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ROSTAM FARROXXĀD'S PROPHECY IN ŠĀH-NĀME AND THE ZOROASTRIAN APOCALYPTIC TEXTS

After the Arab conquest the oracles which were foretelling the approaching end of the world spread widely among the Persian Zoroastrians. According to these texts the Arab invasion would be one of the symptoms of the cataclysm. In the main part, apocalyptic concepts on which the oracles were based were of a very ancient origin and went back to the Avestan *Wahman Yašt* and *Sūdgar Nask*, both of them now lost. A mixture of facts from the end of the Sasanian epoch, from the mythical history of Iran and from Zoroastrian eschatology constitute the historical background of these prophecies.

The most representative specimens of the Middle Persian apocalyptic literature are: the Middle Persian *Zand ī Wahman Yašt* (WYt)¹, *Jāmāsp-nāmag* (Jn)², *Bundahišn* 211—218³,

¹ Ed. by K. A. Noshervan, *The Text of the Pahlavi Zand-ī Vohūman Yašt* (with Gujarati transl.), Bombay 1903; B. T. Anklesaria, *Zand-ī Vohūman Yasn and Two Pahlavi Fragments*, 1957 (with English transl.); E. W. West, *Bahman Yašt* (English transl.), Pahlavi Texts I (SBE V), Oxford 1880, pp. 191—235; see also: E. W. West, *GlrPh II*, p. 109; J. C. Tavadia, *Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur...*, Leipzig 1956, pp. 121—26; M. Boyce, *Middle Persian Literature*, HdO IV.2.1, pp. 49—50.

² Ed. by J. J. Modi [in:] *Jāmāspi, Pahlavi, Pazand and Persian texts*, Bombay 1903; H. W. Bailey, *To the Zamasp-namak*, BSOS VI (1930—31) pp. 55—85 and 581—600 (transcribed text with English transl.); E. Benveniste, *Une apocalypse pehlevie: le Zamasp-Namak*, RHR 106 (1932) pp. 337—80 (metrical form restored, French transl.); West, *GlrPh II*, p. 110; Tavadia, *op. cit.*, pp. 124—6; Boyce, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

³ Ed. by E. T. D. Anklesaria, *The Great Bundahišn*, Bombay 1908; G. Messina, *Mito, leggenda e storia nella tradizione iranica*, Orientalia IV (n. s.) (1935) pp. 257—90 (transcribed with Italian transl.).

Dēnkard VII, 8 i IX, 8⁴, a short poem on Wahrām ī Warčā-wand⁵; a passage of this nature can also be found in a Zoroastrian masnavi in Modern Persian language — the *Zarātošt-nāme* (Zrn) by Zarātošt-e Bahrām⁶. Some elements of the Iranian prophetic tradition in their very archaic form penetrated into the Hellenistic world⁷.

The *Šāh-nāme* (Šn) of Ferdousi also has a part which belongs to the Iranian apocalyptic tradition. It is an oracle formulated by Rostam, the general of Sasanian army, before the battle of Qādesiye. The essential part of the oracle consist of the verses 88—155 of Pādšāhi-ye Yazdegard (Yazd)⁸. It is a passage of letter written by Rostam to his brother, in which he is forecasting his own death and the unfortunate development of the events. The earlier part of the same letter (Yazd. 37—46)⁹ may be considered as the introduction to the prophecy. Another passage belonging to the same tradition may be found a little further, in a letter of the king Yazdegard himself to the governor of Tus. Here the source of prediction is a dream of Xosrou Nušin Ravān (Yazd. 365—376)¹⁰.

According to the Zoroastrian prophecies, the Arab invasion is one of the stages of a cataclysm which closes the millenium of Zarathuštra (i.e. the age „mixed with iron”) and precedes the final battle of the two opposite moral principles and a general rebirth of the world. Thus, the invasion has an eschatological

⁴ Ed. by D. M. Madan, *The complete Text of the Pahlavi Dinkard*, part II (books VI—IX), Bombay 1911; English transl., by E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts: IV*, Oxford 1892, p. 181 ff.; V, Oxford 1897, pp. 94—118; see also: M. Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1963, pp. 211, 223—24, 315—16.

