

THE
CAMBRIDGE
ANCIENT HISTORY

3746

VOLUME XI

THE IMPERIAL PEACE

A.D. 70—192

EDITED BY

S. A. COOK, Litt.D., F.B.A.

F. E. ADCOCK, M.A., F.B.A.

M. P. CHARLESWORTH, M.A.

CAMBRIDGE

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

1936

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER III

THE SARMATAE AND PARTHIANS

By M. ROSTOVITZEFF, Hon. Litt.D. (Cantab.), Hon. D.Litt. (Oxon.),
 Hon. Litt.D. (Wisconsin)
 Professor of Ancient History in Yale University

	PAGE
I. SARMATIAN ORIGINS AND EXTERNAL HISTORY	91
Origin of the Sarmatae	93
The Aorsi and Alani	94
The Alani and Bosphorus	96
II. SARMATIAN SOCIETY, WARFARE AND ART	97
Sarmatian trade and warfare	98
The archaeological evidence	100
Sarmatian art	102
The 'animal style'	103
III. PARTHIA: FOREIGN POLICY	104
Augustus and Parthia	105
The Julio-Claudians and Parthia	107
Trajan and Hadrian and Parthia	108
The Antonines and Parthia	109
The failure of Rome	110
The Parthians and the North-west	111
The Parthians and the South-east	112
IV. PARTHIA: CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION	113
Vassal kings	113
Satrapies	114
The cities of the Parthian empire	116
Nobles and feudatories	118
The Parthian army	119
V. PARTHIA: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS	120
Economic life	121
Foreign trade	122
Contacts with China	123
VI. PARTHIA: RELIGION, LITERATURE, ART	124
Religion	125
Literature	126
Architecture	127
Art	128

CHAPTER IV

FLAVIAN WARS AND FRONTIERS

By RONALD SYME, M.A.
 Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford

I. THE ARMY	131
The re-organization of the Army	132
The policy of the Flavian emperors	135
The sword and the spade	136

CHAPTER III

THE SARMATAE AND PARTHIANS

I. SARMATIAN ORIGINS AND EXTERNAL HISTORY

FOR centuries the Sarmatae together with the Scythians ruled over the steppes of South Russia and thus affected the life of the Hellenistic world. For centuries, later, they were the dangerous and dreaded enemies of the Roman Empire. They shared with their allies, the Germans, and with their cousins, the Parthians, the reputation of being a match for the Romans in war and of never having been conquered by them. On the contrary, in the time of the late Roman Empire, they took their part in its conquest by the barbarians.

The name Sarmatae first appears in our literary tradition at the end of the fourth century B.C. in Pseudo-Scylax and Eudoxus of Cnidus in the form *Syrmatae*. Pseudo-Scylax regards them as different from the *Sauromatae* of earlier historians and geographers. The same name—slightly changed to *Sarmatae*—is used by Polybius and the sources of Strabo, as a special designation for a group of tribes not identical with the *Sauromatae* of Herodotus. But this distinction between the ancient *Sauromatae* and the new *Sarmatae* never took firm root. Most of the Greek and Latin authors of the late Hellenistic and Imperial periods used the two names interchangeably and applied freely to the *Sarmatae* of their own times what Hecataeus, Herodotus and other early authors had to say of the *Sauromatae*. This confusion is explained by the fact that the two names were probably only different spellings of the same Iranian name—perhaps *Sauruma*¹, as well as by the history of the classical *Sauromatae* and the post-classical *Sarmatae*.

According to the Iranian tradition the *Sauromatae* were a half-Iranian people, akin to the Scythians, who lived in the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C. beyond the Don and on the shores of the Sea of Azov. One of their main characteristics, and one which

¹ Suggested by Marquart; cf. H. H. Schaeder in *Abh. Gött. Ges.* III, 10 pp. 50 *sqq.*

impressed the Greeks, was the important part played by women in their social and political life—they were called ‘ruled by women’ (*γυναικοκρατούμενοι*). Since this feature is common in the life of the Anatolians and foreign to the Iranians—both to the Scythians of Herodotus and later the Sarmatians of Hellenistic and Roman times—it is very probable that the Sarmatians were a mixture of Iranian and Maeotian tribes, and that some of them adopted the peculiar social and political structure of the Maeotians, their so-called *gynaecocracy*. Archaeological evidence proves that the regions between the Don and the Volga and between the Volga and the river Ural were inhabited by a group of Scythian tribes from the seventh to the third century B.C. Some of them—those nearest to the Don and the Sea of Azov—show in their culture, as reflected in their tombs (the necropolis of Elizavetovskaia), foreign non-Scythian and non-Greek elements together with a strong Greek influence. There is no doubt—though we have no trustworthy tradition to prove it—that Sauromatian tribes often crossed the Don and engaged in war with their nominal overlords, the Scythians, who formed a strong State from the seventh to the third century B.C. between the Don and the Dnieper and farther south in the Crimea, and on the Kuban. Traces of these Eastern Scythians have been found in graves of the Scythian period in the region of the Dnieper.

One of the most important and probably most hellenized Scytho-Maeotian tribes were the Jazamatae or Jaxamatae, whose queen was Targatao, the romantic heroine of a semi-historical Scythian novel (vol. VIII, p. 564 sq.). They figure in older geographers like Hecataeus and in writers dependent on them, but in the Hellenistic period, they disappear from the tradition almost completely. On the other hand, Polybius¹ mentions the Sarmatians with their king, Gatalas, as an important State, somewhere north of the Crimea, and Polyænus reports another story of a queen-Amazon—this time of the Sarmatians—Amage (vol. VIII, p. 581). A little later, the Hellenistic sources of Strabo speak of a powerful tribe, the Iazyges, the vanguard of the Sarmatians, whose original home, according to the sources of Ammianus Marcellinus, was the region near the Sea of Azov. Later writers inform us that they steadily advanced toward the west and before the middle of the first century A.D. passed through the regions occupied by the Bastarnae and the Dacians and occupied the plains between the Danube and the Theiss, where they continued to reside for centuries as neighbours of the Roman Empire. Some

¹ XXV, 6, 13, referring to 179 B.C.

of their graves in this new home, few of which have been explored, have contents, such as funeral chariots, which are foreign to the Sarmatian graves in South Russia, and suggest rather the habits of the Pontic Scythians. It is possible, therefore, that the Iazyges are to be identified with the Jazamatae¹ and a reconstruction of their history may be attempted. Sometime before 179 B.C. the Jazamatae were driven out of their native country near the Sea of Azov and then conquered a part of the steppes between the Don and the Dnieper. While there, they played an active part, especially in the life of the Scythian Empire. Then they advanced again to the west, and since they were part of the Sauromatae of the early tradition they were the first to receive the name of Sarmatae.

This advance at the end of the second century B.C. was probably caused by the appearance in South Russia of Iranian tribes who moved westwards in great numbers, and were given the same general name Sarmatae. The tradition used by Strabo names two groups of these tribes, one in the west, another in the east, in the steppes of the northern Caucasus. The former group is mentioned by Artemidorus of Ephesus and Posidonius² in their *diathesis* (distribution) of peoples on the north-west shore of the Black Sea, and by the historians of Mithridates; the latter appears in the tradition which is connected with Pompey's conquest of the East³. In the first group the leading part is played by the Roxolani. This powerful tribe steadily advanced on the heels of the Iazyges and finally occupied the regions north of them. Still later, they probably drove the Iazyges out from their former home between the Don and the Dnieper. While there, they took an active part in the Mithridatic wars in the Crimea (vol. ix, p. 231). The second group consisted mainly of two tribes—the Aorsi and the Siracians, the latter living close to the Kuban valley in the south-eastern part of the North Caucasian steppes, the former more to the north and west, near the Don and the Sea of Azov. Strabo mentions them twice⁴, both times in connection with each other. They played an important part in the history of Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, as his faithful and strong allies, the Aorsi being by far the stronger. Both tribes appear again in the reign of Claudius, now as enemies of each other (vol. x, p. 753). The Siracians are still found in these parts in A.D. 193, but the Aorsi are not mentioned in any trustworthy historical or geographical source after

¹ K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, III, p. 39.

² *ap.* Strabo VII, 305 sq.

³ *Ib.* XI, 492, 497 sq.

⁴ *Ib.* 492, 506.

the first century. In their stead the Alani appear as the leading Sarmatian tribe.

The provenance of the Aorsi and Alani is known. The Chinese *Annals (or History) of the Former Han*, in describing the western countries, mention to the north of Sogdiana an important tribe with the name An-ts'ai or Yen-ts'ai (vol. ix, p. 585). Since the time of Chang Ch'ien at least, the Yen-ts'ai lived near the Aral Sea. The *Annals* describe them as a strong nomadic tribe (100,000 archers), subject to Sogdiana (K'ang-chü). The northern Chinese silk route ran through their country. The same description with some unimportant changes and additions is repeated by the *Annals of the Later Han*, with the new fact, that in this period the 'Kingdom of Yen-ts'ai' changed its name to that of A-lani.' This statement is confirmed by the record of the Wei (*Wei-liao*) with the addition that at the time of this record (third century A.D.) the Yen-ts'ai who 'formerly were dependent from time to time to a certain extent upon K'ang-chü are no longer dependent upon them.' It is generally agreed that the Aorsi of the western sources are the Yen-ts'ai of the Chinese *Annals*, and that some time after A.D. 25 a new tribe got the upper hand of them and gave their own name of Alani to the whole confederacy of nomads which they controlled. It is no accident that the name 'Aorsi' disappears from western sources in the second half of the first century A.D. while that of 'Alani' takes its place (perhaps as early as A.D. 35)¹. It is, therefore, very probable that the great movement of peoples of the second half of the second century B.C., which so greatly changed the life of the East (vol. ix, p. 582), pushed to the west a group of nomadic tribes (perhaps related to the Yüeh-chih). These tribes were very little known to the Chinese, since they spread north and west of the Aral Sea. But they formed apparently a powerful nomadic State which extended far into Siberia on the north and reached the steppes of South Russia in the late second century B.C.: one of the tribes, the Roxolani, occupied the steppes between the Don and the Dnieper, while others, under the name Aorsi, held the regions beyond the Don.

The Siracians belonged to a different stock who maintained their independence against both the Aorsi and the Alani. Tribes of their name are found in Hyrcania and a part of Armenia near a group of Sacae. It is, indeed, probable that they were a branch of the Sacae who pushed on to the steppes north of the Caucasus at the time of their great migration (vol. ix, p. 583). They may, then, have appeared there at the same time as the Aorsi from the

¹ Josephus, *Ant.* xviii [4, 4], 97. Cf. vol. x, p. 777 nn. 4 and 5.

north¹. Some of them (? the Aspurgiani) penetrated the Kuban valley and played an important part in the history of the Bosporan kingdom from the reign of Augustus onwards (vol. x, p. 268).

In the first two centuries A.D. the Alani sought to expand south and west, in the South at the expense of Parthia and the Roman province of Cappadocia (A.D. 35, 72-3, 134-5). It may also have been their pressure that thrust the Roxolani on the Iazyges, so that both these became repeatedly dangerous to Rome on the Danube, as has been described elsewhere (vol. x, p. 775). It was probably about the end of Tiberius' reign that the Iazyges passed through the country of the Dacians and occupied the area between the Theiss and the Danube (see above, p. 85). The Roxolani remained in the east, a potential danger to the Empire the more if, as c. A.D. 62, they joined forces with the Dacians and the Bastarnae at the mouth of the Danube. The inscription set up to Plautius Silvanus², the general who checked this movement, suggests that yet more powerful and dangerous tribes, of whom the Romans knew little, stood behind these peoples. Again and again both Iazyges and Roxolani appeared on the military horizon of Rome before, in 179/80, Marcus Aurelius earned the title of Sarmaticus that was to be borne by many later emperors. In the third century the Roxolani seem to have been absorbed into the coalition formed by the Goths and the Alani, while the Iazyges remained a separate people and were active in the struggle on the Danube frontier under the late Empire.

In the first and second centuries the Romans did not come into direct contact with the most powerful of the Sarmatians, the Aorsi and Alani, except for a moment in A.D. 49, when they allied themselves with the King of the Aorsi to facilitate their support of a Roman candidate to the throne of Bosporus. On the other hand, these Sarmatians of the North Caucasian steppes and of the Don evoked the vigilance of Rome, for they, with the Scythians of the Crimea, were the most dangerous enemies of the Bosporan kingdom, the client-state that served Rome's interests in the far north-east.

No wars between the Alani and the Bosporan kingdom are mentioned in the many inscriptions which celebrate the military

¹ If *Θρακῶν* is corrected to *Σιράκων* in Diodorus xx, 22, 4 they appeared north of the Caucasus at least as early as the fourth century B.C. The name of the king in Diodorus, Aripharnes, is a good Iranian name, and the strength of the tribe agrees with accounts of the time of Claudius. Archaeological evidence does not conflict with the earlier date.

² Dessau 986; see vol. x, pp. 775 and 806 sq.

achievements of the Bosporan kings of the first and second centuries A.D. The Scythians were apparently more aggressive, for wars against them were frequent, and in order to save Chersonesus the Romans were forced to occupy it with troops, to strengthen its fortifications and to build against the Scythians a regular *limes* across the Crimea, comparable to a similar fortified line built across their own peninsula by the Bosporan kings. Against the piracy of the Scythians both the Bosporan kings and Rome kept a flotilla on the Black Sea (vol. x, p. 775). The lack of any direct mention of wars between Bosphorus and the Alani may, however, be an accident. In the reign of Antoninus Pius the Alani were restless and probably threatened the Bosporan kingdom (p. 336). In A.D. 193 we hear of a war of Sauromates II against the Siracians¹, who may have been at that time vassals of the Alani, and we know, both from coins and inscriptions, that Tanaïs on the Don and the Greek cities of the Taman peninsula were repeatedly fortified by the Bosporan king, at least from the days of Domitian. This may be combined with the mention in two inscriptions of a regular service of interpreters of the Bosporan kingdom, who were in charge of diplomatic relations between Bosphorus and the Alani—an important official of Bosphorus has the title 'Chief interpreter of the Alani' (*ἀρχερμητὴς τῶν Ἀλανῶν*)². And yet the Alani never made real efforts to become masters of the Greek cities of the Black Sea. In their attitude toward them they were very tolerant and very liberal. This attitude is certainly to be explained, not only by the support which the Romans gave to the Bosphorus, but also by the desire of the Alani to have in the Greek cities trustworthy commercial agents for their trade with the West and to use them as centres of supply for the products of Greek industry, of which some of them were very fond.

Friendly relations between the Alani and the Bosporan kingdom and Olbia, which was at times under the control of the Bosporan kings, are also attested by the peaceful penetration of Sarmatians into the Greek cities of Bosphorus, which led to the gradual iranization of the Bosporan kingdom. Hundreds of residents in these Greek cities now bear Sarmatian names, and all of them wear Sarmatian dress and use Sarmatian weapons. Last but not least, the ruling dynasty of Bosphorus itself assumes an ever more Iranian aspect. Along with Thracian dynastic names appears

¹ *Ios. P. E.* II, no. 423.

