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(UNION ACADÉMIQUE INTERNATIONALE)
Project 67: China and the Mediterranean World:
Archaeological and Written Sources

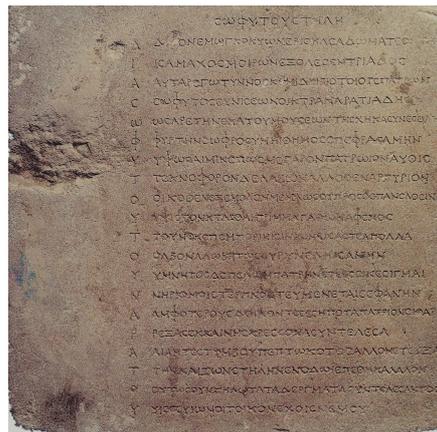
FONTES HISTORIAE VIAE SERICAE
Sources on the History of the Silk Road



1

HELLENISM
IN THE
EAST

(ca. 260 BCE – 260 CE)



COMPILED AND TRANSLATED BY
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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 siècle* 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 Lași 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.”

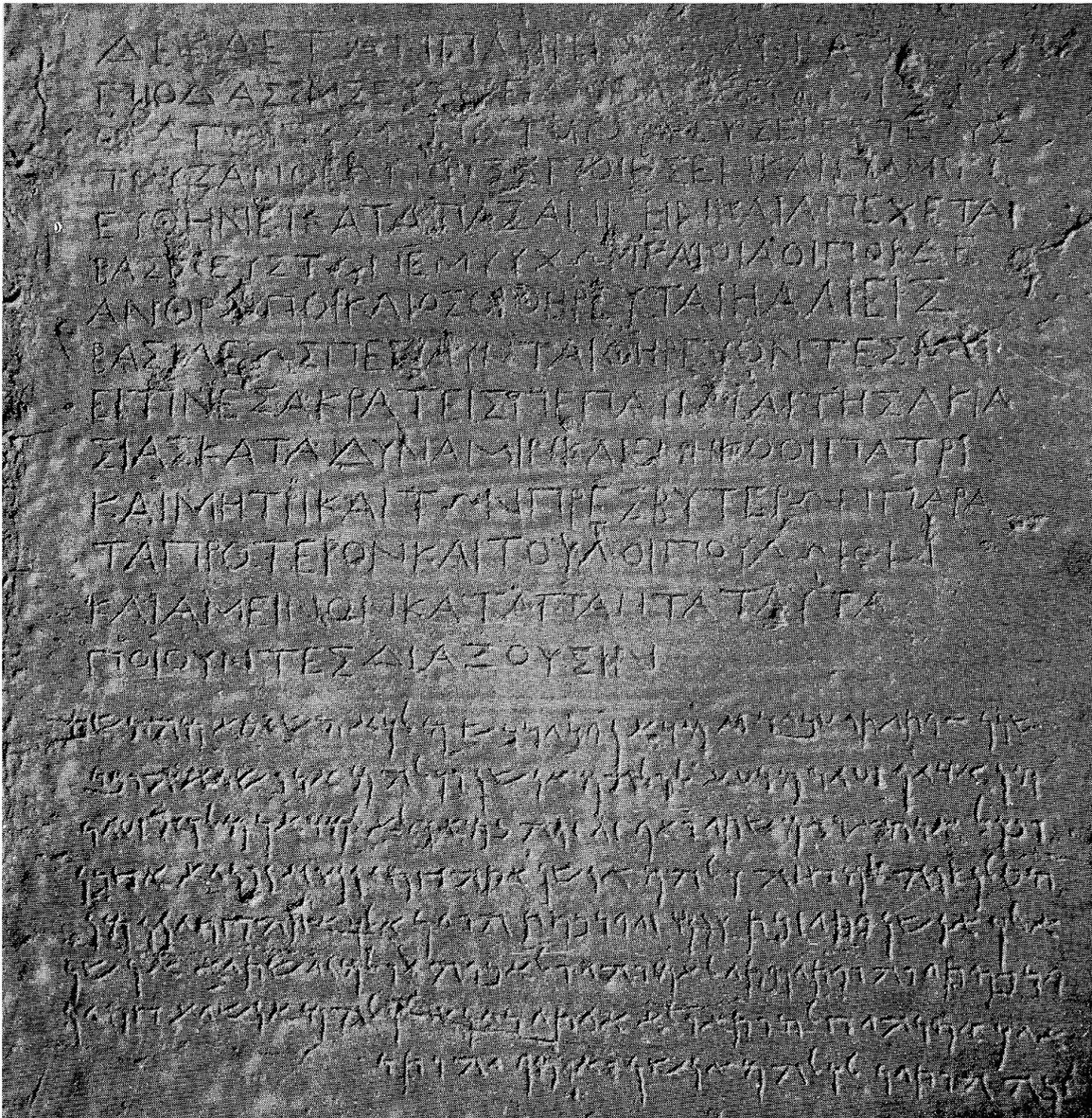
The editors and translators of *Hellenism in the East* is grateful to Prof. Nicholas Sims-Williams FBA for permission to reproduce his published text and translation of the Rabatak Inscriptions and in his capacity as Chair of the Editorial Committee of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* (UAI Proj. 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 Jonahntan 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)

SEG 20.326

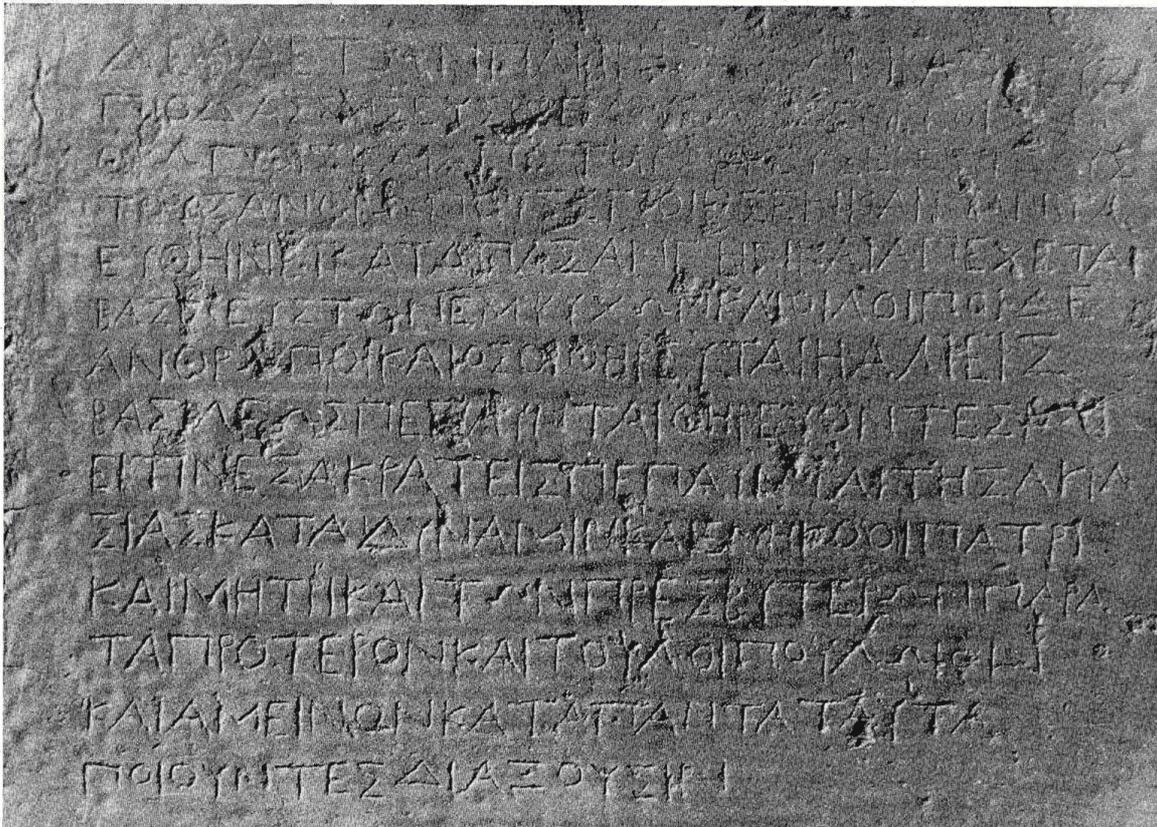
BILINGUAL (GREEK AND ARAMAIC) EDICT OF
KING PIODASES (AŠOKA) COMMEMORATING
THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF HIS REIGN

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



Greek and Aramaic versions of the commemorative edict of King Aśoka (Photo SOR 1964.20f.)

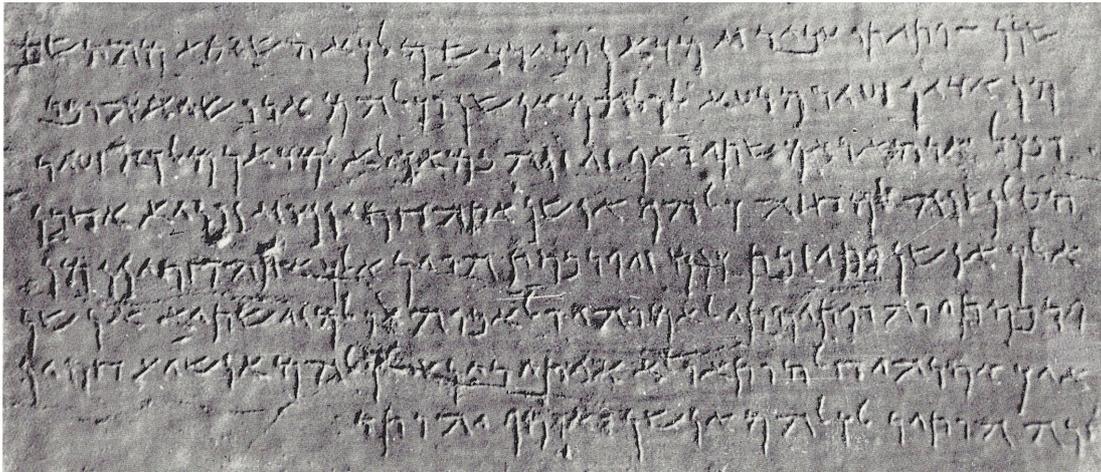
(I) VERSIO GRAECA

Greek version of the commemorative edict of King Aśoka (Photo *SOR* 1964.36f.)

δέκα ἐτῶν πληρη[θέντ]ων βασι[λ]εὺς
 Πιοδάσσης εὐσεβεία[ν ἔδ]ε[ι]ξεν τοῖς ἀν-
 θρώποις, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου εὐσεβεστέρους
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐποίησεν καὶ πάντα
 5 εὐθηνεῖ κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν· καὶ ἀπέχεται
 βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐμψύχων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ
 ἄνθρωποι καὶ ὅσοι θηρευταὶ ἢ ἀλιεῖς
 βασιλέως πέπαινανται θηρεύοντες· κα[ὶ]
 εἴ τινες ἀκρατεῖς πέπαινανται τῆς ἀκρα-
 10 σίας κατὰ δύναμιν, καὶ ἐνήκοοι πατρὶ
 καὶ μητρὶ καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων παρὰ
 τὰ πρότερον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ λῶιον
 καὶ ἄμεινον κατὰ πάντα ταῦτα
 ποιοῦντες διάξουσιν.

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



Aramaic version of the commemorative edict of King Aśoka (Photo SOR 196. 4.36f.)

שנן — פתיתו עביד זי מראן פרידרש מלכא קשיטא מהקשט	1
מן אדין זעיר מרעא לכלהם אנשן וכלהם אדושיא הובד	2
ובכל ארקא ראם שתי ואף זי זנה במאכלא למראן מלכא זעיר	3
קטלן זנה למחזה כלהם אנשן אתהחסינן וזי נוניא אחדן	4
אלך אנשן פתיזבת כנם זי פרבסת הוין אלך אתהחסינן מן	5
פרבסתי והופתיסתי לאמוהי ולאבוהי ולמזישתיא אנשן	6
איך אסרהי חלקותא ולא איתי דינא כלהם אנשיא חסין	7
זנה הותיר לכלהם אנשן ואוסף יהותר	8

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

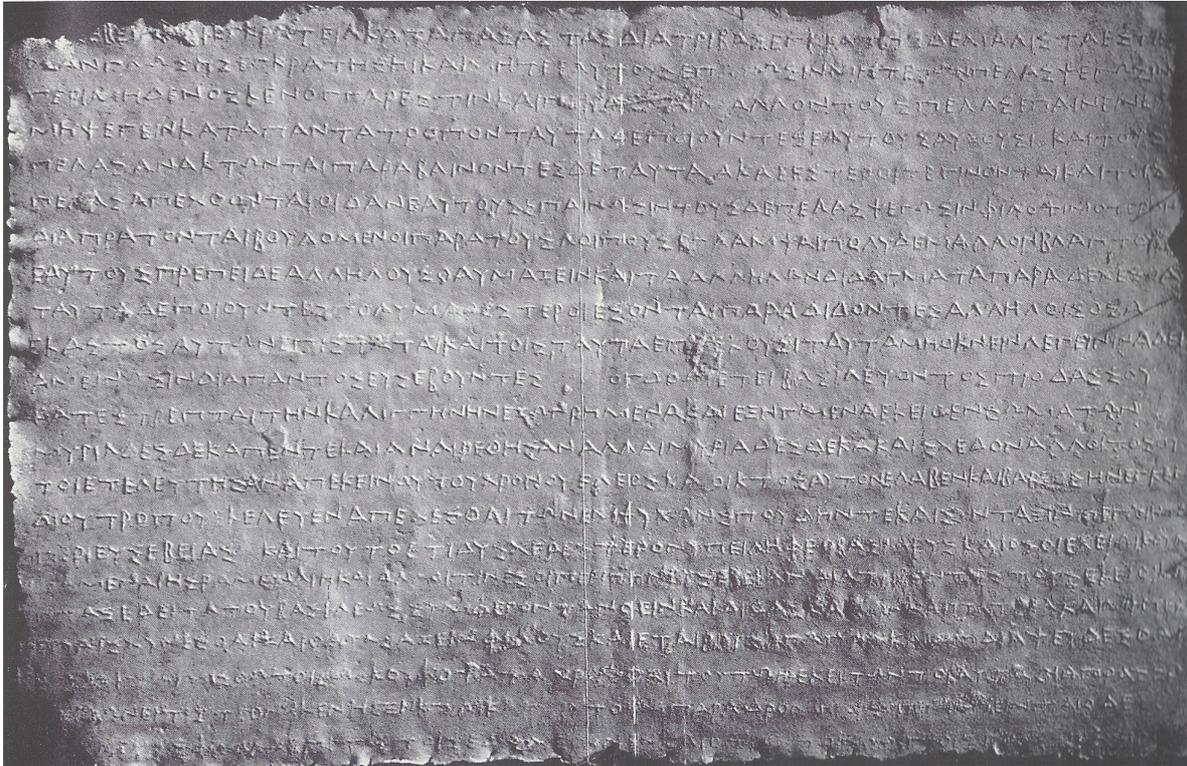
1. šnn 10 ptyw 'byd zy mr'n prydrš mlk' qšt' mhqšt
2. mn 'dyn z'yr mr'' lklhm 'nšn w klhm 'dwšy'hw bd
3. wbkl 'rq' w'p šty w'p zy znh bm'kl' lmr'n mkl' wsyd
4. qtln [l]mhžh klhm 'nšn 'thšsynn wzy nwny' 'hđn
5. 'lk 'nšn ptyzbt knm zy prbst hwyn 'lk 'thšsynn mn
6. prbsty Whwptysty l' mwhy wl' bwhy wlmzyšty' 'nšn
7. 'yk ysryh hłqwt' wl' 'yty dyn' lklhm 'nšy' hsyn
8. znh hwtyr lklhm 'nšn wy'wsp yhwtr

[¹] For ten years expiation (?) has been made by Our Lord Priyadarśi, 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 [⁴] is killed; seeing this (?) all men have given up (killing animals), and those who caught fishes, [⁵] those men have given up (doing it); similarly, those who were *prbst*, they have given up [⁶] *prbsty*. And men (are) obedient to their own mother and father and to the elders, [⁷] as destiny has laid down to them. And there is no judgment for all men (who are) pious. [⁷] 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 PIODASES (AŠOKA)



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)

(A) EDICT XII

JE 201, IEOG 291, CII 2/1 83

[. εὐ]σέβεια καὶ ἐγκράτεια κατὰ πάσας τὰς
 διατριβὰς· ἐγκρατῆς δὲ μάλιστα ἐστὶν
 ὅς ἂν γλώσσης ἐγκρατῆς ᾖ. καὶ μήτε ἑαυτοὺς
 ἐπα[ι]νῶσιν, μήτε τῶν πέλας ψέγωσιν
 περὶ μηδενός· κενός γάρ ἐστιν· καὶ πειρᾶσθαι
 μᾶλλον τοὺς πέλας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ
 μὴ ψέγειν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. ταῦτα δὲ
 ποιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς αὐξοῦσι καὶ τοὺς
 5 πέλας ἀνακτῶνται· παραβαίνοντες δὲ ταῦτα,
 ἀκλεέστεροι τε γίνονται καὶ τοῖς
 πέλας ἀπέχθονται. οἱ δ' ἂν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαινῶσιν,
 τοὺς δὲ πέλας ψέγωσιν φιλοτιμότερον
 διαπράττονται, βουλόμενοι παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς
 ἐγλάμψαι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον βλάπτου[σι]
 ἑαυτοὺς. πρέπει δὲ ἀλλήλους θαυμάζειν καὶ τὰ
 ἀλλήλων διδάγματα παραδέχεσθαι[ι].
 ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες πολυμαθέστεροι ἔσονται,
 παραδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις ὅσα
 10 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπίσταται. καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα
 ἐπ[α]σκοῦσι, ταῦτα μὴ ὀκνεῖν λέγειν, ἵνα
 δει-
 αμείνωσιν διὰ παντός εὐσεβοῦντες.

... piety (εὐσέβεια = *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
 |⁵ laud 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)

(B) EDICT XIII

JE 201, IEOG 292, CII 2/1 83

ὀγδόωι ἔτει βασιλεύοντος Πιοδάσσου
 κατέστρεπται τὴν Καλίγγην. ἦν ἐζωγρημένα καὶ
 ἐξηγμένα ἐκεῖθεν σωματίων
 μυριάδες δεκαπέντε καὶ ἀναιρέθησαν ἄλλαι
 μυριάδες δέκα καὶ σχεδὸν ἄλλοι τοσοῦ-
 τοὶ ἐτελεύτησαν. ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἔλεος
 καὶ οἶκτος αὐτὸν ἔλαβεν· καὶ βαρέως
 ἤνεγκεν·
 15 δι' οὗ τρόπου ἐκέλευεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν
 ἐμψύχων σπουδῆν τε καὶ σύνταξιν
 πεποιήται
 περὶ εὐσεβείας. καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι δυσχερέστερον
 ὑπέληφε ὁ βασιλεὺς· καὶ ὅσοι ἐκεῖ οἴκουν
 βραμεναὶ ἢ σραμεναὶ ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς οἱ περὶ
 τὴν εὐσέβειαν διατρίβοντες, τοὺς ἐκεῖ
 οἰκοῦ-
 ντας ἔδει τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως συμφέροντα νοεῖν,
 καὶ διδάσκαλον καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα
 ἐπαισχύνεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν, φίλους καὶ
 20 δούλους καὶ μισθωτοῖς ὡς κουφότατα χρᾶσθαι,
 τούτων ἐκεῖ τῶν τοιαῦτα διαπρασσο-

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 com-
 passion 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
 sidelined and the others take precedence*. And

μένων εἴ τις τέθνηκεν ἢ ἐξῆκται, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμ
παραδρομῆι οἱ λοιποὶ ἡγεῖνται, ὁ δὲ
[β]ασιλεὺς σφόδρα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐδυσχέρανεν καὶ
ὅτι 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

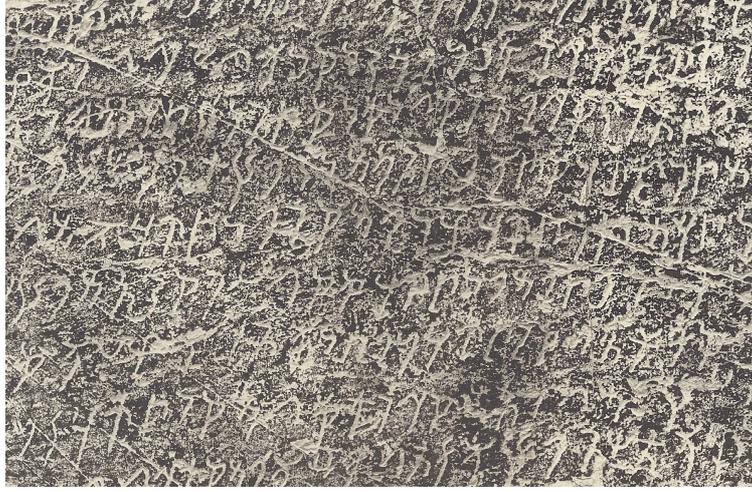


Photo of squeeze of parts of lines 4-8 of Edict XII in the Arameo-Brahmi script (CIInd. I, p. 64)

Edict XII

- 1 (A) देवनंप्रियो प्रियदशि रय सव्रप्रषंडनि प्रवजितनि यहथनि च पुजेति दनेन
विविधये च पुजये (B) नो चु तथ दन व पुज व
- 2 देवनंप्रियो मजति यथ किति सलवढि सिय सव्रप्रषंडनं (C) सलवढि तु बहुविध
(D) तस तु इयो मुल यं वचगुति
- 3 किति अतप्रषंडपुज व परपषंडगरन व नो सिय अपकरणसि लहुक व सिय तसि
तसि प्रकरणे (E) पुजेतविय व चु परप्रषंड-
- 4 इ तेन तेन अकरेन (F) एवं करतं अतप्रषंडं वढेति परप्रषंडंस पि च उपकरोति
(G) तद् अजथ करमिनो अतप्रषंड
- 5 क्षणति परप्रषंडस च अपकरोति (H) यो हि कचि अतप्रषंडं पुजेति परप्रषंडं
गरहति सव्रे अतप्रषंडभतिय व किति
- 6 अतप्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं सो च पुन तथ करतं बढतरं
उपहंति अतप्रषंडं (I) सो सयमो वो सधु किति अजमजस धमो
- 7 श्रुण्ये च सुश्रुषेयु च ति (J) एवं हि देवनंप्रियस इह किति सव्रप्रषंडं बहुश्रुत च
कलणगम च सियसु (K) ये च तच तच
- 8 प्रसन तेषं वतवो (L) देवनंप्रियो न तथ दनं व पुज व मजति यथ किति
सलवढि सियति सव्रप्रषंडनं (M) बहुक च एतये अठ . .
- 9 वपट धममहमच इस्त्रिधियस्त्रमहमच वचभुमिक अजे च निकये (N) इमं च एतिस
फलं यं अतप्रषंडवढि भोति
- 10 धमस च दिपन

Transcription of Edict XII (CIInd. I, 64)

Edict XII

¹ (A) Devanāmpriyo Priyadaśi raya savra-prash-
amḍani pravraitā[ni] grahathani cha pujeti danea
vividhaye cha pujaye

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

(B) no chu tatha [da]na va puja va |² Devanāṃ-

(B) But *Devanāmpriyo* does not value either gifts

priyo mañati yatha kiti sa[la]-vaḍhi

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

(C) sala-vaḍhi tu bahuvīdha

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

(D) tasa tuo iyo mula yaṁ vacha-guti |³ kiti ata-prashṁaḍa-puja va pa[ra]-prashṁaḍa-garama va no siya [a]pakarañasi lahuḁa va siya tasi tasi prakara[ñ]e

(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) pujeṭaviya ta chu para-prasha[m]ḍa⁴ tena tena akarena

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

(F) e[v]aṁ karataṁ ata-p[r]ashamḍamvaḍheti para-prashamḍamsa pi cha upakaroti

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

(G) tada añatha ka[ra]min[o] ata-p[rashamḍa] |⁵ kshañati para-[pra]shadāsa cha apakaroti

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

(H) yo hi kachi ata-prashamḍam pujeṭi [para]-p[r]ashadā[m] garahati savre ata-prashadā-bhatiya va kiti |⁶ ata-prashamḍam dipayami ti so cha puna tatha karamtaṁ ba[ḍhata]raṁ upahamti ata-prashadāḁam

(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) so sayamo vo sadhu kiti añamañasa dhramo |⁷ śruñeyu cha suśrusheyu cha ti

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

(J) evaṁ hi Devanamḁpriyasa ichha kiti savra-prashamḍa bahu-śruta ch[a] kal[aña]gama cha siyasu

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

(K) ye cha tatra tatra |⁸ prasana tesa[m] vatvao

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

(L) Devanamḁpriy[o] na [tatha da]na[m] va p[u]ja va mañati ya[tha] kiti sala-vaḍhi siyati savra-prashamḍanam

(L) *Devanamḁpriya* 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) bahuka cha etaye a[tha].. |⁹ vap[a]ṭa dh[ra]ma-ma[ha]matra i[st]ridhi[yaksha-ma[ha]-matra [vra]cha-bhumika añe cha nikaye

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

(N) imamḁ cha etisa [pha]lam yaṁ ata-pashadā-vaḍhi [bh]o[ti] |¹⁰ dhramasa cha di[pana]

(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. Hultzsch, *CIInd.* I, 64-65)

EDICT XIII

- 1 (A) अठवषअभिसितस देवनप्रिअस प्रिअद्रशिस रजो कलिंग विजित (B) दिअढमचे प्रणशतसहस्रे ये ततो अपवुढे शतसहस्रमचे तत्र हते बहुतवतके व सुटे
- 2 (C) ततो पच अधुन लधेषु कलिंगेषु तिन्ने ध्रमशिलन ध्रमकमत ध्रमनुशस्ति च देवनप्रियस (D) सो अस्ति अनुसोचन देवनप्रिअस विजिनिति कलिंगानि
- 3 (E) अविजितं हि विजिनमनो यो तत्र वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं बढं वेदनियमतं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (F) इदं पि चु ततो गुरुमततरं देवनप्रियस (G) ये तत्र
- 4 वसति ब्रमण व अमण व अजे व प्रचंड ग्रहथ व येसु विहित एष अयभुटिसुश्रुष मतपितृषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मित्रसंस्तुतसहय-
- 5 जतिकेषु दसभटकनं सम्मप्रतिपति द्रिढभतित तेष तत्र भोति अपग्रथो व वधो व अभिरतन व निक्कमणं (H) येष व पि सुविहितनं सिंहो अविप्रहिनो ए तेष मित्रसंस्तुतसहयजतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति तत्र तं पि तेष वो अपग्रथो भोति (I) प्रतिभगं च एतं सव्रमनुशनं गुरुमतं च देवनप्रियस (J) नस्ति च एकतरे पि प्रषडस्यि न नम प्रसदो (K) सो यमचो जनो तद कलिंगे हतो च सुटो च अपवुढ च ततो
- 7 शतभगे व सहस्रभगं व अज गुरुमतं वो देवनप्रियस (L) यो पि च अपकरेयति क्षमितवियमते व देवनप्रियस यं शको क्षमनये (M) य पि च अटवि देवनप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अनुनिजपेति (N) अनुतपे पि च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवचपेयु न च हंजेयसु (O) इछति हि देवनप्रियो सव्रभुतन अक्षति संयमं समचरियं रभसिये (P) अयि च मुखमुत विजये देवनप्रियस यो ध्रमविजयो (Q) सो च पुन लधो देवनप्रियस इह च सवेषु च अन्तेषु
- 9 अ षषु पि योजनशतेषु यत्र अंतियोको नम योनरज परं च तेन अंतियोकेन चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम निच चोडपंड अव तंबपणिय (R) एवमेव हिद रजविषवस्मि योनकंबोयेषु नभकनभितिन
- 10 भोजपितिनिकेषु अंध्रपलिदेषु सवच देवनप्रियस ध्रमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति (S) यच पि देवनप्रियस दुत न वचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनप्रियस ध्रमवुटं विधनं ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं अनुविधियंति अनुविधियिशंति च (T) यो स लधे एतकेन भोति सवच विजयो सवच पुन
- 11 विजयो प्रितिरसो सो (U) लध भोति प्रिति ध्रमविजयस्यि (V) लहुक तु खो स प्रिति (W) परचिकमेव महफल मेजति देवनप्रियो (X) एतथे च अठये अयि ध्रमदिपि निपिस्त किति पुच पपोच मे असु नवं विजयं म विजेतविअ मजिषु स्पकस्यि यो विजये क्षंति च लहुदंडत च रोचेतु तं च यो विज मजतु
- 12 यो ध्रमविजयो (Y) सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको (Z) सवचतिरति भोतु य ध्रमरति (AA) स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक

- (A) [aṭha]-vasha-a[bhis]jita[sa Devana]pri[a]sa Pri[a]draśisa ra[ñño] Ka[liga] vi[j]jita (A) When king *Dēvānāmpriya Priyadarśin* had been anointed eight years, (the country of) the Kāliṅgas was conquered by (him).
- (B) diaḍha-mat[r]e praṇa-śata-[saha]sre y[e] tato apavudhe śata-sahasra-matre tatra hate bahu-tavata[ke va] m[uṭe] (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.
- ²(C) tato [pa]cha a[dhu]na ladh[e]shu [Kaligeshu tivre dhrama-śilana] dhra[ma-ka]mata dhrama-nuśasti cha Devanapriyasa (C) After that, now that (the country of) the Kāliṅgas has been taken, *Dēvānāmpriya* (is devoted) to a zealous study of morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction (of people) in morality.
- (D) so [a]sti anusochana Devanapr[ia]sa vijinti Kaliga[ni] (D) This is the repentance of *Dēvānāmpriya* on account of his conquest of (the country of) the Kāliṅgas.
- ³(E) avijotaṃ [hi vi]jinamano yo tat[r]a vadha va maṇaṃ va apavaho va janasa taṃ baḍ haṃ v[e]dabi[ya]-ma[taṃ] guru-mata[m] cha [Devanaṃ]priyasa (E) For, this is considered very painful and deplorable by *Dēvānāmpriya*, that, while one is conquering an unconquered (country), slaughter, death, and deportation of people (are taking place) there.
- (F) idaṃ pi chu [tato] guru-matataṃ [Devanaṃ]priyasa (F) But the following is considered even more deplorable than this by *Dēvānāmpriya*.
- (G) ye tatra ⁴vasati brahmaṇa va śrama[ṇa] va prashaṃḍa gra[ha]tha va yesu vihita esha agrabhuṭi-suśrasha mata-pitushu suśrasha guruna suśrasha mitra-saṃstuta-sahaya-⁵ñatikeshu dasa-bhaṭakanam sanna-pratipa[ti] dṛiḍha-bhatita tesha tatra bhōti [a]pag[r]atho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇaṃ (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) yesha va pu suvihitanaṃ [si]ho aviprahino [e te]sha mitra-saṃstuta-sahaya-ñatija vasaba ⁶prapuṇati[ta]tra taṃ pi tesha vo apagratho bhōti (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) pratibhagaṃ cha [e]taṃ savra-manuśabaṃ guru-mataṃ cha Devanaṃpriya[sa] (I) This is shared by all men and is considered deplorable by *Dēvānāmpriya*.
- (J) nasti cha ekatare pi prashaḍaspi na nama prasado (J) And there is no (place where men) are not indeed attached to some sect.
- (K) so yamatro [ja]no tada Kalige [ha]to cha (K) Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were

mut[] cha apav[udda] cha tato |7 śata-bhage va sahasra-bhagaṃ va [a]ja guru mataṃ v[o] Devanāmpriyasa

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

(L) yo pi cha apakareyati kshamitaviya-mate va Devanāmp[ri]yasa yaṃ śako kshamanaye

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

(M) ya pi cha aṭavi Devanāmpriyasa vijite bhoti ta pi anuneti anunijapeti

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

(N) anutape pi cha prabhava |⁸ Devanāmpriyasa vuvhati tesha kiti anatrāpeyu na cha [ha]mñeyasy

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

(O) ichhati hi D[e]vanāmpriyo savra-bhutana akshati sa[m]yamaṃ sana[cha]riyaṃ rabgasiye

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

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

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

(Q) so cha puna ladho Devanāmpriyasa iha cha saveshu cha aṃteshu |⁹ [a] shashu pi yojana-śa[t]eshu yatra Aṃtiyoko nama Y[o]na-raja paraṃ cha tena Atikyok[e]na chature 4 rajani Turamaye nama Aṃtikini nama Maka nama Alikasudaro nama nicha Choḍa-Paṃḍa ava Ta[m]baoam[ṇi]ya

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

(R) [e]vameva [hi]daraja-vishavaspi Yonaka[m]boyeshu Nabhaka-Nabhitina |¹⁰ Bhoja-Pitinikeshu Aṃdhra-Palideshu savatra Devanāmpriyasa anuvaṭanti

(R) Likewise here in the king's territory among the Yōnas and Kambōyas, among the Nabhakas and Nabhitis, among the Bhōjas and Pitinikas, among the Andhras and the Palidas – everywhere (people) are conforming to *Dēvānāmpriya*'s instructions in morality.

(S) yatra Devanāmpriyasa duta na vrachanti te pi śrutu Devanāmpriyasa dhrama-vuṭaṃ vidh[a]naṃ dhramanuṣasti dhramaṃ [a]nuvidhiyamtu anuvidhiyāṣaṅ[ti] cha

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

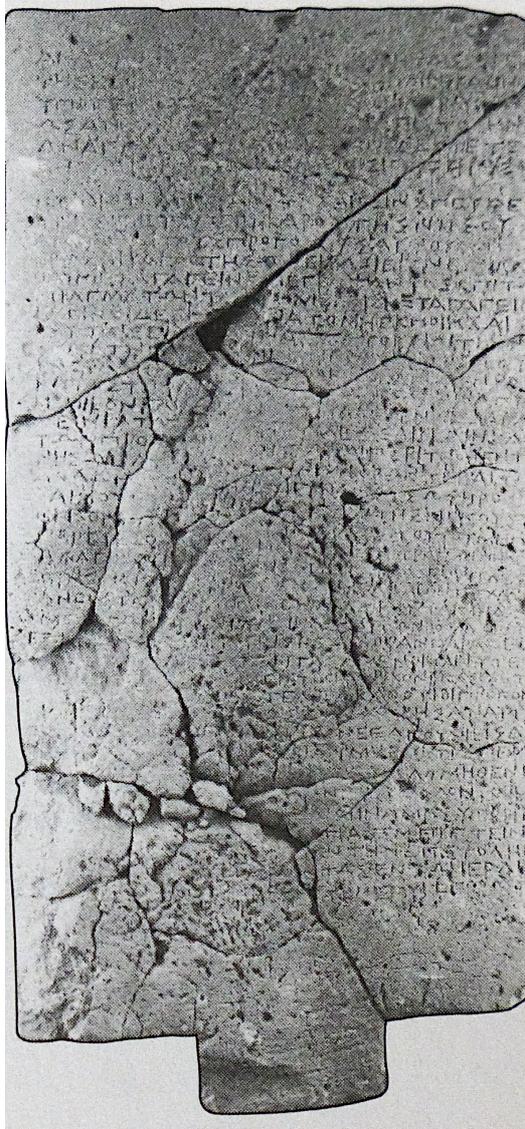
(T) yo [sa] ladhe etakena bho[ti] savatra vijayo sava[tra] pu[na] |¹¹ vijayo priti-raso so

(T) This conquest, which has been won by this everywhere, – a conquest (won) everywhere (and) repeatedly, – causes the feeling of satisfaction.

- (U) ladha bh[oti] priti dhrama-vijayaspi (U) Satisfaction has been obtained (by me) at the conquest by morality.
- (V) lahuka tu kho sa priti (V) But this satisfaction is indeed of little (consequence).
- (W) paratri[ka]meva maha-phala meñatu Deva-na[m]priyo (W) *Dēvānāmpriya* thinks that only the fruits in the other (world) are of great (value).
- (X) etaye cha aṭhaye ayi dhrama-dipi nipi[sta] kiti putra papotra me asu navañ vijayañ ma vijetav[i]a mañishu spa[kaspi] yo vijay[e kshañ]ti cha lahu-da[m]data cha rochetu tañ cha yo vija maña[tu] |¹² yo dhrama-vijayo (X) 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.
- (Y) so hidalokiko paralokiko (Y) This (conquest bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world.
- (Z) sava-chati-rati bhotu ya [dh]rañma-rati (Z) And let there be (to them) pleasure in the abandonment of all (other aims), which is pleasure in morality.
- (AA) sa hi hidalokika paralokika (AA) For this (bears fruit) in this world (and) in the other world. (Ed. and trans. E. Hultzsch, *CIInd.* I, 68-70)

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

SEG 20.411 (Revised)



1 ΑΝΑΞΑΡΧΟΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΝΙΚΑΡΛΙΟΙΚΗΤΑΙΣ ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ
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 43 ΤΛΙΕΝΙΚΑΡΛΙ ΔΟ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΡΑΣΘΕ
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The Failaka Inscription (Photograph and tracing by Prof. Kristian Jeppsen)
 (Inscription now in the Tareq Rajab Museum, Kuwait, no. 2000)

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.⁷ 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 Failakā', *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, IKEO 421, Ikaros, iii 102-03

<p>Ἀνάξαρχος τοῖς ἐν Ἰκά[ρωι] οἰκηταῖς χαίρειν· τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν ἔδωκεν¹ ἡμῖν Ἰκαδίω[ν], ὑπογεγραψάμεν ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντιγράφων· ὡς ἂν [ε]ὐθέως² λάβητε τ[ὴν] ἐπιστολήν, 5 ἀναγράψατε ὅλην καὶ ἀπ[ο]λείπετε³ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ [ᾧ] Αὐτ[ε]μισίου⁴ [κ]ζ'. ἔρρωσθε</p>	<p>Anaxarchos greets the inhabitants of Ikaros. Of the let[er which Ikadion gav]e 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.</p>
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(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, IEOG 421, Ikaros, iii 102-03

<p>Ἰκαδίων Ἀναξάρχῳ χαίρειν· σπεύδει ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ Ἰκάρου τῆς νήσου, διὰ τὸ [κ]αὶ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ ἀφίδ[ρυσ]ι[ν]⁵ ἱερῶσαι καὶ τὸ τῆ' Σω[τ]είρας ἱερὸν ἐπ[ι]βαλέ[σ]- 5 θαι μεταγαγεῖν κ[α]ὶ ἔγραψαν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τα[σ]σομένοις μεταγαγεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι δέ, εἴτ[ε] δὴ διὰ⁶ τὸ μὴ ἐκποιῆσαι αὐτοῖς, εἴτ[ε] δι' ἠνδηποτοῦν⁷ αἰτίαν,</p>	<p>Ikadion greets Anaxarchos. The king is concerned about the island of Ikaros, both because the forefathers consecrated an <i>aphidrysis</i> 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</p>
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¹ [ἔγραψ]εν Rouché and Sherwin-White (*Chiron* 15); [ἔδωκε]εν Robert, Altheim–Stiehl (*Klio*, 46), Jeppesen (*Ikaros* iii).

² [? τάχιστα] Rouché and Sherwin-White; [ε]ὐθέως] Jeppesen.

³ ἀναγράψατε ἐν στήλῃ, ταύτην δ' ἔκθετε Rouché and Sherwin-White; ἀναγράψατε ὅλην καὶ ἀπ[ο]λείπετε Jeppesen.

⁴ ἐν τῷ ἱε[ρῷ] [τ]ῷ ? ᾧ Αὐτ[ε]μισίου Rouché and Sherwin-White; ἐν τῷ ἱε[ρῷ] [τ]ῷ Αὐτ[ε]μισίου Jeppesen.

⁵ (ἀ)[γ](ο)[ρ]ὸν] Rouché and Sherwin-White; ἀφίδ[ρυσ]ι[ν] Jeppesen.

⁶ εἴτ[ε] δὴ διὰ Rouché and Sherwin-White; εἴτ[ε] [οὖν δὴ διὰ] Jeppesen.

⁷ εἴτ[ε] διὰ τ[ιν] ἄλλην] γούν Rouché and Sherwin-White (with important comment on p. 22); εἴτ[ε] δι' ἠνδηποτοῦν Jeppesen.

[ο]ὐ μετήγαγο[ν. ἡ]μῖν δὲ γράψ[α]ντος τοῦ
 10 βασιλ[έ]ως Σε[λεύκου]⁸ μετ[η]γάγομεν, καὶ
 κατεστήσαμεν [τοῖς θε]οῖς⁹ ἀγῶνα γυ-
 μνικόν καὶ πλέον σπε]υδόμεν διεξαγα-¹⁰
 [γ]ε[τ]ιν κατὰ τ[ὴν τοῦ] β[ασ]ιλέως αἵρεσιν καὶ
 τῶν προ[γόνων] αὐτοῦ. [κ]αὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ
 15 νήσῳ κατ[οικ]ο[ούντων] νεωκόρων τε καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ΟΥΔ[...].ΟΧ[...].Π ἐπὶ [...]ΟΥ Σωτήρος,
 καὶ τοῦ[ς].ΠΙ [...]ΣΟΥΣ[...].ς τῆς νήσου συν-
 οικισθῆνα[...].ΣΙ[...].Λ[...].Ιος τούτου μὴ προσ-
 πορεύεσθαι [...]Ι[...].Π[...].Λ[...].ΠΙ[...].Ν τρόπῳ μηδενὶ
 20 ἀλλ' ἑἶν [...]Π[...].Σ[...].ΠΙΛΝΩ[...].ΑΣ ἐπιμελὲς [...]Π
 οὔν σοι γέ[νοιτο] ἵνα τ[ῶν] τ[ε] δικαίων τ[υ]γχάνωσι
 ἄνθρωπο[ι(?)] μηδ' ὑπὸ μ[ηδ]ενὸς[ς] ἀδικ[ῶ]νται,
 μηδὲ
 μετ[ά]γων[ται. καὶ ἑά]ν τινες τούτων βούλωντα[ι]
 ἐξι[διά]ζεσ[θαι] ἐν τῇ [ν]ήσῳ[ι] χώραν, παράδει-
 25 [ξον αὐτοῖς γῆν ἦν] ἐξεργασάμενοι καὶ φυτεύ-
 [σαντες ἔξουσι]ν εἰ[ς] τὸ πατρικόν. ὑπαρχέτω
 [δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ] ἀτέλεια, καθ' ὅτι οἱ πρόγον-
 [οι τοῦ βασιλέ]ως ἐπεχώρησαν αὐτοῖ[ς]
 [ὄσωνπερ] εἰ[ς] τῆ[ν] νῆσον ἐξάγουσι· εἰς δὲ
 30 [τόπους τοὺς κατ' Ἄρ]αβίαν μὴ ἐπίτρεπε μη-
 [δενὶ σῆτον ἐξάγειν μηδ'] ἄλλο μηθέν. εἰ
 [δὲτ]ῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων
 [..... —π]ωλῆται, ἵνα μὴ συμβῆι
 [αὐτοῖς εἰς ἀρρωσ]τίας ἐμπίπτειν.
 35 [ἀναθεῖναι σύνταξον] οὔν τῆν ἐπιστολῆν
 [εἰς στήλην ἀναγρ]άψαντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
 [ὡς ἐδόθη ἡ ἀτέλεια]. θρ' [Ἄρ]τεμισίου ιζ' .
 ἔρρωσο.

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 *neokoroi* 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 impecunious 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 toil 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 permit 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, Artenuos 17th, farewell. (Trans. Kristian Jeppesen, *op. cit.*, 103, with minor revision by the Serica Team)

⁸ σ[πουδῆ] Rouché and Sherwin-White (with important comment on p. 22); Σε[λεύκου] Jeppesen.

⁹ κατεστήσαμεν ἀγῶνον εἰς Rouché and Sherwin-White; κατεστήσαμεν [τοῖς θε]οῖς Jeppesen.

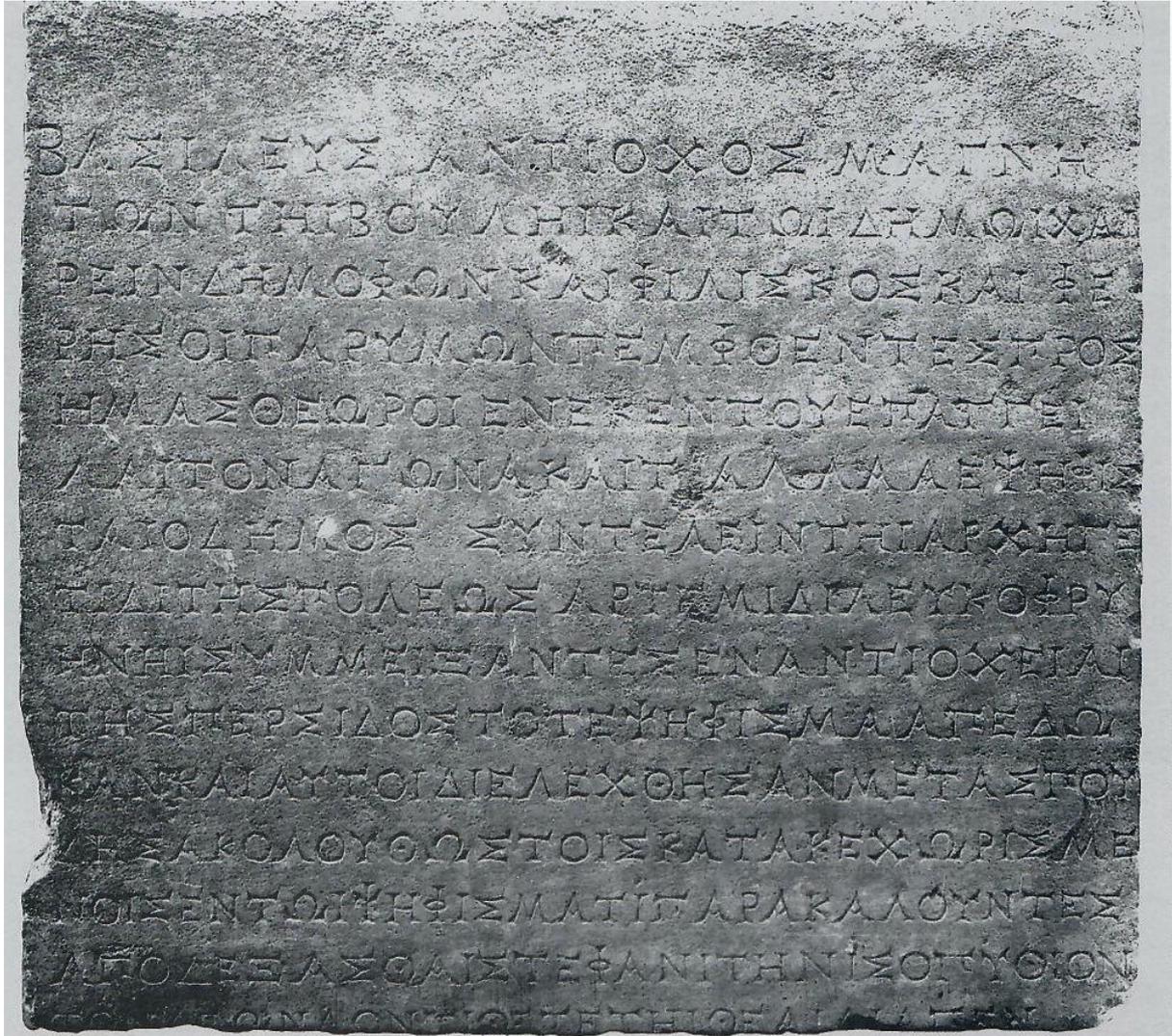
¹⁰ μ[ουσικόν, βο]υλόμενοι ἐξαγα- Rouché and Sherwin-White; π[λέον σπε]υδόμεν διεξαγα- Jeppesen.

205 BCE – Magnesia on the Maeander (Tekin, Germençik)

SEG 39.1427

DECREE CONCERNING ANTIOCHIA-IN-PERSIDE

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



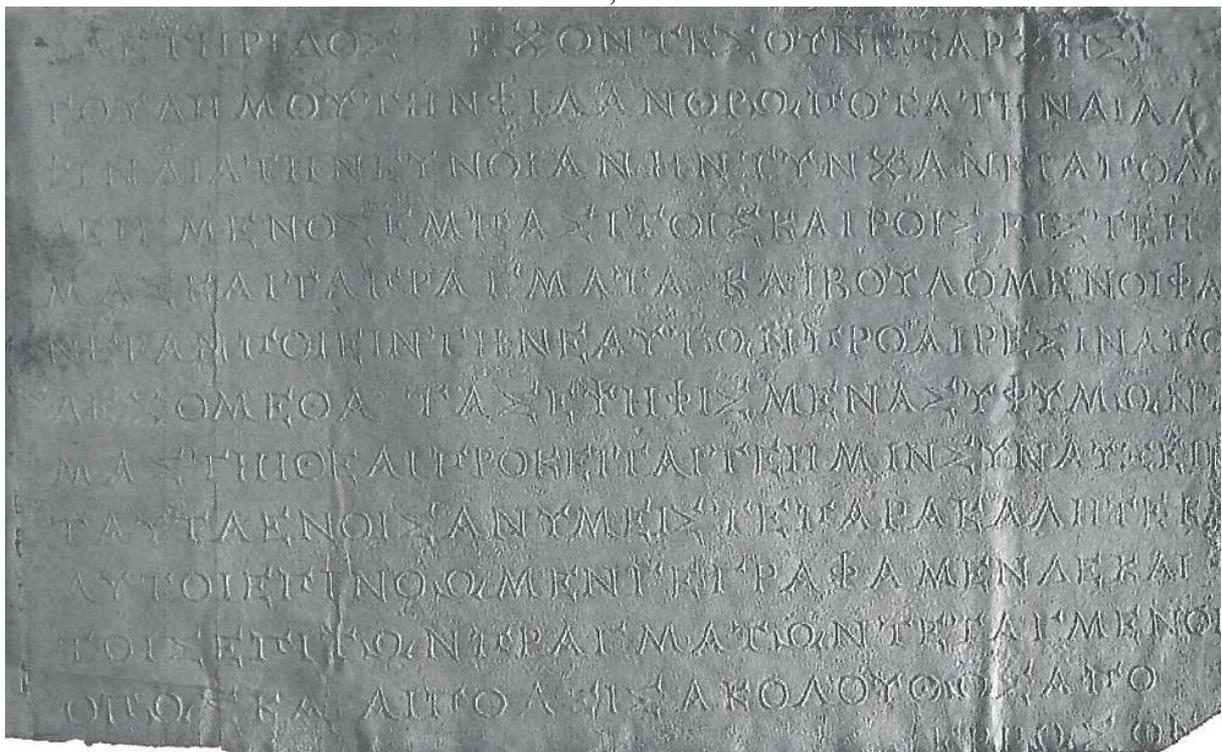
Photograph showing the first part of the inscription: lines 1-15 (CII 2/1 Fig. 51.1)

1. βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Μαγνή-
 2. των τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳι χαί-
 3. ρειν· Δημοφῶν καὶ Φιλίσκος καὶ Φέ-
 4. ρης οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν πεμφθέντες πρὸς
 5. ἡμᾶς θεῶροι ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἐπαγγεῖ-
 6. λαι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὰλλα ἃ ἐψήφισ-
 7. ται ὁ δῆμος συντελεῖν τῆι ἀρχηγέ-
 8. τιδι τῆς πόλεως Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυ-
 9. ηνῆι, συμμεῖξαντες ἐν Ἀντιοχίαι

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 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 τό τε ψήφισμα ἀπέδω-
 11. καν καὶ αὐτοὶ διελέχθησαν μετὰ σπου-
 12. δῆς ἀκολούθως τοῖς κατακεχωρισμέ-
 13. νοις ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, παρακαλοῦντες
 14. ἀποδέξασθαι στεφανίτην ἰσοπύθιον
 15. τὸν ἀγῶνα ὃν τίθετε τῇ θεᾷ διὰ πεν-
 16. [τ]αετηρίδος, ἔχοντες οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς π[ερὶ]
 17. τοῦ δήμου τὴν φιλανθρωποτάτην διάλ[η]-
 18. ψιν διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν, ἣν τυγχάνει ἀποδε-
 19. δειγμένος ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς καιροῖς εἰς τε ἡ-
 20. μᾶς καὶ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ βουλόμενοι φα-
 21. νηρὰν ποιεῖν τὴν ἑαυτῶν προαίρεσιν ἀπο-
 22. δεχόμεθα τὰς ἐψηφισμένας ὑφ' ὑμῶν τ[ι]-
 23. μὰς τῇ θεᾷ, πρόκειται τε ἡμῖν συναύξειν
 24. ταῦτα ἐν οἷς ἂν ὑμεῖς τε παρακαλῆτε καὶ
 25. αὐτοὶ ἐπινοῶμεν· γεγράφαμεν δὲ καὶ
 26. τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τεταγμένοις,
 27. ὅπως καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἀκολουθῶς ἀπο-
 28. δέξωνται. Ἔρρωσθε.

accordance with the terms of the decree, urging us to recognize as 'crowned' and '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 our 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)



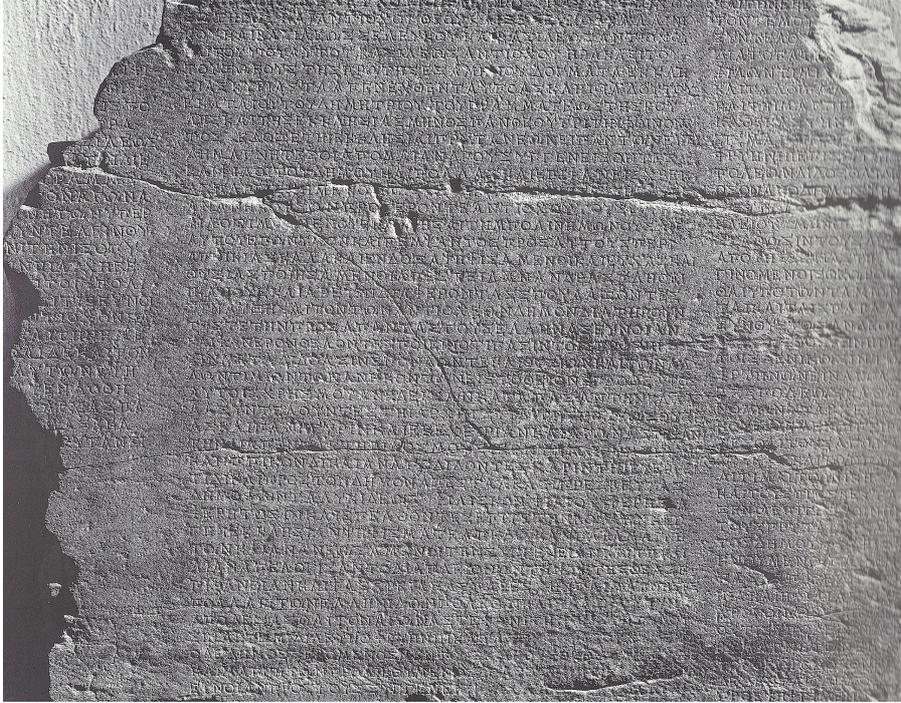
Photograph of squeeze showing ll. 16-27 of the inscription (Photo. *CII* 2/1 Fig. 15.2)

