



Parchments of the Parthian Period from Avroman in Kurdistan

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PARCHMENTS OF THE PARTHIAN PERIOD FROM AVROMAN
IN KURDISTAN.

[PLATES I.-III.]

AVROMAN is a town in Persian Kurdistan lying close to the Turkish frontier between the sources of the Lesser Zab and the course of the Diala River some distance to the north of the highway from Bagdad (say Ctesiphon) to Hamadán (Ecbatana). Near it in a cave in the mountain called Kuh-i-Sálán, a peasant found about the year 1909 a stone jar hermetically sealed; in it were decayed millet seeds¹ and several documents. These passed from hand to hand and some were lost, only three have survived; two, which being Greek most nearly concern us, are almost perfect, they have only suffered a certain amount from wear and from the gnawing of mice; the third written in an Aramaic script which has not yet been deciphered is said to have been much larger when found; what is left has been a good deal torn and is patched with modern leather.



SKETCH MAP.

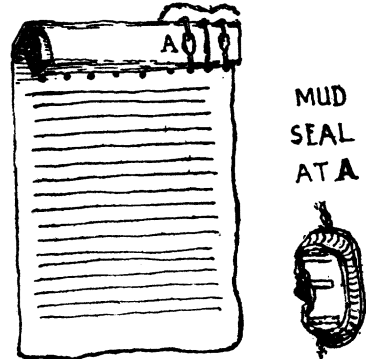
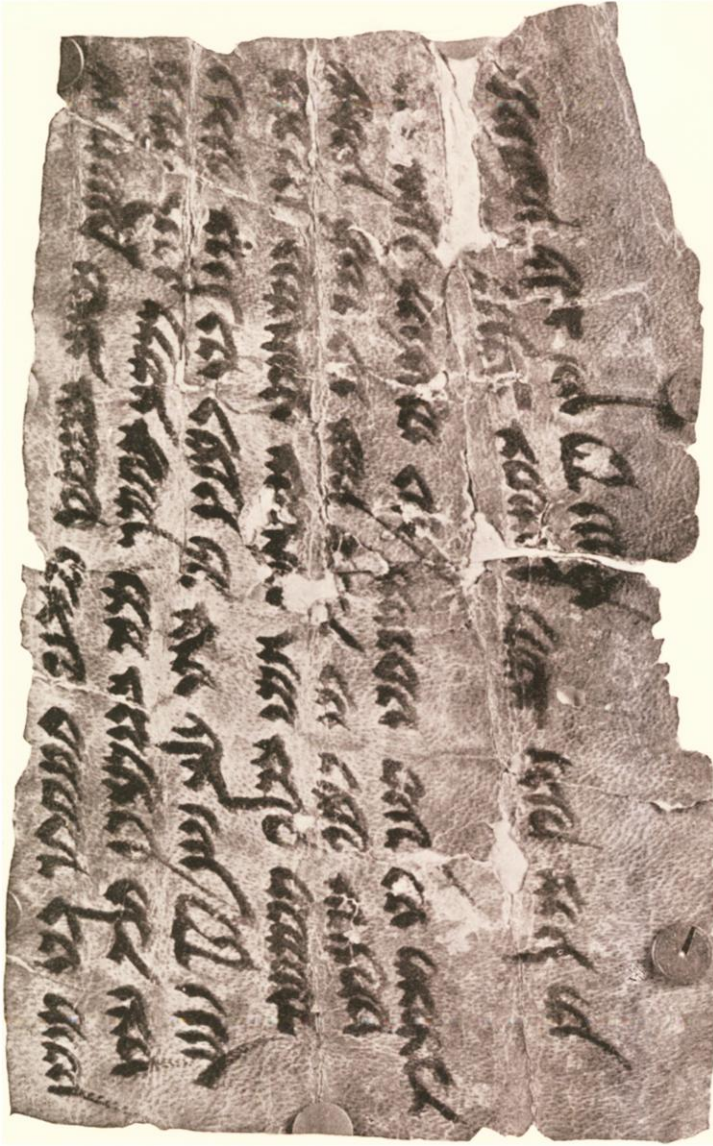


DIAGRAM OF II. BEFORE COMPLETE UNROLLING.

Mirza Sa'íd Khán, an English-trained doctor at Sinna, the largest town in the neighbourhood, heard of the find and recognised that it was probably of historical importance. He made great efforts, even at the risk of his life, to secure the documents, and finally succeeded, although their possessors, in spite of the careless way in which they had kept them, were not at all inclined to part with them.

¹ It is curious that Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* VIII. xi. 6, remarks that millet keeps particularly well in Media.



PARCHMENT III. FROM AVROMAN, FOUND WITH THE GREEK DEEDS.

Dr. Sa'íd Khán came to England in October, 1913, to renew his professional knowledge and to obtain a fresh supply of medical stores. On his arrival he sent the parchments to my colleague Professor E. G. Browne, who entrusted them to me and I made a preliminary communication about them to the Society on November 11. Since then Dr. Sa'íd Khán's friends adopted the view that he was not justified in depriving his philanthropic work of the aid which it might receive from the price that so great a rarity as this find might fetch, but as long as he had control he kindly reserved to me the right of publication. The documents were sold at Sotheby's, but happily they have found a home in the British Museum. I am most grateful to its authorities for letting me carry out my project of publishing them in this *Journal*.

DESCRIPTION.

The two perfect documents are irregular rectangles, the height being greater than the breadth: No. I. measures about $5\cdot6 \times 9\cdot5$ in. (14×24 cm.), No. II., $8 \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ in. (21×27 cm.). Each contains two texts (A and B, more or less duplicates, see below) and by this their shape is conditioned. Only the upper text of each document has been reproduced, very slightly less than natural size, for the purposes of this article. The whole documents are to be published in the best possible facsimile in the 1915 part of the New Palaeographical Society. No. III. now measures $6 \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ in. ($15 \times 9\cdot5$ cm.). If it is the lower of a pair of duplicates the original sheet must have been $6 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in., very much the proportion of II. The wide margin below looks like the original bottom; that above is wider than the normal space between the lines and has no tails coming down into it, so that the cutting was made along some kind of gap in the text.

On the back of I. there are 5 lines of writing in the same alphabet as III. but a little more upright (*v.* Table II. Col. IV.): it is the same way up as the Greek and behind the upper part of I. A. Two more lines run parallel to these, but the other way up at the back of I. B, about 3 in. ($7\cdot5$ cm.) from the bottom. A transverse endorsement runs upwards about $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (3 cm.) from the edge on the left as you look at the back. These endorsements ought to contain the same proper-names as the Greek and to render the riddle of the alphabet soluble, but they are too much rubbed to be any use except to shew that the third document is not entirely separate from I. and II.

When they reached my hands documents I. and III. had been completely unrolled, though I. still shewed the folds into which it had been pressed. No. II. was as the diagram shews it, the lower half unrolled, the upper undone on the left side, but still tightly rolled up and held by string on the right side. The string could not be removed without cutting it or breaking two mud seals, of which one had lost all its surface; upon the other, though it was much disintegrated, there could still be distinguished a device something like an E within a border of lines. Before proceeding to open it I had the document photographed. Assuming that a perfect record of its

original appearance had thus been secured, I cut the string and unrolled the upper portion. As a matter of fact the negative had been unsuccessful and the operator, who had never failed me before, had omitted to inform me at once. Still the diagram gives the arrangement in all essentials.

The material of all three documents is parchment, or perhaps leather, now dark yellow or brown; it is not very well prepared; the writing has had to avoid certain rough places in the skin and the hair has not been perfectly removed. From time immemorial *διφθέραι* have been the natural writing material. We hear of them in Ionia, among the Jews and among the Persians. Worse than the burning of Persepolis by the accursed Alexander the Roman was the fact that in it perished the precious works of Zoroaster, written in golden ink upon prepared cowskins. Ma Twan-lin and the other Chinese authorities mention that the inhabitants of 'An-si (Parthia) write horizontally upon skins.²

In view of this general use of skins for writing it is remarkable that so few have survived from early times: Professor Flinders Petrie tells me of a leather roll dating from the twelfth Egyptian dynasty, now in Berlin; and there is an Aramaic document on leather from Elephantine.^{2a} Otherwise the earliest written parchments found hitherto are the well-known pages of Demosthenes,³ and of the *Cretes* of Euripides,⁴ both referred to the second century A.D., but I do not know whether Turkistan has yielded anything older.

Documents I. and II. are each in duplicate. The top or A version was in each case rolled up tightly and bound round and round with string passed through the holes in the blank space between the two versions. These holes can be clearly seen on the facsimile of II. A; on the facsimile of I. only two or three shew as the mice have eaten so much away just along this line. The seals of the parties and witnesses were then affixed in token that the 'close' version A (if I may so call it) agreed with the 'patent' or B version. The latter remained always accessible, but in case of doubt the string could be cut in the presence of proper authority and the 'close' version opened to prove or disprove any suspected tampering with the 'patent' version.

This matter of the 'close' and 'patent' versions can best be taken in connexion with the general form in which the documents are drawn up. It may be mentioned here that in the case of I. the device has failed to prevent fraud, or else a change has been made by consent without the parties troubling to indicate it in both versions: for whereas the sum named in the close version A is thirty drachmas, in the patent version B thirty was written but altered to forty. The alteration is so obvious that it can hardly have been meant to deceive anyone. Other differences may be discussed later when we come to the purport of the documents.

² A. Rémusat in *Nouv. Mém. Asiat.* i. p. 218.

^{2a} E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus u. Ostraka aus Elephantine*, p. xxviii. P. 13443, c. 500 B.C.

³ British Museum, Add. MS. 34473(1); *New*

Palaeographical Soc. i. 2.

⁴ Berlin P. 13217: *Berliner Klassikertexte* v. 2, p. 73 sqq.; W. Schubart, *Pap. Gr. Berol.* 30 a; *New Pal. Soc.* ii. 28.

The actual hands are of very great palaeographical interest in view of the extreme rarity of non-Egyptian Greek writing other than formal inscriptions.⁵ Though the few specimens we possess fit fairly well into the series of Egyptian documents they generally have something unusual about them, but as they come from different parts of the Greek world there is no characteristic that they have in common. So our documents are neither of them quite like Egyptian writing. As far as place goes they ought to be nearest to the pieces from Seleucia in Pieria^{5a} or Myra in Lycia,⁶ but both these belong to the end of the second century A.D., so no comparison is possible. In regard to date the first century B.C. is not very well represented even in Egypt, but the Herculanean Papyri are generally referred to it and it is among these that, as Sir Frederic Kenyon has pointed out, at any rate I. finds its closest analogues (see Table I.).

For, indeed, the writing of the most part of I. is rather to be classed with book-hands than with cursives, as the letters are very little run together and are fairly carefully, though not elegantly, formed. Among the Tables of Alphabets given by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson⁷ and Professor Gardthausen,⁸ it comes closest to those taken from Volumina Herculansia, and still closer to the alphabet of P. Nap. 1429 as given in Hayter's plates.⁹ Dr. Hunt has pointed out to me that P. Oxy. 236a,¹⁰ dated 64 B.C., offers decided resemblances, especially as regards the peculiar ε with the top turned back and a sharp angle below, but on the whole the Egyptian piece is a good deal more cursive: in I. Π' with a detached stroke to the right is distinctly Ptolemaic,¹¹ 'but the rounded α, which Kenyon calls a test letter, is rather Roman' and so is the ξ. The retention of an epigraphic ξ for the numeral occurs in the Flinders Petrie Papyri.¹² The hand which wrote the line after the witnesses' names in I. A, with perhaps the corresponding part in I. B, and which altered thirty to forty in B, is much less careful and differs enough to deserve a separate column in the table of alphabets, but I am inclined to think that the two hands are really one. It is curious that

⁵ The changes in the letters used on Parthian coins seem due mostly to unintelligent copying by a series of engravers rather than to the development of Greek writing as practically used in Parthian lands; see J. de Morgan, *Rev. Arch.* 1912, pp. 1-31, 'Étude sur la décadence de l'écriture grecque sous la dynastie des Arsacides'; but one or two details recall our documents. See also W. Wroth, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: Parthia*, 1903.

^{5a} *Palaeogr. Soc.* ii. 184, date.

⁶ *P. Lond.* (Brit. Mus.), iii. 1178, Pl. XL., l. 66 sqq.; cf. Mitteis-Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I. ii. p. 184.

⁷ *Intro. to Gr. and Latin Palaeogr.* (1912), p. 142 (No. 2).

⁸ *Gr. Palaeogr.*² Taf. I. Nos. 10, 11.

⁹ *Thirty-six Engravings of Texts and Alpha-*

bets from the Herculanean Fragments, Oxford, 1891, No. 3, Demetrii, in *Aporias Polyaceni*; cf. *Photographs of Facsimiles . . . in the Bodleian Library*, published by the Oxford Philological Society, 1889, vol. vi. No. 1243. This shows the rounded α, but Kenyon ('The Palaeogr. of the Herc. Pap.,' *Festschr. Th. Gomperz dargebr.* p. 376) seems to deny that this occurs at Herculaneum.

¹⁰ *Oxyrhynchus Pap.* ii. p. 140, Pl. V. (p. 33).

¹¹ Something like it appears on a tetradrachm of Phraohates IV., *B.M.C. Parthia*, Pl. XVIII. 16.

¹² *P. Petr.*, ii. introd., p. 39, No. IV. 11 [p. 14], Pl. IV. a, ll. 4, 7, c. 255 B.C.; cf. F. W. G. Foat, *J.H.S.* xxii. p. 145; also *P. Hib.* i. 66, l. 1, Camb. Univ. Lib. Add. MS. 4465.

TABLE I.

I		II	
Hand i,	ii.		
α α ω	α	α α σ α α β ο τ ο α α θ α ο α κ α τ α π α α δ ο σ π ο ρ ο σ α ι ο ρ α	α α σ α α β ο τ ο α α θ α ο α κ α τ α π α α δ ο σ π ο ρ ο σ α ι ο ρ α
Β Β Β Δ	Β	Β Β Δ α	β β
Γ Γ Γ	Γ	Γ Γ Γ Ε Γ Γ Π	γ γ γ ε γ γ π
Δ	Δ	Δ Δ Δ	δ δ δ
Ε Ζ	Ε	Ε Ζ Ζ	ε ζ ζ
Ζ Ζ	Ζ	Ζ Ζ Ζ	ζ ζ ζ
Η Η Η	Η	Η Η Η	η η η
Θ	Θ	Θ Θ Θ	θ θ θ
Ι Ι Ι	Ι	Ι Ι Ι	ι ι ι
Κ Κ Κ	Κ	Κ Κ Κ	κ κ κ
Λ Λ	Λ	Λ Λ Λ	λ λ λ
Μ Μ	Μ	Μ Μ Μ	μ μ μ
Ν Ν Ν Μ	Ν	Ν Ν Ν	ν ν ν
Ξ Ξ	Ξ	Ξ Ξ Ξ	ξ ξ ξ
Ο Ο Ο	Ο	Ο Ο Ο	ο ο ο
Π Π Π α	Π	Π Π Π	π π π
Ρ Η	Ρ	Ρ Ρ Ρ	ρ ρ ρ
Σ Σ	Σ	Σ Σ Σ	σ σ σ
Τ Τ	Τ	Τ Τ Τ	τ τ τ
Υ Υ Υ	Υ	Υ Υ Υ	υ υ υ
Φ Φ	Φ	Φ Φ Φ	φ φ φ
Χ Χ	Χ	Χ Χ Χ	χ χ χ
Ψ	Ψ	Ψ Ψ Ψ	ψ ψ ψ
Ω Ι	Ω	Ω Ω Ω	ω ω ω

Alphabets and Groups of Letters, combined and uncombined.

I.

- A. 1 βασιλεύοντος βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ φιλέλληνος, καὶ βασιλισσῶν Σιάκης τε τῆς ὀμοπατρίας αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ Ἀρναζάτης τῆς ἐπικαλουμένη[ς] Αὐτομά τῆς ἐγ βασιλείως μεγάλου Τιγράνου καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτ[οῦ]
- 5 καὶ Ἀζάτης τῆς ὀμοπατρίας αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς καὶ γυναικὸς, ἔτους εκζ' μνηστὸς Ἀπελλαίου, ἐν ὑπαρχείᾳ Βαισείροις πρὸς σταθμῶ Βαιθυβύρτοις ἐν κόμῃ Κωπάνει, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων μαρτύρων, ἐξωμολογήσατο καὶ συνεγράψατο Βαράκης καὶ Σωβήνης οἱ τοῦ Μαίφορρου υἱοί, εἰληφέναι παρὰ Γαθάκου τοῦ Οἰπάτου ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου δραχμὰς τριάκοντα, τειμὴν ἀμπέλου τῆς οὔσης ἐν κόμῃ Κωπάνει τὴν ἐπονομαζομένην Δαδβακανράς, τὸ ἴδιον μέρος, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος παρὰ τῶν συνκλήρων μετὰ ὕδατος καὶ ἀκροδρῶν καρποφόροις τε καὶ ἀκάρποις καὶ εἰσόδῳ καὶ ἐξόδῳ καὶ τοῖς συνκύρουσιν εἰς αὐτὴν πᾶσιν· ἔστω τὸ ἐν μέρος Βαράκει κ[αί]
- 15 τὸ ἐν μέρος Γαθάκει, ἐφ' ᾧ παραλαβῶν ὁ δηλούμενος Γαθάκης ἔξει τὴν ἀργυρώνητον ἀμπελον εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, αὐτὸς τε καὶ τὰ ἔγγονα αὐτοῦ, τελῶντες κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κοινῇ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ συγγραφῇ πάντα ἀπὸ πλήρους, καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω τῷ Βαράκει, μηδὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτῶν, μηδὲ ἄλλω μνηστῇ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἐγβαλεῖν τὸν Γαθάκην ἐκ τῆς ἀργυρωνήτου ἀμπέλου, μήτε αὐτόν, μηδὲ τὰ [ἐγ]γο[ν]α α[ὐ]τοῦ· ὅς ἂν δὲ ἐγβάλῃ, ἢ ἄλλου ἐγβαλλομένου μὴ καταστὰς διεξά[ξ]η, καὶ μὴ καθαρὰ ποιήσῃ, [ἐ]σται ἄκυρος καὶ προσαποτείσ[ει ἢ]ν ἔλαβεν τειμὴν διπλ[ῆ]ν καὶ ἄλλας ἐπιτείμου δραχμὰς [ζ' κα]ὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς
- 25 ἴσας· εἰάν [δὲ κ]αὶ ὁ Γαθάκης ὀλιγωρήσῃ τὴν [ἀμπε]λον καὶ μὴ ποιήσῃ αὐτῇ[ν] ἔπαφον, ἀποτεινυέτω τὸ α[ὐτὸ ἐπὶ]τειμον· κα[ὶ] τὸ ὕδωρ παρὰ ὀγδόῃν ἡμέρας τὸ ἥμισυ καὶ [τῆς ἐ]παγωγῆς νυκτὸς τὸ ἥμισυ· μάρτυρες, Χοσστρός Ὀρκαδάτου, [Ἀ]πάκης Ὑστοβώγου, Μει[ριδ]άτης Ὀχοβάγου. (*change of writing*) καὶ κρεῶν λ', ελος α', ἄρτων κ.ν',
- 30 βοῦς ἡ', οἴνου κο. [β' καί] ἐνβάθρου δρ. α'.

