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Sources on the History of the Silk Road

1

HELLENISM
IN THE
EAST
(ca. 260 BCE – 260 CE)

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INTRODUCTION

CHINA AND THE (ANCIENT) MEDITERRANEAN WORLD was first conceived as a major international project by the Union Académique Internationale at its General Assembly at Barcelona in 2002 and the project was immediately accepted as a major (Category B) project. The project statement reads:

“In the world today, which is often characterized in terms of globalization as a major feature and in which China is becoming an increasingly important actor on the global scene, understanding the historical dynamics of Sino-European contacts and interaction is more meaningful than ever. To enhance our understanding in this regard is the fundamental purpose of the UAI Project "China and the Mediterranean World: Archaeological Sources and Written Documents". This project can be divided into three subprojects:

1. Collecting and publishing artifacts from one cultural area found in the other cultural area.

2. Collecting and translating texts: Chinese texts on the Mediterranean world and European texts on China. Much of this work has already been done by previous scholars. The great bulk of the Chinese language material was collected and translated in a seminal study by two Australian scholars, D.D. Leslie and K.H.J. Gardiner, entitled The Roman Empire in Chinese Sources by D.D. Leslie and K.H.J. Gardiner published in 1996. This material has also been collected and annotated in Chinese by Professor Yu Taishan in his paper “Hanwen shiji youguan Luoma diguo de jizai” (References to the Roman Empire in Chinese historical records).

As for early European texts containing references to the Chinese world, the great bulk of these were collected and translated from Greek and Latin into French long ago by the French scholar George Coedès in his work Textes d’auteurs grecs et latins relatifs a l’Extreme-Orient depuis le IV siecle av. J.-C. jusqu’au XIVe siecle published in 1910. Now Professor Samuel Lieu of the Australian Academy heading a team of scholars has translated this material from Greek and Latin into English.

{This immediate goal was achieved with the publication of G. Coedès, Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East, From the 4th C. B.C.E. to the 14th C. C.E., trans. John Sheldon (Turnhout: 2009), John Sheldon Commentary on George Coedès' Texts of Greek and Latin Authors on the Far East (Turnhout: 2012) and YU Taishan (CASS) China and the Mediterranean World in Ancient Times, edited by Victor Spinei, Florilegium magistrorum historiae archaeologiaeque Aitniquitatis et Medii Aevi XIV (Romanian Academy – Institute of Archaeology of Laşi 2014)}

3. The third major subproject is to initiate synthetic studies of the meaning and significance of the data collected within the first two subprojects. As has become clear from the above, this work has already begun in connection with the collection of data. But more efforts will be devoted to this once the work to collect and publish the original sources has been largely completed. In terms of scholarly significance, two points should be emphasized. First, it will make knowledge about early contacts between China and the Mediterranean world which already exists but which is scattered and not easy to find easily accessible and so stimulate further research in this important field. Second, as a collaborative project involving scholars in different parts of the world, it will strengthen scholarly cooperation between China and Europe.”

The editors and translators of Hellenism in the East is grateful to Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams FBA for permission to reproduce his published text and translation of the Rabatak Inscriptions and in his capacity as Chair of the Editorial Committee of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum (UAI Proj. 27) to permit us to reproduce the Parthian text of the Res Gestae Divi Saporis edited by P. Huyse in the series. They would also like to thank Jonathant Lee for his personal permission to reproduce his photograph of the Rabatak Inscription. The availability of electronic versions of many of the Greek texts in this collection through online website of Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (UAI Proj. 78) has certainly facilitated the task of selection and compilation for which the editors and translators are truly grateful.
c. 259 BCE – Alexandria-in-Arachosia (Kandahar)

_BILINGUAL (GREEK AND ARAMAIC) EDICT OF KING PIODASES (AŠOKA) COMMEMORATING THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS REIGN_  

_CRAI 1958, 189-191, JE 202, IEOG 290, CII 2/1 82_  

Greek and Aramaic versions of the commemorative edict of King Ašoka (Photo SOR 1964.20f.)
When ten years had passed king Piodassēs revealed piety to men and from that time made men more pious; and all things (5) flourished throughout the land. The king abstained from living beings, and the rest of men and as many as were hunters or fishermen of the king have ceased hunting. If any were intemperate, they have ceased from their intemperance (10) as much as was in their power, and have become obedient to their father, mother, and elders, unlike before. Those behaving in this way will thereafter conduct all their affairs in a more agreeable and better way. (tr. Marcus Chin)
**II）VERSIO ARAMAICA**

Transcription of the Aramaic version of the edict (SOR 1964.43)

1. šnn 10 ptytw 'byd zy mrʾn prydrš mlkʾ qşt’ mhqšt
2. mnʿ dyn zʾyr mrʾ’ lklhm ʾnšn w klhm ‘dwšy hw bd
3. wbkl ’rq wʾp šty wʾp zy znh bmʾlklʾ lmʾ ʾmklʾ wsyd
4. qtn [l]mḥzh klhm ʾnšn ʾthḥsynn wyz nwnyʾ ‘ḥdn
5. ’lk ʾnšn ptyzbt kmn zy prbst hwyn ’lk ʾthḥsynn mn
6. prbsty Whwptysty lʾmwhy wlʾbwhy wlmzyštyʾ ʾnšn
7. ‘yk yrsy ḥqwṭt wʾlʿyty dynʾ lklhm ʾnšyʾ ḥsyn
8. znh hwtyr lklhm ʾnšn wyʾ wsp yḥwtr

1. For ten years expiation (?) has been made by Our Lord Priyadaršī, the king who promotes truth.  
2. Since then evil has diminished for all men, and he has caused all hostile things to disappear.  
3. and joy has arisen throughout the whole earth. And moreover there is this(?): for the feeding of Our Lord the king, little is killed; seeing this (?) all men have given up (killing animals), and those who caught fishes,  
4. those men have given up (doing it); similarly, those who were prbst, they have given up  prbsty. And men (are) obedient to their own mother and father and to the elders,  
5. as destiny has laid down to them. And there is no judgment for all men (who are) pious.  
6. This has benefited all men and will continue to benefit. (Eng. trans. G. Garbini)
c. 250 BCE – Alexandria-in-Arachosia (Kandahar)

CRAI 1964, 126-40

GREEK VERSION OF EDICTS XII AND XIII OF PIO DASES (AŚOKA)

Photograph of the squeeze of the inscription containing the Greek versions of two edicts of Aśoka (Photo CII)

INTRODUCTION

These Greek inscriptions now in the museum of Kabul were discovered on a stone block in 1963 among the ruins of ancient Kandahar (Alexandria in Arachosia). They are translations of two edicts of the Mauryan Emperor Aśoka (Skt. a-śoka ‘free from grief’ – called Piodasses here) who ascended (probably usurped) the throne of Bindusāra, son of Chandragupta (Gk. Σανδράκοτος) about 269 BCE. A.L. Basham describes Aśoka as ‘the greatest and noblest ruler India has known, and indeed one of the great kings of the world.’ His edicts, which are similar in content and involve statements of policy and instructions to the army, are engraved on rocks and pillars all over India. They are written in a number of different Old Indian scripts and dialects. It is likely that he was emulating Achaemenid inscriptions, although these are mainly records of conquest. Although we read of the conquest of Kalinga at the beginning of Edict XIII, the rest of this famous text tells of the king’s change of heart and his Buddhist-inspired compassion for living creatures. In Edict XII the eu)se/beia ‘righteousness’ of the Greek version translates the much wider Buddhist concept of dharma (Pali dhamma). There is a lacuna in this text caused by broken stone which can be supplemented from the Brahmi version. What is more interesting is that it contains some words not in the original which have a distinctly Greek flavour. See lines 8-10. While the Indian version stresses the need for tolerance of other religions, the Greek addition seems to site this in the philosophical schools as well. (John Sheldon)
In the eighth year of the reign of Piodasses he subjected Kalinga. Captured and carried away from there were souls numbering 150,000. And another 100,000 were killed. And nearly as many others perished. From that time pity and compassion overcame him. And he bore it grievously. (15) On account of this change of attitude he gave orders to refrain from the desire for living things, and had a treatise drawn up (16) concerning piety. And yet the King found this undertaking more difficult (than he expected). The ones living there who were Brahmans and Buddhist monks and some others who devoted their time to religious matters living there ought to appreciate the beneficial things of the King, and (treat) the teacher and father and mother with respect and admiration, and love and not deceive their friends and companions, (20) using their slaves and servants as lightly as possible. Of those there of such kinds, doing these things if someone is killed or abducted, it (the treatise) is... piety (= dharma) and self-control in all occupations. And especially he is a master of self-control who has mastery of his tongue. And neither would they praise themselves nor criticise anything about their neighbours. For it is vain. And they try more to praise their neighbours and in no way at all to criticise. By doing these things they exaggerate their own importance and his neglect it over their neighbours. But doing otherwise they become both more inglorious and hated by their neighbours. And those who praise themselves, and criticise their neighbours, acting in a more ambitious way, wishing in comparison to the rest to be conspicuous, by much more do they harm themselves. For it is proper to value one another and to receive lessons from one another. And by doing these things they shall be more learned, and hand over to one another such things as (10) each of them understands. And do not hesitate to speak plainly to those practising such things, in order that they may improve through practising dharma in everything. (tr. Gil Davies)

(A) EDICT XII

JE 201, IEOG 291, CII 2/1 83

[. εὐςέβεια καὶ ἕγκρατεία κατὰ πάσας τὰς διατριβὰς· εὐγενείας καὶ ἑλκίστης ἔνθα καὶ ἰδιαίτερος ἐπαγγελθείς, μή τοὺς πέλας ψέγουσιν περὶ μηδενός· κενὸς γάρ ἔστιν· καὶ πειράζοι μᾶλλον τοὺς πέλας ἐπαγωνίαν καὶ μὴ ψέγουν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες ἐαυτοὺς ἀδύνατον καὶ τοὺς 5 πέλας ἀνακτῶνται· παραβαίνοντες δὲ ταῦτα, ἀκλέντεροι τε γίνονται καὶ τοὺς πέλας ἀπέχονται. οἱ δ’ ἐὰν ἐαυτοὺς ἐπαίνοιν, τοὺς δὲ πέλας ψέγουσιν φιλοτιμότερον διαπράττονται, βουλόμενοι παρὰ τοὺς λουποὺς ἐγλάμψαι, πολύ δὲ μᾶλλον βλάπτου[σι] ἐαυτοὺς. πρέπει δὲ ἂλληλος βοημάζειν καὶ τὰ ἂλληλον διάσωμα παραφέρεσθαι]. ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες πολυμάθετοι ἔσονται, παραδώντες ἂλληλος ὁσα 10 ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἐπίσταται. καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα ἐπισκοποῦσι, ταῦτα μὴ ὁκενεῖν λέγειν, ἵνα δει- αμείνοις διὰ παντὸς εὐσέβειντες.]

(B) EDICT XIII

JE 201, IEOG 292, CII 2/1 83

ὅγδοι ἦτε βασιλεύοντος Πιοδᾶσσου κατέστρεφε τὴν Καλλιγήν. ἦν εξωγρημένα καὶ εξηγημένα ἐκεῖθεν σωμάτων μυριάδες δεκαπεντάκολον. ἄν ἄν ἀναρέθησαν ἄλλοι μυριάδες δέκα καὶ σχεδὸν ἄλλοι τοσοῦ- τοι τετελεύθησαν. ἀπ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ γρόνου ἐλεος καὶ οἶκτος αὐτῶν ἐλάβεν· καὶ βαρέως ἤγεγκεν· 15 δι’ οὗ τρόπου ἐκείλευαν ἅπασα τῶν ἐμπύρων σπουδὴν τε καὶ σύνταξαν πεποίηται περί εὐσεβείας· καὶ τούτῳ ἦτε δυσχερέστερον ὑπενείμασαν ὁ βασιλεύς καὶ ὤςοι ἐκεῖ εἰκονος βραβεύειν ή σχομενος ή καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς οἱ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν διατίρησαν· τοὺς ἐκεῖ οἰκού- ντας ἔδει τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως συμφέροντα νοεῖν, καὶ διδάσκαλον καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα ἐπιστάθηκαν καὶ βουημάζανεν, φίλους καὶ ἑταίρους ἄγαπαν καὶ μὴ διαφεύγεσθαι, 20 δούλους καὶ μισθοτοίς ὡς κοινοφόρα χράσαθαι, τούτων ἐκεῖ τῶν τοιαύτα διαπρασσο-
μένων εἰ τις τέθηκεν ἢ ἐξήκται, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμ
παραδρομή οἱ λοιποὶ ἤτεῖνται, ὡ δὲ
[β]ασιλεὺς σφόδρα ἐπὶ τούτων ἐδυσχέρανεν καὶ
dὴ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν εἰσιν.

the King was exceedingly irate on account of
these things. And that in the remaining peoples
are. (tr. Marcus Chin)
(II) Versio Prima Indica

$CIInd.$ I.64-66

Photo of squeeze of parts of lines 4-8 of Edict XII in the Arameo-Brahmi script ($CIInd.$ I, p. 64)

Transcription of Edict XII ($CIInd.$ I, 64)

Edict XII

1. (A) Devanāṃpriyo Priyadaśi raya savra-prasaḥ-
       arṇḍani pravraita[ni] grahathani cha pujeti danea
       vividhaye cha pujaye

2. (B) no chu tatha [da]na va puja va

(A) King Devanāṃpriyo Priyadaśi, is honouring
all sects: both ascetics and householders (i.e.
laymen), with gifts and honours of various kinds.

(B) But Devanāṃpriyo does not value either gifts
priyo mañati yatha kiti sa[la]-vaḍhi

(C) sala-vaḍhi tu bahuvidha

(D) tasa tuo iyo mula yaṁ vacha-guti ā kitī ata-prashāṇḍa-puja va pa[ra]- prashāṇḍa-garama va no siya [a]pakaraṇāsi lahuka va siya tasi tasi prakara[n]e

(E) pujetaviya ta chu para-prasha[m]ḍa 4 tena tena akarena

(F) e[v]aṁ karataṁ ata-p[r]aśhāṇḍaṁvaḍheta para-prashāṇḍanisa pi cha upakaroṭī

(G) tada aṅatha ka[ra]min[o] ata-p[r]aśhāṇḍa ā kitī kshaḥati para-[pra]śhadasa cha apakaroṭī

(H) yo hi kachi ata-prashaḍaṁ pujeti [para]-p[r]aśhāṇḍa[n] garaḥati savre ata-prashaḍa-bhatiya va kitī ā kitī ata-prashaḍaṁ dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karanaṁ ba[ḥaṭh]aṁ upahārīti ata-prashaḍaṁ

(I) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti aṅamaṇāsa dhraṁo 7 śrūṇeyu cha suśrūṣheyu cha ti

(J) evaṁ hi Devanaṁpriyasa ichha kiti savra-prashaṁḍa bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[a]ṇaṁgama cha siyasu

(K) ye cha tatra tatra 8 prasana tesh[a]ṁvatvao


or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(C) But the promotion of the essentials (is possible) in many ways.

(D) But its root is this, viz. guarding (one’s) speech, (i.e.) that neither praising one’s own sect nor blaming other sects should take place on improper occasions, or (that) it should be moderate in every case.

(E) But other sects ought to be duly honoured in every way.

(F) If one is acting thus, he is promoting his own sect and is benefitting other sects as well.

(G) If one is acting otherwise than thus, he is hurting his own sect and wronging other sects.

(H) For whoever praises his own sect (or) blames other sects, – all (this) out of pure devotion to his own sect, (i.e.) with the view of glorifying his own sect, – if he is acting thus, he rather ingures his own sect very severely.

(I) Therefore self-control alone is meritorious, (i.e.) that they should both hear and obey each other’s morals.

(J) For this is the desire of Devanaṁpriya, (viz.) that all sects should be both full of learning and pure in doctrine.

(K) And those who are attached to their respective (sects), ought to be spoken to (as follows).

(L) Devanaṁpriya does not value either gifts or honours so (highly) as (this), (viz.) that a promotion of the essentials of all sects should take place.

(M) And many (officers) are occupied for this purpose, (viz.) the Mahāṁtras of morality, the Mahāṁtras controlling women, the inspectors of cowpens, and other classes (officials).