205 BCE – Magnesia on the Maeander (Tekin, Germençık)

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]αρά Ἀντιοχέων τῶν Π[ερσίδος·]
2. [ἐ]πὶ ἱερέως Σελεύκου Νικάτορος καὶ Ἀντιόχου
3. Σωτήρος καὶ Ἀντιόχου Θεοῦ καὶ Σελεύκου Καλλινί-
4. κων καὶ βασιλέως Σελεύκου καὶ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου
5. καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἡρακλείτου
6. τοῦ Ζωέους τῆς πρώτης ἑξαμήνου· δόγματα ἐκκλη-
7. σίας κυρίας τὰ ἀπενεχθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιάδου τοῦ
8. Ἑκαταίου τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ γραμματέως τῆς βου-
9. λῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας μηνὸς Πανθέου τρίτη φθίνον-
10. τος ἔδοξε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρυτάνεων εἰπάντων· ἐπει-
11. δὴ Μάγνητες οἱ ἀπὸ Μαϊάνδρου συγγενεῖς ὄντες
12. καὶ φίλοι τοῦ δήμου καὶ πολλὰς καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς χρει-
13. ας παρεισηγμένοι[ι] τοῖς [Ἑλλ]ησιν [τῶν εἰς εὐδοξί]-
14. αν ἀνηκουσῶν πρότερόν τε Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Σωτήρος
15. φιλοτιμο[υ]μένου ἐπα[υξ]ῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν οὖσαν
16. αὐτοῦ ἐπώνυμον καὶ πέμπαντος πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ
17. ἀποικίας, καλὰ καὶ ἔνδοξα ψηφισάμενοι καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ
18. θυσίας ποιησάμενοι ἀπέστειλαν ἄνδρας πλήθει
19. ἰκανοὺς καὶ ἀρετῇ 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 Antiochos Sotēr and of Antiochos the God and of Seleukos Kallinikos and of King Seleukos and of Antiochos (III) (5) and of the son of King Antiochos, 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. συναυξῆσαι τὸν τῶν Ἀντιοχέων δῆμον, διατηροῦν-
 21. τές τε τὴν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας εὐνοίαν
 22. καὶ φανερόν θέλοντες ποιεῖν, ὅτι πᾶσιν τοῖς
 προσήκ[ου]-
 23. σιν μεταδιδόασιν σπονδῶν τε καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλ-
 24. λων τιμίων τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὸ θεῖον, ἐγδοθέντος
 25. αὐτοῖς χρησμοῦ ἀνέδειξαν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλά-
 26. δα συντελοῦντες τῇ ἀρχηγέτιδι τῆς πόλεως θυσι-
 27. ας καὶ πανήγυριν καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν καὶ ἀγῶνα στεφανί-
 28. την διὰ πενταετηρίδος μουσικόν τε καὶ γυμνικόν
 29. καὶ ἵππικόν, δικαίαν ἀποδιδόντες χάριν τῇ εὐεργέ-
 30. τιδι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀπεστάλκασι πρεσβευτὰς
 31. Δημοφ<ῶ>ντα Λυκιδέως, Φιλίσκον Φιλίου, Φέρητα
 32. Φέρητος, οἱ καὶ ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ
 33. τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ψήφισμά τε ἀπέδωκαν παρὰ Μαγνή-
 34. των καὶ ἀνανεωσάμενοι τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ τὴν φι-
 35. λίαν ἀπελογίσαντο διὰ πλειόνων τῆν τε τῆς θεᾶς ἐ-
 36. πιφάνειαν καὶ τὰς χρεῖας ἃς παρέσχηται Μάγνητες
 37. πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων καὶ παρεκάλου
 38. ἀποδέξασθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα στεφανίτην ὃν συντελοῦ-
 39. σιν Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκοφρυηνῇ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
 χρησμόν·

people (*demos*) and having performed many conspicuous services on behalf of the [Helle]nes 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 *boulē* and the *demos*, duly handed over the wdecree 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.

40. ὁ δὲ δῆμος σεβόμενος μὲν τοὺς κοινούς θεοὺς αὐτοῦ
 τε
 41. καὶ Μαγνήτων, προαιρούμενος δὲ αὐξεῖν τὴν
 ἐ[αυτοῦ]
 42. εὐνοίαν πρὸς τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πόλεων
 {*First column, lower block*}
 43. [πολλῶν τὰ αὐτὰ π]ροεψ[η]φ[ισ]μένων
 [.....18.....]το
 44. ..σιν πρὸ παντὸς οἶεται δεῖν καιρὸ[ν μηδένα]
 παρα[λεί]-
 45. πε[ιν πρέ]ποντα ἐν ᾧ [καὶ] καθ' ἰδίαν ἐκ[άστῳ κ]αὶ

(40) The People (*demos*) in its reverence for the gods we share with the Magnesians, and its wish to augment [its] goodwill towards its kinsmen, and since [many] other cities have previously voted [the same decisions] ... believes it a matter of great importance not[to let] pass [any suitable] opportunity (45) for displaying privately [to each individual and] publicly to all the zeal [which] it continuously displays [for the] interests

- κοινήι πᾶ-
46. σιν ἐ[να]ποδείξεται τὴν σπουδὴν ἢ[ν ἔχ]ων διατελεῖ
47. [εἰς τὸ συ]μφέρον τὸ τῶν Μαγνή[των·] ἀγαθῆι
τύχη[ι·]
48. [δ]ε[δ]ό[χθα]ι τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμῳ[ι· ἐπαι]γέσαι
μὲν Μά-
49. γνητας τῆς τε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν καὶ τῆς
50. πρὸς τὸμ βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον φιλίας καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ
51. τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀντιοχέων, καὶ δ[ι]ότι τοῖς ἰδίσις
ἀγαθ[οῖς]
52. καὶ τῆι εὐημερίαι [τ]ῆς πόλεως καλῶς χρώμενοι
δι[αφ]υ-
53. λάσσουσιν τὴμ πάτριον πολιτείαν, εὐξασ[θ]αι δὲ τοὺς
54. ἱερεῖς θεοῖς πᾶσιν καὶ πάσαις, διαμένειν Μ[άγ]νησιν
55. εἰς τὸ[ν] ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐπὶ τύχηι ἀγαθῆι τῆ[ν]
πολε[ιτεῖ]-
56. ἀν ἀπ[ο]δέξασθαι δὲ τὴν θυσιάν καὶ τὴν πανήγυρι[ν]
{*Second column, upper block*}
57. καὶ τὴν ἐκεχ[ειρία]ν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα στεφανίτην
ἰσοπύθιον]
58. τὸν τε μου[σικὸν καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν, ὄν]
59. συντελοῦ[σι Μάγνητες τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι τῆι
Λευκοφρυηνῆι]
60. διὰ τὸ πάτρι[ον —]
61. φίλων τίμια [—]
62. καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἅ [—]
63. καὶ τῆι Μαγνήτ[ων πόλει —]
64. καθ' ἐκάστην [— ἀποστῆλαι δὲ καὶ θεωροὺς]
65. εἰς Μαγνησί[αν] τοὺς θύσοντας τῆι Ἀρτέμιδι Λευκο]-
66. φρυηνῆι ἐπὶ σωτηρία[ι τοῦ τε βασιλέως καὶ
ἀμφοτέρων τῶν]
67. πόλεων, δίδοσθαι δὲ ἀ[ν]τοῖς καὶ ἐφόδιον ἐκ τοῦ
δημοσίου]
68. ὅσον ἂν ὁ δῆμος ψηφ[ιζ]ηται ἰκανὸν εἶναι καὶ πρέπον]
69. [τῆ]ι πόλ[ει] αἰρεῖσθαι δὲ τοὺς θεωροὺς τῆι — τοῦ
Ἦρα]-
70. κλείου μηνός, [ὅταν καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀρχαὶ αἱ πολιτικά]
71. σταθῶσιν, τοὺς δὲ [αἰρεθέντας ἀποστέλλεσθαι]
72. ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας τῆς [κοινῆς τοῦ δήμου. τοῖς δὲ παρα]-
73. γινομένοις θεωροῖ[ς ἐκ Μαγνησίας πρὸς ἡμᾶς δίδοσ]-
74. θαι ὑπὸ τῶν ταμιῶν ξ[έ]νια ὅσα δίδο-]
75. ται καὶ ταῖς παρὰ Ἀρ[τέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας θεωρίας]
76. συνθυέτωσαν δὲ οἱ θ[εωροὶ — τῆι Ἀρτέμι]-
77. [δι τῆι Λευκ]ο[ρ]υ[ηνῆι] τὰ [—]
78. τοῖς δὲ νικῶσιν τῶν [πολιτῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Λευκο]-
79. φρυηνῶν εἶναι τὰς ἀ[ν]τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰ φιλόπρωπα
παρὰ]
80. τῆς πόλεως καθὰ κ[αὶ] τοῖς τὰ Πύθια νικήσασιν ἐκ
τῶν]
81. νόμων ὑπάρχει, τὰ ἀ[—]
82. κου ἐφιέμενοι, πειρώ[μενοι δὲ ἄ]-
83. γεσθαι τοὺς ἀγῶνας [—]
84. ε.σε.. καὶ τῶν παρα[—]

of the people of Magnesia.

With good fortune, [be it resolved] by the council and the people, to [praise] the people of Magnesia for their piety towards the gods and (50) for their friendship and goodwill towards King Antiochos (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] Leukophryenia shall have the [same honours and privileges from] (80) the city as exist [for the victors at the Pythian festival according to the] law ... (85) (...) the honours to the winner [...] and the ambassadors [...] the official appointed

85. αἱ τιμαὶ τῶι νικήσαν[τι —]
 86. καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς [— ἔτα]-
 87. ξενὸς ἐπὶ τῆ[ν κ]οινήν [διοίκησιν ἡρημένος —]
 88. τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἀεὶ [— κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ]
 89. τοῦ δήμου ἐ[ψ]ηφισμ[ένα — οἱ ἀφι]-
 90. κνούμενοι παρὰ Μα[γνήτων —]
 91. πάσης προεδρ[ία]ς τ[—]
 92. ἵνα καὶ ἡ φιλία ταῖς πό[λεσιν ὑπάρχῃ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα]
 93. χρόνον, αἰρεθῆναι δε[ῖ] καὶ θεωροδόκον ὑπὸ τοῦ
 δήμου,]
 94. ὅστις ὑποδέξεται τ[οὺς θεωροὺς τοὺς παραγινόμενους
 πα]-
 95. ρὰ Μαγνήτων, εἴνα[ι δὲ —]
 96. τὸν θεωροδόκον ε[—]
 97. δέδεκται ὁ δῆμος [—]
 98. προεψηφισμένο[ις — ἐπὶ —]
 {*Second column, lower block*}
 99. ἱερ[έως ἡρ]έθ[η]11..... Ἡγ[ησάν]δρου].
 100. ὁμο[ί]ως δὲ ἔδοξεν καὶ
 1.101 Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς
 102. πρὸς [τ]ῶι Τίγρει,
 103. Ἀπαμεῦσιν τοῖς
 104. [π]ρὸς τῶι Σελείαι,
 105. Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς
 106. πρὸς τῆι ἐρυθρᾷ
 107. θαλάσσει,
 108. Σελευκεῦσιν τοῖς
 109. πρὸς τῶι Εὐλαίαι,
 110. Σ[ε]λευκ[εῦσιν] τ[οῖς]
 111. π[ρὸς] τῶ[ι] Ἡδυφῶντι]
 2.101. [...]
 102. [...]
 103. [...]
 104. [...]
 105. Ἀν[τι]ο[χ]εῦσιν τοῖς]
 106. πρὸς [...]
 107. Ἀλ[εξανδρεῦσιν τοῖς]
 108. [...]
 109. [...]
 110. [...]
 111. [...]

by the public administration has fixed? [...] the *prytaneis* according to [...][...] the measures decreed by the people [... (90) ...] 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 Seleia, (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



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

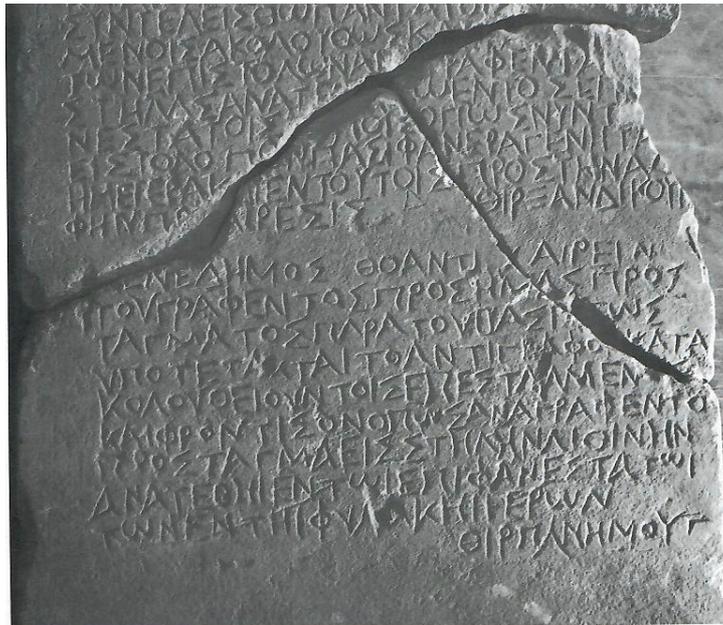
[βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος Μενεδήμωι]
 [χαίρειν· βουλόμενοι τῆς ἀδελφῆς]
 [βασιλίσσης Λαοδίκης τὰς τιμὰς]
 [ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐξῆιν καὶ τοῦτο ἀναγ]-
 [καιότατον ἑαυτοῖς νομίζοντες]
 [εἶναι διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον ἡμῖν φιλο]-
 [στόργως καὶ κηδεμονικῶς αὐτήν]
 [συμβιοῦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον]
 [εὐσεβῶς διακεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ]
 1. [ἄλλα μὲν] ὅσα [πρέπει καὶ δίκαι]-
 2. [όν ἐστιν παρ' ἡμ[ῶν αὐτῇ συν]-
 3. [αντᾶσθαι διατελ[οῦμεν μετὰ]
 4. [φιλοστοργίας ποιο[ῦντες, κρίνο]-

[King Antiochos to Medemos greetings. Wishing to increase further the honours of our sister and Queen Laodikē, 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 καθάπερ ἡμῶν ἀποδεῖ-
6. κνουνται κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν]
7. ἀρχιερεῖς, καὶ αὐτῆς καθ[ίστασθαι]
8. ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις ἀρχιε[ρείας]
9. αἱ φορήσουσιν στεφάνους χρυ[σοῦς]
10. ἔχοντας εἰκόνας αὐτῆς, ἐν γρα[φή]-
11. σονται δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συναλλάγμα-
12. σιν μετὰ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων καὶ
13. ἡμῶν ἀρχιερεῖς. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀποδέδε[ι]-
14. κται ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ σὲ τόποις Λαοδικῆ,
15. συντελείσθω πάντα τοῖς [προγεγραμ]-
16. μένοις ἀκολουθῶς, καὶ [τὰ ἀντίγραφα]
17. τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἀν[αγ]ραφέντα [εἰς]
18. στήλας ἀνατε[θήτ]ω ἐν το[ῖς] ἐπ[ι]φα[ν]-
19. νεστάτοις τ[ό]ποις ὅπως νῦν τ[ε] καὶ]
20. εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶσι φανερὰ γένητα[ι]
21. ἢ ἡμετέρα ἐν τούτοις πρὸς τὴν ἀδ[ελ]-
22. φῆν πρ[ο]αίρεσις. θιρ' Ξανδικοῦ.

her portrait on them and who shall [also] be inscribed on (business) contracts after the chief-priests of our [ancestors] and of us. Therefore since Laodikē (daughter of Antiochos III) (15) has been appointed in the districts under [your] command, [let] everything [be done] in conformity with what is written above and let the copies of the letters be inscribed on stelae and set up in the most distinguished [places], so that [our policy] towards our sister should be made manifest in these matters too now and (20) for the future. Year 119, [?] day] in the month Xandikos (Sel. = March/April, 193 BCE) (tr. M.M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World*, No. 158, pp. 262-63)

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



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

23. [Μ]ενέδημος Θόαντι χαίρειν·
24. τοῦ γραφέντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς προσ-
25. τάγματος παρὰ τοῦ βασι[λέ]ως
26. ὑποτέτακται τὸ ἀντίγ[ρ]αφο[ν]· κατα-
27. κολούθει οὖν τοῖς ἐπεσταλμέν[οις]
28. καὶ φρόντισον ὅπως ἀναγραφὴν τὸ
29. πρόσταγμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην
30. ἀνατεθῆι ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ
31. τῶν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἱερῶν.
32. θιρ' Πανήμου γ'

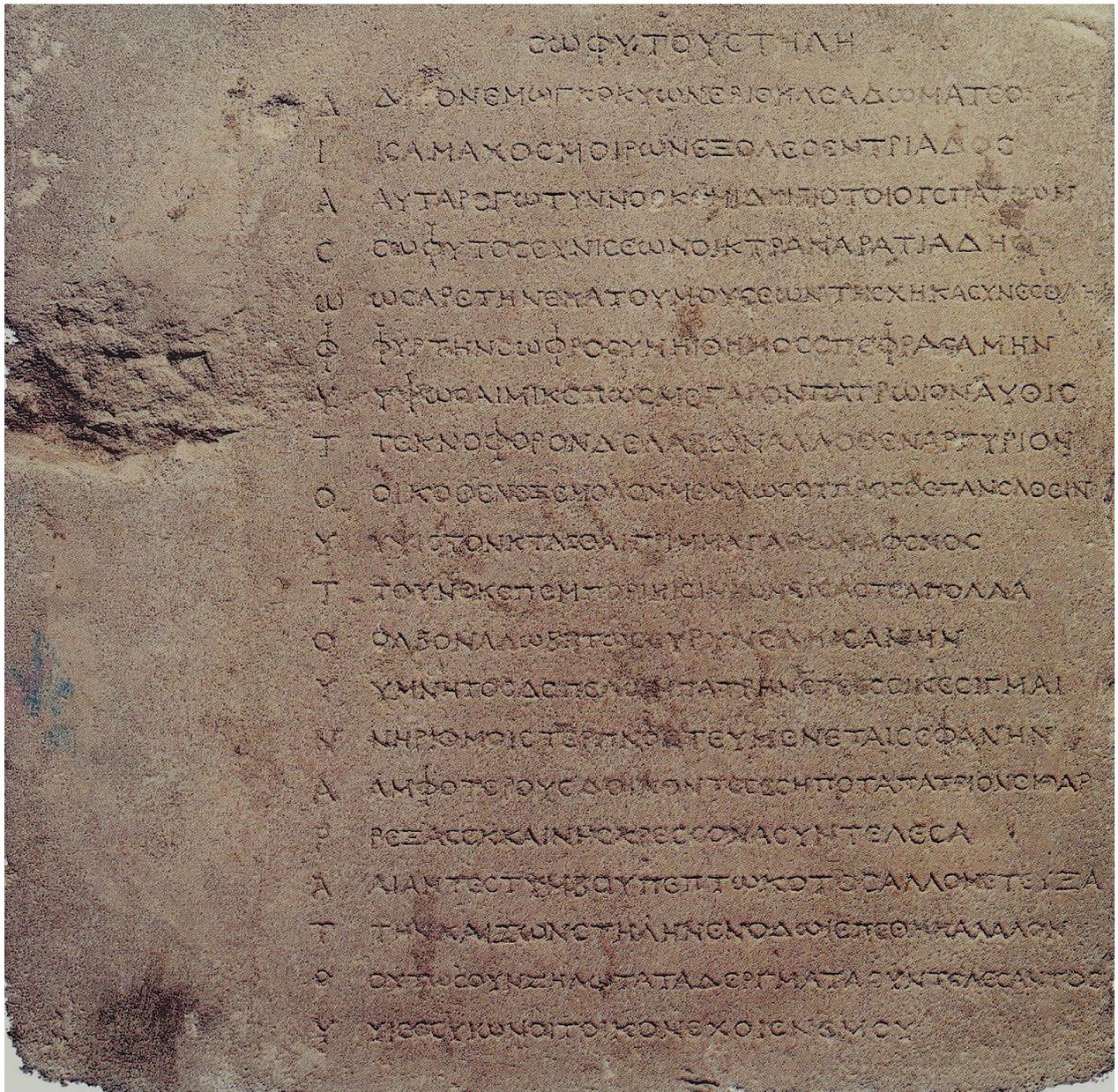
Menedemos to Apollodoros and the magistrates of the city of Laodicea, greetings. Appended above is [the] copy of the (25) edict sent to us in writing [by the king]. Do you therefore conform to the instructions given and see to it that the edict is inscribed on a stone stele and (30) set up in the most 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.

2ND C BCE ? – Alexandria-in-Arachosia (Kandahar) (?)

SEG 2004.1568

EPITAPH OF (THE ‘SILK ROAD’ MERCHANT?) SŌPHYTUS

JE 105, CII 2/1 84



The Stele of Sōphytos (now in private collection)
 (Photo: P. Bernard)

Titl. Σωφύτου στήλη
 {Vertical capitals: Διὰ Σώφουτου τοῦ Ναρατοῦ}

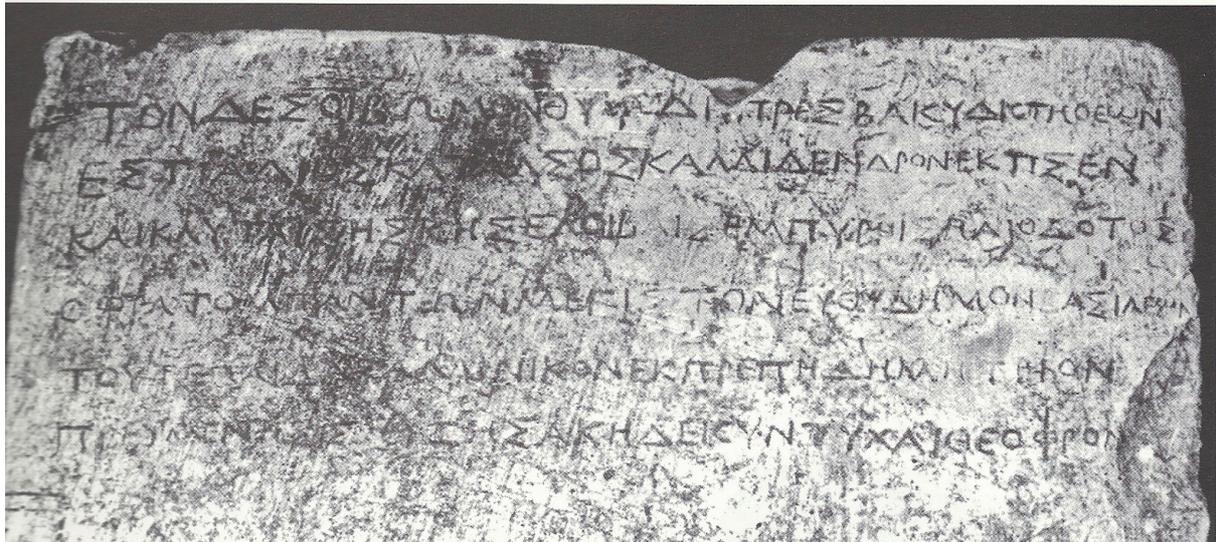
1. Δ δηρὸν ἐμῶν κοκυῶν ἐριθηλέα δώματ' ἐόντα
2. Ι ἴς ἄμαχος Μοιρῶν ἐξόλεσεν τριάδος·
3. Α αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ, τυννὸς κομιδῆς βιότιό τε πατρῶν
4. Σ Σώφουτος εὖνις ἔων οἰκτρὰ Ναρατιάδης,
5. Ω ὡς ἀρετὴν Ἑκάτου Μουσέων τ' ἥσχηκα σὺν ἐσθλῆι
6. Φ φυρτὴν σωφροσύνηι, θῆμος ἐπεφρασάμην
7. Υ ὑψώσαιμί κε πῶς μέγαρον πατρῷον αὖθις·
8. Τ τεκνοφόρον δὲ λαβῶν ἄλλοθεν ἀργύριον
9. Ο οἴκοθεν ἐξέμολον μεμαῶς οὐ πρόσθ' ἐπανελθεῖν
10. Υ ὕψιστον κτᾶσθαι πρὶμ μ' ἀγαθῶν ἄφενος·
11. Τ τοῦνεκ' ἐπ' ἐμπορίησιν ἰὼν εἰς ἄστεα πολλὰ
12. Ο ὄλβον ἀλωβήτως εὐρὺν ἐληισάμην.
13. Υ ὕμνητὸς δὲ πέλων πάτρην ἐτέεσσι ἐσίγμαι
14. Ν νηρίθμοις τερπνός τ' εὐμενέταις ἐφάνην·
15. Α ἀμφοτέρους δ' οἰκόν τε σεσηπότα πάτριον εἶθαρ
16. Ρ ῥέξας ἐκ καινῆς κρέσσονα συντέλεσα·
17. Α αἰάν τ' ἔς τύμβου πεπτωκότος ἄλλον ἔτευξα·
18. Τ τὴν καὶ ζῶν στήλην ἐν ὁδῶι ἐπέθηκα λάλον.
19. Ο οὕτως οὖν ζηλωτὰ τάδ' ἔργματα συντελέσαντος
20. Υ υἰέες υἰώνοι τ' οἶκον ἔχοιεν ἐμοῦ

The stele of Sōphytus
 (This was made) by Sophytus
 the son of Naratus

A long time ago the unconquerable strength of the three Muses destroyed the flourishing house of my ancestors. But I, Sōphytus, 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 countless 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

Photograph of the part of the inscribed part of the stone. (Photo: *CII 2/1*, Fig. 151)

τόνδε σοι βωμόν θυώδη, πρέσβα κυδίστη θεῶν
 Ἑστία, Διὸς κατ' ἄλσος καλλίδενδρον ἔκτισεν
 καὶ κλυταῖς ἤσκησε λοιβαῖς ἐμπύροις Ἡλιόδοτος,
 ὄφρα τὸμ πάντων μέγιστον Εὐθύδημον βασιλέων
 5 τοῦ τε παῖδα καλλίνικον ἐκπρεπῆ Δημήτριον
 πρευμενῆς σώϊζης ἀκηδεῖ σὺν τύχαι θεόφρον[ας]

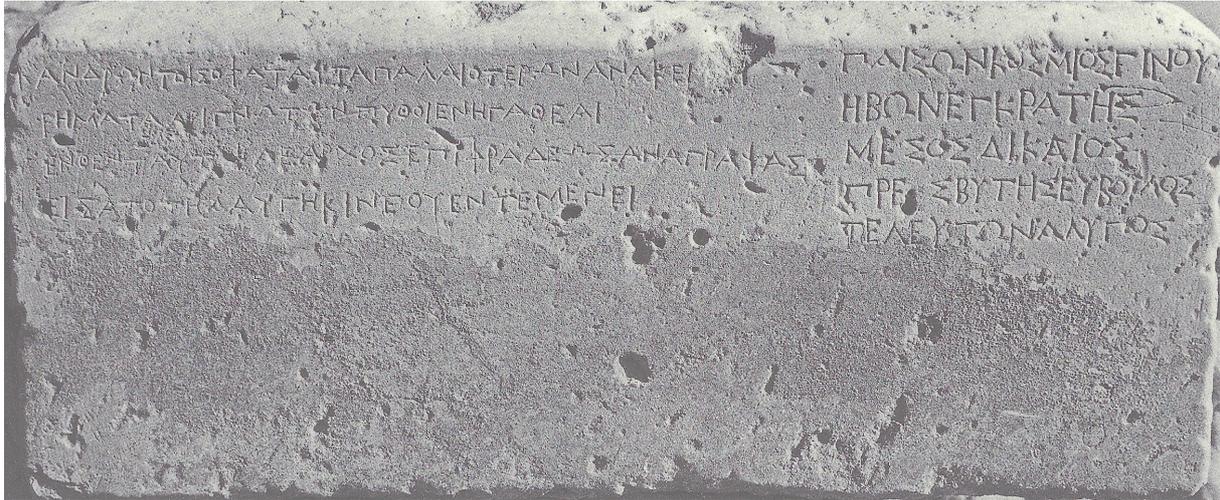
Heliidotus raised this smoky altar for you, O Hestia, most esteemed guardian of the gods, in the lush glade of Zeus, and honoured it with splendid libations and sacrifices, so that you might graciously guard Euthydemus, the greatest of all kings, and his outstanding son Demetrius, of glorious victory,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

2ND C BCE ? – Aī Khanoum

CII 2/1 97

EPIGRAM AND DELPHIC MAXIMS

JE 103 A and B; IEOG 382



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

{To the left of the stone}:

ἀνδρῶν τοι σοφὰ ταῦτα παλαιότερων ἀνάκει[ται]
 ῥήματα ἀριγνώτων Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέαι·
 ἔνθεν ταῦτ[α] Κλέαρχος ἐπιφραδέως ἀναγράψας
 εἶσατο τηλαυγῆ Κινέου ἐν τεμένει.