² *Bull. Comm. Arch.* 40, p. 112 no. 28; *Ios. P. E.* II, p. 296, no. 86²; cf. *I.G.R.R.* I, 261—a Bosporan interpreter at Rome.

a new name—Sauromates, which may reflect the fact that many subjects of the Bosporan king were Sarmatian. The figure of the king on horseback, adoring the supreme god, as it appears on the coins of Bosporus in the second century A.D., is almost exactly the same as the figure of the king on contemporary Parthian and Graeco-Sacian coins¹. In the third century the grave of a Bosporan king or noble was not much different from that of an Alan of the same rank. So strong a sarmatization would be impossible, were not relations between the Alani and the Bosporus both constant and friendly.

With the third century the situation changed. The Alani, who maintained constant relations with the Germanic tribes that were gradually occupying the valley of the Dnieper, became merged with the Germans, or rather, became a part of the Gothic-Alanic kingdom of South Russia. Thus they came to be neighbours of the Romans, and they took part in most of the enterprises of the Goths, Suebi and Vandals against the Empire. In the south of Russia, Olbia and Tanaïs were destroyed, and Panticapaeum became a Gotho-Sarmatian city. Later centuries were to witness the gradual advance of the Goths, Vandals and Alani to France, to Spain and finally to Africa.

II. SARMATIAN SOCIETY, WARFARE AND ART

Very little is known of the organization of Sarmatian political life. There are kings and barons, the *skeptouchoi*, and it may be assumed that the Sarmatians, like all the Iranians, had a kind of monarchical feudal State. Our sources are unanimous in regarding all the Sarmatian tribes, with the exception of the Siracians, as nomads leading a pastoral life and breeding great numbers of cattle. Their small, swift horses were famous in the Roman world. In a well-known inscription found at Apta² on the Durance the Emperor Hadrian praises and commemorates his 'Borysthenes Alanus Caesareus Veredus' that 'flew' with him over swamps and hills of Tuscany as he hunted the wild boar.

There is no doubt that the Sarmatians were Iranians—near relations of the Scythians. The descendants of the Alani—the Ossetes in the Northern Caucasus—still speak an Iranian language and most of the non-Greek names in the Bosporan cities, especially in Tanaïs in Imperial times, are Iranian. The Sarmatian aristocracy was probably very rich. Through the empire of the Aorsi-Alani, which

¹ Volume of Plates v, 124 a, b, c.

² C.I.L. XII, 1122, a, ll. 1-6; cf. Dio LXIX, 10, 2.

occupied vast regions to the north of the Caspian and Aral Seas and included the eastern part of the South Russian steppes, there ran an important caravan road connecting the Greek cities of the Black Sea with China, witness its description in the Chinese sources and the many Chinese articles, especially mirrors, which have been found in Sarmatian graves and at Panticapaeum (fragments of silk stuffs of Chinese workmanship of the second century A.D.). Furthermore, according to Strabo¹, many Indian and Babylonian products passed through Media and Armenia across the Caucasus into the regions occupied by the Aorsi and thence probably to the harbours of the Bosporan kingdom. Strabo meant probably the important trade-routes, one of which ran from India through Parthia to the Oxus and from there to the Caspian, the other from Babylonia along the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Since the Greeks and Romans met the Sarmatians mostly on the field of battle, their information on the military equipment, strategy and tactics of the Sarmatae is much more complete than on their religious², social and economic life, of which we know practically nothing. A combination of the descriptions of the Sarmatian army given by Strabo, Josephus, Tacitus, Arrian, Pausanias and Ammianus Marcellinus gives a picture which is very similar to that of the Parthian, Armenian and Iberian armies given by the same and other writers. The dominant feature is the prominent part played in the army by a body of heavy cataphracts with metal helmets, whose chief weapons were long heavy lances and swords, the bow being subsidiary. This body of mailed knights mounted on armoured steeds was made up, according to Tacitus³, of members of the Sarmatian aristocracy, while the main body of the army was formed by light-armed bowmen, protected by leather corselets and leather caps. A like combination of heavy cavalry in close formation and swarms of nimble archers existed earlier in the steppes of Russia, at the time of the Scythian domination. But the new system was then in its beginnings, and the new type of a mailed phalanx had not yet been created. Who deserves the credit of having used it first, we do not know. It

¹ XI, 506. Strabo adds that the Aorsi *ἐχρυσσοφόρουν διὰ τὴν ἐμπορίαν*.

² The Sarmatians were probably Mazdaeans. Ammianus Marcellinus (xix, 11, 10) says that before battle they shouted '*Marha, Marha*.' This name appears in a poem in honour of a Parthian governor as that of the supreme god. Fr. Cumont, *C. R. Ac. Inscr.* 1931, pp. 278 *sqq.* But E. Benveniste (*Journ. Asiat.* 221, 1931, pp. 135 *sqq.*) identifies the battle-cry with the Persian '*merd u mard*' ('man against man').

³ *Hist.* I, 79; cf. *Ann.* VI, 35.

must have been a people controlling a certain supply of iron and bronze, which suits both the Aorsi, masters of the Ural mountains, of the Altai and of the Minussinsk region, and the Parthians, who got their iron and steel through Merv. It must be noted, however, that the resources of the Sarmatian tribes in iron were not very large, since Ammianus Marcellinus¹ describes the Sarmatae as wearing scale-armour, not of iron but of horn. A specimen of this armour dedicated in the temple of Asclepius at Athens moves Pausanias² to observe how skilfully they made good their deficiency in iron. The mode of fighting used by the Sarmatians was much the same as that of the Parthians: the *pièce de résistance* was the attack of the mailed, mounted phalanx, prepared and supported by the archers. Duels between the leaders of Iranian hosts in which the lasso and wrestling played an important part were common.

The picture given by classical authors is illustrated by many monuments of Graeco-Roman and Oriental art of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as, for example, the figures of enemy cataphracts on the column of Trajan and similar figures on the arch of Galerius at Salonica. It is very probable that the first are meant to represent the equestrian phalanx of the Roxolani, while the second are the Sarmatian '*foederati*' of the army of Galerius in his Persian expedition (A.D. 296). No pictures of Sarmatian warriors appear on the objects found in their graves. But the Sarmatian military organization had a strong influence on that of the Bosporean kingdom in the first three centuries A.D. Many grave paintings³ of this period at Panticapaeum show Panticapaeian victories over their enemies, the Scythians and Taurians of the Crimea. These pictures are probably copies of parts of the monumental paintings which were dedicated by the Bosporean kings and their generals to commemorate these victories⁴. The Panticapaeians are represented either as a mounted phalanx or as single heroes charging their enemies⁵, alone or at the head of their infantry. They always wear the complete equipment of a Sarmatian cataphract—long

¹ XVII, 2, 2.

² I, 21, 5-7. It may be noted that this type of armour has occasionally been found in South Russian graves.

³ Volume of Plates v, 24, a.

⁴ A picture of this kind is mentioned, for instance, as dedicated in a new temple, to commemorate a victory of Sauromates I (A.D. 96-123) over the Scythians; *Ios. P.E.* iv, no. 202.

⁵ This combat between heroes is typical of Iranian art and mentality, and is a most common motive of Parthian and Sassanian art and of the great epics of the nomads of Asia.

scale-cuirass, conical scale-helmet, sword and a long, heavy lance¹, while their enemies are bare-headed, mounted archers of the Scythian type. The same Sarmatian equipment appears also on many Panticapæan grave-stelæ and on a commemorative monument from Tanaïs. Even the Bosphoran kings adopted it in the second century A.D., as is shown by their coins, and it appears also on pictures engraved on the rocks along the Yenisei river, pictures which probably represent the eastern Asiatic Aorsi-Alani. Finally may be mentioned a gold plaque found in Siberia, which represents a Sarmatian hunting a wild boar². As he is hunting, not fighting, he wears the nomadic riding kaftan of leather and not the cuirass and is using the bow. But his long sword hangs down from the shoulder. The peculiar manner of wearing this sword which slides on a special *porte-épée*, appears over and over again on many monuments of Oriental art, for example in India, and swords with this *porte-épée* (mostly of jade) have been found in the Volga region and at Panticapæum and in many Chinese and Korean graves of the Han period. The Yenisei pictures and the Siberian plaque may attest the extension of Sarmatian domination over large parts of Siberia as far as the Minussinsk region.

The evidence collected above, which bears on the history and life of the Sarmatians, is supported and completed by archaeological material. No cities or other settlements of the Sarmatians have been excavated. The Sarmatians were nomads and became sedentary city-dwellers only as emigrants who settled down in some of the Greek cities or as successors of earlier residents of the regions which the Sarmatians had conquered, for example, Uspa, the capital of the Siracians. The archaeological evidence for their life and art must be derived, therefore, from their graves. Very few of these have been systematically excavated. A small group in the region of the Ural river, some cemeteries along the lower Volga and a set of tumulus graves in the Kuban valley make up the list. The rest of our archaeological evidence comes from chance finds in various parts of the wide area inhabited by the Sarmatians—graves in Western Siberia, others in the region of the Don and the Donetz and burials in the region of the Dnieper and further to the

¹ This is typical also of the Parthian army (Volume of Plates iv, 26, c) and was borrowed in the second and third century A.D. by units of the Roman army. Two Roman sets of horse-armour of cataphracts, probably of the *cohors xx Palmyrenorum*, were recently found at Doura; see F. Brown in *Dura*, Rep. vi. A Parthian composite bow was found intact in 1934 at Irzi near Doura; see *Dura*, Repts. vii–viii.

² Volume of Plates v, 24, b.

west. The Sarmatian graves may be subdivided in chronological groups—Hellenistic, early Imperial and late Imperial. Some local peculiarities may also be noted. The most important local group is that of the early Hellenistic graves of the Taman peninsula of the Kuban valley, and of the region of the lower Don. The rich graves recently discovered in the Altai mountains and in Mongolia show the same general characteristics as the Eastern European and Siberian graves and certainly belong to the same time and to the same civilization. But whether the chieftains buried in these graves were Iranian or Mongolian princelings no one can say.

As regards the archaeological evidence for the nomadic graves of the Sarmatian period, which cannot here be described in detail, it will suffice to say that the armour and weapons found in them all coincide with those described in the literary and archaeological evidence analysed above. We find as especially typical the sword, the heavy lance and the various types of body-armour, the scale-cuirass, plate, ring or chain mail. The persistence of these makes these graves, whether the more modest or the more ambitious, a single group throughout the Hellenistic and early Imperial period, with certain chronological and local subdivisions. It is to be observed that the same equipment appears in Parthia, Armenia and Iberia, all Iranian or iranized countries. It penetrated also into China and India, but never appears there in the same pure form. Whether it was also used by the Mongolian nomads cannot as yet be said with confidence.

Archaeological evidence for the Sarmatian burials of the Volga and Kuban regions, which are identical in almost all details, is especially rich. It may be useful to quote a reconstruction of the picture of a typical Volga-Sarmatian tribesman (not a chieftain) derived from the objects found in scores of contemporary graves of this region. 'Dressed in a shirt and long trousers, which were adorned with small beads above and larger ones below, wearing a short overcoat which was fastened with a safety-pin on the right shoulder and a leather cap covered with bronze scales, his body protected by scale-armour and his feet by low, soft shoes, the Volga nomad appeared high on his horse, holding his small, curved bow. On a strap from his right shoulder, a red quiver, filled with long, painted arrows, hung down on his left side, while a sword—long or short—was fastened at his right side. A lance completed his military equipment¹. This description may be compared with that of an average Roxolan given by Strabo². The

¹ P. Rykov, *Das susslowische Hügelgrabfeld*, p. 20 sq.

² VII, 306.

equipment of the chieftain was, of course, more ambitious and more complicated. The main point, however, is that this is entirely different from the ancient Iranian equipment of the Scythian warriors of the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C. (vol. III, pp. 197 *sqq.*). The typical Scytho-Persian dagger (*akinakes*), the short javelins, the *gorytus*, the Scythian bow, the triangular arrow-heads, the Greek helmet—all have disappeared completely and are never found in the Sarmatian graves.

Another typical feature of the Sarmatian graves is the complete change in artistic tastes and styles. The Sarmatians no doubt brought their own art with them from their Oriental home. One of the striking traits of the earlier eastern Sarmatian graves is the entire absence of imported Greek objects, which are so common in Pontic Scythian graves, an absence which persisted in the eastern branches of the Sarmatian stock, for example the Volga Sarmatians. Not that all the objects which these Sarmatians wore were home-made; some were imported, but none from Greece. Persia and China were the countries with which the eastern Sarmatians were in constant commercial relations. The picture is different for the western Sarmatians of the Kuban river and the Don, who were good customers of the Greek cities of the Black Sea. But even in the western Sarmatian graves the Greek objects are but a foreign addition to a nomadic Oriental stock.

So far as imports are concerned, one group of Sarmatian graves appears in a quite peculiar light. A number of Hellenistic graves of the Taman peninsula, the Kuban valley and the region of the lower Don have yielded, alongside the objects typical of the Sarmatian period, a large number of silver and gold phalerae, which took the place of the earlier Scythian plaques used for horse-trappings. These phalerae, and jewels found with them, show such similarity, both in style and subjects, to the earlier products of Graeco-Sacian art, that it must be assumed that the men who used them belonged to the same group as that which created the peculiar Graeco-Sacian art which is so closely related to early Parthian art. These Graeco-Sacian phalerae were apparently imported by the Siracians into South Russia and spread from there along the north shore of the Black Sea.

Our information regarding the Sarmatian type of art is scanty. The only objects of a more or less artistic character that the graves have yielded are of metal, the local pottery being very coarse and the better grades of pottery and glass imported. And yet even this scanty supply shows some features which are interesting in themselves and important from the point of view of the evolution of

art in both East and West. One of these features is the great love of the Sarmatians for effects of colour: their arms and weapons, their silver and gold plate, the metal plaques sewn on their garments are regularly adorned with rows and groups of inset coloured stones. Instead of, or along with them, a peculiar type of enamel is often used. Polychromy in jewelry and toreutics was all the fashion of the day in the classical world of the Hellenistic period in general, and this fashion was inherited by Roman art and is especially noticeable in the provincial art of the Empire. It reached the Hellenistic kingdoms both from Egypt and from the Semitic and Iranian East, while the Roman provinces of central and eastern Europe added to it Celtic features—polychrome metallurgy was age-old in the Celtic countries—and developed it in their own way. Sarmatian polychrome jewelry and toreutics has, however, its own *cachet* and its own development parallel to, and independent of, the evolution of polychromy in the Near East and in western Europe, and resembles that of the Parthian kingdom, India and China. A reflection of this eastern development may be seen in the costumes, jewelry and silver and gold plate of Palmyra (p. 130). This eastern branch of polychrome jewelry—one of the peculiar features of it being enamel *cloisonné*—came into touch with the western branch, both in Syria and in South Russia and on the Danube. In the south this style was spread by the Parthians and the Sassanian Persians, in the north by the Sarmatians. It was the characteristic style of the North which was in the main responsible for the gorgeous development of polychrome metallurgy in the period of the Migrations and in the early Middle Ages, the Sassanian influence being merely subsidiary.

