

GREEK AND HELLENISTIC STUDIES

edited by
Edward Dąbrowa



JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY PRESS



UNIwersytet Jagielloński
Instytut Historii

ELECTRUM

Studia z historii starożytnej
Studies in Ancient History

edited by Edward Dąbrowa

VOL. 11

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JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY PRESS

Publikacja dofinansowana przez Uniwersytet Jagielloński ze środków centralnej rezerwy na badania własne oraz Instytutu Historii

PROJEKT OKŁADKI

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Wydanie I, Kraków 2006
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ISBN 83-233-2109-4

www.wuj.pl

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego
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Gholamreza F. Assar*

MOSES OF CHORENE AND THE EARLY PARTHIAN CHRONOLOGY

Of a handful of major works in Armenian historiography, none has attained such pre-eminence and at the same time aroused as much controversy as the *History of the Armenians* by Moses of Chorene.¹ This book contains much of the ancient legends and traditions on the origins of the Armenians and their pre-Christian literary heritage. It also embodies an account of the rise of the Armenian kingdom in the late fourth century BC through its fall in the late fifth century AD, including useful hints about Parthian affairs. Yet, most of Moses' statements are either unattested elsewhere or, when checked against contemporary evidence, found to be in error. This has questioned his authority as a serious historian and rendered his *History* suspect in many points.²

What is, nevertheless, remarkable about Moses is his awareness of the importance of chronology. He claims that there is no true history without it (Book 2.82)³ and so insists that not only historical events must be dated accurately but that to guarantee accuracy, historical writing must be presented in absolute chronological order (Books 1.32 and 2.27). Unfortunately, Moses himself did not live up to the high standards he set for historiography and compiled his book in a tendentious manner to glorify his patrons and give them a splendid genealogy.⁴

My aim is not to provide here a detailed analysis of Moses' controversial remarks or scrutinise the authenticity of his sources. Rather, I will attempt to demonstrate that the extant numismatic evidence, Babylonian cuneiform documents and Greco-Latin literary sources support some of his seemingly uncorroborated and vague comments on the early

* I am indebted to Messrs Nader Rastegar and Samir Masri for their support. This work was sponsored by a grant from the Maclaren Foundation and the Morteza Rastegar Endowment.

¹ Thomson 1978: 1–61.

² For critical remarks on Moses' accuracy cf. Thomson 1978 and the corresponding bibliography. For views on references to Parthian affairs in Moses' *History* cf. Gardner 1877: 1–2; Debevoise 1938: xxxii–xxxiii and 9, n. 34; Wolski 1956–57: 36, n. 3; Colledge 1967: 21 and 64; Frye 1983: 68 and 288; Widengren 1983: 1266 and 1275; Kettenhofen 1998: 329–346.

³ To avoid repeated citation of the work cf. Thomson 1978 for books and chapters in Moses' manuscript.

⁴ Thomson 1978: 1.

Seleucid and Parthian histories and reported regnal dates. These have increased our understanding of the events leading to the establishment of the Arsacid monarchy and improved the genealogy of the early Parthian rulers.

Date of Parthian Insurrection

Moses (2.1) claims:⁵

... After ruling over the whole world, Alexander of Macedon, the son of Philip and Olympias, who was twenty-fourth from Achilles, and after bequeathing his empire to many with the stipulation that the empire of them all would be called that of the Macedonians, he himself died. After him Seleucus reigned in Babylon, having seized the states of all the others. From there he subjected the Parthians in a great war, and for this reason was called Nicanor (sic.). He ruled for thirty-one years and left the kingdom to his son Antiochus, called Soter, [who reigned] for nineteen years. To him succeeded Antiochus, called Theos, [who reigned] for ten years. And in the eleventh [year] the Parthians rebelled from subjection to the Macedonians. From then on, Arshak the Brave ruled...