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, *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the death of Kleopatra VII* (Cambridge, 1985) No. 67, p. 69)

{To the right of the stone}:

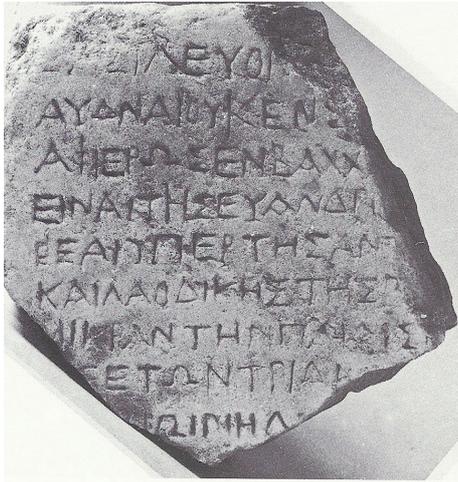
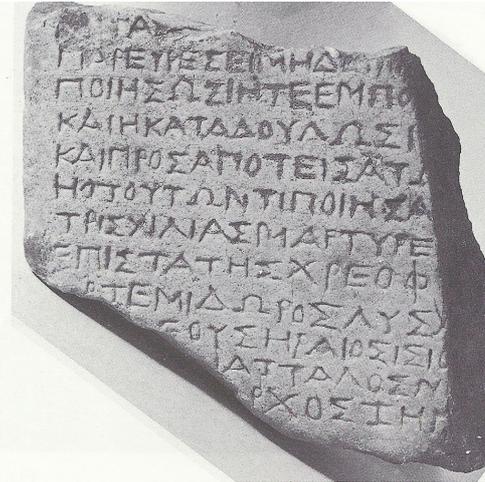
παῖς ὦν κόσμιος γίνου
 ἡβῶν ἐγκρατής
 μέσος δίκαιος
 πρεσβύτης εὐβουλος
 5 τελευτῶν ἄλυπος

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, *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 17Photo Left: Lines 1-9 (Photo: *CII*, Fig. 17.1)Photo right: Lines 10ff. (Photo: *CII*, Fig. 17.2)

βασιλεύοντος [Ἀντιόχου, ἔτους ..' καὶ ρ', μηνὸς]
 Αὐδναίου κ', ἐν Σ[ελευκεΐαι τῆι πρὸς τῶι
 Εὐλαίωι]
 ἀφιέρωσεν Βάχχι[ος {²τοῦ δεῖνος}² φάμενος(?)]
 εἶναι τῆς Εὐάνδρου [ἱππαρχίας, Ναναΐαι]
 5 θεᾶι ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀντιόχου βασιλέως σωτηρίας
 καὶ Λαοδίκης τῆς τ[οῦ βασιλέως γυναικὸς]
 Μικρὰν τὴν παιδίσ[κην αὐτοῦ]
 [ὥ]ς ἐτῶν τριά[κοντα, καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω]
 [Βαχ]χίωι μὴδὲ [ἄλλωι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴδενί]
 10 καταδ[ουλώσασθαι αὐτὴν τρόπωι μὴδενί μὴδὲ]
 παρευρέσει μὴδεμι[ᾶ· ἐὰν δέ τι τούτων]
 ποιήσωσι, ἢ τε ἐμπο[ίησις καὶ ἡ ἀπαγωγή]
 καὶ ἡ καταδούλωσι[ς ἄκυροι ἔστωσαν]
 καὶ προσαποτεισάτω [τῆι θεᾶι Βάχχιος]
 15 ἢ ὁ τούτων τι ποιήσα[ς ἀργυρίου δραχμᾶς]
 τρισχιλίας. μάρτυρες {²ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος}²
 ἐπιστάτης, χρεοφ[ύλακες· {²ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος}²]
 [Ἀ]ρτεμίδωρος Λυσα[νίου, {²ὁ δεῖνα —}²]-
 [— —]έους, Ἡραῖος Ἰσιδ[ώρου, {²ὁ δεῖνα}²]
 20 [— — —]ου, Ἄτταλος Νο[— — —]
 [— — —]α]ρχος Ζην[— — —]

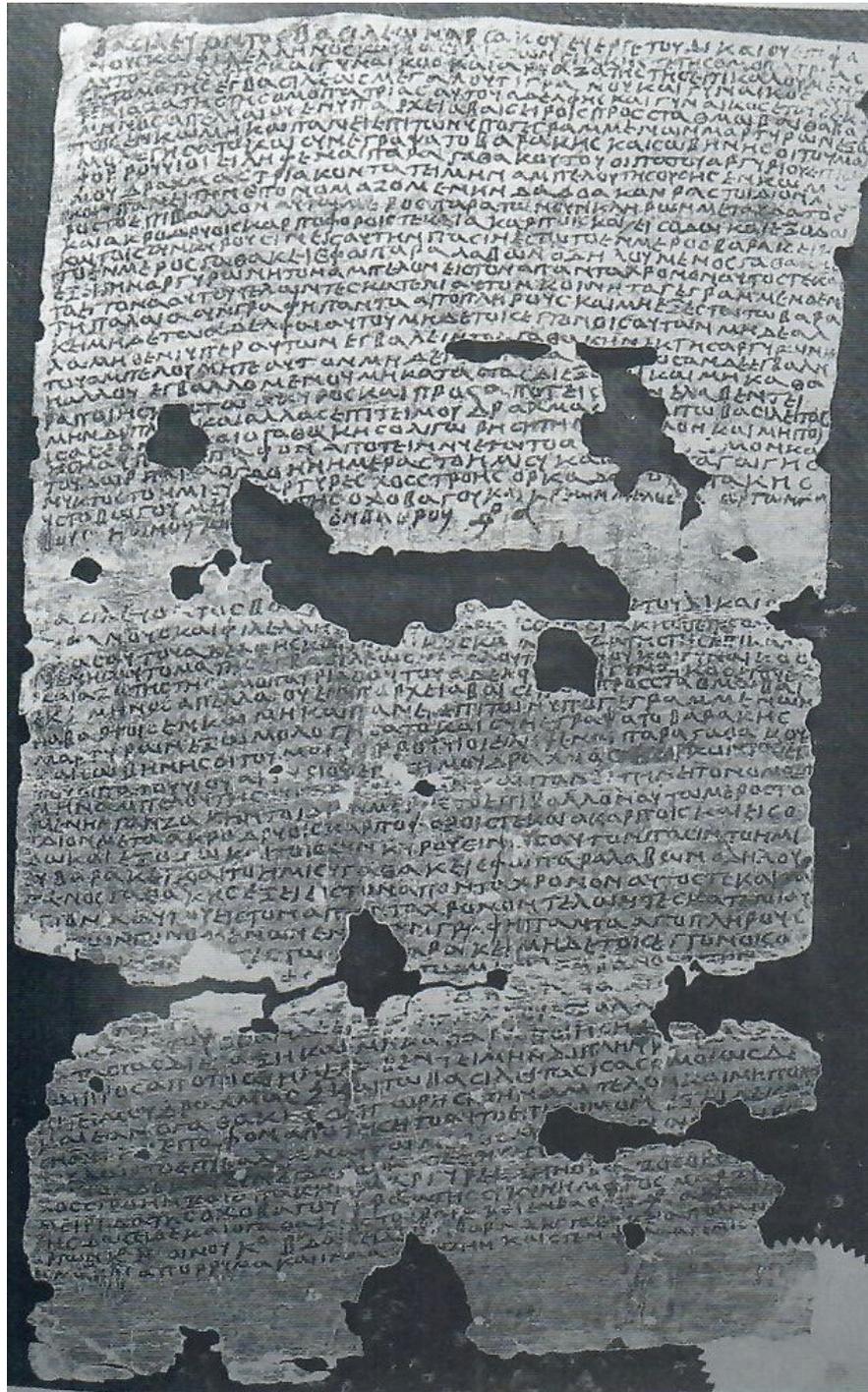
In the reign of [Antiochos, in the year one hundred and ..., in the month] Audnaios the 20th [day], in S[eleukeia-by-the Eulaios], Baachios, [son of ..., declaring] himself to be in [the ...] of Euandros, has dedicated to the goddess [Nanaya], [⁵ for the preservation of Anti[ochos the king] and of Laodikē 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] [¹⁰ 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] [¹⁵ 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, Arthemidorus, son of Lysanios, [... son of ...], Heraios son of Isidoros, [... son of ...], Attalos son of No[...], [?Ne]archos son of Zēn[ōn ?...]]

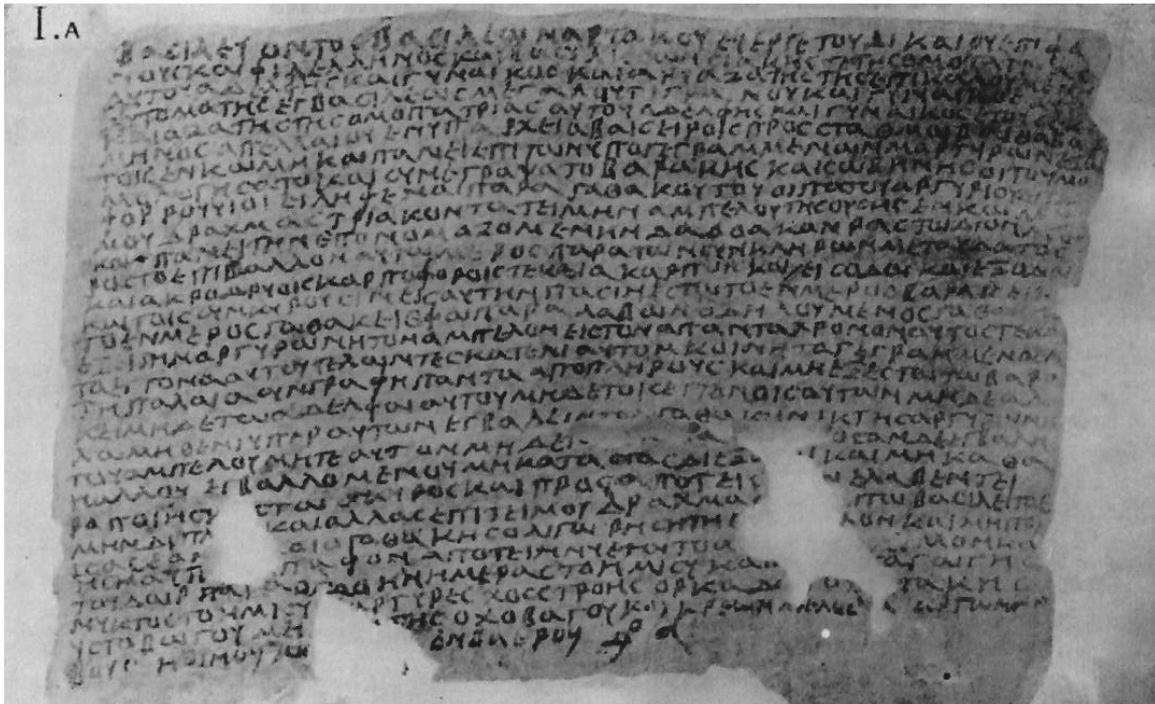
88 BCE & 22BCE – Avroman, Media (Kuh-i-Sálán, Kurdistan)

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. βασιλεύοντος βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου
δικαίου ἐπιφα-
2. νοῦς καὶ φιλέλληνος, καὶ βασιλισσῶν Σιάκης
τε τῆς ὀμοπατρίας
3. αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ Ἀρσαζάτης
τῆς ἐπικαλουμένη[ς]
4. Αὐτομὰ τῆς ἐγ βασιλείως μεγάλου Τιγράνου
καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτ[οῦ]
- 5 καὶ Ἀζάτης τῆς ὀμοπατρίας αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς καὶ
γυναικὸς, ἔτους εκσ'
6. μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου, ἐν ὑπαρχείᾳ Βαισείροις
πρὸς σταθμῶ Βαιθαβαρ-
7. τοις ἐν κώμῃ Κωπάνει, ἐπὶ τῶν
ὑπογεγραμμένων μαρτύρων, ἐξω-
8. μολογήσατο καὶ συνεγράψατο Βαράκης καὶ
Σωβήνης οἱ τοῦ Μαι-
9. φόρρου υἱοί, εἰληφέναι παρα Γαθάκου τοῦ
Οἰπάτου ἀργυρίου ἐπισή-
10. μου δραχμὰς τριάκοντα, τεμὴν ἀμπέλου τῆς
οὔσης ἐν κώμῃ
11. Κωπάνει τὴν ἐπονομαζομένην Δαδβακανράς,
τὸ ἴδιον μέ-
12. ρος, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος παρὰ τῶν
συνκλήρων μετὰ ὕδατος
13. καὶ ἀκροδρύοις καρποφόροις τε καὶ ἀκάρποις
καὶ εἰσόδῳ καὶ ἐξόδῳ

In the reign of Arsacēs, king of kings, the benefactor, the just, the manifest one, the philhellene, and Queens Siace his sister (sprung of the same father) and wife, and Aryazatē also named Automa, the daughter of Tigranēs, the great king, and of his wife, and (5) Azate his sister (sprung of the same father) and wife: in Year 225,¹¹ 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. Baracēs and Sobēnes, sons of Maiphorrēs, acknowledge and agree that they have received from Gathaces son of Oipatēs (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 vines¹² 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 ἀκροδρύοις, literally 'fruit-trees': the word can mean vines (Theophrastus *History of Plants* 4.4.11).

14. καὶ τοῖς συνκύρουσιν εἰς αὐτὴν πᾶσιν· ἔστω
τὸ ἐν μέρος Βαράκει κ[αί]
15 τὸ ἐν μέρος Γαθάκει, ἐφ' ᾧ παραλαβῶν ὁ
δηλούμενος Γαθάκης
16. ἔξει τὴν ἀργυρώνητον ἄμπελον εἰς τὸν
ἅπαντα χρόνον, αὐτός τε καὶ
17. τὰ ἔγγονα αὐτοῦ, τελῶντες κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν
κοινῇ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν
18. τῇ παλαιᾷ συγγραφῇ πάντα ἀπὸ πλήρους, καὶ
μὴ ἐξέστω τῷ Βαρά-
19. κει, μηδὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ τοῖς
ἐγγόνοις αὐτῶν, μηδὲ ἄλ-
20. λω μηθεὶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἐγβαλεῖν τὸν Γαθάκην
ἐκ τῆς ἀργυρώνη-
21. του ἀμπέλου, μήτε αὐτόν, μηδὲ τὰ [ἐγ]γο[v]α
α[ὐτοῦ]· ὅς ἂν δὲ ἐγβάλῃ,
22. ἢ ἄλλου ἐγβαλλομένου μὴ καταστάς
διεξά[ξι]η, καὶ μὴ καθα-
23. ρὰ ποιήσῃ, [ἔ]σται ἄκυρος καὶ
προσαποτεῖσ[ει ἢ]ν ἔλαβεν τει-
24. μὴν διπλ[ῆ]ν καὶ ἄλλας ἐπιτείμου δραχμὰς [σ'
κα]ὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς
25. ἴσας· ἐὰν [δὲ κ]αὶ ὁ Γαθάκης ὀλιγορήσῃ τὴν
[ἄμπε]λον καὶ μὴ ποι-
26. ἦσῃ αὐτῇ[v] ἔπαφον, ἀποτειννέτω τὸ α[ὐτὸ
ἐπί]τειμον· κα[ὶ]
27. τὸ ὕδωρ παρα ὀγδόῃν ἡμέρας τὸ ἥμισυ καὶ
[τῆς ἐ]παγωγῆς
28. νυκτὸς τὸ ἥμισυ· μάρτυρες, Χοσστρόης
Ὀρκαδάτου, [Α]πάκης
29. Ὑστροβάγου, Μει[ριδ]άτης Ὀχοβάγου. καὶ
κρεῶν λ[ίτραι] ε', ἔλος α', ἄρτων κ[οτύλαι] ν',
30. βοῦς ἡ', οἴνου κ[οτύλαι] [β' καὶ] ἐνβάθρου
δρ[αχμῆ] α'

Let one part belong to Baracēs and (15) one part to Gathaces, on condition that the said Gathaces 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 Gathaces 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 Gathacēs 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

1. βασιλεύοντος βα[σι]λ[έων] Ἀρσ[ά]κ[ο]υ
ερῦεργ[έ]του δικαί[ο]υ
2. [ἐ]πιφανοῦς καὶ φιλέλλη[νος, καὶ β]ασιλισσῶν
Σιάκης τε τῆς ὀμ[οπα]-
3. τρίας αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς καὶ γυναικὸς κα[ὶ]
Ἀ[ρ]υα[ζ]άτης τῆς ἐπικαλ[ο]υ-
4. μένης Αὐτομά τῆς ἐγ βασιλέως μεγάλου
Τ[ι]γρά[νου] κα[ὶ] γυναικὸς, ἔτους
5. καὶ Ἀζάτης τῆς ὀμοπατρίας αὐτοῦ ἀδελφ[ῆς]
καὶ γυναικὸς, ἔτους ἐκσ' μηνὸς
6. ἐκ Σ' μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ἐν ὑπαρχείᾳ
Βαισεῖροι[ς] πρὸς σταθμῷ Βαι-

In the reign of Arsacēs, king of kings, the benefactor, the just, the manifest one, the philhellene, 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

¹³ Seleucid Era, so that Year 225 is 311BC minus 225: 87/6 BC.

7. θαβαρτοις ἐν κώμη Κωπάνει, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων
8. μαρτύρων, ἐξωμολογήσατο καὶ συνεγράψατο Βαράκης
9. καὶ Σωβήνης οἱ τοῦ Μαιφόρρου υἱοί, εἰληφέναι παρα Γαθάκου
10. τοῦ Οἰπάτου ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου δραχμὰς τριά {*altered to* τεσσαρ^a} κοντα, τει-
11. μὴν ἀμπέλου τῆς οὔσης ἐν κ[ώμ]ῃ Κωπάνει τὴν ἐπονομαζο-
12. μένην Γανζακὴν, τὸ ἴδιον μέρος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ τὸ
13. ἴδιον μετὰ ἀκροδρῦοις καρποφόροις τε καὶ ἀκάρποις καὶ εἰσό-
14. δω καὶ ἐξόδω καὶ τοῖς συνκύρουσιν εἰς αὐτὴν πᾶσιν· τὸ ἥμι-
15. συ Βαράκει καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ Γαθάκει, ἐφ' ᾧ παραλαβὼν ὁ δηλοῦ-
16. μενος Γαθάκης ἔξει εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, αὐτός τε καὶ τὰ
17. ἔγγονα αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, τελῶντες κατ' ἐνιαυ-
18. [τὸν] τῶν γινομένων ἐν ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ πάντα ἀπὸ πλήρους
19. [κοινῇ ?], καὶ μ[ὴ] ἐ]ξέστω [τῷ Β]αράκει, μηδὲ τῷ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐ-
20. [τοῦ, μηδὲ τῷ ἀδελ]φῷ [μηδὲ], τῷ μεταλαμβάνοντι τὴν ἄ[μ]-
21. [πελο]ν [παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐγβ]αλε[ῖν μηδὲ τὸν] Γαθάκη[ν μηδὲ τὰ]
22. [ἔγγο]να αὐτοῦ· ὅς ἂν δὲ ἐγβά[λ]ῃ, ἢ ἄλλου ἐγβαλλ[ομένου μὴ]
23. [κ]αταστάς διεξάξῃ, καὶ μὴ καθαρὰ ποιήσῃ, ἔ[σ]τα[ι] ἄκυρος]
24. [κ]αὶ προσαποτεῖσει ἢν ἔλαβεν τειμὴν διπλὴν κ[α]ὶ ἄλλα[ς ἐ]-
25. πιτείου δραχμὰς Σ' καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς ἴσας· ὁμοίως δὲ
26. καὶ ἐὰν ὁ Γαθάκης ὀλιγορήσῃ τὴν ἄμπελον καὶ μὴ ποιῇ-
27. σῇ αὐτὴν ἔπαφον, ἀποτεῖσει τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπίτειμον· ἔξει δὲ καὶ
28. τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος μ[ετὰ τῷ]ν συν[κλ]ήρω[ν].
29. ἐγγυον δὲ καὶ συνέγδοτον κατέστησεν [Βαράκης καὶ Σωβήνης]
30. Χοστρόης καὶ Ἀπάκη· μάρτυρες, Δηνόβαζος Ορο[. . .],
31. Μειριδάτης Ὀχοβάγου, Φραάτης Συκυνήματος, Μαρζυ[. . .]
32. ρης. δώσει δὲ καὶ ὁ Γαθάκης τῷ Βαράκει ἐνβάθροθ δρ. α', κρεῶν εκ (?)[. . .] (*inter lineas*) κ[. . .]κε, [β]ους ἡ (?)

the station of Baithabarta, in the village of Copanis, before the witnesses listed below. Baracēs and Sobenēs, sons of Maiphorrēs, acknowledge and agree that they have received from Gathacēs (10) son of Oipatēs ~~thir~~forty¹⁴ 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 Gathacēs, on condition that the said Gathacēs when he takes possession shall have his vineyard for all time, 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 Gathacēs 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.

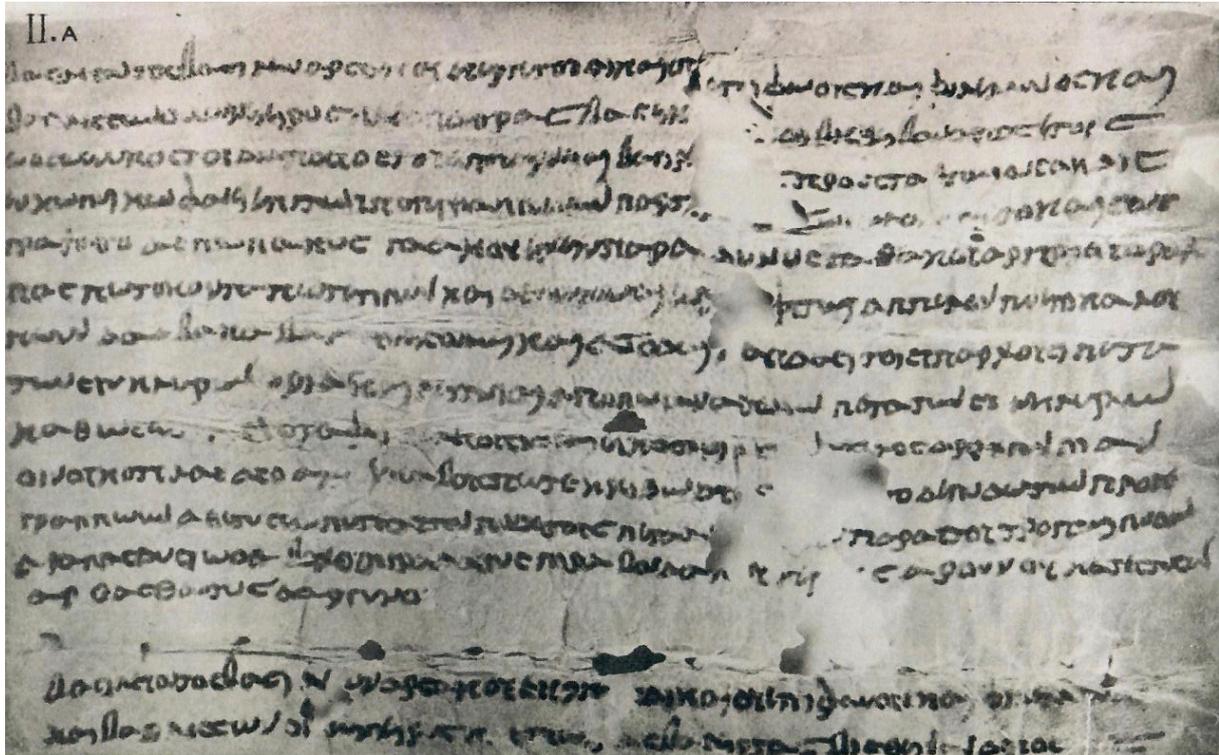
And similarly if Gathacēs neglects the vineyard and does not keep the vines correctly tied up, he shall pay the same fine. And he shall have water, the share which falls to him together with the owners of neighbouring lots.

