-235) have described this Mongol wolf-myth with its accompanying mountain and body of water as most likely having been borrowed directly from Turkic peoples by the Mongols in order to substantiate their own aristocracy, following their rise to power during the thirteenth century CE. This is shown particularly in reference to Börte Činō as the "Blue Wolf",[52] which has been described previously in relation to Turkic political and

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[49] Opinions differ widely with regard to this work on a number of issues. Most important is its date and authorship (Cleaves 1982: xliv-xlv; Onon 2001: 17-18; de Rachewiltz 2004: xxix-xxxiv), but also how it came to take on its final shape as is given in the fourteenth century Chinese *Yüan Pao Chi Shi* (Secret History of the Yüan Dynasty) with its Mongolian interlineal translations, but deletion of the original Uyghur script Mongol text (Cleaves 1982: xvii-xlv; Onon 2001: 24-27; de Rachewiltz 2004: lvi-lix). There is also the matter of the *Altan Tobči*, which recent research suggests was most likely composed between the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth centuries CE (Rogers 2009: 8-10), and which in many ways may represent more closely the Mongol Uyghur script Ur-text, due to its particular expansions and orthographic peculiarities in certain sections (Onon 2001: 21 n 33; de Rachewiltz 2004: xlviii-xlix). However, a thirteenth century origin for the general form that the text possesses is widely accepted by most scholars, due to a comment in the text's colophon (§282) that its writing took place in the Year of the Rat at a Mongol *quriltai* (meeting of tribal heads). Two of the most popular dates for this have been 1228, the year following Chingis' death (Onon 2001: 18-19; de Rachewiltz 2004: xxxiii), and 1252, following the election of Möngke Khan, so as to solve certain textual anachronisms and align the transcription of both the material from Chingis' and Ögödei's life present in the overall text with a single probable date (de Rachewiltz 2004: xxxiv).

[50] As de Rachewiltz (2004: 227) points out the Chinese scholars appear to have glossed this as "name of *a body of* [sic] water", although "*Teŋiz"* is Uyghur for "sea" and implies heavily that the Mongols lifted this mythic tradition from Turkic peoples they came in contact with.

[51] See **App. 1** for original Middle Mongolian Text drawn from Ligeti (1971). Translation: Jonathan Ratcliffe (2013), in accordance with comments and emendations of Cleaves (1982), Damdinsüren (1990) Onon (2001) and de Rachewiltz (2004).

[52] de Rachewiltz (1997: 155) in his article on the word *börte* describes it as analogous with Turkic *kök* in reference to the colouration of wolves. The euphemisms *xöx noxoi* (blue dog) and *xüxe noxoi* (blue dog) in modern Mongolian and Buriat respectively (de Rachewiltz 1997: 155) would also seem to deftly connect with the older Turkic "blue wolf" notions explored earlier, and strongly suggest a Turkic inheritance from this time.

religious social structure.[53] However, in inspecting this Mongol myth more closely, the role of Qo'ai Maral, the Beautiful Deer, must also be explored in order to give a fuller picture of the reason for its inclusion in coordination with that of the wolf. Both Jacobson (1993: 47ff) and Skrynnikova (2002: 73-74) in their studies of the first millennium BCE *stelai* known as deer stones in Northern Mongolia,[54] which appear to liberally illustrate a female deer goddess often pictured as being hunted and pursued by men or predators,[55] have suggested continuity from this period regarding the presence of deer goddesses in the living oral myths of Siberian and Mongolian peoples. However, such notions as these in many ways appear to be reliant upon implicit understandings of this deer goddess as an unchanging entity. Rather, we should perhaps more productively seek to explain the role played by Qo'ai Maral in the *Secret History* in relation to modern eastern Mongolian associations between the deer, the womb and earth as the goddess *Umai*, who though opaque, dates to at least the time of the Mongols (Jacobson 1993: 47; Skrynnikova 2002: 73-74). The mediaeval Mongols, it should be noted, emerged from a tradition in which *Tngri* (Sky) and *Umai* (Earth) were the major mirroring male and female deities. Thus, if we are to search for the purpose of the deer ancestress Alan Qo'ai in the *Secret History*, we might suggest that by combining elements of both deer and wolf- holy to *Tngri* and *Umai*, the author or the Mongol court would seem to doubly reinforce the "nationalisation" mythology of the Mongols, as the Ashina myth and wolf emergence myths had already been treated by the Gök and Oguz Türks, in the words of DeWeese

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[53] Throughout the *Secret History* much emphasis is placed on Chingis Khan and his warriors being blessed and fated by *Tngri*, such as during Temüǰin's initial election as *khan* (§121,125), and Chingis' companion Jelme's serving of his master's life by sneaking into an enemy camp undetected (§ 145), connecting this back to the wolf ancestor's god-given fate (§1). By doing this, the complex detailed above in which *Tngri*, the ruler and the wolf formed a series of mutually supporting affinities of power, would seem to be repeated and further substantiated throughout the text. We also find the name Börte reused, in reference to Chingis Khan's primary wife Börte Üǰin (de Rachewiltz 1997: 153), suggesting that his empire and descendants represents a renewal of the original holy foundation of the Mongol people.

[54] Jacobson (1993: 156) calls the wide presence of deer stones across both the *kereksur* (west) and slab-grave (east) cultures in first millennium BCE Mongolia a "…non-belligerent meeting of cultures in which certain fundamental elements of belief were so similar that one kind of monumental carving functioned effectively".

[55] Jacobson (1993: 4) believes this goddess to be of native Siberian Neolithic origin, and in passing into the traditions of the early Indo-Iranian nomads: "…the deer image had come to function as an elaborate text of condensed myths and beliefs". In unravelling this, perhaps it is fitting to take note of Skrynnikova's (2002: 73-74) observation that in the Indo-Iranian influenced cultures of the western Mongols from their deer stones to living oral myths, the deer is associated with a heavenly solar cult, in which the sun is balanced on the deer's horns and is pursued by a cosmic hunter. This also appears to be embodied in Edel'man's (2003: 126) previously discussed analysis of Indo-Iranian *daiua*, where the Yakut Western Mongol *tangara tabata* (the deer of heaven/*Tngri* = wild deer) is mentioned as a similar pattern to that of the Indo-Iranian wolf.

(1994: 277 n. 87). However, due to lack of evidence regarding the specific nature of *Umai* during the mediaeval period, this remains merely hypothetical.

In relation to Börte Činō, and the Mongol use of lupine ancestry, we may also find more evidence to support the inheritance of the earlier Turkic interrelationship between wolves and leaders amongst the Mongols from an episode that is found later within *The Secret History of the Mongols*.[56] This is given in the text when the young Temüǰin is defeated and driven into a defile called Jerene at the swamp land of Dalan Balǰi'ut (Seventy Marshes) by his spurned companion Jamuqa, who following this, proceeds to torture and kill his prisoners in a number of cruel ways (§129). Central to this is the boiling alive of seventy young men of the *Činōs* tribe, whose name appears to mean "The Wolves".[57] As Sinor (1982: 243) has remarked, in the Mongolian text these young men appear to be described ambiguously as "the sons of the wolves"- *Činōs-un kö'üt*, which reasserts the notion of wolf descent, rather than deliberately differentiating between literal wolves and men. Also, the number seventy, as de Rachewiltz (2004: 478) has shown, does not seem to possess a particularly numinous quality amongst the Mongols, but rather appears to indicate "many in general…the seventy cauldrons are a direct reference- and a symbolic one at the same time- to the place where this momentous event took place: one enemy boiled for each marsh". In expanding this episode, it should also be noted that Sinor (1982: 243-246) has taken the boiling of the *Činōs* to represent ritual cannibalism of a Mongol tribe possessing a wolf ancestry myth in order to partake in their heavenly power. To the contrary, it is never mentioned that these boiled men were consumed in the text (§129), although due to earlier traditions of execution in this region they were most likely boiled alive

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[56] In the seventeenth century CE *Altan Tobči* chronicle, which made use of the majority of *The Secret History* in its original Mongolian form, there is an episode not found in *The Secret History* in which Chingis Khan hails all of this *ba'atarud* one by one (*AT* 54-62). Here the hero Boorchi is describes as "attacking like a wolf entering a sheep fold. He killed one hundred men. He killed two hundred men". (*AT* 57). This suggests that not only rulers, but great warriors under the Mongols also possessed lupine qualities. However, dating this section of the *Altan Tobči* is difficult and may be far later that the *Secret History*.

[57] In support of this the *Shen Wu Ching Chen Lu* commissioned by Kublai Khan during the Yüan period mentions that the thirteenth squadron of Temüǰin's army at Dalan Balǰut were the Negüs and Činōs people, amongst who were found the two tribes *Gändü Čina* (Male Wolves) and the *Ülükjin Čina* (Female Wolves) (*SWCCL* 5 *ap.* de Rachewiltz 2004: 474). These in themselves suggest the possibility that the *Činōs* contained both peoples with a sacred male *and* female wolf progenitor (Sinor 1997: 336). The Činōs (Chinas) and their "male" and "female" divisions are also mentioned in Rashīd-al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (I. §145) where they are regarded as one of the tribes who emerged from *Ergene-kūn*, described below.

rather than dead (de Rachewiltz 2004: 477-478).[58] Despite this, in many ways Sinor's (1982: 243-246) observations with regard to the importance of the *Činōs* in this episode, and the reference to these young men as the descendants of wolves appear to remain sound.

The interconnection between the divine nature of the Mongol aristocracy and that of the wolf may be further illustrated by a tale recorded in two versions with little difference between them (Steiner 2011: 2.2), by the thirteenth century CE Persian scholar Juvaynī in his *History of the World Conqueror* (HWC: 231–233) and later Rashīd-al-Dīn (*Succ. Ch. Khan*: 92–93) who made use of Juvaynī's works to a great extent (Morgan 1986: 11; Singh and Samiuddin 2004: 660-661). Moreover, *The History of the World Conqueror* of Juvaynī, which so the author claims (*HWC* I. *Intro*. 2), began its creation during his visit to the Mongol capital Qarakorum under Möngke in 1252-1253 CE may thus have drawn its source material from the Mongol court itself. The tale in question involves the capture of a wolf that has been terrorising the flocks of the Mongols and is brought bound to Chingis Khan's son Ögödei Khan's court. Ögödei says:

> "We will release this wolf so that he can inform his friends of what has happened and they may leave this region.' When they released the wolf the lion-like hounds of the dog-keepers ran after it and tore it to pieces. The Qa'an was angry and ordered the dogs to be put to death for killing the wolf. He entered the *ordu* in a pensive and melancholic state of mind and turning to his ministers and courtiers he said: 'I set that wolf free because I felt a weakness in my bowels and I thought that if I saved a living creature from destruction God Almighty would grant that I too should be spared. Since the wolf did not escape from the dogs, neither perhaps shall I come forth from

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[58] However, the question of the existence of cannibalism amongst the mediaeval Mongols is heavily obscured by Middle Eastern and European historians' use of this practice to dehumanise and exacerbate the Mongols' "otherness" and thus is difficult to answer (Beller and Leerssen 2010: 124) Guzman (1991: 31-68) has attempted to collate the various reports on Mongol cannibalism systematically. He suggests they fall into three categories: survival, preference and ritual (Guzman 1991: 33). Baraz (2003: 96-102) has attempted to enlarge this, by suggesting that much of it can be put down to deliberate attempts to "other" the Mongols. However, little is furthered in reference to ritual cannibalism, leaving this aspect thoroughly unresolved. Further, In Rashīd-al-Dīn's *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (§245) and the Yüan dynasty *SWCCL* (10a *ap.* de Rachewiltz 2004: 475), it is Chingis Khan who wins at Dalan Balǰi'ud and performs the boiling of the Jamuqa's men. This may be explained by the fact that between sections §129 and §130 of the *Secret History*, perhaps ten years of Chingis' life are not mentioned, most likely due to the shame of the defeat at the hands of Jamuqa. Rashīd-al-Dīn's version appears to have reversed this, and may represent a later attempt to rewrite this embarrassing episode in the early history of the Mongol Empire.

this danger.' A few days later he passed away. Now it is not concealed from the wise and discriminating that kings are snatched up and carried off by God and that they receive divine inspiration". (Juvaynī *HWC*: 231–233 Boyle trans. 1958).

As Steiner (2011: 2.2) has noted, the analogy here appears to be that the wolf, an animal which is protected by heaven and is an important Mongol "totem" is seen to lose its blessing, and symbolically indicates the protection of heaven retracting from the *khan*. For this reason, referring back to the previous episode, the boiling of the *Činōs* may be akin to Ögödei's demise following the wolf's demise- an attempt on the part of Jamuqa to absorb or remove the *Činōs* tribe's sacred power ritually, rather than the proposed consumption of them.

Moreover, it should also be noted as we turn to other variants of such wolf myths that the warriors and *begs* (lords) over whom the Mongols of the thirteenth century CE ruled were largely Turkic and came to influence them greatly, before finally absorbing them in the majority of Inner and Central Asia by the fourteenth century CE (Golden 2000: 21-41). As has been said of this period: "…the spoken language of this new culture was Turkic, its religion Islam and its political legitimation Mongolian" (Forbes Manz 1999: 3). With this in mind, it is then poignant to note how the already very Turkic Mongol emergence myth of Börte Činō came to take on greater Turkic characteristics, but retain the Mongol ancestor. In reference to this, there is another version of Börte Činō's origination of the Mongol people recorded by Rashīd-al-Dīn, which connects deftly with the Turkic elements of the myth of the iron mountain and the wolf detailed above. Rashīd-al-Dīn (*JAT*. I. §113-114; DeWeese 1994: 273) writes that the descendants of Tatar Khan and Mogal Khan, who appear to have been lifted from Turkic historical figures in order to substantiate the Mongol origin (Howorth 1876: 35; DeWeese 1994: 274), wiped one another out until only two men Qian and Niküz remained alive, by taking refuge in a deep forested valley called *Ergene Qūn*. When their descendants became too numerous they decided to return to their ancestral lands, but were prevented from exiting due to the "steep slope" of the valley, the meaning of the term *Ergene Qūn* (*JAT*. I. §113-114; DeWeese 1994: 274), preventing them. The people then together lit a huge fire under a seam of iron, which melted and enabled them to emerge (*JAT*. I. §114; DeWeese 1994: 274). In their collective working, which includes the creation of gigantic

bellows to fan the fire (*ibid.*), the entire people appear to have taken on the sacred tribal blacksmith nature mentioned previously, in connection with the Göktürks and Oguz myths.

In reconstructing the myth, later references by Rashid al-Din allow (*JAT.* I. §167) us to note that a humanised Būrtah Cīnah (Börte Činō) now appears at this point in the tale, as the man who leads the *Mogals* (Mongols) out of the valley as their elected ruler. Once again, the older Turkic myth of the wolf leading a people out into emergence as a new ethnicity appears to have been reused, with the ruler and possessor of wolf nature and an actual wolf being confused, as has been discussed previously in reference to other mythic accounts of a similar nature in this cultural sphere. The similarity of this story to that of the myths previously discussed suggests strongly that Börte Činō was most likely adapted to these older tales, to form a myth of "nationalisation" by appropriating the earlier Turkic wolf figure. The tale of *Ergene Qūn* and that of Būrtah Cīnah was repeated many times in both Persian and Turkish histories of the Mongols between the fourteenth and end of the sixteenth centuries (DeWeese 1994: 274 n. 79). However, the most important recount of this myth following Rashīd-al-Dīn is found in Abu'l Ghāzi's seventeenth century CE work on the Mongols, which appears to have drawn largely upon Rashīd-al-Dīn's earlier account, but with some important differences.[59] In the same way, however, we also find the Buddhist successors of the Mongol Empire also reshaping the image of Börte Činō to their own ends most likely from the late sixteenth century CE onwards.

In explaining this, although Buddhism had been adopted by the Mongol rulers of the Yüan dynasty in China, it was not until 1576-1577 that both its Tibetan forms were adopted as the state religion of Mongolia and the Ordos region, following which great efforts were made to repudiate the native shamanic practices amongst the Mongol people (Ishjamts 2003: 214). Thus, the necessity to rewrite the history of the

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[59] The most important of these is that the *Mogals* (Mongols) are said to have counted the time they spent enclosed in *Ergene Qūn* via the moon and thus established a festival in order to celebrate their emergence, at which every year the Mogal *beg* (lord) of the tribe heated a piece of iron and beat in on an anvil in order to ritually recall the melting of the metal enclosure and the emergence into freedom (DeWeese 1994: 274). This specific festival, mentioned in no other source, would more accurately seem to reflect the previously mentioned Turkic smithing traditions and their affinities with wolves and ethnic emergence, which were most likely reintegrated into the Turkic-Mongol successor mythology with the addition of the Mongol ancestor.

Mongols also became a priority. For instance, in the Buddhist Mongolian chronicle, the *Altan Tobči*, which drew greatly on *The Secret History* in its composition (Onon 2001: 21n 33; de Rachewiltz 2004: xlviii-xlix), the author Luvsandanzan attempts to connect the rulers of Mongolia back to those of ancient Tibet and India (*AT*. 7-10). In this, Börte Činō and his wife are described as human beings, not animal ancestors,[60] and the former is associated with the youngest of three sons of a Tibetan king who separate after falling out with one another (*AT*. 10). The *Erdene-yin Tobci*, which gives the history of the Mongols to 1662 CE goes further than this, expending three whole initial books on the Indian and Tibetan ancestry of the Mongols (*ET*. 9-41), and has Börte Činō and his brothers migrate out of Tibet due to their father's minister Long-nam murdering the king and stealing his throne (*ET*. U47: 41).[61] When Börte Činō arrives amongst the *Bede* (Mongol) people they automatically make him their king, due to his boasted ancient lineage (*ET*. U47: 41). Upon investigation, Börte Činō in this incarnation appears to have been grafted onto an earlier Tibetan story about supplanted princes in which the youngest was called Sha-za-thi (flesh eater) and for this reason was probably found fitting with the lupine elements of the Mongol story (Luke 1965: 33).

6. Concluding Remarks.

The retention of the mythic patterns of wolf nurture and the wolf progenitor from the antiquity of Mongolia to its emergence as a Buddhist khanate shows the ability by which different cultural necessities and layers of representation could easily be overlayed and used to reinterpret power and support its foundations. Key to this, as has been noted on several accounts, is the way by which the wolf nurse and the male aristocrats who were seen to be the recipient of this wolf-nurture and wolf nature came to be confused and interchanged as new ethnicities were formed and reached back to the power inherent in previous mythic structures. Further, in relation to the Comparative Section of my thesis, this chapter has uncovered several points where

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[60] A Chinese Ming era source also emphatically makes Börte Činō and Qo'ai Maral a man and woman (Cleaves 1982: xxviii-xxvix). Both the Chinese and Buddhist Mongolian sources appear to have deliberately done this to divest the Mongol founding myth of its perceived unsophisticated and animistic qualities.

[61] This would seem only a coincidental parallel with the Romulus and Remus myth, though scholars such as Finch (1994: 1-2) have seemingly not realised this, taking such myths to be unchanging structural entities, and not the product of exchanged and malleable intercultural *foci*.

the cultures of the nomads of Inner Asia and the Greco-Roman tradition may have intersected or share a common origin.

Firstly, as has been shown in this chapter, the theories of Negmatov and Boyce on the interrelations between the Romulus and Remus myth and Central Asia are largely untenable. In addition, as was also noted in Chapter One the Cyrus and Roman twins myths are different from the other animal nurture myths recorded in the ancient Mediterranean tradition, in that they form complete stories, which as noted also possess several key elements in common. As emphasised in Chapter One, it was integral for Roman history to imitate Greek historical models for the sake of legitimacy, which would seem to further suggest affinities between these two unique founding tales. For this reason, the possibility that the Cyrus story influenced the way the Roman origin myth was represented appears to warrant further investigation and I will dwell upon this in detail in the Comparative Section. For that matter affinities between the coordination of the wolf with a bird in Plutarch's Roman myth and the Wu-sun myth of Kun-mo are also deserving of further analysis.

In investigating such affinities, we should perhaps once again address the question of shared Eurasian Ur-myths mentioned in the Introduction and Chapter One, which in the past have been the most popular suggestion for affinities in wolf-nursing and imitation in both cultural spheres (Alföldi 1974: 69-85; Finch 1994: 1-2). However, the use of the term Ur-myths conveys a sense of the semi-magical and prehistoric, and thus appears to represent a form of absolutism that refuses determinable positioning in both time and space. In Chapter Five such notions will be analysed in full as I attempt to place them within a historical and intercultural framework to test their validity. Another suggestion, which bears mentioning at this point, in light of what has been said about Ur-myths, is that the similar nature of these wolf myths in general in both of the cultural spheres investigated is the result of similar socio-economic and environmental factors. By this what is meant is that across Eurasia the wolf was the chief predator of the livestock of both ancient and mediaeval European and Inner Asian herdsmen (Fritts, Stephenson et al. 2003: 292). Thus, by partaking in this animal's perceived nature, protection against it and the possession of its ferocious qualities as a symbol of militaristic power were acquired

(Fritts, Stephenson et al. 2003: 292). Eliade ([1976]1981: 36) has said of the similarities in the use of the wolf as a symbol by these warrior elites:

> "…the invasions and conquests of the Indo-Europeans and Turco-Mongols [were] undertaken under the sign of the supreme hunter…the carnivore…primarily the wolf…they attacked like carnivores, hunting, strangling and devouring the herbivores of the steppe or the farmer's cattle".

However, this environmental view is also somewhat absolutist in its assumptions that the same basic dynamics in both climate and between settled and nomadic peoples applied not only across all of Eurasian, but from prehistoric times to the period of the Mongol Empire. This must also be analysed in full in the Comparative Section.

Further, the wall murals of Panjikant, the Ashina myth and Bugut monument fall into a period wherein intercultural phenomena may have been traded between the Roman, Iranian and Turkic-Mongolian worlds. Most importantly it should be noted that it was not until the eighteenth century CE when Europeans first became aware of the Ashina myth, and suggested without knowledge of older myths such as that of the Wu-sun, that it was carried by the Huns back from Europe to the east in an attempt to imitate that of Romulus and Remus (de Guignes I.ii.I: 171-173 *ap*. Czaplicka 1918: 14-15). For this reason, it would not seem reasonable to target periods later than that of the seventh century CE in relation to the exchange of intercultural phenomena. Comparatively, the Bozkurt (Grey Wolf) was to only become a powerful symbol of Turkish nationalism along with *Ergenekün* (*Ergene Qūn*) and the Ashina (Asena) name under Kemal Atatürk, who made the wolf his own personal symbol (Arman 2007: 136).[62]

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[62] For a more visual representation of these themes and others please consult **App. 4-6** of this thesis.

List of Figures.

Fig. 1. The Bugut Monument, Arkhangai, Mongolia, Sogdian Inscription. Note carving of wolf covering human child at top. Göktürk Empire, c.581-587 CE (Aylimaz 2006: 53).

Chapter Three: The *Fasces* and Parallel Devices in the Mediterranean World.

With this chapter we begin investigations into the second major sequence of my thesis, in which I shall explore the symbolism of bundled rods and arrows in both the Greco-Roman and Turkic-Mongolian cultural spheres so as to illustrate the similarities and differences with which these were used to construct imperial power. Firstly, I shall explore various symbolic devices involving both bundled rods and axes from across the ancient Mediterranean region in order to shed light on the origins and development of the Roman *fasces*. The *fasces*, as Livy (XXVIII.24.14) referred to them, were to the Romans the "*insignia…summi imperii, fasces securesque*" ("the symbols of highest authority, the rods and axes"), signifying rulership of the Roman state. However, just as the city of Rome underwent a great deal of social upheaval in its transition and passage from Monarchy to Republic, Empire and Christian Empire, so too did the notion of this *imperium* and thus the *fasces* also necessarily undergo an evolution in the way in which they were perceived and used by rulers. Thus my investigation will follow closely the alterations of meaning to which this symbol was subjected in accordance with the relevant social changes.

During this exercise much emphasis will also be placed on the fact that "…the bulk of literary evidence from the Roman empire is written in Greek, not Latin" (Stone Potter 1999:12), and for this reason many of the parallels involved in this study of the Roman *fasces* will also involve observations of the lexical implications of translating certain terms from a Greek cultural context into a Roman one. Most importantly, one of these Greek parallels is the Aesopic fable most popularly known as *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* (Chambry ed. 1925-1926: §86; Perry ed. 1936: §53), which has many recurrent echoes in the mythology of the Turkic-Mongolian peoples (Molé 1970: 5-6; *SHM* §18-23; *ON* 36-40). As was mentioned in the Introduction, it is also commonly assumed in modern western political thought, and little has been written on this topic, that this fable had a direct influence on the formation of the *fasces* (Donald 2008: 126; Noble et al. 2010: 737). Because of this we may even come across popular yet erroneous modern beliefs such as: "The Ancient Romans were very impressed with this fable- so much so, in fact, that they

used a bundle of sticks (*Fasces* in Latin) to symbolise the authority of Roman magistrates" (Sherk 2004: 268-269). Thus, the ways by which symbols come to be received, entangled and reinterpreted by cultures will also figure prominently in this study.

1. The Origins of the Fasces.

It is necessary, then, to begin with the earliest known usage of the *fasces* and the elements already associated with them at this point. To the Roman historians of the Late Republic and Early Imperial periods, the *fasces* and the *lictors* who bore them, along with the curule chair, the *toga praetexta* and the triumph had all been borrowed from the Etruscans (Dion. Hal. III.61.2; Liv. I.8; Diod. Sic. V.40.1). In some cases this was attributed to the Etruscan Tarquin kings of Tarquinii in general (Strab. V.2.2) who had occupied Rome until they were expelled at the birth of the Republic (Liv. II.1), or specifically to either Tarquinius Priscus or Tullius Hostilius (Dion. Hal. III. 61.2; Flor. *Epit.* I.5.6; Macr. *Sat.* I.6.7). In comparison with this, Livy (I.8.3) neutrally describes the taking up of the *fasces* due merely to the proximal nature of the "*Etruscis finitimis*" ("neighbouring Etruscans"). Dionysius of Halicarnasus (III.61.2) in the first century BCE is the earliest source we possess on this subject:

> "Also, according to some historians, they also brought to him [viz. the king] the twelve axes, taking one from each city. For it seems to have been a Tyrrhenian custom for each of the kings of each city to be preceded by a *lictor* bearing an axe together with the bundle of rods, and whenever the twelve cities undertook any joint military expedition, for the twelve axes to be handed over to the one man who was invested with absolute power".[1]

Livy (I.8) also echoes this statement saying:

> "…It does not irk me to be of the same opinion as those whom it pleases to draw the origin of the attendants [viz. *lictors*] from the neighboring Etruscans… their number too. The Etruscans also had this, due to the fact that their twelve communities united to elect a king, and each people contributed one *lictor*".

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[1] See **App. 1** for original Greek and Latin texts as cited during this chapter.

Thus, it appears according to the literary evidence of these Roman historians, that the combination of the bundle and axe, the symbolic usage of the *lictors* who carried the device and their enumeration as twelve were already in existence before the *fasces* ever came to Rome. However, it has been further suggested by a number of thinkers (de Sanctis 1929: 4-9; Reinhold 1969: 300-304; Drews 1972: 42) on the basis of a further idea put forward by Livy (I.8.3), that the number twelve in connection with the *fasces* had sacred or ancient legalistic connotations to the Romans themselves. This story of Livy's attributes the number of *lictors* to the twelve vultures of Romulus and Remus' augury contest (Liv. I.8.3) (see Chapter One), and implicit in it is the idea that the *fasces* and *lictors* were a Roman invention. The number twelve does indeed appear to have had some sacred connotations amongst the Romans: there were twelve Salii, *flamines minores* and twelve Arval bretheren- all of which performed religious and municipal functions (Weinreich 1936: VI. 768 "*Zwölfgötter*"). Despite this, it is difficult to determine what this number actually signified beyond a possible ritualistic completeness or even whether or not this was Etruscan or Roman in origin. Most useful to us, however, is that fact that Silius Italicus (VIII.483-488) also gives a Vetulonian origin for the curule chair, the Roman war trumpet and the *fasces*. Vetulonia was another major Etruscan city along with Tarquinii, and it is from both of these locations as well as Veii, that archaeologists have discovered evidence to support the literary evidence of an Etruscan origination for this device.

2. The Etruscan Evidence and the Double-Axe.

In the late nineteenth century a single example of an Etruscan set of *fasces* was found by archaeologists in the seventh century BCE *Tomba del Littorio* (Tomb of the *Lictor*) at Vetulonia (Benedetti 1959: 240; Winther 1997: 427 **Fig. 1**). These were made of metal, were very small and featured a double-headed axe, unlike the usual single-headed axe of the Roman *fasces* (MacKendrick 1962: 36). In order to understand the context of this unique find it is in many ways necessary to investigate what appears to be the growth of the symbolism of the double-headed axe amongst the Etruscans during this period. A large number of small ornamental single-headed axes have been found deposited in tombs throughout Etruria from the ninth century BCE onwards (Torelli 2011: 205-206). These have largely been linked to symbols of status and the

sacred capacity to wield the power of life over death (Torelli 2011: 201-202),[2] which have similar associations to the way in which the axe of the *fasces* was later perceived and represented by the Romans (cf. Sil. Ital. VIII. 488; Liv. XLV.29.2; Plin. *H.N.* XVI.30.75; Cic. *Leg. Agr.* I.3.9), as will be shortly discussed. Despite the fact that the number of inhumed single-headed axes appears to peak during the Villanovan period, between the ninth and eighth centuries (Torelli 2011: 206), double-headed axes have been remarkably rare finds. In fact, aside from the *fasces* of the *Tomba del Littorio*, only one other example has been found of this instrument: that from the *Tomba di Poggio Pepe* around 600 BCE (Winther 1997: 429; Torelli 2011: 206). In direct contrast, however, it is during this same period that examples of the double-headed axe in art throughout the region begin to be appear, and with this the first determinable intimations of the office of *lictor* beyond the Vetulonian *fasces* themselves.

Perhaps the earliest example of the double-headed axe in Etruscan art is from a painting on a dividing wall in the Veii *Tomba Campana*, where a man who appears to symbolise the office of *lictor* is seen to proceed a group of men and a horse with such an instrument (Haynes 2005: 88-90 **Fig. 2**). This image was most likely a hunting scene, containing many suggested examples of Cretan and Corinthian influences and is dated to around 600 BCE (Haynes 2005: 88). Other artistic finds involving the double-headed axe from this same period include a funereal *stele* at Vetulonia from the last quarter of the seventh century BCE, illustrating a warrior named Avle Feluske (Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 140 **Fig. 3**). It has been noted that the representation of the warrior in this image suggests strong Greek influence (Haynes 2005: 84), most likely from Crete (Maggiani 2007: 70). Such an instrument and the appearance of its symbolic use by a possible *lictor* is also found again soon after this in the hands of the foremost horseman on the Roma-Veio-Velletri series of decorative plaques, which date to around 540 BCE (Torelli 2011: 192-193). These plaques appear to illustrate a funerary procession wherein two riders in a chariot are themselves preceded by Hermes holding his wand, the *caduceus* (Hague Sinos 1994:

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[2] In the case of Villanovan and later Etruscan warriors and priests this symbolism has been suggested to directly represent their aristocratic rank (Iaia 1999: 117-119; Caccioli 2009: 70; Torelli 2011: 201-202). In the case of such items being deposited in female graves, it has been argued that they represent the family's possession of status through matrilineal inheritance (Iaia 1999: 117-119; Caccioli 2009: 70; Torelli 2011: 201-202).

100-101).[3] As well as the importance of this funerary context, both this example of cavalrymen and the earlier example featuring the single horse suggest the use of the axe to represent aristocratic status, which is implicit in the symbolism of horse ownership and the high office of the deceased (Torelli 2011: 192-193).

These first intimations of *lictors* and *fasces* during the seventh century BCE, in conjunction with the presence of foreign artistic elements in these images, suggests the possibility that this device and the office of its bearers may also have begun formation under the external influences exerted upon Italia at this time. During the eighth and seventh centuries BCE the Etruscans were great seafarers and travelled widely in the Eastern Mediterranean in order to trade (Kleiner 2009: 114). In fact, this period of classical history, known as the Orientalising Period, is in many ways synonymous with the intercultural contact beginning in the eighth century BCE between Italic peoples and various civilisations in Greece (Euboians and Conrinthians), Anatolia, Cyprus and the Near East such as Phoenicians and Syrians (Haynes 2005: 48-58; Steingraber 2006: 250). For this reason, foreign conceptions of axes, and especially double-headed axes, as power symbols, may have been taken up by the Etruscans, if they were found to have echoes in the traditions they already possesssed regarding the single-headed instruments of the earlier Villanovan period.[4] In fact, upon investigation, there are two strong possibilities which suggest themselves in reference to exerting such an influence upon the Etruscan culture during this key period of intercultural exchange.

The first of these possibilites is the *labrys* (doubled-heaed axe) of the god Zeus Labrandeus in Caria, which Robert Drews (1972: 46) has explicitly suggested "with no doubt" to be a West Asian remnant of a shared cultural origin with the Etruscans before their supposed migration to Italia in the early first millenium BCE. Plutarch (*Mor.* 310f-202a) in his *Greek Questions* records a tale that the possession this axe by a statue of the god was due to it originally belonging to the Amazon

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[3] See n. 15 for similarities between the *fasces* and the *caduceus*.

[4] In the context of many earlier Bronze Age cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East the double-headed axe has been associated with notions of a widely spread "sacred horns" goddess cult (Burkert 1985: 38; Noble 2003: 57). However, the recurrent connecting of earlier feminine axe worship in Minoan Crete, the double-headed axe wielding Hurrian storm god Teshub and the axe of Zeus Labrandeus as a lightning bolt is perhaps, as Castleden (1993: 136) calls it, at best a possible "generic connection" with little provability of retention over such a long period of history.

Hippolyta, from whom it was stolen by Gyges king of Lydia. According to a suggestion by Drews (1972: 47), the fact that this axe was carried *for* Gyges by a "companion" implies a variety of ritual, similar, if not the same as the singular *lictor* who accompanied the Etruscan kings. Plutarch's (*Mor.* 301f-302a) explanation of Zeus Labrandeus does indeed contain contradictory elements such as the king's supposed lack of value for the axe, whereas to all others involved it was considered very valuable, suggesting that it was intended to be carried by a person other than the actual possessor of power. Whilst it is difficult to establish the ethnic origins of the Etruscans and the influences exerted upon them by other cultures exactly, most scholars willingly admit, as mentioned, that many facets of their culture bear the marks of Western Asian influence from the eighth century BCE onwards, especially from the Phoenicians and Euboean Greeks, who seem to have brought Assyrian and Syrian art and its cultural imagery with them into Italia (Haynes 2005: 48-58; McIntosh 2009: 84). Further, burial in large *tumulus* mounds, practiced by the Etruscans around Caere, Cerveteri, Cortona and other locations from the Orientalising Period onward (Bonfante and Bonfante 2002: 25), as was shared by the Phrygians and Lydians of Anatolia (Gates 2003: 307) also suggest strong connection with the region of the Zeus Labrandeus myth. For this reason the possibility of West Asian connections from various sources is in many ways viable, though at least one other example suggests that similar symbolism may have also been widely spread also amongst the Greeks during this same period.

The second possibility, though slightly unclear, is found within Homer's *Odyssey* (XIX. 570), regarding the mysterious usage of twelve most likely double-headed axes[5] by the protagonist in his challenge against his wife's suitors.[6] These twelve axes would seem to have a curious parallel with the twelve Etruscan and later

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[5] In Greek single-headed axes are termed ἡμιπέλεκκον (half-axe) (Liddell and Scott [1898] 2008: 352 "ἡμιπέλεκκον"), in order to illustrate this instrument's importance as a double-headed entity, or πέλεκυς,

[6] One theory on this difficult passage is that loops or rings were attached to the tops of the axes due to ceremonial use (Monro 1901: IX. 571; Fraser 1932: 25). The only axes with a possible "loop" that are known in the context of Greek culture are those on Mycenaean pottery where they may be merely tassels (Nilsson 1950: 210). These examples are of double-headed axes, which are in keeping with what has already been discussed regarding axe cults in the Mediterranean, if the loop idea is to be taken seriously. Another conception is that of Goebel (1876: 169) who suggested that the axes were not only double-headed but curved inward like horns, and that the arrow was not to touch these horns as it passed through them. What gives this notion more weight than other arguments is Page's (1955: 553) observation of the use of the term διοϊστεῦσαί (to shoot *through/over*) in the line "νευρήν τ' ἐντανύσαι διοϊστεῦσαί τε σιδήρου" (he pulled back the string and shot *through/over* the iron) (Hom. *Od.* XIX. 58).

the twelve Roman *lictors* who accompanied magistrates (Pairman Brown 2000: 271). The presence of the twelve axes as a collective entity used regularly by Odysseus as king of Ithaca (Hom. *Od.* IX. 571)[7] suggests their existence possessed a ritualistic power that only the ruler was able to use, and thus supplies a context for the challenge to the suitors. The fact that no criticism of the ambiguity this portion of the *Odyssey* has held to modern scholars is given in antiquity suggests that it was fundamentally understood both physically and symbolically by Homer's audiences in the Ancient World.[8] However, mere silence cannot tell us how widely spread such customs as those ascibed to Odysseus and his axes were during the Archaic period that may have given rise to certain aspects of the *fasces* amongst the Etruscans.

Chronologically and geographically closer to the rise and flourshing of the Etruscans is the fact that the symbol of the double-axe appears to have been retained by Greeks up to the the sixth century BCE, when articles such as a gold necklace of double-headed axes were manufactured in Northern Greece, though this may have had more in common to older goddess cults (Noble 2003: 58).[9] This period in Greek history is also famous for the migrations into Italia made by the Greeks (Van Antwerp Fine 1985: 76; Haynes 2005: 50-54), who began carrying Corinthian pottery into Tarquinii amongst other things from the seventh century BCE onwards (Haynes 2005: 54; Turfa 2005: 40). It is this same period, as noted above, when the symbol of the double-headed axe first begins to appear amongst the Etruscans and thus provides a viable link for this Greek instrument, with or without Homeric influence, to have been readapted to older Etruscan beliefs in connection with single-headed axes and the possession of authority.

Following this early proliferation of the double-headed axe in Etruscan art, it is curious to note that it is only from the fifth century BCE onwards that the number

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[7] Hom. *Od.* IX. 570-575: "But I will tell you something else, and consdier it in your mind. Already it comes, the terribly named day, which will drive me from the house of Odysseus: for now I will array the challenge, those axes, he used to stand then in a line in his house, just like a ship builder's stocks, all twelve of them. He would stand at a great distance and let an arrow fly through them".

[8] Apollod. *Epit.* VII.32-33 merely mentions the bow, but not the challenge. The Verona Scholiast (*ad Hom. Od.* XXI.422) is the first to try to make sense of the passage to very limited effect.

[9] Whether this represents the retention of older female axe goddess symbolism or otherwise is difficult to discern. Even if feminine symbolism in connection with the axe was carried into Italia, the double-headed axe design may still have been borrowed from the Greeks to reinforce prior Villanovan axe symbolism.

of *lictors* accompanying the possessor of the axe and the authority vested in it begins to noticeably increase. The representation of *lictors* holding such instruments also appears to begin to change. The first known example of this is on the fifth century BCE Cerveteri Sarcophagus of the Magistrate (**Fig. 4**), in which an Etruscan *lucumone* (high priest) is shown wearing elaborate robes, mounted in a chariot and accompanied by several *lictors* with both long sticks as well as axes (Zaho 2004: 11). Another is a mural from the now no longer accessible *Tomba del Convegno* (Tomb of the Meeting) in Tarquinii, dated to the first half of the third century BCE (Steingraber 2006: 250). This includes a similar procession, wherein a dead magistrate is accompanied into the afterlife by three *lictors* bearing lances as well as double-headed axes (Dennis 1907: 176; Sitwell et al. 1976: "Tarquinii"; Steingraber 2006: 255).[10] However, we must be mindful that the *fasces* from the *Tomba del Littorio* suggest that the entire device- both axe and rods- had already come into being as far back as the seventh century BCE. Thus whilst the *Tomba del Convegno* and others offer us images of rods *and* axes used singularly, we must admit that these later artefacts cannot illuminate the origin of the *fasces* as a combined entity. In light of this I would like to make an original suggestion as to how this may have taken place.

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[10] This most likely suggests the protection of the deceased in their journey following death, which was often represented as a long and dangerous (Jannot 2005: 61). Thus the power one gained in life, from the holding of the *fasces*, most likely was seen to continue in order to protect the traveller in his journey to the world of the dead, or at very least formed a commemorative illustration of earthly power and connotations of elite status in both worlds. This connection between the *fasces* and funereal customs appears to have continued on with the Romans, specifically in reference to the Roman goddess of the dead Libitina. Libitina was a minor goddess about whom little is known except that her name was a euphemism for death (Mar. VIII.43.3-4; Hor. *Carm.* III.30.7) and that she was associated with Venus who had a temple in her grove (Dion. Hal.IV.15.5). Despite this, not only were the *fasces* deposited in her grove during interregnal periods and the death of a consul whilst in office (Asc. *ad* Cic. *Pro Milo.* 29), her temple also held funereal equipment and the lists of the dead on which the possession of *fasces* by key ancestors is often marked (CIL III. 1083, 6072, 6083, VI. 1546 VIII. 7044). This suggests that attaining of *fasces* was a great honour to a Roman family, who integrated this into the cult of their ancestors due to the fact that in their culture "…there was a hierarchy of remembrance intimately bound to a hierarchy of power and inherited nobility" (Pollini 2008: 242). During funerals of those who had possessed the *fasces* at the time of their death, the lictors preceeded the deceased with their *fasces* reversed (Tac. *An.* III.2.2; Ov. *Cons. ad Liv.* 17.7). This suggests the loss of power not of the individual but also the state. In this situation authority was said to have been "returned to the fathers" or senate (Rostovtzeff 1927: 53). This does not seem to have had the positive connotations associated with the ousting of the kings at all. It could perhaps even suggest that pomp and rites such as these may have had their roots in Etruscan times and were retained and reshaped to fit the elected officials of Rome.

3. Rods, Wands and the Lexical implications of the Greek ῥαβδοῦχος and βακτηρία.

These later representations of multiple *lictors* bearing long singular staves instead of merely a single one wielding an axe, calls into question the second aspect of the symbolism of the *fasces*- that of the bound rods themselves, on which little has been suggested by scholars as to their origin in comparison with the axe. To the Romans the *fascia* or red leather bond, which gave the *fasces* their name,[11] could be undone at will and used to transform this symbol into a full set of *virgae* (rods) used for administrating beatings (Liv. IX.16; Cic. *Verr.* II.1.3075; II.3.24.70), accompanied by the ultimate threat of the "*tacito terrorre secures*" ("axes with [their] silent terror") (Sil. Ital. VIII. 488).[12] Despite this, just as Dionysius (III.61.2) claims, and as the Etruscan images discussed above suggest: that there was originally one *lictor* for each city or ruler, the increase of the number of *lictors* may have stemmed from the fact magistrates possessed more than one retainer and hence the bundle of the *fasces* contained necessarily more than one implement. Even in the early image of the Veii *Tomba Campana* from 600 BCE (**Fig. 2**), the ruler is seen to be accompanied with more retainers than the single *lictor* with the axe (Haynes 2005: 88). This suggests that the rods were of lower symbolic value than the more ultimate axe, which would fit with the idea of lesser retainers who did not bear the single axe directly. Perhaps the origin of the combined symbol and its binding was that of easy transportation so that, when called upon, the Etruscan magistrate's other retainers could also partake in symbolic or practical demonstrations of authority using these sticks. Further it then seems reasonable to suggest that this organisation would have subsequently led to the creation of multiple *lictors* with their own sets of *fasces.* In further support of this idea it is also worth noting that Roman *denarii* from the consulship of L. Junius Brutus during the Late Republic illustrate *lictors* in parade holding long unbound rods as well as axes (Evans 1992: 145, 210 **Fig. 5**). This suggests that at very least that this means of representing the *lictors* in art was retained over a long period of time.

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[11] Waele (1927: 127) denies that the *fasces* had any magical power, but considers the bond to have possessed it instead. Resnik and Curtis (2011: 398) suggest that the word *fasces* is ultimately derived from *fas* (lawful). This is appropriate to their context, but is etymologically debatable.

[12] Throughout Roman history from these earliest times to the ordeals of the Christian martyrs (Lactant. *Div. Inst.* V.6.5; Prudent. *C. Symm.* 441-442, *Perist.* III. 96-100), the *fasces* are repeatedly described as *formidolosi* (terrifying), *cruenti* (bloody) and associated with *metus/terror* (fear/terror) (Juv. *Sat.* VIII.136; Liv. XLV.29.2; Plin. *H.N.* XVI.30.75; Cic. *Leg. Agr.* I.3.9). This suggests that to those who observed the possessor of *imperium* and his entourage, that the power vested in him was at its basis an enduring symbol of the administration of physical justice.

In further contextualising the rods of the *fasces* it is also necessary to pursue an investigation into whether this second symbol, like the double-headed axe, may have also formed under the influence of other cultures with whom the Etruscans interacted during this same period. Although there is no other specific example from the Ancient Mediterranean region involving a symbol of bundled rods,[13] it is possible to illuminate to a degree what may have influenced the formation of the symbol of rods of authority by carefully examining the context of certain Greek offices and terms which bear lexical similarities and convergences with the language of the Roman *fasces*.[14] The first of these is the term ῥαβδοῦχος- a curious and important word in that it was the Greek term most commonly used to denote the Roman *lictors* (Polyb. V.26.10; Acts 16:36-38) aside from the synechdoche of πελέκεις (axes) (Plut. *Pomp.* XXIV.6). In the context of Greek culture ῥαβδοῦχος was applied to a variety of government appointed stewards at Athens (Arist. *Pax* 734). These stewards appear to have been "beadle[s] or assistant[s] to the magistrate" (Liddel and Scott [1889]2008: 741 "ῥαβδοῦχος") in charge of keeping peace by beating trouble makers with sticks (Arist. *Pax.* 734). A similar group of ῥαβδοῦχοι also appear to have existed at Sparta in charge of beating young men to keep them in line (Xen. *Lac.* II.2). The term also signifies a sporting umpire in Plato (*Prt.*338a). Other similar alternatives for the *lictors* included: ῥαβδονόμοι (law givers with wands) (Plut. *Aem.* XXXII.3) and ῥαβδοφόρος (wand bearer) (Dion. Hal. III.61.2; Polyb. X.32.2).

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[13] The fable of *The Farmer and His Sons* will be dealt with in the second half of this chapter, and as will be demonstrated, does not strictly apply to this context.

[14] Although not strictly related, amongst the Romans and Greeks there is also the symbolism of the *kerukion* or *caduceus*: the ῥάβδος (wand) of Hermes, which signified peace-making (Plin. *H.N.* XXIX.12.24). Images of the cadeuceus beside the *fasces* and the *spica* (corn ear of plenty) feature on several Roman coins (**Fig. 6**). This suggests that at some point there may have been an association between these vegetative symbols. The *caduceus* like the *fasces* was born by ambassadors and thus presents an official symbol of government peace broking (Thuc. I.53; Hdt. IX. 100). The first use of such a device for the sake of making peace amongst the Greeks was most likely an olive branch (Adolf 2009: 38). This is paralleled by the Roman use of the symbol the *sagmen* or *verbena*: herbs torn up by the roots on the Capitoline hill by the *Fetiales,* to institute peace and public lustration (Liv. II.24; Plin. *H.N.* XXII.3.5). *Sagmen* might in fact denote any plant picked from a sacred place, as Servius auggests (Serv. *ad Aen.* XII. 120). Thus olive may have been included amongst these, due to Greek influence at formative or later date in Rome's history. Although the Romans do not seemed to have used the *caduceus* themselves, Gellius writes on good authority that a *caduceus* and a pike were sent by Q. Fabius Maximus to the Carthaginians as double symbolic gesture (Gell. *Noct. Att.* X.27). Thus, although it is very unlikely that the *caduceus* was in any way directly involved in the formation of the *fasces*, the overlap of their functions illustrates the way by which such parallel devices coexisted and intermeshed.

Upon inspection, each of these terms that has been given in connection with the term ῥάβδος (wand) suggest an implicit connection between physical beatings with rods and the rule of law. However, similar imagery to this is also found as far afield as India.[15] For this reason such symbolism may well be regarded as sufficiently widespread, even in the Mediterranean region, to constitute a difficulty in determining direct cultural influence during the formational stage of the *fasces*. Despite this, later under the influence of the Greek historians the parallel between the *lictors* and Greek offices is, as noted, implicitly present in written sources. In the same way the Greek word βακτηρία, the prose term for σκῆπτρον (sceptre) (Hornblower 2006: 125), also would have most likely possessed very particular negative connotations in respect to its use by the Spartans to these same Greek historians of early Roman history. The βακτηρία along with the Spartan cloak was recognised as a very powerful double symbol of Spartan majesty (Plut. *Nik.* XIX. 4). There are several prominent examples in Greek history of resentment by other Greeks to Spartans' inappropriate uses of the βακτηρία to beat free men, and thus their poor ability as rulers (Hdt. VI.75; Thuc. VIII.84; Plut. *Lyc.* XV.7). To be beaten with a stick in such a manner was regarded as appropriate only for slaves and animals, resulting sometimes in unforeseen retaliation (Plut. *Lyc.* XV.7; Hornblower 2006: 125). This attitude towards the βακτηρία in many ways appears to possess several parallels with the mythology that came to be associated with the birth of the Roman Republic. The Roman belief that their Republican legal system, including the Laws of the Twelve Tables and those of the Decemviri had been formed to some degree under the influence of Greek precursors such as Solon's laws (Liv. III.32-33; Mousourakis 2003: 119) is in this context very pertinent to the formulation of the body of Roman political mythology. The core of these beliefs, appropriately, was the limitation of the *fasces'* usage, and thus the limitation of both physical and symbolic uses of authoritarian power against Roman citizens.

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[15] For instance Skt. *daṇḍa* (rod) also conveys a similar meaning of "legitimate coercive authority" when used in a just manner by rulers (Prosad Sil 1985:23). The *Arthaśāstra* describes it with the words: "its administration constitutes the science of politics (*daṇḍaniti*) having for its purpose the acquisition of (things) possessed, the augmentation of (things) preserved and the bestowal of (things) augmented on a worthy recipient. On it is depends the orderly maintenance of worldly life. Therefore the king, seeking the maintenance of worldly life should ever hold the rod lifted up (to strike)" (*Arth.* I. 4.3-5). However, Kauṭilīya adds that "the (king), severe with the Rod, becomes a source of terror to beings…used unjustly…it enrages even forest anchorites" (*Arth.* I.4.7-11). This last remark would appear to mirror the Greek and Roman reactions to the unjust use of the βακτηρία deftly and the moderation required to wield the symbols of power in moderation. See **App. 9** for discussions of fables belonging to the same pattern as *The Farmer and His Sons* in India.

4. Republican Rome and the Limiting of the *Fasces.*

It was an intrinsic portion of the mythology of the creation of the Roman Republic, following the expulsion of the Etruscan kings, that the usage of the *fasces* that they had introduced to Rome be limited by the government of the people. This "usage" of the *fasces* refers to them as a very real and practical instrument of corporal and capitol punishment, as has been detailed above. Although modern scholars disagree on the actual date of the law's introduction, as three different Valeriuses ratified it (Livy X.9.3-6; Forsythe 2006: 154), the mythic initial passing of the Valerian Law under Valerius Publicola during the Republic's first year of existence in 509 BCE had a very powerful resonance for the Roman people in relation specifically to the use of *fasces* in punishment and how they instead of the kings came to control both authority and justice in the Roman state.

Most importantly, the Valerian Law instituted the rite of *provocatio* (public appeal) for serious crimes (Cic. *Rep.* 2.53; Dion. Hal. V.2.1; Liv. II.1.8) and forbade the presence of the axes in the *fasces* within the city *pomerium* or bounds (Plut. *Pub.* X.5; Cic. *Rep.* 2.53-55; Dio. Cass. III.13.2). Along with the Laws of The Twelve Tables it also made it illegal for Roman citizens to be punished by decapitation and other cruel methods (Livy X.9.3-6), for which we should read the *fasces* as the chief instrument. Further it was at this time that Publicola is credited with inventing the custom of lowering the *fasces* when addressing the electorate (Plut. *Pub.* X.5). In light of this it is thus less than difficult to appreciate the enormity of Livy's description of the one hundred and twenty *lictors* of the *decemviri,* who tried to install an oligarchy following the expulsion of the kings.[16] It would appear, then, at first inspection of the evidence given, without respect to the political rhetoric demonstably inherent within it, that the prior Etruscan and monarchic use of the *fasces* had been both cruel and

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[16] Liv. III. 36: "And then it was the Ides of May, holy due to the incumbency of the magistrates. They made this day memorable by their revealing of an enormous horror, though this was but the very first day of their office. Whilst the earlier *decemviri* had set it that one man amongst this circle should possess the royal symbol, and that it should go by turn to all of them, suddenly all of them appeared with twelve *fasces* each. One hundred and twenty *lictors* filled up the forum, bearing axes bound with the rods before themselves. They were interpreted as meaning that as the axes had not been removed; there was no longer a rite of *provocatio*. They were ten kings, and fear of them was greatly enhanced not only amongst the common people, but also amongst those higher up".

unregulated. [17] However, as mentioned in my Introduction, it is very difficult to deduce to what degree the *fasces* were, at any point, either purely symbolic or purely practical in the legitmising of power from the descriptions that we possess.[18] As has been said by Marshall (1984: 128) in relation to the Roman people themselves and their phenomenological reality concerning the symbol:

> "… Roman attitudes to the *fasces* were no less a constituent part of their effectiveness in action than abstract legal theory, which was in itself unlikely to have been constantly before the Romans' own minds".