⁵ J. C. Tavadia, *A Rhymed Ballad in Pahlavi*, JRAS 1955, pp. 29—36; Boyce, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁶ *Le livre de Zoroastre (Zarātusht nāma) de Zarātusht-i Bahrām ben Pajdū* publié et traduit par Fr. Rosenberg, St. Pétersbourg 1904 (Persian text pp. 11—18, French transl. pp. 68—79).

⁷ Fr. Cumont, *La fin du monde selon les mages occidentaux*, RHR 103 (1931), pp. 29—96; Benveniste, *op. cit.*, pp. 337 ff.

⁸ Ferdousi, *Šāh-nāme, kritičeskij tekst t. IX*, ed. by A. Ye. Bertels, A. Nušin, Moskva 1971, pp. 318—320.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

reason of existence. In general, these descriptions of the final events of Zarathuštra's millenium which are today known, all reproduce the same pattern of action: about the time of the decline of millenium several of the neighbouring peoples, and among them the Arabs, should invade Irān (in some versions — as a consequence of sins committed by the Iranians). These incursions will result in the fall of Sasanian state and of the Zoroastrian religion. The evil will dominate the world, so that the moral decline, anarchy, poverty and barbarity will become common. Many natural disasters would occur in this period. Animals and plants as well as human beings will become smaller, weaker, short-lived and of inferior nature compared to what they were before. As a consequence of quicker revolutions of cosmic bodies the day, month and year will be shorter and the succession of seasons — disturbed. Several false leaders will emerge conducting cruel wars, but they won't be able to rule over Irān for a long time. At last a true heir of the dynasty will come from the East, preceded by omens in the sky. The other eschatological heroes will also appear, the most important of all Zarathuštra's son Ušētar, the prophet of the new millenium. With the help of the angels they will win victory in a great battle which will sweep all the forms of evil out of the world. They will restore the primitive order of things and the golden age will begin.

The descriptions of calamities accompanying the end of the Zoroaster's era reflect the old Iranian concept of the identity of moral, social and natural orders. The total decline of the world disturbs the order in all three spheres. The fall of religion and state is accompanied not only by the inversion of moral principles and social hierarchy, but also by perturbations of astronomical cycles and of regularities in natural development.

Rostam's prophecy in the Šn is evidently affiliated to the MP apocalyptic texts, particularly to the Jn. However, for Ferdousi — a moslem author who commented the events from the perspective of four hundred years — the Arab invasion was deprived of a manifest eschatological meaning.

Ferdousi does not reproduce the scenario of „the end of the world” with all its details; there is a description of the decline in his oracle but none of the renovation. Besides, the particular

descriptive elements of his prophecy differ in proportions as compared to those of the respective Zoroastrian texts.

Due to the requirements of the context, Rostam's prophecy predominantly underlines the historical aspects of the cataclysm, i.e. the fall of the empire and its ruling dynasty and the victory of the Arabs (Yazd. 37, 43—45, 88—93, 365—8). The moral consequences of these facts, such as the common degeneration and the perversion of moral system are stressed in our text (Yazd. 97, 100b—101a, 104, 108, 110b—111, 373). It quotes several examples of atrophy of the traditional social divisions (Yazd. 95—6, 98—9, 103, 105—6, 115b, 372) and of family ties (Yazd. 102, 111a), manifestations of grief and misery (Yazd. 109—100a, 111b, 113b), of unusual greediness and economical inequity (94, 100a, 107, 115a) and of the cruelty of rulers (101b, 374). Only in one *beyt* Ferdousi deals with the decline of Zoroastrian religion (369); the perturbations of nature, in the WYt and other old prophecies reported in an exhaustive and suggestive way, are also dealt with by Ferdousi in a single *mesra'* (133a). On the other hand, Ferdousi's description of the unfavourable configuration of planets before the defeat (Yazd. 38—40) is wider than that in the MP texts. Rostam's vision is completely deprived of any inner chronological perspective, which is so typical of the Zoroastrian prophecies. What we have to do here with is a representation of a static condition of affairs rather than of a historical process. The end of the disastrous epoch is mentioned in the text (according to the verse 46 it should last 400 years); its duration, however, is not divided into smaller periods by the successive invasions and the rules of usurpers. Besides of the Arabs, the raids by other neighbouring peoples are not considered at all in Ferdousi's text.

Despite of the serious differences between the two works in their content and perspective, the oracle of Rostam and that of Jāmāsp can be compared to each other. In some of the passages Ferdousi seems to follow the same train of thoughts as that of the corresponding parts of Jn.