[Baracēs and Sobenes] appointed as jointly-responsible guarantors (30) Chosstroes and Apaces. Witnesses:
Denobazos son of Oro[...]
Meiridates son of Ochobagēs
Phraates son of Sycynema, Marzy[...]rēs
And Gathacēs shall give Baracēs
one drachma for real-estate purchase tax
Meat [...] κ [....] κε eight oxen, fifty units of

¹⁴ Purchase price change from thirty to forty drachmas in the open document but not in the closed version.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>33. ἄρτων κ' ν', οἴνου κ' β'· δώσει δὲ καὶ
 Βαράκης Γαθάκει ἀπὸ λην[οῦ τὸ]
 (inter lineas) κα-</p> <p>34. ρύμα καὶ ἀπόρρυμα καὶ ἰνδα κ(?)[. .]νζην καὶ
 στέμφ[υ]λα ἀγέμιστ[α].</p> | <p>bread, two units of wine
 And Baracēs shall give Gathacēs from the wine-
 press the must and the runoff and (34) the <i>inda</i>
 and the ... and the grapes which have not yet
 been loaded (into the press). (tr. P. McKechnie)</p> |
|---|--|

PARHCMENT II (22/21 BCE)



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 v is thoroughly Ptolemaic, also the very shallow μ. The man writes -ων (and -αν in e.g. ἐπιφανοῦς) 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 κληρων, l. 8 (twice), but mostly the second curve over; e too is often very negligent. The linking of the v in γειτνία, A 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 ι on to the following in many Ptolemaic hands. The table shows how β, δ, θ, ι, ρ, υ and φ were incapable of really joining on to the letter following, exceptions are θη, θμ, ρω and υν: 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 v. This latter only once occurs in the complete elsewhere it is either v 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,

PARCHMENT II A (22-21 BCE)

1. βασιλεύοντος βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου
δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ φιλέλληνος, καὶ
2. βασιλισσῶν Ὀλεννεϊρείρης, Κλεοπάτρας,
Βασείρτα[ς] καὶ Βισθειβάναπος, ἔτους
3. ἐνὸς ἐνενηκοστοῦ διακοσιοστοῦ, ἐν ὑπαρχείᾳ
Βασίρ[α]ροῖς πρὸς σταθμῶν Δησακδῖς
4. ἐν κώμῃ Κωφάνει, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων
μαρτύρων], ἐξωμολογήσατο καὶ συνε-
5. γράψατο Ἀσπομάκης Γαάκου ἔχειν παρὰ
Δήνης Γαθάκου ἀργυρίου δραχ-
6. μᾶς πεντήκοντα πέντε τιμῆν, καὶ δεδωκέναι ἐν
ψ[ειλο]φύτῳ ἄμπελον τὴν ἐπικαλου-
7. μένην Δαδβακαβάγ σὺν εἰσόδῳ καὶ ἐξόδῳ καὶ
ὑδάσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μετὰ
8. τῶν συνκλήρων· ὄρια καὶ γειτνία ἀπὸ τῶν
ἀνατολῶν μετὰ τῶν συνκλήρων
9. καθὼς ἐν τ[ῆ]ι συγγραφῇ· τελέσουσι δὲ αἰεὶ
κατ' ἐνιαυτ[ὸ]ν σκέλος δραχμῆν μίαν,
10. οἴνου κοτύλας δύο, ἄρτ[ω]ν κα', βοῦς πέντε,
κρειθῶν δύο· ὑπ[έ]σχετο δὲ μηδὲ τῶν προγε-
11. γραμμένων ἀθετήσῃν, μήτε αὐτόν, μηδὲ τοὺς
μεταλα[μβάνον]τας παρ' αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ
μηδενί.
12. Ἀραμάσδης Ἰωδαβοχθ<ο>υ, Μιραδάτης
Μιραβανδάκου, Γερ[ί]κης Ἀρδήνου·
κατέστησεν
13. Ἀρθασθάτης Δαργήνου·

In the reign of Arsacēs, king of kings, the benefactor, the just, the manifest one, the philhellene, and Queens Olenneieirē, Cleopatra, Baseirta, Bistheibanaps: in Year 291.¹⁵ [Agreement made] in the hyparchy of Basiraora, at the station of Desacdis, in the village of Cophanis, before the witnesses listed below.

(5) Aspomaces son of Gaacēs acknowledges and agrees that he has [received] from Dēnē¹⁶ daughter of Gathacēs a price of fifty five drachmas in silver and has given [her¹⁷] 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 (αὐτόν) 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 Iodabochthēs, Miradatēs son of Mirabandakēs, Gericēs son of Ardēnēs. (13) She appointed Arthas-thatēs son of Dargēnes [as guarantor].

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 αὐτοῦ and αὐτόν 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 Petearsemtheus (m.), the seller, whom (ἦν) Sennesis (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]ὐτῷ) is used.

PARCHMENT II B

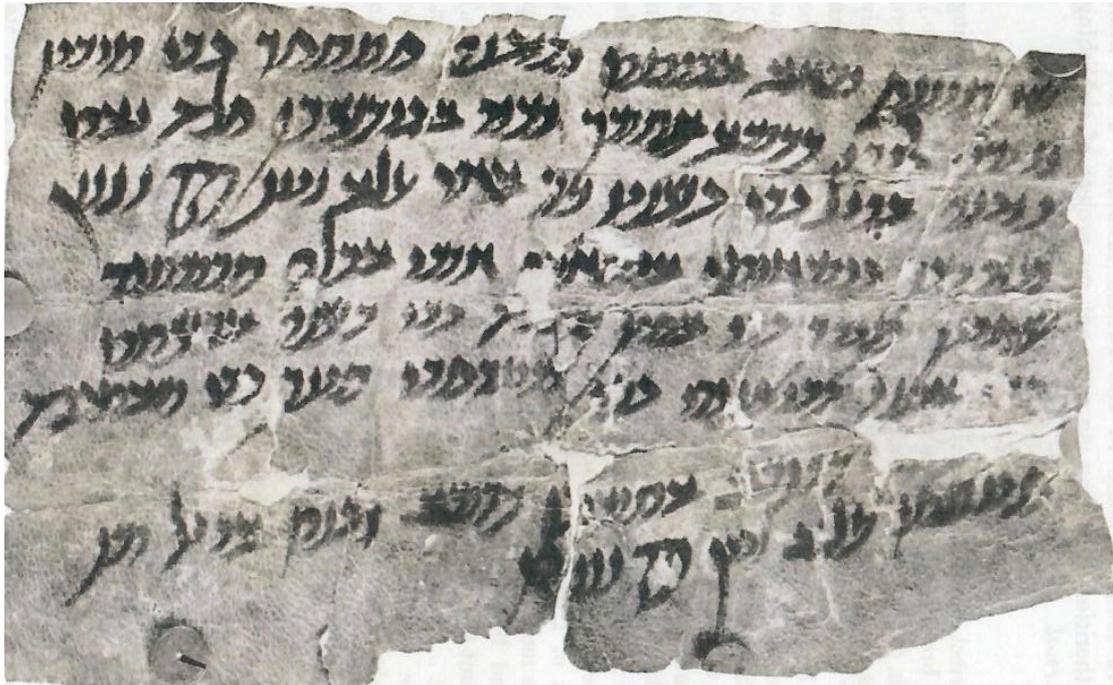
1. βασιλεύοντος βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτ[ο]υ
δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ φιλέλληνας,
2. καὶ βασιλισσῶν Ὀλεννεϊρείης, Κ[λ]εοπάτρας,
Βασείρας, Βισθειβάναπος, [ἔτο]υς
3. ἐνὸς ἐνενηκοστοῦ διακοσιοστοῦ, ἐν κώμῃ
Κωφάνει ἐν ὑπαρχείᾳ Βα[σ]ιραόροις
4. πρὸς σ[τα]θμῶι Δησακδίδοις, ἐπὶ τῶν
ὑπογεγραμμένων μαρτύρων, ἐξωμο-
5. λογήσατο καὶ συνεγράψατο Ἀσπωμάκης
Γαάκου ἔχε[ιν] παρὰ Δήνης
6. τοῦ Γαθάκου ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πενήκοντα
πέντε, καὶ δ[εδ]ωκένα [α]ὐτῶι
7. ἄμπελον ἐν ψειλοφύτῳι τ[ῆ]ν ἐπικαλουμ[έν]ην
Δαδβακαβὰγ [σὺν] εἰσόδοι καὶ
8. ἐξόδοι καὶ ὕ[δ]ρασι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μετὰ [τῶν
συν]κλήρων· ὄρια καὶ γεινῖαι
9. καθὼς ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ συγγραφῇ·
τελ[έ]σου[σιν] δ' ἐ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐμβάθρου
10. δραχμὴν ἄρτων κα', βοῦς πέντε, σκέλος
δραχμὴν μίαν σκέλος. βεβαιωτῆν
11. δὲ κατέστησεν Ἀσθάτην Δαργήνου· ὅς κ[αὶ]
πάρω]ν ἐξωμολογήσατο βεβαι<ώσειν>
12. δύο κοτύλας προγεγραμμένας· ἐξάξοντα[ι] δ'
ὁ τε πεπρακὼς καὶ ὁ βεβαι<ω>-
13. τῆς, ἐάν τις ἐμποιήθῃ τῆς πεπραμμένης
ἄμπελου τρόπῳι μηδενὶ μηδε-
14. νὶ μηδὲ παρευρέσει μηδεμιᾶ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν τε
ἀθέτησιν εἶναι αὐτὴν ἀκύρην
15. καὶ τὸν ἀθετήσαντα ἐκτείσειν ἄνευ δίκης καὶ
κρίσεως δραχμὰς
16. δθαξισίας καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τὰς ἴσας·
μάρτυρες, Ἀραμάσδης
17. Ἰωδαβοχθου, Γερίκης Ἀρδήνου, Μιραδάτης
Μιραβανδάκου

In the reign of Arsacēs, king of kings, the benefactor, the just, the manifest one, the philhellene, and Queens Olenneieire, Cleopatra, Basairta, Bistheibanaps: in Year 291¹⁸ [Agreement made] in the village of Cophanis, in the hyparchy of Basiraora, 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 ([α]ὐτῶ) 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 [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: Aramasdēs son of (17) Iodabochthēs, Gericēs, Miradates son of Mirabandacēs.

¹⁸ Seleucid Era, so that Year 291 is 311BC minus 291: 20 BC.

PARCHMENT III



1. ŠNT IIIC YRH' 'rwt MZBNW ptspk BRY tyryn
2. ZY MN brkn (?) KRM' 'smk MH 'bykškn PLG y't
3. WZBNW 'wyl BRY bšnyn KZY 'HY KL' ZWZN XXX/XXX -two lines- IIII
4. MH MN bwmḥwt[y] (?) 't. ḥ(r)w ḥmy 'KLW QDMTH
5. ŠHDYN tyrk BRY 'pyn (m..g) BRY ršnw 'ršt
6. B(RY) 'bny grypnhy B(RY) mtrpry synk BRY m'tbwg
7. [] (.) KRM' 'smkn KRM' ZBNt 'wyl MN
8. ptspk (K)L' ZWZN XXX/XXX -two lines- IIII

In the year 300 (= 53 CE) in the month of (H)arwata. (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 *Abīkašakan*. And (the buyer is) Awyl son of Bšnyn, as long as I live, fo[r] 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, Grypnhy son of Mtrpry, Synk son of Matbog., [.....] vineyard, Awyl bought the vineyard of Asmakān from Ptspk for a total of 65 drahms. (tr. P.O. Skjærvo)¹⁹

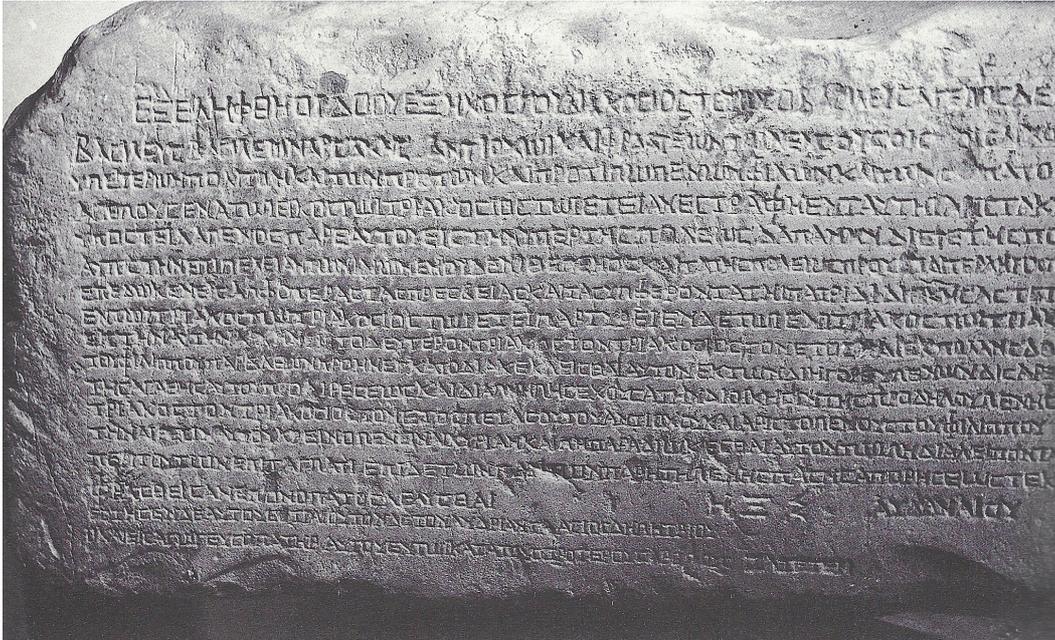
¹⁹ P. O. Skjærvo, 'Aramaic in Iran' in *Palmyra and the Palmyrenes*, *Aram Periodical* 7 (Leuven, 1995) 290.

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

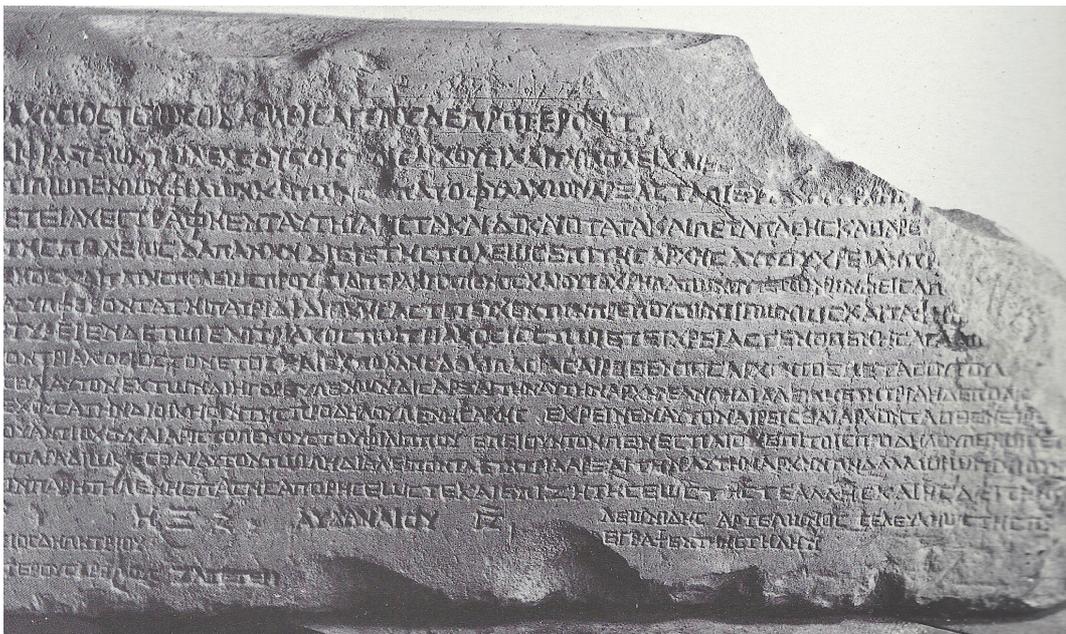
SEG 7.1

LETTER OF KING ARSACES TO SELEUKEIA-ON-THE-EULAIOS (SUSA)

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



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)

ἐξελήφθη ὀγδόου ἐξηκοστοῦ διακοσιοστοῦ, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγει, ὡς δὲ πρότερον τρι[ίτου τριακοστοῦ τριακοσιοστοῦ].
 βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀρσάκης Ἀντιόχου καὶ Φραάτει ὄντιον ἐν Σούσις [τ]οῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ πόλει χαίρει[iv. ἐπειδὴ Ἑστιαῖος Ἀσίου τῶν]
 ὑμετέρων πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν πρώτων καὶ προτιμωμένων φίλων[iv καὶ τῶν σ[ω]ματοφυλάκων, ἄρξας ταμει[τικὴν] ἀρχή[iv ἐν τῷ κατὰ τοὺς προτέρους]
 ἀριθμοὺς ἐνάτῳ εἰκοστῷ τριακοσιοστῷ ἔτει, ἀνεστράφη ἐν ταύτῃ ἄριστα καὶ δικαιοτάτα καὶ μετὰ πάσης καθαρε[ιότητος, μηδὲν ἀνάλωμα]
 5 ὑποστειλόμενος παρ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως δαπάνην, δις τε τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ χρεῖαν προ[εσβευτοῦ ἐχοῦσης πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰς — — —],
 αὐτὸς, τὴν ἐπιμελείαν τῶν ἰδίων ἐν οὐδενὶ θέμενος καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως προὐργιαίτερα ἡγούμενος, καὶ οὔτε χρημάτων οὔτε πόνων φεισάμ[ενος ἀπροφασίστως ἑαυτὸν]
 ἐπεδέδωκεν εἰς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς πρεσβείας καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι διωικήσας τέτευχεν τῶν πρεπουσῶν τιμῶν, ὡς καὶ τὰ ψηφ[ίσματα τὰ γενομένα περὶ αὐτοῦ]
 ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ τριακοσιοστῷ ἔτει μαρτυρεῖ· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐνὶ τριακοστῷ τριακοσιοστῷ ἔτει, χρεῖας γενομένης ἀγα[θ]ο[ῦ] ἀνδρὸς προβληθέντος αὐτοῦ]
 εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὸ δεύτερον τριακοστὸν τριακοσιοστὸν ἔτο[ς] καὶ ἐκ πολλῆς δοκιμασίας αἰρεθέντος ἄρχοντος Πετάσου τοῦ Ἀ[ντιόχου καὶ Ἀριστομένου]
 10 τοῦ Φιλίππου, παρελθὼν προηγέκατο διακεκλειῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν διηγ[ο]ρευμένων δις ἄρξαι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐὰν μὴ διαλείπη ἔτη τρία· ἡ δὲ πόλις [ἀποδεξαμένη αὐτὸν] τῆς ἀγαθῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ διὰ μνήμης ἔχουσα τὴν διοίκησιν τῆς προδηλουμένης ἀρχῆς ἔκρινεν αὐτὸν αἰρεῖσθαι ἄρχοντα, ὅθεν εἰρέ[θη ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον]
 τριακοστὸν τριακοσιοστὸν ἔτος Πετάσου τοῦ Ἀντιόχου καὶ Ἀριστομένου τοῦ Φιλίππου· ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸν μὲν Ἑστιαῖον ἐπὶ τοῖς προδηλουμένοις ἐπ[η]τιάσαντό τινες], τὴν αἴρεσιν αὐτοῦ κρείνομεν εἶναι κυρίαν καὶ μὴ παραδιώκεσθαι αὐτὸν τῷ μὴ διαλείποντα ἔτη τρία ἄρξαι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν μηδ' ἄλλω ὠτινιούδ' ἐ[νο]χλεῖσθαι]
 περὶ τούτων ἐπιτάγματι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πά[ν]των παρητιμημένης πάσης ἀπορήσεώς τε καὶ ἐπιζητήσεως τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ ἧς δεῖ, τὴν π[ρό]φασιν καίπερ οὐ]

{Header} 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 Hestaios, 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] |⁵ 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], |¹⁰ 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, |¹⁰ son of Philip; therefore since [they unjustly charge] Hestaios 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 φρασθεῖσαν ἐπ' ὀνόματος λελύσθαι. ηξζ',
 Αὐδαναίου (*sic*) (*corr.* Αὐδυναίου) ιζ'.

Audanaios (*corr.* Audunaios) 17.

{*Below in small letters:*}

{*Left*} ἔστησεν δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἑστιαίου τόνδε τὸν
 ἀνδριάντα Ἄσιος Δημητρίου
 ὁ καὶ Εἰσαγωγεὺς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ κατὰ
 τοῦς
 προτέρος ἀριθμοῦς ζλτ' ἔτει

{*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*} Λεονίδης Ἀρτέμωνος Σελευκῆως τῆς
 πρ[ὸς τῷ Εὐλαίῳ] ἔγραψεν τῆν στήλην.

{*Right*} Leonidēs, son of Artemōn, citizen of
 Seleukeia-by-the Eulaios, inscribed the stele.

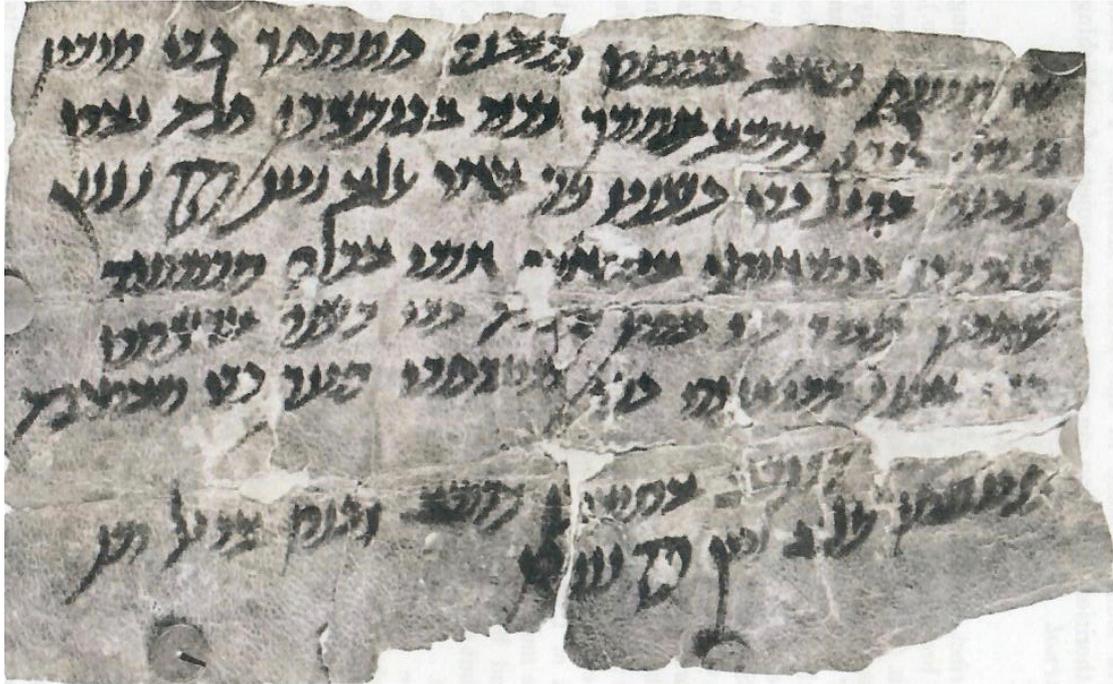
33 CE – Avroman, Media (Kuh-i-Sálán, Kurdistan)

JHS 1919, 202-03

SALE DOCUMENTS (PARTHIAN)

ARAM 1995, 290

PARCHMENT III (PARTHIAN)



Avroman Parchment III

1. šnt 3.100 yrh' 'rwtt mzbw *ptspk* bry *tyryn*
2. zy mn brkn (?) krm' 'smk mh 'bykškn plg y't
3. wzbw 'wyl bry *bšnyn* kzy 'hy kl' zwzn 20+20+20+1111
4. mh mn *bwmhwt[w]* (?) 't. h(r)w hmy 'klw qdmth
5. šhdyn tyrk bry'pyn (m..g) bry ršnw 'ršt
6. b(ry) 'bny grypnhy b(ry) mtrpny synk bry m'tbwg
7. [] (.) krm' 'smkn krm' zbnt 'wyl mn
8. *ptspk* kl' zwn 20+20+20+11111. (ed. Skjævo, p. 290)

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] fo[r] 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 Mihrfry, 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)

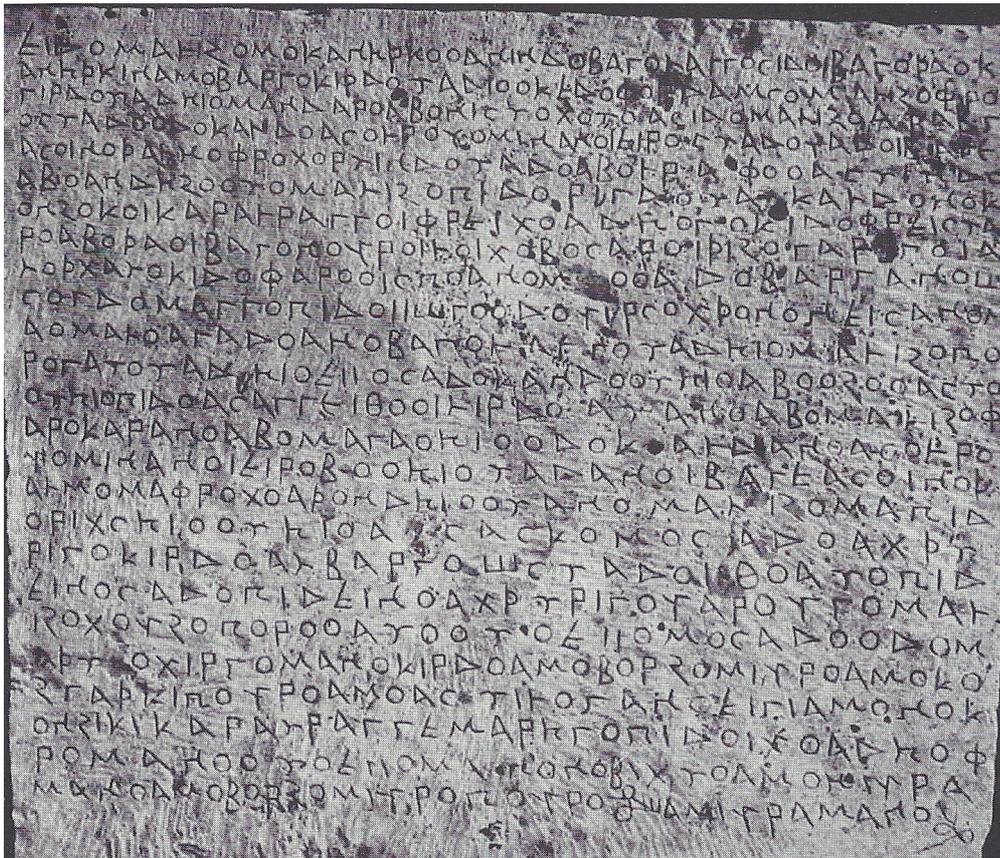
c. 80 CE – Bagolango (i.e. ‘Sanctuary’)
(Atashkadeh-ye Sorkh Kowtal near Baghlan)

IEOG 317

THE SURKH KOTAL INSCRIPTION IN BACTRIAN

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

(VERSION M)



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

{Bactrian text in Greek letters:}

ειδο μα λιζο μο κανηκκο οανινδο βαγολαγγο σιδο ι βαγο βιο κ
 ανηκκι ναμοβαργο κινδο ταδιοο κεδο φορδαμσο μα λιζο φρο-
 γινδο ταδηιο μανδαρο αβο νιστο χοτο ασιδο μα λιζο αβαβγ-
 ο σταδο οδο καλδο ασο λρουομινανο ι ειρο σταδο ταδο ι βαγε
 5 ασο ι νοβαλμο φροχορτινδο ταδο αβο λραφο οαστινδο
 αβο ανδηζο στο μα λιζο πιδοριγδο. τακαλδο Νοκ-
 ονζοκο ι καραλαγγο ι φρειχοαδηγοο κιδο φρειστα-
 ρο αβο βιο ι βαγοπουρο ι λοιχοβοσαρο ι βιζογαργο ι α-
 λοβχαλο κιδο φαρο οισποανο μο οαδοβαργανο ω-
 10 σογδομαγγο πιδο ι ιωγο οδο υιρσο χρονο νεισανο μ-
 αο μαλο αγαδο αμο βαγολαγγο ταδηιο μα λιζο πο-

15 ρογατο ταδηιο ειο σαδο κανδο οτηιο αβο οζοοαστο.
 οτηιο πιδο ασαγγε ιθο οιλιδο ατανο αβο μα λιζο φ-
 αρο καρανο αβο μα γαοηιο οδο καλδανο ασο λρο-
 νομινανο ι ειρο βοοηιο ταδανο ι βαγε ασο ι νοβ
 20 αλμο μα φροχοαφονδηιο οτανο μα λιζο μα πιδ-
 οριχσηιο οτηιο ασασκο μο σαδο αχβτ-
 ριγο κιδο αλβαργο ωσταδο ιθο ατο πιδ-
 εινο σαδο, πιδεινο αχβτριγο υαρουγο μα λ-
 ιζο χουζο ποροοατο. οτο ειο μο σαδο οδο μ-
 αβτο χιργο μανο κιδο αμο βορζομιυρο αμο Κο-
 ζγαβκι ρουρο αμο αστιλογανσειγι αμο Νοκ-
 ονζικι καραραγγε μαρηγο πιδο ι χοαδηο φ-
 ρομανο. οτο ειο μανο νοβιχτο αμο Μιυρα-
 μανο αμο Βορζομιυρο πουρο [*monogram 1*] αμιυραμανο [*monogram 2*]

{Text in translation:}

{ll. 1-6. The earlier history of the temple:}

“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) Lraf²⁰ and the citadel was abandoned.”

