

**THIRD CENTURY  
IRAN  
SAPOR AND KARTIR**

**BY  
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This publication presents the final comprehensive work of this writer on the great inscriptions of Sapor I and of his and his successors' ecclesiastical prince Kartir, as found or photographed by the Oriental Institute Persepolis Expedition under the direction of Erich F. Schmidt. The steps leading up to it are uneven. This is especially true of first steps. It is due in part to the writer's inexperience, which will be seen to decrease as the work goes along. It seemed to the writer important that sources so valuable should be put at the disposal of many -- shall we say the world of scholarship? -- as soon as possible, even though imperfectly. That was one cause of early unevenness. Another was the writer's lack of information in the early part of his work. He was aware of this and sought by diligent inquiry to fill in his gaps. Some of this information was available from the beginning (Classical Philology XXXVII [1942] 245 f.) in the writer's immediate neighborhood; it was not made available to him. Without it he set out with what speed he could muster on the course of publication. He has never seen the originals. Even the accumulating copies came to his hands slowly after work on them by others. This much for the record.

With this, publication took shape as follows. My own work proceeds from AJSL LIII (1937) 126-44 and ZDMG XCI (1937) 652-72 to AJSL LVII (1940) 197-228, 330-40, 341-430 and LVIII (1941) 169-76. W. B. Henning came in with his valuable identification and just a little over-ingenious interpretation in BSOS IX (1937-39) 823-49. Then, following upon each other after a brief interval, came A. T. Olmstead in Classical Philology XXXVII (1942) 241-62, 398-420 (which came to me indirectly much later) and Michael I. Rostovtzeff in Berytus VIII (1943-44) 17-60, with A. R. Bellinger on coins of Dura *ibid.* pp. 61-71. Following Rostovtzeff there came to my hands Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli's article "Res Gestae divi Saporis" in La Parola del Passato II (Napoli, 1947) 209-39 and, finally, Wilhelm Ensslin, Sb. Bay. Akd. W., Philos. -hist. Kl., 1947, no. 5, 115 pp. Ensslin (p. 91, n. 2) quotes another article by Pugliese Carratelli (La Parola del Passato II 356-62), which I have not seen. Ensslin's work is particularly important for a new, better, more certain dating based on the study of Martin J. Higgins, The Catholic University of America Byzantine Studies I (Washington, D. C., 1939). It is hoped that herewith is presented a publication useful to many, though not satisfactory to all. Through the Oriental Institute these great historical sources, greater than the Monumentum Ancyranum of Augustus and not far behind the great Bisitun inscription of Darius I, may at last receive due recognition.

# CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

- |           |         |   |
|-----------|---------|---|
| Page 4,   | line 21 | Read "on the other hand" for "of".  |
|           | line 27 | Read "is" for "was".  |
| Page 5,   | line 22 | Read "Shahpuhr" for "he".   |
|           | line 28 | Read "its" for "it".  |
|           | line 30 | Read "Shahpuhr" for "him".  |
| Page 6,   | line 28 | Read "Cappadocia" for "Cappadocis".   |
| Page 14,  | line 19 | Read "Tūristān" for "Tūrastān".   |
|           | line 20 | Read "Khindustān" for "Khindastān".   |
| Page 19,  | line 10 | Read "Artakhshatr" for "Atakhatr".  |
|           | line 17 | Read "Yōdmart" for "Yōdmrart".  |
| Page 23,  | line 8  | Read "... Hormizd-Ardashīr (of Shahpuhr)".  |
| Page 25,  | line 1  | Begin new paragraph after "Marquart".   |
| Page 33,  | line 14 | After "Parthian" insert: "Of course, the naming of the scribe's father of the same name as himself may be a mere error in MP".  |
| Page 85,  | line 56 | Add footnote: "The local, <u>not</u> chronological, division and arrangement of the places sacked in the three campaigns of this second war with Rome speaks for lists, perhaps dictated from memory, other than annalistic, which latter would be the usual form of Persian official records". |
| Page 95,  | line 3  | Read "his" for "this".  |
| Page 109, | line 42 | Delete comma after "271".   |
| Page 111, | line 9  | Read "Valerian" for "him".  |



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## SHAHPUHR KZ

## INTRODUCTION

In the second and third quarters of the third century of the Christian or common era the power, prosperity, and orderly rule of the Roman Empire sank to a low ebbtide, in some ways the lowest in its existence before its final dissolution. On this sector of Roman history there exists a considerable bulk of historical writing in Greek and Latin, perforce used as source material by modern historians. But though of late eked out by coins and similar material, large spots and important phases of this period remain uncertain, obscure, subject to much guesswork. Perhaps the great gap, lost out of Malalas at precisely this point, may without too much forcing be called typical, symptomatic.

Such loss and disorder are especially apparent in the regions of the Roman Empire east of the Mediterranean, say Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia. On this eastern frontier at this time a new power and movement were rising from the ashes of Rome's old rival, the Parthian empire. The lack of good western history writing here is aggravated by the fact that Oriental history likewise, as preserved in Syriac, Arabic, etc., flows along muddily, turgidly for these times and places. And again in the chronicles or stories of the rise of Sasanian Persia, as they have come down to us, for the history of the first six or seven Sasanian kings it is not so much the quantity as the historic quality of the writing that is deficient.

It is this situation which gives the discoveries of the Oriental Institute on the walls of the Kaabah of Zoroaster, combined and collated with the related material on the rock wall opposite the Kaabah and on the rocks of Naqsh-i-Rajab and Sar Meshhed, their high importance. Here we have what are after all wholly and absolutely contemporary statements. They are written in lapidary style and from personal angles easy to recognize. Every account is written from some angle, often by no means so easy to fix as in this case. For their stone settings these accounts are surprisingly extensive. They are worth publishing well and in extenso. This publication furnishes remarkably excellent photographs of the originals on the Kaabah of Zoroaster (KZ), on Naqsh-i-Rustam, opposite the Kaabah, and on Naqsh-i-Rajab near by. Photographs of a plaster cast made from a wonderful rubberoid squeeze of the Greek of Sapor KZ are added; similar photographs of Shahpuhr's Parthian were published with the preliminary edition of Shahpuhr KZ in AJSL LVII, no. 4 (Oct. 1940), an edition, with some emendations already made, in spite of some errors not unnatural in a first attempt, full enough and good enough to deserve the designation editio princeps.

Much of the matter there published need not re-encumber as notes this fuller and more definitive edition. This volume, after a brief foreword, will bring an introductory statement for each of the inscriptions published; a handcopy by this writer from photographs; a transliteration which attempts faithfully to reproduce the symbols of the original Parthian and Middle Persian in symbols derived from the Latin-English alphabet; a translation; a section under the caption "Notes", which may be supplemented by the reader from editio princeps, of which as little as possible is repeated here. For the Greek of Shahpuhr-Sapor a transliteration in full was published in editio princeps, which may be consulted by those who wish or need it. The latest reading of the Greek which the aging eyes of this writer can furnish from the photographs in his possession, with no check from the original, is published with the essay, "The Greek of Sapor KZ and Roman History", at the end of this volume.

Usage in transcribing major names like Shahpuhr-Sapor should to this writer's mind remain flexible, keeping the reader's mind alert for variations. William L. Langer in his edition of Encyclopedia of World History uses at one point "Shapur (Sapor)". Rostovtzeff has his own usage. French, Italians, Germans, Spaniards, Arabs, modern Iranians, etc., will each have theirs. Here,

instead of the phonetic symbol of professed transliteration (Š), the title and text uses for the initial symbol and sound English Sh. After the initial, English, - perhaps better Latin, - symbols simply replace the Aramaic ones of Parthian and Middle Persian in the spelling Shahpuhr. That this procedure will produce in Anglo-American speech organs exactly the sounds of the written originals as spoken by men of that day at the Sasanian court or in its armies, at which we can make shrewd guesses, may be doubted. But it is likewise doubtful whether any other system will produce any better results of this nature. The Greeks, lacking symbols for sh and internal h sounds, wrote what in Latin symbols is well rendered by Sapor, adding their own case endings; the Latin Romans as usual followed the Greeks. In almost all older historical literature this is the form in which this name appears. To this writer it seems a valid endeavor to impress something of the facts just brought out on the minds of readers. There being no generally accepted usage, some variation, not fixed with any pedantic precision, between Shahpuhr and Sapor is left standing throughout.

Of the four great inscriptions brought to light, when the Oriental Institute expedition at Persepolis uncovered the lower portion of the "Kaabah of Zoroaster", the Kartīr is dealt with later in this volume. The great find was the monumental inscription of the great Sasanian, Shahpuhr I, son of Artakhshathr (Artaxerxes, Ardashīr) I. His impact on the history of his time was considerable, his achievements noteworthy in a long reign of thirty years, 241-271 A.D. His father was the founder of a new Iranian (in the Parthian language: Aryan) empire or kingdom, following the Parthian world empire. Shahpuhr made of this kingdom a new world empire, Iranian and non-Iranian (Parthian Aryan and non-Aryan), extending from the Punjab of India, Peshawar and Tashkent to the Darial pass in the Caucasus, the eastern border of Cappadocia, the western boundary of Armenia, Assyria and the desert border beyond the Euphrates to the Persian Gulf -- for a short time to the shores of the Mediterranean and to Galatia and Iconium in the heart of Asia Minor. Like others of his kind before and after him Shahpuhr had a sense of his place in history. This led him toward the end of his extremely active life to sum up what he considered his notable achievements in a great rock-cut inscription. Like his predecessor, Darius I, the Achaemenian, he uses three languages. As in the case of Darius two of these are inherited from courts of empires overthrown, in his case the Parthian court, at which the use of Parthian and Greek was well developed. To these two he adds the language of his own court, Middle Persian, - current in a minor way for some centuries, - in his own time being developed in priestly schools at the cost of the other two. For the site of his inscription he does not choose with Darius a great rock face on a mountain side, but, like the Roman Augustus in his *Monumentum Ancyranum*, the walls of a sanctuary. His is a primitive sanctuary, ancient, standing in the midst of a developing sanctuary area; but it was the sanctuary at which his forebears made their start on their rise to power, very precious and sacred in the eyes of himself and a new priesthood or priestly caste rising into eminence with him.

It can be stated beyond a reasonable doubt, that at this time for such royal inscriptions the original would be conceived in the Parthian language and script, for which trained court secretaries and scribes were at hand. Passing over the Kartīr-Varahrān (Bahrām) interlude, for which the Kartīr inscriptions and the essay on *The Greek of Sapor KZ and Roman History* may be referred to, this practice continues to Narseh's Paikuli, which with Herzfeld's passing still awaits an improved and fuller edition. In Shahpuhr KZ the Parthian is the only form bearing the scribe's proud signature. Use of the Greek, dropped at Paikuli, is approaching its end, as shown in the essay. Middle Persian is rising with Kartīr, but not yet on top. Both Greek and Middle Persian are not mere translations; both show interesting and instructive attempts at originality, sometimes valuable, sometimes spurious. But not yet has Parthian lost its leading role at the court of Shahpuhr and Narseh, as it had, being discarded altogether, with the priest Kartīr and the priest-ridden Varahrāns (Bahrāms).

It is worthy of note, that during a good part of Shahpuhr's reign, the fortunes of Rome were at a low ebb, disorders eating at its vitals within and defeats

not uncommon on the frontiers of the empire. A sibylline, apocalyptic expectancy was in the air. This is important for us. It seemed not unreasonable to look for the overthrow of great Rome. Shahpuhr clearly for a time was of this mind. As is suggested in the essay on Roman history, Odenathus of Palmyra in his own way for some time probably shared it. Odenathus' death and Zenobia's story become more intelligible when this is taken into consideration. Thus viewed it is easier to understand that Shahpuhr's attempts on Roman territory were strenuous, and his successes, however shortlived, not small. He emphasizes his successes and passes defeats over in silence, as does Augustus, the Roman, and as do all the Roman historians for this time, except for the one great defeat with capture of a Roman emperor, which could not be killed with silence. It is unfortunate, that for Shahpuhr's inscription a name scholar like Rostovtzeff has put into the world a catchy title like Res gestae divi Saporis, which carries a disparaging slur. Res gestae were historically not very reliable. In any case our inscription is not a full res gestae by any means. The northern and eastern frontier of the great Iranian empire is passed over in silence, though we know from Kartīr and elsewhere that great deeds were accomplished there. Also, the inscription deals with other things than res gestae. I leave its name as Shahpuhr KZ, meantime recognizing the fact, that for Roman history it is a contemporary source of the first order, as is shown in the essay, The Greek of Sapor KZ and Roman History.

After the identification of himself there follows an enumeration of the kingdoms and provinces, which constitute the empire. This list limits itself strictly to facts, as they actually were at the end of Shahpuhr's reign. It ends, as this writer now sees it, with a frontier post newly founded and named. Only in the very last sentence are rulers mentioned as tributary with their lands.

Then comes the great series of actions against Rome. Each of these in the text begins with and centers around a victory won in a battle in the open field. Each describes what to Shahpuhr's mind is a war, not a single campaign. In one case, at least, something like three campaigns stand out pretty distinctly. The first of these three wars may have been started by premature aggressive action against Roman Mesopotamia. This probably belongs largely, if not wholly, to Ardashir's reign. For it Shahpuhr seems not to feel responsible. He does not touch upon the capture of Hatra, an outstanding feat, surpassing Roman efforts. To him the outstanding fact is the Roman attack on his empire and its real frontier under the youthful emperor Gordian. Early Roman successes under the leadership of Gordian's father-in-law, Timesitheus, a seasoned veteran of former wars in this very region, are passed over in silence. They consisted chiefly, in fact wholly, of reconquest of Roman Mesopotamia, not touching Persian soil, not reaching Hatra. The name of Timesitheus is not mentioned in Sapor's lapidary account. There is no sound reason for applying to this silence the deprecatory term "reticence," as has been done, unless one applies the same term to Roman silence about Rome's defeat at the end of this war. This last is to Shahpuhr the outstanding event finishing this war. The preliminary edition sought the location of this battle in the northeast; Olmstead and Rostovtzeff, the latter correcting a vital misreading which might have led out of the fog, simply followed the writer in this error, which is now corrected in the historical essay. The battle-scarred, aging physique of Timesitheus, unable to withstand the bowel-racking climate, food, drink, and other rigors of such a campaign, collapsed. Timesitheus was gone; insinuations of poison merit no credence. Timesitheus himself had appointed, i.e., had Gordian appoint, the well-tried and proven Philip the Arab in his own place as praefectus praetorio. A plan of Timesitheus for a further campaign was on hand, - was, indeed, in process of being carried out. This plan called for an advance down the Euphrates to the Persian frontier and probably beyond this, across the narrowest strip of land between Euphrates and Tigris, to reach and take the "capital", Ctesiphon. This plan was delayed and deranged by the death of Timesitheus. The youthful, inexperienced Gordian persisted in the attempt to carry it out. Philip the Arab was left behind with the traveling treasury (and mint?) to rearrange the logistics for the campaign. Young Gordian and the army drawn from the Gothic (lower Danube) and Germanic limes go on down the river. Accusations of inefficiency or ill will against Philip are bad excuses for a proper defeat.

Where did this take place? For details see the essay. The place is Meshik (Greek: Misikh) on or just within the Persian boundary. This is the town, the Tract, at the point where Euphrates and Tigris run within a few miles of each other west of present Baghdad. It was later called Anbar, the Storehouses, at which boats or caravans were reloaded. It became Pērōzsabūr, The Sapor-Victory. In the battle Gordian came to his death. Shahpuhr and the Sibyl, made much of by Olmstead, use words which clearly and without specious interpretation mean that he fell and was killed in battle. A little note from Sathas, overlooked by almost everyone except Alexander Schenk, Graf von Stauffenberg, while in search of material to fill up the great section lost at this point from Malalas, tells us that Gordian died from the effects of having a horse fall on him and crush his thigh. So he may not have died immediately on the battlefield. Neither his corpse nor his wounded person is mentioned among those presently ransomed by Philip. On the other hand it is clear that his corpse was in the end up river at Zaitha and was there given a proper state funeral, i.e., was ceremoniously incinerated by Philip. The ashes were sent home to Rome, where further proper provision was made for the customary correct treatment of his relicts by Philip. A cenotaph was erected on the spot of the funeral ceremonies by Philip. This means that Philip in every way acted correctly in the affair. Accusations made against Philip, as though he had caused Gordian's death by poison, are on one hand senatorial backstairs gossip against a "furriner", a "wop" or "gook", of vainglorious Roman rhetoric. In another matter Philip acted correctly. He used the money at his disposal to ransom all the more important Roman prisoners of war. In two other matters Philip's actions were not equally impeccable to the Roman mind. One was, that he agreed to pay Shahpuhr an (annual) tribute, perhaps, as was done later, to keep manned and fortified the Caucasus pass against inroads on Roman and his own territory by barbarians of the north. The second, a guess, but a good one, was this, that he left Shahpuhr a free hand in Armenia. In doing this he gave up no properly Roman territory. There is no evidence whatever for the pure and bad guess, that Philip ceded so much as a foot of Roman Mesopotamia. Armenia was a mere, somewhat costly, protectorate for Rome. To Shahpuhr's mind it was territory to which, as a Parthian relic, he had a legitimate claim.

That this is a good guess, as guesses in insufficiently documented ancient history go, is made clear by the cause, or if one is hostile, the pretext, which Shahpuhr names for his second war: "The Caesar", unnamed, probably unknown; therefore simply the Roman government, "lied and committed an offense in regard to Armenia." What was the lie? Rome did not live up to Philip's agreement. What was the offense? Rome received and sheltered the fleeing Tiridates III, after his father, Chosroes I, had been killed and Shahpuhr had conquered Armenia. Zonaras and Zosimus, quoted by Ensslin (see Foreword), pp. 18 ff., say that this happened under Gallus. This is very probable, and Shahpuhr can hardly be greatly blamed for not giving a name which he probably did not even know. Gallus himself was pretty clearly ignorant of much in the Persian East. With Rome in confusion, Gallus and Aemilianus in each other's hair, and Valerian sent to bring down troops from the Germanic limes, it was a good time for Shahpuhr to strike, however much or little he knew of these affairs in detail. That the Persian limes was not being watched closely nor strongly held, this much at least must have been quite apparent to Shahpuhr. So Shahpuhr had reason, eminently satisfactory to his mind, and a golden opportunity to carry out an epic undertaking dear to his heart, sketched in greater detail in the essay below. Leaving evidence for dating to others, especially historians like Ensslin and Alföldi, the statement may be safely ventured, that this took place early in 253 A.D. That is, 253 marks the beginning of Shahpuhr's second war against Rome. This is centered in Shahpuhr's mind in the battle of Barbalissus, not mentioned by any Roman historian, for which Shahpuhr's contemporary witness is, therefore, a precious primary source. But Barbalissus is far away up the Euphrates well inside Roman territory. To get there Shahpuhr had to march up the Euphrates. To place a Roman army of 60,000 there, with Roman generals and armies busy in internecine warfare at home, it seems clear, that Roman garrisons from Mesopotamia and North Syria had to be withdrawn to concentrate at that point. This is a valuable and reasonable hypothesis, strengthened by a Persian occupation of Dūra-Europos, before its final destruction, to which Bellinger's and Rostovtzeff's



published studies and as yet unpublished studies of dipinti in the Dūra Synagogue lend weight. For in Shahpuhr's lapidary account of this war Dūra is very probably mentioned twice. Further, two campaigns, one in Cappadocia, are clearly distinguished as forming parts of this war. It is shown in the essay below, that the order of the cities named as taken and plundered lend countenance to the idea that a third campaign belongs to this war, as it shaped up in Shahpuhr's mind. The first campaign, initiating the war, found Roman garrisons withdrawn before him up the Euphrates. So Shahpuhr was "in a hurry". He stormed through Anath, Europus (omitted in Greek, lost in MP), Asporakan Castle (i.e., Dair ez-Zōr), Sūra. Then in his list of despoiled cities he mentions Barbalissus a second time. Then follows the deluge over North Syria, for details of which the essay must be consulted. It included the one and only sack of Antioch, of which Shahpuhr had knowledge. It ends with Aristia, Arethusa (no. 23 [Greek 22] in the list of cities despoiled). Shahpuhr, having tarried as long as he dared with a mere handful of troops at Nicopolis, found Valerian advancing upon him from the north, Europus reoccupied against him, and Odenathus in vengeful league with it, since his abject offer of submission had been brusquely rejected by Shahpuhr. So Shahpuhr bribes the Roman garrison of Edessa to let him and his little bodyguard strike for home "in a hurry" through Roman Mesopotamia. Valerian with a great and growing army settles in or near Antioch late in 253, at most early in 254. Valerian undertakes measures for rebuilding Antioch; but this army must also be employed. Where? Shahpuhr shows us where and why. He -- not Hormizd-Ardashīr, least of all Mariades (Kyriades), whom he has executed -- makes a raid above the northern boundary of Armenia into Cappadocia. Details are given in the essay. Thus Valerian's army is offered employment as an army. Valerian walks into the trap. This explains his calamitous march into Cappadocia, whence the Persian army has long since retreated. So Valerian accomplishes nothing except ruin along the line of march, attack of the army by disease, a demoralizing retreat and winterquarters at Samosata, with a badly shattered army licking its wounds for slow recuperation. This offered another glorious opportunity to Shahpuhr, opportunity, also, for revenge. Probably with Valerian still in Cappadocia, looking for him there, Shahpuhr, long back home, starts with another levy "in a hurry" up the Euphrates. Mesopotamian garrisons are to a large extent with Valerian's army. So Shahpuhr can proceed up the north shore or both shores. Allowing for a small amount of disorder by transposition, particularly in the unreliable Greek, the route is clear enough in this new raid of 256. Dikhor (Idikara, Dakira-Sitha, Hīt), Dūra, Circesium. This is the destruction of Dūra. A minor raiding party may even have flicked Palmyra with Odenathus bending away before the storm's edge; or was even he with Valerian? Then Doliche, Germanicia, and back, this time with no need of a bribe, through lower Mesopotamia, Batnae-Saruj, Chanar-Ichnae, and thence home. These three campaigns, all belonging to the second war, make sense of Shahpuhr's (and Valerian's) moves, make sense of the list of cities crowded together in lapidary style in our inscription. If another can make better sense or correct errors in this brief exposition and in the essay, less well organized at this point, he is welcome.

Remains the third war, with which Shahpuhr's anti-Roman career reaches its apex. No pretext in Roman wrongdoing is needed or sought for this. Opportunity was furnished by Roman errors just outlined. With the Roman army still in bad shape at Samosata Shahpuhr is emboldened to resume where he had left off after his father's death at the approach of Gordian with Timesitheus. Edessa and Harran (Carrhae) are besieged. Here for the first time we read of a siege, which accounts for the siege engine left there, not, of course, lugged thither 15 or 16 years ago from Antioch, where no engines were needed, since the means for its capture was the little traitor, Mareades, who in turn had received his due reward by execution soon after, as the essay shows in more detail. The siege is interrupted, never to be resumed, by the advance of Valerian's army from Samosata. This time a standing target is offered Valerian, not an elusively moving, retreating one. Like his ancestor, Crassus, the aging, tantalizingly irritated Caesar eagerly rises to the tempting bait. He comes along with a half-recovered, not very willing army, shot through with disloyal elements. As Philip was left behind by Gordian at Calinicus/Nicephorium/Rakkah, so now at Samosata Macrianus was left behind by Valerian. He was not, as was Philip, pretorian prefect; that was the office of Suc-

cessionianus. But Macrianus was quartermaster general or chief of ordnance, in charge of the warchest and traveling mint. Like Philip Macrianus was ambitious. But where Philip had remained loyal to the young Gordian and his fellow officers, Macrianus broke faith with the aging, hesitant Valerian.

What was the make-up of the Roman army, more or less led by Valerian? Shahpuhr tries to tell us. Rostovtzeff thinks we ought to have valuable information there, but he does not find it. Neither does Olmstead. For it is not in the misleading Greek, but in the difficult Iranized Latin of the Parthian. Details are developed in the essay. Briefly it was the corps which Valerianus had brought down for Gallus from the German limes plus the Aemilianus levies from the Balkans. Marching with these he, or Successianus or both, picked up troops stationed in Asia Minor on the way to Antioch. At Antioch contingents were called in from the Syrias in the north to Judaea and Provincia Arabia in the south. Last, but not least, troops garrisoning Mesopotamia were summoned. Just before "Mesopot" an odd set of four appears. One of these we know well, - the special corps of Mauretanian lancers. Another can without too much difficulty be identified as Osroenian archers, also a special corps. Germans appear for the second time, this time probably a special corps of actual German bruisers. This helps us to identify the fourth, against the erring Greek version, as a special corps of Rhodian slingers. It is the only Roman army of the time of which we can identify the units so clearly and so fully from a contemporary document.

Exactly how the battle went, we are not told. With a different word employed in the Parthian, this is simply described as a great fight, as was the battle against Gordian. The same is not said about Barbalissus. The outcome of this battle is well known. It is depicted on the rock walls of Persia, as described in this inscription, not as fancied by western historians. This is amply discussed in the essay. There too, the devastating and plundering expeditions following the battle are discussed in detail. As Shahpuhr, glutted with booty and captives, finally turned homeward probably by a route through Cappadocia north of Armenia, it would have been pardonable, if he had thought that the Roman empire was crumbling under his blows, as had the decaying Kushan empire. For a time he seems actually to have played with this idea. That cannot be found in his own inscription here. But Kartir, as now read in this publication, both in KZ and in NRu, probably also SM, makes it clear that Shahpuhr ordered him to install fire temples and magi in Antioch and Syria, in Tarsus and Cilicia, in Caesarea and Cappadocia, in Galatia, as well as in Armenia, Iberia, Albania, and Balasakan to the Alan's pass in the Caucasus. This means that Shahpuhr for a time thought that these territories were permanent parts of his empire, though he seems never to have considered garrisons or other troops of occupation. In our Shahpuhr inscriptions the fact that he carried away from all these territories great numbers of people to settle them in the lands inherited from his forebears seems contrary to this conception. Certainly before the end of his life Shahpuhr had become convinced of his error, for in this inscription at the very outset he omits from his lands any mention of Syria, Cilicia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Roman Mesopotamia. Still, with great Roman captives alive or dead at his court or near it, these adventures against Rome seem most important to his mind, and he passes over all his other feats of derring-do in trite phrases.

All the rest of Shahpuhr KZ, the smaller half, is filled up with matters of church and religion. This must have warmed the zealous priest Kartir's heart. A little paragraph states in general that Shahpuhr throughout his empire founded many Varahrān-fires (altars for high masses), endowed many bishops, and increased the worship of the gods. Then by the very text of this inscription he founds five "name"-fires, one for himself, one for his queen-daughter, 3 for three of his sons. These honors have nothing to do with service in the Roman wars; the one for the queen-daughter and two for sons have clearly nothing to do with such service in war. In the largest block of this religious section daily soul masses are endowed for 4 distinct groups: 1) members of the royal family; 2) retainers of Shahpuhr's grandfather Pāpak; 3) retainers of his father Ardashir; 4) members of his own court. The translation and notes will deal with some of this material, which has been mistakenly or insufficiently dealt with in previous publications. The usual peroration, calling upon others, his successors, to continue his good work and, in the case of the Parthian, the scribal signature bring this greatest of Sasanian and one of the greatest and most important of all imperial inscriptions to a close.

## SHAHPUHR KZ, PARTHIAN

## TRANSLITERATION

²NH mzdýzn ²LX Šxypvẏr MLKyn MLK² Aryan W An(y?)aryan MNW šyẏr MN yaztn BRy mzdýzn  
 ²LX² Artxštr MLKyn MLK² Aryan MNW šyẏr MN yaztn BRyLBRY ²LX² Papk MLK² Aryanxštr  
 [xlv]tvlyp ZNH W...k...[P]ars ..t.. Xvzstn Myšn A..... stn Atrvptkn Armny  
 (Line 2) Vyršn Syk(?)n Ardan Blaskn xnpřš ²L Kpy TWR² W AlannTR² W xmk Pryšxvẏr  
 TWR² Mad Vrkn Mrgv Xryv W xmk Aprxštr Krmn Skstn Tvgrn Mkvrn Partn Xndstn Kvšnxštr  
 xnpřš ²L Pškbvẏr W xn ²L Kaš Svġd W Šaš[stn TWR]² W[a. rMN. an-y YMA.. [x]štr  
 W²BD.....ŠMH dxi?xštr W²BDWm Axvrmzd Artxštr Šxypvẏr...?  
 (Line 3) ŠMH W ZNH avnt xštr W xštrdry W ptykvspn xrv LN pty baz W ²BDkpy XQ²YMwt  
 XWYN W ²Mt nxvšt pty xštr XQ²YMwt XWYm Gwrtnyws Kysr MN xmk PRwm Gwt W Grmany (n?  
 or a?) xštr zavry xngvšn ²BDt W ²L Asvrstn apr Aryan xštr W LN ²T[Y]t Wpty Asvrstn...  
 B Mšylk ptyrymn RB² znbk YXWt Gwrtnyws  
 (Line 4) Kysr QTLt PRwmyn zavry XWBDWt W PRwmyn Plypws Kysr ²BDt W Plypws Kysr LN  
 ²L nymstyk ²TYt W gyanDMH dynr IIIIIC ²LPYN ²LYNy YNTnt pty baz XQ²YMwt W LN Mšyk MN  
 ZK krty Prġvz Šxypvẏr ŠMH XQ²YMwt W Kysr TWB MKBDWt ²L Armny kynš ²BDt W LN apr  
 PRwmyn xštr vy(or n)xšt XWYm W PRwmyn zavry XX XX XX M BBybalšy  
 (Line 5) QTLt W Aswrya xštr W MH apr Aswrya xštr prybr YXWt xmk atrvxt avyrn W  
 vrtýaz ²BDt W ²Xdt pty LXW XD zavr MN PRwmyn xštr BYRT² W MXWZ² Anty MXWZ² ²M prybr  
 xmkvsy BYRT Ar(or k)vpñ ²M prybr xmkvsy BYRT Aspvrkn ²M prybr xmkvsy Svray MXWZ² ²M  
 prybr xmkvsy Bybalšy MXWZ² ²M prybr smkvsy Mnbvk  
 (Line 6) MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Xrpy MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Knšray MXWZ² ²M prybr  
 xmkvsy Apvmya MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Rnyvps MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Zvma MXWZ² ²M prybr  
 xmkvsy A(²?)Vr(k?)nay MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Gndrvs MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Armnaš  
 MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Sylvkya MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Andyvk MXWZ²  
 (Line 7) ²M prybr xmkvsy Kyrvs MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy ²XRN Sylvkya MXWZ² ²M prybr  
 xmkvsy Alyxsndrya MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Nykprvsy MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Syzry MXWZ²  
 ²M prybr xmkvsy Xmaty MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Arstvn MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Dykvl  
 MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Dvlay MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Dvrzv MXWZ² ²M prybr  
 (Line 8) xmkvsy Krksya MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Grmnyvs MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Btñan  
 MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Xanry MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy BKpvtkya Satry MXWZ² ²M prybr  
 xmkvsy Dvman MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Arnglya MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Svšy MXWZ² ²M  
 prybr xmkvsy Švd(or r)y MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy Praty MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy  
 (Line 9) xmysak MXWZ² ²M prybr xmkvsy XX X III III / xrtýk zavr ²MT LN apr Xarn  
 W ²vrxay vyxšt XWYm W Xarn W ²vrxay pyvdyvt Valrnyws Kysr apr LN ²TYt W YXWt LWT  
 MN Grmnya xštr MN Ryšya xštr MN Nyrkvs xštr MN Dakya xštr MN Pndnya xštr MN Mvsya  
 xštr MN Astrya xštr MN Artnya xštr MN Aprnya xštr MN Td(for r)akya xštr  
 (Line 10) MN Bvtnya xštr MN Asaya xštr MN P(or ²?)mpay(or n)a xštr MN Asvrya xštr

MN Lvknya xštr MN Glatynay xštr MN Lvd(for k)ya xštr MN Kylkya xštr MN Kpvtkya  
 xštr MN Prvkaya xštr MN Svrya xštr MN Pnkaya xštr MN Yvtaya xštr MN Arbya xštr MN  
 Mvrn(or Tvrr) xštr MN Grmanya xštr MN Rvtas xštr MN Aššnyvs xštr MN

(Line 11) Mdynrvtn xštr zavry XX XX XX X[C or I?] 'LPYN W MNxv ŠTR' Xarn W 'vrxay  
 LWT Valrnyws Kysr RB' rpy YXWt W Valrnyws Kysr BNPŠH pty NPŠH YD' dstgrb 'BDt W  
 avyatk RBYSYP Santwr W Xykmwn MNW LXW zavry sarr(or k?) YXWt xrv dstgrb 'BDt [W  
 LKR'(or Lb or drvn) 'L Pars XYTYt XWYN W Svrya xštr Kylkya xštr W Kpvtkya xštr

(Line 12) atrvxt avyrn W vrtiyaz 'BDt W 'XDt LXW zavr MN PRwmyn xštr Alyxsndrya  
 W(!) Ktysvsvy MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Šmšat MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Krtb(or k or r)ay  
 MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Aygay MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Mamastyā MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy  
 Marvs MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Atar(or d)ya MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Trysst MXWZ'

(Line 13) 'M prybr xmkvsvy Zpyrvk(or b! for n) MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Spstyā MXWZ'  
 'M prybr xmkvsvy Kvlkvs MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Anglpvs MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy  
 Kstapray MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Nly(for v)k(for n)yas MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Pran  
 (for v)yas MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Nykprvs MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Aypynay MXWZ' 'M  
 prybr xmkvsvy

(Line 14) Kyd(for r=l)ndrvs MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Anymyrdny MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy  
 P(for S)rynsvy MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Mydnprvs MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Atyvkya MXWZ'  
 'M prybr xmkvsvy Srtiyap(!) MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Mvstynprvsvy(!) MXWZ' 'M prybr  
 xmkvsvy Tvdynay MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Kysryā MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Kr(for v)manadyā  
 MXWZ'

(Line 15) 'M prybr xmkvsvy Kvpstryā MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Spstydayā MXWZ' 'M prybr  
 xmkvsvy Byrt MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Rakvndyā MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Lalnr(for d)ya  
 MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy Aykvndyā MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy xmysak MXWZ' 'M prybr xmkvsvy  
 XX X IIII II/ W mrtxvnmk MH MN PRwmyn xštr MN Any(!)aryan

(Line 16) pty avar XYTYt Baryan xštr BPars Prtv Xvzstn Asvrstn W 'XRN xštr Lxštr  
 'NW(or any) LN W 'BYtr W nyakn W xsynkn dstkrt YXWt TMH YTYBWt W LN 'XRNš ŠGY'  
 xštr YG(?)R(?)t W ŠGY' ŠMH W T(?)Bpy 'BDt MH TNH L' KTYBt byš ZK avnt MN ZK krty  
 avpdšt KTYBt 'YK MNW B'TR MNn(?) YXYH

(Line 17) ZNH ŠMH TBpy W xvtvypy MH LN YD'Hd W LQBLKD 'YK yazt(?) LN MN ZK gvnk  
 dstkrt 'BDWnt W pty yaztn pvšt ZNH avnt xštr YGRHm W XXSNW(or w)m KN LNš xštr  
 Lxštr ŠGY' atrv Vrxran YTYBWt W ŠGY' mgv GBR' krpkpy 'BDt W RB' yaztn vyndršn 'BDt  
 W TNHš pty npvšt YTYBwm atrv XD Xvsrv Šxypvvr

(Line 18) ŠMH pty LN arvan W pašnam atrv XD Xvsrv Atrv-Anxtyh ŠMH pty Atrv-Anxtyh  
 MLKTHn MLKTH LN BRty arvan W pašnam atrv XD Xvsrv Axvrmzd-Artxštr ŠMH pty Axvrmzd-  
 Artxštr RB' MLK' Armnyn LN BRy arvan W pašnam 'XRN atrv XD Xvsrv Šxypvvr ŠMH pty  
 Šxypvvr Myšn MLK' LN BRy arvan W pašnam

(Line 19) atrv XD Xvsrv Nrysxv ŠMH pty Ary mzyzn Nrysxv MLK' Xndy Skstn W  
 Tvrgstn xn 'L YM' znb LN BRy arvan W pašnam WLXW(or hv?) MH ZNXn atrvn YNTNm W  
 MH abdyn XQ'YMWt(or m?) KNš xrv apr ptyxštr KTYBt W MNxv QYN IM MH MN trkpyšn  
 'LYN abdyn YXWt W LN ZNXn atrvn YNTNt LXW(or hv?) avpdysvym 'YK xyp krxyd pty  
 LN arvan YWM'

(Line 20) 'L YWM' QYN XD LXM' XD gryv(or GRYW?) W IIII/ xvpn XMR III/ pas pty Sasn xvtvy W Papk MLK' W Šxypvvr MLK' Papkn W Artxštr MLKyn MLK' Xvrantzmyh Xštr MLKTH Atrv-Anxtyh MLKTHn MLKTH Dynkyh MLKTH Vryxram(!) Gyln MLK' Šxypvvr Myšn MLK' Axvrmzd-Artxštr RB' MLK' Armnyn Nrysxv Skn MLK' Šxypvxrdvxtkyh

(Line 21) Skn MLKTH Ššmkyh MR'Ty(?) Prgvz BRBYT' Mrdvtyh MR'Ty Šxypvvr MLKyn MLK' 'My Nrysxv BRBYT' Rvddvxtkyh BRBYTH Anvškyh BRTy Vrazdvxtkyh Xvrantzmyh BRTy Astxrdaty MLKTH W Axvrmzdk Armnyn MLK' BRy Axvrmzd W Axvrmzdk 'Vtaybxt W Vryxran Šxypvvr Prgvz Myšn MLK' BRy Šxypvxrdvxt<sup>k</sup>kyh. Myšn MLK' BRTy W

(Line 22) Axvrmzddvxtkyh Skn MLK' BRTy arvan QYN XD LXM' XD gryv W IIII/ xvpn XMR III/ pas W LXW(or hv?) QYN MH MN TMH prtšyvd xn pty avyd avtyn pty LXW(or hv)yn arvan MNW LN avpdšt arvan Y 'BD(?)ytn W TNM KTYBt XQ'YMWnt MNW apr Papk MLK' xvtvypy YXWt XWYN Sasn Avrnykn Prdk Prdkn Vrtrgnpt Xvrkn Aspvrk Aspvrkn Pvxrk Mrtynkn Zyak Nyvdpty

(Line 23) Šxypvvr Vyznkn Šxypvvr Mtrbvznkn MNW apr Artxštr MLKyn MLK' xvtvypy YXWt XWYN Satrp Aprx(? corrected to y?)nk MLK' Artxštr Mrgv MLK' Artxštr Krmn MLK' Artxštr Skn MLK' Dynkyh Papk MLK' 'My Rvtkyh Artxštr MLKyn MLK' 'My Dynkyh MLKTHn MLKTH Papkn Artxštr Bytxš Papk Xzrvpt Dyxyn Vraz Sasn Svryn Sasn Andykn Xvtvy Prgvz Krny

(Line 24) Gvk Krny Apvrsam Artxštr-Pry Gylman Dvnbyvntš Rxš Spadpty Mard Dpyrvpt Papk Nyvdpty Pašxr Vysprkn Vyprd Prdkn Mtryxvšt Bryskn Xvmprdat Madknpty Drn Zynpty Šxrk Datbr Vrdn Axvrpty Mtrk Tvsrkn Zy(or z)ak Zbrkn Sgpps Nxšyrpty Xvtvk Grstpty Z(or Y)axyn Mdk(?Y?)dr MNW apr LN xvtvypy YXWt Artxštr Ntvšrkn MLK' Artxštr

(Line 25) Krmn MLK' Dynkyh Myšn MLKTH dstkrt Šxypvvr Xnzasp Vyršn MLK' Vlgšy BRBYT' Papkn Sasn BRBYT' MH pty Prdkn XXSnt 'XRN Sasn BRBYT' MH pty Ktvkn XXSnt Nrysxv BRBYT' Prgvzkn Nrysxv BRBYT' Šxypvxrkn Šxypvvr Bytxš Papk Xzrvpt Prgvz Asppty Artxštr Vraz Artxštr Svryn Nrysxv Andykn

(Line 26) Xvtvy Artxštr Krny Vxvnam Prmtr Pryak Vxy-Antyvk-Šxypvvr Xštrp Srytvd Ššymvst Artxštr Artxštr-Xšnm Pašxr Txm-Šxypvvr Artxštr Gvdmn Xštrp Ššmk Nyv-Šxypvvr Vxvnam Šxypvvr-Xšnm Tyrymtry Xštrkrt Dyzypty Zyak Nyvdpty Artbnv Dvnbavntš Vyndprn Abk(or g)n Rzmyvd W Papyš

(Line 27) Prgvz-Šxypvvr Šnbytkn Varzn Gab Xštrp Krtšrv Bytxš Papk Vysprkn Vlgšy Sylvkn Yazdpt MLKTHn Xndrzpty Papk Spsyrdr Nrysxv Rnd Xštrp Tyank Axmtn Xštrp Vrdpt Prštpty Yvdmrt Rstkn Artxštr Vyprdkn Apvrsam-Šxypvvr Drykn Sarr Nrysxv Brdkn Šxypvvr Nrysxvkn Nrysxv

(Line 28) Grstpty Axvrmzd Dpyrpty Nadvk Zyndnyk Papk Brypty Pasprd Pasprdkn Abdgšy Dyzyptkn Krtyr Axrpty Rstk Vxy-Artxštr Xštrp Artxštr Bytxškn Mtryxvšt Gnzbr Šxypvvr Prmtr Aršt mtrn pty prvrtk SPR' Sasn Špystn Sasnkn Vrvd Vašrpty Artxštr Nyrysš Xštrp Bgdt Vrdptykn Krtyr Artbnv Zrvandt Bndkn

(Line 29) Vynar Sasnykn Manzk Špystn Sasn Datbr Vrdn Našptkn Vrdk Vrazpty XDtvbn QYN XD LXM' XD gryv W IIII/ xvpn XMR III/ pas avs šy(!)gvn LN apr yaztn SBW W krtkny tvxšyvm W yaztn dstkrt XWYm W pty yaztn adyvrpy ZNH avnt xštr YGR(?)t W XXSnt <W> ŠMH W TBpy 'BDt LXW(or xv)yš MNW B'TR MN<sup>2</sup> LN YXYH W pryxv XWYt LXW(or xv)yš apr yaztn SBW W

(Line 30) krtkny tvxšyvd 'YK yazt adyvr YXYHnt W dstkrt 'BDWnt dstnypyk ZNH LY Axvrmzd SPR' Šylk SPR' BRy

## SHAHPUHR I KZ

## MP. TRANSLITERATION

1. <?NH>[mzdysn bgy]<šxpvxv=ry> .....
2. štv=ry ?[p]av=rsy pl=rsvby.....
3. Wxmky [apv=rštv=r kv=rmn skstn.....
4. ʔvxv=rmzd[av=rtxštv=r] ŠM .....
5. štv=ry W[LNH].....
6. HŇ ʔ kv=rtý Pyv=rvz Š<xpvxv=ry>....ŠM.....tl=r.....
7. kv=rtý APm PWN.....[a]yštv=ry.....MN pl=rval=ry.....
8. pl=rval=ry KHDH....MN pl=rval=ry.....MN pl=rval=ry KHDH gndl=rvsy.....
9. <KH>DH Al=rm.....stn MN pl=r.al=ry.....M.pl=rval=ry KHDH snčl=ry  
štv=rdstn MN.....
10. ....y[štv=r].....[MN].....l=rval=ry KHDH gl=rmnvsy štv=rdstn.....  
al=ry KHDH btan štv=rdstn MN p.....
11. [BYN]<Kp>[vt]<ky>[a].....dstn MN pl=rval=ry KH.....štv=rdstn.....N  
pl=rval=ry KHDH aml=ry štv=rdstn MN.....
12. Wstykl=r zvl=ry a.....H.....any.....ast.....ynvs.....ay.....kvsy  
štv=ry.....stv=ry ʔ.....dnyay štv=ry MN mvsyay štv=ry MN as.....
13. MN [amš.ʔay].....pl=rŇkydy štv=ry MN.....MN.....MN glat.....  
lvkyda....ykyday štv=ry MN kpvtkyay štv=ry MN pl=rŇkydy štv=ry.....
14. štv=ry MN[pvŇk]....v=ry MN yxvda.....štv=r.....zvl=ry LXX.....  
ZK ŠTW=Rʔ.....ʔvl=rxay LWITH vlyal=rŇvsy kysl=ry al=rtýk YHWN AP....  
vlya.....lʔryʔ
15. BNPŠH PWN NPŠH Y[D]..dstgl=rvby kv=rt.....l=rvby k.....  
v=ryay štv=ry [Wkyl.k.]ay štv=ry.....ay štv=ry atvv=rsvxtý Wvavyl=ran  
Wvl=rtýač kv=rtý APm W=ʔHDWN PWN ZK zvl=ry.....
16. xv=rvmađyn štv=ry šm[š]....štv=rdstn MN pl=rval=r.....tn MN.....  
mamsttyay štv=rdstn MN pl=r.....KHDH malvsy štv=rdstn MN pl=rval=ry KHDH  
atan[ya]y štv=rdstn MN pl=rval=ry KHDH
17. tl=rsvŇyay štv=rdstn MN.....y KHDH agŇstyday štv=r.....MN pl=r.....  
.....v.....sy štv=rdstn MN pl=r.....y.....anđlp.sy štv=rdstn MN pl=rval=ry  
KHDH kstaplady štv=rdstn MN pl=rval=ry KHDH [ny....a]dy štv=r.....
18. p....y KHDH plaʔvyasy štv=rdstn MN pl=rval=ry KHD.....va..KHDH  
klvndv=rsy.....H anymʔl=r.....pl=rval=ry KHDH slýŇvsy štv=rdstn MN  
pl=rval=ry KHDH mzdŇplvsy štv=rdstn
19. MN pl=rval=ry KHDH atývk.....tn MN pl=rval=ry KHDH š.t.....[tydyna]y  
št.....DH spstyay
20. štv=rdstn MN pl=rval=ry.....tn.....pl=rv.....yš.....va.....  
l=rval=ry.....štv=rdstn MN pl=rval=ry KHDH.....III.....n ʔNŠWTʔ

MH MN xv=rvmadyn štv=ry.....an PWN adal=ry

21. HYTYW ZKn BYN[?yl=ra].....ŠM,.....[vaya] ŠM vny.y.y yt.....a ZNH  
avant [t].....vty pv=rmay..... ?YK MNW ?HW=R YHWWN
22. KZNH ŠM W.....y v.....tyb(TYB?).....WKBYW=R mgvGBW=R? kv=rpkyk? kv=rtty..  
..n ....al=rš...v=rtty WTNHč [PWN npšty.....[xvsl=rvb]  
šxpvxv=ry ŠM
23. PWN LNH l=rvban Wptnam NWW=R? I xvsl=rvb atvv=ranxyt ŠM PWN atvv=ranx....  
.....l=rvban Wptnam.....xvsl=rvb ?vxv=rmzd av=rtxštv=r ŠM PWN ?vxv=rmzd  
av=rtxštv=r L=RB? MLK? al=rmnan ZY LNH BW=RH v=r l=rvban Wptnam ?HW=RN NWW=R?  
I xvsl=rvb šxpvxv=ry ŠM PWN šxpvxv=ry ZY myšan MLK? ZY LNH BW=RHv=r l=rvban  
Wptnam NWW=R? I
24. xvsl=rvb nv=rsxy ŠM PWN ?yl=ry mzdysny? nv=rsxy MLK? xndy skstn Wtvv=rstn  
W=‘D YM??’ DNBy.....l=rvban Wptnam WZK.....[atvv=ran] YHBWN  
?WZYšan [PWN] advyn HNHTWN ?ZKn KNč KL? M=QDM patxštv=r YKTYBWN BL=R? MN  
akbl=ryt I[MILLE] ZY MN Tyl=rkpyšyn W=‘L LNH advyn YHBWN WLNH LZNHšn  
atvv=ran YHBWN ZK pvermayvmy ?YK ?yv kl=ryty PWN LNH l=rvban YWM? W=‘L  
YWM? I
25. akbl=ryt I LHM? gI xIIIII HS pIIIII PWN sasan ZY MW=RWHY Wpaky MLK? Wšxp...  
..MLK? papkan Wav=rtx....MLKan MLK? Wxvl=rncymy ZY štv=ry MLKT? Watv=ranxyt  
MLKTan MLKT? Wdynky MLKT? Wvl=rxl=ran gylan MLK? šxpvxv=ry ZY myšan MLK? W  
?vxv=rmzd av=rtxštv=r ZY L=RB? MLK? al=rmnan Wnv=rsxy ZY skan MLK? Wšxpvxv=  
rdvxtky ZY skan MLKT?
26. Wnv=rsxydvxtky ZY skan ML=RWT? Wčsmky ZY ML=RWT? W pv=ryvzy ZY BW=RBYT?  
Wnv=rdvty.....šxpvxv=ry MLKan MLK? ?My Wnv=rsxy ZY BW=RBYT? Wl=rvdvxtky ZY  
dvxšy ZY anvšky BW=RTH Wvv=račdvxtky ZY xvl=rncym BW=RTH stxl=ryan MLKT?  
Wxvv=rmzdky ZY al=rmnan MLK? BW=RH xv=rmzdy Wxvv=rmzdky W?vtabxty Wvl=rxl=  
ran Wšxpvxv=ry Wpv=ryvzy ZY myšan MLK? BW=RHv=r
27. Wšxpvxv=rdvxtk ZY myšan MLK? BW=RTHv=r W?vxv=rmzdvxtky ZY skan MLK? BW=RTH..  
.....LHM? g I xIIIII HS p I IIII ZKn akbl=ryt ZY apal=ryk W=‘D ptvdat andvm  
PWN W=‘LHšn l=rvban MNW MLKan MLK? pv=rmay l=rvban YDBHWNtn Wnamčisty PWN  
npšty M=QDM stany YKTYBWN YK=QW=‘YMWnt YWM? W=‘L YWM? akbl=ryt I LHM? gI  
xIIIII HS p I IIII MNW M=QDM papky
28. MLK? YHBWN sasan ZY ?vl=rsykan pl=rdky ZY pl=rdkan vv=rtgnpt ZY xvl=arkan  
aspv....aspv...n pvxv=rk ZY mvl=rtynkan zyak ZY adnyk šxpvxv=ry ZY včnykan  
šxpvxv=ry ZY mtl=rvč..an MNW M=QDM av=rtxštv=r MLKan MLK? YHBWN stav=ropy ZY  
apv=rynk MLK? av=rtxštv=r ZY ml=rvy MLK? av=rtxštv=r ZY kl=rman MLK?  
av=rtxštv=r ZY skan MLK? dynky ZY
29. papky MLK? ?My l=rvtky ZY av=rtxštv=ry MLKan MLK? ?My dynky ZY MLKTan MLKT?  
papkan av=rtxštv=r ZY bytxš papky ZY xzal=rvpt dyxyn ZY vv=rač sasan ZY  
svl=ryn sasan ZY andykan MW=RWHY pv=ryvzy ZY kal=rny gvky ZY kal=rny apvv=  
rsan ZY av=rtxštv=r pvv=r? l=rxšy ZY spaxpt mv=rdv ZY dpyv=rvpt papky ZY

adnyk pvkčtv=ry ZY vspl=rykn

30. vypl=ry ZY pl=rdkan mtv=rxvst ZY bl=ryskan xvml=rat ZY madkanpt dv?an ZY  
zynpt...k ZY datb?.....mtv=rk ZY tv=?sykan zyzky ZY zpl=rkan sgpvsy ZY  
nxčyv=rpt xvtvky ZY gl=rstpty ?adyn ZY [HS]dal=ry MNW M=QDM šxpvxv=ry MLkan  
MLK? YHWWN av=rtxštv=r ZY nvtxštv=rkn MLK? av=rtxštv=r ZY kl=rman MLK? dynky  
ZY myšan MLKT? dstkl=rt šxpvxv=ry amčspy vl=r?čan
31. MLK? vv=rdaxšy ZY BW=RBYT? ZY papkan sasan ZY BW=RBYT? ZY PW[N] pl=rdykan  
[daš].....n..BW=RB..... PWN ktvk...ašty nv=rsxy ZY BW=RBYT? ZY pl=ryvzkn  
nv=rsxy ZY BW=RBYT? ZY datspl=?rxnykn šxpvxv=ry ZY btxšy papky ZY xzal=rypt  
pv=ryv[zy] ZY amppt(corrected to asppt) av=rtxštv=r ZY vv=rač av=rtxštv=r ZY  
svl=ryn nv=rsxy ZY avndykn MW=RWBY av=rtxštv=r ZY kal=rny
32. vxvnam ZY pv=rmtav=r pl=ryvky ZY vxyan?yvk šxpvxv=ry štv=rp sl=rtyvd ZY  
šxym.... a.....x.....xš.m pvkčtv=ry ZY txmšxpvxv=ry av=rtxštv=r ZY  
gdman štv=rp čšmk ZY nyvšxpvxv=ry vxvnam ZY šxpvxv=ršnvmy tyv=rmtv=ry ZY  
štv=rkv=rty dzpty zydky ZY adnyk av=rtvan ZY dvnbavnčy gvndpl=ry ZY advkan  
papyky ZY
33. pv=ryvz šxpvxv=ry ZY šnbytkn val=rčn ZY gdy štv=rp kl=rtsl=rvby ZY btxšy  
papk.. vspl=rkn v.daxšy ZY s[lv]kan yz.[pt] ZY banykn xndv=rčpt papky ZY  
špsyl=ral=ry nv=rsxy ZY l=rndy štv=rp tydank ZY axmtan štv=rp vv=rdpt ZY  
pl=rstkpt yvdml=rty ZY l=rstkn av=rtxštv=r ZY vypl=rkn apvv=rsan ZY  
šxpvxv=ry ZY dl=rykan sv=rdav=r nv=rsxy bl=rdkan šxpvxv=ry ZY nv=rsxykn
34. nv=rsxy ZY gl=rstpt xv=rmzdy ZY dpyv=rpt BW=RH svv=rmzdy ZY dpyv=rpt  
nazvky ZY zyndanyk papky ZY dl=rpty paspv=rdy ZY pašpl=rykn adgxšy ZY  
dzptykn kv=rtyv=r ZY ?yxv=rpt l=rstk ZY vxy av=rtxštv=r štv=rp av=rtxštv=r  
ZY btxškn mtv=rxvst ZY gnzvbv=r šxpvxv=ry ZY pv=rmtav=r av=rštat ZY dpyv=r  
ZY mtv=ran ZY MN l=rdy sasan ZY šapstn ZY sasanykn
35. vyv=rvd ZY vačarpt av=rtxštv=r ZY ngl=ryč štv=rp bgdt ZY vl=rdptkn kl=rtyl=r  
av=rtvan zv=rvndat ZY bndkan vndav=? ZY sasanykn sasan ZY datbv=ry vv=rdan  
ZY nvšptkn gvl=rky ZY vl=račpt ?YK MNW ?HW=R LNH MW=RWBY YHWWN ZK yztan  
xvpl=rstatl=ry Wxvkamktl=ry YHWWNd ?YK W=?LHč yzty ZNH avgvn xdbáv=? YHWWN  
čygvn LNH YHWWN





## SHAHPUHR KZ

## TRANSLATION

I I (am) the mazda-worshipping divinity Shahpuhr (MP Shahpuhr; Greek Sapōrēs), King of Kings of Aryans and non-Aryans (MP must have been: Iranians and non-Iranians), who is of the stock of the gods, son of the mazda-worshipping divinity Artakhshatr (Greek Artaxaros), King of Kings of the Aryans, who is of the stock of the gods, grandson of the divinity Pāpak, King.

II Of the Aryan empire (Parth. Aryankhshatr; Greek tou Arianōn ethnous; MP probably Iranshatr) the principalities and provinces (Parth. probably patykōspān; Greek perhaps ethnē) (are) these: Pars (Parth. and MP; Greek Persis), Parthia (MP Parsavb), Khuzistan (Greek Ouzēnē?), Mēshān (Greek Mesēnē), Assyria (Parth. Asūrestān?), Adiabene (Parth. probably Natūshīrakān; MP probably Nōtakhshīrakān), Arabia (Parth. probably Arabistān), Atrūpatkān (Greek Adourbadēnē), Armenia, Vīrchān (Greek Iberia), Sīkān (or Sīgān; Greek Makhelonia), Ardān (Greek Albania; MP probably Arrān), Balaskān (Greek perhaps Byrasagēnē), until forward to the Kap mountains (i.e., the Caucasus) and the Alans' gate (i.e., pass) and all the Parēshkhwar (Greek Pressouar) mountains (i.e. now with Honigmann: Elbrus, Elbruz), Mād (Greek Madēnē, i.e., Media), Varkān (Greek Gourgan, perhaps with MP), Margū (Greek Marou, i.e., Merv), Khrēv (Greek Rē, i.e., Herat), and all Aparkhshatr (MP perhaps Aparshatr; Greek "all of the uppermost ethnē"), Karmān (Greek Kermanzēnē), Sakastān (Greek Segistanē), Tūgrān (Greek probably Tourēnē; MP perhaps Tūrastān), Makūrān (Greek mak????), Pāratān (Greek Par...ne; MP perhaps Pāradān), Khindastān (Greek India; MP perhaps Khind), Kūshānkhshatr (i.e., the Kūshān empire; Greek Kousān<sup>???</sup>...) until forward to Pashkabūr (Greek Paskibouroi, i.e., Peshawar) and up to Kash (Greek Kas), Sūgd (Greek Sōdikēnē, i.e., Sogdia) and the Chāchastān (Greek Tsatsēnē) mountains. And from that portion of the sea... made..... by name Dakhi.khshatr (Greek of Degistēnē Sabour) and we made Akhurmazd Artakhshatr Shakhypukhr its name (Greek we called Hōrmizd Artaxeir). And these many lands (Parth. khshatr; Greek ethnē) and lordships (Parth. khshatrdār; Greek despotas tōn ethnōn) and provinces

(Parth. patikōspān; Greek tōn ek pantos merous) have become tributary and subject to us.

III, 1 Then (lit. and), when, firstly, (Greek firstly, when) I was established over the empire (Greek we came - or had come - to stand upon the kingdom of the ethnē), Gordianus Caesar from all of Rome (Greek from all the realm - arkhē - of Romans) (of) Goth and German Kingdom (khshatr; Greek of Goth and German ethnē) assembled a force and came against Assyria upon the Aryan empire and us. And at the frontier of Assyria at Meshīk (Greek Mēsikh) a great frontal battle (Greek polemos) took place. Gordianus Caesar was killed. The Roman force was destroyed (Greek we destroyed). And the Romans made (Greek proclaimed) Philip Caesar. Then (lit. and) Philip Caesar came to us (Greek omits to us) to sue for terms, and, having given us 500,000 dīnar as ransom for the life (of his friends) (Greek and of his friends a total ransom of five hundred thousands of dinarii gave to us and) became tributary to us. And we Meshīk (Greek Misikh) from this fact (Greek because of this) named Pargōz (Greek Pērōs) Shahipuhr (Greek Sabour).

III, 2 Then (lit. and) Caesar, secondly (Greek the Caesar again), lied and did wrong to Armenia. And we upon the Romans' empire (Greek ethnos) made an attack and (the) Romans' force, 60,000 (Greek sixty thousands), at Barbalissus slaughtered (Greek annihilated). And Assyria kingdom (Greek the ethnos of Syria) and what is above Assyria round about (Greek whatever ethnē and surrounding territories were above it) all burned with fire, laid waste, and made captive (Greek and laid waste). And we took (Greek omits took!) in that one war (zōr; Greek agōgē) of the Romans' empire (Greek ethnos) castles and cities: Anath, city, with surroundings on all sides, castle Arupan with surroundings on all sides (Greek omits), castle Aspuraḱān (Greek of Aspōrakos) with surroundings on all sides, Sūra, city, with surroundings on all sides, Barbalissos, Manbūk (Greek Hierapolis), Kharap (i.e., Halab, Aleppo; Greek probably Beroia), Kinnechray (Greek Chalcis), Apumaya (Greek Apaimia), Ranipus (Greek Raphanea), Zeugma, Urima, Gindaros, Armenach (Greek Larmenaz), Seleucia, Antioch, Kyrros, another Seleucia, Alexandria, Nicopolis, Sīzar (Greek Sinzaros), Khamāth, Aristūn (Greek Aristia),

Dīkūl=r (Greek Dikhōr), Dūl=rā (Greek Dolichē), Dūr=lakhū (Greek Doura), Circesium, Germanicia, Batnae, Khanar; in Cappadocia (Greek and of Cappadocia) Satala, Domana, Artangil=r, Souisa, Souida (Soandos?), Phreata. Altogether cities with surroundings on all sides 37 (Greek in slightly different order writes out the numeral in words).

III, 3 In the third war, when we attacked Carrhae and Edessa and were besieging Carrhae and Edessa, Valerian Caesar came upon us (having) with (him), from the Germanic limes, Raetia, Noricum, Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, Istria, <D>ardania, Epirus, Thracia, Bithynia, Asia, Pamphylia (+Paphlagonia?), Syria (=Seleucis with Commagene), Lycaonia, Galatia, Lycia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Syria (=Coele), Phoenicia, Judaea, Arabia, Mauretania (Parthian: Mvrn or Tvrn), Germania, Rhodos(?), Osrhoëne(?), Mesopotamia, a force of 70 thousands. And on that side of Carrhae and Edessa with Valerian Caesar a great conflict took place. And Valerian Caesar himself with (our) own hand(s) (we) made captive. And the rest, the pretorian prefect, (and) senators, and generals, (and) whoever of that force were officers, all (these) we made captive, and away (or all) to the Persis we led. And Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia (we) burned with fire, laid waste, and led captive. And we took in that war from the Romans' empire Alexandria and Katison, Samosata (Greek places Samosata first and, correctly, makes Alexandria Katison one name), Katabolon, Aegaeae, Mompsuestia, Mallos, Adana, Tarsus (MP adds what seems to be Augustopolis), Zephyrion, Sebaste, Korykos, Agrippas, Kastabala, Neronias, Flavias, Nicopolis, Epiphaneia, Kelenderis, Anemourion, Selinous, Myōnopolis, Antioch, Seleucia, Dometioupolis, Tyana, Caesarea (Greek Mēiakarirē), Komana, Kybistra, Sebasteia, Birtha, Rakoundia, Laranda, Iconium. Altogether cities with their surroundings on all sides 36. And people who are of the Romans' empire, non-Aryans, captive we led away; in the Aryans' empire, in Persis, Parthia, Khuzistan, Assyria, and others, land by land, where our own and our father's and our grandfathers' and our forebears' foundations were, there we settled (them).

III, 4 And many other lands did we search out (for attack and conquest) and many name(-worthy) and heroic deeds did we do, which are not written here. But these

many things for this reason did we command to be written, that whosoever after us might come to be this name, heroism, and lordship might know, which are ours.

IV, 1 And (Greek now) in view of the fact that the gods have in such wise made for us foundations (handiwork), and by the help of the gods we have attacked and taken these so many lands, therefore we too in land upon land have established many Varahrān fires and have conferred benefices upon many magi-men and have made great the gods' worship (Greek omits the last clause; MP doubtful: so that worship may be made to the gods).

IV, 2 And here, also, by the inscription we found(ed) one fire, Good Fame of Shahpuhr by name, for our soul (memory) and after-name (name-preservation); one fire, Good Fame of Atūr-Ānahīt by name, for Atūr-Ānahīt's, the Queen of Queens, our daughter's, soul (memory) and after-name (name-preservation); (Greek adds and) one fire, Good Fame of Ōhrmizd-Artakhshatr by name, for Ōhrmizd-Artakhshatr's, Great King of the Armenians (Armenia), our son's, soul (memory) and after-name (name-preservation); another one fire, Good Fame of Shahpuhr by name, for Shahpuhr's, King of Mēshān (the Mēsanēnēs), our son's, soul (memory) and after-name (name-preservation); (Greek adds and) one fire, Good Fame of Narsakhy by name, for Aryan(?) mazdayasnian Narsakhy's, King of India, Sakistān, and Tūristān to the seashore, our son's, soul (memory) and after-name (name-preservation).

IV, 3 And that which to these fires we have donated and as a custom established, thus also upon the imperial budget is (Greek we have) written. And of those 1000 yearling lambs, which from (or of) tarkapišn upon us a custom have become and by us to these fires are donated, we command as follows:

IV, 4 Let be performed (literally made) for our soul (memory) day by day one yearling lamb; bread, 1 grīv, 5 khūp (Greek modios one and a half); wine, 4 pas.

IV, 5 For Sāsan's the Lord; and Pāpak's, the King; and Shahpuhr's, the King, Pāpakson; and Artakhshatr's, King of Kings; and Khūrānzīm's, the Empire's Queen; and Ātūr-Ānahīt's, Queen of Queens; and Dīnakhy's, the Queen; and Varakhrān's, Gīlān King; (and) Shahpuhr's, Mēshān King; (and) Ōhrmazd-Artakhshatr's, Great King

of Armenians; and Narsakhy's, the Sacans' King; and Shahpuhrdukhtak's, the Sacans' Queen; (MP alone and Narsakhīdukht's, the Sacans' Lady;) and Chashmak's, the Lady; and Pērōz's, the royal Prince; and Mirdūt's, the Lady, Shahpuhr King of Kings' mother; and Narsakhy's, the royal Prince; and Rōddukht's, the royal Princess, Anōshak's daughter; and Varāzdukht's, Khūrānzīm's daughter, Stakhriāt Queen; and Hōrmizdak's, the Armenians' King's son; and Hōrmizd's; and Hōrmizdak's; and Ōtābakht's; and Varahrān's; and Shahpuhr's; and Pērōz's, the Mēshān King's sons; and Shahpuhrdukhtak's, the Mēshān King's daughter; and Ōhrmazddukhtak's, the Sacan's King's daughter, soul (memory), yearling lamb, one; bread, griv 1, khūp's 5 (Greek modion, one one half); wine, pas 4.