(N) And this is the fruit of it, (viz.) that the promotion of one’s own sect takes place, and the glorification of morality. (Ed. and trans. E. Hultsch, CIInd. I, 64-65)
EDICT XIII

1. (A) छठवष्टमतिस्तस देवनमिस्तम्ब्र भ्रम्मादिस्तस रजो कालाप विचित्र (B) दिखाए (B) प्रमाणसहस्रे ये ततो नामादृ स्ततसद्यमा तत्त हते नहुदातके तथा तुधि

2. (C) ततो वध छठुष नस्त्रेतुर कालापस्यु पर्व भ्रमिश्च सत्त मस्तमं तत्त देवनमिस्तम्ब्र (D) तो भूत सामानुच्छरण देवनमिस्तम्ब्र भ्रमित्वं कर्षणानि

3. (E) भ्रमित्तं हि विजिनामनी यो तत्त सम्बा व मध्यम नामभवो च जनसं तत्त वर्षा वेदानमान्त गुद्दमं च देवनमिस्तम्ब्र (F) इद्दे ये चु चतो मस्तमं तत्त देवनमिस्तम्ब्र (G) ये तत्त

4. वस्ति ब्रह्मण व ग्रहण व च चतुे व प्रथम यहथ व येनु विहित वघ अयुगिरिशुणि भ्रमादिनी तत्त सुपुर युगादिने शुभं सुपुर्यु सुषण सिरसंहस्तमहयु-

5. जितेकालु दस्मद्वन धस्मतिपति दिनभति तथा तत्त मोति अयुगिरिशाव च बधो व जानियत च विद्मान (H) येष्ठ न च यणिहितं सिद्दो जानियतो अ तत्त मध्यसहस्तरब्रह्मण सम्बंभान

6. प्रर्थति तत्त तत्त ये ततो अयुगिरिशुणि भूति (I) प्रस्थानं च एतं सत्तममानु गुद्दमं च देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र (J) नर्तिः च एकारे ये प्रवेशिन्य न नम प्रस्थान (K) सो यणिहितं च ततो नस्त्रेतुर च च मस्तमं तत्त

7. जनसं व सम्बान्तं न च च चतुे ग्रहणस्य यो देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र (L) ये च अयुगिरिशात जानियति च देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र संधिनमो च देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र यभ स्थतो (M) ये च अयुगिरिशात देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र विजिते भूति न च अयुगिता अयुगितिधियति (N) अयुगिते पि च प्रथाने

8. देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र सुःचति तथा विद्मा अयुगिरिशुणि च हंस्यु (O) राजति हि देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र सम्बान्त जानियत संघमं संसरिब्र धस्मिः (P) अयुगिरिशीपुरुष तिजः देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र यो धस्मिः (Q) सो च स्यु लभो देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र इह च स्येपु च ब्रह्मणेतु

9. अ स्यु ये योजनायमस्तु यक्त जानियतोऽयो नम योतरजः परं च ततो जानियतोक्त चेतुर 8 रजनी तुर्यते नम जानियतिन्य नम सक महाभास्यः नम निच चोंडपं ख्यात संबंपरितिः (R) एकारे ख्यात रजविनिक्रिया बोलकंदोपं नमज्जुमानिति

10. भूर्जिष्ठनितः अयुगितिमानसौ सच्च देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र सभानिस्तं अयुगितिमानसू (S) ये च प्रदेवनिमिस्तम्ब्र हुम च प्रविधि ततो ये च युद्ध देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र भ्रम्मादिस्तम्ब्र मृत्यु भ्रमनिमिस्तम्ब्र अयुगितिमानसू च (T) यो स तथे एकारे भूति सच्च विजितो सच्च स्यु

11. विजितः जितिंशुहो सो (U) ततो भूति जितिः प्रबिनिक्यात (V) लुहदु हु यो स जिति (W) पराविनिक्यः महाकलो मेजः देवनिमिस्तम्ब्र (X) एकारे च खत्ते अयुगितदेवनिमिस्तम्ब्र कित्व चुरु यो तत्त विजित च भ्रमिदिनेषु मृत्यु भ्रमिदिनेषु मृत्यु भ्रमिदिनेषु च चोंडपं च चोंडपं यह विजित महाभासेता यो भ्रमिदिनेषु (Y) यो हिदंदोलिको विरोधिको (Z) सच्चान्तिति भूतु च भ्रमिदिनेषु (AA) सह हि हिदंदोलिक परलोकिक

(B) di[adh]a-mat[re] pran[sa]-[saha][re ye[e] tato apavudhe [saha]-[saha]-[saha]-matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke va] m[u]te


(D) so [a]sti anusochana Devanapriya[sa vijinti Kaliga[ni]


(F) ida[n pi chu [tato] guru-matataran[ Devanapriya]riyasya


(I) pratibha[ga[n cha [e]ta[n savra-manu[sa]bar[an guru-mata[n cha Devana]priyasa[sa]

(J) nasti cha ekatare pi prasha[d]{asp}i na nama prasado

(K) so yamatro [ja]no tada Kalige [ha]to cha

(A) When king Dēvānaprīya Priyadarśin had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the Kaliṅgas was conquered by (him).

(B) One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

(C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kaliṅgas has been taken, Dēvānaprīya (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.

(D) This is the repentance of Dēvānaprīya on account of his conquest of (the country of) the Kaliṅgas.

(E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by Dēvānaprīya, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.

(F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by Dēvānaprīya.

(G) (To) the Brāhmaṇas or Śramaṇas, or other sects or householders, who are living there, (and) among whom the following are practised: obedience to those who receive high pay, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, (and) firm devotion, – to these then happen injury or slaughter or deportation of (their) beloved ones.

(H) Or, if there are then incurring misfortune the friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives of those whose affection (for the latter) is undiminished, although they are (themselves) well provided for, this (misfortune) as well becomes an injury to those (persons) themselves.

(I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by Dēvānaprīya.

(J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect.

(K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were
mut[ ] cha apav[udda] cha tato |7 šata-bhage va sahasra-bhagaṁ va [a]ja guru mātaṁ v[o] Devanaṁpriyaṇa

(L) yo pi cha apakareyati kṣhamitaviya-mate va Devanaṁpriyaṇa yaṁ śako kṣhamanaye

(M) ya pi cha ātavi Devanaṁpriyaṇa vijite bhoṭi ta pi anuneti anunijapeti

(N) anutape pi cha prabhave |8 Devanaṁpriyaṇa vuvhati tesa kiti anatrapeyu na cha [ha]ṁṇeṣasy

(O) ichhati hi D[e]vanaṁpriyo savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamaṁ sana[cha]riyaṁ rabgasiye

(P) ayi cha mukha-mut[a] vijaye Devanaṁpriyaṇa iha cha saveshu dhrama-vijayo

(Q) so cha puna ladho Devanaṁpriyaṇa iha cha saveshu cha ṛṇteshu |9 [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t]eshu yatra Āntiyoko nama Y[o]na-raja paraṁ cha tena Atiyok[e]na chature 4 rajani Turamaye nama Āntikini nama Maka nama Alikasudaro nama nicha Choḍa-Paṇḍa ava Ta[m]boār̥ṇi[ṇ]ya

(R) [e]vameva [hi]daraja-vishavaspi Yona-ka[m]boyeshu Nabhaṁ-Nabhitina |10 Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Amṛdhra-Palideshu savatra Devanaṁpriyaṇa anuvatāṁiti

(S) yatra Devanaṁpriyaṇa duta na vrachāṁti te pi śrūtu Devanaṁpriyaṇa dhrama-vuṭaṁ vidh[a]nam dhramanuśāsti dhramaṁ [a]nuvidhiyaṁti anuvidihiyaṁti[ti] cha

(T) yo [sa] ladhe etakena bho[t]i savatra vijayo sav[a]tra pu[na] |11 vijayo priti-raso so

slain, who died, and who were deported at the time in Kaliṅga, (would) now be considered very deplorable by Dēvānaṁpriya.

(L) And Dēvānaṁpriya thinks that even (to one) who should wrong (him) what can be forgiven is to be forgiven.

(M) And even (the inhabitants of) the forests which are (included) in the dominions of Dēvānaṁpriya, even those he pacifies (and) converts.

(N) And they are told of the power (to punish them) which Dēvānaṁpriya (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance, in order that they may be ashamed (of Their crimes) and may not be killed.

(O) For Dēvānaṁpriya desires towards all beings abstention from hurting, self-control, (and) impartiality in (case of) violence.

(P) And this conquest is considered the principal one by Dēvānaṁpriya, viz. the conquest by morality.

(Q) And this (conquest) has been won repeatedly by Dēvānaṁpriya both here and among all (his) borderers, even as far as at (the distance of) six hundred yōjanas, where the Yōna king named Āntiyoka (is ruling), and beyond this Āntiyoka, (where) four–4–kings (are ruling), (viz. the king) named Turamaya, (the king) named Āntikini, (the king) named Maka, (and the king) named Alikasudara, (and) towards the south, (where) the Choḍas and Pāṇḍyas (are ruling), as far as Tāmraparṇī.

(R) Likewise here in the king’s territory among the Yōnas and Kambōyas, among the Nabhakas and Nabhitis, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, among the Andras and the Palidas – everywhere (people) are conforming to Dēvānaṁpriya’s instructions in morality.

(S) Even those to whom the envoys of Dēvānaṁpriya do not go, having heard of the duties of morality, the ordinances, (and) the instruction in morality of Dēvānaṁpriya, are conforming to morality and will conform to it.

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere, – a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly, – causes the feeling of satisfaction.
ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi

Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.

lahuka tu kho sa priti

But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).

paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meṇatu Deva-na[m]priyo

Dēvānampriya thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).

etaye cha aṭhaye ayyi dhrama-dipi nip[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navaṁ vijayaṁ ma vijetaviśa maṇishu spa[kaspi] yo vijaya ekshamti cha lahu-da[m]da multipletu taṁ cha yo vija maṇa[tu] |12yo dhrama-vijayo

And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, (viz.) in order that the sons (and) great-grandsons (who) may be (born) to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that) if a conquest does please them, they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments, and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality as the only true conquest.

so hidalokiko paralokiko

This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.

sava-chati-rati bhotu ya [dh]raḥma-rati

And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims), which is pleasure in morality.

sa hi hidalokika paralokika

For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world. (Ed. and trans. E. Hultzsch, CIInd. I, 68-70)
Hellenism in the East

13

c. 239 BCE – Ikaros (Failalka Island, Kuwait)

SEG 20.411 (Revised)

INTRODUCTION

A popular account on the discovery of the inscription given by Jehan Sayib Rajab, Director of Antiquities, Kuwait, (Failaka, The Ikaros of Arabian Gulf, Kuwait, 1999, 30-31) is worth citing as the work in which the account is published is very little known to research scholars: 'One sunny morning (in early 1960) when everyone was busy at work, someone rushed in and told me that something of great interest at the site was coming to light. I made my way as fast as possible to find that all work had practically ceased, except in front of the partially excavated Portico of the Temple of Artemis. Everyone was crowded round watching the careful brushing off and gradual uncovering of what seemed to be a large dedication stone. There was an atmosphere of intense excitement and expectancy as the brushes gently cleared away the sand and the grit. Slowly, lines of Greek script were starting to materialize and it was apparent that the great stone, now worn and battered, had once stood in a plinth in the Portico. Here is the Professor of Greek archaeology,
Kristian Jeppesen’s more technical version of that exciting morning, “It lay almost flat, at a level a good half metre above the lowest altar step. it had clearly been dragged from its place in one piece, but it had then, when the attempt to drag it further had been abandoned, been smashed into several large pieces. Fortunately only very small fragments had been carried so far away that they escaped discovery ...” Mr. (Tareq) Rajab, a bit later discovered those pieces lying just under the sand some distance away. As more of the stone became visible people pressed closer, for there was little doubt it was a find of considerable importance. The atmosphere became electric and Kristian Jeppesen could hardly contain himself from immediately starting work on a translation. With his finger he traced out a word or two muttering them to himself. The people watching were just as interested and curious and wanted to know at once what was written on the Stele. The reading of the stone has in fact been a difficult task, for the surface of the stone suffered a great deal of wear and tear, as well as deliberate damage inflicted on it in antiquity. Mr. Lange-Kornbak had the difficult task of making a latex cast before it could even be moved safely. For the latest edition of and study on this important inscription see K. Jeppesen, Danish Archaeological Investigations on Failaka, Kuwait: Ikaros – The Hellenistic Settlements, Vol. 3 The Sacred Enclosure in the Early Hellenistic Period with an appendix on epigraphical finds, Jutland Archaeological Society Publications XVI/3 (Aarhus, 1989) 82-110, esp. 102-03. For earlier edition see F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, ‘Die Seleukiden-inschrift aus Failalak’, Klio 46 (1965) 273-281, esp. 275-76.

(I) LETTER OF IKADIOS TO ANAXARCHOS CONCERNING IKAROS(-IN-ARABIA)

**JE 604, Klio, 46.275, Chiron, 1985.15-16, IEOE 421, Ikaros, iii 102-03**


Anaxarchos greets the inhabitants of Ikaros. Of the letter which Ikadion gave us, we have written a copy for you below. As soon as you receive the letter, (5) inscribe it completely and leave it in the sanctuary, Year 71, Artemisios 27th, farewell.

(II) LETTER OF ANAXARCHOS TO THE INHABITANTS OF IKAROS-IN-ARABIA
(Inscribed on the same stone)

**JE 604, Klio, 46.275, IEOG 422, Chiron, 1985.15-16, IEOE 421, Ikaros, iii 102-03**


Ikadion greets Anaxarchos. The king is concerned about the island of Ikaros, both because the forefathers consecrated an aphidrysis in this place and because they endeavoured to transfer the sanctuary of Soteira. And they wrote to the officials in charge instructing them to transfer. But they, either because they were presented or for

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1 [ἔγγραφ]τεν Rouché and Sherwin-White (Chiron 15); ἔδοκεν Robert, Altheim–Stiehl (Klio, 46), Jeppesen (Ikaros iii).
7 εἴτε βασιλεῦ[ν] ὀ[λλήν] Rouché and Sherwin-White (with important comment on p. 22); εἴτε δὲ τὴν ἑνδήμοτοιν Jeppesen.
some other reason, did not transfer. But when King Seleukos wrote to us, we transferred, and we arranged a gymnastic context in honour of the gods. And we are still considering additional measures to be taken according to the policy of the King and his forefathers and concerning the settlements on the island, those of the nekoroi as well as those of other people, there being no longer, at the time of the Soter and the Theos, a common hearth in function on the island. They shall be resettled on the basis of the establishment: it is by no means permitted to encroach on the farm-houses in any way, but everybody shall pay regard to the interests of the community, in order that the impetuous are not wronged, even in case some of them may want to profit from the use of fallow land on the island by cultivating with their own till parks and garden plots, thus securing for themselves the right of lawful inheritance. Personal safety and exemption from taxes shall be guaranteed as at the time of the forefathers of the King, both to themselves and to those trading with the island and with destinations beyond it. Do not anybody to commit acts of violence and fraud in dealing with what belongs to each individual allotment of land, lest the inhabitants are to be blamed. They shall bear the letter in mind, inscribing a stele in the sanctuary on Ikaros. Year 71, Artenusos 17th, farewell. (Trans. Kristian Jeppesen, op. cit., 103, with minor revision by the Serica Team)
205 BCE – Magnesia on the Maeander (Tekin, Germençik)

**SEG 39.1427**

DECREES CONCERNING ANTIOCHIA-IN-PERSIDE

OGIS 231, RC 31, IEOG 250, JE 304, CII 2/1 51

Photograph showing the first part of the inscription: lines 1-15 (CII 2/1 Fig. 51.1)

1. βασίλευς Αντίοχος Μαγνή–
2. τον τή βουλή και τοί δήμων χαι–
3. ρεῖν. Δημοφόνον και Φιλίσκος και Φέ–
4. ρησ οί παρ’ ὑμῶν πεμφθέντες πρός
5. ἡμᾶς θεωροί ἐνεκεν τού ἐπαγγει–
6. λαι τόν ἄγονα και τάλα ἀ δήσιος–
7. ται ὁ δήμος συντελεῖν τῆ ἄρηγή–
8. τα τῆς πόλεως Αρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυ–
9. ἡνή, συμμειζάντες ἐν Ἀντιοχείαι