27, καί, Hunt, pointing out that ι does turn to the left, e.g. in B 2. [τῆς ἐ]παγωγῆς: I had thought of [κα]παγωγῆς, but a break in the horizontal line of the crucial letter does not seem to come in a τ. Bell doubts the mark after καί

suiting the τ of τῆς, and thinks the break in π may be due to flaking off, but I am still unconvinced.

29, κρεῶν λ'. Bell, perhaps λ(ίτραι) ε'. ελος, Hunt, ἐλᾶς. α', Bell, λ'.

- B 1 βασιλεύοντος βα[σι]λ[έ]ων Ἀρσ[ά]κ[ο]υ εὐεργ[έ]του δικαί[ο]υ
 ἐ]πιφανοῦς καὶ φιλέλλη[νος, καὶ β]ασιλισσῶν Σιάκης τε τῆς ὀμ[οπα]-
 τρίας αὐτοῦ ἀδελφῆς καὶ γυναικὸς κα[ὶ] Ἀ[ρνα]ζάτης τῆς ἐπικαλ[ου]-
 μένης Αὐτομά τῆς ἐγ βασιλέως μεγάλου Τ[ιγρ]ά[νου] καὶ γυναικὸς
 5 καὶ Ἀζάτης τῆς ὀμοπατρίας αὐτοῦ ἀδελφ[ῆς] κα[ὶ] γυναικὸς, ἔτους
 ἐκζ' μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου, ἐν ὑπαρχείᾳ Βαισείροι[ς] πρὸς σταθμῷ Βαι-
 θαβάρτοις ἐν κώμῃ Κωπάνει, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων
 μαρτύρων, ἐξωμολογήσατο καὶ συνεγράψατο Βαράκης
 καὶ Σωβήνης οἱ τοῦ Μαιφόρρου υἱοί, εἰληφέναι παρὰ Γαθάκου
 10 τοῦ Οἰπάτου υἱοῦ ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου δραχμὰς τριά-(*altered to τεσσαρ^ο*)κοντα, τει-
 μὴν ἀμπέλου τῆς οὔσης ἐν κ[ώμ]ῃ Κωπάνει τὴν ἐπονομαζο-
 μένην Γανζακῆν, τὸ ἴδιον μέρος τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ τὸ
 ἴδιον μετὰ ἀκροδρῦοις καρποφόροις τε καὶ ἀκάρποις καὶ εἰσό-
 δῳ καὶ ἐξόδῳ καὶ τοῖς συνκύρουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν πᾶσιν, τὸ ἡμι-
 15 συ Βαράκει καὶ τὸ ἡμισυ Γαθάκει, ἐφ' ᾧ παραλαβὼν ὁ δηλοῦ-
 μενος Γαθάκης ἔξει εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, αὐτός τε καὶ τὰ
 ἔγγονα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, τελῶντες κατ' ἐνιαυ-
 [τὸν] τῶν γινομένων ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ πάντα ἀπὸ πλήρους
 [κοινη?], καὶ μ[ὴ] ἐξέστω [τῷ Β]αράκει μηδὲ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐ-
 20 [τοῦ, μηδὲ τῷ ἀδελ]φῷ, [μηδὲ] τῷ μεταλαμβάνοντι τὴν ἀ[μ]-
 [πελο]ν π[α]ρ' αὐτῶν, ἐγβ]αλε[ῖν] μηδὲ τὸν Γαθάκ[η]ν, μηδὲ τὰ
 [ἔγγο]να αὐτοῦ· ὅς ἂν δὲ ἐγβά[λ]ῃ, ἢ ἄλλου ἐγβαλλ[ομένου] μ[ὴ]
 [κ]αταστὰς διεξάξῃ, καὶ μ[ὴ] καθαρὰ ποιήσῃ, ἔ[σ]τα[ι] ἄκυρος
 [κ]αὶ προσαποτεῖσει ἣν ἔλαβεν τειμὴν διπλὴν κ[α]ὶ ἄλλα[ς] ἐ-
 25 πιτέιμον δραχμὰς ζ' καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς ἴσας· ὁμοίως δὲ
 καὶ ἐὰν ὁ Γαθάκης ὀλιγορήσῃ τὴν ἀμπέλον καὶ μ[ὴ] ποιή-
 σῃ αὐτὴν ἔπαφον, ἀποτεῖσει τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπίτειμον· ἔξει δὲ καὶ
 τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος μ[ετὰ τῷ]ν συν[κ]λήρω[ν].
 ἔγγυον δὲ καὶ συνέγδοτον κατέστησεν [Βαράκης καὶ Σωβήνης]
 30 Χοστρούον καὶ Ἀπάκην· μάρτυρες, Δηνόβαζος Ορο[. . . .],
 Μειριδάτης Ὀχοβάγου, Φραάτης Συκνήματος, Μαρζ[υ] . . .]
 ρης. δώσει δὲ καὶ ὁ Γαθάκης τῷ Βαράκει ἐνβάθρου δρ. α', κρεῶν ἐκ (?) [. . .]
 (*inter lineas*) κ[. . .]κε, [β]ονς ἢ (?)
 ἄρτων κ^α ν', οἴνου κ^ο β'. δώσει δὲ καὶ Βαράκης Γαθάκει ἀπὸ λην[οῦ] τὸ
 (*inter lineas*) κα
 34 ρῖμα καὶ ἀπόρρυμα καὶ ἰνδα κ[. .]νζην καὶ στέμφ[υ]λα ἀγέμιστ[α].

21, [πελο]ν π[α]ρ' αὐτῶν ἐγβ]αλε[ῖν], Bell.

32, κρεῶν ἐκ (?), Bell.

29, Hunt pointed out that Βαράκης is too short.

34, κα may be ζ^α. κ[. .]νζην, Hunt.

II.

- A 1 βασιλεύοντος βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ φιλέλληνος, καὶ βασιλισσῶν Ὀλεννεϊρίας, Κλ[εο]πάτρας, Βασείρ[α]ς καὶ Βισθειβάνατος, ἔτους ἐνὸς ἐνενηκοστοῦ διακοσιοστοῦ, ἐν ὑπαρχείαι Βασιρ[αόροι]ς πρὸς σταθμῶι Δησακιδίς ἐν κόμηι Κωφάνει, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων μαρτύρων, ἐξωμολογήσατο καὶ συνε-
 5 γράψατο Ἀσπωμάκης Γαάκου ἔχειν παρὰ Δήνης Γαθάκου ἀργυρίου δραχ-
 μὰς πενήκοντα πέντε τιμῆν, καὶ δεδωκέναι ἐν ψ[εילו]φύτῳ ἄμπελον τὴν ἐπικαλου-
 μένην Δαδβακαβάγ σὺν εἰσόδῳ καὶ ἐξόδῳ καὶ ὕδασι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μετὰ
 τῶν συνκλήρων ὄρια καὶ γεινῖαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολῶν μετὰ τῶν συνκλήρων
 καθὼς ἐν τ[ῆ]ι συγγραφῆι τελέσουσι δὲ αἰεὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτ[ὸ]ν σκέλος δραχμὴν μίαν,
 10 οἴνου κοτύλας δύο, ἄρτ[ω]ν κά, βοῦς πέντε, κρεῖθῶν δύο· ὑπ[έ]σχε]το δὲ μηδὲν τῶν προγε-
 γραμμένων ἀθετήσῃν, μήτε αὐτόν, μηδὲ τοὺς μεταλα[μβάνοντ]ας παρ' αὐτοῦ τρόπῳ μηδεῖ.
 Ἀραμάσδης Ἰωδαβόχθ<ο>, Μιραδάτης Μιραβανδάκου, Γερ[ί]κης Ἀρδήνου κατέστησεν
 13 Ἀρθασθάτης Δαργήνου.

- B 1 βασιλεύοντος βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέ[ο]ν δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ φιλέλληνος
 καὶ βασιλισσῶν Ὀλεννεϊρίας, Κ[λ]εοπάτρας, Βασείρτας, Βισθειβάνατος, [έ]το]υς
 ἐνὸς ἐνενηκοστοῦ διακοσιοστοῦ, ἐν κόμηι Κωφάνει ἐν ὑπαρχείαι Βα[σ]ιραόροις
 πρὸς σ[τα]θμῶι Δησακιδίδοις, ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων μαρτύρων, ἐξωμο-
 5 λογήσατο καὶ συνεγράψατο Ἀσπωμάκης Γαάκου ἔχει[ν] παρὰ Δήνης
 τοῦ Γαθάκου ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς πενήκοντα πέντε, καὶ δ[ε]δωκέναι [α]ὐτῶι
 ἄμπελον ἐν ψεῖλοφύτῳ τ[ῆ]ν ἐπικαλουμ[έν]ην Δαδβακαβάγ [σὺν] εἰσόδῳ καὶ
 ἐξόδῳ καὶ ὑ[δ]ασι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι μετὰ [τῶν] συνκλήρων. ὄρια καὶ γεινῖαι
 καθὼς ἐν τῆι παλαιῇ συγγραφῆι τελε[έ]σου[σιν] δ[ὲ] κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐμβάθρου
 10 δραχμὴν, ἄρτων κά, βοῦς πέντε, σκέλος δραχμὴν μίαν σκέλος. βεβαιωτὴν
 δὲ κατέστησεν Ἀσθάτην Δαργήνου ὅς κ[αὶ] πάρω]ν ἐξωμολογήσατο βεβαι<ώσῃν>
 δύο κοτύλας προγεγραμμένας· ἐξάξοντα[ι] δ' ὁ τε πεπρακὼς καὶ ὁ βεβαι<ω>-
 τῆς, ἐάν τις ἐμπούθη τῆς πεπραμμένης ἀμπέλου τρόπῳ μηδενὶ μηδε-
 νὶ μηδὲ παρευρέσει μηδεμῶ, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν τε ἀθέτησιν εἶναι αὐτὴν ἀκύρην
 15 κ[αὶ] τὸν ἀθετήσαντα ἐκτείσειν ἄ[νευ] δίκ[ης] καὶ κρίσεως δραχμὰς
 διακοσίας καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τὰς ἴσας μάρτυρες, Ἀραμάσδης
 Ἰωδαβόχθου, Γερίκης Ἀρδήνου, Μιραδάτης Μιραβανδάκου.

A 3, Δησακιδίς (?).

6, [νεο]φύτῳ, Hunt.

8, ὄρια καὶ γεινῖαι, Bell.

10, ὑπ[έ]σχε]το, Bell.

13, Ἀρθασθάτης, Hunt.

B 4, Δησακιδίατος or . . . σος, Hunt.

11, ἡς κ[αὶ] πάρω]ν, Hunt.

14, ἀκύρην, the η is queer but certainly not ο.

15, ἄ[νευ] δίκ[ης], Bell.

TRANSLATION I.

What is identical in A and B is in large type: otherwise the versions run parallel, A above and B below: --- is put where one version has nothing to correspond to words in the other. The division of lines follows B, the fuller version, but the beginnings of ll. 5, 10, etc., in A are marked ^a.

- 1 In the reign of the King of Kings, Arsaces, the Benefactor, the Just, the Manifest and the Philhellene, and of the Queens, Siace his com-
 paternal sister and wife, and Aryazate sur-
 named Automa, daughter of the Great King Tigranes and his wife,
 5 ^aand of Azate his comapaternal sister and wife, in the year
 225, in the month Apellaeus, in the hyparchy Baiseira, near the station Bai-
 thabarta in the village Copanis, before the witnesses hereunder written,
 acknowledgment and agreement were made by Baraces
 and Sobēnes, the sons of Maiphorres, that they had received from Gathaces,
 10 the son of Oipates, in coined ^amoney thirty (*altered in B to forty*) drachmae the pri-
 ce of a vineyard situate in the village Copanis, known
 as { Dadbakanras } his own share { the share } due to him { -- }
 { Ganzace }
 { -- from the co-possessors } with { water and } vine-stocks, both those in bearing and those not, and in-
 gress and egress and all that pertain to { it: let the one part belong }
 { him, half }
 15 to Baraces and ^a { the one part } to Gathaces, on condition that on taking possession the afore-
 said Gathaces shall hold { the vineyard he has bought with money } for all time, he and his
 { (it) }
 descendants, { for all time } performing year-
 ly { in common } the things { written } in the { old } agreement all in full
 { found }
 { [in common ?] }, and let it not be lawful for Baraces or his
 20 { brother } or his { descendants } or anyone { else ^aacting on }
 { descendants } { brother } { taking over the vi- }
 { their behalf } to dispossess Gathaces { of the vineyard he has bought with money either him } or his
 { neyard from them }
 descendants: and whoever may dispossess him, or, in case of anyone else attempting to dispossess
 [him, may fail
 to stand by and finally eject (*the intruder*) and acquit all claims, he shall lose his rights
 and pay double the price he received and an additional
 25 fine of 200 drachmae and to the King an ^aequal sum: but { --- }
 { likewise }
 if Gathaces too neglect the vineyard and fail to
 keep it in good order, { let him } pay the same fine; also { --- }
 { he shall } { he shall have }
 the water { for one [day] in eight (?) by day half, and of what is let in }
 { the share that is due to him with the co-possessors. }
 29 { by night half. Witnesses --- }
 { --- As surety and co-responsible [Baraces and Sobēnes ?] appointed }

- 30 Chosstroes {son of Orcadates, --} Apaces {son of Hystoboges, ----- }
 {----- and } Witnesses: Dēnobazus Oro , }
 Meiridates, son of Ochobages, {Phrahates, son of Sycynema, Marzy }
 {res. And Gathaces shall also give Baraces 1 dr. for possession } 35 (?) of meat, {1 ελος (?) }
 {v. next line and } 25 }
 50 baskets (?) of loaves, {8 oxen, } 2 co(tylae ?) of wine { [and] 1 dr. for possession }
 {v. next line }
 { (between the lines 25 , 8 oxen (?)). And Baraces too shall give Gathaces from the wine-press the }
 34 { must and drainings and and pressed grapes }.

TRANSLATION II.

- 1 In the reign of the King of Kings, Arsaces, the Benefactor, the Just, the Manifest and the
 [Philhellene,
 and of the Queens, Olennieire, Cleopatra, Baseirta, Bistheibanaps, in the year
 two hundred and ninety one {in the hyparchy Basiraora, near the station Dēsaodis }
 {in the village Cōphanis, in the village Cōphanis, in the hyparchy Basiraora }
 {in the village Cōphanis, } before the witnesses hereunder written, acknow-
 5 ledgment and agree^ament were made by Aspōmaces, son of Gaaces, that he had received from [Denes
 son of Gathaces fifty-five drachmae in money {as a price } and had given { -- }
 {him }
 the vineyard in the open country known as Dadbakabag with ingress and
 egress and the waters belonging in common with the co-possessors : the boundaries and abutments
 {on the east with the co-possessors } (to be) as in the {old } agreement : they shall {ever } pay yearly
 { ----- } as σκέλος }
 [for possession]
 10 {one } drachma, {two cotylae of wine, } 21 (or a basket) of loaves, five oxen {, two of barley : ----- }
 {v. B line 12 } as σκέλος,
 [one drachma as σκέλος : as guarantor]
 {v. A lines 12, 13 } ----- }
 {he appointed Asthates, son of Dargenes, who appeared and acknowledged that he would guarantee }
 {and he promised that he would invalidate none of } the aforesaid {provisions, either himself or those taking }
 { ----- } {two cotylae, ----- }
 {over from him, ----- }
 { ----- (and ejectment will be obtained by both the vendor and the guaran- }
 {tor, if any one lay claim to the vineyard that has now been sold) } in no way whatever. { [what- }
 { ----- }
 {ever] nor upon any pretext whatever : if he do not (keep this), the attempt to invalidate shall itself be void }
 15 {and the party that has made it shall pay without further process and decision of law two }
 { ----- } Aramasdes
 son of Iodobochthes, {Miradates, son of Mirabandaces, Gerices, son of Ardēnes. He appointed }
 {Gerices, son of Ardēnes, Miradates, son of Mirabandaces. ----- }
 { (guarantor) Arthasthates, son of Dargēnes }
 { (v. B line 11) ----- }.

HISTORICAL INTEREST.

The interest presented by the contents of our documents, as transcribed and translated, falls into three main divisions, historical, linguistic, and legal. The mere fact that at the time and place in which they were composed Greek should have been the language chosen is unexpected, also the elements of the dates add a little to our knowledge of the Parthian kingdom: the forms in which some of the proper names occur throw fresh light upon the time when important sound changes took place in Iranian speech, while students of Hellenistic Greek are not indifferent to specimens from a new region; finally students of ancient law will find in the texts and in the very carelessness with which they were put together something worth comparing with the innumerable documents of Grecian Egypt.

The dating formulae give the official name of the King Arsaces, his style, the names of his Queens and the year of some era. It is clear at first sight that we have to do with the king of Parthia; no king of a subordinate kingdom such as Persis, Elymais, Media Atropatene, or even Armenia (except under Tigranes) would dare to call himself King of Kings. As all the Parthian kings bore the same official name, and as none of these queens seem to be known, this gives us little by which to check the remaining chronological elements and thereby determine what era was used.

Both style and era have light thrown upon them by being compared with those used upon certain cuneiform tablets,¹⁵ two Greek inscriptions from Babylon, one from Delos, and the Parthian coinage.^{15a} The tablets are some of them legal documents, others astronomical records, others (Reisner's) hymns to deities. Under the Seleucids a single date is given, the year of the Seleucid Era (A.Sel.); even under Seleucus I. it is not a regnal year but the year of an era, hence the translation of *a* is not *Anno VIII Seleuci regis*, but *Seleuco rege*. As soon as we get the name Arsaces, the dates become double (e.g. *c*); the year of a new era generally called the 'Arsacid' (A.Ars.) is put before the Seleucid year, though the Seleucid still occurs alone (e.g. *f*, *o*): I know of no certain example of the Arsacid year appearing without the Seleucid.