IV, 6 And those yearling lambs which thence remain over, until completely used up, (are) for the souls (memory) of those for whose souls (memory) we (King of Kings,) have commanded mass to be performed (or the rites to be performed) and (who) here stand written (Greek adds and listed; MP who by name in writing in (this) space stand written, day by day, yearling lamb, 1; bread, g. 1, kh. 5; wine, p. 4):

IV, 6a Those who lived under the rule of King Pāpak: Sāsan Ōrnukson, Pardik Pardikson, Vartragnpat Khūrson, Aspōrik Aspōrikson, Pukhrik Martīnson, Ziak the Dinner Caller, Shahpuhr Wēzānson, Shahpuhr Mitrbuzanson;

IV, 6b Those who lived under the rule of Artakhshatr, King of Kings; Sat(a)r(a)p, King of Aprīnak; Artakhshatr, King of Merv; Artakhshatr, King of Kirmān; Artakhshatr, King of the Sacae (Greek Sigan); Dīnaky, mother of King Pāpak; Rūtaky, mother of Artakhshatr, King of Kings; Dīnaky, Queen of Queens, Pāpak-child; Artakhshatr, the Bitakhsh; Pāpak, the Thousand-lord (Khazārupat); Dīkhīn Varāz; Sāsan, the Sūrēn; Sāsan, Lord of Andīkan; Pērōz, the Kāren; Gūk, the Kāren; Apūrsām Artakhshatr-farr; Gīlmān, the Dūmbāvandian; Rakhsh, the Spāhpat (Army-lord); Mard, the Dapīrupat (Master Scribe); Pāpak, the Dinner Caller; Pāchihr Visparison; Vīpard Pardison (or Pardikson); Mitriklusht Berīsson; Khūmaphrat, the Mādkan-lord; Daran, the Zēn-lord (Lord Chief Armorer?); Chihrak, the Judge; Vardan, the Stable-lord; Mitrak Tūsarson; Ziak(?) Zabarson; Sagpūs, the Hunt-lord; Khūtīk, the Annonae-lord; Zāhīn(?), the Wine Keeper;

IV, 6c Those who have arisen under our rule (MP Those who were under Shahpuhr, King of Kings): Artakhshatr, King of Ntvērkn (MP Nvtxš??vkn; Greek Adiabene); Artakhshatr, King of Kirmān; Dīnaky, Queen of Mēshān dastkirt Shahpuhr; Khamazasp, King of Virchān (=Georgia; Greek Iberia); Valgash, royal Prince, Pāpakson; Sāsān, royal Prince, who manages the Parikān; another Sāsān, who manages the Kitūkān; Narsakhy, royal Prince, Pērōzson; Narsakhy, royal Prince, Shahpuhrson; Shahpuhr Bitakhsh; Pāpak, the Thousand-lord (Hazārupat); Pērōz, the Horse-lord (Aspipat); Artakhshatr Varāz; Artakhshatr Sūrēn; Narsakhy, Lord of Andīkān; Artakhshatr Kāren; Vahunām, the Commander (Framatar; Greek Epitropos); Friāk, Satrap of Vahy-Antioch-Shahpuhr; Srītūd Shakhymūst; Artakhatr Artakhshatrshnūm; Pachikhr Takhm-Shahpuhr; Artakhshatr, Satrap of Gūdmān; Chashmak Nīv-Shahpuhr; Vakhūnām Shahpuhrshnūm; Tirimitry, Castle-lord of Shatrkart; Ziāk, the Dinnercaller; Artaban, the Dūm-bāvandian; Vindapharn Abakān Razmyōd and Papich Peroz-Shahpuhr Shanbētakān (Greek and MP have for the first name Gundiphar; MP omits Razmyōd and); Varzan, Satrap of Gaby (Greek Gē; MP Gady); Kartsarov Bitakhsh; Pāpak Vispurson; Valgash Sīlūk-son; Yazdpat, Counselor-lord of Queens; Pāpak, the Swordbearer; Narsakhy, Satrap of Rind; Tīānak, Satrap of Hamadān; Vardapat (Greek Gūlbād), Service-lord; Yōdmrart Rastakson; Artakhshatr Vipardson; Apūrsām-Shahpuhr, Head of the Darīkān, ("courtiers?"); Narsakhy Baradson; Shahpuhr Narsakhyson; Narsakhy, Master of the annonae; Hōrmizd, Chief-scribe (MP adds son of Hōrmizd, Chief-scribe); Nādūk, the Jailer; Pāpak, the Porter (Gate or Doorkeeper); Pāspard Pāspardson; Abdagash, Castle-lord's-son; Kartīr, Herbedh (Greek Magus); Rastak, Satrap of Vakhy-Artakhshatr (Greek Gue-Artaxar); Artakhshatr Bitakhsh-son; Mitrkhvash, Treasurer; Shahpuhr, Commander (framatar; Greek Epitropos); Arshtat, Scribe in charge of matrān (?) (Greek meeran); Sāsān, Eunuch, Sāsānson; Virūd, Bazaar-lord; Artakhshatr, Satrap of Nairīzh; Bagdat Vardapatson; Kartīr (son of?) Artabān; Zarvāndāt Bandakson (Slave's son?); Vīnār Sāsān-son; Manzik, Eunuch (MP omits); Sāsān, Judge; Vardān Nāsh-lord-son (MP?); Vardak (MP Gūlak), Varāz-lord ("Boar-lord?"). (Parthian and Greek here add what preceded the list in MP): Altogether, sheep, one; bread, one grīv and 5 khūp (Greek modios one (and) a half); wine, 4 pas.

V Now, as we are diligent in the affairs and services of the gods and

(as) we are the handiwork (Greek foundation) of the gods and (as) by the gods' help we sought out and took (all) these many lands (and) accomplished (famous) name and heroism, may he also, whoever shall be after us and shall have become fortunate, in the gods' affairs and services be diligent, in order that the god(s) may be a help (to him) and make him their handiwork. (MP: in order that whoever after us becomes lord, that one may become more well-serving and better disposed to the gods, so that to him also in this same manner god may be a help, as he was to us.)

VII            (Under the Parthian only) The handwriting (is) this of me, Ahurmazd, the scribe, of Shīrak, the scribe, the son.



## SHAHPUHR KZ

## NOTES

I The translation throughout is based on the Parthian, which is clearly the original with the scribe naming himself at the end. Some reasons for this statement have been given in the preliminary edition, really an *editio princeps*; others are developed in the historical essay at the end of the volume. The three versions are in intention identical. There are variants, some of which are discussed in more detail in the historical essay. Most of these will be noted as we proceed. They are not of sufficient extent or importance to demand three separate translations. The Greek scribe, quite anonymous, apparently the last of his kind at this Persian imperial court, a left-over from the Parthians, seems at times to exhibit a sly, senile bitterness, a slightly shoddy and sometimes mistaken sense of superiority, as the essay makes clear in some detail; he is useful, but must be used with alert caution. The Middle-Persian scribe may with some pride be naming himself in the body of the text; his work is the most eroded in the present state of the inscription; there are signs of slipshod carelessness on his part on the one hand, and on the other of a few possible attempts to correct (or miscorrect) the Parthian, perhaps sharing with the Greek a sense of hostility against the favored Parthian. The Parthian is a conscientious workman within the limits of his powers; he is proud enough of his work to sign it. He is not quite as near the end of his kind as the Greek, but Parthian is threatened and presently pushed aside by Kartir's school of Sasanian Middle Persian. Behind these three lies the original intention. Without unduly pressing the point we may fairly call it the mind of the aged Shahpuhr. It is this which the translation aims at. The translation is made not chiefly for Pahlavists, but for students of history who do not know Persian well or not at all. For them, among other things, many Persian proper names are presented in a form similar to a common Scandinavian form, as indeed they are in the Persian equivalent. Detailed study of such and other names and of many other matters is left to others, whose studies are even now publishing or to follow sooner or later. For them the texts as published here will be much more useful than the translation. In some minds the translation as presented will cause shocked surprise and undue criticism. More might easily be said on this topic. I am content to let this much suffice.

The "am" is inserted in the opening paragraph, though it is omitted even in the Greek, where in proper Greek it would be necessary. Its omission in the Greek may be partially accounted for by a tendency toward slavishly literal translation. It may also be in part a relic of the appositional definition of the starting personal pronoun which Arno Poebel has pointed out as the rule in earlier inscriptions of these and adjacent regions. It can hardly be more than a petrified relic, for what follows cannot be read as an apposition.

Too much was made in the earlier reading of the omission of "mazdayasnian, mazda-worshipping" with Pāpak. This adjective is regularly omitted from every grandfather's name in these early Sasanian inscriptions. Thus in Shahpuhr I's inscriptions at Naqsh-i-Rajab and at Hajjiabad just as here; in Varahrān I's (written over for Narseh) at Shāpūr it is omitted with Ardashīr I; in Shahpuhr II's at Tāk-i-Bustan with Narseh; in Shahpuhr III's at Tāk-i-Bustān with Ohrmazd II. It is therefore practically certain, that for Narseh at Paikuli Herzfeld's supplement is wrong, and that there, as in Varahrān I (Narseh) at Shāpūr, the adjective should be omitted with Ardashīr I. The phrase "who is of the stock of the gods" is in every case omitted together with the adjective in question. It should, however, be noted, that the only father's name, with which the adjective is omitted, is Pāpak, father of Ardashīr I, at Naqsh-i-Rustam.

II This important section of Shahpuhr's great inscription has by others

been passed over with eloquent silence. The carefully collected and considered notes of the editio princeps need not be repeated here; corrections with the latest readings to date may be found in the transliterations. Attention is called to TWR<sup>3</sup>, qōf, "mountain(s)"; TR<sup>3</sup>, "(mountain) pass", will be dealt with later. All but the one compound khšatrdār, the despotas tōn ethnōn of the Greek, are now believed to be geographical statements. The unusual restraint of Shahpuhr in refraining from naming evanescent conquests of Roman territory in the West makes it probable that the astounding extent sketched for his empire in the East is essentially correct. The unfortunate gaps cannot safely be completely filled in. What seems so far fairly safe is given in the historical essay. Perhaps a little more of the Middle Persian fragments should have been added in the translation; they are now easy to look up and read. Note: Vyrčān, Vrvčān, Iberia, at head of line 2, by well-known Persian G for V becomes Georgia. In the Greek word following Albania the lettering, though not deeply flaked off, remains particularly difficult to determine with any satisfactory degree of certainty. No Greek for Parthian Blaskn, Middle Persian Blaskan, is known to this writer outside of this inscription. Following as carefully as possible the contours of letters or remnants in the photograph taken before the squeeze material was applied to this especially crumbling and flaking surface, an attempt is here made for the third time to render an account of what one pair of eyes now sees. This differs considerably from a reading made directly from the plaster replica made from the squeeze. The first remnants may be the top of B (beta) or O (omikron). Next the top of an Y (upsilon) rather than an M is pretty distinctly visible. Thirdly the bottom of a straight line can be made out, rather too vertical to form a part of a lambda, more probably the upright line of a P (rho), of whose loop a remnant may perhaps be discerned. Something of the crossline and the pointed top of what may well be an A follows. The rounded outline of a C (sigma) is fairly clear; then the dim outline, just a mite clearer than the first, of a second A becomes visible. After this, rising into greater clearness, follow the outlines of fairly certain HN (gamma, eta, nu) and, less clear, another HN (eta, nu). This makes moderately probable the reading given in the text (see below, p. 73, l. 3), still necessarily dotted as doubtful. The most surprising sound is Y (upsilon). P (rho) in place of Parthian and Middle Persian l may be a mere graphic variant, l being frequently written for r, as is well-known and noted elsewhere; in spite of Arabic l and Armenian l Marquart, Erānšahr, p. 120, finds in the single occurrence of Barāsakān, Ibn Xord. IV, 8, the Iranian form; so far as it goes, our Greek reading may bear him out; Y (upsilon) of the Greek may be due to the Armenian velar z, or better to a pronunciation indicated by that Armenian consonant. Arabic g for Iranian k corresponds to Greek gamma; its writing in Bilādhurī, Buldān, 203 and 326; Yāqūt I, 173, l. 12 (written with shīn); II, 780, l. 6, points to an early transliteration. The place, as described in Marquart, seems to be somewhere between Strabo's Sakasene (XI, 8, 4; 14, 4) and his Kaspiane (ibid. 4, 5; 14, 5), perhaps most distinctly localized in his Araxene Plain (ibid. 14, 3 and 6). The cities Barzand and Warthān (now ruins of Altān on the Araxes), between which Balāsakān is said to lie (Ibn Xord. III, 8; cf. IV, 8), may now also be found in Minorsky's edition of Hudūd al-ʿĀlam, p. 395 and passim, with a reference to Minorsky's article on "Mukān" in Enc. Isl. With this Sapor's Caucasus kingdoms proceed from their farthest northwest, Iberia, to Machelonia southwestward by south; then to Albania directly eastward and thence to Balāsakān south-southwest of that last land actually in the Caucasus.

The order in which Hormizd Ardashīr Shahpuhr Dehistan should be read at the end of Parthian line 2 is not clear. With this MF gives no real help, and the Greek is not really intelligible either.

After much wearying labor for the reading of this trickily eroded section three possibilities were tried before a fourth, now adopted as the most probable, was arrived at. For a tenable interpretation of the final sentence or sentences of the introductory section of Sapor's great inscription the first and chief question to be asked must be: Are these eroded words up to the point where clear, connected reading once more sets in with the summing up beginning in Parthian, line 3, word 2, and Greek, end of line 5, a continuation of the geographical outline of

Sapor's empire, begun immediately after the identificatory naming of Sapor, his father, and his grandfather? Or do these little sentences revert to some sort of personal statement, loosely connected with Sapor's personalia at the very beginning, and having to do with Sapor's son Hormizd-Artaxir, perhaps even two sons considered for the succession, the second being with the sea region Narsaios, not Gouarathran, as was supposed in the editio princeps?

The final statement in the little section is relatively clear and easy to read. Somebody or something is named Hormizd-Ardashir. In the Parthian, at the very end of line two, a manifest correction of an omission written over this name, between lines 1 and 2, appears the name of Sapor himself, as if to follow the name Hormizd-Ardashir. So far as they can be dimly made out, the miserable remnants of the Middle-Persian, seem to bear out this order of the two names. The Greek ends with Hormizd-Artaxeir with nothing following; the name Sabour appears before καὶ at the end of the preceding statement immediately following very probable Degistene, the equivalent of the Dahishahr, with which Parthian ends its preceding statement, immediately followed by its W, "and". That is to say, Greek pretty clearly reads: "...of the Degistene (of?) Sapor and (this one?) we named Hormizd-Artaxeir"; Parthian seems to read: ".....Dahishathr and we made Hormizd-Ardashir (of?) Shahpuhr his (or its) name".

The first possibility weighed was that this one here named Hormizd-Artaxeir was a person. At first glance this seemed the most attractive assumption. This would be the son and heir-apparent of Sapor, who, as we thought we knew, really bore this name and title. From coins and Arabic statements Herzfeld, Paikuli, 41-51, and in his Kushano-Sasanian Coins, constructed for him (and for his father and two immediate successors as well) a "Prince of Wales" heir-apparent's title and office as "Great Kushan Shah (of Shahs)", and Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sassanides, p.97, unreservedly followed him. Yet our inscription definitely makes his crown-princely title "Great Armenians' Shah". And what has all that to do with little Dehistan on or near the Caspian Sea? If the sea at the beginning of this broken area be the Indian Ocean, we should find here also Narseh, as in Parthian, line 19; Greek, lines 42-3; MP, line 24! All this, in contrast and partly in contradiction with the tenor and statements of the rest of the inscription, cannot be crowded into this little space.

So, secondly, an attempt was made to read a Parthian myth....., following the space where the sea of the Greek must have stood in the Parthian, as the first part of a name Mithran, known to early Arab geographers as a name for the seaward section of the Indus river. But, apart from the fact that Mithra is not in these inscriptions written with a Yodh, no good connection with Dahistan and Hormizd-Ardashir, both clear and certain at the end of the lacuna, could be established, even with the addition of a possible Narseh, of whom no trace could be found.

Discarding this a third attempt was made at a purely geographical reading. Dihistan is not merely the name of a region, kingdom, or province. Three cities of that name are known to the Arab geographers. One in Kerman (Muqaddasi, BGA, III, p. 24) is too insignificant to be considered. One with a troublesome affix in the Dahistan region north of Jurjan, north of the Atrek river. And one in Badghis northeast of Herat. For these two a reference to Le Strange's Lands of the Eastern Caliphate is sufficient for our purpose. In connection with this there came to mind the Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Erānshahr. There, in Sec. 13 the founding of Pūshān, in Arabic Fūshang, Būshang, and its improvement is ascribed to Sapor I. Omitting Naysabur, Sec. 15, whose ascription to Sapor I our inscription does not bear out, Sec. 17 ascribes Dihistan in Jurjan to Narseh the Ashkanian; Minorsky, EI, s.v. Meshhed-i-Misriyān, notes that the Nuzhat al-Qulūb (Gibb Series XXIII 1, p. 160, l. 6ff.) ascribes this to Qubād b. Fairūz, the Sasanian. With this in hand an attempt was made to read some faint Parthian letters some spaces after the myth.... or MYTH.... described above as Bwsh..... rather than Kwsh..... and to equate this Bwsh.... with Būshang; in connection with this Dihistan might be the city in Badghis. Both of these together, southwest and northeast of Herat, would be near enough to the bailiwick of Narseh, son of Sapor,

to have Sapor do some building, improving, founding through his son there. But Būsh(ang) in this early time does not commend itself alongside the Pūshān of the Catalogue and the Fūshang of the early Arab geographers; Būshang is merely an alternative Arabization of Persian or Parthian p. Dihistan in Badhgis, though at times the capital of this district, is not very important. Above all none of all this explains the still mysterious Hormizd-Ardashīr. So this attempt, too, must be dropped.

Now we have left for our Dahishahr, Degistene, Dahistan or Dihistan, the region on the southeastern shores of the Caspian sea and the city, town, or fortress of the same name within its confines. This latter is troubled in early Arabic and Persian texts by a curious affix or addition following it, so poorly transmitted, that it is extremely difficult, in fact impossible to read with certainty. The essential facts and the necessary references may be gleaned from Geo. Hoffmann, *Syr. Akt. Pers. MArt.*, pp. 278f. with notes 2209-2216; Marquart, *Erānshahr*, pp. 73f. and 310; Markwart-Messina, *Catalogue*, pp. 12 and 53 ff.; Minorsky, *EI*, s.v. Meshhed-i-Misriyān, and *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 193, on Sec. 4, 38. Hoffmann seems to make two guesses. In note 2209 he lists a de Goeje reading al-Bayāsān, while in the text he thinks that al-Sāsān may have been the name of Dahistan's hinterland, away from the coast. A little farther on he reads Iṣṭakhrī's variants as Dehistān (tabāšīr?), which might be interpreted as Dehistan chalk. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 310, says this is incorrect, reads Iṣṭakhrī as Bayāsīn, and makes this mean Dehistan of, i.e. near, Bayasin. Minorsky deals with his own text, which is different, apparently most nearly like -ānsūr. In *EI* he attempts to connect this, not very confidently, with the Turkish Şūr or Şül, who ruled Dihistan at the time of the Arab conquest. For this, apart from other things, the s is the wrong one. In the *Hudūd* he tries -sar, "head (land)". This has short a. And neither guess accounts for the preceding -ān-. Now we find here in our inscription a Dihistan in a sea region, which must be the Caspian, renamed the Hormizd-Ardashīr of Sapor. The Greek's misplacing of Sabour need not disturb us too greatly, as the general character of this Greek scribe, found later on in the inscription, will make clear. Sapor does here, after his final and complete victory over the Kushan empire, what we presently find him doing after his initial victory over the Romans with the spot of that encounter, he renames a town. Such "refoundings" and renamings are legion from oldest antiquity to the present day. The distortion ānsūr is no greater than Hurmshir, Ormshīr, Rāmiz, Rūmiz in the southwest.

The name is odd, but quite intelligible. Sapor's father Ardashīr had renamed the mart of Khuzistan Hormizd-Ardashīr. Sapor now renames a mart and march of the far northwest as his own town of the same name. Oddly parallel, with the places of father and son reversed, are the recent names of the two terminals of the first Persian railroad, Bandar-i-Shahpur at the head of the Persian Gulf and Bandar-i-Shah at the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea.

The exact nature of the connection of the Kushan empire with this act remains unclear. That it is here named in an unfortunately eroded context, is fairly certain. If the very doubtful reading "sent" were right, Sapor might have sent men, money, and/or materials for the building in this poor and desert region from the richer Kushan centers farther east. Perhaps, as the Tashkent mountains are just previously mentioned as the farthest northeast of the Kushan empire, this is simply the same empire's farthest northwest. A later Turkish and other empires on the northeastern boundaries of Sasanian Iran extended to the Caspian. Why not the Kushan empire? For another indication pointing in the same direction later on in this inscription see the editio princeps, pp. 399f.

Furthermore a fortified town at this point was quite as natural as the fortification of the Pass of the Alans in the Caucasus. It would be an outpost, guarding against the inroads of tough, mobile nomads, hungry for the goods of richer and softer Iran, venturing in and down out of the desert, or along the shores of the Caspian, perhaps even across, rather than around the Caspian, by the very same Alans, who made the frontiers unsafe at Darial and Darband in the Caucasus. This might account for the curious name Dizh-i-Alānān, given apparently to our very

Dihistan by Firdausi; cf. Minorsky, Hudūd, p. 193, following Marquart. The odd accusatives in the Greek throughout this section are hardly faultless Greek. Pointing this out does not solve the riddle, which is herewith expressly left for another or for others to work out. Perhaps it is in order to point out once more to historians the fact that Gilan, though it is a kingdom ruled by one of Shahpuhr's sons, probably the eldest, who became the second king after his father and the first of a line of three, all Varahrans, later Bahrāms, is too small and insignificant to be named in this list.

III, 1 Since reference can easily be made to editio princeps, Pahlavi Notes, and the historical essay following, elaborate notes are not necessary here. It will suffice to point out the odd, but good Greek interpretation of Prōm or Frōm as the rule or realm (archē) of Romans (without definite article). The odd use of "kingdom" for khšatr in the translation is intentionally striking. It has been suggested that two complete translations should be presented, one literal and the other literary. A so-called literal translation is always a mistranslation. Apart from that two such translations seem quite as unnecessary as three separate ones for the three versions. The Greek is quite mechanically literal enough with its eis for pat and its ethnos for khšatr, though quite naturally not wholly consistent. "Kingdom" is used here to suggest to Western historians, what at least some parts of the Roman empire appeared to be to Shahpuhr's way of thinking or imagination. Consistency in this matter will not be guaranteed, will in fact, as is done in Greek, be avoided, whenever it appears unnecessary or impossible. The difference between Assūristān, Assyria, in this section, and Assyria, Syria, in the following section deserves careful notice. The new reading of the Parthian, M(e)śikh p(a)tīrēm(ā)n, confirms Rostovtzeff, Berytus, VIII 1, pp. 22f. and p. 23, note 1, in his reading of ἐξ ἐναντίας in the sense of "a great face to face, frontal battle". Even so the Greek remains odd. In the first syllable of the town or place name the Greek here has MH (eta!), in line 10 MI. Before the name here the Greek has the definite article, in line 10 it has nothing. The form of the name here seems to be MHCIXCH, in line 10 MICIXHN. The Parthian, with the new reading, has the same form in both places. The exact location of the site and the meaning of the Parthian-Aramaic, "tract, stretch (of land)", will be developed in the body of the article. The Greek here may be conceived as a mere miswriting; with the second I small and crowded, as a poor attempt at a correction: IC for HC; or even as a wavering between the forms Mesichis and Misiche. Though no impeccable Greek, the most probable solution seems to me to be another; with the preposition and the article can one not read: ἐν τῇ Μεσικῇ ἴσθρ ἐξ ἐναντίας, "in the Mesikh flat, level-land, plain, over against one another," or "evenly arrayed line against line": Why was not πεδίον used for "plain"? There may have been several reasons: the Parthian scribe may have given the Greek an inkling of the meaning of this Aramaic name; or the Greek may have thought of river bottom flats. In any case this reading, with the place determined at the later Anbar, makes acceptable sense; better sense than any attempt to disjoin the adjective or adjectival noun from the preceding preposition, article, and proper name to read it as an adverbial dative: "at Mesikh, evenly opposite one another; on even terms, line against line." Perhaps thinking of the Romans, at least their leaders, as stepping down from boats, and of Sapor and his staff as stepping down into action or viewing it from the walled town will take a bit of the oddity from the Greek phrasing suggested.

III, 2 In the very beginning of this section the deadly literalness of the Greek is particularly misleading. What is meant becomes clear beyond a doubt, when the third war is begun. The Semitic TWB, used by the Parthian, is now, thanks to Nyberg, quite clearly MP dit, Parthian perhaps dud, dod, or dudy, dody, or whatever. There can be no question about the connection of the Iranian with the numeral two. The Semitic suggests a little too exclusively again. The Iranian is, indeed, sometimes used in this sense, sometimes simply for further, sometimes distinctly for second or secondly. Iranian word order with adverbial use is here the same as in Sec. III, 1 with "firstly". There the Greek correctly inverted the order. Here Greek slavishly follows Iranian word order and with his palin completely confuses the Western historian who knows no Iranian. This Greek

is not writing classical Greek nor truly living Hellenistic Greek; he is translating ad hoc, sometimes with slipshod literalness, sometimes with superficial superiority, sometimes maliciously, as is shown in more detail in the historical essay.

The Armenian affair can now be dated better than in editio princeps with Ensslin (S. B. Bay. Akd. W. Phil.-histkl., 1947, no. 5, pp. 18 f.) after Zonaras (XII 21 PI 628 A) as belonging in the reign of Gallus, when the Romans received and gave shelter and comfort to Shahpuhr's enemy, Tiridates III of Armenia, a claimant to the Armenian throne (just as the Imam of Yaman did in a similar case a few years ago against Ibn Saud). It is possible that the year was 252, as Ensslin thinks, in which case Shahpuhr and his elite body guard spent the winter at Nicopolis. More probable, with Bellinger, Berytus VIII, 1 (1943), pp. 64f., and what little I can gather of information about Synagogue dipinti being prepared for publication at Yale, seems to me 253, which witnessed both the death of Gallus and the start for the East of Valerian. That in the confused state of affairs at Rome, which confused Greek and Latin authors as well, Shahpuhr did not know what Caesar to name, with none appearing in the East, is hardly surprising. So he contents himself with saying Caesar, the person in whom Roman government power is embodied. For the two-fold "taking" of Dura-Europus by Shahpuhr, sensed by Bellinger (l. c. on later pages) and apparently vouched for by the dipinti study in progress, see now the historical essay at the end of this volume.

In the list of cities and castles the first four will be given with the wearisome, mechanically repeated phrase, "city, with its surroundings on all sides." For the rest this translator simply refuses to waste time and paper in writing and printing. Senseless repetition of the meaningless phrase makes more difficult the count and comparison of names. The text, complete in the editio princeps, has been available to students now for more than ten years. Errors and oversights in the first reading, are righted here as they are discovered. The Greek talks of castles in the plural as well as cities; it has but one castle, where Parthian has two. Reason for the omission may be found in the essay. Where identification is simple and assured, names usually found in the Greek, as they appear in modern Atlases and history books, are given. Odd Persian and Parthian writings may be found in texts and transliterations. For identifications going beyond editio princeps see the essay. Parthian has 36 names, Greek, omitting one, has only 35. The total given is 37. Greek's sin bewrayeth him. One extra is enough for "good measure"; two is too many.

III, 3 This section marks the highpoint in the career of Shahpuhr I. With it he becomes the only ruler and military leader in history, who took captive alive a Roman Caesar and displayed him in his own capital in token of triumph. This enabled his armies to penetrate more deeply than at any other time in his career, in fact more deeply than anyone in those eastern regions had ever gone before, farther, also, than anyone ventured for many years thereafter, into the confines of the Roman Empire. This is one of the facts that gives this underrated Shahpuhr a fair claim to the epithet, the Great. At the same time a few other data need new and fairer evaluation. With others two clichés appear in this section. One, as in the foregoing section, is the prideful "city, with its surroundings on all sides" after the name of each city taken. The other appears in the list of the territories or provinces from which Valerian's army was assembled. To the Romans these might be limes barracks or provinces in which legions or parts of legions were stationed in peacetime; at this time they would include localities or peoples from whom or which special corps were, at least originally, drawn or recruited. Shahpuhr's Parthian uses for each of these units the name or epithet khšatr, the Greek ethnos. This in spite of the fact that at least in Mesopotamia Shahpuhr and his Iranians surely knew and understood more or less clearly Roman methods of garrisoning. In spite of this Shahpuhr and his scribes use terms, which to the Iranian mind meant smaller kingdoms incorporated in the great empire under its King of Kings or provinces ruled by princes or satraps, territories ethnically more or less homogeneous, the sort of lands from which Iranian levies in these early Sasanian times were made ad hoc for a war in hand. This is one of the elements of myth-making, which, unless detected and checked, make "history"



what Henry Ford the Elder called it, certainly ineffective or worse. This process begins much earlier than is commonly believed. Nor has it stopped yet. We can hardly look down on Shahpuhr and his men, while we continue to create such myths, making of many a public character a superman or saint on the one hand, a rogue or devil on the other. Having said this much in these notes, we can disencumber all these proper names in translation from these disturbing clichés, and, referring to editio princeps, "Pahlavi Notes", and the historical essay, from odd Parthian or Greek forms as well.

Into pictorial representations connected with this section the essay further tries to bring sounder clarity than has yet been found.

One other matter needs a word. Sneering charges of ignoble bribery are hurled at Shahpuhr. There may be something to them. The essay shows that the morale of Valerian's army at Samosata was low; dissatisfaction near to mutiny may have been rife; ambitions easily leading to treacherous action were all around the aging Valerian. On the other hand, what Roman or other generalissimo ever yet failed to avail himself of a "fifth column", if one was handy? Careful consideration of editio princeps, "Pahlavi Notes", and especially "The Greek of Sapor KZ and Roman History" is earnestly recommended to users of this edition and translation. Approaching the end of this section the scribes, even the Parthian, are growing weary of endless repetition. The Parthian's number 36 is mechanically repeated by the Greek, who again has reduced the Parthian's list by one, fusing Alexandria Katison. Thirty-five may be attained by adding what seems to be MP's addition, or, as the essay shows less likely, adding the Greek's Meiakarire while keeping Caesarea Mazaka. A sneer at Shahpuhr's prideful "land of his forebears" forgets three things: first, that he is a scion of the gods; second, that even Roman soldiers were impressed by the epic feeling of these Persians, however dim their memory of Medes and Achaemenians; third, that beside Seleucia-Ctesiphon these early Sasanians built for themselves great cities in the fastnesses of the Persis, just in case, which is one of the things that make oft-repeated Roman attacks on Ctesiphon ridiculously ineffective.

III, 4 The German heimsuchen would be the best rendering of the Greek ἐζητήσαμεν; a good English equivalent either does not exist or it escapes this writer's mind.

IV, 1 From the editio princeps and the texts published herewith in photographic reproductions, in handcopies, and transliterations it is clear that even in this little introductory paragraph the Greek omits the last clause about the worship of the gods, and MP seems to vary it a bit. For Varahrān and other fires, for magi-men and other magi, see the notes on Kartīr KZ.

IV, 2 The differences between Greek and Iranian are easy to note for any reader. Interesting is the Greek mneia, "memory" for Iranian ravān, "soul". Variants in the proper names need special treatment, which cannot be given here. The writer is quite content to leave such a study to another or others. The endeavor in the translation has been to render the names most acceptable and intelligible to the general reader. Specialists need no help in this respect.

IV, 3 "Nevertheless" has disappeared from the Parthian; like MP it now reads simply KNč-, "thus, also"; repetition of KN in MP is a simple correction, which signifies nothing for the meaning. Tarkapišn, Greek tarkapēsin, in this section has been brought no nearer a solution than it was in editio princeps.

IV, 4,5 For the proper names which now follow in great profusion anything like a proper translation is manifestly impossible. Titles and in less measure epithets can and will be translated. In what is treated as title or epithet this rendition differs slightly from editio princeps. Instead of 28, Parthian and Greek are now believed to enumerate 27, MP 28 persons. They are all of the royal house, indeed, of the royal family, by blood or marriage. The first four, Shahpuhr's eponymous great-grandfather, his grandfather, paternal uncle, and father, are all

dead. No. 9 perhaps likewise. Possibly also no. 5. The others are very probably living, as, of course, is Shahpuhr himself. Masses for "souls", by the Greek consistently rendered as "memory", could be slaughtered, eaten, drunk, chanted, recited, or murmured for the living as well as for the dead in this early phase of Sasanian Mazdayasnianism, which may perhaps be called Zoroastrianism. It is a far cry from Zoroaster, his Gathas, his practice, times, and circumstances. Zoroaster is not once mentioned, just as he is not in Achaemenian inscriptions. His name must have been known to the just developing Sasanian priesthood. To judge by Kartir's words and interests, it is doubtful whether the Gathas were then much, if any, better understood than they are now. How much else of an Avesta was gathered into an official collection, a more or less holy book, for ritual purposes, remains in truth unknown. That a Vīdēvdāt was in existence may safely be assumed. Also that there was more. Exactly what there was is simply not known. Shahpuhr is said to have displayed interest in foreign literatures and to have made additions to his Avesta from them. If so, much of this was later cancelled out. Everything was in formation, in flux. There is considerable truth in Darmesteter's feeling about the Avesta; his statement was simply too strong, too patriotically Jewish, not yet sufficiently historical. Certainly a fixed and canonized Bible the Avesta of this time was not. Neither monobiblicism nor monotheism were yet acute problems for these Mazdayasnians. But with Jews, Christians, and Manicheans in the neighborhood and Kartir's hostility toward them taking shape, the problems began to make themselves felt, though they may not have become acute until Islam came on the scene. Kartir exhibits the need of formulating doctrines of heaven and hell and good works and sin, as well as that of training rightminded priests, fixing ritual, guiding good practice, e.g., in next of kin marriages, in this world. The presence of Buddhists, Brahmins, and probably Mandaeans, as well as Christians, Jews, and Manicheans, accounts for the need of formulated doctrine on heaven and hell. All this, too, is formative and in flux. So the documents here published are very precious, but also very difficult to see through and to see rightly. Names, ranks, protocol, language, as well as the matters just broached, furnish food for thought and study -- for others than the editor of these texts. The statement has been made that inscriptions in stone show no corrections. Our Greek is full of them in attempts to overcome, as he went along, the friable surface of his stones. Both Shahpuhr and Kartir KZ have some, as will be shown. Toward the end of line 21, fifth word from the end, Sxypuxrdvxtkyh, the stonecutter had omitted the k and inserted it above the y which was to follow it. Sxypvyr is written over the line at the very end of line 2, in an otherwise badly eroded section, which makes it difficult together with the state of Greek and MP to place and interpret it correctly. These are the only two cases of attempts at correction observed in this Parthian. Aiming at intelligibility for the non-Iranist, making no attempt to attain specious consistency, a "translation" of this section is presented in due order. The extremely awkward string of possessives, with which in this section MP follows Parthian, is rendered so as not to obscure their awkwardness.

IV, 6 The little introductory statement to this long section, which follows in three subdivisions, is interesting and not without difficulties. Leaving aside matters sufficiently discussed and clarified in editio princeps, one special term found in this inscription here only needs a bit of discussion. The mass or rite to be performed for the soul or memory is here named, in the Greek mageuō, in the MP YDBHWNtn, which is yaŋtan, in the Parthian Y<sup>c</sup>BDy<sup>c</sup>tan, which most simply is krhytan, perhaps kirhitan. This is the very word used in Parthian, line 19, for what is to be done with lamb, bread, and wine for Shahpuhr's own soul or memory; the parallel MP here is kryt, Greek having colorless geinetai. Now, although from yaŋtan all sense of sacrifice has departed, if it ever was there, the MP Semitic mask certainly means "slaughter, sacrifice," and what else could be done with a lamb or kid? Whatever was done, was clearly performed as a ritual, a "mass". For it the Parthian Semitic mask is BD, ending -itan, not simply -tan, which would make kartan. Aside from the noun kartakan for acts of religious worship (Greek thrēskeia) in lines 29 and 30, it is in these inscriptions regularly the passive which is so used. In MP, also, we find it in Kartir, NRj, 11.4, 12, 16; and negated in Kartir KZ, 11.9 and 10. BD is not common in the Syro-Aramaic



of Edessa in the sense of "worship, perform a rite"; it just does occur in Acts 26:16. Yet Arabic 'abada and the 'ibād of Hirah attest the use in the Aramaic East. For this our mask is a further witness.

In this little section MP takes the bull by the horns, puts its lamb, bread, and wine at the head, and so cancels out the possessive for the long list of proper names. In this we shall happily follow its lead.

IV, 6a Not much has been found to add to editio princeps. The father's name in no. 8 has, if not a Parthian, yet a distinctly northern flavor, occurring, as it does, in connection with Gotarzes III, where, as well as with other bearers of the name listed in Justi, it is in the majority of cases connected with Hyrcanians and Turks. The father in our case may well have been a Hyrcanian or of Hyrcanian origin.

IV, 6b The names of the Kings, who make Ardashīr "King of Kings of Iran", or rather of the Aryans-Iranians, is interesting and important. Not much can or need at present be added to the comments in editio princeps. The note there on the first of these kings, with an excursus on Kushan coins which have been misinterpreted so as to place fiction in the place of factual history, is especially commended to the attention of historians interested in such matters. The archaizing, northeastern note in the coins of Pērōz, son of Yazdgerd II and brother of Hormizd III, is further emphasized by the coin cited in Justi. Namenbuch, top of p. 248, from Bartholomaei-Dorn Taf. 14, on which he is styled "Kadī Perōci," i.e., Kay Pērōz.

The women, named in these lists, furnish the historian highly valuable information going far beyond Christensen.

Prgvz, here and elsewhere in the Parthian, demands special attention. The curious forms of this name here, Parthian Prgvz, MP Pryvzy, Greek Pērōz, seem to call for a revision of our ideas on this word as a proper name for men. Pērōz, "victorious", in modern Persian, and in Turfan Middle Persian, corresponding to Turfan Parthian pryvj, prvg, meaning "victory" can hardly be derived from anything but pairi + √aug; cf. Bthl, AirWb, col. 862; Ghilain, Essai, p. 63; Henning, List, BSOS IX 1 (1937), p. 87, prwxta. But our three proper names together will not fit under this pattern. The evidence from Herzfeld's Paikuli, seems to me unsafe; effective use of it will have to wait upon a revised edition, which with Herzfeld's passing will now have to be made by another. The evidence of our documents is perfectly clear. Our forms can hardly be derived from pairi.aojah-, pariauj-. With Hübschmann, PSt, p.248, Sec. 141, and the examples there quoted, our material would fit excellently a derivation from pairi.gā.-vačah-, Bthl, AirWb. col. 864, which would account for Parthian Pargōz, MP Paryōz, and presently by epenthesis and some conflation with Pērōz, "victor, victorious, victory." This would make Pargoz - Paryoz - Pērōz in origin a minstrel or sacred singer, in older times, as Nyberg and his students are showing, not at all a despised or unimportant vocation or activity, and, as will presently appear, in our Shahpuhr's time still a man of note. Of course "one who sings or sounds his words all around" may also be a commander-in-chief. In the absence of full testimony, in fact of any very early attestation, the exact meaning in early and earliest usage escapes us.

The difference in the great family names, Sūrēn, Kāren, overlooked by Christensen, has been noted by Bailey.

Gvk, Gōk (Gōg?) reminds one of Jewish Gog and Magog. The odd Septuagintal Gōgaios (elsewhere Gai) in Esther 2:8, 14, likewise comes to mind. Justi's Gag, Gau, Gōgušnasp, perhaps also Wēw, Gēw, may be related. The short name here may be hypocoristic. Gō may mean "hero" as well as "cattle". Final k, as in Sogdian, may indicate g, though Greek here does not favor this assumption. The -k may be a mere suffix, perhaps diminutive or hypocoristic.

Rxš Spadpty occurs also in Paikuli, 11.7 and 15 (17). Herzfeld, Glossary, p. 240, deals with the name. If his is the correct identification, then Justi has the name twice, once under Erexša and again under Raxš. Both under Rxš, and under

Spdpt, pp. 225 f., Herzfeld treats the second word as the name of a clan rather than a title, though titles are all around it. Here it is pretty clearly a title, "army-lord, general".

On Pačxr Vysprkn we may note, that the matter of vis-, vas-, seems to be exactly the opposite of what Herzfeld finds in Paikuli, Glossary, p. 170.

With the Sagpus, "Chase" or "Hunt-lord", it is interesting to find in Justi a Sagduxt. Here it is tempting to find in Sagpus a dogson. The variant readings on the lady in Justi must give one pause. To judge by the Greek the last of Ardashir's retainers seems in pronunciation not too far removed from no. 10, Dēēn, with itacism of ēta. Parthian and MP are definitely different. The Greek's initial Die- may be an attempt to render Iranian j here, as elsewhere. The ending is hypocoristic; Hübschmann, Arm. Gr. p. 90, no. 2. If it is true Persian, such a name would be a pretty rude Elizabethan joke on the Lord Chief Cellarer. It may, indeed, have been used as such, though it scarcely originated in this manner. Perhaps it was a foreign, dialectal, or Armenian form of modern Šax, MP šak (Horn, Etym. no. 76b; Hübschmann, Arm. Gr. p. 499, no. 408), meaning "scion", which constituted the first element of an abbreviated compound. Other possibilities cannot be canvassed here.

IV, 6c Under Shahpuhr of great interest is the name of the first kingdom, which has been treated con amore in editio princeps. We add here two things. First, if Hoffmann is right on his p. 209, note 1662, (Syr. Akt. pers. Märt, Leipzig, 1880 - Abh. Kunde des Morgenlandes, VII, 3), in deriving Nohodare (Nuhadhri) from nuh adhar, "nine fires", the t in our form and at least the second t in the curious Armenian would be natural enough; perhaps the x=h in our MP would not be wholly unnatural either. In any case the compounding with Shirakan was probably fairly old and not due to the Sasanians. Church districts in this region have an odd way of combining in various ways, by no means by reason of changes in political sovereignty only. Armenians who knew neither Persian nor Parthian would not recognize the numeral for nine, theirs being quite different; so they understood the initial syllable as their nor, "new", and it may have been they who transmitted this meaning to the Greeks. Second, the Ardashirs of Adiabene mentioned in editio princeps are not a complete list. The statement there was limited to Sasanian times and later. From Justi (Namenbuch, p. 35, no. 14) we add here Artaxares, King of Adiabene, mentioned by Augustus in the Monumentum Ancyranum, 6, 1. This antedates Sasanian rule by two full centuries, but does not make Marquart's theory about the origin of the name any more probable. Anyone at all acquainted with the writing of Sasanian Middle-Persian Pahlavi will readily see how easy it would be to read our nvtxšyr as nrtxštr and thus to be speciously reminded of Ardashir, with whom the name of our kingdom has nothing in common.

To make up under Shahpuhr the kings under him, who make him King of Kings, four in his list exactly as under Ardashir, we are given as no. 3 "Queen Denake of Meshan, Shahpuhr's foundation" or "estate" (dstkrt). Such a meaning for dstkrt is suggested by the use of the word in 11.16 and 17 and later. The Shahpuhr here mentioned is not the King of Kings, or the full title would certainly have been added; he must be that son of the King of Kings who was mentioned previously as King of Mēshān. The implication pretty clearly is that Shahpuhr, King of Mēshān, is dead, and this queen, whether one of his widows or another, is ruling this prosperous, peaceful, and fairly safe province in her own right and name.

The four "kings" here mentioned with Shahpuhr's four sons, who also were Kings under him, make eight for his rule, perhaps actually at any one time, seven, if the King of Mēshān is dead, and we do not count the queen as a king. For Ardashir four only are mentioned, Shahpuhr himself, though certainly entitled "King", perhaps naturally, not among their number. It is a pity, that no indication of the blood relationship of these lesser kings, particularly the Kirmānshāh, is given.

Shahpuhr's court personnel has five "royal princes", princes of the royal family, following his kings. Neither Pāpak nor Ardashir has any. Making due allowance for Shahpuhr's self-glorification, which is not understated by his ever-zealous

critics among Greek, Roman, and modern historians, the picture here developed by Shahpuhr must correspond in large measure to fact. Shahpuhr is here talking to and among his own, with men like Kartir and his own brothers and uncles to check on him; sons do not count as checks, being born too late and to the purple and naturally setting a high value on their father, who does well by them. The protocole of the King of Kings, in home as well as foreign affairs, was ever a serious matter at Persian courts; so we probably do have here the proper ranking of these men in due order, in which serious slips were scarcely allowed to occur. Perhaps the nyvdpt, adnyk, δειπνοκλήτωρ, was the man to arrange these lists and have names called in proper sequence of entrance; he is found at all three courts, with Pāpak, Ardashir, and Shahpuhr. Perhaps in these early Sasanian times he corresponds to the andēmān-kār sardār, made much of in Herzfeld's Paikuli.

On the Prdkn, Parikān, not much beyond what was given in editio princeps can here be offered. The Parikan must be a group like the Ktvkn, Kidoukan; if the Kidoukan are astrologers, these are likely to be in some sense a similar class. Parikan is in Iranian written exactly like Pharrikan under Pāpak's no. 2, and like Ardashir's no. 21, for which Greek has Oupherigan. The pronunciation suggested by the Greek is, of course, important. It seems to connect these beings, of which the first prince Sasan is steward or manager, with Bookpahlavi parik, Avestan pairika, Modern Persian perī. In modern Persian this means an essentially good fairy, in older times an evil spirit, a witch, a prostitute. If this is, indeed, our word, we would have here a royal prince in some way having under his care and supervision perhaps professional courtesans. Remembering Japanese Geisha girls this may not be so impossible or improbable as it looks at first sight. The d in both Parthian and MP is, of course, the pseudo-archaism very common in MP, well-known in Book Pahlavi. The Greek eis is merely a practically consistent literal mistranslation of Iranian pat; it probably has nothing to do with the modern Greek use of eis. The Greek use of the passive participle with eis for pat, apparently corrected also into τοῦς at the beginning of l. 61, may mean that these princelings draw all or a part of their income and living from Kidoukan and Parikan, rather than that they keep or manage them. It may not be amiss to call attention to the fact that up to very recent times, until the Turks took over, a large, prominent, and in the main wealthy Christian family of Perikhans existed in Mardin, some of whom still live in Syria. What is the curious name, title, or epithet which MP substitutes for Shahpuhr-Sabour in no. 9?

One Bytxs, Pitixas, follows the royal princes here; as in Ardashir's no. 8 he follows immediately upon the kings and queens or royal women. He must rank high to be assigned this place, though we do find another much lower down here as no. 31 under Shahpuhr. The title may be an Armenian equivalent of the "royal prince", and the second may actually be a man of Armenia, therefore of lower rank, while the first is perhaps, by adoption or otherwise, a naturalized or even a native Persian. Next in order follow a hzrvpt or hazāript and an asppt, aspipid, a "thousand-lord" and a "horse-lord". The first is well known. The second is up to this point unknown in this early Sasanian court or administration. Recognizing the fact that these transparent titles may have slipped from their original moorings, Greek simply transliterates, but does not offer easy and obvious translations. Greek transliteration, here and in Ardashir's no. 9, is again both interesting and important as showing both pronunciation and usage in these early Sasanian times; it makes probable, that Nöldeke, Tabari, 76 and 96, n.3, quoted by Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., 174, no. 328, is in so far forth wrong, as there is at these early Sasanian courts no distinction in meaning between the two forms of the same word listed, hazāropt, and hazāript. Later, of course, with other titles being assigned to the prime minister, our word surely lost a step or more in caste and may even have been fused by homophony with one or more other titles. Aspipid is more than "knight, count", quoted from the Armenian dictionary by Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., 109, no. 67; it represents, as he himself saw, a high dignitary ranking just below the prime minister and above the great, noble families. The form hazāropt, according to Herzfeld, Paikuli, Gloss. p. 188, no. 382, is the Parthian writing; here it is the writing of Ardashir's time or scribes in all three languages. In this form connection with later hazāraft seems not so impossible as Christensen still thought in his Iran,

p. 523. The prime minister of Ardashīr and Shahpuhr is Pāpak; there is in this position no Abarsam, on whose position and merits Ghirshman may have something to say. No aspipid is found with Ardashīr.

Under both Shahpuhr and Ardashīr there now follow three of the great families, Varāz-Gourāz coming first, and a Lord of Andigan being inserted between Sūrēn and Kāren, of which latter Ardashīr has two, while Shahpuhr lists but one. The difference in length of the second syllable, Sūrēn versus Kāren, escaped Christensen but not the keen eye of Bailey.

In place of the second Kāren Shahpuhr has a framātār, which the Greek defines as ἐπίτροπος (from what time and usage in the Greco-Roman world?). This title later rose in rank, as hazārupat sank and aspipat apparently dropped out of use. Here another framātār-epitropos occurs much lower down as no. 54.

After this dignitary begins a line of satraps, interspersed with all sorts of other ranks down to no. 58, near the end of the list. Seven are mentioned, all connected with what were certainly considered Iranian cities, regions, territories, or provinces: 1) our no. 18, of Vahī-Antiōk-Shahpuhr, Gundēsābōr; 2) no. 22, of Gōdman, Gōman=Sogdia(?); 3) no. 30, of Gaby-Gady-Gē-Gay=Isfahān; 4) no. 36, of Rind=Rēwand(?); 5) no. 37, of Ahmatān-Amedan-Hamadān, Ecbatana; 6) no. 51, of Vahy-Ardakhshīr, Gue-Artaxar, Guāsīr, in Kirman(?); 7) no. 58, of Nairīz-Nagrīz-Nērēz-Nīrīz, east of Khīr, King Pāpak's old residence, and of the Nīrīz or Bakh-tigan Sea. The satraps of Shahpuhr's day were clearly no fewer than these seven, probably no more, though as to that we cannot be sure. Where they can be identified without too much uncertainty, the seat of their authority named is a city rather than a district or province, of course the capital city of a province. They evidently vary very greatly in their rank at court. The first follows immediately after the kings, princes, a bitakhsh, the prime minister, the aspipid, the great families, and the frāmātār, and precedes the men of honorific titles or epithets. The last falls below a eunuch chamberlain and the master of the hunt and is followed by only eight of the 66 notables named. The position of these satraps of Shahpuhr's time appears new in the Sasanian setup, wholly within Aryan-Iranian territory, and not well fixed as a rank, the variety due either to the importance or lack of it of their city or province, or to that of their person and family. In the matter of derivation of the title Herzfeld's OP \*xšaθrapāna- beside OP \*xšaθrapāva-, even with the Hebrew and Aramaic, is a will-o'-the-wisp; for the realities see Meillet-Benveniste, Gr.d. V.P., p. 179, Sec. 312; p. 169, Sec. 293. On the other hand sataropt of our Greek; the vacillating use and evidence of Armenian šahapet, Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., pp. 208 f., nos. 461 and 462; the Satrabates, Satropates of the fourth century B.C., listed by Justi, Namenbuch, p. 292, for which the new weight given to the Armenian by our Greek makes Nöl-deke's hypothetical emendation both unsound and unnecessary; all these make very probable an old \*xšaθro-paiti, \*xšaṣsa-pati-, beside the šoiθra-paiti-, šahapet, "Baal of the homelands, graves, fields, vines and olive trees," and the well-known xšaṣsapāvā(n), "satrap."

Under Shahpuhr we now find, following the first satrap and extending beyond the second, five men who bear the well-known type of honorific epithet, on which one does well to see Christensen, L'Iran, pp. 404 ff., even though he is mistaken with Herzfeld on Kartīr. Two here differ from those listed by Christensen, as does the one, the well-known Apursam, found under Ardashīr, no. 15. These titles were highly prized, as Kartīr's pride in his lengthy one, coined ad hoc, shows. Their use in Iranian lands is at least as old as Herodotus and continued into modern times, as Christensen notes. It may be that at times they connoted some actual office or function, as they did up to all but the most recent times. In any case they placed the bearer near to the person of the King of Kings in recognition of some type of distinguished service.

The shifting of these rankings in these early Sasanian times stands out clearly in the titles and patronymics or epithets which now follow. Under Pāpak we find at what corresponds to about this point at his much smaller court his

nyvdpt, adnyk, deipnoklētōr. At Ardashīr's court he follows three others as his no. 19. Under Shahpuhr he slips in at no. 26. Attention has been called to the fact that this may be for this time the "Chief Gentleman Usher", the andēmān-kārān-sardār of Herzfeld's Faikuli, Gloss. p. 138, no. 100, a figure notably absent from our lists. A further fixed, but slightly shifting point is a Dumbawendian, three numbers above the "dinner caller", no. 16, with Ardashīr, but slipping just below this dignitary as no. 27 with Shahpuhr. Under Ardashīr, just below the Dumbawendian we find a spāhpat, more probably a title, "general", than a family name, with none listed for Shahpuhr. Then, following the "general", but still just above the "dinner caller", we have a scribe-lord, a secretary in chief, as no. 18 for Ardashīr, while that dignitary slips well down in Shahpuhr's list to no. 45, where, however, he gives himself a special standing with a father's name of the same rank in MP, thus, perhaps, indicating that he is the scribe who wrote MP, though he cannot sign officially at the very end, as does the scribe of Parthian. The place of the generalissimo above the "dinner caller" seems in Shahpuhr to be taken by a baron of Castle Shahrkert, no. 25.

But now after this lot, as nos. 28 and 29, comes the real surprise of Shahpuhr's court, if the editio princeps is right, and the editor as yet knows none except a minor and nonessential detail to the contrary. It still seems most probable to me that these are a court minstrel and his harper. For a long time it has been known from Arabic and other sources, that musicians were regular ranking members of Sasanian courts. They are gathered up with admirable fullness and clarity by Christensen, L'Iran, pp. 336, 366, 397 ff., and 476 ff. (with which last pages, however, one should see H. W. Bailey's review, BSOS IX (1937-9), pp. 231-3). The Arabic sources purport in part to reflect the affairs, manners, and arrangements of earliest Sasanian times. Actually they depict facts of later times. What is learned from Manī must nevertheless mean the very time of our inscriptions. Now, here, if the interpretation is correct, we have the indisputable facts of early Sasanian courts. In a somewhat facetious mood, in editio princeps, this writer debated the possibility of the minstrel being an Afghan. No reaction having to the writer's knowledge followed this manifestly hazardous suggestion, the writer hereby reassures his friends among historians and linguists, that he does know Apakan, general of Sapor II (Justi, Namenbuch, p. 18, of Hübschmann, Arm. Gr., p. 46, no. 91, n. 1). On the other names or descriptive titles what was said in editio princeps may be left as it is to challenge criticism and advance in knowledge.

After a stray satrap of Gaby-Isfahan and a second Bitakhsh, perhaps Armenian, there follows as no. 32 a Vysprkn, whose patronymic corresponds exactly in Parthian, but not in Greek and perhaps not in MP, to no. 20 with Ardashīr.

Thereafter three further officials are found in both Ardashīr's and Shahpuhr's list: a grstpt, Annonae-lord, Master of Supplies, perhaps quartermaster - or paymaster-general, no. 30 under Ardashīr, a little higher up no. 44 with Shahpuhr; the secretary in chief has been dealt with above; so that here we need add only that under Ardashīr the Greek transliterates, dibiroupt, while the probably more important (at least to his own mind) scribe lord of Shahpuhr is translated as archigrammateus; there remains only for each list a single judge, no. 25 of Ardashīr's 31 notables and there just above a "Lord Overseer of the Stables", while with Shahpuhr he slips down to no. 64 among 66 and is preceded by a eunuch, of whom there are none among Ardashīr's notables; the Greek translates in both cases.

From here on the lists for Ardashīr and Shahpuhr pretty well part company. For Shahpuhr's no. 38 it is well to note that the Greek hypēresia can hardly mean service in a navy, of which there is no hint, but simply lower grade service at court, for which salaries or wages are given rather than a permanent endowment, fee, fief, or feud. The Iranian speaks for this, as on the other hand the Greek makes clear that the Iranian term does not here have any religious connotation.

On no. 41, compared with Ardashīr's no. 15, one observes that the addition of Ardashīr's name in the one case seems to serve simply to distinguish one Apursam, Aboursam, Apursan from the other. His title, together with the BAB in the title

of no. 47, is of interest. For "gate" in the sense of "mountain-pass" the Parthian in line 2 (where MP is lost) uses TR<sup>co</sup>, the Parthian for which almost certainly is bar, while MP naturally would be dar. Here, for the royal court, the Pharaoh, the Bab-i-<sup>c</sup>Alī or Sublime Porte, we find Parthian using Iranian d(a)rīk together with MP, Greek drīg, and in 47 Parthian uses the Semitic ideogram or mask BAB, where MP simply writes dar, and the Greek translates by the related θύρα in its θύραιος (elsewhere θύρωρος). It seems that for the royal court this Sasanian court's Parthian uses BAB=dar, while for the gate or pass in the mountains it has TR<sup>co</sup>, bar.

Beginning with no. 28, and more particularly with no. 32, a fair sprinkling of patronymics runs on to the end, at least sixteen of thirty-nine names being thus characterized, one only of these further designated by his station in the royal bed-chambers as a Eunuch. The men in designated stations, with the one exception noted, have with their own no father's name; for this one may see all the satraps, the advocate or counsellor of the royal ladies (no. 34); the swordbearer (no. 35), the Supervisor of the service (no. 38), the head of the Drīgān (no. 41), the manager of the annonae (no. 44), the prison warden (no. 46), the doorkeeper (no. 47), Kartīr the hērbedh (no. 50), the treasurer (no. 52), the second framātār (no. 54), the curious officer (no. 55), the supervisor of the bazaar (no. 57), the second eunuch (no. 63), the lone judge (no. 64), and the boar-lord (no. 66). The name Artabānū, Irdouan, Artavān following the name of the second Kartīr (no. 60) is almost certainly a father's name; the Manichaean documents, translated or used by Henning in his note on Mani's last journey and death, make this clear; Henning overlooked the fact that this Kartīr is not the same as the redoubtable hērbedh, whose father's name in spite of Henning remains unknown. With the titles and epithets, nos. 10-27, not a single patronymic is used. Among the five royal princes three carry a patronymic. None of the kings not of the royal family has a father's name with his own. The ending of the patronymics, when used, is distinctly -kān, not -ān (Salemann, Grd. Ir. Phil., I, 1, p. 279, Sec. 50, 11b.). For names ending in k, like Papak, the same must be assumed, although in that case the two k's naturally merge into one. The same ending appears where the father is designated by title rather than by name, e.g., disbadigān (no. 49), bitakhshkān (no. 52), probably also Vardpatikān-Goulībēgan (no. 59) and Nashpadigān (no. 65). The Greek shows that this was regularly pronounced -gān, except after k (no. 33). The same holds true for nos. 20-22, 27, and 28, not to mention other uses of -kān, -gān, under Ardashīr. Under Pāpak nos. 2 and 3, ending in k, have -kan, but no. 4, also ending in k, with -gān, exactly like nos. 7 and 8, which end in n. No. 1 is uncertain.

Some further idea about the rankings may be gained from the fact that Kartīr, the hērbedh, is mentioned here, starting his career as a person of note, as he himself indicates both on KZ and at NRj, under Shahpuhr, not under Ardashīr. He was not under Shahpuhr classed among the grandees, the vcrkan, as he himself tells us in KZ, l. 8 (=NRu, l. 23, word 5), not, indeed, until the reign of Varahrān (=Bahrām) II. This makes it certain that Kartīr NRj belongs after that date. Kartīr has there attained the authoritative position he craved, with the attainment of which he can make convincingly authoritative statements on heaven and hell. The scribe of Kartīr NRj proudly signs himself as "the scribe of Kartīr, the Lord (MRWHY ~~xvātāy~~)". Those classed below Kartīr here are therefore certainly not of the grandees. It is very probable that a fairish number of those preceding him are likewise not of that class, though exactly where the dividing line comes is not indicated, so far as this writer can discern. It is well to remember at this point that we probably do not have here a full list of all the notable members of Shahpuhr's court, much less of the whole empire of Irānistān, though for those which we do have, the ranking is very probably reliable enough.

It will be an interesting and instructive task for someone to compare these lists with their titles and offices with those of Moslem courts from the Abbasids on down, e.g., those listed for the Sāmānids in Barthold's Turkestan, pp. 226 ff. Very clear is the equation vačarpāt ( ἀγορανόμος ) = Muhtasib. Is the odd office and title of no. 55 here = Barthold's p. 229, no. 3, amīd al-mulk, "mainstay of the State," whom Barthold thinks identical with the head of the "diwān of

official documents" (dīwān ar-rasā'il or dīwān-i-inshā)?

These notes may be brought to a close with another interesting suggestion. Nöldeke, Das Iranische Nationalepos, 2nd edition, Berlin-Leipzig, 1920, p. 18, tells us that in the Shāhnāme, as in Moslem Arabic authors, Alexander the Great is made to visit the Kaabah. To Moslem authors this would, of course, mean the Kaabah at Mecca. Nöldeke did not know our Kaabah of Zoroaster. Is it not possible, if not probable, that Persian authors of the prose Kingbook or their predecessors added this touch to the Alexander Romance, meaning our Kaabah of Zoroaster, which Alexander could hardly have missed when he was at Persepolis?





## KARTĪR KZ

## INTRODUCTION

The relatively simple solution of the extremely vexed and vexing problem of Kartīr in early Sasanian history was first, and in its major and essential features correctly, presented in the preliminary publication of this most recently found Kartīr inscription in translation and partial transcription in AJSL LVII (1940) 197-228, supplemented by a few further notes ibid. p. 330 and in AJSL LVIII (1941) 171-76.

This problem has been with the modern world for a long time. A complete and detailed story of its first appearance in modern times and the curious fates and devious steps by which it advanced to this fortuitous and in the main final solution is not necessary here. A sufficient picture of this story may be gleaned from AJSL LVII 198-201 and the literature there quoted, for the completion of whose earlier phases one may see E. W. West's "Pahlavi Literature: The Sasanian Inscriptions" in Wilhelm Geiger and Ernst Kuhn, Grundriss der iranischen Philologie II (Strassburg, 1896-1904) 76-79 (Gir. Ph.).

Almost exactly one hundred years before the appearance of the preliminary publication of Kartīr's inscription on the Kaabah of Zoroaster (Kartīr KZ) Flandin published apparently for the first time a partial handcopy of the great but sadly corroded Kartīr inscription just behind the tail of Shahpuhr's horse on the rock wall of Naqsh-i-Rustam (Kartīr NRu) facing the Kaabah. In 1843 a much better and fuller handcopy was made by the fine Danish Iranist Westergaard. This was published for the first time by E. W. West in the Indian Antiquary X (1881) 29-34. In Edward Thomas, "Sassanian Inscriptions", JRAS, New Series, III (1868) 272, the curious "crown" idea bobs up for the first time with a misreading of the end of line 27 of Kartīr's inscription on the rock wall of Naqsh-i-Rajab (Kartīr NRj), where, rightly read, Kartīr's name does appear. In his follow-up article in JRAS, New Series, IV (1870) West says on page 397 that the word in question is "probably 'crown' as Mr. Thomas supposes". In 1870 Martin Haug in his Introductory Essay on the Pahlavi Language says on pages 65 f.: "Thomas and West identify it (i.e., Kartīr) with the Heb. ktr 'crown', the cidaris of the Persian kings; and I cannot propose any better explanation". It seems to have been West who identified our Kartīr fully, not as a man, but as a crown. He carries on this notion not only in his article in the Indian Antiquary, but also in his sketch of the Sasanian inscriptions in Gir. Ph. II 76-79. West was a man, as a facetious remark by Bartholomae describes him, capable of reading anything and everything in Pahlavi. His fully emended "edition" of Kartīr NRu, lines 1-34, in the Indian Antiquary X 29-32 is something for every earnest student of Pahlavi to scan and to con. In the state both of West's knowledge and of the inscription, which can be clearly seen both in Westergaard's handcopy and in our excellent photograph by Boris Dubensky of Dr. Erich F. Schmidt's Persepolis staff, such an "edition" could not be other than a complete caricature. Theodor Nöldeke in his notes in Stolze and Andreas, Persepolis (Berlin, 1882), was more cautious and more just in recognizing his own limitations as well as those imposed upon him by the dilapidated state of Kartīr NRu and the quality of its photograph in the Stolze publication, not remotely to be compared with the photographs now in the Oriental Institute. He attempted neither an edition nor a translation; but in one of his notes he definitely rejected the "crown" idea and made Kartīr at least a person, guessing at some such meaning as "friend". As shown in detail in the preliminary publication and notes, Herzfeld began to work on Kartīr in Paikuli in 1924 and thereafter continued to publish fragments of his results. Though his work does mark a distinct advance over those before him, neither a clear nor a just picture of Kartīr ever emerged from his pen. Such a sketch, correct in essential outline, was given to the modern world for the first time in the preliminary publication in AJSL LVII and LVIII. The new reading here presented after renewed study, based especially on the remarkable replica made from the extraordinary squeezes brought home by Dr. Erich F. Schmidt,

does not in any essential feature cancel or destroy the sketch there given; it does, however, go far to clarify lines and spots in the picture left unclear or obscure in the preliminary publication. What is here presented may safely be called definitive and, except for a few doubtful points, conclusive.

Kartīr is the name, not a title, of a personage of extraordinary ability, vigor, and effectiveness in the first century of the Sasanian Iranian Empire, the third century of the Christian era.

He rose to a position of prominence and power in the reign of Shahpuhr I, c. A.D. 241-272. His title under this king was not the highest; it is hērbedh, "priestly schoolmaster", in the Iranian versions, simply magus in the Greek. But, apart from other indications, the size of the letters in which his name is written in the Greek of Shahpuhr KZ, so large as to be sprawling, though as low down as line 66, attests the position of the man at Istakhr-Naqsh-i-Rustam in the latter part of Shahpuhr's reign.

He was, almost as a matter of course, alive and a member of the magus-estate in Ardashīr's reign, c. A.D. 224-241. He himself tells us as much in the very first lines of his inscription NRu, in one of the few passages in which that repetition with additions of our Kartīr KZ varies notably from our inscription's statements and from those of Kartīr NRj. Whether Kartīr's inscription at Sar Meshhed agrees with NRu at this point or with KZ and NRj, only Herzfeld was in a position to know. From the indications published by Herzfeld, especially a few bits of the text farther on, it would seem as though SM were in the main a repetition, perhaps somewhat altered and expanded, as was Kartīr's habit, of NRu. Now, with attention called to SM, Richard Frye of Harvard has a photo, a copy, and a squeeze, from which publication can be made. That Kartīr really attained a position of prominence and power as early as Ardashīr's time, he nowhere states explicitly, merely allowing it to be inferred from the coupling of Ardashīr's name with that of Shahpuhr in the first two major statements he makes about himself. A brief comparison of the beginning of NRu, as we present it here, with that of our KZ will best illustrate the point: <w>[<sup>o</sup>NH Kl=r]<tyr Z>Y mgvpt [ZY yzdan] WAv=rtxstv=r M<LK>n [MLK<sup>o</sup>] WŠx=hpx=hv=ry MLK<sup>o</sup>n [MLK<sup>o</sup> x=hvp]l=rstay Wx=hvkamky X=HWYTN (Line 2) [apm P]<WN ZK> spasy ZYm P[WN yzdan WAv=rtxstv=r MLK<sup>o</sup>]n MLK<sup>o</sup> WŠx=hpx=hv=r[y MLK<sup>o</sup>]n MLK<sup>o</sup> kl=rty X=HWYTN ZKm W=BYDWN (Line 3) [Šx=h]pvx=hv=ry MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> PWN kl=r[tkan ZY yzdan PWN BB<sup>o</sup> Wstv=r]y W=L štv=ry [gyvak] W=L gyvak x=hamstv=ry PWN mgvstn kamkal=ry (Line 4) [Wpa]txsay. Thereafter in NRu Ardashīr drops out of the picture. This double insertion of Ardashīr's name, not very happy at best, appears to me to be a later idea of Kartīr's old age. Kartīr KZ may, indeed, have been begun as a much shorter inscription, of a few lines only, late in Shahpuhr's time or shortly after his death. Whether this be so or not, KZ and NRj are almost certainly earlier than NRu and SM. Of the two, again, KZ on Kartīr's "own house" is in all probability the earliest.