For this reason, it would appear more reasonable to suggest that at very least the *threat* of their usage was continuous, but shaped by different cultural necessities during different periods, in which sometimes the violent aspect and in others the potentiality of this were emphasised in the Roman collective consciousness.[19]

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[17] However, it would also conversely seem unreasonable to imagine that the Romans adopted this symbol from the Etruscans, the symbolic origins of which as discussed above are clearly violent in conception at very least, and *only then* turn its use to physical punishment themselves.

[18] Thus in relation to this, regardless of indeterminable debates on the degree to which the *fasces* had been purely symbolic to the Etruscans themselves prior to their Roman reception, the roots of the attitudes that bely the construction of the rhetoric of the historians of Republican Rome against the "otherness" of the Etruscans extend back as determinably far as Greek observations in the fourth century BCE. Historians whose works are now lost such as Theopompus and Timaeus had characterised the Etruscans, largely in light of their proposed Asian origins, as decadent, sexually depraved and unmanly (Bonfante 1986: 234). Later, historians of Rome such as Dionysius of Halicarnasus (*Exc. Amb.* XIII.11.2) and Diodorous Siculus (V.40.4) only added to this, claiming that the Etruscans were not really men, and that that their warriors were less brave than their women (Bittarello 2009: 212). For this reason it is very difficult to objectively determine the role of the *fasces* during the period of Etruscan rule at Rome, due to preconceived notions inherent in the mythology of Asian tyranny and effeminacy, which the Romans had accepted from the Greeks as part of their literary tradition, on top of their own ethnic Italic biases.

[19] Aside from this general chronology up to the point of the Late Republic, there are several important rituals and traditons from this period and prior ot it in assocation with the *fasces* that it is necessary to detail in order for a wider understanding of the symbol to be develloped. One of these is the matter that the *fasces* received a *submissio* (dipping) in the presence of the vestal virgins (Sen. *Contr.* VI.3). This is attested for no other relgious group or cult at Rome. Although there are later mentions of this same sort of "dipping" in the presence of Christian relics (Prudent. *C. Symm.* I. I. 556, 664), the only other religious association of the device is with the Pontifex Maximus and *Flamines*. These were accompanied by several of the thirty *Lictores Curiati* who did not possess *fasces* (Mousourakis 2003: 58). Rather it may be suggested that the Romans possessed an ancient analogy between the *virgines* (virgins) and the *virgae* (birch rods- "*betulla*" (birch) Plin. *H.N.* XVI.30), just as birch was regarded as a fertility symbol in northern Europe (Tresidder 2006: 79). However, the only well known sacred usage of birch amongst the Romans is its bark as paper for Numa's books of Law (Plin. *H.N.* XIII. 27.85). Thus, this does not seem likely. Further, the appearance of *fasces* in dreams as omens of an imminent rise to power (Tac. *Ann.* XV.7; Suet. *Galb.* VIII. 2; Plut. *Luc.* XXXVI.2) signifies the potency this symbol possessed in its penetration of the Roman unconscious. Exemplary of this is a dream of laurel *fasces* by Cicero's servant Sallustius which gave him the promise whislt in exile that he would soon return to Rome (Cic. *Div.* I.28.59).

In further explaining and contextualising the mytho-historical character of the *fasces* in early Republican Rome, it is imperative to note that the major writers who recorded this formative period of Roman history in the texts which have come down to us, such as Livy and Cicero, lived through the turmoil of the last days of the Republic and the first Roman emperors, and thus their own social context and individual desires most likely informed their mythopoea of this integral symbol. Thus, in many ways it is less than difficult to assume that these writers' understandings of the Early Republic have their basis in an unrealistic and utopian nostalgia in which dictators and those who were undeserving had the *fasces* removed from them by the righteous populace (Val. Max. II.2.7; Liv. XXVIII.24.14), an ideal which most likely precipitated Vergil's (*Georg.* II. 494) description of the instrument as *publici fasces* (the people's *fasces*). In view of this, it is integral to note the symbolism that Julius Caesar's changing of the law regarding *lictors* and the smashing of his fellow consul Bibullus' *fasces* would have had for the Roman people, and of course our writers. The public desecration of his *fasces* effectively and demonstrably removed the second consul from power, when before this his powerless had been a subtler affair (Suet. *Div. Iul.* XX.1; Cass. Dio. XXXVIII.6.3). This action mirrors several other poignant and public examples of the destuction of this symbol.[20] Julius Caesar also changed the law in 59 BCE so that he could possess all the *lictors* all year round (Suet. *Div. Iul.* 201.1). The two elected consuls who had replaced the Tarquin kings were permitted to possess the twelve *lictors* for six months each during their year long term (Liv. II.1.8). Prior to Caesar's changes, only dictators who were elected during times of crisis were permitted to possess so many *lictors*- twenty four in fact (Polyb. III.87.7). Julius Caesar also featured all the *lictors* from his past two terms of office in his triumphal parade, a descision supported by the Senate (Cass. Dio. XLIII.14.3). Augustus was to retain this custom and was only to give one half of the twenty four *fasces* over to Agrippa after his sixth term of office (Cass. Dio. LIII. 1.1). From Domitian onwards the twenty-four *lictors* were to become a permanent fixture of the emperor and his office (Corson 2000: 434). Caesar and his successors' monopolising of the *fasces* was to be the beginning of a profound change in the the way this symbol was to be treated.

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[20] During the Republic the breaking of *fasces* seems to have been a potent symbol of the masses rebelling against authoity (Liv. II.55.9, III.49.4; Cic. *Pis.* 30.74), but later under the early emperors it came to epitomise the powerless to which the position of consul was to degenerate. The banning of the republic by Caligula following the smashing of the two consuls' *fasces* on a whim and one of the men's consequent suicide was not an episode in Roman history looked upon kindly by posterity (Cass. Dio. LIX.20.3).

With this in mind it is only too easy to see how the Republican Era came to be mythologised by the Roman writers, and as will be shown in Chapter Five, modern collectivist groups from the French Revolution onwards who desired to imitate the Roman Republic and the percived just usage of the *fasces* these earlier writers described.

5. The *Fasces* and Empire.

In spite of these long held views on the *fasces* amongst the Roman people themselves, following the ending of the Republic as Rome expanded outwards and simultaneously became an empire, much of the symbolism inherent in the *fasces* appears to have shifted emphasis towards domination over conquered peoples. This appears especially so in reference to figurative and literal threat of the axe to those not protected by Roman citizenship (Ov. *Tr.* IV. 5-45, V.75.2; Sil. Ital. X. 563; Plut. *Ant.* XXXVI.2). From the earliest times elected officials from Quaestor to Tribune of the Plebs to the Master of Horse, the assistant to the elected dictator all possessed *fasces* beyond the boundaries of the city (Cass. Dio. LIII.13.8; Polyb.II. 24.6, V.26.10; Diod. Sic. XXI.42). This was never the twelve or twenty four of the consuls and dictator (Polyb. III.87.7). The chief purpose of this appears to have been to denote ambassadors and thus the might of Rome in represenative form. It is because of this representation of the power and pride of Rome that the capturing and mocking of the *fasces* and *lictors* was taken to be a very serious and shameful occurrence to the Romans. This is strongly evoked by by Plutarch's images of the capture of the *lictors* by the pirates that Pompey was later to eradicate (Plut. *Pomp.* XXIV.6) and the mock-triumph of Mithridates when Crassus was defeated in Parthia, which included the desecration of the bundles and axes (Plut. *Crass*. XXXII).[21] These ambassadorial uses of the *fasces* obviously continued well into Imperial times, but as the Empire wore on the *lictors* appear to have become more and more like manservants (Suet. *Ner.* XLIII, *Domit.* XIV.3) and are mentioned gradually less and less. As a result the *fasces*, in literature at least, also appear less and less. One notable exception to this is the figurative

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[21] This is further supported by the fact that *fasces* were liberally invoked by the Romans with regard to the illegal possession and the abuse of power. Two famous examples of these concern Verres, the trial of whom hinged on the the illegal execution on a Roman citizen (Cic. *Verr.* II.1.3075, 3.24.70), and the Catiline consiracy in which the seprartist movement stole them before exiting the city (Cic. *Cat.* II.6.13). Further examples of mutinee and the stripping of powers of those who had dishonoured their offices also regularly attest the *fasces* as a major symbolic element (Polyb. XI.29.6; Liv. XXVIII.24.16).

description of Diocletian's retirement as "abandon[ing] the Imperial *fasces*" (Aur. Vict. *De Caes.* CLXIII.5), which seems little more than an archaic reuse of Republican terminology.

However, as the *fasces* appear to have waned, its role in representing the ancient traditions of power and victory also appears to have been at first criticised by the church fathers and then replaced by the *labarum* or Christian Chi-Rho standard during the fourth century CE. Prior to Constantine and the offical adoption of Christianity by Rome we see the *fasces* characterised in a throughly negative light, representative of the overwhelming violent earthly power of Rome against the early martyrs (Lactant. *Div. Inst.* V.6.5; Prudent. *C. Symm.* 441-442, *Perist.* III. 96-100). Beginning with Constantine it is thus not unsurprising that we begin to see the *fasces* replaced and its central place in the representation of legitimate authority written out of history. More than a symbol indicating the first two letters of the name of Christ, the Chi-Rho was a thoroughly militant ensign- said to have been revealed to Constantine before battle, accompanied by the words "*in hoc signo vince*" ("conquer in the name of this sign"), following which he placed it on his soldiers' shields (Eus. *Vit. Const.* I. 29-31). The term *labarum*, in itself, most likely came from the older (*vexillum) laureum*- a laurel wreathed standard indicating victory (Thomas 1981: 87), which was also a semiotic long associated with the *fasces* themselves.[22] Moreover, the Colossus of Constantine in Maxentius' Basilica also featured the emperor with this new symbol. The statue was said to have born the inscription "by this sign I have freed Rome from the yoke of the tyrant and restored the people and the senate to their ancient spleandour" (Eus. *Eccl. Hist.* IX.9.11)- activities with which the *fasces* would have previously been inextricably linked.[23] The Great Cameo of Constantine, for that matter, which is filled with pagan symbols reiterating the ancient origin of his rulership such Zeus' *fulmen* (lightning bolt) and centaurs, does not feature the *fasces*

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[22] The *fasces* were often garlanded with laurel to indicate victory. Laurel *fasces* were dedicated to Juppiter by victorious conquerors (Plin. *H.N.* XV.40.133). Thus Lucullus' vision of the replacement of his *fasces* with laurel ones by Pompey upon their meeting has definite overtones of anointing a military successor (Plut. *Luc.*XXXVI.2). Laurel was a symbol of victory to the Greeks, and it is most likely that this custom originated from them and is not of an older Italic origin (Liv. V.28.13; Heilmeyer 2007: 26). By the emperor Gordian laurel fasces came to merely differentiate the emperor from other officials (Herod. VII.6.1-2).

[23] Much has also been made of the "silence" regarding Constantine's triumphal entrance into Rome in 312 CE, in which unlike previous emperors he does not seem to have made a sacrifice at the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, suggesting a profound disconnection with previous pagan rituals and his loyalty to the Christian God (Nixon and Rodgers 1994: 118-119).

(Bardill 2011: 170-171). Later amongst the Byzantines there is no explicit reference to the *fasces* at all. Thus by this time not only had Roman notions of *imperium* altered completely, but so too had their conception of its connection with ancient symbolism.

6. The Fasces and Aesop's Fable of "The Bundle of Sticks".

Having discussed the history of the development and gradual disappearance of the *fasces*, it is now necessary to pursue a slightly different avenue of investigation which will lead into further discussions of symbols of stength, collectivity and rulership in the following chapters. The reason for this is that some particular modern readings of the *fasces* have associated the device's overall meaning not with mere physical or political power and the ability to institute these, but with power through social unity (Donald 2008: 126; Noble et al. 2010: 737).[24] This reading has been explicitly based around an assumed relationship regarding Roman political thought and a fable attributed to the Greek sage Aesop- that of *The Farmer and His Quarelling Sons* (Falasca- Zamponi 2000: 95; Goldstein 2004: 49). This fable, it should be emphasised to the contrary, was not known in Latin until the Renaisance and possesses no Roman equivalent.[25] In its *Recensio Augustana* form, which was the earliest major Byzantine recension of Aesop dating from between the second and fifth centuries CE (Adrados and Van Dijk 1999: 64), the fable in question is most commonly given as:

> "The sons of a farmer were quarrelling. But he, advising many things, was not able to convince them with words. He realised that he needed to make a practical demonstration of this and instructed them to fetch a bundle of sticks. Having done what they were told, he gave the bundled sticks to them and ordered them to break them. When in spite of all their forcefulness they were not able to do this, he secondly loosed the bundle and gave one stick to each of them. Having easily broken these, he said: 'You then, o sons, if you are ever in concord, you will be unassailable to your enemies, but if you ever quarrel, you will be defeated.' This story shows how much

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[24] Roman Republican tradition in relation to the *fasces* would not seem to be able to rationalise this reading of collectivity on its own, however. As was shown earlier in this chapter the *fasces* were to the Romans a symbol of power (Plin. *H.N.* XVI.30.75; Liv. IX.16; Cic. *Leg. Agr.* I.3.9). The control of this symbol by the people and the mythology of the Valerian Law and Early Republic were indeed connected with notions of the people possessing control over justice and political decision making (Dion. Hal. V.2.1; Liv. II.1.8), but there is no express mention made in antiquity of power through collectivity in regard to this symbol.

[25] See **App. 8** of my thesis for discussions on the Roman fable of the "horse's tail", which has been taken by some scholars to represent an analogue to *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons*.

stronger concord is and how most easily subduable discord is" (Chambry ed. 1925-1926: §86; Perry ed. 1936: §53).

The process, however, of tracing and determining the origins of particular fables attributed to the sixth century BCE slave Aesop is in some ways quite difficult. Even during Socrates' time, when the philosopher famously attempted to turn a selection of them into poetry before his death (Plat. *Phaed.* 61b), and following this with the now lost first recorded written collection by Demetrius Phalereus during Hellenistic times (Cifarelli 2002: 441), the emphasis of the Aesopic tradition appears to have been on the retelling and attribution to the mythic sage of popular folktales for personal artistic purposes (Wheatley 2000: 25). Thus the sources of many of the tales and the period at which they became associated with the Aesopic corpus are in many ways debatable (Zafiropoulos 2001: 43), as are also the particular choice of wording and moral emphasis in different renditions (Adrados and Van Dijk 1999: 64). The earliest collection of Aesopic tales we possess is the *Mythiambi Aesopei* of Babrius (Easterling et al. 1989: 252), in which can be found a slightly different version of this same fable. Babrius wrote during the late first or "perhaps second century" (*ibid*) CE. His version is as follows:

> "In former times there was a very old man who had many sons to whom commanding (for it seemed that he would indeed die soon), he ordered to fetch a bundle of weak sticks, wherever such a thing might be found. One of them came bringing it. 'Try for me, children,' [he said], 'With all your might, to break these sticks bound together'. But they were not able to do this. 'Now try a single one,' he said. Each of them having been deftly broken, he said: 'If you were of the same mind as one another, then no one would be able to beat you, even if he were the strongest. But if any of you is apart from any other in his judgement, each of you will be relying in these same matters upon but a single stick.' (Brotherly love is the greatest good to mankind, which bears even those who are lowly up to heights)" (Babrius §47).

As may be seen, there are several notable differences between the two versions given. The *Augustana*, which shares many fables in common with Babrius' collection (Cifarelli 2002: 441), emphasises the quarrelling of the sons, and unlike Babrius (47) dispenses with the deathbed element of the father (Chambry ed. 1925-1926: §86;

Perry ed. 1936: §53),[26] which is present in nearly every other version of this fable outside the Aesopic context (see **App. 7**).[27] For this reason, it may be suggested that the *Augustana* tradition represents a later peculiarly Greco-Roman synthesis of this fable, and if the source for Babrius is to be sought, then perhaps a thematically closer fable would then have to be suggested.

In order to suggest an answer for this, in the Greco-Roman tradition this pattern of fable is also found twice in Plutarch's *Moralia* (174f cf. 511c), which in many ways "constitute the bulk of the surviving documentation of the intellectual life of the period between Nero and Hadrian" (Lamberton 2001: 24), and thus falls into the same period as that of Babrius. Like that of Babrius it too places emphasis on the father's imminent demise (*Mor.*174f cf. 511c). In both cases, the fable is recounted in reference to one of the most famous later kings of the Indo-Iranian nomad confederation, the Scythians. The king, Scilurus, was a ruler from the second century BCE famous for the large number of sons he possessed (Strab. VII.4.6-7; Hind 1994: 505). It is to these sons that the king delivers the fable on his deathbed in Plutarch's *The Sayings of Kings and Commanders* as follows*:*

> "Scilurus leaving behind eighty manly sons, when he was about to die, offered to each of them a bundle of darts and began ordering them to break it. All of them having given up, he took each of the darts singly and broke them easily, teaching them that those who stand together will remain strong and that those who are separate and quarrel will be weak" (Plut. *Mor.* 174f).

This same story is later repeated in Plutarch's *On Talkativeness* (*Mor.* 511c), with very little difference, except perhaps for the choice of ἀκοντίων (darts) (174f) in the first version and the indistinct δορατίων (of stems/spears) (511c) in the other. However, the second application of this fable is in some ways far more important than the mere catalogue of wise sayings in which it first appears. The reason for this is that

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[26] Text B of Babrius also gives a version of this fable in which there is no deathbed element (Hausrath 1952: 74), though this could be due to influence from the Augustana, as no other text carries this version. Babrius' work was not known before 1842 in the West, but appears well known to the Byzantines (Holzburg 2002: 53-54, 73-74).

[27] See Chapter Five for full discussion on the intercultural importance of the deathbed element and its absence in positing influence from *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* in Inner Asia during the middle ages and later in Renaissance Europe.

this second context is one of famous practical examples for inducing unity between people that were far more effective than mere words (*Mor.*510e-511d). Following these examples Plutarch (*Mor.* 511d) states: "*εἰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα συνεχῶς τις σκοποῖ καὶ ἀναλαμβάνοι, παύσαιτ' ἂν ἴσως ἡδόμενος τῷ φλυαρεῖν*" ("indeed if a person were to continuously scrutinise and pay heed to these and similar things, perhaps he would stop taking pleasure in idle talk"). Comparatively, the later *Augustana* tradition of Aesop makes use of the phrase "*ἔγνω δεῖν διὰ πράγματος τοῦτο πρᾶξαι*" ("he realised that it was necessary for him to make a practical demonstration of this") (Chambry ed. 1925-1926: §86; Perry ed. 1936: §53), in reference to the father of the tale, as words were of no effect upon his children. Hence the elegance of the allegory inherent in the fable could be said to be its chief means of appeal, both to lore collectors such as Plutarch and the composers of the Aesopic corpus, as well as cultures such as the Scythians who, as will be shown in Chapter Four, appear to be the first amongst many nomadic peoples of Inner Asia to make use of this fable as a marker of their ethnic identity and collective potency.

It should also be noted here, that with regard not only to the Greco-Roman tradition, but also the history of this fable pattern in general, the Scythian connection with the "bundle" fable forms the earliest definite ethnic context from whence the fable may have come. Although it has been suggested that Babrius' collection of Aesopic fables, commissioned by a Syrian king while the fabulist was dwelling in Syria or Cilicia, appear to have many of their roots in Near Eastern animal fable traditions (Burkert 1992: 121), the "bundle" fable pattern is not one of them. Thus, without further evidence, we are inclined to suggest that a Scythic connection remains the earliest likely source. In defence of this, preceding Plutarch, we also have intimations of such a fable's symbolic existence during the sixth century BCE, as recorded by Herodotus (IV. 131) in reference to the wars between the Persians and Scythians. Darius in 531 BCE, having been routed by the Scythians is described as being given several gifts by them which include a bird, a mouse, a frog and five arrows. As to the meaning of such gifts, two interpretations by the Persians are given: the first that the arrows represent Scythian power now surrendered into Persian hands and alternatively that the Persians will be the victims of Scythian force through the power invested in their arrows (Hdt. IV. 131). Both of these analyses have strong affinities with the symbolism of the arrow and political legitimacy inherent in

controlling a force of archers, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Key to this is the fact that amongst the Inner Asian nomadic peoples who followed the Scythians in Eurasia and the regions of Mongolia from late antiquity through to the high middle ages, in a similar way to these Scythian arrows and darts, it is arrows which most regularly fulfil the role in the representation of power in relation to the content of the "bundle" in this fable pattern (cf. Molé 1970: 5-6; *SHM* §18-23; *ON* 36-40).[28] Thus, whether or not both ἀκόντιον (dart) (Plut. *Mor.* 174f) and the indistinct δορατίων (stems/spears) (Plut. *Mor.* 511c) were Greek interpolations of original arrow symbolism,[29] or an accurate depiction of a more general collective missile symbolism amongst the Scythians, from the intimations of Herodotus to the strong chain of receptions in Inner Asia in connection with arrows and this fable pattern, as will be explored in Chapter Four, Plutarch's story of Scilurus remains of paramount relevance in establishing the earliest connections between this mythic pattern and the Aesopic tradition- and moreover valuably strides the gap between the two cultural spheres in question.

7. Concluding Remarks.

In turning to Inner Asia with these final remarks on early Western links to the history of *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* in the Mediterranean region, it is now apposite to bring this chapter to a close and remark on what has been discussed, and how this will lead to further investigations and hypotheses in the following chapters. It appears reasonable, then, to suggest both from textual and available archaeological

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[28] However, the converse notion that this version in connection with Scilurus is merely a confected *chreia* (anecdotal appropriation) of the Aesopic tradition with a historical context added (Fernández Delgado 2008: 26-27) would appear short-sighted and lacking awareness of the role this fable would seem to play within Inner Asian culture, of which Fernández Delgado (*ibid*) says nothing.

[29] If the context of this Scythian fable and its symbols are to be expanded a little, in Herodotus' *Histories* (IV.67.1) there is found a description of a widely spread Scythian religious practice involving bundled ῥάβδοι (wands): "Scythia has an abundance of soothsayers, who foretell the future by means of a number of willow wands. A large bundle of these wands is brought and laid on the ground. The soothsayer unties the bundle, and places each wand by itself, at the same time uttering his prophecy: then, while he is still speaking, he gathers the rods together again, and makes them up once more into a bundle". (Hdt. IV.67.1). It may be possible to suggest, in light of this, that Scilurus, by using the bundle of darts/stems, was deliberately strengthening his teaching by coordinating this with the semiotics of Scythian soothsaying and its binding and individual separation of sticks. In this way the warning to the sons of their potential destruction may have been rendered far more ominous. One possible contradiction to this, is the fact whereas ῥάβδοι (wands) have strong connotations of power symbolism and rulership amongst the Romans and Greeks, the "bundle" of Plutarch's Scythian variants involve small missiles. Thus it would seem unlikely that symbolic association between the wands of soothsaying and the missiles of the "bundle" fable would have been considered by the Scythians, though we cannot entirely discount it.

evidence that the symbol of the *fasces* has its roots in the early Villanovan use of ornamental axes and their representation of power and status. It is with the growth of the symbolism of the double-headed axe throughout Etruria during the seventh century BCE that the role of the *lictor* and the earliest known example of bundled rods coupled with the axe first appear. From the investigations undertaken in this chapter it also appears that not only were these two symbols affected strongly by external influences in the Mediterranean region from the Orientalising period onwards. Moreover, this process of re-envisioning and accrual of layers of symbolic strata appears to have continued up to an including the Greek historians of the Republican and Imperial Periods who drew upon Greek models for representing the "rod" in Roman history.

Nevertheless, the wane of the *fasces* during the Imperial Period suggests that this symbol would not have been able to affect the symbolism of the Turkic-Mongolian peoples or even their Indo-Iranian predecessors with any certainty. In the same way, the lack of any Roman equivalent for the fable of the *Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* suggests that the *fasces* and the fable's "bundle" are only coincidentally similar in symbolic composition. Thus the means by which these two uses of the symbol of bundled rods came to be entangled with the return of the Aesopic tradition to Europe during the Renaissance will be dealt with later in the Comparative Section of this thesis (Chapter Five), following an investigation into the Turkic-Mongolian tradition. This investigation will commence with the Scythian links to this fable developed already in this chapter. The fact that these are the earliest determinable links between a specific people and the role of this fable in their traditions highly recommends, in itself, the necessity for further investigation into this second cultural sphere. Moreover, Parthian, Sogdian and other Asian variants of the fable will also necessarily follow suit in this chapter and the Comparative Section, as these peoples dwelt around the rim of Central and Inner Asia where they were in contact with both the Classical Tradition and the nomadic peoples there over long periods, and may also provide invaluable links in assembling an image of the movement and dissemination of this "bundle" fable pattern.[30]

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[30] Please consult **App. 7** and **11** of my thesis for a more visual representation of what has been discussed thus far in reference to the history of the "bundle fable" during this chapter.

List of Figures.

Chapter Four: From Bailan Wang Achai to Chingis Khan: Reapplications of the Allegory of the "Bundle of Arrows" Amongst the Inner Asian Nomads.

In the previous chapter I began investigations into the mythic pattern of the "bundle" fable, determining that Plutarch's (*Mor.* 174f cf. 511c) connection of such a fable with the Indo-Iranian Scythian nomads of antiquity provides the earliest recorded example of it within a specific ethnic context. As we turn further eastward in this chapter, similarly this Scythic association appears to be the first of many reapplications of the same mythic pattern amongst the nomadic aristocracies of Inner Asia over the period of the next thousand years up to and including the Mongol Empire. This immediately calls into question the ongoing function of the "bundle" fable in this cultural sphere, which as will be shown, appears inextricably linked to the enduring social factors of the Inner Asian steppe, in which there was only limited "settled" infrastructure, laws and history were mostly orally preserved, and incessant migrational factionalism was a necessary part of nomadic existence. Thus, in order for power to be regarded as legitimate and lasting, the construction of myths which exhorted both familial and tribal collectivity appear to have been a very strong priority. The "bundle" fable, as will be shown by its long retention and reappropriation by nomad groups, would thus appear to fulfil these requirements succinctly and elegantly, as has already been discussed with regard to its appeal in the Greco-Roman tradition.

1. The Bow and Arrow in Nomadic Representations of Power.

In the previous chapter I discussed in detail how the rod fulfilled an integral role in the representation of power amongst the peoples of the ancient Mediterranean region. The bow and arrow, on the other hand, as will be seen in the examples of the "bundle" fable pattern given in this chapter, are comparatively the means by which all of these nomadic variants represent the notion of the "bundle" at the centre of the fable's analogy of concord (cf. Molé 1970: 5-6; Luther 2001: 167 n. 21; *SHM* §18-23). The reason for this would seem to be that in the context of Inner Asian nomadic culture, the bow and arrow convey in many ways similar connotations of political power, justice and individual and collective force as the rod has been seen to convey in the Mediterranean region. Larry Moses (1987: 64) perhaps sums this up best in his

remarks regarding the "bundle" pattern in the context of Inner Asian nomadic tradition by stating that "…arrows were substituted for twigs, as would be expected in a warrior society, where survival was dependent on skilled use of bows and arrows".

In light of this it is necessary to provide some context concerning the ongoing importance of the symbol of bows and arrows to the Inner Asian nomads, in order to juxtapose this with that of the Ancient Mediterranean. In the Greco-Roman tradition such instruments from Homer onwards were in some ways regarded as fitting only for young, effeminate and the cowardly (Hom. *Il.*XI.390; Verg. *Aen.* IX. 590-620) and the plainly brutal such as Heracles and Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* XXI.11-40; Crissy 1997: 41-53), because they permitted one to fight from a distance. In comparison, the composite bow appears to have come into use across the Eurasian steppe by nomadic peoples from around 800 BCE, coinciding with the rise of Iron Age pastoralism across the region (Bergman and McEwan 1997: 152-157; Green and Svinth 2010: 58).[1] Mounted archery presented an enduring life-way for existing in the steppe and available to all adult males, permitting vast temporary armies to be quickly martialled, and dominating warfare throughout Eurasia until the seventeenth century CE (Bergman and McEwan 1997: 152-157; Hildinger 2001: 58). Thus, as will be shown, the bow in the Inner Asian world has a long history as a potent symbol of control of collective and individual might.

Much has already been said (see in part Chapter Two) with regard to the strong influence Indo-Iranian nomadic peoples appear to have played in the formation of the Turkic-Mongolian nomadic way of life and its religious and cultural values during the first millennium BCE. For this reason, it is apposite to return to this in tracing the transmission of the bow and its symbolism to the Turkic-Mongolian peoples. For instance, Herodotus' (I.136) fifth century BCE description of Indo-Iranian Persian education in which Persian boys learnt only three things: to use a bow, to ride a horse and to speak the truth, appears to present a useful example of the

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[1] Finds from Scythic burial sites such as bow casings at Pazyryk in the Altai dating between 300-250 BCE and the Han frontier Qum-Darya mass burial (first c. BCE-third c. CE) show that the Inner Asian composite bow continued to develop over time from a short recurved instrument to the asymmetrical "Hunnic" and "Avar" bows found in burial sites in Eastern Europe during the middle of the first millennium CE (Maenschen-Helfen 1973: 220; Bergman and McEwan 1997: 152-157). There is also some possible evidence of the composite bow's early use in Kazakhstan c. 800 BCE illustrated in the form of rock carvings (Samashev 1993: 49).

importance placed upon this weapon in the cultures of Inner Asian antiquity.[2] Similar notions are further attested during the period of the Xiong-nu Empire of Mongolia and Northern China during the second century BCE. Chinese observers such as Sima Qian noted that children amongst the Xiong-nu began training from an early age "…by learning to ride sheep and shoot birds and rats with a bow and arrow" (Findley 2005: 31). Most importantly, as described previously in Chapter Two in relation to the Wu-sun and wolf nurture myths, the Xiong-nu appear to have been composed of both strong Indo-Iranian and Turkic-Mongolian elements.

Further, in illustrating the importance of the symbol of the bow and arrow to the formation of imperial power amongst the Inner Asian nomads, it should be noted that it was the habit of nomad rulers of this region from antiquity to the Mongol empire to amass a series of warriors around themselves through their inherited or personal charismatic qualities (Skrynnikova 2004: 528; Sneath 2007: 178-180).[3] In the later Turkic-Mongolian tradition the ruler's elites often given honorific titles such as *merged* (experts),[4] *nököd* (companions) or *ba'atarud* (heroes). Thus rulers vicariously controlled the force inherent in these bands of warriors.[5] Perhaps one of

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[2] We may also see the importance of the bow and arrow on Achaemenid coinage and seal stones in Anatolia, wherein these weapons appear to possess strong symbolic connotations with imperial legitimacy as a reminder to conquered peoples of Persian military prowess and ongoing control (Dusinberre 2013: 93-94).

[3] In fact it has been said regarding the emergence of figures such as Attila and Chingis Khan, their ability to form massive nomadic confederations, and the effect of this on world history: "the charisma of rulers was one of the main phenomena of Central Asian history" (Bold 2001: 83). Perhaps we see this first in Diodorus Siculus' (XVII.59.2) comment concerning the elite "king's men" chosen by the Achaemenid Persian ruler because of their bravery and loyalty towards him. The "picked men" or *logades* of Attila may also have represented similar elites surrounding the Hun ruler and drawn from many peoples such as the Goths and Alans on the basis of their warrior skill and loyalty (Prisc. frag. 11.2, 13.1; Maenchen-Helfen 1973: 192-195).

[4] It appears that to the Mediaeval Mongols the idea of "expertise", as is inherent in the relatively common title *mergen* (expert) was synonymous with archery. The thirteenth century CE stele, the Genghis Stone, a monument which refers to Chingis' nephew Esünge, describes a bowshot of 335 *ald* (500m) that was worthy of commemoration with the title *mergen* (expert) (Lhagvasüren 1997: 9 **Fig. 1**). Evidence from the nineteenth century *Kök Sudar* suggests that this was most likely not a unique feat at this time, as it lists several who attained it during the same period as Esünge (Lhagvasüren 1997: 10). Further magical and semi-magical feats attested for great archers include: the ability to pierce anvils with arrows (*Muḥābbat- nāme* 163b 132); divination through belomancy (the flight of arrows) (Heath 1972: 332) and the ability to be impervious to arrows, as ascribed both ancestral heroes such as Kül Tegin in the eighth century CE Orkhon inscriptions (Dennison Ross and Thomsen 1930: IE 33-34 p.868) as well as to monsters such as *Tepegöz* in the thirteenth century CE *Kitabi Dedem Korkut* (VIII. 142, 147).

[5] The symbolism of the archer in conjunction with collective organisation is perhaps also demonstrated in the ethnonym Onogur, in which the idea of ten arrows (on= ten, ok= arrow) also suggests a union of ten tribes in confederation organised according to the decimal system of tens, hundreds and thousands (Sugar and Hanák 1994: 9; Stark 2008: 61). Turkic-Mongolian armies were organised into series of

the earliest and most curious examples of this is the Xiong-nu prince Modun Chanyu who is said to have murdered his father by training and killing any of his men who did not hit a specified target when he fired a whistling arrow towards it (Sima Qian *Shi Ji* 110. 2888-2889). Finally his men were so well drilled that he fired his arrow at his father whilst hunting and his men shot him dead without question (*ibid.* 2890).[6] Sima Qian also records a letter to the Chinese emperor in which Modun Chanyu states: "…all the people who draw the bow have now become one family". (Sima Qian *Shi Ji* 110.2896; Golden 2000: 21). Thus, this recognition of a way of life, based around the bow suggests a symbol of unity, deliberately emphasising the differences in the way in which force and political organisation were achieved amongst the nomads and settled peoples, with whom they consciously compared themselves. For this reason, the symbolic handing over of power inherent in the majority of Turkic-Mongolian versions of the "bundle" fable pattern, as will be seen, would appear implicitly linked with the continued control and unity of military power invested in the many arrows, or archers, who composed the force of the family and state.

2. Fable: Tu-yü-hun.

The notions described above are supported by the presence of a "bundle" fable recorded in relation to the Tu-yü-hun confederation of nomads during the fifth century CE. The fable in question has been described as identical in nearly every way to that of the Scythians and the Aesopic tradition (de Rachewiltz 2004: 262-263). Although our records of the myths of Inner Asian peoples are largely limited to those fortuitously recorded by settled peoples and present great difficulty in assembling a comprehensive transmission path for the fable during this period, as will be shown, the key role played by the "bundle" fable amongst Inner Asian elites in exhorting collectivity would suggest a valuable package of mythic *foci* disseminated across the steppe and regularly reappropriated over long periods of time to the Türk and Mongol Empires. In describing their origins, the Tu-yü-hun were most likely originally

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tens, implying completeness long before Chingis Khan's official codification of this (Gabriel 2006: 26). For that matter, at the Avar settlement of Kölköd, those of warrior rank were buried with one or several arrows beside them to mark this (Szádeczky-Kardoss 1990: 226).

[6] In the living Siberian Buriat version of the Tibetan *Geser* epic, perhaps a similar show of the ruler's exertion of authority through the control of his band of warriors using the bow is found when Geser instructs his thirty three warriors to test his magical yellow bow by destroying sixty dead trees with it (IV. 32). The warriors are described as exerting themselves greatly and destroying each target (IV. 32), splintering them into pieces down to their very roots (IV. 32). Geser then admires his bow and the fact that his warriors have worn it in, and declares it a wonderful weapon, strong in all conditions (IV. 32).

members of the Inner Mongolian Xianbei confederation, from whom they emerged during the mid-third century CE as a separate entity (Janhunen 2006: 114), and it is generally accepted the Xianbei and the Tu-yü-hun after them were largely ethnically Mongolic (Lung 2011: 33). The Xianbei had emerged in turn from Eastern Mongolia with the collapse of the culturally diverse Xiong-nu state in the first century BCE (see Chapter Two). Thus the "bundle" fable's appearance at this juncture, in spite of any clear intimation in earlier records of the eastern steppe in comparison with its strong connection with the *Scythai* around the Black Sea, may suggest an inheritance from interactions between earlier nomad confederations from whom the Tu-yü-hun had emerged, which they in turn reappropriated because of its key role in affirming solidarity and legitimacy, though we must admit due to lack of evidence, that this remains unable to be answered with certainty.[7] The fable in question is found in the sixth century CE Chinese chronicle the *Wei Shu*, and concerns the fifth century CE ruler Achai bequeathing his empire to his children and brothers upon his death:

> "[A-ch'ai] then designated Mu-kuei to succeed him in the affairs [of state] [*sic*]. A-ch'ai had twenty children of whom Wei-Tai was the eldest. A-ch'ai spoke again [to his children and younger brothers] [*sic*] and said: 'Let each of you bring me an arrow and throw it on the ground…and he at once commanded his youngest uterine brother Mu-li-yen: 'Take an arrow and break it.' Mu-li-yen did so. 'Take nineteen arrows and break them,' A-ch'ai said again, but Mu-[li] [*sic*]- yen could not manage to break them. A-chai [then] [*sic*] said: 'Have you understood or not? A single [arrow] [sic] is easily broken but it is difficult to [break] [*sic*]…" (Molé trans. 1970: 5-6).

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[7] We should note what appear to be several possible parallels between the religious and elite culture of the third to first century BCE Xiong-nu from whom the Xianbei and Tu-yü-hun had emerged, and that of the *Skythai* of the Black Sea, region as described in the fifth century BCE. For instance, both peoples appear to have made the skulls of their dead enemies into drinking vessels (Hdt. IV. 64-66; Pulleyblank 2000: 53, 58), and there would seem to be a strong parallel in the imagining of a sacred sword as the war god, worshipped in both cases through human sacrifice at a sacred mound- in the former case the Xiong-nu *ching-lu* sword and its *lung-ch'eng* "fort" or "mound", and in the other a sword sat atop a mass of brushwood (Hdt. IV.63-64; Pulleyblank 2000: 53,58). Similar sacrificial rituals with the mound and sword may also have been continued by the Alans until the fourth century CE (Sulimirski 1985: 158). We should also note that from the first century BCE Xiong-nu burials of elites at Noyon Ula in the Khangai region of Mongolia there is an example of a carpet featuring a bird headed gryphon represented with pointed ears, an innovation first found in Greek art and then seemingly passed into Inner Asian culture, including the Pazyryk burials (c. 400 BCE), through trade in the Black Sea region (Bolton 1962: 92; Ishjamts 1999: 160-161). This suggests that ideas and goods of value to elites may have been traded and shared throughout the steppes due to their collective value, though in the majority of cases this is impeded by lack of evidence enabling us to deduce how differently such symbols and practices were used by each of the peoples in question.

In analysing the content of this text, it is curious to note in comparison with others already discussed in Chapter Three that the eldest Wei-Tai or the elected ruler Mu-kuei are not the ones asked to perform the act of breaking (Molé 1970: 6). Mu-li-yen, the youngest uterine brother is singled out instead, and as may be noted, both he and Wei-Tai are counted along with the other brothers, not as equals, but as Achai's twenty "children" (Molé 1970: 5). This suggests that the major message inherent in this version of the fable is to teach unity so as to prevent the khan's brothers from usurping what belongs to the higher "children" or inheritors, rather than the mere passing around of the bundle to equals in the Scythian version to encourage solidarity (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 174f, 511c). In order to provide a greater context to the themes of legitimacy contained within this tale, it is necessary to describe perhaps one of the longest standing traditions amongst the aristocracies of the Inner Asian nomads. This is the use of the familial structure to aetiologically represent both the origins of nomad factions, as well as the relative hierarchy of power existing between these groups during the time of the historian themselves.

In explaining this notion of the use of familial structure in Inner Asian historiography and myth making, the origin myth of the Tu-yü-hun people themselves in the Chinese seventh century CE *Jin Shu* annals provides a sound example. In the *Jin Shu* (fol. 4b *ap.* Carroll 1953: 3; Chen 2012: 63), the founders of the Tu-yü-hun and Wei peoples are represented by a pair of brothers, both the sons of the same ruler, though the younger Tu-yü-hun ancestor is from a legitimate mother and the elder Wei ancestor from a concubine (fol. 4b *ap.* Carroll 1953: 3), which would seem to mirror the lowly status of the paternally illegitimate Mu-li-yen as "youngest uterine brother" in the bundle fable given above (Molé 1970: 6). Even more important is the fact that because of these issues of legitimacy in the *Wei Shu*, the younger brother stays in the family's homeland in Mongolia while the elder is obliged to migrate into Northern China to found the Wei people (fol. 4b *ap.* Carroll 1953: 3). An extra element is added to this in the younger brother's missing of the elder and his expression of this through the means of a poem (*Jin Shu* fol. 4b *ap.* Carroll 1953: 3; Chen 2012: 63). This poem appears to include the oldest recording of the Turkic-Mongolian term *akha* or older brother (Chen 2012: 56). The relationship between the *anda* (compatriot) terms *akha* (older brother) and *degu* (younger brother) and the social roles prescribed to both are in many ways the glue which held the nomadic tribes and empires of the

middle ages together, up to and including the Mongol Empire (Skrynnikova 2004: 528). [8] The importance of this is exemplified by the fact that the Xiong-nu confederation of antiquity as well as the Wu-sun, Wei, Rouran (Juan-Juan) and Göktürks, who were all contemporary with and in some cases, outlived the Tu-yü-hun, all possessed political divisions in the form of east and west kingdoms under paired brothers (Findley 1995: 44; Golden 2000: 22; Stark 2012: 128). At this point in the discussion of this topic it is worth refuting Alföldi's (1974: 151-180) notion of shared political Ur-structures in his connection of dual rulership by brothers amongst the Turkic-Mongolian peoples of Inner Asia and those of the Ancient Mediterranean such as Romulus and Remus and the two kings at Sparta. Just as it was shown in Chapter One that such political organisations in the Ancient Mediterranean most likely arose out of *synoikism* (agglomeration of communities), so too in Inner Asia do there appear to be enduring reasons for dual rulership specific to the socio-economic circumstances of the cultural sphere, which would seem to preclude any notion of shared universal social structures stemming from the same basis.

We may begin to describe the particular nature of the long history of familial based rulership in reference the social organisation of the nomads of Inner Asia by noting that aside from the issues of legitimacy between sons inherent in the *Jin Shu*, that the migration of the elder Wei brother represents another very old Inner Asian nomadic custom, precipitated by notions of filial hierarchy and the enduring economic conditions of the steppe ecology in which these peoples dwelt. The tradition in question is that of ultimogeniture wherein the youngest son or *ochigin* of a nomad chief inherited the father's homeland (Chen 2012: 63), and the others his power or *törü*, but have to migrate further afield (Fletcher 1986: 17; Lane 2009: 4).[9] In order to

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[8] For instance, the Orkhon valley inscriptions in Mongolia from the eighth century CE offer an early Türkic political analysis as to why their first empire had failed in the seventh century CE: "…the deeds of the younger brothers did not match those of the other brothers [T'umen [sic] and Ishtemi], and the sons did not match the fathers…" (Dennison Ross and Thomsen 1930 IE5 p.864). The thirteenth century CE *Secret History of the Mongols* also demonstrates relationships between senior and junior warriors such as this deftly, especially with regard to the young Temüǰin's appeal to the Wang Khan Toghrul, a sworn brother of his dead father (§96), and thus obliged to fulfil the role of a father by fighting Temüǰin's enemies and retrieving his fiancé (§104-105).

[9] In consolidating the importance behind this long held tradition of ultimogeniture in relation to the "bundle" pattern amongst these peoples, perhaps it should also be noted that the earliest recorded example of this form of social organisation in Inner Asian myth and historiography appears to be that of a story found in Herodotus' *Histories*. In this tale the Scythians claim to be the youngest nation on earth (IV.4), being the descendants of three brothers who competed with one another to gain a series of golden objects which had fallen from heaven (IV.5). When the youngest was the winner, the others

explain this tradition, it is essential to note that the Inner Asian nomads of antiquity and the Middle Ages measured their wealth in their herd animals and the area over which they could pasture these (Golden 2011: 76), and that families from the central rulership to the lowlier peoples who composed the basic economic and military units of the state appear to have practised nomadic pastoralism on a patrilineal basis (Fletcher 1986: 26; Sneath 2007: 60).[10] Ruling over large variable expanses of pasture and heterogenous vassals in conditions where "…the contours of the new state were always rather nebulous, [and] there was, at least in theory, no limit to the people and territory that could be incorporated in the economy of the state…" (Di Cosmo 1999: 24), and thus required strong bonds of social-interrelation and delegation by the core ruling family of a nomadic confederacy (Fletcher 1986: 26; Sneath 2007: 60-70; Stark 2008: 303-305). For this reason, although climatic events such as harsh winters, the "domino effect" of mass migration and the desire to raid settled cultures might cause a

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migrated westward (IV.6). Thus, the Scythian ethnicity appears to have been viewed by these peoples as non-existent prior to this aetiological division of their factions. We also find in Pompeius Trogus (Just. *Epit.* II.4), a late recorded Scythian legend wherein two Royal Scythians, Scolopitus and Ulinus, are "driven out" and take their men to found a new kingdom in Cappadocia, though the value of this tradition and how far back it extends is unclear. The earliest known recording of both these ultimogeniture traditions as well as the "bundle" fable amongst this people would seem in some way to mutually support one another on a cultural level in connection with such practices of filial inheritance. Other examples of this tradition from between the time of the Scythians and that of the Tu-yü-hun may also include the Huns, as Bleda, who was Attila the Hun's younger brother thus inherited the eastern part of their father's empire, which would have been their older kingdom (Maenchen-Helfen 1973: 85-86). The brothers Hunnor and Magyor, the ancestors of the Huns and Hungarians in Hungarian mythology, who moved further west in order to pursue a magical hind and to find better pastoral lands (Makkai 1996: XIII-XIV), may also fit this pattern.

[10] We should also take note of Sneath's recent (2007) thesis to the effect that Inner Asian nomad confederacies throughout history before the seventeenth century CE were strongly centralised under a continuum of small ruling elites or "aristocratic orders", which had little connection with genealogy. Golden (2009: 293-296) has famously debated with Sneath on the veracity of this "headless" model in relation to pre-Chingisid times and his work's ignoring of the role played by ethnic lineage in social organisation and the construction of legitimate power, noting that Turkic terms such as *bod* (tribe, body) as well as the division *qawm* used by Rashīd al-Dīn would seem to convey complex systems of lineage and self-identity amongst both Türkic and Mongolic peoples. Sneath (2010: 658-660) has replied to this by defending notions that terms such as *qawn* appear only to possess organisational qualities, and propounds the notion that "tribe" and "clan" remain inappropriate terms in relation to nomadic organisation and that their usage stems from the biases of western scholars and translators. Golden (2010b: 660-663) in turn has replied to these comments with further defences on the complexity of the terms *bod* and *qawm* and their possession of strong elements of genetic inclusiveness. He has also castigated Sneath for entirely ignoring the works of Türkic cultural "insider" al-Kāšγarī (I. 267, II.219) in which "*boy kimdir?*" (who are your kinsmen?) is recorded as a common greeting between the Oguz when meeting for the first time and bears strong connections to the names of eponymous ancestors and for erroneously claiming that *Kitab-I Dedem Korkut* contains no tribal terminology (cf. Sneath 2007: 130) From my perspective, in spite of Sneath's (2007) weaknesses in these regards, his analysis of the role of familial myth as one of affirming collective cohesion (*idem.:* 2007: 24, 60-70) is one I agree with and find useful. However, he has nothing to say on the topic of ultimogeniture or the role of the *ochigin* and makes only passing mentions of primogeniture (*ibid.* 70, 221) in his work, which I find very disappointing.

nomadic people to move from their usual territory (Fletcher 1986: 15; Golden 2011: 14), in myth the dynamic of brothers and inheritance remains perhaps the most common driving factor, most likely because of this omnipresence of inheritance law in the Inner Asian aristocratic lifecycle. Thus the longevity of these filial traditions sets a firm basis onto which the "bundle" pattern was to be retained in order to illustrate the perceived dynamics and legacy of tribal rulership and interrelation through the representation of brothers. In the case of Mu-li-yen in the bundle fable (Molé 1970: 6), it is even doubtful whether he would have been the previous generation's *ochigin* due to his paternal illegitimacy, but what is most clear is that he represents the lowest of all the "children" and thus is singled out to perform the act of arrow breaking as a warning to all the others.

3. Fable: The Sogdians.

Following the presence of this fable pattern amongst the Tu-yü-hun, historically our next references to the presence of the "bundle" fable in Central and Inner Asia come in the form of several fragments of an eighth century CE Parthian language manuscript from Turfan in modern Xingjian, which features the Manichean prophet Mani telling what appears to be a "bundle" fable to the King of Tūrān (Durkin-Meisterernst et al. 2009: 5). This item is but one of many mostly Middle Persian documents found during the early twentieth century in the ruins of a Manichaean church in Turfan, which appears to have maintained close contacts with a network of Manichaean churches as far afield as western Iran until the end of the tenth century CE (de la Vaissière 2005: 313-315).[11] The Sogdians played a large part in the spread of the Manichean religion during this period through their own and the Parthian language, most likely beginning with the resumption of the opening of trade routes into China and Central Asia at the dawn of the sixth century CE (Lieu 1992: 228-229). The Tu-yü-hun incorporated a great many Sogdians into their multi-ethnic mix due to their control of the oases states of Xingjian (Lung 2011: 32-33, 160). Following the collapse of the Tu-yü-hun Empire during the late seventh century CE Sogdian

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[11] The cessation of this seems to be the result of Islamic persecution of the religion in both Persia and further north in Central Asia, though a congregation seems to have remained in Samarkand until at least the end of the tenth century CE (de la Vaissière 2005: 314). It also appears that similarly strong connections existed with Nestorian Christian communities along the Silk Road until the same period, but waned due to laxer standards of communication with Byzantium from the time of the Patriarch Theodosius I (853-858) onwards (*ibid.* 315).

merchants superseded them in their medial role between peoples along the Tarim basin Silk-Road (*ibid*). A reconstruction of this variant is given as:

"And the apostle (= Mani) told the King of Tūrān a tale (*āzend*):

There was a man and (he) had seven sons.

When the time of (his) death came, he called (his) sons. Seven ... original ... ... and ... ... cattle stick ... ... (he) tied. He said: 'Do not undo (it). Break it at one attempt!' Nobody was able to. Then he undid one ...

{the rest is lost}" (Sundermann trans. 1981, with new readings Merkelbach 1988 *ap.* Durkin- Meisterernst et al. 2009: 5)

The eighth century dating of the fable's fragments and its presence in Turfan would seem to closely tie the cultural *milieu* in which this variant came to be created with the Turkic Uyghur Empire, another Inner Asian people who had emerged from Mongolia into Northern China during the eighth century, becoming Manichaean in 762 CE through interaction with Sogdian traders, who, as ambassadors and merchants were integral in its ascent- just as they had been for the Göktürk Empire (de la Vaissière 2005: 220-223; Millward 2007: 45) (see Chapter Two). [12] Of equal intercultural importance in the Manichean Parthian language fable given is the term Tūrān, which originally occurs in the Zoroastrian *Frawardin Yasht* (IX. 37-38, XXX. 143-144) of the *Khorda Avesta* signifying neighbouring Indo-Iranian nomads who were regarded as outsiders to the settled Iranians due to their nomadic culture and pagan beliefs (Schwartz 1985: 648; Boyce 1989: 250). By the seventh century CE, on the other hand, it appears to have come to mean the Turkic-Mongolian peoples during their increased emergence and interaction with Iranic merchants and religious proselytisers (Diakonoff 1999: 100; Golden 2011: 4). [13] For this reason it may illustrate a deliberate

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[12] This conversion closely followed the harsh suppressions by the Tang of the Sogdo-Turkic rebellion of An Lushan and his successors from 755 to 763 CE, after which the Sogdians were reliant upon the Uyghurs for protection of themselves and other Manichaeans in Northern China (de la Vaissière 2005: 220-223). As to why the Uyghurs and other Turkic-Mongolian peoples were open to the adoption of Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity, Buddhism and other faiths proselytised along the Ferghana-Xinjiang Silk Road, as has been said of Turkic-Mongolian society during the middle ages: "…despite being highly structured and hierarchical, it was nonetheless open. This openness…tended towards universalism in line with the politico-religious ideology common to the Türks and Mongols which was based on the Utopian idea of a universal sovereign appointed by heaven" (de Laet 1994: 467).

[13] Lane (2009: 67, 83, 187) notes that this designation of the nomads of Inner Asia continued into the Mongol Empire, when Iranian sources such as Rashīd al-Dīn (*JAT*. III. 1028ff) refer to them as "the horsemen" or "host" of Tūrān.

attempt to take control of an already well known nomadic fable by putting it in the mouth of Mani, with the nomads as recipients of this wisdom. Against this, the fact that this Parthian fable variant contains "cattle sticks" instead of arrows as the content of the "bundle" (Durkin- Meisterernst et al. 2009: 5) suggests that the context of this fable may not be a nomadic one in origin, due to what has been said of the implicit differences between the "bundle" contents of rods and arrows and imperial symbolism in the two cultural spheres. This will also be discussed in detail in the Comparative Section, where I aim to integrate these liminal variants into an overall picture of cultural transmission and interaction (Chapter Five).