Still more characteristic is another feature of Sarmatian art—its love for animal forms and its peculiar style of ornamentation which is usually called the ‘animal style.’ This style had long obtained in central Asia. It came with the Scythians to South Russia where in the seventh to the fourth century B.C. it developed in its own way. To this early Asiatic animal style the Sarmatian is certainly closely related. Yet it is not a continuation of the Pontic or Scythian branch of it; it marks a new period in the development of the original animal style of Asia unaffected by Greek influence, which was so strong in the later period of the Pontic or Scythian variety. The Sarmatian animal style is at once vigorous and savage and highly refined and stylized, though in a way different from the earlier Scythian stylization of the animal forms. It combines, moreover, the polychrome and the animal style in a most skilful and, at the same time, ‘barbarous,’ way.

The most important objects which represent the Sarmatian, *i.e.* neo-Asiatic, animal style come partly from Western Siberia, partly from South Russia (especially the region of the Don). They belong to the adornments of dresses and to horse-trappings of the great Sarmatian chieftains. On the other hand, the animal style is but poorly represented in more modest graves, both of the Kuban and of the Volga region. It was an art of the ruling aristocracy. Whether or not it was confined to the Iranian aristocracy, it is hard to say. In all probability it was the art of the ruling Asiatic families in general, since it is found so splendidly displayed in princely graves of Mongolia and of the Altai, which hardly belonged to Iranian tribal chieftains. It may have been imported into China, where the style was fashionable mostly on the borderlands for a time, by the Yüeh-chih, but more probably by the Huns, who for centuries were the nearest neighbours of the Chinese. In Siberia and in South Russia, however, the neo-Asiatic animal style was certainly patronized by the great chieftains of the Aorsi and the Alani, whom Strabo characterizes as 'wearers of gold' (p. 98, n. 1). On the other hand, it never became the mode among the Parthians or Sassanian Persians.

The development of western European art owes but little to this style. It certainly influenced the art of the upper Volga and Kama, and some elements of it perhaps penetrated into early Scandinavian art, which had its own native animal style. Some features of the late Gotho-Sarmatic polychrome art may be derived from the neo-Asiatic animal style and may have penetrated with the Goths, Alani and Vandals into western Europe. Another source of animal motives may have been the art of the later Mongolian invaders of western Europe—the Huns, the Avars, the Bulgars and the Magyars. But, on the whole the animal style of the Romanesque, Carolingian and Gothic periods must be regarded as only partly derived from these sources.

III. PARTHIA: FOREIGN POLICY

The Parthian Empire, as created by Mithridates II (vol. ix, pp. 584 *sqq.*), was surrounded by strong, warlike and ambitious rivals. To the west were Roman provinces and client-states and the independent Arab tribes of the Syrian desert. On the north to the west of the Caspian beyond the Armenians, Iberians and Albanians, who were all more or less under Parthian protectorate or influence, lay the powerful well-organized, well-armed and warlike Sarmatians, especially the Alani, who since their settle-

ment in the Northern Caucasus took every opportunity to invade the Parthian lands through one of the two Caucasian Gates (Darial and Derbend), while to the east of the Caspian Parthia faced the many nomadic Iranian tribes known to the Western world under the general name of Scythians¹. Farther to the east lay the successors of the Bactrian Greeks, the growing kingdom of the Yüeh-chih and Tokharians, which separated Parthia from the great Chinese Empire of the later Han, and finally, towards the south-east and south, the border-lands of India.

Of the struggles of the Parthians against their enemies in the north, the east and the south comparatively little is known. Where evidence is more ample is on the relations of Parthia and Rome, and this comes from Roman sources and represents the Roman point of view. Roman policy towards Parthia is the topic of other chapters, but at the cost of some repetition, it is worth while to attempt a reconstruction of the course of Parthian policy in its turn. When Parthia and Rome first faced each other it was as claimants to the heritage of the Seleucid monarchy. The prestige won by Pompey in the East was dimmed by the defeat of Crassus, Caesar's plans were cut short by his death, and Antony failed to avenge Crassus. His disastrous retreat, and the Parthian offensive into Syria that preceded it, convinced Augustus that Parthia was a serious enemy and inspired the Roman public at large with a lasting fear and respect for the Parthians². But both Augustus and the Parthian king realized that, as defeat to either would be fatal, victory would not be without danger and would lead nowhere.

An expansion of the Roman Empire into Central Asia and India, though not impossible, meant a complete new orientation of the Roman Empire and its hellenization and orientalization. This was against the leading political Western ideas of Augustus. Equally the King Phraates was well aware that it was idle to dream of the conquest of Syria with the forces and organization of an Empire whose main task and main strength lay in the East and whose structure was perforce feudal and half-nomadic. On the other hand a *modus vivendi* promised good returns both for Parthia and Rome: regular caravan trade well-organized and well-protected was a source of income for both powers, inasmuch as it yielded large custom duties to their treasuries and brought prosperity both to Syria and Mesopotamia. Thus the *modus vivendi*

¹ Sacae, Massagetae, Dahae and the rest, according to Pliny: *multitudo innumera et quae cum Parthis ex aequo degat*. *N.H.* VI, 50; cf. VI, 112.

² Besides the Augustan poets, see Strabo XI, 515; Tacitus, *Ann.* XII, 10; Justin XLI, 1, 1.

came into being: the Euphrates as frontier, the development of the buffer-state of Palmyra as a centre of Partho-Roman exchange and perhaps a kind of commercial agreement between Parthia and Rome. The Parthians agreed to satisfy Roman honour by delivering up the standards and captives of Crassus and Antony, and Augustus in return ceased to support the pretender Tiridates and insured Parthia against future pretenders by keeping the dangerous princes of the Arsacid house in Rome (vol. x, pp. 260 *sqq.*). This understanding, reinforced by a later demonstration of Roman power, was kept and carried out by Tiberius. Especially successful was the mission of Germanicus, who probably made Roman influence in Palmyra stronger than before and regulated Palmyra's relations to Parthia and Rome. At the same time he entered, perhaps in the name of Palmyra, into diplomatic relations with some of those petty vassal dynasts of Parthia who held the keys to the great caravan roads leading to Syria and Asia Minor (vol. x, pp. 621, 747 n. 2).

However, there remained one question which urgently required regulation, the question of Armenia. It is unnecessary to point out the strategical importance of Armenia (vol. x, p. 260 *sq.*). An independent Armenia was unacceptable alike to the Romans and the Parthians, neither of whom had forgotten the power of Tigranes fifty years before. Armenia in the hands of the Romans meant for Parthia a constant threat to Mesopotamia and its flourishing caravan cities, and Mesopotamia was the key to Babylonia: to lose it was equivalent to the potential surrender of all the western satrapies of Parthia. On the other hand, Rome was not willing to leave Armenia to the Parthians, since it opened to them an easy access to the Black Sea, secured for them a supremacy over Iberia and Albania and thus the command of an important trade-route to the East, connected the Parthian Empire with the half-Iranian countries of Cappadocia, Pontus and Commagene, and made possible an alliance between the Parthians and their cousins the Sarmatians, the great rivals of Rome in the north-east. Thus the Armenian question became the chief obstacle to a lasting peace between the two Empires and led repeatedly to wars and diplomatic conflicts.

Augustus and Tiberius insisted upon solving the Armenian problem in the traditional Roman way, by making Armenia a Roman vassal-state under the rule of a hellenized client-king. Phraates accepted this solution and undermined by this his position in Parthia, since the leading aristocratic clans were bitterly opposed to it. This led to the elimination of Phraates' successor

Phraataces and to the downfall of the Arsacids of the Mithridatic line in Parthia¹. The short rule of Vonones opened the eyes of the Parthians to the danger of becoming a hellenizing vassal-kingdom of Rome and led to a national Iranian reaction which gave the throne to Artabanus, a member of a collateral branch of the Arsacids connected with the home-land of the Parthians and with Hyrcania and Atropatene. It is characteristic of Artabanus' aspirations that he at once insisted on his own solution of the Armenian problem: the ruler of Armenia must be a member of the ruling house of Parthia, an Arsacid. Since, however, Vonones, the former king of Parthia, the rival of Artabanus, who once won a splendid victory over him, was now the actual king of Armenia, Artabanus, in order to eliminate this danger and to deprive Vonones of Roman support, was ready to accept for a while a compromise which was suggested by Germanicus. A neutral hellenized king ruled again over Armenia. But this compromise was not lasting. As soon as Artabanus, whose hands were for a while tied up by important wars in the East, felt free and strong again, he renewed his claim to rule over Armenia through a member of his house. He failed, however, a second time and in the same way. Instead of Vonones Tiberius used romanized Arsacids, first Phraates and then Tiridates, as his tools, and after this diversion Artabanus was forced again to give up his plan. The interview between Artabanus and Vitellius was one of the greatest diplomatic victories of Tiberius (vol. x, p. 749 *sq.*). Armenia was in the hands of a prince of the neighbouring Iberian dynasty, vassals of Rome.

However, no lasting peace could be established on such a basis. The Armenian question remained acute. It is characteristic of the urgency of this problem that Vardanes in his short rule was ready to raise it again and it is very probable that the episode of Meherdates whom Claudius put up as a pretender (vol. x, p. 755) was in one way or another connected with similar plans and aspirations of the Hyrcanian Gotarzes. No wonder, therefore, if Vologases I, in agreement with his brothers, raised the question again and did not shrink from long and bloody wars to gain a solution acceptable both to Rome and to Parthia. The solution, though a compromise, satisfied the vital interests of the Parthians. The brother of Vologases, Tiridates, became king of Armenia but he received his crown from the hands of Nero in Rome (vol. x, p. 773). Thus a *modus vivendi* was established for a while and lasted until the end of the Flavian dynasty.

¹ See List of Parthian kings, p. 90.

With Trajan the question became acute once more. The origin of the conflict between Trajan and Pacorus first and Osroes afterwards is unknown. But it is certain that it involved the question who was to be king of Armenia. Whether or not the trouble was complicated by an invasion of the Parthians into Syria is a matter of controversy and does not concern us here. Suffice it to say that Trajan decided to solve the Armenian problem in his own radical way: Armenia was to become a Roman province protected by Mesopotamia and Adiabene occupied by Roman garrisons, and Parthia was to be ruled by a Roman nominee, a client-king of Rome (p. 249).

The conquest of Mesopotamia by Trajan and his capture of the royal capital Ctesiphon produced a tremendous impression on the Parthians and certainly aroused a strong national reaction: witness the revolt of Mesopotamia and Adiabene under the leadership of members of the house of the Arsacids while Trajan was at Ctesiphon. The invasion of Trajan is mentioned as a kind of era by the chronicle of Arbela¹ and as late as A.D. 572, according to John of Ephesus², the Romans reminded the Sassanian Persians of Trajan and emphasized the fact that statues of him were still standing in Persia and the Persians were afraid of riding by them.

This national reaction was probably the chief reason why Hadrian restored the legitimate kings in Parthia and gave Mesopotamia back to them, controlling Armenia indirectly through vassal-kings³. Our scanty information on the time of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius does not reveal the conditions on which an understanding between Parthia and Rome was reached. It is not improbable, however, that in return for restoring the *status quo* Hadrian received important concessions. We hear that he did not exact tribute from Mesopotamia⁴, which may mean that his right to do so was acknowledged, *i.e.* that the status of Mesopotamia was not exactly the same as before the war. The appointment of Parthaspates as king of Edessa shows that the status of Armenia was to a certain extent extended to some minor kingdoms of Mesopotamia. This led to complications, and a new

¹ E. Sachau, *Bay. Abh.* 1915, 6, p. 43 sq.

² Ed. Schönfelder, pp. 251-3. It is probable that there were statues of Trajan in Parthia: witness the triumphal arch in his honour at Doura and the mention of the export of bronze statues to Parthia in the tariff of Palmyra (*I.G.R.R.* III, 1056; IV, 29 sqq.; *C. I. S.* II, 3, no. 3913).

³ As the order to evacuate Doura is now known to have preceded the death of Trajan (scap. 617, n. 3, and M. Rostovtzeff in *C. R. Ac. Inscr.* 1935, pp. 285 sqq.), it was he who began the policy of concessions to Parthia.

⁴ S. H. A. *Hadr.* 21, 12.

arrangement was achieved in 123 when the former dynasty was restored. It is also significant that, though King Osroes received back from Hadrian his daughter whom Trajan had captured, the royal throne was never sent back to Ctesiphon either by Hadrian or by Antoninus, as Hadrian had promised. This was probably regarded by the Parthians as a humiliating symbol of inferiority. The merchants of Palmyra never felt more at home in the great commercial cities of Parthia than in the times of Hadrian and Antoninus and statues of Roman emperors may even have stood in the Palmyrene quarter of the royal Parthian caravan-city of Vologasia¹. In the time of Hadrian and later, Palmyra had detachments of her own desert police (mounted archers) in all the important towns of the Euphrates frontier with Parthia. Doura was one of these and Anath (Anah) another². A strong Parthia was bound to resent Roman predominance, and more than once in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus the Roman Empire was threatened by a war on the eastern frontier (pp. 313, 345).

The break came with Vologases III. Conditions were troubled in the Parthian Empire in the last years of Osroes and during the rule of Vologases II. Rival rulers contested the throne of both of them³. Vologases III probably yielded to the pressure of public opinion and decided to put an end to the conditions created by Trajan's expedition. It was again the question of Armenia which led to the war, which started with the appointment of an Armenian king by Vologases and with two crushing defeats of the Roman governors of Cappadocia and Syria who tried to save the prestige of Rome in Armenia. The expeditions of Lucius Verus against Parthia began with the reconquest of Armenia in 163-4, followed by the occupation of Mesopotamia and an expedition against Ctesiphon—an exact repetition of Trajan's campaign.

The results of the three campaigns of Lucius were, however, not decisive (p. 349). The war ended in a compromise. Armenia remained a vassal-kingdom garrisoned by Rome; the most important Mesopotamian cities were also held by Roman forces and the Euphrates *limes* (or defence-system) was extended from Sura to points south of Doura, which last became a strong Roman fortress⁴ (p. 618 *sq.*). But Vologases remained king at

¹ Inscription of Palmyra, R. Mousterde and A. Poidebard in *Syria*, XII, 1931, pp. 101 *sqq.*

² See F. Brown and M. Rostovtzeff in *C. R. Ac. Inscr.* 1935, pp. 300 *sqq.*

³ See List of Parthian kings, p. 90.

⁴ See M. Rostovtzeff in *Bull. Comm. Arch.* xxxiii, 1909, pp. 1 *sqq.* (Armenia); *Münch. Beit. zur Papyrusforschung*, xix, 1934, pp. 351 *sqq.* (Doura).

Ctesiphon, and it was plain that another war could not be long delayed.

The next war began in the troubled time after the death of Commodus. The Parthians never became reconciled to the loss of Mesopotamia, and it was a revolt in Mesopotamia (Osrhoëne and Adiabene) that was the beginning of Septimius Severus' operations against Parthia which ended in the capture of Ctesiphon. This capture, however, was no more than a military demonstration intended to frighten Parthia and make Mesopotamia safe for Rome, for Severus never thought of extending the Roman province to include lower Mesopotamia. This new humiliation exasperated the Iranians and led to the first serious rising of vassal-kingdoms against the Arsacids. Persia and Media revolted, a fact which was unknown until the discovery of a local chronicle of Arbela¹.