Therefore, the verses 90—94 of Šn correspond to Jn 5—12:

Yazd. 90. *ne taxt-o ne deyhīm ze axtar hame tāziyān ast bahr
bini ne šahr*

<i>ču ruz andar āyad be ruz-e derāz</i>	<i>šavaḍ nāsazā šāh-e gardan farāz</i>
92. <i>bepuṣad az išan go- ruh-i siyāh</i>	<i>ze dibā nehanad az bar sar kolāh</i>
<i>ne taxt-o ne tāj-o ne zarine kafš</i>	<i>ne gouhar ne afsar ne bar sar derafš</i>
94. <i>beranjad yek-i digar-i barxorad</i>	<i>be dād-o be baḡšeš hami nen- garad</i>

„You won't see the throne, nor crown, nor state, the star is favourable to the Arabs. When the day will come, a vile man will become a proud king for a long time. A group of them, dressed in black, will put silken [royal] caps on their heads. Neither throne will remain nor crown, nor golden shoes, nor diadem, nor uplifted banner. One will collect the crops of the other's work without consideration for mercy and justice”¹¹.

Jn: „5. And [...] Erān šahr wil be delivered up to the Tāčīks and the Tāčīks will daily grow stronger and will seize district after district. 6. Men will turn to unrighteousness and falsehood and all that they say or do will be the more profitable for themselves. [...] 9. And they will store up the tale of gold and silver and much treasure and wealth also and all will disappear and pass out of sight. 10. And much royal treasure and wealth will pass into the hands and possession of enemies. [...] 12. And all Erān šahr will fall into the hand of those enemies”¹².

Several ideas are common to both texts: the fortune will pass to the Arabs; the enemy will come in possession of the Persian kings' treasures; he who collected all that wealth will not profit of it; people will care only for their own fortune, not minding the lot of the others. The only verse which cannot be clarified by the comparison with the Jn is that of the black-dressed men (Yazd. 92). In Jāmāsp's prophecy they never appear and in WYt

¹¹ The Persian text according to the above mentioned edition; translation by the author of the present article.

¹² Translation and Pahlavi quotations from the Jāmāsp-nāmag according to Bailey, *op. cit.*

only a single and rather obscure allusion (WYt III, 3)¹³ may have some relation to them. The following interpretation is given by Mohl in a footnote to his translation: „Il y a ici sans doute une allusion à la dynastie des Abbasides, dont le noir était la couleur officiel”¹⁴. It conforms to the opinion of Rosenberg, expressed in his commentary to the Zrn, in which the black-dressed or black-standarded people appear several times and can be identified with the Arabs¹⁵. The following verses of the Zrn are particularly worthy of quoting:

1345. *hazāre sar āyad az irān za- degargun bovad kār-o šekl-e din*
min

bovad pādšāhi-ye ān div-e ke din-e behi-rā zanad bar zamin
kin

1347. *siyah jāme dārand derviš-o jahān karde az xiš bi nām-o-nang*
tang

„Le millénaire s'achève et du pays d'Iran les choses et l'aspect changent. C'est le règne de ce démon de la haine qui terrasse la bonne Loi. Pauvres et avarés, (les hommes) portent des vêtements noirs et le monde, de bon devient infame et sans pudeur”.

In the critical edition of the Šn the next two-verses of Rostam's letter (Yazd. 95—6) are provided with a question mark. Their obscurity, common to many and often the best manuscripts,¹⁶ seems to indicate that this passage comes from some hardly intelligible MP source. Although it is difficult to establish the origin of these lines, it is nevertheless certain that they cannot be found in the Jn.

95. *šab āyad yeki čašme*¹⁷ *raχšān nehofte kasi-rā χorušān konad*
konad

¹³ West, *SBE V*, p. 215.

¹⁴ *Le livre des rois par Abou'lkasim Firdousi* publié, traduit et commenté par M. J. Mohl, t. VII, Paris 1878, p. 437.

¹⁵ Zrn. p. 73, footnote 3; in addition Rosenberg points out that in the Šn the black colour is also the sign of the Turanian king Afrā-siyāb, and that of Pešotan, an important hero of the the Iranian eschatology.

¹⁶ See Šn t. IX, footnotes 15—18 p. 318.