King Antiochos (III) to the Council and People of Magnesia, greetings. Dēmophon, Philiskos and Pherēs, the sacred ambassadors sent to (5) us by you to announce the contest and the other celebrations voted by the people in honour of Artemis Leukophryene, the patron goddess of your city, met us at Antioch-in-(10)-Persis, handed over the decree and spoke themselves with enthusiasm in
10. τῆς Περσίδος τὸ τε ψηφίσμα ἀπέδω-
11. καὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ διελέχθησαν μετὰ σπου-
12. δής ἀκολούθουσα τοῖς κατακεχωρισμέ-
13. νοις ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσματι, παρακαλοῦντές
14. ἀποδέξασθαι στεφάνιτιν ἵσοπιθιν
15. τὸν ἁγώνα ὃν τίθετε τῇ θεαί δία πεν-
16. [τα]ετερίδος. ἔχοντες οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς π[ερί]
17. τοῦ δήμου τήν φιλανθρωποτάτην διάληπ-
18. ψιν δία τὴν εὐνοίαν, ἤν τυχεῖνε ἀποδε-
19. δειγμένος ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς εἰς τὴ ἴ-
20. μάς καὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ βουλόμενοι φα-
21. νημάν ποιεῖν τὴν ἑαυτῶν προαίρεσιν ἀπο-
22. δεχόμεθα τὰς ἐνηφισμένας ὑπὸ ὑμῶν τ[η]-
23. μάς τῇ θεᾶι, πρόκειται τε ἠμῖν συναὐξά-
24. τὰ ταύτα ὑπὸ ὑμῶν τα παρακαλήσατε καὶ
25. αὐτοὶ ἐπινοοῦν: γεγράφαμεν δὲ καὶ
26. τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένοις,
27. ὧν καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἀκολούθουσα ἀπο-
28. δέξονται ὑερωσθενεν.

accordance with the terms of the decree, urging us to recognize as ‘crowned’ abd ‘isopythian’ (15) the contest which you are celebrating in honour of the goddess every five years. Since therefore we have had from the beginning the friendliest disposition towards your people because of the goodwill it has shown to (20) us and out interests in all circumstances, and wish to make clear our policy, we recognise the honours you have voted to the goddess, and intend to increase these in whatever respects you invite us or we ourselves think of. We have also written to those in charge of affairs (i.e. governors and officials) so that the cities may recognise (the celebrations) in the same way. Farewell. (tr. S. Sherwin-White and A. Khurt, From Samarkhand to Sardis (London, 1993), 162-63)
205 BCE – Magnesia on the Maeander (Tekin, Germençik)

SEG 39.1427

DECREE CONCERNING ANTIOCHIA-IN-PERSIDE

OGIS 233, IEOG 182, JE 307, CII 2/1 53

Photograph showing the upper part of the inscribed block containing the decree(s) concerning Antioch in Perside found in Magnesia on the Maeander (Photo: CII)

{First column, upper block}

1. [π]αρὰ Αντιοχουν τὸν Π[ερσιδος]·
2. [ἑ]πὶ ἱερέως Σελεῦκου Νικάτορος καὶ Αντιόχου
3. Σωτήρος καὶ Αντιόχου Θεοῦ καὶ Σελεύκου Καλλινίκου καὶ Βασιλέως Αντιόχου
4. καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ βασιλέως Αντιόχου Ἡρακλείτου
5. τοῦ Ζωέου τῆς πρώτης ἕξαμηνον· δόγματα ἐκκλησίας
6. σια κυρίας τὰ ἀπενεχθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιαδόου τοῦ
7. Ἐκαταίου τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ γραμματέως τῆς βουλῆς
8. λής καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μηνός Πανθέου τρίτη φθίνον-
9. τος ἐξοδικέσθαι ἐκκλησίαι προτάνων εἰπάντων· ἐπειδή
10. δὴ Μάγδης οἱ ἀπὸ Μαιανδρὸν συγγενεῖς ὄντες
11. καὶ φύλοι τοῦ δήμου καὶ πολλάς καὶ ἐπισκεφθεῖς χρήσιμοι
12. τοῦ παρεσιμενο[[ ]]
13. τοῖς Ἐλλήσισιν [τῶν εἰς ἐποίησιν]
14. ἀν ἀντικειμένων πρὸς Αντιόχου τοῦ Σωτήρος
15. φύλοις [ου]μένου ἐποίησις τίμη πάλιν ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν
16. αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμον καὶ πέμψαντος πρὸς αὐτοῦ περί
17. ἀποκεφαλεῖν, καλὰ καὶ ἔνδοξα ψηφίσαμεν καὶ εὐθύς καὶ
18. θυσίας ποιήσαμεν ἀπέστειλαν ἄνδρας πλήθει
19. ἵκανοὺς καὶ ἀρετήματα διαφέροντας, σπουδάζοντες

[Decision (?) of the citizens of Antioch in Persis (i.e. mod. Fars)] In the year in which Herakleitos was the priest of Seleukos Nikator and of Antiocchos Sotēr and of Antiocchos the God and of Seleukos Kallinikos and of King Seleukos and of Antiocchos (III) (5) and of the son of King Antiocchos, in the first six month (period of his office), (these) decisions of the main assembly which were recorded by Asklepias the son of Hecataios the son of Demetrios, the secretary of the Council (boulē) and of the Assembly (ekklēsia), in the month of Pantheos, on the third day before the end of the month; (10) and which were resolved by the assembly, the motion being introduced by the prytaneis. The citizens of Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, being kinsmen and friends of the
20. συναίζησαι τὸν τῶν Λυκίδιτων δήμον, διατηροῦν
21. τες τε τὴν πρὸς ἄπαντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας εὐνοιαν
22. καὶ φανερὸν θέλοντες ποιεῖν, ὅτι πάσιν τοῖς
  προσήκουν.
23. σιν μεταδιδόσσιν σπονδόν τε καὶ θυσίαν καὶ τῶν ἁλ.
24. λον τιμῶν τῶν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ θεῖον, ἐγδοθέντος
25. αὐτοῖς χρησμοῦ ἀνέδειξαν κατὰ πάσαν τὴν Ἑλλ.
26. ὅτα συνελούντες τῇ ἀρχηγείᾳ τῆς πόλεως θυσία
27. ας καὶ πανήγυριν καὶ ἐκχειρίαν καὶ ἀγώνα στεφανὶ
28. την διὰ πενταετηρίδος μουσικὸν τε καὶ γυμνικὸν
29. καὶ ἵππον, δικαιὰν ἀποδιδόντες χάριν τῇ εὐεργ.–
30. τῷ, καὶ πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἀπεστάλακας πρεσβεύνας
31. Δημος<ὡ>ντα Λυκιδέως, Φυλίσκον Φύλιον, Φέρητα
32. Φέρητος, οὔ καὶ ἐπελούντες ἐπὶ τε τὴν βουλήν καὶ
33. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ψήφισμά τε ἀπέδωκαν παρὰ Μαγνή.
34. τοῖς καὶ ἀνανισσάμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ τὴν ψ.
35. λιὰν ἀπελογισάντο διὰ πλεύον τὴν τὸς θεάς ἐ–
36. πιεραίων καὶ τὰς χρειάς ὡς παρέσχεναι Μάγνητες
37. πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνιδῶν πόλεως καὶ παρεκάλου
38. ἀποδέξασθαι τὸν ἀγώνα στεφανίτην ὑπὸ συνελού.
39. σιν Ἀρτέμιδος Λευκοφρυηνὴ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
  χρησμόν·

40. ὁ δὲ δήμος σεβόμενος μὲν τοὺς κοινοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶ
  τε
41. καὶ Μαγνήτων, προαιροῦμενος δὲ αὐξεῖν τὴν
  ἐ[αὐτοῦ]
42. εὐνοιαν πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἅλλους δὲ πόλεως
  [First column, lower block]
43. [πολλὸν τὰ αὐτά παρεξη]
  [.......18.,.......]το
44. ..ςιν πρὸς ρήγης οὔτείς δὲιν καρδόν καὶ καὶ
  ἔν αν διὰ
45. πε[ιν πρέ]σποντα ἐν ὁὶ [καὶ] καθ’ ἑδίαν ἐκ[άστωι κ]αὶ

(40) The People (demos) and having performed many conspicuous services on behalf of the [Hellen]es of the sort which lead to good repute, both formerly when Antiochus Sotēr, (15) being zealous to strengthen our city, which was named for him, wrote to them concerning a colony, they voted fine and notable decrees and, offering prayers and sacrifices, sent an adequate number of men who were distinguished for their excellence because they were eager to assist in strengthening the demos of Antioch; and now preserving their goodwill towards all the Hellenes and wishing to make clear that to all their kinsmen they give a share of the libations and sacrifices and of the other honours, which relate to the divinity, because (25) a revelation has been granted to them, they have declared through all Greece that they will celebrate, in honour of the lady founder of their city, sacrifices and a festival and a truce and crowned games every fifth year – musical and athletic and equestrian – thereby returning just thanks to their benefactress. (30) They have sent as envoys to the People (demos) Demophon, son of Lykideus, Philisks, son of Philos, Pheres, son of Pheres, who, on appearing before the boule and the demos, duly handed over the wdcree of the Magnesians; and, after renewing their kinship and (35) friendship, the recounted at length the goddess’s epiphaneia and the services which the Magnesians have furnished to many Hellenic cities, and they urged that we recognize the crowned games which they will celebrate in honour of Artemis Leukophryene in accordance with the oracle of the god.
κοινή πά-
46. σιν ἐν ἐν[ποδεῖξεται τὴν σπουδὴν ἣν ἐν ἐν]ων διατελεῖ
47. [εἰς τὸ συ]μφέρουν τὸν τὸν Μαγνή[των:] ἀγαθὴ
tύχη[ι—]
mὲν Μά-
49. γητας τῆς τε πρὸς τὸ θείων εὐσεβείας ἐνεκεν καὶ τῆς
50. πρὸς τὸς βασιλέα Αντίωνον φιλίας καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ
51. τὸν δήμων τὸν Αντιώκεων, καὶ δ[ί]οτι τοῖς ἰδίοις
ἀγαθ[αίς]
52. καὶ τῇ εἰςμερίᾳ τῆς πόλεως καλὸς χρώμουν
δὶ catastrophe-
53. λάσσουσιν τὸν πάτριοι πολιτείας, εὐεξα[θα]ία δὲ τοῖς
54. ἱερεῖς θεοὶ πάσιν καὶ πᾶσις, διαιμένων Μ[άγγερες]
55. εἰς τὸν ἐπι τοῦν χρόνον ἐπὶ τύχη ἀγαθῇ τῆς[ν]
pολε[τεία]
56. αν ὡς ἐξεσκεθαὶ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὴν πανηγυρι[ν]
{Second column, upper block}
57. καὶ τὴν ἐκεῖ[θα]ιαν καὶ τὸν ἄγονα στεφανίτην
ιὸς οὐθοῦν
58. τὸν τοῦ μου[τικὸν καὶ γυνικὸν καὶ ἰπικὸν, ὅν]
59. συντελεῖθαι Μάγνητες τῇ Αρτέμιδι τῇ
Λευκοφρονη[η]
60. διὰ τὸ πάτριοι[ν] —
61. φίλον τιμᾶ—
62. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ —
63. καὶ τὴν Μαγνητ[ον]πόλιν —
64. καθ’ ἐκάστην — ὡς ἐξεσκεθαὶ δὲ καὶ θεοροῦς]
65. εἰς Μαγνησ[ὴν τοὺς θυσιαστὰς τῆς Αρτέμιδι Λευκό]-
66. ὑπηρετῇ ἐπὶ σωτηρίας τοῦ τος βασιλέως καὶ
ἀμφοτέρων τῶν
67. πόλεων, διοδοθαὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐφόδιον ἐκ τοῦ
δῆμου
68. ὅσον ὁ δήμως ψηφίζηται ἰκανόν εἶναι καὶ πρέπον
69. [τῇ] πόλει[ί] αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ καὶ τοὺς θεοροὺς τῇ — τοῦ
Ἠρα]-
70. κλείσι τοῦς, ὃ τοῖς καὶ ἀλλαὶ ἀρχαί ἀρχαὶ εἰς ποιεῖται
71. σταθεῖν, τοῖς[ς] αἰς ἀρχαῖς ἀποστελλεῖα
72. ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίτας τῆς [κοινῆς τοῦ δήμου. τοις δὲ παρα]-
73. γινομένους θεορού[ς] ἐκ Μαγνησίας πρὸς ἡμᾶς δίδοσ-[
74. θαι ὑπὸ τὸν τοῦν ἡμᾶς ἀν[έ]ναι δοκεῖν όιν]
75. ταὶ καὶ ταῖς παρὰ Ἀρ[τέμιδος τῆς Ἑρασίας θεορίας]
76. συνθεῖται δὲ ὡς τὸ[εροῖ — τῇ Αρτέμι]-
77. [ὃ] τῇ Λευκὸ[ρου]νηθαίς τα —
78. τοῖς[ς] δὲ νικοῦσι τοῦν [πολιτῶν τὸν ἄγων τὸν Λευκό]-
79. ψηφιν[ε]ν εἶναι τὰς αὐτὰς τιμῶς καὶ τὰ φίλανθρωπα
παρὰ
80. τῆς πόλεως καθ’ αὐτὰς τός τοῦ Πόθου νικήσασιν ἐν
tῶν
81. νόμον ὑπάρχῃ, τὰ α[—]
82. κοινόν εἰρήμενον, ποιεῖ[νοι δὲ α]-
83. γεσθαὶ τοὺς ἄγωνας —
84. ε.σε.. καὶ τῶν παρα[—]
of the people of Magnesia.

With good fortune, [be it resolved] by the people, and the people, to [praise] the people of Magnesia for their piety towards the gods and (50) for their friendship and goodwill towards King Antiochus (III) and the people of Antioch, and because if they make good use of their own advantages and of the prosperity of the city, they will preserve their ancestral constitution, and (be it resolved) that the priests should pray to all the gods and goddesses and their [constitution] should (55) forever abide with the people of Magnesia for their good fortune, and (be it resolved to) recognize the sacrifice, the religious festival, the [truce, the ‘crowned’ competition as ‘isopythian’] and the [musical, gymnastic and equestrian competition which the people of Magnesia] celebrate [in honour of Artemis Leukophryene] (60) because of the ancestral … […] [and to send sacred ambassadors] (65) to Magnesia [who will sacrifice to Artemis] Leukophryene for the safety of the king and of both the cities, and [also] to give them [journey money from the public treasury] to the amount [voted] by the people [to be fitting for the city] and to appoint the sacred ambassadors in the … of the] month Heraclius (70) [when the other political offices] are appointed, and that those [who have been appointed should be sent] from the [common] hearth [of the people; and that presents should be given] by the treasurers [from the public treasury to the] sacred ambassadors who have come from [Magnesia to us, just as they ae given] (75) to [embassies] from [rulers and cities].