At first sight, one is inclined to suspect the accuracy of the above chronology, duration of the first three Seleucid reigns, and the date of the Parthian revolt. According to Moses, the latter fell $31 + 19 + 11 = 61$ years after the death of Alexander III of Macedon (336–323 BC). However, using a series of contemporary and post-Alexandrian records leading to the secession of Parthia, it is possible to treat Moses' above passage and derive the following useful conclusions:

(a) – A contemporary Babylonian Astronomical Diary⁶ dates the death of Alexander III to 29 Aiiāru in his 14th regnal year (10/11 June 323 BC). We then have two Lunar Texts with chronological significance. The first one gives the accession date of Alexander's half-witted stepbrother, Philip III Arrhidaeus (323–317 BC), as 1 Simānu in year 14 of Alexander III (11/12 June 323 BC).⁷ The second text shows that Phillip's death was recorded in Babylon on 27 Kislīmu in his 7th regnal year (25/26 Dec. 317 BC).⁸ It also indicates that Babylon was passed on from Philip to Antigonos (317–311 BC in Babylon, died 301 BC), the *One-eyed* marshal of the Macedonian army and the satrap of Phrygia and Lycia in Asia Minor.⁹ But there are at least two tablets dated respectively to years 1 and 2 of *Alexander*

⁵ The same passage is found in the work of Mar Apas Catina. Cf. Langlois 1867: 42.

⁶ Sachs and Hunger 1988: 206–207, No. -322B, Obv. 8'.

⁷ Hunger 2001: 90–95, No. 36, Obv. I, lines 1'–2'.

⁸ Hunger 2001: 6–8, No. 2, Rev. V', line 12'.

⁹ *Ibid.*, the colophon of the tablet is dated *Year 2 of Antigonos* beginning 27/28 Mar. 316 BC. This indicates that Antigonos controlled Babylon during his first regnal year, the period 26/27 Dec. 317 – 26/27 Mar. 316 BC. Cf. Assar 2003: 175 and 185, n. 12. It should be noted that unlike Alexander III, Philip III, Alexander IV, Seleucus I and his successors, Antigonos never adopted the title king at Babylon. He is always styled ¹⁰GAL-ERĪN KUR.KUR (General of the Lands), ¹¹GAL-ERĪN (General of the Army), and ¹²GAL-ū-qa or ¹³GAL-ū-qu (General). Cf. Kennedy 1968: pls. 8–11, nos. 33–50, covering years 3–6 of Antigonos. But the partially preserved signs following Antigonos' name in the only extant record from his year 2 are inconsistent with his known designations. They appear to read DUMU x ru or GAL ERĪN^{mes} ru with uncertain interpretations. Cf. Hunger 2001: 6–8, No. 2, Rev. V', line 13'–14'.

alone¹⁰ and two more to the latter and Antigonos simultaneously.¹¹ These confirm that sometime during Antigonos' second year in office, the posthumous son of Alexander III was acknowledged king in Babylon although he wielded no political influence.¹² He was Alexander IV (316–306/305 BC), born to Roxanē daughter of the Sogdian nobleman Oxyartes, the Persian satrap of the Hindukush region. Five years later in 311 BC, Seleucus I (312/311–281 BC) supplanted Antigonos in Babylon and restored the dating of documents to Alexander IV.¹³ The colophons of a handful of records so dated include Seleucus as the *General of the Army*.¹⁴ However, following the murder of Alexander IV, Seleucus took the diadem and assumed the title βασιλεὺς in 305 BC. This date terminates the nominal rule of Alexander IV and inaugurates Seleucus' independent reign.¹⁵ Shortly afterward, Seleucus pushed his accession back to the moment of his victorious return to Babylon. This was dated to 1 Dios (6/7 October) 312 BC on the Macedonian reckoning¹⁶ and to 1 Nīsānu (2/3 April) 311 BC according to the Babylonian calendar.¹⁷ Yet the following entry in a Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic period shows that the shift in Seleucus' accession date did not extend the length of his reign as king.¹⁸

¹⁰ For year 1 (27/28 Mar. 316–14/15 Apr. 315 BC) cf. Jursa 1997: 132–133 and Boiy 2000: 119–120 on the discussion of BM 78948. For year 2 (15/16 Apr. 315–3/4 Apr. 314 BC) cf. Kennedy 1968: pl. 3, no. 13 (BM 16925) and also Jursa 1997: 132–133 and Boiy 2000: 119–120.