Moreover, the dating to the same eighth century CE period of what has been suggested by several scholars to be a wall mural of *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* in Panjikant Palace in Ustrushana (Marshak and Negmatov 1996: 256; Marshak 2002: 89; Durkin- Meisterernst et al. 2009: 5; Compareti 2012: 303 **Fig. 2**), may add to the overall context of this fable pattern in Central Asia. Nevertheless, we should also note that Maršak (2002: 89) has suggested that the mural in question may in fact belong to some other now unknown fable. Thus we must treat its deciphering with great care, as shall be explored in detail in Chapter Five. However, if it does in fact represent a variant of the "bundle" fable pattern then this may demonstrate mutual recognition of the value of this fable pattern by the many cultures that composed the Central Asian world at this time. The Türkic invasion of Sogdiana, as mentioned in detail in Chapter Two, appears to have taken place during the decade of the 560's, following which Türkic names of rulers, influence in clothing and art and intermarriage with Sogdians gain much momentum by the end of the century (Ecsedy and Sundermann 1995: 477-478; Yatsenko 2003: 3; de la Vaissière 2005: 109-112, 132-134). As will be discussed in full in Chapter Five, the early eighth century dating of this mural places it in the last years of the Türco-Sogdian elites in Panjikant, which were subsequently replaced by Islamic ones following the destruction of the entire city, including its palace and the mural in question by Umayyad forces (Grenet and de la Vaissière 2002: 159, 178; de la Vaissière 2005: 272-273; Şirin 2010: 54). Moreover, Hellenistic, Indian,[14] Chinese and Iranian artistic styles and mythic imagery appear also to have been present in the murals of Panjikant palace and the surrounding region

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[14] Versions of this fable pattern do occur throughout India, but present great difficulty in dating. Some comments may be found in **App. 9** of this thesis.

during this time (Compareti 2012: 303). For this reason, Panjikant and the issues surrounding the cultural strata which created the mural in question will be dealt with in express detail in the Comparative Section of this thesis (Chapter Five), as an important hub in dissecting the overall transmission and application of this fable. This will also include an Arabic variant, which in its own right has strong connections with this same region of Sogdiana.[15]

4. Fable: Türks.

Following these examples of the "bundle" fable pattern in the Central Asian world, its transmission path becomes somewhat more opaque from the perspective of material evidence, in that written records of it are not found again until the Islamic histories and epics of the Turkic peoples, which were recorded between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries CE. Due to the largely oral nature of Turkic-Mongolian myth and history, as discussed previously, as well as the retention of many pre-Islamic elements in these records, it appears extremely viable to suggest that the "bundle" fable pattern was retained in oral tradition during this intervening period. The main reason for the preservation of this fable pattern would most likely appear to be that by malleably attaching it's telling to various tribal founders and culture heroes, it served as an evocation for the oral historian's audience to preserve the collective strength of the Turkic founding ancestors' imperial power.

Firstly, some historical perspective on the Türks themselves is needed. The Gök or Ashina Türks, who have been described previously in relation to wolf nurture myths (Chapter Two), had emerged like the Tu-yü-hun from the collapse of the Xiong-nu confederation in the Altai region of Mongolia during the second century CE (Golden 1992: 116). This in itself suggests the possibility of the "bundle" fable stemming from a common source in this region, as its attestation amongst the Mongols will later also show. The First Göktürk Empire of the sixth century CE collapsed during the seventh century CE, leaving behind a series of small Turkic khanates including that of the *On Ok* (ten arrows), who became the Oguz Türks in what is now Kazakhstan (Sinor 1990: 312, 351). Even during the second Göktürk Empire of the seventh and eighth centuries CE the Oguz Türks appear to have never

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[15] This is given in reference to the Umayyad general al-Muhallab, who campaigned in the region of Khorasan during the eighth century CE (al-Ṭabarī II. 1081-1082; Ulrich 2008: 165).

been thoroughly under Göktürk control and remained a separate, though loose, tribal network; the Türgesh faction rebelling against Ashina authority and being defeated by the Göktürk generals Tonyukuk and Kültegin c. 698, 701 and 711 CE (*ibid.* 312; Stark 2006-2007: 159-172).[16] An Oguz faction under the ruler Seljuk split from the rest in 985 CE to serve the Persians as mercenaries, converting to Islam around this same time (Grousset 1960: 148-149; Lange and Mecit 2011: 17-19). By 1055 CE the Seljuk leader Ṭughril Beg had forced the caliph of Baghdad to recognise him as sultan, cementing the authority of the Seljuk state, which was later to become the Ottoman Empire centred in Anatolia (Nafziger and Walton 2003: 91-92; Lange and Mecit 2011:118, 228). It is in relation to both the Oguz and the Seljuk Türks that "bundle" fables are recorded, suggesting a line of transmission leading back to the Altai region, as suggested.

One of the sources in question is the rarely discussed Turfan *Oguz-Nāme* or legend of the Türkic progenitor Oguz Kagan,[17] which was recorded in Xingjian in the Uyghur alphabet, most likely during the early fifteenth century CE, though this manuscript may in itself be a redaction of an earlier fourteenth century manuscript or oral tradition influenced by the Kyrgyz or Kitai language from the areas west of Turfan (Pelliot 1930: 350-358; Shcherbak 1959: 102; Bınbaş 2010: *EIO*. "Oğuz Kağan Narratives"). This region was at that time part of the Mongol successor state the Chaghatai Ulus, which linked the Yüan dynasty of China, Persian Il-Khanid, Central and Inner Asian regions together (Cooper and Burbank 2011: 105). Despite this, it is generally accepted that aside from evidence of Mongol influences on the vocabulary and many of Oguz's conquests being similar to those of the Mongols (*ON* 12-20),[18] the majority of the content of this text appears far older than the period of the Mongol Empire (Marquart 1914: 37; Sinor 1950: 1-2); it most likely had its origins in the period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries CE as a courtly

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[16] The *Tokuz Oguz* ("Nine Oguz") tribes are first mentioned in the 730's in the Orkhon Türk runic inscriptions as a rebellious people who had broken away from their Göktürk rulers (Dennison Ross and Thomsen 1930: I.S2, I.E14, I.N4 II. E1, 30, 34,35 pp. 861-875). al-Kāšγarī (40N) in his eleventh century CE *Dīwān* describes twenty-two Oguz tribes, the chief tribe of which at this time was the *qiniq* to which the Kara-Khanid sultan belonged.

[17] Please see **App. 13** of this thesis for a full English translation of this text, which to my knowledge is yet to have been undertaken except by Ölmez (2009), whose English text and commentary remains highly flawed. The manuscript from which I made this is Shcherbak's 1959 edition and at this stage represents a personal translation for perusal and use in my research.

[18] Also see **App. 13** of my thesis for the use of certain Mongol terms within the text.

cycle used to substantiate the ancestry of various rulers (Abazov 2005: 122). However, even with this dating, we must also acknowledge the presence of far older narrative and mythic *foci* which appear to have been retained from pre-Islamic Türkic oral tradition, which in turn will be discussed below. It is in the *Oguz-Nāme* that perhaps the most complex variation version of the "bundle" fable pattern may be found regarding the dying progenitor of the Oguz, Oguz Kagan (*ON* 35.9-39). This begins with a dream by Oguz' chamberlain:

> "His name was Ulug Türük. (36) One day in a dream he (Ulug) saw a golden bow and he saw three silver arrows. This golden bow stretched from sunrise to sunset, and the three silver arrows were in the direction of darkness.[19] After this dream he informed Oguz kagan of what he had seen in the vision. He said: 'O my kagan, may your life be long. [O] my [kagan] (37) may just rulership be yours. [Eternal Blue] Heaven has given to me a vision- may it come true! May it grant land and sea to its descendants!' he said. Oguz Kagan considered the words of Ulug Türük to be good and liked his council. Considering his council, he acted".

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The advice given involves sending the Kagan's sons out to find these objects. Oguz says:

> "Sun, Moon and Star- go eastwards. Sky, Hill and Sea- go westwards,' he said".

 However, Oguz Kagan does not tell his children about these objects; rather he asks them to go hunting for him as he is too old to do this himself any more (*ON* 37.9-38.1). Conjoined with the fact that the sons come upon the objects without knowing their father's plan, at which the king rejoices (*ON* 39.1), the emphasis to this point appears to be that of asserting the independence of the children as the father wanes. The bow thus plays a symbolic role in the representation of inheritance of royal charisma, power and masculinity in the capacity to hunt.[20] When both parties return the fable is finally given as follows:

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[19] See **App. 13** for debates on whether this means West or North.

[20] In many of the still living Turkic and Mongolian epic cycles which took on much of their present form around the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries CE, the same period as the recordings of the *Oguz-Nāme* (Abazov 2005: 122) and *The Secret History of the Mongols* (Gejin 2001: 402), the bow and arrow are seen to convey a profound symbolism in connection with masculine potency. The roots of these cycles and their content in turn may be the results of far older prehistoric Siberian cultural tendencies (Vladimirtsov 1983-84: 6-7), suggesting a long held tradition. The heavily Islamicised thirteenth century CE *Kitab-i Dedem Korkut* also appears to have retained much of this connection in that it makes use of this same marriage and archery symbolism, such as that a marriage tent may only

"After this the three of them went eastwards and (the other) three of them went westwards. Sun, Moon and Star, after they had caught much game and many fowl, came upon the golden bow on their journey and they took it and [gave it to] their father. (39) [Oguz Kagan was pleased and liked this] and breaking the bow into three he said: "Oh my older sons, let this bow be yours and like the bow loose arrows towards the Heavens,' he said. After this, Sky, Hill and Sea, after they had caught much game and many fowl, came upon the three silver arrows on their journey and they took them and gave them to their father. (40) Oguz Kagan was pleased and liked (this) and divided up the arrows to the three of them and said: 'O younger sons, let (these) arrows be yours. A bow looses arrows. Be you like (its) arrows,' he said".

At first appearance it might be suggested that this *Oguz-Nāme* fable is in many ways slightly different from those other "bundle" fables so far cited. The moral of collectivity is only exacted through separation and division of appropriate objects (*ON* 39.2-8), and there is no exact "bundle" inherent in the allegory. Despite this, the moral (*ON* 39), the deathbed element (*ON* 38.1, 40), the hierarchy of sons (*ON* 38.1-4, 3*9*), and the use of arrows to demonstrate this (*ON* 39.7-8) are all present. Most likely this tale represents a natural mutation from the same basic *foci* inherent in the Inner Asian "bundle" fable pattern: nomadic conceptions of the family, history and state and the political power vested in the bow and arrow. To show the overlapping affinities inherent in this variant and the other Inner Asian fables described thus far and this fable's relevance as an example of ongoing mythic evolution I will illustrate this using Barnes' (1997: 12-14) "polythetic" system:

Scythian: **A B C** D
Tu-yü-hun: **A B C** D   F
Oguz: **A B C**   E F

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be pitched where an arrow lands (IV. 68), and a hero cheated out of his wife, wins her back by coming to his enemy's wedding in disguise and beating him at archery (IV. 79). Archery is regarded as one of the Turkic-Mongolian "Three Manly Sports" including horse racing and wrestling, which are also commonly engaged in in other epics such as *Jangar* in order to win wives and defeat enemies (Chao 2001: 418). Demonstrations of archery both at weddings and funerals to perpetuate fertility and life-force were for that matter common occurrences in Mongolia until the early twentieth century (Pegg 2001: 222). This suggests that notions of masculinity, force and archery were and continue to still be, in the living epics, intrinsically entwined for the Turkic-Mongolian peoples.

A= told by cultural founder to offspring. B= teller is on deathbed. C= analogy of concord using arrows or missiles. D= arrows presented as bundle. E= analogy makes use of bow. F= analogy used to enforce a hierarchy amongst offspring.

Moreover, in loosening the multiple strands of symbolism inherent in the fable, it should be noted that the bows and arrows in this section of the *Oguz-Nāme,* their geographic location in Ulug Türük's dream, and the sons' journeys all appear to possess strong elements of cosmological symbolism in accordance with native Turkic-Mongolian beliefs far older than the fourteenth century CE context of the Chaghatai Ulus.

Much has already been said in my thesis about the Turkic-Mongolian native religion Tengerism and its centring on the worship of a single or a multitude of sky deities known as *Tenger/Tngri* (Thomas and Humphrey 1996: 86-87), and the role played by sacred mountains and trees in the form of images of the *axis mundi,* whereby shamans make ascents up into the sky and divine *törü* (authority) was vested in earthly rulers (Skrynnikova 2004: 530). In Tengerism, directions and the structure of the landscape thus have profound consequences in relation to the human world and the representation of power wherein "…Turco-Mongolian societies of Inner Asia …[used] "sky" (heaven) as an ideological support" (Thomas and Humphrey 1996: 87 n. 13). For instance, the golden bow's stretching from sunrise to sunset would appear to represent the arch of the sky itself through which arrows (the individual men who compose the force of the state) enter the heavens (*ON* 39.4). By this going into the heavens, what is suggested is the achievement of divine power, or their father's *töru*, mentioned above. Thus it appears that the entire world is structured around Oguz Kagan's sons, suggesting that they are fated to rule over all of it. The names of the sons are also of cosmological importance, as the three elder were born from a union with a sky spirit (*ON 8*) and thus bear names that reflect this: Sun, Moon, Star (*ON* 8, 39). The three younger were born from a union between Oguz Kagan and a tree spirit (*ON* 10), and thus their names merely reflect the layers of the world: Sky, Hill and Sea (*ON* 10, 39), over which the arrows (men of the Oguz tribes) are to rule. This very sentiment of the sons' destined world rulership by the sons inherent in this fable's symbolism is more clearly echoed in another variant of this Oguz fable, found accompanying and also epitomised as a genealogical introduction in the *Jāmiʿ al-*

Tawārīkh (World History) of the early fourteenth century the Il-Khanid historian Rashīd al-Dīn (*JAT.* I. §29-44). This variant appears to have drawn upon a similar Oguz Kagan tradition, albeit a heavily Islamicised one, for the writer's history of the Türks (DeWeese 1994: 501; Bınbaş 2010: *EIO.* "Oğuz Kağan Narratives"). The section in question regarding the sons and arrows is given thus (RaD. *Hist. Oguz.* XLIII script 596v 78):

> "And during this feast his six sons who had conquered the world with him and had returned home sound with him went on a hunt one day. By chance they found (at this occasion) a golden bow and three golden arrows. And they brought it to their father, so that he could distribute it amongst them as he wanted. So the father gave the bow to the three older sons and the three arrows to the three younger ones and ordered, that the descendants of the three sons he gave the bow should carry the surname "Buzuq" because they absolutely had to break it into parts when they want [sic] to distribute the bow and then they (would be able to) distribute it. And the meaning of this word is "to break into parts" and the descendants of the three other sons which he had given the arrows should carry the surname "Uguq" i.e. Three Arrows. And he, Oguz said: when every one of my sons get children in the future and they fight with each other and claim that they all would be from the same family, it is necessary that every one of them should know his rank and dignity. (So) he ordered that those who get [sic] the bow should get a higher rank and be the right wing of the army, and that those who received the arrows should get the lower rank and be the left wing. For the bow stands for the king and the arrows for the messenger" (Austerlitz trans. 2010: 78).[21]

Although this latter version is perhaps clearer in relation to the previously discussed Turkic-Mongolian tradition of Eastern and Western division and hierarchy of the sons as rulers and subordinates, rather than merely symbolic journeys towards dusk and dawn (*ON* 38.1-4) ,[22] as may be seen, other elements such as the symbolism of the

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[21] This is also repeated with little difference in Rashīd al-Dīn's Oguz Kagan epitome (cf. *JAT.* I. §36-37).

[22] *ON* 41 also gives an aetiology for the Buzuk and Üchok division of sons on the basis of the the khan's erecting of two posts (lit. boughs) forty *kulach* (Fr. *ságèn*) (1 *ságèn* = 2.134 m) high. On the first is a golden cock at the top and a white sheep at the base, and on the second a silver cock and a black sheep. Shcherbak (1959: 89) notes with regard to this that the opposition of colours and the two separate trees suggests a basis in Yakut shamanic belief, wherein the "black" and "white" shamans are diametrically opposed, though both ritually climb sacred trees to ascend into the upper worlds. As has been noted above, diametrically opposed shaman castes are found only in Siberian and West

dream and the father's inability to hunt are absent entirely (cf. *ON* 35.9, 38.1). In fact Rashīd al-Dīn's Oguz history may be said to be largely preoccupied with two overwhelming purposes: conquest and conversion to Islam (Findley 2005: 64). The Oguz Kagan of this second rendition is born naturally a Muslim to a pagan tribe and then proceeds to berate and conquer his mother and relatives until they take up the faith (XVIII section 590v 54, XX section 591r 57; Findley 2005: 64).[23] In comparison, although it has been shown that the Turfanian version of the Oguz Kagan tradition contains some evidence of influence from the Mongol period, Rashīd al-Dīn's stream of the tradition suggests this even more so, as it deliberately states that the *Mogals* (Mongols) were the descendants of Oguz Kagan's uncles who he had exiled into poverty for not accepting Islam (RaD. *Hist. Oguz.* XX script 591r 57). For this reason, it would clearly appear that the majority of the Uyghur version's contents belong to an older tradition, as has been stated above.[24] Most importantly both streams of the tradition exemplify the way in which long held patterns and mythic *foci* such as those of the "bundle" fable could come to be mixed with other culturally relevant symbols to further represent legitimacy, cohesion and predestined world-rule.

A further, perhaps more conventional example of this pattern of fable is found within the *Saljūq-nāma,* a now lost twelfth century history of the early Seljuk rulers by the Persian scholar and court tutor Ẓahīr-al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī (Luther 2001: 6). From sources which made use of this work it is possible to reconstruct its content (Luther 2001: 7). Three major texts which drew upon the *Saljūq-nāma* were Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, Juvaynī's *Risāla-i Juwaynī* and Rāwandī's *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* (Luther 2001: 6). Two of these both contain the same version of a "bundle" fable attributed to the eleventh century CE Seljuk ruler Ṭughril Beg (Tughrul Bey) in the presence of his brothers and uncles, as they negotiate the details of a peace treaty with one another:

Mongolian theology. As a result, in the context of Türkic beliefs such as this, the sons of the supreme ruler are themselves the chief officiators and controllers of world order. Thus together the theme of ascension and the sacred nature of the sons is emphasised, as well as that of their descendants.

[23] In comparison with this, Rashīd al-Dīn's (XVIII script 590v 54) Oguz Khan rejects his first two wives and only keeps a third because she swears to be absolutely obedient to him. This might suggest a deliberate effort to erase the two pagan spirit mothers present in the Uyghur version.

[24] However, it should also be noted that certain elements in Rashīd al-Dīn's Oguz Kagan tradition and subsequent uses of it also preserve far older narrative elements. For instance, the feuding between Oguz and his father and the process of his conquests have been compared to legends surrounding the Xiong-nu ruler Modun Chanyu from the second century BCE (Bichurin 1950: 36-47; Shcherbak 1959: 92). For this reason both versions appear to have preserved certain older elements and certain newer ones, showing the multidimensional nature and ease by which the overall oral traditions could be remoulded and interlace.

"And we have heard that Ṭughril Beg gave an arrow to his brother and said, "Break it". He broke it. He gave him two and he did the same. He gave him three which he broke with difficulty. When he reached four it became impossible to break them. Ṭughril Beg said, 'It is just like us. As long as we are united few will ever attempt to break us, and as a group no one will have victory over us. If disagreement appears among us, the world will not be conquered, our enemy will be amazed, and we will lose our dominion. So let us be united in accordance with reason and competence" (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* 102, *Risāla-i Juwaynī* 5-6 *ap*. Luther trans. 2001: 167 n. 21).

In order to supply a greater context to this fable's usage in the text and the Seljuks' self-conception of their rise to power, it should be noted that this "bundle" fable has been suggested to deliberately reflect an earlier occurrence in the *Saljūq-nāma* also involving the symbolism of political power invested in arrows (Scott Meisami 1999: 244). In this the boastful son Isrā'īl of the tribal founder Saljuk bin Luqmān drunkenly claims to the sultan Maḥmūd:

"Should I send this bow to my people, thirty thousand fighting men will mount up at once,' and the Sultan asked, 'And if more should be needed?' Isrā'īl threw down an arrow before Maḥmūd and said, 'Whenever I send this arrow as a sign to my horsemen, then thousand more will come" (Luther trans. 2001: 31).

Scott Meisami's (1999: 244) remarks concerning these two instances: "…the Saljuks' rise and their success against the Ghazvanids are neatly framed" would seem to deftly summarise these important connections between the bow and military authority, which yet again echo earlier traditions such as that of Modun Chanyu and the Oguz Kagan tradition in which ultimate authority is derived from the arrows of one's subordinates. Moreover, even in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Saljūq-nāma* text, which is the only one of the three major manuscripts in question to not make use of the "bundle" fable (Luther 2001: 167 n. 21), the context for its usage is still heavily suggested. Ṭughril is recorded at this point where the fable occurs in the other works as saying:

"If, God forbid, discord should appear among us, our malevolent enemy will be victorious over us, and our realm, gained with so much difficulty will leave our hands with ease. Then contrition will be of no use to us" (Luther trans. 2001: 39).

In relation to the absence of this fable it should also be noted that Rashīd al-Dīn was writing later than the other two thirteenth century CE historians, whose texts are closely related, with Rāwandī accepted as the earliest (Luther 2001: 16). Further, Rashīd al-Dīn, as noted, had already made use of a "bundle" fable in his *Oguz-nāme* component of the *Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*. One suggestion might be that he may have deleted this later version in order to prevent a perceived repetition. If this is the case it would appear to show not only the importance of this fable and its retention in Turkic-Mongolian culture, but also the consciousness of Persian historians to this fact. Another element which might also suggest a reason to delete it is this fable pattern's presence in Islamic lore in reference to the hallowed Umayyad general al-Muhallab, which will be expressly discussed in Chapter Five. Juvaynī in his *History of the World Conqueror* (I. 4. 30-31 40-41), in comparison, as will be shown, also makes use of this same pattern of fable in relation to Chingis Khan. Juvaynī's *Risāla* which includes the Seljuk fable was in fact found appended to this *History of the World Conqueror* on the Mongols (Luther 2001: 12). This would seem to suggest that he found no difficulty in using this same fable pattern twice. It is also perhaps worth mentioning at this point that this fable is for that matter absent from Rashīd al-Dīn's works on the Mongols, which also most likely made use of Juvaynī's works heavily (Singh and Samiuddin 2004: 660-661). For this reason, Rashīd al-Dīn's silence on both accounts is a curious issue, and thus must also be discussed further in Chapter Five.

5. Fable: The Mongols.

With the mention of Juvaynī's connection of this fable with both the Seljuk Türks and the Mongols, we now move to the final context to be examined in relation to the pattern of "bundle" fables in the cultural sphere of the Turkic-Mongolian peoples. This is that of the Mongol Empire itself, which as will be seen, not only appears to be another recipient of this widely spread mythic pattern, but also to have made use of this myth to the extent that it is found in both Islamic and Western sources which most likely drew their material from the Mongol court itself. Consequentially, this will return the investigation to where it began in the Mediterranean and European region and lead into the Comparative Section of this thesis where all the variants of

this pattern described will be analysed in reference to the possibility of their mutual influence and this fable's overall history of transmission.

Most importantly in relation to the "bundle" pattern under scrutiny is the fact that the first chapter of *The Secret History,* which deals with the ancestors of Temüǰin (Chingis Khan) up until the death of his father, contains a great many more mythological elements than the rest of this text's largely historical and political content concerning Chingis' rise to power (de Rachewiltz 2004: cvx). In many ways these initial myths, though they appear to deliberately prefigure and foreshadow the life of Temüǰin in order to substantiate his and his descendants' divine nature as rulers "fated from heaven above" (*SHM* §1), may be much older than the emergence of the Mongols, as they were most likely oral ancestral records passed down by word of mouth (Onon 2001: 21). Certain sections of this text have already been discussed in detail in Chapter Two in relation to Turkic-Mongolian wolf myths (§1), and in this chapter will centre on the story of Alan Qo'a and her quarrelling sons (§18-22). Only several generations after the Mongol progenitors Börte Činō and Qo'ai Maral (§1-17), the following story is given in *The Secret History* following the death of Alan Qo'a's husband Dobun Mergen:

"(18) Belgünütei and Bügünütei, the two sons previously born to Dobun Mergen, spoke about their mother Alan Qo'a when her back was turned: 'This mother of ours with no older or younger brothers, no cousins and no husband has given birth to these three sons. The man Ma'alig Baya'ud was the only person who has been inside the *ger* (yurt). These three sons must be his.' Alan Qo'a sensed the fact that they were talking about their mother behind her back. (19) One spring day while boiling some dried mutton, [she] made her five sons Belgünütei, Bügünütei, Buqu Qatagi, Buqatu Salǰi and Bodončar Mungqaγ come and sit, and saying "Break (this)!" gave them a single arrow shaft each. They broke their respective arrow shafts with little difficulty (lit. saying "what would prevent this?") and threw them aside. She then also gave them five arrow shafts bundled together, saying 'Break (these)!' All five of them, in turn, taking hold of the five bundled arrow shafts, were not able to successfully break them".[25]

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[25] See **App. 1** for Middle Mongolian text drawn from Ligeti (1971). Translation: Jonathan Ratcliffe (2013), in accordance with comments and readings of Kozin (1941), Cleaves (1982), Damdinsüren (1990) Onon (2001) and de Rachewiltz (2004).

As may be seen, the impetus for the fable in this context is largely that of filial legitimacy, which would seem to echo the "children" of the Tu-yü-hun variant and the two branches of Oguz Khan's sons already discussed in detail. This element of the tale is enhanced to greater proportions with the addition of the following by the mother:

> "(20) At this their mother Alan Qo'a said: 'You my two sons Belgünütei and Bügünütei, [have been] doubting me, saying to one another when I gave birth to these three sons: 'Whose and what sort of sons are they?' Your suspicions were well founded! (21) Every night a shining yellow man would come down through the smoke hole or enter over the door of the *ger* (yurt), and stroking my belly, his brightness would sink into my belly. He [then] would sneak out on a beam of light resembling that of the sun or moon like a yellow dog wagging its tail.[26] How can you say that this doesn't mean anything? If you consider the situation in light of this, it is a sign that they are surely the Sons of Heaven. How can they then be compared with common men? When they become the *khans* of all men, only then will the common people realise how it surely is,' she said. (22) Also Alan Qo'a spoke to her five sons with words of chastisement saying: 'Were not you five sons of mine born from the same womb? If you are alone and separate from one another, you will easily be destroyed by others like a single arrow shaft. [But] if like those arrows you are in concert and become of one purpose, you will easily defeat anyone, no matter what". [27]

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[26] Ligeti (1971: §21) reads the word "*šičabalǰuǰu*", which to my knowledge is unattested. Kozin (1941 §21) reads "*širbelǰeǰū*". I have settled on "*širbalǰaǰu*"(Lessing 1995: 717 "*sirbalza-*": "to wag the tail") as is used by Damdinsüren (1990 §21) in his modern Mongolian translation: "*шарвалзсаар гарч одно*" ("departed [hist. pres.] whilst continually wagging"). In defence of the difference here in vowel harmony between "*sirbelǰeǰūi*" and "*širbalǰaǰu*" Lessing (1995: 717) lists the base word "*sirba-*" ("to wag the tail") as also possessing a front vowel form: "*sirbe-, 2,*" ("to wag the tail"). We should also note Onon (2001 §21) takes this word to mean "[slunk] sheepishly"; Cleaves (1982: §21) has "crawl out", and de Rachewiltz (2004: §21) has "crept out", most likely stemming from the cognate form "*sirbegede-*"(Lessing 1995: 717 "to be shy; shun"). However, I have not yet been able to find any explicit defence as to why all of these translators have ignored the tail wagging aspect. As a result I have included both meanings: "He [then] would sneak out…like a yellow dog wagging its tail".

[27] *AT.* 11 gives a slightly different wording for the end of §21: "When you consider it, it is a sign that they are the Sons of Heaven, so I think. Do not say that they may be compared with common men! Only later when they have become the khans of nation[s] and the master[s] of the country will you realise it then". Cf. *ET.* 42-43 (trans. Krueger 1967): "(C-129) Therefore these three younger brothers of yours are like unto Sons of Heaven. Now you five, if you act, however, in strife, like those shafts, one by one, before, you will be singly consumed by men. If you act together like those later combined shafts, you will not be surpassed by the many". (C 149) Thereupon her boys acted in agreement…" de Rachewiltz (2004: xxv, lxxxiii n. 2) insists that this text is older than the *Altan Tobci* and dates it to around 1662.

Firstly it is necessary to note that this Mongol reappropriation of the "bundle" fable pattern would seem to share much in common with its use by the Tu-yü-hun (Molé trans. 1970: 5-6) and the *Oguz-Nāme* tradition (*ON* 39 cf. RaD. *Hist. Oguz.* XLIII script 596v 78) to legitimise one group of sons over the other and the maintenance of concord through the coordination of both the "bundle" allegory itself and supporting divine elements.[28] Thus together, such a well-developed *mythos* would seem to form a very strong conception of legitimacy, not only for convincing the sons but also for the Mongol people as they looked back to their ancestors to exhort concord and social stratification through descent. The greatest difference inherent in this particular variant of the "bundle" fable pattern is obviously its telling by a matriarch and not a patriarch to their children (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 511c; Molé 1970: 5-6; *ON* 39). In this variant the *qaqča ke'eli* (single womb) (*SHM* §22) of the mother supplies a further allegorical element of oneness to its telling. This theme in turn is later repeated in the *Secret History*, as Larry Moses (1987: 67) has recognized, in the instructions by Hö'elün Üĵin to her sons Temüĵin (the future Chingis Khan) and Qasar when they have lost their father, are abandoned in the wilderness and are having disagreements with their older half-brothers (*SHM* §76). Hö'elün, comparatively, tells them not to quarrel because they are all the "sons of a single father" (§76) and cites Alan Qo'a's sons' example as one that they should follow. Twice she emphasises this using the threat of external enemies such as the Tayyič'ut (§76,77) from whom the family must collectively defend themselves. However, the sons do not heed this, and kill their older brother Bekter (§77), to which their mother curses them terribly (§78). In considering as to why this episode which shows Chingis in a relatively poor light was included in the text, this most likely expresses the necessity for him to achieve supreme authority over all other competition and control of his destined *törü* (divine power) from an early age. Temüĵin's utilisation of his brother Qasar, a celebrated archer, to perform this murder (§77) certainly suggests that this is the emphasis,[29] and

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[28] It has been suggested with regard to this fable that the "yellow man" and his entrance through the top of the *ger* (yurt) contains many similarities with divine conceptions in Manichaeism, Christianity and Buddhism (Bira 1989: 2; de Rachewiltz 2004: 266), all of which were practised by various factions of the Mongol confederation and the Türkic peoples prior to this time (ibid). This makes it difficult to ascertain the exact origin of such mythic elements woven together with the "bundle" fable in question.

[29] Moses (1987: 66) has pointed out this same fratricidal pattern and the mother's involvement is also demonstrated by Hö'elün pleading with Chingis not to kill his brother Qasar in the tenth chapter of the *Secret History of the Mongols* (§244). Hö'elün emphasises the younger brother's talent as an archer-

links in many ways with what has been said with regard to the bundle representing the collective power of the state's military force under the nomad ruler. As Onon (2001: 42) notes, the term for the arrows used in the Alan Qo'a "bundle" narrative, that of *müsü* (an arrow shaft, straight stick), contains connotations of justice and correct behaviour, as is exemplified in the Modern Khalkh Mongolian phrase *"müsütei kün"*, a term meaning "a man of integrity". Thus, this appears to further legitimise the allegory's lesson of collectivity, as well as consequentially, the dissonance inherent in Temüjin and Qasar's fratricide.

Despite this, like the murder of Begter what *The Secret History* (§23-38)*, Altan Tobci* (12-14), and *Erdene-yin Tobci* (Krueger 1967: 42-43 C 149, S 60, U50) all attest is that the earlier sons of Alan Qo'a did not act in agreement automatically following the example of the fable. As soon as Alan Qo'a dies,[30] which in the *Secret History* (§24) and *Altan Tobci* (*AT.* 12) is stated straight after the telling of the fable, in keeping with the element of deathbed instruction, the sons separate from one another (*SHM* §24; *AT.* 12; *ET.* 42-43 C 149, S 60). They later come back together again when they realise that no other peoples possess any rulership or cohesion as "*...bükün irken yeke üč uqan, maoui sain, teriu šira uqaiun: sačaun bui. Kilbar irken bui*" ("all of these people do not distinguish between great or small, bad or good, head or hoof. [they are all] equal. They are a weak people") (*SHM* §37). Thus it appears that these brothers alone from all other people, like the sons of Oguz Kagan (cf. *ON* 39-40) collectively possess such qualities (*SHM* §35-36 *AT.* 12; *ET* 43 S60).

Key to the brothers' realisation of their collective strength is the youngest of the three "divine" sons Bodončar, who is at first disowned as a fool by the other brothers (§24), but then is the one who marshals them together to conquer others through his observations of other tribes' lack of power (§35-37). In turn, further manifestations and echoes of this collective familial mythology, reaching back to the

his ability to strike men from afar, however fast they try to escape (§244). She compares this to Chingis' own ability as a ruler in using the equational reply: "Temüjin has expertise in his breast-Qasar is powerful at shooting" (§244). Hö'elün clarifies this by describing how Temüjin as a baby may have been powerful enough to drink one of her breasts dry, but Qasar could do this to both of them (§244). This emphasises in some ways the idea that Qasar is really more powerful than Temüjin, and yet it is accepted that Qasar is under his control.

[30] As Moses (1987: 66) suggests, Hö'elün's death immediately following Chingis' attempt to have Qasar murdered and her shaming of him for this (§244), would also seem to repeat the deathbed element of the "bundle fable" tradition within the *Secret History* itself.

"bundle" fable and its sons, is also found when Bodončar is later hailed in the *Secret History* by the Mongols as the sacred ancestor of the majority of them, and is thus used to shame Temüjin into not disowning his own adoptive *nökör* (companion) Jamuqa (*SHM* §121). Intrinsic to this appeal is the reuse of the *γaγču kebeli* (single womb) motif mentioned above (§121). This pattern also appears to continue when as Chingis Khan Temüjin himself comes to dividing up his empire to his sons they quarrel terribly (§253), Ča'adai asserting that Jöči, the eldest, is in fact illegitimate (§254), which leads to Ögödei being chosen as Chingis' successor in order to preserve concord between them (§254). The heavily political nature of such practices of adoption and disowning in the mythology of Mongol empire building is further deepened by the many adoptions of orphan children from defeated tribes by Temüjin's mother Hö'elün in order to bring them up as a secondary set of sons for herself and warriors for Chingis (§214). In many ways these seemingly deliberate repetitions within the *Secret History*, stemming from Alan Qo'a's "bundle" fable, appear form a very vital statement of political intention by the Mongols. It suggests that they are fated to rule other peoples and thus the world, due to the fact that other peoples do not possess their cohesive family based political system inherited from these divine brothers, and that this will remain so long as their descendants are mindful of their own collective good.[31]

6. The Mongol "Bundle" Goes West.

In order to gain a wider understanding of the importance of the "bundle" fable in the formulation of Mongol power, we must now turn to sources on the history of the Mongols from the Islamic and Mediaeval Western tradition which attributed it not to Alan Qo'a, but to Chingis Khan himself. Once again this reapplication seems to show

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[31] Additionally on this note, the seventeenth century CE Persian scholar Abu'l Ghāzi, aware of this myth of the divine Mongol family, wrote that the descendants of Alan Qo'a's sons, called *Niruns* (shining ones) and *Darlegins* were marked by special "golden features" (Howorth 1876: 37-38). They were to lesser men "…as the pearl is to the oyster as the fruit is to the tree" (Howorth 1876: 37-38), which fittingly echoes Alan Qo'a's statement about their relation to the common people (§21). Determining whether Abu'l Ghazi's expansion of this is a later invention, or Mongol period political propaganda is very difficult, as this does not appear so clearly in other sources. For instance in Rashīd al-Dīn (*JAT*. I. §112, 139), the *Nir'uns* are merely "…the pure line that came into existence from light" without discussion. However, the *Altan Urug* (Golden Family) of Chingis Khan, which the Timurids and Moghuls later attempted to connect themselves in order to substantiate their power bases, is in many ways a continuation of this same myth concerning Alan Qo'a, whom both of these later regimes celebrated and equated with the miraculous conception of Jesus' mother Mary (Bira 1989: 2). Bira (1989: 2) quotes the sixteenth century Mogal historian Abu'l-Fazl who writes: "If you listen to the tale of Mary, believe the same of Alanguwa (Alan-Qo'ai)".

the ease by which the "bundle" fable could be reapplied to key authority figures in order encourage solidarity and cement imperial power through the Turkic-Mongolian familial structure of hierarchy. Most importantly, both of these sources were written for outsider audiences by scholars associated with the Mongol court. This brings into question the image of themselves the Mongols desired to be seen by outsiders in order for their empire and power structures to be legitimised. The first of these sources is *The History of the World Conqueror* of Juvaynī, which so the author claims (*HWC* I. *Intro*. 2), began its creation during his visit to the Mongol capital Karakorum under Möngke in 1252-1253. In light of this it has also been suggested that Juvaynī may have had access to the some form of source similar to the *Secret History*, most likely a "second or third hand" oral one (Singh and Samiuddin 2004: 660-661). His rendition is as follows, and is joined to a secondary fable of a snake with many heads, encouraging collective force under a single ruler:

> "And thereafter he was wont to urge the strengthening of the edifice of concord and the consolidation of the foundations of affection between sons and brothers; and used continually to sow the seed of harmony and concord in the breasts of his sons and brothers and kinsfolk and to paint in their hearts the picture of mutual aid and assistance. And by means of parables he would fortify that edifice and reinforce those foundations. One day he called his sons together and taking an arrow from his quiver he broke it in half. Then he took two arrows and broke them also. And he continued to add to the bundle until there were so many arrows that even athletes were unable to break them. Then turning to his sons he said: 'So it is with you also. A frail arrow, when it is multiplied and supported by its fellows, not even mighty warriors are able to break it but in impotence withdraw their hands therefrom. As long, therefore, as you brothers support one another and render stout assistance one to another, though your enemies be men of great strength and might, yet shall they not gain the victory over you. But if there be no leader among you, to whose counsel the other brothers, and sons, and helpmeets, and companions submit themselves and to whose command they yield obedience, then your case will be like unto that of the snake of many heads. One night, when it was bitterly cold, the heads desired to creep into a hole in order to ward off the chill. But as each head entered the hole another head would oppose it; and in this way they all perished. But another snake, which had but one head and a long tail, entered the hole and found room for his tail and all his limbs and members, which were preserved from the fury of the cold.' And there were many such parables

which he adduced in order to confirm in their minds his words of counsel. They afterwards always abided by this principle; and although authority and empire are apparently vested in one man, namely him who is nominated Khan, [31] yet in reality all the children, grandchildren and uncles have their share of power and property; a proof whereof is that the World-Emperor Mengü Qa'an in the second *quriltai* apportioned and divided all his kingdoms among his kinsfolk, sons and daughters, and brothers and sisters" (Juv. *HWC* I. 30-31 Boyle trans. 1958).

As well as this praising of Chingis' wisdom and the justice of the later Mongols in the retention of it, the reuse of this same fable pattern later in the text by Juvaynī (*HWC* II.593) in order to illustrate the "… way Chingis Khan and his posterity have conquered the greater part of the world" through the means of the Persian hero Rustem, suggests the need to explain to his Persian audience the centrality of the "bundle" fable to Mongolian political identity and how this was to be read by outsiders. Juvaynī writes:

"… the sinews and hairs, which when they support one another cannot be broken by an elephant. A thread when it is single may be snapped by the strength of an old woman (*zal*). When it is doubled it cannot be broken by *Zal-i-Zar/Pur-i-Zal* (Rustam's father/Rustam)" (*HWC* II. 593 Boyle trans. 1958).

In a very similar manner, Hayton of Corycus also made use of a "bundle" fable in relation to Chingis Khan on his deathbed- an element absent from Juvaynī- in order to present the wisdom and political power of the Mongols to a Mediaeval European audience. Hayton's text, *Flos Historiarum* (The Flower of Histories) was composed around 1307 (Bedrosian 2004: 7), whilst Hayton was an ambassador in France, in an attempt to build good relations between Christendom and the Mongols by writing a history of the Tatars for the pope Clement V (Burger 2001: 68-69). As to the text's possible sources on this fable, it should be remarked that Hayton had previously worked closely with the Mongols to restore peace to Armenia (*Flos. Hist.* III. e2r-v), and both his uncles Smbat and Hayton I, the King of Little Armenia, had been received at the Mongol court at Qaraqorum in 1247-1251 and 1254 respectively (Yeagher 2001: 159-160; Bedrosian 2004: 8). Bedrosian (2004: 8) refers to them in relation to Hayton as "…extremely rich and accessible oral sources". There is also the

possibility that Hayton made use of an Eastern "History of the Tartars", as he calls it (*Flos. Hist.* III. 17. 36g), which as Bedrosian (2004: 8) suggests, may have been Juvaynī's. This possibility is supported by the fact that this "History" is mentioned by Hayton just before the giving of the "bundle" fable (*Flos. Hist.* III. 17. 36g), though as noted the absence of the deathbed element, would seem to count against this and suggests a different source closer to the Mongol court, such as his ambassadorial relatives. Despite this, in turn each of these possibilities still supplies a strong link back to the Mongol court itself and the dissemination of its myths of power founded on Chingis' wise rulership. The fable is given as:

> "Chingiz-Khan remained in that fertile land for many days. However, by the providence of God [g37], he became gravely ill—so ill that recovery seemed hopeless. Thus Chingiz-Khan, Emperor of the Tartars, summoned his twelve sons before him and advised them always to be united and of one mind. And he taught them a lesson: he ordered that each of his sons bring an arrow apiece, and when they were all gathered together, he commanded the eldest to break the entire bundle if he could. He took the twelve arrows and attempted to rend them, but was unable. Then the bundle was given to the second son, then to the third, and to the rest, son by son, but none was able to do it. Then [Chingiz] ordered the youngest son to divide up the arrows individually and to break them one by one. And he easily broke all of them. Then Chingiz-Khan turned to his sons and said: 'My sons, why was it that you were unable to break the arrows I gave you?' They replied: 'Because, lord, they were very many all together.' 'But why was it that your youngest brother was able to break them?' 'Because, lord, they were divided up one by one.' And Chingiz-Khan said: 'Thus it is among you, for as long as you are of one heart and soul, your rule will always hold firm. But when you separate from each other, your lordship will quickly be turned to naught.' Chingiz-Khan gave many other very good precepts which the Tartars preserved. In their language these are called the *Yasax* of Chingiz-Khan, that is the Statutes of Chingiz-Khan" (Het. *Flos. Hist.* III.17.37g Bedrosian trans. 2004).[32]

7. Concluding Remarks.

In returning this investigation to the sphere of West European culture, albeit during the high middle ages, perhaps it should be noted that from Plutarch's association of

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[32] It should also be remarked that laws (Mid. Mong. *ǰasag*) of Chingis Khan, or *yasax* as Hayton calls them, appear to have derived from what the ruler himself said "utterances to which he or his descendants attributed binding force" (Morgan 1986b: 169).

this fable pattern with the Scythians to that of Hayton of Corycus' association with Chingis Khan, it is as though an arc appears, during the middle of which there would seem to be no connections between this fable and the nomads of Inner Asia in Western European thought. To the contrary, as this chapter has endeavoured to show, during this period the "bundle" fable pattern was widely used by succeeding generations of Inner Asian nomadic confederations, from the Scythians to the Mongols, suggesting the ongoing importance of this mythic pattern throughout the steppe as a key means to represent and exhort collective power. Each of these variants on the theme of the "bundle" fable, though specific social integers and historical contexts bent them to be reinterpreted to varying degrees, still largely possessed the same key structural concepts. These remain: the need for the fable to be told by a prominent ancestor to enforce the moral of collectivity; the use of arrows, most commonly, in the representation of nomadic political power; the symbolic handing over of this power by the ancestor on their deathbed and the hierarchical roles subscribed to various sons in the inheritance of this power.

During this period, as has been noted in this chapter, there are several key points where mutual recognition and possible intercultural influence may have taken place in relation to this fable amongst the Turkic-Mongolian nomads and the legacy of the Classical World extant in Central Asia during the middle ages. The first of these is the identification of the eighth century CE mural depicting the tale of Aesop's *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* at Panjikant Palace in Tajikistan by several scholars. This may offer grounds to explore the attraction this fable possessed to the multiple ethnic groups who composed this region at the time, including those such as the Göktürks who were of Inner Asian origin. Comparatively, it was from the Byzantine world where the Augustana tradition of Aesop, including *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons,* was to re-emerge in the West during the fourteenth century CE (Cifarelli 2002: 441), the same period as the Mongol association with this fable was to become known through Hayton. Thus there is also in this later context grounds for research into the legacies of both of these traditions and whether or not they may have influenced one another, directly or indirectly during this time. For this reason, the Comparative Section of this thesis will seek to highlight this specific issue: the possibility of interplay between these two cultural spheres, as well as to seek to integrate and analyse Arabic, Manichaean and other liminal fable variants which we

have come upon during this investigation, into an overall analysis of plausible cultural transmission and interrelation.[33]

List of Figures.

Fig. 1 (Top) The "Genghis Stone", thirteenth c. CE (Lhagvasuren 1997: 10).
Fig. 2. (Lower) Mural from Panjikant Palace identified as illustrating the Aesopic fable *The Farmer and His* Sons, eighth c. CE (Durkin- Meisterernst et al. 2009: 6).

LEGENDS, TALES AND FABLES IN THE ART OF SOGDIANA

Fig. 41: The Fable of the Father and his Sons. First register. Room 41/VI.

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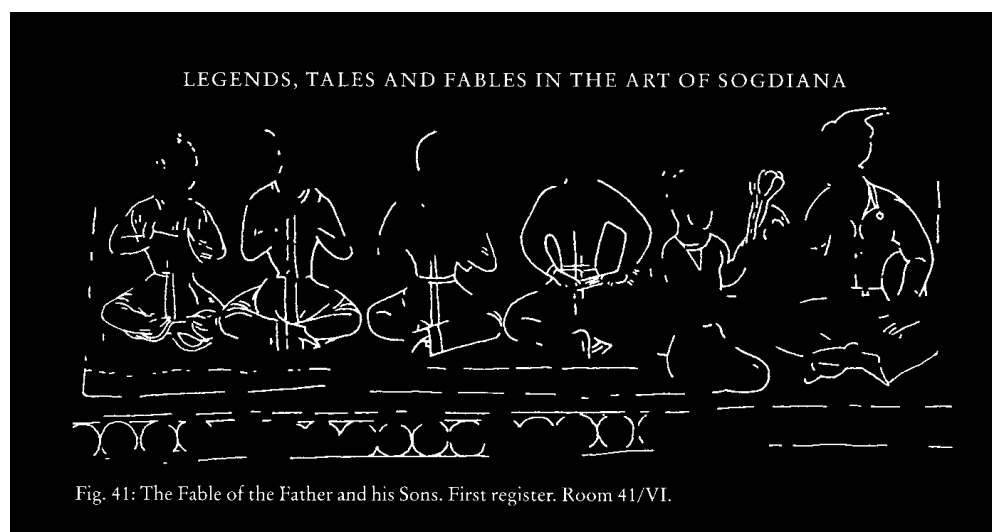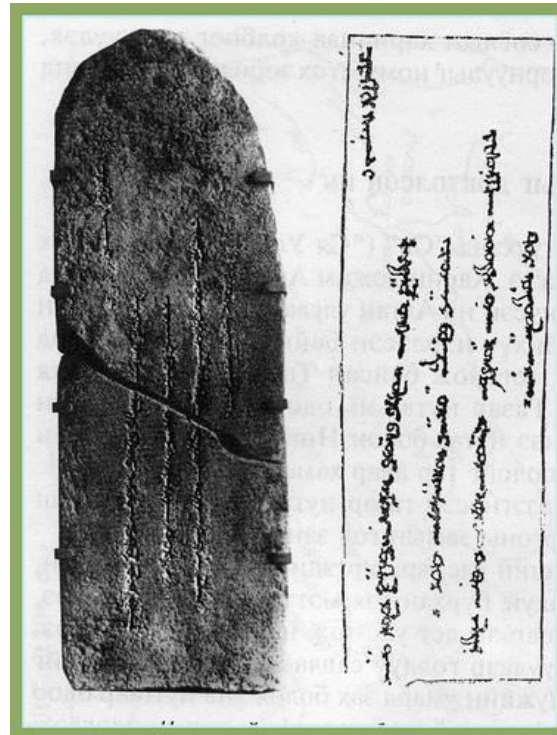
[33] These can be viewed in **App. 7** and **11** of this thesis in a more visual form.

Chapter Five: The Comparative Exercise.

The two mythic patterns of the wolf and the "bundle" have now been scrutinised in as much detail as possible within the two cultural spheres of the Ancient Mediterranean and Inner Asia. With this chapter, we now come to the act of synthesis; bringing together the material which has been gathered during these explorations from the earliest determinable intimations to the Renaissance, always applying the methodological and analytical tools we have discussed in the Introduction. The most important of these remains the coordination of both synchronous (contemporaneous) and diachronous (historically transmitted) socio-cultural analysis of motifs, and the coupling of phenomenology with such an approach to emphasise the validity and uniqueness of each succeeding reappropriation. With this in mind I will now proceed to each of the two mythic patterns in turn, first reviewing the major theories which have been discussed in each of the four chapters. In this way these will be revised and new possibilities will be generated and tested for their validity.

1. The Wolf Myth.

If we are to discuss the enduring association of the wolf as a symbol of legitimacy in both cultural spheres, it should be emphasised that there appear to be a number of ways to go about such an investigation. As was stated in the Introduction and reiterated at the end of Chapter Four, the majority of these posit either widely-spread Ur-myths as the basis for many different later myths (Alföldi 1974: 69-85,161; Sinor 1982: 223-257, 1997: 327-336; Drompp 2011: 515-526) and the enduring presence of the wolf as a threat to herdsmen and their livestock in both cultural spheres (Eliade [1976]1981: 36; Fritts, Stephenson et al. 2003: 292). As has also been remarked, both of these are somewhat rigid in their approach towards myth and social environment, and supply very general, easily granted and less than systematic answers to problems which are in fact far more complex from a historical perspective. Neither of these is entirely without benefit, however, and I plan to make use of them as we discuss this issue in the fullest manner possible by placing them in an evolving and determinable chronological context. The real problem is actually the previous methodologies which have been brought to bear on this subject, which have traded lack of in-depth analysis for abstract absolutism. Instead, a multifactorial and more inclusive investigation

using all the details we have gleaned concerning wolf-myths in both cultural spheres will supply more reasonable hypotheses. The finer points of such an approach will also be discussed in the Conclusion, following a synthesis of the material from Chapter One and Two.

a. Chapter One and Two Synthesis: Historicising "Ur-myths".

I would like to turn now to the first issue in question: the oft cited notion that all of the wolf-nursing and imitation myths in question had their bases in root myths common throughout Eurasia (Alföldi 1974: 69-85,161; Sinor 1982: 223-257, 1997: 327-336; Finch 1994: 1-2; Beckwith 2011: 366 n. 12; Drompp 2011: 515-526). However, as of yet, none of the many scholars who have suggested this is even to propose any possible historical model or period in which this sharing of mythic *foci* could have taken place.[1] In attempting to historicise these notions and analyse their validity, it should be noted that the study of root and Ur-myths throughout Eurasia in relation to wide-spread *Männerbunde*-type rituals involving canine imitation has long centred on attempting to trace back diverse cultural practices amongst peoples such as the Romans, Greeks, Persians, Inner Asian nomads and Vedic cultures to shared theoretical roots amongst the Indo-European peoples of the Late Bronze Age (Wikander 1938; White 1991; Kershaw 2000; Sergis 2010: 73ff).[2] What we can know of such peoples, it must be stated, is largely hypothetical, and attempting to square archaeological evidence with the diverse canine worshipping practices of later Indo-European speaking peoples remains a difficult matter.

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[1] Admittedly Finch (1994: 2) suggests that the Tocharians, whose *centum/kentum* language shares much in common with the Italic and Celtic branches of the Indo-European family, brought wolf-nursing myths into Mongolia and Northern China. However, little is known of the culture of these peoples except their seventh and eighth century CE Buddhist descendants (*ibid*). Moreover, the Tocharians may have in fact migrated into the Tarim basin as far back as 3500-2500 BCE, and may also have been a branch of the Afanasevo culture, which predates the Late Bronze Age Andronovo peoples of Inner Asia, who are often associated with later Indo-Iranians (Mallory and Mair 2000: 294-296; Anthony 2007: 264-266). However, at this distance suggesting the association of specific myths with specific language groups would seem very difficult, when almost nothing is known of the early Tocharians in comparison with Indo-Iranian peoples.

[2] Doniger (1991: xi) in her foreword to White's book *Myths of the Dog-Man* goes as far as to summarise his studies on the dog in India, China and Europe as "…a phenomenon that could be explained by some sort of Jungian, or even Eliadean, assumption of universality." White (1991: 5-9) himself extends this as far as pre-Columbian Mexico and centres his reading of "dog" on a universalist and Structuralist notion of "otherness"- particularly in relation to the perceived wilderness of marginalised peoples. Sergis (2010: 73) merely claims that "the wolf in the folk consciousness is identified with the dog since both animals unquestionably have the same ancestor." Whose folk consciousness is intended by this is not clear, but from the examples given in many ancient and modern Indo-European cultures, one might safely assume she is making a universalist assumption.