17 Or: *časm*.

setānande-ye ruz-ešān digar kamar bar miyān-o kolāh bar sar
ast¹⁸ ast

A fragment of some similarity is that of Zrn 1372—3, dealing with the humiliation of the sons of noble families:

1372. *hamān pur-e āzādegān-o bemānde yarivān be dast-e badān
radān*

be xedmat šab-o-ruz baste be piš-e čonān quom-e bidādgar
kamār

„... et les fils mêmes des nobles et des princes restent, rugissant [de révolte] au pouvoir des méchants, et ont, jour et nuit, les flancs ceints pour le service de ces criminels”.

The comparison of Yazd. 75—6 with the above quotation from the Zrn indicates that the correct version of Yazd. 96a should be: *šetābande ruz-o-šabān digar ast*. Therefore the interpretation of the whole passage should be more or less the following:

„When the night comes, one's eyes will shine with joy and he will make lament the one who is hidden (or: he will secretly make lament somebody). The latter one is hurrying day and night, his waist girdled and a cap on his head" ¹⁹.

In both texts (Šn and Zrn) we thus find the opposition: oppressor — oppressed; in both the oppressed one, lamenting of despair (*ḡarivān*, *ḡorušān*), day and night girdled with a belt, is ready for service. A confusion in Ferdousi's text emerged from the incorrect juxtaposition: *kamar* — *kolāh* (belt — cap). In this context the belt seems to be an attribute of pride rather than of obedience, as it should have been ²⁰.

¹⁸ The alternative versions are: *šetābande ruz-o-šabān* (MS K VI, *loc. cit.*, footnote 18) or — *šetānande-ye ruz-o-šab* (Mohl, *op. cit.*, p. 436).

¹⁹ Mohl translates this passage in the following way: „À la faveur de la nuit, un ennemi vigilant envahira la demeure de celui qui se cache. Un étranger deviendra le maître des jours et des nuits, il ceindra la ceinture royale et se coiffera de la tiare”. (*Op. cit.* p. 437).

²⁰ Both meanings of *kamar* may be frequently met in the Šn. (as a symbol of prestige e.g. Feridun 568, t. I p. 114; Manučeher 1567, t. I, p. 243) As a symbol of readiness for service e.g. Manučeher 1231, t. I, p. 217; c. f. Āyāz-e ketāb 9, t. I, p. 12: *miyān bandegi-rā bebāyad-at bast*).

The next three lines of Šn, i.e. Yazd. 97—9 correspond to Jn 32 and 35—7:

Yazd. 97. *ze peymān begar- gerāmi šavad kaži-o kāsti*
dand-o ze rāsti
piyāde šavad mar- savār an-ke lāf ārad-o goft-o-guy
dom-e jangjuy
 99. *kešāvarz-e jangi šavad nežād-o honar kamtar āyad be*
bi honar bar

„They will turn away from the alliance and rectitude, crookedness and falsehood will be appreciated. A gallant knight will walk on foot while a talkative boaster will become a cavalier. A brave landlord will lose his virtues, noble origin and virtue will seldom bear the fruit”.

Jn. 32. *ut har kas hač guft ut goβišn ut pašt ut patmān apāč ēstēnd [...]*
 35. *asβār padak ut padak asβār bavēt.* 36. *bandakān pat rāθ*
i āzātān raβēnd. 37. *bē Yazdān āzātīh pat tan mēhmān nē bavēt.*

„And everyone will repudiate word and statement, covenant and agreement. [...] A horseman will become a man on foot, and the man on foot a horseman. Slaves will walk in the path of nobles. Save through Yazdān, nobility is not a guest in any body”²¹.

In both fragments quoted the same ideas are put together and what is more, the corresponding couples of words may be noticed in both:

guft ut goβišn — goft-o-guy
pašt ut patmān — peymān-o rāsti
padak — asβār — piyāde — savār

Noteworthy is the fact that the compound *goft-o-guy* was used by Ferdousi in quite a different significance, than its MP counterpart *guft ut goβišn* in the Jn. In Jn it is a complement to *pašt ut patmān* (pact, alliance) and means „a word” (of honour), while in the Šn its meaning is close to that of *lāf* (boasting, self-praise), so it is openly pejorative (idle speech, as opposed to the genuine qualities).