Let the sacred [ambassadors] join in the sacrifice [… in honour of Artemis Leukophryene …]. The [citizens] who are victorious [in the context of the] Leuko-lyphrenia shall have the [same honours and privileges from] (80) the city as exist [for the victors at the Pythian festival accoding to the] law … (85) […] the honours to the winner […] and the ambassadors […] the official appointed
85. οἱ τιμαὶ τοῦ νικήτασαν[τι —]
86. καὶ τοὺς προσβέστας [— ἔτακα—]
87. ἐὰν ὁ ἐπί τί[ν κ]οιμήθην [διοίκησαν ἡρμημένος —]
88. τοὺς προτάνεις ἀεὶ [— κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ]
89. τοῦ δήμου ἡ[ψ]ηφίσμα[ένα — οἱ ἀφι—]
90. κνούμενοι παρὰ Μα[γνήτων —]
91. πᾶσις προοδρ[ίας] τὶ[—]
92. ἡ[να καὶ ἡ φυλία ταῖς πόλειςιν ὑπάρχῃ εἰς τὸν ἀπαντὰ]
93. χρόνον, αἰρεθήναι δὲ καὶ θεωροδὸκον ὑπὸ τοῦ
dήμου,[]
94. ὅστις ὑποδέχεται τοῖς θεωροῦσι τοὺς παραγινομένους
πα—
95. ρὰ Μαγνήτων, εἶναι[ι δὲ —]
96. τὸν θεωροδόκον ε[—]
97. διέκειται ὁ δήμος [—]
98. προοδρησίμενο[ις — ἐπὶ —]
{Second column, lower block}
99. ἵπ[έως ἡρέθη[ή ...11..... Ἑγ[ηρᾶν[δρο]υ].
100. ὁμο[ῖος δὲ ἐδοξέζει καὶ
1.101 Σελευκείας τοῖς
102. πρὸς τῇ[δῳ Τύρηι,
103. Ἀπαμείρησιν τοῖς
104. [π]ρὸς τοῦ Σελεύκεια,
105. Σελευκείαις τοῖς
106. πρὸς τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ
107. θαλάσσῃ,
108. Σελευκείαις τοῖς
109. πρὸς τοῦ Ἑὐλαίωι,
111. π[ρὸς] το[ῖ Ηὑρφόντι]
2.101. [...]  
102. [...]  
103. [...]  
104. [...]  
105. Αὐ[τίο[χε[σιν τοῖς]
106. πρὸς [...]  
107. Ἀ[ξ][ε]λ[ανθρε[σιν τοῖς]
108. [...]  
109. [...]  
110. [...]  
111. [...]  

by the public administration has fixed? [...] the prytaneis according to [...] the measures decreed by the people [...] who come here from Magnesia [...] so that friendship might remain between the cities for all time. [A theorodokos] shall be appointed [by the people] to receive the [sacred ambassadors who have come from] the people of Magnesia [...].]

Similar decrees were passed by the people of Seleukeia on the Tigris, the people of Apamea on the Selea, (1.105) the people of Seleukeia on the Red Sea, the people of Seleukeia on the Eulaios, (95) the people of Seleukeia [on the [...]. (2.105) the people of [Antioch] on [...] the people of [Alexandria …] (tr. based on S. Sherwin-White and A. Khurt, From Samarkhand to Sardis (London, 1993), 163-64)
193 BCE – Laodicea in Media (Nihavend)

*CRAI* 1967, 283-94

**LETTER OF A SELEUCID GOVERNOR TO LAODICEA WITH AN EDICT OF ANTIOCHOS III**

*IEOG* 271 & 272, *JE* 303, *CII* 2/1 68

**(I) THE EDICT OF ANTIOCHOS III**

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Edict of Antiochos III (Photo. CII 2/1 Fig. 68.1)

[King Antiochos to Medemos greetings. Wishing to increase further the honours of our sister and Queen Laodikê, and believing this to be most imperative for us, not only because of the affection and care she shows in her life with us, but also because of her piety with regard to religion (or ‘the deity’), we continue to perform affectionately everything that is fitting and just [for her] to receive from us, and in particular it is our decision (5) that just as chief-priests of us are appointed throughout the kingdom so too chief priestesses should be established in the same [district] who shall wear gold crowns (10) with]
5. μεν δὲ καθόπερ ἠμ[ὸν ἀποδέι]-
6. κνοῦνται κατὰ τὴν β[ασιλείαν]
7. ἀργυρεῖς, καὶ αὐτῆς καθ[ίστασθαι]
8. ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις ἀργυ[ρεῖς]
9. αἶ φορήσουσιν στεφάνους χρυ[σοὺς]
10. ἔχοντας εἰκόνας αὐτῆς, ἐνγρα[φῇ]-
11. σονται δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμα-
12. σιν μετὰ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων καὶ
13. ἡμῶν ἀργυρεῖς, ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀποδέδει[ν]-
14. κτια ἐν τοῖς ὕπο τῇ τοποῖς Λαοδίκη.
15. συντελείσθω πάντα τοῖς [προγεγραμ]-
16. μένους ἀκολουθοῦς, καὶ [τὰ ἀντίγραφα]
17. τὸν ἐπιστολοῦν ἄν[αγ]ραφέντα [εἰς]
18. στήλας ἀνατε[μήρων] ἐν το[ῖ]ς ἐπ[ωφα]-
19. νεστάνες τ[ῶ]ς ὅπως νῦν τ[ὲ] καίτ
20. εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶσι φανερὰ γένηται[ι]
21. ἡ ἡμετέρα ἐν τούτοις πρὸς τὴν ἄδρε[λ]-
22. φὴν πρ[αίρεσις. θηρ' Ξανδικοῦ.

(II) THE LETTER OF MENEDEMOS TO THE CITY OF LAODICEA

Edict of Antiochos III (Photo. CII 2/1 Fig. 68.2)

23. [Μ]ενεδήμος ἰθάντων χαίρειν·
24. τοῦ γραφέντος πρὸς ἡμῶς προσ-
25. τάγματος παρὰ τοῦ βασι[λέως]
26. ὑποτείνοιται τὸ ἀντίγραφον· κατα-
27. κολούθεσιν ὕπο τοῖς ἑπισταλέν[οις]
28. καὶ φρόντισεν ὅπως ἄνεγραφεν τὸ
29. πρόσταγμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην
30. ἀντιτεθείν ἐν τοῖς ἑπιφανεστάτοι
31. τὸν ἐν τῇ φωλιακῇ ιερῶν.
32. θηρ' Πανιμοῦ γ’

Menedemos to Apollodoros and the magistrates of the city of Laodicea, greetings. Appended above is [the] copy of the (25) edict sent to us in writing [by the king]. Do you therefore conform to the instructions given and see to it that the edict is inscribed on a stone stele and (30) set up in the most distinguished sanctuary in the city. Farewell. Year 119. On the tenth of the month of Panemos. (Sel. = June/July, 193 BCE) (tr. S. Sherwin-White and A. Khurt, From Samarkhand to Sardis (London, 1993), 204.)
2<sup>ND</sup> C BCE? – Alexandria-in-Arachosia (Kandahar) (?)

**SEG 2004.1568**

Epitaph of (the ‘Silk Road’ merchant?) Sôphytus

*JE 105, CII 2/1 84*

The Stele of Sôphytos (now in private collection)  
(Photograph: P. Bernard)
A long time ago the unconquerable strength of the three Muses destroyed the flourishing house of my ancestors. But I, Sophytus, the pitiable and measly son of Naratus, bereft of the care and livelihood of my fathers, have practised the virtues of Apollo Hekatos and the Muses, joined to a noble wisdom; I then pondered how I might raise again my ancestral house. Borrowing from others money destined to bear fruit I left home, determined not to return before I had obtained the greatest riches. For this purpose I travelled to many cities on commercial business and garnered great wealth; becoming a man of fame I returned home after many years, and appeared joyful to my well-wishers. I completed at once both the renewal of my dilapidated ancestral home, now newly made great; I also raised another tomb to replace the one which had fallen to the ground. In my lifetime I erected this garrulous stele on the roadside. In this way the deeds I have accomplished are to be emulated; may my children and grandchildren enjoy this house of mine. (Trans. Marcus Chin, revised)
2ND C BCE? – (Kuliab in Tajikistan)

*CII* 2/1.151

DEDICATION OF HELIODOTUS TO HESTIA

*JS* 2004.333-56, *JE* 101

Heliodotus raised this smoky altar for you, O Hestia, most esteemed guardian of the gods, in the lush glade of Zeus, and honoured it with splendid libations and sacrifices, so that you might graciously guard Euthydemus, the greatest of all kings, and his outstanding son Demetrius, of glorious victory, who heed the gods, with a harmless fortune. (tr. John Sheldon?)
2\textsuperscript{nd} C BCE – Aï Khanoum

\textit{CII 2/1 97}

\textbf{Epigram and Delphic Maxims}

\textit{JE} 103 A and B; \textit{IEOG} 382

Inscription containing the epigram (left) and the maxims (right) (Photo: \textit{CII} 2/1, Fig. 97)

\textit{To the left of the stone}:

\begin{align*}
\text{ἀνδρῶν τοι σοφὰ ταῦτα παλαιοτέρων ἀνάκαι[ται]} \\
\text{ῥήματα ἀριγνώτων Πυθῶν ἐν ἡγαθεῖ} \\
\text{ἐνθὲν ταῦτα] Κλέαρχος ἐπιφραδέως ἀναγράφας} \\
\text{έσσατο τηλαιγῆ Κινέου ἐν τεμένει.}
\end{align*}

The wise words of famous elder men are enshrined in most holy Pytho; whence Clearchus carefully copied them and erected them in the temenos of Cineas, conspicuous from afar. (tr. based on S.M. Burstein, \textit{The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the death of Kleopatra VII} (Cambridge, 1985) No. 67, p. 69)

\textit{To the right of the stone}:

\begin{align*}
\text{παῖς ὄν κόσμος γίνο[υ]} \\
\text{ήβον ἐγκρατῆς} \\
\text{μέσος δίκαιος} \\
\text{πρεσβύτης εὐβουλος} \\
\text{5 τελευτῶν ἀλυπός}
\end{align*}

As a child be well-behaved;  
As a young man be self-controlled;  
As a grown man be just;  
As an old man be of good counsel;  
When dying be without grief. (tr. based on Burstein, \textit{op.cit.}, p. 67)
c. 200 BCE – Seleukeia-by-the-Eulaios (Susa / Sush)

SEG 7.15

LETTER OF ANTIOCHUS ON THE SLAVE GIRL MIKRA

AElam 366, JE 417, IEOG 192, CII 2/1 17

In the reign of [Antiochos, in the year one hundred and ... in the month] Audnaios the 20th [day], in S[eleukeia-by-the-Eulaios], Baachios, [son of ...], declaring] himself to be in [the ...] of Euandros, has dedicated to the goddess [Nanaya], for the preservation of Ant[iochos the king] and of Laodike[ the [wife of the king], his young female slave Mikra, at 30 years [of age], [and let it not be permitted to Bac]chiow nor [to any other on his behalf] to [ens]lave her in any way nor by any pretense, [but if] they should do [any of these things], let the claim [and the seizure] and the enslavement [be invalid] and let [Bacchios] or the person doing any of these things pay besides [to the goddess] 3000 [drachmas of silver]. Witnesses: [...] son of ... secretary of the public archive, and civilians, Arthémidoros, son of Lysanios, [...] son of ...], Heraïos son of Isidoros, [...] son of ...], Attalos son of No[...], [?Na]archos son of Zên[on ...]
88 BCE & 22BCE – Avroman, Media (Kuh-i-Sálán, Kurdistan)

IEOG 454

SALE DOCUMENTS (GREEK)

JHS 1913, 28-32 & JHS 1919, 202-03.
Parchment I A from Avroman

PARCHMENT I A (88/87 BCE)

1. the king of kings, the benefactor, the just, the manifest one, the philhellene, and his sister (sprung of the same father) and wife, and also named Automa, the daughter of Tigranès, the great king, and of his wife, and (5) Azate his sister (sprung of the same father) and wife: in Year 225, in the month of Apellaeus. [Agreement made] in the hyparchy of Baiseira, at the station of Baithabarta, in the village of Copanis, before the witnesses listed below. Baracès and Sobênes, sons of Maiphorrhês, acknowledge and agree that they have received from Gathaces son of Oipatês (10) thirty drachmas in coined silver, the price of the vineyard which is in the village of Copanis and which is named Dadbakanras— that is, his own share of it, the share which falls to him from the owners of neighbouring lots, and the vines both those which bear fruit and those which do not, and the rights of access and egress, and all other matters appertaining to it [the vineyard].

11 Seleucid Era, so that Year 225 is 311BC minus 225: 87/6 BC.

12 ἀκροδρύιας, literally ‘fruit-trees’: the word can mean vines (Theophrastus History of Plants 4.4.11).
Let one part belong to Baracēs and (15) one part to Gaithaces, on condition that the said Gaithaces when he takes possession shall have his vineyard, which he purchased for cash, for all time, he and his descendants, and that together they shall carry out year by year the duties written in the old agreement, all of them, in full. And let it not be permitted for Baracēs nor his brother nor their descendants, nor (20) anyone else on their behalf, to expel Gaithaces from his vineyard, which he purchased for cash—neither him himself nor his descendants. Anyone who does expel them, or who does not stand by them when another is expelling them, and drive that person out, and who does not discharge the claims, shall have no right to [omit to] do so, and shall pay in addition twice the price [which he (Baracēs) took] and another 200 drachmas by way of a fine, and the same sum to (25) the king.

If Gaithaces neglects the vineyard and does not keep the vines correctly tied up, let him pay the same fine. As for the water, [which is available] once per week, [let him receive] half of the inflow during the day, and half at night.

Witnesses: Chosstroēs son of Orcadatēs
Apacēs son of Hystobogēs
Meiridatēs son of Ochobages
and five pounds of meat, one helos, fifty units of bread, (30) eight oxen, [two] units of wine, one drachma for real-estate purchase tax. (tr. P. McKechnie)

PARCHMENT I B

In the reign of Arsacēs, king of kings, the benefactor, the just, the manifest one, the philhellen, and Queens Siace his sister (sprung of the same father) and wife, and Aryazate also named Automa, the daughter of Tigranes, the great king, and of his wife, (5) and Azate his sister (sprung of the same father) and wife: in Year 225,\(^{13}\) in the month of Apellaeus.

[Agreement made] in the hyparchy of Baiseira, at

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\(^{13}\) Seleucid Era, so that Year 225 is 311BC minus 225: 87/6 BC.
the station of Baithabarta, in the village of Copanis, before the witnesses listed below. Baracēs and Sobeneēs, sons of Maiphorrēs, acknowledge and agree that they have received from Gathaceēs (10) son of Oipatēs forty drachmas in coined silver, the price of the vineyard which is in the village of Copanis and which is named Ganzace—that is, his own share of it, the share which falls to him as his own, and the vines both those which bear fruit and those which do not, and the rights of access and egress, and all other matters appertaining to it [the vineyard].

Half [shall] belong to Baracēs (15) and half to Gathaceēs, on condition that the said Gathaceēs when he takes possession shall have his vineyard for all time, and he and his descendants, and that [together?] they shall carry out year by year the duties written in the agreement, all of them, in full. And let it not be permitted for Baracēs nor his (20) descendants nor his brother, nor anyone who takes over the vineyard from them, to expel Gathaceēs nor his descendants. Anyone who does expel them, or who does not stand by them when another is expelling them, and drive that person out, and who does not discharge the claims, shall have no right to [omit to] do so, and shall pay in addition twice the price which he (Baracēs) took, and 200 drachmas (25) by way of a fine, and the same sum to the king.

And similarly if Gathaceēs neglects the vineyard and does not keep the vines correctly tied up, he shall pay the same fine. And he shall have water, the share which falls to him together with the owners of neighbouring lots.

[Baracēs and Sobeneēs] appointed as jointly-responsible guarantors (30) Chostrēs and Apaces. Witnesses:

Denobazos son of Oro[...
Meiridates son of Ochogēs
Phraeēs son of Sycynēa, Marzy[ ... ]rēs
And Gathaceēs shall give Baracēs
one drachma for real-estate purchase tax
Meat [ ... ] k [ ... ] kē eight oxen, fifty units of
33. ἄρτων καὶ νῦ, οἴνου καὶ βύς· δώσει δὲ καὶ

Βαράκης Γαθάκες ἀπὸ ληξ[οῦ τό]

(inter lines) κα-

34. ρύμα καὶ ἀπόρρυμα καὶ ἱνά κάκα[?]. [.νδη καὶ

στέφ[υ]λα ἀγέμιστ[α].

bread, two units of wine
And Baracēs shall give Gathacēs from the wine-
press the must and the runoff and (34) the inda
and the … and the grapes which have not yet
been loaded (into the press). (tr. P. McKechnie)

Parchment II from Avroman

Palaeographical comments on Parchment II

Of (Parchment) II. Dr. (Arthur) Hunt writes that ‘it has more archaic characteristics, is singular as it is a
couple of generations later. The tall ν is thoroughly Ptolemaic, also the very shallow μ. The man writes –ον
(and –ον in e.g. ἐπιφανος) as it was written 100 years before, cf. e.g. Tebtunis Papyri, i. pll. III. and VII.
The η is very remarkable, being merely in the form of a half circle. I do not remember having met this
before; it is developed out of μ which is again a good Ptolemaic form and which he sometimes properly,
e.g. in κληρον, l. 8 (twice), but mostly the second curve over; ε too is often very negligent. The linking of
the ν in γειτνίαι, Α 8, is another characteristically early touch, cf. e.g. Tebtunis, i. Pl. III. l. 10.’ The
Tebtunis papyri mentioned are dated 118 and 113 B.C.