For instance one piece of evidence which is yet to be discussed widely beyond the sphere of two of its discovers, Brown and Anthony (2012: 1-25), is the recent excavations of a Late Bronze Age Srubnaya ("Timber Grave Culture") settlement at Krasnosamarskoe in Russia where large quantities of dog and wolf remains were sacrificed in the same manner at mid-winter c.1750 BCE, through ritual burning and desiccation.[3] Further, twenty of the twenty-two Srubnaya era (c.1900-1700 BCE) human bodies interred at this site that have been so far unearthed belonged to adolescents, suggesting a strong ritual connection between puberty and canids (*ibid.* 11). In regard to interpreting these finds, we should note that these scholars (Anthony 2007: 411; Brown and Anthony 2012: 2, 20) have compared them to various later Indo-European initiatory *Männerbund* rituals of young men involving canids during winter, including White's (1991: 95-100) and Kershaw's (2000: 182-242) work on reassembling the Vedic *Vrātya* "dog-priests" of *Śiva* and their initiation of young men during *Śiśira* (mid-winter),[4] and more relevant for my investigation, the February indoctrination of young men and dog sacrifice of the lupine *Luperci* at Rome (see Chapter One).[5] However, it remains that we should treat such wide and

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[3] Brown and Anthony (2012: 13-15) add:

> "In most Srubnaya settlements Dog remains are never more than 3% and usually less than 1% of domesticated animal remains. But at Krasnosamarskoe, depending if you count the NISP – number of fragments – of dog bones, or the MNI – minimum number of individual dogs, the percentages are 6 to 12 times greater than any other known Srubnaya settlement site. However it is not only their remarkable abundance that is unusual about the Krasnosamarskoe dogs… Of the minimum 51 dogs excavated at Krasnosamarskoe, Pike-Tay was able to determine the season of death for a sample of 15. Fourteen of the 15, or 93.3 percent, were killed in the winter. Pike-Tay perceived a subtle spread of seasons-at-death between early winter (6 dogs), mid-winter (5 dogs), and late winter (3 dogs), suggesting more than one ritual during the winter."

Further, at this site other animals such as cattle were sacrificed throughout the year, but dogs and wolves only during this specific winter period (Brown and Anthony 2012: 15).

[4] *AV.* XI.2.30 describes *Rūdra*, a form of *Śiva*, as surrounded by loud yapping hounds. *AV.* XV, which is the only section of the Vedas in which Vrātyas are mentioned, is a treatise on what appears to be a simultaneous deity (Śiva) and his band of wandering imitators. However contrary to Anthony (2007: 410) there is no section in the *RV.* in which the *Vrātyas* swear a ritual oath. White (1991: 95-100) and Kershaw (2000: 182-242) are also dependant on many later Hindu texts to assemble their arguments, none of which seem to suggest any canine connections with the *Vrātyas*. This suggests that the link if present, disappeared after Vedic times.

[5] We may note similar dog slaughters in connection with protecting the herds and spring and summer instead of winter in both Greece and Rome. At Argos any dog that entered the *agora* was killed during the month of Arneios ("lamb month") (Athen. *Deip.* V.1.99e), which appears to have strong connections with ritual protection from Sirius (the dog star) (Sergis 2010: 73). However, Sergis' (*ibid.*) claim that this was due to local belief that Sirius caused the increased infliction of rabies on dogs at this time is not defended by either primary evidence or scholarly discussion. In Rome too dogs were sacrificed at the *Robigalia* during April to ensure the increase of the flocks and at the subsequent *Sacrum Canarium* against the power of Sirius (Ov. *Fast.* IV. 905-942). Dogs were also sacrificed to Hecate in Thrace in connection with the underworld (Ov. *Fast.* I. 389ff) as well as to Ares before battle in Sparta because of their perceived strength and loyalty (Paus. III.14.9). However, these remain a diverse selection of myths and rituals, and to reduce them to simply shared Indo-European parentage

almost universalist identifications concerning Indo-European culture made by Brown and Anthony very carefully.

In explaining this, Anthony (2007: 104-108) in his work is highly dependant upon concepts such as "persistent frontiers," which means that he regards the dissemination of material culture such as the wheel and domestication of the horse as closely tied to Indo-European culture and language. Thus he (*ibid.* 410-411) argues that the cultures of Central Russia at this time, such as the Srubnaya, most likely shared the same roots with the Sintashta-Potapovka complex of cultures, who also appear to have practised similar rites in association with canids and adolescents,[6] to have exerted a strong influence on the formation of later Indo-Iranian language and cultural identity, with little evidence aside from similarity of their "pit grave" burials to those described in the *Vedas* (Anthony 2007: 409-411).[7] For this reason, whilst there is the possibility that with these finds we may be seeing an early example of a ritual in which links between the analogy of liminality inherent in the death and rebirth of initiates, winter, and the world of the dead were associated with the dog and wolf, until more evidence is uncovered, the question of Ur-myths remains a tempting deduction concerning collapsing the diverse practices of later peoples into supposed

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would seem highly reductive of the ongoing development of myth as well as possibilities of intercultural connections at later dates, which may also have given rise to such practices.

[6] At the Sintashta site known as Kamenny Ambar 5 Kurgan 4 Grave 2 near the Urals, eight young men, most likely of initiatory age, were found buried in a *kurgan* mound, one wearing two strings of canine teeth around his neck (Anthony 2007: 411; Brown and Anthony 2012: 21). Anthony (2007: 364-365) also details similar canine teeth pendants in Yamnaya burials in the Ingul valley of the west Pontic Steppes much earlier than this between 3000 and 2800 BCE. We should note that he has linked this too with possible intimations of *Männerbund* rituals (*ibid.*) and moreover describes the Yamnaya as the closest people to determinable speakers of "Classical Indo-European" (*ibid* 133). He also says (*ibid.* 435) that between 1900 and 1800 BCE we see for the first time "broadly similar material cultures" stretching between China and the borders of Europe in the form of the Andronovo and Srubnaya complexes. However, this sort of generalisation would seem to echo those theories in relation to "Scythic" peoples discussed in Chapter Two and would appear somewhat reductive.

[6] *AV.* XI.2.30 describes *Rūdra*, a form of *Śiva*, as surrounded by loud yapping hounds. *AV.* XV, which is the only section of the Vedas in which Vrātyas are mentioned, is a treatise on what appears to be a simultaneous deity (Śiva) and his band of wandering imitators. However contrary to Anthony (2007: 410) there is no section in the *RV.* in which the *Vrātyas* swear a ritual oath. White (1991: 95-100) and Kershaw (2000: 182-242) are also dependant on many later Hindu texts to assemble their arguments, none of which seem to suggest any canine connections with the *Vrātyas*. This suggests that the link disappeared after Vedic times.

[7] Anthony (2007: 409) notes that the Sintashta-Potapovka "pit graves" with their shored walls rooved burial chambers appear to mirror the Vedic tomb descriptions of *RV.* X.18. He (*ibid.*) also noted the use of horse sacrifice in these tombs which appears to mirror *RV.* I.162. However, whether mere similarity of burial techniques is enough to associate Vedic canine imitation rituals would seem questionable.

collective origins, when even during the Bronze Age the sacral role of canids may have diverged greatly between Indo-European peoples.[8]

This having been said, when we come to the first records of wolf-nursing and imitation myths in relation to Indo-Iranian peoples and amongst the Etruscans in early and mid-first millennium BCE, we should also mention Ginzburg's (1992: 212) notion of the formation of a Eurasian continuum stretching from China to Central Europe at this time in order to explain similarities in myth between these regions. Key to viewing this period as one of great intercultural connection is dependant upon now less than popular notions of characterising Inner Asia as being filled with contiguous and uniform "Scythic" cultures bridging the perceived geographical gap between the Ancient Mediterranean, Persia, and China (Ginzburg 1992: 212; Wells 2012: 205 cf. Sneath 2007: 22ff; Wagner et al. 2011: 15733; Stark 2012: 108-110 See Chapter Two). Indeed, peoples characterised as possessing the "Scythic triad" first arrived in the Middle East during the seventh century BCE and the Black Sea region around the sixth century BCE, where they are described as driving out the Cimmerians, another Indo-Iranian nomad confederacy (Hdt. IV. 13; Boardman 1964: 248; Natho 2010: 44).

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[8] Indeed, amongst the peoples of the Bronze Age, canine imitation, if widely present, may have differed as greatly amongst such cultures as it did in later times. However Brown and Anthony (2012 *passim*) assumingly take dog and wolf to be equivalents at this stage in the Krasnosamarskoe finds and the development of later Indo-European myth, which appears to be a fairly common and troubling universalist assumption made without qualification in Indo-European and trans-Eurasian studies of myth (cf. White 1991: 14; Mair 1998: 23-24; Kershaw 2000 *passim*; Sergis 2010: 73). Comparatively, the recorded beliefs of the earliest Indo-European peoples we actually possess tell a different story concerning the difference between dog and wolf. For instance, the Hittites c. 1500 BCE make mention of wolf and dog dancers, which appear to have played very different sacred roles in cult performance- the former a very active one, and the latter a protective one (Kershaw 2000: 149-150). In the same way amongst the Hittites "wolf" was a term for damning and ostracising criminals and harming a dog at all was severely punished (Eisler 1969: 132, 144; Kershaw 2000: 149-150). The earliest reference in Indic literature to dogs is Indra's dog Saramā recovering his cows that had been hidden in the underworld (*RV*.X.108-111). Saramā's two sons, dogs with four eyes each, guard the gates of hell in *RV*.X.14.10-12. This would seem similar to the Greek "hound of Hades" Cerberus (Hom. *Il.* VIII.366; *Od.*.XI. 623; Hes. *Theog.* 310ff, 769ff). The wolf, in comparison, is seen as a hungry enemy of the herds and human beings (*RV.* XIII.5, XXIX.6). In relation to the Avestic culture, Simoons (1994: 241) points out that prior to Mazdaism/Zoroastrianism dogs were ritually slaughtered by "Indo-Iranian nomads" in the Ural region during the second millennium BCE, but does not mention Krasnosamarskoe by name. He also makes reference to the Avestic law that anyone who harmed a dog should be severely punished (*ibid*). This is found in the *Vend. Farg.* (XIII. 9-10), which also lists the dog's invaluable aid in driving away chthonic spirits following its master's death. We have already discussed the negative Mazdean/Zoroastrian attitude towards the wolf in detail in Chapter Two. All of this appears to suggest in some ways a strong dichotomy between the dog and wolf, with emphasis on the former as a protector of the flocks and people against malevolent and supernatural forces of the world of the dead, and the latter as synonymous with these, as we have also seen in Ancient Italia (see Chapter One). However, in this case even to assume a widely held binary understanding of these creatures amongst Indo-European cultures at the turn of the Iron Age would not seem to allow for the subtlety of actual beliefs due to paucity of much of the evidence we possess as well as their ongoing development.

There is indeed what would appear to be archaeological evidence of such peoples penetrating into Central Europe during the sixth and fifth centuries BCE in the form of "Scythian" arrowheads and destroyed earthworks plugged with these in Germany (Sulimirski 1985: 191-193; Kim 2013: 145), and it has been suggested that "Scythic" influence may be found in the Lusatian, Szentes-Vekerzug, Hallstatt and later the proto-Celtic La Tène cultures, particularly in regard to their visual arts and funerary customs (Chadwick 1971: 13-14; Wells 2001: 50, 77; 2006: 19-21). However, this remains a highly complex problem at present due to difficulties inherent in assuming that what appear to be similar archaeological finds indicate the existence of intercultural exchange of myth and language, or even individually spatially definable cultures at all (Wells 2006: 19). Thus although Ginzburg (1992: 212) makes use of this concept of a cultural continuum in order to "…perhaps trace back phenomena otherwise not readily explained such as the massive presence in Ireland of legends linked to werewolves, the surfacing of certain shamanistic elements in Celtic sagas…", this in itself, though far more holistic and multi-factorial compared with notions of the diffusion of Ur-myths and rituals across Eurasia, is reliant upon explaining apparent similarities through a vague and almost untraceable sharing.[9] Archaeologically we may trace the interplay between Inner Asian peoples and the Achaemenids and Greeks with some degree of certainty through "frontier markets" existent between them (Stark 2012: 108-134), though with regard to the possibility of interplay, for instance, between the Etruscan culture and the appearance of the image of the nursing-wolf during this period and "Scythic" influence in Central Europe, we do not possess relevant written records, transmission paths or artefacts to determine such links.[10]

b. Chapter One and Two Synthesis: Romulus and Cyrus Compared.

With this said, I would now like to address the intercultural value of a number of specific myths and historical periods in relation to the overlapping of wolf-myths in both cultural spheres, which would seem to provide more solid answers. The first of these is with regard to the similarities inherent in the Persian Cyrus myth and that of

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[9] Moreover, even though some more recent clarification on such notions may also be found in Wells' (2012: 205) comments on the multi-factorial *milieu* generated by Scythians, Persians, Celts, Greeks and long distance contacts across Eurasia during this unique period as part of a "Pan-Eurasian development of motifs… some regions emphasising certain features of the package, while other communities emphasised others," this is in many ways as equally nebulous as Ginzburg's (1992: 212) approach.

[10] I have included further postulations on this topic in **App. 2.**

the wolf-nursing of the Roman founding twins. It has already been described in detail that Negmatov's theory that this mythic pattern was brought from Anatolia to Italia by the Etruscan migration from Lydia is anachronistic (see Chapter Two). Another suggestion is that the Cyrus and Roman she-wolf myth simply shared a similar mythic and ritualistic basis stemming from early Indo-European canine initiation myths, as has just been detailed. For now, if we inspect this notion, as given by Binder (1964: 17-39) and Alföldi (1974: 135-141) in Chapter Two, the *Luperci* would indeed appear to mirror the Persian *kárdakes* in that both were *Männerbund* groups who lived by stealing as part of their period in the wilderness (Strabo XV.3.18; Dion. Hal. I.79.11; Liv. I. 4.8, I.5.7),[11] with which we might also compare the "fox time" of the Spartan *krypteia* and the training of the Brettioi described in Chapter One. However, Cyrus is never explicitly or implicitly linked with the *kárdakes*, and rather Binder (1964: 17-39) and Alföldi (1974: 135-141)[12] expend their effort in attempting to force both the Cyrus and Roman myths into historicisings of analogous Ur-ritual practised during young men's periods in the wilderness and ascribed to their founding culture heroes with little regard for individual cultural differences.

Instead of such postulations as these I would like aim my reading at the startlingly close narrative structure inherent in the Cyrus and Roman nursing myths, which would not seem to be able to be rationalised merely in shared mythic *foci* distributed across Eurasia, unless we were to indeed posit the ahistrorical assumption that such mythic structures as these existed unchanged in very different cultural and geographic contexts for extended periods of time. In order to explain this, what would seem to greater historical and intercultural importance compared with Binder and Alföldi's "ritual" theories, would appear to be the legacy created by Herodotus "the father of history" in relation to models and templates for subsequent historians of Rome in "…how to present themselves to a Greek public" (Marincola 2001: 54). As

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[11] Strabo (XV.3.18): "…καλοῦνται δ᾽ οὗτοι Κάρδακες, ἀπὸ κλοπείας τρεφόμενοι· κάρδα γὰρ τὸ ἀνδρῶδες καὶ πολεμικὸν λέγεται." "They are called *Kardakes*- they live by stealing, for *karda* means the manly and warlike (nature)." Schmitt (2010: 556) mentions the oft cited remark that the etymology of the term appears to be an interpolation. However, Strabo's comment that as part of their training the *kárdakes* lived by stealing remains valid.

[12] Eliade ([1978] 1991: 102) also makes mention of these similarities between Romulus and Cyrus and endorses Binder's (1964: 17-39) ideas. As far as I am aware this section in Eliade's work is in fact a note to the main text and is only included in the Romanian "scientific edition." Ota's (2005: 195) claims that this section of the "scientific edition" discusses similarities with other Persian culture heroes who were nursed by animals, including one called Kir, who appears not to exist, is baffling, as Eliade's work includes nothing of the sort.

was discussed in detail in Chapter One, Greek influence on the Romulus and Remus legend in the form of the myths of Neleus and Pelias, Oeneus and Toxeus, Perseus and the legitimising of the *Lupercalia* through Arcadian links appear to have remained paramount to the historians of Rome from Fabius Pictor at the dawn of the second century BCE onwards. Thus, it would not seem unreasonable that with the wide presence of myths of exposure and survival in the wilderness and subsequent rises to power in Ancient Italia in conjunction with founders such as Caeculus, the Roman Twins and Servius Tullius, that strong elements of the Cyrus myth may also have been added when historians also perceived the central role of the wolf as nurse in the Roman myth. We must remember, though, that it is not until its introduction from Praeneste in the mid-fourth century BCE that wolf-nursing seems to find a place in the Roman culture (see Chapter One).

The fact that Herodotus' Cyrus myth and the later myths of Romulus and Remus are the only two extended mythic cycles that include animal nursing themes in the entire Classical Tradition (see Chapters One and Two), would also seem to lend a great deal of credence to suggestions of historiographical influence on the formation of the Roman myth. More than this simple similarity of animal or even canine nursing, when all the major constituent elements of the tales of Cyrus and the Roman twins are compared with regard to narrative structure using Barnes' (1997: 12-14) form of "polythetic categorisation," as has been made use of in Chapter One and Four, they appear to almost form a very strong series of overlaps. These are listed first, followed by elements not shared by both.[13]

Roman: **A B C D E F G H**   K M N   P
Cyrus: **A B C D E F G H** I/J L   O

> A= exposed because of threat to male relative's throne. B= servant sent to abandon child in wilderness. C= abandoned in wilderness. D= nursed by wolf/dog when exposed, which is considered miraculous. E= brought up by herdsman whose child is born dead. F= canine nurse rationalised as woman of low social standing. G= recognised by family due to lordly demeanour in spite of humble upbringing. H= defeats ruler who caused exposure by

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[13] We should recall in regards to what appear to be redundancies and generalisations in the form of G= L,M that natural categories are flexible (Jiménez 2011: 158-159) and that the myth of Nelias and Peleus, which partakes in both L and M, most likely exerted influence on the formation of Romulus and Remus' story (see Chapter One; **App. 5**).

encouraging vassal peoples to rebel and founds new people. I= threat to male relative revealed in dream. J= threat to male relative revealed by soothsayers. K= mother locked away to prevent pregnancy, but is raped by god. L= abandoned on mountain. M= abandoned on river. N= Kills usurper. O= Leaves usurper alive. P= builds new civilisation at cave where exposed.

Romulus and Remus.	Cyrus (Hdt.)	Cyrus (Just. *Epit.*)
A. Exposed because of threat that the grandchildren of the rightful king Numitor will take back Amulius' throne (Cic. *Rep.*II.2.4; Dion. Hal. I. 77-78; Liv. I.3; Plut.*Rom.* III).	A. I. Exposed because of threat to usurp grandfather's throne revealed to Astyages in dream (Hdt. I. 107-109).	A. J. Exposed because of threat to usurp grandfather's throne, revealed to Astyages by soothsayers (Just. *Epit.* I.4).
B. K. M. Power noticed by servant sent to drown twins (Ov. *Fast.* II. 395-398).[14] Servant is Phaistolos (Faustulus)- their adopter (Plut. *Rom.* III.4).	B. L. M. .Harpagus sent to expose Cyrus in wilderness but Mithridates the herdsman, (Hdt. I. 108-109).	B. L. M. Harpagus sent to expose Cyrus in the wilderness but his appearance is so powerful that the herdsman and wife expose their own child and keep him (Justin. *Epit.* I.4).
C. D. Nursed by wolf when exposed (Cic.*Rep.* II.2.4; Dion.Hal. I. 77-79; Livy I.3-6; Plut. *Rom.* III-VII).[15] Nursing considered miraculous (Ov *Fast.*II.413).	C.D. Nursed by a woman whose name *Spako* means "dog" and the idea of dog nursing later created to give Cyrus a divine appearance (Hdt. I. 110, 122.3).	C. Nursed by a dog and then human nurse (Justin. *Epit.* I.4).
E. F. Brought up by herdsman and his wife who is a *lupa* (she-wolf/whore) (Dion. Hal. I. 84. 4; Liv. I. 4; Plut. *Rom.* IV.3). Acca Larentia replaces her child, born dead, with the twins (Dion. Hal. I.79.10).	E. F. Brought up by herdsman and his wife, whose child was born dead (Hdt. I.108-110). Later parents create the idea of the dog nurse (Hdt. I. 110, 122.3).	D.E.F. Name of his human nurse is subsequently changed to *Spako* (dog) because of the miraculous dog nurse. (Justin. *Epit.* I.4).
G. Remus Recognised by grandfather due to lordly demeanour after being captured stealing cattle. (Dion. Hal. I. 81-82; Liv. I.5; Just. *Epit.* XLIII.2; Plut. *Rom.* VII. 3-7).	G. Reveals innate lordliness by whipping other child. Taken to grandfather who recognises Cyrus due to his royal demeanour (Hdt. I. 113).	G. Reveals innate lordliness by whipping other child. Taken to grandfather who recognises Cyrus due to his royal demeanour (Just. *Epit.* I.5)
H.M.P.Shepherds rebel, defeat and kill Amulius and twins go off to found own city (Cic. *Rep.* II.2.4; Dion. Hal. I.84-85; Liv. I.6; Plut. *Rom.* VII).	H.N.O. Defeats Astyages using the Persians and keeps him at his court until he dies. Founds Persian Empire (Hdt.I.130).	H.N.O. Defeats Astyages and takes away his kingdom using the Persians but harms him no further. Founds Persian Empire (Just. *Epit.* I.6).

A more detailed analysis of these overlaps is given in the table above. I have also included Pompeius Trogus' (Just. *Epit.* I.4-5) rendition of the Cyrus myth in order to present a more thorough comparison. Although we do not know much of Pompeius Trogus, even whether he lived during the Late Republic or even the reign of Tiberius (Albrecht and Schmelling 1997: 869-870), it does seem clear that for this section on

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[14] Ov. *Fast.* II. 395-398: "From amongst them another one also said: 'Indeed how similar they are! And how handsome both of them! But that one has more strength than the other! If their lineage could be judged by appearance, unless what I see is incorrect, I suspect that there is some god in you."

[15] In Herodotus (I. 111-112) *Spako*'s child is born dead, and thus its body is exposed and Cyrus is adopted but not exposed at all. In Pompeius Trogus (Just. *Epit.* I. 4) *Spako*'s child is not born dead, but is exposed instead of Cyrus and dies. In Dionysius (I.79.9) Larentia's child is born dead. In Pompeius Trogus (Just. *Epit.* XLIII. 2) the Roman wolf has just lost its cubs. In Ovid (Fast. II. 413) the wolf is pregnant. Dionysius (I. 78) states merely that the wolf had just whelped.

the Achaemenids Herodotus was his main source (Kuhrt 2007: 9), which is why it is interesting when he diverges from Herodotus' account.

In view of this, the most important of these elements taken from the Cyrus myth would seem to be the structure for representing the innate lordly demeanours inherent in the Roman twins (G). In both the case of Cyrus (Hdt. I. 113; Just. *Epit.* I.5) and Remus (Dion. Hal. I. 81-82; Liv. I.5; Just. *Epit.* XLIII.2; Plut. *Rom.* VII. 3-7), this facet of their character enables them to later be recognised by their own relatives and be fated to overcome their situations, despite upbringings by animals and herdsmen in the wilderness (E, G). To this we may also add the factor of Rhea Silvia being the usurped ruler's daughter, when in all the other Italic exposure myths "polythetically categorised" in Chapter One had the founder's mother as a serving girl. This most likely stemmed from the Cyrus myth in order to partake in this narrative structure of innate lordliness (A). We may also note that this same theme of innate lordliness is expanded to the exposed children's infancy by later writers in reference to both myths, such as *Spako*'s abandonment of her own child in favour of the lordly infant Cyrus in Pompeius Trogus (Justin. *Epit.* I.4) and Ovid's (*Fast.* II. 395-398) perception of the power inherent in the Roman twins by the servant sent to drown them (B, L). However, these latter developments should perhaps not be counted as directly interrelated with one another- merely as expansions on the notion of fated legitimacy which appear to overlap because of the two myths' joint bases in Greek histriology. Also, as we have seen in Chapter One, the alternative Romulus and Remus myth given by Plutarch still contains the element of the servant sent to drown them (B, L), suggesting its origination in Italic myth. Further, whilst much of Herodotus' (I. 110,122) description of the Cyrus dog-myth is littered with his distrust of it as a fantastical creation due to the name of Cyrus' human nurse, Trogus chooses to invert this view: the herdsman's wife gains her name *because* of an actual dog's earlier involvement in the child's upbringing (Just. *Epit.* I. 4) (D, E, F). This may in itself suggest influence from the Romulus and Remus myths back onto Cyrus, though we cannot discount the possibility that the story was simply widely known as an animal nursing story without Herodotus' interpolations, as is suggested by its presence without query in catalogues of animal nursing myths (Ael. *Var. Hist.* XII.42; Hyg. *Fab.* 252; Luc. *de Sacr.* 5). In both stories the replacement of the herdsman's dead child with the abandoned child (E) is also another keen parallel, which appears to be

shared by both tales. As well as this, the very act of "rationalising" the animal nurse as the human nurse with animal qualities (Hdt. I. 111; Just. *Epit.* I.4/ Dion. Hal. I. 84. 4; Liv. I. 4; Plut. *Rom.* IV.3) remains perhaps the most inscrutable parallel (F). The widely attested use of this last trope of "rationalisation" in relation to Romulus and Remus suggests that this went back as far as Fabius Pictor and the earliest needs for Roman myth and history to mirror that of the Greeks in text.[16] Thus it would appear that these links between the two myths in the form of *foci* (A, E, F, G) are far more than coincidental or based in ahistorical Ur-rituals- in fact, it probably attempts to represent the founding of Rome within the perimeters of narrative conventions already possessed by the Greeks.

c. Chapter One and Two Synthesis: Rome and Mongolia.

This having been said, perhaps we should now turn to Sinor's (1997: 336 n. 18) unanswered proposition concerning direct affinities between the Wu-sun wolf myth and that of Romulus and Remus due to their strong similarities and chronological overlapping. Firstly, however, it should be noted that when inspected accurately, the seeming similarities inherent in the coordination of a bird with the wolf in both Plutarch's myth of Romulus and Remus and that of the Wu-sun (Jila 2006: 173-174; Beckwith 2011: 366 n. 12) would seem to have more in common with concepts of abstract Structuralism and lack of in-depth analysis than they would seem to have with any determinable shared affinity. As was described in Chapter One, the woodpecker appears to have possessed a long history as a sacred bird in Ancient Italia before it was ever connected with the Roman Mars or Plutarch's minority attestation of it in the myth of Romulus and Remus to reinforce the idea of the god's patronage. In the same way, whilst there are a great many examples of coordination between wolves and crows due to their semi-magical relationship as carrion eaters in Mongolian folklore leading back to the Wu-sun myth (Chapter Two), I am yet to find any other similar coordinate example in any Mediterranean or even Northern European tradition.[17]

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[16] Only Plutarch (*Rom.* IV. 4-5) offers an alternative reason for Acca Larentia being a prostitute, in giving the story of how a similarly named female Roman culture hero slept with rich men in order to pay for temples at Rome. This could well be the basis of this, though whether of Greek propagandist origin is hard to discern.

[17] Some might suggest Apollo's connection between both wolves (see **App. 2**) and crows (Hdt. IV. 14; Ov. *Fasti.* I. 129; Apollod. *Bib.* III. 10.3) at this point. However, neither of them ever occur together. More importantly, the Greek divinities are composed of a very complex series of layers accrued from

Conversely, the other *foci* inherent in both of these myths would seem to show genuine signs of shared similarity which can be rationalised through determinable historical transmission. As was argued in Chapter Two, it would appear that a mixed Indo-Iranian and Turkic-Mongolian nomadic people such as the Wu-sun would have possessed much in common with the Scythic cultures of antiquity and the Achaemenid Persians in their traditions of wolf-imitation and nursing.[18] If we look to the main elements in each of the three Roman, Persian and Wu-sun myths and add the Ashina myth and its later adaptation by the Mongols, as these display strong connections with the Wu-sun myth and suggests the retaining of many of the same elements found within in it, we may see that there are certain aspects peculiar to both the Greco-Roman historical complex of Cyrus/Roman myths and to those in the Turkic-Mongolian world- but most importantly there are very keen overlaps that display a logical evolution outwards through time and geographical space. I would like to show this using Barnes' (1997: 12-14) "polythetic" system again, applying the A-P categorisation from the Romulus and Cyrus comparison above, but with several more additions to represent the myths as accurately as possible:

Roman: A B **C D** E F G **H**   K M N   P

Cyrus: A B **C D** E F G **H** I/J   L   O

Wu-sun: *[19]**C D**   **H**   L   Q

Ashina: **C D**   **(H)**[20]   L   P Q R S

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many cultures over time. For example, mice are an animal often associated with Apollo (Hom. *Il.* I. 37; Strab. X. 48.6; XIII. 60.4). Regarding Northern Europe, Odin, similarly has dual crow (Hugin and Munin) and wolf (Geri and Freki) associations, as well as many other animals (Jennbert 2011: 51), but neither of these seem to integrate into any sort of cooperative pattern as found amongst the Wu-sun and Mongols. Equally, to suggest that the Roman myth drifted all the way to Northern China to be adopted by the Wu-sun and be attested in the first century BCE *Shi Ji*, there is a distinct lack of intermediary evidence for such a theory, and once again it does not take into account Plutarch's minority attestation of the woodpecker anyway. Even if one were to attempt to solve this "directly" by temporarily treating seriously H. H. Dubs (1957:139-148) theories outlined in *A Roman City in Ancient China*, concerning the lost Roman legion of Crassus fighting for the Xiong-nu, who were also warring with the Wu-sun during 66 BCE (142-143), to which a great deal of contradictory historical and political evidence has been presented (Yu 1967: 89-91), Zhang Qian's tale would seem a century older than this period and moreover the possibility that this tale would be applied to the enemies of the Xiong-nu who had apparently hired the "Romans" in question would seem completely irrational.

[18] See **App. 5-6** for a visual representation of this.

[19] In the Kun-mo Wu-sun myth of the *Han Shu* the servant Nu Jiu Ling escapes with Kun-mo and after the miracle of wolf-nursing gives him over to the Chan-yu (Bangu *Han Shu* 1962.2691-2692 *ap.* Jila trans. 2006: 164). In the *Shi Ji* version it is the Chan-yu who exposes the child himself then takes him in after the miraculous nursing (1972.3168 *ap.* Jila trans. 2006: 163-164 see Chapter Two). Thus whether this qualifies as B, which as we have seen above appears to have a basis in both Herodotus and in native Italic myth, proposing a definite answer remains very difficult.

Börte Činō: **(H)**[21]   Q[22] R S T

> A= exposed because of threat to male relative's throne. B= servant sent to abandon child in wilderness. C= exposed in wilderness. D= nursed by wolf/dog when exposed which is considered miraculous. E= brought up by herdsmen. F= canine nurse rationalised as woman of low social standing. G= recognised due to lordly demeanour. H= defeats ruler who caused exposure and founds new people. I= threat to male relative revealed in dream. J= threat to male relative revealed by soothsayers. K= mother locked away to prevent pregnancy, but is raped by god. L= abandoned in wilderness. M= abandoned on river. N= Kills usurper. O= Leaves usurper alive. P= builds new civilisation at cave where exposed. Q = people scattered and destroyed leading to exposure. R= people directly descended from wolf. S= migrates over a body of water to found new culture. T= deer progenitor.

As one might observe, elements such as (A, E, F, G) appear common only to the myths in the Greco-Roman historiographical tradition, with (K, L, N, P) specific to the Roman myth, as has been discussed in detail above. (Q), comparatively, is common only to the traditions of the Inner Asian nomads and (R) is found only in the Ashina myth and its Mongol reappropriation, though the Gao-che and the anachronistic Xiong-nu origin myth in the ninth century CE *Pei Shi* described in Chapter Two and **App. 1** also seem to have shared in this element of direct lupine ancestry. Nonetheless, we must recall that in these later versions this ancestry was through a male wolf due most likely to the mythic evolution and fusion between the wolf as nurse and founding hero as recipient of wolf-nursing (see Chapter Two). In light of this, though (H) is found in all versions, amongst the nomads of Inner Asia, as was discussed in Chapter Two, factionalism and rebellion from rulers leading to the formation of new ethnicities and dynasties form an important portion of the ongoing transmission of legitimising wolf-myth *foci* in this cultural sphere. Further, (S, T), as was discussed at length in Chapter Two, appear to be elements common to Turkic-Mongolian creation myths and thus do not require further analysis. Most curious of all

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[20] In the Ashina myth, the Ashina people are annihilated by an undisclosed enemy and persecuting king and their descendants by the wolf emerge from the primordial cave to become smithing servants of the Rouran (Juan-Juan). It is only later that they break from the Rouran (Juan-Juan) to destroy them and found the Göktürk Empire (see Chapter Two). This is why this myth is also listed as possessing "Q."

[21] This is a feature of the *Ergene Qūn* myth and Turkic emergence myths, but not the *SHM* (cf. §1) (see Chapter Two).

[22] This is a feature of the *Ergene Qūn* myth and also the Lamaist reappropriations of Börte Činō (see Chapter Two). The *SHM* (§1) version has Börte Činō migrate to found a new people as in the Ashina myth, yet the reasons remain unexplained.

foci is (P) - the vital role of the wolf's cave in centring the origins and legitimacy of both the Roman and Göktürk Empires. This will be discussed in full in the Conclusion.

In spite of this, the most important factor is that (C, D, H) appear common to all of the four wolf-nursing myths in question. If we take a more holistic picture of myths sharing similar *foci* throughout Eurasia we may note that (C) the exposure of culture heroes and (H) subsequent rise to power and cultural foundation are prevalent in many ancient cultures such as the Assyrian legends of Sargon of Akkad (Lewis 1980: 91-101), Feridun and Zal (*SN* 286, 295), Karṇa in the *Māhabhārata* (VIII. 41), and even Moses (*Ex.* 2: 5-10). Some of these involve exposure in the wilderness (L), some on a river (M) and only some of them include animal nurses. These may all belong to a much larger "polythetic" outgrowth of Eurasian culture-hero myths transmitted by intercultural contact in a similar manner to that of the wolf-myths under scrutiny. However, compared with the largely untraceable nature of such diffuse *foci*, as we have seen in Chapter One and Two, in both cultural spheres the connection between the symbol of the wolf (D) and ongoing abandonment (C) and foundational elements (H) appear to represent a "package" of *foci* with highly arguable transmission paths and strong ongoing reinterpretability within their own evolving cultural contexts.

d. Chapter One and Two Synthesis: Romans, Sasanians, Sogdians and Türks.
We may also note that when mythic "packages" such as those of Romulus and Remus and the peoples of Inner Asia could have come together in an intervening liminal space, such as in Central Asian Sogdiana and Ustrushana during the sixth and seventh century CE, we may see highly interesting and culturally valuable interplay of symbols and motifs. In reference both to the mural (**Fig. 1**) and the golden medallion (Temple II Panjikant) (**Fig. 3**) in question in Sogdiana and Ustrushana, both of these share some very curious similarities which make them collectively unique, yet also thoroughly Roman in origin. In both cases the wolf is illustrated facing towards the twins who are being nursed- something alien to Sasanid imagery in relation to this motif, but common in Roman imagery- suggesting a Roman model for these works (Azarpay 1981: 27-28). Moreover, if the golden medallion (**Fig. 3**) is inspected it also shows an attempt to create a false Latin inscription (Belenitskii 1958: 135 *ap.* Azarpay 1981: 28). Aside from this, as to whether it had a votive purpose, this is hard

to decipher. In relation to the mural at *Kalah-i Kahkaha* I (**Fig. 1**) this also appears to show a great many Roman features. It has been noted particularly that of the several panels which seem overall to illustrate episodes, left to right, in the birth and abandonment of the twins, the characters are shown naked and as wearing exaggeratedly "exotic" clothes, perhaps to indicate that the story originated from a long way away (Azarpay 1981: 27-28). Thus, in both cases what we appear to be dealing with are very Roman artefacts, which most likely had their source in some original Roman material, which was not merely transmitted through medial Persian versions (Negmatov 1973 fig. 15 *ap.* Azarpay 1981: 142; Azarpay 1981: 28, 141). However, as to how these were transmitted, we are lacking evidence at present to consolidate this, but Byzantine coins or half-understood details of the legend passed on by Byzantine merchants would most likely seem to offer reasonable possibilities. For instance, we should be aware that a joint Byzantine-Sogdian embassy was made to the Türks c. 575/576 CE in order to keep the Sogdian silk road open against Sasanid attempts to control trade between east and west (Men. Prot. *Hist.* frag. 19.1-2; de la Vaissière 2005: 132-134). This would seem to fit with the period of the medallion and murals in question, but it would seem very difficult to determine whether either of the artefacts in question was made for political purposes to emphasise good will between the Byzantines and Sogdians or anything of the sort.
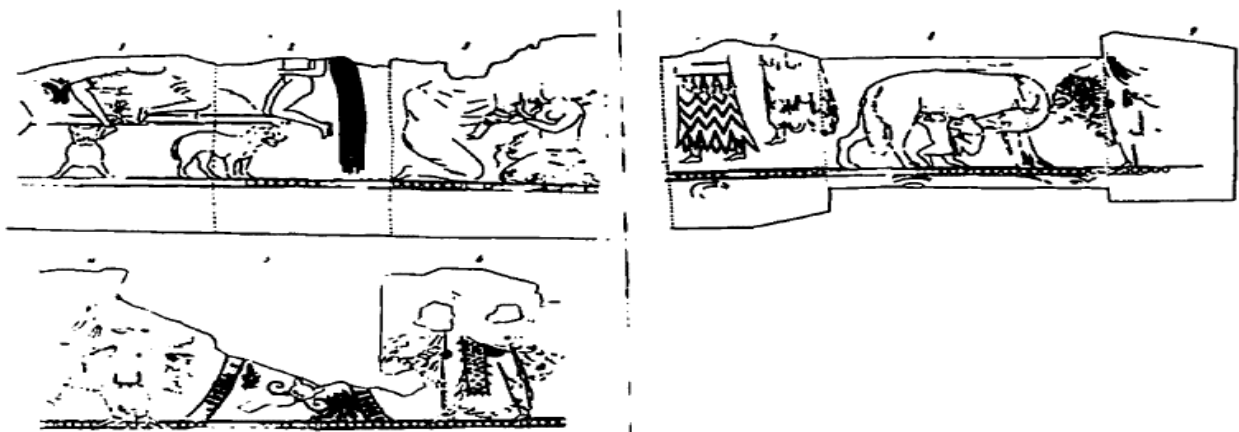

Fig. 1. Mural Series Featuring the Roman Twins, *Kalah-i Kahkaha* **I, Ustrushana, seventh c. CE (Azarpay 1988: 362).**

With regard to the dating of these murals, most scholars seem to agree in its stylistic similarity to "careful" sixth or seventh century motifs (Azarpay 1981: 203, 1988: 362; Ota 2005: 193). If we settle on anytime during this period, then as mentioned previously we would also be overlapping with the Göktürk invasion of this region during the mid-sixth century CE (see Chapter Two). However, as noted, due to the very Roman nature of these Sogdian artefacts, if there was any intercultural appreciation or influence between these peoples, most likely it would have to have gone the other way- towards the Turkic-Mongolian peoples. Thus, into this situation I would also like to attempt to integrate the Bugut monument, which as stated, dates to around 581 CE and possesses very strong Sogdian influences (see Chapter Two; **Fig. 2**). Although it is only from late in the sixth century CE that Sogdian and Türkic elites began to intermarry (Babayarov 2006: 71-72), and around the twenties of the seventh century CE that discernable efforts were made to Türkicise Sogdiana and its culture under Ton-jazbgu (Yatsenko 2003: 3),[23] there is still room to suggest that the Göktürks, rather, by interfacing with Sogdians were also the recipients of some of the artistic motifs by which the Romulus and Remus tradition had been represented in visual art through coinage back to the Ogulnii brothers in the early third century BCE (see Chapter One). Although the wolf on the Bugut monument is pictured as facing away from the child (see Chapter Two) which if it were not would make linking this work's imagery with Sogdiana a far easier task, we must recall Drompp's (2011: 521) claim that the Bugut monument is in itself a unique artefact with no antecedent- not only in the context of Central and Inner Asian art, but also in relation to Chinese art. Nevertheless, as to Central Asian art and this period, the profile of the wolf with the child Ashina beneath it would seem to have strong parallels with the representation of Romulus and Remus on coinage as well as the art of Sogdiana during this same period mentioned above. However, we must be mindful that Drompp (2011: 523) does *not* believe that the child atop the monument is being suckled by a wolf, and blames several scholars for circulating this myth (cf. Bazin 1975: 37; Roux 1984: 189; White

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[23] It should be noted here that the rulers of Ustrushana at Panjikant and *Kalah-i Kahkaha* from the fifth and sixth centuries CE were the Sogdian *afshins* (Azarpay 1981: 202), who appear to later be confused with the Türks by Arab sources, due to the generalised use of this term for eastern rulers who had submitted to Islamic forces and eastern conscripts, particularly in relation to Kaydar b. Kavus Afshin, the Abbasid general who defeated the anti-Islamic Babak in 837 CE (Bosworth 2005: v. I.6. 589-591). Stark (2008: 236ff) considers the possibility of several Türkic rulers under the title of *afshins* in Ustrushana during the 730's, but very tentatively and does not take this Arabic tendency to generalise about peoples on the eastern border of the Islamic world at this time into account.

1991: 136; Alyimaz 2006: 52), for which he ironically suggests the influence of Romulus and Remus upon their judgement.[24] In the Ashina myth, as detailed in Chapter Two, the boy is indeed fed meat and not milk by the wolf as Drompp (2011: 523) says.[25] However, Gardizi's reference to wolf's milk and the Türkic character would seem to suggest that such a myth was in circulation, at least during a later period before the eleventh century CE (see Chapter Two). If the child or man under the wolf is not being suckled then we might suggest that it is showing the analogy between wolf and sky-god *Tänri*, arched over the royal founder Ashina as protector and legitimiser (see Chapter Two).

In addition, regardless of the Türkic symbolic and mythic context, without any prior model or similar artefacts, it would still seem reasonable to suggest that some of its artistic elements, such as the side profile illustration of the animal and child may have come through Sogdian representation of Romulus and Remus in Central Asian art. I would like then, until more is known of the Orkhon Valley Türk civilisation,[26] to tentatively suggest that this means of picturing the she-wolf most likely had its origins in Roman iconography, which we can trace through an arguable transmission path across the multicultural *milieu* of Central Asia. In relation to this Central and Inner Asian fusion we should also note some important similarities regarding this artefact and Chinese artistic motifs. One clear influence on the shaping of the wolf would seem to be that of the Chinese dragon, often represented in a similar manner on

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[24] None of these academics have suggested Romulus and Remus as an influence on this monument, to my knowledge.

[25] Drompp (2011: 521) points out deftly, however, that contrary to Alyimaz (2006: 52) atop the Kül Tegin, Bilge Kagan, Tariat, Tes, Shine Us monuments these are dragons and not wolves. It is because of this similarity to dragon pedestal stones that Stark (2008: 72 n. 317) takes the Bugut monument to be topped with a dragon instead of a wolf, which he calls "*unzutreffend*" (incorrect), without argument and merely cites a monument from Sichuan from c. 205 CE as evidence for the development of dragon pedestal stones. No reference to other Türkic dragon pedestal stones or the uniqueness of the Bugut monument's other features is made.

[26] Research using 3D technology and radar to unearthed buried objects in the upper Orkhon valley has been ongoing since July 2008 (Bemann, Ahrens et al. 2011: 69-97). However, so far only some of the results of this have so far been published. As Aylimaz (2006:52) has said about the complexity of this issue:

> "All these facts indicate the level of affairs between the Turks and the Sogdians. Many times back in history they lived nearby. However, this period and their relations have yet to be studied and scholars who are eligible to study knowing Turkic and Sogdian languages have yet to come out. Therefore, today we are facing many problems in reading and comprehending the Turkic inscriptions in Sogdian language, starting with the Bugut inscription. To bring out these inscriptions which will shed light upon the history of these neighboring and relative nations it is necessary for the universities and institutions to teach graduate students the Old Turkic (Köktürk, Uygur, Karahanli) and along with the old Turkic alphabet, Sogdian language and alphabet, Chinese, Sanskrit language and alphabet, and Tibetian language and alphabet" (errors in text not amended).

Chinese turtle pedestal stones and Türkic appropriations of such motifs in the later Orkhon Valley monuments (Drompp 2011: 522). The top corner of the Bugut monument has been broken off and appears to show vestiges of what seem to be animal limbs, we should note, which has caused Drompp (2011: 521) and others (Yoshida and Moriyasu 1999: 123-124; Aylimaz 2006: 52) to suggest that it originally featured two wolves back to back- a common feature with regard to Chinese dragon topped turtle-pedestalled monuments. If this is the case, and the Bugut monument originally featured two wolves, back to back, and two children, it would seem natural to suggest that these two separate couples (wolf and child) symbolised the Eastern and Western division of the Göktürk state. Due to the interregnal period to which this monument is ascribed- between 581 and at latest 587 CE (see Chapter Two), we should perhaps also note the possibility that by representing two wolves back to back, this may have been deliberately illustrated in order to quell the disputes of the four contenders to the throne during this period, which was particularly strong between the successors of the Eastern and Western khanates (Gumilev 1967: 140-142; Stark 2008: 17; Wright 2012: 67-68).[27] It should also be remarked that the centring of Türk sacral and political power at mount Ötüken between these two khanates so that both could partake in it, appears to have been a major instrument in maintaining good relations between the empire's branches (see Chapter Two). If this is so, then for all Alföldi's (1974:151-180) talk of similarities between the Inner Asian nomads and Romulus and Remus, grounded in theoretical dual Ur-political *Zweiteilung und Doppelmonarchie* (Dichotomous Social Divisions and Dual Rule), these similarities may have actually incidentally manifest themselves in this monument.[28] Most likely, though, the Orkhon Türks would not have had any awareness as to the Roman origins of this means of representation on the Bugut monument, which only adds to, I would like to suggest, the important emphasis I have attempted to repeat throughout this study that myths are composed of layers of motifs and *foci* which different cultures have reappropriated due to their own historical and cultural situations and phenomenologically valid realities.

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[27] Legg (1970: 160) connects the Orkhon inscription from Kocho Tsaidam with a later Türkic damnation of this period: "…Khagans without wisdom mounted the throne; and the empire of the Türks was rent asunder" Cf. Dennison Ross and Thomsen (1930 II E6 864) who translate "without wisdom" as "incapable."

[28] Alföldi (1974) does not mention this monument. In his defence it appears only to have become known in the west around 1972 (Drompp 2011: 520).

Fig. 2. Bugut Monument

c. 581 CE (Aylimaz 2006: 53).

Fig. 3. She-Wolf Medallion

Sixth century CE Panjikant (Azarpay 1988: 354).

e. Discussion and Concluding Remarks: Some Unanswered Questions.

We now come to the complex issue of explaining the wolf's longevity and retention in connection with themes of legitimacy in both cultural spheres. In order to do this I would like to discuss in greater detail the ways by which this has been rationalised in the past and what we can learn from this to rejuvenate comparative mythological practice. For instance, to simply suggest that the same environmental and socio-economic factors in relation to the wolf's threat to herdsmen and their livelihoods precipitated its imitation throughout Eurasian history (Eliade [1976]1981: 36; Fritts, Stephenson et al. 2003: 292), would seem to assume the existence of a static social and ecological framework, without any regard for individual cultural developments. However, what I do believe is that we should acknowledge the continuing presence of the wolf and ongoing "undecideability" towards it in both cultural spheres from the complaints of the Roman poets about the she-wolf's milk making the Roman people brutal and the clubbing of wolf-men on Persian seals set beside the imagery of Romulus and Remus, to the dissonance of possessing a wolf ancestor and using the wolf as an animal to curse others for their brutality in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. It would also seem absurd to suggest that mythic *foci* are not retained due to an ongoing threatening phenomenon in the environment such as the wolf, particularly when the major appeal of this phenomenon is its links with legitimate power and older

regimes, which as we have seen in both cultural spheres were actively reappropriated in order to partake in pre-existing elites (see Chapter One and Two).

In view of this, we should perhaps also note Drompp's (2011: 515) answer for the wolf's popularity that "some animals are better to think with than others." Although at first this would appear to be lacking any real effort or insight and implicitly posits the notion that "wolf" represents an idealised, unchanging entity, nevertheless, as we have seen in both cultural spheres, the "packet" of *foci* inherent in linking the wolf to founding heroes and military elites fundamentally emphasises this animal's divinity. Whether it is the wolf's links with Mars in the Romulus and Remus myth (Chapter One), the **daiva* of pre-Zoroastrian Indo-Iranians, the "divinity" of Cyrus and the "wolf-god" Kun-mo's nursing, or the blue/wolf/heaven analogical complex amongst the Turkic-Mongolian peoples (Chapter Two), the wolf is seen to be an animal that profoundly links the numinousness of military power and cultural foundation with an element of pre-destination. We have also seen that from the earliest version of the Romulus and Remus story where the father is a hearth deity in Chapter One to the connections between the dog and Ahura Mazda and the strong suggestion that beneath the Kun-mo story there may be a deity whose minions are the wolf and crow (Chapter Two), that in all these cases both the founder and wolf share equally strong connections with the idea of a deity who provides for those abandoned in the wilderness. Heroes are exposed in the wilds to die, a god's "divine" wolf intervenes, and they grow up to found great cultures and assure their descendants position as world rulers. As was also described earlier in this chapter, the *foci* of abandonment, animal nursing and subsequent rise to power are widely-spread across Eurasia, but none of them has had the longevity, reinterpretability or appeal to so many different cultures as the pattern in question. In comparison with other bundles of legitimising *foci* this one was retained, not perhaps because the wolf is intrinsically "special"- but perhaps because of all systems, this one worked cogently as a system for developing conceptions of national identity. In conjunction with this we must closely take the fact that those who adopted it were in turn some of the most influential and wide ranging empires prior to modernity in both cultural spheres from very early times onwards: Achaemenid, Roman, Göktürk and Mongol. It is because of this "package's" connection to so many powerful empires, from a historical perspective, that we must emphasise and acknowledge the desire for it to be imitated

by succeeding peoples. This is the true intercultural value of this "package" of *foci*. If this were not the case then there would probably be far less evidence to work with, and far less desire for the pattern to be reappropriated so readily.

Lastly, if there is one point that I desire for this thesis to make it is that in approaching this topic the most important aspect appears to be the need for scholars to treat the outgrowth of wolf-imitation myths in a way that emphasises the difference of mythic evolution in both cultural spheres. Thus, whilst we may speak with some degree of confidence in the emergence of the Romulus and Remus myth from wolf imitation rites in caves in Ancient Italia- in Inner Asia there is no similar determinable trajectory. Although Scythic peoples such as the Neuri and the name of the *Haumavargā* suggest wolf-imitation rituals beyond the simple "valiant dogs" appellation (see Chapter Two),[29] later amongst Turkic-Mongolian peoples we have no attestations of any such rituals, only tribal names appearing to signify this and the

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[29] Ivančik (1993: 317-319) notes the use of donning the wolf-skin by young men of the Scythians' descendants, the Ossetians, in order to undertake an initiatory *Männerbund* called *balc* (raid), which was still practised until the nineteenth century CE. This suggests the retention of older traditions, but because so much time intervenes it seems doubtful whether we can directly compare this ritual to first millennium BCE practices. It is also interesting to note that Greco-Roman (Ctes. fr. 20 *ap.* Romm 1994: 78-79; Strabo. VII.3.6), Chinese (*SHJ.* XVII. p.187) and Sanskrit (*Bṛhat Saṃhitā* XIV. 21-27) geographers from antiquity and the middle ages all seem to agree in placing nations of cynocephalic (dog headed) men in the regions of Inner Asia. However, aside from seeming a curiously widely-spread series of structures along with other associated "packages" of tropes such as nations of Amazons, Cyclopes and one-legged peoples (Hdt. IV. 105-119; Strabo II.1.9; *SHJ.* VIII. p. 121; *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* XIV. 21-27), we should perhaps emphasise similar beliefs amongst the nomads of Central Asia themselves. Examples of this include the ordeals of the Mongol army in the Nochoy Kadzar (Mid. Mong. *noqai qaǰar* = "place of dogs") and the dog-like Samoyeds mentioned by the Mongols during Father Pian Carpini's visits to Karakorum in 1245 CE (*Hist. Mong.* p. 61, 69). We find precursors to this in similar enemy nations of monstrous dog-men descended from two divine dogs called *Qil* and *Kara Barak* in the *Oguz Kagan* tradition (RaD. *Hist. Oguz* XLIII script 591r 56) and Chinese Sung era chronicles linking another indeterminable people, *It Barak* ("shaggy dog"), to the Khitan royal family (White 1991: 134). More solidly, regarding the identification of such mythic structures with a determinable people, a similar tale is found in ninth century CE Tibetan chronicles from Uyghur travellers concerning the *Drugu* (Türks), who are also described as being descended from two heavenly dogs that raped a young girl (White 1991: 134-135). However, in all of these examples the common factor appears to be that such dog-natures are attached by the nomads from whom the myths are taken to distant enemy peoples, who in most cases are almost semi-mythical. Thus is it is very difficult to deduce whether such dog ancestry myths were actually possessed by other peoples in Central Asia themselves or were merely used, like those of the geographers, to animate and understand the world and other cultures. For this reason White (1991: 226-263) and Mair (1998: 23-24) perhaps miss the point in using such evidence to construct the image of long-held dog imitation and ancestry myths actively practised amongst the Central Asian nomads themselves. Rather, White (1991: 5-9) in his concentration on the dog's use of "otherness" by settled cultures should have been more aware of the nomads' own conceptions of "outsider" peoples. Most dubious of all is White's (1991:72) literal mindedness in taking the "yellow man" in Alan Qo'a's story to her children in *The Secret History of the Mongols* (§21; see Chapter Four) to represent a dog ancestry myth, when the dog involved is clearly a metaphor for the divine man's *manner* of creeping. As de Rachewiltz (2004: 264) says of the myth: "the mystical connotations with the dog…are…perhaps of no special significance."

opaque yearly "rituals" undertaken at the cave of the Ötüken Mountain by the Göktürks. In both the Roman and Göktürk cultures the wolf's lair became a ritual site of supreme political importance, yet beyond this we cannot determine much else,[30] except that in the former sphere the cave was a place of imitating and controlling chthonic powers by groups such as the *Hirpi Sorani* and *Luperci* (Chapter One), and in the latter it formed an integral part of Turkic-Mongolian emergence myth *foci*, with or without the inclusion of a wolf (Chapter Two). Moreover, rituals such as the widely-spread Turkic emergence from the mountain of iron, in which the wolf is the leader and/or progenitor, do not themselves tell us whether wolves were imitated. As was shown in Chapter Two, Turkic-Mongolian culture heroes, aristocrats and warriors imitated lupine names and aspects in order to take on the power of the wolf. As the ruler amongst such peoples was also the head of religious officiation this may constitute a "ritual" in its own right, but is obviously far different from Italic and Arcadian wolf "imitation." Even amongst the Romans the nature of the *Luperci* as wolf-imitators and their deity would almost seem to have been forgotten because of the preferenced connections to Arcadian Pan and the Lycaon cult made by Greek and Roman scholars (see Chapter One). Thus to use terms such as "*Männerbund",* "ritual" and "imitation" in regard to the wolf without individual historical and cultural qualifications denies what the evidence is actually telling us and leads towards preferencing an essentialist, unchanging view of the diverse outgrowth of the Indo-European cultures of Late Bronze Age, Iron Age and Mediaeval Eurasia.