¹¹ Stolper 1993: 86–89, no. A2–8, Rev. 19, gives: *Month XI, day 11, year 4 (of Alexander IV) which is [year 5 of] [Antigonos] the Gen[eral]*; Assar 2003: 185, n. 12. Also, at the beginning of the paragraph for planet Mars in an unpublished Goal-Year Text (BM 32228) from year 79 SEB, we have, in Obv. 3': *[Year 5] which is year 6*. The date for Mars phenomenon is 79 years earlier than the colophon date, i.e. 79 – 79 = 0 SEB (312/311 BC). This coincides with year 5 of Alexander IV and also year 6 of Antigonos at Babylon.

¹² Assar 2003: 175, and 184–185. The exact moment of Alexander's accession is unknown.

¹³ The latest cuneiform record before the return of Seleucus I to Babylon is BM 40882. It is dated 12.II.7 of Antigonos (12/13 May 311 BC) although he is not mentioned in the colophon. Cf. Kennedy 1968: pl. 11, no. 50, lines 6–7; Del Monte 1997: 216. Thereafter, the earliest text (BM 22022) is dated 19.II.6 (19/20 May 311 BC) to *Alexander ...*. This is followed by BM 40463 dated 4.III.6 (2/3 June 311 BC) to *Alexander son (of) Alexander*. Cf. Le Page Renouf 1886: 123, no. 110; Strassmaier 1888: 137, no. 12; Kennedy 1968: pl. 4, no. 19; Del Monte 1997: 219. We also have one record dated 8.IV.6 (6/7 July 311 BC) to *King Alexander son (of) King Alexander and Alexander son (of) King Alexander*. Cf. Kennedy 1968: pl. 4, no. 17.

¹⁴ Sachs and Hunger 1988: 230–231, No. -309, Rev. 11' and Upper edge 1, covering the period 16/17 Aug.–11/12 Dec. 310 BC.

¹⁵ For *Year 1 (of) Seleucus' (kingship), which is year 7 (of the Seleucid Era)* cf. Kugler 1922: 309, no. "a"; Kugler 1933: 105; Schaumberger 1933: 7–8. For *Year 7 (of the Seleucid Era), which is year 1 of King Seleucus* cf. Sachs and Wiseman 1954: 203 and 205. For *Year 7 (of the Seleucid Era), King Seleucus, which is year 1 (of his kingship)* cf. Hunger 2001: 278–279, No. 67.

¹⁶ Assuming that 1 Dios = 1 Tašritu in 312 BC. Unfortunately, the exact relationship between the Macedonian and Babylonian months under the Seleucids remains unknown. I have argued that during the period 48 BC – AD 67, the Parthians took 1 Hyperberetaios = 1 Tašritu as the beginning of the Macedonian year for dating their tetradrachms struck at Seleucia on the Tigris. Cf. Assar 2003: 182–184. However, I will present and discuss additional evidence in a future article to show that Hyperberetaios remained the last calendar month during that same period and that the Macedonian year at Seleucia on the Tigris began with 1 Dios = 1 Arahsammu. If the Seleucids too retained the same agreement between the Macedonian and Babylonian calendars, 1 Dios 312 BC should be dated to 5/6 November.

¹⁷ Bickerman 1944: 73–76; Bickerman 1968: 71; Samuel 1972: 139–144 and 245–246; Bickerman 1983: 781; Assar 2003: 175. I should point out that both Bickerman and Samuel mistakenly equate year 1 of Seleucus I to year 7 of Alexander IV which was year 2 SEB (310/309 BC).

¹⁸ Sachs and Wiseman 1954: 203 and 205; Del Monte 1997: 208–209.