²¹ In Benveniste's emendation: *āzātīh mēmhan nē bavēt* (la noblesse n'est plus honorée); *op. cit.*

Yazd. 100—101 can be juxtaposed with Jn 42—44, 46:

Yazd. 100. *robāyad hami in az ze nafrin nadānand bāz āferin*
ān ān az in
nehān badtar az del-e šāhān sang-e xārā šavad
āškārā šavad

„They will rob each other and they won't distinguish malediction from benediction. Their hidden deeds will be worse than those which are manifest. The hearts of kings will turn into stone”.

Jn. „42. And the several districts and provinces and cultivated tracts one with another will struggle in conflict. 43. And the contentious and greedy and violent man they will deem good, but wise men of good faith they will hold as devs. [...] 46. And the men who are born in that evil time will be harder than hard iron and brass; save that they are likewise blood and flesh they will be harder than stone”.

The last phrase of the Middle Persian text seems to be a clarifying gloss: *bē(ka)ham xon ut gōšt bavēnd ēnyā hač sang saxttar bavēnd*. We also find a corresponding passage in the Zrn (1425), but here only the people hard as a metal and not — hard as a stone are mentioned:

ze saxti kešidan tan-e mard-e dīn hamānā bedān-ke bovad āhanin

„d'avoir enduré tant de maux, le corps des fidèles sera devenu pareil au fer”.

A comparison to stone is, therefore, an individual feature of Jn.

The juxtaposition of the above quoted passages from Šn and Jn shows that the sequence of subjects dealt with in both of them is the same: 1. the people (in Jn — provinces, villages) will fight and plunder one another; 2. they won't be able to discern between good and evil any more; 3. the humans of this epoch (in Šn — the kings) will become hard as a stone.

Also, the three following *beyts* of Rostam's prophecy (102—104) seem to have their counterpart in the Jn (18—23):

Yazd. 102. *badandiš gardad pe- pesar bar pedar hamčōnin čāre-*
dar bar pesar gar

*šavad bande-i bi ho- nešād-o bozorgi niyāyad be kār
nar šahriyār*

104. *be giti kasi-rā na- ravān-o zabānhā šavad por jafā
mānad vafā*

„The father will become malevolent towards his son and the son will equally plot against his father. A vile slave will become a ruler, noble origin and greatness won't come into consideration. Loyalty will cease to exist on earth, thoughts and tongues will be full of cruelty”.

Jn: „18. And the son will strike father and mother and during his lifetime will deprive him of authority in the family. 19. And the younger brother will strike the older brother, and will take his wealth, and for his wealth will make false statements. [...] 21. And the inferior and obscure man will come into notice. [...] 23. By night one with another they will eat bread and drink wine, and walk in friendship, and next day they will plot one against the life of the other and plan evil” (*pat gyān i ēvak ditikar. čārak ut vat handēšēnd*).

Here again the ideas common to the two texts appear in the same order in both: 1. the family-solidarity will completely disappear in the world; 2. a low man will come into power; 3. unloyalty will be a common thing — one will plot against the life of the other.

As it was in all the passages already quoted, in Yazd. 102—104 Ferdousi recapitulates briefly what is described more extensively in the Jāmāsp-namag. For example, the scene of people eating together but being hostile to each other is lacking in the Šn, which preserves only its significance. In both fragments the same expression for plotting is used: *čārak/čāre*. It also looks as if a certain inconsistency present in the Jn was transmitted to Ferdousi's text: the phrase about the man of a vile origin breaks the train of thoughts in which the passage of feasting together should be a continuation of the family discord subject.

Yazd. 105—106 corresponds to Jn 13:

Yazd. 105. *az irān-o ze tork-o ze nešād-i padid āyad andar miyān
tāziyān*

*ne dehqān ne tork-o soxanhā be kardār-e bāzi bovad
ne tāzi bovad*

„From the Iranians, Turks and Arabs a mixed race will originate. There will be neither nobleman, nor Turk, nor Arab, the words (i.e. names) will be an empty joke”.

Jn: „13. And Anērān and Erān will be confounded, so that the Iranian will not be distinguished from the foreigner; those who are Iranians will turn back to foreign ways”.

Yazd. 107 may be compared to Jn 52—53:

Yazd. 107. *hame ganjhā zir-e dā- bemirand-o kušēš be došman de-
man nehand hand*

„Everybody will hoard treasures, then he will die and leave his fortune to the enemy”.