2. The "Bundle" Fable and its Multivalent Legacy.

The second myth, that of the "bundle" fable, offers a far greater quantity of workable data able to be integrated into a coherent pattern of reception and reappropriation, most likely because of its wide appeal and elegance as a means to encourage cultural coherence. As mentioned in the Introduction, however, the matter at hand is that it has merely not received the attention by scholars that it seemingly deserves as a more holistic entity with differing emphases in different cultural and historical *milieus*. In this chapter it will be shown how the two major traditions of this fable: that of bundled arrows and the handing over of power by the ruler to prolong his legacy, and

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[30] Eliade ([1970]1995: 16) cites the similar use of the cave amongst the Romans and Göktürks in their wolf-myths but does not offer any analysis either way as to whether there are any implicit connections, even from his universalist perspective.

that of the Aesopic tradition and its "rods", which was to lose its deathbed element and transform the royal father into a farmer, were to share very different destinies that intermeshed from time to time and sometimes occurred simultaneously in the same cultural context. One was to be retained orally in Inner Asian tradition for over a millennium, re-entering Western thought just as it first had done with Scilurus, but this time during the Renaissance in relation to Chingis Khan. The other, comparatively, was to be instrumental in the birth of modern understandings of collective power, where it became implicated with revolutionary readings of the Roman *fasces* and the Roman Republic, and still continues to be cited in such a context to today.

a. Chapter Three and Four Synthesis: The Greek Aesop's line of Descent and Loss of the Deathbed Element.

Firstly, it is necessary to explore the changes that took place during late antiquity and the Byzantine period within the Aesopic tradition before its subsequent reintroduction into Western Europe in the form of the *Recensio Accursiana* of Maximus Planudes from the thirteenth century CE onwards. In Chapter Three it was shown that the *Augustana* recension of the Aesopic tradition, dating from between the second and fifth centuries CE differs greatly from the Scythian and Babrian versions of this fable in that it does not contain a deathbed element and the father of the tale has become a farmer (see Chapter Three). Moreover, if we contrast this with the Turkic-Mongolian examples of this fable pattern which were illustrated in Chapter Four, in light of what has been said of the handing over of power often implicit in this pattern of tales, such changes would appear rather jarring and sit in need of explanation. Further, these two very specific alterations in fact may prove to be very useful for scholarly purposes, as they possess the possibility of showing the integral differences between the branches of this fable pattern in the two cultural spheres from this period onwards, when the Aesopic tradition was relegated to Byzantium throughout the middle ages until its diffusion into Western Europe, beginning in the thirteenth century CE. These changes of the farmer's addition and removal of deathbed may in fact be due to confusion, so I would like to suggest, with another fable similarly named *The Farmer and His Sons*, not found in Babrius, which actually possesses a farming context and a deathbed element in relation to the father. This is given as:

"A farmer was about to die and wanted his sons to make an effort to do the farming, and having called them to him, he said to them: 'My sons, I am about to give up the ghost, but if you seek what was hidden by me in the vineyard, you will find it all." Therefore they thinking that he had buried a treasure somewhere there, following the death of their father they turned over all the soil of the vineyard. They did not come upon a treasure, but the vineyard having been well tilled gave forth a great crop of fruit. This story shows that for men the (true) treasure is that of labour." (Chambry ed. 1925-1926: §83; Perry ed. 1936: §42).[31]

As the fables of the *Augustana* collection were collated alphabetically based on the initial word of the fable (Gibbs 2002: xxxii) and there are many examples of redundant fables in the corpus (Perry 1936: 146-150; Zafiropoulos 2001: 43), this suggests that elements could have been switched between or arisen from the two tales during their creation and early transmission. For instance, *Γεωργὸς* and *Γεωργοῦ*, the first words of the two fables respectively would seem to indicate such a redundancy and confusion as this, though *The Farmer and His Sons* appears to have also been listed by Chambry (1925-1926: §83) as a secondary version beginning with *Ἀνὴρ γεωργὸς* (a man [who was a] farmer). Further, as was mentioned in Chapter Three, text B of Babrius also possesses a version of *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* in which there is no deathbed element (Hausrath 1957: 74) which, as no other text of Babrius carries this version, suggests influence from the *Augustana*. This is also further compounded by the fact that even in Osius' (1574: 53) sixteenth century edition of Aesop, images intended for the two fables were confused by the printers and were reused (**Fig. 4**), thus inadvertently visually supplying the Aesopic version with its lost deathbed element. Thus this suggests that the interplay and confusion between these two fables was a long standing one.

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[31] See **App. 1** for original Greek and Latin texts where cited.
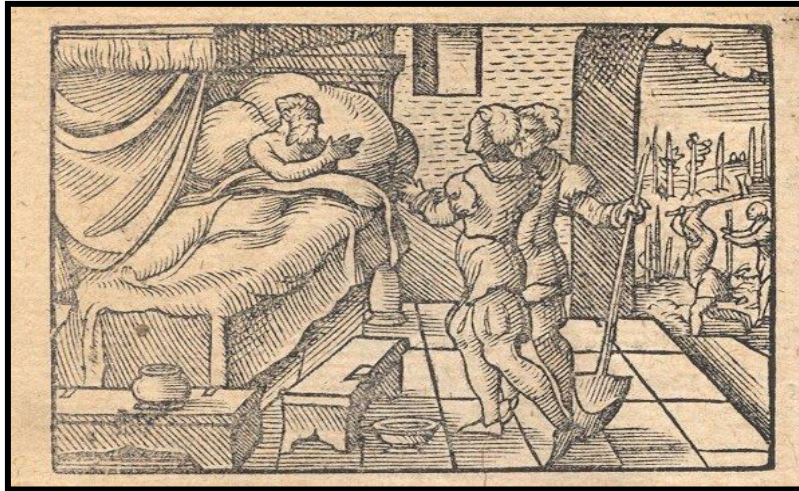
Fig. 4. Image intended for *The Farmer and His Sons* mistakenly used for *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* by printer (Osius 1574: 53).

b. Chapter Three and Four Synthesis: Aesop and the Fall of Moravia.

Furthermore, during the centuries in which Greek learning existed largely in the East, the Aesopic corpus was recopied and was used by students of literature and rhetoric for scholarly exercises in summarising (Hausrath 1952: xxiv; Adrados and Van Dijk 1999: 64-66).[32] With this in mind it is then curious to note the ways by which on at least one recorded account, the fable of the *Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* appears to have been made use of by a Byzantine scholar in order to illustrate a moral lesson regarding a specific historical instance. This Byzantine "bundle" fable is found in the tenth century CE didactic work of the emperor and historian Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *de Administrando Imperio*. It is given in reference to Sphendoplocus,[33] the late ninth century CE ruler and uniter of the nation of Greater Moravia in what is now Slovakia. Porphyrogenitus writes:

"It should be known that the ruler of Moravia, Sphendoplocus, was powerful and terrifying to those tribes who neighboured him. Sphendoplocus had three sons, and

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[32] Hausrath's conception that this was wholly the origination of the manuscripts of the Aesopic *Augustana* tradition in the form they came into Western Europe and are now possessed (Perry 1936: 157-158; Hausrath 1957: xxiv-xxv), has little evidence (Perry 1936: 157; Zafiropoulos 2001: 43) and is generally distrusted by modern scholars (Adrados and Van Dijk 1999: 66).

[33] Under Sphendoplocus (Svätopluk I) Moravia reached its greatest extent and presided over complex mix of Slavic, Turkic and Ugric ethnicities, simultaneously building trade and cultural ties with the Byzantines and Franks that led to religious competition between the Orthodox and Catholic Churches (Bideleux and Jeffries 2007:136). Following Sphendoplocus' death, the empire quickly collapsed, most likely due to nomadic Magyar incursions and the departure of the Czechs to ally with Germany, though there are few records during this period (Bartl 2002:17).

being about to die, he divided up his land into three portions. Having left a portion to each of the three sons, he left the oldest as the ruler and the others under his authority. He also exhorted them not to quarrel amongst themselves by giving them the following example. He took three sticks, having bound them together, and gave them to his first son to break. But not being able to do this, he then gave them to the second and swiftly in turn to the third. Then taking them apart, he gave the three sticks to each of them individually. And they, having taken them and been ordered to break them, immediately broke right through them. He then instructed them, saying with regard to this example: 'If you remain unseparated in concord and love, you will be indomitable to your enemies and impossible to capture. But if strife and ambition come into being amongst you, and you are divided into three rulers, having not obeyed your oldest brother, you will be destroyed by each other and will be utterly annihilated by your neighbouring enemies.' After the death of Sphendoplocus, a year having passed in peace, strife and quarrelling arose, and the sons made civil war with one another. As a result the Turks destroyed them utterly and they took control of the land where they had once dwelt. And those of their people who remained scattered and fled to neighbouring tribes: to the Bulgars, the Turks,[34] the Chrobati and others" (Const. Porph. *de Admin*. XLI).

In analysing this fable variant it is imperative to attempt to ascertain what the sources were for this fable and the reason for its insertion into this historical episode. In suggesting an origin for this fable, it should also be noted that it is well documented that Byzantine historians and chroniclers such as Theophanes, for example, actively engaged in a "virtual plagiarism" of classical texts in the composition of their own histories (Scott 2010: 254). Often this was consciously announced to the audience to lend an account credence (Scott 2010: 254), though we must be aware that many of these uses of older texts also included the chronicler's own reinterpretation and the borrowing of classical motifs and tales to explain or ornament later events (Hunger 1969-1970: 21; Hinterberger 2010: 187; Scott 2010: 254-256). It has even been suggested that in relation to both the Byzantine scholar and diplomat that "…wide ranging knowledge about the classical and Judaeo-Christian past was a tool of rhetoric, more a source of moralising *exempla* than a stock of information valuable for its own sake" (Shepard 2003: 100). For this reason, it is a valid possibility that that this

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[34] The "Turks" are in fact Magyars, who overran the country in 907 CE, though both Porphyrogenitus and his father Leo do not distinguish them from actual Turkic peoples in any of their works (Róna-Tas 1999: 53-55).

Moravian "bundle" fable is a pure confection with its basis in either the *Augustana* tradition of Aesop, Babrius[35] or Plutarch's story of Scilurus,[36] in order to function as a decorative moral *exemplum* (example) concerning the power of concord.

In reinforcing this and suggesting as to why this *exemplum* was added at this point in Porphyrogenitus' history, key ingredients such as the quarrelling sons and the subsequent collapse of a large empire appear to have already been present and are testified by other contemporary texts,[37] though "bundle" fables are not. Thus, the use of the fable appears to suggest an artistic impetus, rather than a purely historical one in explaining the events surrounding the Moravians. In defence of this it should be noted that the immediate target audience of the text was Porphyrogenitus' son and heir Romanus II (Const. Porph. *de Admin.* I), to whom it was most likely given on his fourteenth birthday (Jenkins 1987: 259). Thus, the employment of a well known and elegant fable, through historical events to teach the value of collective good and obedience to the power structure would appear a highly effective means for the father to teach his son one of the most basic values required to manage an empire, which like the sons of Sphendoplocus, he too was soon to inherit. Even more significant, however, are the lexical choices present in this Moravian variant, which very strongly appear to mirror prior Greco-Roman tradition in connection with this fable pattern. These are set out in a table on the following page illustrating that there are clear parallels between all three classical precursors and Porphyrogenitus' version.

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[35] In relation to Porphyrogenitus' time there exists a Grottaferata codex composed by Byzantine scholars which contains twenty-one fables of Babrius, though this one is no amongst them (Holzburg 2002: 53-54). However, Porphyrogenitus was a highly literate man (Jenkins 1987: 256), and if such fables were being read commonly then he most likely would have been aware of them.

[36] The works of Plutarch and the *Augustana* Aesop were particularly well known by Byzantine scholars at this time, and appear to have been amongst the texts used in schools to teach written composition (Sofroniou 2007: 185; Adrados and Van Dijk 1999: 64-66).

[37] Other historical sources implicate the falling out between two of Sphendopolocus' children, Svätopluk II and Mojmir II and the fall of Moravia due to the intrigues of Arnulf the King of Germany in 898, which culminated in Svätopluk II's imprisonment in Bavaria (Bartl 2002: 22-23).

<u>Const. Porph.</u>	'τελευτῶν' 'dying.'	'ἐνεγκὼν' 'bringing' (aor.).	'ὁμοψυχίᾳ' 'in concord.'		'παρήνεσε' 'instructed.'	'ἀνάλωτοι' 'impossible to capture.'
<u>Aug.</u>			'ὁμοφρονῆ-τε' 'you (pl.) are in concord'	ὁμόνοια 'concord'	'παρήνεσεν' 'instructed', 'παραινῶν' 'instructing.'	'εὐάλωτοι' 'easy to capture'
<u>Bab.</u>	'ἔμελλε γὰρ δὴ τὸν βίον τελευτήσειν' 'for he was indeed going to end his life soon.'	'ἐνεγκεῖν' 'to bring' (aor.).	'ὁμοφρονῆ-τε' 'you (pl.) are in concord.'		'ἐκέλευσε' 'ordered.' 'ἐπισκήπτων' 'commanding'	
<u>Plut.</u>	'ἐπεὶ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε' (174f) 'since he was going to die.'			ὁμόνοιαν (511c) 'concord' (acc.).	'ἐκέλευσε' (511c) 'ordered.' 'ἐκέλευε' (174f) 'began ordering.'	

Overall with regard to this vocabulary, one may see that the *Augustana* appears to form the closest number of lexical parallels and thus suggests itself as Porphyrogenitus' model. Despite this, the presence of the deathbed element gives rise to a number of questions. The first is that its presence in Porphyrogenitus' model would facilitate the insertion of this *exemplum* into this event in Moravian history. Without the death of Sphendoplocus, moreover a king, there is no basis for the insertion of what would appear little more than a farmer and his sons who are unimpeded by mention of death. We must then ask whether this element and the pattern's connection with kingship were still present in the *Augustana* at this time, for which there would seem to be little proof. Rather, impetus from Babrius or Plutarch's usage would seem more reasonable. Indeed, with Porphyrogenitus we must recall that we are not dealing with a minor historian, but perhaps one of the greatest intellects of his age, described with little exaggeration as "…one of the few Byzantine scholars who had a sense of the style and meaning of the prose writers of antiquity" (Jenkins 1987: 256). Thus it would not seem unwarranted for him to have been familiar with all three major variants of this fable pattern's tradition and to have used all of them to construct a particularly exact *exemplum* on the failure to heed the simple, demonstrable allegory of concord inherent in this fable pattern.

Moreover, the possibility that this Moravian fable was encouraged by a Turkic rendition of Moravia's history, given the long presence of this pattern of fable in Inner Asia, and the involvement of the "Turks" (Magyars) and Turkic Bulgars in this historical episode, would not seem to account for the fact that amongst the Turkic-Mongolian peoples this fable appears only to have been used reflexively for hallowed personal founding figures and not for foreign rulers.[38] Further, "*ῥάβδος*" remains the operative word instead of arrows in this variant. Thus this fable would appear a conflation concocted from the multiple "bundle" variants in the Classical tradition. This in itself is a significant possibility, as it suggests interplay between these internal branches in order to produce a single literary *exemplum*.

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[38] Rather, as much of *de Administrando* is concerned with Porphyrogenitus' machinations against the Turks and Turkic Pechnegs and the necessity for his son to bribe and manage such nomadic enemies properly (Const. Porph, *de Admin.* I-VIII, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XL), the "Turkic" destruction of Moravia in connection with the fable would also appear to have strong affinities with the author's perceived threats to the Byzantine Empire.

c. Chapter Three and Four Synthesis: The Bulgar Conundrum.

It is also worth mentioning at this point in relation to intercultural meetings of this fable pattern, that there is also a popular notion that the Byzantine historians also recorded another "bundle" fable in reference to the Bulgars, a people of largely Turkic origin.[39] This purported version is told in relation to the seventh century CE ruler of the united Old Great Bulgaria, Kubrat Khan, and his five sons. It is given as (Bauer 2010: 322):

> "…while on his deathbed Kubrat brought his sons around him and challenged each to break a bundle of sticks with his bare hands. When they all failed, he undid the sticks and broke them easily, one by one. "Stay united," he told them, "For a bundle is not easily broken."

Although Bauer (2010: 322) claims this fable to be in the ninth century CE *Chronographikon Syntonon*, attributed to the Byzantine historian Nicephoros,[40] which is merely a catalogue of rulers and bishops, this work does not contain any *exempla* or anecdotes concerning rulers, Bulgars or otherwise. In short, there is no Kubrat and no "bundle' fable in the *Chronographicon*. Aside from Bauer and the *Chronographicon,* this Kubrat "bundle' fable is also listed as a variant of *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* in Adrados and Van Dijk's (2003: 76) catalogue of Aesopic fables, although no source is given. For that matter, this fable variant in question is also discussed by Hranova (2005: 319-320) as an important myth in the formation of modern Bulgarian national identity, yet again without any mention as to its source. In light of this, it appears a very strong suggestion that this Bulgar fable is most likely a post-Renaissance invention, though dating when it was concocted proves difficult to

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[39] The Bulgars or "mixed people" (Chen 2003-2004: 1) had first been mentioned in Byzantine records around 480 CE (Curta 2006: 53), and may have come west with the Huns, either as a member of their confederation or due to the force of the "domino effect" that the Hun migration had on other nomadic peoples such as the Indo-Iranian Alans (*ibid.*). There is also some evidence that their name may be cognate with that of the Buluoji mentioned in Chinese annals during the sixth century CE Xianbei and Wei periods, who had, like the Tu-yü-hun been part of the earlier Xiong-nu confederation (Chen 2003-2004: 69).

[40] Bauer (2010: 322) references Bury ([1889]1966: II. 332) as her source. However, upon inspection Bury (*ibid.*) does not mention a "bundle" fable, and says merely that Nicephorus and Theophanes appear to have drawn their stories from the same source as to the khan and his wish for his sons not to break from one another. What Bury (*ibid*) does suggest, seemingly absurdly, is that Kubrat and the Croatian founder Chrobatos were the same figure, based solely on the similarity of names and having five sons who migrated. This may well be a Byzantine trope for describing the origins of barbaric peoples from these regions, but it certainly does not suggest that the Bulgars and Crobati were of the same origin.

trace. Most importantly, the way in which it came to be imagined in an older Byzantine context most likely stems from an interpretation of the events of Kubrat Khan's death recorded both by Nicephorus in another text, the *Brevarium* (35.89-90) and that of his contemporary Theophanes' *Chronographia* (497), in which the king evokes his sons to preserve concord between themselves.[41] Thus, in reference to the compararative study of mythic patterns, what this Bulgar "bundle" can teach us is that because of the imporantance of this fable both during the middle ages in both Turkic-Mongolian and Mediterranean cultural spheres as well as its recurrent political usages in modern times, that it can be readily reapplied in order to lend an air of primal legitimacy to modern politcal ideology.

d. Chapter Three and Four Synthesis: Integrating other Variants.

Having explored to this point the intercultural history of this fable pattern, we should now attempt to chronologically and spatially integrate various other versions of the "bundle" fable into an overall picture of transmission between its two major Classical and Inner Asian branches during this same period. In Chapter Four it was mentioned that there is an Arabic version of this a fable which has strong ties to the regions of Central Asia. This variant is given in relation to the Umayyad general al-Muhallab, who upon his deathbed illustrates such an allegory to his sons with arrows, exhorting the bond of kinship which "…prolongs the allotted span, multiplies wealth and increases numbers" (al-Ṭabarī II 1081-1082; Ulrich 2008:165). In relation to the intercultural value of the creation of this Arabic "bundle" variant, it should also be noted that al-Muhallab campaigned principally in Central Asia, being made governor of Khorasan in 702 CE, following his father's ascent to the position in 698 CE (Humphreys 1990: 45 n. 74). Khorasan, it should be noted was the main route by which silk and ideas were traded through Sogdian merchants between Byzantium, the Sasanids, China, Inner Asia, and the succeeding Hephthalite and Göktürk presences in the regions of Sogdiana during the sixth and seventh centuries CE (de la Vaissière

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[41] In both of the works in question, Kubrat Khan does indeed address his five sons on his deathbed and begs then to preserve their εὔνοια (good will, concord) (*Chron.* 497; *Brev.* 35.89-90) after he is gone. Thus in some ways this εὔνοια would seem to distantly echo Porphyrogenitus' ὁμοψυχία, the *Augustana*/Babrius ὁμοφρονῆτε and Plutarch's (Mor. VI.511c) ὁμόνοιαν, and suggests a similar lexical context to the "bundle" fable pattern. However, following these events, the five sons do not heed this injunction, and split from one another, which is used aetiologically by the historians to explain the several different tribes of Bulgars existing in their own time (*Chron.* 497; *Brev.* 35.89-90). In light of these events, and with awareness of the moral of collectivity involved, it would not appear to difficult for a "bundle" fable to be imagined as taking place at this time.

2005: 232), and thus represents a truly liminal zone in which many possibilities present themselves as to the fable's inception in Arabic lore. The proximity of the fable's creation to this period is cemented by the fact that al-Ṭabarī (1081-1082) attributes it to an account by the seventh century CE poet and collector of tales al-Muffadal (Ulrich 2008: 165). Most importantly, it should be noted that al-Ṭabarī's fable appears to share far greater affinity with the versions of this fable found amongst the nomads of Inner Asia than either prior Abrahamic (see **App. 9**) or Aesopic traditions. Most important in determining this is the use of arrows and the presence of the father's deathbed in this version of the fable pattern (Tab. II. 1082; Crone 2005: 51), which is largely in keeping with the nomadic means for rendering this fable (cf. Molé 1970: 6; *ON* 39; Luther 2001: 167). Due to the frequent reiteration of its pattern amongst the Turkic-Mongolian peoples such as the Oguz and Seljuk descendants of the Göktürks, who were very active during this period, even if their "bundle" fables were not transcribed until much later (see Chapter Four), an Inner Asian origin for this fable would seem the strongest possibility.

Even more significantly, due to the presence of such a fable as this in Islamic lore, we may then further suggest that this may have later affected the choice to include, omit or even emphasise its presence by Persian historians such as Juvaynī and Rashīd al-Dīn during their transcription and composition of the histories of the Türks and Mongols. In order to substantiate this we should note that Boyle (1958: 41 n. 7) in his translation of Juvaynī's *The History of the World Conqueror* notes that Qazvini's edition of the text includes an addendum comparing this Chingis fable with that of the al-Muhallab specifically, though Boyle (*ibid*) himself is aware that the story of Alan Qo'a (see Chapter Four) cements the Mongol fable's authenticity within Mongolian tradition itself. We have also seen in Chapter Four that Juvaynī made comparison with the Persian hero Rustem in reference to Chingis' "bundle" fable in order to legitimise the wisdom and strength of the Mongols for a Persian audience. Thus, as was mentioned also in Chapter Four, we may approach Rashīd al-Dīn's minority omission of the *Saljūq-nāma* "bundle" fable from at least two possible positions. If we suggest that the basis of this omission was a perceived closeness to the tale of al-Muhallab, then we should also recall that this fable pattern is absent from Rashīd al-Dīn's works on the Mongols, which would seem to further support such a theory. In comparison, the notion that it was omitted because of a perceived

repetition due to Rashīd al-Dīn already having included a very similar pattern of fable in his *Oguz-Nāme* (see Chapter Four) would seem far less likely, as we must recall that this Oguz fable is perhaps the most different of all the "bundle" fables under scrutiny.

Further, in relation to the eighth century dating of the proposed mural featuring *The Farmer and His Quarrelling* Sons at Panjikant, it should be noted that Umayyad Islamic invaders appear to have burned the palace and its murals in 722 CE following the defeat of Dēwāshtīch, the last Türco-Sogdian ruler in the region (Şirin 2010: 54). It does not appear that the city was rebuilt or reinhabited before c. 740, due to the devastation this caused and the subsequent economic depression (de la Vaissière 2005: 272-273). This would seem to place the mural at a very particular junction in history before the end of the Türco-Sogdian fusion of elites in Sogdiana and the hiatus created by increased prosperity and peacefulness under the Islamic rule of Naṣr bin Sayyār (al-Ṭabarī II.1717-1718; de la Vaissière 2005: 272-273).[42] Nonetheless, the Parthian and Sogdian versions of this fable would appear far more closely related to the *Augustana* tradition and its key elements of lack of deathbed, rods and the father as farmer than any nomadic Inner Asian forms. The issue of "cattle sticks" in the Parthian variant and its lack of deathbed certainly suggest this. The mural at Panjikant, comparatively, is far more opaque, though the father is clearly sitting aside from his sons, and that which they are pictured with are clearly staves of some sort, and not arrows. It must be also noted here again that Maršak (2002: 89) was unsure as to whether this fable was even a variant of the "bundle" type at all, or some other unknown fable. However, until another fable is proposed, further debates

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[42] Comparatively, we should note that some of Panjikant (temple II) had previously been partially destroyed c. 457 CE, then rebuilt and greatly expanded by the Hephthalites who appear to have constructed permanent barracks there, and appears to have been largely undamaged during the Göktürk invasion (Marshak and Raspopova 1990: 182; de la Vaissière 2005: 111). Much of Sogdiana along with Khwārezm appears to have been steadily conquered between 705 and 715 CE by the Arabic general Qutayba bin Muslim, who also temporarily took Chāch and Ferghāna (Grenet and de La Vaissière 2002: 155-156). Although by 721 CE relations between the Muslim invaders under Saʾīd al-Khudnaya, and the last of the Türco-Sogdian rulers of Ustrushana Gūrak and Dēwāshtīch seem to have been somewhat indifferent (*ibid.* 157ff), the replacement of Saʾīd al-Khudnaya with the arrival of the more severe Saʾīd al-Ḫarashī in June 722 CE appears to have precipitated a series of events in which much of the local Sogdian nobility in Ustrushana fled to Khujand and were massacred in late July of 722 CE (*ibid.* 162-173, 178). The rest appear to have joined the last Türco-Sogdian ruler of Panjikant, the now self-appointed "King of Sughd and Lord of Samarqand" Dēwāshtīch, who was subsequently defeated by Abī al-Sarī at Mount Murgh in August 722 CE, after failing to convince both the Türkic Türgesh people and ruler of Ferghāna to lend him assistance (al-Ṭabarī II. 1440-1447; Grenet and de La Vaissière 2002: 170-178).

remain difficult, though the suggestion of a "bundle" fable, most likely of Aesopic origin, would not seem to possess any discernable contradictions with the mural at hand.

Further, the presence of fragments of several other sixth to eighth century CE Sogdian language fables from Turfan in Xingjian also with close Aesopic analogues, such as *The Monkey Elected King of the Animals* (Chambry ed. 1925-1926: §38; Perry ed. 1936: §81; Marshak and Negmatov 1996: 254; Durkin- Meisterernst et al. 2009: 4-7),[43] suggest that Greek tales may have been brought into the Xingjian region from Sogdiana, which as mentioned in Chapter Four, in relation to Panjikant, was a melting pot of Greco-Roman, Iranian and Indic influences at this time (Marshak and Negmatov 1996: 254). This is reinforced also by Old Türkic manuscript fragments of a *Vita Aesopi* and the fable *The Two Dogs* (Chambry ed. 1925-1926: §175; Perry ed. 1936: §132)[44] from the tenth-eleventh century CE also found at Turfan, suggesting transmission of the Aesopic tradition took place over a long period in this region (Marshak and Negmatov 1996: 254; Durkin-Meisterernst et al. 2009: 8-10). Thus diffusion of the *Augustana* from Byzantium by Manichaean merchants into Sogdiana and then the Tarim Basin Silk Road would seem a highly arguable possibility. The simple and moralistic nature of Aesopic fables would seem to have made them a very widely applicable resource for Manichaean teachers, as they later were for Christian sermons during the European Renaissance,[45] especially when placed in the mouth of Mani to the "king of Tūrān" (see Chapter Three). Thus in the case of this Parthian fable it would certainly seem likely that what we have is an example of an intercultural phenomenon wherein the wisdom of the fable is introduced to a nomad ruler, who we must recall in the Inner Asian world, is the key deliverer and narrative

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[43] Adrados and Van Dijk (2003: 110-111) say of *The Monkey Elected King of the Animals*- also titled *The Fox and the Monkey*, that it was most likely of Egyptian origin and has a long association with the Classical Tradition through imitation of the "cunning" fox of Archilocus (*Epod.* frag. 6 *ap.* Adrados and Van Dijk 2003: 111), mentioned by Aristophanes (*Ach.* 120ff), Cassius Dio (LV.10) and many others, and later taken up as a model by the Renaissance fabulists. It does not appear to have an Indian variant, though there is a similarly named story with no connection told by the Assamese in Northern India (Goswami 2005: 1252).

[44] *The Two Dogs* has been traced by Adrados and Van Dijk (2003: 122-123) back to fragments of Archilocus (frag. 128 *ap.* Adrados and Van Dijk 2003: 123; cf. Ar. *V.*894ff) and the metrical qualities of the now entirely lost work of Demetrius Phalereus. It also appears to have no known equivalent in India.

[45] Cf. **App. 10** for Christian appropriations of this fable as moral *exempla*.

source of this fable's allegory in all variants except that of the Mongol matriarch Alan Qo'a (see Chapter Four).

e. Chapter Three and Four Synthesis: The Wisdom of Chingis Khan in the Renaissance.

After dealing with these examples of intercultural overlap in Sogdiana, we now turn to discussions of the rising awareness of this fable pattern in Western Europe during the renaissance and its strong initial connections with the wisdom and legitimacy of the Mongol Empire. Hayton of Corycus' thirteenth century CE *Flos Historiarum*, as was discussed at the end of Chapter Four, marks the first intimations in western literature since Plutarch's Scilurus of the importance of this fable pattern amongst Inner Asian nomadic dynasties. This reintroduction of the "bundle" fable to Western Europe prefigures and was most likely more widely known than any Aesopic variant during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries CE. In explaining this, Chingis Khan's association with the "bundle" fable was not limited to Hayton's attempt at reforming the image of the Mongols for political ends (Burger 2001: 70 see Chapter Four). Hayton's work was vastly popular in several languages including Latin, French and English beyond its original immediate purpose- as a work of entertainment and key to building Western romanticised conceptions of the Mongols and the East (Burger 2001: 70; Yeagher 2001: 159-160).[46] In many ways the fulfilment of this wider secondary value that the text held was its use in the composition of the vastly popular fifteenth century CE portmanteau of texts, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (Yeagher 2001: 159-160), which notably made use of Hayton's "bundle" fable (Moseley 1983: 20). Mandeville's view of the Mongols in many ways creates: "…a nearly utopian society that serves as a foil for to what he viewed as the corrupt world of Christendom" (Strickland 2003: 201). In regard to the use of this variant of the fable specifically, it has been suggested: "the moral could well serve as an *exemplum* for the warring Christian kings who Mandeville castigated in the prologue" (Tzanaki 2003: 195).[47] Thus, as with Hayton, the choice of including the "bundle' fable appears to be made

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[46] Bedrosian (2004: 7) in his introduction to the text writes of its apparent structure and purpose: "Without Book IV, Het'um's work is an interesting account of Asian, Middle Eastern, and Mongol history and geography, to be categorized with accounts of 13th century European visitors to the East. With Book IV, Het'um's *Flowers of History* enters the ranks of Crusader literature."

[47] Tzanaki (2003: 181) says earlier on this topic: "Some tales, such as that of the Khan's sons and the sheaf of arrows…are used to point out various morals in the best Orosian tradition of historical exemplum".

in order to emphasise the justice and wisdom of the Mongol rulers. This fable is given in *Mandeville* as:

> "When the Great Khan had conquered the land of Cathay, and had put many other lands under his rule, he fell very ill and was sure he would not recover from that sickness, but die of it. So he had called before him his twelve sons, and told each to bring one arrow, which they did. He then told them to bind them tightly together, with three thongs, and they did as they were told. When they were so tied together, he told his oldest son to break them; he tried and could not. He told another son to break them, and he could not either. He told eleven of his sons to do this, but none of them could break tied together. At last he said to his youngest son, 'Son, go and untie those arrows from each other, and break each one on its own.' He did as he was told and broke them one after the other. Then the king asked his sons why he could not break them, and they replied that they were so tightly tied together that they could not. The Emperor then answered, "How then could your youngest brother so easily do it?' 'They were untied from each other,' they said. 'Just so,' said their father, 'will it be with you. For as long as you are knit together with the three bonds of love, loyalty and agreement, no man in this world will be able to fight you and annoy you; but as soon as the knot of these bonds is undone, that is, as soon as you are divided and struggle with one another, you will be routed and destroyed. And if you steadfastly love one another you will be lords of all nations.' And he died soon after he had instructed his sons in this way and made arrangements for his empire on the advice of the great lords of his kingdom." (*Mand.* 24. 148 Moseley trans. 1983).

Jean d'Outrouse, too, in his five volume *Myreur de Histoire*, which encompassed the entirety of world history, also chose to include this fable in relation to Chingis and his deathbed (V. 185 *ap.* Tzanaki 2003: 195), of all the possible content he could have chosen from, further centralising the role of this fable and the perceived wisdom and justice of the Mongols in Renaissance historiography. In spite of nineteenth century accusations that d'Outreuse was the actual author of *Mandeville*, we must agree that d'Outreuse was largely responsible for the *Mandeville* manuscript tradition which came to be circulated in continental Europe (Moseley 1983: 3), and therefore forms a clear line of descent. This would appear to emphasise this fable's importance as a

moral *exemplum* to be reused, but not separated from the Mongols.[48] Nevertheless, this is where this line of descent for the Mongol fable would appear to end textually. The Greek Aesopic tradition, also returning to Western Europe at this time, which will be explored imminently, would come to have far greater social and historical consequences, yet as we delve into this, it must be remembered that Greek learning during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries CE was open only to a very small scholarly audience (Kristeller 2003: xiii-xiv). In comparison, Hayton, Mandeville and d'Outrouse were very widely translated and disseminated texts. For this reason, during this period the Mongol fable would most likely have been far more widely known than any Greek Aesopic or nascent Latin Aesopic tradition. However, following the ascent of Greek learning and the greater availability of texts through the rise of the printing press, this branch of the fable tradition was to become eclipsed. The modern concoction of the Bulgar "bundle" fable is perhaps the only exception to this, and as described, has proven a viable assumption to many scholars based on the long connection between this fable pattern and the nomadic peoples of Inner Asia.

f. Discussion and Concluding Remarks: Aesop and the *fasces.*

These areas of intercultural overlap having been discussed, I would now like to turn my attention to the final and most complex problem- a study on the "bundle" fable and how it came to be linked with the Roman *fasces.* As we move now towards discussions of the transmission of Aesop in the West it should be remarked that *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* occurs in nearly all the major Aesopic manuscripts of Class I, or the *Augustana* (also called P), with very few differences between them.[49] This suggests that this fable was well known throughout Byzantine times and entered the corpus at an early date, most likely from Babrius (see Chapter Three), and thereafter lost its deathbed element. Rather, it was Class III (also called class L), or the *Recensio Accursiana*, which was most likely the personal redaction of the scholar Maximus Planudes from the *Augustana* corpus that was to have the most impact on Renaissance conceptions of Aesop (Perry 1936: 75; Cifarelli 2002: 441).[50] The

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[48] See **App. 8** regarding the rather baseless speculation that Mandeville's "bundle" fable was used later by Lydgate in his *The Serpent of Division.*

[49] Perry (1936: 94) shows that Pa, Pb, Pc, Pe, Pg all possess this fable. Hausrath (1957: 73-75) gives three slightly different versions from these major manuscripts and others, in which only the occasionally choice of words differs.

[50] Despite this recension's common name, it did not gain this until after it was printed in Ancient Greek by Bonus Accursius in 1479 (Barker 1992: 31).

Recensio Accursiana manuscripts were largely popularised in the West by translations into Latin via scholars such as Rinnucio d'Arezzo and after 1424 his student Lorenzo Valla (Cifarelli 2002: 441). Both Rinuccio and Valla's works, however, unlike those of other Aesop scholars of the early fifteenth century CE were printed rather than hand-written, and remained thoroughly influential throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries during this nascent re-emergence of the Aesopic corpus in the West (Cifarelli 2002: 443).

Thus, it is curious to note the fact that both of Rinuccio and Valla's[51] collections contained the fable of *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons*, though they appear to have drawn their sources from different Greek texts (Rem. XXXI. p. 247 cf. Val. IV. p.73-74; Cifarelli 2002: 440-442). If the language used by these two scholars is compared, the most interesting aspect which appears to emerge is their choice of terminology in their descriptions of the "*ῥάβδων δέσμην*" ("bundle of rods") of the fable. These choices implicate the first determinable connection between the *fasces*, their *virgae* (rods) and *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons*. However, we should be mindful that in both cases the term *fasces* is used singularly, as one would expect for translating *δέσμη* into a Latin equivalent for "bundle", and that the Roman *fasces* were a *plurale tantum* (naturally plural entity).[52] Thus at this stage such choices of wording would appear unconscious of the political connections with Roman symbolism, which as will be shown, were later to develop.

In exploring this in detail we find Rinnuccio in his *Agricola, et Filii Eius* write (XXI. p. 247): *"jussit pater virgarum fascem coram deportari…."* ("the father ordered a bundle of sticks to be brought before him") and later repeat the term when he begins a sentence with *"soluto fasce"* ("the bundle having been loosed") (XXXI. p. 247). In comparison Valla in his *De Agricola et Filiis Eius* (IV. p.73-74) prefers the diminutive term *"fasciculum"*: *"jussit fasciculum virgarum sibi auferri"* ("he ordered a small bundle of sticks to be brought to him"). He in turn repeats this term when he later adds: *"colligavit omnes in unum fasciculum"* ("he gathered them all in a single small bundle") (IV. p. 74). With regard to dating, Rinuccio's edition was completed in

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[51] See **App. 1** for original Latin texts.
[52] Traupman (2007: 179) gives *"fascis"* m. bundle, pack, parcel, burden, load, fagot; mpl. the *fasces*, high office, consulship.

1448, but was not printed until 1474. Valla's selection of thirty-three fables was most likely translated during the 1420's, in comparison, but was not printed until at 1472 (Cifarelli 2002: 441-444). Following these early editions, both works were translated into many other European languages almost immediately, and Rinuccio's Latin collection accompanied Accursius' first printed Greek edition (Cifarelli 2002: 443). This shows that whilst Greek was still a language open to a very small academic community at this time (Kristeller 2003: xiii-xiv), it was the Latin translations which were of greater immediate influence to this fable's audience during this formative period. Despite this, other contemporary and prior usages of this same fable also existed in print during the Renaissance period, such as the *Dialogus Creaturarum* and the *Opusculum Fabularum*, but they do not appear to contain any reference to the word *fasces*. Further analysis of these and their interrelation with the Aesopic tradition may be found in **App. 10**. These versions were not as well distributed as Rinnuccio and Valla's, and most importantly, it is demonstrable that vocabulary such as the "*fasciculum*" first used by Valla in his Latin translation regularly recurred from the fifteenth century CE onwards in Latin texts of Aesop (Barlow 1687 62 p. 125; Clarke 1787 XXXVIII), most likely because of his initial influence. This fact is key to the further mythology which was to develop in regard to this fable and the Roman *fasces.*

Having dealt with the most probable inception of the origins of connections between *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* and the *fasces* under Rinuccio and Valla, it is now apposite to attempt to pursue further developments which took place prior to the rise of its association with twentieth century Fascism, and the most famous embodiment of the *fasces* as a symbol of unity by Benito Mussolini, who wrote in 1932: "the *fascio littorio* [is a] symbol of unity, force and justice" (Francese 2007: 123). The first of these is the ideology of the French Revolution, during which from 1792 Roman Republican symbolism such as the Phrygian cap and the *fasces* were used in order to partake in the older Roman mythology of liberty from the monarchy (Doyle 1990: 246). As well as this it is curious to note how Anacharsis Cloots, a Prussian and major orator of the Revolution also describes in a 1793 speech how "Reason will unite all men in one representative *fasces*, with no other connection than epistolary correspondence. This will be the true republic of letters" (Meslier 1970: 501). Roman Republican tradition in relation to the *fasces* would not seem to be

able to rationalise this reading of collectivity on its own, however, especially the element of equating individual rods in the bundle to men- something symbolically appropriate only to the *Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons.* As was shown earlier in Chapter Three, the *fasces* were to the Romans a symbol of power. The control of this symbol by the people and the mythology of the Valerian Law and Early Republic were indeed connected with notions of the people possessing control over justice and political decision making, but there is no express mention made in antiquity of power through collectivity in regard to this symbol. In order to explain this equating of the *fasces* with the symbolism of the *Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* beyond its nascence under Valla and Rinuccio, perhaps we should look to Michel Foucault's ([1976]1980b: 142-143) oft cited analysis that the French Revolution brought with it an unprecedented change in the way the body, individual, power and politics were to be viewed from a new collective perspective:

> "For the first time in history, no doubt, biological existence was reflected in political existence; the fact of living was no longer an inaccessible substrate that only emerged from time to time, amid the randomness of death and its fatality; part of it passed into knowledge's field of control and power's sphere of intervention." (Hurley trans. 1980).

To Foucault ([1976]1980b: 142-143) all previous authority had been grounded in the ability to inflict death. This began to change into an ability to control life-force on a massive collective scale:

> "Power would no longer be dealing simply with legal subjects over whom the ultimate dominion was death, but with living beings, and the mastery it would be able to exercise over them would have to be applied at the level of life itself; it was the taking charge of life, more than the threat of death, that gave power its access even to the body." (Hurley trans. 1980).

Further, central to this overlaying of symbols, so it would seem, is the line of descent of the predominant *Augustana* branch of the fable- shorn of the deathbed element, and accompanied and reinforced by the proletarian nature of the farmer. Without the necessitation of the imminence of death, the moral of collectivity merely stands as

bio-political fact. There is no power to hand over- it simply *exists* in the emerging mythological space of the modern state and its individual and collective "rods."

Following on from this, the symbolism of the collective *fasces*, like the revolutionary song the Marseillaise, was retained by various socialist movements throughout the nineteenth century who desired to imitate the French Revolution's spirit (De Man 1928: 144). This included the Second International, where the *fasces* were used to demonstrate a universal socialist state in Europe, in order to quell factionalism amongst groups at the time (Callahan 2010: 176). There were also a number of important Sicilian collectivist groups in the 1890's which called themselves *fasci* (Falasca-Zamponi 2000: 95; Maer 2008: 7-8), though the connection between the name and Roman symbolism appears to have been the later work of Mussolini and his own *fasci* (Falasca-Zamponi 2000: 95; Francese 2007: 123). In the United States, due too to its adoption of Roman Republican and French Revolutionary symbolism against tyranny, we also find the *fasces* considered in a collective context (Cohen 1985: 209), as well as the commonly held belief that the *fasces* surrounding the Lincoln monument derive from an 1843 address by Abraham Lincoln in which the *Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* was invoked against factionalism in the Whig party (Bray 2010: 201).[53]

More recently in the United States we find the Aesopic "bundle" once again reappropriated and invoked in connection with the Roman *fasces* in relation to questions of private land ownership, collective legal rights and environmental responsibility for the "green wood" of the "bundle of sticks" (Goldstein 2004: 35-36; 49-50). Goldstein (2004: 35-36) traces the "bundle" fable's allegory as a metaphor for the agglomeration of mutually enforcing government granted rights involved in owning private property back to the Ohio case of *The United States vs. Cole* in the mid nineteenth century (Goldstein 2004: 36) and its popularisation under 1920's US Supreme Court Justice Benjamin Cardozo (1928: 129), who is his work *Paradoxes of Legal Science* writes: "the bundle of power…is not constant through the ages…the faggots must be put together and rebound from time to time". Most likely the bases

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[53] Debates over what appears an Iroquois "bundle" fable and its influence on the formation of the US constitution may be explored further in **App. 12** of my thesis.

for such a conflation of symbols as this were the same influences from the French Revolution exerted on the formation of the US Republic, which has been discussed above. Moreover, prerequisites to this in the regarding of property rights as a "bundle" without allusions to Aesop or the *fasces* also appear to have been generally common in nineteenth century America (Goldstein 2004: 35-36), forming a solid base upon which the comparison was to emerge.

Thus, in may then be concluded that it was through this series of inheritances of political mythology: the Roman Republic, the French Revolution, Socialism, Fascism and more recently Ecology that the *fasces*, once having come to take on a collectivist agenda through confusion between the "bundle" fable and itself, that such a reading of the Roman symbol was to be retained and viewed as always having represented such due to the power and simple elegance seen to be inherent in this combination. Thus this belief has been actively reappropriated by each modern group, in turn attempting to imitate the former, and may well continue to be imitated by collectivist movements, as they too add themselves to this long history of political reappropriations. Most importantly, as I have endeavoured to show throughout this thesis, whilst the history of the "bundle" fable displays very strong evidence for it having been Inner Asian in origin, we should not prioritise this, but rather the reception and intercultural evolutionary process in itself, by which history and traditions come to be created and constantly renewed.

Chapter Six: Appendices.

App. 1 Original Texts and Translations of Additional Material.

Chapter One.

"Forsitan et quaeras cur sit locus ille Lupercal, quaeve diem tali nomine causa notet. Silvia Vestalis caelestia semina partu ediderat, patruo regna tenente suo;is iubet auferri parvos et in amne necari…sustinet impositos summa cavus alveus unda…alveus in limo silvis adpulsus opacis…venit ad expositos, mirum, lupa feta gemellos…non nocuisse parum est, prodest quoque….Marte satos scires: timor abfuit. ubera ducunt…illa loco nomen fecit, locus ipse Lupercis…" (Ov. *Fast.* II. 381-421).

"Arcades, et luna gens prior illa fuit. Vita feris similis, nullos agita per usus…" (Ov. *Fast.* II.290-291).

"Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis locis ubi expositi ubique educati erant urbis condendae…atque inde foedum certamen coortum… ut di quorum tutelae ea loca essent auguriis legerent qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt… Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex voltures; iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo se ostendisset… Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur; ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit. Volgatior fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo…interfectum" (Liv. I.6).

"…inter duos lucos est asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis sine discrimine, liber an seruus esset, auida novarum rerum perfugit, idque primum ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Cum iam virium haud paeniteret consilium deinde viribus parat" (Liv. I.8).

"….[ἐποίησεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνάθημα τῆι Ῥώμηι ἀπὸ δραχμῶν Ἀλεξ[ανδρείων χιλίων - -C. 6-8 - - πε]- ριέχον τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ κτιστοῦ τῆς Ῥώ[μης Ῥωμύλου καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ] αὐτοῦ Ῥημοῦ· V καθ'ἥν συμβέβηκεν αὐτοὺ[ς ὑπ'αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἄρεος γεννηθῆναι,] ἤ καὶ ἀληθὴς δικαίως ἄν νομίζοιτ' εἶναι δ[ιὰ τῆν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνδρειότη-] τα. VV ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅπλων [κατασκευῆς τῶν τεθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ] δημοῦ τοῖς νικήσασι τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγ[ῶνας καὶ ἐφρόντισεν ὅπως ἐγχαρα-] χθῶσιν εἰς αὐτὰ μύθοι πρὸς δόξαν Ῥωμα[ίων…]" (*SEG* XXX. 1073 *ap.* Salvo 2013: 126-127 *ap.* Salvo 2013: 126-127).

"Tu criminis auctor nutritus duro, Romule, lacte lupae: tu rapere intactas docuisti impune Sabinas" (Prop. *Eleg.* II. 6.19-20).

"...ut ipsi ferunt conditores suos lupae uberibus altos, sic omnem illum populum luporum animos inexplebiles sanguinis, atque imperii diuitiarumque auidos ac ieiunos habere" (Just. *Epit.* XXXVIII.6.7-8).

Chapter Two.

"ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἠπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτηδεοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὄρεα θηριωδέστατα: τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ ἑωυτοῦ

συνδούλῃ, οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε Κυνὼ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακώ: τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι" (Hdt. I.110.1).

"*Τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός. ἤϊέ τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἦτέ οἱ τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. Οἱ δὲ τοκέες παραλαβόντες τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκέῃ τοῖσι Πέρῦσησι περιεῖναί σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε. Ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε*" (Hdt. I.122.3).

"The name of the king of the Wu-sun is Kun-mo. Kun-mo's father, Nan Dou Mi was originally allied with the Da zou-zhi, who ruled a small country between mount Qi Lian and Dunhuang. The Da zou-zhi attacked Nan Dou Mi and killed him, taking his country, but the population took asylum with the Xiong-nu. Meanwhile, Na Dou Mi's son, Kun-mo, had just been born. Bu Jiu Ling, his surrogate father, embraced Kun-mo and fled with him. On his flight he put the baby into the grass and departed to search for food. When he returned he noticed a wolf giving its milk to the baby, and a crow with meat in its beak flying in the vicinity. Bu Jiu Ling, thinking that the baby might be a divine being, picked him up and surrendered him to the Xiong-nu. Zhang-qian raised Kun-mo with much care. And when the child had grown up he entrusted him with his father's people. He also entrusted him with the leading of troops, and Kun-mo distinguished himself repeatedly in warfare….when Kun-mo's power became stronger he personally begged Chan-yu to take revenge for his father's death….Kun-mo took the population by force, remained in the county and settled there…when Chan-yu finally died he took this as an opportunity to cease his allegiance to the Xiong-nu. The Xiong-nu dispatched soldiers to attack him, but they could not defeat him. They thought that he might be a divine being and so they moved far away" (Bangu *Han Shu* 1962.2691-2692 Jila trans. 2006: 164).

"There is a folk-tale to the effect that a Hsiung-nu [sic] named Tan Yü [Father] who begat two daughters, who were so beautiful that people took them for goddesses. Tan Yü said, 'With these two daughters, how can I find husbands good enough for them? I'll present them to heaven.' So he built a tall tower in the north of the country where no one lived, and put his two girls on top of it, saying, 'I invite heaven to receive them'…After a year an old wolf [*lang*] came and prowled about the base of the tower in the deep of the night and howled… the younger daughter said, 'Our father puts us here in order to present us to Heaven [sic]. Now that this wolf has come, perhaps it is a divine being, sent by Heaven [sic]. And with this she started to climb down. Her older sister cried, 'That's a wild animal, not fit to become a mother-in-law with.' But the younger girl disregarded her words and descended to become the wolf's wife. She gave birth to a son. In later times this progeny multiplied into a whole country. That is why these people like to sing songs which sound like a wolf's howl" (*Pei Shi ap.* White 1991: 135-136).

"(§1) *Mongqol-un niuča to[b]ča'an. Činggis qahan-nu huǰa'ur de'ere tenggeri-eče ǰaya'atu töreksen Börte-činō aǰu'u gergei inü Qo'ai-maral aǰi'ai Tenggis ketülǰü irebe Onan-müren-nü teri'ün-e Burqan-qaldun-na nuntuqlaǰu [1b] töreksen Batačiqan aǰu'u*" (Ligeti ed. 1971: *SHM* §1).

Chapter Three.