And yet the whole effect is not at all Ptolemaic and on trying to find analogues for the ligatures
exhibited in the table, I have been singularly unsuccessful. The method of joining the letters is quite unlike
the line along the top which links even such a letter as ν on to the following in many Ptolemaic hands. The
table shows how β, δ, θ, ι, ρ, ν and φ were incapable of really joining on to the letter following, exceptions
are θή, θη, ρο and νυ: in general, letters only join when they fit together without of a connecting line. But
on the other hand ε makes an astonishing of ligatures with almost every letter and α, η, λ, ν, σ, and τ are
adaptable. Some of the shapes recall forms which we do not meet in Egypt until the Byzantine period, e.g. ε
with no cross stroke in ligature especially the ν. This latter only once occurs in the complete elsewhere it is
either ν or Υ; it recalls the Ptolemaic in the way its last limb sticks up, but in both forms the first limb is
quite different. The η is like no η that ever I saw. The final impression left upon me after find any similar
hand among the facsimiles accessible to me is that we have here a representative, very probably degraded,
of an independent branch of Greek cursive, and it is not quite inconceivable that in some ways it is nearer
to the ancestor of the vellum minuscule than is the Graeco-Egyptian cursive. (E.H. Minns, *JHS*, 1913, p. 27)

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<th>Hand I</th>
<th>Hand II</th>
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Alphabets and Groups of Letters, combined and uncombined.
In the reign of Arsacēs, king of kings, the benefactor, the just, the manifest one, the phillene, and Queens Olennoeirē, Cleopatra, Baseirta, Bisteibhanaps: in Year 291.\(^{15}\) [Agreement made] in the hyparchy of Basiaora, at the station of Desacides, in the village of Cophanis, before the witnesses listed below.

(5) Aspomaces son of Gaacēs acknowledges and agrees that he has [received] from Dēnē\(^{16}\) daughter of Gathacēs a price of fifty five drachmas in silver and has given [her\(^{17}\)] a vineyard, one in open country, which is called Dadbakabag, together with the existing rights to access and egress and to water, as [they apply] to the owners of neighbouring lots. The boundaries and the abutments with the owners of neighbouring lots on the east [shall be] as in the agreement. They shall forever pay each year: one drachma, skelos, (10) two units of wine, twenty-one loaves, five oxen, two [units of] barley. She [Dene] promises that he himself (αὐτῶν) will set aside none of the matters recorded above in any matter whatsoever, and nor will those who take [the property] over from him (παρ’ αὐτοῦ). Aramasdes son of Ioda-bochtēs, Miradrēs son of Mīrabandakēs, Geri-cēs son of Ardēnēs. (13) She appointed Arthathēs son of Dargēnēs [as guarantor].

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15 Seleucid Era, so that Year 291 is 311BC minus 291: 20 BC.
16 Minns alludes to the possibility that Dēnē is a woman’s name: ‘Δήνης …used as a genitive, possibly from fern. nom. Δήνη’ (‘Parchments of the Parthian Period from Avroman’, 44). His argument is that this is not very likely, because of αὐτῶν and ἀυτῶν which have Δήνης as antecedent; but he instances P. Lips. 2.1, which does have a relative pronoun in the wrong gender: ‘the broker and guarantor in all matters relating to this sale is Petearsenmethes (m.), the seller, whom (ἰν) Sennasis (f.), the buyer, agreed to.’ This does not seem to be a compelling parallel. My reason for preferring the view that Δήνη is a female buyer is that the form Δήνης is best explained as the genitive of a feminine first-declension name, while the masculines which follow can be explained on the supposition that the scribe was copying from a standard form of contract in which seller and buyer were both male.
17 No indirect object expressed here: but note that in the open version the masculine ([α]ίρω) is used.
In the reign of Arsacēs, king of kings, the benefactor, the just, the manifest one, the philhellen, and Queens Olennieire, Cleopatra, Basierta, Bistheibanaps: in Year 291 [Agreement made] in the village of Cophasis, in the hyparchy of Basiruara, at the station of Dēsacidida before the witnesses listed below.

(5) Aspomacēs son of Gaacēs acknowledges and agrees that he has [received] from Dēnē daughter of Gathacēs fifty five drachmas in silver and has given him ([a]jōtō) a vineyard, one in open country, which is called Dadbakabab, together with the existing rights to access and egress and to water, as [they apply] to the owners of neighbouring lots. The boundaries and the abutments [shall be] as in the old agreement. They shall pay each year: (10) a drachma for real-estate purchase tax, twenty-one loaves, five oxen, skelos, one drachma, skelos. She appointed Asthatēs son of Dargēnēs as guarantor. The latter was present and affirmed that he would guarantee [payment of] the two units mentioned above. Both the vendor and the guarantor shall expel anyone who lays claim in any manner or on any pretext to the vineyard which has been sold: if they fail to do so, the setting aside of this agreement shall be of no effect, and (15) he who set it aside shall without recourse to legal proceedings or judgement pay 200 drachmas [to the purchaser], and the same sum to the royal treasury. Witnesses: Aramasēs son of (17) Iodabochthēs, Gericēs, Miradates son of Mirabandacēs.
In the year 300 (= 53 CE) in the month of (H)arwatat. (The seller) is Ptspk son of Tirēn, who [comes] from Brkn (or Bod) of the vineyard of Asmak, which is a half share (yāt) of Abīaska'an. And (the buyer is) Awyl son of Bšyn, as long as I live, for a total of 65 drahms, which was charged by the owner. He also swore before (5) the witnesses: Tirak son of Apen, M...g(?) son of Ršn, Arštāt s[on] of Abny, Gryphenhy son of Mtrpy, Synk son of Matbog., [......] vineyard, Awyl bought the vineyard of Asmakān from Ptspk for a total of 65 drahms. (tr. P.O. Skjærvo)\(^\text{19}\)

21 CE – Seleukeia-by-the-Eulaios (Susa / Sush)

**SEG 7.1**

**LETTER OF KING ARSACES TO SELEUKEAON-THE-EULAIOS (SUSA)**

*RC 75, JE 407, AElam 363-64, IEOG 218, CII 2/1 3*

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Photograph showing the left side of the inscribed stone. (Photo: *CII* Fig. 3.1)

Photograph showing the right side of the inscribed stone. (Photo: *CII* Fig. 3.2)
It was received during the two hundred and sixty-eighth year, as the King reckons, and as formerly (reckoned), the (three hundred and thirty third year).

King of Kings Arsakēs to Antiochos and Phraates, being the two archons in Susa, and to the city — greetings. [Whereas Hestiaios, son of Asios, one of] | your citizens, and one of the First and Preferred Friends, and one of the Bodyguards, having held the office of Treasurer in, [according to the former] | reckoning, the three hundred and twenty-ninth year, conducted himself in this office in the best and most just manner and with all scrupulousness, having held back [no expense] on his own account towards outlay on behalf of the city; and (whereas) twice, when the city during his term of office [had need of any envoy, he went out] himself, | placing at nought attention to his private interests and considering the city's interests of greater consequence, and, sparing neither resources nor trouble, | he gave [himself up unreservedly] to both embassies, and, having pursued what was of benefit to his native city, he received appropriate honours, as indeed the decree [concerning him] | in the three hundred and thirtieth year bears witness; and (whereas) in the three hundred and thirtieth-first year, when there was need of an honest man, [he was again proposed] | for the same office for the three hundred and thirty-second year, and after a full examination – Petasos, son of Antiochos, having been chosen archon with [Aristomenes], | son of Philip – he came forward and pleaded that he was barred according to established practice from holding the same office twice, unless a period of three years intervened; and (whereas) the city, [as it had formerly experienced] | his good character and remembered the administration of the aforementioned office, decided to choose him to hold the office, upon which he was chosen for three hundred and thirty-[second] year, in the archonship of Petasos, son of Antiochos, and Aristomenes, | son of Philip; therefore since [they unjustly charge] Hestiaios on the above grounds, we decide that his election is valid and that he is not to be rejected from office (or prosecuted ?) on the grounds that he has held the same office (twice) without a period of three years intervening, nor on the grounds of any other royal order whatsoever [which might be presented] concerning these matters, and that in general, setting aside any interdiction or investigation, it is necessary to discharge the [summons ?] expressly mentioned, of this (investigation ?) or any other (?). Year 268,
15 φρασθείσαν ἐπ’ ἀνόματος λελύσθαι, ἡς’, Αὐδαναιὸς (sic) (corr. Αὐδυναῖο) ἵς’.

{Below in small letters:}

{Left} ἔστησεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἑστιαίου τόνδε τὸν ἀνδριάντα Ἀσίος Δημητρίον ὁ καὶ Ἐισαγωγεύς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κατὰ τοῦς προτέρως ἱεράμοις ζλτ’ ἔτει

{Right} Λεονιδῆς Ἀρτέμιονος Σελευκήως τῆς πρὸς τῷ Εὐλαίωι ἔγραψεν τὴν στήλην.

Audanaios (corr. Audunaios) 17.

{Below in small letters:}

{Left} This statue of Hestiaios was set up by Asios, son of Demetrios, Eisagogeos his (i.e. Hestiaios’s) father, in the 337th year according to the former reckoning.

{Right} Leonidēs, son of Artemōn, citizen of Seleukeia-by-the Eulaios, inscribed the stele.
In the year 300 (of the Arsacid era? = 33 CE) in the month of (H)arwatāt. Pataspak son of Tirin, who [comes] from Bod, sold half the vineyard of Asmak, which is by the ploughfields, and Awil son of Bashnin as brother (= partner) bought [it] for a total of 65 drachmae, which was charged by the owner. He also swore before (5) the witnesses: Tirak son of Apen, M…g(?) son of Rashn, Arshtat s[on] of Aban, Garpanah son of Mihrfrīy, Senak son of Matbog. [...] vineyard of Asmakan (!). The vineyard, I Awil have bought from Pataspak (?) for a total of 65 drachmae. (tr. Skjævo, p. 290, expanded)
c. 80 CE – Bagolango (i.e. ‘Sanctuary’)
(Atashkadeh-ye Sorkh Kowtal near Baghlan)

IEOG 317

THE SURKH KOTAL INSCRIPTION IN BACTRIAN

Text edited, transliterated and translated by
Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams FBA

(Versions M)

The ‘M Version’ of the Nukunzuk Inscription now in Kabul Museum (Photo: Ghirshman)

{Bactrian text in Greek letters:}

ειδὸ μα λιζὲ μο κανήκου αονίδο βαγολάγγου σιδὸ i βαγγ ήμο κ
αονήκου ναμβαργο κρόδο ταδιου κεδὸ φοράμες μα λιζὸ φρο-
γιρό ταδίο μανόφαρο αβο νεπτο χοτο αείδο μα λιζὸ αβαβγ-
ο σταδὸ οδὸ κάλλου αμο λρινινανο i ευρ σταδὸ ταδὸ i βαγγ
αμο νοράμο φροχορτίνδο ταδό αβο λραφο ιαστίνδο
αβο ανάγετο στο μα λιζὸ ιίδοριγδο. τακαλδὸ Νοκ-
ονβόκο i κυραλ,ραγγο i φρεινοάδηγο κίδο φρειστι-
ρο αβο ήμο i βαγοσουρ ο ιονθοβοσαρο i ιοξοςαρο i α-
λοφχαλο κίδο φαρο οισποανο i οοοι φαβαργανο οων-
σογδιμαγγο πιδο i ιωδ οδο ιφςο ιχονο νεισανο μ- 
αό μαλο αγαδο αμο βαγολάγγο ταδίο μα λιζὸ πο-
Hellenism in the East

{Text in translation:}

“This citadel (is) the temple of Kanishka the victorious, which the lord king Kanishka made bearing (his) name. When the citadel was first completed, it did not require(?) (an) internal water (supply), but the citadel was waterless, and when there was an attack(?) by enemies, then the gods were displaced from (their) seat, then they were taken to the stronghold (of) Lraf and the citadel was abandoned.”

“When Nukunzuk the lord of the marches, the lord’s favourite, who is most dear to the king, the son of the gods, the (king’s) second-in-command(?), the beneficent, the compassionate, who is pure-minded towards all living creatures, came here to the temple in the year thirty-one, (in) the month Nisan, then he surveyed(?) the citadel, he dug this well, and he brought out the water, and he fitted it with stones, so that water should not be lacking to the people in the citadel, and when there might be an attack(?) by enemies the gods might not be displaced from (their) seat and the citadel might not be abandoned. And above the well he made a water-wheel(?) (and) he placed a courtyard(?), so that by means of this well (and) by means of this waterwheel(?) the whole citadel fared(?) well.”

“And this well and mašto xirgo were made by me, Burzmihr the son of Kuzgashk, the inhabitant of Astilgan, the servant of Nukunzuk the lord of the marches, according to the lord’s command. And this (inscription) was written by me, Mihrman the son of Burzmihr: [monogram 1]. Mihrman: [monogram 2].”

— Version B concludes with a shorter version of this statement, while version A has only “[monogram 1]. Mihrman: [monogram 2]”.

— Version B concludes with a shorter version of this statement, while version A has only “[monogram 1]. Mihrman: [monogram 2]”.

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20 Lraf (< Old Iranian *drafša-) has been identified with Greek Drapsaka, the name of an unidentified place, probably slightly to the north of Surkh Kotal.
c. End of 1st or early 2nd C CE – Rabatak (near Samangan)

**JIAAA 4.55-57**

**THE RES GESTAE OF KING KANIŠKA IN BACTRIAN**

The Rabatak Inscription (Photograph by permission of Jonathan Lee, copyright©JLLee2002, all rights reserved)

**IEOG 318**

Text edited and translated by

Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams FBA

1 [...] ανθο βωγο στοργο κανηφκε ι κομανο , ραφτογο λαδειγ χοαζαοαργο βαγ[ο]
2 [η]ξνγο κοι δι ασο νανα οδο ασο οισπανο μι βαγανο ι βαοδανι αβοροδ κοι ιωγο χρονο
3 νοβαστο σαγουνδι βαγανο συνδαδο οτημа 1 ιοναγγο οεσο οξραστο ταδιμα αριον ωσ-
4 ταδο αβο υσο γο χρονο αβο i υσδο φοογαξζο , αβο βατριαγγε βαορε αγιτα i [...]]
5 αδραγο οδο ιοζπτο οδ(ο) ισαγηδο οδο i κοζαμβο οδο i παλαβοτρο οιδρα αδα αβο i ηριτι[
6 αμβο σιοημανο προβδο οδο μαναραπ []αορανο αβο i συνο συσταδο οτη[ι]α αρογε[ο]
7 ι υσδο αβ(ο)ι ισινο συσταδο ταδι βαι κανηφκε αβο βαφαρο καραλραγγο φρομαδο
8 αβεινα οισγο βαχολαγγο κιρδι κοι δι βαγεαβο ριζδι αβο μι κασιε γαγα φαρεμοαν β-
9 αγανο καδίμαρο κιρδι ανδιμαν (ο)σαρρο ομμα οηηδι ια ηηγα νανα οδο ια αμ-
10 γα ομα οοομοζζδο μοζδοοανο σροβαρδο <(κ)ιδι υσδοοα μαασηνο ριζδι οδο βιζαγο ριζδι>
νασασο μιρο οτημα ουδοα-
11 νο πιλαρβο φρομαδο κιρδι[ι] εμιοανο βαγανο κοι δι μασκα νηβηχηιεννινοι οτ-
12 ημα φρομαδο αβειμοανο βαονανο κιρδι αβο κοζουλο καδφισο θαο αβο i φρ-
22 And King Kanishka gave the fortress to the gods, and for these freemen who according to the king's command, many *rites were endowed, many attendants were endowed, many . . . [were]
23 . . . the great salvation, Kanishka the Kushan, the righteous, the just, the autocrat, the god worthy of worship, who has obtained the kingship from Nana and from all the gods, who has inaugurated the year one; as the gods pleased. And he *issued a Greek *edict (and) then he put it into Aryan. In the year one there was *proclaimed to India, to the cities of the *kṣatrapas, the *capture (of)
5 . . . , and . . . , and Saketa, and Kauśāmbi, and Paṭaliputra, as far as Śrī-Campā; whatever (cities) he and the other *generals *reached, (he) submitted (them) to (his) will, and he submitted all India to (his) will. Then King Kanishka ordered Shafar the lord of the marches to make in this place the temple which is called Bage-ab, in the Kasig plains, for these gods who have come hither into the presence of the glorious Umma, *that (is), the above-mentioned Nana and the above-mentioned Umma, Aurmuzd, Muzhdwuan, Sroshard—who in Indian is called Mahasena and is called Viśākha—Narasā, (and) Mihir. And he gave orders to make images of the same, (namely) of these gods who are inscribed hereupon, and he gave orders to make (images of) these kings: King Kujula Kadphises (his) great grandfather, and King Vima Taktu (his) grandfather, and King Vima Kadphises (his) father, and himself, King Kanishka. Then, as the king of kings, the son of the gods Kanishka had given orders to do, Shafar the lord of the marches made this sanctuary, and Pyash the lord of the marches, and Shafar the lord of the marches, and Nukunzuk the hasht-walgi *carried out the king's command. May these gods who are inscribed here [keep] the [king] of kings, Kanishka the Kushan, for ever healthy, fortunate, (and) victorious! And the king, the son of the gods, was *pacifying all India from the year one to the year *six. [So] the temple was *founded in the year one; then in the *third year also [. . . ]
21 according to the king’s command, many *rites were endowed, many attendants were endowed, many . . . [were]
22 And King [Kanishka] gave the fortress to the gods, and for these freemen [who] . . . in Bage-[ab] . .
151 CE – Tell Umar (Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris)