In KZ, contrary to the preliminary reading, Kartīr does not explicitly state that Shahpuhr kept in his own hands absolute power and authority over the magus-estate, while later kings delegated a constantly increasing amount of such power to Kartīr. Thus what Kartīr states for Shahpuhr's time amounts to this, that Shahpuhr, not Ardashīr, discovered him and actually was the man who first gave him a position of power and authority in church matters within the magus-estate, radiating out from Istakhr and the Kaabah of Zoroaster at Naqsh-i-Rustam, and solemnly advised his heir apparent in a testamentary instruction to continue his policy in this respect. Nevertheless the distinction between the state of affairs in Shahpuhr's time and in that of his three successors persists, even though recognition of it was at first in part based on a misreading. Nor is this distinction overly subtle or difficult to perceive. Shahpuhr is the only king in this inscription by whose command (framān, fīrmān) things concerning church,

religion, and the magus-estate are said to be done (end of KZ, lines 1 and 12, with NRu, lines 4 and 40, in complete agreement).

What Kartīr says thereafter about his rise in power and position under Shahpuhr's successors until he reaches the summit of his career under Varahrān (in later Persian Bahrām) II, 276-93, is for the most part patent enough and easy to see through. The only bit of subtlety lies in the statement on the time of Varahrān I, 273-76. There for the first time appears the term agrā(d)ih on which one may see AJSL LVII 216 f. For the rest the statement on this reign and the manner in which it is lumped together with that of Ohrmazd I is as colorless as possible except for one little added note. It is not stated that this Varahrān made him more independent and powerful than he had been under Shahpuhr and Ohrmazd, - the positive, which is, of course, the highest degree, is used; the only difference from statements on other reigns lies in the fact that here for the divine services or the gods' affairs "of every sort", (or perhaps better 'in every way') Kartīr is made independent and powerful. It may be that the slight but important ambiguity was not wholly unintentional.

Though it is glossed over, there is a distinct difference in tone and accent with the entrance of the Varahrāns. If this writer sees correctly, a new edition of Paikuli, - let us hope less sumptuous and expensive, but, of course, more correct and intelligible than the first - would show more clearly, that Kartīr was among those engaged in an intrigue to put yet another young Varahrān Varahrānson on the throne and to keep Narseh Shahpuhrson out of power. If that is so, it is certainly not improbable, that the first passing over of Narseh and the seating of Varahrān I (Gīlānshah, son of Shahpuhr I; Shahpuhr KZ, Parth., line 20; MP, line 25; Greek, line 47), evidently far less highly esteemed by Shahpuhr than Narseh, was hardly accomplished without a court intrigue. And in such an intrigue a man like Kartīr, sensing advantage for himself, his caste, and his ecclesiastical projects, would hardly remain inactive. In this connection it must be remembered that this Varahrān I delivered Mani into the hands of Kartīr's caste, while Ohrmazd is said to have shielded and protected him in Dastagerd (Justi, Gir. Ph. II, p. 250; Christensen, L'Iran, p. 177, in note 2 from page 175), as Shahpuhr had been on the whole benevolent to him. With all the honors and powers conferred upon him by Shahpuhr and Ohrmazd, under neither did Kartīr attain the power to make his church the one and only church of the empire, which was thus to be unified with elimination of "foreign" minorities; this goal was reached under the Varahrāns and burst into full flower under the young Varahrān II, whose praises in this inscription sound as though he had gone to school to Kartīr.

In this connection a brief statement first made by Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 48, in note 5 carried over from p. 47, must be discussed, because it is repeated without sufficient correction and elaboration by Arthur Christensen, L'Iran sous les Sasanides, Copenhagen, 1926, p. 192. Nöldeke mentions briefly in passing that according to al-Ja'qūbī ibn-Wādhīh, Historiae, ed. Houtsma, Leyden, Brill, 1883, Vol. I, p. 182, Bahrām I was a weakling, addicted to pleasure, and under the thumb of his servants. This may in so far forth be true; according to our inscriptions and such other scanty evidence as we possess he was in no wise as strong and dominating a personality as were Shahpuhr I, Hormizd (-Ardashīr) I, and Narsē. Ja'qūbī is further correct with many other Arabic and Persian historians in assigning the death of Mani to persecution and inquisition under this Bahrām, an action considered very laudable and meritorious by most Moslem, Christian, and Jewish authors as well as by practically all orthodox Zoroastrians. Ja'qūbī is interesting and not improbably correct in his tale of an offer by the mōbedh, almost certainly our Kartīr, to undergo with Mani before the eyes of the king and the assembled court an ordeal by molten lead. Just as certainly Ja'qūbī is wrong in making the report of this Bahrām's weakness a cause for an illusive return of Mani from supposed banishment under Shahpuhr I and a public reappearance there, which led to his apprehension and execution. The actual facts in this series of events, as now known, are best set forth by W. B. Henning in an article entitled Mani's Last Journey, BSOS X, 4 (1942), pp. 941-53, an excellent account, suffering only from too much attention to Herzfeld's Tansar-Kartīr romance and too patent neglect of the new Oriental Institute Kartīr finds as published in preliminary

fashion in AJSL LVII, 2, (April, 1940), pp. 197-228, and 4, (October, 1940).

Ja'qūbī's account needs supplementing and correction, supplied by two other major Arabic accounts, which likewise at or near this point go beyond the clichés of the Khudayname-Shāhnāma for details on this first century of Sasanian ascendancy. After Bahrām I Ja'qūbī knows very little of his three immediate successors. Bahrām II ruled seventeen years. Bahrām III ruled four years (!). Narsē, his brother (! really the brother of Hormizd-Ardashīr and very probably Bahrām I), ruled nine years. That is all.

Taking up first two minor matters indicated by exclamation points toward the end of the account, Narsē is called the brother of him, the most natural reference of the pronoun being to Bahrām III. This agrees with the genealogies as presented by Ibnu 'l-Balkhī, Fārsnāma, pp. 21 and 66; Qāzwīnī, Ta'rikh-i-Guzīda, p. 106; Maḡoudī, Prairies d'Or, p. 174, and Kitāb al-Tanbīh, p. 100; more closely in wording with Tabarī, Annales, I, 2, p. 835 (=Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 50), whose passion for precision misleads him into saying definitely "brother of Bahrām III"; most closely in wording with Khowarezmi, Liber Mafātīh al-Olūm (ed. Houtsma, Leyden, Brill, 1895) p. 102, and Hamzah al-Isfahānī in his royal annals as published by Kaviani, Berlin without date, pp. 14, 17 (overprecise), and 21 (not quite so overprecise). It would be easy to carry this list further without gaining much, if anything. Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 50, note 2, saw the truth of the matter, which is in short, that Narsē is the son of Shahpuhr I, brother of Hormizd (-Ardashīr) I and almost certainly also of Bahrām I, all of which is now amply borne out by the greater quantity and better quality of the sources at our command. The simple "his brother" with the ambiguous pronoun may be a surviving scintilla of a knowledge of the true state of affairs in an early form of a Khudayname, from which this statement ultimately derives.

The second minor point in correction of Ja'qūbī has to do with the length of reign of Bahrām III. Ja'qūbī says curtly "four years", and Tabari blithely agrees with him. Mas'ūdī in the Kitāb al-Tanbīh and in the Cairene edition of the Murūj al-Dhahab (1346/1925), Vol. I, p. 157, makes it "four years and four months." Hamzah, prolix on these matters in his attempt to justify preconceived chronological schemes, has three widely different terms; p. 14, "four months", p. 17, "thirteen years and four months", p. 21, "forty years and four months." The second of Hamzah's numbers recurs in later Persian authors; Ibnu 'l-Balkhī, Fārsnāma, p. 21, rounded out to "thirteen years and a half" on page 66; Qāzwīnī, Ta'rikh-i-Guzīda. Maḡoudī, Prairies d'Or in the old Paris edition, II, p. 174, and al-Maḡdisī, Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire, ed. Huart, Paris, E. Leroux, 1903, III, p. 159, French translation, p. 163, are in complete accord with Hamzah's first figure "four months". As is readily seen, the four months recur with most of the longer terms in years. Again Nöldeke, Tabari, pp. 415f., sensed the true state of affairs, deciding pretty clearly for the four months, and again Nöldeke's decision is borne out by the fuller and better source-material in our hands. The four years of Ja'qūbī and Tabari, tacked by duplication onto the four months in some of the readings ascribed, perhaps carelessly, to the not over careful Mas'ūdī, are simply an error for the four months which mark the swift end of young Bahrām Sākānshāh's reign over whatever part of the kingdom he ever controlled and perhaps the end of Kartīr's long reign over the state-church he founded as well.

The third point in which Ja'qūbī needs correction on the one hand from both Mas'ūdī and al-Maḡdisī and on the other from our inscription is more important. Ja'qūbī makes Bahrām I foolish and young in years, subject to servants' whims and a lover of pleasure, so that Manī is thereby attracted to his neighborhood and to his doom, brought about by the mōbedh's (i.e. Kartīr's) influence and action. The Persian sources, especially Ibnu 'l-Balkhī, vary this account by making the king deliberately play the simpleton in order to attract Manī. There is, no doubt, a modicum of truth in all this. It needs comparison with the Manichean account, excellently read or reread and reconstructed as far as possible by Henning, BSOS X, 4, (1942), pp. 948-53. The one must be modified and complemented by the other, the

Manichean story, though partisan, being more nearly contemporary and far more intimately acquainted with persons and detailed events in the picture, than even Henning has hesitantly seen; Henning registers the fact that the text "purports to be an eyewitness account." It has escaped Henning that "Kerdēr the son of Ardawān", pp. 950-2, around whose shoulders the king places one arm with the other resting in similar fashion on the Queen of the Sacae (not of the dogs!), perhaps his granddaughter-in-law, pp. 952 f., as he arises from a festive board to give audience to the attending Mani, is not "Kerdēr the Magbed (Mobed)" of pp. 948f. The two are clearly distinguished from each other as members of Shahpuhr's court, Karteir the Hērbedh, Greek magos, being no. 50 (AJSL LVII, 4, Oct., 1940, p. 414) and Kirdeir Irdouan with its Parthian and Persian equivalents no. 60 (ibid., pp. 415, the note on which can now be corrected from the newly presented Manichean material). It is therefore not correct, as Henning says, that our Kartir's father is named Ardawān, and the conclusions drawn from this erroneous assumption (Henning, p. 952, note 4) do not hold true. Moreover that note needs further correction from our publication in this volume of the readings of Kartir NRU, which places on a firm and reliable footing the loose, scattered and partly contradictory statements of Herzfeld about Kartir's claims to service and position under Ardashir I. As the inscriptional material from the neighborhood of Persepolis can now be safely and fully compared with the gradually improving readings of Manichean texts, the reliability of the latter as resting on eyewitness accounts becomes increasingly clear.

Whatever may with this be true as to Bahrām I and his addiction to drink, pleasure and the chase, that still leaves us with another phase of the accounts referring to Bahrām II unexplained. Most Arabic and Modern Persian sources have little or nothing of historical value to say about this Bahrām beyond Ja'qūbī's seventeen years or thereabouts, which is very nearly correct. On the other hand this Bahrām is the great favorite of Kartir, and Kartir reaches the pinnacle of royal favor for his person, his career, and his ecclesiastical plans and purposes in his reign. Just two major Arabic sources at present known to this writer have something of moment to say about him which can in some measure be dovetailed with Kartir's voluble praises.

The statement of Maçoudī, Prairies d'Or, II, pp. 168-74 (=ed. Cairo, I, pp. 155-7) is, after the manner of this author, somewhat rambling, a style which is not helped by the not very satisfactory editions hitherto published. What Mas'ūdī has beyond other sources at present known is nevertheless frequently of considerable value. This is particularly true just now in matters of early Sasanian times, new knowledge on which is accruing to us from day to day.

To begin with, what Mas'ūdī has on Avesta, Zend, Pāzend, and Zendik in connection with Mani under Bahrām I is of unusual importance, as Schaeder was the first to see and as our inscription helps to show more clearly. Mas'ūdī could not know, as we now sense with Nyberg and Bailey, that the Avesta in that period was only in the most rudimentary stages of beginning to become what we now have as the Avesta, a never fully completed canonized Bible after the manner of Jews, Christians, Manicheans, etc., and a book of ritual forms for all sorts of services authorized in a new orthodoxy for a new Masdayasnian state-church, all just being formulated and organized by the redoubtable Kartir. Of this movement Mani certainly knew and understood little or nothing at the time when he created his new formulations for a world religion; he may, indeed, never have met Kartir, Manichean-Parthian Kerdēr, Coptic Kardel (Polotsky, Manichäische Homilien, I, p. 45, line 15, cf. note 2), except as his accuser and inquisitor very near his end under Bahrām I. Mani's system was all finished and done before Kartir properly began his great lifework, even though the latter tries to make us believe in his latest inscriptions that he already occupied a position of consequence under Ardashir I. So Mani was working with pre-Kartir material, chiefly mythical and largely crude, sublimating it, organizing it into a grandiose cosmological system, practicing on it rather than on an almost nonexistent Avesta his Zand, i.e. ta'wīl; hence he is a Zandīk the arch-Zandīk, Arabic Zandī, "Zandist", allegorizing interpreter. This is what Mas'ūdī means, though he knows it only very darkly and imperfectly. It is in our inscription, contemporary with himself, that Mani and

Manicheans first appear as Zandīk, later pronounced Zindīk.

Having thus filled the void of Bahrām I's reign Mas'ūdī proceeds with something other than the regular Khuataynamak-Shāhnāme cliché's to fill that of Bahrām II also. What Mas'ūdī has, seems, and in part is, hardly less cliché than the material of Tabari-Shāhnāme, but it is cliché of an entirely different sort. His story starts off with a picture of Bahrām II, very like the picture of his father drawn by Ja'qūbī, just somewhat more elaborate. The young man is addicted to revelling, luxuriant delights, the chase, and pleasure generally. He neglects his kingdom and subjects and gives away fiefs to favorites. These lands are milked dry, then neglected, their villages are deserted and crumble into ruins, and that in turn ruins the tax income, upon which, it should be noted, temple income was largely dependent. Young Bahrām's dissipated life may, indeed, have been fostered by priests and nobles, as was that of Austrian crown princes in recent times, so as to make him their tool, though the secondary effect on the empire's affairs was not foreseen. When these appear, the mōbedh accompanies the king on a pleasure trip with a hunt attached. Nightfall overtakes the gay party before they reach the capital. The king calls the priest to his side to question him on some moot point in the lives of his forebears (and who would be better informed on that than Kartīr and his scribes, of whom Mas'ūdī knew nothing?). As they ride together in the moonlight, owls hoot in the ruins of the great landed estates. The king, making conversation, asks whether God has given to any man understanding of the speech of birds that fill the silent night with sound. The priest assures his master that he is such a man. Then he interprets to the king the wooing of a male and female owl. The male wants to wed and procreate. The female demands a dowry of ruins to live in and to pass on to children and children's children. The male says, "Nothing easier, as long as our luck keeps this fine king on the throne; I promise you here and now a thousand ruined villages. So, let's go!" The sermon struck home in the king's mind. He reformed then and there and became the best and most pious of kings, so that the rest of his reign became known as "The Feasts".

The story of al-Maqdisī (pp. 158 f., French pp. 162 f.) is much shorter and entirely different in words and incidents, but nevertheless the same in import. Bahrām II is stupid, coarse, and insolently rude to his people. The people appeal to the mōbedhān mōbedh (a title which seems not to have been used so early in Sasanian times). The priest counsels them on a set day to disregard their king utterly, not to respond to his call for service, indeed to isolate him completely. This is done. Then, when the king is properly perplexed and terrified in his unwonted isolation, the priest enters and admonishes him briefly, but severely. Bahrām understands and turns from rudeness to civility and benevolence.

To this story our inscription corresponds in the title conferred by this Bahrām on Kartīr, "The Soul-Savior of Bahrām", which might, of course, possibly refer to the father, Bahrām I, but almost certainly does not. The young king's excesses, from which the priest saved him, are naturally passed over in silence by the courtier Kartīr. The multiplication of feasts and ceremonies which gave to the latter, probably the greater, part of Bahrām II's reign the appellation "The Feasts" is clearly depicted in the inscription.

The story told most fully, though fancifully, by Mas'ūdī, briefly by al-Maqdisī, in what may be a garbled form by Ja'qūbī, is very probably a part of a more ancient record than the ordinary, officially accepted Khudayname. From this it may well have been expunged with Kartīr's name and the record and in some slight measure even the names of the Bahrāms by Narseh and his descendants, who form the naotara-line of the Sasanians. In spite of this it corresponds to facts, as the happy and correct exposition of the Kartīr and Shahpuhr inscriptions testify. Legendarized in form the gist of this tale traces back to the schools for priests founded by the irrepressible Kartīr and fostered by the Bahrāms.

Kartīr's autobiography here and apparently everywhere stops in the midst of the reign of Varahrān II. That he lived to see Narseh come to power is assured by Narseh's Paikuli inscription. After that he vanishes once more into the blank



which before the discovery and correct interpretation of these inscriptions he had become in all the Persian historical records we had. The new turn which Sasanian history took with Narseh, who hated the Varahrāns (Herzfeld, "Reisebericht", ZDMG LXXX [1926] 257) and from whom all of the Sasanian Kings of Kings who follow him are descended, may in large part account for the disappearance of Kartīr's name from the Persian records, even as Narseh attempted to cancel the names of the Varahrāns.

What was the power and influence wielded by Kartīr, let us say roughly from A.D. 250 to 293, in the Iranian empire of the early Sasanians? Of this Herzfeld began to sense something, but in his own way, vaguely, romantically, in the grand manner, at times verging on the fantastic. The "mint-warden" has been stricken from his picture, but the highly ethical, the extremely tolerant (almost like a modern intellectual of yesteryear), the mystical features remain; and the unwarranted, hazardous guess that Kartīr was satrap of Fars (ancient Persis) has not to my knowledge been given up.

Of all this there is little, almost nothing, in the picture of himself which Kartīr has etched in Persian stones. Clearly enough outlined in the preliminary publication, with this new reading it becomes doubly clear, that Kartīr's position and powers, however great, and his interests are distinctly limited to church affairs. In such matters he reaches, at least in Shahpuhr's time, beyond Iranian boundaries. In the main, however, his work is to make Iran a good mazdayasnian empire according to his lights, to raise the standing and glory of his church there, and to remove thence all possible obstacles to the rise and expansion of that church. In short, he is the founder and creator of the Sasanian mazdayasnian state church, very probably the first Zoroastrian state church ever to be organized in this full and formal fashion.

Of civil functions only one need be mentioned: his appointment to be judge as well as magus-master for the whole empire in the time of Varahrān II (KZ8). In this connection it must be stated that the division between church and state was not defined as it is with us in these modern times; that after all a Sasanian judge of this sort was not unlike a Mohammedan *cadi*, who is far from being a judge in the modern sense, being more nearly a church official; that most if not all of Kartīr's judging would be done in heresy trials and other suits concerning the church and religion; and that we have no evidence of any great interference on his part with general civil or military affairs. The only note to the contrary, and in fact the only truly ethical note in all the material that is known to me about Kartīr, is Kartīr's concern for the prevention of looting and the return of loot to its owners in non-Iranian lands overrun by Shahpuhr's armies, in which Kartīr had orders to establish mazdayasnian shrines, priests, and services (line 13). This is truly an extraordinarily high ethical thought and action for those times and circumstances. With it, nevertheless, one must remember that Iranian conquests in non-Iranian lands, especially in those early Sasanian times, were quick thrusts with national levies mobilized for the occasion, not more solid conquests including occupation by a standing army like the Roman, and did not for the most part prove very lasting. Under these conditions a return of loot was not always altogether voluntary. Furthermore a return of at least some Iranian loot to non-Iranian lands in which a new kind of Iranian church was to be introduced would very probably contain some measure of captatio benevolentiae.

In the main Kartīr's interest in church, religion, Ahuramazda and the gods, and the like, is not concerned with high ethics, nor with highly developed and complicated theology. On the negative side it should be noted that the very havoc which Kartīr disapproved, forbade, and attempted to repair in non-Iranian lands, where he was to establish his brand of mazdayasnian religion, was approved, ordered, and practiced by him in Iranian lands against non-Iranian religions or heretical men, places, and practices (lines 9 and 10). On the positive side he mentions in passing the teaching or doctrines of Ahriman and the *dēvs* (lines 9 and 14) and those of the gods (line 14), but in this long inscription he mentions these here only and is nowhere and in no wise explicit about them. Where he does define the

faith which, he decrees, should be known (NRj, Lines 17-20), the terms are the simplest: "There is a heaven and there is a hell, and he who does good works goes on to heaven, while he who misbehaves is cast into hell", and good works pay dividends in this life as well as the next (cf. the end of our KZ!). Good works consist for him chiefly in liberal support of the church and its various and ever more magnificent services. It is, of course, true that the priestly schoolmaster's teaching by word of mouth and, perhaps, in writing other than on stone will have gone beyond these lapidary terms. But Kartīr's interests were not centered in a complete and systematic statement of theology, speculative or other. Nor was he a hasheesh-eating visionary or mystic, as Herzfeld may have discovered before his end with a new and corrected reading of Kartīr NRj (in whose lines 3 and 9, moreover, ayvbal=ry yzdan does not mean "one time, ever the gods", but "God" or "the gods helping", this being the priestly writing of the much mooted word which carried over into Book-Pahlavi).

Kartīr's major interest and pride is not in any of these things, but in that side of the mazdayasnian religion which is practiced in kartakān-i-yazdān, "divine services, church services" (cf. Shahpuhr KZ, Parth., Line 29, with the Greek, Line 68), once or twice perhaps a little more widely "church affairs", and in yasht, "offerings", such as Shahpuhr's 1000 yearling sheep or goats per year with the necessary complement of bread and wine, and the 6798 rtpsak a year offered by Kartīr himself, with more received from others, and in the building, dedication, and maintenance of high and low fire-altars at which these offerings would be properly used, and in the training rather than teaching of magimen and magi to serve these altars and make happy use of these supplies. Kartīr is an organizer and administrator of flesh and blood men and of concrete, tangible things and actions, not of pale abstract ideas and their slow motion. His major work, as our KZ, and with it NRu and very probably SM as well, show, lies within the Iranian empire.

In this connection I note that another expansion in Kartīr NRu, going beyond our KZ, occurs in just this development of Kartīr's work. Kartīr KZ, Line 11, is paralleled in NRu by lines 32-36f. There, in Lines 35f, the brief statement of KZ, "And by me many fires and magi in the empire of Iran were made prosperous", is expanded to balance the non-Iranian cities and countries listed in detail a little later by naming the Iranian provinces in which Kartīr planted his new churches and priests and inaugurated the correct style of services. Perfectly legible at the end of Line 35 are: "Spahān and Kirmān and Sakistān and Gurkān" (i.e. Hyrcania, the Middle Persian form of Parthian Vrkn, Shahpuhr KZ, line 2; not, as Herzfeld read in Paikuli, I, p. 93, solemnly repeated in the glossary, p. 167, as though it were absolutely certain, vazurkān). This, with properly read "Gurkān" in place of an "etc.", is exactly Herzfeld's list from SM in ZDMG, LXXX=N.F.V, p. 257, of which, before I had in hand Boris Dubensky's practically perfect photographs of NRu, I said in AJSL, LVII, p. 200, that this was "a true addition to anything up to the present found elsewhere". With other things that Herzfeld has said and done about SM this goes far to show that SM and NRu are practically identical.

The pomp and circumstance of church and altar building, church expansion, church rites, these were the meat and drink of Kartīr's life. From the first a tendency toward ritualism adheres to Zoroaster's religion, a point on which Nyberg and Hertel agree. This did not decrease with the passing of time. When the time came for Kartīr to organize this religion in a new Iranian empire into a state church, the major emphasis quite naturally leaned in that direction. A new and very simple orthodoxy quite as naturally went with this religious unification of Iran. Chiefly the prescribed forms for all kinds of rites in church and home were fixed in detail.

This is reflected in the Avesta as it has come down to us. Neither Zoroaster as the great primeval prophet and founder of the religion, nor the Avesta as a holy scripture in our sense appears on the scene in Kartīr's autobiography with all these many words on religion and religious affairs. It is hardly conceivable that a Christian, Jewish, or Manichaean inscription of this length and religious tenor could have been written without a single mention of Jesus, Moses, Mani and their



respective Bibles. This is not to say that Zoroaster was unknown to Kartīr and his school, or that an Avesta of the sort we possess did not in some form exist. Of course it existed, but it had not become a Holy Scripture in the sense in which we understand that term. When some fifty or more years after Kartīr's death or disappearance this turn in affairs came to the Iranians, Kartīr's influence made itself felt in two directions. His nationalization of the mazdayasnian religion and its institutionalization in a state church with his attempt to oust from Iran the non-Iranian religions, whose pride was that they had a great, more or less divine prophet as their founder and absolute truth in matters of salvation revealed to them by their respective Gods in the form of a Holy Book, made the Iranian priesthood Bible-conscious and laid the foundation for the conception that the Avesta was such a Bible. And Kartīr's emphasis on church services and rites did much to make the Avesta as a holy book into a book of rites, a great missal or Book of Common Prayer. Whatever may be thought or said about the Denkart's greater Avesta, - and little enough is safe there in the present state of that curious text, - The Avesta, as the Parsees have preserved it to this day, and their church as a whole bear the indelible stamp of Kartīr's potent personality.

## KARTIR KZ

## TRANSLITERATION

W<sup>o</sup>NH Kl=rtyl=r ZY mgvpt yzdan WŠx=hpvx=hv=ry MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> x=hvpl=rstay Wx=hvkamky  
 X=HWYTnN apm PWN ZK spasy ZYm PWN yzdan WŠx=hpvx=hv=ry MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> kl=rtty X=HWYTnT  
 ZKm W?(erased) W=<sup>c</sup>BYDWN Šx=hpvx=hv=ry MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> PWN kl=rtkan ZY yzdan PWN BB<sup>o</sup>  
 Wštl=ry W=<sup>c</sup>L štl=ry gyvak W=<sup>c</sup>L gyvak x=hamštl=ry PWN mgvstn kamkal=ry Wpatxšay  
 WPWN p=fl=rman ZY Šx=hpvx=hv=ry

(Line 2) MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> Wpv=rvv=rty(or pvšty?) ZY yzdan WMLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> štv=ry W=<sup>c</sup>L štv=ry  
 gyvak W=<sup>c</sup>L gyvak KBYW=R kl=rtkan yzdan ap=fzadyx=hy WKBYW=R atvv=ry ZY Vl=rx=hl=  
 ran YT=TYBWnd WKBYW=R mgvGBW=R<sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup>vl=rvaxmy Wptyxvy YX=HWWnt WKBYW=R atvl=ran Wmgvny  
 patxštl=ry XTYMWnd W<sup>o</sup>vx=hv=rmzdy Wyzdan L=RB<sup>o</sup> svty YX=HMT=TNW WAX=hl=rmny WŠDY<sup>o</sup>(a?)n  
 L=RB<sup>o</sup> mx=hykal=ry YX=HWWnt WZNH andy atvv=ry Wkl=rtkan MH PWN npšty ZKm KN gvnk??y  
 (Line 3) Šx=hpvx=hv=ry MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> PWN vaspvt=Ōl=rkn PK=QDWN W=<sup>c</sup>BYDWN <sup>o</sup>YKt bvny BYT<sup>o</sup>  
 ZNH <sup>o</sup>yv YX=HWWnt Wcygvn YDW=<sup>c</sup>YTNay <sup>o</sup>YK kl=rtty yzdan WLNH ŠPYL=R <sup>o</sup>vgvn W=<sup>c</sup>BYDWN WGTy  
 paxštl=ry(!) Wmatgdan MH W=<sup>c</sup>LH W=<sup>c</sup>DN<sup>o</sup> M=QDM Šx=hpvx=hv=ry MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> PWN BB<sup>o</sup> Wx=  
 hamxštl=ry(!) gyvak W=<sup>c</sup>L gyvak kl=rtty W=<sup>c</sup>LH X=HN<sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup>vgvn M=QDM YKTYBWN YK=QW=<sup>c</sup>YMWnt  
<sup>o</sup>YK Kl=rtyl=r ZY <sup>o</sup>yx=hl=rpt W<sup>o</sup>XW=R <sup>o</sup>YK Šx=hpvx=hv=ry MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> W=<sup>c</sup>L W=<sup>c</sup>=<sup>o</sup>W<sup>o</sup>R<sup>o</sup>LX=  
 HY<sup>o</sup>n

(Line 4) gasy W=<sup>c</sup>=<sup>o</sup>ZLWN W<sup>o</sup>vx=hv=rmzdy MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> ZYš BW=RH PWN štv=ry YK=QW=  
<sup>c</sup>YMWnt apm <sup>o</sup>vx=hv=rmzdy MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> kvlap=fy Wkml=ry YX=HBWnt apm gasy Wptxšl=ry  
 apl=rtl=ry W=<sup>c</sup>BYDWN apm PWN BB<sup>o</sup> Wštl=ry W=<sup>c</sup>L štl=ry gyvak W=<sup>c</sup>L gyvak x=hamštl=ry  
 PWN kl=rtkan ZY yzdan kamkal(=r)tl(=r)y Wpatxšadtl=ry W=<sup>c</sup>BYDWN apm W=<sup>c</sup>BYDWN ŠM  
 Kl=rtyl=r ZY <sup>o</sup>vx=hv=rmzdy mgvpt <sup>o</sup>vx=hv=rmzdy W=<sup>c</sup>=<sup>o</sup>W=R=LX=HY<sup>o</sup> PWN ŠM W<sup>o</sup>DYN<sup>o</sup> PWN  
 ZK W=<sup>c</sup>DN<sup>o</sup> štl=ry W=<sup>c</sup>L štl=ry gyvak W=<sup>c</sup>L

(Line 5) gyvak KBYW=R kl=rtkan ZY yzdan ap=fzadyx=hy WKBYW=R atvv=ry ZY Vl=rx=  
 hl=ran YT=TYBWnt WKBYW=R mgvGBW=R<sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup>vl=rvaxmy Wptyxvy YX=HWWnt WKBYW=R atvl=ran  
 Wmgvny patxštl=ry XTYMWnt WGTy patxštl=ry Wmatgdan MH W=<sup>c</sup>LH W=<sup>c</sup>DN<sup>o</sup> M=QDM <sup>o</sup>vx=hv=  
 rmzdy MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> PWN BB<sup>o</sup> Wx=hamštl=ry gyvak W=<sup>c</sup>L gyvak kl=rtty W=<sup>c</sup>LH X=HN<sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup>vgvn  
 M=QDM YKTYBWN YK=QW=<sup>c</sup>YMWnt <sup>o</sup>YK Kl=rtyl=r ZY <sup>o</sup>vx=hv=rmzdy mgvpt W<sup>o</sup>XW=R <sup>o</sup>YK <sup>o</sup>vx=  
 hv=rmzdy MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> W=<sup>c</sup>L W=<sup>c</sup>=<sup>o</sup>W=R=LX=HY<sup>o</sup>n gasy Wz=<sup>c</sup>=<sup>o</sup>ZLWN

(Line 6) Wvl=rx=hl=ran MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> ZY Šx=hpvx=hv=ry MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> BW=RH W<sup>o</sup>vx=hv=  
 rmzdy MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup>Xy PWN štl=ry YK=QW=<sup>c</sup>YMWnt apm Vl=rx=hl=ran<sup>o</sup> MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> PWN  
 agl=radyx=hy Wptxšl=ry YXSNN apm PWN BB<sup>o</sup> Wštl=ry W=<sup>c</sup>L štl=ry gyvak W=<sup>c</sup>L gyvak PWN  
 kl=rtkan ZY yzdan x=hmy gvnky kamkal=ry Wpatxšay W=<sup>c</sup>BYDWN W<sup>o</sup>DYN<sup>o</sup> PWN ZK W=<sup>c</sup>DN<sup>o</sup>  
 štl=ry W=<sup>c</sup>L štl=ry gyvak W=<sup>c</sup>L gyvak KBYW=R kl=rtkan ZY yzdan ap=fzadyx=hy WKBYW=R  
 atvl=ry ZY Vl=rx=hl=ran YT=TYBWnt WKBYW=R mgvGVW=R<sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup>vl=rvaxmy

(Line 7) Wptyxvy YX=HWWnt WKBYW=R atvl=ran Wmgvny patxštl=ry XTYMWnd WGTy Wpatxštl=  
 ry Wmatgdan MH W=<sup>c</sup>LH W=<sup>c</sup>DN<sup>o</sup> M=QDM Vl=rx=hl=ran MLK<sup>o</sup>n MLK<sup>o</sup> kl=rtty W=<sup>c</sup>LH<sup>o</sup> X=HN<sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup>vgvn

M=QDM YKTYBWN YK=QW=CYMWnt ʔYK Kl=rtyl=r ZY ʔvx=hv=rmzdy mgvpt WʔXW=R ʔYK Vl=rx=hl=ran MLKʔn MLKʔ ZY Šx=hpvx=hv=rkn W=CL bgv(d?)an gasy W=CL ʔZLWnt WvL=rx=hl=ran MLKʔn MLKʔ ZY Vl=rx=hl=rankn ZY BYN štv=ry l=raty Wl=rasty Wmt=Ql=rpan Wx=hvkl=ry Wkl=rpk=ry PWN štv=ry YK=QW=CYMWnt WPWN dvšal=rmx=hy ZY ʔvx=hv=rmzdy Wyzdan WNPŠH (Line 8) l=rvban l=rady ZKm BYN štv=ry apl=rtl=ry gasy Wptxšl=ry W=CL BYDWN apm gasy Wptxšl=ry ZI včl=rkan YX=HBWnt apm PWN BBʔ Wštv=ry W=CL štv=ry gyvak W=CL gyvak x=hamštl=ry PWN kl=rtkan ZY yzdan patxšadtl=ry Wkamkal=rytl=ry W=CL BYDWN ʔYK čygvn KZY YX=HWWN X=HWHm apm x=hamštl=ry mgvpt Wdatvbl=ry W=CL BYDWN apm Stxl=ry atvl=ry ZY Anax=hyt-Av=rtxštv=r WANx=hyt ZY ML=RWTʔ advynpt Wpatxšay W=CL BYDWN apm W=CL BYDWNd ŠM Kl=rtyl=r ZY

(Line 9) Bvxtl=rvban-Vl=rx=hl=ran ZY ʔvx=hv=rmzdy mgvpt Wštl=ry W=CL štv=ry Wgyvak W=CL gyvak x=hamštl=ry kl=rtkan ZY ʔvx=hv=rmzdy Wyzdan apl=rtl=ry YX=HWWnt Wdyny mzdysn WmgvGBW=Rʔ BYN štv=ry L=RBʔ ptxšl=ry YX=HWWnt Wyzdan WMYʔ Watvv=ry Wgvspndy BYN štv=ry L=RBʔ šnvtyx=hy M=QDM YX=HMT=TWN WAX=hl=rmny WŠDYʔn L=RBʔ snax(=h?)y Wštyx=hy M=QDM YX=HMTETWN Wkyšy ZY Ax=hl=rmny WŠDYʔn MN štv=ry W(=ʔR?)DYTN Wavbapl=ry akyl=rydy WYx=hvdy SŠ(=Šr)mny

(Line 10) WBl=rmny WNač=sl=ray Wkl=rstydan WMktyky WZndyky BYN štl=ry MXYTN YX=HWWnd Wʔvzdysy gvkanx=hy Wgl(=r?)sty ZY ŠDYʔn vyšvp=fyx=hy Wyzdan gasy Wnšdmy akyl=rydy Wštv=ry W=CL štv=ry Wgyvak W=CL gyvak KBYW=R kl=rtkan ZY yzdan ap=fzadyx=hy WKBYW=R atvv=ry ZY Vl=rx=hl=ran YT=TYB(W)Nd WKBYW=R mgvGBW=Rʔ ʔvl=rvaxmy Wptyxvy YX=HWWnt WKBYW=R atvl=ran Wmgvny patxštl=ry XTYMWnt WGTy Wpatxštl=ry Wmatgdam MH M=QDM Vl=rx=hl=ran MLKʔn MLKʔ ZY Vl=rx=hl=rankn

(Line 11) kl=rty W=CLH M=QDM KN YKTYBWN YK=QW=CYMWnt ʔYK Kl=rtyl=ry ZY Bvxtl=rvban-Vl=rx=hl=ran ZY ʔvx=hv=rmzdy mgvpt WLY Kl=rtyl=ry MN KZY ʔvl=rvny PWN yzdan WMW=RWX=HYn WNPŠH l=rvban l=rady KBYW=R l=rnc=šy Wavdam XZYTN apm KBYW=R atvl=ran Wmgvny BYN štl=ry ZY ʔyl=ran ptyxvy kl=rty apm PWNč Anyl=ran štv=ry atvv=ry WmgvGBW=Rʔ MH PWN štv=ry ZY Anyl=ran YX=HWWN ʔYK SWSYʔ WGBW=Rʔ ZY MLKʔn MLKʔ YX=HMT=TWN Andyvky štv=rdstn WŠvl=ryay štv=ry

(Line 12) WMH M=QDM Svl=ryay nsngy Tyl=rssy(ys?)t štv=rdstn WKlkyay štv=ry WMH M=QDM Klkyay nsngy Kysl=ryay štv=rdstn WKpvtkyay štv=ry WMH M=QDM Kpvtkyay nsngy W=CLD p=fl=rač W=CL Gladkyday štv=ry Wal=rmny štv=ry WvL=rvčan Wal=rany Wblaskan W=CLD p=fl=rač W=CL Alanan BBʔ Šx=hpvx=hv=ry MLKʔn MLKʔ PWN SWSYʔ WGBW=Rʔ ZY NPŠH vl=rtky Watvl=rsvxty Wavdyl=ran kl=rty TMHčm PWN p=fl=rman ZY MLKʔn

(Line 13) MLKʔ ZY mgvGBW=Rʔ Watvv=ry MH W=CLH štl=ry YX=HWWN ZKm vnal=ršny kl=rty apm Lʔ ŠBK=QWN zydney Wvl=rtky kl=rtny WMH KN ʔYŠ vl=rtky kl=rty YX=HWWN ZKčm BW=Rʔ YNSBWN apm LʔWXL=R W=CL NPŠH štv=ry ŠBK=QWN X=HWHnd apm dyny mzdysn WmgvGBW=Rʔ ZY xvy BYN štv=ry agl=rady Wptxšl=randy kl=rty Wal=rsvmvky Wgvml=rč(=z?ž?)ak GBW=Rʔ MNW BYN mgvstn PWN dyny mzdysn Wkl=rtkan ZY yzdan Lʔ PWN včal=ry px=hl=rsty W=CLHšnm pvx=hly

(Line 14) MXYTN pam nxl=rvsty X=HWHnd Wdm ŠPYL=R kl=rty X=HWHnd apm KBYW=R atvl=ran Wmgvny GTy patxštl=ry kl=rty WPWN pv=rvv=rty ZY yzdan WMLKʔn MLKʔ WMN

LY kl=rty BYN štv=ry ZY ʔyl=ran KBYW=R atvv=ry ZY Vl=rx=hl=ran YT=TYBWNd WKBYW=R  
xvytvtdax=hy kl=rty WKBYW=R ʔNŠWTʔ(y?) ZY anastvan YX=HWWN ZK astvan YX=HWWN WKBYW=  
R ZK YX=HWWN MNW kyšy ZY ŠDYʔn dašty apš MN LY kl=rty ZK kyšy ZY ŠDYʔn ŠBK=QWN apš  
kyšy

(Line 15) yzdan W=ʔ=ʔXDWN WKBYW=R l(=r?)tpsak W=ʔ=ʔXDWN WKBYW=R dyny mnytn gvnky  
gvnky WʔXW=RNč kl=rtkan ZY yzdan KBYW=R ap=fzvty Wapl=rtl=ry YX=HWWN ZY M=QDM ZNH  
namky Lʔ YKTYBWN MH x=ht=θ YKTYBWN X=HWH ʔDYN KBYW=R YX=HWWN X=HWH apm PWN NPŠHč  
BYTʔ gyvak W=ʔL gyvak KBYW=R atvv=ry ZY Vl=rx=hl=ran nšasty apm YD!BXWN PWN ZK andy  
atvv=ry ZYm PWN NPŠH BYTʔ nšasty KLʔ gasy gasy W=ʔL gasy l=rtpsak IM IC XX X III

(Line 16) WYX=HWWN PWN I ŠNT l=rtpsak III IIIM IIII IIIC XX XX XX XX X IIII IIII  
apm PWN NPŠH BYTʔ ʔXW=RNč kl=rtkan ZY yzdan gvnky gvnky KBYW=R kl=rty ZYm x=ht=θ  
M=QDM ZNH namky YKTYBWN X=HWH ʔDYN KBYW=R YX=HWWN X=HWH BW=Rʔm ZNH namky W=ʔLH l=  
rady YKTYBWN ʔYK MNW p=fl=rastl=ry W=ʔDNʔ patxštl=ry matgdan ayvp GTky ayvp ʔXW=RN  
(Line 17) namky XZYTNT ZK YDW=ʔYTNT ʔYK ʔNH ZK Kl=rtyl=ry X=HWHm ZY M=QDM Šx=hpx=  
hv=ry MLKʔn MLKʔ Kl=rtyl=ry ZY ʔyx=hl=rpt K=QW=RYTN X=HWHm WM=QDM ʔvx=hv=rmzdy  
MLKʔn MLKʔ WVl=rx=hl=ran

(Line 18) MLKʔn MLKʔ Kl=rtyl=ry ZY ʔvx=hv=rmzdy mgvpt K=QL=RYTN X=HWHm WM=QDM Vl=  
rx=hl=ran MLKʔn MLKʔ ZY Vl=rx=hl=rankn Kl=rtyl=ry ZY Bvxtl=rvban-Bl=rx=hl=ran ZY  
ʔvx=hv=rmzdy mgvpt K=QL=RYTN X=HWHm WMNW ZNH namky XZYTNT Wptpvl=rsat ZK PWN yzdan  
WMW=RWX=HYn WNPŠH l=rvban l=raty Wl=rasty ʔyv YX=HWWN ZK ʔvgvn čygvn ʔNH

(Line 19) YX=HWWN X=HWHm ʔYKš LZNH astvndy tny x=hvsl=rvbyx=hy Wapatyx=hy YX=HMT=  
TWNT apš W=ʔLH astvndy l=rvban al=rtadyx=hy M=QDM YX=HMT=TWNT

## KARTĪR KZ

## TRANSLATION

And I, Kartīr, the magus-master, having been proven (i.e. "having proven") (to the) gods and Shahpuhr, King of Kings, of good service and disposition, then (lit. "and"; NRu may be read: "have" or "had proven to the gods and Shahpuhr ....., and so ....." (to) me, for that service which by me to the gods and Shahpuhr, King of Kings, had been rendered (lit. "done"), my position (lit. "that of mine") did Shahpuhr, King of Kings, make in matters of the divine services at court and in kingdom after kingdom, place after place, throughout the whole empire in the magus-estate independent and powerful. And by the command of Shahpuhr, (Line 2) King of Kings, and the provision ("backing"?) of the gods and the King of Kings (in) kingdom after kingdom, place after place, many divine services (in) magnificence (i.e. high masses!) and many Varahrān fires (i.e. altars suitable for high masses!) were established, and many magimen (i.e. priests of a rank suitable to celebrate high masses!) became happy and prosperous, and many fires and magi (i.e. altars and priests for low masses!) were imperially installed. And Ahuramazda and the gods attained great profit, while (lit. "and") for Ahriman and the dēvs great insecurity (loss?) ensued (lit. "came to be"). And (for) these many fires and services which are in the writing (i.e. the royal inscription just above this one!) (on) my position thus (in) manner (perhaps like our slang: "so fashion", i.e. in the following manner) (Line 3) Shahpuhr, King of Kings, to the heir apparent a testamentary instruction made: "Your foundation (i.e. fundamental and primary base for religious operations and expansion) let this house (i.e. the very one on which these inscriptions are incised!) be (become?), and as you may know, that (for) the gods and Us was well done, so let be done!" And (in) imperial documents and records (or "in documents, imperial rescripts, and records") which at that time under Shahpuhr, King of Kings, at court and throughout the whole empire in place after place were made, (in) those this is so set down in writing: "Kartīr, the ēhrpat" (i.e. the priestly schoolmaster), and then: "Shahpuhr, King of Kings, to the deities" (Line 4) throne passed on" (lit. "went").

And Ōhrmazd, King of Kings, his son, rose over the empire. And upon me Ōhrmazd, King of Kings, conferred mitre and cincture (or simply: "to me .... gave cap and girdle") and for me he created (made) a higher rank and dignity, and at court and in kingdom after kingdom, place after place, throughout the whole empire he made me in matters of the divine services more independent and powerful, and for me he created the title "Kartīr, Ahuramazda's magus-master" after the name of Ahuramazda, the Deity. And thereupon also at that time in kingdom after kingdom, place after (Line 5) place, many divine services in magnificence and many Varahrān fires were established (he established?), and many magimen became happy and prosperous, and many fires and magi were imperially installed. And in imperial documents and records which at that time under Ōhrmazd, King of Kings, at court and throughout the whole empire in place after place were made, (in) those this was so set down in writing: "Kartīr, Ahuramazda's magus-master", and then: "Ōhrmazd, King of Kings, to the deities' throne passed on".

(Line 6) And Varahrān, King of Kings, son of Shahpuhr, King of Kings, and brother of Ōhrmazd, King of Kings, rose over the empire. And me Varahrān, also, King of Kings, held in high honor and dignity and made me at court and in kingdom after kingdom, place after place, for the divine services of every sort (or "in every way") independent and powerful. And thereupon also at that time in kingdom after kingdom, place after place, many divine services in magnificence and many Varahrān fires were established, and many magimen became happy (Line 7) and prosperous, and many fires and magi were imperially installed. And in documents and(!) imperial rescripts and records which at that time under Varahrān, King of Kings, were made, (in) those also this was so set down in writing: "Kartīr, Ahuramazda's magus-master", and then: "Varahrān, King of Kings, Shahpuhrson, to the deities' throne passed on".

And Varahrān, King of Kings, Varahrānson, who in the empire is devout and sincere and faithful (to his promises) and well behaved and beneficent, rose over the empire. And by the grace of Ahruamazda and the gods and for his own (Line 8) soul's (fame's?) sake my position in the empire he made of superior rank and dignity, and he conferred upon me the rank and dignity of the grandees, and at court and in kingdom after kingdom, place after place, throughout the whole empire for the divine

services he made me more independent and powerful, than as I had been beforetime, and he made me for the whole empire magus-master and judge, and he made me master of ceremonies and powerful overlord at the Stakhr fire of Artakhshatr's Ānahīt and Ānahīt, the Lady. And they (or "there was") created for me the title "Kartīr, (Line 9) Varahrān's Soulsavior, Ahuramazda's Magus-master". And in kingdom after kingdom and place after place throughout the whole empire the services of Ahuramazda and the gods became superior, and to the mazdayasnian religion and the magi-men in the empire great dignity (or "reverence") came (lit. "became"), and the gods and water and fire and small cattle in the empire attained great satisfaction, while Ahriman and the dēvs attained great beating(?) and hostility(?), and the teachings (doctrines?) of Ahriman and the dēvs from the empire departed (were banished?) and there (viz. within the empire) were left uncultivated (fell into desuetude). And Jews and (Buddhist) Sramans (Line 10) and Bramins([!]; for Brahmins) and Nasoreans and Christians and Maktak(!?) and Zandiks in the empire became smitten, and (by?) destruction of idols and scattering (i.e., dispersing, devastation) of the stores (annonae) of the dēvs and (of[?]; or can one read this "and" as "both"? god-seats (feasts?) and nests (they[?], i.e., the non-Iranian religions? So it must be, unless one read the almost impossible "both god-seats and nests".) were left uncultivated (fell into desuetude). And in kingdom after kingdom and place after place many divine services in magnificence and many Varahrān fires were established, and many magi-men became happy and prosperous, and many fires and magi were imperially installed. And in documents and imperial rescripts and records, which under Varahrān, King of Kings, Varahrānson, (Line 11) were made, (in) those thus was set down in writing: "Kartīr, Varahrān's Soulsavior, Ahuramazda's Magus-master". (Not Varahrān died!)

And by me, Kartīr, from earliest times onward for the gods and noble lords and for my own soul's (fame's?) sake much trouble and toil was seen (experienced). And by me many fires and magi in the empire of Iran were made prosperous. And by me also for the territory of non-Iran fires (the form used for Varahrān fires!) and magi-men, which were to be for the territory of non-Iran, wherever the horses and men of the King of Kings arrived -- the city of Antioch and the country of Syria (Line 12) and what beyond Syria (is) on (down)ward, the city of Tarsus and the country of Cilicia and what beyond Cilicia is on (down)ward, the city of Caesarea

and the country of Cappadocia and what beyond Cappadocia is on (down)ward until forward to Galatia, and the country of Armenia, and Georgia (Vrvčan, Iberia!), and Albania, and Balaskan until forward to the Alans' pass Shahpuhr, King of Kings, with horses and men of his own visited with (lit. "made") pillaging and firing and havoc -- there also I by command of the King (Line 13) of Kings those magi-men and fires (the form used for Varahrān fires!) which were to be for these countries put (lit. "made") in order (=ordained -- in partibus infidelium!). And I did not permit damage and pillaging to be made, and whatsoever pillaging by any person had been made, those (things) also by me were taken away, and by me again to their own country they were left.

And by me the mazdayasnian religion and magi-men who were correct (orthodox) within the empire were made prominent and reverend (dignified), while heretical and unstable (libidinous?) men, who within the magus-estate in matters of the mazdayasnian religion and divine services did not observe orders (i.e., rites and other rules of conduct prescribed by royal decree inspired by Kartīr or, presently, by Kartīr's own decrees), these by me with corporal punishment (Line 14) were smitten, and by me they were rebuked (lit. "called down") and made of good odor. And by me (for) many fires and magi imperial documents were executed (made; or "And for me many fires and magi by imperial documents were created.>"). And by the provision of the gods and the King of Kings and by my efforts in the empire of Iran many fires of Varahrān were established, and many kin marriages were made, and many people who had become unfaithful (to their vows), these became faithful. And many had those come to be who held the doctrines of the dēvs, and they by my efforts forsook those doctrines of the dēvs and by them the doctrines of (Line 15) the gods were received. And many rtpsak (liquid or drink offerings, mixed drinks, mixing bowls?) were received. And much consideration (not pondering or reflection, but consideration by gifts, endowing masses, etc.) of religion of various kinds and other divine services also became very magnificent and superior, which in this inscription are not written, since, if they had been written, then it would have become (too) much.

And by me for my own house also in place after place many Varahrān fires were established, and by me for those many fires (form of the Varahrān fires) which were established by me for my own house there were offered (collected?) for every feast,



feast after feast, 1133 rtpsak (Line 16), and that makes (lit. "becomes") for 1 year 6798 rtpsak. And by me for my own house other divine services also of various kinds were created (made), which, if they were written in this inscription, then it would have become (too) much.

But by me this inscription for this purpose was written, that whoever in future times imperial records or documents or other (Line 17) inscriptions sees, that one shall know that I am that Kartīr who under Shahpuhr, King of Kings, was entitled "Kartīr, the priestly schoolmaster", and under Ōhrmazd, King of Kings and Varahrān, (Line 18) King of Kings, I was entitled "Kartīr, Ahuramazda's magus-master", and under Varahrān, King of Kings, Varahrānson, I was entitled "Kartīr, Varahrān's Soulsavior, Ahuramazda's magus-master." And whoever may see or read this inscription, may that one be to the gods and noble lords and himself devout and sincere, that one (just) so, as I (Line 19) have been, in order that he for this bone-endowed body may attain good fame and fortune, and that he for this bone-endowed soul may attain salvation.

## KARTIR KZ

## NOTES

The ground covered in the preliminary publication, just as obscurity was merging into enlarging spots of clarity, need not here be retraced in its entirety. A number of remarks to bring out the major points of advance over the earlier publications will suffice here.

In line 1 (NRu, Lines 1 and 2) the Semitic mask X=HWYTN has been discussed and correctly identified as a form of the verb "to be" and distinguished from YDW=\*YTN (oddly written, but easily recognized, when once it is pointed out, in Book Pahlavi), which always represents the Persian dānistan, "to know" (AJSL, LVII, pp. 203-5; LVIII, pp. 171-4). After further study I am prepared to state roundly and soundly, that X=HWH is, of course, h-, the present tense of the verb "to be"; X=HWYTN is an effort to represent būtan in the meaning "to have been", i.e., the past tense of the verb "to be"; YX=HWWN is at that stage a good representation of būtan in the meaning "to become". This distinction of two uses of būtan by different Semitic masks proved oversubtle and impossible to maintain in the long run. X=HWYTN is clearly on its way out in these Kartir inscriptions, being dropped completely in Kartir NRj. A brief recrudescence at Paikuli may be due to archaizing reaction, not unnatural when the Aryan mazdayasnian Narseh finally came to the throne.

As a matter of Kartir's rhetorical style, perhaps indicating more general practice in Pahlavi syntax, the inversion of order after a longish protasis or preliminary statement or series of statements, serving to place the verb near the beginning of a concluding sentence instead of at its end, may be noted in W=\*BYDWN, line 1, middle; line 4 near the end; W=\*BYDWNd, line 8 near the end; L\* SBK=QWN, line 13 near the beginning; WYX=HWWN, line 16 at the beginning. In several, perhaps in all these cases other reasons for the inversion may have to be considered.

That šatr in particular and two or three other words are not always translated by the same English word will not escape the careful reader. In such a translation as this a number of factors have to be taken into consideration. A certain literalness is demanded by the average scholar or student. Yet deadly literalness is always wrong and ends in unintelligibility. Along with the fact that in every language a number of words are used in several meanings, e.g., in Persian būtan, "to have been" and "to become, to come to be", words as used in modern times and in a modern language like English differ more or less subtly both in their primary meanings and in their connotations from the words which they are supposed to represent in the tongues of ancient and alien times and places. A compromise is necessary at best. The major goal must always be to bring the ancient and foreign writer's meaning as near to the modern reader's mind as possible. It is hoped that with reasonable good will on the part of the average reader this attempt will not be found wide of this mark.

Whether pušt, "backing", or parvart, "provision", is to be read at the beginning of line 2 remains doubtful. Though at this point a careful check with the excellent plaster reproduction of the original leans toward pušt, the preference has been given to parvart, because later in a similar context in line 14 Kartir undoubtedly uses parvart. Pušt, however, is the Parthian term used in Shahpuhr KZ Parth., line 17, MP at this point being, unfortunately, quite illegible.

The variation between the use of l and v to write r is especially wide in the oft-recurring šatr. It bothered this writer at first in the writing of atur and aturān, "fires, fire-altars, firetemples". There seems in many instances to be no other reason assignable for this variation than the general habit or momentary predilection of the ancient writer. Thus in the very name of Kartir the scribes of

KZ and NRu regularly use l, while the scribe of NRj just as regularly uses v; in Shahpuhr KZ, MP, for our Kartir in line 34 v is used, but for his namesake in line 35 we find l. Even in the writing of Semitic masks the same variation is found, as the thrice written QRYTN in lines 17 and 18 shows. It need scarcely be said that in the writing of some words, both Persian and Semitic, the orthography is pretty rigidly fixed in this and in other respects.

In line 2 occurs the first unquestionable scribal error, omission of ZY between kartakān and yazdān. Just as unquestionable is the omission of t in paxštl=ry in line 3. Less clear, but more probably errors rather than conscious archaisms, are vasput=ol=rkn in line 3 for absolutely certain vaspux=hl=rkn in NRu near the end of line 6, and x-hamxštl=ry, also in line 3, the second x being omitted everywhere else. Whether SDY throughout this KZ for SYD elsewhere, NRu, lines 28 and 29, is to be classed as an absolute error or as a peculiarity of this scribe, is difficult to say; as a peculiarity it deserves notice. Aside from further occurrences of this word in lines 9, 10, and 14 the uncorrected errors and (or) archaisms are massed just about wholly in lines 1-3, one of the indications that these three lines by themselves may have constituted the earliest form of Kartir's longer KZ, NRu, and SM. To be remarked in this inscription, especially in the faulty three lines at its beginning, is the practically complete absence of any evidence that a corrector revised it after completion; this stands in marked contrast to Shahpuhr KZ, in whose Greek such corrections are especially in evidence and in whose Middle Persian caret-hooks mark omissions in line 29, marking omission of name no. 16 (AJSL, LVII, 4, Oct. 1940, p. 404), at the end of line 30, in inverted form, marking the omission of final p in Amčs(p)y (cf. ibid., p. 409, no. 4), and in line 35 near the end of the inscription, marking the utterly defective writing of x=ndybal (or v)=ryx=hy, "help". The one correction, probably made on the spot and not after the whole was finished, stands out in line 13 of Kartir KZ, where clearly ptxal=randy was first written, only to be corrected immediately by a light chisel-stroke to defective but clear ptxšl=randy.

Another peculiar inconsistency of this inscription may be illustrated by XTYMWNd of lines 2 and 7, while in exactly the same phrase lines 5 and 10 have XTYMWnt; in this word Kartir NRu and NRj both omit the Persian ending completely, as NRu tends to do in general. This and other variations in the writing of verbal forms will have to be examined more closely by the student who may one day study the verbs or the grammar of these inscriptions as a whole, as Henning studied the verbs of the Middle Persian and Ghilain those in the Parthian of Turfan.

The name of the god Ahuramazda and that of the king usually called Hormizd in our books are written exactly alike in this and other inscriptions. For the god the form best known to Western readers has been adopted in the translation, while for the king Ohrmazd, corresponding most simply to the written Persian, has been chosen, although the Manichaean of Turfan has Ohrmizd, and Pope Hormisdas shows that that pronunciation, naturally without the Greek ending, was known earlier than these inscriptions.

The interpretation of the odd mx(=h?)ykal=ry in line 2 differs in this new reading from that attempted in the preliminary edition. Although the shift of the y is not altogether simple, even if we compare the curious SDY, it is now practically equated with Parthian myhgar in AH, MirMan III, p. 58-903. There it is indeed an adjective, while here its parallel suggests a noun. The difference will not be very great in the ultimate meaning arrived at; in the one case "they became very insecure", in the other "great insecurity came to them". Derived from Avestan maeθa-, it may mean "wavering, insecure"; Avestan maeθ- and derivatives leave a choice of other meanings, "banished, pillaged" or "denied, abjured, abandoned, forsworn and forsaken". The situation of Ahriman and the dēvs evidently has grown worse in Shahpuhr's time, as Kartir sees it, but not as bad as in the time of Varah-rān II (lines 9 and 10). This makes for meaning like "insecure" or "abandoned" rather than "banished, pillaged". Shahpuhr pillaged foreign lands with great abandon, but in his own empire he guarded against pillage as far as he could, and he, not Kartir, was pretty clearly as tolerant as he could be of non-mazdayasnian religions and churches.

Two kinds of regular kartakān-i-yazdān, "works of the gods", i.e., church services (for the equation see Shahpuhr KZ, Parth., line 29; Greek, line 68; possibly sometimes, though rarely, "church affairs") are distinguished: 1. afzādīh, "in abundance, sumptuousness, magnificence", i.e., with full regalia and all the trimmings, corresponding to Roman Catholic high masses. With these go ātuv-r-i-Varahrān, "Varahrān fires" (i.e., altars?), and magumart, "magi-men", bishops for their celebration. 2. ātul-rān, "fires", and magavān, "simple priests, village priests, chorepiskopoi", for the simpler church services without afzādīh, "full pomp and circumstance", i.e., low masses. This latter combination is not as clearly established as the first. It may be that the ātul-rān, with one exception always in the plural, are the fire temples or sanctuaries, most or all of them endowed with a number of fires or altars, one or more of these being Varahrān fires. And the magavān may be all the members of the magustān, "the magus-estate, high and low, priestly schoolmasters, officiating priests, novices, bishops, magus-masters," etc. Thus the Istakhr fire of the two forms or manifestations of Anahit is ātul-r, and Shahpuhr's daughter and Queen of Queens, named after the sanctuary, not after a single fire or altar, is Atul-r Anahit (Shahpuhr KZ, MP, lines 23 and 25). On the other hand the ātuv-r with their magumart, (set in order=) ordained, by Kartīr at Shahpuhr's behest in or for non-Iranian cities and countries, would in that case be bishops to serve high altars erected in or simply placed into existing temples or sanctuaries. These structures in thoroughly Roman territory like Syria and Antioch might not be in their origin and regular use mazdayasnian fire temples at all. And the kartakān-i-yazdān without afzādīh would thus be, as they are sometimes described, "of all kinds, of various kinds", i.e., all sorts of sacred acts requiring a priest for their proper execution in the churches or in the homes, etc., such as our Avesta missal and the modern Parsees know.

It will be noted that in place of the "Varahrān throne", to which in the preliminary publication Shahpuhr and Ohrmazd were said to have passed on, the new reading now has the seat or throne of bag, "deity", in the plural, both times written with the peculiar Semitic mask, which is clearly legible on the replica and the photograph made from it under controlled light. Why the Persian writing was substituted for the Semitic in the case of Varahrān (Bahram) I, in line 7, is not clear; perhaps this, too, helps to set off this Varahrān's reign as a new era for Kartīr. The plural of bag here appears on the photograph of the original as bgdān, as I read it in the first publication, and as Eilers read it from the original. On the replica, as a close inspection of its photograph will show, it is bgvan, what looks like the lower part of d appearing to be a defect in the stone, which may, on the other hand, have developed by the flaking of the stone between the time when it was first uncovered and the time when the squeeze was made. The d would probably be simply the usual faulty archaization in spelling. The v, unless it were a simple error, is not so easily accounted for; one may compare Church-Slavic bogu, the Genitive-Ablative in the Avestan compound adjective ba<sup>vo</sup>-baxta-, and, perhaps the plural magavān or maguvān, in itself regular enough, but possibly exercising some analogical influence in this case.

The distinction of the three similar words patxštr, ptxšr, and patxšay has been demonstrated sufficiently in the preliminary publication. I still think that patxštr is in the main an adjective, "imperial", though one may nearly everywhere read "imperial rescript" without much violence. The adjective ptxšrand (Line 13), almost exactly our "reverend", derived from ptxšr, "dignity", is of sufficient interest to be noted. The comparative form patxšadtar (lines 4 and 8) for the positive patxšay will not escape the careful reader; it is probably found also in a moderately corroded spot, corresponding to the occurrence in KZ line 4, at the very beginning of line 11 in NRu. In this connection there occurs another curious variant both within KZ itself and between KZ and NRu. The comparative of kāmkar in KZ is kāmkartr in line 4, but kāmkarytr in line 8; corresponding to the occurrence in line 4 NRu has clearly at the end of its line 10 the second form, but just before it another of its little variants from KZ, x<sup>h</sup>mgvnyky, evidently its way of writing the x<sup>h</sup>my gvnky which KZ reserves for the time of Varahrān I in its line 6. The general tendency in NRu, as against KZ, seems to be for Kartīr to see himself and to present himself to posterity even in Ardashīr's time and now again in Ohrmazd's time as a person of the

same consequence as under the Varahrāns and so to justify the powers he wielded under the Varahrāns. Even as he wrote these inscriptions well on in the reign of Varahrān II dissatisfaction with Kartīr's imperiousness must have been spreading among the people who presently unseated the Varahrāns and placed on the throne that Narseh who definitely tried to erase the Varahrāns and seems to have succeeded in deleting Kartīr's very name from his Persia's royal annals. Did the astute Kartīr sense that something like this might occur? And does that account for his urgency in the heyday of his power to perpetuate his name and fame, as he himself saw it, in four great inscriptions which in their size and conception are unique in Iranian history?

The word l=rvban should in my estimation be read ravān, not ruvān, just as X(=H)vsl=rvb is Husrav, not Husruv. In translating ravān by our "soul" we must, as Hertel taught us, be mindful of two things: 1. The Iranian conception of "soul" is not simply and wholly like ours which rests chiefly on Semitic and Hellenistic foundations, though, indeed, at the time of these inscriptions Iranian ideas were certainly in some measure contaminated with Semitic and Hellenistic thought, as Manicheism in its own way demonstrates. 2. The Greek in Shahpuhr KZ regularly and constantly translates the Iranian word by "memory, mention", showing that, certainly in this hither world in the "bone-endowed" form or stage of its existence, the ravān included to the Iranian mind the opinion in which one was held by few or many of one's fellowmen, one's position in society, one's fair name and fame. The neat distinction which Kartīr makes between this and the other world is illustrated by the end of this KZ inscription, where, however, this material body attains good fame and fortune and this material soul "salvation", the latter unfortunately also a term come to us from Semitic, Greek, and Latin, whose Persian equivalent is, nevertheless, by the time of Kartīr as vague and ambiguous as is our "salvation" now. This entire inscription with all of its religious and church interest is wholly of this world, of the "bone-endowed" body and soul. In Kartīr NRj the neat distinction between the zyndkn, "the living", lines 3 and 16, and the vtl=rtan, "those who have passed away, the dead", escaped Herzfeld completely in his reading of that inscription in Paikuli I 89-92. In contrast with KZ Kartīr's NRj is, in fact, dedicated largely to Kartīr's interest in the beyond. That interest, as has been shown in the introduction, is neither deep nor complicated, but, with an eye to himself and the church in this world, it is clearly intense.

In line 8 va(or vu?)zurgan, used in the plural for a rank or class of the higher nobility, is written out in Iranian and not, as is usual in the use of this word as an adjective or adverb, with the Semitic mask RABBA. As in the Kārnāmak I 42 and elsewhere, its z is here written č, though here no v follows the č as it does in the Kārnāmak and generally in Book-Pahlavi. In fact a writing with z is thus far found nowhere, Herzfeld's reading of it in Kartīr NRu at the end of line 35 (Paikuli I 93 and 167) being a mere misreading of Gurkan, Hyrkania, as has been shown in the introduction. In the Middle Persian of Turfan, of course, the writing with z in the frequent occurrence of the word is the rule, without any exception even in Parthian known to me.