Jn: „52. And treasure and wealth will come into the hands of foreigners. [...] 53. And they will amass much wealth but they will not enjoy the fruit of it”.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to establish any definite relationship between the remaining part of Rostam's oracle (Yazd. 108—115) and any of the Zoroastrian apocalyptic texts, although the subject matter of the former is clearly related to the thematic area of the latter.

Possibly, the *beyt* Yazd. 113 has something in common with the Zrn:

Yazd. 113. *nebāšad bahār-o ze- neyārānd hangām-e rāmeš nabid
mestān padid*

„Spring and winter will not be distinguishable, they won't drink wine during their feasts”.

Analogically, in the Zarātošt-nāme after a detailed description of the disturbances in the order of nature (1383—89) follows the verse dealing with the disappearance of Zoroastrian festivities (1393).

Until now it was likewise impossible to establish the source from which originated the description of planets' configuration in the introductory part of Rostam's letter (Yazd. 38—40) and

to find a text in which the prophecy should come from a dream of the king Xosrou Nušin Ravān.

To summarize the preceding, the following statements may be formulated:

- The first half of Rostam's oracle (Yazd. 90—107) approximately corresponds to the first half of the prophecy of Jāmāsp (5—54): in both of them certain groups of themes appear together and both use the same characteristic expressions and images.
- The analogy between the two works ceases, however, when in the Jn the description of general situation in the ill-starred period gives place to that of the accompanying political events. Rostam's prophecy does not develop this latter theme, but proceeds with the general description based on some unknown original.
- At the same time the comparison with the NP Zrn suggests the interpretation of some details in Ferdousi's texts, which have no prototype in Jn. The Zrn appears still closer to the MP Wahman Yašt than the Jn is. The details, however, which are common to Zrn and to Šn (black-dressed Arabs, the sons of noblemen serving the invaders) do not appear in the WYt.
- There cannot be any direct relationship between the obscure and obviously derivative prophecy included in Ferdousi's Šn and its more detailed counterpart in the Zrn, based on the good sources (the WYt in particular), but dated about 250 years later than the Šn is.

Thus, the prophecy of Šn could have originated in two ways: it might have been composed by Ferdousi himself from more than one source (Jn and a prototype of the NP Zrn included); it is more likely, however, that he made use of some already existing text, which included elements of several derivations of the Iranian apocalyptic tradition, such as they are known today. It is not impossible that the author of Šāh-nāme could have based his prophecy on some common oral version of the text.²²

²² M. Minovi considers the prophecy of Rostam as one the rare passages of Šn having no source in any MP text (*Ferdousi va še'r-e u*, Tehrān 1354, pp. 80 f, 84 f).

JOACHIM ŚLIWA

THE ORIGIN OF THE PUNIC STELAE FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CRACOW

The collection of Punic objects from the Cracow National Museum, donated by Anthony Grubissich (1853—1922), includes among others a certain number of Punic stelae (nine pieces)¹.

The list of these objects, made by the donor, the surviving correspondence, the inventory of the collection and the old catalogue cards, all indicate that this group has come from Carthage². Moreover, the association of the stelae with the excavations conducted by A. L. Delattre³, already suggested by me, has been fully confirmed by further studies.

¹ Cf. the following articles: J. Śliwa, *The Anthony Grubissich Collection in the National Museum in Cracow*, ZDMG 124, 2, 1974, pp. *13*—*18*^{*}; idem, *Kolekcja Antoniego Grubissicha w Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie*, Meander XXIX, Warszawa 1974, pp. 187—197; idem, *Kolekcja zabytków punickich w Krakowie*, [in:] *Studia z Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej* 3, *Prace Archeologiczne* 19 (Zeszyty Naukowe UJ 369), Kraków 1974, pp. 49—55, figs. 1—6 and a notice by the same author in *Recherches Archéologiques de 1973*, Kraków 1974, pp. 67—69 (mimeographed).

² As follows from the letter of 30 August, 1913, written by Krzysztof Mieroszewski to the Manager of the National Museum of Cracow, the Grubissich collection included: „Punic finds excavated in the presence of their owner. The collection has been officially authenticated. It consists of slabs with inscriptions which have been deciphered and published by the archaeological department of the French Academy (...).”

³ Alfred Louis Delattre (1850—1932) from the Order of the White Friars, canon titular of Carthage, director of the Musée Lavigerie, conducted intensive archaeological investigations in the area of ancient Carthage.