IEOG 86

BILINGUAL (GREEK AND PARTHIAN) DEDICATIONS FOUND ON THE HERCULES STATUE FROM SELEUKEIA-ON-THE TIGRIS

Frontal view of the Hercules statue showing inscriptions on both legs (Iraq Archaeological Museum I.M. 100178)
Imagines versionum Graecae et Parthicae

(Photos A. Invernizzi, courtesy of Dr. Enrico Morano)
(I) Versio Graeca

Photograph of the Greek version inscribed on the right leg of the statue.
(Photo A. Invernizzi, courtesy of Dr. Enrico Morano)
In the year 462 of the Greeks (= 151 CE), the King of Kings, Arsaces Vologeses the son of King Mithridates campaigned in Mesene against King Mithridates, the son of the previous king Pacorus. He expelled King Mithridates of Mesene and became ruler of all of Mesene. This bronze statue of the god Heracles was brought back with him from Mesene and was dedicated in the temple of Apollo who protects the bronze (toll-gate).

(Text edited by E. Morano; Eng. trans. S.N.C. Lieu and E. Morano)
(II) Versio Parthica

Photograph of the Parthian version inscribed on the left leg of the statue.
(Photo A. Invernizzi, courtesy of Dr. Enrico Morano)
[........................]
III (ŠNT) [rš]k
wlgsy MLKYN M[L]K
BRY mtrdt M(L)(K´ KT)(Š)W
'L myšn BR´ mtrdt MLK
BRY pkrw MLKYN MLK´ mtrdt
MLK´ MN TMH MRDPW ʾ ḫmk
myšn ḤDW O ZNH ṭkr
wrtrgn ḤL ʾ MH MN
myšn HYTi nymbd B
tyry bgny ḤQ (Y)MW

[... year A[rsha]k Walagashy, King of Kings, son of King Mihrdat fought in Maishan against King Mihrdat, son of Pakor, King of Kings. He chased king Mihrdat from there and he took all of Maishan. This statue of the god Warhgan (Herakles), which was brought from Maishan, he placed as trophy in the temple of Tyr. (Text edited by E. Morano; Eng. trans. S.N.C. Lieu and E. Morano)
c. 260 CE – Naqš-i Rustam (near Persepolis)

*CII 3/I (i)*

‘*Res Gestae Divi Saporis*’
*In Parthian and Greek*

*IEOG 261 (Gr. only)*

The east side of the Ka’ba-i-Zardušt on which the three versions of the Great Inscription of Shapur I were inscribed. (Photo: Chicago Oriental Institute)
(I) Versio Parthica

§1. I, the Mazda-worshipping god Šābuhr, the king of kings of Iran and Non-Iran, whose family (descends) from divine beings, son of the Mazda-worshipping god Ardašīr, the king of kings of Iran, whose family (descends) from divine beings, grandson of the god Pābag, the king, am ruler of Ėrānšahr.

§2. I hold in sway the countries of Persis, Parthia, Xūzestān, Mēšān, Asūrestān, Nōdšīragān, 21 Arbāyestān, Adurbādegān, Armin, Wiržān, 22 Šīgān, 23 Ar(r)ān, Balāsagān, from there to the Kaf Mountains and the gates of the Alans, and the whole Parišxwār 24 mountain range.

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21 Nōdšīragān is Adiabene according to the Greek. Adurbādegān is my suggestion based on the MP and Parthian letters, the Greek version (Ἀδιαβηνήν) and MacKenzie’s transliteration of the name in the Kerdīr Inscription quoted in Huyse’s commentary 21 n 50. Huyse writes Aserbeidschan based on the form of the name in sixth century Darband inscriptions. The place is normally known as Atropane, which is the usual Greek form. (JSS)

22 Wiržān is Iberia in the Greek version.

23 Šīgān is Machelonia in the Greek version. Identity uncertain. See Huyse’s commentary 23-4.

24 Parišxwār is part or whole of the Elburz.
§3. Māh, Gurgān, Marv, Harēw, and all Abar- 
§3. Māh, Wurgān, Marv, Harēw, ud hamag  
§4. And we gave Pērōz-Šābuhr the name D---  
§5. We have placed all these numerous countries  
§5. Ud im āwand šahr ud šahrōār ud pādgōsān  
§6. No sooner had we obtained this overlordship  
§6. ud kaō naxwišt pad šahr awištād ahēm, Gōr-  
§7. The emperor Gordian was killed, the Roman  
§7. Gōranyos *ār Kēsar ōẓad, Frōmāyīn zāwar  
§8. And the emperor Philip came to us as  
§8. Ud Filip(p)os kēsar amā ō nemašīg āyad, ud  
§9. And the emperor furthermore acted with de-  
§9. Ud Kēsar bid druxt ō Armin wīnās kerd, ud  
§10. ud Asūriyā šahr, ud čē abar Asūriyā šahr  
§11. Ānāt šahrestān aō parʃēr hamgōs, Būr-  

25 Abar-Sahr fits well but the corresponding Greek is τ' ἐν ἡτέῳ ὀενή 'the races higher up' which may misread the Iranian or correctly interpret it. Non liquet, Paškabūr is likely to be Pešāvar.
26 Kāš is possibly Kāšgar.
27 Mazūn is probably Oman and the 'sea' the Arabian Gulf.
28 Asūrestān and Asūriā are both used for Assyria in the inscription.
29 Bēbāliṣ, Gr Βηβαλίς, is a strategic post on the Euphrates but this military engagement is nowhere else recorded.

§4. And we gave Pērōz-Šābuhr the name D---šahr (?), and we gave Ohrmezld-Ardašūn its name.
§5. We have placed all these numerous countries and their overlords and governors under tribute and in servitude.
§6. No sooner had we obtained this overlordship than the emperor Gordian assembled an armed force of Goths and Germans from the whole Roman Empire and came to Asūrestān against Ėransahr and us. And at Mišīk on the border of Asūrestān a great pitched battle was fought.
§7. The emperor Gordian was killed, the Roman force was annihilated and the Romans made Philip emperor.
§8. And the emperor Philip came to us as suppliant and gave us 500,000 denars as ransom for their lives and became a tribute-payer and consequently we gave Mišīk the name Pērōz-Šābuhr.
§9. And the emperor furthermore acted with deception and treated Armin (Armenia) unjustly and we attacked the Roman territory and 60,000 from the Roman fighting forces were killed in Bēbālis.
§10. And all of the land of Asūriyā and its adjoining territories was burned, ravaged and plundered. On this single occasion the following strongholds and outposts were wrested from the Roman Empire:
§11. Ānāt city and its surrounds, Būrthā-Arubān
*Arūbān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Birt Aspōragān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Sūrā šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, *Bēbāliš šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Manbūg ḫā šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs,


§13. Gindaros šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Armanēz šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Selūkiyā šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Andiyōk šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Kir(r)os šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs.

§14. any Selūkiyā šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Alexandariyā šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, *Nikopolos šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Sīzar šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Hamāt šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs,

§15. Aristōn šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Dīkōr šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Dūrā šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Dōlōx šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Kirkisīyā šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Germaniyoš šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs,

§16. Batnān šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Xānar šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs; pad Kap(p)ōdakiyā: Sātal šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Domān šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs,

§17. Artangiliyā šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Sūş šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Šūd šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, Frāt šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs,, ḫamsāg šahrestān aō pαrfēr hamgōs, 37.

§18. Hridūg yāwar kaō amā abar Harrān ud Urhā whišt ahēm ud Urhā *parrūḏīd, Wālāraniyor Kēsar abar amā āyad

§19. ud būd aō až Germāniyā šahr, až Rēsiyā šahr, až Nīrakos šahr, až Dākiyā šahr, až Pannaniyā šahr, až Mōsiyā šahr, až Astriyā (?) and its surrounds, Bīrthā-Aspōragān and its surrounds, Sura city and its surrounds, Bēbāliš city and its surrounds, Manbūg ḫā city and its surrounds,

§12. Halab 31 city and its surrounds, Kinašrā 32 city and its surrounds, Apōmiyā city and its surrounds, Refaniyos city and its surrounds, Zōmā city and its surrounds, Umā city and its surrounds,

§13. Gindaros city and its surrounds, Armanēz city and its surrounds, Selūkiyā city and its surrounds, Andiyōk city and its surrounds, Kir(r)os city and its surrounds,

§14. another Selūkiyā city and its surrounds, Alexandariyā 33 city and its surrounds, Nikopolos city and its surrounds, Sīzar city and its surrounds, Hamāt city and its surrounds,

§15. Aristia city and its surrounds, Dīkōr city and its surrounds, Dūrā city and its surrounds, Dōlōx city and its surrounds, Kirkisīyā city and its surrounds, Germaniyoš city and its surrounds,

§16. Batnāi city and its surrounds, Xānar city and its surrounds, and in Cappadocia Satala city and its surrounds, Domān city and its surrounds,


§18. On the third occasion that we were on campaign against and laid siege to Harrān and Urhā 34 the emperor Valerian marched against us.

§19. And with him were men from the territories of Garmāniyā, Rēsiyā, Nīrakos, Dākiyā, Pannaniyā, Mōsiyā, Astriyā, 35 Ispaniyā, Afrikiyā,

30 Manbūg is the older name for Hierapolis. It probably derives from the Semitic root nb ‘come out’ in reference to water pouring from the rock there. The Greek version uses the more familiar name.
31 Halab is Aleppo. It is given in Greek guise as Berrhoia.
32 Kinašrā appears as Calchis in the Greek but the Parthian appears to be derived from the older name Qennisrin.
33 Alexandria is Alexanderetta.
34 Harrān and Urhā are Carrhae and Edessa in the Greek version.
35 Astriyā cannot be satisfactorily explained. Unfortunately there is no Middle Persian text at this point to check the Parthian letters. It clearly puzzled the Greek translator who wildly guessed Amastris which is not a province but a Black Sea city. The attempted solutions given in Huyse’s commentary p 75 are all unconvincing.
šahr, až Ispaniyā šahr, až šahr, až Afrikiya šahr,

§. 20. až Trākiyā šahr, \[10\] až Bituniyā šahr, až Asāyā šahr, až Pamfilāyā šahr, až Isawriyā šahr, až Likoniyā šahr, až Galātiniyā šahr, až Lūkīyā šahr, až Kiliyāna šahr, až Kap(p)ōdakiyā šahr, až Frūgāyā šahr, až Sūriyā šahr,


§. 22. Ud až hō ārag Harrān ud Uṛhā až Wālaraniyos Kēsar wuzurg raf būd, ud Wālaraniyos Kēsar "xad pad "xēbeh dast dastgrāf kerd ud *yēyādag, *rabēsēf, sānatōr ud hēgēmūn kē hō zāwar sārār būd, harw dastgrāf kerd, ud bē o Pārs wāst ahēnd.

§. 23. Ud Sūriyā šahr, Kiliyāna šahr ud Kap(p)ōdakiyā šahr |12| ądyrwaxt, awērān ud wardyāz kerd.

§. 24. Ud grift hō wāwar až Frōmāyin šahr Alexandriyā Katis(s)os šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs, Šamsāt šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs *Katabalā [corr. ed.] šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs, AYGĀ šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs, Māmāstīyā šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs,


§. 26. Anazarbos šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs, Kastābalā šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs, Nerōnīyās šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs, Flāwīyās šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs, Nikopolos šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs,

§. 27. Ėpīfaniyā šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs |14| Kilindiros šahrestān až parfēr hamgōs, *Anī-

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36 The Greek text is faulty and discrepant. Cappadocia appears after Asia, then Syria is written instead of Isauria (Parthian Isawriyā). Syria appears again in its correct place in the list.
37 For the Germania in this list see Huyse’s commentary 71-2.
38 The Parthian šnyws (Asniyōs vel sim) is replaced by Osrhoene in Huyse’s edition. The basis for this given on p 81 of his commentary is ingenious but highly speculative. The Greek text omits Rhodes and ‘Osrhoene’, is illegible for Germania, and repeats Lycia and Asia.
39 Katabalā is restored from the Miōle Persian text. The Parthian has ktr’y which seems to recall ‘Kerdir’ - a likely scribal error.
mūrīn šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, Selīndus šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, Miyanopolos šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, Andiyōkiyā šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, *Sardiyāb (?) šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs,

§28. Möstinopolos šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, Tūyana šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, Kāsarıyā šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, Kömānāyā šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, Kūbistariyā šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs,

§29. Sebاستیا šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, Bīr šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, Rākündiyā šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, Lārändiyā šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, İkönīyā šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs, hamsāg šāhrestān aō paršēr hamgōs 36.


§31. Ud amā anē-ž was šahr "xāṣt ud was nām ud nēwīf kerd, čē ēd nē nibīst, bēž ēd āwand aż ēd kerd ubdīšt nibīstān, kū kē pās aż-an bawād, |17 im nām nēwīf ud xwadāyīf čē amā zānāh.

§32. Ud *ēd-rāō [kaō] kū yazād amā aż ēd gōnag dast[gerd] karēnd ud pad yasānā pušt im āwand šahr "xāzām ud dārām, ŏh amā-ž šahr ő šahr was ādur Wahrān nišāst ud was moymard kirbagīf kerd ud uzwur yazādān windārīsīn kerd.

§33. Ud ēd-iż pad nibušt nišāyām: ādur ēw Husraw-Šābuhr 18 nām, pad amā arwān ud pānsām; ādur ēw Husraw-Ādur-Anāhīd nām, pad Ādur-Anāhīd bāmbīsān bāmbīsān amā duxt arwān ud pānsām; ādur ēw Husraw-Ohrmezdz- Ardašīr nām, pad Ohrmezdz-Ardašīr wuzurg šāh Armīnīn amā puhr arwān ud pānsām;

§34. any ādur ēw Husraw-Šābuhr nām, pad Šābuhr Mēšān šāh amā puhr arwān ud pānsām; |19 ādur ēw Husraw-Narseh nām, pad ēr mazdēzn Narseh šah Hind, Sagentān ud Turyestān yad ŏ Miyanopolos city and its surrounds, Andiyōkiyā city and its surrounds, Sardiyāb city and its surrounds,


§29. Sebاستیا city and its surrounds, Bīr city and its surrounds, Rākündiyā city and its surrounds, Lārändiyā city and its surrounds, İkönīyā city and its surrounds – and anywhere region by region in places where our fathers, forefathers and ancestors held sway.

§30. And those men who were from the Roman Empire were removed from Non-Iran and were settled within Ėrānsahr, Pārs, Parqaw, Xūzestān, Asūrestān and elsewhere region by region in places where our fathers, forefathers and ancestors held sway.