The last phase of what was now the question for Rome and Parthia, the rival claim to Mesopotamia, was a new war that began in 215 under Caracalla, who sought to profit by the dynastic dissensions of Armenia and of Parthia. But fortune was not with Rome. Though Caracalla once captured the Armenian king Tiridates by treachery and once apparently secured his extradition from the Parthian king Vologases V², a less pliant rival of Vologases, Artabanus V, took his place on the throne of Parthia. The Roman general Theocritus was sent against Armenia but was defeated. Caracalla invaded Adiabene and part of Media but was then assassinated, and Artabanus inflicted two defeats on the new Emperor Macrinus. The Romans were compelled to save their province in Mesopotamia by paying a heavy indemnity and to see Tiridates king of Armenia even though, like his namesake of the time of Nero, he received his diadem from the Emperor.

It was a pitiful end to the efforts of the Roman Empire to reduce the Parthians to vassal-dom. Parthia emerged victorious, and the recapture of Mesopotamia was a matter of time. Fate

¹ *Chron. of Arbela*, p. 56 sq.; cf. G. Messina, *La Cronaca di Arbela*, *La Civiltà cattolica*, LXXXIII, 1932, pp. 362 sqq. Coins found at Seleucia (R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, p. 234 sq.) show that a national reaction replaced Vologases III by Vologases IV, his success being due to the support of Elymaïs.

² For these events we possess only the fragments of Dio LXXVIII, 12, 19; LXXIX, 25-7, 31. It is, however, possible that the replacement of Vologases by Artabanus prevented the extradition, and that Tiridates, having once escaped to Parthia, now escaped to Armenia so that the operations of Caracalla were intended to isolate that country.

decided that it was to be carried out not by the Arsacids but by the descendants of Sasan the Persian. A new revolt in Persis led by Ardashir put an end to the rule of the Arsacids in the Iranian lands and to the life of the last great Arsacid, Artabanus V, A.D. 227.

Closely connected with the Armenian and Caucasian problem was the problem of dealing with the various 'Sarmatian' tribes which, probably early in the first century A.D., formed a powerful kingdom under the rule of the Alani in the Northern Caucasus (p. 94). There are many episodes in Parthian history which were connected with the existence of this strong nomadic State in the eastern part of the steppes of South Russia. Thus Vonones, the rival of Artabanus III, tried to escape from his confinement in Cilicia to the Caucasus and then to 'consanguineum sibi regem Scytharum,' probably one of the Sarmatian kings (vol. x, p. 747). Then both Orodes, son of Artabanus, and Mithridates the Iberian used in their struggle for Armenia the help of 'Sarmatian' chiefs (vol. x, p. 748). Again in A.D. 75 during the rule of Vologases I the Alani invaded Media and Armenia. The danger was great, and Vologases asked Vespasian for help which, however, was refused (p. 143). Finally there was a great invasion in A.D. 134 which affected Albania, Gordyene, Media and even Cappadocia and was checked by the joint efforts of the historian Arrian¹, the governor of Cappadocia, and King Vologases II. The chronicle of Arbela gives a dramatic account of the struggle of Vologases and the Alani of which the hero is the pious satrap of Adiabene, Rakbakt, a convert to Christianity.

The other frontiers of Parthia were, no doubt, of little less importance than those on the west and north-west, but the tradition that has survived is almost silent about the wars and diplomatic exchanges of the Arsacids with the northern 'Scythians' and Massagetae, the Bactrian Kushans and the Indian neighbours of Parthia. We hear incidentally that a Phraates fled to the Scythians when Tiridates entered Ctesiphon in A.D. 36². Those Scythians may be the Sacae, who at that time became masters of Sacastene (Drangiane) and of a part of the Punjab³. Then under Artabanus III, after his victory over Vonones and before his clash with Tiberius, we are told of Parthian victories against his neighbours⁴. What these are we cannot tell. They may be connected with the great events

¹ See his *Ἐκταξίς κατ' Ἀλανῶν*.

² See vol. x, p. 749, n. 1.

³ E. Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Mitt. aus Iran*, IV, 1932, p. 73.

⁴ *fretus bellis quae secunda adversum circumiectas nationes exercuerat*. Tacitus, *Ann.* II, 31.

which happened about this time in Sacastene, the substitution of the dynasty of Gundofarr, who may have belonged to the powerful Parthian clan of the Surēn, for the former Sacian kings who were already masters of large parts of the Punjab¹. After Gundofarr his immediate successors, Orthagnes, Abdagaeses and Pakores, may have kept the kingdom intact for some time. It is, however, certain that soon (though how soon is in doubt) the kingdom of Gundofarr fell to pieces, the Punjab being gradually conquered by the Bactrian Kushans while the southern parts of it down to Barbarikon and Minnagara on the Indus were ruled by Parthian satraps, who were busy fighting each other, until the last remnants of Parthian rule were swept away by the Kushans. In the description of the West as it was between A.D. 25 and 125 which is contained in the Chinese *Annals of the Later Han* it is stated that the Kushan king Kozulokadphises, who was the first to create a united kingdom out of the principalities of the Yüeh-chih in Bactria, 'invaded Parthia and took hold of the territory of Kao-fu (Kabul).' The date of this event is disputed, but it must be later than the reign of Gundofarr.

The Kushan kingdom separated Parthia from China. But though they had no common frontier, commercial relations between the two countries were of such importance to both of them that diplomatic interchanges were frequent and regular. Embassies with presents and messages went to and fro, but China learnt little from them: at least the description of Parthia (An-hsi) in the *Annals of the Later Han* is short, vague and almost meaningless.

It is impossible to say how often the peace of the Parthian Empire was disturbed by foreign invasions of its eastern borders. But it can hardly have been a rare event in the life of Parthia, and we may conjecture that the Arsacids had to devote as much attention to the East as they did to the West. For example, the conflict between Izates, the pious Jewish proselyte of Adiabene, and Vologases I, as told by Josephus² can hardly be historical fact. The sudden retreat of Vologases after he received the alarming

¹ See Herzfeld, *op. cit.* pp. 98 *sqq.*, who would make the Parthian clan of the Surēn the enemies of the Atropatene dynasty in Parthia and responsible for Vonones and Tiridates as opponents of Artabanus. To the present writer it seems more probable that the creation of Gundofarr's kingdom and the establishment of a Parthian dynasty in Sacastene, the Punjab and the Indus valley was achieved by Artabanus and Gundofarr in concert. Later in Gundofarr's reign his kingdom may have become practically independent like Hyrcania and Persis, though it may have remained in name part of the Parthian Empire. He took the title Great King of Kings.

² *Ant.* xx [4, 2], 81-91.

news of an invasion of the Dahae and Sacae into Parthyene savours of a miracle. The hand of God is seen in it. Yet the setting of the story must be regarded as probable, so that an invasion of the northern 'Scythians' was a phenomenon familiar to all the readers of Izates' history in the Parthian Empire.

Of much concern to the Parthian kings were their relations with the large nominally vassal kingdoms on the borders of Parthia. One of them was Sacastene, another Persis (see above, p. 111 *sq.*). There is no doubt that wars against such stubborn and powerful vassals happened frequently. The same is true of Hyrcania. We hear that in A.D. 58 a Hyrcanian king sent an embassy to Corbulo and offered his help (vol. x, p. 704). What was the status of Hyrcania later we do not know.

All told, it cannot be denied that the Arsacids were on the whole successful in their endeavour to defend the integrity and the independence of their empire. The Sassanians were more successful than their predecessors—their neighbours were not so strong—but their general policy was exactly the same as that of the Arsacids.

IV. PARTHIA: CONSTITUTION AND ADMINISTRATION

The leading feature of the Parthian State in the time of the Roman Empire was, as before, the feudal character of its empire (see vol. ix, pp. 588 *sqq.*). It continued to include the large, nominally vassal, kingdoms of Armenia, Media Atropatene, Hyrcania, Sacastene and Persis, of which Armenia and Media were ruled by members of the Arsacid house, the others retaining their own dynasties. These kingdoms had in all probability the same feudal structure as the other parts of the Parthian Empire and that empire itself, and this is borne out by later information about Armenia and Persis. Of these major kingdoms two only, Persis and Sacastene, struck their own coins. Next in rank came the minor kingdoms. We have information about some of them, especially Adiabene, Osrhoëne, Elymaïs and Spasinu Charax, which last may be the same as the kingdom of Mesene. These vassal-kingdoms might differ in rank. Thus Adiabene, whose king was granted the rights of a first-class vassal monarch by Artabanus III, of wearing the upright tiara and using the golden couch, was degraded to the second class by Vologases I when its king received a second-class insignia—the diadem, ring and sword of State. Adiabene never coined money, while both Mesene and Elymaïs had their own coinage. Strabo and Josephus, drawing

upon local sources, enable us to form a good idea, for example, of the social structure of Adiabene¹. At the death of a king his queen, according to Josephus, summons the *megistanes* (the heads of the powerful clans²), the satraps³, and those in charge of the armed forces, comprising the middle and lower nobility⁴.

Not very much different from the vassal-kingdoms were the satrapies or provinces of the Parthian Empire which were ruled not by kings but by satraps (*marzban* or *marzapan*), who were styled in the Greek version of their title *strategoi*⁵. Each satrapy had one or more ruling houses, whose heads were the feudal lords of many villages and cities. Such were the Surēn, who had large estates in Mesopotamia and perhaps became the ruling dynasty of Sacastene (p. 112), the Karēn of Media whose lands lay near Nihawand, the Gewpathran (or Geopothroi) of Hyrcania and the Mīhrān of Media near Rhagae, who appear also as a ruling house in Iberia in the third century A.D.⁶ Naturally enough, since the Parthian army consisted of retinues of feudal lords, the Parthian kings would appoint the heads of powerful clans to be governors of their several countries, thus making the position of a satrap almost a hereditary office. In Mesopotamia, for instance, most of the governors known to us have names which were probably hereditary in the clan of the Surēn—Monaeses, Abdagaeses, Sinnaces, Silaces. A Monaeses often appears active in Mesopotamia: it is possible that the Surēn who defeated Crassus had the name of Monaeses, next comes the Monaeses of Antony's time, then another Monaeses general of Vologases I in A.D. 64 and finally a Monaeses at Doura in A.D. 121. Equally frequent are the names Silaces and Sinnaces (in 88 B.C., in 53 B.C. and in the time of Tiberius and Artabanus) and there is a Sinnaca near Carrhae. These names appear, too, in the Acts of the Oriental Apostle Addai. To the same category of feudal lords probably belonged the Parthian governors and generals with Greek names like Hiero

¹ xvi, 745 sq.; *Ant.* xx [2], 17-33.

² Usually called *συγγενεῖς* in Greek, *vāspuhr* in Iranian.

³ *στρατηγοί* and *γεγεάρχει* in Agathangelus I, p. 112, sect. 6.

⁴ Iranian *vasurkan* and *azatan*.

⁵ A document from Doura (of A.D. 121) gives in Greek translation the full title of one of these provincial governors: τῶν βατῆσα καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ἀνδρῶν(?) παρ[απ]άτου καὶ στρατηγοῦ Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Παραποταμίας καὶ Ἀραβάρχου. The restorations are by Ensslin and Mlaker (*Phil. Woch.* 1933, cols. 268 sq. According to Mlaker παραπύτης may be a transliteration of pāhragbēd: 'head of the guard' (cf. ἀρκαπύτης).

⁶ O. G. von Wesendonk, *The Georgian Chronicle K'urt 'lis ts'howreba* in *Klio*, xxi, 1927, pp. 125 sqq.

and Demonax of the time of Artabanus III. Beside the higher nobility stood in each satrapy the middle and lower nobility, who served in the army as officers and horsemen.

Within the satrapies there were many semi-independent units, ethnical or urban. Such were the Arab phylarchs of Mesopotamia, who sometimes became masters of Greek and Oriental cities and assumed the title of kings. The best known are the kings of the Macedonian colony of Edessa, the Abgars. Of the same type were Sporaces, the phylarch of Anthemusias and ruler of the city of Batnae, Mannus the lord of Singara, Manisarus of Gordyene and the kings who ruled in Hatra, all of the time of Trajan. In the province of Babylonia, beside Mesene and Characene, there were many petty kingdoms, for instance that of Hadadnadin-akh¹ at Tello, and those of Nippur and perhaps Forat. The same may be said of tyrants in the Greek cities, as Andromachus in Carrhae and Apollonius at Zenodotium in 53 B.C. In this connection the story of the ephemeral Jewish petty kingdom of Babylonia, the robber kingdom of Asinai and Anilai, appears as natural and cannot be used as evidence of anarchy marking the last years of Artabanus' rule. The formation of a Jewish phylarchy in Babylonia does not differ very much from the formation of the phylarchy of Edessa or of Hatra. It is very probable that the successful brothers were recognized by Artabanus in return for a good round sum, and, like Abgar of Edessa in the time of Pacorus II, they might have boasted of holding their land by right of purchase (*χώρα ἀνητή*, p. 119).

The Greek cities of Macedonian origin which were not transformed into petty monarchies also formed self-governing units within the satrapies (vol. ix, p. 595). Of their life and constitution little is known. Of the many cities of this type² we have information about Seleuceia on the Tigris³, the greatest and the richest of them, about Seleuceia on the Eulaeus (Susa) and about Europus (Doura). Babylon, Uruk and Nineveh probably belonged to the same class. New and important evidence yielded by excavations is shedding more and more light on Susa and Doura. It must not

¹ *C.I.S.* II, I, 72.

² See Map 4 in vol. VII.

³ On its constitution see vol. IX, p. 595. A recently discovered fragmentary inscription of the time of Antiochus II attests the existence at Seleuceia of priests of the dynastic cult, of a *hieromnemon*, a *tamias* and an *agonothetes*. It may be assumed that these continued under Parthia. See R. H. McDowell, *Stamped and inscribed objects from Seleucia on the Tigris*, pp. 258 sqq. On the vicissitudes of the city under Parthia and the effect of its party-warfare on Parthian history see McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, pp. 216 sqq.

be forgotten that when Parthia became the mistress of the Macedonian cities they were already military settlements with a population of soldiers who had a good military training and warlike spirit. All of them had large tracts of land assigned to them, and their residents were most of them well-to-do landowners who, in fighting the enemies of the Seleucids, were defending their own homes and their own privileged position. Under Parthia they retained their military and agricultural character. The Macedonian colonists remained masters of their own cities and owners of their allotments of land. Neither Seleucia on the Eulaeus nor Europus on the Euphrates had Parthian garrisons, such as those that held other fortresses built by Parthia or of Oriental origin (*e.g.* Paliga to the north of Europus and probably the modern Amka to the south). The Greek cities were defended by their own residents, usually under Greek commanders. At Doura these belonged to the local aristocracy, where the offices of *strategos* and *epistates* or *strategos genearches* (the last probably meaning *ethnarches*) seem to have belonged to one particular family¹. *Strategoi* and *epistatai* are also found at Babylon and Nineveh and probably at Uruk². Whether they were appointed by the king or elected by the citizens is unknown; more probably, like the feudal lords of other cities, they were nominated by the king. One thing is certain, that they were subordinate to the provincial governors.