¹⁵ Some hundred and fifty are known with dates of the Seleucid Era and some forty with the addition of the Arsacid (see below). The first to publish one of these was G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 389, but we owe most knowledge of them to Fr. J. N. Strassmaier, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, iii. (1888), pp. 129-158, 'Arsaciden Inschriften'; iv. (1889), pp. 76-89 (J. Epping); v. (1890), pp. 341-366 (Epping and Strassmaier), 'Neue Babylonische Planeten Tafeln,' continued in vi. (1891), pp. 89-202, 217-244; vii. (1892), pp. 197-209, 'Einige chronologische Daten aus astronomischer Rechnungen'; historical results summed up in viii. (1893), pp. 106-113, 'Zur Chronologie der Seleuciden'; cf. Fr. F. X. Kugler, *Zt. f. Ass.*

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xv. pp. 178-209, 'Zur Erklärung der Babylonischen Mondtafeln'; of G. A. Reisner's 'Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln Griechischer Zeit' (*Kgl. Museen zu Berlin, Mitth. aus der Orient. Samml.* x. 1896) only a dozen have Arsacid dates, the colophons being generally broken: the editor gives no translation or transcription; this is supplied in a few cases by Miss M. A. Hussey, *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.* xxiii. (1906-7), p. 142; A. T. Clay, *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, ii. (N.Y. 1913), 'Legal Documents from Erech dated in the Seleucid Era,' includes three with Arsacid dates: others are still unpublished.

^{15a} W. Wroth, *B.M.C. Parthia*, p. lxxv.

DATING FORMULAE OF CERTAIN CUNEIFORM TABLETS AND GREEK
INSCRIPTIONS.

B.C.	A.ARS.	A.SEL.
a 304/3		Šattu 8 ^{kan m} Si-lu-ku šarru. Year 8: Seleucus, King. ¹⁶
b 265/4		Šattu 47 ^{kan m} An-ti-'-uk-su šarru rabī u ^m An-ti'(uk-su māru- šu, šarrāni). Year 47: Antiochus, Great King, and Antiochus his son, Kings. ¹⁷
c 180/79	Šattu 68 ^{kan} ša ši-i šattu Year 68 which is year	132 ^{kan m} Ar-ša-kan ša[ruru]. 132: Arsaces, King. ¹⁸
d c. 139	(date lost)	^m Ar-sak-' u 'Ri . . . nu ummi-šu, šarrāni. Arsaces and Ri . . . nu his mother, Kings. ¹⁹
e 133/2	Šattu 115 ^{kan} ša ši-i šattu Year 115 which is year	179 ^{kan m} Ar-ša-ka-a šar matāti. 179: Arsaces, King of countries.
f 110/09		Šattu 202 ^{kan m} Ar-ša-ka-a šarru. Year 202: Arsaces, King. ²⁰
g 108/7	Šattu 140 ^{kan} ša ši-i šattu Year 140 which is year	204 ^{kan m} Ar-ša-kan šar šarrāni. 204: Arsaces, King of Kings. ²¹
h 90	Šattu ²² 155 (sic) ^{kan} ša ši-i šattu	221 ^{kan m} Ar-ša-ka šarru ša it-[tar- ri-]di(?) [^m Gu]-tar(?)- za(?)-a u 'A-ši'-a-ba- tum(?) [aššati-šu bēltu] [u ' . . .]-ša-at amel(?) tir?) 'aššati(?) -šu bēltu. Year 155 (157 ?) which is year 221: Arsaces, King, who was con- tinued as Gotarzes, and Aši'abatam [his wife, Lady and . . .] šât amel tir (?) his wife, Lady. ²³

¹⁶ Erech. A. T. Clay, *op. cit.* No. 1, pp. 36, 37: ^m and ['] are the 'determinatives' for masculine and feminine persons, and ^{kan} for numerals.

¹⁷ Strassmaier, *Zt. f. Ass.* viii. p. 108: he always writes *sanat* the construct for *šattu*, and 47^{tu} the ordinal for 47^{kan}.

¹⁸ Strassmaier, *op. cit.* p. 110.

¹⁹ Erech. Clay, *op. cit.* No. 53, pp. 13, 33, 87. It is written by the scribe of his No. 53 dated A.Sel. 173.

²⁰ e, f, Strassmaier, *op. cit.* p. 111.

²¹ Strassmaier, *op. cit.* p. 111. Ten examples of this formula bring us down to Tišri 157 = 221 (B.C. 91), the date of Berlin, V.A.Th. 245, Reisner, No. 46, pp. viii, 82.

²² The month is Adar II., the last of the year.

²³ Berlin, V.A.Th. 265, 728, Reisner, No. 51, p. 93, ll. 9-11. Though the signs are not clear, the first wife's name gives us the right to supplements according to *i* and *j*. For the translation, see below, p. 40 n. 53.

PARCHMENTS OF THE PARTHIAN PERIOD FROM AVROMAN 35

	B.C.	A. ARS.	A. SEL.	
i	88/7	Šattu 160 ^{kan}	ša ši-i šattu 224 ^{kan}	^m Ar-ša-ka-a ša i-ṭa[r-ri-du] ^m Gu-tar-za-a šarru u ^f A-si-ba-a-t[um] ^f aš-šati-šu bēltu. Year 160 which is year 224: Arsaces, who was continued as Gotarzes, King, and Asibātum, his wife, Lady. ²⁴
j	87/6	Šattu 161 ^{kan}	ša ši-i šattu 225 ^{kan}	^m Ar-ša-ka-a ša iṭ-tar-ri-du ^m Gu-tar-za-a šarru u ^f A-si-[bātum, aššati-šu bēltu]. Year 161 which is year 225: Arsaces, who was continued as Gotarzes, King, and Asi[bātum, his wife, Lady]. ²⁵
k			(date lost)	^m Ar-ša-ka-a šarru ša šumu-šu ^m Gu-tar-za-a. Arsaces, King, whose name is Gotarzes. ²⁶
l	86/5	Šattu 162 ^{kan}	ša ši-i šattu 226 ^{kan}	^m Ar-ša-kan šarru. Year 162 which is year 226: Arsaces, King. ²⁷
m	80/79	Šattu 168 ^{kan}	ša ši-i šattu 232 ^{kan}	^m Ar-ša-kan šarru ša iṭ-tar-ri-du ^m U-ru-da-a šarru. Year 168 which is year 232: Arsaces, King, who was continued as Orodes, King. ²⁸
n	76/5	Šattu 172 ^{kan}	ša ši-i šattu 236 ^{kan}	^m Ar-ša-ka-a šar šarrāni u ^f Iz-bu-bar-za-a aḫati-šu šarratu. Year 172 which is year 236: Arsaces, King of Kings, and Izbubarzâ, his sister, Queen.
o	70/69			Šattu 242 ^{kan} ^m Ar-<ša>-ka-a šarru. Year 242: Ar[sa]ces, King. ^{28a}

²⁴ Brit. Mus. Rm. 844. Brit. Mus. Rm. 710 shows part of this formula for the preceding year, 159=223; v. *Zt. f. Ass.* vi. p. 226, viii. p. 112.

²⁵ Pennsylvania Mus. 9. 21-7-88, corrected by reference to the original; cf. *Zt. f. Ass.* vi. p. 222; Eb. Schrader, *SB. d. k. pr. Ak. d. W. zu Berlin*, 1891, p. 3.

²⁶ *Zt. f. Ass.* vi. p. 226.

²⁷ Berlin, V.A.Th. 573, Reisner, No. 27, pp. viii. (206 is misprint for 226), 54, rev. l. 15;

ib. No. 55, pp. ix, 155, rev. l. 33, bears date 163=226, probably a mistake for 227; Strassmaier, *Zt. f. Ass.* v. p. 355, viii. p. 112, gives year 164=228; and Reisner, No. 49, pp. ix. 89, l. 21, year [167]=231 (B.C. 81-80): all these have the same formula.

²⁸ Brit. Mus. Rm. IV. 118 A; *Zt. f. Ass.* iii. p. 135, iv. p. 78 (Epping), viii. p. 112, wrongly read šar šarrāni: see Schrader, *SB. d. k. pr. Ak. d. W. zu Berlin*, 1890, p. 1327.

^{28a} n, o, Strassmaier, *Zt. f. Ass.* viii. p. 112.

- B.C. A.ARS. A.SEL.
 p 68/7 Šattu 180^{kan} ša ši-i šattu 244^{kan m} Ar-ša-kan šarru u ʾPi-ir(?)-ri-ta-na-a aššati-šu, šarratu.
 Year 180 which is year 244 : Arsaces, King, and Piritanâ, his wife, Queen.²⁹
- q 35/4 Šattu 213^{kan} ša ši-i šattu 277^{kan m} Ar-ša-kan šar šarrâni.
 Year 213 which is year 277 : Arsaces, King of Kings.³⁰
- r 122/1 [βασιλείου]τος μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου[υ]
 [ἐπιφανοῦ]ς φιλέλληνος, ἔτου[ς]
 vac. ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς [ᾗ]γ[ει]
 [κατὰ νόμον] ἱερὸν ΑΦ καὶ Ρ, A.Sel. 191
 [ὡς ἡ πόλις] Ι [Κ καὶ] Ρ A.Ars. 127
- s 111/10 [Βα]σιλεύοντος [Βασιλέων μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου]
 ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληνη[ος, ἔτους ὡς ἡ πόλις ἄγει]
 ΙΛ καὶ Ρ, ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς [κατὰ νόμον ἱερὸν] A.Ars. 137
 ΒΞ, κ.τ.λ. A.Sel. 202³¹
- t c. 110 Δορ ράτην, τῶν πρώτων φίλων τοῦ
 βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου Ἀρσάκου κ.τ.λ.³²

It is not indeed self-evident that the second era of these double dates is the Seleucid, as the Arsacids are not known to have got possession of Babylonia till between 144 and 139 B.C.;³³ but *c* seems to have nothing wrong with it and we must suppose that the Parthians made a successful raid during the weak reign of Seleucus IV. Philopator: so the temporary victory of Antiochus VII. Sidetes in 130 B.C. is recorded by a Seleucid date.³⁴ Also various Arsaces dates published by Strassmaier have caused difficulties, though nearly all of them may be accounted for.³⁵ However, these difficulties and the fact that we know of no Gotarzes about 88 B.C. or Orodes about 80, led Professor Schrader³⁶ to suggest that we had two

²⁹ Strassmaier, *Zt. f. Ass.* viii. p. 112.

³⁰ Strassmaier, *Zt. f. Ass.* vii. p. 204. This is the latest cuneiform date known, Oppert's year 5 of Pi-ḥa-ri-su, king of Pa-ar-su, *Doc. Juridiques de l'Assyrie*, p. 341, not being accepted as Pacorus.

³¹ Both from Babylon, restored by B. Haussoullier, 'Inscriptions Grecques de Babylone,' *Klio*, ix. (1909), p. 353, Nos. 2 and 1; but I am responsible for βασιλεύοντος βασιλέων in *s*. Mr. Haussoullier says 'quand ils [sc. les Grecs] emploient le verbe βασιλεύοντος, . . . le génitif βασιλέων n'est plus de mise et ils le suppriment,' but it fills out the line well, and I give reasons for it below. The text is a list of victors, both ξφηβοί and νέοι, in athletic contests.

³² Delos: Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* i. 430.

³³ Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. p. 233; E. Breccia, *Klio*, v. 'Mitridate il Grande di Partia,'

pp. 49-54.

³⁴ A.Sel. 182: *Zt. f. Ass.* p. 202; Reisner, *Hymnen*, No. 25, v. A. T. Clay, *op. cit.* p. 12.

³⁵ There must be something wrong about šattu 108^{kan} Ar-ša-ka-a šar šarrâni in *Zt. f. Ass.* iii. (1888), p. 130, No. 1, unless E. Breccia, *Klio*, v. p. 41, n. 1, is right in taking it as a solitary Arsacid date without a Seleucid, and so giving the title šar šarrâni to Mithradates I.; more probably it ought to be A.Sel. 208, as Strassmaier says (*Zt. f. Ass.* viii. p. 111) that *g* (above) is the first with that title. The 156 of *Zt. f. Ass.* iii. p. 130, No. 2, is the A.Ars. of a double date which has lost its A.Sel.; the rest are mostly corrected in *Zt. f. Ass.* viii. p. 112.

³⁶ *SB. Berl.* 1890, pp. 1319-1332, 'Die Datirung der babylonischen sog. Arsaciden-inschriften,' 'Nachtrag,' *ib.* 1891, p. 3.

Arsacid Eras starting, one from the accession of Phraohates I. in 181 B.C., the other from that of Mithradates II. about 117 B.C. This would bring Gotarzes into the known place, but does not help for Orodes or square with the astronomical phenomena as worked out by Strassmaier and Epping, and on the whole endorsed by Kugler.

The latter fixes the beginning of the Seleucid Era as found on the tablets at 1 Nisan (April, the first month of the Semitic year) 311 B.C., and that of the Arsacid Era at 1 Nisan 247 B.C., just 64 years later. The ordinary reckoning for the Seleucid Era starts from the beginning of the Macedonian year 1 Dios (October?) 312 B.C.: but we know from Ptolemy³⁷ that there was a modification of it *κατὰ Χαλδαίους*.³⁸ C. F. Lehmann (-Haupt)³⁹ has suggested that, just as the ordinary Seleucid Era beginning in October was shifted by the Babylonians to begin in the following Nisan (April), so the Babylonian Arsacid Era that also began in Nisan was an accommodation of a true Arsacid Era which could go back to the true date of Tiridates' accession, 247/6, B.C.; Eusebius in his tables gives for this event Ol. 133, and this is its first year. But if Mr. Haussoullier is right in restoring these Greek double dates from Babylon, very likely the 'Arsacid' date was a purely Babylonian matter. Note that in *s* the dates 137 and 202 differ by 65. Mr. Haussoullier thinks the reason to be that having less regard for the Arsacid than for the Seleucid Era the Greeks shifted it to begin with October, but it seems natural that they had rather kept to the original calculation of the Seleucid Era from October 312. Among the many cuneiform tablets with double dates only very few have a difference other than 64: these are probably due to mistakes.⁴⁰ The dates on Parthian coins, rare before Phraohates IV., A.Sel. 276=38 B.C., are always supposed to be in the ordinary Seleucid reckoning.⁴¹

It seems therefore certain that both Eras as found in cuneiform sources go back to 1 Nisan B.C. 311 and 247 respectively, but likely that the Seleucid Era as used in Greek inscriptions, in documents like ours, and probably on coins, goes back to 1 Dios 312 B.C. Accordingly the date of I.,

³⁷ *Almagest*, ix. 7; xi. 7: *ed.* Heiberg, I. ii. pp. 267, 419.

³⁸ *r.* W. Wroth, *op. cit.* p. lxxv, and his convenient table of the ordinary or Greek Seleucid Era, p. 282. F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, establishes the beginning of the ordinary Seleucid Era (iii. 1914, p. 41) and of the 'Babylonian' and 'Arsacid' Eras (i. 1906, pp. 136, 137) as above. Fr. F. X. Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sternendienst in Babel*, i. (1907), p. 214, concurs.

³⁹ 'Zur Arsaciden Era,' *Klio*, v. (1905), pp. 128-130.

⁴⁰ Strassmaier, *Zt. f. Ass.* iii. p. 131, No. 1, ll. 7, 8, A.Ars. 152=A.Sel. 217; and viii.

p. 111, A.Ars. 111=A.Sel. 174; *h* above, Reisner, *Hymnen*, No. 51, introd. p. ix. A.Ars. 157?=A.Sel. 221, but text, p. 93, rev. l. 9, A.Ars. 155; No. 55, introd. p. ix. A.Ars. 163=A.Sel. 227, but text, p. 155, rev. l. 33, A.Sel. 226. Kugler, *ap.* Haussoullier, says he knows of but one instance.

⁴¹ Professor Rapson has suggested (*Num. Chron.* 1893, p. 212) that a drachma bearing **EKP** is dated by the Arsacid Era, but *v.* Wroth, *op. cit.* p. 21, No. 10, and note 3. **EKP** is in the exergue, the right place for a date; but there are unexplained monograms on other similar coins, and it may be that had the letters lent themselves thereto they would have appeared in the field as a monogram.

Apellaens A.Sel. 225, comes out at November 88 B.C. and II., A.Sel. 291, at 22/21 B.C.

With regard to the royal style the comparison of our documents, the tablets, and the coins is very instructive. The King's titles in both I. and II. are alike and (save for *καί*) identical with the coin-legend first adopted by Orodes (57-37 B.C.) and continued by nearly all his successors, *βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου εὐεργέτου δικαίου ἐπιφανοῦς φιλέλληνος*: so II. of the time of Phraohates IV. agrees exactly with his coins.⁴² But by 88 B.C. the complete formula had not occurred upon coins; however, the way had been prepared for it by various approximations: *φιλέλλημος* appears on dated coins of Mithradates I. and of Himerus (?), and on one of Artabanus, who came between them: all kings after Mithradates II. seem to have used it: Himerus is the first to use *ἐπιφανοῦς*, as do all his successors. A close approach to our formula is on certain drachmae assigned by Wroth (p. 35) to Mithradates II., *βασιλέως βασιλέων Ἀρσάκου δικαίου εὐεργέτου καὶ φιλέλλημου*; only *ἐπιφανοῦς* is lacking: coins put down to kings who immediately succeeded to him have different combinations of the same elements save that *βασιλέως μεγάλου* takes the place of *βασιλέως βασιλέων*. The variations in the epithets which follow the name do not probably represent anything very much, but the assumption of the title 'King of Kings' instead of 'Great King'⁴³ implies a definite claim to the suzerainty of Western Asia. On their coins the Arsacids had styled themselves 'King' or 'Great King' until Mithradates II., some of whose coins have 'King of Kings'.^{43a} The coins assigned to his successors have 'Great King' until Mithradates III. in whose time 'King of Kings' is finally adopted. On the whole the tablets and Greek inscriptions support the numismatists; *šarru*, *šar matāti* or *šarru rabā*, 'King', 'King of Lands,' or 'Great King,' are used on the former (e.g. *c, d, e, f*) down to 110 B.C.: from 108 B.C., the middle of the reign of Mithradates II., to Tišri⁴⁴ 91 we have *šar šarrāni*, 'King of Kings' (e.g. *g*): so *r* from 122 B.C. has *βασιλέως μεγάλου* and almost the same formula as the coin ascribed to Himerus dated 123 B.C.,⁴⁵ *s* is doubtful, and *t* of about 110 B.C. has *βασιλέως βασιλέων*: *šarru* occurs from 90 to 80 B.C. (*h, i, j, k, l, m*) and again c. 68 B.C. (*p*) in the reign of Phraohates III., to whom Pompey definitely refused the title 'King of Kings,'⁴⁶ and of course *q* in 35 B.C. has *šar šarrāni*. But as against Wroth's assignment of the coins we have *šar šarrāni* in 76 B.C. (*n*), and in view of their precise dating the tablets give the better lead. I am inclined to wonder whether among the coins that Wroth assigns to Mithradates II., all his Class II., those with a helmet

⁴² I have mostly followed Mr. Wroth, *B.M.C. Parthia*, and my new material has supported his conclusions in one or two points; but the attribution of undated coins to particular kings is so subjective that it is very unsafe to rely on numismatic evidence.