"*Ὡς δέ τινες ἱστοροῦσι καὶ τοὺς δώδεκα πελέκεις ἐκόμισαν αὐτῷ λαβόντες ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως ἕνα. Τυρρηνικὸν γὰρ εἶναι ἔθος δοκεῖ ἑκάστου τῶν κατὰ πόλιν βασιλέων ἕνα προηγεῖσθαι ῥαβδοφόρον ἅμα τῇ δέσμῃ τῶν ῥάβδων πέλεκυν φέροντα: εἰ δὲ κοινὴ γίνοιτο τῶν δώδεκα πόλεων στρατεία, τοὺς δώδεκα πελέκεις ἑνὶ παραδίδοσθαι τῷ λαβόντι τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχήν*" (Dion. Hal. III.61.2).

"...me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse quibus et apparitores hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde ...et numerum quoque ipsum ductum placet, et ita habuisse Etruscos quod ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint" (Liv. I.8).

"…ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν: ἥδε δὴ ἠὼς εἶσι δυσώνυμος, ἥ μ' Ὀδυσῆος οἴκου ἀποσχήσει: νῦν γὰρ καταθήσω ἄεθλον,τοὺς πελέκεας, τοὺς κεῖνος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἑοῖσιν ἵστασχ' ἑξείης, δρυόχους ὥς, δώδεκα πάντας: στὰς δ' ὅ γε πολλὸν ἄνευθε διαρρίπτασκεν ὀϊστόν" (Hom. *Od.* IX. 570-575).

"Idus tum Maiae sollemnes ineundis magistratibus erant. Inito igitur magistratu primum honoris diem denuntiatione ingentis terroris insignem fecere. Nam cum ita priores decemuiri seruassent ut unus fasces haberet et hoc insigne regium in orbem, suam cuiusque uicem, per omnes iret, subito omnes cum duodenis fascibus prodiere. Centum uiginti lictores forum impleuerant et cum fascibus secures inligatas praeferebant; nec attinuisse demi securem, cum sine prouocatione creati essent, interpretabantur. Decem regum species erat, multiplicatusque terror non infimis solum sed primoribus partum" (Liv. III.36).

"**Γεωργοῦ παῖδες στασιάζοντες.** Γεωργοῦ παῖδες ἐστασίαζον. Ὁ δὲ, ὡς πολλὰ παραινῶν οὐκ ἠδύνατο πεῖσαι αὐτοὺς λόγοις μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἔγνω δεῖν διὰ πράγματος τοῦτο πρᾶξαι, καὶ παρήνεσεν αὐτοῖς ῥάβδων δέσμην κομίσαι. Τῶν δὲ τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιησάντων, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δοὺς αὐτοῖς ἀθρόας τὰς ῥάβδους ἐκέλευσε κατεάσσειν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ πᾶν βιαζόμενοι οὐκ ἠδύναντο, ἐκ δευτέρου λύσας τὴν δέσμην, ἀνὰ μίαν αὐτοῖς ῥάβδον ἐδίδου. Τῶν δὲ ῥαδίως κατακλώντων, ἔφη· Ἀτὰρ οὖν καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ παῖδες, ἐὰν μὲν ὁμοφρονῆτε, ἀχείρωτοι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔσεσθε· ἐὰν δὲ στασιάζητε, εὐάλωτοι. Ὁ λόγος δηλοῖ ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἰσχυροτέρα ἐστὶν ἡ ὁμόνοια ὅσον εὐκαταγώνιστος ἡ στάσις" (Perry ed. 1936: §53).

"Ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἦν ἀνὴρ ὑπεργήρως, εἶχεν δὲ πολλοὺς παῖδας· οἷς ἐπισκήπτων (ἔμελλε γὰρ δὴ τὸν βίον τελευτήσειν) ἐκέλευσε λεπτῶν, εἴ τις ἔστι που, ῥάβδων δέσμην ἐνεγκεῖν. ἧκε τις φέρων ταύτην. 'πειρᾶσθε δὴ μοι, τέκνα, σὺν βίῃ πάσῃ ῥάβδους κατᾶξαι δεδεμένας σὺν ἀλλήλαις.' οἱ δ' οὐ γὰρ ἠδύναντο· 'κατὰ μίαν τοίνυν πειρᾶσθ'.' ἑκάστης δ' εὐχερῶς καταγείσης, 'ὦ παῖδες, οὕτως' εἶπεν 'ἢν μὲν ἀλλήλοις ὁμοφρονῆτε πάντες, οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ὕμας βλάψαι δύναιτο, κἂν μέγιστον ἰσχύῃ· ἢν δ' ἄλλος ἄλλου χωρὶς ἦτε τὴν γνώμην, πείσεσθ' ἕκαστος ταὐτὰ τῇ μιῇ ῥάβδῳ.'.[Φιλαδελφία μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις, ἣ καὶ ταπεινοὺς ὄντας ἧρεν εἰς ὕψος.]"(Babrius §47).

"Σκιλοῦρος ὀγδοήκοντα παῖδας ἄρρενας ἀπολιπὼν, ἐπεὶ τελευτᾶν ἔμελλε, δέσμην ἀκοντίων ἑκάστῳ προτείνων ἐκέλευε καταθραῦσαι: πάντων δὲ ἀπαγορευσάντων, καθ' ἓν αὐτὸς ἐξελὼν ἀκόντιον ἅπαντα ῥαδίως συνέκλασε, διδάσκων ἐκείνους, ὅτι συνεστῶτες ἰσχυροὶ διαμενοῦσιν, ἀσθενεῖς δ' ἔσονται διαλυθέντες καὶ στασιάσαντες" (Plut. *Mor.* 174f).

"Σκιλοῦρος δὲ καταλιπὼν ὀγδοήκοντα παῖδας , ὁ Σκυθῶν βασιλεύς, ᾔτησε δέσμην δορατίων, ὅτ' ἀπέθνῃσκε, καὶ λαβόντας ἐκέλευσε καταθραῦσαι καὶ κατεάξαι συνδεδεμένην καὶ ἀθρόαν ὡς δ' ἀπεῖπον, αὐτὸς ἓν καθ' ἓν ἕλκων πάντα ῥαδίως διέκλασε: τὴν συμφωνίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν ἰσχυρὸν ἀποφαίνων καὶ δυσκαθαίρετον, ἀσθενὲς δὲ τὴν διάλυσιν καὶ οὐ μόνιμον" (Plut. *Mor.* 511c).

("Scilurus the king of the Scythians, leaving behind eighty sons, asked them for a bundle of stems/spears, when he was about to die. He ordered them to take these and break them and to snap those that had been bound together and bundled. Thus they say that he himself took them one by one and easily broke all of them, showing that harmony and concord are strong and indestructible and that separation and lack of unity is weak.")

"Μάντιες δὲ Σκυθέων εἰσὶ πολλοί, οἳ μαντεύονται ῥάβδοισι ἰτεΐνῃσι πολλῇσι ὧδε· ἐπεὰν φακέλους ῥάβδων μεγάλους ἐνείκωνται, θέντες χαμαὶ διεξελίσσουσι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν

ἑκάστην ῥάβδον τιθέντες θεσπίζουσι ἅμα τε λέγοντες ταῦτα συνειλέουσι τὰς ῥάβδους ὀπίσω καὶ αὖτις κατὰ μίαν συντιθεῖσι" (Hdt. IV.67.1).

Chapter Four.

"(35. 9) Аңуң атï Улуҕ Тÿрÿк ӭрдï. Кÿн (36.1) лäрдä бïр кÿн yikyдä бïр алтун (.2) ja кöрдï макï ÿч кÿмÿш ok кöрдï. Бу алтун (.3) ja кÿн тokyшïдан дä кÿн батушï- (.4) ҕача тӭ(к)кäн ӭрдï, макï бу ÿч (.5) кÿмÿш ok тÿн jaңҕakka кӭтä (.6) турур ӭрдï. Yikyдун соң тÿштä кöр- (.7) ҕäнïн Оҕуз каҕанҕа бïлдÿрдï. (.8) Такï дӭдï кïм ai каҕанум сӭнгä (.9) jaш(a)ҕу болс(ун)гïл узу(н). (Ai Каҕан)ум сӭнгä (37.1) тöрÿлÿк болс(ун)ïл тÿзÿн, (бӭнгä кöк) (.2) тӭңрï бӭрдï тÿшÿмдä, кӭлдÿрсÿн. Талаи (.3) турур jӭрнï уруҕуңҕа бӭрдÿрсÿн, (.4) дӭб дӭдï. Оҕуз Каҕан Улуҕ Тÿрÿк- (.5) нÿн сöзÿн j(a)кшï кöрдï, öгÿдÿн (.6) тïлäдï. Огÿдÿгä кöрä кïлдï" (*ON.* Shcherbak ed. 1959: 35.9-37.6).

"(38.1).....Кÿн (.2) Ai, jулдуз таң сарïҕа сӭнлäр баруң.(.3) Кöк, Таҕ, Тӭңïз тÿң сарïҕа сӭн- (.4) лäр баруң дӭб дӭдï.... Андан соң ÿчäгÿ- (.5) сÿ таң сарïҕа бардïлар, макï ÿчäгÿ- (.6) сÿ тÿн сарïҕа бардïлар. Кÿн, Ai, (.7) jулдуз кöб кïклäр кöб кушлар авлаҕу- (.8) ларïдан соң jолда бïр алтун jaнï (.9) чаптï(лар), алдïлар атасï(ҕа бӭрдïлäр). (39. 1) (Оҕуз Каҕан сӭбïндï, кÿлдï макï анï (.2) ÿч бузҕулук кïлдï макï (аïммï)кïм ai aka- (.3) лар ja болсун сӭнлäрнÿң, ja дäг (.4) окларнï кöккäчä атуң дӭб (.5) дӭдï. Кӭнä андан соң Кöк, Таҕ, (.6) Тӭңïз кöб кïклäр, кöб кушлар авлаҕу- (.7) ларïдан соң jолда ÿч кÿмÿш ok (.8) (нï) чаптïлар, алдïлар атасïҕа бӭрдïläр. (.9) Оҕуз Каҕан сӭбïндï, кÿлдï макï ok- (40.1) ларнï ÿчÿгä ÿläштÿрдï, макï аïммï (.2) (к)ïм ai iнïläр оклар болуң сӭнläр- (.3) нÿң. ja аттï окнï. Оклар дäг (.4) сӭнläр болуң дӭб дӭдï" (*ON.* Shcherbak ed. 1959: 38.1-40.4).

"(§18) *Urida Dobun-mergen-eče töreksen Belgünütei Bügünütei qoyar kö'üt inü eke-yü'en Alan-qo'a-yin ečine ügüleldürün [11a] ene eke bidanu aqa de'ü üye qaya gü'ün ügei ere üge<i>'üi bö'etele ede qurban kö'üt töre'ülbi ger dotora qaqča Ma'aliq Bayya'udai gü'ün büyüü ede qurban kö'üt te'ünü'ei büi ǰe ke'en eke-yü'en ečine keleldüküy-yi eke anu Alan-qo'a uqaǰu.* (§19) "*[11b] Qabur niken üdür köngšilemel qonin činaǰu Belgünütei Bügünütei Buqu-qatagi Buqatu-salǰi Bodončar-mungqaq ede tabun kö'üd-iyen ǰergelen sa'ülǰu niǰi'el müsüt ququlutqun ke'eǰü ökbe niǰi'el-i ya'u bayyi'ulqun ququčiǰu o'orba [12a] basa tabun müsüt qamtu ču[q]laǰu quyulutqun kēǰü ökbe tabu'ula tabun čuqtai müsüt gü'üeldün bariǰu bitü'ülǰü ququlun.*" (§20) *[12b] Tende Alan-qo'a eke inü ügülebi:* "*Ta Belgünütei Bügünütei qoyar kö'üt minü namayi ede qurban kö'üd-i töre'ülbi ken-ü ya'un-u kö'üt büyyü ke'en sereldün keleldümüi sereküi-ber tanu ǰöb!* (§21) *[13a] Sönit büri šira če'ügen gü'ün ger-ün erüge dotoqa-yin gegē'er oroǰu ke'eli minü biliǰü gege'en inü ke'eli-tür minü šinggegü büle'e qarurun naran sara-yin kili-yer šira noqai metü širbalǰaǰu qarqu büle'e. Deleme yekin ügület ta tewüber uqa'asu temdek inü tenggiri-yin kö'üt büyyü ǰe qara teri'ütü [13b] gü'ün-tür qanilqan yekin ügület ta qamuq-un qat bolu'asu qaračus tende uqat ǰe,*" *ke'ebe.* (§22) *[14a] Basa Alan-qo'a tabun kö'üt-te'en söyü'er üge ügülerün:* "*Ta tabun kö'üt minü qaqča ke'eli-eče törebe ta tuqar-un tabun müsüt metü qaqča qaqča bolu'asu tere niǰi'el müsüt metü ken-e ber kilbar-a ququldaqun ta tere čuqtai müsüt metü qamtu niken eyeten bolu'asu ken-e ber kilbar-a yekin bolqun ta,*" *ke'ebi [14b] atala Alan-qo'a eke anu ügei bolbi*" (Ligeti ed. 1971: *SHM* §18-22).

Chapter Five.

"*Ex illis unus et alter ait: 'at quam sunt similes! at quam formosus uterque! plus tamen ex illis iste vigoris habet. si genus arguitur voltu, nisi fallit imago, nescioquem in vobis suspicor esse deum*" (Ov. *Fast.* II. 395-398).

"**Γεωργὸς καὶ παῖδες αὐτοῦ.** *Γεωργός τις μέλλων καταλύειν τὸν βίον καὶ βουλόμενος τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας πεῖραν λαβεῖν τῆς γεωργίας, προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἔφη· Παῖδες ἐμοί, ἐγὼ μὲν ἤδη τοῦ βίου ὑπέξειμι, ὑμεῖς δ' ἅπερ ἐν τῇ ἀμπέλῳ μοι κέκρυπται ζητήσαντες, εὑρήσετε*

πάντα. Οἱ μὲν οὖν οἰηθέντες θησαυρὸν ἐκεῖ που κατορωρύχθαι, πᾶσαν τὴν τῆς ἀμπέλου γῆν μετὰ τὴν ἀποβίωσιν τοῦ πατρὸς κατέσκαψαν. Καὶ θησαυρῷ μὲν οὐ περιέτυχον, ἡ δὲ ἄμπελος καλῶς σκαφεῖσα πολλαπλασίονα τὸν καρπὸν ἀνέδωκεν. Ὁ μῦθος δηλοῖ ὅτι ὁ κάματος θησαυρός ἐστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις" (Perry ed. 1936: §42).

"Ἰστέον ὅτι ὁ Μοραβίας ἄρχων Σφενδοπλόκος ἀνδρεῖος καὶ φοβερὸς εἰς τὰ πλησιάζοντα αὐτῷ ἔθνα γέγονεν. Ἔσχε δὲ ὁ Σφενδοπλόκος αὐτὸς τρεῖς υἱοὺς, καὶ τελευτῶν διεῖλεν εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν. καὶ τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀνὰ μιᾶς μερίδος κατέλιπεν, τὸν πρῶτον καταλείψας ἄρχοντα μέγαν, τοὺς δὲ ἑτέρους δύο τοῦ εἶναι ὑπὸ τὸν λόγον τοῦ πρώτου υἱοῦ. Παρήνεσε δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ μὴ εἰς διάστασιν καὶ κατ'ἀλλήλων γενέσθαι, παράδειγμα αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτον ὑποδείξας· ῥάβδους γὰρ τρεῖς ἐνεγκὼν καὶ συνδήσας, δέδωκεν τῷ πρώτῳ υἱῷ τοῦ ταύτας κλᾶσαι. τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἰσχύσαντος, πάλιν δέδωκε τῷ δευτέρῳ ὡσαύτως, καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ εἶθ' οὕτως διαιρῶν τὰς τρεῖς ῥάβδους δέδωκεν τοῖς τρισὶ πρὸς μίαν· οἱ δὲ λαβόντες καὶ κελευθέντες ταύτας κλᾶσαι, εὐθέως αὐτὰς κατέκλασαν. Καὶ διὰ τοιούτου ὑποδείγματος παρήνεσεν αὐτοὺς εἰπών, ὡς ὅτι 'Εἰ μὲν διαμένετε ἐν ὁμοψυχίᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ ἀδιαίρετοι, ἀκαταγώνιστοι παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων, καὶ ἀνάλωτοι γενήσεσθε· εἰ δὲ ἐν ὑμῖν γένηται ἔρις καὶ φιλονεικία, καὶ διαχωρισθῆτε εἰς τρεῖς ἀρχάς, μὴ ὑποκείμενοι τῷ πρώτῳ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ ὑπ'ἀλλήλων ἀφανισθήσεσθε, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιαζόντων ὑμῖν ἐχθρῶν παντελῶς ἐξολοθρευθήσεσθε.' Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σφενδοπλόκου ἕνα χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διατελέσαντες, ἔριδος καὶ στάσεως ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐμπεσούσης πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ποιήσαντες, ἐλθόντες οἱ Τοῦρκοι τούτους παντελῶς ἐξωλόθρευσαν, καὶ ἐκράτησαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν, εἰς ἥν καὶ ἀρτίως οἰκοῦσιν. Καὶ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες τοῦ λαοῦ διεσκορπίσθησαν προσφυγόντες εἰς τὰ παρακείμενα ἔθνη, εἰς τε τοὺς Βυλγάρους, καὶ Τούρκους, καὶ Χρωβάτους, καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη" (Const. Porph. *De Admin.* XLI).

"**XXXI. De Agricola, et Filiis.** *Agricola quidam complures habuit filios continua seditione discordes, ac ejus admonitionis perpetuo negligentes. Cum forte una domi omnes sederent, iussit pater virgarum fascem coram deportari, atque natos coepit hortari, ut integrum fascem disrumperent. Cum igitur fascem cum totis fortibus frangere non possent, genitor praecepit, ut soluto fasce singulatim frangerent virgas. Cum quisque facile hoc perficerent, tunc facto silentio, pater ait eis: siquando animis idem sentietis, nati mihi charissimi, nec ab inimicis superari poteritis; sed si inter vos seditiones servabitis, qui volet is facile vos perdet. Adfabulatio: fabula significat, quod fortior est unio quam seditio, quae est imbecillis*" (Rem. *Fab.* XXXI. p. 247).

(trans. "A certain farmer had a number of sons who were quarrelling in continuous argument and who were always ignoring his warnings. When, by chance, all of them were sitting in the same house, the father ordered a bundle of sticks to be brought before, and began to exhort his children to break the whole bundle. Thus when they were unable to break the bundle will all of their might, the father ordered, the bundle having been loosed, that they should break the sticks singularly. When each of them achieved this easily, then, when there was silence, the father said to them: 'If ever you are of the same opinion in your minds, o my dearest sons, you will not be able to be overcome by your enemies; but if you continue quarrelling amongst yourselves, anyone who wants to would destroy you as easily as this'. Moral: this fable shows that unity is stronger than dissention which is weak").

"**IV. De Agricola et filiis ejus.** *Agricola suos filios videns quotidie digladiantes, neque in gratiam* reducere potis esset, *jussit fasciculum virgarum sibi auferri, (aderant autem filii illic sedentes) quae cum allatae essent, colligavit omnes in unum fasciculum, et jussit singulos eorum fasciculum capere, atque confringere. Illis vero confringere non valentibus, solvens postea fasciculum, tradit singulas virgas eis fragendas, atque illis statim fragentibus, intulit: ita quidem et vos, o filioli mei, si unanimes invicem perstiteritis, inexpugnabiles vos hostibus, invictosque praebebitis: sin minus vestra ipsa aemulatio, atque seditio opportunam vos praedam inimicis faciet. Adfabulatio: Haec fabula innuit aeque res humanas capere vel a concordia incrementum, vel a discordia jacturum*" (Val. *Fab.* IV. p.73-74).

 (trans. "A farmer, noticing that his sons were always fighting, and that he was not able to restore them to peace, ordered a small bundle of sticks to be brought to him (also the sons were present sitting there), which when they were brought to him, he collected all of them into a single small bundle and ordered them one by one to take hold of the small bundle and to break it. They not being strong enough to break it at all, after loosing the small bundle he gave singular sticks to them to break, and they at once snapping them, he said: 'This is just how you are, o my small sons, if you are of one mind and stick together, you will be indomitable to your enemies and you will remain undefeated. But if you are anything less, your very jealousy and quarrelling will make you opportune prey to your enemies. Moral: This fable vindicates the notion that human affairs can just as easily derive benefit from concord as they can derive loss from discord").

App. 2 Queries on Some Other Wolf Myths.

a. Hyperboran Leto.

In this first appendix I would like to address some lesser known classical myths from the fringes of the Mediterranean world which are rarely discussed by scholars and appear to form a mythopoeic network between the myth of Romulus and Remus and those of Anatolia and the Inner Asian world. However because many of these are somewhat poorly attested and do not represent clear transmission paths, as stated in Chapter Five, I believe that they may be integrated into the comparative aspect of this thesis, but do not provide concrete answers in regard to cultural interplay between the two cultural spheres I am investigating. The first of these is the influence the myth of Hyperborean Leto may have played in the formation of wolf-nursing myths amongst the Romans, Etruscans and other Mediterranean peoples. According to several references from the time of Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* in the mid-fourth century BCE, which most likely are merely echoing his initial account (Arist. *Hist. An.* U3r; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 919d; Ael. *De Nat. An.* IV.4), Leto, the mother of the gods Apollo and Artemis, was connected with she-wolves due to the analogy of the difficultly of both in giving birth over a period of twelve days. The basis of these connections is a myth that Leto was said to have arrived from the mythic northern country of Hyperborea in the form of a she-wolf to avoid persecution by Hera, finally coming to the shrine of Delos to give birth (Arist. *Hist. An*. U3r; Plut. *Mor.* 919d). Little has seemingly been written on this myth, but its possible implications for wolf-nursing myths in the Ancient Mediterranean and the prospect of linking these with the Scythic civilisations living in the regions north of Greece and Italia deserves some careful consideration. Recently Kingsley (2011: 45) has said, perhaps overgenerously, of this myth:

> "Ancient and modern writers have battled to make sense of the story, which is so easy to understand when we bear one little detail in mind: the legends of the Mongols as well as other Central Asian people about how originally they had been born from a wolf in the most remote and sacred regions of their land".

In order to comprehend not only the links involved in this myth but also the difficulties inherent in making sense of it, firstly it would seem necessary to describe the history and context of the ideology of Hyperborea ("Land Beyond the North

Wind") and its association with the Letoids in detail. To the Greeks and later the Romans, much of the world north of them, under the influence of Boreas (the north wind) was generalised as cold, foggy and was famed for the men and animals there being of gigantic stature due to the perceived harshness of climactic conditions (Hom. Od. XI. 13-17; Hippoc. Aer. 15-21; Verg. *Georg.* III.350-383). Although some prominent scholars such as Bolton (1962: 118,176) and Bridgman (2004: 77-81) have attempted to square Hyperborea with fixed geographical locations such as China and the early Celtic Regions of Europe, the concept of Hyperborea and how it was to evolve in Greco-Roman thought is perhaps far more subtle than this deserves a more comprehensive investigation. It is imperative to note that the first references to Hyperboreans are found in the fragments of Hesiod (Hes. *Cata.* frag. 40a) and the sixth century BCE Ionian poet Ananius (frag. 1).[1] The former refers to them as "well-horsed", suggesting that they might be a nomadic people such as the Scythians, and the latter as equivalent to the Scythians (Bridgman 2004: 21). As has been discussed in detail, wolf-imitation and canine ethnonyms appear to have been very widely spread amongst Scythic peoples, but we do not possess any wolf-nursing myths from within the bounds of their cultures themselves (see Chapter Two), with which to compare this myth and possibly abstract it prior to Greek interpolation.

As was discussed in Chapter Five, the penetration of "Scythic" peoples into Central Europe and the suggested Eurasian continuum their contiguous cultures between China and the lands north of Italy produced during the period of the sixth and fifth centuries BCE would seem key to the notion of developing intercultural exchange of motifs between both cultural spheres. Most importantly, this same period,

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[1] *"Ἄπολλον, ὅς που Δῆλον ἢ Πυθῶν' ἔχεις ἢ Νάξον ἢ Μίλητον ἢ θείην Κλάρον, ἵκεο καθ' ἱρὸν ἢ Σκύθας ἀφίξεαι."* "Apollo, you who perhaps are in Delos or Pytho or Naxos or Miletus or holy Klaros, come to your temple, or go to the Scythians". The suggestion by Gerber (1999: 521) that for Apollo to go to the Scythians is merely a threat to the god that he might end up being scalped, a well known Scythian custom, would seem an absurd reading of this. The seventh century BCE "Hyperborean" sage Abaris (Hdt. IV.36), who travelled around the world on an arrow, is referred to as a "Hyperborean Scythian" in the *Suda* ("Abaris"), strongly suggesting another early link romanticising the Scythians. There is no reference to Hyperboreans in Homer or the general works of Hesiod. Although Herodotus (IV. 32) suggests that they were familiar with them, none of this has come down to us, and moreover Homer's work in which they were said to have been described the *Epigoni*, is doubted as authentic by Herodotus (IV. 32). As to whether the legendary Greek traveller amongst the nomads, Aristeas, knew anything of the Hyperboreans, Herodotus' (IV. 13) catalogue of northern peoples which he appears to draw straight from Aristeas would seem to suggest this. However, the nature of these Hyperboreans is not stated and thus cannot be answered, except by the suggestion that vegetarianism was already associated with them during Herodotus' time, due to a contemporary of his, Hellanicus claiming this (fr. 187b *ap.* Bolton 1962: 71-72). Whether this applied to Aristeas' Hyperboreans cannot be determined.

it should also be emphasised, is that in which the first two images of nursing wolves are found in Etruria (see Chapter One). In truth, though, there is almost no documented evidence of interaction between the Scythian and Etruscan cultures, except that which seemingly has come through Greek colonies in Italia or around the Black Sea (Green 1995: 347).[2] In the same way the goddess Leto was known as Letum to the Etruscans and the worship of her and her children Artemis and Apollo is well testified (Bonfante and Swaddling 2006: 73), yet this too remains thoroughly Greek. For this reason we are left unable to answer whether Scythic or Greco-Scythic myth had any direct influence on Etruscan myth and the wolf-nursing images in question, which were to give rise to the myth of Romulus and Remus through Praeneste (see Chapter One). We can only tentatively suggest the transmission of specific motifs regarding this Eurasian continuum, until more evidence is uncovered.

b. The Leto Myth and Its Historical Context.

Despite this, as we shall see, the historical context of the Hyperborea to which Aristotle in the mid fourth century BCE attributes the Leto-wolf myth is a very different one from these early Scythic Hyperborean references.[3] Key to the first determinable example of such changes is the work of Pindar during the early fifth century BCE- *Pythian X*, traditionally ascribed as his first patronised poem in 498 BCE, when he was only twenty years old (Hornblower 2011: 101).[4] It is in this that we first find reference to the later popular idea of the Hyperboreans as a faultless people beyond the Greek conception of northern conditions- dwelling in a Utopian society with a perfect climate and visited often by their patron deity Apollo (Pind. *Pyth.* X. 27, *Ol.* III. 12).[5] For this reason, this form of Hyperborea would appear very

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[2] Even statuettes and vase paintings of mounted Scythian archers, or possibly Amazons, found in Etruria from the sixth century BCE onwards appear more Greek than Scythian (Sulimirski 1985: 193; Milleker 1992: 62).

[3] Heraclides of Pontus, a contemporary of Aristotle, has Hyperboreans raid Rome during 327 BCE rather than Gauls (fr. 49 *ap.* Kupreeva 2009: 96). This only adds to the confusion of assembling a cogent image of what this term meant at this time.

[4] Bolton (1962: 71) claims that this new idyllic Hyperborea, in which the life span of its inhabitants is a thousand years was Pindar's own invention, though we may still ask whether *Pythian X*'s contents on the Hyperboreans might precede him. However, we have no intervening evidence, except nominal scraps by Alcman (fr. 59 *ap.* Bolton 1962: 40) regarding the Rhipean mountain range, where Bolton (1962: 41, 118) believes Aristeas placed the cave of Boreas, and from Alcaeus (fr. 307) who connects Apollo with flying to the Hyperboreans using a chariot drawn by swans where he stays delivering laws to them for a year. This would appear an aetiological myth connected with migratory birds.

[5] We may see similar geographical conceptions regarding the "fringes" of the Greco-Roman world such as the Ethiopians (*Il.* I. 424-425, XXIII. 205, *Od.* I. 22-24) and Thracians and northern nomads in Homer (XIII. 3-7) and other northern peoples such as the Argippaei in Herodotus (IV. 23). Key to

much a Greek cultural construct, causing subsequent interactions with northern peoples to be viewed through this lens. This is especially suggested by Herodotus' (IV. 32) comments to the effect that neither the Scythians nor the nomadic Issedones whom the sage Aristeas visited appeared to know anything of the Hyperboreans.[6] This means that if we are to sift through the elements of the Leto wolf-myth, we must be aware of these upper layers of narrative strata and the difficulty this provides.[7]

To the contrary, however, we do have the other side of this relationship documented by the Greeks, which is intrinsic to developing our knowledge on both Leto and Hyperborea. Herodotus (IV. 30-33) tells us that efforts were made by Hyperboreans to visit and send sacrifices to Delos via middle men in order to venerate the goddess of easy birth *Eileithyia*, a retrojective form of her daughter Artemis, who had aided Leto in her travails.[8] He also mentions the graves of several Hyperborean maidens at Delos who had died there after their long journey, which during his time still received sacrifices, as did their male companions the *perpherees* (Hdt. IV. 31-33).[9] There are also later references of many Greek shrines being founded by Hyperborean travellers (Paus. III. 13.2, V. 7.6-9, X. 5.7-9). Nevertheless, what these stories can tell us is very limited. We cannot know who these people were, or when

understanding this is the Classical notion that the further one moved away from the *oikoumene* (conventional inhabitable portion of the world), the further back in time one went, until at the borders, both "soft" and "hard" forms of primitivism dominated the Greco-Roman imagination (Romm 1994: 46-47). Homer's (Il. XIII. 3-7) description of Zeus turning his attentions away from Troy to the Thracians and other just northern peoples who are the most just of men and live on milk appears to have evolved, at least before the time of Strabo (VII.3.2-7; Aesch. *ap.* Stabo. VII. 3.7; Antiphanes *ap.* Athen. *Deip.* 226d) into a perception of such northern peoples as being naturally Pythagorean, not eating meat and being conflated into the Hyperborean Utopia myth that begins determinably with Pindar.

[6] For that matter no Greek is ever recorded, aside from Perseus who flies there on his winged sandals in Pindar (*Pyth. X.* 29-35), as ever visiting Hyperborea, and moreover its unreachable remoteness appears to have been regarded as proverbial (Homeric Hymn to Dionysus 7. 27).

[7] Further, although there have been some efforts to suggest Inner Asian (or more particularly "Siberian") strata exist within the confines of both Artemis as "mistress of the animals" (Rostovtseff 1914: 462-81; Burkert 1979: 78-98; Ginzburg 1992: 211) and Apollo as lord of shamanic ecstasy (Meuli 1975: v. 2. 826; Kingsley 2011: 42-44), these debates remain extremely general and to a point ahistorical and tend not to take into account that such deities came into being from many different sources over long periods of time (cf. Burkert 1985: 143-151). Moreover, specific Inner Asian aspects are very hard to deduce from amongst the others.

[8] Herodotus doesn't mention Leto in conjunction with Delos at this point, which is curious. However, we know that connections between Leto and giving birth on Delos go back as far as Homer (*Od.* VI. 162-167).

[9] Pausanias (I. 31.2) records a similar story about Hyperboreans sending sacrifices to a temple at Prasiai, near Athens, showing that such myths could be reappropriated, most likely due to the lack of recent interaction with these people. He also lists a temple to *Eileithyia* built by Hyperboreans who came to Athens with Leto (I. 18.5).

they visited because they have been attributed to a mythic atemporal period. Key to this is Herodotus' (IV. 31-32) further qualification that sacrifices still came to Delos from Hyperborea through a great many middle men, suggesting that no one had met with a Hyperborean during his time or for quite some time.[10] Indeed even Olen of Lycia, the legendary poet who both Herodotus (IV. 35) and later Pausanias (V. 7. 709, IX. 27.2, X. 5. 6-9) cite as the originator of this notion of Hyperboreans coming to Delos and Delphi, and the oldest of the Greek hymn writers remains "a shadowy figure" unable to be dated to any specific period (Keen 1998: 4-5). Thus, even if some northern people were the original possessors of this wolf myth, akin to Indo-Iranian or later Turkic-Mongolian ones or otherwise, the *interpretatio Graeca* of its conflation with Leto and Hyperboreans at Delos has removed this myth so far from its original context that it would seem impossible to say much of it at all.[11]

It is imperative to note, as we look into this, that at this point during this same fourth century BCE period of Aristotle, the association between Leto, her persecuted wanderings and wolves extends to Lycia in Anatolia, where it was to become a much more widely discussed tradition than that of Hyperborean Leto (Ov.

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[10] Some prefer the etymology *hyperpheroo* (transport) over *hyper* + *boreas* (beyond the north wind) in relation to the story in Herodotus of their passing of votive gifts to Delos via the agency of other peoples (Hdt. IV.32-33; Bolton 1962: 195; Romm 1992: 65). It also must be remarked that Thrace was "…the route by which the Hyperboreans were said to have sent their mysterious presents" (Boardman 1964: 242), where Herodotus (IV.32) cites very similar sacrifices involving straw being made. Herodotus (IV. 33) further records that this form of veneration by Hyperboreans and also by Thracians was made to her also under the name of Royal Artemis, which suggests that Thracians themselves were the most likely origin of such sacrifices and this aspect of the Hyperborean legend.

[11] Moreover, even the idea of Leto's transformation into a wolf and wandering from Hera's persecution remains suspect within the bounds of the Greek tradition itself. This idea of Leto's wandering before coming to Delos to give birth is first attested in the *Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo* 3. 2ff, which is very hard to date accurately as it may be composed of several conflated hymns (Janko 2007: 99-115). Within it there is no mention of persecution by Hera- only her jealous absence. Persecution appears only to have become an integral part of myth during the third century BCE (Call. *in Del.* IV. 51). Thus, Aristotle's mentioning of Hera's persecution in conjunction with the wolf myth forms perhaps the earliest known example of this idea. Aristotle is also adamant that in recording the myth, whilst he does not believe it, he is merely echoing what other people say (Arist. *Hist. An.* VI. 35 U3r). Thus we cannot determine who his source was or how old in fact it was either. It should also be noted that Aristotle's works that have come down to us are most summaries and were not available to the general public before the first century BCE (Lloyd 1968: 15). Like many of his lesser works, a later student may have added elements to these (*ibid.*), such as this wolf-myth anytime before these works became publicly available. Moreover, if we are to search for a possible model for this myth, we should perhaps look to that of Io, who wandering as a cow transformed by Zeus to avoid Hera's wrath in the unknown northern regions, addresses Promethius in the fifth century BCE *Promethius Bound* (Aesch. *PV.* 561-609). What does shine through in spite of all these very good grounds for assuming this myth is a Greek construct is the connection between Leto and wolves itself.

Met. VI. 317-381; Ant. Lib. 35.3).[12] The story in question states that after the birth of Artemis and Apollo at Delos, Leto continued to wander to Lycia where she was rejected by everyone, save for a pack of wolves (Ov. *Met.*VI. 317-381; Ant. Lib. 35.3). As a result, she rewarded the wolves by changing the country's name from Termila to Lycia to honour them (Ov. *Met.*VI. 317-381; Ant. Lib. 35.3). This story is cited as stemming back to Menecrates of Xanthos in the fourth century BCE, and later to Nicander of Colophon in the second century BCE (Ant. Lib. 35.3), though both of these texts are now lost. Before we discuss this, however, it is also necessary to speak a little about the importance of "wandering" myths in themselves. To the Greeks and later the Romans, wandering characters such as Odysseus and Heracles appear to have been easily "given away" and reappropriated in locations where there was a perceived connection between them and local beliefs (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002: 157). This seems especially so with regard to the "fringes" of the *oikoumene* (conventional inhabited world), such as the Black Sea region, Italia, Africa and Asia Minor (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002: 157-159). This wandering aspect in reference to Leto determinably begins with the catalogue of places where she was worshipped in the *Hymn to Delian Apollo* (III.2), each of which in turn rejects her, seemingly just so that the Delians may accept her and claim priority over other sanctuaries. Such a structure appears to have found its way, by the late fifth century or early fourth century BCE into emphasising her cult in Lycia instead of Delos, where she became associated with the predominant goddess of the country, who was most likely a remnant of an earlier Late Bronze Age Luwian deity (Bryce 1983: 1-13).

This Leto connection with Lycia and wolves, upon inspection, appears to merely be one amongst many similar Greek myths, none of great antiquity (Bryce 1983: 4-5). Moreover, such myths possess little in the way of proper narrative and rather seem little more than attempts to explain the name of Lycia through the Greek etymology of Lycia= *lykos* (wolf) by invoking wandering culture heroes as the agents of this change from its previous name of Termila. Such etymological myths include the Athenian migrant to the region Lykos (Hdt. I. 173; Paus. I. 19. 3) and the hero Bellerophon, who having killed the Chimaera in the country, set about exterminating

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[12] By at very least Apollonius Rhodius' (*Arg.* II. 671) time in third century BCE we may see that Lycia and Hyperborea are characterised as Apollo's two favourite homes. Therefore the coalescing of their myths would seem natural.

a band of young Lycians (Alex. Polyhist. frag. 84 *ap.* Steph. Byz. "Τρεμίλη"; Appolod. *Bib.* II.3.2).[13] In order to explain these links, it appears that by calling this region Lycia, the Greeks may in fact have been preserving remnant traditions of its older Hittite name *Lukkawanna* (Lukka Lands) (Bryce 1983: 5; Melchert 2008: 46; Binsburgen and Woudhuizen 2011: 237).[14] Curiously, in reference to the previous Luwian inhabitants of this region, we should also note that mid-second millennium BCE Hittite texts refer to the Luwians as *"Lu-mesh-Ur-bar-ra"* (dog-men-outside) and also the existence of a Hittite general Lupakku (wolf-man), whose name may in fact be Luwian (Eisler 1969: 132, 144).[15] Thus, associations such as these would seem to suggest some connection between wolves and the Luwian people prior to Greek aetiologies. Whether this was on the part of the Luwians themselves, as *lukka* may have meant wolf in their language (Eisler 1969: 132; Kershaw 2000: 140-141) and was exacerbated by the Hittites in order to emphasise their "otherness", or whether it was purely a Hittite invention due to animosity between these peoples and Hittie concepts of the wolf remains difficult to deduce (see Chapter Five).[16] Either way, this would seem to represent a far older wolf association than the arrival of Leto and her children into Lycia during its fifth century BCE period of Hellenisation.[17] Whether or

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[13] The reason why the region was renamed this by Bellerophon remains very unclear. Servius (*ad. Aen.* IV.377) also gives a strange story that a plague of wolves struck Lycia, and that it was given this name by Apollo after they wiped out all the other wild animals and prevented Diana from hunting.

[14] The earliest reference to the "Lukka" people is found on an Egyptian obelisk at Byblos which appears to read "Kukkunis son of the Lycian" (van Binsbergen and Woudhuizen 2011: 231 n. 480). There is much debate on the extent of these "Lukka lands". Bryce (2005: 54-56) includes Pamphylia and Lycaonia (which could represent a close approximation of Hittite *Lukkawanna*) and Yakubovitch (2010: 134) merely the region which later came to be called Lycia by the Greeks. Melchert (2008: 46) asserts that it is equally arguable that the later Lycian language shared a proto-Luwian ancestor with Late Bronze Age Luwian as the idea that it was a direct descendant of Luwian.

[15] "*Ur-bar-ra* " for that matter is also found in reference to the damning of outlaws as wolves (Eisler 1969: 144).

[16] White (1991) in his concept of universal "otherness" in relation to the dog and wolf in Eurasia does not mention the Hittites or Luwians at all.

[17] We also find Apollo's epithet "Lycius/Lyceius" (of the wolf/of twilight/of Lycia) used in several ways by ancient writers, though this deity appears to have been worshipped mostly around the city states of the Corinthian Isthmus (Graf 2009: 98-99) rather than Lycia. For that matter, the patronage of Sarpedon (Hom. *Il.* XVI.667-683) and Glaucos (Hom. *Il.*XVI. 527-532) would appear a personal one, not one connecting worship of the Letoids with Anatolia during the archaic period. Aeschylus (*Agam.* 1257) in the fifth BCE century has Casandra refer to Apollo as Lycian and is perhaps one of the earliest Greeks to do so. Comparatively such connections begin to increase only much later after this. Sophocles (*El.* 6) calls him *lykoktonos* (wolf-killer). Servius (*ad Aen.* IV. 377) attempts to explain this title by saying that Apollo was called this due to his slaughter of the Telchines of Crete whilst dressed as a wolf. Pausanias (II.19.3-4) mentions that the first sanctuary to Apollo Lycius was built by Danaus when he came to Argos, having been assured victory by the god through an omen associating his lone nature with that of a lone wolf that attacked a flock of sheep there. At Delphi there was also a bronze statue of a wolf in honour of Apollo, as a wolf had aided in locating buried treasure stolen from the sanctuary (Paus. X. 14.7). Moreover, Apollo was also said to have been brought laurel from Tempe in

not merely coincidental cognate terms for "wolf" in Greek and Luwian were responsible, i.e. *lukka* and *lykos* (Eisler 1969: 132; Kershaw 2000: 140-141),[18] and not conscious knowledge of earlier history or ongoing wolf myths in the region on the part of the Greeks is difficult to determine. However, this forms the most valid possibility available to find a connection between Leto and wolves. Most important remains the fact that both this Lycian Leto myth and that of Hypeborean Leto belong to the same period. However, due to the greater amount of evidence in relation to Lycia and the seeming silence on the part of writers except Aristotle on this myth during the first millennium BCE, one might assume that the Lycian wolf connection should precede that of Hyperborea and that the latter is merely a Greek construct with its basis in the Lycian Leto myth, the reappropriation of wandering deities, and the Letoids' connection with Hyperborea. The only suggestion otherwise to support the Hyperborean myth's prioritisation is Apollo's Iliadic (Hom. *Il.* IV. 101) title *lukogenes* (wolf born?/ light born?) (Ruck 1992: 233), though there is no commentary to the effect that it is connected with wolves in antiquity and it is never tied to Aristotle's myth in question.

c. A Milesian Wolf-Myth.

This, nevertheless, was not to be the end of the Leto wolf myth's trajectory in Anatolian history. In fact, during Hellenistic times at Miletus in Asia Minor it appears to have come to form a synthesis with the Romulus and Remus myth in order to imitate the Roman founding story and the legitimacy inherent in it during Rome's rise to power. In the mid-second century BCE works of the aforementioned Nicander of Colophon, who as we have seen also wrote a version of the Lycian Leto myth (cf. Ant. Lib. 35), a wolf-nursing myth in conjunction with Miletus, the eponymous founder of the city and a son of Apollo is given in his second book under the story of Biblis.[19] This reads:

Thessalia (later seemingly coincidentally called Lykostomo= "wolf's mouth" in Byzantine times cf. Reclus et al. 1892: 226) by a wolf after slaughtering Python at Delos (Serv. *ad. Aen.* IV. 377). He was also said to have kidnapped and slept with Cyrene in the form of a wolf (Serv. *ad. Aen.* IV. 377). Most of these are fairly late attestations.

[18] Eisler (1969: 132) and Kershaw (2000: 140-141) add the Anatolian Lycaonians and Iranic Hyrcanians as other peoples who seem to have possessed lupine ethnonyms. However, whether wolf tribal names were widely spread amongst Anatolian peoples as they were amongst the Scythians (see Chapter Two), whilst an inviting idea, remains difficult to prove.

[19] The abandonment and exposure of Ion, the ancestor of the Ionians and the son of Apollo may also have had an influence on this myth (Eurip. *Ion.* 19).

"The child Miletus, of Apollo and Akakallis, the daughter of Minos, was born in Crete. Akakallis, fearing Minos, exposed him in the forest. Some wolves, coming upon him, took care of him by the order of Apollo. And by turn they nursed him. Then some herdsmen came by chance and took over and brought him up in their houses" (Ant. Lib. 30).[20]

As we may see, this myth seems to include elements of not only wolf nursing and raising by herdsmen (Romulus and Remus), but also the older connections to packs of wolves at the Letoids described above. Nicander inherited the position of priest of Apollo at Klaros from his father (Nic. *Th.* 958 *ap.* Gow and Scholfield 2010: 3),[21] and flourished during the last of the Attalid kings of Pergamum in Anatolia (Nic. fr. 104 *ap.* Gow and Scholfield 2010: 3), before the kingdom was willed to the Romans in 133 BCE (Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* XIV. 1-3; Kosmetatou 2003: 159-174). This puts Nicander in a position in which the myth may very well represent either an attempt to equal or to copy Rome. As we know, the Romulus and Remus story was already well established during this time (see Chapter One) and would have been a highly influential myth. Moreover, the eponymous Miletus is not mentioned as nursed by wolves in any other source,[22] and therefore seems a new creation for the sake of legitimising the city's founding mythology. In fact, upon inspection, there are quite reasonable grounds for assuming Roman influence on the formation of this myth.

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[20] *ΒΙΒΛΙΣ λ'. Ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος ἑτεροιωμένων Β'.* "Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀκακαλλίδος τῆς Μίνω θυγατρός ἐγένετο παῖς ἐν Κρήτῃ Μίλητος· τοῦτον ἡ Ἀκακαλλίς δείσασα Μίνω ἐξέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ὕλην, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιφοιτῶντες λύκοι, βουλῇ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐφύλαττον, καί ὤρεγον παρά μέρος γάλα· ἔπειτα δὲ βουκόλοι περιτυχόντες ἀνείλοντο, καὶ ἔτρεφον ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις..."

[21] We shouldn't suggest that this is a sacred myth though. As will be shown it is highly political and not of any age.

[22] Miletus' mother Akakallis, the daughter of Minos, the legendary king of Crete, reflects earlier foundation myths of the city in which a *synoikism* between Carians and invading Cretans was taken to be its basis (Paus. VII. 2.5). On another curious note, we also find Neileus, a descendant of the similarly named Neleus, who as discussed in Chapter One was attributed a late dog-nursing myth, involved in the foundation of the city of Miletus (Paus. VII.2.5). It would seem Neileus was most likely adapted to the legends of Miletus before at least 450 BCE in order to create a strong political bond with this figure's home country of Athens and the Neleids in general (Patterson 2010: 142-143; Paus. II. 18.7, IV.3.3), as is testified regarding the Ionian Revolt in 499 BCE by Herodotus (V.97). Further, Miletus and Kydon, also discussed in passing in Chapter One as a recipient of dog nursing, were both regarded as sons of Akakallis (cf. Paus. VIII.53.4), further suggesting a complex of dog/wolf nursing and the foundation of cities. However, most of these references would seem diffuse and too poorly attested to suggest a transmission path.

Little more is known of Nicander's life, but what remains appears to paint a picture that is extremely useful in reassembling the creation of this myth. It is known that he appealed for patronage from Attalus III by mentioning the king's mythic ancestry stretching back to Lysidice and Heracles via Telephus (*Nic.* fr. 104 *ap.* Gow and Scholfield 2010: 3). In relation to this we may also note the altar of Pergamum, upon which there is a frieze made between 170 and 159 BCE during the reign of Eumenes II (Andreae 1997: 68), who along with his brothers Athenaeus and the later Attalus II, visited Rome several times and was reliant upon the rising Roman power, which had begun to operate as the ajudicator between the many warring Hellenistic states of mainland Greece and Anatolia (Polyb. XXI.18.1-2; XXXI. 9, XXXII. 3, 5; Strabo. XIII. 4.2; Liv. XLII.11.1.3). This features Telephus, the Attalids' Heraclid ancestor, being nursed by a lioness (Andreae 1997: 68; Patterson 2010: 140 **Fig. 1**), although, as noted in Chapter One, he is usually regarded as having been nursed by a deer in myth. This frieze has been compared to the late third century BCE Chian inscription first attesting Rome's military might in conjunction with the founding twins as described in Chapter One (Andreae 1997: 68; Jones 1999: 92).[23] It bears mentioning at this point the Chian inscription appears to have been accompanied by a series of images, most likely set out in a similar manner to this later frieze at Pergamum (Jones 1999: 92).[24] Moreover such scenes were also illustrated for this commemoration on shields at Chios as prizes for athletes, featuring early myths of Rome's foundation for a Greek audience (Jones 1999: 92), and supplying an influential model. Another important clue is the early second century BCE inclusion of the Roman twins as a relief image on a column at Cyzicus in Asia Minor in the temple of Apollonis. Integrally, Apollonis was the deified mother of the Attalid brothers Eumenes II and Attalus II, and the purpose of the temple's reliefs was to celebrate familial love- particualry between mothers and sons (Livingstone and Nesbit

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[23] Arguments to the affect that the epigram's dating is actually the second century BCE, in spite of the late stylings of the inscription's letters, are also popular though little reason seems to be given for this (Walbank 1990: 153-154 n. 131).

[24] Some have argued that this was a "written" inscription of the story of Rome's founding rather than images (Derow and Forrest 1982: 85-86), but this idea has not been developed since and is wholly reliant upon prioritising written narrative over visual representation of myth, so as to legitimise the αληθής ("true") nature of the story of the Roman twins in the Chian inscription (see Chapter One). Salvo (2013: 130-133) has recently attempted to find middle ground between Jones' (1999: 92) suggestion of a series of images and the theory of a written narrative, by including both an image of the she-wolf and twins *and* a narrative, due to the lack of familiarity the Roman subject matter most likely would have had for Greek peoples during this period of Rome's emergence beyond Italy.

2010: 100). A description of this relief and its epigram was recorded in the sixth century CE *Anthologia Palatina* and is as follows:

> "In the nineteenth [image] Remus and Romulus are freeing their mother, Servilia by name, from the cruelty of Aemulius. For Ares, having raped her, fathered them upon her, and [when] they were exposed, a she-wolf nursed them. Thus, the adolescents freed their mother from her imprisonment, and having founded Rome, restored the kingdom to Numitor. 'You brought forth the secret birthing of the children to Ares, Remus and Romulus who share the couch, but a wild she-wolf, nursing [them] reared [them] in a cave, and they snatched you away from your toils that were hard to heal'" (*Anth. Pal.* III. 19; cf. trans. Livingstone and Nesbit 2010: 100).[25]

Thus, such intercultural contact as this between Rome, Roman myth, Nicander and the Attalids weaves a web within which the Milesian myth would appear to have even less grounds for legitimate existence prior to this period than it may even seem to possess at first. More importantly, it also suggests that Nicander was very much aware of the previous ruler's decision to attempt to outdo the Romans through the creation of the Telephus friezes at Pergamum and perhaps also the Attalid use of the myth at Cyzicus in celebration of Apollonis.

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[25] *"19. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ΙΘ Ῥῆμος καί Ῥωμύλος ἐκ τῆς Ἀμολίου κολάσεως ῥυόμενοι τὴν μητέρα Σερβιλίαν ὀνόματι· ταύτην γὰρ ὁ Ἄρης φθείρας ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐγέννησεν καὶ ἐκτεθέντας αὐτοὺς λύκαινα ἔθρεψεν. Ἀνδρωθέντες οὖν τὴν μητέρα τῶν δεσμῶν ἔλυσαν, Ῥώμην δὲ κτίσαντες Νομήτορι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπεκατέστησαν. Ῥόνδε σὺ μὲν παίδων κρύφιον γόνον Ἀρεῖ τίκτεις Ῥῆμόν τε ξυνῶν καὶ Ῥωμύλον λεχέων, Θὴρ δὲ λύκαιν᾽ἄνδρωσεν σπήλυγγι τιθηνὸς, Οἵ σε δυσηκέστων ἥρπασαν ἐκ καμάτων'"* (Text: Dübner 1871: 44). Meyer (1911) famously deleted Epigram IX (Romulus and Remus) owing to personal assumptions regarding the impossibility of this myth to have been known in Antatolia during the second century BCE, and the lack of a twentieth epigram- suggesting incompleteness or a late edition. However, as Salvo (2013: 133) remarks: "The Chian decree denies such a theory, and now the most convincing explanation is to posit twenty reliefs."
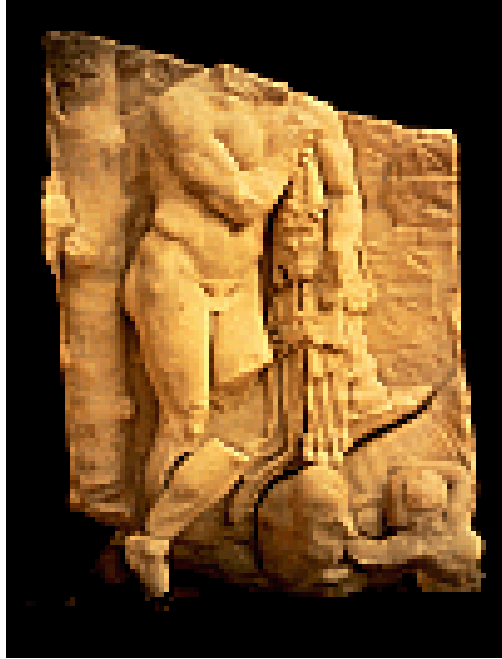
Fig. 1 Panel 12 of the Pergamum Telephus Frieze (170-159 BCE). Heracles discovers Telephus being nursed by a lion (Von Dippe 2007: 65).