For snaxy and bstyxy in line 9 nothing better has occurred to me than what was offered in the preliminary publication, any further philological elaboration of which seems to me unnecessary.

The mysterious word before akyrydy near the end of line 9 is perfectly clear on the marvelous plaster replica: avbapl=ry, i.e., avapar, perfectly good Middle Persian for the Old Persian adverb of place avapara, on which one should not miss seeing Meillet-Benveniste, Grammaire du Vieux-Perse (2nd ed.; Paris, 1931) p.232 .

That the gl(=r?)sty of the dēvs, by whose "scattering, dissipation, dispersion (probably by pillage and looting)" together with the firing of idols and the firing and dispersion of god-seats (or feasts?) and nests the non-Iranian heresies are undone, are annonae, probably stored up, therefore "stores", is made perfectly clear by the Greek of Shahpuhr KZ. Of course annual income was also stopped.

The word for a "scattering, dispersion", is read with perfect assurance from the replica and its photograph vyšvpyxy, i.e., višūfih; for the writing of -yš- one may compare ZYŠ in line 4.

The distinction of two kinds of Christians, Nasoreans or Nazarenes and Christians, may refer to Mandaeans on the one hand and to proper Christians on the other. I have found no further light to throw on the mysterious Mtky.

In lines 11 and 12 the list of cities and countries can be read only as a parenthetic insertion enumerating the places and regions visited by Shahpuhr, his horses, and his men with fire, pillage, and devastation. Vrvčān is translated Georgia rather than Iberia, though both names apply to the same territory, because Georgia is simply the Greek rendering of the southern, Persian pronunciation of northern, Parthian Varučān with initial Gu- for Parthian Va-. On this Georgia, the neighboring Albania, Balaskan, the Alans' pass, as well as on MP Gurkan, Parthian Virkan, Hyrcania, on the Caspian (Shahpuhr KZ, Parth. line 2; Kartīr NRU, end of line 35) one will do well to see Marquart's Erānšahr, whose defective information is supplemented and corrected by these readings. For the phonetic equivalences Hübschmann, Persische Studien (PSt) p. 157, Sections 47 and 49, suffices as a correct statement of the essential facts, though his linguistic nomenclature is antiquated.

The word nsngy in this parenthetic statement is now returned to my original conception, discarded in the preliminary edition, p. 223. It is the MP form of Avestan nisyas, nisyank-, whose meaning "down" need be taken no more seriously than English "downtown", which, at least in America, is pretty much the same thing as "uptown". In any case the start from the Persian highlands westward toward the Mediterranean Sea was actually "downward".

In line 13 xvpy must be kept distinct from, though related to, the more frequent x=hv-; as the antonym of arsumuk, "heretical", it means "correct, orthodox"; cf. Nyberg, Hb., Gloss., p. 142, to whose references Hübschmann, PSt, p. 57, should be added.

The hač man kart which occurs twice in line 14 is interesting, and its correct understanding and rendering throws light on the Parthian MN ZK krty in Shahpuhr KZ, Parth. line 4, translated by the Greek in its line 10 δία τοῦτο.

The dyny mnytn of various kinds in line 15, lumped with other "divine (i.e., church) services", cannot mean any deep pondering, reflection, or meditation on religion; it must be almost exactly the English "consideration", viz., by frequent and copious contributions and gifts for the endowment of commemorative and other masses or other religious services to be performed by magi.

Kartīr's "own house" in lines 15 and 16 is most probably, like "this house" in line 3, the very building on which this inscription is written, which, for whatever purpose and whenever originally built, is to the Sasanians the oldest fire-temple of their dynasty, the Istakhr fire of Ardashīr's Anahīt, who is merely superficially differentiated from Anahīt, the Lady, i.e., The Goddess from of yore. It is to the Sasanian mind certainly a very old (perhaps they conceived it at times as altogether the oldest known) mazdayasnian sanctuary. Hence, and because what before the excavation appeared above ground was roughly cubical in shape, the Moslems, with the prophet-founder idea strong in them, called it the Kaabah of Zoroaster, as, at least in these regions where Islam and Zoroastrian mazdayasnianism met and mingled, the Meccan Kaabah, though built by Abraham and Ishmael, was by contrast the Kaabah of Mohammed. That this building ever was the tomb (qabr) of Zoroaster, or even that it ever was so called, is merely one of those fine and attractive fancies with which Herzfeld's mind and pen loved to play to the confusion of fact.

Xt-hač, "if", not XYN, as Nöldeke proposed, is confirmed for Nyberg, Hb., Gloss., pp. 105 f., as the right reading of this word.

In line 15 the word used for Kartīr's action with the rtpsak appears in the replica and its photograph clearly as YKBXWN. As in the bagdān of line 7 it is a d

which causes trouble, so that here clearly the replica, for all its fidelity, misrepresents the original. I have not seen the original, but Eilers, who did, reads d in the place of k with no question nor doubt. In the photograph of the original I read in AJSL and still read the same d. At this point, one of the last in which the virtual identity of the first three-fifths of Kartir NRu with all but the very end of our Kartir KZ can be definitely established, NRu (as read from Dubensky's extraordinary photos) has in the portions of its lines 47 and 48 well enough preserved to be legible for identification (the first identifiable word being word 29 in Kartir KZ, line 15):

³DYN KBYW=R YX=HWN X=HWH apm PWN NPŠHČ BYT gyvak W=L gyvak

KBYW=R atvv=ry ZY VI=rx=hran nšasty apm ysty PWN NPŠH BYT (Line 48).....II

WYX=HWN PWN I Šnt..... After this NRu continues in what appears to be a variant form of the statement immediately following upon the second numeral in KZ. But from that point on Kartir NRu definitely departs from Kartir KZ and through line 81 or 82 goes its own way, unfortunately too much ravaged by time to make out more than little groups of words, single words, syllables, or letters— which without a known context, such as SM may offer, cannot be combined into anything like an intelligible whole— or even to make out for certain whether it contains 81 or 82 lines. The important thing is that at this point NRu is clear enough to show that in spite of a major variant, the omission after the verb in question of PWN ZK andy atvv=ry ZYm and probably nšasty after BYT, its text is parallel to, essentially a duplicate of, our KZ text. Instead of the Semitic mask YDBXWN, used on KZ both by Shahpuhr's MP and by Kartir, NRu and NRj of Kartir use the Persian ysty, yašt. With this reading, what Kartir did, was to "offer" at his sanctuary 1133 rtpsak at each of six feasts, which makes 6798 for one whole year. The replica's reading is practically impossible. The best I can do with it would be to read K as Q, and to assume that X was an error for S; YQBSWN would in truth be Hebrew rather than Aramaic, just possibly older or oldest Aramaic, which might represent some compound of štan: This would make Kartir "collect" these many rtpsak, so that they could be used in the ceremonial offering. It is worthy of note that in both cases in which the excellent replica failed or was doubtful, here and in bgdān or bgvān, it is the lower half of MP d with its narrow and fairly sharp curve that causes the trouble. Here the downstroke to the right seems to be filled with dust or rubble, and a fissure running down— and leftward and joining with neat precision the left-hand end of the horizontal base produces an impeccable k.

GTky, elsewhere GTy, near the end of line 16, and in the same phrase in NRj, line 26, need hardly give us pause; for some semblance of cause or reason for the -K one may see Salemann, GdirPH, IIIII, Sec. 50, pp. 277 f. Two other possibilities may be considered; this form may be one used in popular speech and not otherwise found in literary usage, or the -k may indicate some truly Persian word for this ancient Sumero-Semitic term. It is interesting and important to note, that the little list in which this form occurs, "imperial records" (or should one really read here "imperial rescripts, records") "or documents or other inscriptions" (perhaps simply "writings"), certainly does not imply so subtle a distinction as antiquated English "letters close and letters patent", but does indicate a rather loose use of these terms to cover all sorts of documentary evidence.

Briefly the last noun in this inscription, arta(d)ih, must be taken up once more. It occurs in exactly this form, not in another curious form erroneously read for agra(d)ih by Herzfeld, AMI I, p. 135, note 2, in Kartir, NRj, lines 8 and 21. Into the vexed question of the relationship of our form to the form ahrāv, ahrā(d)ih, we need not enter here, referring for a treatment in the main sufficient to Junker, Ungarische Jahrbücher, V (1925), pp. 49-54. These forms are not found in either Kartir or Shahpuhr, although the Manicheans in Turfan (at what date?) consider them specifically mazdayasnian, while the forms found in Kartir are to their mind Manichean; AH, MirMan, II (1933), M95V1b with note 4a, pp. 28f, 319 f. Instead of "salvation" one may, if one wishes, read "righteousness", again not exactly in our sense of the word, but as a boon in this "bone-endowed", material existence distinctly conducive to and itself an element of that blessed happiness which is included in

the wide and vague term salvation. For the happiness of the magi-men in the new world order created for them by Kartir a very different word, urvaxm, "happy", is consistently used. The proud and just a little vain self-righteousness of Kartir, not a little reminiscent of Nehemiah's, though very different, certainly seems to have made his spirit happy in this nether world. His insistence upon its recognition by and in these great and unique inscriptions has finally come triumphantly into its own after 1650 years, during which his memory was blanked out by the opposition of Narseh and his naotara Sasanian dynasty.



## KARTIR NAQSH-I-RUSTAM

## Correspondence of lines in NRu with those of Kartir KZ

NRu	KZ	
	Ends with	
1 -----	1, word 11	27 ----- 9, 23
2 -----	1, 25	28 ----- 9, 36
3 -----	1, 44	29 ----- 9, 50
4 -----	2, 15	30 ----- 10, 11
5 -----	2, 34	31 ----- 10, 30
6 -----	3, 7	32 ----- 10, 47
7 -----	3, 27	33 ----- 11, 14
8 -----	3, 49	34 ----- 11, 35
9 -----	4, 15	35 ----- addition in NRu (cf. introduction)
10 -----	4, 37	36 ----- 11, 44(?)
11 -----	5, 2	37 ----- 12, 1(?)
12 -----	5, 20	38 ----- 12, 17(?)
13 -----	5, 41	39 ----- 12, 36
14 -----	6, 2	40 ----- 13, 30 ( <u>mgv</u> with <u>GBR</u> <sup>a</sup> to follow in 41?)
15 -----	6, 20	41 ----- 13, 27
16 -----	6, 39	42 ----- 13, 44 or 45
17 -----	6, 58	43 ----- 14, 4
18 -----	7, 8	44 ----- 14, 28(?)
19 -----	7, 23	45 ----- 14, 60(?)
20 -----	7, 39	46 ----- 15, 22(23?)
21 -----	7, 55	47 ----- 15, 55(?)
22 -----	8, 9	48 ----- 16, (?)
23 -----	8, 26	
24 -----	8, 40	
25 -----	8, 54	
26 -----	9, 10	

The numbers of l=rtpsak are there, in part obliterated. The place of the peroration, following now in KZ, is taken by something else. Of this only scattered words and phrases can be made out. They remind one of NRj, but my eyes cannot identify on the photographs sufficient to follow any connected text. For lines 49-81 or 82 it may be that the slightly less corroded Sar Meshhed will be of help. So far the ends of lines, rather than their beginnings, have been chosen to mark the certain or probable correspondence with KZ, because these ends of lines in NRu are by the testimony of the photographs better preserved than the beginnings.



## KARTĪR NAQSH-I-RAJAB

## INTRODUCTION

With Ernst Herzfeld deceased it becomes possible for another to deal decisively with Kartīr's inscription on the rock walls of Naqsh-i-Rajab. His presentation and reading in Paikuli was clearly quite preliminary, very tentative, unfinished. It gave him a claim to attempt an improved effort before any other scholar could gracefully venture on anything except criticism in detail. Until Herzfeld's demise we had to be content with Paikuli as the best we had.

Now for one who has the means to present an improved reading it is just and right that he should give it. This writer has never been given the opportunity to see in situ the material on which he has worked for a number of years as a member of the Oriental Institute. Herzfeld, Eilers, Benveniste, Frye, now also Henning, and others have all been able to examine directly with eyes and fingers the rock-cut writing itself. In the case of curious Pahlavi on weathered rock this is of some importance. Second, but only just second to this, is work from really good photographs. These photographs were furnished to the Oriental Institute by the work of Boris Dubensky under the direction of Dr. Erich F. Schmidt, and eventually were put at the disposal of this writer. Unfortunately in the case of Kartīr Naqsh-i-Rajab they are not accompanied by the wonderful rubberoid squeezes which Dr. Schmidt and his staff produced. Nevertheless the photographs are so good that this writer feels safe in presenting a complete new edition of this highly important inscription. This differs pretty widely from Herzfeld's readings, some of which in letters are favored by Nyberg. The writer feels confident in saying that the readings here presented will be found to be in the main correct and safe for historians to use. Minor corrections in details, improvements in translation and the like may, of course, be offered sooner or later. The writer himself will be among the foremost to welcome them. Yet, what is offered here is a new and in the main sound reading, with nothing to hide and nothing hidden. In transliteration it is the writer's conviction that what it should offer in Latin letters is as exact a reproduction of the Pahlavi symbols as possible, indicating by capitals and W for V the Semitic elements. The readings, so far as needed, are presented and discussed in notes. If Nyberg, Bailey, Henning, Kai Barr wish to present a reading in full in their several modes of transcription, the field is open.

Kartīr Naqsh-i-Rajab is almost certainly the second of the great inscriptions indited to be carved on Persia's rocks by this remarkable, in some respects great priest soon after he arrived at the apex of his ambitious career. It is dedicated to the setting forth of a new mazdayasnian orthodoxy about the hereafter, the departed, heaven and hell. This is formulated and set forth very simply and in most authoritarian fashion. It issues from no pipe dream. Its basis is the monarchically authoritative position attained by Kartīr. Between Kartīr and Zoroaster lies much territory. The older time, Zoroaster himself and the Achaemenians, interest him not at all. He steps before us out of the loosely, little or not at all organized religious and church situation of the Parthians. This, evidently, though not mentioned, is abhorrent to his dictatorially organizing mind. The language is not that of Zoroaster. It would have seemed strange, indeed, to Zoroaster's mind. But developments of late Parthian and early Sasanian times can be clearly sensed. Judaism, Christianity, Manicheism, not to mention others, have set their mark on Kartīr's world. He is the founder not of a religion but of a state church. He is not groping for the expression of great religious and ethical ideas and feelings, he is formulating a simple dogmatic theology for his church in terms which Jews, Christians, and Manicheans, as well as his own priests and deacons and laymen, could easily grasp. Something of this activity appears in Kartīr KZ. There the hereafter had been touched only incidentally in a sort of peroration. Here he makes it his main theme. His main theme, that is, except himself. For Kartīr,

as, e.g., for our Teddy Roosevelt, the "I" looms large. In some ways his screeds are the once typical speeches of our own successful businessmen, politicians, preachers, or theologians. They say: "Look at me! Do as I do or did, if you want to succeed as I did". He stands in his mind just next to, hardly below, his kings. The kings begin their records: "I, X". He begins: "And I, Kartīr". He is perhaps a little more humble in the first three lines or so of the KZ text, carved under Shahpuhr's Middle Persian on the Kaabah. These seem to me to show some evidence of having been indited shortly before or after Shahpuhr's death. From there on his pride swells. He finishes off his story, his achievements outside of Persia being enumerated, in detail, on the Kaabah. He adds Naqsh-i-Rajab with a picture of his authoritative figure. Then he welds together Kartīr KZ and Kartīr NRj behind the tail of Shahpuhr's horse at Naqsh-i-Rustam and at Sar Meshhed (SM). Herzfeld hints at this in ZDMG LXXX (1926) 246; he never went beyond this, never clearly developed it further. Even before the writer remembered to have seen this Herzfeld statement, he had sensed that something like this must be the case. Now Richard Frye, both in a simple reply to a question and in a rough handcopy of Sar Meshhed, confirms this. The generous offer of Frye's paper squeeze of Sar Meshhed goes beyond what this writer's 73-year-old eyes care to do. The publication of the sadly eroded Sar Meshhed is gladly left to the younger Frye. Publication here of Kartīr NRu in an excellent Dubensky photograph and in the introduction and notes to Kartīr KZ goes beyond previous efforts and suffices for the nonce. Both in NRu and (according to Herzfeld) in SM Kartīr stretches his prominence back to Artakhshatr-Ardashīr. There is no reason whatever to assume with Herzfeld (l.c.) that Kartīr indited these screeds after the death of Varahrān-Bahrām II. Everything points to the latter's lifetime, nothing to his death. Pretty clearly, however, NRu and SM are later than KZ and NRj. Perhaps Kartīr sensed brewing the Narseh storm, which threatened to wipe out his position, his life, and his memory. For the eminence, grandeur, and glory of his person, his name, his work, Kartīr cherished a high opinion and a great affection. So he undertook to perpetuate these treasures on the great rock walls of his Persis. Few, if any, notable priests in the world's history have used up so much space on stone. All in all he hardly falls behind Darius the Great, not to speak of his own Shahpuhr. And he attained his goal. After 1700 and some odd years he has risen before our eyes from the dead and gone. He has come historically to life before our eyes, not altogether admirable and lovely, but outstanding and prominent, as he thought of himself, as he wanted to be. No longer are we dependent upon more than semilegendary Tansar and Arda-Virāz romances for a few scarcely recognizable, painted-over glimpses of a few spots of his form. Life-size the figure of the founder of Parsee orthodoxy and of their church now stands before them and us for all who have eyes to see.

## KARTIR NAQSH-I-RAJAB

## TRANSLITERATION

1. W'NH kv=rtyv=r BYN štl=ry PWN l=rastyhy W phl=rmyhy HWM Wyzdan
2. WMM=RWBYN hvpl=rstay Whvkamky YHWWN HWHM 'Pm W='L yzdan l=rvny HN'č
3. 'vgvn ptvhyt 'YK ht 'yvbale=ry yzdan 'NH kv=rtyv=r PWN zyndkan PWN
4. agl=radyhy patkasy kv=rty HWHM 'YDYNmč pl=rvn W='L vtl=rtan l=rvny vhyšty
5. Wdvšhvy čhl=rky mhyhyt W' L ZNHč kl=rtkn l=rady čygvn BYN štl=ry kryty LZNHč
6. l=rady pl=rvny MH gvnky HWH ZKM mhyhyt YHWWN MDM vstahvtl=ry YHWWN WZK
7. 'vgvn čygvn LY W='L yzdan l=rvny ptvhyt 'Pm ZYšan HNHTWN KNč čygvnmš
8. vhyšty Wdvšhvy WLZNH kv=rtkn al=rtadyhy Wdl=rvntyhy čhrky ???
9. mhyhyt BW=R'm 'HW=R ht 'yvbale=ry yzdan ZNHč HNHTWN W='L vtl=rtanč
10. l=rvny ZNH 'vgvn mhyhyt 'DYN yzdan KBYW=R hvpl=rstatl=ry Whvkh (corrected to a?)m kv=rtl=ry
11. YHWWN HWHM WPWN NPŠHč l=rvban l=radnytl=ry Wl=ramynytl=ry YHWWN ?
12. HWHM WMDM ZNHč yšty Wkl=rtkn ZY BYN štl=ry kyl=ryt KBYW=R
13. vstahvtl=ry YHWWN HWHM WMNW ZNH namky HZYTNT
14. Wptpvl=rsat ZK PWN yzdan WMM=RWBYN WNPŠH l=rvban l=raty
15. Wl=rasty 'yv YHWWN WMDMh (for č) ZNH yšty Wkv=rtkn Wdyny mazdysn
16. MH KW='N PWN ? zyndkan kyl=ryt vstahvtl=ry 'yv YHWWN W pl=rvny
17. MNDW='M ny hl=r pl=rmanka(l=r?)m 'yv YNP(K=Q or W=R)WN MH vcl=rtan 'yv YDW='YTN
18. vhyšty 'YTY Wdvšhvy 'YTY WMNW kl=rpkl=ry ZK pl=rač W='L vhyšty
19. W='ZLWN WMNW bčkl=ry ZK W='L dvšhvy L=RMYTWN WMNW kl=rpkl=ry HWH WMDM
20. kl=rpky TBW(?) SGYTNT W='LH LZNH astvndy tny hvsl=rbyhy Wapa(w=r?)tyhy
21. YHMTWNT 'Pš W='LH astvndy l=rvban al=rtadyhy MDM YHMTWNT
22. čygvn LY kv=rtyv=r YHMTWN 'Pm ZNH namky LHN'č l=rady npšty 'YK
23. MH LY kv=rtyv=r MNKZY 'vl=rvny MN štl=rdv=ran WMM=RWBYN KBYW=R atvv=ran
24. Wmgvny GTy pathštl=ry HTYMWN 'Pm KBYW=R NPŠH ŠM nyvakyhy
25. MDM GTy pathštl=ry Wmatan YKTYBWN HK=QW='YMWNT 'YK MN(!)pl=rastl=ry
26. W='DN' pathštl=ry matgdan ayvp GTky ayvp 'HRN namky HZYTNT ZK
27. YDW='YTNT 'YK 'NH ZK kv=rtyv=r HWHM ZY šhpvhv=ry MLK'N MLK' kv=rtyv=r ZY
28. mgvpt W 'yhv=rpt ŠM kl=rty HWHM W'vhv=rmzdy MLK'N MLK' Wvl=rhl=ran MLK'N
29. MLK' ZY šhpvhv=rkn kv=rtyv=r ZY 'vhv=rmzdy mgvpt ŠM kl=rty HWHM Wvl=rhl=ran
30. MLK'N (sic!) ZY vl=rhl=rankn kv=rtyv=r ZY bvhtl=rvban vl=rhl=ran W='(?)L (sic!) 'vhv=rmzdy mgvpt ŠM kl=rty
31. HWHM npšty bvhtky dpyv=r ZY(?) kv=rtyv=r ZY MW=RWBY

KARTĪR NAQSH-I-RAJAB

TRANSLATION

1. And I, Kartīr, am (known) in the empire for righteousness and eminence, and  
(to the) gods
2. and lords have been of good service and good will. Further I to the gods  
ward this also
3. thus promised, that, if by the help of the gods I, Kartīr, for the living  
upon
4. highest rank were made to look (to be seen? - in short: If it were given to  
me to appear of highest rank among the living) then also by me further to the  
departed ward of heaven
5. and hell the essential features would be outlined (or proclaimed or enlarged)  
for the sake, also, of these divine services as within the empire they are  
performed, for the sake of these also
6. further, of whatever kind they may be, that by me were to be outlined by way  
of becoming more authoritative, and that
7. thus, as by me to the gods had been promised. Further by me those which were  
established, even thus as by me it (was to be done for)
8. heaven and hell, for these services also orthodoxy and heterodoxy (in) their  
essential features
9. were (to be) outlined. Now for me then, when by the help of the gods this  
also was established, to the departed
10. ward this thus was outlined, then (to) the gods of much better service and will
11. have I become. And for my own soul more provident and quiet have I
12. become. And also on these offerings and services which within the empire are  
performed much
13. more authoritative have I become. And whosoever sees this screed
14. and reads (it), that one for gods and lords and his own soul straight
15. and right let him be. And beyond this, also, (in) the offerings and services  
and the mazdayasnian religion,

16. which now for the living is performed, let him become more authoritative.  
Now another
17. matter; not every one a command at will may issue. What I have decided, let  
be known:
18. There is a heaven and there is a hell. And whoever is a welldoer, that one  
straight to heaven
19. shall go. And whoever is a sinner, that one shall be cast down to hell.  
And whoever is a welldoer and after
20. welldoing persistently runs, this one (in) this bone-endowed body good fame  
and prosperity
21. shall attain and also (in) this bone-endowed spirit orthodoxy shall (he)  
overtake,
22. as I, Kartīr, have attained. Now I this screed for this purpose have writ-  
ten, that
23. since for me, Kartīr, from of yore onward by rulers and lords many fires
24. with (their) magi by imperial deeds were instituted and for me the great  
glory of my own name
25. on imperial deeds and documents stands written, that whoever in future
26. time imperial documents or deeds or other screeds may see, that one
27. should know, that I am that Kartīr, who (under) Shahpuhr, King of Kings,  
Kartīr, the
28. Magupat and Ehrpat was entitled; and under Ōhrmazd, King of Kings, and  
Varahrān, King of
29. Kings, the Shahpuhrsons, Kartīr, Ahuramazda's Magupat was entitled; and  
under Varahrān,
30. <King of> Kings, Varahrānson, Kartīr, Soul-savior of Varahrān and Ahura-  
mazda's Magupat was entitled.
31. Written by Buhtak, scribe of Kartīr, the Lord.

## KARTIR NAQSH-I-RAJAB

## NOTES

Much grammar, etymology, etc. is left for the linguists to do, e.g., Latin transcription of the forms of "I" probably used at this time for ⁿNH, LY, -m, etc. In the transliteration of this inscription h is used instead of x.

For ptvhyt, ll. 3 and 7, "promised" suits the context better than "prayed"; cf. Henning, Verb, ZII IX (1933-4) 174, ll. 7-13.

The variant ⁿYDYN, l. 4, and the more usual ⁿDYN, l. 10, deserve notice.

For patkasy, l. 4, see Henning, Verb, p. 229, ll. 34 f.; List, BSOS IX (1937) 86.

For ṣrky, ll. 5 and 8, cf. Parthian ṣyhr̥g, Andreas-Henning, Mir Man III, Glossary.

The troublesome mbyhyt, ll. 5, 9, 10, is taken as derived from  $\sqrt{*mi}$  his, Henning, Verb, p. 179, ll. 11-14, without the prefixed vi-. Other possibilities considered were derivation from maṣr-, especially if it is read mḥv-rhyt, meaning "proclaimed", or, even, denominative from mas, mah, meh, with a semantic development corresponding to English "enlarged upon".

Noteworthy in this inscription is the use of the passive, perhaps here in -yh- plus -yt; or simply in -yt, as kryty, l. 5, more correctly kyryt, l. 12, from kartan, for which see Salemann, Gir. Ph. I 1, pp. 315 f., Sec. 118; Henning, Verb, pp. 210 ff., Sec. 14, cf. p. 206, 1; Schaefer, Ungarische Jahrbücher XV (1935) 563, n. 3. Derivation from KR, xᵛandan, "read, call, shout", is here so improbable that it may be excluded.

Noteworthy likewise is the extensive use of optative ⁿyv, on which see Nyberg, Hilfsbuch II 65, ⁴E; cf. Henning, Verb, pp. 247 f., Sec. 30; Salemann, Gir. Ph. I 1, p. 315, Sec. 117. This is not particularly troublesome with YHWN=būt, ll. 15, 16; with YNPK=QWN=uzit and YDW=ⁿYTN=danest, l. 17. There it is a straight optative exhortative. But exactly the same form occurs in a temporally conditional connection, twice in the same sequence, ll. 3 and 9, ḥt ⁿyvbāl=ry. The one thing it almost certainly cannot mean is Herzfeld's "one time". Both times ⁿyvbāl=ry immediately follows ḥt and precedes yzdan. The position before yzdan led me to believe that this was simply another odd writing of the troublesome adyārth, Nyberg, Hilfsbuch II, Glossar, p. 3, cf. p. XI; cf. Herzfeld, AMI VII (1934) 55: ḥdybl for both Parthian and Middle Persian, and the curious forms and corrections in Shahpuhr KZ, Parthian, line 29, Middle Persian, line 35, with attempt at correction. It is worthy of note, however, that this ⁿyv looks just like the optative ones and occurs both times in the same little phrase in temporally conditional connection. That leaves the baly or bary unexplained, unless one could use for it in some way the Kurdish bēla, bara, listed by Socin, Gir. Ph. I 2, p. 282, Sec. 182. Instead of "If by the help of the gods", it might simply be "If indeed by the gods I should be made to appear to the living in the highest rank". The meaning of the whole is not greatly affected in any case.

Troublesome is TBW(?) in line 20. There are a number of possibilities to weigh, of which perhaps I do not see all. Thus I see no pure Persian possibility. From Semitic three or four might be weighed. Least probable to me seems a disturbed, partial miswriting of TWB, dit, "again". TBW=ⁿ plus(?) might mean, used adverbially, "persistently"; some derivative from TWB, TYB, abstract in -u, used adverbially, might mean "well". A similar derivative from TBB might be parleyed into a number of



other meanings. Again, the effect on the meaning of the whole will not be greatly disconcerting. For hvsrbyhy one expects hvsrvbyhy.

HTYMWM, l. 24, is, of course, hanbaštan; see Bartholomae, Zur Kenntnis der mittelliranische Mundarten II ("Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften", Philos.-hist. Kl., 1917, 11. Abh.) pp. 37-38.

Noteworthy is the omission of MLK in l. 30. In the same line W=L should most probably be corrected to simple W. In l. 25 I believe that MN should be corrected to MNW, though a reading with MN is, of course, possible.

The translation of vistaxutar by "more authoritative" needs a word of explanation. It is well known that vistaxu means "confident, convinced and therefore convincing". To Kartīr a position of authority makes his word and judgment more confident, more convinced and more convincing. His final climb to the rank of Grandee, Lord, made him more confident, more convincing, more authoritative. This ascent on the social ladder took place, as he tells us in KZ, under Varahrān=Bahrām II. Here his secretary Buhtak proudly signs his work as "scribe of Kartīr, the Lord". Hence the translation, which makes sense when Kartīr's own mind on the matter is taken into consideration.

My friend George Cameron thinks he sees a threefold division of things which Kartīr promises to himself and the gods he will do, if among the living he is made to see highest rank: 1) the essential features of heaven and hell would be outlined for the departed; 2) the good work on the divine services would be continued or increased; 3) orthodoxy and heterodoxy would be more clearly defined. Perhaps these or a similar threefold division do stand out in both promise and performance, though my eyes do not see them.

## INSCRIPTION IN BOOK-FAHLAVI ON A FRAGMENT OF A BROKEN COLUMN

While the work of the Oriental Institute expedition under Dr. Erich F. Schmidt was being carried on at Naqsh-i-Rustam--Istakhr, peasants from some near-by locality brought in a fragment or broken drum of a fluted column, on which was incised some writing. There seems to be no information on the exact spot from which it came. This writer can find no date except days of months to fix it in time. The whole thing is crude in more than one way. The writing was incised as the fragment was lying on its side and meant to be so read. After the incision it was not set on end to stand upright; otherwise it would have to be read from top to bottom or from bottom to top with the head of the reader tilted sidewise. The writing itself is so crude that one is tempted to class it as a graffito rather than an inscription. Line 4 appears to repeat, in an attempt to correct unsuccessful first attempts, perhaps in part to repeat twice over, a word or two. The man who wrote what the mason was to chisel knew his writing well enough; the defects are probably an ignorant chiseler's fault.

The name at the head remains to this writer uncertain. He does not know whether this was a Gueber priest or a dihqān, either of whom would know Pahlavi writing at and after the time of the Arab conquest. If a dihqān, it would not be a landed squire, but one of the scribal class.

The occasions memorialized appear to be two falling within the same year, on the 24th day of the first month (March/April) and on the 26th day of the fourth month (June/July) respectively. What the occasions are exactly, the writer is happy to leave to those who know Gueber-Parsee customs and modes of thought better than he does at this moment.

As matters stand, it seems sufficient to publish photographs of the original and of a cast of a rubberoid squeeze, a handcopy, a partial transliteration, and a partial translation. This will be enough for another, better informed, preferably a Parsee, scholar to work on.

## INSCRIPTION IN BOOK-PAHLAVI ON A FRAGMENT OF A BROKEN COLUMN

## TRANSLITERATION

1. Kusl(=r)b BRHy Bl(=r?)zynvš
2. vtbxt pl(=r)xv šty yztnš
3. BYRH pl(=r)vl(=r)tyn.WYWM dynvy
4. PWN ? PWN pl(=r)xv ʾvmzd pl(=r)xv ʾvxrmzd
5. anvšl(=r)vban YHWWNt
6. p(?)l(=r)xv MN yztny xm
7. ŠNT BYRH tyl(=r) WYWM
8. aššv(?) ʾvxrmzdšt
9. YHWWNt YLYDWN(?) ZNH MN yztnš(?) PWN
10. pyl(=r)ans(?)l(=r?) PWN pl(=r)xv št YHWWNt

## TRANSLATION

1. Kusrab(!), son of Burzīnūsh(?),
2. ill luck (unfortunate?) honored he became(?) of his gods
3. in the month Fravartīn and day Dīnōy
4. by honored (grace of?) Ōhrmazd
5. of immortal soul he has become
6. honored of (from?) the gods. The same(?)
7. year in the month Tīr and day
8. Ašašn(?) Ōhrmazd sht(?)
9. he became. Born was this one from his(?) gods by
10. ?

## NOTES

The first name, if correctly read, points to Arabic (or at least Syro-Aramaic) times. In Sasanian times one must surely find Xusravb, not K-. What is read as final b may be, as in Arabic, y; if it is b, the v that should precede it is omitted. The second name is in this writer's mind most uncertain.

Lines 2-6 seem to indicate that the man has died, with month and day of the month recorded.

At the end of line 6 xm is taken as ham, "the same". It may mean something else.

In lines 6-9 something else is supposed to have taken place for the deceased exactly four months and two days later. What that is and what the peroration of line 10 means is gladly left for others to read and state. This writer's time and interest do not urge or permit him to look further.

## THE GREEK OF SAPOR KZ AND ROMAN HISTORY

The Greek text of Sapor I's great inscription on the so-called Kaabah of Zoroaster at the Naqsh-e-Rustam near Istakhr or Persepolis was first made public in a preliminary form, for the most part transliterated into Latin letters, in AJSL LVII (1940) 330-429. Since then its problems have been attacked in a large way, so far as this writer knows, by only a few men: A. T. Olmstead under the title "The mid-third century of the Christian Era", Classical Philology XXXVII (1942) 241-62 and 398-420, and Michael I. Rostovtzeff under the title "Res Gestae divi Saporis and Dura", with an extensive note by A. R. Bellinger on "The numismatic evidence from Dura", Berytus VIII (1943-44) 17-71. Both exhibit a measure of animus against the worthy Sapor and Philip the Arab. To meet these prejudicial statements, with grateful acceptance of the well taken criticisms and sound contributions on the one hand and warning against the errors, some very patent, so as to check their spread at the outset, publication would seem to be the proper procedure.

Before all else the writer presents here his latest reading of the Greek text in its entirety, this time once more made and carefully checked from the first photographs of the original. The excellent replica, cast in plaster from the remarkable rubber squeeze taken by Dr. Erich Schmidt, and the clearer photographs made from the replica under controlled light, have, of course, also been used. In spite of the difficulties of sunlight photography and of the reading of its results the first photographs still remain a bit more reliable, both as being made directly from the original and as being made earlier, before the taking of the squeeze immediately after the uncovering of the friable, flaking, defective stones. The photographs are herewith also published in full. Meanwhile the text here published, roughly imitating the general form of the letters and in part in some measure indicating the condition of the stone surface, but by no means claiming exact reproduction of all the letter shapes, will, I trust, be found of sufficient service so that other interested and capable scholars may and will work them over.

A third publication, still accepting semi-classical slander gossip, against Philip the Arab especially, and making judicious use both of this writer and of Rostovtzeff and Olmstead, "Res Gestae divi Saporis" by Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, in La Parola del Passato, Rivista di Studi Classici II (Napoli, 1947) 209-39, is herewith also gratefully acknowledged. Now, especially for chronology, one must also see Wilhelm Ensslin, Sb. Bay. Akd. W., Philos.-hist. Kl., 1947, Heft 5 (München, 1949). A reprint of the fine study by A. Maricq, Les debuts de la prédication de Mani, Brussels, 1951, has been sent to me. For the rest I have no other means of access to publications or library.

This writer has not had the privilege of seeing, feeling out, and working with the originals, as, he hears, Benveniste, Henning, and others have. They will presently be able to correct and amplify the work presented by this and other publications thus far made.

Now follows, first of all, this writer's latest reading of the Greek of Sapor KZ.

## LATEST READING OF THE GREEK OF SAPOR KZ

- 1 ΕΓΩ ΜΑΣΔΑΑΣΝΗΣ ΘΕΟΣ ΣΑΠΩΡΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ [ΚΑΙ]  
 ΑΝΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚ[ΓΕ]ΝΟΥΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΥΙΟΣ ΜΑΣΔΑΑΣΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΑ Ζ ΑΡΟΥ  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚΓΕΝΟΥΣ
- 2 ΘΕΩΝ ΕΓΓΟΝΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚ[ΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΘΝΟΥ[Σ]  
 .....[ΑΙ] ΚΑΙ ..Τ...[ΕΘ]ΝΗ ΠΕΡΣΙΔΑ ΠΑ.....ΣΖ..ΗΝ· ΜΕΣΗΝΗΝ ΑΣΣΥΡΙΑΝ·  
 ΑΔΙΑΒΗΝΗΝ ΑΡΑΒΙΑΝ· ΑΔΟΥΡΒΑ·
- 3 ΔΗΝΗΝ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΝ· ΙΒΗΡΙ ΑΝ· ΜΑΧΕΛΟΝΙΑΝ ΑΛΒΑΝΙΑΝ [ΒΥΡΑΣΑΤΗΝΗΝ  
 ΕΩΣ ΕΜΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ] ΚΑΠΠΟΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ [ΑΛΛΑ] ΚΝΩΝ ΠΥΛΗΣ > [ΚΑΙ]  
 ΟΛΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΡΕΣΣΟΥΑΡ ΟΡΟΣ· ΜΑΔΗΝΗΝ· ΓΟΥΡΓΑΝ· ΜΑΡΟΥ·
- 4 ΡΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΑΝΩΤΑΤΩ ΕΘΝΗ· ΚΕΡΜΑΝΖΗΝΗΝ· ΣΕΓΙΣΤΑΝΗΝ·  
 ΤΟΥΡΝΗΝ ΜΑΚ· ΠΑΡ· ΝΗΝ· ΙΝΔΙΑΝ· ΚΑΙ ΚΟΥΣΑΝ· ... ΕΩΣ ΕΜΠΡΟΣΘΕΝ  
 ΠΑΣΚΙΒΟΥΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΩΣ ΚΑΣ· ΣΩΔΙΚΗΝΗΣ ΚΑΙ
- 5 ΚΑΙ ΤΣΑΤΗΝΗΣ ΟΡΩΝ· ΚΑΙ ΕΞΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ  
 . ΠΕ ΜΥ· Κ· .. ΟΥΣΑΝ· ..... ΔΕ ΓΙΣΤΗΝΗΣ ΣΑΒΟΥΡ ΚΑΙ· .....  
 ΕΚΑΛΕΣΑΜΕΝ· ΩΡΜΙΣΔΑΡΤΑ Ζ ΕΙΡ· ΚΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΑ ΤΟΣΑΥΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ
- 6 ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΚ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ  
 ΗΜΕΙΝ <ΕΙΣ ΦΟΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΟΥΛ>ΕΙΑΝ ΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ· <ΚΑΙ ΤΙ> ΡΩΚΤΟΝ  
 ΟΠΩΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ ΕΣΤΗΜΕΝ· ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ
- 7 ΑΠΟ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΡΧΗΣ ΓΟΥΘΩΝΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ  
 ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙΝ· ... ΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΣΣΥΡΙΑΝ <ΕΠ> ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΘΝΟΣ  
 ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΕΠΗΛΘΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΡΟΥΣ
- 8 ΤΗΣ ΑΣΣΥΡΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΜΗΣΙΧΙΣ ΕΞΕΝΑΝΤΙΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ ΚΑΙ  
 ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ <ΚΑΙΣΑΡ> ΕΠΙΛΑΒΗΡΗ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ  
 ΑΝΗΛΩΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝ
- 9 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ ΑΝΗΓΟΡΕΥΣΑΝ· ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ Ο ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΕΙΣ ΠΑΡΑΚΛΗΣΙΝ ΗΛΘΕΝ ΚΑΙ  
 ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΩΝ ΟΛΟΝ ΑΝΤΙΤΕΙΜΑ· ΠΕΝΤΑΚΟΣΙΑΣ ΧΕΙΛΙΑΔΑ ΔΗΝΑΡΙΩΝ ΗΜΕΙΝ  
 ΕΔΟΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΦΟΡΟΥΣ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΕΣΤΗ·
- 10 ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΜΙΣΙΧΗΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΗΡΩΣ ΣΑΒΟΥΡ ΕΠΩΝΟΜΑΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ Ο  
 ΚΑΡΠΑΛΙΝ ΕΨΕΥΣΑΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΝ ΑΔΙΚΙΑΝ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ· ΚΑΙ  
 ΗΜΕΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΩΡ
- 11 ΜΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΕΞΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΧΕΙΛΙΑΔΑΣ ΕΝ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΣΣΩ  
 ΑΝΙΛΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΡΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΘΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΟΙ  
 ΗΣΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΕΚΑΥΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΗΜΩ
- 12 ΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ (εἰς) ΕΝΕΚΕΙΝΗ ΤΗ ΜΙΑ ΑΓΩΓΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ  
 ΚΑΣΤΕΛΛΟΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΘΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΒΙΡΘΑΝΑΣ ΠΩΡΑΚΟΥ ΣΥΝ  
 ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ·
- 13 ΣΟΥΡΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΒΑΡΒΑΛΙΣΣΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΙΕΡΑΤΟΛΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ  
 ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ... ΕΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΧΑΛΚΙΔΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝ ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ·  
 ΑΤΤΑΙΜΙΑΝ ΠΟ

- 14 ΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΡΕΦΑΝΕΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΖΕΥΓΜΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΟΥΡΙ<sup>2</sup> ΜΑ<sup>2</sup> ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΓΙΝΔΑΡΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΛΑΡΜΕΝΑ ΖΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ
- 15 ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΣΕΛ ΕΥΚΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΚΥΡΡ<sup>2</sup> ΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΑΛΛΗΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑΝ ΠΟ
- 16 ΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΣΙΝΖΑΡΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΧΑΜΑΘ<sup>2</sup> ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΑΡΙΣΤΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΔΙΧΩΡ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩ
- 17 ΡΩ· ΔΟΛΙΧΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΔΟΥΡΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΚΟΡΚΟΥΣΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΒΑΤΝΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΧΑΝΑΡ·
- 18 ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑΣ ΣΑΤΑΛΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΔΟΜΑΤΟΛ<sup>2</sup> ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΑΡΤΑΝΗΛ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΣΟΥ<sup>2</sup> ΣΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΣΟΥΙΔ<sup>2</sup> Α
- 19 ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΦΡΕΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΟΜΟΥ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΠΤΑ ΣΥΝΤΑ<sup>2</sup> ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ<sup>2</sup>· ΤΗ ΔΕ ΤΡΙΤΗ ΑΓΩΓΗ ΟΠΟΤΕ Κ<sup>2</sup> ΜΕΙΣ ΕΠΙ ΚΑΡΡΑ ΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΕΣΣΑΝ ΩΡΜΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΡΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΕΣΣΑ
- 20 ΕΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΟΥΜΕΝ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡ ΕΦ ΗΜΑΣ ΗΛΘΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΣΑΝ ΜΕΤ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΠΟ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΩΝ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΡΕΤΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΝΩΡΙΚΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΔΑΚΕΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΑΝΝΟΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ
- 21 ΜΥΣΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΙΣΤΑΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ Α. ΑΤΑΝ. Σ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΘΡΑΚΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΒΙΘΥΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΜΠΑΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΣΥΡΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ
- 22 ΑΠΟ ΛΥΚΑΟΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΓΑΛΑΤΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΛΥΚΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ... .. ΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΦΡΥΓΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΣΥΡΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ
- 23 ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΑΡΑΒΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΜΑΥΡΙΤΑΝΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ... .. ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΛΥΔΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΑΣΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΜΕΣΟΠΟΤΑΜΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ
- 24 ΧΕΙΛΙΑΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΡΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΕΣΣΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΟΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΓΕΓΟΝΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΑ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΕΝΙΔΙΑΙΣ ΧΕΡΣΙΝ ΕΚΡΑΤΗΣΑ
- 25 ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΛΟΙΠΟΥΣ ΤΟΝΤΕ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΗΓΕΜΟΝ... ΟΙΤΙΝΕΣ ΤΕ ΕΚΕΙΝΗΣΤΗΣ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΗΣΑΝ ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΣΙΝ ΕΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣΤΗΝ
- 26 ΠΕΡΣΙ ΔΑ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΕΞΗΓΑΓΟΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΘΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΙΑΣ ΠΥΡΙ ΕΚΑΥΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΗΜΩΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΗ ΔΕ ΤΗ ΑΓΩΓΗ ΕΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΣΑΜΟ ΣΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΙΣΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΑΤΑΒΟΛΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ
- 27 ΑΙΓΕΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΜΟΜΨΟΥΕΣΤΙΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΜΑΛΛΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΦΑΝΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΤΑΡΣΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΖΕΦΥΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΩΡΥΚΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΑΣΤΑΒΑΛΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΝΕΡΩΝΙΧΔΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ
- 28 ΦΛΑΥΙΑΔΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ (!) ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΕΛΕΝΔΕΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΝΕΜΟΥΡΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ

- 31 ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΣΕΛΙΝΟΥΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΜΥΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ  
ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΔΟΜΕΤΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ
- 32 ΤΗ (1) ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΤΥΑΝΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΜΗΤ(1) ΧΑΡΙΡΗ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΟΜΑΝΑ  
ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΥΒΙΣΤΡΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ
- 33 ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΒΙΡΘΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΡΑΚΟΥΝΔΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΞΑΛΑΡΑΝΔΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ  
ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΙΚΟΝΙΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΣΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΠΑΣΑΣ ΤΑΥΤΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ
- 34 ΣΥΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΟΙΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΛΕΓΑΙΕΝ ΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ  
ΕΝ ΑΡΠΑΓΗ Η ΓΑΓΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΩ ΕΘΝΕΙ ΤΩ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΕΡΣΙΔΕΙ ΚΑΙ
- 35 ΕΝ ΠΑΡΘΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΟΥΖΗΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΣΣΥΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΑΡΧΙΒΕΣΝ (1) ΟΠΟΥ  
ΗΜΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΚΤΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΗΝ ΕΚΕΙ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ
- 36 ΑΠΕΚΑΘΙΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΕΤΕΡΑ ΠΟΛΙΑ ΕΘΝΗ ΕΖΗΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΤΗΤΑ  
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- 37 ΦΗΝΑΙ ΙΝΑ ΟΣΤΙΣ ΜΕΘ ΗΜΑΣ ΕΣΤΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΕΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ  
ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΕΠΙΓΝΩΣΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΚΕΙΝΟ ΟΤΙ ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΗΜΑΣ ΟΥΤΩΣ ΔΑΚΤΙΚΕΡΤΑΣ ΕΚΤΙΣΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ  
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- 38 ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΑΤΟΣΑΥΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ ΕΖΗΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΧΟΜΕΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ  
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- 39 ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟΝ ΙΒΥΣΤ ΚΑΘΙΔΡΥΣΑΜΕΝ ΠΥΡΕΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΟΣΤΡΩ ΣΑΒΟΥΡ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ  
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- 40 ΤΗ ΑΔΟΥΡΑΝΑΙΔ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΩΝ ΤΗΣ (1) ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΣ  
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- 41 ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΥΝΤΗΡΗΣΙΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ  
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- 42 ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΥΝΤΗΡΗΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΥΡΕΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΟΣΤΡΩ ΝΑΡΣΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗ ΑΡΙΑΝ  
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- 43 ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΣΥΝΤΗΡΗΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΟ Ο  
ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΥΡΙΟΙΣ ΠΑΡΕΣΧΟΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΘΟΣ ΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΟΜΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑ
- 44 ΕΙΣ ΕΝ ΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΣΦΑΛΙΣΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΕΙΜΗΣ ΕΓΡΑΨΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ  
ΧΕΙΛΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΠΑΚΑΤΗΣΙΝ ΕΘΙΜΩΝ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ
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In discussing this Greek text and its meaning for Roman history, a beginning is made with Olmstead's article. This writer holds no brief for his own errors and mistakes; he is very willing to admit and correct them, when they are pointed out to him by other scholars and when he discovers them himself. This will, I believe, become quite clear as this article proceeds. The new, serious errors, however, disseminated by notable critics, must be met and stopped before they penetrate too widely and deeply into the web and woof of history.

After a few general opening statements, chiefly on the bad state of Roman affairs early in the third Christian century, Olmstead at the top of his p. 242 presents a very laudatory paragraph on the early Sasanian empire, in distinct and surprising contrast to the picture painted later on. From there he goes on through several pages with a sketch of source-material, most of it fairly well known. This is fair enough so far as it goes; its deficiencies need not detain us here.

When Olmstead on his page 245 takes up our inscription, this writer is indeed surprised to learn that his colleague in the Oriental Institute had, in 1936, actually seen the original Middle-Persian (he calls it with the needlessly novel and learned nomenclature of Herzfeld "Farsik" and the Parthian text "Pahlavik"), uncovered specially for his inspection. He had also seen and discussed a handcopy by a member of Erich Schmidt's staff, Donald McCown. He knew by his own personal inspection on which side of the Kaabah of Zoroaster this first-found version of the inscription was incised, a matter about which this writer asked diligently in vain before issuing his first, very tentative publication. All this had taken place some months before this writer for the first time saw the photographs from which alone his first, defective publication was made. Similarly, when the photographs of the Greek and Parthian arrived at Chicago in this writer's absence, Olmstead and his students worked over them for four months before this writer so much as saw them. Finally, before publishing his long article Olmstead had Henning's and all of this writer's previous publications on the inscription, as his footnotes, 11 on page 245 and 13 on page 246, clearly show, plus the new Kartir inscription, though this is neither noted nor used. All this must for once be clearly and publicly stated for the record. No excuse, though perhaps some reason, for errors committed by this writer is sought by this statement; but it must be made clear once and for all, that for new errors made by Olmstead there is far less excuse.

What Olmstead then has to say about the Greek text in general, its defectiveness, its letter forms, etc., may be left for other scholars to judge on the one hand from the text here published, on the other from the photographs. What, however, Olmstead says about the Kaabah of Zoroaster and fire-temples, to whose establishment a third of this inscription is said to be devoted, must be examined with great care and caution; in the editio princeps this writer carefully placed a question mark with his translation of the term for the name-fires founded by Sapor: "fire (temple?)", see page 386 of the editio princeps. The problems are not as simple as Olmstead assumes. They begin with a whole nest of linguistic problems. What does the Parthian archaic or (perhaps pseudo-) archaising atrw mean? Is it connected with the Middle-Persian plural atrwān, used by Kartir? What does the Semitic NWR<sup>2</sup>, used in our MP, stand for? Atur=adur, or ataš? If the latter, should we not expect the addition of katak=kadak(?), if fire-temples are intended? For Greek πυρραῖον the latest Liddell and Scott, in spite of French pyrée, lists only the two meanings, 1) "firesticks", i.e., an early form of matches; and 2) "earthen pan for coals", chiefly Septuagintal. Does the use of this word indicate that the Greek scribe is thinking of elaborate firetemples such as Ghirshman recently unearthed at Chapour? Is he not rather thinking of the metal fire-altar or brazier set on a stone or brick foundation to be seen on innumerable coins, medals, and other pictorial representations? In Syriac and Arabic this is a kanūn; its base, more often the entire structure, in Syriac is mathgenā or its plural; the well-informed and careful Bērūnī calls the simple, little structure which generally houses it a qubbah, probably the modern sagrī, for which Jackson, Gir Phil., II, 688, quotes Andreas. The installation of a fire-altar with its apparatus in a Christian church made that church a fire-house (bēth nūrā). Yet the simple equation of our Kaabah with the qubbah-sagrī by Jackson, l.c. and p. 701, is probably overhasty; the very Arabic name, the use made of its walls by Sapor and Kartir, and cur-

ious statements about it by the latter give it a separate and special standing among the Sasanians and their predecessors at this Naqsh-e Rostam. Within the large compound constituting the greater sanctuary grouped around the Kaabah there may have been a larger fire temple, in which there was room for five elaborate altars for high masses, which seems to be what Kartir means by his Varahran fires; or there was room on the grounds for a separate qubba for each of the five.

The most extensive treatment of the Iranian word for fire extant is that by Bartholomae, *MirM.*, VI, pp. 68 ff. The Syriac and Arabic material may be found most conveniently grouped together in Hoffmann's *Syr. Akt. Pers. MArt.*, pp. 35 ff., esp. note 313 (cf. Bedjan, *AM*, IV, pp. 250 ff. and 172 ff.). On fire-altars and temples extant material and information is most completely put together in Christensen's *L'Iran*, pp. 154-163 (see especially p. 163, note 1). All this, however, leaves still valid Benveniste's words: "Il manque encore une étude approfondie sur les feux de l'Iran," (Benveniste et Renou, *VRTRA ET VRORAGNA*, p. 39, n. 5). Such a study cannot be made here in a few sentences or paragraphs; a moderately adequate treatment will require at the least a very fair-sized book. Olmstead seems unaware of this. Moreover his words about one third of this inscription being devoted to the establishment of fire temples are "grossly exaggerated"; any reader can verify the fact that Greek so employs at most 7 of 69 lines, the Iranian a similar proportion.

Olmstead now lists fourteen words for linguists and lexicographers to note. Against uncritical acceptance of this list scholars must here be warned. *Καῖσαρ*, *καστέλλους*, *ἀννώνης* may be passed over without comment. *Πυρεῖα* was taken in the foregoing section in the sense of "fire temples", while here we find it without further explanation as "fire altars". *Πάθνη* is not merely a vulgar, but an older, in some respects better form of *φάτνη*. *Κας* in line 4 is no crasis for *καὶ εἰς*, but the proper name of a region or country; *νομμείας*, ll. 45 and 52, is a mere misreading for *τὴν μνεῖαν*, and *τῆς μνεῖας*; *τρέπου*, l. 62, is misread from *ἐπιτρόπου* or *σατράπου*; *εὐγούρου*, l. 66, can hardly be anything but a misreading of *θυρουρού*; *εἰσένγραφον*, l. 44, is not an odd new word-monster, but two wellknown old words *εἰς ἐνγραφον*; in l. 64 the word is not *σπαθα-*, but *σπαθοφόρου*; l. 66 has not *γινζο-* but *γανζοφύλακος*; *ἐξεντίας* in line 8 is in reality *ἐξ ἐναντίας*. "While *ἀμαξά* as a Persian loan word for 'wagon' is well known, *ἀμαξάσπου* appears to be a transliteration of a Persian word meaning 'wagon horse'." "Αμαξα Persian? Then what is pure Greek? This Greco-Persian monster might have been avoided if in the editio princeps lying on Olmstead's desk this fourth greater retainer of Sapor, king of Vrčan, Georgia, Iberia, as he occurs in Greek's line 60, found at the top of its p. 409, had been looked up, as, indeed, by judicious use of the same means all of the errors here listed might have been avoided. Moreover, if the inscription as a whole had been really well read and true examples of crasis sought, it was very easy to find *κακείνα*, l. 52, and *κακείνος*, l. 69. Nor is the double *καὶ*, ll. 4/5, the only error of the kind. Leaving the reader and student to discover others, as he may need or want them, attention may be called in passing to odd *καὶ* in l. 12, very probable omission of *ἐν* and redundant repetition of *ἐκράτησάμεν* in l. 27, faulty repetition of *πόλιν* (there are some probable omissions of it also) in l. 30 and of *τῷ* in lines 31/32, all in that part of the inscription which Olmstead for his historical disquisition must have scrutinized more carefully. The statement that "there is no obvious violation of Greek grammar" etc., can safely be left to the readers of this study, after they have seen the hit or miss use of cases, the copious use of *εἰς*, which at first sight looks like premature Modern Greek, but is presently seen to be a frequently mechanical translation of Parthian and Persian *pat*, and other oddities. The Greek is decidedly neither classical nor flawless as any kind of Hellenistic. Its transliterations of titles and names were of course not "derived from oral dictation", but made from the Iranian by a translator who knew both Greek and Parthian as well as Persian, as used and pronounced at the late Arsacid and this early Sasanian court. Both Olmstead and Rostovtzeff have curious notions about this Greek scribe and do not envision him at all vividly; his status and stature will be brought out more clearly in another connection a little later in this study.

After the very faulty statement on the language Olmstead introduces the Sibylline Oracles, chiefly Book XIII, and attempts to use it with, or rather above and beyond, all other sources to "correct" the wholly contemporary and largely eyewitness account of events and campaigns of Sapor. This over-use of the Sibyl is greatly modified and brought into safer bounds by Rostovtzeff. Hence it is not necessary here to examine this lengthy section of Olmstead's in detail. A few remarks on oddities and correction of errors will suffice. The writing on p. 251 "king of Airan" is certainly needlessly odd. As may be seen in this publication of the Greek text compared with this writer's previous publications in *AJS*, vols. LVII and LVIII, there are in the "titulary" at the head of the inscription no serious "breaks" that need to be "safely filled" from elsewhere. Between this opening "titulary" and the first Roman war lies Sapor's outline of his empire at the end of his life; a more careful study of this would have been a most wholesome exercise for both Olmstead and Rostovtzeff to correct their conception of Sapor's boastfulness. Greater care in the use of this writer's study of this section would have saved Olmstead other serious errors, which must be corrected lest the prestige of his name in some quarters spread them. "Guarathranos, king of the Gelani", is not "probably the native king installed after the conquest", but almost certainly Sapor's eldest son, listed in the immediate royal family, for whom masses for their souls are established, before the heir-apparent, in Greek line 47. Then, totally misleading and almost completely wrong, come the words "the Gurganians-Parsik Gurgan and Pahlavik Gurkan-are found among the satrapies". He means the Hyrcanians; and he means, further, that their country, Hyrcania, is enumerated by Sapor among the countries constituting his empire. Totally wrong is his "Gurkan" for the Parthian, which is *Vrkm* (*ed. princeps*, p. 351); his Persian Gurgan (p. 252) is derived from the *editio princeps* statement (p. 351) that Greek *Gourgān* (end l. 3) transliterates Sasanian Middle-Persian, a statement manifestly not well understood by Olmstead. I did not then and do not now think that Sasanian Middle-Persian wrote Gurgan; in this early time their orthography followed Parthian, with slight deviation, here probably *Vrkan* (*Hübbschm.*, *PSt*, Sec. 51, p. 159; and literature quoted in *editio princeps*). But they spoke Gourgān, as our Greek with Priscus, Procopius, Syriac, and early Arabic all testify. Parallel to this is the Caucasian Iberia, at present pronounced Iveria, related to Parthian *Virčan* and its early Sasanian imitation *Varučan*, used by Kartir and also in our inscription with Olmstead's "wagon horse", MP version, end of l. 30, corresponding to Greek, l. 60, Parthian, l. 25, where MP may be *Varičan*. This is early Sasanian official orthography, while pronunciation must soon (how early?) have become *Gurčan* or the like, to account for Syriac *Gurzan*, found also in Arabic along with *K(=G)urdj*, Greek *Georgia*, Russian *Gruzia*, etc.; cf. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, pp. 115 f. and *passim*. On his 258 Olmstead once more deals oddly with "the countries which belonged to the regularly organized empire." Now his "Machelonia, here used as equivalent of Colchis", is clearly a serious error. Both Sapor and Kartir clearly designate as Sapor's farthest West in the Caucasus the Alans' Gate, Ptolemy's Sarmatic Gates, the Darial Pass between Harmastis-Harmozica-Tiflis-Tbilisi and Ordzhonikidze-Vladikavkaz within the Iberian boundaries. Pityus and Trapezus are clearly Roman at the beginning of Valerian's reign and, though temporarily lost by Rome to others than the Persians, remain Rome's responsibility thereafter. Against Olmstead unjust over-extension of Sapor's claims to territory must be rejected, as must their over-narrowing against Marquart, *Erānšahr*, p. 95, where the conquest of the Caucasus kingdoms is blandly ascribed to Sapor II a century later. Olmstead's statement (p. 258), "Shahpuhr lists Arabia as one of his own satrapies [*sic!*], later as a Roman province", is patently wrong; they are wholly different Arabias.

Having cleared or bypassed these bramble patches, we can and must now proceed to seek a clear and tenable tale of the Gordian-"Philippus Arabs"-Sapor war, its conclusion and consequences. Olmstead's account (pp. 253 ff.) is a zigzag dance for all concerned. Gordian comes east in 242 accompanied by his father-in-law, Timesitheus. On a visit to Edessa they restore the Osrhoenian kingdom ... of Abgar Phraates (i.e., X.). Here Olmstead for the first time shows that he does not know the Syriac parchment of Edessa, found at Dura, published by Torrey, *Zf. Sem.*, X, 1/2 (1935), pp. 33-45, and its historical interpretation by Bellinger and Welles, *Yale Classical Studies* V (1935), esp. pp. 142 ff., where it is proved that Timesitheus-

Gordian here did not restore, but actually deposed, the unreliable Abgar X. Gordian (without Timesitheus?) wins skirmishes, a great battle against Sapor at Resaina, recovers Nisibis, moves down the Chaboras and Euphrates, aiming at Ctesiphon. Sapor must hastily collect troops to defend "his capital". Timesitheus is poisoned by Philip (events and their sequence as given are Olmstead's). "Difficulties in securing food were exaggerated by Philip, who thus compelled Gordian to retreat to Zaitha" between Dura and Circesium, where the youngster "was compelled to share the throne with Philip", and where "soon after, in February of 244, Philip slew Gordian". This, says Olmstead (p. 255), "is not only the unanimous agreement of a long line of Greek and Roman chroniclers, backed by the statement that the tomb monument was in existence a century later; it is proved (italics are Olmstead's) by ... the contemporary Christian Sibyl". This must be briefly examined before we go on with the halting tale. Ammianus Marcellinus has the tumult twice (XXIII, v, 7 and 17); in the latter section Julian, in a rhetorical pep talk, says pretty much what Olmstead wants us to believe is a unanimous report. Zosimus (A 18/19) hates Philip, but lets Timesitheus (Timesikles) die a natural death, and has the soldiery, not Philip, riot and kill Gordian. Zonaras (XII, 18) repeats Zosimus in slightly different words. And the Sibyl? Of Gordian it says, ll. 19/20: *προδοθεὶς ὑφ' ἐταίρου | καπνέσεται ἐν τάξει τυφθεὶς αἰθωνὶ σιδήρῳ*; of Philip, ll. 79/80: *ἐὺν παιδί κραταίῳ | καπνέσεται δολίως διὰ πρεσβύτερον βασιλῆα*; and of Decius, ll. 100/101: *τότε κοίραν Ἰταλιῶν | καπνέσεται ἐν τάξει τυφθεὶς αἰθωνὶ σιδήρῳ*. Does this prove Olmstead's contention? And did Olmstead stop to think that the "tomb" was a cenotaph and who built the cenotaph? Further inquiry would be interesting. But we must pursue the mazes of Olmstead's path. To do this properly we must here place before the reader Olmstead's attempt (p. 255) at translation of this section of the great inscription: "And when first over the kingdom of the peoples I was established, Gordianos Kaisar from all the dominion of the Romans a force of Guththi [Goths] and German peoples collected. And into Assyria, against the people of the Aryans and us he made an inroad. And into the mountains of Assyria, in the Mesichise from opposite a great war arose. And Gordianos Kaisar was killed, and we annihilated the army of the Romans. And the Romans proclaimed Philippos as Kaisar. And Philippos the Kaisar came for supplication. And offering in return for the life of his friends five hundred thousand denarii, he gave them to me, and for tribute to me it shall be. And on account of this we named Misichen Peros-Sabur". Passing lightly over such patent mistranslations as "peoples" and "war", we must be warned particularly against the insinuation that Sapor merely considered the ransom as tribute. Then, unfortunately, Olmstead has followed docilely and all too fully the worst error of this writer's editio princeps in the site of the battle. But having followed me into northern Faysabur, he believes it possible, nay he is convinced, that the correct interpretation is that Sapor here speaks of "an otherwise unknown battle in connection with the Armenian campaign", which "has nothing whatever to do with the events hitherto mentioned". Having thus maligned Sapor he now tries to take all honor from Philip. Philip, having so bought a peace, dares to assume titles, Persicus and Parthicus Maximus, such as will presently be found excusable, natural, and laudable in Valerian. And now the crowning zigzag: Philip, having signed away Mesopotamia and Armenia, finds the Romans "so upset" about it that he "broke the peace and a little after recovered the lands". In a long disquisition on Philip he takes occasion twice to slur Philip's father, as the "most notable of robbers" (p. 259) and as "Philip's ex-bandit father, the 'god Marinus'" (p. 260). Starting off on his worst Mareades fiction, he comes back to Philip on page 399, to tell us that the eastern frontier of Rome was wide open, because "apparently personal hatred for all friends of Gordian had led Philip to depose Abgar, king of Osrhoene, who ruled Edessa as frontier guard", thus once more exhibiting complete ignorance of the conclusive work of Bellinger and Welles.

On this same campaign or war Rostovtzeff on his pages 22 f. is masterfully brief. He starts with an ominously prejudicial statement: "The report is brief and full of reticences". Then Rostovtzeff partly transcribes and partly translates the little section: "Right after the accession of Shapuhr the Emperor Gordian collected from the whole Empire a strong army, which consisted chiefly of military units of the Danube and the Rhine frontier, and attacked the Persians and Shapuhr in Assyria (battle of Rhesaena?) and inside the boundaries of Assyria (*εἰς τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Ἀσσυρίας* means certainly *ἐν τοῖς ὄροις τ. Ἀσσ.*) in Mesichise (probably not a city but a region) there was a great 'face to face' or 'frontal' battle, and Emperor Gordian was killed, and we annihilated the Roman army, and the Romans proclaimed Philip

emperor, and Emperor Philip entered into negotiations and paid us 500,000 denars as ransom for the life of his friends, and became our tributary, and we therefore called Misiche Peroz-Sapur'." The interpretation of Gothic and Germanic lands (never here "peoples"! ) as the Danube and Rhine limes is excellent, as will appear more clearly later with Valerian's army. Absolutely correct is "boundaries" for ed. princeps' (p.363) unpardonable "mountains". A master-stroke is the "face to face" or "frontal" battle. Indeed, with these readings established Rostovtzeff had a coup in his hands, which only his prejudices prevented him from seeing. "Right after the accession" is wrong; by no dating is the connection of events so close; what Sapor means is: "Firstly, after I had come to the throne," as will appear more clearly as we go along. Neither Rhessaena nor Nisibis to Sapor's mind ever belonged to Assyria. It may be one of Sapor's "reticences", that this battle is not mentioned; other, even Roman, kings and potentates have been known to omit non-successes from their lapidary annals; or may one turn Rostovtzeff's oft-used term around and believe this Roman success "grossly exaggerated" for home consumption? Great siege-operations of this first Sapor are most unlikely, as Noeldeke was one of the first to sense; they were not well adapted to his armies, his temperament, his experience, nor his military knowledge. Quite unforgiveable, with what he had solved and what he says deserves a more detailed treatment than that given by Olmstead and myself, is his own neglect in solving the site of the battle and his clinging to Gordian's murder with the rhetoric of Marcellinus and Julian, against the fairly clear statement here, still further clarified by the Sibyl. There are other "reticences" in Rostovtzeff.