Alongside these military presidents there probably existed in all the Macedonian cities the regular machinery of a Greek city-state, with magistrates, *boule* and *demos*. *Bouleutai* are attested at Doura by several inscriptions, as are also *agoranomoi*, *chreophylakes* and *kerykes*. Two recently discovered parchments³ give a very good picture of the composition of the 'royal court' (*βασιλικὸν δικαστήριον*) at Doura with two or three 'royal judges,' an *eisagogeus* and a *praktor*. The judges were probably appointed by the king but belonged to the local aristocracy. Many of the governors of the cities and the judges bore court titles, and it is probable that some of these prominent Macedonians and Greeks were occasionally appointed governors of provinces and commanders of royal armies. The situation at Susa, the capital of the

¹ *Graffiti* found in 1935 in the house of the leading family of Doura, the Lysiae and Seleuci, confirm the view in the text, which in the main is that of J. Johnson, *Dura Studies*, 1932. Cf. M. Holleaux in *B.C.H.* LVII, 1933, p. 28, no. 1. M. Rostovtzeff in *J.H.S.* LV, 1935, p. 57.

² Babylon, *O.G.I.S.* 254; Nineveh, R. W. Hutchinson in *Archaeol.* LXXIX, 1929, pp. 140 *sqq.*

³ *Dura*, Perg. 21 and 40.

and Demonax of the time of Artabanus III. Beside the higher nobility stood in each satrapy the middle and lower nobility, who served in the army as officers and horsemen.

Within the satrapies there were many semi-independent units, ethnical or urban. Such were the Arab phylarchs of Mesopotamia, who sometimes became masters of Greek and Oriental cities and assumed the title of kings. The best known are the kings of the Macedonian colony of Edessa, the Abgars. Of the same type were Sporaces, the phylarch of Anthemusias and ruler of the city of Batnae, Mannus the lord of Singara, Manisarus of Gordyene and the kings who ruled in Hatra, all of the time of Trajan. In the province of Babylonia, beside Mesene and Characene, there were many petty kingdoms, for instance that of Hadadnadin-akh¹ at Tello, and those of Nippur and perhaps Forat. The same may be said of tyrants in the Greek cities, as Andromachus in Carrhae and Apollonius at Zenodotium in 53 B.C. In this connection the story of the ephemeral Jewish petty kingdom of Babylonia, the robber kingdom of Asinai and Anilai, appears as natural and cannot be used as evidence of anarchy marking the last years of Artabanus' rule. The formation of a Jewish phylarchy in Babylonia does not differ very much from the formation of the phylarchy of Edessa or of Hatra. It is very probable that the successful brothers were recognized by Artabanus in return for a good round sum, and, like Abgar of Edessa in the time of Pacorus II, they might have boasted of holding their land by right of purchase (*χώρα ἀνητή*, p. 119).

The Greek cities of Macedonian origin which were not transformed into petty monarchies also formed self-governing units within the satrapies (vol. IX, p. 595). Of their life and constitution little is known. Of the many cities of this type² we have information about Seleuceia on the Tigris³, the greatest and the richest of them, about Seleuceia on the Eulaeus (Susa) and about Europus (Doura). Babylon, Uruk and Nineveh probably belonged to the same class. New and important evidence yielded by excavations is shedding more and more light on Susa and Doura. It must not

¹ *C.I.S.* II, I, 72.

² See Map 4 in vol. VII.

³ On its constitution see vol. IX, p. 595. A recently discovered fragmentary inscription of the time of Antiochus II attests the existence at Seleuceia of priests of the dynastic cult, of a *hieromnemon*, a *tamias* and an *agonothetes*. It may be assumed that these continued under Parthia. See R. H. McDowell, *Stamped and inscribed objects from Seleucia on the Tigris*, pp. 258 sqq. On the vicissitudes of the city under Parthia and the effect of its party-warfare on Parthian history see McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, pp. 216 sqq.

kings, often tried in the first century A.D. to turn the tables by setting up a pretender with the help of Rome. In Rome these nobles regularly complained of 'atrocities,' as in the reigns of Phraates IV, of Artabanus III and of Gotarzes. The background of these atrocities was either the struggle of the king with a clan or party which opposed him or a struggle for a more centralized form of government in general.

Parallel to this struggle with the nobility went a like struggle with the vassal lords of smaller and larger kingdoms. This may be reflected in the coinage of the kingdom of Elymaïs. The coins of the hereditary dynasts of the Elymaïs (Kamnaskires) show, in the late first century, B.C. and in the first century A.D., such a deterioration of type that it may reasonably be supposed that at this time the dynasty had but a shadowy existence¹. Later, at the end of the first century, a new dynasty appears with Parthian royal names (Orodes, Phraates and perhaps Osroes). It may be suggested that in the times of the Parthian kings Orodes, Phraates and Artabanus the old dynasty of Elymaïs may have lost its former importance and that finally the native kings were replaced by members of the Arsacid family. Coins reflect similar phenomena in the dynasty which was ruling in Spasinu Charax. After Attambelos III, that is, after A.D. 71-2, there is a gap in the sequence of Characene coins which lasts until 100-1. About the same time the list of Characene kings used by the source of the *Macrobioi* attributed to Lucian gives the name of Artabazus as restored to his throne by the Parthians. The name is foreign to the Characene dynasty and does not appear on the coins. It may be suggested that Artabazus was a Parthian nominee who ruled twice, each time for a short while. Being practically a Parthian governor he did not strike coins. He may have been appointed by Vologases I and restored by Pacorus II. After this episode the old dynasty was restored, probably for a very short time. It gave place later to a new dynasty with new Semitic names which used Aramaic exclusively on their coins. The relation in which this dynasty stood to the later Arsacids is not known.

Slight as is our knowledge of the history of the other lesser kingdoms, there are indications that intervention by Parthia or by Rome was not rare. In the time of Vologases I a conflict arose between Adiabene and Parthia which apparently led to a war, and in a later reign, probably that of Vologases II, Adiabene became

¹ A like phenomenon may be observed in the coins of Persis. Some scholars assume that there was a gap in this coinage coinciding with the reigns of Orodes and Phraates IV.

a satrapy instead of a kingdom. So at the time of Trajan the king of Edessa held his kingdom from Pacorus II by right of purchase (p. 115), whereas it seems to have been ruled before by the kings of Adiabene. He went over to the Romans and probably lost his life in the revolt of 116. Hadrian placed on the throne Parthaspates, ruler of Osrhoëne, whom Trajan had sought to make king of Parthia. In 123 the former dynasty of Edessa was restored under Parthian overlordship only to become vassal to Rome after the expedition of L. Verus. It retained this status until Edessa was made a Roman provincial city by Caracalla¹.

We may finally observe attempts to control parts of the kingdom which became too strong and too independent in the relations between the Arsacids and the more considerable Greek cities of their kingdom. Seleuceia on the Tigris may serve as the best example. We hear that the city was strong enough to challenge the kings, and indeed rebellions of Seleuceia against the Arsacids were probably not uncommon. We may connect with them the autonomous coinage of the city in 88 B.C. and again in A.D. 14-15, the last perhaps connected with the reform of Seleuceia's constitution by Artabanus III, whereby power was given to a group of citizens which formed the *boule*. This encroachment on the democratic constitution of the city may have led to the recognition of the pretender Tiridates in the closing years of Artabanus and to the revolt against Artabanus which was put down after a long siege by Vardanes in A.D. 42-3. The vicissitudes of this struggle are reflected in the autonomous coins of the city in 39-40 and 41-2 and the city coins with the portrait of Vardanes and the figure of the *boule*.

The forces of this feudal empire continued to consist mainly of the private armies of the satraps and of the vassal kings, but the nucleus of the army was certainly the king's own troops, and a strong body of guards, largely foreigners, were always at hand in the palace. There were, besides, the garrisons of the Greek cities, though we never hear that Greeks were mobilized to form a field army. Sometimes in case of need the army was reinforced by mercenary units. The Parthian army was an array of horsemen—heavy *clibanarii* and cataphracts and light *sagittarii* recruited mostly from the lesser nobility of small landowners. They often used the lasso as well as the bow, spear and sword. None the less, the Parthian kings were not blind to the occasional need of infantry.

¹ Important evidence for the constitution and civilization of Edessa in the third century is provided by a parchment found at Doura but written at Edessa; A. R. Bellinger and C. B. Welles in *Yale Class. Stud.* v, 1935, pp. 95 sqq.

At times they called up their vassals from the mountains and formed strong armies of foot-soldiers. Thus according to the chronicle of Arbela an army of 20,000 foot was concentrated at Ctesiphon when the Alani invaded Parthia in A.D. 134. A new form of cavalry, perhaps borrowed from the Roman *dromedarii*, was the corps of cataphracts mounted on camels which was used by Artabanus V against Caracalla. Finally the introduction of new devices and especially of engines of war into the Parthian army is plausibly ascribed by Herodian to former Roman soldiers who, as captives or deserters, were incorporated in one capacity or another into the Parthian army. In addition, the Macedonian colonists of the Parthian cities had inherited a good training in the arts of war¹. The Arsacids were not wild nomads in their warfare, and if they kept to their army of horse it was because it was a strong weapon well adapted to the needs of the Empire.

V. PARTHIA: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Of the economic and social life of the Parthian Empire we know very little. It doubtless varied from kingdom to kingdom, from satrapy to satrapy, from city to city. The most prominent feature is again the feudal structure of both social and economic life with the great feudatories leading, with the minor feudal lords holding cities and villages, with small free landowners cultivating their holdings and with bondmen working for both large and small landowners. Some estates were owned, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, by the Magi. The conditions of Mesopotamia may serve as an example. Isidore of Charax enumerates along the Euphrates a number of stations on the great commercial and military road. We find here a curious mixture of settlements: Macedonian colonies of which the best known is Doura-Europus, villages surrounding or adjacent to Parthian fortresses like Paliga, temples with their territories and their hereditary priests, smaller and larger villages. The documents found at Doura show that there were many villages in the territory of this city. The nucleus of the Greek cities was formed by the Macedonian colonists, well-to-do landowners, holders of their ancient *kleroi* which were hereditary in their families. Side by side with them may have lived Parthian dignitaries possessing larger or smaller estates and rich Semitic families engaged in trade and industry, owners of shops in the

¹ The Sassanians took over these methods from the Parthians, *e.g.* the art of taking cities by sapping and mining. For the details of the capture of Doura in A.D. 256 see *Dura*, Rep. VI (Du Mesnil du Buisson).

souks of the city and owners or leaseholders of parcels of cultivated land. Finally, there were many small landowners and tenants, and a number of slaves. Their relations to each other were regulated by laws which in Mesopotamia are Greek in character, perhaps with an admixture of Babylonian elements. No general regulations by the central power are noticeable in the few business documents which we possess, most of them from Doura and Babylonia. In Doura most of them are written in good Greek but the recent excavations have yielded also documents in Syriac (from Edessa), Palmyrene and Pahlavi (vol. ix, p. 589). In Babylonia the cuneiform script still obtains on the clay tablets as long as they last, while the parchment documents were probably written in Aramaic, the *lingua franca* of the time. In Atropatene both Greek and Pahlavi were used. The general impression is that the central government did not interfere with local economic, social and legal life. Whether as in the times of the Seleucids there existed taxes which were imposed and levied by the central government we do not know. We are equally ignorant how large were the payments of the various parts of the kingdom to the treasury of the central government, or how they were organized. It seems in one instance that the Arsacids were inclined to sell the right of collecting the taxes to the ruler of a given country or satrapy¹. It is unfortunate that we are so poorly informed on one of the most important sources of revenue of the Arsacids, the customs duties levied from the caravans. Here again the most probable hypothesis is that the kings used their vassals to collect these dues and included them in the general tribute of the kingdoms, satrapies and cities.

The wealth of the Arsacids and of the richest vassal-kingdoms and cities of the Parthian Empire depended largely on the flourishing caravan trade between Parthia and China and India on one hand and Parthia and the Roman Empire on the other (pp. 122 *sqq.*). It is well known how important was the foreign commerce of the Roman Empire and how much attention was paid by the Chinese emperors of the Han dynasty to the development of their foreign trade with the North and the West. The excavations at Loulan in Chinese Turkestan and the Chinese historical records² give us an excellent picture of it. Both the Chinese and the Romans were eager to enter into direct relations with each other. But the Parthian kings and probably the Kushans and the Sogdians were too much interested in keeping the trade in their own hands to

¹ This is apparently the meaning of Arrian's statement (*Parth. frag.* 45 R.) that Pacorus II sold Osrhoëne to its king.

² *Annals of the Later Han*, 98, cf. *Annals of the Former Han*, 96.

allow Roman merchants and ambassadors to penetrate into China. On the contrary they tried hard to prevent any direct relations between the two countries. There are bitter complaints of them in the Chinese writers. And yet information about the great trade route and the two Empires of the West and of the East penetrated into the two countries through Parthian channels. Though the merchants of Palmyra never penetrated farther than the lowlands of Babylonia enterprising traders, probably Parthian subjects, tried to establish direct relations between China and Babylonia and perhaps between China and the Roman Empire. One of these was Maes Titianus, a Macedonian, who sent an expedition to China and gave the geographical material which this expedition collected to Marinus of Tyre, the main source of Ptolemy. Maes was certainly not from Palmyra, where no Macedonians are known. It is hard to believe that he was a Roman subject, for if he were, the Parthians would certainly have prevented him, as they prevented others, from penetrating into China. It is, therefore, probable that he belonged to one of the Macedonian colonies of the Parthian Empire, a rich merchant who had commercial relations both with China and the Roman Empire. The Chinese counterpart and contemporary of Maes was the agent of the general Pan-Ch'ao, Kan Ying by name, who according to the *Annals of the Later Han* penetrated as far as Spasinu Charax in his attempt to reach Ta-ch'in (the Syrian provinces of the Roman Empire and South Arabia¹) and thus to establish direct relations between China and the 'Far West.' The Parthians frightened him by describing the horrors of a long sea voyage around Arabia. It was only by sea that the Romans were able to come into direct contact with China. Sporadic attempts are attested for A.D. 120 and then for A.D. 166 when an 'embassy' of Marcus Aurelius is recorded to have visited China.

The great land trade-routes which ran through Parthia connecting China and India with the West were certainly one of the chief concerns of the Arsacids. How successful they were in their control of them is shown by the fact that the Asiatic caravan roads described by Isidore of Charax and Ptolemy, which ended in Babylonia and from there ran up the Tigris and the Euphrates to the confines of the Roman Empire, were by far the most important arteries of commerce at that time, much more important than the Caspian route across the Caucasus or the steppe route to the north

¹ For the meaning of Ta-ch'in and Fu-lin in the Chinese sources see H. H. Schaeder, *Iranica* in *Gött. Abh.* III, 10, 1934, pp. 24 *sqq.* esp. p. 25 n. 1.

of the Caspian through the Aorsi (Alani). The Parthian roads rivalled the maritime route from India and Arabia to Spasinu Charax and Forat in supplying the Roman Empire with a large portion of its imports from China and India. Even with Egypt Parthia maintained lively trade connections, as may be seen from the relations between Palmyra and Egypt and the information which we have on Scythianus and Terebinthus, the forerunners of Mani in Egypt, and on the rapid spread of Manichaeism in Egypt¹.