⁴³ For the significance of the titles, v. E. R. Bevan, 'Antiochus III. and his title Great King,' *J.H.S.* xxii. p. 241.

^{43a} So Wroth, *op. cit.* p. xxiii *sqq.*; *Num. Chron.* 1900, p. 186 *sqq.*: Gardner had said Mithr. I.

⁴⁴ The sign for this month is not quite certain, but *h* must be subsequent, being dated Adar II., the last month of the year.

⁴⁵ Wroth, *op. cit.* p. 194; *B.M.C.* pp. xxiii, 23.

⁴⁶ Plutarch, *Pompey*, 38.

and βασιλέως βασιλέων, should not rather be given to a king reigning c. 75 B.C., or at any rate the drachmae above mentioned, on which the full inscription seems to mark a later date.

The absence of βασιλέως βασιλέων on the coins had been explained by the fact that it coincided closely with the time when Tigranes of Armenia was claiming the highest place in Western Asia; the tablets seem to suggest that if some Parthian kings recognised his pretensions, others resisted them. It is not unlikely that the former received his support in an internal struggle against rivals who did not rely on or bow down before the Armenian King of Kings.

Our documents agree with the cuneiform tablets in naming queens side by side with the kings.⁴⁷ This was the practice of the Ptolemies, but not apparently of other Oriental states.⁴⁸ Further, I. and tablet *n* tell us that the queen was, again as among the Ptolemies and perhaps among the Seleucids,⁴⁹ the king's sister.^{49a} We knew from Herodian (iv. 10) that the kings took their wives among the descendants of Arsaces, and it might have been expected that they should marry their sisters as this practice, if not enjoined in the Avesta, is certainly approved in Pahlavi literature.⁵⁰ We may notice that foreign queens were also taken; for instance, Aryazate or Automa the daughter of Tigranes in I. and the Cleopatra in II. Strabo (XI. xiii. 1) speaks of a Parthian queen from Atropatene and Plutarch⁵¹ of Greek concubines; compare the case of Musa below.

In the case of tablet *d* it looks as if we had to do with a queen-regent and a minor, that is, with Phrahahtes II., who is usually supposed to have come to the throne about 138 B.C.: it is a pity that the exact date of the tablet is lost. The tablets quoted under *i* and *j*, A.Sel.Bab. 223, 224, 225, overlap document I. A.Sel.Gr. 225 before and after. The reading *it̄taridu* (*it̄arridu* or *it̄(t)arridu*) in *i*, *j* and *m*, is due to Dr. L. W. King⁵² who very kindly

⁴⁷ I have restored tablet *h* as having named two queens, but it is possible that Dr. Johns should have vetoed this, as the characters given by Reisner are not exactly *šaššati-šu*. *Ašī'abatūm* may have been the principal queen and the other the queen kept at Babylon. The names seem Iranian: *Ašī'abatūm* suggests *ašivant*, 'giving rewards,' and *pati*, 'lord,' or *pāta*, 'protected'; *Piritāna*, *pir*, 'old man,' and *āna*, 'descendant'; *Izbubarzā*, *ispahi*, 'soldier,' *barz*, 'high,' or *varz*, 'work': but these are mere guesses, and the derivations need not be sought in Iranian at all.

⁴⁸ F. C. Burkitt, in notes to a revised translation of 'The Hymn of the Soul,' *The Quest*, v. No. 4 (1914), quotes our documents to illustrate the first lines of a letter to the exiled Prince, 'From thy Father, the King of Kings,—from the Queen, thy Mother,—And from thy Brother,—to thee, Our Son in Egypt, be greeting'; but it is a family letter, not a state document. *Kamnaskires* of Elam does name

his queen *Anzaze* on his coins: B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.*² p. 822; A. de la Fûye, *Rev. Num.* 1902, Pl. V. 2-6; A.Sel. 231.

⁴⁹ Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. p. 279.

^{49a} So Lucan, viii. 404, *iacuerē sorores in regum thalamis*, proves to be true.

⁵⁰ J. H. Moulton, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1913, 'Early Zoroastrianism,' pp. 205 *sqq.* Gutschmid, p. 43, suggests that Phriapatius called himself *Philadelphus* because of having complied with this custom, but the coins on which he founds this guess are assigned by Wroth to Artabanus I. (II.), who might so have expressed his regard for his great predecessor, *Mithradates I.* It is strange that the king of tablet *n*, who is said to have married his sister, is apparently *Sinatrucēs*, who came to the throne at the age of eighty.

⁵¹ *Crassus*, 32 *fn.*

⁵² Letters dated 16 Oct., 9 and 11 Nov., 1914, 25 Jan. 1915.

furnished me with the exact readings of the British Museum tablets and ascertained by writing out to Philadelphia that the tablet there agreed. Strassmaier had at first read the word (in *m*) as *ittaris*, afterwards Bezold and Schrader took it to be *ustarridu* and found it hard to explain. But Dr. King is quite clear about the reading as given above and the translation is his⁵³; it is well borne out by tablet *k*.⁵⁴ Ašī'abatūm or Asibātūm in *h*, *i*, cannot be the same as any of the queens' names in document I,⁵⁵ so the Arsaces-Gotarzes is probably not the Arsaces of I.; this was perhaps Mithradates II., who is known to have reigned till 88 B.C.⁵⁶ Gotarzes may have been his son entrusted by him with the sub-kingdom of Babylon between Tišri and Adar II. A.Sel. 221, or else a rival admitting the hegemony of Armenia and so not claiming to be 'King of Kings.'

The next thirty years Justin merely sums up in Prologue XLII. with *varia complurium regum successio*: in his Epitome he jumps, apparently by mistake, from Mithradates II. to Mithradates III. and Orodes I. in 57 B.C.⁵⁷ Other literary sources give us Sinatruces circa 77–70 B.C. and Phrahates III. c. 70–57. The tablets now enable us to put into the gap between 88 and 77 the name of Gotarzes who overlapped with and succeeded to Mithradates II., and Orodes c. 80 B.C., who can hardly have been the Orodes known to us in 57 B.C. Though there were no doubt other claimants, these new names make us less inclined to accept Artabanus as king from 88 to 77, as for his existence he depends entirely upon a conjecture of Gutschmid.⁵⁸

⁵³ 'I suggest that we should read the verb as *ūt(ā)aridu*, the Nifal of *tarādu* (ܐܪܕܘ). The ordinary meaning of *tarādu* in Assyrian is "to pursue," but in this phrase I would assign to it the meaning "to follow, to continue" (in the Nifal, of course, "to be continued"). We may compare the Arabic *tarada*, which in St. X. has the meaning "to pass from one subject to another," "to pass from one class to another" (Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, ii. p. 33); while in St. II. it has the meaning "to prolong" (of the voice), and in St. VIII. "to flow in a regular course" (of water), "to be consecutive," "to continue uninterruptedly" (Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, pp. 1838 f.). In Hebrew, too, *tarad* is used in the Qal with the meaning "to be continuous." The word only occurs in the phrase *delep(h) tōrēd(h)*, "a continuous dripping," *i.e.* in which one drop pursues another (cf. Gesenius, *Hebrew Lexicon*, Oxford, 1906, p. 382). We have thus ample justification, both from Arabic and Hebrew, for assigning this new meaning to the root in Assyrian—or, rather, in late Babylonian. The root meaning of "pursuit" is well brought out in its Hebrew use; and this closely parallels its employment in the Arsacid date-formulae—the idea of continuity regarded as an uninterrupted succession of separate units.' Canon

C. H. W. Johns, Litt.D., Master of St. Catherine's College, who gave me the reference to Clay's book and interpreted Reisner's for me, found the old reading *ustarridu* unsatisfactory, and heartily welcomed Dr. King's solution of the difficulty.

⁵⁴ A parallel to *ša šumu-šu Gutarzā* on tablet *k* is perhaps found in the coin legends *βασι. βασι. Ἀρσάκου λιο(?) εἰεργ. Φραάτου ἐπιφ. ἐπικαλουμένου φιλέλληνος ΓΟ[Ξ]* (the apparent date A.Sel. 273 = 40–39 B.C., puts it into the reign of Phrahates IV. rather than Mithradates III. as Wroth, p. 66, suggests) and *βασι. βασι. Ἀρσάκου ὄδς κεκαλούμενος Ἀρταβάνου Γωτέρζης* (Wroth, p. 165), where the nominative is an awkward attempt to clear the sense.

⁵⁵ The second name of Aryazate, Automa, does a little suggest the end of Ašī'abatūm.

⁵⁶ Gutschmid, p. 80.

⁵⁷ Lib. XLII. ii. 3–6, iv. 1, 2.

⁵⁸ Justin, Prolog. XLI. MSS. have: *In Parthis ut est constitutum imperium per Arsacem regem. Successores deinde eius Artabanus et Tigrane cognomine deus: a quo subacta est Media et Mesopotamia. Dictusque in excessu Arabiae situs. In Bactrianis autem, etc. Prolog. XLII. . . . utque Phraati successit rex Mithradates cognomine magnus qui Armenis bellum intulit. Inde repetitae origines Armeniorum et situs. Ut varia*

It would be rash to assign any particular groups of coins to these new kings, but probably some of those given by Wroth to his Artabanus II., having *βασιλέως μεγάλου*, belong to our Gotarzes and Orodes who called themselves *šarru* simply, while perhaps of those he assigns to Mithradates II., Class II. (with helmet and *βασ. βασιλέων*) or at any rate part of the class, with the long inscription, should go to Sinatruces, within whose reign *n* comes. But where dates and monograms fail us, the grounds for assigning coins to particular kings are so slight that the attempt is well nigh hopeless: we cannot indeed be at all sure that a king might not let *šar šarráni* continue in use on obscure native documents when he thought it politic to abandon the title on his coins with their wider range and intelligibility: still the case of Phrahates III. as exemplified on *o* and *p* argues for fair consistency in the matter.

Document I. therefore apparently belongs to the very end of the reign of Mithradates II. That he married a daughter of Tigranes is new. Tigranes had been a hostage in Parthia and probably her hand was bestowed in connexion with the action of Mithradates of Parthia in putting Tigranes,⁵⁹ then about forty-five and well old enough to have a marriageable daughter, on the throne instead of Artoasdes I., Tigranes ceding him seventy valleys as a reward: this was in 94 B.C. Tigranes was still in alliance with Parthia in 86 B.C., and used this support to make himself master of Syria, but shortly after attacks by external enemies, probably at first on the N.E. border, and internal dissensions brought low the Parthians' power. Then it was that Tigranes took the title of 'King of Kings' and forced some Parthian kings or

complurium regum in Parthis successione imperium accepit Orodes, etc.

In Epitome XLI. Justin speaks of Arsaces (I.), his son Arsaces (II.), to whom he gives no other name, Phriapatius, Phrahates (I.), Mithradates (I.), makes a digression to things Bactrian and returns to Mithradates (I.), his conquest of Media and Elymais as far as the Euphrates. In Epitome XLII. we have Phrahates (II.), Artabanus, Mithradates (II.), his attack on Armenia, an account of Armenia, and then the deposition of Mithradates (III.). Gutschmid, *Comm. Crit. in Prol. Tr. Pomp. ap. Justinum ed. Rühl*, p. lxi., and *Gesch. Irans*, p. 81 n., said that the words *successores to Arabiae situs* now in Prol. XLI. have fallen out between *Armeniorum et situs* and *ut varia* in Prol. XLII. because of the homocoteleuton *situs, situs*, and have been put back into the wrong place: so Artabanus would be a successor of Mithradates II. and so would Tigranes, as he conquered Mesopotamia from M.'s heirs and assumed the title King of Kings. This seems very harsh; also the lost account of Arabia could not conceivably have come at the end of XLII.

which brings events down to 20 B.C. I prefer Vaillant's old correction *Mithradates* for *Tigranes*, so Artabanus becomes the second name of Arsaces II. (210-191), the only Arsacid without a second name. After a digression to Bactria we have mention of Mithradates I. and his conquests, which included Arabistan and gave good reason for an account of Arabia at the end of Book XLI. That Mithradates I. was called *θεός* we can infer from the coins assigned to his son and successor bearing the title *θεοπάροπος*. The psychology of the copyist's mistake is that he was sure that Eupator, the only Mithradates he knew of, did not conquer Mesopotamia, so he substituted the name that lay nearest in his mind. I note that Th. Reinach, *Mithradate Eupator*, p. 310, Justi, *Ir. Namenbuch*, pp. 31, 412, and Allotte de la Füye, *Rev. Num.* 1904, p. 321, doubt Gutschmid's view, though Wroth accepts it, pp. xix., xxxi.

⁵⁹ Appian, *Syr.* 48, calls Tigranes the Great the son of Tigranes, and von Petrowicz thinks him an Arsacid; but Tigranes the Father was scarcely our Great King.

pretenders to acquiesce in it.⁶⁰ Perhaps it was the death of Mithradates II., his elderly son-in-law, that broke the bonds between Tigranes and Parthia and set him free to recover his seventy valleys and to invade not only Atropatene but Media proper somewhere about 86 B.C. Another daughter of Tigranes afterwards married Pacorus, three generations younger than Mithradates II. The Armenian princess has two names, one Aryazate, Iranian, and the other Automa, unintelligible, perhaps Armenian.

There can be no doubt that the Arsaces in Document II. is Phrahates IV., who used exactly the same titulature on his coins: but his dated tetradrachms stop at A. Sel. 289, two years before our document; ^{60a} probably this meant trouble of some sort or another. It was perhaps in this connexion that in 20 B.C. peace with Rome became so important that he actually restored the standards taken from Crassus and Antony, the proudest trophies of Parthian arms. In 10 or 9 B.C. he sent his sons to live under the protection of the Emperor. In 3-2 B.C. another son, Phrahataces, murdered him in conspiracy with his mother Musa, an Italian slave-girl sent as a present by Augustus.⁶¹ At first she had not been a real wife but moved by her beauty Phrahates had raised her to that position after the birth of her son. Oriental princes grow up quickly, but Phrahataces must have been born not long after the date of our document, which shews that in 21 B.C. Musa had not attained the dignity of queen. The names actually given do not lend themselves to interpretation, except Cleopatra, no doubt a daughter of one of the semi-Greek houses then still surviving in Western Asia.

PLACES MENTIONED.

Βαϊθάβαρτα, I. A 6, B 6: Semitic *Beth* "house."

Βαίσειρα, I. A 6, B 6: perhaps the same as the following.

Βασιράορα, II. A 3, B 3.

Γανζακή, I. B 12.

Δαδβακαβάγ, II. A 7, B 7: perhaps the same as the following.

Δαδβακανράς, I. A 11.

Δησακδής, II. A 3; *Δησακιδίδοις*, II. 4 (Dative).

Κώπανις, I. A 7, 11, B 8, 11; *Κώφανις*, II. A 4, B 3.

None of these are known except *Γανζακή*, the name of the chief town of Atropatene, said to be Takht-i-Sulaiman, on a river running into Lake Urumia: here it seems to be a mistake as the corresponding text I. A 11 has *Δαδβακανράς*. Ptolemy has two names rather like the first two in *Βίθαβα* or *Βίρθαβα* and *Βέσσαρα*, but he sets them far from Avroman, somewhere near the Tigris and west of Nineveh, in his longitudes and latitudes 77° 50'–38° 40' and 77°–37° 20'. There is nothing surprising in a Semitic name like Baithabarta occurring so near the Semitic language

⁶⁰ Justin, XL. i. 3; Gutschmid, p. 82.

^{60a} Wroth, p. 107.

⁶¹ Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XVIII. ii. 4 (40),

Θεσμοῦσα, on coins *Θεὰ Οὐρανία Μοῦσα*, Wroth, pp. 139-141, Pl. XXIV. 1-3.

frontier. Dr. Sa'íd Khán gave me the names of several villages round Avroman, but none seemed to have any possible connexion with the names in the documents. There can be little doubt that *Κώπανις* and *Κώφανις* are the same, which makes it likely that *Βαίσειρα* and *Βασιράορα* are to be identified. We must allow for great carelessness in writing down the names; apart from the substitution of Ganzace in I. we have in II. the very different forms *Δησακδής*, *Δησακιδίδοις* for what must be one name. That inclines me to think *Δαδβακαβάγ* of II. and *Δαδβακαυράς* of I. are one and the same name; it has an Iranian look; the termination *bagā* means lot in one case and perhaps *ras* is something similar, and the first part may have the same elements as Bagdad (*Deus dedit*) in reverse order. It is true that *Δαδβακαβάγ* is described as near the *σταθμός* Desakidida (or whatever the right form be) whereas *Δαδβακαυράς* is near Baithabarta, but as both are in Cophanis, this might be due to a rearrangement of the *σταθμοί* or post-stations with *dâk*-bungalows on the king's highway. Isidorus Characenus writing *περὶ σταθμῶν Παρθικῶν* seems to give lists of such along roads which Roman invaders might conceivably wish to use, but he mentions neither of these. As to the *ὑπαρχία*—we hear of *ὑπαρχοί* in Persia,^{61a} and in the empire of the Seleucids⁶² and actually of *ὑπαρχία*,⁶³ four or five making up one satrapy. The word may have survived under Roman rule⁶⁴; still more likely is it to have remained under the Parthians, who seem to have made as few changes of organization as possible.