Now first the Mystery of Misiche must--and can!--be solved. The editio princeps' "mountains of Assyria" were in no small measure due to the reading of a damaged Parthian word as what we now know to be TWR = tūrā=kōf, "mountain(s)"; renewed examination of the photos still favors the same Aramaic spelling; if correct, this must be tawrā or tawwārā=vimand, though, perhaps, a reading of the remnants as vimand itself may be just barely possible. Therewith the picture changes from that assumed in the editio princeps. There, with the faulty reading and the Roman successes at Rhessaena and Nisibis in mind, the Gordian line of advance was rashly assumed to be that of the middle army of Severus Alexander ten years earlier, which could only lead to the northern Faysabur, though nothing corresponding to Misich was there. Now we have Gordian, without Philip (who is neither killed in battle nor taken prisoner), advancing down the Euphrates in an attempt on Ctesiphon, though he can hardly have danced the zigzag jig prescribed for him by Olmstead (accepted with the murder by Rostovtzeff?). There, where the Euphrates advances farthest eastward toward Seleucia-Ctesiphon and Baghdad, lies another Peroz-Sabour, also called Anbar. Of this LeStrange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp. 24/5, says: "By the earlier Arab Geographers the limit" between Irak and Jazirah-Mesopotamia "generally coincided with a line going north from Anbar on the Euphrates to Takrit on the Tigris, both cities being reckoned as of Irak." Now the Irak of the early Arabs is pretty much the Assyria of Sapor, just within whose boundaries lies the site of our battle. With this a hauntingly similar name in this neighborhood, which had worried me from the beginning, but seemed too deceptively tempting to be true, took on new meaning. As now read the site is first named in the sequence: in Greek ἐν τῇ Μησίχῃ γῆρ ἐξ ἐναντίας where Parthian now has BMšyk p(a)tyrym(a)n; then in Greek Μησίχην διὰ τοῦτο, in Parthian Mšyk MN ZK krtty. The essence of the Greek is Misich, rendering, as well as Greek can, Aramaic Mšyk(h). Just east of Anbar-Pirisabora, Bersabor (Zosimus) or Perisabor, or Fayrūs-Sābūr, lies the old Arabic and clearly late Sasanian tāsūj, "district, quarter" Maskin (LeStrange, l.c., pp. 51 and 80). G. Hoffmann, Syr. Akt. pers. Mart., pp. 41, 187, and 296, deals with this site. For Arabic Maskin he claims to know Syriac and Talmudic (Aramaic) Maškānē=Strabo's Μησινάι (Geogr. XVI, 1, 27). However this may be, Hoffmann wrote what he actually saw in his Syriac martyrdom curiously "Maškā[n]a." Looking up Bedjan, Act. Mart., IV, 256, l. 12, we find him printing Meškā, vowelized as the Syriac word for "skin, hide, tribute." These vowels shift about easily in Syriac writing; here addition of emphatic final ā and identification with the common noun helped along the vowel-shift. Our inscription shows that the name of this district and town in 270 A.D. is Mšyk(h). The Greek γῆρ can hardly be part of the transcription; it characterizes the place as "flats, level-land, plain", ideal arena for a frontal battle, line against line. And Mšyk(h) itself, not in Edessene Syriac, but in Babylonian or Assyrian Aramaic, can and prob-

ably does mean just that, "a stretch, tract of land" (m<sup>o</sup>šakh: m<sup>o</sup>šikh::traxit:tractus). As to Bedjan, this became by popular etymology "the skin," so its use by nomads with similarity of sound made it Maskin, "nomad tents". It comes to be Sapor-Victory here and ends as Anbar, "storehouses."

Now our neat little tale looks quite different. No leering reticences are here. Checks, defeats, retreats, withdrawals from tentative raids on Roman Mesopotamia become insignificant in Sapor's eyes in contrast with his great and effective defensive victory, however affairs may look from the Roman side. And how do the affairs and actions of Rome stack up against this Persian story? Despite effulgent Marcelline-Julianic rhetoric Gordian III is a child at the beginning and a callow youth at the end of his six years of enthroned majesty. No evidence for precocious genius or any capacity or ability beyond his years is known to me. When Timesitheus-Timesikles takes charge as father-in-law and pretorian prefect, Roman affairs begin to march. The Rhine frontier was quiet; the Danube was well managed by Menophilus. Rome's far east was uneasy. Rome, we now can see, had reached the limit of her eastward expansion along the eastern frontier of Mesopotamia. In the last, crumbling days of Parthia this eastern frontier was sharply emphasized by Septimius Severus; but he had not taken Hatra, and it may be he began to subsidize Armenia to hold the Caucasus (Marquart, Iranšahr, 102, note 4). Then Arsacid Parthia became Sasanian Persia, inflamed with a Homeroid epic romance, claiming not only Parthian rights to be upheld, but a Darian, pre-Alexandrian irredenta to be regained. The eastern frontier began to waver with uncertainty. Roman-subsidized Armenia with its Parthian dynasty was a thorn in Persia's flesh. As he found time, means, and opportunity, the first Sasanian king of Persia, Ardashir, made testing forays over the boundary. This provoked what seems to have been conceived chiefly as a campaign of demonstration in the reign of Alexander Severus, 232/3, A.D. The northern of the three Roman armies operating through friendly Armenia registered a few, not very significant successes; the central one, with the emperor in northern Mesopotamia, hardly contacted the enemy at all; the southern army was trying to follow the glorious trail of Septimius down the Euphrates on the way to Babylon, but "Ardashir was..able to...annihilate...it...on the Euphrates" (Ensslin, CAH, XII, 70). The rest of the Roman field armies were withdrawn to other regions. No peace was concluded. Yet Ardashir "remained inactive for four years" (ibid.). Roman troubles at home were reflected on its frontiers; the inept recrudescence of Osrhoene under the Persophile Abgar X Phraates in the early quiet years of young Gordian, together with the rise of the gigantesque Persian crownprince Sapor to active leadership, began to stir the cooling embers of the Perso-Roman border. Sapor succeeded, even though by treachery, in taking and razing Hatra, where the great Septimius himself had failed. Ardashir dies, and Sapor succeeds him in 240.; cf. now Ensslin, SbBayAdW, 1945, no. 5, p. 7 and passim, with Martin J. Higgins, The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice, Washington, D. C., 1939, pp. 19 f. and 71. The Romans are thrust out of Nisibis and Carrhae, though these early Sasanians seem never to occupy, garrison, fortify any Mesopotamian town for themselves. An uneasily exploring, fluid front seems to be all that through Sapor's early years these Persians are able to achieve against the Romans. Always there is talk of a threat to Antioch, all in later sources. This reflects, not actual fact or feeling of the moment, but the tremendous and lasting impression which the sack of Antioch the Great, when it came ten to twelve years later, produced in the Perso-Roman world.

In this situation Timesitheus and Gordian picked up troops from the quiescent Rhine and Danube, the Germanic and Gothic limes, and moved with them over Thrace to Asia. The error of Edessa is rectified, Abgar deposed, a lasting and strong Roman colony instituted. The Persians--how numerous? how tenacious?--are expelled from Carrhae, the Rhesaena region, Nisibis; the core of Mesopotamia is purely Roman once more. A campaign, the besetting ignis fatuus of Roman generals in these parts, down the Chaboras and Euphrates threatening Seleucia-Ctesiphon is planned. At this point Timesitheus, no longer young and with many years of arduous service in all parts of the Empire on his back, dies, apparently rather suddenly and unexpectedly. And with this the vilification of Philip the Arab sets in at full blast.

Clmstead, as others had done before him lacking Sapor KZ, swallows the unsavory mass whole without a trace of critical examination, even attempts to add to it.



Rostovtzeff in this matter does little better. Ensslin (l.c., p. 87) corrects details; the tale of Timesitheus' poisoning is suppressed, Philip's base origin is canceled out, the soldiers murder Gordian. But Philip's "burning ambition" forms the sinister background. Ernst Stein, FW, vol. X-half-vol. 19, cols. 755-72, no. 386 of the Julii, evaluates the source material critically. Another Stein, in half-vol. 13, cols. 364-7, under no. 89 of the Furii, deals similarly, but not quite as acutely, with the Timesitheus material. Neither of the Steins had our Sapor KZ. Yet the poisoning tale turns out to be but one variant version detailed but once in the Gordian vita. It is hardly Dexippus. Ernst Stein calls it back-stairs gossip. But even here the general tone and character of the Roman literary sources on Philip, of which Olmstead makes so much, is only hinted at. By his personal charm Philip in Rome has to overcome the prejudice against the non-senatorial upstart versus the senatorial emperor, says Ernst Stein. To wipe it out for good and all Philip needed more than that, more, too, than the conscientious administration and the better than average generalship which he gave. Philip faced a devilishly difficult and delicate job; only by superhuman genius, surprisingly smashing successes, phenomenal luck could he have pulled Rome out of the dismal and desperate mess in which she found herself at her millennial birthday. As it was, his charm died with him, and he had built no wicked personal machine. Therefore right there the spiteful senatorial prejudice revived to leave its mark in the tone of all the secular Roman sources. They all carry basically the "official version," which everywhere and at all times is touched with untruth. The senatorial aristocrats are "the whitehaired boys"; Philip is the uncouth foreign devil. This must be discounted to clear away distortion and to approach as near to verity as we may with the new contemporary source here presented.

So now we turn back to find Timesitheus unexpectedly dead, a plan and preparations to invade Sapor's Persia along the Euphrates left on the hands of young Gordian and his new chief of staff, the Arab Philip. It was Timesitheus who left the situation in this shape. It was Timesitheus who had placed the experienced soldier Philip in rank just below himself, making him his inevitable successor in case of death. Now death and the succession were here with the unavoidable delay and confusion attendant on them. Then what happened? Sapor says, Gordian with his army really did advance down the Euphrates right down to the accepted Persian boundary, to the point where the Euphrates approached nearest to Seleucia-Ctesiphon, to the immediate vicinity of Meshikh-Pirisabora-Anbar. There he found Sapor's host ready, drawn up in battle array, barring Gordian's way across the threshold to their home. These were not the vanishing Parthians of Septimius' day; they were the lusty levies of Ardashir and his giant son determined to make a desperate stand, as they had done ten years before. It was a mighty, dusty melée. The Roman defeat was pretty bad. Gordian was killed; in inscriptional brevity this means "in the battle"; only prejudice can find any sinister reticence here; the Sibyl makes the meaning abundantly clear. The Roman army is routed. Many officers are Sapor's prisoners. And where is Philip in all this action? He is neither dead nor prisoner. The attitude of the soldiery toward him and the eloquent silence of senatorial history permit no thought of shameful flight. He has control of the war chest; he has plenty of gold to ransom his officer friends. He is where he can receive and reorganize routed troops, as we shall find being done less well at Samosata after Valerian's disaster at Edessa. All this means that he is at imperial headquarters, whence the army had started and whence its line of communication was maintained. This would naturally be where the official version places so much of its dirty work, at or near Phaliga-Circesium, where the supply lines down the Chaboras, down the Euphrates, and from Palmyra join. And what was Philip doing there? Clearly not the now incredible and impossible things which Olmstead ascribed to him. Of it all the matter of the commissariat remains significant. It is clearly not a matter of knowledge, but of suspicion, that Philip maliciously withheld provisions from the army in such a way as to throw the onus on Gordian, whom the hungry troops thereupon duly killed in a riot. This senatorial suspicion, thus baldly placed in this context, appears extremely thin. Where he can be checked, Philip appears as a conscientious administrator. The mode of action ascribed to Philip is not only devious, but very dubious and dangerous for Philip himself. It may be that Philip differed with Gordian as to the wisdom of the venture against Ctesiphon, more particularly with Timesitheus gone. The delay caused by the death may well have caused some confusion in the provisioning plans, of which Timesitheus seems to have been a past master. Philip may have

tried to dissuade Gordian from proceeding, if not altogether, at least for the time being. The opinion of the new prefect would not, certainly not immediately, carry the same weight with young Gordian as did that of his father-in-law but few days deceased. Some knowledge of any such difference of opinion would inevitably trickle through to the soldiery. Philip remained behind to reorganize the deranged service. He was not "compelling" Gordian to anything; he was taking and obeying orders. The young emperor, doubly headstrong in his devotion to his so recently dead father-in-law's genius and plans, advanced. No Roman historian knew the factual result; they had only the senatorial story set up after Philip's death. Sapor knew the sequel and here tells it to us in words that are clear and simple enough. The soldiery naturally placed the blame for their discomfiture on rash young Gordian. Their morale may not have been high in the battle, and that may have contributed to the daring and disappointed young leader's death in the ranks. That his own troops, mutinous, killed him, seems to me, in spite of the literary "sources", far less probable. It may be that he was not found dead, but sorely wounded on the battle-field and in this condition transported back to Philip, dying on the way or soon after arrival. One of Philip's reports to the senate may be so interpreted minus the malice of "history". In the great lacuna lost from Malalas Alexander Schenk, Graf von Stauffenberg, *Die Römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas*, Stuttgart, 1931, p. 62, finds what is probably a quotation from the lost section in Sathas' *Synopsis*; this states briefly and clearly that in the Persian war Gordian died from having a horse fall on him and crush his thigh. On these matters Ensslin, too, remains completely at sea. Zaitha is the place of the funeral ceremonies and of the cenotaph, not of the death or mortal wound in battle (cf. Ensslin, *l.c.* p. 16). In any case there his remains were placed on the pyre, the funeral ceremonies performed over them, a tumulus erected in his memory; not, naturally, at Misich (Mešikh).

With the news of Gordian, Ernst Stein records the fact, - Philip reported to the senatorial fathers that he had been the unanimous choice of the soldiers as Gordian's successor. To finish the Gordian story we repeat briefly that Philip personally brought Gordian's ashes to Rome and saw to it that he was entered in the register of the imperial divinities.

Before leaving for Rome Philip had arrangements to make with Sapor. Prisoners in Sapor's hands were ransomed. They must have been a fairish number, whose friendship Philip valued highly, at 600,000 denarii. In addition Philip became tributary to Sapor in some other way; ransom is not tribute. In what way? Sapor does not say expressly, and naturally neither do the Roman historians. It can be determined with a fair degree of certainty by comparing and contrasting our inscription with the better literary sources. Olmstead alone accepts the incredible account of Zonaras: Philip cedes Mesopotamia and Armenia, finds the Romans "put out" about it, sets treaties aside, takes lands back. Rostovtzeff, a historian, rejects this zigzag maneuver. He, in turn, finds it "hard to believe that 'Sapor' would leave Anath in the hands of the Romans" (p. 25, n. 25). Our inscription nine years later names Ana(th) as the first Roman outpost on the right, south bank of the Euphrates, which Sapor on a quick march up that shore found it necessary or advisable to "take" in passing. Zosimus, III. 32, says, though Gordian fell in mid-campaign (at variance with I, 19) and Philip made a most shameful peace, the Persians took nothing of what had been subject to the Romans. Both Sapor and his father had had little luck so far in meddling with lands held by Roman garrisons. Some of Sapor's troops had just been cut up by Timesitheus; so Sapor just now wanted no part of Mesopotamia.

But Sapor did have a grievance, which 10 or 12 years later he could use as a *casus belli*. My first translation (p. 369) is partly wrong and misled both Olmstead and Rostovtzeff, the latter disastrously. What was said, *editio princeps*, p. 368, on TWB=bit, dit,  $\pi\alpha\lambda\iota\upsilon$ , was not decided enough and was generally disregarded. The little phrase with which Sapor now starts off a new section of his inscription does not mean "again (for the second time) Caesar lied", but simply "Then again (i.e., secondly) Caesar lied and acted unjustly in the matter of Armenia." Carratelli on his page 223 sees this clearly.

The simplest interpretation of this simple statement, seeking no preconceived significant "reticences", seems to me to be as follows: Sapor had no claim, urges no claim, and makes for the present no attempt on Roman Mesopotamia, where both he



and his father had suffered more or less serious reverses. He does feel that he has a claim on Armenia against Rome, Rome not having loyally fulfilled some agreement or undertaking. We need not go outside well-known facts in history to discover what the trouble in Armenia really is. Of Mesopotamia Philip had not ceded an inch. Roman garrisons are maintained on the right bank of the Euphrates as far down as Ana(th); on the left, north bank probably even farther downriver. Sapor wanted Armenia, by religion, dynasty, and in other ways closer to his homelands, the Persis, Parthia, Atropatene, Media, than Mesopotamia and, if hostile, at least as great a threat through Adiabene to Assyria, with other possibilities of attack in the background. For Philip's Rome the kingdom of Armenia was an alien protectorate. It cost Rome money for subsidies, some, apparently even then, paid for the keeping of the Caucasus passes. No Roman troops were stationed in Armenia. It brought in little to the Roman treasury. Few really serious attacks on Roman sovereignty threatened through Armenian territory. Armenia's authority in the little Caucasus kingdoms was probably even then questionable, if it had not already passed into Sapor's hands. Upholding such an Armenia against Sapor's manifest and probably expressed desires and designs might well and would, indeed, probably involve Rome in costly hostilities of doubtful outcome on this frontier, with the Black Sea and Danube borders already seriously threatened. Abandoning Armenia to Sapor was not really giving up Roman soil and would probably at the very least keep that redoubtable and active warrior busy for some time to come. With its subsidies turned over to Sapor the passes would be more stoutly guarded. And all this might well make Sapor for the time being less ill disposed toward Rome. Such reasoning and action is not unknown in the world of--shall we say?--yesterday. Hence it is more than probable that Philip undertook to allow Sapor a free hand in Armenia and at the same time to turn Armenia's subsidies over to him. The one thing quite certain is that, at some time between the accession of Philip and that of Valerian, Sapor incorporated Armenia in his empire without opposition from Rome. To fix the date and the operations involved in much greater detail is not really necessary here, perhaps not possible with the sources now attainable, and in any case too time- and space-consuming at this juncture. All that can and need here be said with a very fair degree of certainty is that Rome's acceptance and harboring of the escaped heir-apparent to the Armenian throne, Tiridates, and perhaps failure to pay expected subsidies with the many changes of rule and other costly difficulties besetting her, gave Sapor pretty good grounds for his casus belli, the charge of broken promises and disloyal acts in Armenian affairs.

Before taking up in detail the "second" Sapor-Roman campaign or war introduced by the little phrase whose meaning has thus been examined, Rostovtzeff's and Olmstead's manner of dealing with it must be briefly set forth. To further disparage the value of Sapor's eyewitness accounts of events Rostovtzeff attempts a bit of superclever leger-de-main. Sapor's account, especially at this point, says he (p. 21), is "probably...a mechanical abbreviation of a longer text", a "selection from longer and more detailed accounts on the military deeds of Shapuhr". That Sapor is selecting three events or series of events as to him the most memorable out of a long and active life is no secret. Sapor himself says so a little later on, and all along throughout the inscription plenty of action is clearly suggested from the shores of the Indian ocean and the Indus river to Tashkent, the Caspian sea, and the Caucasus, and not just along the Roman border, where Rostovtzeff and Olmstead would keep him busy chiefly being defeated by the Romans most of the time. That some such reverses before the repulse of the Gordian attack were omitted in this lapidary record, of what nature they were, and why they were left out, has been developed above. But Rostovtzeff tries to find much more than that. Taking again in the sense of "again, a second time" he finds that this and the nameless hang in the air. He imagines the composition of this inscription to be a sort of clipping with scissors out of a larger, well-composed context, in which a first lie was mentioned and the Caesar named. That this notion, improbable in itself, rests upon a misconception of "again" will be clear from what has been said above. Nor are imagined annals needed to explain "the Caesar". In the years immediately preceding this campaign there were too many Caesars of too short duration to hold Sapor responsible for a specific name. That he knew and probably respected Philip is amply clear. That he "was afraid of Decius" (Rostovtzeff, p. 44) is a gratui-

tous assumption. Why should he be with Decius tied up in terrible difficulties in the Balkans throughout all of his short reign? It is much more probable that Sapor and his annalists did not know the name of Decius until later, if at all. "The Caesar" was simply Sapor's term for the Roman government. Carratelli on his pages 225 ff. sees these affairs in the main as I do, but attempts to identify "the Caesar".

A word more must be said about Sasanian official annals, with which Olmstead and Rostovtzeff play about so much. To find these they need not have called upon Sumerian and Assyrian models, nor even on the perfectly good inferences from late literature made by scholars like Noeldeke and Christensen. Had Rostovtzeff not been so much taken with Herzfeld's "letters close and letters patent", he might have found these annals for the very time of Sapor and three of his successors in this writer's Kartir (AJSL LVII 213 f.). And of course they are on the very stones under discussion. But their literary preservation for these early Sasanian reigns is both scanty and garbled. This was seen clearly enough by men like Noeldeke and Christensen. But the chief reasons for this state of affairs were not and could not be as apparent to them as they can be to us. Kartir and the early Varahrans (=Bahrams) represent a revolution against the dispositions of Sapor, which was certainly not favorable to views held and expressed by Sapor and Hormizd-Ardashir. The full name of Sapor's immediate successor was not known until these stones were recovered. Then Narseh represents a violent counter-revolution against Kartir and the Bahrams. Even on stone Narseh erased the name of a Bahram and substituted his own. and Kartir, important as he was, was completely canceled out of written history, until he appeared to moderns on these stones, at first dimly and long misinterpreted, until his figure and meaning were brought out clearly by this writer's preliminary Kartir, which is amplified, corrected, and added to in the complete edition together with Sapor here. The literary residue cannot be used without extreme caution in filling out real or supposed omissions in such authentic documents as our inscriptions. One must be far more careful than was Rostovtzeff (p. 33) in using Noeldeke's Tabari in trying to establish a siege and capture of Nisibis by Sapor in 252 so as to fill out one of the assumed "reticences" of Sapor about his reverses or failures in Mesopotamia. It is not as Rostovtzeff puts it a question of a first and second siege, of which one may be ascribed to Sapor I and the other to Sapor II. It is a question of a siege of Nisibis interrupted by a call to difficulties elsewhere, then resumed and carried to a successful conclusion. This is the story, repeated under the reign of both, which we know to be historical for Sapor II. There is in the literary "kingbook" no weaker spot than the constant fusion and confusion between these two Sapors, some cases of which have been pointed out. For Sapor I the "kingbook" has on the one hand legend, of which two tales, Hatra and Valerian, rest on historical fact, and on the other cliché padding. So this most extraordinary doublet came in handy as a filler, whose historicity is more than highly suspect. Sapor had just completed the conquest of Armenia north of Mesopotamia. He was preparing the thrust against Syria up the Euphrates south of Mesopotamia, a pincer envelopment. He was not at this time butting his head in vain against stone walls in Mesopotamia. Sapor in all probability was aware, though not outspokenly, of the fact that sieges were not his forte. They could wait until later, when forts and garrisons appeared to be somewhat softened up in advance.

Olmstead on his page 401 naturally also inserts in the vacuum a "recapture" of Nisibis by our Sapor exactly dated 251. Before this he has much more. This is derived from Or. Sibyl. XIII 89-100, combined with Script. Hist. August. XXV, Tyr. Trig. 2, 2, as first read by Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 43, n. 2, and a free selection from other literature. Olmstead is not the first to use this section of the Sibyl so, though no one else so over-uses it so dogmatically. In 1899 Terry in his English translation said (p. 228, bottom) "referring perhaps to Cyriades." Olmstead himself quotes A. Stein, PW. 14, 1744 f., and Alföldi, Berytus IV 58. Rzach, PW., II. Reihe, 4, 2159, follows along. Geffcken's interpretation in the Texte und Untersuchungen is missing from the University of Chicago's libraries and cannot be checked. No long argument is needed. The contention is that in 251, the last year of Decius, by Olmstead's dating, or in some other year, Hormizd-Ardashir, Sapor's heir apparent, was led by Cyriades-Mariades on a long marauding expedition into Cappadocia and Syria, devastating Tyana and Mazaca. No one of Olmstead's pre-

decessors had the Sapor inscription. Rostovtzeff, who did have it, summarily rejects Olmstead's interpretation. Such an expedition makes no historical sense. Of what use would a thieving little alderman of the city-council of Antioch have been to Hormizd in Armenia, Cappadocia, or indeed anywhere except in the immediate vicinity of Antioch? An interpretation of the Tyr. Trig. passage in this sense will be given with the sack of Antioch. Meantime I cannot understand why Rostovtzeff refers the Sibyl passage on his page 33 to "a repetition of the revolt and military activity of Jotapianus"? Why not Jotapianus himself? True, he rose and was quelled and killed in Philip's reign, but so late that his head did not reach Rome until after Philip's death in Decius' reign. What little we know of his activity takes place precisely in Syria and Cappadocia, perhaps in inverse order. For him Geffcken's beautiful reading of the corrupt text which makes him flee to Selge is not "topographically impossible", as it is for Olmstead's Mariades and Hormizd. That was Jotapianus' home neighborhood. The Alexander from whom he claims descent is not Alexander the Great, nor Alexander Severus, but Alexander son of Tigranes and his wife Jotape, after whom was named the city of Jotape between Selinus and Laerte in western Cilicia, from which one would very naturally "flee about upward to Selge" in Pisidia (Ramsay, Hist. Geogr. As. Min., p. 373 f.). Of course that still leaves the apparently following "Euphrates' streams" and likeness to "arrogant, dart-shooting Persians" mysterious; but what is a little more mystery in the Sibyl between friends? In any case "our Sibyl" is almost certainly not ascribing to a little council man of Antioch with Hormizd-Ardashir a wild, nonsensical dash from Armenia through Cappadocia to Syria and back; she is describing, quite naturally for her and fortunately for us, in more detail than we find elsewhere the acts of Jotapianus, or, if Rostovtzeff insists, someone deceptively like him.

Therewith the way is cleared for the presentation and better understanding of Sapor's story of his second campaign, or rather, as we should say, his second war against Rome. In presenting this tale the Greek must be supplemented and corrected from the Parthian; in the list of despoiled cities and fortresses Greek omits no. 2 outright, probably with malice aforethought, and inverts nos. 25 and 26, its nos. 24 and 25, perhaps inadvertently. Thus conceived Sapor says: "Secondly the imperial Roman government violated its treaty and committed disloyal acts in its attitude towards Armenia. So we marched against the Roman Empire, destroyed an army of 60,000 at Barbalissus, and burnt and laid waste the province of Syria and some outlying regions beyond Syria (Greek: and provincial and outlying regions beyond it). And in that particular war (one can conceive the phrase to mean: "in that one campaign"; but that can be easily overpressed and misunderstood, as will be shown) we took (i.e. overpowered and pillaged!) the following forts and cities of the Roman empire: the city of Anath with its environs (this little phrase, repeated with each name, will for the saving of space be omitted from our translation from here on); 2) the fortress of Arupan (omitted in the Greek!); 3) the fortress of Asporakan; 4) the city of Sura; 5) the city of Barbalissus; 6) the city of Hierapolis (Parthian: Mambyk); 7) the city of Beroea (P.: Harap=Halap=Aleppo); 8) the city of Chalcis (P.: Kennesray=Qennesre, "Eagles' nest", later in Arabic Qinnasrin or Qinnisrin); 9) Apamea; 10) Rephanea; 11) Zeugma; 12) Urima; 13) Gindarus; 14) Larmenaz (P.: Armenaz); 15) Seleucia (i.e., Pieria); 16) Antioch; 17) Cyrrhus; 18) another Seleucia (i.e., Seleucobelus=Seleucia ad Belum); 19) Alexandria (=Alexandrette); 20) Nicopolis; 21) Sinzar (P.: Sizar=Shaizar, Larissa); 22) Hamath (Epiphania); 23) Ariston=Rastan=Arethusa); 24) Dichor (P.: Dikor=Dakira, Diacira, Idikara, Hit!); 25) Dura (Greek: Doliche); 26) Doliche (Greek: Doura!); 27) Korkousion (P.: Kirkisia=Circesium); 28) Germanicia; 29) Batnan; 30) Chanar; and of Cappadocia (P.: in Cappadocia) 31) Satala; 32) Doman; 33) Artangilon; 34) Souisa (or Soussa) 35) Souida (P.: Sud); 36) Phreata. Total, - 37 cities with their environs."

On this list Olmstead says (p. 403), first, "Many of these cities were correctly identified by Henning", i.e., BSOS IX, 4, pp., 825-828, "the remainder by Sprengling ...." The facts are: Even in the first, incomplete and not very satisfactory publication of the Middle-Persian (AJSL, LIII, 2, Jan. 1937) I identified Gindaros; Henning corrected my reading and identified Sheizar, misread something as Calecome, rightly or wrongly placed Batnae, kept my misinterpretation of aml as another city-name and cleverly misidentified it, whereas it is really the Persian for "total number." Secondly, operating under the conception that after Barbalissus Sapor, like

some old Assyrian kings, kept his army together as one whole, Olmstead criticizes here as elsewhere "Shahpuhr's scribe Ahrmazd [sic!]" for ordering these cities in a series unintelligible to him and proceeds to rearrange them to suit himself and his readings of literary sources, as he had done in his great Mariades-Hormizd raid.

Rostovtzeff, as always, is more masterful. He at least allows, not after Barbalissus, no. 4, but after Hierapolis-Bambyce, no. 5, for a division of Sapor's army "into two parts". With this he thinks he understands the list as far as Nicopolis, no. 20. Nos. 21-30 are to him "a puzzle". Yet he ignores the Parthian completely and thereby cuts himself off from important insights. He tries to treat the  $\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\eta$  as a one-year campaign, in which there is a nucleus of truth; with it he keeps wondering about Sapor's "hurry", only to make Sapor dally two full years or a little more on the way home so as to have him finally take and destroy Dura on this trip in 256. He complains about Olmstead's and my own, quite unmilitary, treatment of these campaigns, but he clearly does no better with this second war which he sets out to treat in full detail.

With fewer and only poor sources Theodor Mommsen remains the greatest Roman historian; he cannot properly date the sack of Antioch, but he realizes that it occurred once only; he knows, when it is important to know, the nature of early Sasanian armies, "no standing army of trained troops, but a levy of able-bodied men,.... resting in the main on the cavalry service of the nobles" (*Röm. Gesch.* 4, V, 417). Such men could not be kept in the field, nor in barracks, nor on garrison duty for years at a time, as could the Roman soldiery. Some of these troops were, moreover, of untrained nomadic type, as is no small part of Persia's population to the present day. This, with Sapor's personal temperament, training, and experience, accounts in large part for Sapor's whole concept of war, of defense as well as attack and attempted devastating conquest; he is, not only on these "campaigns", but always "in a hurry", always, on an improvising "blitzkrieg".

Having thus levied and assembled his troops, probably at Pirisabora (Bersabora of Zosimus, III, 17, 5) he trots up the right, south bank of the Euphrates, which a) offers far less resistance by way of Roman forts; b) is easier to traverse speedily; c) suits his purpose of outflanking and encircling Mesopotamia together with his conquest of Armenia probably in the year just past. Now it is as early in the spring of 253 as possible, as will presently be shown. The first town which he thus meets on Roman soil, overwhelms, and pillages is Anath, about which there is no doubt nor controversy. This is followed by two castles or fortresses, strongholds. Rostovtzeff neglects the Parthian, with the Greek alone knows but one, and so closes to himself a valuable avenue of insight. Olmstead has the two, but his attempt at originality closes the same avenue to himself. The first he misreads as BIRTHA Achuran, then for no real reason identifies it with "almost certainly the BIRTHA of the geographers, .....modern Deir ez Zor". The most probable reading remains ARÜPAN, with AKÜPAN just possible. This is the first mention of Dura-Europus. The Greek scribe recognized the duplication. He is too smart for our good and, being the last of his kind or nearly so at a Persian court, feels safe in omitting the item. Olmstead says it cannot be Dura-Europus, "which we know from the excavations not to have been captured until two, should be three, years later". But we now know from its coin hoards and other data that it was very probably evacuated by the Romans and temporarily taken over by the Persians in 253; for this see Bellinger, *Berytus*, VIII, 1, 1943, pp. 64 f., and Rostovtzeff, *ibid.*, esp. pp. 53 and 57. The aged Greek, feeling a bit acridly that the proud position held by him and his kind at the Parthian court is slipping, is overhasty in his corrective zeal, here and there tinged with a tendency slyly to belittle the deeds of Sapor and his Persians when he can do so without much fear of detection. Now, quite fortuitously and with no elaborate seeking, we can see his devious trail and correct his sins. This gives us an exact date for Sapor's passage, not 251/2, as in the *ed. princeps*, nor 252/3, as Rostovtzeff says on his page 32, but definitely 253. It also gives us a distinct hint at the composition of the Roman army at Barbalissus. The garrisons of Mesopotamia, wholly as at Dura, or partially elsewhere, were moving out of their strongholds and outposts, because the Roman office of war information had news of Sapor's start and his probable goal; they were fore-gathering to meet Sapor in force at Barbalissus.

Through the next three or four numbers we can move a bit faster with Sapor. No. 3, Castle of Asporakan, "the knight's son" or "of the knights", is not with Olmstead Assyrian Zanqi, Zenobia, Halabiyah, but as in Ed. Princeps most naturally Deir az-Zör. It may satisfy the demands of Rostovtzeff a bit to make clear that Persian and Parthian zör is used in our inscription in this very context both for a military force, an army, where Greek translates  $\delta\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\mu\iota\varsigma$ , and for the, or a series of operations of an army, a campaign or war, where Greek makes an addition to Liddell and Scott with  $\delta\gamma\omega\gamma\acute{\eta}$ . Thence we follow easily through no. 4, Sura, to no. 5, Barbalissus, and the battlefield. With Rostovtzeff following it there is no good reason for us to forsake the supposition of the Ed. Princeps; the Persian army in full force followed the still cohering remnant of the beaten Roman army fleeing to no. 6, Hierapolis-Bambyce.

There, pretty clearly, the beaten Roman forces scatter, some going back to untouched station-quarters in Mesopotamia, some seeking hide-out refuges in Syria, perhaps to join intact elements in Coele-Syria, some hasting still farther north to join the legion stationed in Cappadocia. In consequence the Persian army by its very nature also scatters, and in corps of varying size and composition, fans out over adjacent unprotected territory to pillage, burn, generally devastate the land, and carry off hapless prisoners of war for slaves to serve their captors or be sold to others in the slave-marts of Persia. Of these separate corps we shall presently meet certainly one, probably two; for another, Sapor's Arab auxiliaries almost certainly went off to plunder by themselves. After the defeat and capture of Valerian in 260 the Greco-Roman sources know of such a corps under its general, not the king, in Cilicia. Realizing this we need not be greatly perturbed with Olmstead, if we find that "Shahpuhr's scribe Auhrmazd" makes "a run of several names in correct order, then..jumps to another run", or even if "at times no topographical order can be detected". Whether he took these names from annals already compiled, or whether he himself, perhaps a writer of annals, gathered them, the way in which they were put together is pretty obvious. They were taken down from the reports of the several corps-commanders, as they reached the administrative capital Ctesiphon, not all together as an organized army such as had left Pirisabor, but singly, one after another at irregular intervals, with their men already scattering or scattered to their homes in different parts of the Iranian empire. With this much fairly clear, it is not too difficult with some good will to follow the general intent of the list and in most cases the detailed route of separate raids. Neither Rostovtzeff nor I believe with the nettled and baffled Olmstead, that "once at least he has transferred a name from the second list" after Valerian's defeat "to the first"; this counsel of despair is merely due to Olmstead's misreading of Coracesium for Circesium, which is perfectly in place, as will be shown later, though Rostovtzeff also could not make sense of it.

Now we can safely start with the first corps of jolly raiders southeast from Hierapolis-Bambyce. The route leads clearly and intelligibly enough through no. 7, Aleppo-Beroea, no. 8, Qinnasrin-Chalcis, no. 9, Apamea, to no. 10, Raphanea, and there it stops. Perhaps they met resistance which they were not prepared to break; such bold ventures were not in their interest, perhaps not in their orders. They were by this time laden with booty and prisoners.

It is worthy of note that after reaching Syrian territory the raids of this Sapor expedition are chiefly concerned with the Seleucis of Strabo (XVI, 4) "the best of the...portions of Syria", a region which for more than a century had not suffered devastating invasion, quite different and much larger than the Seleucis of Ptolemy (V, 15, 15). Beyond this it touches a very small corner of Cilicia and sweeps over Commagene. Another way of stating this is: separate, minor raiding corps fan out north and especially south from the probably two main divisions, which make from Zeugma and Urima pretty directly for Antioch. Rostovtzeff finds everything done by the Persians peculiar, everything done by the Romans natural, a clear index of his limitations. At this point he says: "he [Sapor] never advanced beyond Raphanea to the South leaving in the hands of the Romans the Phoenician cities, and he never crossed the mountains to reach the seashore with such opulent cities as Laodicea and Aradus." Well, he, Sapor, was very probably not with this column or

corps; the rich prize on their route was Apamea, from which the mountains toward Laodicea were formidable (Strabo, XVI, 2, 9); from Raphanea there were passes and a roundabout way; Roman defense of Syria-Phoenice was naturally in those passes; laden with booty this roving band made no effort to test that defense; gorged with loot and hampered with captives they turned back, the way home under these circumstances being long and slow. At or near Chalcis or Beroea or Hierapolis some of the more venturesome may have joined further ventures organizing there.

Meanwhile the king's own corps, his οἰκεῖον στρατόπεδον (Exc. de legg, ed. de Boor, II, p. 392, no. 10), went after other game, after the great prize, Antioch. Cooperating with him was swift cavalry led by his favorite and most war-like son, Hormizd-Ardashir. The king's army-corps with its great pavilions housing a large retinue, which included along with the concubines of the king such figures as the Magus Kartir and the missionizing Mani, was slow of movement. So it was probably Hormizd who made the dash to no. 11, Zeugma, and no. 12, Urima, for whose identification I am indebted to Olmstead and Rostovtzeff, or, at least, from Zeugma to Urima. Perhaps, as Rostovtzeff says, Sapor "thus secured his rear" against "whatever of the Mesopotamian army remained in Mesopotamia". Then, with Hormizd's cavalry corps preceding and acting as a vanguard, the great march toward the main goal, the pearl of the Orient, Antioch, got underway through no. 13, Gindarus, and no. 14, Larmenaz (Armenaz), identified with Assyrian Tarmanaz by Kraeling, Aram und Israel, p. 110, n.2, as Dussaud, Top. Hist. Syr., p. 215, n. 13, says. The unencumbered horsemen with Hormizd were speedy enough to finish off Seleucia in Pieria, and return to appear before Antioch, before the king and his lumbering baggage train had arrived.

It is here and here only that Cyriades-Mariades has meaning and momentary importance, at no time nor place before or after. His role and fate here are sufficient to account for all the fairly reliable data furnished on him by the Roman literary sources; this excludes the foolish fillers of the little Cyriades biography in SHA, XXIV, Tyr. Trig., 2, among which the notion that he was proclaimed first Caesar and then Augustus is pilloried by Rostovtzeff, p. 42, n. 56. That the little traitor Odomastem primum, deinde Saporem ad Romanum solum traxit means simply that he was with the vanguard of Hormizd in his eagerness to get there and because he was useful. Hormizd's early arrival accounts for the odd hesitation and encampment of the Persian host μετὰ Μαριάδου πρὸ τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας ὡς εἴκοσι σταδίων; Hormizd having arrived early and knowing his father to be well on the way did not venture to attack this chief goal and prize of the entire expedition alone. Mariades was sent back to guide and hasten the approach of Sapor. After Sapor's arrival followed the attack and sack of the unresisting city. This sequence of events agrees with and accounts for the credible statements of SHA, Tyr. Trig., l.c.; Petrus Patricius, in Cassius Dio, ed. Boissevain, Berlin, 1901, pp. 741 f. = Excerpta de Sententiis, ed. Boissevain, Berlin, 1906, p. 264, no. 157, from which a phrase is quoted above; Or. Sibyl, XIII, 119-128; Malalas, reporting both Dominus and Philostratus, except for the latter's fusing of the events of 253 and those of 260, ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1831, Book XII, pp. 295-297, = Oxford, pp. 390-393. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIII, 5, 3, echoed without Mariades by Libanius, ed. Foerster, vol. II, p. 531, Or. xxiv, 38, rhetorically transfer the horrified surprise of the entire Orient at the fate of rich and secure Antioch to the population sustaining Sapor's attack, which is manifestly impossible by the good, though brief account of Petrus Patricius, where the "intelligent" citizens have plenty of time to escape (and incidentally to secure the minting tools); for the rest there is not in them either anything discordant with our story. Zosimus, I, 27, 2, and III, 32, 5, knows only one sack of Antioch by Sapor, which took place before Valerian with devastation extending to the Cilician Gates and brought about Valerian's illfated attempt at defense. After Valerian's defeat he knows little or nothing of Persian moves (I, 36), only the countermoves of Odenathus (I, 39). The anonymous Syriac Chronicle quoted in Ed. Princeps p. 360, and Rostovtzeff, p. 32, and Syncellus, p. 715, ed. Bonn, belong with Zonaras XII, xxiii, ed. Dindorf, p. 141, and the Latin Chronicles quoted by Rostovtzeff, p. 42; Syriac dates the sack of Antioch before Valerian, and Syncellus does have other Persian action in North Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia after Valerian, while the sack of Antioch and Cappadocian action seem to belong early in Valerian's reign; but in them all the fall of Antioch and whatever



else they have is being fused and confused into one great war or campaign of the Persians. Allowing for this what they have to say about the one sack of Antioch in no wise disagrees with our story. Nor does Alföldi's story of the coins in 253.

How long Sapor's troops remained in or about Antioch is nowhere stated; there is no good reason to think that many days passed before the heavy loads of loot and the long trains of captives to be settled in "Sapor's Better Antioch" = Beth Lapat, Belabad, in Susiana were started on their long laborious trek to Iranian lands. One man we know who went neither with these captives nor any further with any Persian troops, the little traitor Mariades. Ammianus says he was burnt alive; in Malalas Sapor beheads him; in Tyr. Trig. his own people kill him before Valerian arrives. Rostovtzeff tends to believe this, with some hesitation. Olmstead omits all mention of it, because it does not fit the puffed up case of Mariades, Caesar and Augustus by grace of Sapor, which he tries to build up against the too complete elimination of Mariades in Ed. Princeps. Yet Olmstead knows another index in favor of Mariades' violent death, the legend of the daughter of Hatra's king, cited on his page 251. As Tabari has it (Nöldeke, p. 39), for betraying her father Sapor had her dragged to death by a wild horse. That is legend, but with an important truth. It clearly marks a well-known, outstanding trait in the character of the big, burly, hardfisted, quick-tempered Sapor. He used traitors; but, having used them, he quickly and brutally makes away with them, before they can turn their treason against him. Shakespeare knew this quirk in men's minds; cf. All's well that ends well, IV, iii, ll. 337 ff.

Before leaving Antioch with Sapor and Hormizd-Ardashir one more piece of Olmstead's special pleading, made on his page 399 with note 75, must here be met. He argues with ardor that "the evidence of the Shahpuhr reliefs" proves his exaggerated conception of the figure and role of Mariades; he does not specify which relief or reliefs he means and analyses none. Rostovtzeff minimizes the value of this evidence on his page 40 with note 53 and generally dismisses these reliefs with a partially justified nod of approval toward Herzfeld on his page 20 with note 7. Of the five reliefs with which Sapor perpetuated his triumph over Valerian the one at Naqsh-i-Rustam of Istakhr, two of the three at Shapur, and the one at the Naqsh-i-Rustam of Darabgird show a second prominent Roman in the vicinity of Sapor besides Valerian. Before discussing this second figure Olmstead's deceptively pre-emptive phrase, that Valerian "must humbly kneel", is "compelled to kneel", must be cleared up. Nowhere does Sapor compel Valerian to kneel; Valerian kneels of his own accord in humble and despairing supplication; the only compulsion that can safely be imagined from the reliefs is his own desperate situation, sufficiently attested in various ways by the better Roman sources. The second prominent Roman is depicted in various positions and attitudes. At Istakhr Valerian is decidedly in the foreground, treated con amore, in imperial costume. The other Roman, in military, not imperial costume, stands in the immediate background, his upraised hands covered by long sleeves, indicating a subordinate in the presence of kings. According to Sarre (Iran. Felsrell., Text, pp. 77 f.) he holds nothing and is not prepared to receive anything in his cloth-covered hands. His ankles, like those of Valerian, are said to bear irons to mark both as prisoners (to be!). A curious standard or banner, whose exact shape and insignia are not clearly recognizable in the photo of the defaced stone, appears in the photo rather close to Sapor's outstretched right hand; it is tempting to think of it as the imperial ensign handed over to Sapor in token of surrender; but Sarre stoutly maintains that Sapor's half closed hand holds nothing, is merely extended in the gracious gesture accepting the supplication of the beaten foe and granting pardon and protection. Distinctly contradicting this careful and detailed statement by Sarre, Herzfeld (Iran in the Ancient East, p. 315) says that Sapor does grasp the upraised (cloth covered?) hand thus transferring the imperium of Rome to a man of his choice--which is unadulterated, unfounded imagination. In contrast, however, with his earlier statements he goes on to say that scholars have tried to discover in vain who that man was! Texier thought he was a Roman officer, just as Ed. Princeps (p. 372) proposed. At Shapur no one else seems to be present at all in the most ruined, but most highly artistic representation of Valerian starting with a half turn of his torso to his knees in terror-stricken attitude. On both of the others the second prominent Roman figure appears in a pos-

ition rather different from the one at Istakhr. One is badly corroded, the other very clear. Though differing from each other somewhat in the figure of Valerian, both move the second figure into the foreground, standing before the hindquarters of Sapor's horse and facing the other Romans with Sapor, really transferred from the Roman to the Persian side. In both, the hand of this figure, cloth-covered and held out nearly level, seems to rest under Sapor's hand on what by its breadth, here as elsewhere, looks more like a quiver for arrows than a sheath for a sword. Nothing to indicate conferring of imperial powers is visible. Sapor is simply granting protection against imminent death to a foe who has surrendered, perhaps an officer who had given himself up before Valerian and those with him; Valerian did not trust the loyalty of his men in the battle of Edessa (Zonaras XII, xxiii, ed. Dindorf, p. 140). On the Naqsh-e Rostam at Darabgird the picture is distinctly different from all the others. Ouseley's sketch, hurriedly made in 1811, is admittedly imperfect. The line drawing by Flandin and Coste, 1841, is much better. Now we have a photograph, fair, though hardly approaching perfection, accompanied by a very careful and detailed description by Sir Aurel Stein, *Iraq*, vol. III, 1936, Plate XVII opposite page 191, and pp. 194-6. Its chief contribution for our purpose is the identification of the figure in the background on whose head the left hand of Sapor rests. This is not, as the simpering youthfulness, almost monastic features drawn by Flandin and Coste suggest, a person who could possibly be Mariades; it is most distinctly, as Sir Aurel says in so many words, Valerian himself, who with bare hands upstretched may even be kneeling, though all but his head and torso is hidden by Sapor's horse and the figures in the foreground. In the foreground, approaching Sapor's horse with outstretched hands, is again a prominent Roman military figure (not a bouleutes of Antioch) with similar figures behind him; this may well be the praefectus praetorio, specifically mentioned by Sapor in this inscription, with joyfully humble gesture and no weapons in his hands accepting his status under terms of surrender surprisingly gracious and lenient for Sapor in those days. Olmstead holds it "unthinkable" that his Cyriades-Mariades should not be represented here. With what has been given from the Roman sources and the reliefs, taken together with our inscription, it appears to me unthinkable that Sapor should thus and so represent after 260, nearer 270, with his singularly great captive Valerian a little runaway councilman of Antioch who had turned traitor and guided first Sapor's son and then Sapor himself to the immediate environs of Antioch and then into the city itself in 253 and had shortly thereafter been burnt alive or otherwise put away for his treasonable act and character by Sapor himself. In passing Olmstead's note on his p. 398 needs correction; the "Pahlavik", i.e., Parthian, has no "ideogram MR." translated  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$  "only MR" translated  $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha$  ; the Persian mask is MRWHY. With this the acts on Mareades may be closed.

Finished with Antioch Sapor's troops, probably divided into two corps, make two quick jabs, one north to no. 17, Cyrrhus, and one south to Seleucobelus, no. 18. These look like reconnoitering stabs, perhaps by Hormizd-Ardashir's horsemen. The king's own corps picks up the northern trail, apparently unhindered, to loot the rich harbor of no. 19, Alexandria, and to test Cilicia with no. 20, Nicopolis, whence important information from two sides turn them homeward, as will presently be seen more clearly. Hormizd's corps, perhaps finding the passes from Seleucobelus to Laodicea-Latakia blocked, turn southeast, over or past already looted Apamea, to no. 21, Larissa-Sinjar-Shaizar, no. 22, Hamath (=Epiphania), and no. 23, Aristia-Aristan-Rastan-Arethusa, identified not only by Olmstead (Rostovtzeff, p. 26), but by Ed. Princeps, p. 370.

Beyond Arethusa this corps did not go. With triumphant glee Rostovtzeff announces for Olmstead, whom he dutifully follows, "we know why". Olmstead's knowledge here derives in part from Henning, BSOS, IX, p. 827. Henning, who had only the extremely fragmentary Persian first published, can well be pardoned for falling back almost completely on Dominus in Malalas. For Malalas, by the way, the only reliable text throughout this portion of Roman history is now that published by Alexander Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg in his Die römische Kaiser-geschichte bei Malalas, Stuttgart, 1931. The passage in question is found on pages 64-6 (=ed. Dindorf, pp. 296 f.) and 366-76. This is really a miracle story, wherein Sapor is not only turned back but actually killed before Emesa-Hims, not in



any real battle, but by priestly magic deployed by the priest-king Sampsigeramos. Olmstead tries to find under the refuse of this local legend in majorem gloriam Emesae an actual defeat in the field of Sapor and the whole Persian army by the ephemeral priest-king-emperor. So much Rostovtzeff apparently accepts without demur. Olmstead tries to bolster the slender case by two still weaker witnesses. One is Sibyl, XIII, ll. 150-4, whose meaning and reference without Olmstead's labels is anything but clear. An inscription found and published by J. Lassus in the Documents d'Études Orientales of the Institut Français de Damas in 1935 in his Inventaire Archéologique de la Région au Nord-Est de Hama, I, pp. 132 ff., with a variance in reading by Seyrig noted in Tome II, p. XI, is even more uncertain. Plates XXIV-XXVI give a fair idea of the site and the rough, almost graffito nature of the screed. The place, half a degree north and half a degree east of Hama, is highly improbable for any action of the Emesenes against Sapor's Persians. Of the meaning only the date, Seleucid 564=252/3 A.D., is clear. The whole affair probably belongs to a time before Sapor, when Sampsigeramus, or Odenathus, could have been active anywhere near here at all. None of these nor the Romans need be the "victors". There is no real evidence of any actual battle at all. It looks much more like a legal procedure between bedouin ("barbarians") and the settled folk of the "neighborhood", successfully decided with the aid of Kronos to the satisfaction of all concerned. That is all there is to the inscription. Besides this, coins establish the existence as a pretender in Emesa in 253/4 of the gentleman in whose long name, L. Julius Aurelius Sulpicius Antoninus Sampsiceramus, Olmstead takes great delight. In one of his very few successes Valerian put an end to his pretensions. That is all we know. It is clear at sight that this priest-king and his motley mob won no decisive battle against Sapor and the undiminished Persian army, who were not there in any case. Nor did he win such an engagement against the corps of Hormizd-Ardashir or any leader of equal stature. It is barely possible that he "won" a brush with a tiny detachment of raiders. It is more probable that he never really saw them. Rumors of the approaching Persians reached Emesa through fleeing villagers. The proper incantations were made, and the sun-god of the city turned the enemy back. The Persians were turning back, at similar points within a circumference drawn from Barbalissus or Zeugma, elsewhere also, as has been pointed out. It was certainly not Sampsigeramus alone, nor Sampsigeramus chiefly, if at all, who drove them back after Arethusa. At this particular point much more than the threat of Sampsigeramus, the running short of their time and season, and, probably, disquieting news from Dura and Palmyra (of which more presently) was what turned this speeding Persian corps back onto the long road to their homeland.

In the Domninus portion of Malalas, contrary to the judgment of Olmstead and Rostovtzeff, it appears to me as to Schenk that Domninus fuses Sapor's two wars into a conglomerate of wild impossibilities, from which with great care a few grains of probability can be gleaned, while Philostratos cleanly separates the invasion of Syria with the burning of Antioch and many others of its cities from a similar later invasion of Cilicia and Cappadocia, which ended in the meeting with (Od)enathos, who first sought an alliance with him and then did not, indeed, murder Sapor, but did defeat him for the Romans. Schenk von Stauffenberg's understanding of these events, the first in 253/4-6, the second in 260, is very near the truth except for one thing, that he does not bring Valerian to Antioch until 256. For its correction we return to Sapor in Nicopolis.

What turned Sapor back at Nicopolis, at the very gates of Cilicia, when in the judgment of Zosimus (I, 27, 2) he might have taken all Asia? Was it only, as Zosimus thinks, that he with his Persians was overjoyed at the enormous amount of booty and anxious to get it safely back home? It has been pointed out that this, no doubt, had much to do with Persian moves, which under a different conception of strategy and warfare appear curious and unintelligible. But here two other factors enter to determine Sapor's action. It is getting to be autumn, probably late autumn, 253, say late September or even early October. Late in August or in the very first days of September Valerian has become emperor. The Persian news from Syria is particularly urgent. Europe is assigned and left to Gallienus with the troops on the Rhine. As nearly immediately as possible Valerian starts with the troops he has brought from Raetia and, gathering up others, as many as he dares, from what may

roughly for the moment be called Illyria, proceeds toward the Hellespont to cross over into Asia. Successianus has apparently successfully warded off the Gothic and Boranian danger from Pityus. Orders are dispatched to him to proceed at once to Syria and Antioch. He is not to come simply in person and alone. As Valerian is picking up troops from western Asia Minor on his march, so he too is to bring with him troops from farther east, Cappadocia, Galatia, etc. This is not simple fancy. Proof for it will be brought when we come to the composition of Valerian's army at Edessa. This is the news that reaches Sapor from the regions north and west of Nicopolis: "He", Valerian, "had set out for the East to oppose the Persians" (Zosimus, I, 30, 1). There was further disquieting news from the southeast, Palmyra and Dura, as has been suggested at the beginning of the retreat from Arethusa. Two notes from the pen of the excellent and reliable Petrus Patricius, luckily preserved for us, here become significant. The first throws unexpected light on Odenathus, prince of Palmyra, a special pet of Rostovtzeff, in whose eyes he seems ever devotedly loyal to the Romans. From this angle he looks a bit off in the Petrus fragment, Excerpta de Legg, Pars I, ed. de Boor, p. 3, no. 2 (=Muller-Dindorf, Frg. 10) to be read with a little phrase of Philostratus in Malalas, ed. Schenk, p. 66, ll. 3/4, and p. 374, ll. 10 ff., rejected because not understood by the Graf von Stauffenberg, p. 376. We must hark back a few months to the time when Sapor and his destructives were rolling in a boiling flood with little obstruction up the Euphrates on the Palmyrene bank. It is probably a moment shortly after the Roman defeat at Barbalissus. Odenathus fawns sedulously on Sapor as being greatly superior to the Romans. Wishing to curry Sapor's favor he sends camel loads of magnificent presents and other wares not common in the Persis. Accompanying letters are in the nature of a petition, emphasizing that he had done nothing contrary to the Persians. The mystery of this fragmentarily excerpted statement is cleared by Philostratus: he was seeking "an alliance" with Sapor, to shift his allegiance from Rome, so that he would occupy under Sapor the status of an "allied" protectorate which he held under Rome. The Roman cause, with Decius out, Aemilianus and Gallus fighting about Rome and "thirty tyrants" elsewhere, looked as shaly to Odenathus as it did to Sapor, and he was about to leave the sinking Roman ship for the best place he could buy on the new Persian rescue-vessel hard by. Sapor, thereby confirmed in thinking that he was even now in the heyday of his power and glory already master of Rome, had his servants throw the presents into the river, tore up the letter and issued a manifesto: Being who and whence did Odenathus dare to write thus to his rightful overlord? There was just time, if he wished to lighten his chastisement, to come with his hands tied on his back and cast himself on the ground before the Presence. If not, he, Sapor personally, would destroy him, his race, and his homeland. Odenathus had a few anxious months to wait, before he could see the error of his judgment and espy a chance for revenge. Probably even before all the long trains of booty and captives had completely finished laboring down the Euphrates to the Persian border, Roman soldiers, escaped from the debacle of Barbalissus, were filtering back to their garrisons in Mesopotamia, not occupied by Sapor's Persians. Thus at Dura! They and Odenathus, like Sapor, were hearing of Valerian and Successianus. Odenathus may have waylaid a Persian booty-train. A "victory" of this sort is depicted on a wall at Dura, made much of, but not well understood by Rostovtzeff on his pages 58-60. This made the way down the Euphrates extremely unsafe for Persians delayed in Syria. And this was the news from the southeast which at Nicopolis reached Sapor and his very own corps, the last cohesive body of Persian troops remaining in Syrian borders.

Thus we understand Petrus Patricius' second significant note, Exc. de Legg, Pars II, ed. de Boor, p. 392, no. 9 (=Muller-Dindorf, Frg. 8); Sapor naturally seeks the safest, quickest, shortest way home. At this point Olmstead combining our Petrus note with one of Ammianus Marcellinus' unhappy sideswipes (XX, 11, 11) says: "His", Sapor's, "retirement was inglorious. Passing by Edessa, he must purchase its neutrality by the gift of all the coined money taken on the raid. At Carrhae he must leave the ram which had destroyed Antioch." The last phrase puts Sapor right into an Alice in Wonderland Forsyte Saga. Ammianus tells of seeing this ram, evidently a miraculous one, partly dismantled, a century later. If Sapor brought it now from Antioch, slow and heavy baggage, it must have been a Roman ram taken with other loot; in sacking Antioch Sapor, having Mariades, had needed no siege

artillery. Now, in 253, he is said to leave this ram at Carrhae through the years in preparation for one of the very few sieges which these early Sasanians began to undertake, a siege with which Sapor opens the story of this third Roman war in 260: a d'autres, mes vieux! The real story is of a different hue. Sapor with his very own corps crosses the Euphrates at about the height of Edessa in order to cross Roman-held Mesopotamia on the very shortest way home. Having crossed the river the Persians congratulate each other as though escaping from great danger, namely the approach of Valerian and Successianus, not mentioned in the brief excerpt, not seen by Olmstead and Rostovtzeff. Arrived in the neighborhood of Edessa he did not "purchase its neutrality by the gift of all the coined money taken on the raid"; he offered the garrison as a bribe all the Syrian cash he still happened to have with him to let him pass unmolested, not to bring danger on themselves by engaging him in a combat nor to slow down his march by attempting to hinder him. Not fearing them, he said, did he make this offer, but pressed for time to celebrate his great feast at home and wishing for no delay nor postponement by the long journey. The soldiers decided they could safely take the gold and make way for him to pass through wholly Roman-held territory! And in this wise Sapor avoided the danger from the approaching Roman armies at his back and the perilous squeeze between Dura and Palmyra and got safely and speedily home to continue this his second war against Rome in his own way and on his own terms.

For, what was the feast for which Sapor's presence was so urgently required at home, or rather what was the purpose for which this feast was a subterfuge? It is clearly indicated in the names of the cities that now follow in our list. It is possible that a certain amount of error has crept into this portion of the list. The Greek transposition of Doliche before Dura hints at one. The three beginning with D tempted transposition. Doliche lay right in Sapor's way from Nicopolis to Edessa and might have been overrun then and there in spite of the great hurry. Others like Germanicia, Batnae, and Khanar may leave room for argument. But the series Dikor, Dura, Circesium leaves little room for doubt.

Dura is the focal point. Dura had tempted the easy virtue of Odenathus' loyalty away from Sapor. Dura had with public festivity conspired with Palmyra against Sapor. So Dura must be destroyed! The starting point of the move against it is Dikor, in the Greek written with Chi, in Parthian with a simple K. This was not identified in Ed. Princeps, nor by Olmstead, nor by Rostovtzeff. It is herewith identified with a very considerable degree of probability: it is Ihi Dakira of the Talmud (Neubauer, *Geographie du Talmud*, pp. 331, 336, 353 f.), Idikara of Ptolemy, wrongly put on the Persian Gulf (V, 19, 4), Diacira of Ammian. Marc. XXIV, 2, 3, Dakira of Zosimus, III, 15, 2. Zosimus, who for the rest here practically copies Amm. Marc., distinguishes from it Sitha as lower down the river; the curious forms of Talmud, Ptolemy, Amm. Marc. suggest a twin city, simply on opposite banks of the river, Ihi, Is (Herodotus I, 193), Sitha, Aei(polis), i.e., Hit, being on the left bank, the smaller Dakira, Dikor, on the right. Dura dates this move precisely in 256; Rostovtzeff, pp. 51 and 53; Bellinger, following him, on pages 65 ff.

Rostovtzeff makes a great to-do about this date and the possibility of connecting it with the campaign of 253; he is held in a vise by his notion of the one-year campaign, which he insists in foisting on Sapor. Our business is to follow, not force Sapor's mind. This has been done above, so that we can see how for him precisely Dura and Odenathus tie the campaigns or operations of 253 and 256 together as one war. From the Roman side one can see another reason why Sapor chose exactly 256. Very probably in that year (Alföldi, *Berytus*, IV, 57) Valerian had weakened the garrisons of Mesopotamia to strengthen the army with which he undertook his abortive march from Antioch, painfully burdensome to the cities of Capadocia and disastrous to the health and morale of his troops (Zosimus, I, 36, 1). In the sentence immediately following Zosimus says in so many words, "Sapor attacked the east and overturned everything". It must be admitted that right after this, I, 36, 2, he follows this up too closely with Valerian's ultimate debacle; but this need not deter us from reading his words correctly in the light shed on them by Sapor's own words. We need rearrange Sapor's list, in any case disturbed at a natural and vital spot by the Greek, but slightly to find in it an intelligible

second, probably rather third, campaign of his second war against Rome. On his own immediate concern he moves through Dikor-Dakira (no. 24/23) against Dura (no. 25). After Dura's destruction, to defend which reinforcements may have been moved down from Circesium, he finds the way onward easier and less well guarded than even he had expected. So he moves destructively on to no. 27/6, Circesium, and then into the territory which he had to abandon before the approach of Valerian and Succi-sianus in 253, to no. 26/24!, Doliche; 28/7, Germanicia; then, not to Samosata!, but on his way back more boldly within Mesopotamian borders through Batnae-Saru (no. 29/8) to no. 30/29, Chanar, now more confidently and intelligibly than in prelim. ed. identified with Ichnae, Assyrian Khanusaen (Kraeling in Dussaud, Topogr. 520), Khones (Kiepert), Chnez-Khnez (Dussaud, l.c. and p. 480, n. 4), and thence home. This raid, as Zosimus says and as is to be expected of any raid made by Sapor, was destructive in its own right, but it also served as a reconnaissance for the operations of Sapor's third war with Rome, to be analyzed presently.

Possibly in this same year, further distracting the hesitant Valerian in western Cappadocia, or much more probably in 254 or 255, serving to draw Valerian on, (not in 253, when the entire Persian power, Hormizd-Ardashir and all, were fully occupied in Syria) the diversionary raid in northeastern Cappadocia took place; its locale and extent are fixed by nos. 31-36 (Greek: 30-35) of our list. Of these no. 31, Satala, and no. 32, Domana, were sufficiently identified by the reference to Kiepert in Ed. Princeps. For no. 33, Artangilon, Olmstead has "the well-known Artangir", and for no. 34, Souisa, he finds "Suissa, just west of Satala." For 35 Souida, Professor John Garstang helped him find Soandos, and for the last, no. 36/5, Phreata, Ptolemy's place of this name in Garsauria, which Olmstead forgets to tell us is found in V, 6, 14, though he knows from Garstang that modern travelers have observed deep wells in this vicinity. If this Cappadocian raid took place in 256, it may just possibly have been lead by Hormizd-Ardashir, as Olmstead followed by Rostovtzeff confidently asserts on false premises; if, much more probably, it was made in 254 or 255, the energetic Sapor himself was there to lure Valerian on.

There are 36 place-names in all, reduced by the Greek to 35 for reasons shown. The summation numbers 37. This is not, as Rostovtzeff says, p. 24, n. 22, "due to mechanical counting by the scribe of the words and not of the places (some place-names in the list consist of two words)". Only one case of Rostovtzeff's bracket occurs in the later list, corrected by Greek, which thus again falls one short against Parthian. The scribe makes sure against falling short by adding one for good measure (Luke 6:38).

Before taking up Sapor's third Roman war in his own words it behooves us to make the transition from what goes before with a bit of information drawn from Roman sources. Some of this matter was unknown to Sapor and his secretaries, some of it did not fit into Sapor's lapidary account.

We have met the Roman Emperor Valerian a number of times in our elaboration of Sapor's brief, stone-cut account of the two, or if the Cappadocian raid be counted another, three campaigns of his second war with Rome. In Sapor's own story he appears at this point for the first time.

Who was Valerian, one of the famous or infamous figures of world history--depending on one's point of view--the only Roman emperor taken alive, a prisoner of war in an enemy's hands? Sapor knows or gives only so much of his name. His full name is Publius Licinius Valerianus Colobius, perhaps one should place Gaius before the Publius. Not in any particular way distinguished by any action or accomplishment before he happened to become one of many emperors in imperial Rome's time of deepest degradation before the final dissolution, he was in his day of noble family of senatorial rank. The Licinii, originally partly Etruscan, had begun as plebeians and in the heyday of the republic had become one of the most highly esteemed and important of plebeian clans. A number of them became known under bynames derived from physical characteristics, e.g., Crassus, "stocky, stout". Best known in our day is that Crassus who was the minor figure in the first triumvirate with Caesar and Pompey, a man both rich and stout, Marcus Licinius Crassus Dives. Had he come

to the mind of Valerian or Sapor at this time, he would have served as an evil omen for the former, a favorable one for the latter. For this Licinian triumvir was the man who insisted on military adventure at the age of sixty and, together with his abler son trained under Caesar, lost both his battle and his life against the Parthians at Carrhae-Harran in 53 B.C. And now in 253 A.D. another Licinian, Valerian, at a similarly advanced age came to imperial power and took it upon himself in an even more difficult situation to restore and perhaps extend the prestige and territory of Rome in these very same Oriental regions against a new brand of Persians.