Obverse:

- 5: ¹A-lek-sa-an-dar A šá ¹A-lek ¹MU 6
 6: MU-7-K[ÁM] šá ší-i MU-1-KÁM ¹Se-lu-ku LUGAL
 7: MU 25 IN.AKA
 8: MU-31-K[ÁM] KIN ¹Se LUGAL ina ^{kur}ba-ni-i GA[Z]

- 5: Alexander son of Alexander, (reigned) 6 years.
 6: Year 7 (of SEB), which is (his) 1st year, Seleucus (ruled as) King.
 7: (He) reigned 25 years.
 8: Year 31 (of SEB), (month) VI, King Se(leucus) was kil[l]ed in the land of the Khanī.

This clearly indicates that Moses' quoted 31 year reign is counted from the date of Seleucus' recapture of Babylon and his association with Alexander IV in 311 BC (year 1 SEB).

Comparing Moses' above passage with the Babylonian evidence so far presented, it becomes evident that his chronology excludes the approximately six-and-a-half year reign of Philip III and roughly five-and-a-half year authority of Antigonos in Babylon. Moreover, he makes no reference to Alexander IV. These omissions must have been deliberate since Moses clearly states that Alexander III bequeathed his empire to many (Diadochi) and not to Seleucus I alone.

(b) – Moses' claim that Seleucus I conducted a successful campaign against the Parthians is unattested elsewhere. It is possible that he confused Seleucus I Nicator with Seleucus II Callinicus who confronted Arsaces I in the latter part of his reign¹⁹ (cf. below).

(c) – The above King List gives the following on the reign of Antiochus I (281–261 BC):²⁰

Obverse:

- 9: [MJ]U-32-KÁM ¹An A šá ¹Se LUGAL MU 20 IN.AKA
 10: [MJ]U-51-KÁM GU₄ 16 ¹An LUGAL GAL-ú NAM.MEŠ

- 9: [Ye]ar 32 (SEB), An(tiochus), son of Se(leucus ruled as) King. (He reigned) 20 years.
 10: [Ye]ar 51 (SEB, month) II, (day) 16, An(tiochus) the Great King died.

The date 16.II.51 SEB of the death of Antiochus corresponds to 1/2 June 261 BC. We also know that Seleucus I was assassinated in month VI of 31 SEB (25/26 Aug.–23/24 Sep. 281 BC). Given that Seleucus and Antiochus started to rule jointly as early as 1.VIII.18 SEB²¹ (17/18 Nov. 294 BC), the latter's own reign after co-regency with his father turns out

¹⁹ Droysen 1980: 237, n. 241; and 300–301.

²⁰ Sachs and Wiseman 1954: 203 and 206; Del Monte 1997: 208–209.

²¹ Colophon date of an unpublished economic contract text from Uruk (BM 109941). Cf. Oelsner 1986: 271 and 505; Del Monte 1997: 229; Assar 2003: 185, n. 15. There are no known records from year 19 SEB dated to Seleucus I and Antiochus I jointly. But two texts from this same year mention Seleucus I alone. The first one is BM 32286 (Goal-Year Text for 90 SEB, Obv. 1), cf. Kugler 1922: 309, no. "g*"; Kugler 1933: 105 and 114; Schaumberger 1933: 7. The other is BM 33563, cf. Rochberg 1998: 144, no. 30. Dating to Seleucus I and Antiochus I as joint rulers resumes in 20 SEB and continues through 30 SEB. Cf. respectively, Clay 1913: pl. 2, no. 3 (dated 20.IX.20 SEB); and Sachs and Hunger 1988: 308–313, No. -281B (covering months VIII–XI of 30 SEB).

to be 3–4 months less than the 20 years attested above. However, since Antiochus I began officially to rule independently of Seleucus I on 1 Nisānu 32 SEB²² (18/19 Apr. 280 BC), his *sole* reign in fact exceeded 19 years by only 1½ months. Obviously, this is closer to Moses' quoted figure (19 years) than to the one given in the above mentioned King List (20 years). The latter simply counts the regnal years of Antiochus I and so overestimates the length of his reign while Moses gives the actual duration of Antiochus' principal kingship.