NAMES OF PERSONS.⁶⁵

- 'Αζάτη, I. AB 5: *Āzāta*, 'noble,' is a man's name in the Avesta, Justi, p. 54.
 'Απάκης, I. A 28, B 30: cf. Apakan Wsemakan, general of Sapor II., Justi, p. 18.
 'Αραμάσδης, II. A 12, B 16: Moulton suggests, *Arəm-mazdah*, 'with right wisdom'; cp. Aramaiti as popularly understood, 'right thinking,' cf. A. Carnoy, *Muséon*, n.s. xiii. p. 127 *sqq.*
 'Αρθασάτης, II. A 12, 'Ασθάτης, B 11^{65a}: perhaps *arta*, 'pure': Carnoy compares *astāta*, 'not standing,' but prefers to adduce the name *Astvatarēta*, Bartholomae, col. 215, the same elements in reverse order, 'with body subject to justice.'

^{61a} Herodotus, iii. 66.

⁶² Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 225, l. 36.

⁶³ *Ib.* 238, l. 1. See his notes on both passages, mostly founded on Haussoullier, *Rev. de Philologie*, xxv. (1901), p. 6 *sqq.*; cf. W. H. Buckler, 'Greek Inscr. from Sardes,' in *A.J.A.* xvi. (1912), p. 69. A. Corvatta, 'Divisione Amministrativa dell' Impero dei Seleucidi,' *Rendì conti d. r. Acc. d. Lincei*, x. (1901), p. 149, does not seem to recognise them.

⁶⁴ *O.G.I.* 532, l. 38.

⁶⁵ Though for these I had recourse to F.

Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895, and Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1904; I should not have got far without the help and criticism of Professor J. H. Moulton, D.D., of Didsbury College, Manchester, Professor A. Carnoy, of Louvain, and Mr. E. J. Thomas, of the University Library, Cambridge, and I am much indebted to them. They are not, however, responsible for my errors.

^{65a} The word 5⁸ in III. looks like ארשטתה *Aršatata*.

- 'Αρδήνης, II. AB 10: perhaps *arta*, 'pure,' *daēnā*, 'faith,' or as Carnoy prefers to render, 'conscience,' Bartholomae, col. 665.
- 'Αρσάκης, I. AB 1; II. AB 1: Aršaka, derived from *arša*, 'bear.'
- 'Αρναζάτη, I. AB 3: Moulton suggests *arva* (Av. *aurwa*), 'swift' or 'brave,' and *āzāta*, 'noble,' but says a *dvandva* name of this kind requires a parallel. Such Carnoy finds in *Wahištāzād*, 'best-noble,' Justi, p. 340, and perhaps *Čihrāzād*, 'high-noble,' *ib.* p. 163. Probably not *Arya*, 'Aryan,' as *v* was still an *u*, cf. 'Τρόδου = *Hurauda* on a coin, Wroth, *B.M.C.* p. 96. Perhaps divide *arva-zātā*, Moulton.
- 'Ασπωμάκης, II. AB 5: *aspa*, 'horse.'
- Αὐτομά, I. AB 4: perhaps Armenian. Carnoy suggests the superlative of *aota*, 'cold,' Bartholomae, col. 41, or *aota*, 'understanding,' Justi, p. 52; cf. *Αὐτοφραδάτης*, 'advanced in or by understanding.'
- Βαράκης, I. AB 8 *sqq.*: perhaps Semitic, *bāreqā*, 'fulgurans,' or *bārek*, *bārekā*, 'blesser,' E. J. Thomas. Carnoy compares *Warakes* (Justi, p. 348) or *vāhrka*, 'wolf.'
- Βάσειρτα, II. AB 2: cf. *vas*, 'at random,' e.g. *vasa-urt* or *vasa-varta*, 'turning or ruling at random,' Carnoy.
- Βισθειβάναψ, II. AB 2: *višta*, 'warrior' (cf. *Vištaspā*, Justi, p. 373) or *vahišta*, 'best.' It might be an altered form of *vanovispa*, 'all blessing,' Bartholomae, col. 1354, Carnoy.
- Γαάκης, II. AB 5: perhaps the same as the next, intervocalic *θ* having become *h*;⁶⁶ cf. Hübschmann's derivation of Phrahates from *Fraḍāta* below.
- Γαθάκης, I. AB 9 *sqq.*; II. A 5, B 6: perhaps *gāthāka*, 'rimer,' Moulton, or 'living after Gathic rule,' Carnoy; or from *gaēthā*, 'farm,' hence 'householder,' E. J. Thomas.
- Γερίκης, II. A 12, B 17: perhaps *gairika*, 'living in mountains,' Carnoy.
- Δαργηνής, II. A. 13, B 11: O. Pers. *darga*, 'long,' Skt. *āna*, 'mouth,' cf. *πρηνης* (?), Moulton. Perhaps 'holding something.'
- Δήνης, II. AB 5: (used as a genitive, possibly from fem. nom. *Δήνη*^{66a}): *daēnā*, Pahlavi *dēn*, 'faith.'
- Δηνόβαζος, I. B. 30: *Daēnāvazah*, 'advancing the faith,' is a name in the Avesta, Justi, p. 76, or it may be from *bazu*, 'arm,' e.g. *Φαρνάβαζος*, Justi, p. 92. (Moulton does not allow that *δηνο-* could be from *daēnā*.)
- 'Ιωδαβόχθης, II. A 12, B 17: first part perhaps Skt. *yudh*, 'battle' (*ύσμίνη*), Moulton; *-buxt*, cf. *Jesū'buxt* = 'redeemed of Jesus,' Justi, p. 149.
- Κλεοπάτρα, II. AB 2: the only Greek name in the documents.
- Μαιφόρρης, I. A 8, B 9: probably Semitic, *māphōrrāš*, 'separated'; for the termination cf. *מִפְרָשׁ* = 'Ασσούηρος, E. J. Thomas.
- Μαρζυ . . ., I. B 31: cf. *Marzpan* (Arab. *Marzubān*), *Marzūi*, Justi, pp. 197, 198.

⁶⁶ v. C. Salemann, Geiger u. Kuhn, *Grundr.* d. *Iran. Phil.* I. i. p. 261.

^{66a} Not very likely because *αὐτῶ* and *αὐτὸν* follow, but cf. *P. Lips.* 2, 1. 10.

- Μιραβανδάκης, II. A 12, B 17: 'Mithra's servant'; cf. **Mihrbandaq*, *Mihrevandak*, Justi, pp. 205, 214.
- Μειριδάτης, I. A 29, B 31; Μιραδάτης, II. A 12, B 17: 'Mithra's gift,' for form see below.
- Οϊπάτης, I. A 9, B 10: cf. Avesta, *hu-pāta*, 'well-protected,' Moulton; or *vohu*, 'good,' *pāti*, 'lord'; cf. Οϊβάρης = ἀγαθάγγελος, Justi, p. 232.
- Ὅλεννεϊρή, I. AB 2.
- Ὅρκαδάτης, I. A 28: *vahrka*, 'wolf,' Carnoy; 'wolf's gift' is quite conceivable.
- Ὅρο . . . , I. B 30. Justi, pp. 234–236, gives twelve names so beginning.
- Ὅχοβάγης, I. A 29, B 31: *vohu* = εὐ (cf. *Wahuka* = Ὀχος, Justi, p. 431, and Ὀχωδιάκος = εὐμεγέθης, Vs. Miller, *Bull. Com. Imp. Arch.*, St. P., xvii. p. 87) and *bagā*, 'god.'
- Σιάκη, I. AB 2: cf. Σιανάκος, Latyshev, *I.o.s.P.E.* ii. 447; Pahlavi, *sīyakum*, thirty-first, E. J. Thomas.
- Συκυνήματος, I. B 31: (gen. from nom. Συκύνημα?).
- Σωβήνης, I. A 8, B 9: perhaps Semitic; cf. *Šebna*, Isaiah xxxvi. 3, LXX. Σοβνās, 'tender youth,' E. J. Thomas.
- Τυγράνης, I. AB 4: *tigra*, 'swift.'
- Ἵστοβώγης, I. A 29: *višta*, 'warrior,' Justi, p. 373, or participle from *vaēd*¹, 'knowing,' or *vaēd*², 'having found' (Bartholomae, cols. 1314, 1318), *bāga*, 'lot'; *ā* is often pronounced *ō* in Persian and Ossetic. Carnoy says '*vahištobāga*, with best lot or fate.'
- Φραάτης, I. B 31: *frahāta*, 'understanding,' Justi, p. 101; Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, I. p. 48, *fraḍāta* (cp. Φραδάτης in Memnon), 'furthered'; *hāta*, perf. pass. part. of *han* occurs in Gāthic = 'meritus,' so *frahāta* would be 'promeritus,' Moulton.
- Χοσστρός, I. A 28, B 30 = *Haosravah*, 'famous': this is the first case of its being written in Greek with X instead of Ὅσρός (why not Ὅσρός?); v. Justi, s.v. *Husravañh*, p. 134.

The general character of these names is clearly Iranian: the only exceptions are those of the conveyors in I., Baraces and Sobenes with their father Maiphorres, and the queens in II., Cleopatra the Greek, and Olennieire, Baseirta, and Bistheibanaps of which the explanations cannot be called convincing. Did Phrahates IV. seek his wives among the mixed peoples who were pressing upon his eastern frontier as well as from Greece and Italy?

Of these Iranian names some we must leave to students of Iranian, others are familiar to us all, Chosstroes, Tigranes, Phrahates, Arsaces, Miradates. The particular form in which this last and its cognate Mirabandaces appear offers as much interest as almost any point that arises from the study of the documents. They are the first recorded instances of a sound change which most characteristically marks off Middle Persian from Avestic and Old Persian, the change of *θr* to *hr* between vowels.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ v. C. Salemann, in Geiger u. Kuhn, *Grundr. d. Iran. Phil.* I. i. p. 261.

That change would not have been expressed in writing unless it was quite general in pronunciation; tradition kept the form Mithradates in use for centuries, but the first example hitherto known of the name in its later form was given by Tacitus⁶⁸ who mentions Meherdates as a candidate for the Parthian throne in A.D. 47, 135 years later than I. This fact has naturally aroused the attention of Professor Moulton as it leaves so much the less time for the completion of the sound changes which took place subsequent to Zoroaster but within the Old Persian period, and strengthens the argument for the prophet's early date.⁶⁹ Of the *i* vowel in the middle instead of *a*, there are earlier examples extant.⁷⁰

As to the rendering of Iranian sounds: *ei* evidently sounded like *ι*, but it is not probable that *oi* or *υ* had come down to the same, nor does it seem to me as if *β* was yet sounding as *υ*. Iranian *h* is left unexpressed, unless *χ* represents it in 'Οχοβάγης; *a* represents the dull vowel *ə* as well as *ā* and *ǎ*. There is, as it seems, some inconsistency in the rendering of *v*, but philologists expect too much consistency and shut their eyes to the way in which we render, *e.g.*, Russian names.⁷¹ Greek could of course do nothing with *š*. As the names shew Middle Iranian forms, probably Document III. (if Iranian at all) is the earliest piece of Middle Iranian extant, if only it could be read.

LEGAL TRANSACTIONS.

All these matters of kings and queens, dates and names, were but of very little importance to the people who had our documents written, and they would have been much surprised to find that their transactions, to record which the documents came into being, are now the least interesting part of them. Further, the nature of the transactions is not quite clear.

One reason for this is that we have hardly any material for satisfactory comparison. Dr. Hunt writes 'there is a strong family likeness combined with differences in detail as compared with similar documents from Egypt,' but my search for analogies amid the great mass of Egyptian material has shewn me that the differences are greater than I had supposed at first. To the layman legal documents concerned with more or less similar transactions have all of them what I should call a family likeness, but as we can see that formulae varied in different districts within Egypt,⁷² it is not surprising that our documents should be unlike in detail.

I hoped that the formulae of cuneiform documents would offer some help in reconstituting the intentions of the writers, but Dr. L. W. King

⁶⁸ *Ann.* xi. 10.

⁶⁹ J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, 1914, p. 233, and addenda facing p. xviii.

⁷⁰ Dittenberger, *O.G.I.* 345 (B.C. 92/1), l. 28 and note *ad loc.*

⁷¹ For a similar problem, cf. H. Kern, 'Zur Gesch. d. Ausspr. des Griechischen: Widrigkeit Indischer Wörter bei gr. Autoren,'

ΕΛΛΑΣ, Leiden, 1889. He shows that the traditional Greek accentuation does not represent the Indian, *e.g.* Παλίβοθρα, Pataliputra; Βαρούγαζα, Bharukaccha; so my accentuation of these names is in accordance with meaningless custom.

⁷² Mitteis, *Grundzüge d. Papyruskunde*, II. i. p. 76, n. 2.

assures me that there is nothing specifically Babylonian about ours. The deeds published by Professor A. T. Clay (*op. cit.*) are not far off in point of time but offer no analogies save what are inherent in the nature of the case: I do cite one or two resemblances in detail, but do not insist upon them. Our documents must therefore serve to illustrate each other even though the transactions recorded are not exactly similar: I have said that I believe them to refer to the same property, but that Dr. Hunt is not inclined to agree.

We want all the illustration we can get because both documents are most carelessly put together. It cannot be said that the scribes were ignorant of Greek: the writer of I. knew his business quite well, that of II. might have made less difficulties for us if he had not been so much at home in Greek writing that he hardly stayed to form the letters. But they seem in both cases to have transcribed a rough copy full of badly indicated insertions and erasures⁷³ and probably made up of phrases drawn from older deeds and not sufficiently adapted to the grammatical requirements of the case. Hence omissions, repetitions and anacolutha which leave us in actual doubt as to the intentions of the contracting parties.

As to the form of the documents, the first point is their being executed in duplicate. This device of 'close' and 'patent' versions (often called *scriptura interior* and *scriptura exterior*) is very ancient. It is the principle of the Akkadian and Babylonian case-tablets in which the original deed is covered with a fresh layer of clay to receive an abstract of its tenor and the seals of the witnesses. Similar procedure was in use among the Jews: our documents are so well illustrated by a passage in Jeremiah (xxxii. 9-14), pointed out by my sister, that I give it here after the Revised Version. 'And I bought the field that was in Anathoth of Hanamel my uncle's son, and weighed him the money, even seventeen shekels of silver. And I subscribed the deed (lit. writing, כָּתַבְתִּי, βιβλίον), and sealed it, and called witnesses, and weighed him the money in the balances. So I took the deed of the purchase [both that] which was sealed, [according to the law and custom (*Marg. or 'containing the terms and conditions')*], and that which was open]; and I delivered the deed of the purchase unto Baruch, the son of Neriah, the son of Mahseiah, in the presence of Hanamel mine uncle's son, and in the presence of the witnesses that subscribed the deed of the purchase, before all the Jews that sat in the court of the guard. And I charged Baruch before them saying, Thus saith the LORD of Hosts, the God of Israel: Take [these deeds,] this deed of the purchase [both that which is sealed] and this deed which is open (LXX. τὸ ἀνεγνωσμένον, perhaps for ἀνεωργμένον), and put them (LXX. αὐτό) in an earthen vessel; that they may continue many days.' I have enclosed in square brackets the words which are omitted in the LXX.; it looks as if the Greek text had been changed when the practice of making duplicates became unfamiliar.

It had been common enough in Egypt and many examples exist, both

⁷³ *e.g.* Schubart, *Pap. Gr. Berol.* 13, 13 B. C.

Demotic and Greek: the oldest Greek contract known, the marriage contract of Heracleides and Demetria (311-310 B.C.) and the deeds concerning Elaphium a few years later, all three from Elephantine, have much the same arrangement as ours: the older practice was to give the deeds into the charge of a *συγγραφοφύλαξ* who is named as such in the deed, acknowledges the receipt of it, and sets his seal first among the witnesses, usually six in number. In the passage from Jeremiah, Baruch is the *συγγραφοφύλαξ*: he is a private person, not an official, and so likewise in Egypt.⁷⁴

In the Elephantine papyri the mechanical arrangement differs in so far that, the papyrus being very broad, the top version is half cut off from the lower and doubled over with a vertical fold, so the roll is only half as long and makes a stronger packet. The ordinary arrangement is like ours, the papyrus being of a moderate breadth.⁷⁵ The string is supplied by a fibre stripped from the papyrus itself.⁷⁶ The device of a full duplicate is used for very various documents, sales, marriage-contracts, receipts, tax-receipts, declarations, verdicts and oaths,⁷⁷ but the fact that the close version would probably never be seen by mortal eye produced its natural result, either that it was written illegibly (in *P. Amh.* 42 A the close version is the most cursive document its editors had ever seen) or it becomes reduced to an abstract written above the patent version;⁷⁸ Wilcken (*loc. cit.*) shews that from the middle of the third century B.C. practically the same classes of documents are thus shortened down as had been written in full. Moreover, for greater security the execution of the deed is performed before an official and he it is that writes the close version or abstract. In the case of the agoranomus in the Thebaid the office fashion was to use broad papyrus, so the abstract forms a narrow first column⁷⁹ folded down and secured with one official seal. But once deeds were brought to a public office and registered the need for any duplication vanished and the device tended to go out of use. Still it is interesting to note that in the case of the Reinach Papyri, all from the same muniment room, some, dated in the city of Hermupolis where there was an agoranomus, are in the form that he was accustomed to prescribe, while others executed in the little village of Tenis were really delivered to the *συγγραφοφύλαξ*.⁸⁰ It is possible therefore that in Babylonia and Media

⁷⁴ *B.G.U. Sonderheft*, 'Elephantine Papyri,' ed. O. Rubensohn, Nos. 1-4, esp. pp. 5-8: W. Schubart, *Pap. Gr. Berol.* 2, 4a; Wilcken, *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung*, v. pp. 200-207; *New Pal. Soc.* ii. 26.

⁷⁵ See illustrations of *P. Amh.* 42. Pl. VIII.; *P. Hibeh*, 84a, Pl. IX.

⁷⁶ Ibscher, *Arch. f. Pap.* v. p. 192.

⁷⁷ Wilcken, *loc. cit.* p. 204; the latest is 131 B.C.

⁷⁸ e.g. *P. Tebt.* i. 105 (103 B.C.), Pl. VIII.

⁷⁹ *P. Lond.* 879, 1204, 881, 882, 1206, 1207, 1208, 1209 (iii. Pl. IV.-XI.), 123-88 B.C.: *B.G.U.* iii. 993 = Schubart, *op. cit.* 9.