His acts and offices up to this point are obscure and uncertain. He had played a role, just which cannot be determined, in the elevation of the senatorial Gordians to the imperial throne some fifteen years earlier. Disappearing from the records for twelve years he reappears in some position, ill defined but of some importance, under Decius in 250, taking part in the Decian measures against the Christians. Out of the welter following Decius' unexpected death he comes into the foreground leading troops from the Germanic limes, chiefly Raetia, to the aid of Trebonianus Gallus in Italy. There, presently, with both Gallus and his soldier-opponent and successor for one brief summer, Aemilianus, disposed of by their own soldiery, the troops proclaim him emperor. His elevation was quickly recognized by his fellow senators, who likewise granted him his son Gallienus, friend of Philo, as co-emperor. It is important for our inscription to note that Valerian immediately reconstructed the African Legio III Augusta from its scattered men in his legions and sent them back to their old province. Affairs everywhere, but especially in the East, being in great disorder, he turned over the legions and the authority needed for the West to his co-emperor son and himself proceeded forthwith to the Orient to oppose the Persians, as we have seen. All this with the needed reference to sources is succinctly and objectively set forth by Wickert, PW, 25, cols. 488-495. With Alföldi, Berytus, IV, 1937, p. 56, I believe that Valerian started for and arrived in Syria in 253; it has been shown that Sapor's forced march past Edessa adds probability to Alföldi's dating. If Successianus did not appear there before the second half of 254, some other officer was pretty certainly leading the Cappadocian troops to Syria in time to meet the approaching Valerian there.

Of Sapor's activities in the direction of the Roman empire in the early years of Valerian a sketch has been presented which may without boasting claim to be at least as good as any other yet published. What was Valerian doing in the six or seven years between 253 and his major defeat and captivity in 260? Some of his acts have been touched upon as needed to clarify Sapor's movements. As a whole Alföldi, Berytus, p. 64, and CAH, XII, pp. 148 and 170 f., has no high opinion of the doings and accomplishments of the noble senator, pitched in his old age into the imperial dignity. He holds that it was chiefly his own fault that through seven long years he was incapable of achieving any permanent success, in fact any real success at all, against the Persians or the Goths and Borani and that finally he proved wholly unable to withstand the direct attack of Sapor. His judgment on Valerian's coin inscriptions in about 257, Victoria Germanica and Victoria Parthica, is caustic. Olmstead, here as elsewhere following blindly senatorial sources with incautious interpretation of the turgidly grandiloquent oracles of his great discovery, the Sibyl's "charmfyl song", considers Alföldi's estimate of Valerian "far too severe" (p. 413, n. 151). His own dicta in the opposite sense are either so indefinite as to be meaningless or highly questionable. Valerian did not need to "recover" Antioch, because no Persians were there at his arrival. His organizing of a "new limes, whose formal limit was marked by the road rebuilt from Palmyra to Resapha and Sura" is wholly baseless and unhistorical imagination. Olmstead falls into the trap of making both Successianus (p. 410) and, on very slim authority, Callistus Ballista (p. 148) "pretorian prefect of Valerian". Rostovtzeff's attempt at objectivity is summed up in his sentence: "Valerian when he came to Syria faced a hard problem". Yet, for all his objectivity he must on the following page invent out of whole cloth "a partial victory of Valerian" over Sapor. Why? Because "the title Parthicus, which appears on Valerian's coins in 257, was not a mere boast". On the other hand both Rostovtzeff and Olmstead hurl the accusation of boasting very freely and promiscuously at Sapor and his Persians.

The actually known facts on Valerian's doings between 253 and 260 are slim and few. He re-established the mint at Antioch early in 254. He recalled Successianus from Pityus, where his presence makes clear against Olmstead that Colchis was Roman and not Persian property and so cannot be Sapor's Machelonia, and where his absence caused the sacking by non-Persian invaders of both Pityus and Trapezus, appointed him his pretorian prefect, and put him to work at the restoration of Antioch. He tried by beneficent and pleasant rescripts to calm the restiveness of Syria. Zosimus' description for everything else that followed is a marvel of pithy brevity, which at only one point needs a bit of completion from Petrus Patricius (Zosimus I, 36, 1). Having learnt about the troubles in Bithynia Valerian, knowing how he himself, Aemilianus, Gallus, Decius, Philip, and others had come to the throne or a part in it, dared not confidently entrust the defense against the barbarians to any one of his generals. All he dared do was to send an otherwise unknown Felix, apparently without men, to guard Byzantium with whatever garrison was there. He himself with a considerable army, which we shall presently meet in intimate detail, left Antioch for Cappadocia. Cappadocia is not the most direct way to Bithynia, which he may have originally intended to relieve. It is reasonable to see in the move to Cappadocia a response to Sapor's feint from Armenia, probably in 255, as has been shown in Sapor's words above. Transfer of headquarters with removal of a portable mint from Antioch to Samosata consumed time. The host, too great for the poor land to bear in any case and probably poorly disciplined under the old and not very military senator, moved at no great speed, doing much damage to the cities in its passing. By the time he got to where Sapor seemed to be striking in the north, Sapor was not only gone from there; he was striking up from the southeast at Valerian's back, even as far as Germanicia, desperately close to Samosata. It was only a reconnaissance raid, but a destructive one. As Rostovtzeff so often says, Sapor was "in a hurry". But there is a difference. Rostovtzeff never quite knows why, while we seem to. So Valerian, the Unready and Redeless, turns his great, unwieldy host back over a trail already wasted -- not, as Olmstead thinks, by a fancied Mariades-Hormisd invasion in 252/53, but by Valerian's own soldiery in 255/56. It seems to be 257 before he gets back. This is the only spot for that "partial victory" of Valerian over Sapor, which gave the valiant emperor the right according to Rostovtzeff in 257 to assume as something real and not a mere empty boast the title Parthicus. The march back is still further slowed up. Their own previous devastations and excesses have brought upon the licentious host a pestilential epidemic by which its strength and numbers are considerably reduced. Here Petrus Patricius (Exc. de Legg. I, p. 3, no. 1 = Muller-Dindorf, Frg. 9) makes his important supplement to Zosimus: Those stricken in the Roman army are particularly the Maurousioi, the Moors, the Mauretanians; the mounted Moorish spear-men were at that time an important corps d'élite in every greater Roman army (CAH XII, passim, esp. pp. 199 f. and 215); we shall meet them in Sapor's "curious" detailed description of the Roman army, giving for the many more or less cohesive subdivisions, great and small, the ἑθνος, kingdom, province, country or region, which in some sense is the place of its provenance. The next year or two would be needed by Valerian in an attempt to reorder these disordered affairs.

Having thus cleared the ground we can now come back to the continuation of Sapor's story with a good chance of understanding it a little better than has yet been done. Twice within less than ten years Sapor has encircled strongly held and fortified Roman Mesopotamia with his westward thrusts in the north and south. Its southern Euphrates frontier is distinctly weakened, as the razing of Dura shows. The unwieldy army of Valerian has been feinted deep into Cappadocia and back to Samosata. The territory to the north of it is wasted by its own depredations, that immediately to the south by Sapor's last raid. At Samosata the Roman army is nursing its largely self-inflicted hurts, resting, trying with not much success to master a great epidemic, refurbishing its ordnance, replenishing its commissariat from farther away, calling in reinforcements, last reserves even from the garrisons of Mesopotamia to fill up its decimated ranks, trying not very successfully without much other action to rebuild lost morale. This is all we can say for them for about two years, 258 and 259. The vacuum created in northern Mesopotamia has naturally drawn after it Sapor's Persians from Hatra, Ur, the Zabdicene. He is now controlling Nisibis and Resaena. Only a thin wedge is left to the Romans in the far west, and there we find Sapor as he continues his tale.



"In the third war, when we had advanced upon Carrhae and Edessa and were besieging Carrhae and Edessa, Valerian Caesar came on to confront us with an army of seventy thousand drawn from 1) the Germanic limes, 2) Raetia, 3) Noricum, 4) Dacia, 5) Pannonia, 6) Moesia(!), 7) Istria(!), 8) (D)ardania(!), 9) Epirus(!), 10) Thrace, 11) Bithynia, 12) Asia, 13) Pamphylia(-Paphlagonia?!), 14) Syria-(Seleucis with Commagene!), 15) Lycaonia, 16) Galatia, 17) Lycia, 18) Cilicia, 19) Cappadocia, 20) Phrygia, 21) Syria-Coele(!), 22) Phoenicia, 23) Judaea, 24) Arabia, 25) Mauretania, 26) Germania, 27) Rhodos (Greek: Lydia), 28) Osroene(?!), 29) Mesopotamia. And on that (i.e., the northwest) side of Carrhae and Edessa a great battle with Valerian Caesar took place. And with our own hands we took Valerian Caesar himself prisoner. And all the rest, the pretorian prefect, senators and generals, whoever were the officers of that army, all these we took prisoner and led them away to the Persis." To avoid confusing congestion we must stop here and explain and justify this rendering of Sapor's words, in part quite new and surprising.

In the ed. princeps this list had been briefly and hastily passed over; there was neither time nor space for more, and this was not at all my special field. My hope was that others, more at home in this field, would help with valuable identifications and information. Now Olmstead and Rostovtzeff have made and published their attempts at its difficulties, and my hope, I grieve to say, has been sorely disappointed. Olmstead makes one valuable contribution. He sees, and says on his page 412, that this list has throughout a Latin tinge; but he draws from this a very hasty and wholly wrong conclusion, that "it is a copy of the muster rolls captured after the battle". He does not understand the Parthian writing of no. 2, though ed. princeps made its meaning clear. He is wrong about Greek being in "error" on no. 14. He accuses me (n. 143) of reading no. 25 in Parthian as Turan; the reading in ed. princeps was Tvrn with no indication as to how that was to be read; this is what I still see, though the reading Mvrn tentatively allowed in my "Pahlavi Notes" (AJSL LVIII 170) may just possibly be assumed on the imperfect surface; it never occurred to my mind that Sapor or any one could have supposed a Roman contingent to hail from any region called Turan. Rostovtzeff has at his command expert help to prove that this list was not compiled from "the muster rolls". Working with the Greek and totally ignoring the Parthian and Persian he stands in his own light. He falls back on his questionable "using documents in a mechanical way". He thinks the list "compiled from documents of the military archives of the Roman fortresses and the Roman military camps captured by Shapuhr, and from oral information supplied by captured Roman officers and soldiers". He says further that "no geographical order is observed except at the beginning of the list". Contrary to all this it will, I believe, appear with a fair degree of clarity that 1) the list rests almost entirely on the Parthian scribe's attempt to put down in his difficult script what his Persian ear gets from orally given Latin names, Mesopotamia being the clearest interpretative exception; 2) the Greek scribe had these in writing and oral repetition from the Parthian with little or no access to Roman soldiers and does his correcting and miscorrecting by his usual smart, sometimes oversmart, guesswork; 3) the geographical order, though not ideally perfect, is fairly good, intelligent, and intelligible, with surprisingly few, perhaps only one or not any, later insertions of previously forgotten names; 4) we do have here what Fink and Rostovtzeff think we should have, "an invaluable document for ascertaining the composition of Valerian's army".

When we read with these provisos, it becomes clear immediately that in the first ten names we have a pretty good presentation of the European contingent which Valerian in 253 took with him to Asia. Nos. 1 and 2, the Germanic limes and Raetia, are the troops which he had led to the aid of Gallus, those who had first of all proclaimed Valerian emperor. Nos. 3 to 10 are the armies of Gallus and Aemilianus, who murdered their captains and joined him, augmented perhaps by a few contingents which he picked up en route to the Bosphorus. For nos. 3, Noricum, 4, Dacia, 5, Pannonia, 6, Moesia (for the Greek's Mysia) this is clear at sight. No. 7 is the prize boner of the Greek. He read and heard from the Parthian something like As-tria. This reminded him of the city of Amastris, which he knew; knowing nothing better he coined Amastris in place of Istria, which fits the case, but which he did not know. For previous mistaken readings of nos. 8 and 9 the unsafe Middle Persian, over-used in ed. princeps, is to blame. For no. 8 Parthian Artania is clearest. Following

southeastward lines, as they have been running from farthest north, first with Germania, Raetia, Noricum, and Dacia, then with Pannonia, Moesia, now from Istria we come to Dardania, east of Illyria and north of Paeonia, naturally not Dardania in the Troad on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. With no. 9 we return to a farthest west southward. Parthian Aparnia is clearest. Falsely inserted n is not uncommon. Allowing for it we arrive at Epirus; conflation with Paeonia is perhaps just possible with the Babel of Latin that struck the poor scribe's ear. No. 10, Thrace, needs no justification. The list thus names the regions or countries in which these contingents had been stationed, after which they were not rarely named, from which in the last analysis they were now drawn, to be assembled in the European portion of Valerian's army. Striking proof for the correctness of this mode of reading is Istria, a clearly necessary and sensible correction of the Greek's error, infinitely better than Olmstead's "Amastria (for Paphlagonia, chief city for province)"--Amastris being the city's name, not of Paphlagonia, and not its chief city--or Rostovtzeff's acceptance of a city-name in the midst of these countries or districts. It is true that probably no Roman officer would have written down just these names in the Balkans. It is clearly not derived from written sources. When Sapor's soldiers won a camp or fort, they saved no "papers" to study in modern archeological manner. Even so today's archeological historians seem to find it hard to produce a better list. Conceived as being constructed in the hurly-burly of a moving army, with most captive officers, on the point of being shifted to the Persis, not in a frame of mind to talk clearly and fully, with not very good interpreters assailing the unaccustomed ears of the Parthian scribe, the list is neither unintelligible nor too bad despite its omission, possibly right enough for all we know, of names like Illyria, Dalmatia, Macedonia, and perhaps Paeonia, unless that is conflated with Epirus in Aparnia---names and places easier to find on our maps than they were for Sapor's scribe without such maps of regions quite unknown to him. We gain from it a pretty fair insight into the elements of the eastern European quotas constituting Valerian's army, assembled and brought along by him very soon after his accession to the throne seven years previously.

With this discovery behind us we can now continue more intelligently to scan the remainder of the list. For the war against Persia, his chief objective in the east, Valerian was not content with these European contingents. Sapor's list is evidence that, probably on his way to Antioch as well as after his arrival there, Valerian was increasing his army by adding contingents or portions of them, which were stationed in western Asia, which the Persians would most naturally believe to be after their own manner levies drawn from those regions. By diminishing the garrisons of Asia Minor, Valerian himself was in no small measure responsible for the success of the incursions of Goths and Borani from the Black Sea coast and of Sapor's looting raid through the heart of Asia Minor later, just as withdrawal of parts of garrisons were immediately responsible for the fate of Dura, Circesium, Resaena, Nisibis, Carrhae, and the plight of Edessa. Following the basic Parthian as before we find with Valerian troops from Bithynia, Asia, nos. 11 and 12, and no. 13? Parthian's no. 13 is Pampaya, misread by the Greek into Campania, which has no business here; it is almost certainly Pamphylia, possibly conflated by the Persian ear with Paphlagonia; the Greek's corruption is not due to the ear, but to the eye, helped by an oversmart brain into misreading Parthian P as C, i.e., Q. In no. 14 the Parthian is mystified by two Syrias and clearly in so far forth wrong with its Assyria, though there may be other reasons for its use of the term. From the clearly and wholly Persian land of Assyria, Asuristān, as the name is used elsewhere in this inscription, Valerian certainly had no quota of Roman soldiers in his army. The Greek, not "by error" (Olmstead, n. 139), but correctly, says Syria, i.e., as in the second war, Strabo's Seleucis with Commagene. No trouble is encountered in nos. 15-20, Lycaonia, Galatia, Lycia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Phrygia. Quite natural also are nos. 21 and 22, splitting into two the Syria-Phoenice of Septimius Severus, Syria Coele and Phoenicia. Nos. 23 and 24, Judaea and Arabia, need no comment. Now comes trouble. Of the next four numbers, three almost certainly, perhaps all four despite the Greek, are the auxiliary corps d'élite, without which no Roman army of that day was complete. In no. 25, in whatever way the Parthian may have heard and written it, the Greek, perhaps by oral consultation with him, correctly gathered that it was Mauretania; we have met Valerian's Moorish lancers at



or near Samosata, severely stricken by the pestilence, in Petrus Patricius. Similarly no. 26 means the German auxiliaries, while no. 1 meant the legions of the Germanic limes. In so far forth Olmstead is correct; cf. CAH, XII, 79-81, 219. His further words, "the shah realized perfectly well that the strength of the Roman armies lay in the German mercenaries" (italics Olmstead's!), give Sapor more knowledge than he had and to the Roman army more Germans than at that time they had. Rostovtzeff saw this and gently pointed it out in his note 13, p. 22. No. 27 is a far more difficult problem. The Parthian has clearly what is most easily read as Rvtas. The Greek's guess for this is Lydia; this is possible, since the difference between l and r in foreign names escapes the Parthian and Persian ear; they are often confused here, and in Book Pahlavi, Sogdian, etc., are commonly written with the same letter-symbol l; if the Greek were a wholly reliable guide, we might accept him unquestioned and thus have here, inserted in an odd place as remembered, an Asiatic land previously forgotten. But the Greek is by no means a safe guide, as we have had ample occasion to see. His correction here is a bit too violent and does not fit the context. If the initial of Parthian is really R, we might better think of Rhodes, though this too might be a badly inserted, previously forgotten Roman "pro-  
vince". Rhodes did, indeed, become a Roman province, together with Lycia and Judaea, in 44 A.D. according to the list in Kiepert's Atlas Antiquus, Tab. XII. This list is not quite exact, but near enough for all practical purposes. It is, however, clearly not as a Roman province that Rhodes, if the reading is right, is incorporated here. We are down among the auxiliary corps of a well organized Roman army. As such we have found, preceding our word, the Moorish lancers and a corps of Germans. After these Rhodes fits in well. For from Rhodes at about that time came some of the best slingers, who formed a special corps in Roman armies. Earlier slingers seem to have come from the Balearic Islands. By Pompey's time, so far as I can judge, Rhodian slings and slingers were used in the east at any rate. They seem to have furnished something like a modern barrage preceding the infantry attack. Their use continues, especially in siege and trench warfare, well into Moslem times. Thus Rhodes, not Lydia, fits in very well at this point, to give its name to a corps known to have formed a not unimportant part of a good Roman army. Professor Blake of Harvard has doubts about Rhodian slingers, which are not without justification. Yet slingers seem always to have played some rather vital role in siege operations. And Professor Blake's suggestion, Κιβουππαῖωνται, to include Lycia, Caria, Cilicia, Trachaea, geographically acceptable, is too long and does not fit the context, which seems to demand a specialized corps, such as Rhodes could supply, at least in name. If that is what is meant, Rhodes was right in the time of Pompey and Caesar, and conservatism may have kept both name and specialized arm, or even revived it for Valerian's campaign in the east. Richard Frye has found for me in Ammianus Marcellinus and elsewhere evidence, that slingers were used even later than this in Roman armies, particularly in the east.

The Greek's Asia for Parthian no. 28, Asnyvs, is almost certainly wrong. One corps, that belongs with the Moorish lancers and Rhodian slingers in a good Roman army, is missing: the Osroenian archers. R troubles the Persian ear in any case, and -yvs, as in their Valerianus, seems to them a good Latin ending, especially when an odd succession of vowels like -oe- further confused their hearing. They evidently did not know the Latin Osdroene of Ammianus Marcellinus for their Urhay. So we may forgive them for mystifying us about it and be grateful that they knew very well what no. 29, Mesopotamia, was in their own tongue. Now we have for Valerian, and for Rostovtzeff and his colleagues, a Roman army comme il faut to oppose Sapor in the Edessan plain.

There "in the second half of June, 260", (CAH, XII, p. 172) this army was soundly whipped by Sapor's Persians, even though, with odd understatement, Sapor does not expressly say so and even though the fortress of Edessa successfully withstood Sapor's fumbling beginner's attempt at besieging her under difficulties. No palliating words of Rostovtzeff or Olmstead can gloss over this unmistakable fact. It is possible, as Graeco-Roman literary sources insist, that there was disease, trouble, treacherous dissatisfaction and mutinous revolt in the Roman army; on the one hand this was largely Valerian's own fault, on the other "fifth columns" were well-known (long before Franco and Franklin Delano Roosevelt made them infamously famous) then

as in our day; Caesar did not disdain to use them in gaining victories over inferior barbarians. It is further possible, indeed very probable, as Zosimus (I, 36,2) and Petrus Patricius in the passage last quoted from him aver, that Valerian tried to buy off the attack of Sapor with the offer of "untold gold". Valerian was desperate and had his army mint right with him at Samosata; and Romans were not unacquainted with that procedure in those days, Severus Alexander having made a similar attempt against the unexpected strength and vigor of Sapor's father, Ardashir-Artaxerxes-Artaxares, in 232/3. Sapor, knowing the serious plight of the Romans in any case and doubly sure of it from the offer, dragged out the negotiations until he was ready to follow on the negotiators' heels as he sent them away frustrated.

So, presently, with the Roman army dissolved in full flight, Valerian, the pretorian prefect Successianus, and the entire staff of officers present with them on the battle field remain as captives in Sapor's hands and are dispatched to the Persis to do engineering work for him and to grace his triumph on rock-reliefs. This has been utterly overlooked by Olmstead, by Rostovtzeff, and by Herzfeld; Herzfeld completely ignored this and the Kartir inscription not found by himself, though all the previous publications were sent to him. For this reason it must be emphasized here that after this any attempts at other fanciful identifications are simply impossible. Sapor names here the Roman, when he is one, the Roman officers when there are more, who are to appear with him on the rock-reliefs of his triumph over Valerian. This is practically an order to the sculptors. And therewith disappears also the fanciful notion that Sapor is depicting himself as conferring the Roman throne on one of those appearing with Valerian. This needed stating once more, here, to clear the air, before we follow Sapor on his great devastation following the victory.

Two higher Roman officers belonging to Valerian's army were not present at the battle field. One was the crippled Macrianus who had remained behind in Samosata according to Petrus Patricius (Cassius Dio, III, p. 742, no. 159=Exc. de Sentent., p. 264, both ed. Boissevain; the latter gives complete references to the editions of Mai and Mueller). Petrus wrongly names him Macrinus. He is treasurer and master of provisions at Valerian's headquarters; the Latin titles are procurator arcae and praepositus amonae according to Alföldi (Berytus, IV, 1937, p. 61), whose further statement and note 103 on p. 65 are of the highest value for a proper understanding of mints with imperial Roman campaigns despite the argumentation of Olmstead (p. 419), which has misled Rostovtzeff and Bellinger also. It was Macrianus who hid out and saved the Roman treasury and traveling mint, received the soldiers fleeing from Edessa and began to reorganize them to serve him in his attempt to make his two sons Caesars later. He likewise established some sort of contact with the other absent officer, Callistus called Ballista, whom he soon made his (not Valerian's!) pretorian prefect; this man's absence from Edessa may very well be accounted for by his connection with the navy in the Mediterranean. To Macrianus at Samosata Sapor sent, evidently posthaste ahead of the pursuing Persian army, a noble to whom Petrus gives the Greek name Kledonios and an office described by the words "a man who introduced the judges into the king's presence". He seems to belong to the retinue of Valerian, remaining faithful to him, though urged by Macrianus to stay with him. The only really conceivable reason for this mission to Macrianus is to request or order ransom money from the imperial treasure-chest for the liberation of Valerian and his staff, such as Philip the Arab had loyally paid. Macrianus, mutinous with ambition for imperial honors through his sons, refuses, and that may well be the chief reason why Valerian and his staff remained in captivity. It also shows the nature of Sapor's mind, information, and warfare. The bulk of his common soldiery were ravenously poor nomadic shepherds or serf farmers. Persia then as now--except for its oil, which now makes its soil desirable prey for foreign empires--was a poor, largely desertic country. To the Persian soldiery after the battle came its chief raison d'être, the spoils. Sapor himself was hungry for gold and other goods. No doubt he overrated the extent of his crushing victory and underrated the staying power of Rome with all of its semimutinous army and dividing emperorships. This judgment, as we have seen, was shared by Odenathus, even though modern historians for the most part do not see through his devious mind. Without this insight Sapor's actions must always remain unintelligible and falsely judged. Thus here again the siege of Edessa, whose capture might have consolidated the conquest of Mesopotamia,

is simply abandoned. He confidently sends a captured Roman official to Macrianus at Samosata to demand in Valerian's name the "untold gold" offered to him by Valerian himself. The Persian army is held back, giving Macrianus warning and time to secrete his person, the treasury, the mint, and such soldiery as he could muster. Then, disappointed, the devastating flood bursts all bounds.

In Sapor's words: "Then the province of Syria, the province of Cilicia, and the province of Cappadocia we fired and ravaged (Greek plus: "and led captive and took"); and (Greek omits this "and"! ) in that warlike operation we took of the Roman empire 1) the city of Alexandria and Katisus with its environs, 2) Samosata (Greek inverts 1, Samosata, and corrects 2, Alexandria the on-Isos), 3) Katabolon, 4) Aegaeae, 5) Mompsuestia, 6) Mallos, 7) Adana, 8) Tarsos, (Persian here adds what is probably 9, Augusta-Agousia-Augustopolis), 10) Zephyrion, 11) Sebaste (—Elaiousa), 12) Korykos, 13) Agrippas, 14) Kastabala, 15) Neronias (—Eirenopolis), 16) Flavias (—Sision-Flaviopolis), 17) Nicopolis, 18) Epiphaneia, 19) Kelenderis, 20) Anemourion, 21) Selinous, 22) Myonpolis (Parth. Mydnopolis, Pers. Mzdnopolis!), 23) Antioch (in Isauria-Lamotis), 24) Seleucia (on the Calycadnus), 25) Dometiopolis (in Isauria-Lalassis), 26) Tyana, 27) Caesarea (—Mazaca, Greek: Meiakarire!), 28) Komana, 29) Kybistra, 30) Sebasteia, 31) BIRTHA, 32) Rakoundia, 33) Laranda, 34) Iconium. Sumtotal of these cities with their environs, 36. And people who are of the Roman Empire, non-Aryans, we led away captive, and in our empire of the Aryans, in Persis, in Parthia, in Ouzene (Khuzistan), in Assyria, and in the rest of the provinces, province by province, where our own and our father's and our grandfathers' and our forebears' foundations were, there we settled them".

On this section Rostovtzeff has practically nothing; his attempted correction of κτίσματα, Greek, l. 35, to read κτήματα, is wrong. The Iranian is dastkert. It means, literally, "hand-made". Word for word it corresponds exactly to Greek χειροποίητον, which, however, in its use does not correspond to the Persian term at all (cf. A. Pincherle, Gli Oracoli Sibillini Giudaici, Rome, 1922, pp. 120 ff.). Greek in this inscription in one place (l. 37) simply transliterates and then repeats the meaning in the verb ἐκτίσαν. When a king took over an estate, a city, a district, a province, adding perhaps some road repairs, a bridge, a building or two, a new name, that place was thereby "founded" or "refounded" then and there. That is a commonplace of history, by no means all of it ancient. These regions, mentioned before the word, are therefore the "foundations"—not merely, in many cases in the strictest sense not at all—the "property" of Sapor and his forebears. Olmstead says, p. 414, "That for this list the Greek is the original is proved by the incorrect reversal of Alexandria and Samosata in the Pahlavik [sic!] version, also by the strange misunderstanding of κατ' ἰσόν; for all his boasting, the scribe Auhrmazd [sic!] could not translate this term and so turns it into two cities, Alexandria and Katisusi [sic!] !" Disregarding Sapor's order Olmstead arranges the order to suit himself, dragging Sapor and the entire host everywhere in the most impossible maneuvers. He delights in accepting the worst form of the worst stories of the worst sources, just as in the case of Philippus Arabs, e.g., the cinema-hero escape of Demosthenes from Caesarea (Zonaras, XII, xxiii, with parallels from Syncellus and Philostratus), and "huge quantities of loot" recovered by Callistus Ballista, "and--still greater disgrace--he captured the shah's concubines" (all of them?) (from Zonaras, Syncellus, and the SHA). After this Sapor "hastily departed for home". "The mention of Nicopolis...shows that the shah took the direct route home to the Zeugma crossing and Edessa" (full of Roman troops!), here following for the second time, where it does not fit, one of Alföldi's real finds, though elsewhere he rejects him. One real contribution Olmstead makes in this list, the reading Meiakarire, to which I shall recur in its proper place.

In these largely Greek or hellenized names of southeastern and central Asia Minor the Greek scribe is evidently more at home than, for example, in Balkan lands, and naturally far more than the Parthian. Nevertheless not all his "corrections" of the poor Parthian are correct, and he himself is slovenly indeed with his polises. The Parthian names first Alexandria and Katisus, not as two, but, as the surrounding phraseology given above shows, as one, perhaps to his mind twin city. Greek has an easy time correcting this, but at the same time makes a further smart correction naming the nearer Samosata with the golden treasure of Valerian's

headquarters first. This is at first sight deceptively alluring, more particularly because Persian seems to follow him. But the Parthian has reason on his side. It has been shown that Sapor hesitated and held his army back on the approach to Samosata. Meanwhile to the most booty-hungry corps and the least bound by his discipline, the nomadic Arabs, modern Turkish Arabistan and the Syrian seacoast beckoned. They left for Alexandrette. With their habits they probably never rejoined any other portion of the main body. Rostovtzeff especially insists that Syrian Antioch was looted again in this expedition. If so, Sapor does not mention it and probably knew little or nothing about it, not, as Rostovtzeff fancies, because forsooth Sapor considered it still captured from the first raid. If at all, this was done with a quick flip by just such a speedy Arab camel corps, who would thereby be quickly gorged and sped on their independent way home. Sapor and his major host, disappointed of their expected golden treasure, then proceeded after the fleeing Romans to and, still disappointed, quickly through Samosata, leaving Macrianus in their wake to return and dispose of his loot at his leisure; now, Samosata having lost its meaning, but not before, Macrianus may have gradually shifted southward to Emesa-Hims, where his son Quietus was to play Caesar for a brief year, until by that time more Romanized Odenathus put an end to his little game. The burial of the coin hoard found by Ing-holt at Kefr Nebudi near Hama probably took place in the disturbances caused by this Roman family brawl in 261. This does not in the least make impossible Valerian's headquarters at Samosata and its traveling mint managed by Quartermaster General Macrianus there from 256/7 to late in 260. Through all this time there was not the slightest reason for a mint at Emesa, but much good reason for one at Samosata, as Alföldi clearly saw. Had the clearsighted Alföldi had our inscription, he might have corrected his own errors and not retained the worst of them only to commit new ones. How long Macrianus stayed at or near Samosata after it had lost its meaning with the rout and capture of Valerian and the quick and wild passage through of Sapor's army we have no means of knowing. Quite possibly he left unsafe and denuded northern Syria with his own loot, mint and all, as soon as possible. He himself probably established the headquarters, used by his son Quietus after his own and his elder son's departure for his ill-fated adventure in Illyria-Paeonia (Alföldi, Berytus, V, i, 1938, p. 70), and with the paraphernalia he brought along with him from Samosata set up at Emesa-Hims a shortlived mint, whose use and management he understood so well. With it he could tap the less diminished resources of Roman soldiery from Emesa southward and recruit new troops from that far less ruined territory.

Meanwhile in the north Sapor and his Persians roll merrily onward in their childishly brutal, destructive way. It is probably the main body with Sapor himself which proceeds on a fairly straight line to Katabolon, no. 3, which Olmstead says is "the castle of that name northwest of the Issus gates", not a walled city with lootable environs, as Sapor's list has it; Olmstead may be right, which will not disturb Sapor and his scribe "Auhrmazd" very greatly. They are busy going on, not greatly harried by any one, through 4) Aegeae, 5) Mompuestia (according to Olmstead better than the common Mopsuestia), 6) Mallos, 7) Adana, 8) Tarsus, 9) probably with Persian, Agousia-Augustopolis, 10) Zephyris-Zephyrion, 11) Sebaste-Elaioussa, to 12) Korykos. This was probably the farthest west reached on this raid by Sapor himself. At about this point Zonaras and less trustworthy sources place the jabbing counter-thrust of Callistus Ballista from the sea. How "huge" the loot of the Romans was may be left for others to imagine with Olmstead. Here, if at all, the concubines of Sapor were taken, travelling in state or in their elaborate camp; in either case clearly in Sapor's absence. Perhaps the disgrace was great. There is no evidence that Sapor felt it very keenly. Still, the Roman activity was serious enough, apparently, to turn the Persians operating here back, for a time--not permanently, as will be seen presently.

From the list here it looks as though Sapor retired for a time to ply his ravaging a bit further inland in eastern Cilicia. No. 13, Agrippas, is not yet identified. If in some way it could be brought near to or identified with Anazarbos, one of the two cities added by Philostratos in Malalas (ed. Schenk von Stauffenberg, p. 65=Dindorf, p. 297), that would make a good beginning on Sapor's return, rather than retreat, from the west to settle his score with cities that lay in the main farther inland in eastern Cilicia than his route to the west from Samosata. Perhaps Augusta,

oddly inserted by Persian alone, probably as no. 9, as located on Ramsay's map (Hist. Geogr. As. Min. pp. 330/1), belongs here before Agrippas=possibly Anazarbos. The other town added by Philostratos, Rhossos, is named by him right after Alexandrette; it lies just south of that great harbor in the path of the first raiding corps, conjectured Arabic, on its way to Antioch, if it ever reached that far south. Beyond or roundabout Augusta and Anazarbos a neat enough group for radiating raiding is formed by no. 14) Kastabala, 15) Neronias (—Eirenopolis), 16) Flavias (—Sision-Flaviopolis), 17) Nicopolis, 18) Epiphaneia. Nearest to the sea, but not on it, is no. 18. Farthest east is no. 17) Nicopolis; with it Sapor had an old score to settle for the scare he received there in 253; there is no indication whatever that Sapor now, as in 253, returned from there straight home. Quite otherwise!

He also had a more recent score to settle with what lay beyond Korykos, where Ballista's annoying jabs from the sea had stopped him and turned him momentarily back. He probably did not return there himself. Domninus in Malalas (l.c.) knows of a considerable flying column sent by Sapor into those Cilician regions under a satrap, meaning general, Spates. Ballista seems no longer to be sharply in that picture. Quite probably by this time he as pretorian prefect had joined his leader, Macrianus, in Emesa after assembling his fleet in Laodicea or Aradus; thence it would help transport Augustus Macrianus Jr. and Macrianus Sr. to Illyria, while the prefect Ballista joined his fortunes to the Augustus Quietus in and about Emesa; Ballista or one of his party may even have been the very man who buried Ingholt's coin-hoard near Hama for a later use which never came to pass. So Spates, or whoever it was, can start without trouble right where Sapor had left off and roam through 19) Kelenderis and 20) Anemourion right along the coast to no. 21, Selinous. There the tide had evidently reached its western limit. Coracesium, read by Olmstead for Circesium in the first list and transposed hither, is flatly rejected by his friend Rostovtzeff; it has been thoroughly disposed of in this study. Nor need one invent a wholly unknown defeat to account for the fact that the over-extended Persian power now begins to ebb back, picking up towns bypassed on its way west. First-named in the list is no. 22, Myonopolis (Parthian: Mydnopolis; Persian: Mzdnopolis). It was not fully identified in Ed. Princeps after a hasty and somewhat unjust reading of Ramsay. My preference is still for Mousbanda, Bousmadis, Mousbada, Musanda, Myanda, Mandane, most exhaustively treated in Ramsay, p. 369, no. 25. It is but slightly out of order in the list, between the beginning of the return march's pillaged victims, no. 23, Antioch in Isauria-Lamotis, and its eastern ending at no. 24, Seleucia on the Calycadnus. A smaller portion of this corps returned thither by a detour through no. 25, Dometiopolis of the Isaurian Decapolis in Lalassis. It is possible that this smaller column went thence directly northeastward to rejoin their comrades there. At 24, Seleucia on the Calycadnus, the list's account of this return march ends. This probably means that at that point this particular corps again divided. Part of it went with the booty, convoying it homeward. Part reassembled with the main body, now definitely inland, northward, at no. 26, Tyana.

From Tyana there is again a manifest division. Two march-routes lead in opposite directions, one west and one north and east. The list starts with the northeastern route and finishes with the far west, probably because that corps returned and reported home last. The division into two "task forces" is almost certain. It is likewise almost certain that the force dispatched to the far west was the swifter, less impeded by its own baggage. It probably left first as well as fastest. For this reason, and for another to appear later, the far west raid, perhaps again led by the crown-prince as in 253 at Antioch, is taken up first here.

It starts southwestward with no. 29, Kybistra-Heracleia-Eregli. This is slightly out of place at the end of a series of three beginning with k, Kaisaria, Komana, Kybistra. With strict propriety it belongs after no. 30, Sebastia. This is a minor detail of modern proofreading to "correct" the ancient list. This done, the list itself proceeds on flawlessly. From Kybistra, no. 29, we go straight to 31, BIRTHA in the Greek, Birath in Parthian. On this we need not be too greatly disturbed by Olmstead's statement: "BIRTHA is merely the Aramaic word for 'fort'; it has no more excuse for being in Asia Minor than Meiakarire". Why shall no

Aramaic name at all ever be found "in Asia Minor"? The Greek's form is the emphatic state, Parthian the construct, demanding a proper noun after it, of "the Aramaic word for 'fort'". The Parthian scribe may so have heard and written, and the Greek, knowing nothing better, may in his way have attempted correction. But another Aramaic word is possible. Beratha is an accredited plural of *bērā*, "well", and Ramsay (p. 337) knows at least one famous well at Barata, which is located exactly right for our list. No. 32, Rakundia, we do not yet know; it is probably not far off. Can it be the Lakanitis of Ramsay's pages 371, 375, and 455, itself not precisely located? If so, we would not have the main westward raiding column dipping southward from Barata to Laranda. Instead we might well have the detachment which had left the coast for no. 25, Dometiopolis, coming up through 32, Rakundia-Lakanitis, and 33, Laranda, to join the main corps at Barata. This might even help locate Rakundia-Lakanitis. Finally the entire task force goes on from Barata to its one goal worth mentioning in the farthest northwest, no. 34, Iconium, which they reckoned as belonging to Galatia. Its "strange forms" in our inscription are left for others to discuss and solve.

With the second task force to leave Tyana we strike northwest and arrive with it at no. 27, Kaisaria(-Mazaca, Caesarea, Kaisari) under the northern slopes of the Mediterranean territory's highest mountain, Argaeus Mons, Ercias Dağ. The Greek takes us to Meiakarire, as Olmstead rightly read. This is to him "an old friend" out of Ammianus Marcellinus. But, having made the Greek for this list the original, he knows not what to do with it. He merely exclaims: "A worse example of false identification could hardly be imagined, and it is found in the Greek edition" (*sic!*). Persian *Kysrydyay* leaves no doubt where the Iranian versions stand. And we, knowing the Greek scribe better, may come nearer to solving his distressing mystery. If what the Greek means is really Olmstead's "old friend", then instead of the Caesarea-Mazaca of the Iranians he is naming a small fortress or guard post in the Izala Mountains, modern *Tür Abdin*, on or near a confluent of the Tigris in Arzanene, between Amida and Marde. Its existence as a post worth mentioning is guaranteed for the second half of the fourth century by Ammianus Marcellinus (XVIII, 6, 10 and 10, 1), who knows with König (PW 29, col. 33) that the name means *fontes gelidi*, "Cold Springs". In the *Notitia Dignitatum*, whose note may lie within the first quarter of the fifth century, it is found in Seeck's edition, p. 79, in section XXXVI, under the Dux Mesopotamiae among *quae de minore laterculo emittuntur*, as garrisoned by *Cohors quartadecima Valeria Zabdenorum*. Theophylactus Simocatta mentions it twice (II, 10, 6 and I, 13, 4), the last certain date being 584. Just by the way it must be stated that the Turkization Qara-toghan in the Armenian translation of Michael Syrus is not the true name of the Persian commander who is after the fortifications of Meiakarire, but a mere mangling of his correct Persian title, Kardarigan, which is perfectly rendered in the original Syriac. Now if this is what the Greek scribe means, then we have here its first known mention in history; but then, also, its substitution for the great Caesarea is intelligible only as a sly and slightly foolish attempt at detraction from Sapor's glory, which this Greek could make, feeling safe against detection, because he was the last of his kind at the Sasanian court, or at any rate at Istakhr. A second possibility, less likely, is that this aged scribe, when he found his Parthian colleague's hand in the first draft on papyrus--before it was outlined for the stonecutter--hard to read, he asked for oral information. This has seemed a possibility before and is more than that in this particular list, as the Iranian spellings make clear. The Parthian tongue's attempt at Maza-Kaisaria his ear heard as Meiakarire, which he knew. If he knew and thought of the fertile little valley beyond Mons Masius so named, he gave little thought to geographic probability, just innocently pictured it as on some roving band's way home. A third possibility is that there was, and he with his good knowledge of Cappadocia knew that there was, in the environs, in the "city limits", of Caesarea a rich residence quarter of this name; Aramaic merchants were not unknown in this commercial crossroads. And cold waters issued from the glacier top of Argaeus, just as ashes and warm waters from its volcanic bowels pervade the neighborhood. The reader has his choice. My preference is for the simple, straightforward Iranian Caesarea, corroborated by Zonaras XII, xxiii (ed. Dindorf, p. 141). And if Zonaras is a cinema drama story, it shows that the Orient's consternation at the sacking of this rich and pop-



ulous capital of Cappadocia is second only to that for the great Syrian Antioch. And that gives us added reason to believe that Sapor and his own corps were here. At Tyana it was suggested that the crown prince or someone like him, encumbered with less baggage and endowed with more youthful speed, took the westward trail away from home. The king, slowed by his great pavilions freshly stocked with concubines, and with Kartir certainly, Mani possibly, still in his train, would choose the turn towards home. Also his pride would demand that he be present at the sacking of Cappadocia's great capital. There is another reason for placing him here; but that must wait a moment, until we finish this trip as far as our list leads us. The way carries us first strongly eastward, a bit by south, to no. 28, Cappadocian Comana. Olmstead's fancy that "the Pahlavik(!) has confused" this "with homeland Kerman" is pretty certainly not right. We pass over it and over no. 29, Kybistra, placed in its right context above, still eastward, but this time with a strong slant to the north, to no. 30, Sebasteia-Sivas on the Halys. And there the list abruptly stops us.

This time we have no Roman guide, as we did at Nicopolis in 253, to help us find Sapor's way home. But we do have another precious index, which, together with the general northeasterly path that led us hither, may serve us as a guidepost. Right under Sapor's Persian on the Kaabah, the great organizer of early Sasanian mazdayasnian orthodoxy, Kartir, placed one of the copies of his own *res gestae*. There were deficiencies and insufficiencies in the preliminary edition (AJSL LVII [1940] 197-228). Correcting what is necessary here we find Kartir (ll. 11/12, pp. 223 f.) tracing in broader, bolder outline than these lists the course of the devastating "conquests" of Sapor, his horses, and his men. He, Kartir, begins the course in non-Iran with Antioch and Syria. Thence with Zonaras (l.c.) to Tarsus and Cilicia and on to Caesarea and Cappadocia. In passing he picks up Galatia. Starting out once more from Cappadocian territory he carries us over Armenia to the Caucasus. This rough outline, combining what Sapor rated as two or three wars into one big sketch, cannot be pressed into service too strongly. Still, with the general direction given us by Sapor, as he led us from Nicopolis and Epiphaneia through Tyana, Caesarea, and Comana to Sebasteia, Kartir's finger does seem to be pointing in an intelligible direction. With Gothic and Boranic aggressive moves in Roman Colchis going unchecked and unpunished the restive peoples in or just north of Sapor's domains in the Caucasus would naturally feel the urge once more to try their mettle. Sapor was heading thither. Ramsay (esp. p. 55) knows a good road from Sebasteia "east along the Halys, through Nikopolis" in Cappadocia, later Armenia Minor, "and Colonia to Satala". From Satala our list of 253-256 showed Sapor's men knowing well their way to the lands under Persian sway. So Sapor went on from Sebasteia, where he left us hanging in the air, to show the Caucasus once more who was master. Repeating his one-time master's words Kartir says that he "fired and ravaged" last but not least the little Caucasus kingdoms to the Alans' Gate. Sapor himself, in the hackneyed but true enough royal phrases with which his kind is wont to say such things, lumps this final phase of his greatest success together with others just after the last words translated above; he has subjected many other peoples and kingdoms and done other heroic deeds of valor, too numerous to mention in this stone-cut record.

The last sentence translated is clearly a corollary not merely to this his last war with Rome but to all his previous successful raids as well. As a fine deed, in which he glories and which he wants remembered, he records the fact that he carried off a considerable number of non-Iranian civilians from Roman territory and distributed them around and settled them in the provinces of his Iranian empire, which he describes as the foundations of himself, his fathers, and remote forebears. The Greek and Roman historians (e.g., Zonaras XII, xxiii, ed. Dindorf, p. 141) describe this as a stupidly cruel and barbarously savage procedure. So no doubt it was, though now we Americans, with what our greatly admired and highly revered leaders in part connived at, can hardly point the finger of shame at Sapor without blushing. Sapor did not know the high ethics of Plato's Socrates nor the similarly elevated, though scientifically less well founded, teachings of Moses and the prophets, of Jesus and the apostles, as do we. He thought of himself as conferring a benefit even upon the captives carried off, bringing them to places that were better for them, better adapted to their abilities. He was carrying them to lands,

underpopulated in any case, still more depleted of men by the drafts of his own incessant wars, to lands hungry for artisans, builders, farmers, not into territory already overcrowded and hunger-stricken.

Olmstead casts an easy slur at Sapor's statement about the lands of his remote forebears. To us it is cheap knowledge that it was only Sapor and his father, who in the course of their fifty active years as rebels raised an empire on the ruins of the Parthians. To them the matter looked otherwise. If Alexander was inspired by Homer, so did these men base their claims and draw their inspiration from the foundations of their great epic kingbook.\* Their claims have no lesser historic validity than did Alexander's. Their claims harked back to the Achaemenians, to them all Dariuses, before Alexander, when their empire extended into Egypt and to the shores of the Ionian Sea. They had an irredenta. They felt themselves to be rightful successors to the Dariuses, driving out and replacing unrighteous usurpers, Diadochian Parthians and Romans, who had cut up the great old empire into feudally held, semi-independent kingdoms. That was the story as they saw it. They believed in it so confidently that the Roman soldiery with Cassius Dio (ed. Boissevain LXXX, iv, 1/2, pp. 473 f.; cf. Zonaras XII, xv, ed. Dindorf, pp. 121 f.) were convinced that their claims were valid and should be allowed.

From these premises it is easy for us to draw the conclusion that Sapor considered as conquests the operations he here describes. This impression is strengthened by the assertion of the great priest Kartir, who says in so many words that Sapor had ordered him to install magi and establish firetemples wherever the king's horses and men had trodden, in Antioch and Syria, in Tarsus and Cilicia, etc. (Kartir, prelim. ed., p. 223). That may have been Sapor's mind when he started out and in the hurly-burly of battles and the sacking of cities. The delimitation of his empire at the head of his inscription and the deportation of populations from Roman provinces to his domains in a narrower sense, just described at the end of his wars, show that he had become more realistically minded in the end. By 260/61 Sapor I was growing decidedly old, his warlike energy lessened, sapped by thirty years or more of incessant, wearing activity. The successes of the Palmyrene Arab Odenathus against him in the years to follow are not understated by the Roman historians, ancient and modern.

Alföldi (Berytus V [1938] 76) makes the beginning of Odenathus' activity a surprise attack on the dissolved army of Sapor on its way home through Edessa and Carrhae in 260. How impossible this is will be clear from the exposition in the pages preceding. Odenathus' pride was deeply wounded, but he was a clever Arab and a merchant prince and no fool. In 253 a brand-new Caesar with a unified empire behind him and a godarmy with him was causing Sapor to hurry home past Edessa. Even then Odenathus almost certainly did not attack Sapor and his bodyguard. But he was not afraid to attack a troop convoying loot; he had Dura with him. Now Dura was gone, a fact which Alföldi did not know when he wrote. The only Roman garrison remaining in Mesopotamia was the one at Edessa, weakened by Valerian's draft, but probably reinforced by fugitives from Valerian's defeated army. Sapor's army was not dissolved; it was flushed with victory and not returning by Edessa. Rome's eastern forces were dissolving in a new civil war. There is not the slightest bit of sound evidence that in that year Sapor's straggling baggage trains of loot, his long slow-moving lines of captives, much less any part or parcel of his regular armed forces, were defeated or so much as seriously molested on their way home. Alföldi is multiplying events to get an intelligible sequence out of the poor, scanty, and confused Greco-Roman sources and his coins without the Ariadne clew of our inscrip-

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\* The first sentence of the Deedbook of Ardashir Papakan (Kārnānak i Ardashir i Pāpakān) shows clearly that the Sasanian Persians meant by their Kātak Xwātāyān, the Arabic mulūk al-tawā' if, the Diadochi of Alexander who cut up the great Achaemenian empire into smaller kingdoms for themselves. The term is then regularly used for the Parthian Arsacids. Under like condemnation with these would fall the Romans, insofar as they held portions of the old Achaemenian domain. For this idea in general one may refer back to Nöldeke, Tabari, p. 3, n. 1.



tion. He has three sackings of Antioch and now really three defeats of Sapor by Odenathus with two marches on Ctesiphon. The latter he accepts from the unsafe rhetoric of Zosimus (I, 39, 2) combined with the uncertain "again" of Syncellus (p. 716, l. 22). He crowds another campaign, combined with a restoration of Dura, now wholly out of the question, into 262. The third he combines with the campaign against the "Scyths" at the Pontic Heraclea and places it shortly before the assassination of Odenathus in 266/7. He himself is astonished that with all this hostile activity the Palmyrene caravan trade to the Persian Gulf goes on undisturbed. Olmstead arrives with the SHA at 264 as the beginning of Odenathus' war against Sapor. He does not mention Jerome's Chron., ed. Schoene, p. 183v, cited by Alföldi (p. 76, notes 2 and 7) for a date 263/4 or 264/5. That is indeed the most probable date for the one acceptable action of Odenathus against Sapor's Persia. Even in Zosimus his taking of Nisibis is a quick and easy affair. There is no evidence of any kind that Sapor now, more than at any other time, was keeping garrisons of any strength at Nisibis, Carrhae, or Resaena. He did not have a standing army of a size sufficient for such permanent occupation. Besides Sapor was manifestly busy with the occupations of an old man. He was getting religion in the regal manner, founding and endowing schools and positions for priests, establishing the state church throughout his domain, writing his memoirs in script and pictures on stones, building a sumptuous capital, not Ctesiphon, safe from Roman attack, and other cities in the mountains of the Persis. So Odenathus had an easy time taking at first assault such strongholds as Nisibis. Whatever Rome might think, he was in effect simply reoccupying abandoned Mesopotamia. As a heroic gesture, to satisfy at the same time the demands of the pride of Rome and his ancient rancor, he made one of the oft repeated marches on Ctesiphon. He made it in such a way as not to disturb too greatly either the caravan trade of Palmyra or the equanimity of the smugly aging Sapor. Rufinus' defense of the assassination of Odenathus and its laudatory acceptance by Gallienus, as reported by Petrus Patricius (Cassius Dio, vol. III, p. 744, and Exc. de Sent., p. 266, both ed. Boissevain, both no. 166) show clearly that Rome more than doubted the loyalty of him and his kind. In view of this and Aurelian's character Olmstead's simple acceptance of the old wives' tale, that after the assassination "his son Wahaballat" held "the imperium with the assent of Aurelian", needs no elaborate refutation. Sapor was still living or just dead, when early in 272 Aurelian took Palmyra for the first time and Zenobia for good. Mattingly (CAH, XII, p. 304, n. 3) makes it more than probable from SHA (Aurel. 27, 4 and 28, 2), Zosimus (I, 55) and the inscriptionally assured title Parthicus Maximus assumed by Aurelian, that the Persians were by then in league with Zenobia who confidently expected military help from them--that, when finally caught, she was on her way to find this help--and that Aurelian's troops actually intercepted the Persian corps sent to her assistance and turned it back in defeat. This is the last known military action by Persian forces within Sapor's lifetime or shortly after his death. Late in 271, he died.

His ablest son, Hormizd I, our Hormizd Ardashir, for whom Sapor had assured the succession, lived only one year after him. He was no youth at his accession and may have ruined his health through excessive exertion and exposure in war. Combining the inscription of Sapor and Kartir we can say with considerable assurance that Hormizd-Ardashir had a son Hormizdak, no. 20 in the list of members of the royal family for whom masses for the soul are endowed; he seems not to have been considered for the succession. Hormizd also had three brothers. Two of these Sapor distinguishes together with his daughter, Queen of Queens Adour-Anahid, and his immediate successor, Hormizd-Ardashir, by establishing Bahram fires named after them. They are, in the order followed in that list immediately after Hormizd I, Sapor, King of Mesanene, and Narsaios, Aryan masdayasnian, King of Segistan, India, and Tourene (Turistan) to the shore of the sea. Sapor of Mesan was probably older than Hormizd, being named just before him as no. 9 in the soul-mass list. He is not considered for the succession; the odd title of the queen of Mesan, no. 3 in the list of Sapor's retainers and the fact that he is to be found nowhere else may mean that he was dead even at the time of this inscription. He had six sons and one daughter, all in the family list; none of them seems to have attained any position of prominence. Before Sapor of Mesan in the family list as no. 8, but not at all with the name-fires, comes Varyhran=Varahran=Bahram, King of Gilan. He is also a son of Sapor I and a brother

of Hormizd I. Kartir clearly identifies him as such. By his position in the family list he appears to be Sapor's eldest son. But lusty old Sapor did not think much of him; he names no fire after him; to keep at least that much in the family he makes him king of little and not very important Gilan on the Caspian. After Hormizd Narsaios appears to be Sapor's favorite son; he has a name fire; he is king of the most important eastern borderlands and bears the added honorific epithet of Aryan Masdayasnian; his wife, named right after him as no. 12 in the family list, is a Sapor-daughter, probably his sister after the best Masdayasnian custom of his day; their daughter is also in the family list as no. 27! But after the death of his brother Hormizd this Narsaios was ignored. The priest Kartir and a clique of nobles, partially recognizable at Paikuli, thought better of his elder brother Bahram; so, in 272/3 he becomes Bahram I. He was a priestridden man. Under him Kartir, as he himself makes clear, attained the opportunity he had been striving for in vain under the more broadminded Sapor and Hormizd I. Outside wars, conquests, missions are given up. Iran must be purified by a widespread and severe persecution of Mani and his church, the Jews, Christians, Buddhists, Brahmins. The aging Bahram I is soon used up; he dies in 275/6. But the priestly game continues. Kartir's mind controls the moves. Narsaios is once more set aside. Bahram II, son of Bahram I, is placed on the throne. The kingbook knows him for a weakling, a wastrel, a playboy, and a drunken sot. So Kartir takes control of him, body and soul, and receives for his efforts the epithet Soulsavior of Bahram. This goes on for 17 long years. In his time the sturdy old soldier-emperor Carus makes his march on Ctesiphon. As with many others it availed him nothing and proved his undoing, even though Iran was quite unwarlike at the time. That was in 293. For a little more than ten years thereafter nothing happened between Rome and Iran. Iran was busy organizing its church, its divine services, its dogmatically formulated doctrines, taking steps to put together its Bible, which was never fully finished. In Rome Diocletian was working out and putting through his reorganization of the empire. In 293 Kartir's game was played out. He was not immediately convinced of this, when his favorite Bahram died. He tried to enthrone Bahram II's son as Bahram III. For a few months he partially succeeded. But this time Narsaios and his partisans were better prepared. Paikuli shows him seizing the throne. For a time he was busy wiping out his internal enemies. Kartir was completely eliminated from the official records. An attempt was made to wipe out Bahram II; his name was erased from a stone and Narsaios' name substituted for it. His detection in this is recent history.

By 296 Narsaios felt strong enough to attempt a resumption of his father's earlier warlike policy against Rome. So much of this as is needed here is best gleaned from the excellent exposition of Mattingly in *CAH*, XII, 336 f. Narsaios realized neither the great strengthening of Rome nor the weakening of Iran that had come about since his father's death. He was lulled into still more secure misapprehension, when, after an initial defeat at Carrhae, he succeeded in ambushing and soundly trouncing the impetuous Caesar of Diocletian, Galerius, at Callinicum-Nicephorium-Rakkah. Galerius, psychologically conditioned and materially reinforced by Diocletian, took ample and bitter vengeance. He attacked, where Roman tactics were strongest, in mountainous Armenia. Narsaios, following old Parthian and earlier custom, as his father had done, was carrying with him to the wars his wives and children. Galerius speedily and thoroughly defeated his army and took captive his wives and children. The defeat was so thorough that not only Armenia, but with it a large part of what Sapor terms Adiabene, was lost to the Persians for the time of Narsaios and his son, to be largely recovered only after tremendous efforts by his grandson, Sapor II, of the seventy-year reign.

One point concerning the time of Sapor I, which is of considerable importance, is missed by Mattingly, as it has been missed by practically all previous historians, because they did not realize the closeness of Narsaios to Sapor I. Again it is Petrus Patricius who has preserved a bit of most verisimilar information, luckily not lost with the rest of his work. Mattingly knows the fragment well enough, as it is found in *Exc. de Legg.*, II, ed. de Boor, 393 f., no. 12=Muller, Dindorf, Frg. 13. But he misses, or rather he disregards, since he deals with Diocletian, what historians of Valerian have, so far as I know, consistently missed or neglected. The

Persian negotiator, Affarbān (whose name Justi realizes he has not solved satisfactorily), with subtle urbanity urges the essential equality of the Persian and the Roman realm and the senselessness of rending each other to pieces. He ends by leaving the terms of the peace and the settlement of boundaries to the Roman--as, of course, he had to--and making a special plea for kindly treatment in captivity of the royal wives and children, in accordance with their highborn station, and their speedy return to their husband and father, calling to mind the variability of human affairs. It must be remembered that this scene is laid not much, if any, more than a quarter century after Valerian's death. Narsaios certainly had seen him at his father's court and was intimately acquainted with all the facts. This is probably hardly less true of the envoy Affarbān. So the stern and angry words with which Galerius opens his reply take on special significance. "You garnered in full measure the fruits of your victory over Valerian. Having taken him by guile, you made no move to release him to the very last of his old age and a death in dishonor. Then, even after death, with loathsome art you kept his skin and brought deathless insolence to play on his dead body". Persian taxidermy may not have been quite as crude as Christians make it, when they gloat over the skins of their dead enemies, Valerian and Mani, stuffed with straw. Yet, even if we must allow for the nearly two hundred years that lie between the scene, as enacted, and the reporter Petrus, the charge is too direct and vivid to rest entirely on the writer's imagination. Galerius' manner and words with the change in their tone towards the end accord well with the shrewd wisdom of Diocletian, by which they were no doubt inspired. At this point, of course, Diocletian and Galerius conveniently forget the fact, also reported by this same Petrus, that it was quite as much the ambitious disloyalty of the Roman Macrianus as the insolence of the Persians which had brought this dishonor on Rome's escutcheon and caused the aged Valerian to languish as a showpiece at the Persian court until his death and after. To the honor of Diocletian it must be stated that Narsaios' wives and children were returned to him unharmed. The price in territory exacted was not low and later came to cost the Romans in all conscience dear enough in turn, thus giving the last word in the matter after all to Sapor's son Narsaios, father of all Sasanian kings after him, and to his clever envoy Affarbān.



## ENVOI

As this publication goes forth it needs a bit of a message to go with it. First of all the reader should know what he may expect and what not. These great inscriptions easily rank with those of the Achaemenian Darius on Bisitūn, with those of the Roman Augustus, to which the one not quite perfect copy left at Ankara gives the name Monumentum Ancyranum. There are here first of all the proud stone-cut memoirs of the great Sasanian Shahpuhr I, come to us through Greek and Latin as Sapor. Second we have here similarly stone-cut memoirs, such as are found rarely or not at all elsewhere, of the priest Kartīr, whose very name and story were completely lost for some 1600 years.

Shahpuhr inscribed the record of deeds that he thought memorable on three walls of a sacred building near Persepolis, now for centuries called the Kaabah of Zoroaster, in three languages, Parthian, Middle Persian, and Greek. Though all are in varying degrees ravaged by time, the record comes out practically complete. This record has been called a res gestae by high authority. That name carries a slap at Sapor. Roman res gestae were not very truthful, largely legendary. The name is being copied by lesser authority. This contemporary record of Persian history does not deserve this slap. It does deserve careful publication for a reading as unprejudiced as may be. The first duty of an editor is to present its text. Not having seen the originals, the best this writer can do, and it is very good, is to present good reproductions of excellent photographs of the originals. Of the Greek there will be found, also, photographs of a plaster replica from the new type of rubberoid squeeze. Similar photographic reproductions for the Parthian have already been published in editio princeps. For the Middle Persian old-style paper squeezes exist; these have not been set in plaster replicas, wherefore no photographic reproductions of this kind can be presented. The last five half lines, however, appear above Kartīr KZ in the replica of that inscription, though they were not included in the photographs of the replica. Handcopies of all three texts made with all means available,--guaranteeing not expert draftsmanship, but only the characters as the eye was able to decipher them,--are presented. An introduction paves the way for transliterated texts. Transliterations in Latin characters plus a few phonetic symbols, Semitic masks or ideograms in capitals, aim to reproduce as faithfully as possible in this way what the photographs and replicas led the editor's eyes to see; transcriptions into what are believed to have been Parthian or Middle Persian forms of words used at the time is left to readers or to such others as want to put them into print. A translation serves on the one hand the historian who does not know Iranian, on the other as a check on the text editions. Greek was done in Latin transliteration in editio princeps. The writer's latest reading of the Greek text, omitting classicizing breathings, accents, and other reading signs, is given with the essay (see above, pp. 73-76). Notes, supplementing those published with editio princeps, follow the translations. These in turn are followed by the essay on "The Greek of Sapor KZ and Roman History", presenting latest readings and the best historical interpretation the editor can now give. So much for Shahpuhr-Sapor.

For Kartīr this publication covers three of the four great rock-cut records in which this proud and remarkable priest felt impelled to seek immortality. Sar Meshhed, as yet seen and handled in the original, so far as I know, by no one beside the few, Herzfeld and Richard Frye of Harvard, is not given other than in reference. There are photographs by Herzfeld, one copy in Nyberg's possession, and there are a handcopy and small photographs by Richard Frye, who may by now have more and should presently present a fair text of as much as is really legible. Sar Meshhed is merely a replica of NRu, probably slightly edited, badly weathered, in some parts less than NRu. Both are combinations of KZ and NRj. KZ and NRj, the latter in a new reading, very different from that in Herzfeld's Paikuli, are presented in the same manner as Shahpuhr's record. Of NRj no squeeze exists. Of KZ photographs of a plaster cast of the rubber squeeze are added. Of NRu a good photograph is given. Of the text some parts of the legible portion which differ from KZ and NRj are noted; also for use with the photographic reproduction, a complete statement of legible lines as they correspond to KZ is included. This gives more of NRu than has been published as yet, enough to make it available to all, so far as the means at hand go.

This work is largely a one-man job. For help personally given thanks are hereby publicly expressed to two former students of this writer, Professor George G. Cameron, now of the University of Michigan, and Professor Ray Bowman, now of the University of Chicago. For help by letter thanks are especially due to H. S. Nyberg and H. W. Bailey. The late Arthur Christensen, also, must not be forgotten. If any others are overlooked, that will be not with malice but through human frailty.

The writer knows well that he has not done all that can be done. There is work for several generations of scholars in these texts. The chief thing seemed to be to make the texts available to all others interested in the best forms at the moment possible. This, I think, is herewith accomplished. For the rest I have little more, and might not have much more, even if it should be given to me, as it has been to many of late, to see and handle the originals.

So now the rigid death mask of print is set upon what is done. In this form it is left, set forth for eagles, falcons, and others to practice their arts upon.

M. Sprengling

Ann Arbor, Michigan  
May 23, 1950

[illegible]





[illegible]



[illegible]



Plate 7. Shahpuhr KZ. Middle Persian, lines 1-18

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431

[illegible]

ל. 33  
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[illegible]

פסנתזינגרס ווילן זיין געזעצט ווערן וועגן דעם פארגעסן ווערן וועגן דעם פארגעסן ווערן

<sup>135</sup>  
המעמלן של פנייה יתרון על כרחם ויחלמהבמה והנעשןלה כהונצן ענין לה נכונה מה עובד הנזק יתרון  
וכגון לזה כהונצן.

Plate 9. Shahpuhr KZ. Middle Persian. A. Lines 31-35.