(d) – The final part of Moses' chronology in his above quoted paragraph pertains to Antiochus II Theos (261–246 BC) and the date of Parthian rebellion. In this, our Babylonian King List offers the following on the inception and end of Antiochus' reign:²³

Obverse:

- 11: [MJ]U-52-KÁM ¹An A šá ¹An LUGAL MU 15 x[...]
 12: [MJ]U-66-KÁM NE ina E^{ki} i[t]-te-e[š-me]
 13: um-ma ¹An LUGAL GAL-ú N[AM.MEŠ]

- 11: [Ye]ar 52 (SEB), An(tiochus II) son of An(tiochus I ruled as) King. [He ruled][?] 15 [years][?]
 12: [Ye]ar 66 (SEB), (in month) V, the following was heard in Babylon:
 13: An(tiochus II) the Great King [died].

At the same time, a contemporary Astronomical Diary confirms that the news of Antiochus' death reached Babylon on 20.V.66 SEB²⁴ (18/19 Aug. 246 BC) and so led to the change of reign.²⁵ Combined with the date of the death of Antiochus I (1/2 June 261 BC), this confirms that Antiochus II ruled for 15 years and 2½ months.²⁶ However, several contemporary texts reveal that prior to his sole reign, Antiochus II co-ruled with his father Antiochus I for five years. The earliest of these is dated 4.V.46 SEB (13/14 Aug. 266 BC) in the triple-regency of Antiochus I, his elder son Seleucus, and Antiochus II.²⁷ But co-ruler Seleucus must have died shortly afterwards²⁸ since our next record from 13.VII.46 SEB

²² The colophon of a deed of gift from Uruk, dated 10.XI.31 SEB to Seleucus I and Antiochus I, strongly suggests that year 31 SEB continued to be assigned to the same co-rulers throughout although Seleucus I died in month VI of that same year. Cf. Clay 1913: pl. 4, no. 5; Oelsner 1986: 126 and 271.

²³ Sachs and Wiseman 1954: 203 and 206; Del Monte 1997: 208–209.

²⁴ Sachs and Hunger 1989: 70–71, No. -245A (dated 66 SEB, 246/245 BC), Rev. 5': ... *That month (V), on the 20th, it was heard in Babylon [that King Antiochus died ...].* According to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 7.12.53) and Appian (*Syrian Wars* 65), Antiochus II was poisoned by his wife, Laodice. Cf., respectively, Rackham 1942: 540–541 (wrongly identifies the king with Antiochus III who was killed while attempting to rob a temple in Elymais); and White 1999: 228–231. Cf. also Grainger 1997: 14.

²⁵ Sachs and Hunger 1989: 68–69, No. -245B, Lower edge text: *Diary from month I to month VI, King Antiochus (II), from month V to month VI, King Seleucus (II), his son.*

²⁶ I have assumed that Antiochus II ascended the throne immediately after the death of his father on 16.II.51 SEB. However, the earliest extant record from his reign is dated 15.XI.51 SEB (21/22 Feb. 260 BC). Cf. Clay 1913: pls. 10–11, no. 14; Krückmann 1931: 21. Another text dated 17.XI.51 SEB has been wrongly assigned to 17.VII.51 SEB (29/30 Oct. 261 BC). Cf. Contenau 1929: pl. 135, no. 237, clearly gives ⁱⁿZIZ = month XI, but Krückmann 1931: 21, and Parker and Dubberstein 1956: 21, both misread the month as VII.

²⁷ Stolper 1993: 46, no. 15 (BM 55437); Del Monte 1997: 228.

²⁸ According to Trogus (*Prologue* 26) and John of Antioch (*Fragment* 55) Antiochus I had Seleucus executed for some unknown reason. Cf. Müller 1851: 558; Rühl 1886: 256–257; Yardley 1994: 280–281; Grainger 1997: 66.