{ll. 6-20. *The building works of Nukunzuk:*}

“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.”

{ll. 20-25: *Conclusion:*}

“And this well and *mašto xirgo* were made by me, Burzmihir 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, Mihraman the son of Burzmihir: [*monogram 1*]. Mihraman: [*monogram 2*].”

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

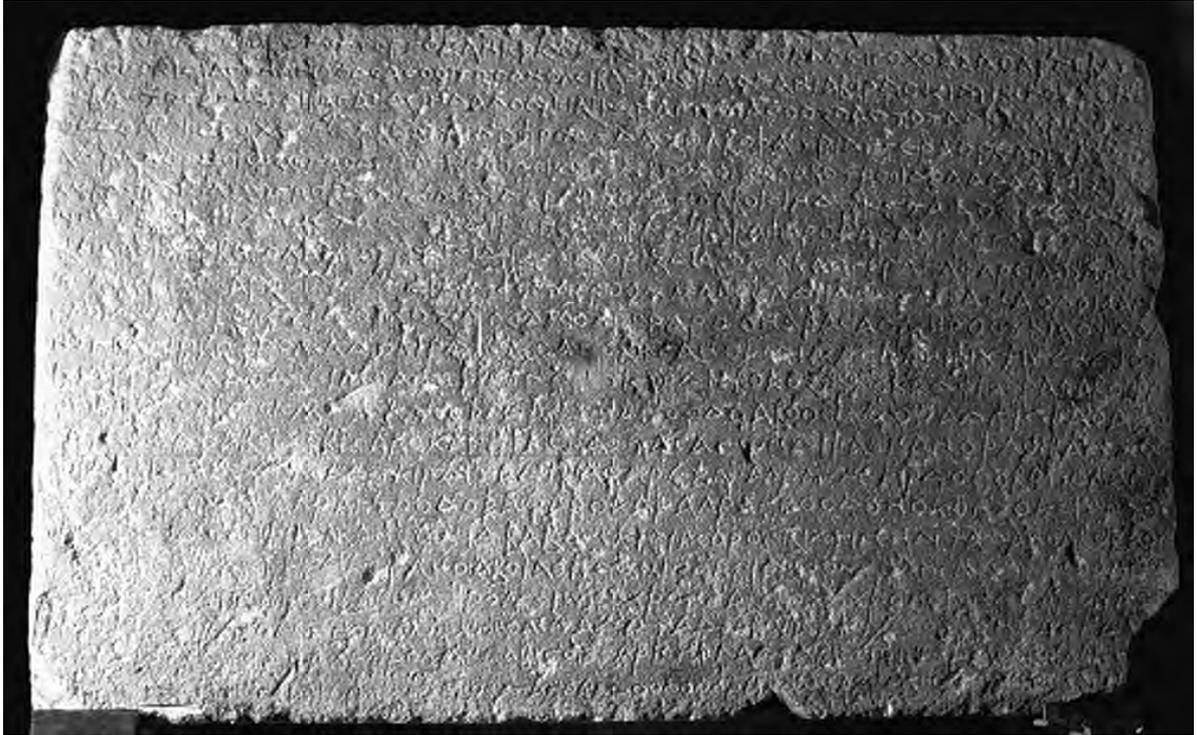
— Version B concludes with a shorter version of this statement, while version A has only “[*monogram 1*]. Mihraman: [*monogram 2*]”.

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 [...] ανοφο βωγο στοργο κανηρκε ι κοβανο , ραβτογο λαδειγο χοαζαοαργο βαγ[ο]
- 2 [η]ζνογο κιδι ασο νανα οδο ασο οισποανο μι βαγανο ι βαιοδανι αβορδο κιδι ιωγο χφονο
- 3 νοβαστο σαγωνδι βαγανο σινδαδο στηα ι ιωναγγο οασο οζοαστο ταδηια αριαο ωσ-
- 4 ταδο αβο ιωγο χφονο αβο ι υνδο φροαγδαζο , αβο βαιοριαγγε βαιορε αγιτα ι [...]
- 5 αδραγο οδο ιωζοπο οδ(ο) ισαγηδο οδο ι κωζαμβο οδο ι παλαβοτρο οιδρα αδα αβο ι ζιριτ[ι]-
- 6 αμβο σιδηιανο προβδο οδο μανδαρσι [.]αιορανο αβο ι σινδο ωσταδο στη[ι]α αρουγ[ο]
- 7 ι υνδο α(β)ο ισινδο ωσταδο ταδι βαιο κανηρκε αβο βαιοφαρο καραλαραγγο φρομαδο
- 8 αβεινα οιαγο βαγολαγγο κιδι σιδι βαγεαβο ριζδι αβο μα κασιγε ραγα φαρειμοανο β-
- 9 αγανο κιδιμαρο κιδι ανδιμανι (ο)φαρρο ομμα οσηλδι ια αμγα νανα οδο ια αμ-
- 10 γα ομμα αορομοζδο μοζδοοανο σροβαιορδο <(κ)ιδι υνδοοαο μαασηνο ριζδι οδο βιζαγο ριζδι>
- ναρασαιο μυρο στηα ουδοα-
- 11 νο πιδγιρβο φρομαδο κιδδ[ι] ειμοανο βαγανο κιδι μασκα νιβιχτιγενδι οτ-
- 12 ηια φρομαδο αβειμοανο βαιοανανο κιδι αβο κοζουλο καθφισο βαιο αβο ι φρ-

13 ονιαγ(ο ο)δο αβο οσημο τακτοο βαο αβ(ο) ι νιαγο οδο αβο οσημο καδφισε βαο αβο
 14 (ι) πιδα οδο αβο ιχοβισαρο κανηβκε βαο τασαγωνδι βαονανο βαο ι βαγεποο-
 15 ρα κανηβ κε φρομαδο κινδι Κανισηκα ηαδ γινεν ορδερσ το δο, ταδι βαφαρε καραλαργγε κινδο
 ειο βαγολαγγο
 16 [ο]δο πιαβο καραλαργγο οδο βαφαρο καραλαργγο οδο νοκονζοκο ιαβτοο-
 17 α[λγο ..]σιδο βαι φρομανο ειμιδβα βαγε κιδιμαρο νιβιχιτιγενδιταδανο αβο βαον-
 18 αν[ο βαι] αβο κανηβκε κοβανο αβο ιασηδανι ζορριγι λρουγο αγγαδδιγγο οανινδ-
 19 ογ[ο]ινδιοτιβαο ιβαγεποορο ασο ιωγο χβονο αβο ι οχο χβονο ι υνδο αρουγο ν-
 20 ααλη[ι]ο (τ)[α](δ)ιβαγολαγγο αβο ιωγο χβονο ασπαδο ταδι αβο ι αρημσσο χβονο αγγα[...]
 21 [.]πα...[ca. 6 π]ιδο βαε φρομανα αβισσι ι παρηνα λαδο αβισσι ρηδγε λαδο αβισσ[ι ..]
 22 [.. λαδο οτικαν]η[βκε] βαι μα λιζγα αβο βαγανο λαδο οδο φαρειμοανο αζαδανο [κι]δι[α]βο μι
 βαγεα[βο]
 23 []λ[]α...τ..[]ατιδνος

1 . . . the great salvation, Kanishka the Kushan, the righteous, the just, the autocrat, the god
 2 worthy of worship, who has obtained the kingship from Nana and from all the gods, who has
 inaugurated the year one
 3 as the gods pleased. And he *issued a Greek *edict (and) then he put it into Aryan.
 4 In the year one there was *proclaimed to India, to the cities of the **kβatriyas* / **kβatrapas*, the
 *capture (of)
 5 . . . , and . . . , and Saketa, and Kauśāmbi, and Pataliputra, as far as Śrī-Campā;
 6 whatever (cities) he and the other *generals *reached, (he) submitted (them) to (his) will, and he
 submitted all
 7 India to (his) will. Then King Kanishka ordered Shafar the lord of the marches
 8 to make in this place the temple which is called Bage-ab, in the Kasig plains, for these gods
 9 who have come hither into the presence of the glorious Umma, *that (is), the above-mentioned
 Nana and the
 10 above-mentioned Umma, Aurmuzd, Muzhduwan, Sroshard—who in Indian is called Mahasena
 and is called Viśākha—Narasa, (and) Mihir. And he
 11 gave orders to make images of the same, (namely) of these gods who are inscribed hereupon, and
 12 he gave orders to make (images of) these kings: King Kujula Kadphises (his) great
 13 grandfather, and King Vima Taktu (his) grandfather, and King Vima Kadphises
 14 (his) father, and himself, King Kanishka.- Then, as the king of kings, the son of the gods
 15 Kanishka had given orders to do, Shafar the lord of the marches made this sanctuary,
 16 and Pyash the lord of the marches, and Shafar the lord of the marches, and Nukunzuk the *hasht-*
 17 *walg* *carried out the king's command. May these gods who are inscribed here [keep] the
 18 [king] of kings, Kanishka the Kushan, for ever healthy, fortunate, (and) victorious!
 19 And the king, the son of the gods, was *pacifying all India from the year one to the year *six.
 20 [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)

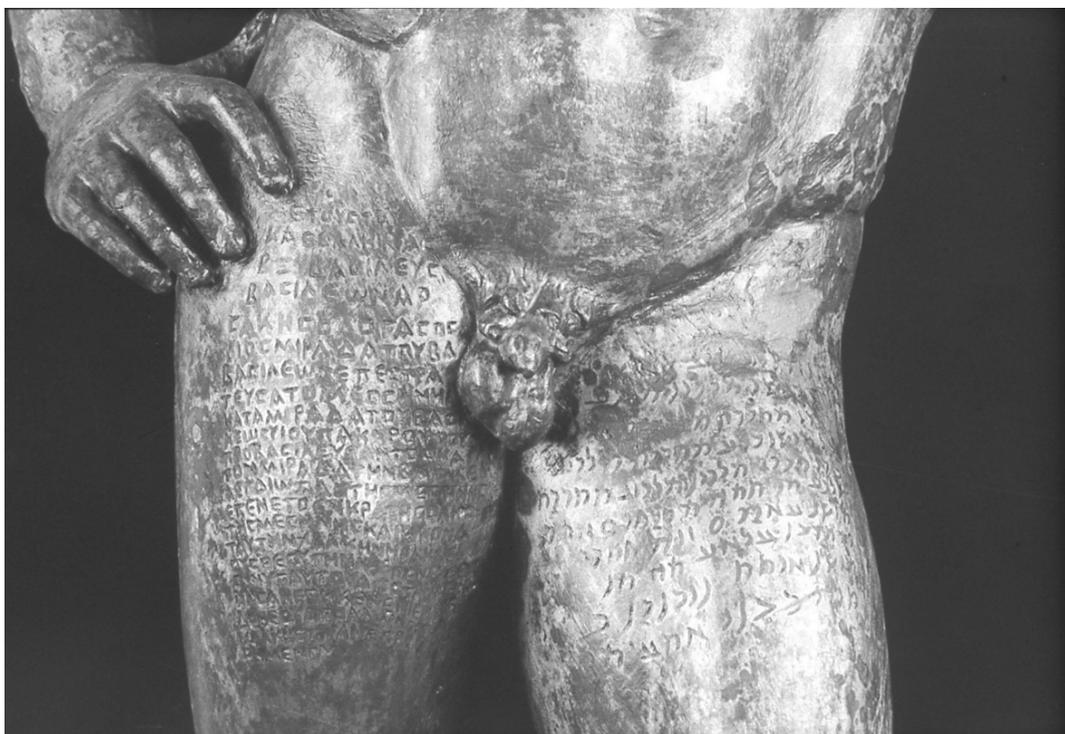
IEOG 86

BILIGNUAL (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)

(I) VERSIO GRAECA

1	ΕΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ	ΕΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ
2	ΚΑΘ' ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ	ΚΑΘ' ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ
3	ΒΞΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ	ΒΞΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
4	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡ	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡ
5	ΣΑΚΗΣ ΟΛΟΓΑΣΟΣ	ΣΑΚΗΣ ΟΛΟΓΑΣΟΣ
6	ΥΙΟΣ ΜΙΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΒΑ	ΥΙΟΣ ΜΙΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΒΑ
7	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΕΣΤΡΑ	{ΒΑ}ΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΕΣΤΡΑ
8	ΤΕΥΣΑΤΟ ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗ	ΤΕΥΣΑΤΟ ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗ
9	ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙ	ΚΑΤΑ ΜΙΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙ
10	ΛΕΩΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΠΑΚΟΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ	ΛΕΩΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΠΑΚΟΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ
11	ΠΡΟΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ	ΠΡΟΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ
12	ΤΟΝ ΜΙΡΑΔΑΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ	ΤΟΝ ΜΙΡΑΔΑΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ
13	Α ΕΓΔΙΩΞΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗΣ	Α ΕΓΔΙΩΞΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗΣ
14	ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΝΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΟΛΗΣ	ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΕΝΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΟΛΗΣ
15	ΤΗΣ ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ	ΤΗΣ ΜΕΣΣΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΚΟΝΑ
16	ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΧΑΛΚΗΝ ΗΡΑΚΛΕ	ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΧΑΛΚΗΝ ΗΡΑΚΛΕ
17	ΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΤΕΝΕΧΘΕΙ	ΟΥΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΤΕΝΕΧΘΕΙ
18	ΣΑΝ ΥΠ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΣΣΗ	ΣΑΝ ΥΠ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΣΣΗ
19	ΝΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΕΝ ΙΕΡΩΙ ΤΩΙ	ΝΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΕΝ ΙΕΡΩΙ ΤΩΙ
20	ΔΕ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ	ΔΕ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ
21	ΧΑΛΚΗΣ ΠΥΛΗΣ ΠΡΟΚΑ	ΧΑΛΚΗΣ ΠΥΛΗΣ ΠΡΟΚΑ
22	ΘΗΜΕΝΟΥ	ΘΗΜΕΝΟΥ

5 ἔτους τοῦ
 καθ' Ἑλλήνας
 βξυ' βασιλεὺς
 βασιλέων Ἀρ-
 σάκης Ὀλόγασος,
 υἱὸς Μιραδάτου {βα}
 βασιλέως, ἐπεστρα-
 τεύσατο Μεσσηνήνι
 10 κατὰ Μιραδάτου βασι-
 λέως, υἱοῦ Πακόρου τοῦ
 προβασιλεύσαντος, καὶ
 τὸν Μιραδάτην βασιλέ-
 α ἐγδιώξας τῆς Μεσσηνῆς
 15 ἐγένετο ἐνκρατὴς ὅλης
 τῆς Μεσσηνῆς καὶ εἰκόνα
 ταύτην χαλκῆν Ἡρακλέ-
 ουσ θεοῦ, τὴν μετενεχθεῖ-
 σαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσση-
 νῆς ἀνέθηκεν ἐν ἱερῶι τῶι-
 20 δε θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ
 χαλκῆς πύλης προκα-
 θημένου.

In the year 462 of the Greeks (= 151 CE),
 the King of Kings, Arsaces ⁵ Vologeses
 the son of King Mithridates campaigned in
 Mesene against King Mithridates, ¹⁰
 the son of the previous king Pacorus. He
 expelled King Mithridates of Mesene and
 became ruler of all of ¹⁵ Mesene. This
 bronze statue of the god Heracles was
 brought back with him from Mesene and
 was dedicated in the temple of ²⁰ the god
 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)

(II) VERSIO PARTHICA

[.....]	1
III (ŠNT) 'rš]k	2
wlgšy MLKYN M(L)K'	3
BRY mtrdt M(L)[K' KT](Š)W	4
'L myšn BR' mtrdt MLK'	5
BRY pkwr MLKYN MLK' mtrdt	6
MLK' MN TMH MRDPW O ḥmk	7
myšn 'ḤDW O ZNH ptkr	8
wrtrgn 'LḤ' MH MN	9
myšn ḤYTt nybndn B	10
tyry bgny HQ'(Y)MW	11

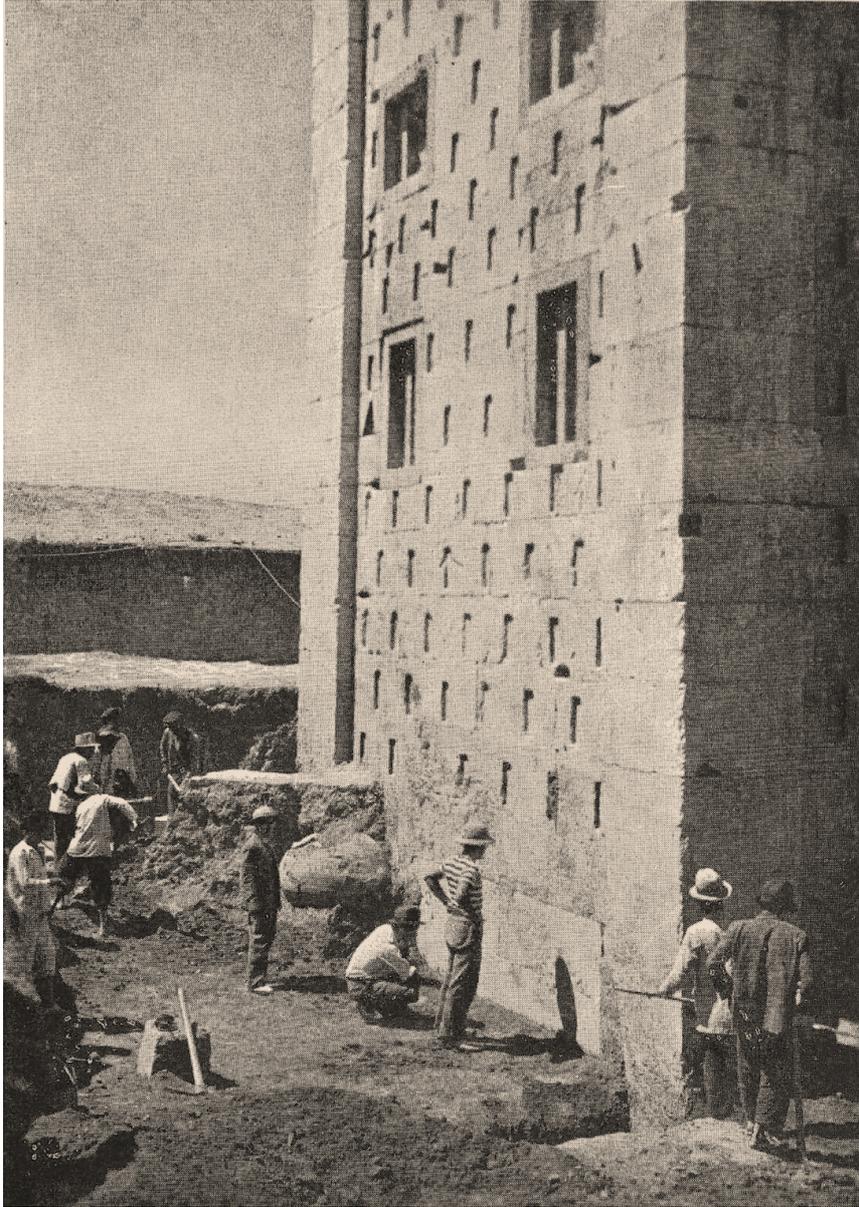
[...] year A[rsha]k Walagashy, King of Kings, son of King Mihrdat fought in Maishan against King Mihrdat, son of Pakor, King of Kings. He chased king Mihrdat from there and he took all of Maishan. This statue of the god Warhgan (Herakles), which was brought from Maishan, he placed as trophy in the temple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

c. 260 CE – Naqš-i Rostam (near Persepolis)

CII 3/I (i)

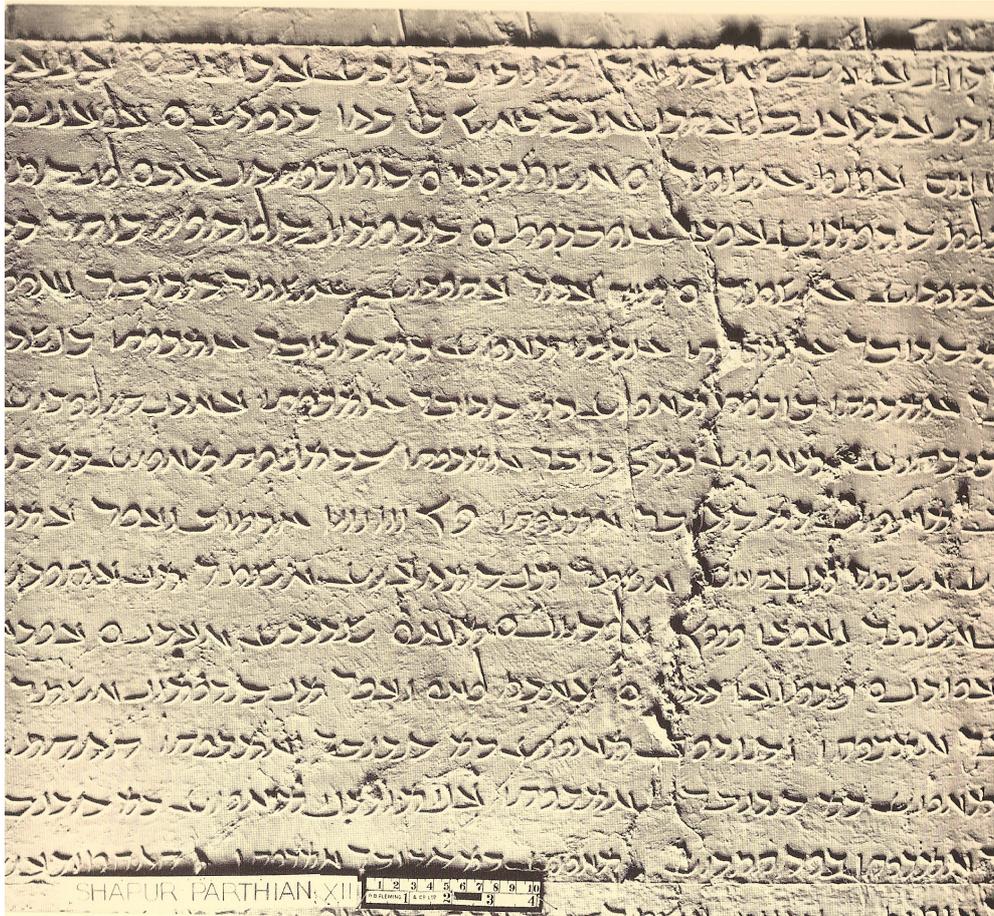
'RES GESTAE DIVI SAPORIS'
IN PARTHIAN AND GREEK

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



Photograph of the squeeze of the right half of lines 1-15 of the Parthian version (Photo *CII*)

§1. Az, mazdēzn bay Šābuhr, šāhān šāh Ērān ud Anērān, kē čīhr až yazdān, puhr mazdēzn bay Ardašīr, šāhān šāh Ērān, kē čīhr až yazdan, puhrēpuhr bay Pābag šāh, Ērānšahr xwadāy ahēm

§2. ud dārām [šahr P]ārs, *[Par]θaw, Xūzestān, Mēšān A[sūrestān, Nōdšīragān, Arbāyes]tān, Ādu[r]bādegān, Armin, ²Wiržān, Sīgān, Ardān, Balāsagān yad fraxš ō Kaf kōf ud Alānān bar, ud hamag Parišxwār kōf,

§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 Ērānšahr.

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

²¹ *Nōdšīragān* is Adiabene according to the Greek. Adurbādegān is my suggestion based on the MP and Parthian letters, the Greek version (Αδιαβηνίην) 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 Sīgān is Machelonia in the Greek version. Identity uncertain. See Huyse's commentary 23-4.

²⁴ Parišxwār is part or whole of the Elburz.

§3. Māδ, Wurgān, Mary, Harēw, ud hamag Abaršahr, Kermān*, Sagestān, Tuḡrān, Mak(u)rān*, Pār(a)dān, Hindestān, Kušānšahr, yad fraxš ō Paškabūr ud yad ō Kāš, Suḡd ud Čāčestān [ud až hō ārag zrē]h Mazū[n]šahr

§3. Māh, Gurgān, Marv, Harēw, and all Abaršahir,²⁵ Kermān, Sagestān, Tugrān, Makrān, Pārdān, Hindestān, Kušānšahr, from there to Paškabūr and from there as far as Kāš,²⁶ Sugd and Čāčestān and from the other side of the sea the land of Mazūn.²⁷

§4. Ud ka[rām Pērōz-Šābuhr] nām *D- -šahr, ud karām Ohrmezd-Arda[šīr] (*above the line* Šābuhr) |³ nām.

§4. And we gave *Pērōz-Šābuhr* the name D---šahr (?), and we gave Ohrmezd-Ardašīr its name.

§5. Ud im āwand šāhr ud šahrōār ud pādḡōsbān harw amā pad bāž ud bandagīf awestād ahēnd.

§5. We have placed all these numerous countries and their overlords and governors under tribute and in servitude.

§6. ud kaδ naxwišt pad šahr awištād ahēm, Gōrdanyos Kēsar až hamag Frōm, Gōt ud Garmāniyā šahr zāwar hangāwišn kerd: ud ō Asūrestān abar Ērānšahr ud amā āy[a]d, ud pad Asūrestān m[arz] pad Mišīk paδēmān wuzurg zambag būd.

§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 Ērānšahr and us. And at Mišīk on the border of Asūrestān²⁸ a great pitched battle was fought.

§7. Gōranyos |⁴ Kēsar ōžad, Frōmāyīn zāwar *wānād, ud Frōmāyīn Filip(p)os kēsar kerd.

§7. The emperor Gordian was killed, the Roman force was annihilated and the Romans made Philip emperor.

§8. Ud Filip(p)os kēsar amā ō nemastīg āyad, ud gyān goxn (?) dēnār 500 hazār ō amā dād, pad bāž awestād, ud amā Mišīk až ēd kerd Pērōz-Šābuhr nām awestād.