B. Ends of lines 31-35 copied from replica of rubberoid squeeze.





ΑΠΟ ΜΕΣΟΤΤΑΜΙΑΣ ΕΘΝΟΥΣ· ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ (24) ΧΕΙΛΙΑ ΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΤΟΥ ΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΜΕΡΟΥΣ ΚΑΡΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ  
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 ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ CΕΛΙΝΟΥΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ CΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΜΥΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ CΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΑΝΤΙΟΧΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ CΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ CΕΛΕΥΚΙΑΝ  
 ΠΟΛΙΝ CΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΔΟΜΕΤΙΟΥ ΠΟΛΙΝ CΥΝΤΗ (32) ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΤΥΔΑΝΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ CΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΜΗΤΑΚΑΡΙΡΗ ΠΟΛΙΝ CΥΝ  
 ΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΚΟΜΑΝΑ ΠΟΛΙΝ CΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΚΥ ΒΙCΤΡΑ ΤΟΝ Ν CΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· CΕΒΑCΤΙΑΝ ΤΟΝ Ν CΥΝΤΗ (33) ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ  
 ΒΙΡΘΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ CΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ<sup>(1)</sup> ΡΑΚΟΥΝΔΙΑΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ CΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ<sup>(1)</sup> ΛΑΡΑΝΔΑΤΟΛΙ Ν CΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ ΙΚΟΝΙΗ ΠΟΛΙΝ  
 CΥΝΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΩ· ΠΑCΑCΤΑΥΤΑCΤΑC ΠΟΛΕΙC· (34) CΥΝΤΑΙC ΠΕΡΙΧΩΡΟΙC ΑΥΤΩΝ ΛΓ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥC ΤΟΥC ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥC  
 ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΡΑΠΗ ΗΓΑΓΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΩ ΕΘΝΕΙ ΤΩ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΕΡCΙΔΕΙ ΚΑΙ (35) ΕΝ  
 ΠΑΡΘΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΟΥΖΗΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑC CΥΡΙΑ<sup>(1)</sup> ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΟΙC ΕΡΟΙC ΕΘ<sup>(1)</sup> ΝΕCΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΑΡΧΟ<sup>(1)</sup> Ν ΟΠΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟC ΗΜΩΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΚΤΙCΜΑΤΑ ΗΝ ΕΚΕΙΑ ΥΤΟΥC (36) ΑΤΤΕΚΑΒΙCΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙC ΕΤΕΡΑ ΤΟΜΑ ΕΘΝΗ ΕΞΗΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΟΛΥ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΤΗΤΑ ΕΠΕΤΟΙΗΣΑΜΕΝ Α ΕΘΑΔΕΟΥ Κ<sup>(1)</sup> ΕΝ ΕΓΡΑΨΑΜΕΝ<sup>(1)</sup> ΠΑΝ ΤΑ ΤΟCΑΥΤΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΕΚΕΛΕΥCΑΜΕΝ ΓΡΑ  
 (37) ΦΗΝΑΙ ΙΝΑ ΟCΤΙC ΜΕΘΗΜΑC ΕCΤΑΙ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ<sup>(1)</sup> ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΕCΠΟΤΕΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΕΠΙΓΝΩCΕΤΑΙ  
 ΚΑΤΕΚΕΙΝΟ<sup>(1)</sup> ΟΤΙ ΟΙ ΘΕΟΙ ΗΜΑC ΟΥΤΩC ΔΑCΤΙΚΕΡΤΑ CΕΚΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙCΤΗΝ ΒΟΗΘΙΑ<sup>(1)</sup> (38) ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΑ<sup>(1)</sup> ΥΤΑ ΤΑCΑΥΤΑ ΕΘΝΗ ΕΞΗΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΧΟΜΕΝ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΙC ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΕΘΝΟC ΚΑΙ ΕΘΝΟC ΠΟΛΛΑ ΤΥΡΕΙΑ ΓΟΥΑΡΑΘΡΑΝ<sup>(1)</sup> ΙΔΡΥCΑΜΕΝ· ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙC ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙC  
 ΜΑΓΟΙC ΤΑΓΑΘΑ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑ (39) ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙC ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟΝΙΒΥCΤ ΚΑΘΙΔΡΥCΑΜΕΝ· ΤΥ<sup>(1)</sup> ΡΕΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΟCΤΡΩ CΑΒΟΥΡ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝ ΘΕΟΙC  
 ΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΝ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟC CΥΝΤΗΡΗCΙΝ· ΤΥΡΕΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΟCΤΡΩ ΑΔΟΥΡΑΝΑΙΔ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙC (40) ΑΔΟΥΡΑΝΑΙΔ  
 ΤΗC ΒΑCΙΛΙCΗC ΤΩΝ ΒΑCΙΛΙCΩΝ ΤΗC ΘΟΥΓΑΤΡΟC ΗΜΩΝ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟC CΥΝΤΗΡΗCΙΝ· ΚΑΙ ΤΥΡΕΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΟCΤΡΩ  
 ΟΡΜΙC ΔΑΡΤΑΖ ΕΙΡ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙCΤΗΝ ΟΡΜΙC ΔΑΡΤΑΖΙΡ· (41) ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑC ΥΙΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ<sup>(1)</sup>  
 ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟC CΥΝΤΗΡΗCΙΝ· ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΤΥΡΕΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΟCΤΡΩ CΑΒΟΥΡ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙCΤΗΝ CΑΒΟΥΡ ΤΟΥ ΜΗCΑΝΗΝΩΝ  
 ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΥΙΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ· (42) ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟC<sup>(1)</sup> CΥΝΤΗΡΗCΙΝ ΚΑΙ<sup>(1)</sup> ΤΥΡΕΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΧΟCΤΡΩ ΝΑΡC<sup>(1)</sup> ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΕΙC  
 ΤΗ<sup>(1)</sup> ΑΡΡΑΝ ΜΑC ΔΑCΝΟΥ ΝΑΡCΑΙΟΥ<sup>(1)</sup> ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΙΝΔΙΑC CΕΠCΤΗΝ ΗCΤΟΥΡΗΝ ΗC ΕΩC ΧΕΙΛΟΥC (43) ΘΑΛΑC<sup>(1)</sup> ΗC ΗC ΥΙΟΥ<sup>(1)</sup>  
 ΗΜΩΝ<sup>(1)</sup> ΕΙCΤΗΝ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟC<sup>(1)</sup> CΥΝΤΗΡΗCΙΝ· ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΟ ΟΤΟΥΤΟΙC ΤΟΙC ΠΥΡΙΟΙC<sup>(1)</sup> ΠΑΡΕCΧΟΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΘΟC  
 ΚΑΤΕCΤΗΣΑΜΕΝ ΟΜΩC ΠΑΝΤΑ (44) ΕΙC ΕΝ ΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑCΦΑΛΙCΜ<sup>(1)</sup> ΑΤΟCΤΗCΤΕΙΜΗC ΕΓΡΑΨΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ  
 ΤΩΝ ΧΕΙΛΙΩ<sup>(1)</sup> Ν ΠΤΡΟΒΑΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ Α<sup>(1)</sup> ΠΤΟΤΑΡ ΚΑΤΗCΙΝ ΕΘΙΜΩΝ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΟΝΤΩΝ· ΗΜΕΙC ΤΟΥΤΟΙC (45) ΤΟΙC ΤΥΡΕΙΟΙC  
 ΕΔΩΚΑΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΕΙΝΟ ΕΚΕΛΕΥ<sup>(1)</sup> CΑΜΕΝ ΙΝΑ ΓΕΙΝΗΤΑΙ ΕΙCΤΗ<sup>(1)</sup> Ν ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΠΤΡΟΒ<sup>(1)</sup> ΑΤΟΝ ΗΜΕΡΙCΙΟΝ<sup>(1)</sup> ΕΝ ΚΑΙ  
 ΑΡΤΩΝ ΜΟΔΙΟC ΕΙC ΗΜΙCΥC· ΟΙΝΟΥ ΠΑCΑΤΑC (46) ΤΕC CΕΡΑC ΕΙCΤΗΝ CΑCΑ<sup>(1)</sup> ΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΠΑ<sup>(1)</sup> ΚΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΚΑΙ  
 CΑΤΤΩΡΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΠΑΤΑΚΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡΟΥ ΒΑCΙ<sup>(1)</sup> ΛΕΩC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΚΑΙ ΧΟΡΝΑΝ ΖΗΜΤΗC ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΟΥC  
 (47) ΒΑCΙΛΙCΗC ΚΑΙ ΑΔΟΥΡΑΝΑΙΔ ΒΑCΙΛΙCΗC ΤΩΝ ΒΑCΙΛΙCΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΝΑΚΗC ΒΑCΙΛΙCΗC ΚΑΙ ΓΟΥΑΡΑΘΡΑΝΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC<sup>(1)</sup>

ΓΕΛΗΝΩΝ· ΚΑΙ ΣΑΠΩΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ· (48) ΜΗΣΑΝΗΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΩΡΜΙΣΔΑΡΤΑΖΑΡΟΥ ΜΗΓΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΣ  
 ΚΑΙ ΝΑΡΣΑΙΟΥ ΣΕΓΙΣΤΗΝΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΒΟΥΡΔΟΥΚΤΑ· (49) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΕΣΜΑΚΤΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΑΣ  
 ΚΑΙ ΠΤΗΡΩΖΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΥΡΡΩΔ ΚΥΡΙΑΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΣΑΠΩΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΝΑΡΣΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ  
 ΚΑΙ ΡΩΔ (50) ΔΟΥΚΤΚΩΡΗΣ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ ΑΝΩΣΑΚ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΥΡΑΖ ΔΟΥΚΤΚΩΡΗΣ ΧΟΡΦΑΝΖΗΜ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΑΡΙΑΔ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΩΡΜΙΣΔΑΚ  
 ΥΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΩΡΜΙΣΔΑΚ ΚΑΙ ΩΡΜΙΣΔΑΚ ΚΑΙ (51) ΟΔΑΒΑΧΘ ΚΑΙ ΓΟΥΑΡΑΘΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΒΟΥΡ ΚΑΙ  
 ΠΤΗΡΩΖ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΣΑΝΗΝΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΥΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΒΟΥΡΔΟΥΚΤΑΚ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΣΑΝΗΝΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΩΡΜΙΣΔΑΚ ΔΟΥΚΤΑΚΘ  
 (52) ΓΑΤΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΣΕΓΙΣΤΑΝΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΝΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΑΡΤΩΝ ΜΟΔΙΟΝ ΕΝ ΑΗΜΙΣΥ ΟΙΝΟΥ ΠΑΣΕΟΥΣ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑΣ  
 ΚΑΚΕΙΝΑΤΑ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΑ ΑΠΕΡΕΚΕΙΘΕΝ ΠΕΡΙΣΣΕΥΕΙ ΕΩΣ ΕΞ ΑΡΚΕΩΣ (53) ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΗΜΕΙΣ ΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΑΜΕΝ  
 ΕΙΣ ΜΝΕΙΑΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΜΑΓΕΥΣΩΣΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΕΝΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝ ΕΣΤΗΚΕΝ ΤΩ ΝΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΑΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΗΣ ΕΙΔΥΤ.  
 (54) ΑΡΖΑΝΤΩΝ· ΣΑΚΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΗΝΗΑΝ· ΦΗ ΑΡΡΕΚΦΑΡΡΙΚΑΝ ΓΟΥΑΡΑΝΤΑ· ΩΡΙΓΑΝ· ΑΣΤΩΡΙΚ· ΑΣΤΩΡΙΓΑΝ· ΠΩΡΙΚ· ΜΕΡΔΙΓΑΝ·  
 ΖΙΓ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΠΝΟΚΑΝΤΟΡΟΣ· ΣΑΠΩΡΟΥ ΓΟΥΕΖΗΝΙΓΑΝ· ΣΑΠΩΡΟΥ ΜΕΕΡΩΖ (55) ΝΗΓΑΝ· ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΕΙΑΣ ΥΠΑΡΖΑΝΤΩΝ· ΣΑΤΑΡ· ΟΤΤ· ΑΒΡΗΝΑΚ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ· ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡΟΥ ΜΑΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ· ΑΡΤΑΖΙΡ· ΚΕΡΜΑΝ  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ· ΑΡΤΑΖΙΡ· ΣΙΓΑΝ (56) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΝΙΚ· ΠΑΒΑΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΡΩΔΑΚΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ· ΔΗΝΑΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΩΝ ΠΑΤΑΚΑΝ ΑΡΤΑΖΕΙΡ· ΒΙΔΙΣ· ΠΑΒΑΚΟΥ ΑΖΑΡΟΠΤ (57) ΔΗΝΗ ΓΟΥΑΖΟΥ  
 ΣΑΚΑΝ· ΣΟΥΡΗΝ· ΣΑΚΑΝ· ΙΝΔΗΓΑΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΟΥ· ΠΤΗΡΩΖ· ΚΑΡΗΝ· ΓΩΩΚ· ΚΑΡΗΝ· ΑΒΟΥΡ· ΣΑΜΑΡΤΑΖΙΡ· ΟΥΦ· ΓΗΛΙΜΑΝ· ΑΠΟ  
 ΔΟΥΜΒΛΟΥΝΑ ΡΟΖ· ΣΛΑΠΙΤΟΥ· ΜΑΡΔ· ΔΙΒΙΡ· ΟΥΠ· ΠΑΒΑΚ· ΤΟΥ (58) ΔΕΙΠΝΟΚΑΝΤΟΡΟΣ· ΠΑΖΗΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΣΠΕΡΙΓΑΝ· ΟΥΙΦΕΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ  
 ΟΥΙΦΕΡΙΓΑΝ· ΜΕΡΧΟΥΑΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΕΡΗΣΙΓΑΝ· ΧΟΥΜΑΦΡΑΤ· ΜΑΖΙΓΑΝ· ΠΕΔΗΡΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΖΗΝΙΠΙΤ· ΤΖΕΡΙΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΟΥ ΟΥΑΡΔΑΝ ΤΟΥ  
 ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΘΗΣ (59) ΜΕΕΡΙΚ ΤΟΥ ΣΣΕΡΙΓΑΝ· ΖΗΚ· ΖΑΒΡΙΚΑΝ· ΣΑΓΒΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΝΗΓΙΟΥ ΧΟΥΝ· ΙΚΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΩΝΗΣ ΔΙΕΗΝ  
 ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΙΝΟΥ· ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΣΠΟΤΕΙΑΝ ΗΜΩΝ ΓΕΓΟΝΟΤ· ΝΑΡΤΑΖΑΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (60) ΤΗΣ ΑΔΙΑΒΗΝΗΣ· ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡΟΥ  
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΙΡΜΑΝΖΗΝΗΣ· ΔΗΝΑΚΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΜΗΣΩΝ· ΔΑΣΤΙΚ· ΕΡΤ· ΣΑΠΩΡ· ΑΜΑΖΑΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ΙΒΗΡΙΑΣ  
 ΟΥΑΛ· ΔΑΚΣΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΥΙΟΥ ΠΑΒΑΚΟΥ· ΣΑΚΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (61) ΤΟΥ ΣΤΑΡΙΚΑΝ ΤΡΑΦΕΝΤΟΣ· ΣΑΚΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ  
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 ΓΟΥΑΝΝΑΜΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΡΑΠΟΥ· ΦΡΕΙΚΟΥ· ΓΟΥΕΑΝΤΙΟΧ· ΣΑΒΩΡ· ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ· ΣΤΗΝΔ· ΣΑΙΜΟΥΣΤΟΥ· ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡ· ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡΙ· ΣΝΟΥΜ· ΠΑΖΗΡ· ΤΑΜ· ΣΑΒΟΥΡ  
 ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡ· ΓΩΜΑΝ· ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ (63) ΤΙΑΣ· ΜΙΚ· ΝΙ· ΣΑΒΩΡ· ΓΟΥΑΝΝΑΜ· ΣΑΠΩΡ· ΣΝΟΥΜ· ΤΙΡΜΕΡ· ΣΑΡΑ· ΚΑΡΤΩΝ· ΚΑΣΤΕ· ΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ· ΖΙΚ·  
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 ΚΗ· ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ (64) ΚΙΡ· ΔΙ· ΣΤΡΩ· ΠΙΤ· ΥΑ· ΣΟΥ· Π· ΑΠΑΚΟΥ· ΟΥΙΣ· ΠΕΡΙΓΑΝ· ΟΥΑΛ· ΑΣΟΥ· ΣΑΩΚΑΝ· ΙΗΣ· ΔΙ· ΒΑΔ· ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΩΝ· ΑΝΔ· ΑΡ· ΖΑ· ΒΙ· Δ· ΠΑ· ΠΑΚΟΥ ΤΟΥ  
 ΣΛΑΘΟΦΟΡΟΥ· ΝΑΡΣΑΙΟΥ· ΡΙΝ· Δ· ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ· ΤΙΑΝΙΚ· ΑΜΙΔΑΝ· ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ· ΓΟΥ· ΑΒΑΔ· ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑΣ (65) ΔΙ· Ω· ΜΕ· Ρ· ΟΥ· ΡΑΣΤΙΓΑΝ·  
 ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡΟΥ· ΓΥΙΦΕΡΙΓΑΝ· ΑΒΟΥΡ· ΣΑΜ· ΣΑΒΩΡ· ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΡΙΓΑΛΩΝ· ΝΑΡΣΑΙΟΥ· ΒΑΡΡ· ΓΑΝ· ΣΑΒΩΡ· ΝΑΡ· ΣΗΓΑΝ· ΝΑΡΣΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΣ  
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 ΔΗ· ΣΒ· Η· ΔΙ· ΓΑΝ· ΚΑΡ· ΤΕΙΡ· ΜΑΓΟΥ· ΡΑΣΤΑΚ· ΓΥΕ· ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡ· ΩΝ· ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ· ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡΟΥ· ΠΙΤ· ΙΣΙΓΑΝ· ΜΕΕΡ· ΧΟΥ· ΑΣΤ· ΓΑΝ· ΖΟ· ΦΥΛΑΚΟΣ· ΣΑΠΩΡΟΥ· ΕΠΙ ΤΡΑΠΟΥ  
 ΑΣΤΑΤ· ΜΕΕΡΑΝ· ΕΠΙ ΕΚΙΣΤΟΛΩΝ· ΣΑΚΑΝ (67) ΕΥ· ΝΟΥ· ΧΟΥ· ΣΑΚΑΝ· ΓΑΝ· ΟΥ· ΟΡ· ΩΔ· ΑΓΟΡΑ· ΝΟΜΟΥ· ΑΡΤΑΖΑΡΟΥ· ΝΗΡ· Ζ· ΣΑΤΡΑΠΟΥ· ΒΑ· ΔΟΥ·  
 ΓΟΥ· ΔΙ· ΒΗΓΑΝ· ΚΙΡ· ΔΕΙΡ· ΙΡ· ΔΟΥ· ΑΝ· ΖΑΡΟΥ· ΑΝ· ΔΑΤ· ΒΑ· ΝΔΙΓΑΝ· Γ· ΥΙΝ· ΝΑΡ· ΣΑ· ΚΑΝ· ΓΑΝ· ΜΑΝ· ΖΙΚ· ΕΥ· ΝΟΥ· ΧΟΥ· ΣΑΚΑΝΟΥ· ΔΙΚΑΣΤΟΥ· ΟΥΑΡ· ΔΑΝ· ΟΥ·  
 ΝΑ· ΣΑ· ΔΙ· ΓΑΝ· ΟΥ· ΑΡ· ΔΙΚ· ΓΟΥ· ΑΡ· ΤΑ (68) ΖΙ· ΒΙ· Δ· Ο· ΜΟΥ· ΠΡΟ· ΒΑΤΟΝ· ΕΝ· ΑΡ· ΤΟΥ· ΜΟ· ΔΙΟΝ· ΕΝ· ΑΗ· ΜΙ· ΣΥ· ΟΙ· ΝΟΥ· ΠΑ· ΣΑΤ· ΟΥ· Σ· ΤΕ· ΣΣΑ· ΡΕ· Σ· ΝΥ· ΝΩ· ΣΠΕ· Ρ·  
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 (70) ΑΥΤΩ· Ε· Σ· ΟΝ· ΤΑΙ· ΚΑΙ· ΔΑΣΤΙΚΙ· Ρ· ΤΗ· Ν· Ε· ΑΥΤΩ· Ν· ΠΟΙ· Η· Σ· ΟΝ· ΤΑΙ·

<sup>(1)</sup> זעלען זיין פארשטאנד פון דער פאליטיק פון דער  
 געזעלשאפט פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק  
 פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק  
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 פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק

<sup>(2)</sup> פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק  
 פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק  
 פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק  
 פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק  
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 פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק

<sup>(3)</sup> פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק  
 פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק  
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 פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק פון דער פאליטיק

[illegible]

Plate 14. Kartir KZ, lines 4-6. Copied from replica, controlled by photographs

זעטענדיג פאר אים זעטענדיג פאר אים זעטענדיג פאר אים  
 זעטענדיג פאר אים זעטענדיג פאר אים זעטענדיג פאר אים

כאשר לבעד נהיה נחמד ונחמד

[illegible][illegible]

דעם צווייטן זאל מען נישט שטימען און ער וואלט דאס געזאגט אז ער וועט נישט קומען.

ה' אלוקינו ה' אלוקינו ה' אלוקינו ה' אלוקינו ה' אלוקינו

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

Plate 16. Kartir KZ, lines 10-12. Copied from replica, controlled by photographs

[illegible]

מזל טוב לך ולביתך  
(14)

[illegible]

כחצוהו ה' עמנו ויהי כחצוהו ה' עמנו  
כחצוהו ה' עמנו ויהי כחצוהו ה' עמנו

(15)

[illegible][illegible]

Plate 17. Kartir KZ, lines 13-15. Copied from replica, controlled by photographs

[illegible][illegible]

הר עמיאלם הר עמיאלם הר עמיאלם הר עמיאלם הר עמיאלם  
(18)

[illegible]

האם לא ידוע לכם שיש בזה חשש להפגזת המבצע?

[illegible]

כתובת טעם שרף בעצב כלל שם בעצב צדק בלוי טעם שרף בעצב צדק בלוי טעם שרף בעצב צדק בלוי

אנחנו עובדים צדקה פזל ישראלי

Plate 18. Kartir KZ, lines 16-19. Copied from replica, controlled by photographs

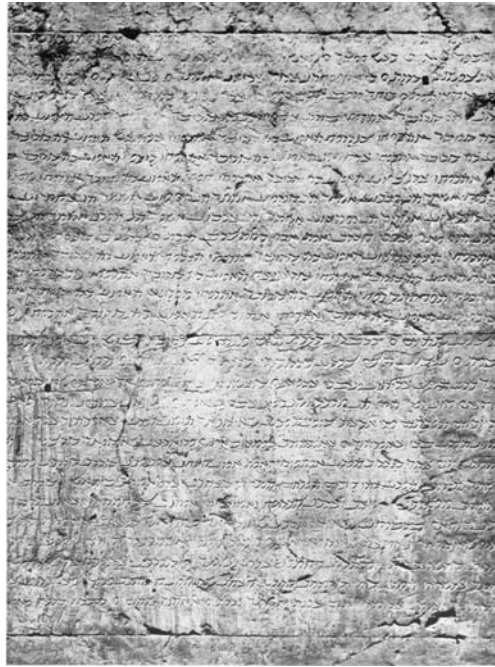


- (1) קוואר נא - נאמא
- (2) ונאמא נאמא - נאמא
- (3) נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא
- (4) נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא
- (5) נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא
- (6) נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא
- (7) נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא
- (8) נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא
- (9) נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא
- (10) נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא נאמא

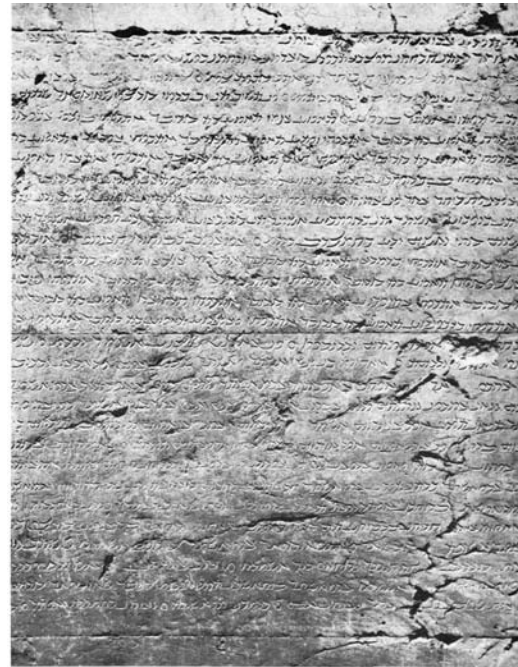
Plate 19. A. Kartir NRj. B. Inscription in Book-Pahlavi on column fragment



e



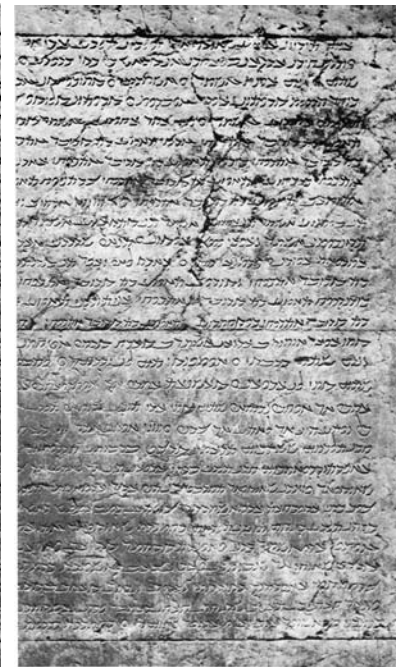
d



c



b



a

Plate 20a-e: Shahpuhr KZ. Parthian. Original. Scale, 1:5



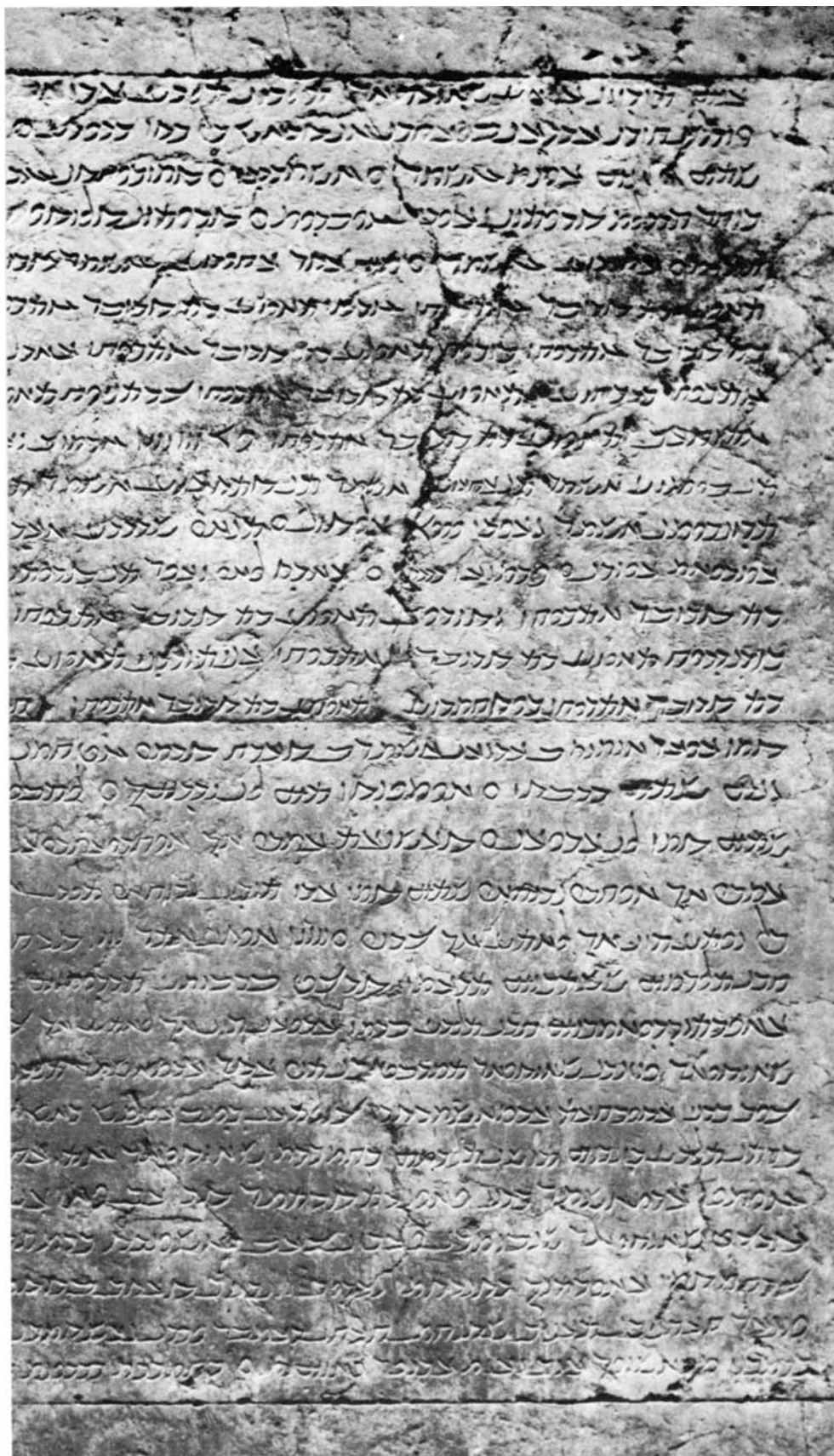


Plate 20a: Shahpuhr KZ. Parthian. Original. Scale, 1:5





Plate 20b: Shahpuhr KZ. Parthian. Original. Scale, 1:5



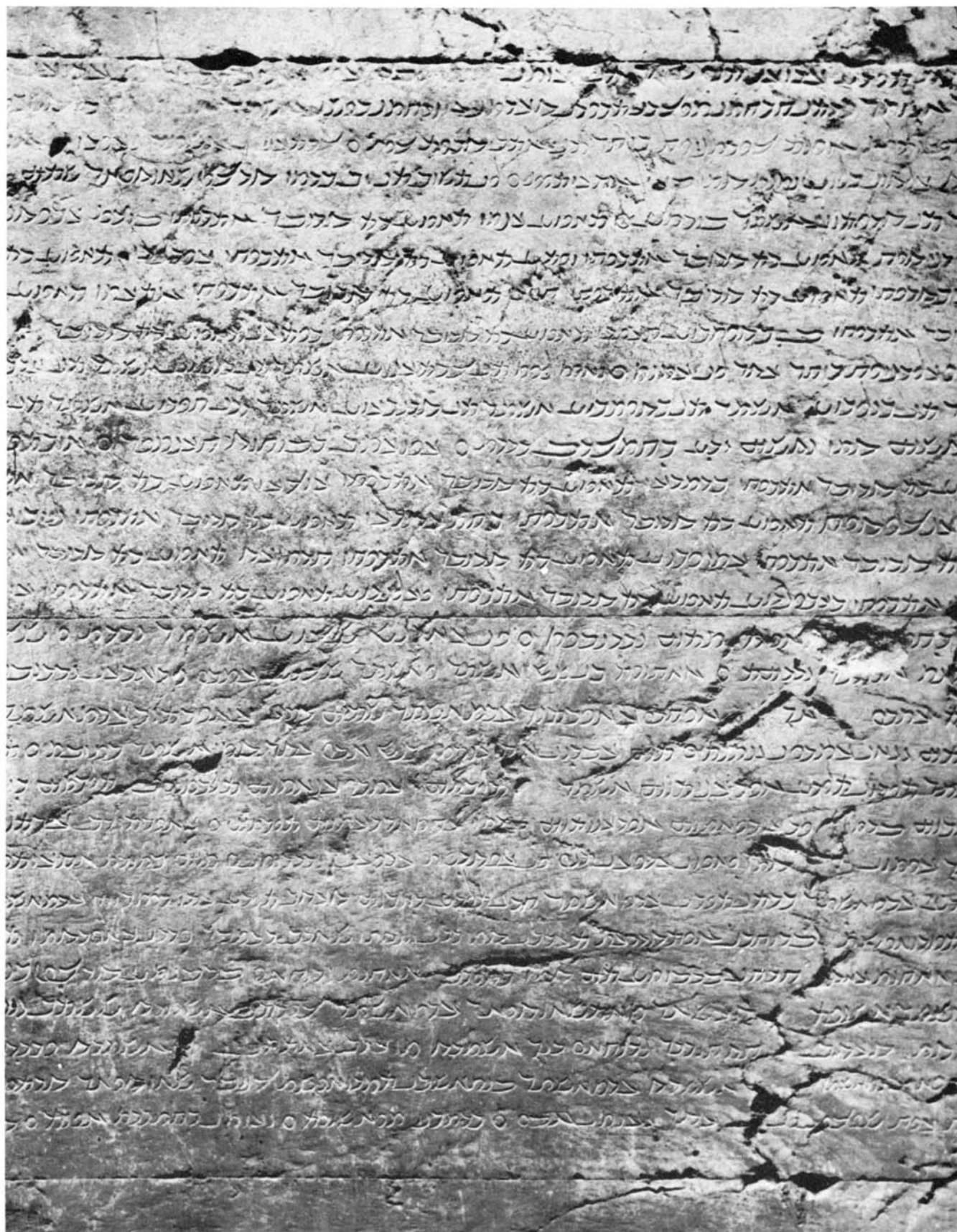


Plate 20c: Shahpuhr KZ. Parthian. Original. Scale, 1:5



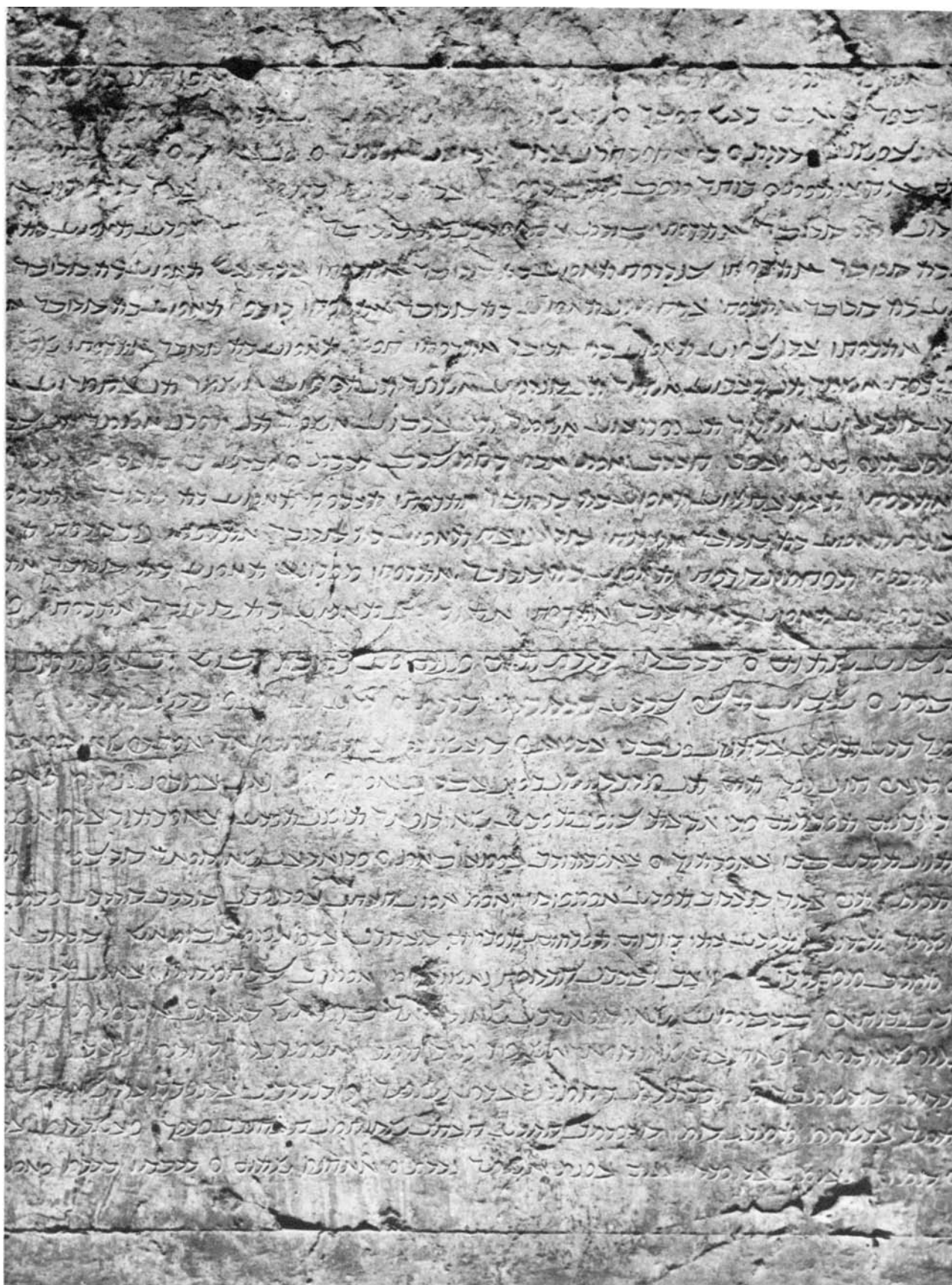


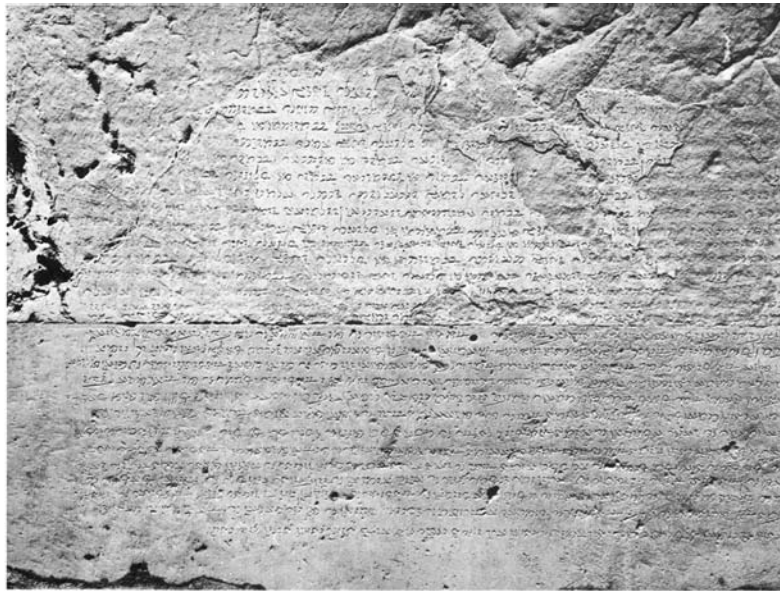
Plate 20d: Shahpuhr KZ. Parthian. Original. Scale, 1:5



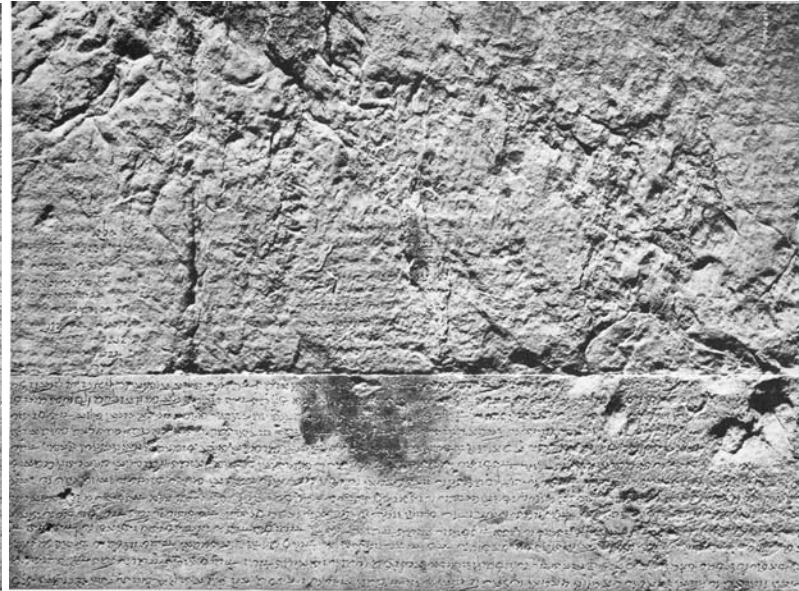


Plate 20e: Shahpuhr KZ. Parthian. Original. Scale, 1:5





c



b



a

Plate 21a-c: Shahpuhr KZ. Middle Persian. Original. Scale, 1:5





Plate 21a: Shahpuhr KZ. Middle Persian. Original. Scale, 1:5





Plate 21b: Shahpuhr KZ. Middle Persian. Original. Scale, 1:5



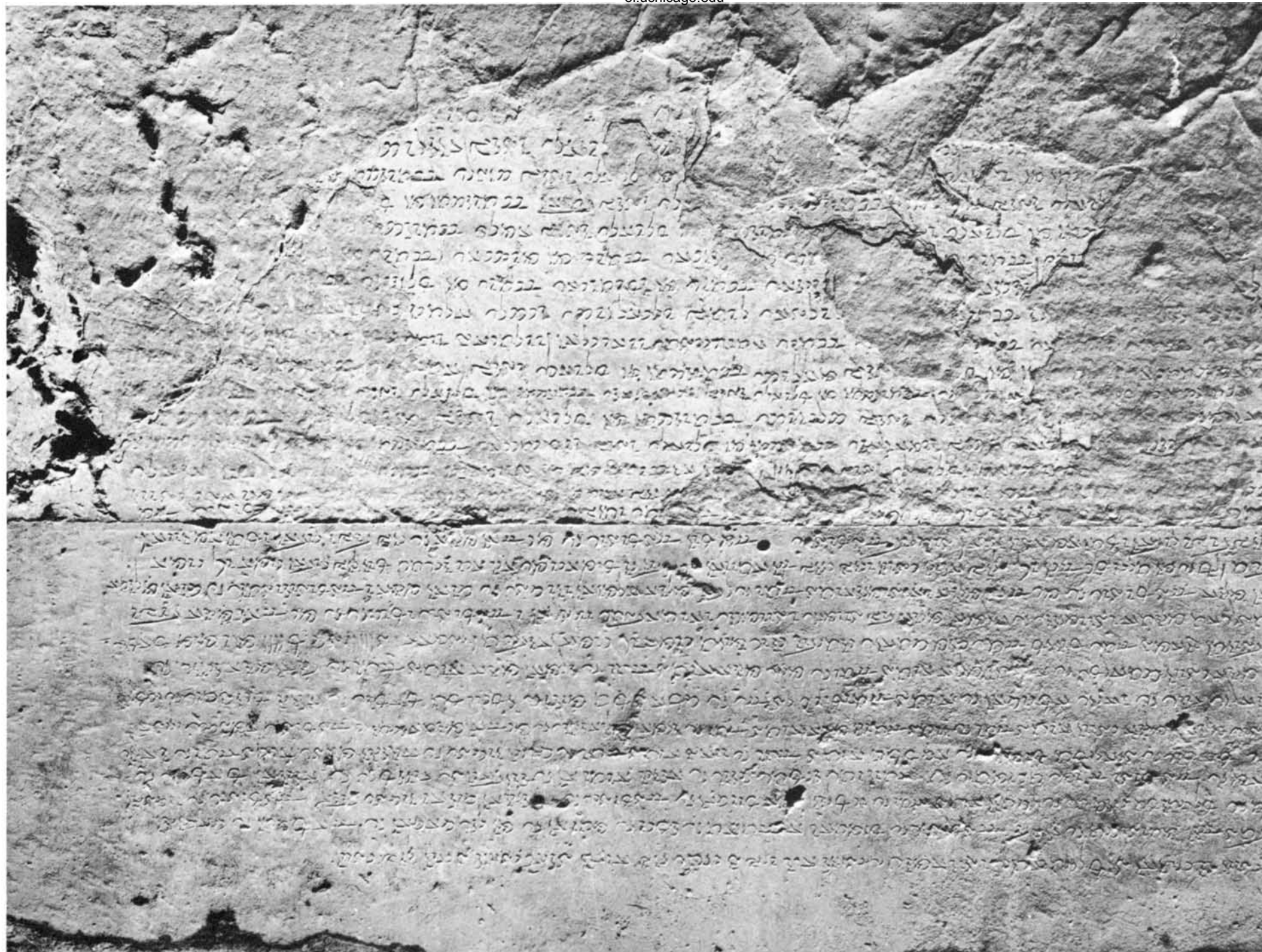
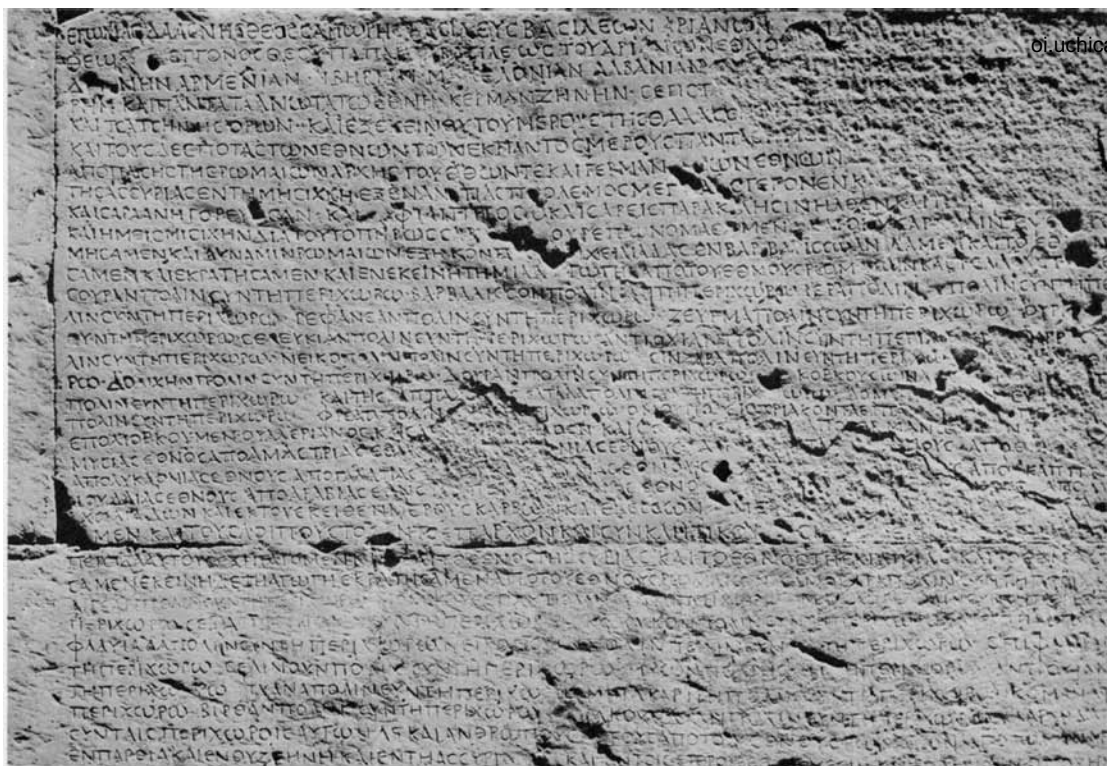
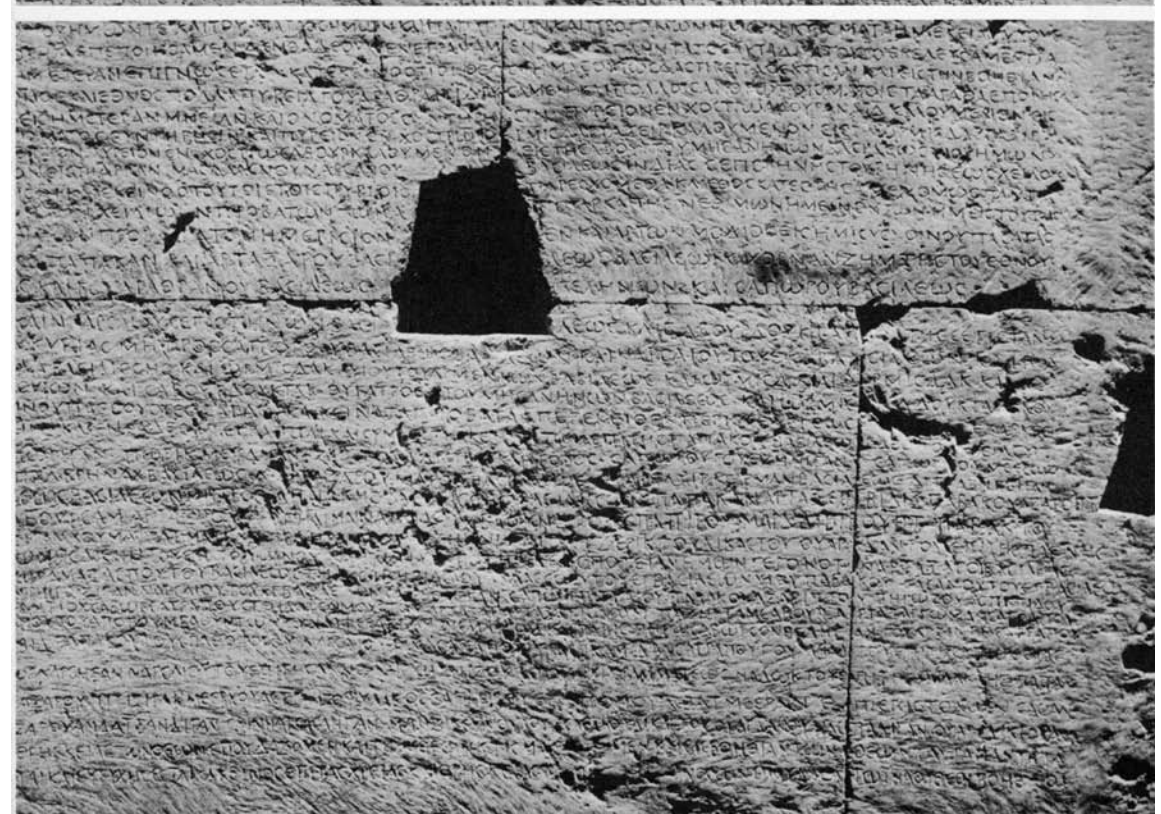
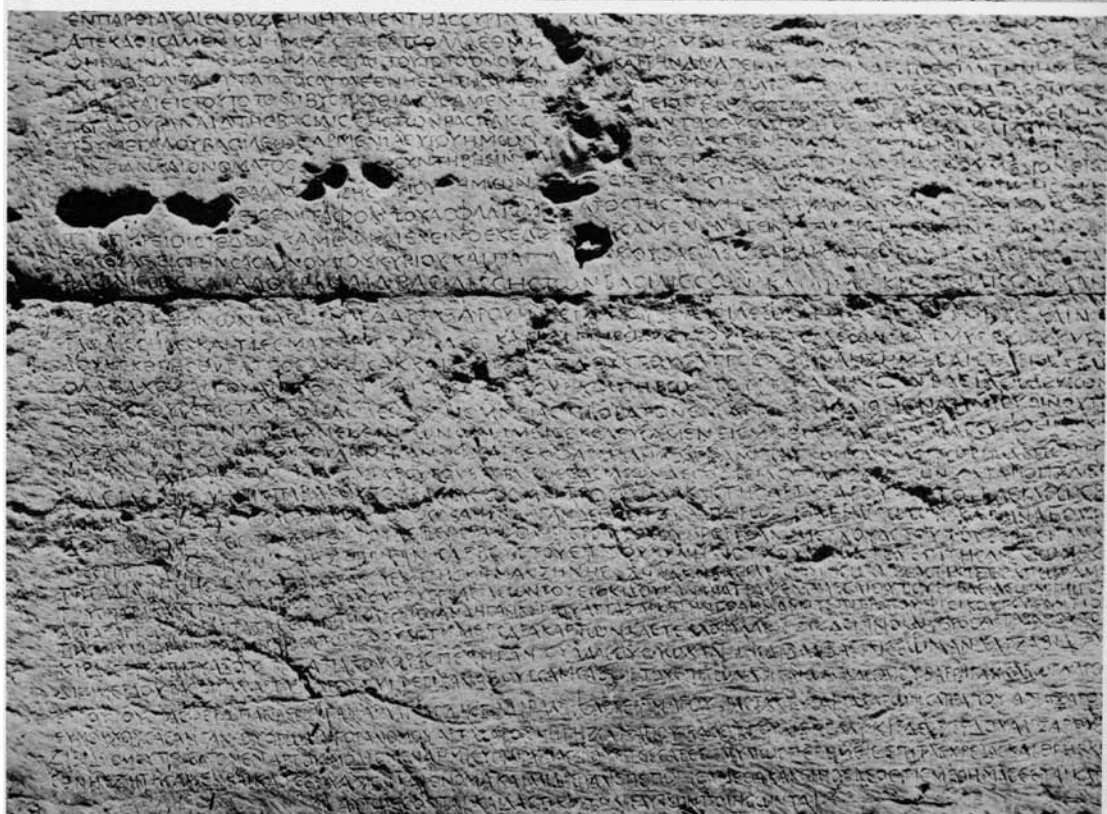
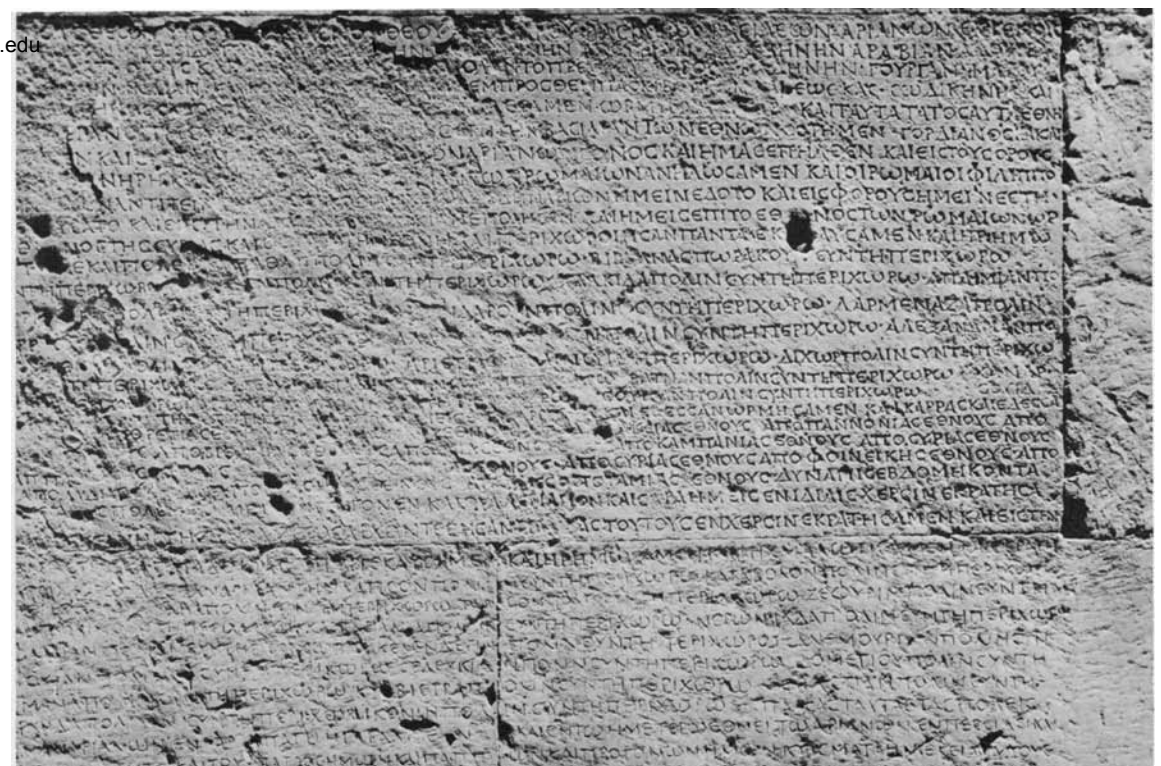


Plate 21c: Shahpuhr KZ. Middle Persian. Original. Scale, 1:5





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a

b

Plate 22a–b: The Greek of Sapor KZ. Original. Scale, 1:5



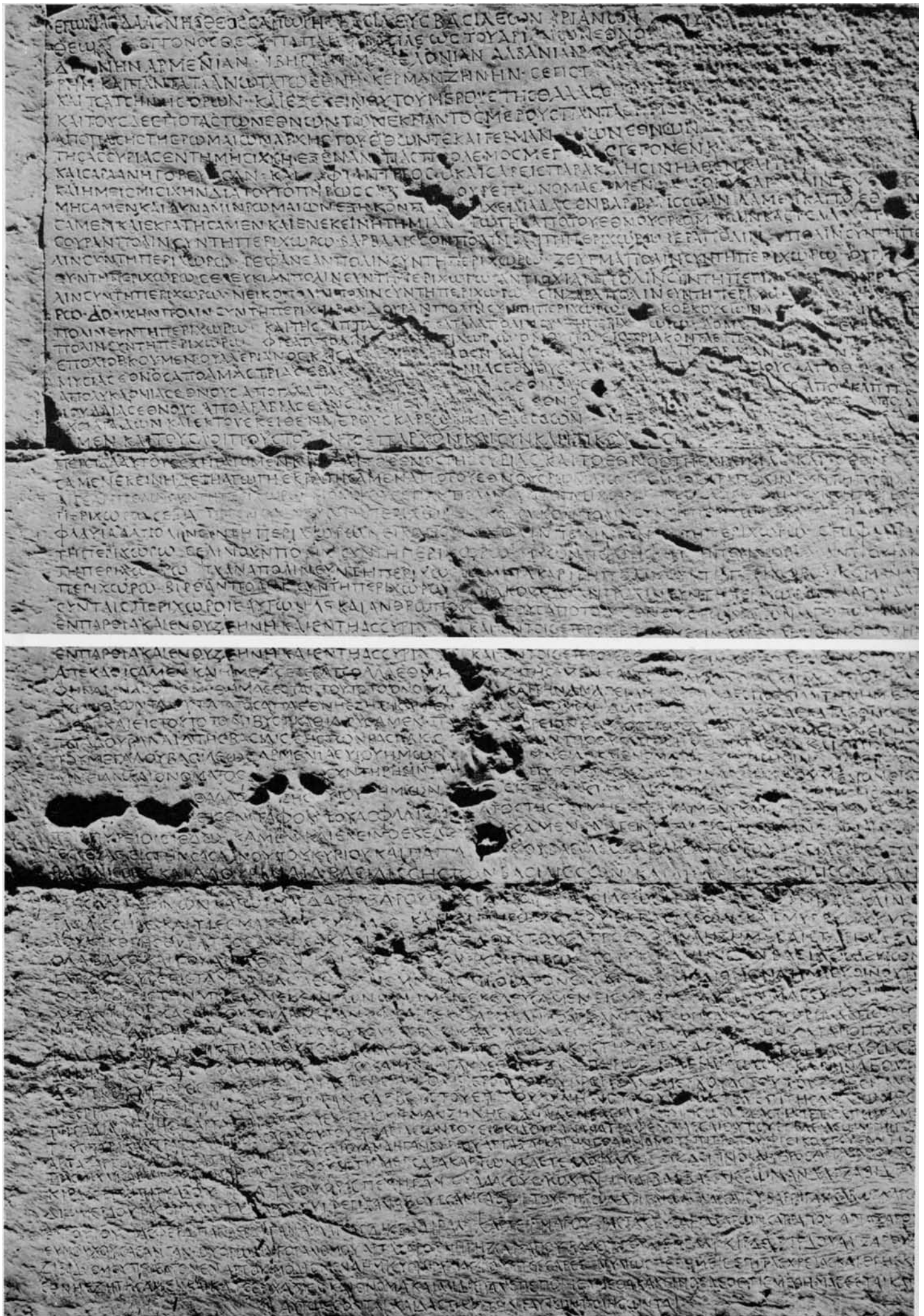


Plate 22a: The Greek of Sapor KZ. Original. Scale, 1:5



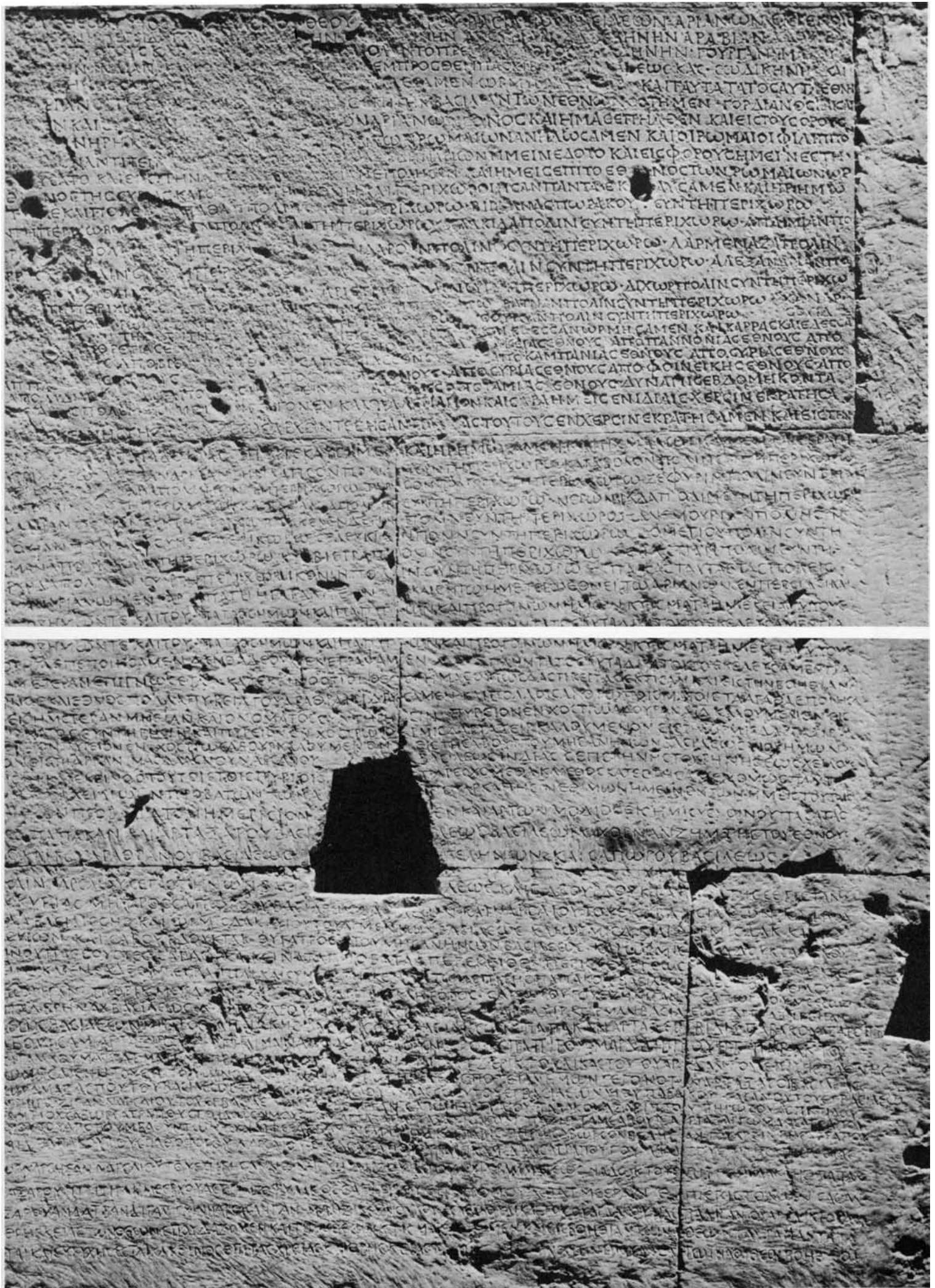
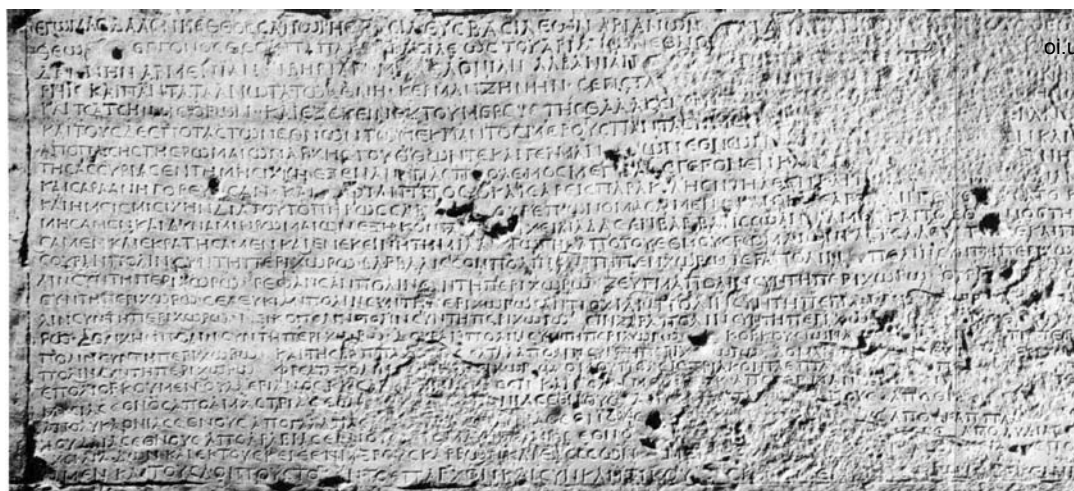


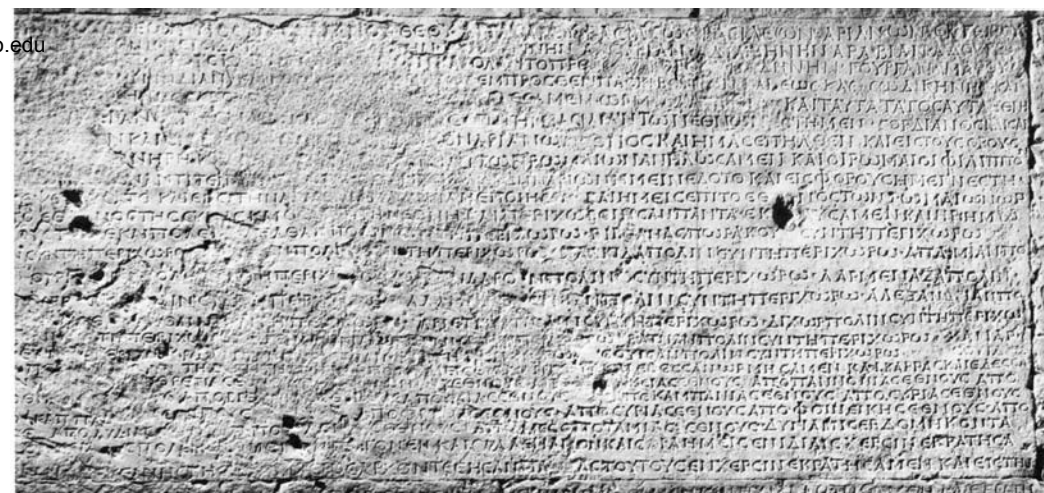
Plate 22b: The Greek of Sapor KZ. Original. Scale, 1:5



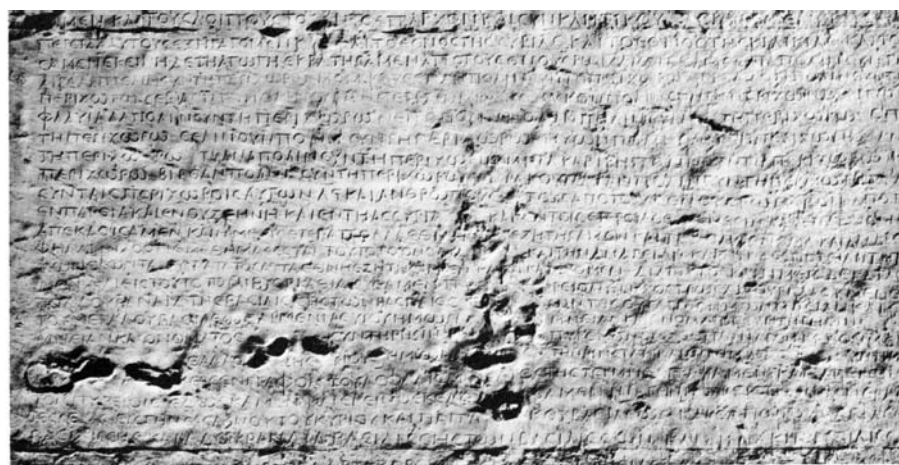


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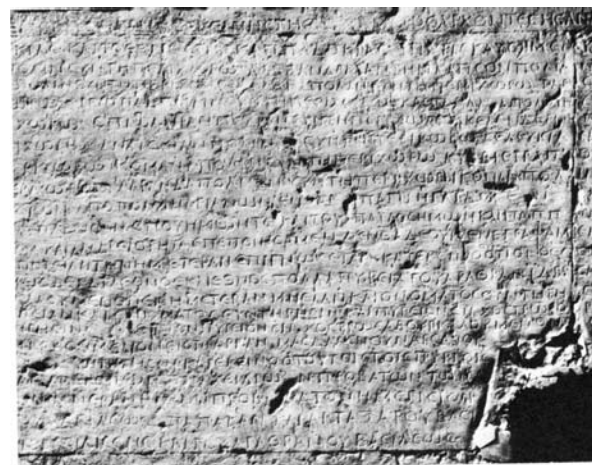
a