(20/21 Oct. 266 BC) mentions only Antiochus I and Antiochus II.²⁹ It will be presently shown that in recording the date of Parthian insurrection, Moses may well have taken year 46 SEB and not 51 or 52 SEB as the beginning of the reign of Antiochus II.³⁰

Unfortunately, Moses offers very little on the duration of the reign of Antiochus II. He simply states that Antiochus Theos reigned for ten years and that on *the eleventh year* the Parthians defected from Macedonian power. Given that later Seleucid rulers do not appear in Moses' book 2.1, his final regnal year in the corresponding chapter must pertain to Antiochus II rather than his successor Seleucus II (246–225 BC).³¹ This entails $261 + 1 - 11 = 251/250$ BC as the date of Parthian revolt. However, as briefly discussed above, Moses is confused about the inception and duration of the reigns of Seleucus I and Antiochus I in the same passage. He counts the years of Seleucus I not from his coronation in 305 BC but from his recapture of Babylon and association with Alexander IV in 311 BC. On the other hand, he ignores the almost thirteen-year co-regency of Antiochus I with his father and reports only the nineteen-year independent reign of that ruler. This then calls for a revision of the relevant material in order to ascertain the moment of Parthian revolt in Moses' book 2.1. After all, taking his figures *prima facie* places the revolt of Arsaces I sixty-one years after the death of Alexander III. The date $323 - 61 = 262$ BC is unattested in the extant contemporary and later literary sources and unsupported by numismatic evidence.

Our sources on the date of Parthia's secession from Seleucid power are:

(d₁) – Justin (41.4.3)³² relates that following the death of Antigonos, the Parthians came under the rule of Seleucus I Nicator and then Antiochus I and his successors, from whose great-grandson (sic.)³³ they first revolted. He then adds that the rebellion took place during the first Punic War when L. Manlius Vulso and M. Atilius Regulus were joint Roman consuls. This is dated to 256 BC.³⁴ However, it is noteworthy that in this particular passage Justin speaks of the moment of the first Parthian defection (*primum defecere*) from the Seleucids. This strongly implies that there was more than one occasion in which the Parthians pressed for independence and that the one reported by Justin here did not necessarily

²⁹ Kennedy 1968: pl. 23, no. 115 (BM 31437); Del Monte 1997: 228–229.

³⁰ Seleucid co-regency began in the reign of Seleucus I with the appointment of Antiochus I as joint king in 18 SEB (cf. n. 21 above), continued intermittently and ended with the death of Antiochus, son of Antiochus IV, in month V of 142 SEB (30/31 Jul.–27/28 Aug. 170 BC). Cf. Sachs and Wiseman 1954: 203–210; Parker and Dubberstein 1956: 21–23. The corresponding Babylonian records always refer to the co-rulers as LUGAL^{mes} (Kings) and not LUGAL u DUMU-LUGAL (King and Crown Prince). When computing the reign-length of the Seleucid kings, this may have confused some of the later writers who probably counted the regnal years of a subordinate king from the moment of his co-regency. Others apparently took the date of the principal ruler's death or the first day of the following year as the beginning of the new reign. The most interesting reference to a Seleucid co-ruler in the cuneiform material concerns Antiochus son of Antiochus IV. He retained his royal status down to the moment of his execution on orders from his father. The relevant text reads: [*Year 1*]42, month V, at the command of An(tiochus), the king, An(tiochus) the king, his son, was put to death. Cf. Sachs and Wiseman 1954: 204 and 208; Del Monte 1994: 208–209.

³¹ Unless Antiochus Theos is a mistake for Seleucus II Callinicus in Moses' book 2.1. If so, year 11 equates to 76 SEB (236/235 BC) in the latter's reign. But Moses' statement does not imply that Antiochus had died.

³² To avoid repetition, cf. Watson 1882; Ruehl 1886; and Yardley 1994 on passages in Justin.

³³ The dynastic link is obviously incorrect. Seleucus II was the grandson of Antiochus I and great-grandson of Seleucus I. Cf. Assar 2004: 84–87 for other genealogical blunders in Justin.