To the caravan trade of Parthia three great cities, namely, Vologasia in Babylonia, Hatra in Mesopotamia and Palmyra in the Syrian desert owed their existence, while many other towns, among them Seleuceia, Babylon, Forat and lesser cities on the Tigris or Euphrates, such as Doura, not to mention Singara, Nisibis and Edessa, owed to it much of their prosperity. It is probable that the Arsacids viewed the advance of Seleuceia with an unfriendly eye and sought to direct the trade from Palmyra to Vologasia and Spasinu Charax². Here, and at Babylon before Vologasia was founded, were the most important settlements of Palmyrene merchants. The founding of Vologasia and the almost contemporary creation of Ctesiphon as the royal residence and military centre of the Parthian Empire combined to undermine the prestige of Seleuceia.

What slight knowledge we possess of the organization of Parthian trade is mainly derived from Chinese sources. The traveller Chang Ch'ien declares that 'their market folk and merchants travel in carts and boats³ to the neighbouring countries perhaps several thousand li distant,' and this is repeated in the *Annals of the Former Han*. These Annals stress the fact that such countries as Chi-pin (? Sacastene), K'ang-chü (Sogdiana) and Ta-wan (Fergana) strove to keep on good terms with China chiefly because of their trade. To all these alike, including the Parthians, may be applied what is said of the people of Ta-wan, that 'they are clever traders and dispute about the division of a farthing.' The discoveries at Lou-lan, the military post and caravan station of China in Chinese Turkestan, and at Palmyra, the queen of the Syrian desert (p. 631), may be adduced to show how the wise Chinese

¹ C. Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten*. Sitz. d. Berl. Akad. 1933, 12; cf. E. Peterson in *Byz. Zeitschr.* xxxiv, 1934, p. 380.

² It is significant that in the many texts that speak of Palmyrene trade Seleuceia is probably mentioned only once and that for a very early date.

³ The mention of carts, as in Palmyra, suggests the care taken of the great roads, while the boats may reflect not only maritime relations with Arabia and India but also the use of the great rivers, especially the Oxus.

in the East and the shrewd Semites in the West handed on their wares to Sogdian, Bactrian and Parthian traders, who carried on this commerce by the same methods as those from whom they thus received it.

VI. PARTHIA: RELIGION, LITERATURE, ART

The official religion of the Parthian royal house was Mazdaism, at least since the reign of Vologases I, who made a new edition of the *Avesta* and had it provided with a running commentary in Pahlavi¹. Herein he was true to the great Iranian traditions of Atropatene, the home of his dynasty, and his brother Tiridates made clear his adhesion to Mazdaean tenets (vol. x, pp. 550, 772). In the Iranian Epos both Vologases (Vistaspa) and Tiridates (Spaniyād) appear as champions of the new religion against paganism. In all this we may perhaps detect a deliberate reaction against the syncretistic and Hellenistic tendencies of their predecessors, especially Phraates IV and Phraataces and the pretenders supported by Rome. On Parthian coins the titles *Theopater* and *Theos* disappear, while that of *Epiphanes*, which does not make so explicit a claim to divinity, persists. Indeed the title *Theos*, first used by Phraates III, was revived but once in this period and that for Musa, the mother of Phraataces². The Greek poems found at Susa go farther in stressing the divine nature of Phraates IV than would have been acceptable to a good Zoroastrian even from his Greek subjects. The Parthian kings, it is true, never abandoned such elements of the official worship of the king as they inherited from the Achaemenids, but it appears not improbable that the last Arsacids of the old line had pressed this tendency too far, and that the dynasty from Atropatene marks a reaction to the older tradition. At the same time, the kings and probably the Magi, of whose organization in this period hardly anything is known, did not fail in reverence to their ancestral gods, whom they may have regarded as emanations of the great Ahura-Mazda. Chief among these was the Sun and Moon, and it is to be noted that coins of Persis, where the kings were notably orthodox Mazdaeans, show the symbol of the crescent moon on the royal tiara³, as did the coins of the Sacastene kings and their successors the Kushans (vol. ix, pp. 593 *sqq.*).

¹ The *Dinkart*, iv, 24. The statement that these books with their commentaries existed by the second century A.D. is borne out by the fact that Mani, the contemporary of Artabanus V, is well acquainted with them.

² See Volume of Plates iv, 200, *d.*

³ *Ib.* 8, *n.*

The religious beliefs of the masses of the people throughout the Parthian Empire are quite another matter. But evidence is lacking to decide how large a part of the Iranian population were Mazdaeans or what kind of Mazdaism, if any, was offered to them by the numerous and powerful Magi, the clergy of the Empire. Nor is it easy to tell how far Mazdaean and Iranian religion in general influenced the cults and faith of the non-Iranian subjects of Parthia. But one thing is certain, the Arsacids were no fanatics and did not seek to impose their own religion on their subjects. In Assyria, for instance, local cults persisted, and new temples were built to the ancient gods. The same is true of Doura, where even the Seleucid dynastic cults continued under Parthian rule¹, and of Susa. What we find in these Greek cities is not the introduction of Iranian cults and the building of fire-temples, but the supplementing of Greek cults by Semitic even among the inhabitants who still spoke Greek and had Greek names.

How far Iranian doctrine and practice affected the various Semitic religions is also a question. At Doura, for instance, where all the temples found are dedicated to gods with Semitic names, it is probable that a slight Iranian influence was perceptible, which through a kind of syncretism made it possible for Iranians to take part in the worship of Semitic gods. The Babylonian Bel and his acolytes, the gods of the Sun and the Moon, may well have been in one way or another identified with Ahura-Mazda and the corresponding Iranian gods of the pre-Zoroastrian Pantheon, one of whom was Mithra. The tolerance of the Parthian kings extended beyond the ancient worships of the Empire to proselytizing foreign religions, especially Judaism and Christianity. In Adiabene, if we may trust the Jewish tradition, they did not demur when the ruling dynasty embraced Judaism, and any persecution of the Christians in the same vassal-state was the work of the local Magi and not of the central government or its representatives.

Little is known of the intellectual life of the Parthian Empire. The citizens of the Greek cities kept intact their native language and probably gave to their children a Greek education or at least an education in Greek. Many citizens of Seleuceia on the Eulaeus (Susa) must have been fond of Greek poetry, to judge from the four poems that have been discovered there, and no doubt they studied the classical poets of Greece in order to be able themselves to compose. The excellent style of King Artabanus' letter to the magistrates of that city (p. 117 n. 1) shows that the Greek secretaries of the Parthian kings, who were probably of Mesopotamian

¹ See M. Rostovtzeff, *C. R. Ac. Inscr.* 1935, pp. 300 sqq.

origin, were well trained in schools which kept alive the Seleucid traditions of Greek rhetoric. A like familiarity with the Greek language and the same degree of education are shown by the much more modest scribes of Doura, who are found writing a correct Greek style as late as the second century A.D. The same is true for Media Atropatene. Literary and stylistic interests seem to have been keener in Babylonia than in upper Mesopotamia. No metrical inscriptions in Greek comparable to those of Susa have been found at Doura, and most of the non-official inscriptions show that the population at large—in this unlike the professional scribes—spoke a highly debased and semitized form of Greek.

The Greeks of the Parthian Empire did not lose their interest in learning. Apollodorus of Artemita, the late Hellenistic historian of Parthia, had successors of his own type, men who were born in Parthia but wrote for the educated people of the Graeco-Roman world. Such was Dionysius of Charax, the geographer, author of a description of the world, who wrote for Augustus a monograph on Parthia and Arabia (vol. x, p. 253). Such was another writer used by the elder Pliny, Isidore of Charax, whose date and identity are uncertain. We still possess his *Parthian Stations*, in which he describes the great military and caravan route down the Euphrates and across Parthia to India. It is a work doubtless based on Parthian official itineraries, and we have quotations from his other writings in Pliny, Athenaeus and the author of the *Macrobioi* (p. 118). The last quotation shows that he gave lists of kings of Parthia, Persis, Elymaïs, Spasinu Charax and the Yemen. The list of kings of Charax which goes down to a time which coincides with the gap in our numismatic evidence between A.D. 71/2 and 100/1 may be taken as evidence that Isidore was a contemporary of Pliny and not to be identified with Dionysius of Charax. Finally a similar work may have been used by Josephus, perhaps a *Parthica* written by a hellenized Jew of Mesopotamia in which special attention was paid to the destinies of the Jews and of the kings of Adiabene who were converts to Judaism. To the same class of Mesopotamian educated Greeks belonged Maes Titianus and his agents (p. 122).

Greek education and Greek learning certainly affected some of the natives, both Iranians and non-Iranians. The most splendid example is the great teacher Mani, who certainly had a good Greek philosophical training. But we are not entitled to ascribe exclusively to Greek influence the literary activity of those subjects of the Parthian kings who never received a Greek education. Thus it is improbable that the acquaintance with Parthian history

of Abel the Teacher, the source of *Mešihâ-zekha*, who wrote about A.D. 550 a local ecclesiastical chronicle of Arbela, was derived from Greek works. It probably goes back to a Parthian chronicle or annals which embodied the official tradition of Parthian history. It may be assumed that similar chronicles existed in most of the vassal-kingdoms and formed with the Parthian annals the historical substructure of such works as the life of Addai, the apostle of Adiabene and Osrhoëne, and the lists of Arsacid kings which are found in Dionysius of Tellmahre for Osrhoëne and in Mar Abas and Moses of Choarene for Armenia, as well as those cited in the *Macrobioi*. It was probably not Greeks who kept the itineraries of the Parthian kingdom which were used by Isidore and the agents of Maes Titianus. All these semi-official, semi-literary records perished when the Sassanians replaced the Arsacids, and yet their memory survived—for the West in the works of Western historians, for the East in the epic poetry, whose most glorious heroes are reflections of the Arsacids and of their vassals.

More or less the same conditions prevailed with Parthian art. As in the field of religion we must clearly distinguish between the imperial art of the court and the Iranian art of the Arsacid period in general on the one hand and the art of the various non-Iranian kingdoms and satrapies of Parthia on the other. Both the Iranian, and what may be called the provincial, art of the Parthian Empire are very little known and studied, but an analysis of the extant monuments shows that the common view of Parthian art as a degeneration of Greek art is mistaken. A peculiar and original Iranian art, which included a flourishing imperial art, did exist and shows but very few Greek elements. This Iranian art exercised a strong influence both on the art of the non-Iranian parts of the empire and on that of its eastern neighbours, especially China. What we know of the provincial art of Parthia and its Iranian features is derived from the many objects found in North India and in Mesopotamia, especially in Babylonia, at Susa, at Hatra¹, at Assur and at Doura.

The greatest contribution that the Parthian Empire made to art was in the field of architecture. The excavations of the Parthian city of Assur and the study of the Parthian monuments there and at Hatra prove that the so-called *liwan*-palace with its peculiar plan and stucco decoration which is so typical for the Sassanian period is of Parthian origin. All the essential parts of the palace and all the peculiar features of its decoration are brilliantly exemplified in both cities, and they certainly had a deep

¹ See Volume of Plates iv, 20.

influence on Mesopotamian architecture of the same period as we find it in Babylon and at Doura. How far back we can trace the development of the *liwan*-palace in the pre-Parthian period it is difficult to say. The same is true of another peculiar form of Iranian architecture—the fire-temple. It is certain that the Sassanian fire-temples repeat the plan and the system of decoration of earlier temples of the same type.

It is beyond doubt that both sculpture and painting flourished in Iranian lands in the Parthian period. Very few monuments are extant, but they suffice to show that both religious and secular sculpture and painting were cultivated in the Parthian Empire by Iranian artists¹. In the field of religious art may be adduced the religious paintings and sculptures of Doura and the religious sculptures of Palmyra, especially the recently discovered painted bas-reliefs of the temple of Bel². They cannot be derived from either Greek or Assyrian art alone. Indeed, their style and composition show striking resemblances with those of scattered religious sculptures of the Parthian period in Iranian lands and of the impressive religious sculptures of Nimrud Dagh of half-Iranian Commagene in the first century B.C., both of which show many purely Achaemenid features³. It may, therefore, be suggested that the religious paintings and sculptures of Doura and Palmyra are to be regarded as products of late Iranian art which flourished in both Iranian and Syro-Anatolian regions in Hellenistic times and was ultimately a direct continuation of the late Graeco-Persian art of the fifth, fourth and third centuries B.C.⁴

The same is true of secular art. The portraits of the kings on the Parthian coins have always been regarded as products of genuine Greek art. Yet the style of these portraits is Graeco-Iranian rather than Greek, as is proved by a comparison with products of Graeco-Iranian toreutics in South Russia and with the Graeco-Iranian sculptures of Nimrud Dagh. A glance at the contemporary coins of the Hellenistic kings will suffice to show

¹ A close study of the paintings of the Synagogue at Doura will probably show that at least one part of them was painted by Iranian artists. Some of these are mentioned in Pahlavi *dipinti* of the Elijah and Esther scenes. See M. Rostovtzeff in *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XLII, 1934, p. 213 and *Dura*, Rep. VI (A. Pagliaro). Manichaeism, a genuine Parthian movement, was fond of pictures. See Andreas-Henning in *Sitz. d. Berl. Akad.* 1933, pp. 301 *sqq.*; Schaefer, *op. cit.* pp. 71 *sqq.*

² See Volume of Plates v, 26, a, b.

³ *Ib.* iv, 30 a, b.

⁴ Cf. for Asia Minor the Phrygian and Lycian sculptures and Graeco-Persian gems, for North Syria and Phoenicia the columns and sarcophagi of Sidon and Cyprus.

how deep is the difference between them and the coins of the Parthian dynasty. Far more Iranian are secular sculptures and paintings, most of which illustrate episodes in the heroic epos of Iran. The bas-relief of Bihistun which represents the duel between Gotarzes and Meherdates was certainly not the first of its kind and shows no connection with Greek art¹. The same type of composition is found in South Russia in graves of the early Roman period in painting and in many *graffiti* and *dipinti* on the walls of temples and private houses in Doura². The same is true of another favourite motive of epic art in general—the hunting-scene—which recurs in this Iranian treatment at Doura, on bas-reliefs of the Iranian border lands and in South Russia³. They must derive, like the compositions of religious art, from late Achaemenid art, for the same types of composition and the same style are found on the Graeco-Persian gems. Finally a third favourite motif of epic art—the banquet scene—is often found on monuments of the Parthian period, in the bone-carvings of Olbia, the silver cups of Sacastene, the paintings and sculptures of Palmyra, Babylonia and Doura. This, too, goes back to the art of the Achaemenid period.

It is not the composition only that is characteristic for the Iranian art of the Parthian period. The monuments mentioned above show stylistic peculiarities which set them in a class apart. Some of these are typical of Oriental art in general; others, however, are peculiar to the Parthian period. One of these last is the flying gallop, another the strict frontality of the human figures, next come the elongated proportions of the bodies, a peculiar schematic treatment of the folds of their dress, a far-reaching neglect of the study of the human body and a growing linearity in its representation. Some minor peculiarities like special treatment of eyes, hair, beards and moustaches are equally typical of Parthian art. But its most striking peculiarity is the way in which intense spiritual rather than intellectual life is reflected especially in the eyes. Of this the figures of the priests of the well-known Conon fresco at Doura⁴ give a fine example, but the same trait is found in almost all the religious sculptures and paintings and in the portraits of this period both in the Iranian and the non-Iranian parts of the Parthian Empire.