However, besides the mere similarities with the Telephus myth and Nicander's appeal to his patrons, we must also bear in mind that this myth may merely have been transcribed by him due to a myriad of similar reactions and appeals to the Roman Republic's increasing involvement in the city states of Anatolia at this same time. Miletus appears to have tolerated the Attalids very well receiving a gymnastic complex from Eumenes II and sacred precinct to worship him and his brothers as gods (Hansen 1971: 289-290), but we should also note that in 130 BCE a temple to the goddess Roma was built, shortly after the passing of the city to Rome (*Milet*. 1.7.203 *ap*. Fontenrose 1988: 20). The Lycian League of city states in the second century BCE sent a mission to Rome in 178 BCE because of mistreatment it was receiving at the hands of the Rhodians whom the Romans had made its rulers (Livy XLI.6; Polyb. XXI.24.7-8, XXV.3). Freedom from Rhodes was granted in 167 BCE by Rome

(Polyb. XXX.5.12; Liv. XLIV.15.1) and the Lycians appear to have earned the right to call the Romans "friends and kinsmen" during the same late second century CE period (Jones 1999: 92). This suggests that this era was one of great change and adaptation to the new Roman power in Anatolia. Thus we might easily suggest that the Miletus "wolf myth" in its adaptation from the Lycian and Roman myth may have sprung from a number of sources in Anatolia attempting to equal or outdo Rome's own foundational myth at this time. Regardless of the answer, what would seem of greatest importance is that the Pergamanian frieze, the relief at Cyzicus and Milesian myth appear to be the first three examples of attempts to copy the Romulus and Remus myth in an Eastern context, which as we have seen was to become an important symbol for regional governors in Anatolia and also for the Sasanid Persians in later periods (see Chapter One).

App. 3 Queries on the *Lupercalia.*

Proceeding from the discussion on the *Lupercal* cave and the myth of Romulus and Remus in Chapter One, in this appendix I would like to address in more detail the subject of the *ficus ruminalis* (ruminal fig) in more detail. Despite the strong connections between the *Lupercal*, the nursing of the Roman twins and the milky sap of fig trees, Plutarch (*Rom.* IV.1) tells us that the *ficus ruminalis* had long been dead before his own time, which poses the serious question as to when it actually existed at the cave. In truth, it is difficult to deduce whether there actually was a fig tree at any point at the *Lupercal*. Ovid (II.411) says of the tree a century prior to Plutarch: "*remanent vestigia*" ("vestiges remain"). Livy (I.4), to the contrary, claimed that it was still there during his time and that Romulus and Remus were deposited: "*ubi nunc ficus ruminalis est- Romularem vocatam ferunt*" ("where the Ruminal fig now is- they used to call it the Romulan"). Comparatively Dionysius of Halicarnasus (I.79.8) a contemporary of Livy, makes no mention of such a tree in his description of the *Lupercal* cave, suggesting that in spite of its importance to later writers, that it may only have existed as *vestiges* at this earlier stage as well, or rather was merely symbolically present due to its involvement in the mythic complex of the Romulus and Remus story and the milk rites. Pliny the Elder (*H.N.* XV.77) says of the tree that during his time in the first century CE that it had been long dead, but that a fig tree planted in the forum at Rome by priests served as a reminder of it- as the *Ficus Navia*. As Evans (1992: 79-80) points out, some have often taken it to be suggested by Pliny that there was also a statue of the she-wolf and twins under the fig tree in the *Comitium* (northwest corner of the Forum) at this time. What the text appears to really say is that the she-wolf statue, most likely the initial one of the Ogulnii brothers from 296 BCE, was still at the *Lupercal* and *not* in the forum at this time (Evans 1992: 79-80). However, this would not seem to take into account Cicero's (*In Cat.* II. 19.231-233; *De Div.* I.120, IV. 47) she-wolf statue in the forum which appears to have been damaged or destroyed by lightning a century earlier in 65 BCE.

In order to answer these difficulties and the possible purely symbolic presence of the fig at the *Lupercal* at any point, it should also be noted that there is the possibility that the concept of the fig may have been transplanted from another series

of myths and rituals to that of the *Lupercalia* and its lactic goddess, which also possessed some associations with the Roman twins. It is recorded that in July a festival known as the *Caprotinae Nones* was celebrated by the Romans, which coincided with the disappearance and apotheosis of Romulus (Plut. *Rom.* XXIX.2; Varro *Ling. Lat.* 6.18). Like the *Lupercalia*, this festival also possessed a strong connection with figs, milk and goats. It was held in honour of *Juno Caprotina* (Juno Goat Goddess), who echoes *Juno Sospita* (see Chapter One) and took place under a fig-tree known as the *caprificus* (goat-fig) (Varro 6.18; Macr. *Sat.* I.1.36-40). These *Nones* were also associated with a story very similar to Romulus' kidnap of the Sabine women, but from an inverted perspective, wherein Postumius Livius of Fidenae, a neighbour of Rome, invaded desiring to steal the Roman matrons, but was given the Roman serving girls instead (Macr. *Sat.* I.1.36-40). Macrobius further says of this: "…the milky sap that drips from the tree is used in memory of the by-gone deed" (Macr. *Sat.* I.1.40). In spite of this explanation, it is quite difficult to find a specific connection between the *Caprotine Nones* and the given aetiological event. Postumius' invasion said to have taken place after the Gallic invasion and sacking of Rome (Macr. *Sat.* I.1.37). L. Postumius is mentioned as a Roman military tribune elected after the Gallic sacking by Livy (Liv. VI.1), but not as a leader of an army against Rome by anyone. For this reason the story itself seems an interpolated invention to explain a much older festival of a fertility goddess with a strong affiliation towards both figs and goats. Thus, this festival may have come to influence the *Lupercalia* due to pre-existing elements such as the sacrifice of the she-goat in the male rites, the lactic fertility aspect of the unknown goddess and connections with the goat god Pan (see Chapter One), as he had most likely come to be associated with the festival by the fourth century BCE (Wiseman 1995b: 3). Further, Plutarch (*Vit. Cam.* XXXIII.5-6) records that the women involved in the ritual ran about shouting out the names of men and re-enacting the attempt to steal them by the Latins. This would seem to share some parallels with the running of the men at the *Lupercalia* and points towards the possibility of these *Nones* having exerted influence on the latter's formation.

On another note, in addressing the nature of the *Lupercalia* goddess prior to this integral fourth century BCE period, it should be asked whether she too like the male deity of the festival was also originally a wolf-goddess, who came to be

overshadowed by the she-wolf of the Roman twins. Carandini (1997: 180; 2000: 102, 233; [2007] 2011: 38) in fact has suggested that both of the beasts featured on the Praenestine mirror from Bolsena (see Chapter One) represent wolves- the lower being Faunus and that which is suckling the twins in the centre his opaque feminine counterpart Fauna, or *Luperca*. One piece of evidence which might suggest the existence of a female wolf-goddess is that the name of the *Luperci* has been suggested to stem from the feminine agent forming inffix – *erc*- as in *noverca* ("step mother" from "*novus*"- "new") (Jordan 1879: 164; Bonnefoy 1992: 126). This would suggest an originally feminine use of the term, whether referring to female initiates or a goddess. A goddess *Luperca* is indeed attested in Varro during the first century BCE according to Arnobius (*Adv. Nat.* IV. 3). Varro's etymology of *Luperca*, however, is *lupa pepercit* (the wolf spared them) (Arnob. IV. 3), and refers explicitly to the she-wolf of the Romulus and Remus story. Contrary to this it is imperative to note that aside from "*lupercus/luperca*" and "*noverca*" that there are no other nouns in Latin with this –*erc*- infix (Eisler 1969: 254), and thus the idea that such an infix immediately indicates feminine nouns does not seem to warrant constitution as a grammtaical rule. Further, the other wolf cults of Ancient Italia, as well as that of Arcadian Pan do not appear to have featured female wolf gods (cf. Paus. VIII. 44.3-5; Strab.V.2.9). It is also difficult to deduce whether the Etruscan images of the nursing she-wolf represented a goddess, for that matter, or merely a tribal totem, like the she-wolf of the later Romulus and Remus legend, which as argued, most likely came to Rome through Praeneste. Rather, as with the god of the *Lupercalia*, the original goddess remains obscured by intervening layers and interpolations, though her strong connections with fertility, milk and birth still would seem to shine through. Thus, together the elements of the male wolf god and this goddess of birth and nursing would seem to present a firm basis onto which the nursing she-wolf was to be placed and ultimately outshine both of them (see Chapter One).

App. 4 The Constitutional Theory and *Remuria*.

Following on from discussions begun in Chapter One, Mommsen and Wiseman's "constitutional" political allegory theory on the myth of Romulus and Remus representing enmity between the *patres* (aristocrats) and *proles* (commoners) suggests a relatively late development of the story, prefigured by a number of important social changes at Rome from the fifth century BCE onwards. Wiseman (1995a: 106-107; cf. Mommsen 1881: 10-12) says of it:

> "The purpose of this long discussion has been to provide a context for Mommsen's 'constitutional' explanation of the story of the twins. If, as he suggests Romulus and Remus are a legendary analogue of two magistrates with equal authority in a free state then the circumstances which called them into being were probably the events not of 509 but of 367 BC….The establishment of explicit power-sharing between patricians and plebeians in the fourth century BC provides the necessary condition for the creation of the story of the twins."

Key to this idea are the events of the year 342 BCE at Rome, when legislation was passed dictating that one of the two consuls had to be plebeian (Liv. VII.17.10). This is in spite of the fact that in 367 BCE it had been technically possible for plebeians to serve in the office (Liv. VI.35.5). It should also be recalled that it was during the mid-forth century that the Praenestine mirror was produced (see Chapter One). Wiseman's claim that the twins featured in the mirror were the *Lares* has been refuted in Chapter One, but more importantly, it appears to clash with his notions regarding the plebeian legislation. Wiseman (1995a: 71) sets the mirror at 340 BCE, which is very close to the application of these new laws. Thus it would seem necessary for at least a basic foundational legend about the pair to exist prior to his time instead of the *Lares* being drastically transformed from mere guardian spirits.

On top of this Wiseman (1995a: 114-116) also proposes an earlier influence on the proposed political occurrences that precipitated the development of the characters of Romulus and Remus. This is in relation to the idea that Remus wanted to

found his city at a place called *Remuria* or *Remoria*. To Wiseman's understanding, the concept of *Remuria* stems from the abandoning of Rome by the *proles* as a protest for better rights made during the secessions in 494 BCE and 449 BCE known as The Conflict of the Orders (Liv. III.50.13-15). This was reapplied, so he claims, in the construction of the Romulus and Remus myth during the mid-forth century BCE (Wiseman 1995a:114). However, there are only two references that testify to the possibility of *Remuria's* existence in myth or otherwise. The first of these is the forth to sixth century CE *Origo Gentis Romae*, which specifies the distance and location of the proposed site of the city as being five miles from the Palatine hill (OGR XXIII.1). Dionysius of Halicarnasus (I.86.2) earlier in the first century CE is the other. Dionysius (I.86.2) claims that the area of *Remoria* [sic] was by the Tiber, thirty *stadia* from Rome and was still commonly known during his day. Much effort was put into solving the problem of its location throughout the nineteenth century (Niehbuhr 1811:196; Gell 1834: 2.191), though as of yet no hill has been found which clearly fits this description. The roots of this problem stem back as far as the eighth century CE when Paulus (*Epit.* 276) in his epitome of Festus attempted to rationalise it as part of the Aventine hill. Despite the fact that different versions of the political secessions in the fifth century did confuse the Mons Sacer and Aventine hill in their accounts (Liv. III.50.13-15; Cic. *Rep.* II.63), Wiseman (1995a: 116) himself is aware that the Sacred Mount is not on the Tiber but on the lesser river Anio. Thus we must more clearly inspect the geography of Rome to make sense of this.

Much has been written regarding the reason for Rome's prosperity due to its location on the Tiber. Grandazzi (1997: 75-91) discusses many of the arguments regarding the determining factors of Rome's location including the roles played by Tiber Island, Ostia, the protective enclosure of Rome's hills and the position of the city as a trade route for salt, though many have taken these elements to be mutually exclusive (*ibid*). Despite this, Strabo (V.3.7) conversely says of Rome's location in the first century CE: "the site of its foundation [was] dictated by necessity rather than freely chosen." Grandazzi (1997:90) himself in view of this difficult situation argues that: "Not one of these topographical and geographical peculiarities is decisive in itself. But these factors…confer on the place…a truly exceptional aspect and dynamism". Thus, just as it is extremely unlikely Dionysius would have confused the Tiber and Anio if the location of *Remuria* was relatively well known during his day,

from a practical perspective, the Sacred Mount is also not a viable suggestion. For this reason the problem is largely unresolved. However, Antemnae is on the Tiber and a similar distance to both Dionysius and the OGR's descriptions (**Fig. 2**). The only problem with this, as Wiseman (1995a: 116) points out, is that Romulus warred and then joined with the people of Antemnae following the abduction of the Sabine women (Liv. I.9). If the animosity between the brothers in the myth stems from an early union with the Sabines (see Chapter One), it is reasonable to claim that Remus may have had some of his roots in a founder from Antemnae who was conflated into the story. If not, it seems very likely that *Remuria* was a later invention than associations with the Aventine and Quirinal hills and remains unsolved.

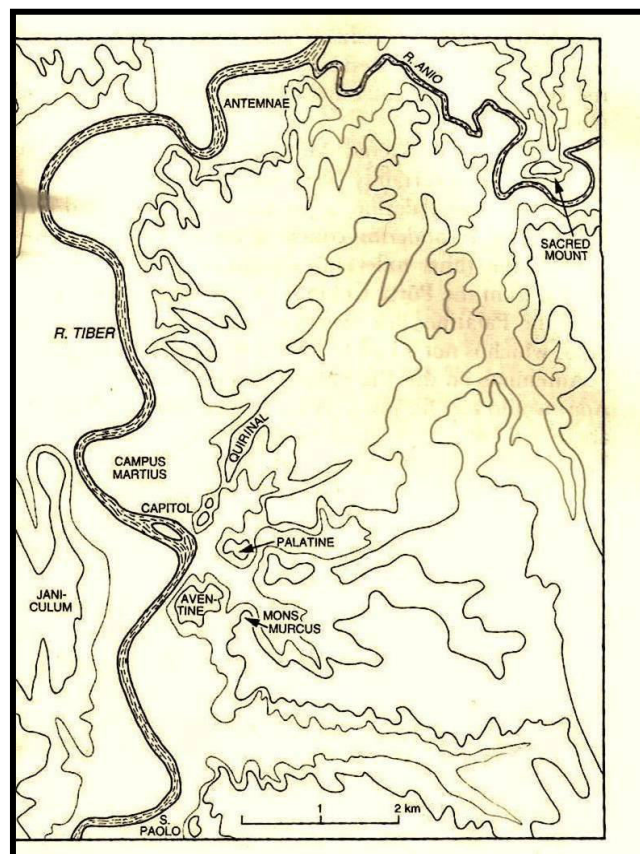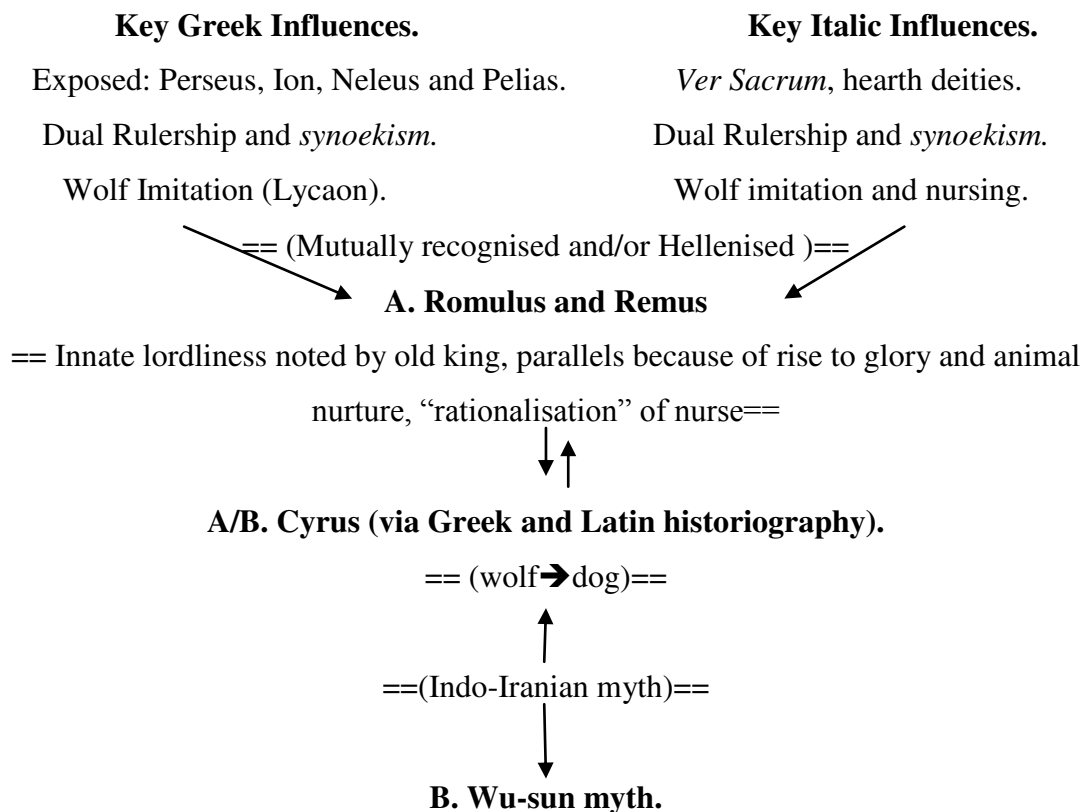**Fig. 2 "The vicinity of Rome: Suitable Sites for a City" (Wiseman 1995a: 115). Note the scale illustrating the similarity in distance between the Mons Sacer and Antemnae.**

Further, Wiseman continues to develop his "Constitutional" theory by bringing into the equation the passing of laws in 300 BCE for political equality in the position of augurs by the Ogulnii brothers (Liv. X.9.2), who are said to be the first

people to erect a statue of the Roman twins and she-wolf in 296 BCE (Liv. X.23.12) This event is clearly at a distance from the earlier political changes Wiseman makes use of, but would seem to fit the symbolism of the brothers' falling out due to the augury incident's central role in destabilising their balance of power (Liv. I.6; Plut. *Rom.* IX.5). However, it is strongly debatable whether the links Wiseman (1995a:93) makes use of that stem from Schwegler (1853:436) have any basis at the dawn of the third century BCE at all. Central to this is Wiseman's (1995a:93, 197) analysis of the term "*aves remores*" (birds that portend delay), which are mentioned only twice in Roman literature: by Festus (Paul. *Epit.* 345L) in direct relation to augury and Remus' six vultures and in the fourth to sixth century CE *Origo Gentis Romanae* in describing the character of Remus as "remiss" (OGR XXI.5). The OGR (XXI.6) also describes Remus as being named "*a tarditate*" (out of slowness) which appears nowhere else as a description of him. Thus there would seem to be some interrelations here, but whether or not they simply stem from the older myth of Romulus and Remus, or whether they have political implications would seem almost impossible to base a strong argument upon. There is also a reference in Gellius (*N.A.* XIII.14.6) to Remus' birds as "*obscenis*" (indecent, ominous) but not as *remores* as Wiseman (1995a: 197) has suggested. Overall what would seem more reasonable than the deep political implications Wiseman seeks to uncover in the myth of the Roman twins would simply be that much of the language that appears to characterise Remus as "other" (see Chapter One) is precisely that- a narrative trope to emphasise the struggle inherent between two mythical founding figures, rather than resistance to the dominant founding figure amongst the Roman people. [26]

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[26] Curiously, in spite of Wiseman and Carandini's long history of dissention concerning the historical accuracy of Rome's early myths (see Chapter One), Carandini appears to have little to say regarding the concept of *Remoria*, or Wiseman's political theories on the formation of the Roman twins. In Carandini's works (1997: 525 n. 6; [2007] 2011: 125-127) several references to *Remoria* and the *aves remores* are indeed made in relation to the former being Remus' augury point in the twins' competition and perhaps being on the Aventine hill or some area adjacent to it, but only in passing, and with no reference to Wiseman in this context, or strong opinion on even the matter of Remus' death (cf. *ibid.* [2007] 2011: 36ff). He does, however, in his assumption that the twins were historical figures (see Chapter One), take the *altellus* title of Romulus to indicate Remus as the first born (*ibid.* 36-37) However, there is no strong ritualistic or political reading of this given, aside from a rather empty remark that world-wide the second born son is often more fortunate than the first-born in myth (*ibid.* 36-37), and a loose structuralist view that Remus' "morire anzitempo" (premature death) is symbolic of the dualistic forces of order and discord in myths of civilisation building, which is compared with Hercules' killing of Cacus (Verg. *Aen.* VIII. 184-305), whom Carandini takes to have been a primordial Aboriginal ruler and deity in the area where Rome later came to be built (*ibid.* 1997: 75-76).

App. 5 Intercultural Breakdown of the Network of Influences Regarding the Three Main Wolf-Myths in the First Millennium BCE.

Key Greek Influences.

Exposed: Perseus, Ion, Neleus and Pelias.

Dual Rulership and *synoekism.*

Wolf Imitation (Lycaon).

Key Italic Influences.

Ver Sacrum, hearth deities.

Dual Rulership and *synoekism.*

Wolf imitation and nursing.

== (Mutually recognised and/or Hellenised)==

A. Romulus and Remus

== Innate lordliness noted by old king, parallels because of rise to glory and animal nurture, "rationalisation" of nurse==

A/B. Cyrus (via Greek and Latin historiography).

== (wolf➜dog)==

==(Indo-Iranian myth)==

B. Wu-sun myth.

- The basic *foci* around which these myths are structured most likely came into existence during the Late Bronze Age (see Chapter Five), though we must acknowledge their intercultural value as of far greater import. Cyrus' myth first appears in written form in the fifth century BCE, Romulus and Remus's she-wolf develops by the mid-fourth century BCE, Mars' addition by 296 BCE, the influence of Cyrus upon it by 200 BCE. The Wu-sun myth, most likely with a similar cultural basis to that of Cyrus, is recorded during the mid-second century BCE.

App. 6 Intercultural Breakdown of the Network of Influences Regarding Inner Asian wolf myths from the first millennium BCE to present.

Indo-Iranian Myth (7th c. BCE+).

Wolf warriors.

Wolf Nursing.

Wusun Myth (2nd c. BCE).

Fuli title.

Roman Coins in East (2nd- 6th c. CE).

Sasanids (3rd- 6th c. CE).

Native Turkic Mongolian (?)

Emergence: Tree: Cave: Water.

Wolf: Blue: Sky: Power: Ruler.

Gao-che Myth (6th c. CE).

Sogdian/Indo-Iranian Influence (5-7th c. CE).

Ashina Name.

Representation of Romulus and Remus.

Ashina Myth (6th c. CE).

Bugut Monument (c.581 CE)

Appropriation of Ashina Myth (7th to 10th c. CE).

Name: Khazars.

Orkhon Inscriptions: Wolf: Ruler: Warriors: Sky: Power.

Warriors with Wolf Aspects: *Manas*.

Blue Wolf (?).

Mongols (12th, 13th c. CE).

Cinos Tribe.

Wolf Tribes in *Shen Wu.*

Wolf Leads Oguz (12th c. CE?+).

Börte Činō (13th c. CE)

Börte Činō and *Ergene Qūn* (13th to 17th c.CE).

Börte Činō connected with India and Tibet (16th- 17th c. CE).

Bozkurt (20th c. CE).

App. 7 Table of the Elements of the Major "Bundle" Fables.

Variant:	Scythian (Plutarch).	Aesop (Babrius).	Aesop (*Augustana*)	Tu-yü-hun.	Seljuk.	Oguz Turk.	Mongol (*SHM*).	Mongol (Chingis Khan)
Teller:	Scilurus (king).	A Father.	A Farmer.	A-ch'ai (khan).	Ṭughril Beg (leader of Seljuks).	Oguz Khan (Oguz tribe progenitor).	Alan Qo'ai (Matriarch).	Chingis Khan.
Dying:	Yes.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes (*Flos. Hist.; Mand.*), No (*HWC*).
Bundle Content:	*δέσμην ἀκοντίων* (dart) (174f), *δέσμην δορατίων* (stems/sp-ears) (511c).	*ῥάβδων δέσμην* (bundle of wands/sticks).	*ῥάβδων δέσμην* (bundle of wands/sticks).	Arrows.	Arrows.	Three Bows and Three Arrows.	Arrow shafts. (*mösü*).	Arrows (*Flos. Hist.* "bundle").
Number of Sons:	Eighty.	Many.	?	Twenty. (includes his brothers)	Ṭughril's brother and an undisclosed number of fellow *begs* and relatives.	Six.	Five.	Twelve (*Flos. Hist.; Mand.*), his people in general (*HWC*)
Emphasis:	Concord.	Concord.	Quarrelling.	Reliance and Succession.	Concord will allow them to conquer the world.	Mutual Reliance for world conquest.	Concord in royal families, succession, and collective conquest.	Concord and brotherly love.
Date:	2nd c. CE, referring to 2nd c BCE.	2nd c. CE.	2nd to 5th c. CE.	6th c. CE referring to 5th c. CE.	11th c. CE. Referring to 10th-11th c.	14th c. CE, older oral tradition.	14th c. CE of 13th c. oral tradition.	14th c. CE of 13th c. sources.
Source:	Plut. *Mor.* 174f, 511c.	Babrius 47.	Perry: §53 Chambry: §86 Pa, Pb, Pc, Pe, Pg.	*Wei Shu.* Molé 1970:5-6.	*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* 102, *Risāla-i Juwaynī* 5-6.	*Oguz-Nāme.* §37-41.	*SHM*§18-23, 76-78, 244.	Het. *Flos Hist.*III.1737g *Mand* 24. 148; (Juv. *HWC.* I.30-31).

App. 8 The "Bundle" Fable and the Fable of the "Horse's Tail".

Regarding discussions begun in Chapters Three and Five, the only fable similar to that of the "bundle" fable amongst the Ancient Romans would appear to be that of the "horse's tail", as told in Plutarch's life of Sertorius (Plut. *Sert.* XVI) and also by Valerius Maximus (VIII.3.6) concerning the same figure. This is given as:

"Sertorius, being the recipient of Nature's favour equally in strength of body and wisdom of intellect, and compelled under Sulla's instructions to become the leader of the Lusitanians, when he was unable to prevent them with words from taking on the Romans with their entire force, he brought them around to his way of thinking with a crafty stratagem. He put two horses before them- one most powerful, and the other most weak, and then he ordered the tail of the strong one to be plucked out bit by bit by a weak old man and that of the weak horse to be torn off in its entirety by a young man of exceptional strength. The order was complied with, but when the right hand of the young man tired itself of its fruitless toil, the hand afflicted with old age (still) completed its instructions. Then to the barbarian assembly, who were desirous to know where this demonstration was headed, he suggested that our (The Roman) army was most similar to a horse's tail and that anyone attacking parts of it would be able to destroy it, but that to waylay its entire might would more swiftly grant victory (to us) than gain it. Thus this barbarian people, harsh and difficult to rule, rushing to their own death, when they had scorned the use of their ears, perceived fully (the situation) with their eyes" (Val. Max. VII.3.6). [27]

Upon inspection, the meaning at the centre of this different fable pattern's analogy would appear to be that of perseverance and destruction of the group rather than unity, and thus forms an inverted meaning to the "bundle" fable. However, we should perhaps acknowledge the presence of similar tropes to the "bundle" fable such as the futility of words in comparison with visual allegories and the possibility for confusion

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[27] *"Sertorius vero, corporis robure atque animi consilio parem Naturae indulgentem expertus, proscriptione Sullana dux Lusitanorum fieri coactus, cum eos oratione flectere non posset ne cum Romanis universa acie confligere vellent, vafro consilio ad suam sententiam perduxit: duos enim in conspectu eorum constituit equos validissimum alterum, <alterum> infirmissimum, ac deinde validi caudam ab imbecillio sene paulatim carpi, infirmi a iuvene eximiarum virium universam convelli iussit. Obtemperatum imperio est: sed dum adulescentis dextera irrito se labore fatigat, senio confecta manus ministerium exsecuta est. Tunc barbarae contioni, quorsum ea res tenderet cognoscere cupienti, subicit equi caudae consimilem esse nostrum exercitum, cuius partes aliquis adgrediens opprimere possit, universum conactus prosternere celeries tradiderit victoriam quam occupaverit. Ita gens barbara, aspera et regi difficilis, in exitium suum ruens, quam utilitatem auribus respuerat, occulis pervidit".* (Val. Max. VII.3.6).

between the two by scholars. Thus, de Rachewiltz's (2004: 262-263) citation and agreement with Pelliot's (1936: 37 *ap.* de Rachewiltz's 2004: 262-263) claims that the meaning of this fable is exactly the same as Alan Qo'a's sons (See Chapter Four) and *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* (See Chapter Three) would thus seem to be inexact when we examine this. Moreover these scholars are not alone in confusing the two fable patterns.

For instance, Seymour (*ad. Mand. Trav.* 251. n. 164/27 *ap.* Tzanakis 2003: 195) has suggested that the Mandeville tradition's Chingis Khan bundle fable (see Chapter Five) was most likely responsible for an episode in Lydgate's (Lyd. *Serp.* 58-59) *The Serpent of Division*, a 1422 treatise against factionalism, in which many of the *exempla* used are connected with ancient Rome. However, contrary to the inverted meaning behind the "horse's tail" of guerrilla warfare as given above, in this instance the meaning given is very much in keeping with the "bundle" fable pattern in its invocation of solidarity:

> "And for to ratefye bi more autentike ensample how moche that vnite more…availith than deuysion, I woll schortely reherse an ensample whiche that Valerius, putte and is this. This auctowre rehersith that whilome whan the Cite of Rome stode likely to haue be devided of a debate that was newly begonne amonges hemselfe, ther was a wise philosophir amonge them whiche of his discrecion considrid the grete perell it was likely to sewe, and thoughte he wolde of wisedome voide the grete myschefe that myghte sewe. In presence of all the Senate and lordes of the Cite, he made brynge forthe an hors which had a longe… taile growen behynde and then he commawndid the myghtieste champion of the towne to sette on bothe hondes and asaye if he myght bi force pull of the hors taile at a pluk; but all be that he plukkid to his vtteriste of his myght hit woude not availe. And anone this Philosophir made calle to the presence of the Senate the moste impotent man in the Cite, a man vnweldye and crokid of age and this Philosophir made this olde manne to pluk one here aftir another of the hors taile till litill and litill bi proces the taile was wastid clene away, and the hors nakid and bare behynde. 'Beholde,' quod the Philosophir, 'That whilis the taile of the hors was hoole and on in the selfe, and eueryche here with othir vndevidid, the myghtiest champion of yowre Cite myght do therto no damage. But also sone as eueriche here was devided and disseuered from other he that was leste of powere amonge yow all lefte neuer till the taile was consumed and browghte to nowght. Bi whiche ensample,'

quod the Philosophere, 'Prudently aduertith and wisely castith toforne that also longe as the bene one in yourselfe and of one herte there is none so stronge nor soo myghti is that may availe bi force to atempte your worthines. But also sone amonge youre selfe as one be devided fro anothir your enemyes, thowghe thee bene full impotent of powere and of litill reputacion, thei schull bi proces pluk away the faireste and the moste schene fetheres of yowre worthines.' And bi this ensample this Philosophir toforeseide reconsilid the Romeyns aghene to vnite and voided awey devision amonge hemselfe" (Lyd. *Serp.* VIII. pp. 58-59).[28]

In beginning to analyse this crossing over between the two fable patterns, it should be noted, for that matter, that Lydgate also undertook a translation of Aesop (Tzanakis 2003: 195), suggesting the strong possibility of a mixed origin for this fable from both the *Augustana* and Roman myth. Although, Lydgate's *Isopes Fabules* are all "beast" fables (Gastle 2002: 80), the situation is still compounded by his mistaken belief that "Isopus" (Aesop) was actually a Roman senator who gave stirring speeches using fables (Patterson 1991: 162 n. 20), which is very much in keeping with the unnamed "philosophir" described above in Lydgate's reappropriation and redesignation of Valerius Maximus' Sertorius (Lyd. *Serp.* VIII. pp. 58-59 cf. Val Max. VII.3.6). Due to this Roman connection we should perhaps then consider the possibility that Lydgate most likely took Aesopic tales from Latin manuscripts and knew little about the Greek Aesop.

If we are to judge the source for the "bundle" elements in Lydgate's Roman fable, however, there is none of the language or imagery that would automatically suggest *Mandeville* as the influence, such as the talk of knots and binding specific to this rendition (cf. *Mand.* 24. 148). Rather, it would appear more likely overall that Lydgate having read Valerius Maximus, and owing to his preoccupation against factionalism, simply inverted the tale for his own ends into one of solidarity. Even language such as "devided and disseuered" (Lyd. *Serp.* VIII. p. 59) in relation to the horse's tail does not suggest an Aesopic origin automatically. Thus, if Lydgate was aware of the "bundle" fable pattern at all, it is seemingly almost impossible to suggest a specific inception. However, later English audiences appear to have been well aware

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[28] I have added "th" and "gh" instead of the "*þ*" (thorn) and "*ȝ*" (yogh) where appropriate, so as to render this passage more readily readable to modern English speakers.

of the "bundle" fable pattern, which may further obscure attempts to deduce Lydgate's own sources and awareness of its existence. For instance, *The Serpent of Division* was later reprinted in Elizabethan times, appended to a copy of the *Tragedy of Gorbuduc*, perhaps the earliest tragedy in English and a play on the subject of the destructive nature of disharmony between sons, which begins with a silent mime of a variant of the "bundle" fable enacted by six wild men covered with leaves (Holzknecht 1947: 27-28). The absence of any father figure in this makes it hard to judge the origin of this variant, but shows that the fable was not only continuously evolving in many directions its reappropriations, but also that like its later associations with the *fasces*, different cultural elements could easily be overlaid onto it.

App. 9 Some Other Variants of the "Bundle" Fable.

The following involve studies of other variants of this fable pattern and how they function historically as intercultural phenomena. As they do not exactly fit with the emphasis of this thesis on the Roman and Mongol Empires, I have chosen to include them as Appendices.

a. The "Bundle of Sticks" in Midrashim.

Although the Scythian connection with this fable supplies its earliest determinable context (see Chapter Three), within the scope of the Ancient Mediterranean region itself there is another example of a fable of this type found amongst the Jews. This is recorded in the *Midrash Taṇhuma Yelammedenu*, which differs from earlier midrashic collections in that it can be linguistically dated to the late period of between the fourth and seventh centuries CE (Shinan 2006: 690-691). However, the text's "fixing" dates from an even later *terminus*: at least the eighth century during the Islamic Umayyad and Abassid periods (Lapin 2010: 72). This "bundle" fable is found in a commentary on the word *Nitzavim* (those who stand) (*Deut.* 29.9) and is given regarding the unity of Israel:

> "… if a person takes a bundle of reeds – can he break them at the same time? But if he takes one at a time, even a child can break them. And so you find that the people of Israel will not be redeemed until they are one bundle…" (Townsend and Buber 1989: 48-49).

In order to suggest an origin for the elements of this Midrash within the sphere of the Hebrew culture, its closest scriptural basis would appear to be the Lord's addressing of the prophet Ezekiel, in which God tells him to take two sticks representing the kingdoms of Judah and Israel and bind them together into one to teach the people that God will imminently unite them (*Ezek.* 37.15-19). However, it should also be noted that the breaking of the reeds one by one by a child mirrors the other variants of the "bundle" fable pattern quite closely, though with the specific details of the quarrelling sons, father and deathbed seemingly absent. This suggests that the Jews may have borrowed the bundle analogy from an outside source, but done away with some of the other elements, leaving the child's breaking without the rest of the fable's context. Further, though the Midrashim of the *Taṇhuma Yelammedenu* and other collections may have existed for much longer in oral tradition, such as far back as the second and

third century CE (Katz and Schwartz 2002: 15), it is impossible to determine this due to the previously mentioned lateness of available texts. Even in support of An earliest possible dating, it cannot be determined that this Jewish fable pre-dates those of Babrius and Plutarch. In the same way, if we attempt to suggest a late Islamic inception of this fable pattern into the *Taṇhuma Yelammedenu* during its Umayyad period *terminus*, such as the one in connection with al-Muhallab in al-Tabari that is discussed in Chapter Four and Five of this thesis, we find ourselves yet again running up against numerous difficulties, before even the very difference between the use of reeds and arrows is to be discussed.[29]

Rather, in truth a Hellenistic influence from the Aesopic tradition may be far more plausible. One key element in support of this is the close similarity between the Greek rhetorical concept of *synkrisis* (comparison) and similar tropes in Rabbinic legal exegeses, in which comparisons are "…made by setting things side by side, bringing the greater together with what is compared to it" (Aphthonius frag. 10 *ap.* Visotsky 2006: 121). Certainly the rhetorical comparison in the *Taṇhuma Yelammedenu* between singular and bundled reeds would seem to fit well with this. However, whether the rhetorical use of comparison can be explained as something uniquely Greek transferred to the Jews is a matter which midrashic experts such as Lieberman (1950: 61-62) rejected on the basis that consciousness of the "Greek" term and the act of rhetorical comparison are two very different things and the influence of the former on the latter cannot be accurately determined. Despite this, recent work by Visotsky (2006: 122-126) has refuted this conservative claim, through his studies of *chreia* (reappropriations) of Greek stories for rhetorical purposes amongst the Hellenistic Jews. *Chreia* of Homer, Aesop and others were widely spread in the grammar schools of the Hellenistic Near East (Visotsky 2006: 122-126). For this reason, I would like to suggest that this "bundle" fable most likely had its basis in the

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[29] As there is some evidence of Midrashic influence on the formation of Arabic hagiography during the Umayyad period (Lasner 2000: 333-334), If we are to seek parallel examples in order to substantiate interplay between Jewish and Islamic "bundle" fables at this time, it has been widely suggested that the story of Noah and the devil in the *Midrash Taṇhuma* most likely had an Islamic basis before it was introduced into Jewish thought (Ben-Amos 1990: 6-7). Further, the story of the women who cut their hands when they see Joseph's beauty in both the Qu'ran and *Taṇhuma Yelammedenu* also suggests a similar interplay between cultures during this integral period in Islam and the *Taṇhuma*'s development (Wagner 2011: 118). However, it must be noted that this situation represents "…one of the thorniest problems for scholars" (Wagner 2011: 118) and moreover, as Goldman (1995: xiv) warns on this topic: "…let the reader beware, claims about 'original versions' and 'direct influence' are difficult to substantiate".

Aesopic tradition, which was retained in the *Taṇḥuma Yelammedenu* due to its elegance in relation to uniting the Jewish people and scriptural prerequisites.

Moreover, associations with this fable pattern continued to evolve amongst the Jews. Later collections of Midrashim would transform this fable by presenting it with a context far closer to the "bundle" pattern of the Aesopic and Inner Asian traditions. In this latter version the allegory is delivered by the patriarch Jacob to his sons- the progenitors of the tribes of Israel, the scriptural basis of which being the death of Jacob (*Gen.* 49), in which each son is addressed as to his tribe's future character. Although Larry Moses (1987: 64) says of this fable that in Midrashic literature the "type varies", his source, Neumann's (1954: 536) doctoral thesis on Midrashic archetypes gives this as:

> "Jacob puts together 12 twigs on his deathbed before his 12 sons. Nobody can break them. Separately they are easily broken."[30]

As we may see, in this later version, the "reeds" have become "rods", further echoing the Aesopic tradition. However, it should also be noted that the Hebrew words *shebet* and *matteh* and stand for both "rod" and "tribe" in the Torah and Talmudic-Midrashim respectively (Strong 4294: "*matteh*"; 7626: *"shebet"*). For instance in the Torah we find what appears a strong basis for the reception of the "bundle" fable's pattern in the Lord's addressing of the patriarch Moses to gather twelve sticks to represent the tribes of Israel, after which the stick representing Aaron's tribe of Levi sprouts almonds (*Num.* 17). Moses takes this as a sign of the Lord's preferencing of this tribe, and Moses places the stick in front of the Covenant Box as a warning to the Israelites against quarrelling with one another over the tribal hierarchy God has revealed (*Num.*17: 10-13). Although Pairman Brown (2000: 271) suggests that Jacob's twelve sons appear to echo the Roman *lictors* in number because of a seemingly baseless concept of a cult of a divine woodsman in both cultures, there appears no pre-modern recording in Midrash collections for this latter version. Rather, it would seem that, if anything, it has evolved since the Renaissance out of an interaction with the Aesopic corpus, invited not only by the tradition of the death of

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[30] Mahan (1864: 11) claims that this fable is found in the *Siphri*, though which *Siphre* or *Siphra* he intends to mean is not stated. Thus far I have failed to find any evidence of this.

Jacob and the need to exhort Jewish collectivity, but also the older bundle of "reeds" and biblical stick and tribe analogies.

b. Indian Variants.

Further, in Chapter Four it was also noted that at the Panjikant palace there appears to have been a great deal of murals that drew their subjects from Indian cultural themes. However, if we are to bring in suggestions of either an Indian source or reception of this fable through Sogdiana and Central Asia, we must note that Grierson (1907: IV. 134, 207, 525, IX (3) 123) in his *Linguistic Survey of India* lists four versions of the "bundle" fable pattern amongst the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian speaking cultures of India, which are structurally very similar to those of the Aesopic tradition. Thomson and Roberts (1960: 111), drawing their structuralist archetype of the fable in this region from Grierson's study (Grierson IX (3) 123 *ap.* Thomson and Roberts 1960: 111) give this as:

> "An old man had four sons, but there was little harmony among them. When he was on his deathbed, he having called his sons caused them to sit beside him, and having ordered a bundle of thin sticks, told each of them to break it. But nobody could break it. Then the old man said, 'Now untie the bundle, and let each one of you break each stick apiece.' When they did so, they could easily break all. The boys wondering thereat, asked the father the reason. Then he said, 'When so many sticks were together, they were very strong, and so you could not break them. When they were separated from each other, they were easily broken to pieces. In like manner you will live in harmony, nobody will trouble you and you will live in happiness; but if you quarrel and are disunited, you will be weak like each separate stick."

Great difficulty is presented by the fact that this fable does not appear in any ancient or mediaeval Indian fable collection or in any other determinable Indian text from these periods including the *Pañcatantra* and *Jātaka Tales*, and the *Kathāsaritasāgara* of Somadeva, dating it prior to Grierson presents a serious problem. Thus Moses' (1987: 64) suggestion, which takes its evidence only from Thomson and Roberts' archetype, that an Indian version of the "bundle" fable "… might well be the source of the extended explication of the type among the pastoral nomadic peoples of Inner Asia," does not take these issues into account, nor does Moses (1987: 64) for that matter, address older nomadic variants apart from the Mongols, such as those of the

Scythians Tu-yü-hun (see Chapters Three and Four). For this reason, we are unable to solve this issue fully, but at very least we can be aware that this variant is perhaps closest to Babrius (47). It includes an unspecified father, a deathbed and sticks- key elements in discussing the source and history of the branches of this fable. However, although it is very likely that the *Augustana* version drifted eastwards, as has been shown in relation to Panjikant (see Chapter Five), without further evidence, we may only very tentatively suggest similar notions in relation to the Babrian incarnation of this fable and its similarity with Indian variants. This is in spite of the keen cultural similarities inherent in the role of the Indic *daṇḍa* (rod) and the ῥάβδος (wand, rod) (see Chapter Three), which would seem to encourage the possibility of this fable pattern's reception. Moreover, the contrary notion, once popular, that India was the source for many of the Aesopic tradition's fables (Upadhyaya 1965: 15), in many ways does not take into account the fact that aside from a couple of almost inscrutable parallels found in the *Pañcatantra*, wherein the Indian tale appears more complete that the Aesopic, such as the *Ass in Panther's Skin* and the *Ass Without Heart and Ears*, the other few examples of "similar" tales can only be vaguely associated structurally using the Aarne-Thompson-Uther numerical system (Edgerton 1965: 13).[31] For these reasons Indian variants are very difficult to contextualise in relation to the history of this fable's transmission, and will remain so, unless more evidence is discovered.

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[31] Both of these references may seem somewhat dated. This is because the notion that Aesop and the fables of India were inherently connected has now been somewhat abandoned, due to the paucity of equivalent tales. However, I have included them to illustrate the difficulty in solving this situation, and moreover the need for more study to be undertaken in this area by scholars.

App. 10 Other Versions of the "Bundle" Fable in the Renaissance.

A further example of *The Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* in Latin predating even Valla and Rinuccio may be found in the *Dialogus Creaturarum*, a fourteenth century CE collection of mostly Christianised Aesopic animal fables designed as an *exemplum* manual for preachers as well as a more general audience (Kratzmann 1988:35). The *Dialogus* was printed widely both in Latin and in many vernacular languages including French and English in the three decades following its *editio princeps* of 1480 (Kratzmann 1988: 51). The following, the only version I have found available, is from an English edition of 1530 (Kratzmann 1988: 55-56):

> "There was somtym an honest man that had thre sonnes, whiche when he sholde dye he called them before hym and sayd: 'Fet me a gret many of wandys bounde togyder.' And so they did. And when they were brought he sayd to his children: 'Folde them and breke them.' But they cowde not, they were so styf. To whom the fader sayd ageyn: "Plucke out one of them and breke all the other.' And they assayed to do so, and they myght well bowed them, but they cowd nat breke them. The thirde tym the fader spake and sayde: "Take one alone and assay to breke that.' Whiche they sone destroyd and brake asonder. The sayd he to them in this wyse: Chyldren, thus shall yt fall vnto you. If that ye do contynewe in loue and concorde no man shall be able lightly to hurte nor ditroye you. But yf ye varye and be deuyded by dyscorde, euery man shall preuayll esely ageynst you and ditroy you and put you under fote. And Therfore beware of malyce and discorde" (*Dial. Creat.* V. 143ff).

However, in the Latin, its casting of the father of the tale as "a good old Roman *paterfamiliaris*", as Abrados and Van Dijk (2003: 76) have termed it, may also have reinforced the erroneous idea that this fable had a basis in Roman myth. Further, although the *Dialogus* appears to have drawn on much in the way of standard material from Aesopic compendia of the period, held in common with sources such as Walter l'Anglais, *Les Contes Moralisés*, Odo of Cheriton and the various Middle French *Isopets* (Kratzmann 1988: 13-14), none of these texts appear to have the "bundle" fable amongst them. Curiously, though, of all the major variants of this fable recorded, this version with its three sons is perhaps closest to Byzantine historian Constantine Porphyrogenitus' Moravian fable (*De Adm. Imp.* XLI). However, *De Administrando* was not copied and brought into the west until 1509 by Antony Eparchus (Moravcsik

1985: 28-29), and was not printed until 1611 by Meursius in Holland (*ibid*). For this reason, it would seem impossible for this text to have influenced the composition of the *Dialogus.*

Rather, the structure of the three sons in this fable may instead have its roots in the fable of *The Man Who Had Three Sons*, a popular tale found in *Les Contes Moralisés* (Bozon fol. 142c), the works of Etienne de Bourbon (de Marche 160, *Spec. Mor.* I.III. X. 25 *ap.* Bozon *Les Contes* fol. 142c: 251-252) and *Gesta Romanorum* (XLV. 10.2.5 *ap.* Bozon *Les Contes* fol. 142c: 253), all works which the *Dialogus* most likely drew upon (Kratzmann 1988: 10-11). In this tale, a husband challenges his wife concerning adultery and she tells him that one of his sons is not his own, but refuses to say which. On his deathbed the father, not knowing what to do, simply leaves all his property in his will to "his son". Arguing, the three vying sons are taken before a magistrate who ties the father's dead body to a tree, then asks the sons to shoot arrows at it. The first two strike the father, but the third begins to weep and thus is recognised as the legitimate heir. The coordinate elements of the term *paterfamiliaris* found in the *Gesta Romanorum* version of this other fable (XLV. 10.2.5 *ap.* Bozon *Les Contes* fol. 142c: 253), the father's deathbed in all of the versions, and the enumeration of the sons, compounded by the popularity of this tale in mediaeval collections, suggests that the possibility that this tale may have influenced the structure of the *Dialogus* "bundle" fable in question.[32] As to the source of the "bundle" fable in the *Dialogus*, this is very hard to tell as there are no specific linguistic clues and the order of reducing the rods one by one appears to be a unique creation of this author.

A further Christianised "bundle" fable is also found under the name "*De Quodam Homine Decem Filios Habente*"(Concerning A Certain Man Who Had Ten Sons) in the 1460 *Opusculum Fabularum*, from which the name of Aesop is utterly absent, though many Aesopic tales are included (Wheatley 2003: 231). This is:

> "A certain man had ten sons who had begun to argue and quarrel with one another.
> Thus their father took ten very strong sticks, and binding them together, he gave them

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[32] Curiously, one redaction inexplicably differs from the others in giving the number of sons as four (Bozon *Les Contes* fol. 142c: 255), most likely a mistake.

to one of his sons and said to him: 'Break (these) if you can!' He (replied) to him: 'I cannot break these'. Then the father loosed one and gave it to him saying: 'Break this,' and he broke it. And then he broke the other nine, one after the other. (This is) an *exemplum* for friends, who so long as they love one another and do not quarrel, are not able to be broken assunder. For each kingdom which is in itself divided will be destroyed and house will fall upon house" (*Op. Fab.* I.39). [33]

Firstly, we should perhaps look to the moral appended to this rendition of the fable, that of "*omne etiam regnum in se ipsum divisum desolabitur et domus supra domus cadet*" (for each kingdom which is in itself divided will be destroyed and house will fall upon house). As the moral in two of the three main manuscripts (*Op. Fab.* I. 39. M,B), this suggests that the context of this tale is imagined to be one of statesmanship, as is found clearly in Inner Asian variants and implicitly in the *Augustana*- but not in Babrius at all (see Chapter Three, Five). The specific enumeration, for that matter, of the ten sons is also in some ways reminiscent of the twelve sons of Chingis Khan concerning whom the "bundle" fable of the *Flos Historiarum* (III.17.37g) and *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (24. p. 148) was widely read during this same fifteenth century CE period (see Chapter Five).

Both Meckelnborg and Schneider (1999: 3-7; Wheatley 2003: 231-232) have contended in agreement with the statement made in the *Opusculum's* author's introduction that the Aesop tales in this collection were Greek in origin (*Op. Fab.* I: 65), but conversely that *Augustana* was most likely not the direct Greek source of the fables. Rather, they believe, the source was a manuscript with a shared common ancestor to the *Augustana* with the inclusion of some material from Babrius (Meckelnborg and Schneider 1999: 3-7; Wheatley 2003: 231-232). Despite this, the lack of deathbed element and the emphasis on statecraft would more clearly suggest that this specific fable was taken from largely *Augustana* material, without discernable influence from Babrius or the Chingis fable. Against this, however, the

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[33] **De Quodem Homine Decem Filios Habente.** *"Homo quidam habebat X filios, qui ceperunt litigare et dissentire ad invicem. Accepit autem pater illorum decem virgas fortissimas et colligans eas insimul tradidit eas uni ex filiis et dixit ei: 'Frange si pot[u]eris!' Cui ille 'Non possum eas frangere.' Autem pater solvit unam, tradidit ei dicens: 'Frange illam,' et fregit. Fregit e[t]iam alias IX, unam post alliam. Exemplum amicorum, qui quamdiu diligunt <se> et non dissent[t]iunt, non possunt frangi. omne etiam regnum in se ipsum divisum desolabitur et domus supra domus cadet".*

enumeration of the sons as ten may well also reflect a choice on the part of the author in order to emphasise the "πολλοὺς παῖδας" (many sons) in the Babrian version (47), as in the *Augustana* the number of sons is not mentioned at all. Against this the peculiar the action of listing ten sons, and then the father only challenging one to break the bundle would appear to be an invention of the author of the *Opusculum*, as this specific element does not occur in other versions. Thus overall it appears that although versions of this fable pertaining to Chingis Khan in the West would have been widely available and read in many languages during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries CE, the two authors of the *Dialogus* and *Opusculum* appear to have drawn theirs from Aesopic material, which was actively reappropriated and remoulded for their own purposes.

App. 11 Visual Breakdown of the Network of Intercultural Influences Regarding the "Bundle" Fable.

a. Mediterranean.   **b. Inner Asian Nomads.**

Plutarch $\longleftarrow$ "Scythic" Peoples (6th c. BCE? Prior to 2nd c. CE)
(2nd c. CE)   ?$\downarrow$

                                    Tu-yü-hun (5, 6th c. CE).

Aesop: Babrius (late 1st, 2nd c. CE).

Augustana (2nd to 5th c. CE) $\longrightarrow$ Manichaeans/ Sogdians (6-8th c. CE)
                                    (Indian?)

        Midrashim (2nd c. CE?).   ? Türks/ Uyghurs (8th c. CE?)

            al-Muhallab (8th c. CE? Recorded: 11th c. CE).

                Persian Historians (12-14th c. CE).

(Imagined Bulgar fable 9th c. CE).
Porphyrogenitus (10th c. CE).   Türks (Oguz, Seljuk) (recorded 12thc.CE+).

                        Mongols (13-14th c. CE).
            Hayton (13th c. CE).

        Mandeville (14th c. CE), Outrouse (14th c. CE).

Renaissance Aesopic Corpus (14th c. CE+; 15th c. CE Valla, Rinuccio).

    French Revolution (late 18th c. CE).

    Socialism, Marxism (19th c. CE).   American Republic (late 18th c. CE+).