³⁴ Broughton 1951: 208–209; Samuel 1972: 262; Grainger 1997: 14, places the Parthian revolt in c. 256 BC.

lead to their freedom under Arsaces I. Hence the discordant dates in the literature on the inception of Arsacid power in Iran.

(d₂) – In the Roman Consular Fasti, Q. Caedicius is associated with L. Manlius Vulso as *consul ordinarius* in 256 BC. But following his death, M. Atilius Regulus is appointed as *consul suffectus*.³⁵ It is generally accepted that dating by subrogated consuls was wholly exceptional in the third century BC.³⁶ Accordingly, some commentators³⁷ have questioned Justin's consular date and suggested that he may have intended to place the Parthian insurrection in the joint consulship of C. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius Vulso which began in 250 BC.³⁸

(d₃) – Eusebius (*Chronicle II*)³⁹ dates the revolt of Arsaces I to Olympiad 132.3 (250/249 BC).⁴⁰

(d₄) – Eusebius (*Chronicle I*)⁴¹ places the same event in Olympiad 133, covering the period 248/247 – 245/244 BC.⁴²

(d₅) – The extant Babylonian cuneiform records and Greek inscriptions with preserved double Seleucid-Parthian era dates take 247 BC as the beginning of the Arsacid epoch.⁴³ The earliest document so dated is from the reign of Mithradates I the Great (165–132 BC),⁴⁴ following his victory in Babylonia and expulsion of the Seleucid forces.⁴⁵ The latest double dated Arsacid record from Babylon is an astronomical Almanac⁴⁶ compiled in April/May AD 31 under Artabanus II (c. AD 10–38). However, a Greek parchment from Dura-Europos, dated 26 Daisios 432 SEM = 368 AE (29/30 June AD 121), is the latest known Parthian record with concurrent Seleucid-Arsacid epochal dates.⁴⁷

(d₆) – Our sole numismatic evidence is a handful of drachms (S22.2) from the reign of Artabanus I (126–122 BC) dated EKP = 125 AE (123/122 BC).⁴⁸ These indicate that when supervising a regal issue, Parthian mint masters in Iran also took 247 BC as the epoch of the Arsacid era.

³⁵ Broughton 1951: 209; Samuel 1972: 262.

³⁶ Saint-Martin 1850b: 249–251; Scott 1855: 132–139; Schaefer 1876: 569–583; Bouché-Leclercq 1886: 58, n. 1; Droysen 1980: 237–238 and n. 241; Wolski 1956: 51.

³⁷ Saint-Martin 1850a: 267–271; Saint-Martin 1850b: 219; Scott 1855: 132–134; Rawlinson 1873: 44; Bickerman 1944: 79, n. 43; Wolski 1956–57: 50–51; Narain 1957: 12–14; Schmitt 1964: 73; Liebmann-Frankfort 1969: 899–900; Droysen 1980: 237–238 and n. 241; Holt 1999: 55–64; Lerner 1999: 14–15

³⁸ Broughton 1951: 213; Samuel 1972: 262.

³⁹ Schoene 1866: 120; Karst 1911: 201.

⁴⁰ Samuel 1972: 214.

⁴¹ Schoene 1875: 207; Karst 1911: 97; Helm and Treu 1984: 132.

⁴² Samuel 1972: 215.

⁴³ Bickerman 1944: 79–83; Assar 2003: 76–77.

⁴⁴ For the revised dates of the beginning and end of the reign of Mithradates I cf. Assar 2005.

⁴⁵ Sachs and Hunger 1996: 134–135, No. -140A; Van der Spek 1997/8: 171; Del Monte 1997: 102–103; Assar 2003: 176.

⁴⁶ Sachs 1976: 382–384.

⁴⁷ Rostovtzeff and Welles 1931: 4–7; Welles et al. 1959: 115–116, no. 20. For calendrical significance of this and related texts cf. Assar 2003: 177.