§31. And we sought possession of other lands and won much fame and military glory that is not recorded here; but this much has been commanded to be recorded that our name, our military prowess and our sovereignty should be known among us.

§32. And for the reason that the gods have made us bound in service to them in this way and that under the gods’ protection we have striven for and taken possession of such a number of lands, we in our turn establish in each land many Wahrām fire temples and have made Magi the recipients of our bounty and have enhanced the worship of the gods.

§33. And here we record in writing the following establishments: a fire temple named Husraw-Šābuhr for our soul and future memory; a fire temple named Husraw-Ādur-Anāhīd for the soul and future memory of our daughter Ādur-Anāhīd, Queen of Queens; a fire temple named Husraw-Ohrmezdz-Ardašīr for the soul and future memory of our son Ohrmezdz-Ardašīr, great King of the Armīnīn;

§34. Another fire temple named Husraw-Šābuhr for the soul and future memory of our son Šābuhr, King of Mēšān; a fire temple named Husraw-Narseh for the soul and future memory
§35. Ud hō, ē ēmīn ādurān dahām ud ē ēnpōēn awestād (?), ēh-ī zār abar pādíxšr nibišt. Ud až hō akbrīd 1.000 ē ēzī *tarkaffīn ō ēmā ēpōēn būd ud ēmā ēmīn ādurān dād, hō ubdēsām kū ēhēb *kirihehd:

§36. pad ēmā arwān rōz |20 ē rōz akbrīd ēw, nān ēw grīw ud 5 hōfān, maād 4 pās; pad Šāsān xwadāy, ud Pābag šāh, ud Šābuhr šāh Pābagān, ud Ardašīr šāh šān šāh, Xwar(r)ānzēm šār bāmbišn, Ādur-Anāhīd bāmbišnān bāmbišn, Dēnag bāmbišn, Warhrām Gēlān šāh, Šābuhr Mēšān šāh,

§37. Ohrmez-d-Ardašīr wurzūrg šāh Arminīn, Narseh Sagān šāh, Šābuhrduxtag |21 Sagān bāmbišn, Čašmāg bānūg, Pērōz wispuhr, *Mūrōd bānūg Šābuhr šāh šāh mād, Narseh wispuhr, Rōdāuxt wisduxt Anōšag duxt, Warāzduxt Xwar(r)ānzēm duxt,

§38. Staxrīd bāmbišn, ud Hormezdag Arminīn šāh puhr, Hormezd ud Hormezdag <ud> Ōdābāxt ud Warhrān <ud> Šābuhr <ud> Pērōz Mēšān šāh puhr, Šābuhrduxtag Mēšān šāh duxt |22 Ohrmezōuxtag Sagān šāh duxt arwān akbrīd ēw, nān ēw grīw ud 5 hōfān, maād 4 pās;

§39. ud hō akbrīd, ē ē ē dārādēd yad pattāwēd āwādīn pad hawīn arwān kē ēmā ubdēshi arwān yazīdan.


§41. kē ēbar Ardašīr šāhān šāh xwadāyīf būd ahēnd: *Sadālūf Abruṇajag šāh, Ardašīr Maryš šāh, Arašīr Kermān šāh, Ardašīr Sagān šāh, Dēnag Pābag šāh mād, Rōdag Ardašīr šāhān šāh mād,

of our son Narseh, Iranian worshipper of Mazda, King of Hind, Sagesṭān and Turgestān as far as the seashore.

§35. All here is written in prescribed form that we may preserve these fire temples and that they may be administered appropriately. And with the 1000 lambs which are prescribed to us from the surplus and which we have assigned to these fire temples we command that the following be done:

§36. Each day one lamb, one grīw five hōfān of bread; 4 pās of wine are for our soul, and for those of the Lord Sāsān, and the King Pābag, and the King Šābuhr son of Pābag, and Ardašīr, King of Kings, Xwar(r)ānzēm, Queen of the Land, Ādur-Anāhīd, Queen of Queens, the Queen Dēnag, the King Warhrām of Gēlān, the King Šābuhr of Mēšān,

§37. Ohrmez-d-Ardašīr, great King of the Arminīn, Narseh, the King of the Sagān, Šābuhrduxtag, the Queen of the Sagān, the Lady Čašmāg, the Prince Pērōz, the Lady Mūrōd, mother of Šābuhr, King of Kings, Prince Narseh, Princess Rōdāuxt, daughter of Anōšag, Warāzduxt, daughter of Xwar(r)ānzēm,

§38. Queen Staxrīd, and Hormezdag, son of the King of the Arminīn, Hormezd and Hormezdag (and) Ōdābāxt and Warhrān (and) Šābuhr (and) Pērōz, son of the King of Mēšān, Šābuhrduxtag, daughter of the King of Mēšān, and Ohrmezōuxtag, daughter of the king of Sagān. (for all the above) one lamb, one grīw five hōfān of bread, 4 pās of wine.

§39. And those lambs which are remaining, as long as they suffice, for all the souls of those for whose souls we have commanded sacrifice.

§40. And here are inscribed those who lived in the reign of King Pābag: Šāsān, the son of Orsīg, Farrag, the son of Farrag, Warhrānbad, the son of Hōrag, Aspōrag, the son of Aspōrag, Puhrag, the son of Mardēn, Zīg, the niwēdēbed, Šābuhr, the son of Wēzān, Šābuhr, the son of Mihrābōzān;

§41. those who lived in the reign of King Ardašīr, King of Kings: Saddālūf, the King of Abruṇajag, Ardašīr, the King of Marw, Ardašīr, the King of Kermān, Ardašīr, the King of Sagān, Dēnag, the mother of King Pābag, Rōdag, the mother of Ardašīr, King of Kings

§43. Pācīhr Wisfarr(a) gān, Wifr Farragān, Mihrwāwst Barēsagān, *Hōmfroād mādāgānbed, Dirān zenbed, Čhrag dāḏīrī, Wardān āxwarībed, Mīhrag Tōsar(a)gān, Zīg Zabr(a)gān, Sahbūs maxērībed, *Hudug grastbed, Jahēn maṭugdār;

§44. kē abar amā xwardayīf būd: Ardašīr Nōdīšragān šāh, Ardašīr |25 Kerman šāh, Dēnag Mēšān bāmīšnān, dastgerd Sabuhr, (H)amāzāsp Wirzān šāh, Wala(x)īš wispuhr Pābagān,

§45. Sāsān wispuhr, ēp pad Farragān derd, any Sāsān wispuhr ēp pad Kadugān derd, Narseh wispuhr Pērōzgan, Narseh wispuhr Šābūhr(a)gān, Sabuhr bidaxš, Pābag hazāruft, Pērōz aspbed, Ardašīr Wārāz,


§48. Wala(x)īš Selūkān, Yaz(a)dbed bāmīšnān handarzbed, Pābag safsērdār, Narseh Kīnd šahrāb, Tīyānag Hamadān šahrāb, Wardbed parištāgbed, jōyward Rastāgān, Ardašīr *Wifr(a)gān, Aburšām Šābūhr darīgān sārār, Narseh Barragān, Šābūhr Narsehgaŋ,
§49. Narseh, the controller of revenue, Hormezd, the chief scribe, Nābug, the controller of prisons, Pābag, the palace warden, Pāsfard, son of Pāsfard, Abdaxš, son of Dizbed, Kerdīr the ehrbed, Rastag, the satrap of Weh-Ardašīr, Ardašīr, son of the bidaxš, Mihrxwāšt, the treasurer, Šābuhr, the chief steward.


§51. Awās čawāyōn amā abar yazdān īr ud kerdagān *tuxsām, ud yazdān dastgerd ahēm, ud pad yazdān aōyāwarīf im āwand šahr *xašt ud derd, nām ud nēwīf kerd, haw-īz kē paš az amā bawād ud farroxd *ahād, haw-īz abar yazdān īr ud kerdagān *tuxsād, kū yazad aōyāwar bawānd ud dastgerd kārānd. Dastnibēg im man Hormezd dibīr Šilag dibīr puhr.

§52. Aršād Mihrān, writer in charge of correspondence, Sāsān, son of Sāsān, warden of the harem, Wirōod, supervisor of the market, Ardašīr, the satrap of Nīrīz, Baydād, son of Wardān, Kerdīr Ardawān, Zurwāndān, son of Bandagān, Winnār, son of Sāsān, Mānzag, warden of the harem, Sāsān the judge, Wardān, son of Nāsbed, Wardag the wārāzbed; once again one lamb, one grīw five hōfān of bread, 4 pās of wine.

§53. Just as we now devote ourself to the affairs of the gods and their ritual service and are the god’s dastgerd, and just as we have by the help of the gods gained and taken possession of these numerous lands and have acquired renown and valour, so should any man who is on our side and shares our success devote himself to the affairs of the gods and their ritual service so that the gods may support him and make him dastgerd to them. This has been written down in my own hand by me, Hormezd, the scribe, son of the scribe Šilag.
§1. ἐγὼ Μασδαισνῆς θεὸς Σασπώρης, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Αριανῶν καὶ Ἀναριανῶν, ἐκ γένους θεῶν, υἱὸς Μ[ασδα]σνῆς θεοῦ [Ἀ]ρταξέρξαρου βασιλέως βασιλέων Αριανῶν ἐκ γένους ἵππους, ἐγγονὸς θεοῦ Πατάκην βασιλέως — τοῦ Αριανῶν ἐθνοῦς δεσπότης εἰμὶ.

§2. καὶ Παράθειαν, Παραράθειαν, Οὐζηνῆν, Μησκανηνῆν, Ασσυρίαν, Ασια-βηνῆν, Αραβιανῆν, Αδορφαβιδηνῆν, Ἀρμενίαν, Ἀβρεβιανῆν, Μαχελονην, Αλβανίαν, [Βορασα]-γηνη[ν], έως Μπαστουσανην [Καπ] άριων καὶ πυ-λαν Αλαν[ον] καὶ ὅλον τὸ Πρεσσωαρό [δρος].

§3. Μ[ασδα]σνήν, Γούργαν, Μαρου, ἦν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀνωτάτου ἐθνῆ, Κερμαζηνῆν, Σεγισ-τανῆν, [Σουρηνῆν], Μακαραν, Παραβηνῆν, Ινδιαν καὶ Κουσνην [ἐν θηνῃ] έως ἐμπροςθεν Πασκιβουρων καὶ έως Κας, Σοδικηνῆς καὶ ἀρρα-τον [ἄριων, καὶ έχειν τοῦ μέρους τῆς θα<λ>άτης Μι[ζων θή]νος].

§4. καὶ ἐκαλέσαμεν Πηροσαβαρ ... καὶ ἐκαλέσαμεν Ωρμιδαρτ[ζ]ορ.

§1. I am the Mazda-worshipping divine Shapur, King of Kings of Aryans and non- Aryans, of the race of the gods, son of the Mazda-worshipping divine Artaxerxes, King of Kings of the Aryans, of the race of the gods, grandson of the King Papakos, I am the Lord of the Aryan (i.e. Iranian) nation.

§2. And I possess the following nations: Persis, Parthia, Ouzêni, Mesêni, Assyria, Adiabêni, Arabia, Adourobadêni, Armenia, Ibêri, Machelonia, Albania, (Burasa]gênen until the foot of the Kap Mountains and the [Alan] Gates and the whole of the Pressour Mountains.

§3. Madêni, Gourgan, Marou Arê and all the nations in the upper parts: Kermezêni, Segistanê [Turêni, Makaran, Paradêni, India and the nations of the Kousêni as far as this side of Paskibour and up to the frontier of Kas, Sodikêni and {and} Tsatsêni and from the other shore of the sea the nation of M[zoun]

§4. And we have given the name Pêros-sabour (i.e. Anbar) to a (fief?) and we have given a name to Hormizdartazir.
§5. and such nations \(^6\) and the rulers from every nation we have made subject to tribute and slavery.

§6. and when I was first established over the dominion of the nations, the Kaisar Gordianos, \(^7\) from the whole of the Roman Empire and the nations of the Go(uth)ths and the Germans raised an army and marched against Assyria, against the nation of the Aryans (i.e. Iranians) and against us. A great battle took place between the two sides on the frontiers of \(^8\) Assyria at Mishikē.

§7. Kaisar Gordianos was destroyed and the Roman army was annihilated. The Romans proclaimed Philippos \(^9\) Kaisar.

§8. And Kaisar Philippus came to sue for peace, and for their lives he paid a ransom of 500,000 denarii and became tributary to us. \(^10\) For this reason, we have renamed Mishikē Peros-Sabour.

§9. And the Kaisar (Philippus ?) lied again and did injustice to Armenia. We \(^11\) marched against the Roman Empire and annihilated a Roman army of 60,000 men at Barbarissos (sic).

§10. The nation of Syria and whatever nations and plains that were above it, we set on fire and devastated \(^12\) and laid waste. And in that campaign \(<\text{we took}>\) (the following) fortresses and cities from the nation of the Romans:

§11. the city of Anatha with its surrounding territory, the city of Birtha–Asporakos with its surrounding territory, \(^13\) the city of Soura with its surrounding territory, the city of Barbalissos with its surrounding territory, the city of Hierapolis with its surrounding territory,

§12. the city of Berroia with its surrounding territory, the city of Chalkis with its surrounding territory, the city of Apamia, with its surrounding territory \(^14\) the city of Rephanæa with its surrounding territory, the city of Zeugma with its surrounding territory, the city of Ourim[a] with its surrounding territory,

§13. the city of Gindaros with its surrounding territory, the city of Larmenaz(a) with its

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\(^1\) Hellenism in the East

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\(^6\) territory, the city of Larmenaz(a) with its surrounding territory, the city of Ourim[a] with its surrounding territory, the city of Zeugma with its surrounding territory, the city of Hierapolis with its surrounding territory,

\(^7\) the city of Berroia with its surrounding territory, the city of Chalkis with its surrounding territory, the city of Apamia, with its surrounding territory

\(^8\) the city of Rephanæa with its surrounding territory, the city of Zeugma with its surrounding territory, the city of Ourim[a] with its surrounding territory,

\(^9\) the city of Gindaros with its surrounding territory, the city of Larmenaz(a) with its

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\(^12\) the city of Chalkis with its surrounding territory, the city of Apamia, with its surrounding territory

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\(^13\) the city of Rephanæa with its surrounding territory, the city of Zeugma with its surrounding territory, the city of Ourim[a] with its surrounding territory,
πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Λατιώχιαν πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ, [Κ]ύρρο[ν πό]λιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ,


§15. Αριστίαν πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Διχορ πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ. 17 Δολίχην πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Δούραν πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Κορκουσίονα πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Γερμανείκιαν πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ,

§16. Βάτναν πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Χαναρ 18 πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ· καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκ[ῆς]· Σάταλα πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Δόμαν [πόλιν] σῶν [τῇ περιχώρῳ;

§17. Αρταγίλ[α] πόλιν [σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σουσάν πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σουδῆ 19 πόλιν σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Φρέστα πόλιν [σῶν τῇ περιχώρῳ· ὁμοί πόλεις τρίακοντα ἑπτά σῶν ταῖς περιχώροις.

§18. τῇ δὲ τριτῇ ἄγογ[ῆν], ὃπότε ἰμές ἐπὶ Κάρρας τε καὶ Ἐδέσσαν ὀρμῆσαν καὶ Κάρρας καὶ Ἐδέσσαν· 20 ἐπολιορκούμενη, Οὐαλεριανὸς Καίσαρ [ὁρ ἰμές ἐκ]θῆ

§19. καὶ ἦσαν μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἄπο Γερμανο[ν ἔθνος], ἀπὸ Ρετίας ἔθνος, ἀ[πό] Νομικοῦ ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Δακείας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Παννονίας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ 21 Μυσίας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Λαμαρισίας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Ἰσπανίας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Λυσίτατα[νίας ἔθνος],

§20. ἀπὸ Θρο[κ][α]ς ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Βιθυνίας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Λατιαρικας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Συρίας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Λυκαιας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Γαλατίας [ἔθνος], ἀπὸ Λυκαιας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Κυλλίας [ἔθνος], ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Φρυγίας ἔθνος, ἀπὸ Συρίας ἔθνος, surrounding territory, 15 the city of Seleukia, the city of Antiochia with its surrounding territory, the city of Kyrros with its surrounding territory,

§14. another city by (the name of) Seleukia with its surrounding territory, the city of Alexandria 16 with its surrounding territory, the city of Neikopolis (sic) with its surrounding territory, the city of Sinzara with its surrounding territory, the city of Chamath with its surrounding territory,

§15. the city of Aristia with its surrounding territory, the city of Dikhor with its surrounding territory, 17 the city of Dolichē with its surrounding territory, the city of Doura with its surrounding territory, the city of the city of Korkousion, the city of Germanikeia with its surrounding territory,

§16. the city of Batna with its surrounding territory, the city of Chanar with its surrounding territory; 18 and from Kappadokia: the city of Satala with its surrounding territory, the city of Doman (sic) with its surrounding territory,

§17. the city of Artangil with its surrounding territory, the city of Souisa with its surrounding territory, the city of Soudi 19 with its surrounding territory, the city of Phreata with its surrounding territory – a total of thirty-seven cities with their surrounding territories.