Finally, though the minor arts of the Parthian period are little studied, here also Parthia created many new forms and devices.

¹ See Volume of Plates v, 28, *a*.

² *Ib.* iv, 26.

³ *Ib.* v, 24, *a*. Hunting scenes appear with the same treatment and peculiarities (the flying gallop) in China of the Han period.

⁴ See Volume of Plates v, 28, *b*.

The silver plate of this period presents new and peculiar features both in style and composition. A new type of plant-ornament takes hold of it, and figure compositions which show at the beginning strong Greek influences become gradually more and more iranized and use all the motives of the great secular art of Parthia: battles and hunting-scenes and banquets. A set of Sacian silver cups is especially rich and typical in its development¹. The same is true of the jewels of the Parthian period, especially of those of heavy silver inset with coloured stones which characterize both Palmyrene and Gandhara sculpture (both men and women are represented wearing them) and of which two sets were found in Doura² and some examples at Taxila. They all go back to Greek originals but show a development and tendencies of their own which lead gradually to the creation of new types, such as large and massive round and trapezoidal fibulae, characteristic chains with medallions, amulets and the like. One of the most striking features of this jewelry is its fondness for polychromy, which seems to be an ancient peculiarity of Iranian jewelry and may have been borrowed from Iran by Syria, where it flourished in the late Hellenistic and the Roman period. Finally, the Mesopotamian countries use a special type of glazed pottery different both from the contemporary Egyptian and Hellenistic glazed pottery and from the similar ware of China. Both the forms and ornaments of the pots and the type of the glaze show that Mesopotamian pottery forms a class in itself which attained such a rich development later in the Sassanian and Arab periods³. It is worthy of note that glaze was used in the Parthian times not only for vases but also for various types of coffins. In conclusion it may be said that most of the types of composition and, in great measure, the style of Parthian art were inherited and developed by the artists of the Sassanian period. Sassanian art thus appears, not as a sudden renaissance of what was Achaemenid, but as a natural continuation of the Iranian art of the Parthian period.

¹ See Volume of Plates v, 30, *a*.

² *Ib.* 30, *b*.

³ *Ib.* 32.

CHAPTER III

THE SARMATIANS AND PARTHIANS

PART I. THE SARMATIANS

I. ANCIENT SOURCES

A. *Literary Texts*(a) *Greek and Roman*

Our main information about the Sarmatians is derived partly from geographers and partly from historians, who often add to their narrative geographical and ethnographical excursuses. The earliest evidence comes from Ephorus, Pseudo-Scyla and Eudoxus of Cnidus. Later geographers, Posidonius, Pseudo-Scymnus and the late Hellenistic sources of Strabo, especially Artemidorus of Ephesus, and finally Strabo himself know the Sarmatians well. In most of the Roman geographers, however, hopeless confusion reigns between the Sarmatians of the present and the Sauromatians of the past, but Mela, Pliny, Lucan, Valerius Flaccus (the two last depend on some geographical treatise) and Dionysius Periegetes need consulting. Of great importance are the *Peripli* of the Pontus Euxinus of Arrian and of an anonymous writer and, of course, the descriptions of Ptolemy. Good sources were used by Ammianus Marcellinus for his geographical and ethnographical excursuses.

Among the historians Polybius, Posidonius, Polyænus and Josephus must be consulted for the Hellenistic period. The best information for early Roman times is contained in Tacitus, *Annals* and *Histories* (cf. *Germania*), supplemented by scattered notices in Suetonius and Dio. For the later period Dio and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (cf. Eutropius) mention the Sarmatians from time to time. Quite apart stands the report of Arrian on his expedition against the Alans, of which we have on chapter, "Ἐκταξίς κατ' Ἀλανῶν. Ovid gives in his *Ex Ponto* and *Tristia* (cf. *Ibis*) valuable pictures of a Greek city surrounded by barbarians, while the *Borysthenicus* of Dio Chrysostom shows another Greek city on the Black Sea (Olbia) already half Sarmatized. Finally, a novelistic picture of the life of Bosphorus in the Hellenistic age is presented by Lucian's Scythian dialogue—*Toxaris*; cf. the Scythian episode in a novel discovered recently, *Pap. Soc. Ital.* vol. VIII, no. 981; see R. M. Rattenbury in J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, 3rd Series, Oxford (1933), pp. 240 *sqq.*; and cf. Fr. Zimmermann in *Phil. Woch.* LV, 1935, cols. 1211 *sqq.*

The literary evidence on the Sarmatians of the Classical period has been carefully collected by B. Latyshev, *Scythica et Caucasica*, etc., I: *Scriptores Graeci*, II: *Scriptores Latini*, St Petersburg (1906) and illustrated by M. Rostovtzeff, *Skythien und der Bosphorus*, I, Berlin (1931), pp. 1-139.

(b) *Chinese.*

Shi Ki, ch. 123 (F. Hirth, in *Journ. Am. Orient. Soc.* XXXVII, 1917, pp. 89 *sqq.*).
Ch'ien Han Shu, ch. 96 (Wylie, in *Journ. of the Roy. Anthr. Inst.* X, 1881, pp. 21 *sqq.*).
Heou Han Shu, ch. 98 (Chavannes, in *T'oung Pao*, VIII, 1907, pp. 195 *sqq.*).

B. *Inscriptions*

The inscriptions of South Russia are collected by B. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Eugini*, I² (1916), II (1890), IV (1901), cf. vol. VIII, bibliography to ch. XVIII. Of inscriptions found outside Russia the most important texts are: *Re*

Gest. 31; Dessau 852-53, 986, 1017, 1098, 1117, 1326, and 1327, 2719, 9197. Cf. the coins of M. Aurelius and Commodus and of later Emperors with the title *Sarmaticus*, *C.I.L.* XII, 1122a (Alan horse). One *numerus* and several *alae Sarmatarum* were incorporated into the Roman army, see Cichorius in *P. W. s.v. ala*, cf. D. Árpád, *Inscriptiones ad res Pannonicas pertinentes extra provinciae fines repertae*, Budapest, 1932. Sarmatian slaves and their descendants called Sarmates are not infrequent in Greek and Latin inscriptions and papyri; cf., for example, Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, *s.v.* Σαρμάτας and Σαρμάτης.

C. Archaeological Material

Rostovtzeff, M. *Skythien und der Bosphorus*. I, Berlin, 1931 (with bibliography).

II. MODERN BOOKS

A. History

- Berthelot, A. *L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale d'après Ptolémée*. Paris, 1930.
 Bleichsteiner, R. *Das Volk der Alanen*. Ber. des Forschungsinstitut für Osten und Orient, II, 1918, p. 4.
 Herrmann, A. *Arts. s.v.* Jaxartae, Jaxamatae, Massagetae, and Tanais in *P.W.*
 Kretschmer, K. *Arts. s.v.* Sarmatae, Sarmatia, and Sirakes in *P.W.*
 Kulakovsky, J. *The Alans according to the Information derived from Classical and Byzantine Writers**. Kiev, 1899.
 Minns, E. H. *Scythians and Greeks*. Cambridge, 1913, pp. 113 sqq.
 Müllenhoff, K. *Deutsche Aleriumskunde*. III, Berlin, 1892.
 Niederle, L. *Slovanské Starožitnosti*, Dil. I. Svazek 1, ed. 2. Prague, 1925, pp. 127 sqq.
 Patsch, C. *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Südosteuropa*. I. *Agathyrsi*. II. *Banater Sarmaten*. *Wien Anz.* LXII, 1925, pp. 181 sqq. (*Jazyges*). III. *Die Völkerbewegungen an der unteren Donau*. *Wien S.B.* 208, 2, 1928. IV. *Die quadisch-jazygische Kriegsgemeinschaft im Jahre 374/75*. *Ibid.* 209, 5, 1929 (cf. Rostovtzeff in *Gnomon*, VI, 1930, pp. 625 sqq.). V. *Aus 500 Jahren vor-römischer und römischer Geschichte Südosteuropas*: I. Bis zur Festsetzung der Römer in Transdanuvien. *Ibid.* 214, 1, 1932 (cf. Rostovtzeff, *Gnomon*, X, 1934, p. 1).
 Rostovtzeff, M. *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*. Oxford, 1922, pp. 113 sqq.
 Stein, A. *Art. s.v.* Sarmaticus in *P.W.*
 Täubler, E. *Zur Geschichte der Alanen*. *Klio*, IX, 1909, p. 144.
 Tomaschek, W. *Art. s.v.* Aorsoi in *P.W.*
 Treidler, H. *Art. s.v.* Jazyges in *P.W.*
 Werner, J. *Fund Bosporanischer Münzen in der Dzungarei*. *Eurasia Septentr. Antiqua*, VIII, 1933, p. 249.

B. Archaeology and Art

- Alföldi, A. *Die theriomorphe Weltbetrachtung in den hochasiatischen Kulturen*. *Arch. Anz.* 1931, pp. 394 sqq.
 Anderson, J. E. *The Hunting Magic in the Animal Style*. *Bulletin Ostasiatska Samlungana*, 1932.
 Appelgren-Kivalo, H. *Alt-Altäische Kunstdenkmäler*. Helsingfors, 1931.
 Borovka, G. *Scythian Art*. Transl. V. G. Childe, London, 1928.
 Dalton, O. M. *The Treasure of the Oxus*. Ed. 2, London, 1926.
 Ebert, M. *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*. XIII, 1929, pp. 98 sqq.
 Griaznov, M. P. *The Pazirik Burial of Altai*. *A.J.A.* XXXVI, 1933, p. 30.

An asterisk denotes works written in Russian.

- Hentze, C. *Beiträge zu den Problemen des eurasischen Tierstiles*. *Ostas. Zeitschr.* vi, 1930, pp. 150 *sqq.*
- Kondakov, N. P. *Essays and Notes on the History of Medieval Art and Civilization**. Prague, 1929.
- Kümmel, O. *Chinesische Kunst*. (Ausstellung Chinesischer Kunst.) Ed. 2, Berlin, 1929, nos. 1216–1272 (finds at Noin-Ula).
- Minns, E. H. *Scythians and Greeks*. Cambridge, 1913.
- Rau, P. *Die Hügelgräber römischer Zeit an der unteren Wolga*. *Mitt. d. Zentralmuseums Pokrowsk*, 1, Pokrowsk, 1926, p. 1.
- *Præhistorische Ausgrabungen auf der Steppenseite des Deutschen Wolgagebietes*. *Ib.* 11, Pokrowsk, 1927, p. 1.
- Rostovtzeff, M. *Ancient Decorative Wall Painting in South Russia**. St Petersburg, 1913.
- *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*. Oxford, 1922.
- *Une trouvaille gréco-sarmate de Kertsch*. *Mon. et Mém. Piot*, xxvi, 1923, pp. 99 *sqq.*
- *Sarmatian and Indo-Scythian Antiquities**. *Recueil Kondakov*, 1926, pp. 239 ff. (With a résumé in French.)
- *The Animal Style in South Russia and China*. Princeton, N.J., 1929.
- *The Great Hero of Middle Asia and his Exploits*. *Artibus Asiae*, iv, 1933, p. 99.
- *L'Art Gréco-Iranien*. *Rev. d. Arts Asiat.* 1933, pp. 202 *sqq.*
- *Some new aspects of Iranian Art*. *Semin. Kond.* vi, 1933, pp. 161 *sqq.*
- Salmony, A. *Sino-Siberian Art in the Collection of C. T. Loo*. Paris, 1923.
- Tallgren, A. M. *Inner Asiatic and Siberian Rock Pictures*. *Eurasia Septentr. Ant.* viii, 1932, pp. 174 *sqq.*
- *Zum Ursprungsgebiet des sog. Skythischen Tierstils*. *Acta Arch.* iv, 1933, pp. 258 *sqq.*
- Toll, N. P. *Chinese Silk Stuffs found at Panticapaeum**. *Semin. Kond.* i, 1927, pp. 85 *sqq.*
- Zakharov, A. *Antiquities of Katanda (Altai)*. *Journ of the Roy. Anthr. Institute*, lv, 1925, p. 37.

PART II. THE PARTHIANS

This Bibliography should be taken in conjunction with the other bibliographies upon Parthia in Vol. ix to chapter xiv, p. 947, and the following sections of bibliographies in Vol. x; chapters i–iv, Part II, E, p. 912, chapter ix, 3, p. 921, and chapter xxii, 2, p. 985. See also the bibliography to chapter iv in this volume, B. 11, p. 882 *sq.*

I. ANCIENT SOURCES

A. Greek and Roman Literary

From late Hellenistic times onward there is scarcely an author in Greek or Latin, whether poet or prose-writer, who does not contain references (of varying value) to Parthia and the Parthians. The most valuable are Strabo, Justin, Isidore of Charax (*Parthian Stations*), the Elder Pliny, Josephus, Tacitus, Arrian, Lucian, Herodian, Ammianus Marcellinus and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. The most important references are given in the footnotes to the text of the chapter.

B. Oriental Literary

ADDAI. *The Doctrine of Addai the Apostle*. Ed. and trans. by G. Phillips, London, 1876.

AGATHANGELOS. Langlois, V. *Agathange, Histoire du Règne de Tiridate*. F.H.G. v, 2, pp. 99 *sqq.*

- CHINESE CHRONICLES. Chavannes, E. *Trois Généraux Chinois de la Dynastie des Han Orientaux*. T'oung Pao, vii, 1906, pp. 210 *sqq.*: and *Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Héou Han Chou*. Ib. viii, 1907, pp. 109 *sqq.*
- CHRONICLE OF ARBELA. Messina, G. *La Cronaca di Arbela*. La Civiltà Cattolica, 83 (III), 1932, pp. 362 *sqq.*: Peeters, P. *Le 'Passionnaire d'Adiabène'*. Analecta Bollandiana, 43, 1925, pp. 302 *sqq.*: and Sachau, E. *Die Chronik von Arbela*. Berl. Abh. 1915, 6.
- JOHN OF EPHEBUS. Tr. J. M. Schoenfelder. Munich, 1862.
- MANI. Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*. Berl. S.B. 1933, pp. 301 *sqq.*: Schaeder, H. H. *Iranica*. Gött. Abh. (III Folge), x, 1934: Schmidt, C. and H. J. Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Aegypten*. Berl. S.B. 1933, 12 (cf. E. Peterson, *Byzant. Zeits.* xxxiv, 1934, pp. 379 *sqq.*).
- MIRCHAND. Muehlau, F. and A. von Gutschmid, *Zur Geschichte der Arsaciden: I. Geschichte der Arsaciden aus Mirchand übersetzt*. Zeitschr. d. d. morgenländ. Gesell. xv, 1861, pp. 664 *sqq.*
- Cf. also the works of J. Marquart listed below in section II, B and D.