⁸⁰ Wilcken, *Arch. f. Pap.* iii. p. 523; compare *P. Rein.* 26 (Mitteis, *Grundz.* II. ii. No. 164) with *P. Rein.* 14 and 20 (Mitteis, *ib.* 132, 133): dates 104, 110, and 108 B.C. For duplicate deeds in general see also Mitteis, *op. cit.* II. i. pp. 77, 78; P. M. Meyer, *Klio*, vi. (1906), pp. 452-454; Gerhard, *Philologus*, lxxiii. (1904), pp. 500-503. The last cases of a *συγγραφοφύλαξ* or something like it are *P. Tebt.* 382 (31 B.C.) and 386 (12 B.C.); by that time the duplicate writing had gone out of use, Wilcken, *Arch. f. Pap.* v. pp. 240, 241; Mitteis, *op. cit.* II. i. p. 54.

registration had superseded the duplicate execution in the towns (there was a Greek *ἀγορανόμος* at Babylon, *v. infra*, p. 60 n. 135), but had not penetrated into out-of-the-way places.

Our documents may seem archaic when compared to Egyptian usage of the same date, but are on much the same stage of development as Latin documents, the receipts from Pompeii of the following century, the Dacian tablets of the second century A.D. and also the *Tabulae honestae missionis* of even the third century, all of which exemplify the same principle, though of course the arrangements for sealing up tablets cannot be quite the same as for parchments.

It has already been mentioned that in the case of both our documents the close and the patent versions do not exactly tally: these divergences have been exhibited in printing the translations. Some are due to carelessness, others to a beginning of the process whereby in Egypt the close version was reduced to a mere abstract, others apparently to an alteration in the terms of the contract arrived at after the close version had been sealed down.

In the case of II. the differences are obviously due to carelessness except that the obligations of the outside guarantor are not put into the close version. In I., besides blunders, one of which affects such an important matter as the actual name of the property concerned, and silence in the close version (like that in II. A) as to the outside sureties, we have a hasty addition in A of the eatables and dues, which does not quite tally with the corresponding addition to B, and a further provision in B about the vendor handing over the stock of must, etc., which does not occur in A at all. It looks as if this addition might have some connexion with the astonishing change of the price *τριάκοντα δραχμάς* to *τεσσαράκοντα* in B, since this is too obvious to be fraudulent. It was perhaps to ratify these changes, which after all concerned things of only momentary importance, not the buyer's permanent right to the land, that the extra witnesses were called in and the definite sureties appointed. It is very strange that the conditions as to irrigation should be more precise in A than in B; no doubt everyone knew at the time what was *τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος* and in case of future difficulty A could be referred to.

As regards their general composition our documents, though lacking a *συγγραφοφύλαξ*, find their nearest Egyptian counterpart in what Mitteis⁸¹ calls the *syngraphophylax*-deed, or, as its real name seems to have been, *συγγραφὴ ἐξαμάρτυρος*, which in its latest phase had no *syngraphophylax*. This like ours is a private document, objectively expressed, beginning with the date and ending with the names of the witnesses, and in early times written in full duplicate with one version sealed up by the *syngraphophylax* and witnesses and with each seal identified by its owner's name. This last detail is absent in our case; the writing at the back of I. A cannot have been visible when it was done up and I cannot guess at its purpose. As in the

⁸¹ *Grundz.* II. i. pp. 53-55.

very earliest Greek deeds from Egypt, we have no mention of any registration and no duty payable to the state, such as Graeco-Egyptian officialdom soon introduced upon the native model. In these matters our deeds are true to early Greek practice, though registration was independently developed in various Greek states.

Both documents claim to be sales⁸² though perhaps not of fee simple (see below), but the forms are not very like other forms of sale for real property. In Egypt the native law required two separate documents, one the sale including the acknowledgment by the seller that the price has been paid and his warranty of the buyer's title, and the other the release or conveyance of possession from the seller to the buyer. The Greeks adopted the practice of the country and executed two documents, the *ωνή* or *πρασις*, purely objective in form and bilateral (*ἀπέδοτο* A, *ἐπρίατο* B) and the *ἀποστασίου* (*συγγραφή*) sometimes called *καταγραφή* or *παραχώρησις*, unilateral in the name of the seller who *ὁμολογεῖ ἀφίστασθαι*;⁸³ this is a transition to the ordinary subjective *ὁμολογία*. At the end of the Ptolemaic period they began to combine the constituents of the two documents into one and this became usual in Roman times, the form being rather that of the *παραχώρησις*, (*ὁμολογεῖ . . . πεπρακέναι*).⁸⁴ This is on the whole the nearest to our documents with their *ἐξωμολογήσατο καὶ συνεγράψατο*, but our draftsmen have not been able to keep up the unilateral form and yet get the obligations of both parties in, so that they fall into great difficulties and anacolutha and finally continue in the purely objective form and change about from seller to buyer in the most haphazard fashion. The purely objective form seems to have been the earliest in Greece and so it was in Babylonia, but in the latter the whole arrangement was different, usually beginning with the description of the property followed by the names of the parties, the terms of the agreement, the names of the witnesses and the scribe's subscription, with statement of his fee, and ending up with the date.⁸⁵ Sometimes the name of the vendor stands first.⁸⁶

Before we come to the purport of the documents all possible effort must be made to eliminate the errors of the scribes and to present the texts more or less as they were intended: the interlineations and corrections on each rough copy were evidently so confusedly made that the scribe took them in different ways when writing out the two fair copies; so a comparison of these sometimes offers a chance to divine a consistent text. In other cases he made improvements as he went along, but occasionally the alterations were so carelessly made that we can as it were follow their course.

In I. for instance we can clearly see that ll. A B 8-11 must have run something like . . . *ἐξωμολογήσατο καὶ συνεγράψατο* (the singular verbs

⁸² See M. J. Bry, *La Vente dans les Papyrus Gréco-Égyptiens*, Paris, 1909, and Mitteis, *op. cit.* II. i. pp. 167-183.

⁸³ *e.g.* Mitteis, II. ii. 252, which has both on one sheet.

⁸⁴ *e.g.* P. Lond. 154 (ii. p. 178) Mitteis,

255, 63 A.D., a document which presents us with many small analogies.

⁸⁵ *e.g.* F. E. Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge* Berlin, 1890, p. 131, No. xciv.

⁸⁶ A. T. Clay, *op. cit.* p. 25, No. 2 (No. 23).

are probably taken bodily from another document, but they may imply that one of the brothers, perhaps Baraces who is not the true vendor, is an insertion: so κατέστησεν in B 29) B. καὶ Σ., οἱ τοῦ Μ. υἱοί, εἰληφέναι παρὰ Γαθάκου τειμήν, καὶ δεδωκέναι ἄμπελον τὴν οὖσαν κ.τ.λ., as is shewn by the accusative ἐπονομαζομένην: one cannot tell whether it was by an oversight or in an attempt at conciseness that the scribe left out καὶ δεδωκέναι and then put in the genitives.

As between Dadbakanras and Ganzace it impossible to judge.

The next two lines 11, 12 are more difficult to restore: it looks as if the intention had been to substitute τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος for an original τὸ ἴδιον μέρος and the latter had not been effectively crossed out, while the scribe added παρὰ τῶν συνκλήρων as he wrote A: so the next words seem to have been συν ἀκροδρύους κ.τ.λ., confusedly altered into μετὰ ὕδατος καὶ ἀκροδρύους and badly copied in B. But it is possible that τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος has to do with this addition of ὕδατος and is not a synonym for τὸ ἴδιον μέρος (cf. B 28).

In ll. 14, 15 the scribe made the phrase in A τὸ ἐν μέρος clearer by substituting τὸ ἥμισυ in B.

In ll. 16, 17 the intention seems to have been to shift εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον from one place to another and so B has it in both, while τὴν ἀργυρώνητον ἄμπελον is an addition made in writing out A.

In l. 19 μηδὲ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ, which comes in different places in A and B, is probably an insertion as it is not quite in common form. The next line and a half seem amplified in writing out B.

The differences from line 27 on have been already discussed; they represent a real change in the transaction as registered in the two versions.

The text of II. A and B is fairly straightforward and offers no important divergences until we get to l. 9, nor would the subsequent part of A awake much suspicion by itself; there is only the very harsh plural τελέσουσι (sc. Δήνης καὶ τὰ ἔγγονα αὐτοῦ, cf. I. A 17) with another harsh change of subject in ὑπέσχετο referring apparently to the vendor, and the nominative Ἀρθασθάτης, a mere slip. But as it stands in B 9, 10 the sentence about the dues and presents of food has suffered hopeless dislocation, κρειβῶν δύο has fallen right out, δύο κοτύλας has got into the next line, σκέλος δραχμὴν μίαν comes in a different place, the word σκέλος being repeated, and finally there is an insertion of ἐμβάθρου δραχμὴν. This confusion makes it impossible to be sure what the writer's intention was, e.g., whether κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν applies to all the things which follow in A or to σκέλος alone, and whether ἐμβάθρου δραχμὴν ought really to come after it. I am inclined to think that κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν was only meant to apply to σκέλος and it was intended to make this clear in B by putting κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν σκέλος δραχμὴν μίαν last and inserting ἐμβάθρου δραχμὴν at the beginning, but that it was so badly indicated that confusion resulted. The new clauses in B 10-12 about the outside guarantor have equally miscarried: a measure of the writer's carelessness is seen in βεβαι<ώσειν> absolutely unfinished: the next

words *τὰς δύο κοτύλας* of course ought to have come in two lines further back, and have apparently displaced *τὴν ἄμπελον*, and *προγεγραμμένην* has been altered to agree.

Considering the extreme carelessness shewn in B *Ἄρθασθάτης* is probably more correct than *Ἄσθάτης*.

In the next clause the negatives *μηδενί, μηδεμίᾳ* are strictly speaking quite out of place and there is nothing to account for the infinitives *εἶναι* and *ἐκτείσειν*; I think that what looks like a redundant *μηδενί* is the only word left from a clause something like *ὑπέσχοντο δὲ μηδὲν τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀθετήσειν τρόπῳ μηδενί*. It is impossible to translate a text in such a state.

The purport of I., even after such emendations as we can arrive at, is not quite certain. The vineyard Dadbakanras (or Ganzace) is described as sold (*ἀργυρώνητος*) by Baraces and Sobenes to Gathaces for thirty (forty) drachmae, but Baraces still retains half of it, and it appears as if it were only Sobenes who parted with his half.⁸⁷ Further, Gathaces and his descendants are under an obligation to pay in full certain burdens on the property,⁸⁸ to look after the vineyard and to keep it properly tied up (*ἔπαφος*, see below), so he does not get the fee simple even of his own half, and I am not sure that he does not have to keep Baraces's half as well and pay the dues for it, and it is just possible that we have some kind of *métayer* arrangement.

The general purport of II. is more evident: Aspomaces sells to Gathaces the vineyard Dadbakabag with all its appurtenances for 55 drachmae (of which he acknowledges the receipt) reserving to himself a yearly payment, probably a mere acknowledgment, of one drachma and also a fee of one drachma and certain gifts in kind, but all these may possibly have been rendered yearly. Though the vineyard is spoken of as sold (*πεπραμμένης*, B 13) the transaction is rather of the nature of *emphyteusis*, the yearly payment shewing that it could not be a conveyance of the fee simple.

Each document presupposes a *παλαιὰ συγγραφή*, very likely the same for both, in which full particulars are to be found as to abutments, water-rights, and dues payable from the land. This *παλαιὰ συγγραφή* has been well explained by Mr. Haussoullier as the original grant made by the king to a number of *σύνκληροι*, perhaps veterans or other servants of the state; this would be the foundation of all subsequent titles and would give the exact dimensions of the various lots, the rent-charges which the state exacted, the mutual rights of the *σύνκληροι* and regulations as to the apportionment of the water.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Dr. Preisigke first pointed this out in a letter to Mr. Bell. We had formerly been inclined to take it as a hereditary lease or *emphyteusis*.

⁸⁸ *τελώντες* just might be meant to refer not to G. and his *ἔγγονα*, but to G. and B.

⁸⁹ Cf. the royal grant to Mnesimachus pre-

supposed in the mortgage, *A.J.A.* 2nd series, xvi. (1912), W. H. Buckler, D. M. Robinson, 'Greek Inscriptions from Sardes I.' The *παλαιὰ συγγραφή* is clearly not merely the first of the two deeds which constituted the Graeco-Egyptian double sale.

These being the main lines of explanation, it remains to note a few special points and words in the operative clauses of the documents, the initial protocol and the names of the witnesses having been already discussed.

ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων μαρτύρων, I. AB 7, II. AB 4. This anticipation of the witnesses does not seem to come in the Egyptian documents.

ἐξωμολογήσατο καὶ συνεγράψατο, I. AB 8, II. AB 4: cf. *P. Eleph.* 2, l. 1, entitled *συγγραφή καὶ ὁμολογία*,⁹⁰ but neither verb is very common in papyri; in *P. Hibeh*, i. 30 (d), l. 18 and *Tebt.* i. 183, ἐξωμολογεῖσθαι is used of owning up to a debt; but cf. Luke xxii. 6, Judas ἐξωμολόγησε to the priests' offer of money: *συγγράφεσθαι* in Grenfell, *Rev. Laws*, 20, l. 14 and *passim*; *P. Grenf.* ii. 16; *P. Tebt.* i. 5, ix. l. 215; *P. Lond.* 880, l. 9 (iii. p. 8); *B.G.U.* iii. 993, l. 10, ἔκοντες συνεγράψαντο ἀπομεμερικένας.

Note in both deeds the absence of the elaborate identification marks usual in Egypt.

ἄμπελος, I. A 10, B 11, etc., II. A 6, B 7, etc., collective for ἀμπελών, e.g. Grenf. *Rev. Laws*, col. 36, l. 16; *P. Tebt.* i. 64 a, l. 2; *B.G.U.* i. 33, l. 4, πλείω δύο ὑδάτων μὴ πότιζε τὴν ἄμπελον is an easy transition.

The absence of all description and abutments of the vineyard may be explained as in II. by these particulars being laid down in the παλαιὰ συγγραφή: not having to look into the details the scribe even made a mistake in the name, for Δαδβακανράς and Γανζακή cannot both be right.

τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος, A 12, B 12, 28, cf. Luke xv. 12.

ἀκροδρύοις, I. AB 13; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* IV. iv. 11 seems to include the vine and olive in ἀκρόδρυα, but to exclude them in II. v. 7, where the word means hardier trees such as apples.

τοῖς συνκύρουσιν, I. AB 14, the ordinary form in inscr. and papyri is συγκύρω, not συγκυρέω, v. Ditt. *O.G.I.* 65.

καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω κ.τ.λ., I. AB 19, these warranty clauses are very much in common form.⁹¹

μηθενί, I. A 20, elsewhere always μηδεῖς.

ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, I. A 20, 'their agents,' improved in B 20 into με[τα]λαμβάνοντι π[αρ'] αὐτῶν, cf. II. A 11 τοὺς μεταλα[μβάνοντ]ας παρ' αὐτοῦ = 'their successors or those deriving title from them,' common in Polybius, cf. *P. Tebt.* i. 61 a, l. 20, and *passim*.

ἐγβαλλομένον, I. AB 22, the middle seems to make the case more general, cf. ἐξάξονται, II. B 12.

καταστάς, I. A 22, B 23, 'having taken up the position (of a warrantor),' cf. II. A 12, κατέστησεν, absolutely 'appointed as surety,' more clearly in I. B 29, ἔγγυον . . . κατέστησεν, II. B 10, βεβαιωτὴν κατέστησεν.

διεξάξει, A 22, B 23 (cf. II. B 12, ἐξάξονται) apparently 'will obtain full eviction (of the claimant against Gathaces)': true in *P. Tebt.* i. 5, ix. l. 219, διεξάγεσθαι = 'be decided quickly,' *ib.* 8, l. 11 'be put out of hand,' cf. Polyb. V. i. 5, and Moulton suggests 'see the matter through': but the use corres-

⁹⁰ Cf. *P. Petr.* iii. 21 (b). l. 5 (p. 44), συγγραφήν ὁμολογίας.

⁹¹ e.g. *P. Eleph.* 3: Ad. Berger, *Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden*, *passim*

ponds to *ἐξάξονται*, which must mean 'evict,' cf. *B.G.U.* iii. 1006, *ἐξαγαγεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας μου*; for the middle cf. *ἐγβαλλομένου*. The commonest meaning of *διεξάγειν* is 'to carry on someone else's work.'

καθαρὰ ποιήση, AB 23, not merely as I thought 'act fairly,' but, as Mr. Bell tells me, a technical expression 'acquit,' like the mediaeval 'quietum facere'; cf. *καθαροποιέω* in Byzantine documents, *P. Mon.* 4, l. 31 *sqq.*, *τὸν δὲ ἐπελευσόμενον ὑμῖν ἢ καὶ ἀντιποιησόμενον ἐκστήσω καὶ καθαροποιήσω ἰδίοις μου ἀναλώμασι· εἰ δὲ ἀσθενήσαιμι περὶ τὴν τούτου καθαροποίησιν, κ.τ.λ.*

ἄκυρος, I. AB 23, of a person 'having lost his rights' is classical Greek, but Moulton tells me he has not met it in Hellenistic, where it is only 'invalid' as in II. B 14. This provision is usual from the earliest times, e.g. *P. Eleph.* 3 (285 B.C.), *ἡ ἔφοδος ἄκυρος ἔστω*. Bell would translate, 'his attempt shall be invalid,' but to supply *ἔφοδος* seems very harsh.

καὶ προσαποτίσει ἣν ἔλαβεν τειμὴν διπλὴν καὶ ἄλλας ἐπιτίμου δραχμὰς Σ' καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰς ἴσας, I. A 23–25, B 24–25, cf. II. B 15–16, *καὶ τὸν ἀθετήσαντα ἐκτίσειν . . . δραχμὰς διακοσίας καὶ εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τὰς ἴσας*. The enormously high proportion the total penalties (*ἐπίτιμον* is the regular word up to Byzantine times⁹²) bear to the original price (60 or 80 dr. + 200 fine +, probably, 200 to the king : 30 or 40 dr.), fifteen or twelve-fold, seems to me to be due to the price being merely nominal, a large part of the consideration being the labour that Gathaces was bound to put into the vineyard. It is however noticeable that even in II. we have in all a more than seven-fold penalty. Possibly native custom came in here; in a sale translated by A. T. Clay,^{92a} the penalty is twelve-fold, all paid to the buyer if she is evicted. The high proportion that the penalty paid to the other party and the penalty paid to the state bear to the price shews also that the object was to make it very disadvantageous to the party wishing to break the bargain; in Roman law the penalty was more moderate, usually the double of the price, and was rather regarded as compensation: but the *poena dupli* is by no means exclusively Roman; it is found in Babylonian documents, in the laws of Gortyn and in other Greek inscriptions,⁹³ but not in Ptolemaic papyri. Berger (p. 128) says it comes in about 100 A.D.: it also occurs in the Palmyrene tariff (137 A.D.).⁹⁴ It is such a natural proportion to fix as a deterrent that one dare not say that it is a Greek element in I.: yet it does look like a proportion still holding its place in the text, although now become a trifle in comparison with the enormous penalties beside it. There is no mention of compensation as such, the *βλάβη καὶ δαπανήματα* or *ἀνηλωμένα*.⁹⁵ The payment to the king is usual in Ptolemaic papyri, and in those of Roman date it is made *εἰς τὸ δημόσιον*: the advantage of bringing the state in to sanction the bargain is obvious and we find the same device in mediaeval deeds.