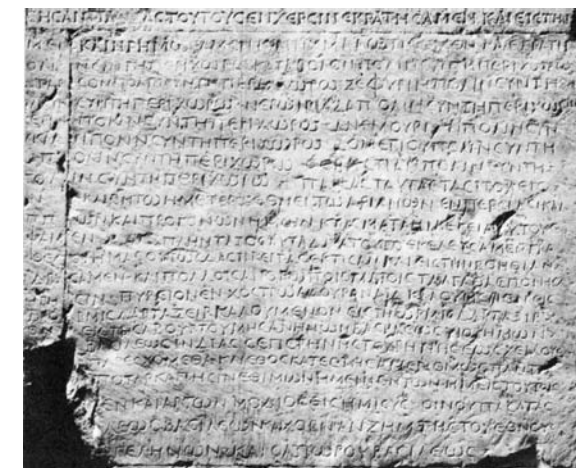
b



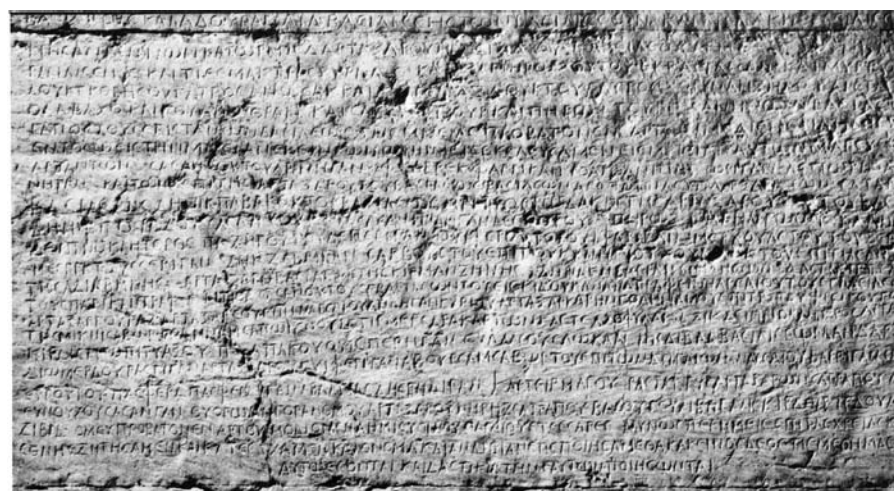
c



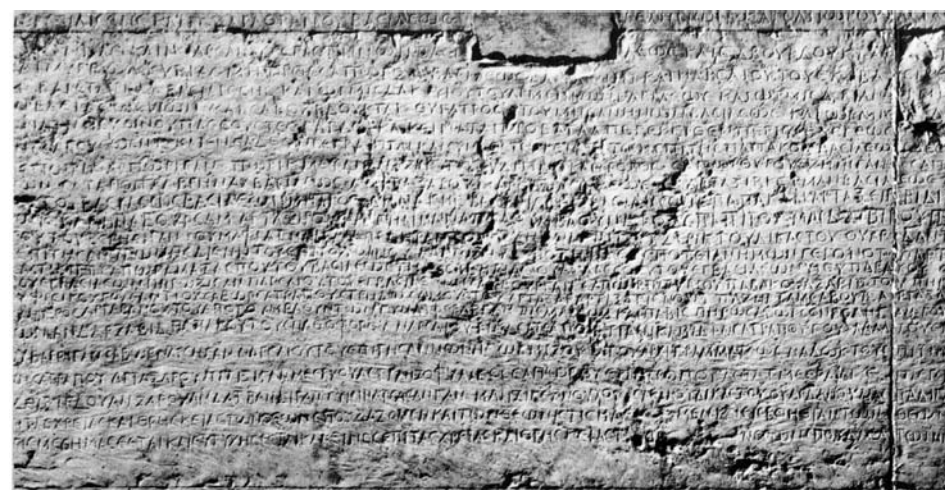
d



e



f



g



h

Plate 23a-h: The Greek of Sapor KZ. Replica of rubberoid squeeze. Scale, 1:5



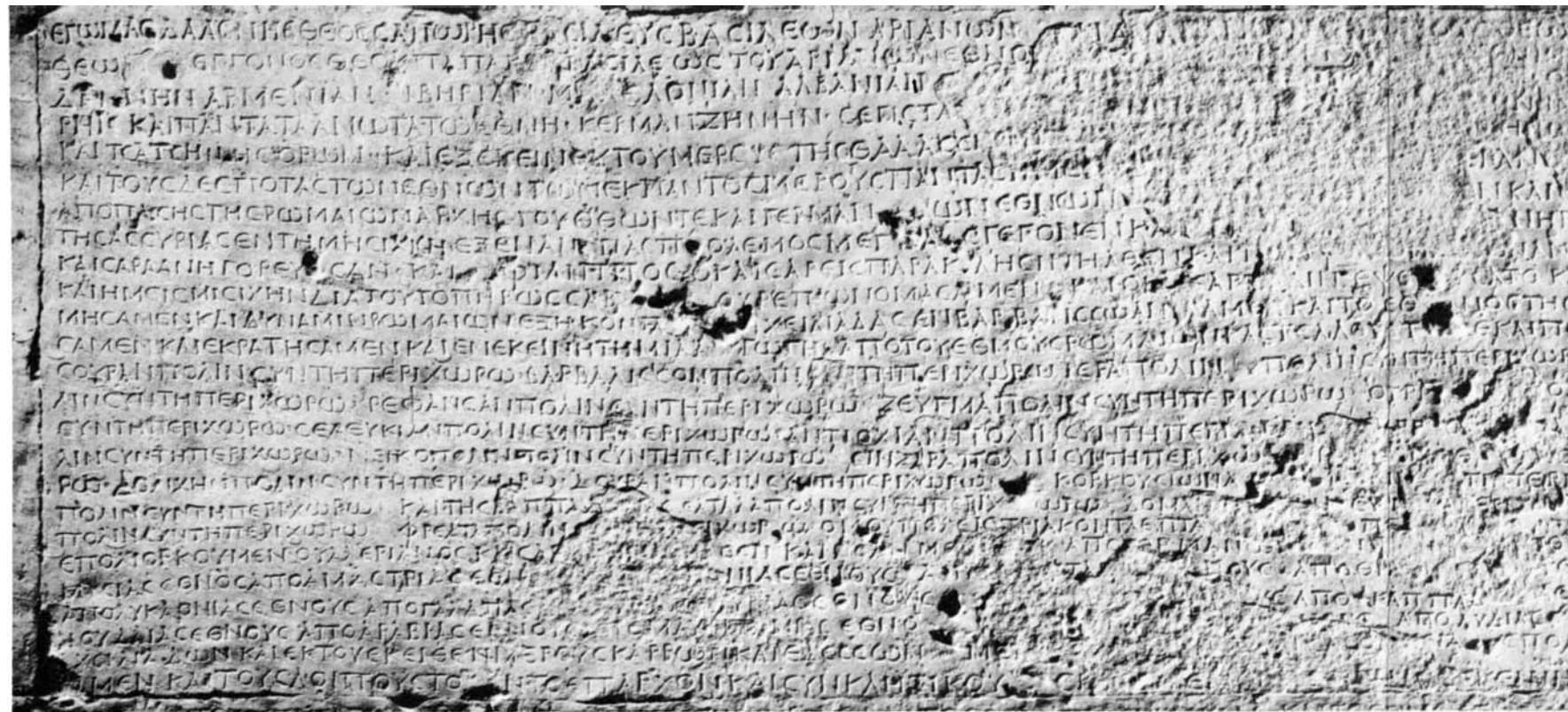


Plate 23a: The Greek of Sapor KZ. Replica of rubberoid squeeze. Scale, 1:5

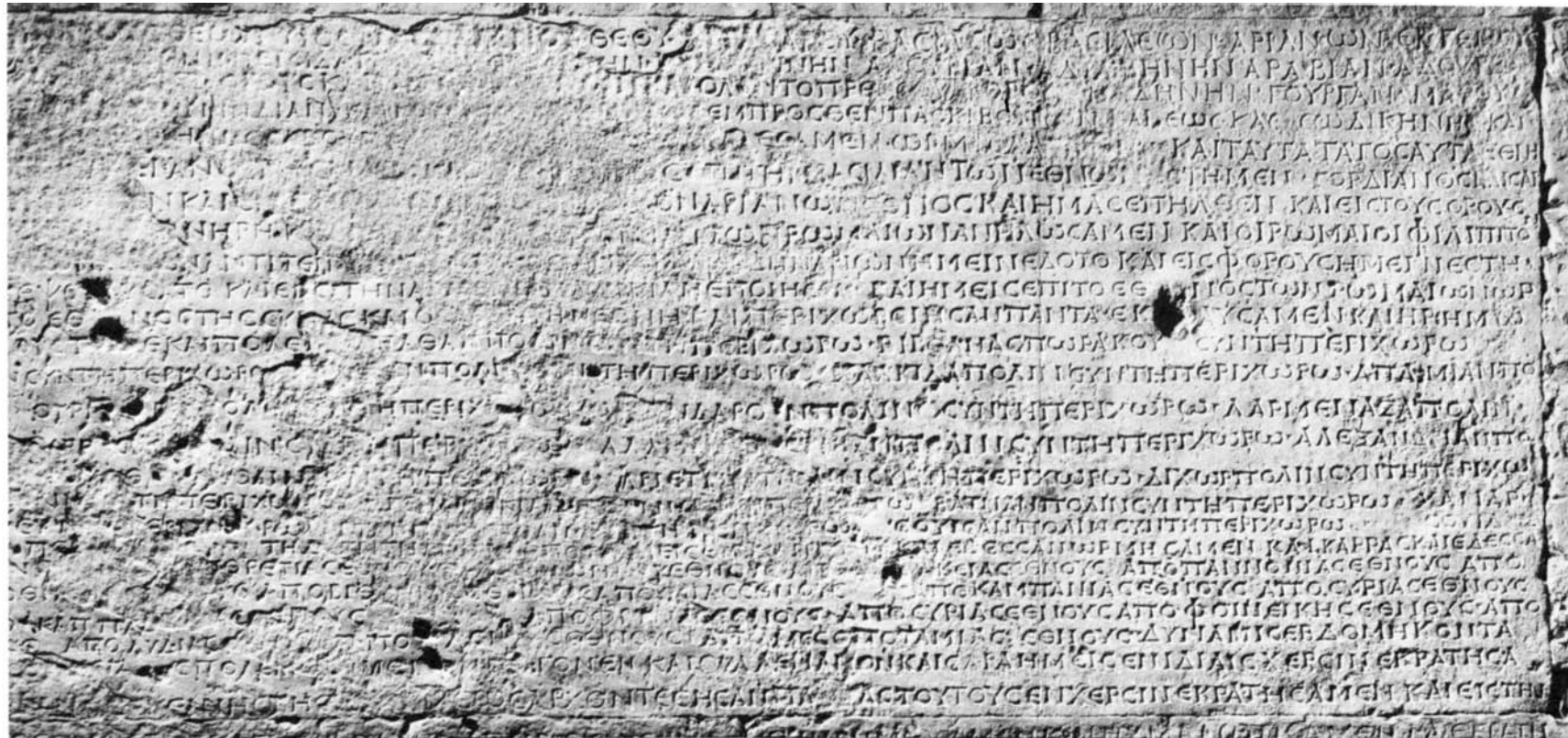


Plate 23b: The Greek of Sapor KZ .Replica of rubberoid squeeze. Scale, 1:5



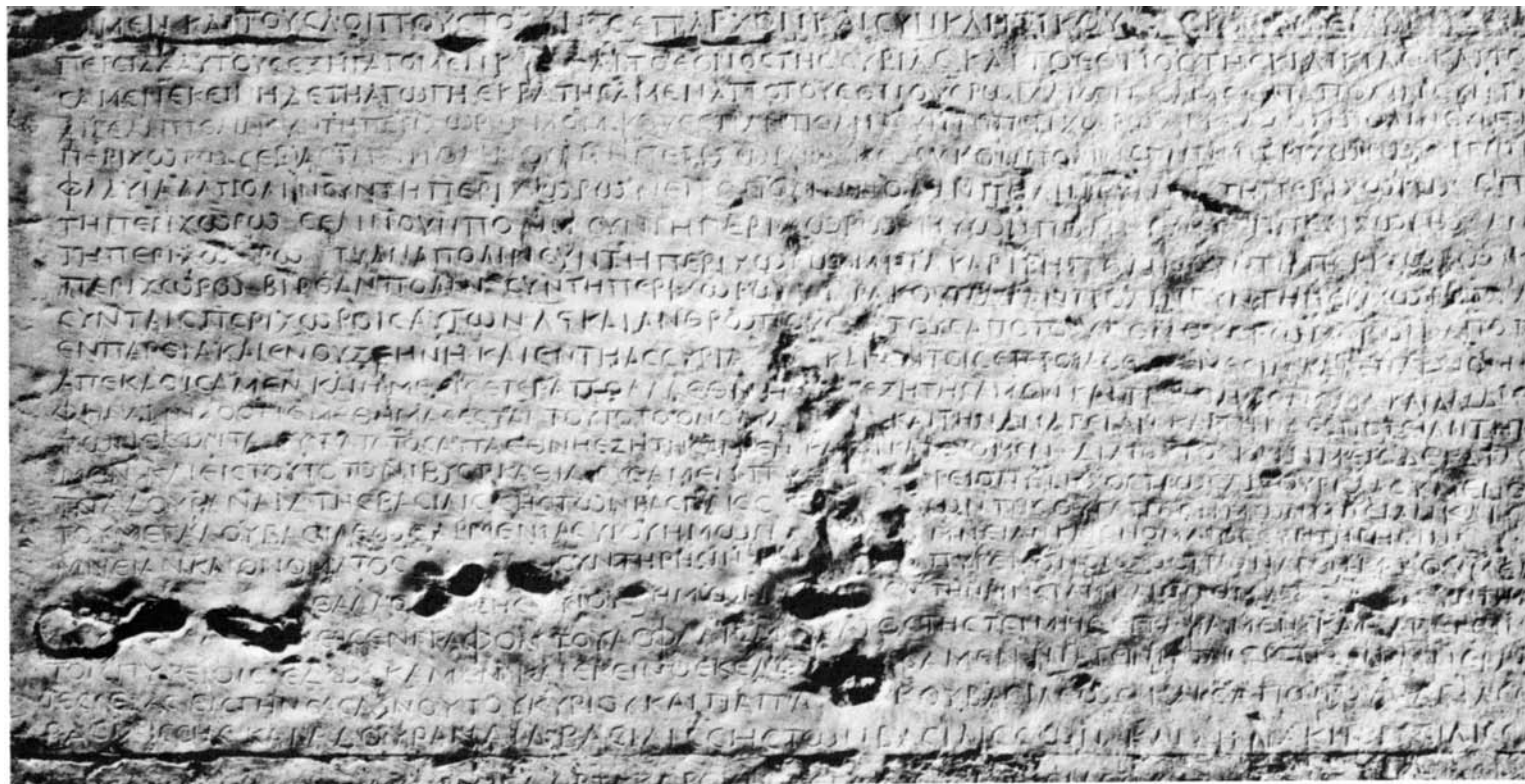
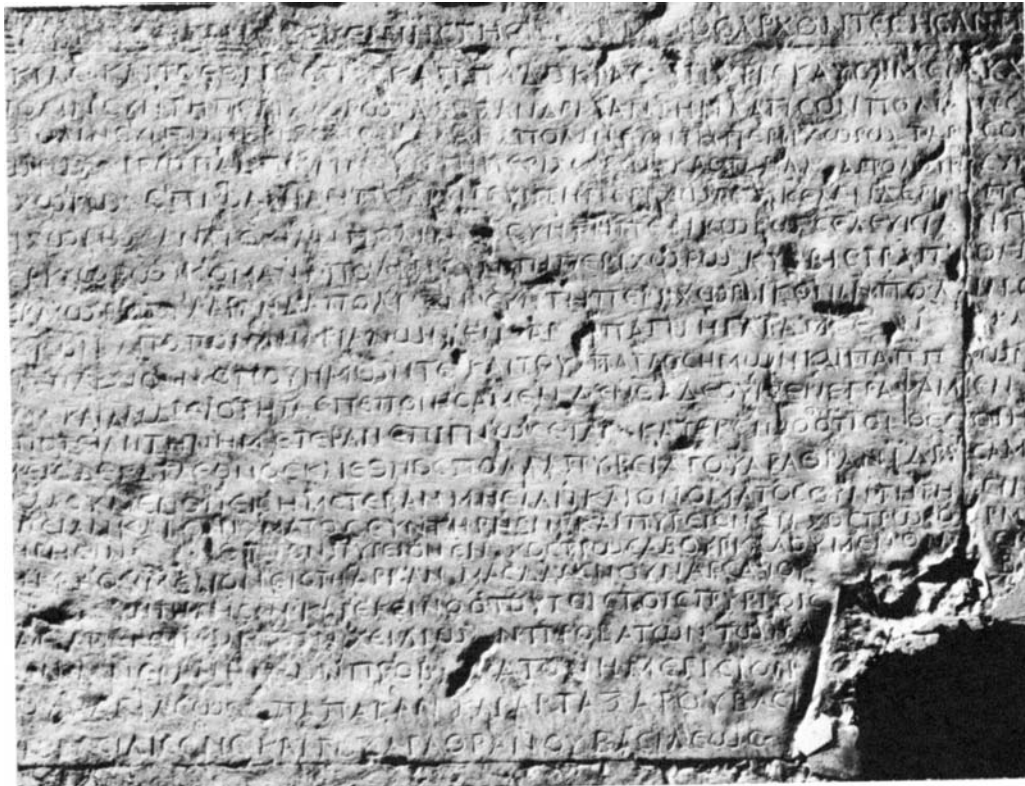
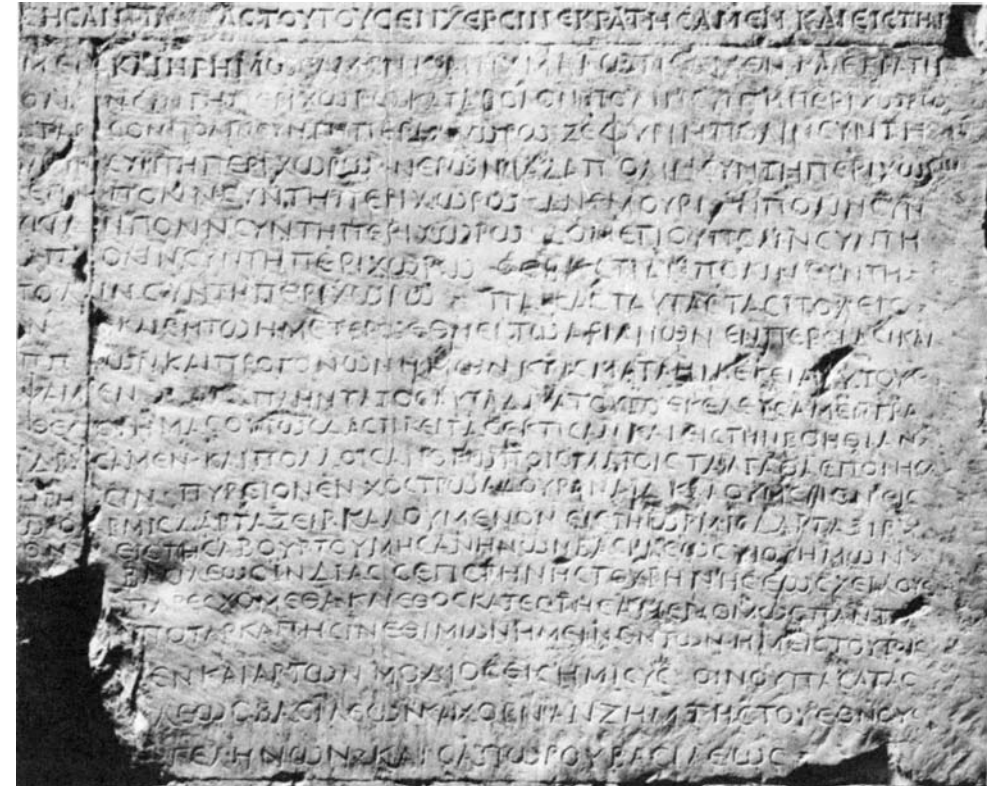


Plate 23c: The Greek of Sapor KZ .Replica of rubberoid squeeze. Scale, 1:5



d



e

Plate 23d-e: The Greek of Sapor KZ .Replica of rubberoid squeeze. Scale, 1:5



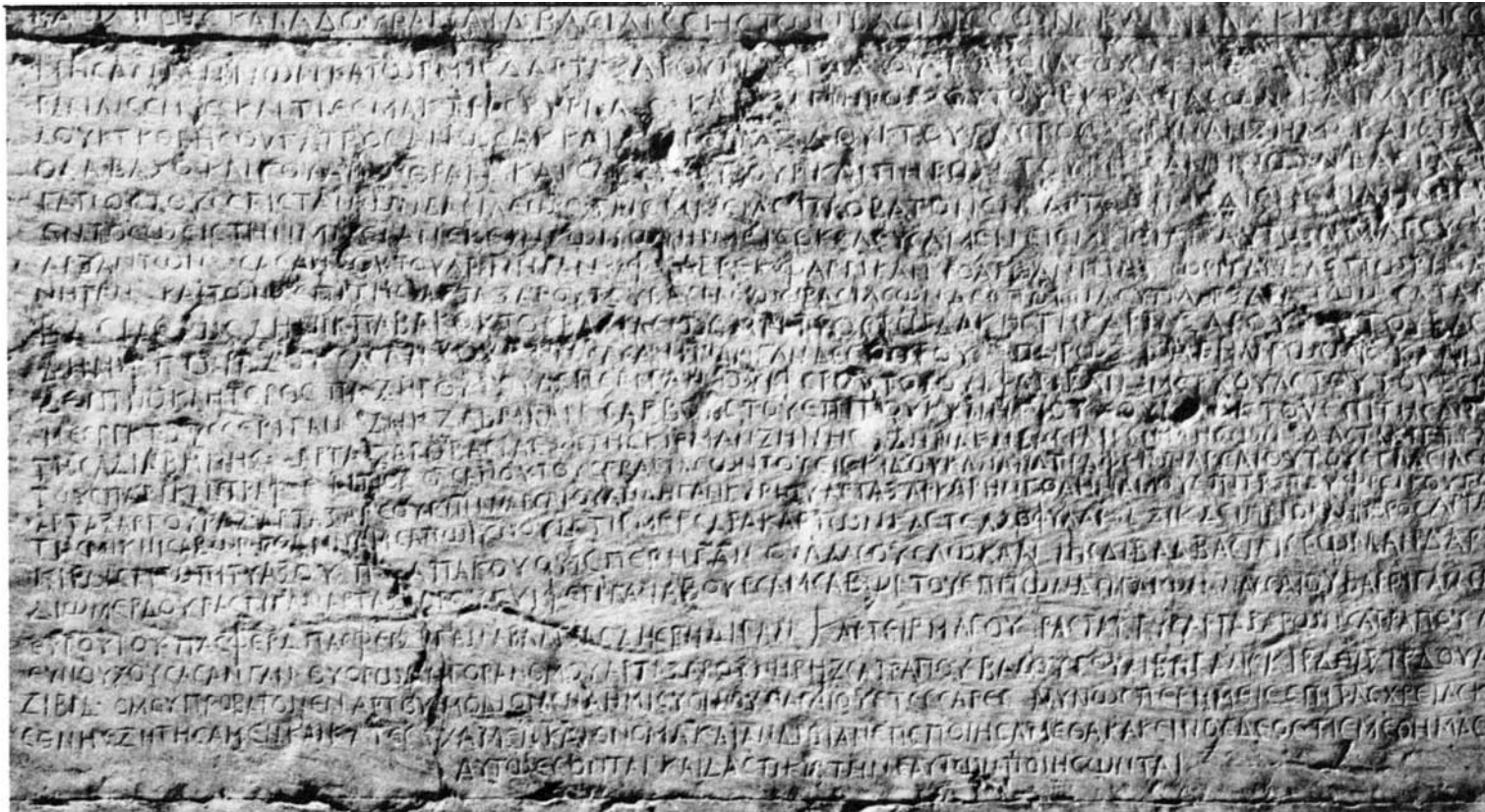
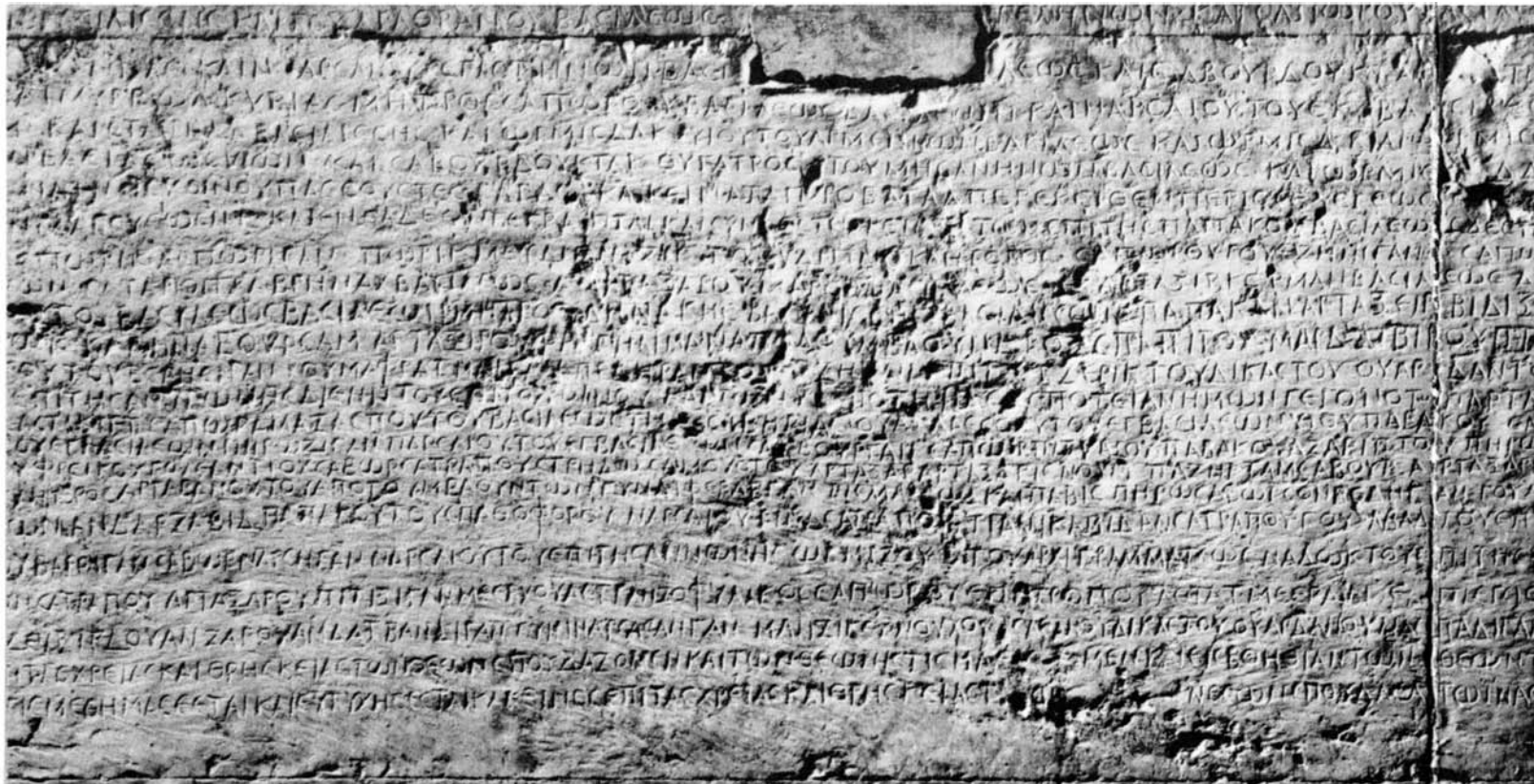
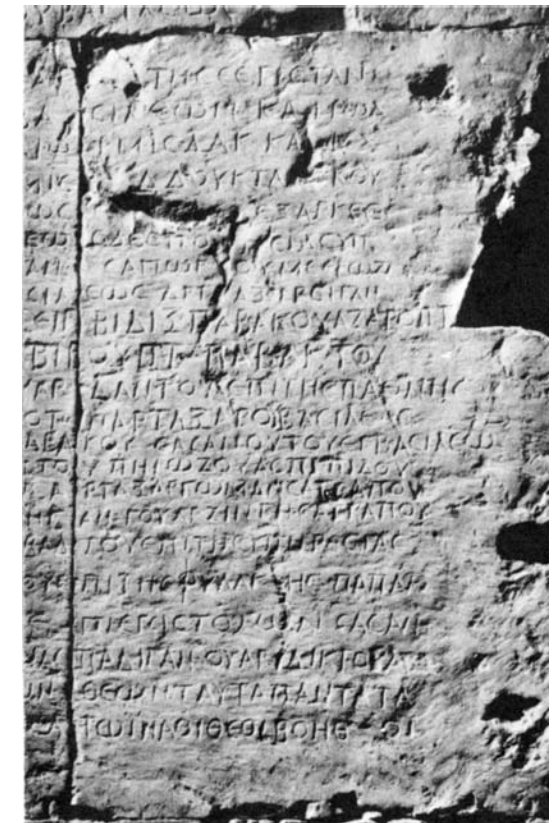


Plate 23f: The Greek of Sapor KZ .Replica of rubberoid squeeze. Scale, 1:5





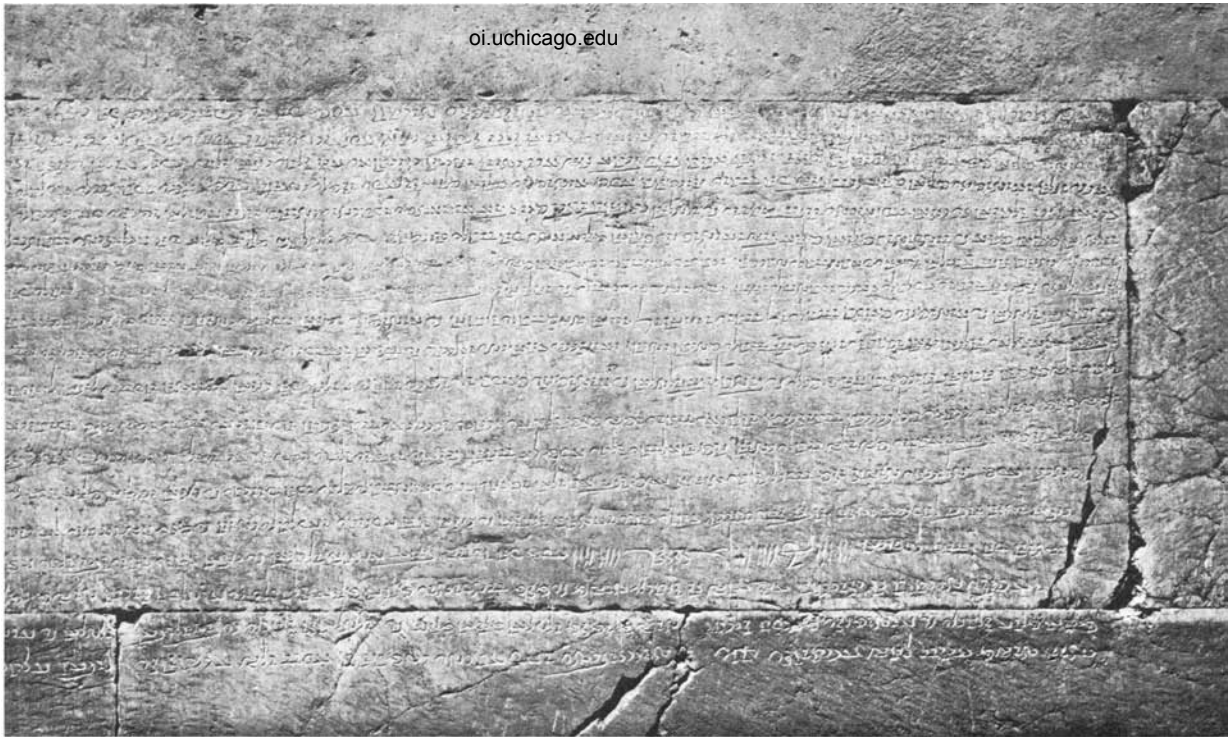
g



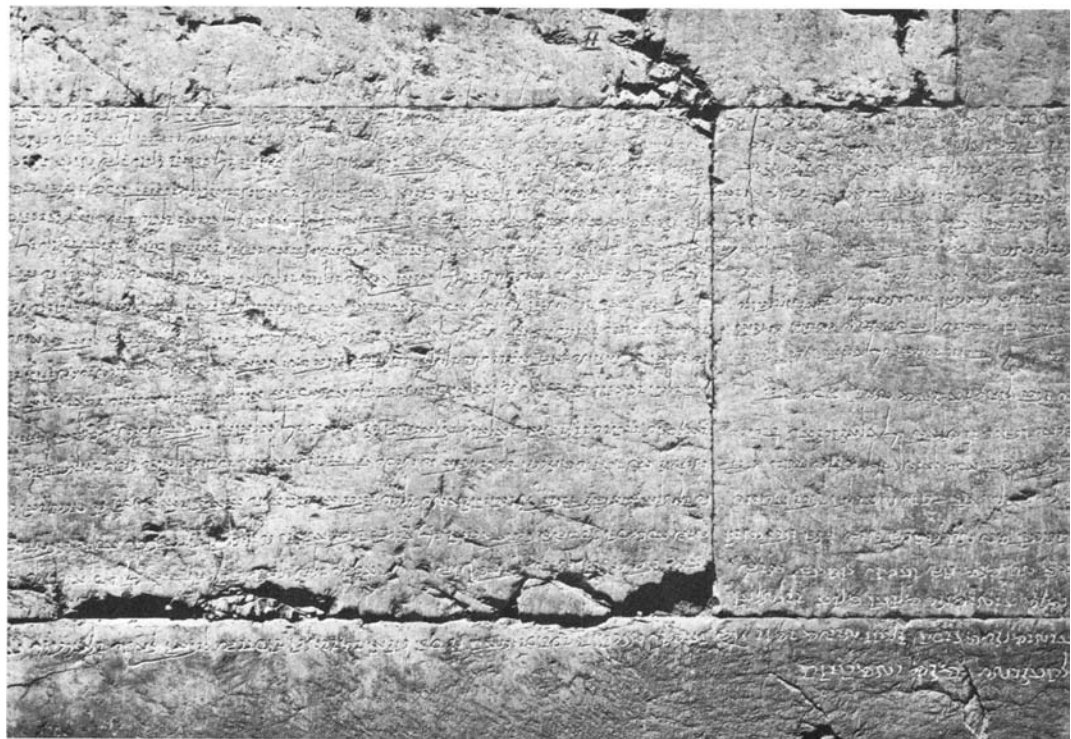
h

Plate 23g-h: The Greek of Sapor KZ .Replica of rubberoid squeeze. Scale, 1:5





a



b



d



c





Plate 24a: Kartir KZ. Original. Scale, 1:5



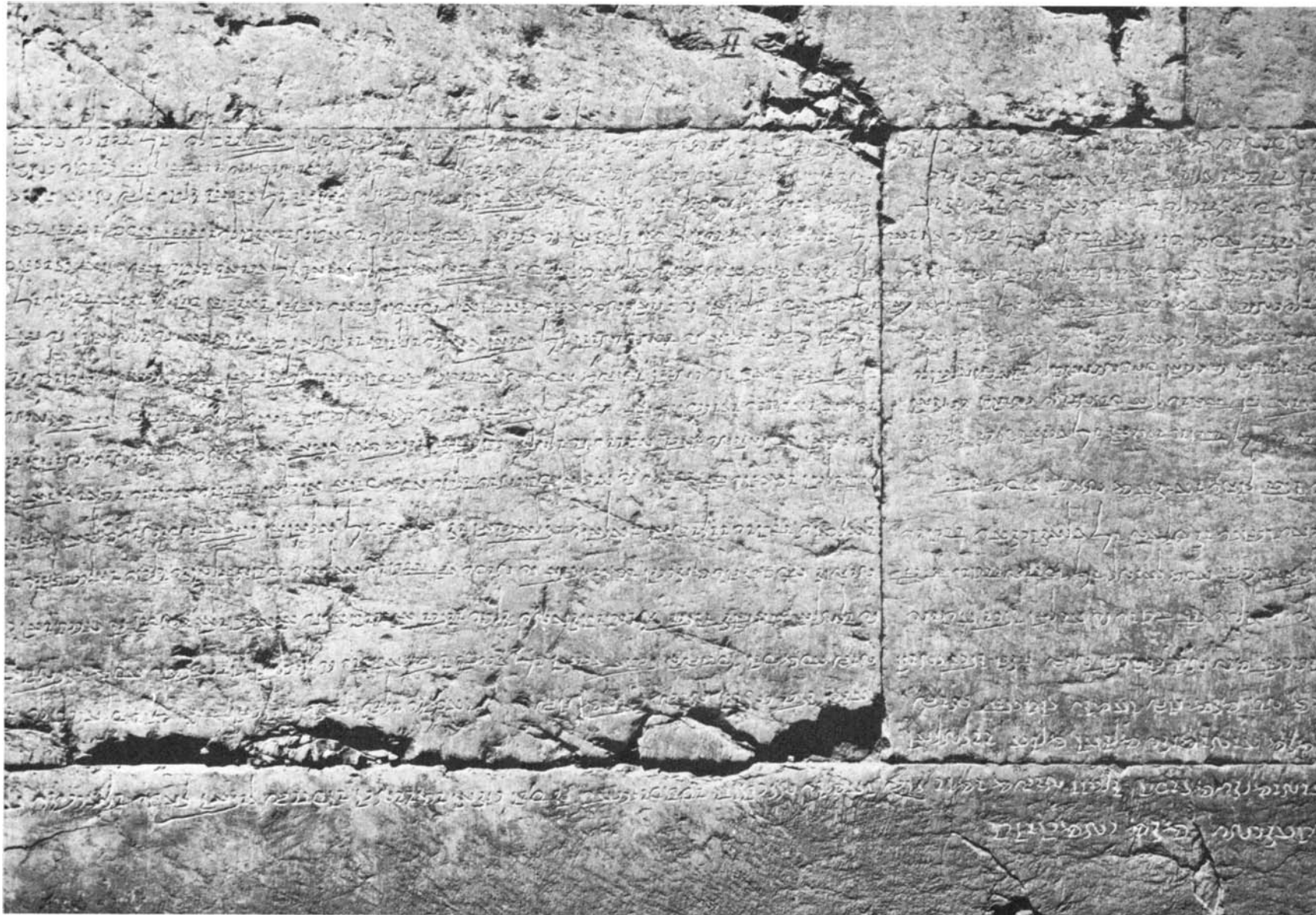


Plate 24b: Kartir KZ. Original. Scale, 1:5



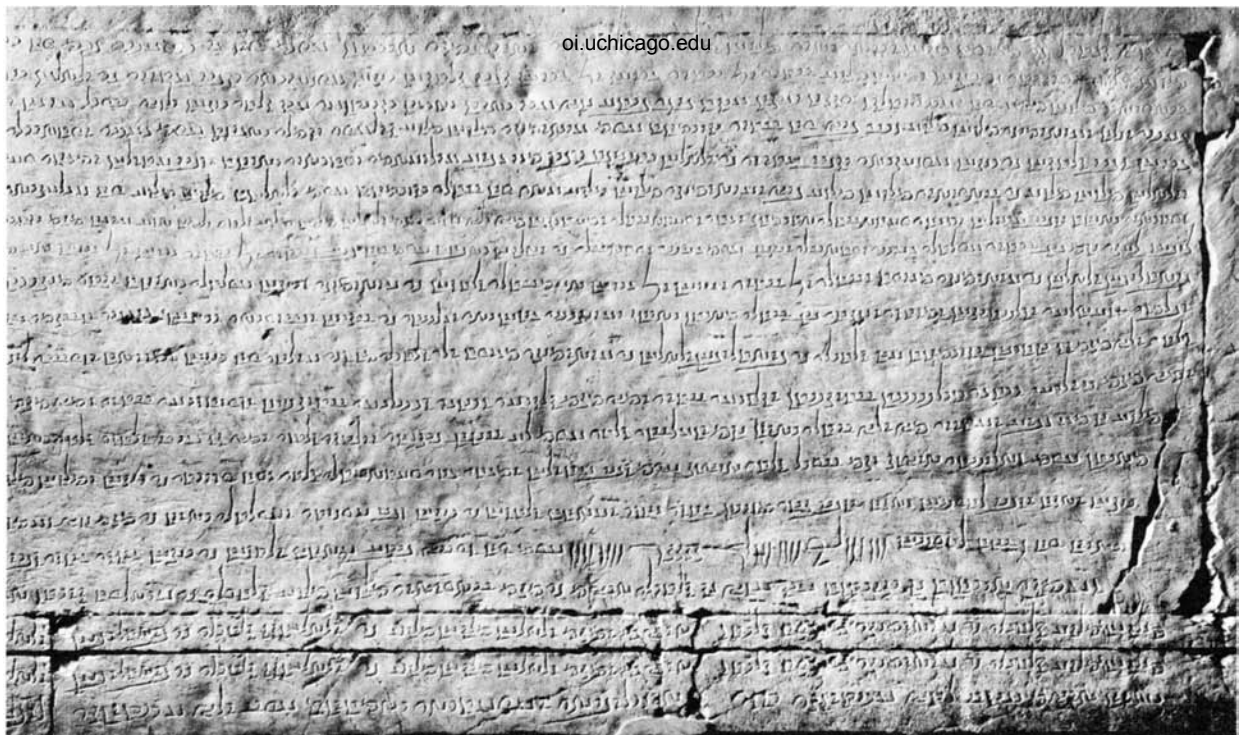


c

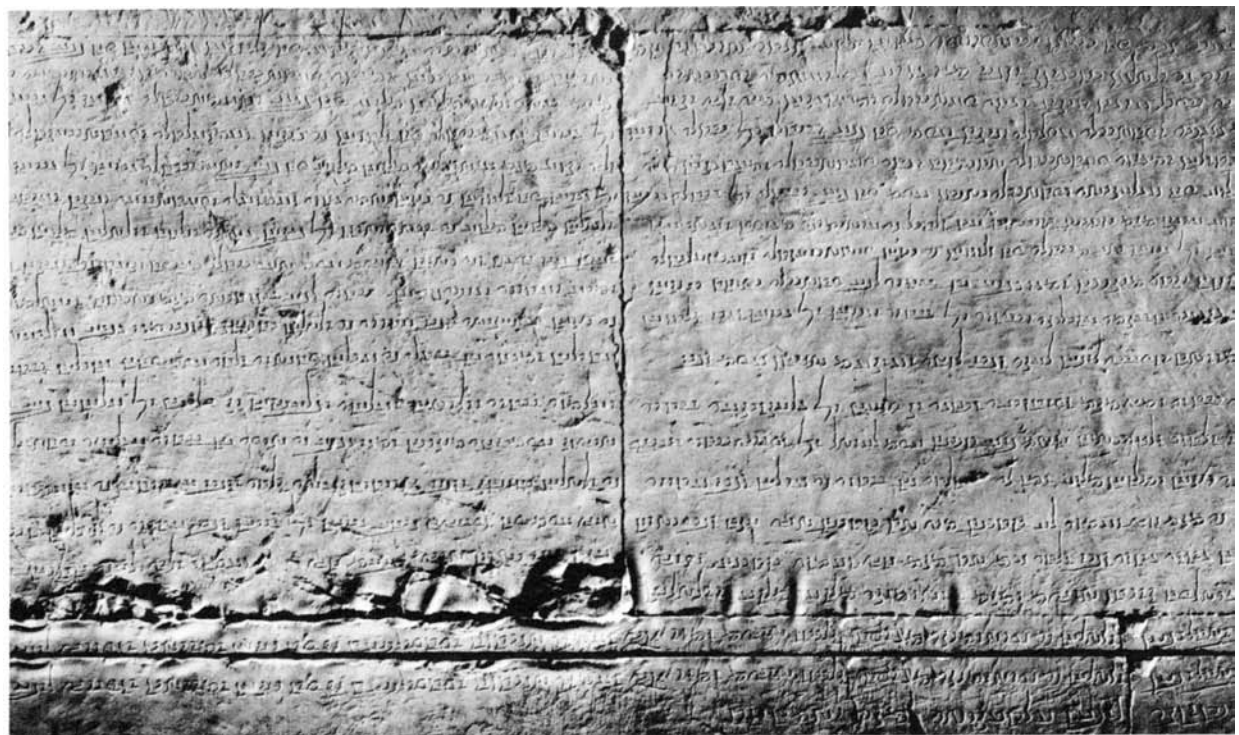


d

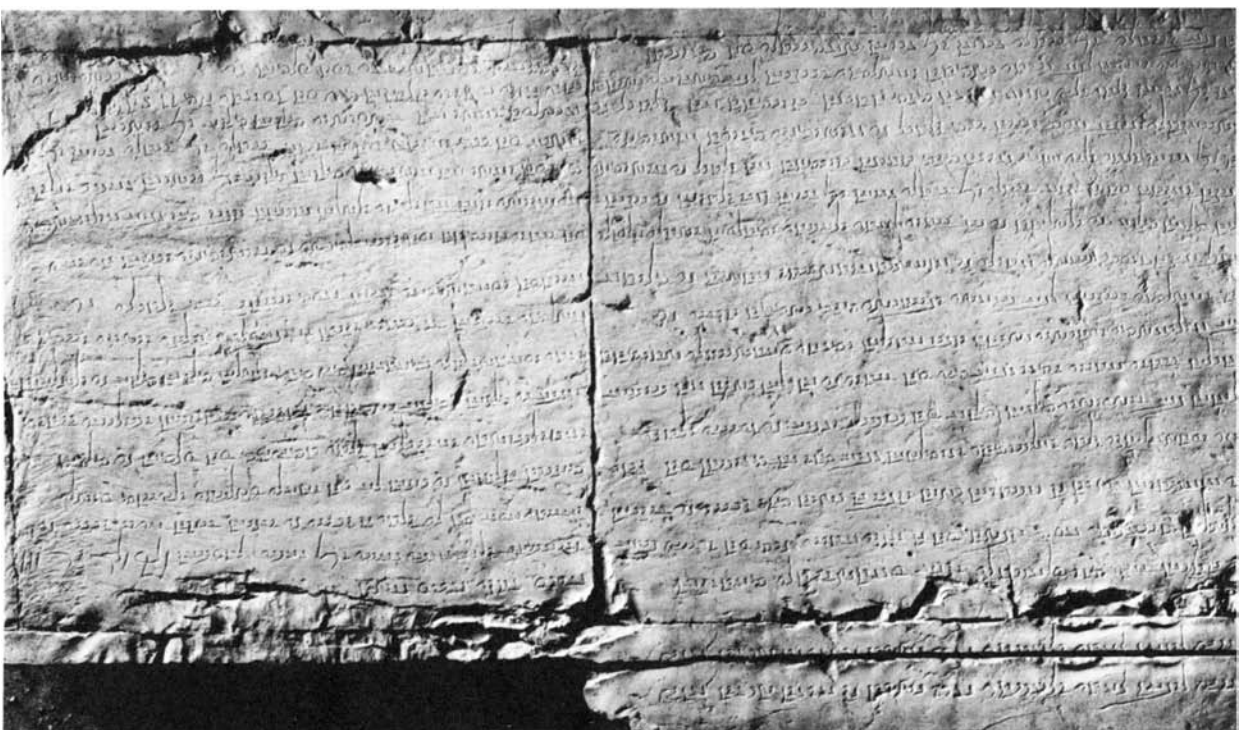




a



b



c

Plate 25a-c: Kartir KZ. Replica of rubberoid squeeze (line 18 appears twice). Scale, 1:5



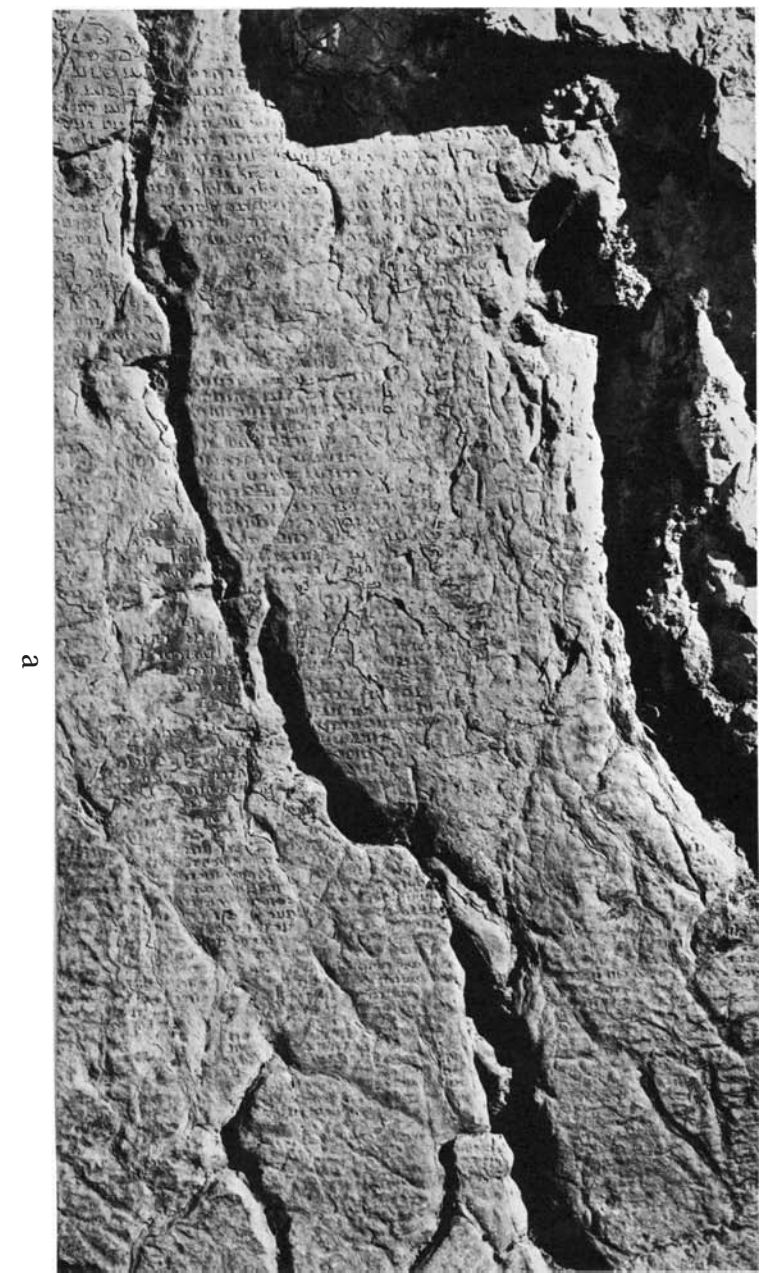
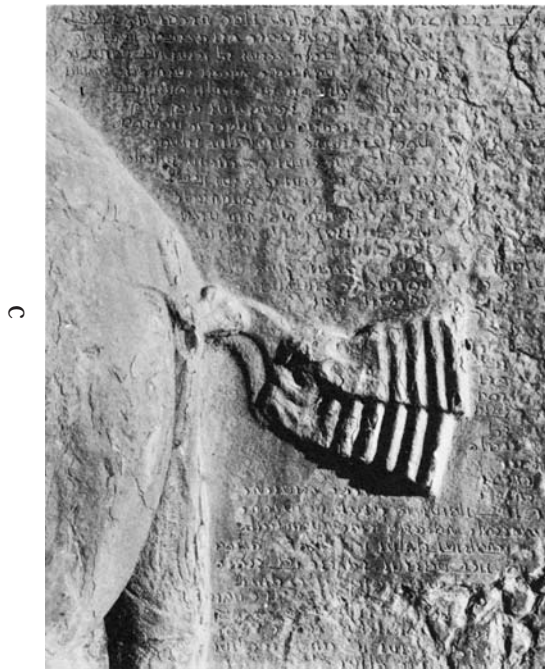


Plate 26a-c: Kartīr NRu. Original.  
Scale, 1:10





Plate 26a: Kartir NRu. Original. Scale, 1:10





Plate 26b: Kartīr NRu. Original. Scale, 1:10



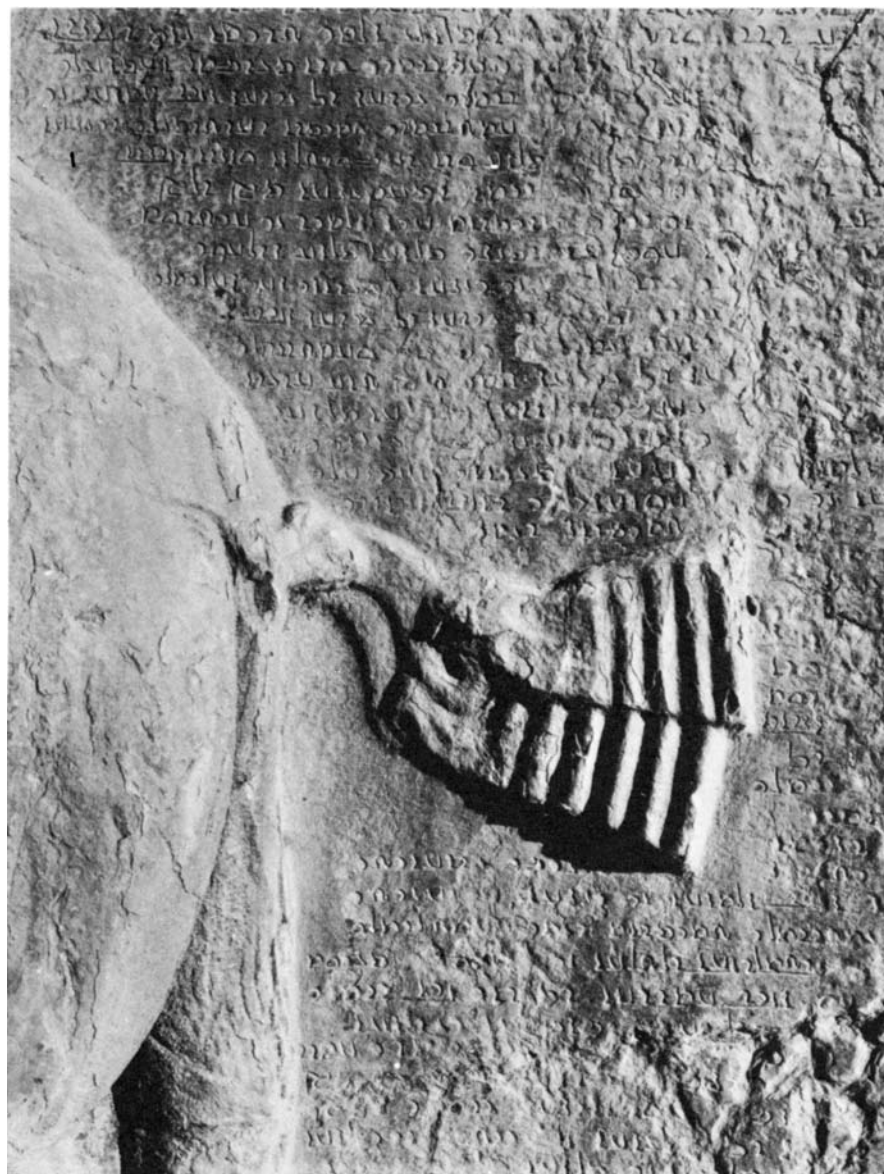


Plate 26c: Kartir NRu. Original. Scale, 1:10



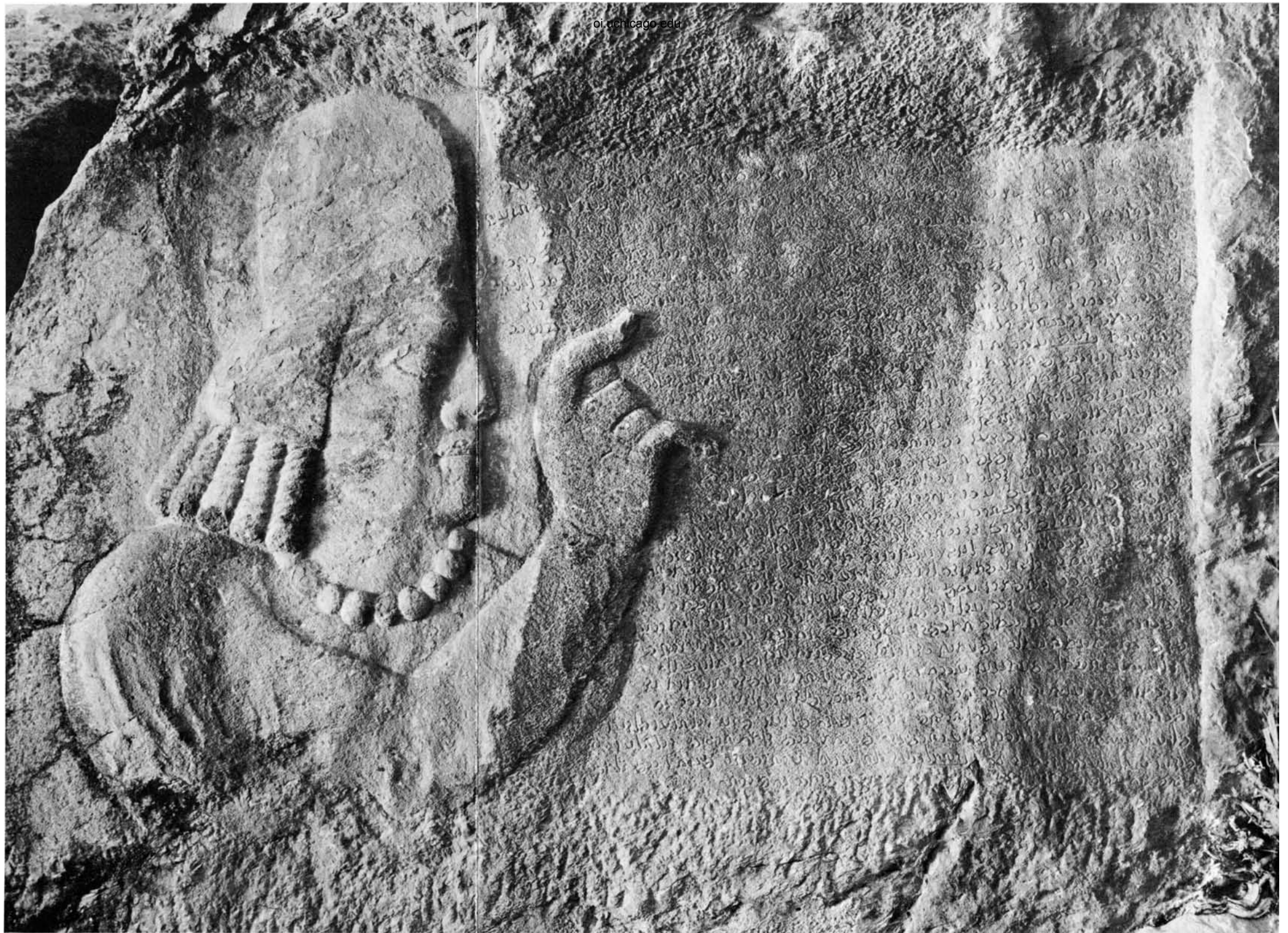
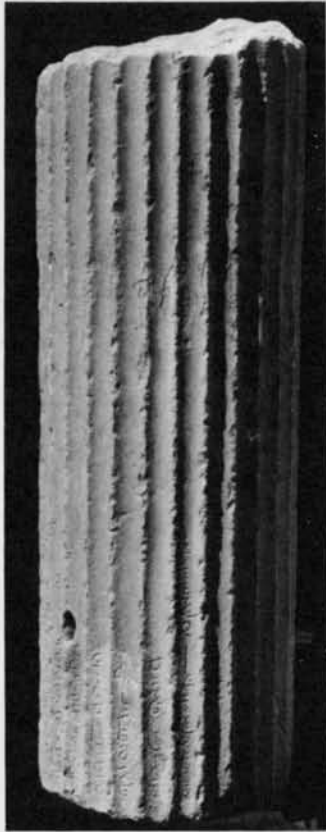
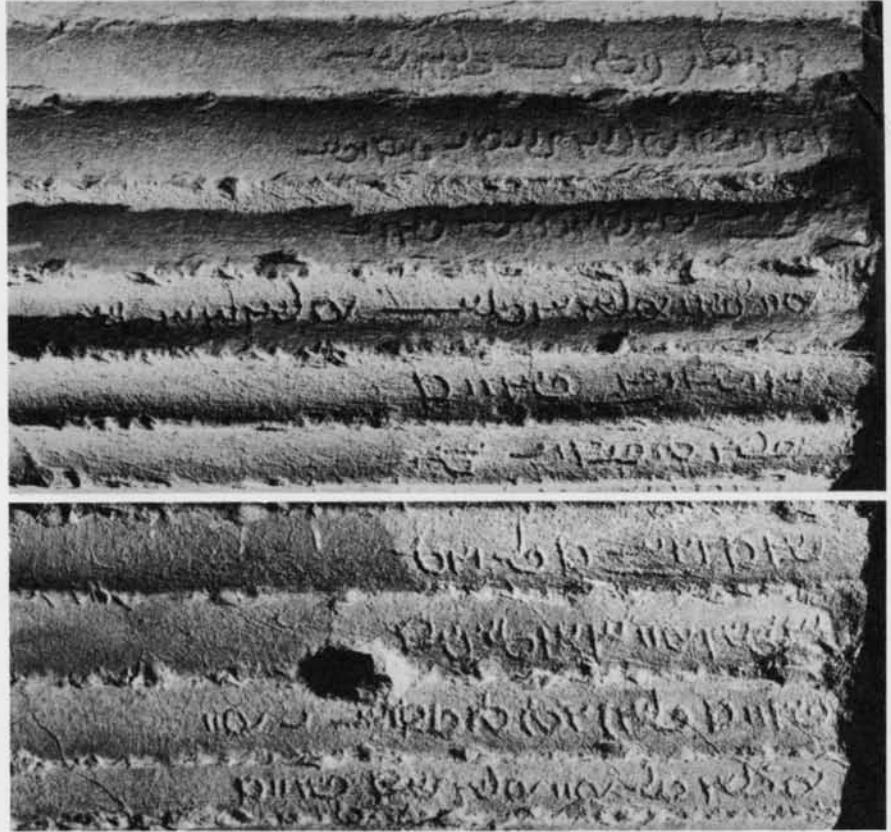


Plate 27: Kartīr NRj. Original. Scale, 1:5

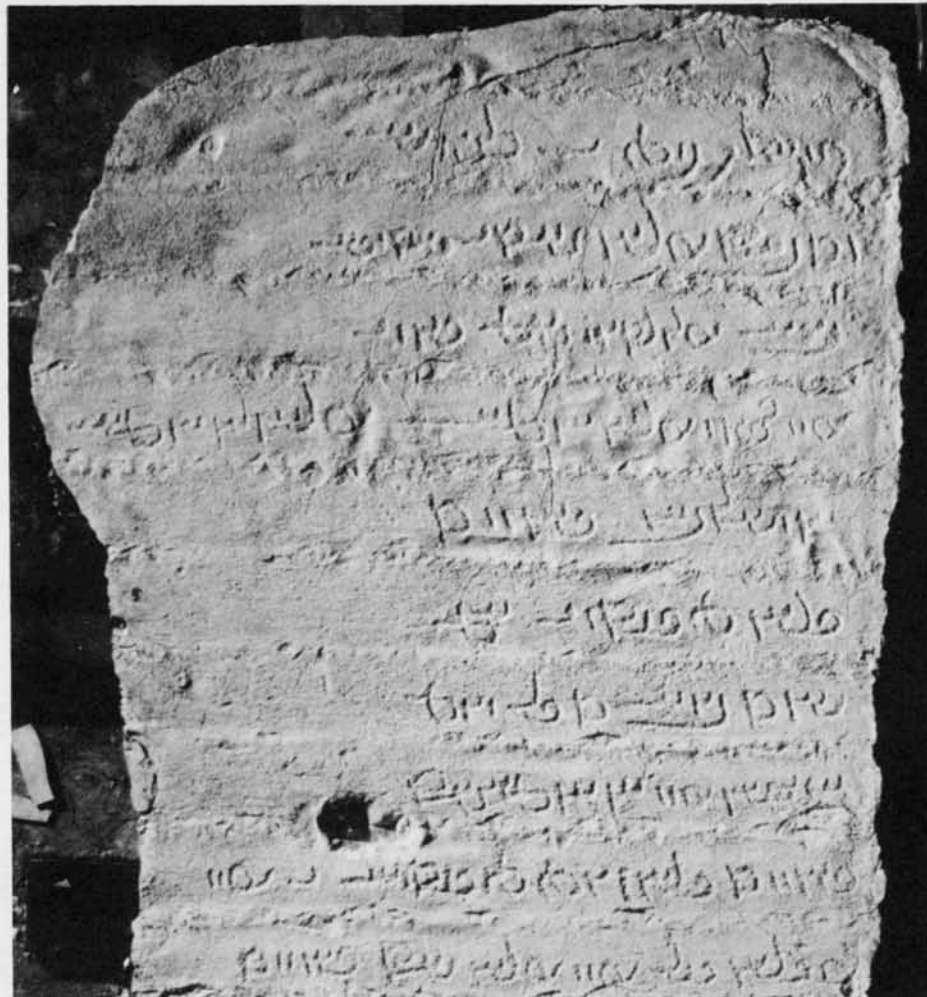




A



B



C

Plate 28: A. Column fragment with inscription in Book-Pahlavi. Scale, 1:15  
B-C. Close-up and replica of inscription. Scale, 1:5.