§18. In the third contest, when we marched against Edessa and Carrhae and had the cities laid under siege, 20 Kaisar Valerianos came upon us.

§19. There was with him from the peoples of Germania, from the peoples of Ra(eta)ia, from the peoples of Nórikum, from the peoples of Dakeia, from the peoples of Pannonia, 21 from the peoples of Mysia, from the peoples of Amastria (sic), from the peoples of Hispania, from the peoples of Lusi[a(nia)] (sic),

§20. from the peoples of Thracia, from the peoples of Bithynia, from the peoples of Asia, from the peoples of Pamphylia, from the v of Isauria 22 from the peoples of Lykaonia, from the peoples of Galatia, from the peoples of Lycia, from the peoples of Cilicia, from the peoples of Cappadocia, from the peoples of Phrygia, from the peoples of Syria,
§21. ἀπὸ Φοινικῆς ἔθνους, ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίας ἔθνους, ἀπὸ Αραβίας ἔθνους, ἀπὸ Μαυριτανίας ἔθνους, ἀπὸ Γερμανίας ἔθνους, ἀπὸ Λυδίας ἔθνους, ἀπὸ Ασίας ἔθνους, ἀπὸ Μεσοποταμίας ἔθνους, ἃς ἔδωκεν ἐν τῷ ἔκκλειδέον.  

§22. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐκείθεν μέρους Καρρῶν καὶ Ἐδέσσων μετὰ Ἰσραήλ ἀλλατίζαν διὰ Ἐρωμάνων ἐμμένως. Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔμερος καὶ συνκλητικοὺς καὶ [ἡ]γεμονὰς, οἱ[τίνι ἔκειν ὕπον ἀρχαῖς, πάντας τούτους ἐκ μερικῶν ἐκρατήσαμεν καὶ εἰς τὴν Περσίαν ἅντως ἐξεγέραμεν.

§23. καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Συρίας καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Κυλίκιας καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Καππαδοκίας πυρὶ ἐκαβάσαμεν καὶ ἡμιμάσαμεν καὶ ἡχιμαλωτίσαμεν καὶ ἐκρατῆσαμεν.  

§24. ἐκεῖνη δὲ τῇ ἄγωγη ἐκρατήσαμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους Ῥωμαίων Σαμώσατα πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ἀλεξάνδριν τὴν κατ’ Ἰσον πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Κατάβουλον πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ἀγρίππαν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Μωμουστίαν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,  

§25. Μαλλὸν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, [Ἀδηανά πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ταρσον πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ζεφύριν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σηβαστήν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Κωρυκόν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,  

§26. Ἀγρίππαν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Καστάβαλα πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Νερονίαδα πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Φλαιάνδα πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Νεικόπολιν πολίν [πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,  

§27. Εὐφάνιαν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Κελένδεριν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ανεμούριν πολίν [πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σελευκίαν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,  

§28. Ηρακλῆων πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Τασσάριαν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Αντιοχίαν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σελκίαν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,  

§29. Ἀγρίππαν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Καστάβαλα πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Νερονίαδα πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Φλαιάνδα πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Νεικόπολιν πολίν [πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,  

§30. Εὐφάνιαν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Κελένδεριν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ανεμούριν πολίν [πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σελευκίαν πολίν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,
§28. The city of Dometiopolis with its surrounding territory, the city of Tyana with its surrounding territory, the city of Meiaakire with its surrounding territory, the city of Comana with its surrounding territory, the city of Kybistra with its surrounding territory.

§29. The city of Sebastia with its surrounding territory, the city of Bithra with its surrounding territory, the city of Rhakoudia with its surrounding territory, the city of Laranda with its surrounding territory, the city of Iconis (sic) with its surrounding territory; all these cities together with their surrounding territories are thirty-six (in number).

§30. We led away into captivity men from the Empire of the Romans, non-Iranians, and settled them into our Empire of Iranians, in Persis and in Parthia, in Ouzênē and in Assyria and in every other nation where our own and our fathers’s and our forefathers’s foundations were.

§31. And we searched out (for combat) many other lands and we acquired great renown for bravery, and many heroic deeds (we performed) which are not engraved here besides the preceding. For this reason we commanded this to be engraved, that whoever comes after us will realize this renown, this courage and this sovereignty of ours.

§32. And for the reason that the gods have made us bound in service to them in this way and that under the gods’ protection we have striven for and taken possession of such a number of lands, we in our turn establish in each land many Wahrām fire temples and have made Magi the recipients of our bounty and have enhanced the worship of the gods.

§33. And here we record in writing the following establishments: a fire temple named Husraw-Sahuhr for our soul and future memory; a fire temple named Husraw-Ādur-Anāḥīd for the soul and future memory of our daughter Ādur-Anāḥīd, Queen of Queens; a fire temple named Husraw-Ohrmezd-Ardāshīr for the soul and future memory

with its surrounding territory,
§34. Another fire temple named Husrav-Sabuhr for the soul and future memory of our son Sābuhr, King of Mēšān; a fire temple named Husrav-Narseh for the soul and future memory of our son Narseh, Iranian worshipper of Mazda, King of Hind, Sagestān and Turgestān as far as the seashore.

§35. All here is written in prescribed form that we may preserve these fire temples and that they may be administered appropriately. And with the 1000 lambs which are prescribed to us from the surplus and which we have assigned to these fire temples we command that the following be done:

§36. Each day one lamb, one and a half modion of bread, 4 pās of wine are for our soul, and for those of the Lord Sasan, and the King Papak, and the King Sapōr son of Papak, and Artaxerxes, King of Kings, Xornanzēm, Queen of the Land, Adour-Anaid, Queen of Queens, the Queen Dēnak, the King Gouarathranos of the Gelēni, and Sapōr the King of the Mēsanēnōi,

§37. Hōrmisd-Artaxerxes, great King of Armenia, and Narsaios, the King of the Segistēnōi (sic), Sabour-Doukatak, the Queen of the Segistanoi, the Lady Tiesmak, the Prince Pēroz, the Lady Murrōd, mother of Sapōr, King of Kings, Prince Narsaios, Princess Rōddoukt<α>kt, daughter of Anō sak, Goraz-Doukt, daughter of Xornanzēm,

§38. Queen Stariad, and Hōrmisdak, son of the King of the Armenians, Hōrmisd and Hōrmisdag (and) Hōdabaxth and Gourathran (and) Sapor (and) Pēroz, son of the King of the Mēsanēnōi, Sabour-Douktak, daughter of the King of the Mēsanēnōi, and Hōrmisd-Douktak, daughter of the king of the Segistanoi. (For all the above) one lamb, one griw five hōfan of bread, 4 pās of wine.

§39. And the remaining lambs, as long as they are
περισσεύει, ἐως ἐξαιρέσην, [53] ἐν τόσῳ εἰς τὴν μνείαν ἐκείνων, ὦν ἡμεῖς ἐκελεύσαμεν, εἰς μνείαν αὐτῶν μεγεύσωσαν.

§40. καὶ ἔνθαδε ἐννέγραπται καὶ συνέτησκεν τῶν εἰς τῆς Παπάκου βασιλέως δεσποτεία ὑπαρχέντων [54] Σασάνου τοῦ Ἀρηνή, Φαρρέκ Φαρρίκαν, Γορθανιπάτ Μωγιαν, Ἀσπορ Ασπορίγιαν, Πορικ Μερδίγιαν, Ζἰγ τοῦ διπυκλήτορος, Σαπόρου Γουεζηγιαν, Σαπόρου Μενεροζίγιηγιαν. [55]

§40. And here are inscribed those who lived in the reign of King Papak: Sasan, the son of Armėgan, Farrek, the son of Farrek, Goarthanipat, the son of Höriğan, Aspör, the son of Aspör, Pörık, the son of Mardig, Zīg, the master of ceremonies, Sapor, the son of Gouezēniq, Sapor, the son of Meerōzinēg;

§41. καὶ τῶν εἰς τῆς Ἀρχαζάρου τοῦ βασιλέως βασιλείων δεσποτείας ὑπαρχέντων Σαταροπτ Αβδηρα τοῦ βασιλέως, Ἀρταξάρου Μάρου βασιλείως, Ἀρταξάρ Κερμαν βασιλείως, Ἀρταξάρ Σιγαν [56] βασιλείως, Δην Νάρσα τοῦ βασιλέως μητρός, Ροανάκης τῆς Ἀρταζάρου τοῦ βασιλέως βασιλείων μητρός, those who lived in the reign of King Artaxerxes, King of Kings: Sataroq, the King of Abrēnax, Artaxerxes, the King of Marw, Artaxerxes, the King of Kerman, Ardašīr, the King of Sigan, Dēnik, the mother Artaxerxes King Pābag, Rōdākē, the mother of Artaxerxes, King of Kings

§42. Δὴνικῆς βασιλισσῆς βασιλείσσον Παπακαν, Ἀρταξάρ βαρᾶς, Παβάκου ἀζαροπτ, [57] Δῆν Γοράχ, Σασαν Σουρην, Σασαν Ἰνδήγιαν δεσπότου, Πρώς Καρην, Γοωκ Καρην, Αβουρσαμ Αρταξιοριφ, Γιηζμαν απὸ Δουμβαουνο, Ροζ σπατιου, Μαρδ διβριουπτ, Παβακ τοῦ [58] διπυκλήτορος.

§42. Dēnak, Queen of Queens, the daughter of Papak, Aratxa the bidix, Pabak the azaropt, Dēen Gorax, Sasan the sourēn, Sasan Lord of Ibdēg, Pēroz Karēn, Gōok Karēn, Abursām Artaxiourf, Gēliman of Dουbaouno, Rox the spapit, Mard the dibiroup, Pabak the master of ceremonies,

§43. Παζήρου Γουασπεριγιαν, Οὐφερου τοῦ Οὐφεριγιαν, Μερχουαστοῦ τοῦ Βερησιγιαν, Χουμαφατ μαγανεπ, Δην τοῦ ζηνπις, Τζερίκ τοῦ δικαστοῦ, Ούαρδαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς πάνθης, [59] Μερ<υ>-κ Τουσσεριγιαν, Ζηκ Ζαβήκιαν, Σαγχαου τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κυνηγοῦ, Χούδικ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀννόνης, Διην τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐνοῦ.

§43. Pazēr, son of Gourasperig, son of Ouifetig, Merxousa, son of Berēsīg, Houmafrat the maganped, Dēran, the zēnīpit, Tzerik the judge, Ouardan, the controller of the stables, Meer<k> k son of Tousserig, Zēk, son of Zabrīg, Sagbosus, master of the hunt, Xoudik, controller of revenue, Dieēn, the wine steward;

§44. καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν δεσποτείαν ἡμῶν γεγονότοι τοῦ Ἀρταξάρου βασιλείως [60] τῆς Ἀδιαβήνης, Ἀρταξάρου βασιλείως τῆς Κυμανθήνης, Δηνικῆς<γ> βασιλισσῆς<γ> Μησον δαστικυρ Σαπορ, Αμαζίττου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ιβηρίας, Οὐαλάσσου τοῦ ἐγ βασιλείων υἱοῦ Παβακοῦ.

§44. And those who lived in our reign: Artaxerxes, the king of Adiabēne, Artaxerxes, the king of Kirman, Dēnak, the queen of Mēsan, the dasitγirt of Sapor, Hamazasp, the king of Iberia, Prince Oualassos, son of Pabak,


§45. Prince Sasan, who was page to Parikan, another Prince Sasan, who was page to Kidougan, Prince Narsaios, son of Pēroz, Prince Narsaios, son of Sapor, Sapor the pitax, Pabak the azaript, Pēroz the shield-bearer, Artaxerxes Gouraz

§46. Ἀρταχάρ Σουρην, Ναρσαίου Ἀνδήγιαν

§46. Artaxerxes sūrēn, Narsaios, Lord of
κυρίου, Αρτάχαρ Καρθν, Γοαννάμου ἐπιτρόπου, Φρείκου Βουκοτος-σαββωρ σατράπου, Στρηδον Σαμουστου, Αρτάχαρ Αρταχαρισνου, Παζήρ Ταμ-σαββωρ, Αρτάχαρ Γωμαν σατράπου, 49 Τιασμίκ Νι-σαββωρ,

§47. Γοαννάμ Σασαν, Τιρ-μερ Σαρακάτρου καστελλοφύλακς, Ζίκ δειπνοκλήτορος, Αρταβάνου τοῦ ἀπὸ Τομηβαῦτον, Γυνόβερ Άβγαν, Ρεμακαύ καὶ Παβίς Περσαβιβρ Σονδεδήγαν, Γοαρζίν Γη σατράπου, 64 Κιράσιτος πτεράζων, Πάπακου Οὐσπερηγαν,

(. Οὐαλάσου Σλωκαν, Ἥσοβίδαβ βασιλισσῶν ἀνδαρζάβιδ, Πάπακου τοῦ σπαθοφόρου, Ναρσαίου τοῦ Ρίδσατραπου, Τιανικ Αμίδον σατράπου, Γουβαζίδος τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, 65 Διομερδώ Ραστίγαν, Αρταχαρίου Γυφερηγαν, Αβουρσαμ-σαββωρ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν δριγαιων,

§49. Ναρσαίου Βαρηγαν, Σαββω Ναρσηγαν, Ναρσαίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς 66 ἀνύνης, Ματις<δ>οῦ τοῦ ἄρχηγραμματέως, Νάδωκ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς, Παπακ 66 θυρωφοῦ, Πασφερδ Πασφερδήγαν, Αβ<δ>αγας Δηραβδήγαν, Κατερή μάγου, Ραστάκ Γοε-αρταξάρουν σατράπου, Αρταχάρου Πιέτιγαν, Μερχουστ ηγανίζο- φύλακς, Σακόρου ἐπιτρόπου,

§50. Αστατ Μεεραν ἐπὶ ἐπιστολῶν, Σασαν 67 εὐνούχου Σασαγαν, Οὐροδό Αγορανομίου, Αρταχάριου Νηρης σατράπου, Βαδου Γολβηγαν, Καρεδί Ιρδουμα, Ζαροουανιάτα Βανδήγαν, Γυνααρ Σασαγαν, Μανζικ εὐνούχου, Σασάνου δικαστοῦ, Ουαρδάνου Νασαγιάν, Ουαρδόκ χοραζίβιδν, 68 ὁμοί πρόβατον ἐν, ἄρτου μόδιον ἕνα ἤμισυ, οἴνοι παναισοὺς τέσσαρες,

§51. νῦν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας καὶ θρησκειάς τῶν θεῶν σπουδαζομεν καὶ τῶν θεῶν κτίσμα ζημίων καὶ εἰς βοήθην τῶν θεῶν ταῦτα πάντα τὰ 69 ἔθνη ἐξήτασαν καὶ κατέσχαμεν καὶ ὅνωμα καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐπεσηπάμεθα, κάκεινος δὲ, ὡστε μεθ ἡμᾶς ἐσται καὶ εὐτυχῆς ἐσται, κάκεινος ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας καὶ θρησκείας τῶν θεῶν σπουδασάτω, ἵνα οἱ θεοὶ βοηθοὶ 70 αὐτῷ ἔσονται καὶ δαστικητὴν ἑαυτῶν ποίησον.