§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. Ud Kēsar bid druxt ō Armin winās kerd, ud amā abar Fromāyīn šahr wihišt ahēm, ud Fromāyīn zāwar 60.000 pad Bēbāliš |⁵ ōžad;

§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 Bēbāliš.²⁹

§10. ud Asūriyā šahr, ud čē abar Asūriyā šahr parβēr būd, hamag ādurwaxt, awērān ud wardyāz kerd ud grift pad hō ē(w) yāwar až Fromāyīn šahr diz ud šahrestān:

§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 šahrestān aδ parβēr hamḡōs, Bīrt-

§11. Ānāt city and its surrounds, Bīrthā-Arūbān

²⁵ Abaršahr fits well but the corresponding Greek is τῶν ἄνωθεν ἔθνεσιν ‘the races higher up’ which may misread the Iranian or correctly interpret it. Non liquet, Paškabūr is likely to be Pešāwar.

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 Bēbāliš, Gr Βαβυλωνίσις, is a strategic post on the Euphrates but this military engagement is nowhere else recorded.

*Arūbān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Bīrt Aspōragān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Sūrā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, *Bēbāliš šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Manbūg⁶ šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs

§12. Halab šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, *Kinašrā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, *Apōmiyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, *Refaniyos šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Zōmā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Umā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs,

§13. Gindaros šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Armenāž šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Selūkiyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Andiyōk šahrestān⁷ ađ parβēr hamgōs, Kir(r)os šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs.

§14. any Selūkiyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Aleksandariyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, *Nikopolos šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Sīzar šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Hamāt šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs,

§15. Aristōn šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Dīkōr šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Dūrā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Dōlōx šahrestān ađ parβēr⁸ hamgōs, Kirkisiyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Germaniyos šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs,

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

§17. Artangiliyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Sūš šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Šūd šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Frāt šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs.,⁹ hamsāg šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, 37.

§18. Hridīg yāwar kađ amā abar Harrān ud Urhā wihīšt ahēm ud Urhā *parrūdīd, Wālaraniyos Kēsar abar amā āyad

§19. ud būd ađ ađ Germāniyā šahr, ađ Rēšiyā šahr, ađ Nīrakos šahr, ađ Dākiyā šahr, ađ Pannaniyā šahr, ađ Mōsiyā šahr, ađ Astriyā (?)

and its surrounds, Bīrthā-Aspōragān and its surrounds, Sura city and its surrounds, Bēbāliš city and its surrounds, Manbūg³⁰ city and its surrounds,

§12. Halab³¹ city and its surrounds, Kinašrā³² city and its surrounds, Apōmiā city and its surrounds, Refanios city and its surrounds, Zōmā city and its surrounds, Urnā city and its surrounds

§13. Gindaros city and its surrounds, Armenāž city and its surrounds, Selūkiā city and its surrounds, Andiyōk city and its surrounds, Kir(r)os city and its surrounds,

§14. another Selūkiā city and its surrounds, Aleksandariā³³ city and its surrounds, Nīkopolos city and its surrounds, Sīzar city and its surrounds, Hamāth city and its surrounds,

§15. Aristia city and its surrounds, Dikhōr city and its surrounds, Dura city and its surrounds, Dolikhē city and its surrounds, Kirkēsion city and its surrounds, Germanikeia (Germaniyos) city and its surrounds,

§16. Batnai city and its surrounds, Xānar city and its surrounds, and in Cappadocia Satala city and its surrounds, Domana city and its surrounds,

§17. Artangilla city and its surrounds, Šūš city and its surrounds, Šūd city and its surrounds, Frāt city and its surrounds – altogether 37 cities and their surrounds.

§18. On the third occasion that we were on campaign against and laid siege to Harrān and Urhā³⁴ the emperor Valerian marched against us.

§19. And with him were men from the territories of Garmāniā, Rēšīā, Nīrakos, Dākiā, Pannaniā, 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 Alexandretta.

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 Bitūniyā šahr, až Āsayā šahr, až Pamfilāyā šahr, až Isawriyā šahr, až Likōniyā šahr, až Galātīniyā šahr, až Lūkiyā šahr, až Kīlikiyā šahr, až Kap(p)ōdakiyā šahr, až Frūgāyā šahr, až Sūriyā šahr,

§21. až Fonikāyā šahr, až Yūdāyā šahr, až Arabiyā šahr, až Mōrān šahr, až Garmāniyā šahr, až Rōdōs šahr, až ... šahr, až |¹¹ Maḍyānrōdān šahr, zāwar 70 hazār.

§22. Ud až hō ārag Harrān ud Urhā aḍ Wālaraniyos Kēsar wuzurg raf būd, ud Wālaraniyos Kēsar ^wxad pad ^wxēbeh dast dastgraβ kerd ud *ōyādag, *rabēsēf, sānatōr ud hēgemōn kē hō zāwar sārār būd, harw dastgraβ kerd, ud bē ō Pārs wāst ahēnd.

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

§24. Ud grift hō yāwar až Frōmāyin šahr Aleksandriyā Katis(s)os šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, Šamšat šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs *Katabalā [*corr. ed.*] šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, Aygā šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, Māmāstiyā šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs.

§25. Mā(l)os šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, *Adāniyā šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, *Tarsos [*corr. ed.*] šahrestān |¹³ aḍ parβēr hamgōs, Zefīrōn šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, Sebastiyā šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, Kōrikos šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs,

§26. Anazarbos šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, Kastābalā šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, Nerōniyās šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, Flāwiyās šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, Nīkopolos šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs,

§27. Ēpīfaniyā šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs |¹⁴ Kīlindiros šahrestān aḍ parβēr hamgōs, *Anī

§20. Trākiyā, Bitūniyā, Āsayā, Pamfilāyā, Isawriyā, Likōniyā, Galātīniyā, Lūkiyā, Kīlikiyā, Kap(p)ōdakiā,³⁶ Frūgāyā, Sūriyā,

§21. Fonikāyā, Yūdāyā, Arabiyā, Mōrān, Garmāniā,³⁷ Rōdōs, Asniyōs (?),³⁸ Madyānrōdān, a full force of 70,000 men.

§22. And beyond Harrān and Urhā a major engagement with the emperor Valerian took place and he was taken captive by our own hands and the rest, the praetorian prefect, the senators and the officers in charge of that army, were all captured and taken to Pārs.

§23. And the districts of Sūriyā, Kīlikiyā and Kap(p)ōdakiā were burned, ravaged and plundered.

§24. On this single occasion the following were seized from the Roman Empire: Aleksandariā Katis(s)os city and its surrounds, Šamšat city and its surrounds, Katabalā³⁹ city and its surrounds, Aygā city and its surrounds, Māmāstiyā city and its surrounds,

§25. Māl(l)os city and its surrounds, Adāniyā city and its surrounds, Tarsos city and its surrounds, Zefīrōn city and its surrounds, Sebastiyā city and its surrounds, Kōrikos city and its surrounds,

§26. Anazarbos city and its surrounds, Kastābalā city and its surrounds, Nerōniās city and its surrounds, Flāwiyās city and its surrounds, Nīkopolos city and its surrounds,

§27. Ēpīfaniyā city and its surrounds, Kīlindiros city and its surrounds, Anīmūrīn city and its surrounds, Sefīnūs city and its surrounds,

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 'snyws (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 Middle Persian text. The Parthian has krtr'y which seems to recall 'Kerdir' - a likely scribal error.

mūrīn šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Selīndus šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Mīyanopolos šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Andiyōkiyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, *Sardiyāb (?) šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs,

§28. Mōstinopolos šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Tūyana šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Kēsariyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Kōmānāyā šahrestān |¹⁵ ađ parβēr hamgōs, Kūbistariyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs,

§29. Sebastiyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Bīrt šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Rākūndiyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Lārandiyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, Īkōniyā šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs, hamsāg šahrestān ađ parβēr hamgōs 36.

§30. Ud mardōhmag čē až Frōmāyin šahr až Anērān |16 pad āwār wāst, pād Ērānšahr, pad Pārs, Parθaw, Xūzestan, Asūrestān ud any šahr ō šahr, kū amā ud pidar ud niyāgān ud hasēnagan dast[gerd] būd, ōđ nišāst.

§31. Ud amā anī-ž was šahr ^wxāšt ud was nām ud nēwīf kerd, čē ēd nē nibišt, bēž ēd āwand až ēd kerd ubdišt nibištān, kū kē paš až-an bawād, |¹⁷ im nām nēwīf ud xwadāyīf čē amā zānāh.

§32. Ud *ēd-rād [kaδ] kū yazad amā až ēd gōnag dastgerd karēnd ud pad yasdān pušt im āwand šahr ^wxāzām ud dārām, ōh amā-ž šahr ō šahr was ādur Wahrān nišāst ud was moymard kirbagīf kerd ud wuzurg yazadān windārišn kerd.

§33. Ud ēd-iž pad nibušt nišāyām: ādur ēw Husraw-Šābuhr |¹⁸ nām, pad amā arwān ud pāšnām; ādur ēw Husraw-Ādur-Anāhīd nām, pad Ādur-Anāhīd bāmbišnān bāmbišn amā duxt arwān ud pāšnām; ādur ēw Husraw-Ohrmezd-Ardašīr nām, pad Ohrmezd-Ardašīr wuzurg šāh Arminin amā puhr arwān ud pāšnām;

§34. any ādur ēw Husraw-Šābuhr nām, pad Šābuhr Mēšān šāh amā puhr arwān ud pāšnām; |¹⁹ ādur ēw Husraw-Narseh nām, pad ēr mazdēzn Narseh šāh Hind, Sagestān ud Turγestān yad ō

Mīyanpolos city and its surrounds, Andiyōkiyā city and its surrounds, Sardiyāb city and its surrounds,

§28. Mōstinopolos (city) (Dometiupolis ?) and its surrounds, Tūyanā city and its surrounds, Kēsariyā city and its surrounds, Kōmānāyā city and its surrounds, Kūbistariyā city and its surrounds,

§29. Sebastiyā city and its surrounds, Bīrt city and its surrounds, Rākūndiyā city and its surrounds, Lārandiyā city and its surrounds, Īkōniyā city and its surrounds – a total of 36 cities and their surrounds.

§30. And those men who were from the Roman Empire were removed from Non-Iran and were settled within Ērānšahr, 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-Ohrmezd-Ardašīr for the soul and future memory of our son Ohrmezd-Ardašīr, great King of the Arminīn;

§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

zrēh zamb amā puhr arwan ud pašnām.

§35. Ud hō, čē imīn ādurān dahām ud čē aβōēn awestād (?), ōh-iž harw abar pādixšīr nibišť. Ud až hō akbrīd 1.000 čē āž *tarkafišn ō amā aβōēn būd ud amā imīn ādurān dād, hō ubdēsām kū hēb *kirihēd:

§36. pad amā arwān rōž²⁰ ō rōž akbrīd ēw, nān ēw grīw ud 5 hōfan, maδ 4 pās; pad Sāsān xwadāy, ud Pābag šāh, ud Šābuhr šāh Pābagān, ud Ardašīr šāhān šāh, Xwar(r)anzēm šahr bāmbišn, Ādur-Anāhīd bāmbišnān bāmbišn, Dēnag bāmbišn, Warhrām Gēlān šāh, Šābuhr Mēšān šāh,

§37. Ohrmezd-Ardašīr wurzurg šāh Arminīn, Narseh Sagān šāh, Šābuhrduxtag²¹ Sagān bāmbišn, Čašmag bānūg, Pērīz wispuhr, *Murrōd bānūg Šābuhr šāhān šāh mād, Narseh wispuhr, Rōdduxt wisduxt Anōšag duxt, Warāzduxt Xwar(r)ānxēm duxt,

§38. Staxryād bāmbišn, ud Hormezdag Arminīn šāh puhr, Hormezd ud Hormezdag <ud> Ōdābaxt ud Warhrān <ud> Šābuhr <ud> Pērōz Mēšān šāh puhr, Šābuhrduxtag Mēšān šāh duxt²² Ohrmezduxtag Sagān šāh duxt arwān akbrīd ēw, nān ēw grīw ud 5 hōfan, maδ 4 pās;

§39. ud hō akbrīd, čē až ōδ pardažēd yad pattāwēd āwadīn pad hawīn arwān kē amā ubdišt arwān yazīdan.

§40. Ud ēd nibišť awištēnd kē abar Pābag šāh swadāyif būd ahēnd: Sāsān *Orsigān [*corr. ed.*]. Farrag Farragān, *Warhrānbād *Hōragān, Aspōrag Aspōragān, Puhrag Mardēn(a)gān, *Zīg niwēdbed²³ Šābuhr Wēzān(a)gān, Šābuhr Mihraβōzān(a)gān;

§41. kē abar Ardašīr šāhān šāh xwadāyīf būd ahēnd: *Sadāluf Abrēnag šāh, Ardašīr Mary 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, 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 *grīw* five *hōfan* 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)anzēm, Queen of the Land, Ādur-Anāhīd, Queen of Queens, the Queen Dēnag, the King Warhrām of Gēlān, the King Šābuhr of Mēšān,

§37. Ohrmezd-Ardašīr, great King of the Arminīn, Narseh, the King of the Sagān, Šābuhrduxtag, the Queen of the Sagān, the Lady Čašmag, the Prince Pērōz, the Lady Murrōd, mother of Šābuhr, King of Kings, Prince Narseh, Princess Rōduxt, daughter of Anōšag, Warāzduxt, daughter of Xwar(r)anzēm,

§38. Queen Staxryād, and Hormezdag, son of the King of the Arminīn, Hormezd and Hormezdag (and) Ōdābaxt and Warhrān (and) Šābuhr (and) Pērōz, son of the King of Mēšān, Šābuhrduxtag, daughter of the King of Mēšān, and Ohrmezduxtag, daughter of the king of Sagān. (for all the above) one lamb, one *grīw* five *hōfan* 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: Sāsān, the son of Orsig, Farrag, the son of Farrag, Warhrānbād, the son of Hōrag, Aspōrāg, the son of Aspōrāg, Puhrag, the son of Mardēn, Zīg, the *niwēdbed*, Šābuhr, the son of Wēzān, Šābuhr, the son of Mihraβōzān;

§41. those who lived in the reign of King Ardašīr, King of Kings: Sadāluf, the King of Abrēnag, 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

§42. Dēnag bāmbišnān bāmbišn Pābagān, Ardašīr, bidaxš, Pābag hazāruft, Dēhēn Wārāz, Sāsān Sūrēn, Sāsān Andēgān xwadāy, Pērōz Kārin, |²⁴ Gōg Kārin, Abursām Ardasīr-Farr, Gēlmān Dunbāwand-iž, Raxš spāδbed, Mard dibīruft, Pābag niwēδbed.

§43. Pāčīhr Wisfarr(a) gān, Wifīr Farragān, Mihrxwāšt Barēsagān, *Hōmfrādān māδagānbed, Dirān zēnbed, Čihrag dādβar, Wardān āxwarrbed, Mihrag Tōsar(a)gan, Zīg Zabr(a)gān, Sagbus maxčīrbed, *Hudug grastbed, jahēn maδugdār;

§44. kē abar amā xwadāyīf būd: Ardašīr Nōdšīragān šāh, Ardašīr |²⁵ Kerman šāh, Dēnag Mēšān bāmbišn, dastgerd Šābuhr, (H)amāzāsp Wiržān šāh, Wala(x)š wispuhr Pābagān,

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

§46. Ardašīr Sūrēn, Narseh Andēgān |²⁶ xwadāy, Ardašīr Kārin, Wohnām framādār, Frīg Weh-Andiyōk-Šābuhr šahrab, *Sridōy Šāhmust, Ardašīr-Šnōm, Pāčīr Tahm-Šābuhr, Ardašīr* Gō(y)mān šahrab, Čašmag Nēw-Šābuhr,

§47. Wohnām Šābuhr-Šnōm, Tīrmīhr Šahrkerd dizbed, Zīg niwēδbed, Ardaβān Dumbāwand-iž, Gundifarr *Ēwagān [corr. ed.]. Razmayōδ ud *Pābič |²⁷ Pērōz-Šābuhr Šanbidgān, *Wārzan Gaβ šahrab, Kerdsraw bidaxš, Pābag Wisfarr(a)gān

§48. Wala(x)š Selūkān, Yaz(a)dbed bāmbišnan handarzbed, Pābag safšērdār, Narseh Rind šahrab, Tiyanag Hamadān šahrab, Wardbed parištāgbed, jōymard Rastagān, Ardašīr *Wifīr(a)gān, Abursām Šābuhr darīgān sārār, Narseh Barragān, Šābuhr Narsehgān,

§42. Dēnag, Queen of Queens, the daughter of Pābag, Ardašīr the Bidaxš, Pābag the Hazāruft, Dēhan Wārāz, Sāsān Sūrēn, Sāsān, Lord of Andēgān, Pērōz Kārin, Gōg Kārin, Abursām 'Ardašīr-Farr', Gēlmān of Dunbāwand, Raxš the general, Mard the chief scribe, Pābag the master of ceremonies,

§43 Pāčīhr, son of Wisfarr, Wifīr, son of Farrag, Mihrxwāšt, son of Barēsag, Hōmfrādān the māδagānbēd, Dirān, the controller of armaments, Čihrag the judge, Wardān, the controller of the stables, Mihrag, son of Tōsar, Zīg, son of Zabr, Sagbus, master of the hunt, Hudug, controller of revenue, Jahēn, the wine steward;

§44. those who lived in our reign: Ardašīr, the king of Nōdšīragān, Ardašīr, the king of Kermān, Dēnag, the queen of Mēšān, Šābuhr's dastgerd, Hamāzāsp, the king of Wiržān, Prince Walaxš, son of Pābag,

§45. Prince Sāsān, who was page to Farragān, another Prince Sāsān, who was page to Kardugān, Prince Narseh, son of Pērōz, Prince Narseh, son of Šābuhr, Šābuhr the Bidaxš, Pābag the Hazāruft, Pērōz the cavalry commander, Ardašīr Wārāz

§46. Ardašīr Sūrēn, Narseh, Lord of Andēgān, Ardašīr Kārin, Wohnām, the chief steward, Frīg, the satrap of Weh-Andiyōk- Šābuhr, Sridōy called Šāhmust, Ardašīr called Ardašīr-Šnōm, Pāčīr called Tahm-Šābuhr, Ardašīr, the satrap of Gōmān, Čašmag called Nēw-Šābuhr,

§47. Wohnām called Šābuhr-Šnōm, Tīrmīhr the fortress-commander, Zīg the master of ceremonies, Ardawān from Dumbāwand, Gundifarr, the son of Abagan, Razmayōδ and Pābič the sons of Šanbid called Pērōz-Šābuhr, Wārzan, the satrap of Gay, Kerdsraw the bidaxš, Pābag, son of Wisfarr,

§48. Walaxš, son of Selūk, Yazadbed, counsellor of the queens, Pābag, the swordbearer, Narseh, the satrap of Rind, Tiyanag, the satrap of Hamadān, Wardbed, the chamberlain, Jōymard, son of Rastag, Ardašīr, son of Wifīr, Abursām, son of Šābuhr, super-intendant of the royal palace, Narseh, son of Barrag, Šābuhr, son of Narseh,

§49. Narseh |²⁸ grastbed, Hormezd dibīrbed, Nābug zēndānīg, Pābag barbed, Pāsfard Pāsfardgān, Abdaxš dizbedgān, Kerdīr ēhrbed, Rastag Weh-Ardašīr šahrab, Ardašīr bidaxšgān, Mihrxwāšt ganzβar, Šābuhr framādār.

§50. Arštād Mihrān pad frawardag dibīr, Sāsān šābestān Sāsāngān Wīrōd [*corr. ed.*] wāzārbed, Ardašīr Nīrīz šahrab, Baydād Wardbed(a)gān, Kerdīr Ardaβān, Zurwāndād Bandagān, |²⁹ Winnār Sāsāngān, *Mānzag šābestān, Sāsān dādβar, Wardān *Našbed(a)gan, *Wardag wārāzbed ēw bidān akbrīd ēw, nān ēw grīw ud 5 hōfan, maδ 4 pās.

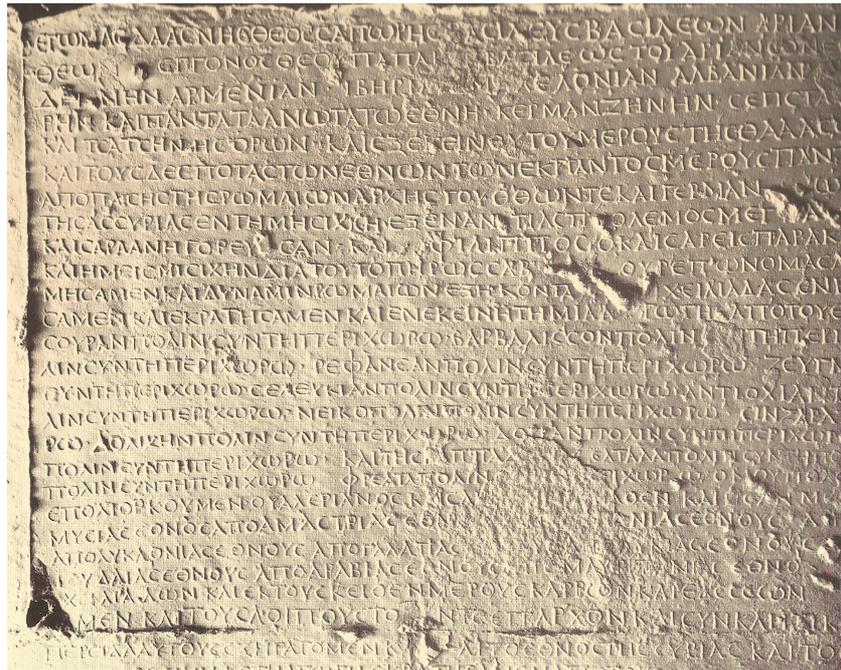
§51. Awās čawāyōn amā abar yazdān īr ud kerdagān *tuxšām, ud yazdān dastgerd ahēm, ud pad yazdān ađyāwarīf im āwand šahr ^wxāšt ud derd, nām ud nēwīf kerd, haw-iž kē paš až amā bawād ud farrox *ahād, haw-iž abar yazdān īr ud |³⁰ kerdagān *tuxšād, kū yazad ađyāwar bawānd ud dastgerd karānd. Dastnibēg im man Hormezd dibīr Šilag dibīr puh.

§49. Narseh, the controller of revenue, Hormezd, the chief scribe, Nādug, the controller of prisons, Pābag, the palace warden, Pāsfard, son of Pāsfard, Abdaxš, son of Dizbed, Kerdīr the ēhrbed, Rastag, the satrap of Weh-Ardašīr, Ardašīr, son of the bidaxš, Mihrxwāšt, the treasurer, Šābuhr, the chief steward,

§50. Arštād Mihrān, writer in charge of correspondence, Sāsān, son of Sāsān, warden of the harem, Wīrōd, supervisor of the market, Ardašīr, the satrap of Nīrīz, Baydād, son of Wardbed, Kerdīr Ardawān, Zurwandān, son of Bandagān, Winnār, son of Sāsān, Mānzag, warden of the harem, Sāsān the judge, Wardān, son of Našbed, Wardag the *wārāzbed*; once again one lamb, one *grīw* five *hōfan* of bread, 4 *pās* of wine.

§51. 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.

(II) VERSIO GRAECA



Photograph of the left portion of lines 1-26 of the Greek version (Photo *CII*)

SEG 20.324

§1. ἐγὼ Μασδαασνης θεὸς Σαπώρης, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ἀριανῶν κ[α]ἰ Ἄναριανῶ[ν, ἐκ γέ]νους θεῶν, υἱὸς Μ[ασδα]σνου θεοῦ [Ἀρ]τ[α]ξάρου βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἀριανῶν ἐκ γένους² θεῶν, ἔγγονος θεοῦ Παπάκ[ου] βασιλέως — τοῦ Ἀριανῶν ἔθνου[ς δεσπότης εἰμ]ί.

§2. κα[ἰ κα]τ[έ]χω ἔθνη· Περσίδα, Π[α]ρθίαν, Οὐ[ζ]ηνήν, Μ[η]σανηγήν, Ἀσσυρίαν, Ἀδιαβηνήν, Ἀραβίαν, Ἀδουρβαδηνήν, ³ Ἀρμενίαν, Ἰβηρίαν, Μαχελονίαν, Ἀλβανίαν, [Βυρασα]γηνή[ν], ἕως ἔ[μ]π[ρο]σθ[εν] Καπ ὄρους καὶ π[υ]λῶ[ν Ἀλαν]ῶν καὶ ὅλον τὸ Πρεσσοῦαρ ὄρος,

§3. Μ[α]δηνήν, Γουργαν, Μαρου, ⁴ Ἄρη καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀνωτάτω ἔθνη, Κερμανζηνήν, Σεγιστανήν, [Τουρηνήν, Μακαραν, Παρα]δηνήν, Ἰνδιαν καὶ Κουσην[ῶν ἔθ]ν[η] ἕως ἔμπροσθεν Πασκιβουρων καὶ ἕως Κας, Σωδικηνῆς καὶ ⁵ {καὶ} Τσατσηνῆς ὄρων, καὶ ἕξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τῆς θα<λ>άσσης Μι[ζ]ουν ἔθ[ν]ος.

§4. [καὶ ἐκαλέσαμεν Π]η[ρ]ωσσαβουρ ... καὶ] ἐκαλέσαμεν Ὠρμισαρτ[αξ]ίρ.

§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 ² 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, Ouzēnē, Mesēnē, Assyria, Adiabēnē, Arabia, Adourobādēnē, ³ Armenia, Ibēria, Machelonia, Albania, (Bursa)gēnē until the foot of the Kap Mountains and the [Alan] Gates and the whole of the Pressouar Mountains,

§3. Madēnē, Gourgān, Marou ⁴ Arē and all the nations in the upper parts: Kermazēnē, Segistanē [Turēnē, Makaran, Para]dēnē, India and the nations of the Kousēnē as far as this side of Paskibour and up to the frontier of Kas, Sōdikēnē and ⁵ {and} Tsatsēnē and from the other shore of the sea the nation of Mi(zoun)

§4. And we have given the name Pērōs-sabour (i.e. Anbar) to a (fief?) and we have given a name to Hormizdartazir.

§5. καὶ ταῦτα τὰ τοσαῦτα ἔθνη |⁶ καὶ τοὺς δεσπότης τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν ἐκ παντὸς μέρους πάντας ἡμεῖν [εἰς φόρους καὶ δουλείαν ἐστήσα[μ]εν.

§5. And such nations |⁶ and the rulers from every nation we have made subject to tribute and slavery.

§6. κ[α]ὶ ὅ[τ]ε πρῶτως ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλίαν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔστημεν, Γορδιανὸς Καῖσαρ |⁷ ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς Γούθθων τε καὶ Γερμανῶν ἐθνῶν [δύναμιν συνέλεξ]εν [καὶ εἰς [τὴ]ν Ἀ[σ]συρίαν ἐ[π]ὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀριανῶν ἔθνος καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπῆλθεν· καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὄρους |⁸ τῆς Ἀσσυρίας ἐν τῇ Μησιχίῃ ἐξ ἐναντίας πόλεμος μέγας γέγονεν

§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. καὶ [Γορδιανὸς Καῖσαρ ἐπα]νήρη κ[αὶ ἡμεῖς] τὴν στ[ρ]ατεῖαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνηλώσαμεν, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι Φίλιππον |⁹ Καίσαρα ἀνηγόρευσαν

§7. Kaisar Gordianos was destroyed and the Roman army was annihilated. The Romans proclaimed Philippos |⁹ Kaisar.