    Fascism (20th c. CE).   US Law (mid 19th c. CE+).

        Ecology (21st c. CE).

App. 12 American Political Appropriations of the Collective *fasces* Continued.

As was touched on in Chapter Five, in America there is a long ongoing and highly sensitive political debate as to whether the thirteen arrows grasped by the eagle in its talons on the Great Seal of the United States[34] are the result of influence from an August 1775 meeting between colonists with the Iroquois, in which the following "bundle" fable is cited:

> "These were the words of Canassatego: 'Brothers, Our forefathers rejoiced to hear Canassatego speak these words. They sunk deep into our hearts. The advice was good. It was kind. They said to one another: 'The Six Nations are a wise people, Let us hearken to them, and take their counsel, and teach our children to follow it. Our old men have done so. They have frequently taken a single arrow and said, Children, see how easily it is broken. Then they have taken and tied twelve arrows together with a strong string or cord and our strongest men could not break them. See, said they, this is what the Six Nations mean. Divided, a single man may destroy you; united, you are a match for the whole world. We thank the great God that we are all united; that we have a strong confederacy, composed of twelve provinces. . . . These provinces have lighted a great council fire at Philadelphia and sent sixty-five counsellors to speak and act in the name of the whole, and to consult for the common good of the people…" (Journal of the Treaty Held at Philadelphia in August, 1775, Vol. 5 *ap.* Johansen 1982: 50-51).

For that matter, it is often suggested that Article 6 of the American Constitution, in which all states and legal organisations within the union are obliged to apply to the same federal "Law of the Land" echoes similar sentiments shown in Article 57 of the Great Law of the Iroquois (Johansen 1982: 22, 43; Keoke and Porterfield 2009: 286). The Iroquois article also mentions the symbolism of the "bundle" fable:

> "This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every

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[34] However, the combination of the 1782 Maxim of the Great Seal of the United States *E Pluribus Unum* (One from Many) and the *fasces* do not seem to appear together until 1916 on the US Mercury dime (Lange and Mead 2005: 150).

State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding"(Article 6 *ap.* Keoke and Porterfield 2009: 286).

Comparatively the Iroquois article reads:

"Five arrows shall be bound together very strong and each arrow shall represent one nation. As the five arrows are bound this shall symbolise the complete union of the nations….Therefore they shall labor, legislate and council together for the interest of future generations" (Article 57 *ap.* Keoke and Porterfield 2009: 286).

However, it is necessary to recognise that the Iroquois Constitution was not written down until 1880 (Keoke and Porterfield 2009: 284), and moreover in English, thereby incriminating the situation with possible anachronisms and European influence and interpolation from the Aesopic tradition. In the same way, in reference to the 1774 meeting between colonial commissioners and the Iroquois, perhaps we should not overestimate the possibility of these European translators, who may well by their own cultural experiences have shaped an Iroquois story closer to the *Farmer and His Quarrelling Sons* than it may actually have been. Against this Kingsley (2011: 167-170) has suggested that this fable's presence amongst the Iroquois and the Nomads of Inner Asia is due to it being possessed by peoples in Siberia prior to the Neolithic migration into the Americas. Despite this it must be emphasised that no other Amerindian culture attests such a fable. As inviting as speculations such as these might seem, we must admit that if there were more attestations of such fables or even similar symbolism, such as the line of descent we find in Inner Asia, then the possibility of such a transmission might at very least be considered seriously plausible.

App. 13 Transcription and Translation of the Handwritten Uyghur Text of the *Oguz Name.*[35]

Youth.

(1) Let it begin, they have said.[36] This is his image: .[37] And because of it (people)[38] have become filled with joy. One day Ay Kagan's eyes grew bright[39] and (his wife) gave birth to a mighty son.[40] The boy's complexion was sky blue; his

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[35] The title is that of Shcherbak (1959: 22). The actual title has been torn off the manuscript and thus is not known (Ölmez 2009: 2). Pelliot (1930: 247) refers to it for this reason as "incomplet" and "*Oughouz-namé*" as a conventional yet arbitrary title adopted by Riza Nur and Radlov. The following is a translation of pp. 22-63 of Shcherbak's (1959) text, comprising the 42 pages of nine lines each of a most likely fourteenth century CE Turfanian manuscript written in a curious form of the Uyghur language. Ölmez (2009: 2-3) contends that the mix of Old Turkic, Middle Mongolian and post-Oguz Turkish of this dialect, in conjunction with the use of the Uyghur script, which became common again in the time of the Timurids gives it a definite fifteenth century dating. Pelliot (1930: 350-352) also agrees on the fifteenth century as the *terminus* for the written text owing to its late Kyrgyz dialect palatisation of certain consonants, but sets its creation as the thirteenth century CE due to what he believes is a very strong Mongol period influence on the story's content. In spite of such largely unsolvable arguments, the pre-Islamic nature of much of the text would seem to more importantly suggest older material renewed and orally reworked over a long time through many cultural periods before this individual example was recorded.

[36] I have not retained Shcherbak's structure, wherein he transcribes the text in Cyrillic in Uyghur line by line, and beneath it the equivalent in Russian. Often this seems to force the translator to attempt to convey the meaning of the text word for word in an approximation of Turkic syntax, causing it to appear somewhat awkward. I have attempted to translate the text as closely as possible, but also to present it in a manner easily readable and hope to have struck a mid-point between these two somewhat opposing extremes.

[37] Аңағусу/*anguγu* (cf. 6.III) or *anγu-su*, as read by Pelliot (1930: 249) does literally mean (fr.,)"son image", but as Pelliot (*ibid*) points out it is a verbal noun- perhaps "his description". Pelliot (*ibid.*) notes here that there is an image of a bull inserted into the text after the word in question. The only edition I have found this integral aspect of the manuscript printed in is Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 10). Images are also included for the *qiat* and falcon in Bang and Rahmeti's text (*ibid* 12)This seems to echo the emphasis placed on Oguz's bull like qualities later in his description (found at 2.III).

[38] Round brackets are my insertion where a word is required to render the sense more accurately in English. Square brackets are in accordance with Shcherbak (1959) and his suggested readings of corrupt and missing passages. These will be commented on where necessary.

[39] The argument here is whether the verb describing the eyes is Pelliot's (1930: 249-250) *yara-* (variant of *köz aγï-* for the eyes to grow dim) or *yaru-* ("become bright" also attested 8. III, 10. IV), supported by Radlov (1890 *ap.* Pelliot 1930: 249), Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 10, 32-34), Shcherbak (1959: 22) and Ölmez (2009: 18). I have settled with the majority, as the word does seem more likely and has precedents in Turkic Buddhist literature (cf. Bang and Rahmeti 1936: 32-34).

[40] Shcherbak's (1959: 22, 94) Russian has "*она родила сына*" (she gave birth to a son), taking Ay Kagan as the name of the mother. Ölmez (2009: 17-18) also has "she gave birth to a baby boy" without context or explanation. The root of the problem, as Pelliot (1930: 250) points out, is that if the mother is the only person mentioned here (and not the father of Oguz at all), *katun* is the feminine title for a Türkic ruler (and not Kagan) and that the proximal *ḥānīm* is attested only amongst the Crimean Türks of the Ottoman period. This suggests to me that the mother is either elided or that there has been an error in the manuscript. Bernshtam (1935: 35; 1951: 66) linked her divine glow with the Turkic earth goddess *Umai*, and compares her to the goddess Ishtar as a moon deity due to the lunar connections with her name *"ay"* (Turk. moon- *ay kagan* = lit. "moon queen/king?). This may have some value in relation to Turkic creation myths, but lack of context within the text causes difficulties for such interpretations.

mouth was crimson like flame; his eyes vermillion;[41] his hair and brows (jet) black. He was more handsome than (even) angels are.[42] The boy drank the first milk from his mother's breast[43] and then he (2) did not drink what was left of it. He desired bloody meat, and rice to go with it and wine,[44] and going to (each of his) desire(s), he fulfilled them. At forty days old he was colossal and (could) run and play. His legs were like those of a bullock; his loins like those of a wolf; his shoulders like those of a sable; his breast like that of a bear. His whole body was covered with hair.[45] He stood watch over the flocks and he rode horses and he went hunting for game.[46] In (but) a number of days and nights he reached maturity.

The *Qiat*.

(3) At this time[47] in this place there was a great forest. There were many rivers and streams there.[48] There was a great deal of game and migratory birds there. In the middle of the forest there was (also) a mighty *qiat*.[49] It fed upon horses and men. It

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[41] Ölmez (2009: 18) says "hazel" which would seem more natural, though this colouration (*ал*) would seem intrinsically connected with blushing and redness. In modern Turkish it can mean chestnut in connection with horses (Alderson and İz 1959: 9 "al" [1]).

[42] The words here are *jäkshï näpsïkïlär-dän* (than the good *näpsïkïlär*). Pelliot (1930: 254-255) details that *navsiki* is a Uyghur term for spirits or djinn, which stems from Indic literature where it means a local genius. Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 11) have *perilerden* (than the *peris*). *körüklügrek* (§1)= brighter, like *quγulγuluγraq* (§14) appears to indicate a late usage (fifteenth century CE) of the –*luγraq* comparative suffix (Bang and Rahmeti 1936: 34-35; cf. Ölmez 2009: 4).

[43] Pelliot (1930: 256-257) links the word for (fr.) "premiere lait" (*uγuz*) with the name of Oguz Kagan himself and the word "*oγus*" (tribe). This is a curious notion- one ritually linking Türkic identity with initiation and birth, and should be looked into in greater detail.

[44] Pelliot (1930: 257-260) goes into much discussion on these foodstuffs, after which he finally concludes that *yig* = raw/bloody and describes the *et/ät* (meat); *aš*= a term for cereal based food that accompanies meats; and that *sürmä*= wine, though its derivation from *sub* (water) appears to have caused it to mean many different edible liquids, interpreted differently by various Türkic peoples. Shcherbak (1959: 23) "*мяса сырого, пищи, вина*" (of raw meat, cooked food and wine). Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 10) have "*çiğ et, çorba ve şarap*" (raw meat, soup and wine).

[45] The word for body here: *bedän/bädän* = Arabic *badan* (body). Uyghur: *mÿ mÿnÿɛлÿɛ* (lit. as hairy as hairy can get). Ölmez (2009: 18) has "his whole body was fairy", which appears a mistake for "furry".

[46] *Кiк* seems to suggest mammals, as it is sharply distinguished from birds in poetic formulas. The Russian retains it as *кик*. Note in (3) the *qiat* is referred to as a *кiк*, which in this case I have translated as "beast".

[47] Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 10) seem to believe that *bu* (this) does not agree with *čaqta* (at … time), and that there is a lacuna here. Shcherbak (1959: 23-24) does not suggest anything like this, not Pelliot (1930), and the language seems to agree without problem.

[48] Pelliot (1930: 264) claims that *mörän*= Ch. *kiang* and *öγüz* = Ch. *ho*- official terms for large rivers.

[49] The *qiat* seems a difficult creature to deduce, though the image contained in the manuscript does suggest an animal that at least visually mirrors that of the western unicorn (cf. *ON* 6 and n. 54 of my work below). The Russian has *единорог* (rhinoceros), which could also indicate a unicorn, though each time it is mentioned a question mark follows it in Shcherbak's (1959: 24-27) text, showing indecision on coming to any strong conclusion. Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 12) have *gergedan*- the modern Turkish term for a rhinoceros. Shcherbak (1959: 68) suggests multiple possibilities meaning a legendary animal like a rhinoceros or a dog in Uyghur and Sogdian respectively. Pelliot (1930: 264-267) discusses this beast in great detail, after which he refutes its connection with Arabic *qiat* and the Mongol *qïat tribe,*

was a powerful and terrifying beast. It had become a harsh burden and preyed upon men. Oguz Kagan was a manly, mighty fellow.[50] He wanted to hunt the *qiat*. One day he went out hunting with his spear (4) and with his bow and arrow and with his sword and with his shield. He caught a deer. He bound the deer to a tree with a willow bough and then he left. After that the morning of the next day arrived, and when it was morning he came back. He saw that the *qiat* had taken the deer. Then he caught a bear and bound it to the tree with his golden belt and left. After that the morning of the next day arrived and when it was morning he came back. He saw that the *kiat* had taken the bear. (5) Thus he put himself in front of the tree. The *qiat* came and pierced Oguz's shield with its head. Oguz pierced the *qiat's* head with his spear and he killed it. With his sword he cut off its head, took it, and went home. When he returned he saw that a falcon[51] was feasting on the *qiat's* innards. With his bow and arrow he slew the falcon, and cut off its head. This is an image of the falcon: .[52] "It ate the deer and it ate the bear. By my spear it perished, (6) - it was made of iron (the spear). The falcon ate the *kiat*. By my bow it perished, - it was made from the winds (the bow and arrow),"[53] and having said this he went home. This is an image of the *kiat*: .[54]

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and suggests instead that it should be read *qa'at* (*qat*)- a Mongolised version of Skt. *kaḍga* (rhinoceros). For this reason I have left it as *kiat* and for the reader's imagination to fill in by the context of the rest of the work. Ölmez (2009: 18-19) bizarrely and slightly disconcertingly refers to it as "the horny".

[50] Pelliot (1930: 268-269) translates *eriz/iris* as "royale" instead of my "manly" because of the semiotic value inherent in Mong. *er*-/ Türk. *är* in the titles of warriors. His manliness makes him a member of the aristorcracy and vice-versa.

[51] Ölmez (2009: 19) has rather specifically "red-footed falcon" throughout. I am not sure if this is a species distinction without mention of redness or feet in the text, though the word *шуңкар* (Mod. Mong. *шонхор*) is obviously Mongolian, as Ölmez (2009: 3) agrees.

[52] Once again we have another miniature (Bang and Rahmeti 1936: 12).

[53] Pelliot (1930: 273-275) discusses the syntactical difficulties in this passage in detail, deciding that the spear = made of iron and the arrows = made of the winds, and that this is merely a showing of Oguz's might with both traditional melée and distanced wepaons. He (*ibid* 275) explains its function in the overall text by adding finally: *"Et tout ceci vise les combats futurs que le heros livrera pour créer son empire"* ("And all this shows the future battles which the hero will undertake in order to create his empire").

[54] Note the image of the *qiat* included appears quite like that of a unicorn (Bang and Rahmeti 1936: 12). This whole section is rather curious. I would suggest that it indicates that the soul of the monster has passed into the falcon and therefore it has to be ritually and apotropaically beheaded as the *kiat* was.

Oguz's Wives and Children.

One day in a certain place Oguz Kagan was at prayer to Heaven.[55] It became dark. A blue light came out of the blue sky. It was brighter than (even) the sun or moon.[56] Oguz Kagan ran up to it and saw that (7) in the middle of this light there was a young woman. She was sitting there alone. She was a most beautiful young woman. On her head there was a fiery, gleaming, birthmark like the North Star.[57] This young woman was so beautiful that if she laughed the Blue Sky would have laughed and if she wept the Blue Sky would have wept. As soon as Oguz Kagan saw her he was beside himself, went up to her, was pleased with her, took her, lay (8) with her and did with her as he desired. She became heavy with child. After (but) a number of days and nights she was lightened and gave birth to three manly sons. They called the first Sun, they called the second Moon and they called the third Star. One day Oguz Kagan went out hunting. In front of him he saw a tree in the middle of a lake. Inside the hollow[58] of the (9) tree there was a young woman. She was sitting alone. She was a most beautiful young woman. Her eyes were bluer than the blue sky. Her hair was like the flows of a stream. Her teeth were like pearls. She was so beautiful that when the people saw her they said: "Oh, oh, oh, we have died!"[59] And milk turned itself into

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[55] Shcherbak (1959: 24, 70) translates *Jалбарǧуда* here as *"плоконялся небесонму владыке"* (he venerated the lord of heaven), where it would more naturally mean "at prayer" as in mid. Mong. *Zalbaril* (prayer) (Lessing 1995: 1030). Ölmez (2009: 3) claims this is a Türkic word that had been Mongolised by this stage. Pelliot (1930: 276) adds little, except saying that *jalbarga-da* is an incorrect reading compared with *jalbargu-da*.

[56] Bright(er) = *quγulγuluγraq*. This word is taken by Ölmez (2009: 4) as proving the lateness of the text (fifteenth century) due to its long form and odd suffixes. Pelliot (1930: 275-276) says nothing of its newness, but links it with *qut* (heavenly power, good fortune) and its use in Manichaean Uyghur terminology for divine light.

[57] *Алтун казук/Mong. altan qadaqasun* ("golden stake") is a term used for the star Polaris. In Turkic-Mongolian tradition this star is regarded as the world's soul and suggests a profound divine symbolism whereby Oguz Kagan's receiving of such a woman destines him for world rule. cf. *törü-yin qadaqasun* (the pillar of state) in Chapter Two of my thesis.

[58] Shcherbak (1959: 71-72) suggests that this curious term is a combination of *кабу* (tree) + *чак* (cover) which he defends with Radlov's (1893-1911: 456 *ap.* Shcherbak 1959: 71) dictionary entry on the same term: *"Неболшая попрышка или оболочка"* (a not small cover or coat). Ölmez (2009: 18) has "in the cavity of this tree" which would seem to have much in common with Uyghur origination myths (cf. DeWeese 1994: 285, 500) and that of the Kipchaks who are born from Oguz Kagan and one of his wives in a hollow tree in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Oguz-Nāme* (*Hist. Oguz.* §43 script 591r 56), but is not defended or explained. Pelliot (1930: 278-291) takes *qabučak* to signify the hollow of a tree, and refutes suggestions that it means a way out or little door, as well as mentioning the connections with RaD's Kipchak aetiology.

[59] Pelliot (1930: 283) denies Radlov's (1893 *ap.* Pelliot 1930: 283) claims that the onomatopoeic "ay, ay, ay," of this section is in any way connected with the moon (Turk. *ay* = moon).

kumis.[60] As soon as Oguz Kagan saw her he was beside himself, his heart (10) skipped a beat, he found her pleasing and took her, lay with her and did with her as he desired. She became heavy with child. After (but) a number of days and nights she was lightened and gave birth to three manly sons. They called the first Sky, they called the second Hill and they called the third Sea.[61]

The Command.

After this Oguz Kagan organised a great feast,[62] and (11) giving to his people a command, they complied and came. He had forty tables and forty benches set up. [63] They ate dishes of meat and joints of meat and drank wine and *kumis.* At the assembly Oguz Kagan gave a command[64] to his *begs* (lords) and people and said: "I have become your kagan. Fetch up your bows and shields. Let 'Good Fortune' be our motto.[65] Let 'Blue Wolf' be our battle cry. Let there be a (veritable) (12) forest of spears.[66] Let the wild ass[67] and the sea and the river run in the hunting grounds.[68] Let

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[60] Alcohol manufactured from horse or cow's milk. Cf. Hdt. IV.2 for a description of its manufacture as far back as the fifth century BCE.

[61] Note how the first three sons are celestial, in accordance with their celestial mother and the second three are layers of the world, in accordance with their more earthly parent. This dualism of heaven and earth and the two tribes later to spring from these sons underpins much of this tale.

[62] *Toi* is the term used and remains untranslated in the Russian (Shcherbak 1959: 37). Ölmez (2009: 22) has "feast" and Pelliot (1930: 283) "festin" (feast).

[63] *bindäng* = 40,000 (*mïng*) + cauldrons (*-däng*) as Radlov suggests (1893 *ap.* Pelliot 1930: 285) is quite absurd compared with *ban(d)däng*= Ch. *pan-teng* (bench) (Pelliot 1930: 286).

[64] The term for command is *ǰarluɣ*, borrowed from the language of the Mongolian court for an official command. In Uyghur the term was *yarlig,* which suggests Mongol influence in pronunciation as well (Pelliot 1930: 306).

[65] *Тамҙа* is the term used here. *Tamɣa* in Mid. Mong. signifies a "seal, brand" (Lessing 1995: 774). Because of the traditional difficulty of this section I give several versions: Radlov (1893 *ap.* Pelliot 1930: 287): *"Ich bin nun euer Kagan, lasst uns Bogen und Schild nehmen, sie mögen uns als Tamga dienen, unser Bujan möge der blaue Wolf sein, unser Uran möge 'der eiserne Speer' sein, im Walde möge das Wild leben, die Kulane und die Talui, und die Flüsse und die Bäche mögen die Fahne sein. Dies is der blaue Kurigan"* ("I am now your Kagan. Let us take up our bows and shields, may they serve as our *tamga* (sign), may our *bujan* (good fortune) be of the Blue Wolf, may our *Uran* (battle-cry) be "the Iron Spear"; in the forest may the game dwell, the *kulan* (wild ass) and the *talui* (?), and the rivers and the streams may they be our standard. This is the blue *Kurigan* (tent)"). Riza Nur (1928 *ap.* Pelliot 1930: 287): *"Je suis devenu votre souverain. Prenez l'arc et le bouclier! Que le "hoyan" soit notre tamgha (empreinte)! Que "loup gris" soit notre mot d'ordre ! Lances de fer, soyez une forêt! Que le gibier et le zèbre courent á 1'endroit où on chasse, dans la mer et dans la rivière! Que la tente bleue soit comme le soleil!"* ("I have become your ruler. Fetch up the bow and shield! May "hoyan" (good fortune) be our *tamga* (seal, mark)! May "Grey Wolf" be our battle-cry! May [our] iron spears be a forest! May the game and wild horse run in the hunting grounds, into the sea and into the river! May the blue tent be as the sun!").

[66] Ölmez (2009: 22) has "let iron spears and forests be abundant". This would seem a rather banal gloss at best and misses the point of the metaphor, as well as ignoring the grammar.

[67] *Кулан* = "wild ass" remains untranslated in the Russian here (Shcherbak 1959: 33)

[68] With regard to syntax and thus meaning this is quite an odd sentence. Presumably all these things are to run or move. The verb is *ǰÿpÿcÿн* which is intransitive and thus cannot mean pursue. Ölmez (2009: 22) has "let wild horses fill the hunting places, more sea, more sea, more rivers and sun," which would

the sun be our banner and the sky be our pavilion."[69] After that Oguz Kagan sent a command to the four corners (of the land). He wrote down an announcement and giving it to his messengers he sent it. In this announcement it was written: "I have become the kagan of the Uyghur people. It is a matter of importance that I have become the kagan of this land's four corners. (13) I desire for you to bow your heads.[70] If you obey my instruction and send me tribute I will consider you a friend," he said, "(But) if you do not obey my instruction, becoming wrathful and marshalling my troops, I will consider you an enemy. Instantaneously attacking and striking, (all I need) say (is): 'let there be nothing there,' and I will have it done," he said.

Altun Kagan and Urum Kagan.

At this time to his (Oguz's) west there was a kagan called Altun Kagan.[71] (14) This Altun Kagan sent a messenger to Oguz Kagan. He tributed him a great deal of gold and silver and he had brought to him a great deal of red precious stones,[72] and sending to him a great deal of treasures, honouring[73] Oguz Kagan, he gave him (these things). He (Oguz) made him one of his *begs* and his companion and became an ally with him.

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seem semantically and syntactically meaningless. Ergin (1988: §17) similalry has "*daha deniz, daha müren*" (more sea, more river). Pelliot (1930: 291) takes it as "Encore des mers! Encore des fleuves !" ("More seas! More rivers!"), which is seemingly odd as *takï* would seem to simply be linking the sea and rivers and not mean "more of".

[69] Ölmez (2009: 22) "let the blue pavilion be the token" would seem a very poor translation and does not admit the obvious equational nature of sun= flag/sky= pavilion, which Pelliot (1930: 291) appears to have been the first to highlight as the most likely answer.

[70] Riza Nur's (1928 *ap.* Pelliot 1930: 292) conception that *baš čaluɣaluɣ* means *beš* (five) + *čaling* (Mong. pay made out to soldiers in silver from Ch. *ts'ien-leang*) would seem a minority reading compared with Radlov (1989 *ap.* Pelliot 1930: 292), Pelliot (1930: 292-293) and Shcherbak (1959: 34-35) who all take it to be connected with Ch. *k'o-t'eou* or kowtowing. Ölmez (2009: 23) has the absurd "I want you to knuckle under to me."

[71] This name may refer to the Jürchen/Chin or Kitai peoples and Mongol experiences of them in the thirteenth century (Marquart 1914: 143; Pelliot 1930: 297; Bang and Rahemti 1936: 40; Shcherbak 1959: 95), but this needs more work than I am able to undertake at present. Pelliot (1930: 297) notes that Altun Kagan being on the "right" and Urum on the "right" suggests a northerly orientation, which compared with the usual easterly orientation of the Altaic peoples and southerly orientation adopted from the Chinese is certainly an anomaly.

[72] Although *qïz* would seem to mean "daughter" and not be a vlaid readiing (Pelliot 1930: 298), it would actually seem to be *qïzïl* (red) (Shcherbak 1959: 50; Ölmez 2009: 22). Ölmez (2009: 22), following Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 16-17) takes *qïz yaqut taš* here specifically as "red ruby". Pelliot (1930: 298-299) reads *qïz* as *qaš* to indicate a "mongolisme"- as the Mid. Mong. term for stone is *qas* and that it might be responsible for the origins of the word "jade" via the Mongol term for rain-stones: *ǰad* (cf. *SHM* §143; RaD. *JAT.* II. §458). All this means that he takes *qas yaqut taš* as two entities: much in the way of jade *and* precious stones.

[73] The verb is *soyurqab*, which Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 40) point out, appears to have been borrowed from Mong. *sojurqa-* (to honour).

To his (Oguz') east there was a kagan by the name of Urum Kagan.[74] This kagan's army was very large and his cities were very many. (15) This Urum Kagan did not heed Oguz Kagan's command and he did not act in conformity (with it). "I will not obey these words of his," he said and did not attend to the command. Oguz Kagan, becoming wrathful, desired to attack him. He rode out,[75] striking with his army bearing their banners.[76] After forty days he (Oguz) came to the base of the mountain called Ice Mountain.[77] He (Oguz) lay down in his tent, fell fast asleep (16) and slumbered. When the following morning came, a beam of light like the sun came into Oguz Kagan's tent. From out of this light a blue-furred,[78] blue-maned massive, male wolf shone. This wolf gave words to Oguz Kagan. It said: "O, o, o, Oguz-you are soon to fight against Urum. (17) O, o, o, Oguz- I will go in front of you (all),"[79] it said. After that Oguz Kagan packed up his tent, departed, and saw that in front of his army a blue-furred, blue-maned, massive, male wolf was walking. Falling into order behind the wolf, they marched.[80]

War on Urum Kagan.

(18) A number of days later the blue-furred, blue-maned, massive, male wolf came to a halt. Oguz along with his men (also) came to a halt. At this place there was a large body of water called the *Itil* River.[81] On the banks of the *Itil* River, in front of a black hill they made battle. They fought with arrows and with spears and with swords.

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[74] Marquart (1914: 142-143) suggests that Urum kagan represents the Alans. Shcherbak (1959: 95) himself simply seems to agree with this arbitrary designation, when Urum could indicate many places such as the Anatolian Seljuk Sulanate of Rūm, or even any portion of the Byzantine Empire in general. Ölmez (2009: 23) has "Roma" without explanation. Pelliot (1930: 298) automatically assumes it to mean the sultanate of Rūm and notes that the word for east: *čöng/jöng* appears to be from the Mongolian word "*ze'ün*" (east), and that *ong* and *sol* are the usual terms for east and west. *Čong* for east is also found in 41.III and 41.VIII.

[75] Pelliot (1930: 208) takes the verb for riding here: *atla-* to be a "mongolisme", as Mong. *moril-* = ride a horse (*morin*) and *at*= a gelding in Mid. Mong. The verb appears also at: 15.VII, 16. IX, 20.IX, 25. III and IV, 33.III, 34.VI) suggesting very common usage.

[76] Ölmez (2009: 23) has the rather absurd "raised his plume".

[77] Marquart (1914: 143) takes this *Muz-Taγ* (Ice Mountain) and the one in section 21 to be two different ones. Pelliot (1930: 208) disagrees, suspecting redundancy and natural inexactness within the tradition.

[78] Pelliot (1930: 309) rightly takes *ǰal* to be a palatised form of Türk. *yal* (hair, coat), as is found in Mong. *del* and *delun*. Ölmez (2009: 24) has "blue feathered". This seems a misunderstanding of the fact that in English, unlike Turkish, there are different words for the coverings of mammals' and birds' bodies.

[79] The term for "in front" here is *tapuqung-γa* which is repeated with slightly different grammar in reference to the blue wolf as *tapuqlarï-γa* (17. V), the hill where Oguz fights Urum: *tapïq-ï-da* (18.VI) and again with the wolf as *tapuq-larï-da* (25.VIII), as Pelliot (1930: 309) deftly points out.

[80] Cf. Chapter Two of my thesis for a detailed account of this pattern of myths.

[81] Shcherbak (1959: 98) considers that this river may represent the Volga, Don or Kama, though he settles upon the first, strangely. Ölmez (2009: 24) has Volga as does Pelliot (1930: 310).

Between[82] the armies there was a great deal of fighting (19) and there was a great deal of grief in the peoples' hearts. The combats and fighting were so ferocious that the water[83] of the *Itil* River turned bright red, as if it were cinnabar.[84] Oguz Kagan attacked and Urum kagan[85] fled. Oguz Kagan captured Urum kagan's khanate (kingdom) and took his people. In his (Urum's) *ordu*[86] there was a great deal of dead goods and a great deal of live goods.[87] (20) One of Urum kagan's brothers was there, Urus Bek by name.[88] This Urus Bek had sent his son to a mighty citadel on the top of a hill in the middle of the *Teräng* River.[89] He had said: "The safety of the citadel is of paramount importance. Hence, after the battle protect the citadel for as long as possible," he said. Oguz Kagan attacked the citadel. Urus (21) Bek's son gave to him a great deal of gold and silver. He said: "O you are my kagan. My father gave this citadel to me. He said: 'The safety of the citadel is of paramount importance. Hence, after the battle protect the citadel for as long as possible,' he said. If my father becomes wrathful, will you protect me?"[90] I acknowledge your command, wealth and wisdom. (22) Our power has become your power.[91] Our dynasty has become your line's dynasty.[92] Heaven has conceded[93] to give you this land. I give you my head and my authority. Giving you tribute, I will not break with your friendship," he said. Oguz Kagan considered the young man's words to be good, liked this, and was pleased and

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[82] Pelliot (1930: 311) considers *ara-larï-da* coming from Mong. *är/er* (ie. amongst the men) as more likely than from a plural of *ara* ("milleu").

[83] The form for water here: *suɣï* is suggested by Pelliot (1930: 312) to stem from the thirteenth century CE dialect of the Chaghatai Ulus, which under Mongol influence dropped the final –v/b of Türk. *sub* (water) like Mong. *usu(n)*. Another example discussed by Pelliot (*ibid* 252-253 *ad. ON* 1.V) is *čïraɣï* which appears to be Mong. *cara(y)i* (face) rather than *čïraɣ* (lamp).

[84] *cïn cïɲçïp* lit. as close to cinnabar as possible, which appears to have first been proposed by Pelliot (1930: 314-315) rather than connections with arteries (Osman. Türk. *sigir*), as made by Riza Nur (1928 *ap.* Pelliot 1930: 314). Cf. Shcherbak (1959: 98) for discussion on this term, which appears largely to agree with Pelliot.

[85] Ölmez (2009: 24-25) has "The Roman Emperor" throughout.

[86] Pelliot (1930: 317) remarks that *ordu* should be taken as place of ancestral residence and hence rulership- neither a camp nor a palace.

[87] This designation appears to imply goods plundered from the dead and live captives and is an important coordinate compound reiterated throughout the work. Cf. (31) and (32) for the importance of this in the wagon episode.

[88] Pelliot (1930: 350) takes him to represent the Russians, to which Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 44) agree.

[89] Marquart (1914: 145-146) suggests that this means the Dnepr river. Literally it would seem to mean the deep river (Pelliot 1930: 318).

[90] Lit. "will you stand in front of me?"

[91] *Kym* = authority that is divinely given and maintains world order. For discussion on this concept see Chapter Two of my thesis.

[92] Lit. your tree's offspring. Ölmez has "our seeds has [sic] become the fruit of your tree", which, though colourful, does not even make sense as a metaphor. Pelliot (1930: 321) refers to p. 469 of Erdman's *Tchengis* volume of RaD's *Jāmiʻ al-Tawārīkh* as a parallel use of these terms.

[93] Pelliot (1930: 321) says of *bučurmuš* that it most likely comes from *buyurm-* (fulfil promise), which has become palatised possibly due to Mongol or Kyrgyz influence.

(23) said: "You have given me a great deal of gold and you have handed over your citadel well," he said. Because of this he called him by the name Saklab[94] and made him his companion.

The Deeds of Oguz's Companions.

Then with his army Oguz Kagan [crossed over] the river called *Itil*. The one called *Itil* was a mammoth river. Oguz Kagan looked at it[95] and then he said: "How are we to cross[96] the waters of the *Itil*?" he said. Amongst his army there was an excellent *beg*. His name was Ulug Ordu the *beg*. (24) He was a clever and canny fellow. He noticed that [on the bank there were a great many] rose-willows[97] and a great many trees. [This *beg*] cut down….. (these) trees and lay upon the trees and crossed.[98] Oguz Kagan was pleased with this and liked it. Thus he said: "You are to be a *beg* for this and you are to the have the name Kipchak *beg*,"[99] he said, and then he went onwards…[100] After this Oguz Kagan saw the blue-furred (25), blue-maned, massive, male wolf. This blue wolf said to Oguz Kagan: "Now, with your army ride on from here, Oguz. Riding, have your people and *begs* follow.[101] I, leading, will show you the way," it said. Then when morning came Oguz Kagan saw that the male wolf was walking in front of his army. He was pleased with this and went on. Oguz (26) Kagan

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[94] "One who hands over", echoing previous line where the verb is *саклабсäн* (you have handed over). Pelliot (1930: 350) takes him to represent the Slavs due to the homophony of the two words. The term *saqāliba* refers generically in mediaeval Arabic literature to fair skinned slaves taken from Eastern Europe in general (Duczko 2004: 22). The ninth century Arabic *Kitab al Masalik was L-Mamalik* (*Book of Roads and Kingdoms*) refers to the ar-Rus as a tribe "…from amongst the as-Saqliba" and mentions the river *Itil* (Boba 1967: 27; Duczko 2004: 22). Ibn Fadlān's tenth century geography refers to the Volga Bulgars explicitly as *saqāliba* (Czeglédy 1951: 243; Duczko 2004: 22), which is mentioned by Shcherbak (1959: 96) in his Oguz kagan commentary.

[95] Pelliot (1930: 323) reads *sürdi* (commanded) instead of *kördi* (saw), but the "r" is not legible, so he claims. Either way, there would seem much difficulty with either approach due to lack of context from the lacuna-ridden lines that follow.

[96] Shcherbak (1959: 44) reads *нöчÿk* (cross) here, but Pelliot admits that he cannot even make out the word at this section and considers it more like *(m)inüp* (go into?).

[97] The term here is *тал* and *тальник* in Russian- most likely coming from a Türkic language. A very specific Central Asian shrub.

[98] Curiously the two verbs here are singular. Perhaps the lacuna explained how the rest of the army crossed, but this could be too retrojective a suggestion.

[99] Aetiological of the Kipchaks, a Türkic people from the eighth and ninth c. CE to the Mongol Empire (Shcherbak 1959: 95). Most likely it is connected with an idea found in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Oguz-Nāme* (*Hist. Oguz.* §43 script 591r) in which Kipchak is taken to be derived from *qabuq* ("a tree trunk").

[100] Ölmez (2009: 27) has "He went towards East" which seems a vested interest in his own unexplained geographical interpretation.

[101] Pelliot (1930: 324) thinks that *bääg-lär-ni* could be the reading for *beg-lär-ni* here, though why the extra vowel is present is mysterious.

had a dappled stallion[102] as his mount. He loved this stallion very much. On the road this stallion escaped from his sight and ran away. At this place there was a great big mountain. On top of this mountain there was ice. Its peak, due to the cold, was white as white can get. It was for this reason that it had the name Ice Mountain[103] Oguz Kagan's horse, having escaped, went into[104] Ice Mountain. Oguz Kagan (27) spent a great deal of time there (looking for it). Amongst his army there was a massive courageous fellow who was a *beg*. He was not frightened of any kind of danger.[105] He was a hardy[106] fellow when it came to travelling and the cold. This *beg* went into the hills. Nine days later he brought back Oguz Kagan's distinguished horse. Because it was so very cold in the Ice Mountains,[107] this *beg* was covered with snow and was white as white can get. Oguz (28) Kagan was pleased at this, and said: "O, (because of this) you are to be chief of the *begs* (who are) here.[108] May the name Kagarlig[109] be for you," he said. He honoured him with much treasure and went on.

More Deeds.

Later on the road he (Oguz) saw a large house. This house's roof was made of gold, its windows were of silver and its doors were of iron. There were locks on it, but no key. Amongst his (Oguz's) army there was a very resourceful[110] man. (29) His name

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[102] *aiẓïp* would seem to literally mean "heavy, significant" as it does in modern Turkish, where with a horse it indicates a stallion or warhorse (Alderson and İz 1959: 5 *"ağır"*). Ölmez (2009:27) has "colourful studhorse". Pelliot (1930: 325) agrees on stallion (fr. *étalon*) and reflecting on Radlov (1893) and Riza Nur (1928) who read the word *čuqur-dan* (from the valley/plane) without a verb of motion for this ablative suffix to agree with, considers Mong. *čoqor* and Chaghatai *čubar* meaning "pied, speckled", though remains unconvinced by it as well as the unknown *tan/taï* which might follow. Shcherbak (1959: 47) seems to ignore translating *maŋ*, though he does take *чокур* to mean speckled (ru. *чубарого*). Ölmez (2009: 13) reads *čoqurdïn* without explanation.

[103] Curiously we appear to have returned to Ice Mountain as was mentioned above in n. 77. There seems to be a continuity problem here or perhaps it represents a cosmic mountain like Burqan Qaldun in *SHM* (cf. §1-90) around which all the major narrative takes place.

[104] "Into" is *ičigä*, which would seem to indicate *inside* the mountain.

[105] The operative term is the coordinate compound чалаӊ булаӊ. Pelliot (1930) translates it as: "*Il n'avait pas peur des coups et de la mêlée*" ("he was not scared of injury or of fighting"). Shcherbak (1959: 82) discusses the term in much detail and agrees with Pelliot in its overall meaning of dangerous things.

[106] Pelliot (1930: 329) gives a myriad of terms from "droit" (skilful) and "juste" (just) and "fidèle" (loyal) to "ferme" (stoic, firm, durable) in relation to the word *onga/öngä* at this point.

[107] The Ice Mountain has now become pluralised (27.VIII), as are the hills several lines above (27.V.).

[108] The words at the start of line 28.III appear to be "*ma marlab*", as is read by Pelliot (1930: 333). *Ma* = "also". *Marlab* is a curious term yet to be explained properly. Pelliot (*ibid*) suggests a verb deriving from the nouns *mar* ("monseigneur"- a Manichaean religious term) and *mïr* (Osman. Türk. "chief"). Both Shcherbak (1959: 49) and Ölmez (2009: 13) read *mängläp*, the meaning of which is not explained.

[109] Lit. "snowy". Most likely an aetiological punning on the Karluk Türks, a prominent people from the seventh century CE to the period of the Mongol Empire (Pelliot 1930: 332; Shcherbak 1959: 96).

[110] Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 48) suggest that the base of this word is Mong. *čeber* (clean, pure [?]). It occurs at 31.V as *čïbar*, as Pelliot (1930: 335) points out. This remains a difficult term to analyse or

was Tömürdü Kagul.[111] He (Oguz) gave him a command: "you stay here and open (it). Stay here and when you get it open come to the camp," he said. Because of this he gave him the name Kalach[112] and went on. One day the blue-furred, blue-maned, male wolf halted in its passage. Oguz Kagan then halted (too), and lying down in his tent, took his rest.[113] This land was a plateau that had never before been planted. They call(ed) it Jurjit.[114] (30) There was a massive estate and populace there. There were many horses, many calves, much in the way of gold and silver and much in the way of treasure. It was here that the kagan and the people of Jurjit went out against Oguz Kagan. They engaged in battle and combat and fought with arrows and with swords. Oguz Kagan attacked and captured the kagan of Jurjit, killed him, and cut off his head. The people of Jurjit conceded to his (Oguz's) command. After the battle (31) there was such a massive amount of inanimate plunder for Oguz Kagan's army, his companions,[115] and his people, that their horses, mules and bullocks were insufficient to carry it and take it away. (However), amongst Oguz Kagan's army there was a most[116] good and resourceful fellow. His name was Barmaklug Josun Billik.[117] This excellent fellow found a wagon. He put the inanimate plunder in the wagon and he put the living plunder in front of the wagon[118] and they drew it and went on. (32) (When) all of (Oguz's) companions and people beheld this they were amazed. It was in this way that the Kanga people came into being. (This was because) when they were

translate into the context, aside from the resourcefulness Tömürdü and later Barmaklug (cf. 31.Vff) display in their respective situations.

[111] It has been suggested that this is a Mongol name (Pelliot 1930: 335; Shcherbak 1959: 97), as indicated by the rounded initial vowel in Mod. Mong. *tömör*, rather than Mid. Uyghur *mämÿp* (eg. *ON* 28. VII). The other half of his name is perhaps Mong. qa'ul= *γool* (river) (Pelliot 1930: 335). Another suggestion is that *kaγul= kaγıl,* a term used by al-Kāšγarī (TTIVS.448 n. 7) for using fresh willow bows to bind something onto a trellis (Bang and Rahmeti 1936: 48). Therefore his name would mean "iron trellis".
[112] Most likely an aetiology of the Kalach Türks, another eighth to ninth c. CE people (Pelliot 1930: 335; Shcherbak 1959: 96).
[113] Ölmez (2009: 28) bizarrely has: "…and so did Oghuz Qaghan, and so did the tent pitcher". There is clearly no second subject present in the sentence.
[114] Cf. n. 71 in relation to Altun Kagan and the Jurchen Jin dynasty of the period of the Mongol Conquests. The name is diversely recorded as Jürčät/Jürčäk (Pelliot 1930: 333).
[115] The term is *nükärlär*, which may have come from Mid. Mong. *nükür* (companion, comrade) (Bang and Rahmeti 1936: 48).
[116] This is reading the mysterious word *ïuai* as *jakuï* (rather/much), as suggested by Pelliot (1930: 335) and agreed upon by Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 48) and Shcherbak (1959: 84).
[117] Pelliot (1930: 337) notes that the word *ǰosun* is a Kyrgyz pronunciation of Mong. *yosun* (custom, law). *Baramqlaγ* remains more obscure and possibly connected with *barmaq* (fr. "doigt"= finger). Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 49) query the origin of *ǰosun/çosun* , but don't give an answer. They suggest that *barmak-lığ* might stem from *bağırsaklığ* (Turk. "marhametili"= merciful). *Billig* would obviously seem to be the widespread Turkic noun for "wisdom," akin to Mong. *bilig* = "wisdom".
[118] Shcherbak (1959: 31.VIII, p. 52) decides to clarify this in Russian: "*а в нее впрагли живую добычу*"("and to it they harnessed the living loot"). Pelliot (1930: 337-338) makes similar designations.

towing the wagon they kept saying the words: "*kanga, kanga.*"[119] Because of this they gave them the name Kanga. Oguz Kagan looked at the Kangas and was pleased. Hence he said: "Kanga, Kanga¸ as you carry along the plunder both dead and living, may you have the name Kanga and be known as (the) Kanga(s)," he said, and went on.

Baraka.

After that (33) along with the blue-furred, blue-maned, male wolf, he (Oguz) went attacking the lands of Sindu, Tangut and Shagam.[120] After many battles and many wars, he took these, made them part of his own property and attacked and defeated them.[121] May it not be left out of the story, may it become knowledge[122] that there was a land in the south[123] called Baraka[124]. There was a massive estate there, (and) it was a very hot country. (34) There were many game animals and fowl there and great amounts of gold, great amounts of silver and great amounts of treasure, and its people's complexions were jet black. This land's kagan was a kagan by the name of Masar. Oguz Kagan struck against him. There was a most brutal battle. Oguz Kagan won and Masar kagan fled. Oguz defeated him, took his estate and went. His (Oguz's) friends were greatly joyous and his enemies [were afflicted with] (35) many miseries. Oguz (kagan) prevailed and took his innumerable wealth and horses, sent it (back) to his home and estates and went (on).

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[119] Lit. "wagon, wagon". The Kangli, another Türkic people from the eight to ninth c. CE onwards appear to be being aetiologically explained here (Pelliot 1930: 337-338; Shcherbak 1959: 96).

[120] Pelliot (1930: 338-339) and Shcherbak (1959: 97-98) suggest these to be India, the Türkic Tangut people in northern China (Si-Hia) and Syria (Sha'am= Ar. Shām: Syria). Ölmez (2009: 30) has Hindu, Tangut and Damascus.

[121] The actions are out of sequence.

[122] Ölmez (2009: 30) has "let it be remembered, let it be known". This is correct but in glossing the actual words he has reduced the beauty of the language.

[123] Lit. the sun's region.

[124] There are many suggestions for this place including Kashgar and the Kara-Kitai, due to the use of the term *barhan* in al-Kāšγarī (LvOQ, 714) and *barkan* to describe them in Abu'l Ghazi (I. S. XXXII *ap.* Bang and Rahmeti 1936: 49-50; Shcherbak 1959: 98). Pelliot (1930: 340-341) takes this land to be Egypt or Syria due to the ruler's name being Masar and the many references extant from the Mongol epoch (thirteenth century CE) to Egypt (al-Misr) and the Mamluk dominance of Syria under this same name. Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 50) find this very improbable for no given reason. However, the richness of Baraqa and its swarthy inhabitants might indeed fit Eqypt more reasonably than the other possibilities. Ölmez (2009: 30) leaves it as "Baraq". The name "Barak" may have some elements in common with the *Kara Barak* (black dog) and *Qïl Barak* (white dog)- canine ancestors used by the Türks to demean the ancestry of other peoples from far off lands in the other *Oguz Kagan* tradition, which also possess associations of swarthiness (RaD. *Hist. Oguz* §43 script 591r 56; Pelliot 1930: 340 see Chapter Five).

The Dream of Ulug Türük.

May it not be left out of the story, may it become knowledge that amongst Oguz Kagan's retinue there was a white-bearded snowy-haired, grey bearded old fellow.[125] He was an intelligent and upright man and was his (Oguz's) chamberlain.[126] His name was Ulug Türük. (36) One day in a dream he (Ulug) saw a golden bow and he saw three silver arrows. This golden bow stretched from sunrise to sunset, and the three silver arrows were in the direction of darkness.[127] After this dream he informed Oguz Kagan of what he had seen in the vision. He said: "O my kagan, may your life be long.[128] [O] my [kagan] (37) may just rulership be yours.[129] [Eternal Blue] Heaven has given to me a vision- may it come true! May it grant land and sea to your descendants!" he said.[130] Oguz Kagan considered the words of Ulug Türk to be good and liked his council. Considering his council, he acted.

Bows and Arrows.

After this, when it was morning, he (Oguz) summoned his older and younger sons and had them come (to him), and then he said: "O my heart yearns to go hunting. (But)

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[125] Ölmez (2009: 31) has "who could see the future". Perhaps *узун узлук...карт* means lit. "Possessing a long vision". I am willing to consider this. Pelliot (1930: 342) has "à l'expérience longue" (with a greaty deal of experience), which would seem better and *qart* as a late Kyrgyz form of *qarï*. Shcherbak (1959: 56) and Ölmez (2009: 31) seem to take the grey beard not literally at all- merely as a euphemism for wisdom. Pelliot (1930: 343) deduces the "greyness" from *moz/muz= boz.*

[126] *Тÿшімäл* appears to be the Mid. Mong. *tysimel* "dignitary, official" (Pelliot 1930: 344; Lessing 1995: 857). Shcherbak's (1959: 56) *кудесник* "soothsayer" appears a bit of a strong assumption. Perhaps advisor would be the most neutral term. Ölmez (2009: 31) has "paymaster", which seems slightly anachronistic and banal. Pelliot's (1930: 344) "functionnaire" (functionary) is not unreasonable.

[127] Shcherbak (1959: 57) says that this is the north in this particular passage, and he also takes the word *mÿŋ* (dark) as the same direction later in the text (*idem.*: 59). Ölmez (2009: 31) also takes this as north, though he later chooses west for *mÿŋ* in (*ON* 38) during the sons' journey. Pelliot (1930: 297-298) believes both to be west and that *ta* ("jusqu'à"- "right up to/ stretching from… to…") is a late Persian influence (*ibid.* 345).

[128] The word *ǰ(a)s(a)γu* read here by Pelliot (1930: 347) is associated with *yas-=* to have good health. Ölmez (2009: 31) reads *čašγu =* (may your life be blessed), which I assume he also takes as a palatised variant of *yas-.*

[129] Pelliot (1930: 346) calls this line "endomagée" (damaged) and claims that he cannot translate it. Ölmez (2009: 31) has the inexplicable "may peace and goodness be on you". *Töpÿ* (power/rule) is taken to be the basic concept behind the word *mörлÿк* in this line by Shcherbak (1959: 86): *"пусть принадлежит власть* (may power be in [your] possession) and it is hard to find any alternative. Bang and Rahmeti (1936: 51) note than *tüzün* in this instance is implicitly associated with notions of stability and sameness and take *türüglüg* as an older form of Mod. Turk. *türlü* (sort, various). What such a justapositon between same and other could mean, I have no idea, and am yet to find any explanation. Their *"senin hayatın hoş olsun"* (may your life be blessed/pleasant) seems a strange gloss in spite of these comments.

[130] Ölmez (2009: 31) has "May almighty give you all this land". This completely ignores *уруҕуңҕa* (to your descendants).

because I have become old, (38) my kingliness[131] is no more. Sun, Moon, Star- go you towards the direction of dawn.[132] Sky, Hill, Sea- go you towards the direction of darkness,"[133] he said. After this the (first) three of them went in the direction of dawn and (the other) three of them went in the direction of darkness. Sun, Moon and Star, after they had caught much game and many fowl, came upon the golden bow on their journey, and they took it and [gave it to] their father. (39) [Oguz Kagan was pleased and liked this] and breaking the bow into three[134] he said: "O my older sons, let this bow be yours and like the bow loose arrows towards the Heavens,"[135] he said. After this, Sky, Hill and Sea, after they had caught much game and many fowl, came upon the three silver arrows on their journey and they took them and gave them to their father. (40) Oguz Kagan was pleased and liked (this), divided up the arrows to the three of them and said: "O younger sons, let (these) arrows be yours. A bow looses arrows. Be you like (its) arrows." He said.

The *Quriltai* and Death of Oguz Kagan.

After this Oguz Kagan assembled a great *quriltai*,[136] and summoning his comrades and people he convened (it). Having arrived and complied (with him) they sat down. Oguz Kagan in his great camp…..[137] [on the right hand side]. (41) [He had set up a post[138] forty *ságèn* high].[139] At the top he [put] a golden [cock]. [At the bottom] he attached a white ram. To the [left] of this he had set up a post forty *ságèn* high. At the top he put a silver cock. At the bottom he attached a black ram. On the right the Buzuks sat. On the left the Üchoks sat.[140] They feasted and drank for forty days and

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[131] Lit. my khanishness. Pelliot (1930: 347) also comments on the loss of "khanishness" due to Oguz's age and infirmity preventing him from hunting.

[132] Lit. in the direction of dawn.

[133] Lit. in the direction of night/darkness. Ölmez (2009: 31) has west. Shcherbak (1959: 59) has north. No further explanation is given.

[134] The terms for the phrase "breaking the bow into three" is: *üch buzɣuluɣ kïldï* (lit. he made it three broken parts). This is later echoed in this group of sons' tribal name of Buzuk (cf. *ON* 41 n. 121 below).

[135] Cf. Chapter Four of my thesis for detailed discussion on this section.

[136] A very obviously Mongolian term used by the Mongol court for a meeting, most importantly to elect a successor to the ruler. Pelliot (1930: 348-349) takes it as evidence of strong Mongol influence on the work.

[137] The rest of 40.VIII and 40.IX are missing.

[138] Lit. a tree. See Chapter Four for some remarks on this symbolism of the two trees.

[139] Because this section mirrors itself, Shcherbak's (1959: 63) conjectures regarding the lacunas at this point would all seem reasonably sound. Fr. *Ságèn* = 2.134 m.

[140] The Buzuks seem to take their name from the broken bow and thus are the older sons. Ölmez (2009: 33) takes their name to mean "grey arrows", without regard for the aetiology of the story. The younger sons, the Üchoks (lit. three arrows) form the second branch of Oguz's descendants, who one might

forty nights (42) and were joyful. After this Oguz Kagan divided up and gave his estate to his sons. He said: "O my sons, I have endured much and I have seen many battles. I have loosed many spears and arrows. I have travelled much with my distinguished (horse). I have piled up my enemies and I have made my companions happy. I have sung to the Blue Sky.[141] I give to you my estate," he said…

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assume through the arrow and bow allegory are being invoked to work together. For discussion on this section and comparison with Rashīd al-Dīn's version of these events, see Chapter Four of my thesis.

[141] Shcherbak (1959: 63, *ON* 42.VII-VIII) takes this as performing one's religious duty before heaven. One must recall, as with the section on Oguz praying earlier in the text (*ON* 6), that in Turkic-Mongolian tradition the khan maintains world order through his religious ceremonies and laws- not a priest caste. See Chapters Two and Four of my thesis for discussion on this.

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