C. *Inscriptions, Papyri, Cuneiform Tablets, Coins*

(a) *Inscriptions.*

- Persis-Media*. S.E.G. vii, nos. 35-36. *Susiana*. S.E.G. vii, nos. 1-33; on the letter of Artabanus III see A. Wilhelm, *Wien Anz.* 1934, pp. 45 *sqq.*; C. B. Welles, *Royal correspondence in the Hellenistic period*, New Haven, 1934, no. 75, pp. 299 *sqq.*
- Assyria and Babylonia*. S.E.G. vii, nos. 37-40 (on no. 37 see M. Rostovtzeff, *Πρόγονοι*, J.H.S. lv, 1935, p. 56). *Dura*. S.E.G. vii, nos. 331-800, cf. *The Excav. at Dura-Europos*. Preliminary Rep. of vth Season, Oct. 1931-March 1932, 1934 (Report on the vth Season in the press). *Palmyra*. S.E.G. vii, nos. 132-185 (cf. M. Rostovtzeff, in *Berytus*, II, 1935, pp. 145 *sqq.* See also Gardthausen, V. *Die Parther in griechisch-römischen Inschriften*, *Orient. Studien* Th. Noeldeke gewidmet, Giessen, 1906, pp. 838 *sqq.*).

(b) *Parchments and Papyri.*

- Rostovtzeff, M. *Les archives militaires de Doura*. C.R. Ac. Inscr. 1933, pp. 309 *sqq.*: *Das Militärarchiv von Dura*. Münch. Beitr. z. Papyrusforschung, xix, 1934, pp. 351 *sqq.*: and Welles, C. B. *Die Zivilen Archive in Dura*. Ib. pp. 379 *sqq.*

(c) *Cuneiform tablets.*

- Krueckmann, O. *Babylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen*. Weimar, 1931.

(d) *Coins.*

- De la Fuye, A. and J. M. Unvala, *Inventaire des monnaies trouvées à Suse*. Mém. d. l. mission arch. en Perse, xxv, Mission en Susiane, 1934.
- Gholam-Reza Kian, *Introduction à l'histoire de la monnaie et histoire monétaire de la Perse. Des origines à la fin de la période parthe*. Thèse Paris, 1934.
- McDowell, R. H. *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*. Univ. of Michigan Stud. (Hum. Ser. xxxvii), Ann Arbor, 1935.
- de Morgan, J. *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age*. Paris, I, 1923.
- Catalogue Naville, Monnaies grecques et romaines*, no. xii (Coll. A. de Petrowicz), Geneva, 1926.

II. MODERN BOOKS AND ARTICLES

A. *Political and Dynastic History*

- Articles in P.W. and the Encyclopaedia Britannica on the several kings of Parthia and on vassal kingdoms.
- Anderson, A. R. *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the enclosed nations*. Monogr. of the Mediaeval Academy of America, 5, Cambridge, Mass. 1932.
- Boissevain, U. P. *Ein verschobenes Fragment des Cassius Dio* (LXXV, 9, 6). *Hermes*, xxv, 1890, p. 329.
- Dobias, J. *Seleucie sur l'Euphrate*. *Syria*, vi, 1925, p. 253.
- Ensslin, W. *Die weltgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Kämpfe zwischen Rom und Persien*. N.J. f. Wiss. iv, 1928.
- Guey, J. in C.R. Ac. Inscr. 1934 (Séance du 23 Mars), p. 72.
- Günther, A. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kriege zwischen Römern und Parthern*. Berlin, 1922.
- Herzfeld, E. *Sakastan*. *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, iv, 1932, p. 1.
- Kunzmann, W. *Quaestiones de Pseudo-Luciani libelli qui est de longaevis fontibus atque auctoritate*. Leipzig, 1908.
- Olshausen, J. *Ueber das Zeitalter einiger Inschriften auf Arsacidischen und Sassanischen Monumenten*. Monatsb. d. Berl. Akad. 1878, pp. 172 sqq.
- Roos, A. G. *Studia Arrianea*. Leipzig, 1912.
- Ruehl, F. *Die Makrobier des Lukianos*. *Rh. Mus.* LXII, 1907, p. 421.
- Schachermeyer, F. Art. s.v. Mesopotamia in P.W. cols. 1133 sqq.
- Schur, W. *Die Orientalische Frage im röm. Reiche*. N.J. f. Wiss. II, 1926, p. 270.
- Stauffenberg, A. Schenk, Graf von, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas*. Stuttgart, 1931.
- von Wesendonck, O. G. *Kusan, Chioniten und Hephtaliten*. *Klio*, xxvi, 1933, p. 336.

B. *Organization, Social and Economic Conditions, Law, Religion*

- Andrae, W. *Hatra*, vols. I, II, Leipzig, 1908, 1912.
- Barthold, W. W. *On the problem of feudalism in Iran*. *New Orient*, xxviii, 1930, p. 108. (Cf. S. Transkij, ib. p. 117.)
- Christensen, A. *Die Iranier*. Müller's Handbuch, III, 1, 3, p. 301.
- *L'Empire des Sassanides, le Peuple, l'État, la Cour*. Det K. Denskab. Selkskabs Skrifter, VII, 1, 1903.
- Clemen, C. Art. s.v. Magi in P.W. cols. 905 sqq.
- Cumont, F. *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme romain*. Ed. 4, Paris, 1928, pp. 125 sqq. (La Perse).
- Ensslin, W. Review of Yale Classical Studies II in *Phil. Woch.* 1933, cols. 266 sqq.
- Herrmann, A. *Lou-lan*. Leipzig, 1931.
- Herzfeld, E. *Paikuli*. Berlin, 1924.
- Kornemann, E. *Die römische Kaiserzeit*. Gercke-Norden, ed. 3, III, 2, 1933, pp. 139 sqq.: Neurom und Neupersien.
- Koschaker, P. *Ueber einige griech. Rechtsurkunden aus den östlichen Randgebieten des Hellenismus*. *Sächs. Abh.* XLII, 1, 1931.
- *Die Rechtsgeschichtliche Bedeutung d. griech. Pergamenturkunden aus Dura*. *Chronique d'Égypte*, nos. 13-14, 1932, p. 202.
- *Keilschriftrecht*. *Zeits. d. d. morgenländ. Gesell.* XIV, 1935, p. 1.
- Manandjan, J. A. *Notes on the feudal structure and the feudal army in Parthia and in Arsacid Armenia**. Mem. of the hist.-ec. Section of the Academy of U.S.S.R., Caucasian Inst. of Research, 1932, p. 19. Cf. F. D., *Byzant. Zeits.* XXXIII, 1933, pp. 195 sqq.

- Marquart, J. *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Eran*. Zeits. d. d. morgenländ. Gesell. XLIX, 1895, p. 632.
- *Eranshahr nach der Geographie des Pseudo-Moses Xorencei*. Gött. Abh., N.F., III, 1901.
- *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*. Leipzig, 1903.
- *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr*. Rome, 1931 (Analecta Orientalia III).
- Meyer, Ed. *Blüte und Niedergang des Hellenismus in Asien*. Berlin, 1925.
- Noeldeke, Th. *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*. Aus der arabischen Chronik von Tabari übersetzt, Leyden, 1879.
- *Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte*. Leipzig, 1887.
- Rostovtzeff, M. *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. Oxford, 1926; German edition, 1931; Italian edition, 1933; especially Ch. VII.
- *L'Hellénisme en Mésopotamie*. Scientia, LIII, 1933, p. 120.
- Schaeder, H. H. *Der Orient und das griechische Erbe*. Die Antike, IV, 1928, p. 236.
- Schönbauer, E. *Paramone, Antichrese und Hypothek*. Z.d. Sav.-Stift. LIII, 1933, p. 422.
- Stein, E. *Ein Kapitel vom Persischen und vom Byzantinischen Staate*. Byzant.-Neugriech. Jahrbuch, I, 1920, p. 59.

C. Art and Archaeology

Details of publications dealing with excavated and illustrated ruins of the Parthian times in and outside of Iran, especially in Mesopotamia, will be found in M. Rostovtzeff, *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art*, Yale Classical Studies, V, 1935. Various contributions to the history of Parthian art and life by P. V. C. Baur, C. Hopkins and M. Rostovtzeff will be found in the yearly Reports of the Yale Dura Expedition quoted in section D.

The list which follows contains books and papers illustrating Parthian Art in general or points bearing on Parthian art and material life.

- Andrae, W. and H. Lenzen, *Die Partherstadt Assur*. Leipzig, 1923.
- Andrews, F. H. *Catalogue of wall-paintings from ancient shrines in Central Asia and Sistan*. Delhi, 1933.
- Cumont, F. *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922-23)*. Paris, 1926.
- Debevoise, N. *Some Problems of Parthian Architecture*. Journ. Amer. Orient. Soc. XLVIII, 1931, p. 357.
- *Parthian Pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris*. Univ. of Michigan Studies (Hum. Ser.), XXXII, Ann Arbor, 1934.
- Dieulafoy, M. *L'Art antique de la Perse*. V, Monuments Parthes et Sassanides, Paris, 1884.
- Furlani, G. *Sarcophagi Partici di Kakzu*. Iraq, I, 1934, p. 90.
- Herzfeld, E. *Am Tor von Asien, Felsendenkmale aus Irans Heldenzeit*. Berlin, 1920, pp. 55 sqq.: *Die Arsakiden Denkmale*.
- *Hatra*, Zeitschr. d. d. morgenländ. Gesell. LXVIII, 1914, p. 655.
- Ingholt, H. *Quelques fresques récemment découvertes à Palmyre*, Acta Arch. III, 1932, p. 1.
- Jordan, J. *Uruk-Warka nach den Ausgrabungen durch die Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft*. Leipzig, 1928.
- Pézard, M. *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam et ses origines*. Paris, 1920.
- Pfister, R. *Textiles de Palmyre*. Paris, 1934.
- Reuther, O. *Die Innerstadt von Babylon (Merkes)*, pp. 39, 178 sqq., 279 sqq., 1926 (Wiss. Veröff. d. d. Orient-Ges. XLVII).

- Rostovtzeff, M. *Das Mithraeum von Dura*. Röm. Mitt. XLIX, 1934, p. 190.
 ——— *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art*. Yale Class. Stud. v, 1935, pp. 157–304.
 ——— *Die Synagoge von Dura*. Röm. Quartalschrift, XLII, 1934, p. 203.
 Sarre, F. *Die Kunst des alten Persien*. Berlin, 1922, pp. 25 *sqq.*
 ——— *The Problem of Parthian Art*. In the forthcoming *Survey of Persian Art* edited by A. U. Pope, I, Oxford, 1935.
 Seyrig, H. *Antiquités syriennes*. I Série (Extrait de Syria 1931–1932–1933 corrigé sur certains points). Paris, 1934, esp. pp. 36 *sqq.*
 ——— *Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bel à Palmyre*. Syria, xv, 1934, p. 155.
 Stein, Sir Aurel. *Innermost Asia*. II, Oxford, 1928, pp. 909 *sqq.*
 Strzygowski, J. *Griechischer Iranismus in buddhistischer Bildnerie*. Artibus Asiae, iv, 1933–4, p. 5 and p. 185 and v, 1935, p. 5.
 ——— *Asiens bildende Kunst in Stickproben*. Augsburg, 1930, p. 267.
 ——— *Die altslavische Kunst. Ein Versuch ihres Nachweises*. Augsburg, 1929, pp. 33 *sqq.*
 Waterman, L. *Report upon the Excavations at Tel-Umar, Iraq*. I, Michigan, 1931; II, Michigan, 1933.
 Zahn, R. *Silber-Emblem der Sammlung Loeb*. Festschr. für James Loeb, Munich, 1930, pp. 131 *sqq.*

D. *Vassal States and Cities* (cf. I, sect. B and C)

(a) *Armenia and Georgia*.

- Amirashvili, A. *Greek inscription from the region of Mtskheta (Iberia)**. Bull. of the Acad. of Mat. Culture, v, 1931, p. 409.
 Djavakhov, Pr. *The constitution of ancient Georgia and Armenia**. St Petersburg, 1905.
 Kakabadzé, S. *Problème de l'origine de l'État Géorgien*. Bull. Hist., Tiflis, 1924.
 Lehmann-Haupt, C. F. *Armenien einst und jetzt*. Berlin, I, 1910, II, 1931.
 Manandjan, J. A. *Materials for the economic history of ancient Armenia**. Izvestija of the State Univ. of Armenia, iv, 1928, pp. 43 and 73.
 ——— *Feudalism in ancient Armenia*. Erivan, 1934 (in Armenian).
 Marquart, J. *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griech. und arabischen Geographen*. Vienna, 1930.
 de Morgan, J. *Histoire du Peuple arménien*. Paris, 1919.
 Romanov, K. K. *Remains of a temple of Graeco-Roman type at Bash Garni**. Bull. of the Acad. of the History of Mat. Culture, No. 100 (Marr volume), 1933, p. 635.
 Rostovtzeff, M. *New Latin inscriptions from S. Russia** (Armenia). Bull. de la Comm. Imp. Arch. xxxiii, 1909, p. 1.
 von Wesendonck, O. G. *Zur Georgischen Geschichte*. Klio, xxi, 1927, p. 125.
 For current bibliography see *Revue des Études Arméniennes*.

(b) *Babylonia*.

- Heuzey, L. *Découvertes en Chaldée*. II, Paris, 1912, p. 56.
 Kirste, J. *Orabazes*. Wien S.B. 182, 2, 1917.
 Art. *s.v.* Mesene in P.W. cols. 1082 *sqq.*

(c) *Dura*.

- Baur, P. V. C., Rostovtzeff, M. and A. Bellinger, *Excavations at Dura-Europos*. Preliminary Reports, I–V, 1929–34, New Haven.
 Cumont, F. *Les fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922–3)*. Paris, 1926.
 Johnson, J. *Dura Studies*. Philadelphia, 1932.
 Rostovtzeff, M. *Caravan Cities*. 1932.

(d) Edessa.

Torrey, Ch. C. *A Syriac Parchment from Edessa of the Year 243 A.D.* Zeitschr. f. Semitistik, x, 1935, p. 33.

Bellinger, A. R. and C. B. Welles. *The third century contract of sale from Edessa in Osrhoene.* Yale Class. Stud. v, 1935, pp. 93-154.

(e) Palmyra.

Février, J. G. *Essai sur l'histoire politique et économique de Palmyre.* Paris, 1931.

Ingholt, H. *Deux Inscriptions bilingues de Palmyre.* Syria, 1932, p. 278.

Mouterde, R. and A. Poidebard. *La voie antique des Caravanes entre Palmyre et Hit au II Siècle apr. J.-C.* Syria, xii, 1931, p. 101. (Cf. the memoirs of P. Poidebard quoted in section 2, 1).

Rostovtzeff, M. *Les Inscriptions caravanières de Palmyre.* Mém. Glotz, Paris, II, 1932, pp. 793-599.

— *Hadad and Atargatis at Palmyra.* A.J.A. xxxvii, 1933, p. 58.

— *The Caravan Gods of Palmyra.* J.R.S. xxii, 1932, p. 107.

— *Caravan Cities.* Oxford, 1932.

Seyrig, H. *L'incorporation de Palmyre à l'empire romain.* Syria, xiii, 1932, p. 266.

— *Textes relatifs à la garnison romaine de Palmyre.* Syria, xiv, 1933, p. 152.

(f) Sakastan.

Herzfeld, E. *Sakastan.* Arch. Mitt. aus Iran, iv, 1932, p. 1.