§8. καὶ Φίλιππος ὁ Καῖσαρ εἰς παράκλησιν ἦλθεν καὶ τ[ῶ]ν ψ[υ]χῶν α[ὐ]τῶν ἀντίτειμα π[ε]ντακοσίαν χειλιάδα δηναρίων ἡμεῖν ἔδοτο καὶ εἰς φόρους ἡμεῖν ἔστη· |¹⁰ καὶ ἡμεῖς Μισιχην διὰ τοῦτο Πηρωσσαβουρ ἐπωνομάσαμεν.

§8. And Kaisar Philippos 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. καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ πάλιν ἐψεύσατο καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀ[ρ]μενίαν ἀδικίαν ἐποίησεν· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὠρμήσαμεν ¹¹ καὶ δύναμιν Ῥωμαίων ἐξήκοντα χειλιάδας ἐν Βαρβαρισσῶ ἀνίλαμεν·

§9. And the Kaisar (Philippos ?) 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. καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Συρ[ί]ας καὶ ὅ[σα] ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἔθνη καὶ περιχώροι ἦσαν, πάντα ἐκαύσαμεν καὶ ἠρημώσαμεν καὶ ἐκρατήσαμεν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ μιᾷ ἀγωγῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους Ῥωμαίων καστέλλους τε καὶ πόλει[ς].

§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 <we took> (the following) fortresses and cities from the nation of the Romans:

§11. Ἀναθαν πόλιν σ[ὺ]ν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Βίρθαν Ἀσπωράκου σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σοῦραν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Βαρβαλισσὸν πόλιν σ[ὺ]ν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ἱεράπολιν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,

§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. [Βέρροι]αν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Χαλκίδα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ἀπαμίαν πόλιν ¹⁴ σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ῥεφανέαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ζεῦγμα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Οὐριμ[α] πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,

§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 Rephaneaia with its surrounding territory, the city of Zeugma with its surrounding territory, the city of Ourim[a] with its surrounding territory,

§13. Γίνδαρον πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Λαρμέναζα πόλιν |¹⁵ σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σελεύκιαν

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

πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ἀντιόχιαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, [Κ]ύρρο[ν πό]λιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,

§14. ἄλλην Σελεύκιαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ἀλεξάνδριαν πόλιν ¹⁶ σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Νεικόπολιν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σίνζαρα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Χ[α]μ[α]θ πόλιν [σὺν] τῇ πε[ρ]ιχώρῳ,

§15. Ἀριστίαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Διχωρ πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, ¹⁷ Δολίχην πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Δοῦραν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Κορκουσίωνα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Γερμανεΐκιαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,

§16. Βάτναν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Χαναρ ¹⁸ πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ· καὶ τῆς Καππαδ[ο]κ[ία]ς Σάταλα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Δόμαν [πόλι]ν σὺν [τῇ π]εριχώρῳ;

§17. Ἀρτανγίλ[λα] πόλιν [σὺν] τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σουισαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σουιδ ¹⁹ πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Φρέατα πόλιν [σὺν τῇ πε]ριχώρῳ· ὁμοῦ πόλεις τριάκοντα ἑπτὰ σὺν ταῖς περιχώροις.

§18. τῇ δε τρίτῃ ἀγωγῇ, ὁπότε ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ Κάρρας τε καὶ Ἐδεσσαν ὠρμήσαμεν καὶ Κάρρας καὶ Ἐδεσσα<v> ²⁰ ἐπολιορκοῦμεν, Οὐαλεριανὸς Καῖσαρ [ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἦ]λθεν

§19. καὶ ἦσαν με[τ'] αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Γερμανῶ[ν] ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Ῥετίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Νωρικοῦ ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Δακειᾶς ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Παννονίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ ²¹ Μυσίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Ἀμαστρίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Ἰσπανίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Λυσιτα[νίας] ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς,

§20. ἀπὸ Θρακ[ί]ας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Βιθυνίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Ἀσίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Καμπανίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Συρίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ²² ἀπὸ Λυκαονίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Γαλατίας [ἔθ]νο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Λυκίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, [ἀπὸ Κιλικίας ἔθ]νο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Καππαδοκίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Φρυγίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Συρίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς,

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 Korkousiōn, 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 Kappadkia: 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 Souid 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 R(a)etia, from the peoples of Nōrikum, 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]ta[nia] (?),

§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 Φοινείκης ἔθνους, ἀπὸ ²³ Ἰουδαίας ἔθνους, ἀπὸ Ἀραβίας ἔθνους, ἀπὸ Μαυριτανίας ἔθνους, ἀπὸ Γερμανία[ς] ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Λυδίας ἔθ[ν]ο[υ]ς, ἀπὸ Ἀσί[α]ς ἔθνους, ἀπὸ Μεσοποταμίας ἔθνους· δύναμις ἑβδομήκοντα ²⁴ χειλιάδων.

§22. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν μέρους Καρρῶν καὶ Ἐδέσσων μετὰ [Ο]ὐ[α]λερι[α]νοῦ Κ[α]ίσαρο[ς] μέγας πόλεμ[ο]ς ἡμεῖν γέγονεν καὶ Οὐαλεριανὸν Καίσαρα ἡμεῖς ἐν ἰδίαις χερσὶν ἐκρατήσαμεν ²⁵ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τὸν τε ἑπαρχὸν καὶ συνκλητικοὺς καὶ ἡγεμόν[α]ς, οἵ[τι]νε[ς] ἐκείνης τῆς δυνάμεως ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, πάντας τούτους ἐν χερσὶν ἐκρατήσαμεν καὶ εἰς τὴν ²⁶ Περσίδα αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγομεν.

§23. καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Συρίας καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Καππαδοκίας πυρὶ ἐκάυσασιν καὶ ἠρημώσαμεν καὶ ἠχμαλωτίσαμεν καὶ ἐκρατήσαμεν. ²⁷

§24. ἐκείνη δὲ τῇ ἀγωγῇ ἐκρατήσαμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους Ῥωμαίων Σαμόσατα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ἀλεξάνδριαν τὴν κατ' Ἰσὸν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Κατάβολον πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, ²⁸ Αἰγέαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Μομψουεστίαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,

§25. Μαλλὸν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, [Ἄδ]ανα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ταρσὸν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ζεφύριν πόλιν σὺν τῇ ²⁹ περιχώρῳ, Σηβαστὴν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Κώρυκον πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,

§26. Ἀγρίππαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Καστάβαλα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Νερωνιάδα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, ³⁰ Φλαυιάδα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Νεικόπολιν πόλιν {πόλιν} σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,

§27. Ἐπιφάνιαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Κελένδεριν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ἄνεμοῦριν πόλιν ³¹ σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σελινοῦν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Μυῶν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ἀντιόχίαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Σελεύκιαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,

§21. from the peoples of Phoinikē, ²³ from the peoples of Judaea, from the peoples of Arabia, from the peoples of Mauritania, from the peoples of Germania, from the peoples of Lydia (and) from the peoples of Mesopotamia a force of seventy ²⁴ -thousand men.

§22. A great battle took place beyond Karrhae and Edessa between us and Kasiar Valerianos and we took him prisoner with our own hands ²⁵ as well as, the Praetorian Prefect, senators and officers who commanded the army. All these we took prisoner (lit. 'captured by hand') and led away ²⁶ to Persis.

§23. We also burnt, devastated, enslaved and pillaged the nation of Syria, the nation of Kilikia and the nation of Kappadokia.

§24. On this third campaign we also conquered from the Empire of the Romans the city of Samosata with its surrounding territory, the city of Alexandria with its surrounding territory, the city of Katabolon with its surrounding territory ²⁸, the city of Aig(e)ai with its surrounding territory, the city of Mopsuestia with its surrounding territory,

§25. the city of Mallos with its surrounding territory, the city of Adana with its surrounding territory, the city of Tarsus with its surrounding territory, the city of Zephyrion with its surrounding territory, ²⁹ the city of Sebaste with its surrounding territory, the city of Korykos with its surrounding territory,

§26. the city of Agrippa with its surrounding territory, the city of Kastabala with its surrounding territory, the city of Neronias, ³⁰ the city of Flavias with its surrounding territory, the city of Neikopolis with its surrounding territory,

§27. the city of Epiphania with its surrounding territory with its surrounding territory, the city of Kelenderis with its surrounding territory, the city of Anemourium with its surrounding territory, ³¹ the city of Selinus, the city of Myonpolis with its surrounding territory, the city of Antiochia with its surrounding territory, the city of Seleukeia

§28. Δομετίου πόλιν σὺν τῇ ³² {τῇ} περιχώρῳ, Τύανα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Μηιακαριρη πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Κόμανα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Κύβιστρα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ,

§29. Σηβάστιαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ ³³ περιχώρῳ, Βίρθαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ῥακουνδιαν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Λάρανδα πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ, Ἰκόνιν πόλιν σὺν τῇ περιχώρῳ· πάσας ταῦτας τὰς πόλεις ³⁴ σὺν ταῖς περιχώροις αὐτῶν λς'.

§30. καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους Ῥωμαίων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀναριανῶν ἐν ἀρπαγῇ ἠγάγαμεν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἔθνεϊ τῷ Ἀριανῶν ἐν Περσίδει καὶ ³⁵ ἐν Παρθία καὶ ἐν Οὐζηνῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρία καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑτέροις ἔθνεσιν κατ' ἐπαρχιῶν, ὅπου ἡμῶν τε καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ πάππων καὶ προγόνων ἡμῶν κτίσματα ἦν, ἐκεῖ αὐτοῦς ³⁶ ἀπεκαθίσταμεν.

§31. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἕτερα πολλὰ ἔθνη ἐζητήσαμεν καὶ πολὺ ὄνομα καὶ ἀνδρείότητα ἐπεποιήσαμεν, ἃ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἐνεγράψαμεν πλὴν τὰ τοσαῦτα. διὰ τοῦτο ἐκελεύσαμεν γραφῆναι, ³⁷ ἵνα, ὅστις μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἔσται, τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν δεσποτείαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπιγνώσεται.

§32. κατ' ἐκεῖνο οὖν, ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ ἡμᾶς οὕτως δαστικεργτας ἔκτισαν καὶ εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν ³⁸ τῶν θεῶν ταῦτα τὰ τοσαῦτα ἔθνη ἐζητήσαμεν καὶ κατέχομεν, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ ἔθνος καὶ ἔθνος πολλὰ πυρεῖα Γουαραθραν ἰδρύσαμεν καὶ πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποις μάγοις τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐποιήσαμεν.
³⁹

§33. καὶ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ νιβυστ καθιδρύσαμεν πυρεῖον ἐν, Χοστρω-σαβουρ καλούμενον εἰς ἡμετέραν μνεῖαν καὶ ὀνόματος συντήρησιν, πυρεῖον ἐν Χοστρω-αδουραναιδ καλούμενον ⁴⁰ εἰς τὴν Ἀδουρ-αναιδ τῆς βασιλίσσης τῶν βασιλίσσων τῆς θυγατρὸς ἡμῶν μνεῖαν καὶ ὀνόματος συντήρησιν, καὶ πυρεῖον ἐν Χοστρω-

with its surrounding territory,

§28. the city of Dometiropolis with its ³² surrounding territory, the city of Tyana with its surrounding territory, the city of Meiakarire 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, ³³ the city of Birtha with its surrounding territory, the city of Rhakoundia with its surrounding territory, the city of Laranda with its surrounding territory, the city of Iconis (*sic*) with its surrounding territory; all these cities ³⁴ 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 ³⁵ in Parthia, in Ouzēnē and in Assyria and in every other nation where our own and our fathers's and our forefathers's ³⁶ 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 ³⁷ 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-Šabuhr 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-Ohrmezd-Ardašīr for the soul and future memory

ορμισδαρταξειρ καλούμενον εἰς τὴν
 Ὁρμισδαρταξιρ ⁴¹ τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως
 Ἀρμενίας υἱοῦ ἡμῶν μνειάν καὶ ὀνόματος
 συντήρησιν,

§34. ἕτερον πυρεῖον ἐν Χοστρω-σαβουρ
 καλούμενον εἰς τὴν Σαβουρ τοῦ Μησανηνῶν
 βασιλέως υἱοῦ ἡμῶν ⁴² μνειάν καὶ ὀνόματος
 συντήρησιν καὶ πυρεῖον ἐν Χοστρω-ναρση
 καλούμενον εἰς τὴν ἀρίαν Μασδαασνου
 Ναρσαίου βασιλέως Ἰνδίας Σεγιστηνῆς
 Τουρηνηῆς ἕως χεῖλους ⁴³ θαλάσσης υἱοῦ ἡμῶν
 εἰς τὴν μνειάν καὶ ὀνόματος συντήρησ[ι]ν.

§35. καὶ ἐκεῖνο. ὃ τούτοις τοῖς πυρίοις
 παρεσχόμεθα καὶ ἔθος κατεστήσαμεν, ὁμῶς
 πάντα ⁴⁴ εἰς ἔνγραφον τοῦ ἀσφαλισματος τῆς
 τεμιῆς ἐγράψαμεν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων τ[ῶ]ν χειλίων
 προβάτων τῶν ἀπὸ ταρκάπησιν ἐθίμων ἡμεῖν
 ὄντων ἡμεῖς τούτοις ⁴⁵ τοῖς πυρεῖοις ἐδώκαμεν
 καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἐκελεύσαμεν, ἵνα γείνηται·

§36. εἰς τὴν μνειάν ἡμῶν πρόβατον ἡμερίσιον ἐν,
 καὶ ἄρτων μόδιος εἷς ἡμισυς, οἴνου πασατας ⁴⁶
 τέσσερας, εἰς τὴν Σασάνου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ
 Παπάκου βασιλέως καὶ Σαπώρου βασιλέως
 Παπακαν καὶ Ἀρταξάρου βασιλέως βασιλέων καὶ
 Χορνανζημ τῆς τοῦ ἔθνους ⁴⁷ βασιλίσσης καὶ
 Ἀδουρ-αναῖδ βασιλίσσης τῶν βασιλισσῶν καὶ
 Δηνακῆς βασιλίσσης καὶ Γουαραθρανου
 βασιλέως Γεληνῶν καὶ Σαπώρου βασιλέως ⁴⁸
 Μησανηνῶν

§37. καὶ Ὁρμισδ-αρταξάρου μεγάλου βασιλέως
 Ἀρμενίας καὶ Ναρσαίου Σεγιστηνῶν βασιλέως
 καὶ Σαβουρ-δουκτακ τῆς Σεγιστανῶ[ν] ⁴⁹
 βασιλίσσης καὶ Τιεσμακ τῆς κυρίας καὶ Πηρώζου
 τοῦ ἐκ βασιλέων καὶ Μυρρωδ κυρίας μητρὸς
 Σαπώρου βασιλέως βασιλέων καὶ Ναρσαίου τοῦ
 ἐκ βασιλέων καὶ Ῥωδιδουκτ<α>κ ⁵⁰ <τ>ῆς
 θυγατρὸς Ἀνωσακ, καὶ Γοραζ-δουκτ θυγατρὸς
 Χορνανζημ

§38. καὶ Σταριαδ βασιλίσσης καὶ Ὁρμισδακ υἱοῦ
 τοῦ Ἀρμενίων βασιλέως καὶ Ὁρμισδ καὶ
 Ὁρμισδακ καὶ ⁵¹ Ὀδαβαχθ καὶ Γουαραθραν καὶ
 Σαβουρ καὶ Πηρω[ζ] τοῦ Μησανηνῶν βασιλέως
 υἱῶν καὶ Σαβουρ-δουκτακ θυγατρὸς τοῦ
 Μησανηνῶν βασιλέως καὶ Ὁρμισδ-δουκτακ
 θυγατρὸς ⁵² τοῦ Σεγιστανῶν βασιλέως τῆς μνειάς
 πρόβατον ἐν, ἄρτων μόδιον ἕνα ἡμισυ, οἴνου
 πασεους τέσσερας.

§39. κάκεῖνα τὰ πρόβατα, ἅπερ ἐκεῖθεν

of our son Ohrmezd-Ardašīr, great King of
 Armenia;

§34. Another fire temple named Husraw-Šabuhr
 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 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 Mēsanēnoi,

§37. Hōrmisd-Artaxerxes, great King of Armenia,
 and Narsaios, the King of the Segistēnoi (*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 Rōddouk<a>k, daughter of
 Anōsak, Goraz-Doukt, daughter of Xornanzēm,

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

§39. And the remaining lambs, as long as they are

περισσεύει, ἕως ἐξαρκέσει, |⁵³ ἐν τόσῳ εἰς τὴν μνείαν ἐκείνων, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐκελεύσαμεν, εἰς μνείαν αὐτῶν μαγεύσωσιν.

§40. καὶ ἐνθάδε ἐνέγραπται καὶ συνέστηκεν τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Παπάκου βασιλέως δεσποτείας ὑπαρξάντων ⁵⁴ Σασάνου τοῦ Ἀρνηγαν, Φαρρεκ Φαρρικαν, Γοαρθανιπατ Ὠριγαν, Ἀσπωρικ Ἀσπωριγαν, Πωρικ Μερδιγαν, Ζιγ τοῦ διπνοκλήτορος, Σαπώρου Γουεζηνιγαν, Σαπώρου Μερωζινηγαν.⁵⁵

§41. καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀ[ρ]ταξάρου τοῦ βασιλέως βασιλέων δεσποτείας ὑπαρξάντων Σαταροπτ Ἀβρηναχ βασιλέως, Ἀρταξάρου Μάρου βασιλέως, Ἀρταξερ Κερμαν βασιλέως, Ἀρταξερ Σιγαν |⁵⁶ βασιλέως, Δηνικ Παβάκου τοῦ βασιλέως μητρός, Ῥωδακῆς τῆς Ἀρταξάρου τοῦ βασιλέως βασιλέων μητρός,

§42. Δηνακῆς βασιλίσσης βασιλισσῶν Παπακαν, Ἀρταξερ βιδιξ, Παβάκου ἀζαροπτ, |⁵⁷ Δην Γοράζου, Σασαν Σουρην, Σασαν Ἰνδηγαν δεσπότου, Πηρωζ Καρην, Γωοκ Καρην, Ἀβουρσαμ Ἀρταξιρουφρ, Γηλιμαν ἀπὸ Δουμβαουνδ, Ῥοξ σπαπίτου, Μαρδ διβιρουπτ, Παβακ τοῦ |⁵⁸ δειπνοκλήτορος,

§43. Παζηρου Γουασπεριγαν, Οὐιφερου τοῦ Οὐιφεριγαν, Μερχουάστου τοῦ Βερησιγαν, Χουμαφρατ μαιγανπεδ, Δηραν τοῦ ζηνιπιτ, Τζερικ τοῦ δικαστοῦ, Οὐάρδαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς πάθνης, |⁵⁹ Μερ<ι>κ Τουσσεριγαν, Ζηκ Ζαβρικαν, Σαγβους τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ κυνηγίου, Χουδικ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀννώνης, Διεην τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴνου.

§44. καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν δεσποτείαν ἡμῶν γεγονότων Ἀρταξάρου βασιλέως |⁶⁰ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς, Ἀρταξάρου βασιλέως τῆς Κιρμανζηνῆς, Δηνακη<ς> βασιλίσση<ς> Μησῶν δαστικιρτ Σαπωρ, Ἀμαζασπου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Ἰβηρίας, Οὐαλάσσου τοῦ ἐγ βασιλέων υἱοῦ Παβάκου,

§45. Σασάνου τοῦ ἐγ βασιλέω<ν> |⁶¹ τοῦ <ει>ς Παρικαν τραφέντος, Σασάνου τοῦ ἐγ βασιλ[έ]ων τοῦ εἰς Κιδουκαν ἀνατραφέντος, Ναρσαίου τοῦ ἐγ βασιλέων Πηρωζιγαν, Ναρσαίου τοῦ ἐγ βασιλέων Σαβουργαν, Σαπωρ πιτιάξου, Παβάκου ἀζαρίπτου, Πηρωζου ἀσπιπίδου, |⁶² Ἀρταξαρ Γουραζ,

§46. Ἀρταξαρ Σουρην, Ναρσαίου Ἀνδηγαν

sufficient (in numbers?), we have commanded to sacrifice for the memory of those for whose souls.

§40. And here are inscribed those who lived in the reign of King Papak: Sasan, the son of Arnēgan, Farrek, the son of Farrek, Goarthanipat, the son of Hōrigan, Aspōrik, the son of Aspōrik, Pōrik, the son of Mardig, Zīg, the master of ceremonies, Sapor, the son of Gouezēnig, Sapor, the son of Meerōzinēg;

§41. those who lived in the reign of King Artaxerxes, King of Kings: Sataropt, 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, Rōdakē, the mother of Artaxerxes, King of Kings

§42. Dēnak, Queen of Queens, the daughter of Papak, Aratxar the *bidix*, Pabak the *azaropt*, Dēēn Gorax, Sasan the *sourēn*, Sasan, Lord of Indēg, Pēroz Karēn, Gook Karēn, Abursām Artaxiroufr, Gēliman of Doubaound, Rox the *spapit*, Mard the *dibiroupt*, Pabak the master of ceremonies,

§43 Pazēr, son of Gourasperig, son of Ouiferig, Merxousa, son of Berēsīg, Houmafrat the *magianped*, Dēran, the *zēnipit*, Tzerik the judge, Ouardan, the controller of the stables, Meer<i>k son of Tousserig, Zēk, son of Zabrik, Sagbosus, master of the hunt, Xoudik, controller of revenue, Dieēn, the wine steward;

§44. And those who lived in our reign: Artaxerxes, the king of Adiabēne, Artaxerxes, the king of Kirman, Dēnak, the queen of Mēsan, the *dastigirt* 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. Artaxerxes *sūrēn*, Narsaios, Lord of

κυρίου, Ἀρταξαρ Καρην, Γοαννάμου ἐπιτρόπου, Φρείκου Γουε-αντιοχ-σαβωρ σατράπου, Στρηδῶ Σαιμούστου, Ἀρταξαρ Ἀρταξαρισνούμ, Παζήρ Ταμ-σαβουρ, Ἀρταξαρ Γῶμαν σατράπου, |⁶³ Τιασμικ Νι-σαβῶρ,

§47. Γοανναμ Σαπῶρ-σνούμ, Τῖρ-μερ Σαρακάρτων καστελλοφύλακος, Ζικ δειπνοκλήτορος, Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ ἀπὸ Τουμβαούντων, Γυνδιφερ Ἀβγαν, Ῥισμαῶδ καὶ Παβις Πηρωσαβῶρ Σονβεδηγαν, Γουαρζιν Γη σατράπου, |⁶⁴ Κιρδιστρω πιτυάξου, Παπάκου Οὐϊσπερηγαν,

(. Οὐαλάσου Σλωκαν, Ἰησιδιβαδ βασιλισσῶν ἀνδαρζαβιδ, Παπάκου τοῦ σπαθοφόρου, Ναρσαίου Ῥινδ σατράπου, Τιανικ Ἄμιδαν σατράπου, Γουλβαδ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας, |⁶⁵ Διωμερδου Ῥαστιγαν, Ἀρταξάρου Γυιφεριγαν, Ἀβουρσαμ-σαβῶρ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν δριγαιων,

§49. Ναρσαίου Βαρριγαν, Σαβῶρ Ναρσηγαν, Ναρσαίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς |⁶⁶ ἀνώνης, Ὠρμίζ<δ>ου τοῦ ἀρχιγραμματέως, Ναδῶκ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς, Παπακ |⁶⁶ θυρουροῦ, Πασφερδ Πασφερδιγαν, Ἀβ<δ>αγας Δησβηδιγαν, Καρτειρ μάγου, Ῥαστακ Γυε-αρταξάρων σατράπου, Ἀρταξάρου Πιτιξιγαν, Μεερχουαστ γανζοφύλακος, Σαπῶρου ἐπιτρόπου,

§50. Ἀστατ Μεεραν ἐπὶ ἐπιστολῶν, Σασαν |⁶⁷ εὐνούχου Σασανγαν, Οὐορωδ ἀγορανόμου, Ἀρταξάρου Νηρηζ σατράπου, Βαδου Γουλιβηγαν, Κιρδειρ Ἰρδουαν, Ζαρουανδατ Βανδιγαν, Γυινναρ Σασανγαν, Μανζικ εὐνούχου, Σασάνου δικαστοῦ, Οὐαρδάνου Νασπαδιγαν, Οὐαρδικ γοραζιβιδ· ⁶⁸ ὁμοῦ πρόβατον ἕν, ἄρτου μόδιον ἓνα ἡμισυ, οἴνου πασαιους τέσσαρες.

§51. νῦν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας καὶ θρησκείας τῶν θεῶν σπουδάζομεν καὶ τῶν θεῶν κτίσμα ἐσμὲν καὶ εἰς βοήθειαν τῶν θεῶν ταῦτα πάντα τὰ |⁶⁹ ἔθνη ἐζητήσαμεν καὶ κατέσχαμεν καὶ ὄνομα καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἐπεποιησάμεθα, κάκεῖνος δέ, ὅστις μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἔσται καὶ εὐτυχῆς ἔσται, κάκεῖνος ἐπὶ τὰς χρείας καὶ θρησκείας τῶν θεῶν σπουδασάτω, ἵνα οἱ θεοὶ βοηθοὶ |⁷⁰ αὐτῷ ἔσονται καὶ δαστικριτην ἑαυτῶν ποιήσονται.

Andēgan, Artaxerxes Karēn, Goannam, the chief steward, Freikos, the *satrap* of Goue-Antioch-Sabōr, Strēdos called Saimoust, Artaxerxes called Artaxarisnoum, Pazēr called Tam-Sabour, Artaxerxes, the satrap of Gōman, Tiasmik (called) Ni-Sabōr,

§47. Goannam called Sapōr-snom, Tīr-mēr the fortress-commander, Zik the master of ceremonies, Artabanos from Toumbaoun, Gundifer, the son of Abgan, Rismaōd and Pabis the sons of Sanbid called Perōs-Sabōr, Gouarzin, the satrap of Gē, Kirdistrō the *pituax* (sic), Papak, son of Ouisperēg,

§48. Oualas, son of Slōk, Yēsdiabad, *andarzabid* of the queens, Papak, the sabre-bearer, Narsaios, the satrap of Rind, Tiyanik, the satrap of Hamidan (or Amida), Goulbad, the chamberlain, Diōmerd, son of Rastag, Artaxerxes, son of Guiferig, Aboursam, son of Sabōr, (superintendent) of the *drigaion* (royal palace),

§49. Narsaios, son of Barrig, Sabōrs, son of Narsē, Narsaios, (the controller) of revenue, Hormizd, the chief scribe, Nadōk, the controller of prisons, Papaks, the door-keeper, Pasferd, son of Pasferd, Abdag, son of Dēsbebēd, Karteir the *Magus*, Rastak, the satrap of Gue-Artaxar, the son of Pitix (or the *pitix*), Meerxouast, the guardian of the *ganz* (i.e. treasurer), Sapōsr, the chief steward,

§50. Astat Meeran, in charge of correspondence, Sasan, son of Sasan the eunuch, Ouorōd, supervisor of the market, Artaxerxes, the satrap of Nirēz, Bados son of Goulibēg, Kirdeir Irdouan, Zarouandat, son of Bandig, Guinnar son of Sasan, Manzik, a eunuch, Sasan the judge, Ouardan, son of Naspadik, Ouardik the *gorazibid*; once again one lamb, one and a half mdion of bread, 4 *pās* of wine.

§51. Just as we now devote ourself to the affairs of the gods and their ritual service and are the god's *dastikirt* (*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 *dastikirt* (*dastgerd*) to them.