⁹² Berger, *op. cit.* pp. 4–10.

^{92a} *op. cit.* p. 27, No. 2 (No. 23).

⁹³ Mitteis, *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht*, p. 511; Gortyn, *Rec. d. Inscr. Jur. Gr.* i. p. 372, vi. § 38, l. 42; Heraclea (Lucania), *ib.* p. 202, ll. 109

sqq.; Athens, *ib.* p. 242, l. 18; Sardes, c. 300 B.C., *A.J.A.* xvi. p. 65.

⁹⁴ Ditt. *O.G.I.* 629, ll. 102, 121.

⁹⁵ Berger, pp. 26, 133; *A.J.A. loc. cit.* p. 80.

On the whole the nearest approach to our form is in *B.G.U.* i. 350, Trajan's reign, l. 15, ἄν τι δ' αὐτῶν προγεγραμμένων παρασυγγραφῆσι ὁ ὁμολογῶν ἢ οἱ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προσαποτεισάτωι τῇ Τανεφρέμμι καὶ τὰ ἀνηλωμένα διπλᾶ καὶ ἦν τε εἴληφεν τιμὴν διπλὴν καὶ ἐπίτιμον ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς διακοσίας πεντήκοντα καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας καὶ μηδὲν ἦσσαν τὰ διομολογήμενα κύρια εἶναι.⁹⁶ The differences are that we have no ἀνηλωμένα, that as the price in the Egyptian document was 500 drachmas, the penalties of 250 drachmas each to the purchaser and to the state together only make up the price once, and that the last clause of the document quoted has no counterpart in either I. or II. in which, though no doubt implied, it is not expressed that the contract is still binding after the fine has been incurred and paid.⁹⁷

These same penalties except perhaps the *duplum pretii* fall on Gathaces in I. if he neglect the vineyard (apparently the whole vineyard) and do not make it ἔπαφον, A 26, B 27. This word is new and difficult, but the reading is quite certain. It ought to be the opposite of ἀνέπαφος which often occurs in sales of land⁹⁸ or in manumissions⁹⁹ and sales of slaves¹⁰⁰ and evidently means 'subject to no claim.' According to this ἔπαφος would be 'duly subject to claim,' i.e., 'duly acknowledging the original claims of Baraces and Sobenes by rent or service,' but it seems more likely that it is a viticultural term, and Moulton suggests 'tied up,' i.e., the vines tied up to the trees or stakes. Mitteis in his letter says, 'ἀνέπαφος . . . heist unberührt, also ἔπαφον ποιεῖν, in Kultur bringen, Gegensatz ψειλόφυτον.' That would be giving a meaning of *manus iniectio* in a very literal sense; whatever the exact meaning, Gathaces has to work the vineyard properly: that this is a strange provision in what purports to be a sale has been already remarked, but if a man lets another in to share a vineyard it is essential to him that his new partner work. Apart from Baraces it is probable that the σύνκληροι who shared the water had an interest in the vineyard being properly kept up.

καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ κ.τ.λ., I. AB 27. B only sums up the matter of the water, but A means to be more explicit: παρὰ ὀγδόην ἡμέρας τὸ ἥμισυ καὶ [τῆς ἐ]παγωγῆς νυκτὸς τὸ ἥμισυ; whatever the word be, ἐπαγωγῆς

⁹⁶ Berger, p. 128. *C.P.R.* 220, is very similar.

⁹⁷ Berger, p. 82.

⁹⁸ e.g. Mitteis, *Grundz.* II. ii. 253, l. 12; *C.P.R.* 220, l. 11.

⁹⁹ e.g. *I.o.s.P.E.* ii. 54, l. 12; 400, l. 11, Panticapaeum and Phanagoria, corresponding to ἀνέπαπτον at Delphi, Ditt. *Syll.*² 861, l. 8; 862, l. 11.

¹⁰⁰ e.g. *B.G.U.* i. 193 II. l. 19, iii. 987, l. 9 (Mitteis, 268, 269): in these, and in e.g. *P. Lond.* 251 (ii. p. 317), l. 15; *B.G.U.* iii. 887, we have slaves warranted free of ἐπαφή; Mitteis, *P. Lips.* 4, l. 20, proposes 'leprosy' as its meaning since it always goes with ἱερὰ νόσος

and the like; cf. his summary, *Grundz.* II. i. p. 194, n. 2. In a Strassburg pap. (Preisigke, *Arch. f. Pap.* iii. p. 419, l. 30) this is very clear, but the document is 6th cent. and verbose. Berger, *op. cit.* p. 140, n. 4, makes it equal *manus iniectio* following Kübler, *Zt. d. Savigny-Stiftung (Rom.)*, xxix. (1908), p. 474-479, in spite of a medical reply by Südhoff, *ib.* xxx. (1909), p. 406-409. Mitteis, *loc. cit.*, remarks that ἐπαφή may have more than one meaning, and our document goes to confirm this. Heerwerden s.v. proposes 'madness due to demoniacal possession,' as he thinks no one could fail to spot leprosy, but Südhoff says the early stages may well be overlooked.

or *καταγωγῆς*, it must be a 'letting in of the water.' What are we to supply with *ὀγδόην, ὄραν* or *ἡμέραν*, and what is the exact use of *παρά*? I understand that the modern custom is to take the water on one day of the week, so suggest that *ἡμέραν* is to be understood, perhaps the following *ἡμέρας* crowded it out: the meaning would be every eighth, or perhaps by our reckoning, seventh day; cf. *παρὰ μῆνα τρίτον*.¹⁰¹ The water probably came from a *kanat*, a stream conducted underground to save it from evaporation. The vineyard got a turn at the water every eighth day apparently for twenty-four hours, and Baraces was to share the turn fairly with Gathaces.¹⁰² In II. we merely have *ὔδασι τοῖς ἰπάρχουσι μετὰ τῶν συνκλήρων*.

I. A 28, 29 mentions three witnesses Chosstroes, Apaces, and Miridates: in B 30, 31 the witnesses are Denobazus, Miridates, Phrahates and Marzu . . . while Chosstroes and Apaces are taken out of the class of witnesses by being appointed *ἔγγυος καὶ συνέδοτος*: by whom is not clear owing to a gap in the parchment, but, as Dr. Hunt says, this gap is too big for *ὁ Βαράκης* alone and in spite of the singular verb *κατέστησεν* we may supply *Βαράκης καὶ Σωβήνης*: it is just conceivable that, as the contract is no ordinary sale but involves the buyer as well as the seller in future obligations, buyer and seller joined in naming the sureties or each named one for himself, so that the last words were *Βαράκης καὶ Γαθάκης*.

Grammatically Chosstroes ought to be *ἔγγυος* and Apaces *συνέδοτος*: this is just possible, *ἔγγυος* being not the same as *βεβαιωτής*. Partsch¹⁰³ shews that the latter is only the guarantor of the buyer's title, whereas the former is any sort of surety: in this case he might be surety that Gathaces would fulfil his obligations: *συνέδοτος* is apparently a new word and its meaning accordingly uncertain. A bride is called *ἡ ἔγδοτος*,¹⁰⁴ 'given away': if our word is meant as a passive it must mean 'put forward (by the vendor) with himself.' But it is quite likely, as Professor Deissmann suggests, that *συνεγδότην* is meant: *ἐκδίδωμι* or *ἐκδίδομαι* is used of the *Aussteller*, the man who executes a document,¹⁰⁵ also of the lessor in the parable of the vineyard,¹⁰⁶ and the *συνεκδότης* would be the man who joined with the vendor in executing a sale and acted as warrantor, or else the co-lessor = *συμβεβαιωτής*¹⁰⁷ or *βεβαιωτής*: but it is more likely that the intention was to say that Chosstroes and Apaces were appointed *ἔγγυοι καὶ συνέδοτοι*, *ἔγγυος* being practically a synonym for *βεβαιωτής* (cf. the passage just cited) and *συνέδοτος* much the same thing: the *βεβαιωτής* is often a person who is named near the beginning of a deed alongside the vendor as *ἀποδόμενος*,¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ Aristot. *H.A.* VII. ii. 1.

¹⁰² The Reverend H. E. Fitzherbert, out of his practical experience of irrigation, approves this view; cf. Col. P. M. Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii. p. 495, 'Each villager receives water every tenth day for about six or seven hours' from the *kanat*; G. N. Curzon, *Persia*, i. p. 115 n.; Polybius, X. xxv. 2.

¹⁰³ *Gr. Bürgschaftsrecht*, i. (1909), pp. 340 sqq.

¹⁰⁴ Grenfell, *Erotic Fragment*, l. 7.

¹⁰⁵ Heerwerden cites *P. Flor.* 95, l. 15, *συνεξέδωκα τὴν ἀποχὴν*; cf. *P. Grenf.* ii. 80, l. 18; 81, l. 18.

¹⁰⁶ Matt. xxi. 33.

¹⁰⁷ *P. Lips.* i. 4, l. 6, cf. ll. 13, 34: *ἐγγνώμαι καὶ συμβεβαιῶ* (Mitteis, *Grundz.* II. ii. 171)

¹⁰⁸ Delphi, v. Partsch, *op. cit.* p. 350, n. 2.

συνευδοκῶν,¹⁰⁹ συμπρατήρ,¹¹⁰ συνεπικελεύων καὶ συνπωλούμενος¹¹¹ as being a near kinsman with a claim to the property, whose warranty would be of special value. This seems to me¹¹² quite a different thing from the old use of calling him actually προπωλητής, προαποδότας and even πρατήρ,¹¹³ which meant that he was originally a kind of deputy seller with all the responsibility of the sale. The important thing is that our documents agree with Greek usage against Graeco-Egyptian. Egyptian law not requiring a warrantor in a sale, the Greek warranty formulas were reduced to an absurdity, e.g., *P. Lond.* 1204 just mentioned ends up προπωληταὶ καὶ βεβαιωταὶ Τ. καὶ Σ. καὶ Τ. οἱ ἀποδόμενοι, οὓς ἐδέξατο Κ. ἡ πριαμένη.¹¹⁴

In I. B 29 we have the ἔγγυος καὶ συνέγδοτος appointed, but the words have to speak for themselves. In II. A 12 the appointment of Arthasthates is mentioned, but it is only in B 11–16 that any attempt is made to define the responsibilities of the βεβαιωτής: these are not quite in common form and as the text is very careless it is hard to know what to make of them. In lines 11, 12 we learn that he came in person and promised to guarantee ‘the aforesaid two cotylae.’ I think it is almost certain that this is a mistake, but I am not sure what ought to stand instead. The guarantor is generally only concerned with the vendor doing his share of the bargain, i.e. giving the buyer a clear title, so that we might expect (as I said above) τὴν προγεγραμμένην ἄμπελον: but the way in which he is coupled with the vendor in the next clause makes me wonder whether here he is not supporting the credit of the buyer and we should not read τὰς νέ’ δραχμὰς προγεγραμμένας, or conceivably, if κατ’ ἐνιαυτόν applies to all the payments and gifts following, he may have meant the due future payment of these. The ordinary warranty on the part of the seller and of the guarantor as against any claims to the vineyard is expressed in ll. 12–16.¹¹⁵

The carelessly written addition at the end of I. A has perished in two critical points: the last three lines of B make things a good deal clearer, but they too have suffered and the interlinear additions are illegible. In a way they correspond to II. A B 9, 10, but here again the text is confused.

I. B 32–34 is on the whole the most hopeful. The buyer gives the vendor in addition to the price one drachma of ἐμβαθρον, some meat, 50 baskets (, κάλαθοι?) of loaves, two cotylae of wine, and something else added between the lines. The vendor gives the buyer ἀπὸ λην[οῦ τὸ] ῥύμα¹¹⁶ (above are κ (?) α, probably 21 measures¹¹⁷) καὶ ἀπόρρυμα, no doubt the must

¹⁰⁹ *ibid.* and Ditt. *Syll.*² 850, l. 20.

¹¹⁰ Mitteis, *Reichsrecht u. Volksr.* p. 504; ‘*Lex. Rhet.*’ ap. Bekker, *Anecdota Gr.* i. p. 193.

¹¹¹ *P. Lond.* 1204 (iii. p. 11) II. l. 17 (Mitteis, *Grundz.* 152).

¹¹² *pace* Mitteis and Partsch, *loc. cit.*

¹¹³ *Rec. Inscr. Jur. Gr.* i. pp. 64 sqq.; Plato, *Leges*, xi. 915 D.

¹¹⁴ For this question of surety and warranty besides Partsch, *op. cit.*, whose Part I. only deals directly with old Greek law and not with

papyri, v. Mitteis, *Grundz.* II. i. pp. 264–270; Bry, *La Vente*, pp. 267–294; and Thalheim, s.v. βεβαίωσις and ἐγγύη in Pauly-Wissowa.

¹¹⁵ Mr. Bell says ‘ἐξάγονται κ.τ.λ. is only specifying the obligation, not adding something to it, so that I should take τὴν προγ. ἄμπελον (or πρᾶσιν) as the probable correction.’

¹¹⁶ In *C.I.G.* 1838 b, l. 5, Coreyra, it is only rainwater.

¹¹⁷ For the κ, cf. Tsereteli, *Abbrev. in Gr. MSS.*², Pl. VI., but it is perhaps more like α ζ’.

that came off naturally and that which required pressing and was of inferior quality, *ινδα κ . . . νζην*, which I cannot make out, and the squeezed raisins left in the wine-press: the transfer seems to have occurred just at the moment, November, when the wine had been made and as Gathaces was taking over the concern he received these materials just as they were: perhaps the extra ten drachmas put on to the price in B represent the value of these materials. Of this transaction there is no trace in A. But A gives us another version of his payments to Baraces. The bread seems to agree and the wine and the drachma of *ἐνβαθρον*: the number after the *κρεῶν* looks like *λε'* in A and *εκ'* in B: further in A we have *ελος α'* (?) and *βοῦς η'*, which are not represented in B unless perhaps at the end of l. 32 or in the interlineation: *ελος* is quite unintelligible, it is certainly not written *ελας* though Hunt and Bell have proposed so to correct it. It is a temptation to read *τέλος* or *σκέλος*, but A does not allow of it. The corresponding clauses in II. help in one or two points: they confirm the interpretation *κ° β* as *κοτύλας δύο*, a most extraordinarily small quantity, otherwise we might have thought of *κόροι*,¹¹⁸ also the bread, 50 baskets in one case and 21 in the other, and side by side with this small beer, as Moulton calls it, we have quite clearly five oxen as against the eight in I. But for the oxen these things might be merely materials of a feast to celebrate the bargain, such as was customary in Babylonia and elsewhere, and the two measures of barley in II. A 10 would not have been out of scale, but the oxen are certainly a serious part of the consideration. It is curious that they do not come into I. B unless as an illegible addition.

Then in II. we have a drachma *ἐμβάθρον* and a drachma *σκέλος*. The latter is quite unintelligible: it looks as if it might be a new rendering of šeqel beside *σίκλος*, *σίγλος*.¹¹⁹ A 9 makes it appear that it was a yearly payment, but in B 9 the *ἐμβαθρον* is called yearly. However, it is likely that this is a mistake; perhaps the *σκέλος* was a yearly charge on the land either as an acknowledgment or a religious tax. The *ἐνβαθρον*, I. A 30, B 32, II. B 9, fee of one drachma is new; it seems most probably to have been only paid once and looks as if it were a fee for taking possession, Mommsen's definition of *τὸ ἐμβαδικὸν* in Egypt where it goes with *ἐκφόριον* = ground-rent¹²⁰: *ἐμβαδία* is when a mortgagee forecloses and assumes possession (*ἐμβατεύει*) of a property.¹²¹

With regard to these extra payments, it seems just worth mentioning that in Babylonian sales there are sums in addition to the purchase-money, e.g. 'Iddinna-Nabu . . . has declared that he has bought and pays 1 mina 7½ šeqels money as his full price and 2½ šeqels money as *at-ri u lu-bar-ri* to

¹¹⁸ A measure = 75 gallons: Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XV. ix. 2, Aramaic *kor* corresponding to Hebrew *homer*.

¹¹⁹ *σίκλος* represents the vocalism of the construct *שִׁקְלִים*; *σκέλος* perhaps the plural *שִׁקְלִים*.

¹²⁰ Wilcken, *Gr. Ostraka*, 1024, 1237, 1262.

¹²¹ 'Lex. Rhet.' ap. Bekker, *Anecd. Gr.* p. 249; cf. Mitteis, *Grundz.* II. i. p. 161, also his 'Geschichte der Erbpacht,' *Abhdl. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, xx. No. 4, p. 9.

the lady of the house he has given them, total 1 mina, 10 šeqels money.’¹²² *At-ri u lu-bar-ri* are explained as ‘extra and as a dress,’ *i.e.* a complimentary present making up a round sum.¹²³ A little further on (l. 31) we come to ‘3 šeqel money as a present for sealing,’ but this is the scribe’s fee.

Lastly, it may be noticed that neither document has any mention of an ἀρράβων, which is not indeed very common in Graeco-Egyptian sales.¹²⁴

II.

Most of the points in II. have been discussed in connexion with corresponding points in I., but a few remain to be disposed of.

ψειλόφυτον, A 6, B 7: Mitteis in his letter takes this new word as ‘bare and uncultivated,’ being the opposite to ἔπαφον, but another possibility is that the opposition is like that in Arist. *Pol.* I. xi. 4 (1259a), Theophr. *Caus. Plant.* III. xx. 1, ψιλὴ γεωργία, the tillage of land for corn and the like as against γεωργία πεφυτευμένη, tillage for vines or olives, *i.e.* that the vineyard in question was situated among the corn-crops, not among the other vineyards.’

ὄς κ[αὶ πάρω]ν, B 11, a certain restoration by Dr. Hunt on the analogy of *e.g.* *P. Lond.* 154 (ii. p. 179), l. 17, παρούσα δ’ ἡ τοῦ Ἡ. μήτηρ εὐδοκεῖ; or *B.G.U.* i. 96, l. 14, 183, l. 10 (Mitteis, *Grundz.* 313), 251, l. 8, 252, l. 10, etc.

ἐμποιήθη, B 13, regular word for preferring a claim, *e.g.* *P. Lond.* 154 (ii. p. 179), l. 14, *B.G.U.* i. 13, l. 13; iii. 987, l. 11 (Mitteis, *Grundz.* 255, 265, 269): so *A.J.A.* xvi. (1912) p. 13, II. l. 2 (Sardes).

πεπραμμένης, B 13, perhaps the spelling is on the analogy of γεγραμμένας.

παρευρέσει μηδεμίᾳ, B 14, Decret. ap. Dem. 238, 6; *P. Eleph.* 1, l. 9, and constantly afterwards.

ἀκύρην, B 14, for the form cf. ἀνεπάφην, *I.o.s.P.E.* ii. 54, l. 10; φιλαδέλφην, Ditt. *O.G.I.* 30, l. 2.

ἄνευ δίκης καὶ κρίσεως, B 15, Mitteis, *Grundz.* II. i. p. 120 and ii. introd. to 62, regards this clause as mere verbiage; it does often continue with καὶ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρεσιλογίας and the like, but it must have been meant originally to give a summary right to the fine; in Babylonian deeds we have ‘the one who shall alter this shall pay, without suit or protest, two minas,’ etc.¹²⁵

HELLENISM IN MEDIA AND MESOPOTAMIA.

But all these things are the merest details. The real interest of these deeds is that they shew the use of Greek law and Greek speech in a region

¹²² F. E. Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge*, p. 131, No. xciv. *Br. Mus.* 84. 2–11. 103, ll. 13–19.

¹²³ Peiser, *Keilinschriftliche Aktenstücke*, pp. 81, 83, 84, is not quite pleased with the

rendering.

¹²⁴ Bry, *op. cit.* pp. 104, 118–122; Mitteis, *Grundz.* II. i. pp. 184–186.

¹²⁵ A. T. Clay, *op. cit.* p. 29, No. 3 (No. 24).

wherein we did not dare to hope for it. It is true that Polybius (X. xxiv. 3) speaks of the many Greek cities established in Media by Alexander in order to keep watch upon the barbarians that pertain to it, but this is equally good evidence of the strength of the barbarian element. Of the many Greek cities, we only know of Europus, which was a refoundation of Rhagae, a Heraclea nearby refounded as Achais, a Laodicea and Apamea Rhagiana.¹²⁶ Perhaps Avroman was more nearly connected with the lower course of the Diala, the region of Apolloniatis, with Apollonia and Artemita,¹²⁷ towns which must have had some Greek population.

As to Greek law being used in these parts, the nearest hint of it hitherto has been the existence of the Syro-Roman Law-book, preserved in Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian versions.¹²⁸ According to Mitteis,¹²⁹ in its non-Roman parts this is mainly of Greek origin and contains the remains of the law of the Greek colonists practised by them in their free cities. This Greek nucleus was never dissolved away by the Oriental elements nor quite superseded by Roman law. No doubt it is more an evidence for Hellenistic law in Syria than for such in the Eastern parts of the Seleucid monarchy, but our documents shew that Greek was the law language even here: they mark the last employment of the language, for the third document and the endorsement of I. are in some other tongue.¹³⁰

Apart from its use in law other evidence goes to shew that Greek lost ground very rapidly just about the beginning of the Christian era.¹³¹ Of the few Greek inscriptions that come from the east of the Euphrates¹³² only that of Gotarzes¹³³ is later than this period and it is to be classed with the inscriptions of Ardeshir and Sapor,¹³⁴ and with the coin-legends¹³⁵ as evidence of the prestige rather than the actual use of the Greek tongue.

Older inscriptions come from Babylon¹³⁶ and Susa,¹³⁷ and shew that the Greek colonies in those towns had the regular Greek organization; no doubt

¹²⁶ Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i. p. 264.

¹²⁷ Home of the Apollodorus whose Παρθικά we miss so much.

¹²⁸ Ed. Bruns-Sachau, 1880.

¹²⁹ *Reichsrecht u. Volksrecht*, pp. 30 sqq.

¹³⁰ V. Chapot, 'Les Destinées de l'Hellénisme au delà de l'Euphrate,' *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France*, lxiii. (1904), pp. 207-296, reviews the question very fully: our documents tend to show that he underrates the Greek element.

¹³¹ For its use as a *lingua franca* in lower Chaldaeia and eastwards along the coasts, see J. Kennedy, 'The Secret of Kanishka,' ii. *J.R.A.S.* 1912, pp. 989-1018.

¹³² See Haussoullier's list in *Mélanges Perrot*, pp. 158, 159, and *Klio*, ix. pp. 352-363.

¹³³ *O.G.I.* 431.

¹³⁴ *O.G.I.* 432-434.

¹³⁵ The Greek sovrans naturally struck coins upon Greek standards which had to be tested by Greek weights, e.g. A. Dumont's (*Mélanges*, pp. 134-154) inscribed Θεοδοσίου Ἀνδρομάχου ἀγορανομούντος, χρυσοὶ δύο (17 grm. = 2 staters), ἔτους ζνς' (55 B.C.), from Hillah, showing how late Seleucid gold (as there is no Parthian) was still in circulation in Babylon.

¹³⁶ *O.G.I.* 253, 254; r and s *supra*, p. 36; J. Oppert, *Expéd. Scient. en Mésopotamie* (1863) i. p. 168; Dumont's weight; and a disk with Ἀριστέας δι ἄλλο ὄνομα Ἀρδυβήλ Τείιος shewing the first stage of Orientalization, ap. Haussoullier, *Klio*, ix. p. 362.

¹³⁷ *O.G.I.* 747 and τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν], W. K. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaeia and Susiana*, pp. 403, 404; Haussoullier, *Mél. Perrot*, p. 157.

the same is true of Orchoe (Erech)¹³⁸; the long letter sent by the far Eastern Greek towns, Seleucia ad Tigrim, Apamea ad Seleam, Seleucia ad Mare Erythraeum, Seleucia ad Eulaeum (Susa), and others to Magnesia ad Maeandrum, shews that they had masters of the complimentary style of the third century B.C.¹³⁹ At any rate the great Seleucia¹⁴⁰ produced a few authors whose names have come down to us, and Charax has Isidore to shew, whose *Σταθμοὶ Παρθικοί* I have already quoted, but our pieces are very nearly the most easterly examples of continuous Greek known.¹⁴¹

When the Parthian kings and their court were brought by their conquest of Susiana and Mesopotamia into close contact with large Greek settlements they certainly put on a veneer of Greek culture. The epithet of *φιλέλλην* was the outer symbol of this, but its reasons were political: the Greek cities were the natural allies of the central power. They could furnish the king with troops estranged from the provincial levies and with educated men for engineers and diplomats: he could keep communications open and allow commerce to pass. The enemies of both were the under-kings and satraps whose power rested upon local and racial particularism. It was worth the Parthian king's while to proclaim himself a friend to the Greeks and to try and turn their eyes away from the sinking power of the Seleucids and gain their allegiance for himself. Once masters of the Mesopotamian plain the Arsacids found it the richest part of their empire and made Ctesiphon one of their capitals. Here they could enjoy the lighter side of Greek life and took to themselves Greek concubines or even wives from among the semi-Greek dynasties of Western Asia. Through these Greek speech and Greek customs naturally entered into their lives and it is not surprising that the *Bacchae* of Euripides should have been playing just when the head of Crassus was brought in. The story aptly illustrates the quality of Parthian philhellenism. It looks, however, as if even this veneer grew thinner after the time of Phrahates IV. The Greeks of Seleucia ad Tigrim and the other Greek settlements were being assimilated by the natives; their towns were less flourishing as the irrigation works fell into decay. The petty dynasties had mostly been extinguished and the Cleopatra of II. is probably the last Greek wife of a Parthian king. Musa was really only a slave girl. The corruption of the coin legends and the gradual introduction of Aramaic letters shew how far things had gone, for conservatism has a strong hold upon coins: English has only got on to one side of our silver and copper and is not yet allowed upon gold. Still some Greek life probably survived until the destruction of Seleucia in 116 A.D.

¹³⁸ A. T. Clay, *op. cit.* pp. 16-18, gives 24 Greek names from cuneiform tablets found here; a Greek actually dedicates a slave girl in a native temple. Cf. Oppert-Menant, *Documents Juridiques*, p. 322, a Diocles, son of Anu-uballit-su and an Isidore, cf. Anz, *Ursprung des Gnosticismus*, p. 62.

¹³⁹ See *O.G.I.* 231-233.

¹⁴⁰ Chapot, *op. cit.* pp. 240-246. Oppert's

inscription is part of a versified epitaph. Herodicus of Babylon could even write verse to make fun of the Alexandrian textual critics, ap. Athenaeum 222a. We have an Aramaean's name in Greek in *C. I. Semit.* ii. 72 from Telloh, c. 300, ΑΔΑΔΝΑΔΙΝΑΧΗΣ, 𐤀𐤃𐤁𐤍𐤏𐤍.

¹⁴¹ The Book of Tobit is now supposed to have been written in Egypt and perhaps in Aramaic.

In preparing the paper I read to the Society and now this article I have received help from so many scholars that it is hard for me to give each his due. My first thanks are to Professor Browne who entrusted the documents to me. In the work of deciphering, Professor Burkitt helped me at an early stage. Then Mr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum, to whom I submitted the originals, gave me a whole day's help and advanced things very much, though as we worked together I cannot exactly say which readings are his and which are mine. Since then he has advised me on many points and has read through this article in MS. and set me right in sundry places. Professor A. S. Hunt of Queen's College, Oxford, suggested some most valuable improvements and supplements, while the Reverend H. S. Cronin of Trinity Hall and Mr. B. Haussoullier, Fellow of the Institute of France, pointed out certain inaccuracies in the transcription I circulated. Remarks of Sir Frederic G. Kenyon, Dr. Hunt, and Mr. Bell, threw light on the palaeographical side, while the linguistic and legal interpretation has been advanced by suggestions from these same scholars, from Mr. W. H. Buckler, Professor A. Deissmann, Mr. Haussoullier, Professor L. Mitteis, Dr. J. H. Moulton, Dr. F. Preisigke, and Professor Rostovtsev; it was a great regret that I could not add Professor U. Wilcken's name to this list. Dr. L. W. King and Canon C. H. W. Johns, Master of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, have given me much assistance in matters that involved Assyriology.

My very special thanks are due to Dr. F. J. Allen of St. John's College, Cambridge, for the care and skill which, after the failure of a professional operator, he gave to photographing the documents.

I cannot close this paper without once more praising the enthusiasm for knowledge which made Dr. Sa'îd Khân save for European science these memorials of the former use of a European tongue among his Kurdish hills.

APPENDIX.

The study of Document III. is not Hellenic, but it cannot well be separated from that of the two Greek deeds with which it was found.

Unfortunately, although I have consulted everyone within my reach who might appear likely to help, I have not been successful in identifying the language. I cannot think that it is Aramaic or Dr. Cowley of the Bodleian or Mr. S. A. Cook would have made it out. The natural inference from the Iranian names of the witnesses in the Greek deeds suggests that we have an Iranian tongue. Professor Andreas of Berlin is said to have read it as Iranian and Professor Lidzbarski is quite clear that it is not Aramaic,^{141a} though containing Aramaic words, whereas Professor Littmann has read the greater part of it as Aramaic^{141b}: but none of these scholars have told us exactly what they have read, so their successes are no help to us.

Probably the document is in an early form of Pahlavi and as usual in Pahlavi and also in Sogdian there are many 'logograms' or 'cryptograms,' viz. words written as Semitic but read and pronounced as Iranian, just as we pronounce viz. (videlicet)

^{141a} Letter dated 2 Dec. 1913.

^{141b} Letter from Professor Nöldeke, 19 Nov. 1913.

'namely.' The only one that I seem to identify is MIN, 'from,' which occurs twice (4², 7⁶), but as I know neither any Semitic language nor any Iranian I cannot do anything.

It is however possible to place the script in its position among known alphabets. Table II. shews this clearly. Without claiming much for the values I have assigned to individual letters I have had little difficulty in arranging all the forms present in the document in such a way as to make them correspond to forms that we know from coins minted in Iranian countries; Column III. shews the earlier and the later forms of the letters on the coins ascribed to sub-kings of Persis during the later Seleucid period as set out by Colonel Allotte de la Füye.¹⁴²

The coins of the Arsacids themselves (Col. VI.) do not bear Pahlavi until the time of Volagases I., A.D. 51-77,¹⁴³ and then but one or two letters; full legends only come in with Mithradates IV. c. 130 A.D. The coins are unsatisfactory as the letters are very badly formed and we cannot make up the full alphabet. The letters lacking in Sassanian Pahlavi ϖ , ν , ζ and ρ (t, ' , ts, q) are naturally absent from the coins,¹⁴⁴ but we have no certain τ , π , σ or δ (z, h, n, s). I have put beside the early coins the alphabet (Col. II.) of the Aramaic papyri and inscriptions from Egypt dating from the fourth and the third centuries B.C.¹⁴⁵ The writing on the back of I. (Col. IV.) is noticeably more like these, being more upright and less flowing than that of III. It is most unfortunate that there seems to be no Aramaic writing from Mesopotamia that we can well compare: the docketts on cuneiform tablets are much too old, and the letters on the tile of Hadadnadinakh (p. 61 n. 140) are quite epigraphic.¹⁴⁶ Col. I. shews the square Hebrew, closely allied and yet familiar: note that the final forms are the more original. On the other side I have put the so-called Chaldaeo-Pahlavi (Col. VII.),¹⁴⁷ and the alphabet of documents in an early form of Sogdian dating from about the second century A.D. and found by Sir M. A. Stein on the Chinese *limes*.¹⁴⁸ It exhibits a different application of Aramaic letters to an Iranian language and is only helpful in one or two cases. I have added a list of words arranged according to their first letter; they can be identified by the numbers giving the line and the place therein. (The third word in the list is 2⁷, not 2⁵.)

Such an attempt as mine to assign values to letters according to their form alone without being able to control these values by recognizing the words they make up is something less than tentative: and yet it has seemed worth making. The first result is that except for a very doubtful ν only occurring in one word, the letters which are lacking in Pahlavi, ϖ , ν , ζ and ρ seem to be lacking in ours.¹⁴⁹ This would argue that we have a similar language. I have some hopes that there is considerable probability in favour of my κ , π , τ , σ , δ , ν , ζ , ρ ¹⁵⁰ and the numbers.¹⁵¹

¹⁴² 'Étude sur la Numismatique de la Perse,' B. V. Head, *Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 63-97, Pl. III.

¹⁴³ Wroth, *op. cit.* p. 272: $\Delta = p$ comes from Markov, *Tr. Russ. Arch. Soc. Orient. Sect.* vi. 1891, pp. 265-304, 'Unpublished Arsacid Coins,' Pl. III. 22.

¹⁴⁴ Markov, *op. cit.* p. 298, Pl. IV. 23, gives a coin of Sanabares from which we should get κ and ζ , but his alphabet is more Kharosthi.

¹⁴⁵ e.g. *C.I.S.* ii. 146, 147, and 142.

¹⁴⁶ The Alphabet of 'An Aramaic Inscription from Taxila,' Barnett and Cowley, *J.R.A.S.* 1915, p. 34, is scarcely nearer ours.

¹⁴⁷ E. Thomas, *J.R.A.S.* 1868, pp. 241, 265.

¹⁴⁸ *J.R.A.S.* 1911, pp. 159-166, A. Cowley, 'Another Unknown Language from Eastern Turkestan,' as modified by R. Gauthiot, *ib.* pp. 497-507, 'Note sur la Langue et l'Écriture inconnues des Documents Stein-Cowley.' These

were pointed out to me by Professor Rapson.

¹⁴⁹ The ν may be a ζ and the last letter in ¹² may be a ρ . Several words end in what looks like γ but I think it is more like ρ : that is perhaps an argument for Aramaic. In book Pahlavi these letters except ρ appear only in Semitic words; also π coincides with τ and perhaps one character served for both in our alphabet, setting free for δ and σ the second forms I have suggested.

¹⁵⁰ Professor L. H. Gray read 1^{6,7,8} as QHTHR BŠ QUDČ and 2⁸ as MLK, which disagrees with me in nearly every particular. Professor Bartholomae reads this last word as *marak*, M.Pers. 'number,' and 3⁷ as *arz*, 'worth,' with the numerals following, but I do not feel inclined to give up my ν and δ .

¹⁵¹ Cf. the numerals in *C.I.S.* ii. 146, 147, and Lidzbarski, *Handb. d. Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, p. 200, Pl. XLVI.

Any Aramaic alphabet is sure to have ܘ, ܝ, ܚ (ܚ) and ܚ very much alike; the details are only to be distinguished by the sense, but we have ܚ shaped letters enough to represent them. Again ܚ and ܚ are likely to be indistinguishable and ܘ or ܚ may come very close to them in certain positions. In the other cases we have no evidence to make us lean more on the earlier coin or papyrus forms or on the Arsacid or Chaldaeo-Pahlavi.¹⁵² Everyone has had hopes of the word 17 which occurs no less than nine times; *bagi, bani, bari*, have been suggested, but it is more likely to be a copula. Dr. Cowley's suggestion that 1¹, 2 are ܚܘܐ, 'year,' followed by a number with a termination is most attractive. One would choose 300 or so, making the date a little later than II., and I seem to see a sign for 3 followed by a kind of ܚ not unlike the hundred in Aramaic,¹⁵³ but I cannot get ARŠAKA MALKĀ out of the following words. I cannot resist a guess that 6⁶ is a compound of Mithra.

We must be not unmindful that the language may be Kurdish, or something quite unknown: the Iranian proper names spread far beyond the limits of Iranian speech, but we must first of all look to Aramaic and Iranian scholars for help in a problem which transcends the limitations of Hellenists.

ELLIS H. MINNS.

¹⁵² I more and more incline to my second thoughts for ܚ and ܘ.

¹⁵³ v. Lidzbarski, *loc. cit.*, better still, Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, Pl. 52, l. 11: Pahlavi hundreds go on the

same principle, though the sign is not like this. If this is right the words marked 1¹ and 1² in the list must be corrected. ܚܘܐ is the regular 'logogram' for year in Pahlavi. It would give ܘ only the long form in Col. V.