⁴⁸ Prokesch-Osten 1874/75: 6 and pl. I, no. 6; Gardner 1877: 27 and pl. I, no. 10; Rapson 1893: 211–213 and pl. XVI, no. 3; Wroth 1900: 185; Wroth 1903: xvi; 21, no. 10 and n. 3; and pl. V, no. 7; Petrowicz 1968: 12, no. 10, and Taf. I, no. 16; Minns 1915: 37, n. 41; Ars Classica-Naville 1926: 130, no. 2126, and pl. 62; Le Rider 1965: 43, n. 2; Sellwood 1980: 62; Sellwood 1983: 283; Shore 1993: 98, no. 63. There is still some uncertainty over the interpretation of EKP as an AE date.

(d₇) – Appian (*Syrian Wars* 65) reports that following the death of Antiochus II Theos the Parthians took advantage of the ensuing confusion in the Seleucid court and began their revolt.⁴⁹ This is placed at the beginning of the Third Syrian Wars (246–242 BC).

(d₈) – Justin (41.4.6) claims that Arsaces I attacked Parthia and slew the resident Seleucid satrap, Andragoras, after Seleucus II suffered a defeat at Ancyra by his brother Antiochus Hierax (239–226 BC) and his allied Galatian forces. This is dated to 238–237 BC.⁵⁰

(d₉) – Strabo (11.9.2) relates that encouraged by the intra-dynastic strife among the Seleucids, the Bactrian governor, Euthydemus I (c. 230–200 BC),⁵¹ revolted first. Then, aided by the Dahae or the Aparnians who lived along the river Ochus,⁵² Arsaces invaded Parthia and conquered the satrapy.⁵³ However, given that the Parthian secession from Seleucid rule cannot be placed in c. 230 BC, Strabo's statement may be defective. He either confuses Euthydemus with Diodotus I (c. 255–235 BC), or the invasion of Parthia with the capture of Hyrcania by Arsaces I before the Parthian expedition of Seleucus II about 230–227 BC (cf. below).

It is evident that with one exception, 238–237 BC under Seleucus II, the above listed dates pertain to the reign of Antiochus II.⁵⁴ On the other hand, Moses' regnal dates in book 2.1 imply 262 BC as the date of Arsacid *coup d'état*. This is further strengthened by the following statement at the beginning of Moses' book 2.2:⁵⁵

As we have already said, sixty years after the death of Alexander the Valiant, Arshak reigned over the Parthians in the city that is called Bahl Aravawtin (Bactra) in the land of the Kushans.

Unfortunately, it is not clear whether Moses simply repeated here his earlier chronology in book 2.1 or quoted from another source. What is nevertheless obvious is that the date 323 – 60 = 263/262 BC falls in the reign of Antiochus I and is therefore highly improbable. But we know that Seleucid Era was misconstrued by a number of Byzantine and Islamic historians as the *Era of Alexander*.⁵⁶ It is therefore possible that Moses too confused the end

⁴⁹ White 1999: 230–231. Antiochus II first married Laodice and then Berenice daughter of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BC). After his death Laodice murdered Berenice and her child. This led to the invasion of the Seleucid kingdom by Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–221 BC) who advanced as far as Babylon.

⁵⁰ Tarn 1928: 720–722; Bickerman 1944: 80; Allen 1983: 195–199; Grainger 1997: 35 and 61; Lerner 1999: 30; Wolski 1999: 40, 49, n. 17; 53, 56, 68, 89, and 122. His date of the beginning of the battle ranges from 241 to 239 BC while its end is placed in 239–238 BC; Will 2003: 294–296, places the end of the battle in 240 or 239 BC; Wolski 2003: 26 and 62, dates the conclusion of the battle to 240–239 BC.

⁵¹ Boppearachchi 1991: 47–49, and 154–163.

⁵² Strabo (11.11.5) discusses the location. Cf. Jones 2000: 284–285.

⁵³ Jones 2000: 272–275.

⁵⁴ Droysen 1980: 233–235, places the revolt of Arsaces I in the reign of Antiochus II. Musti 1984: 219–220, accepts that Parthia seceded under Antiochus II. Brodersen 1986: 381, places the Parthian defection in the period of fraternal conflict between Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax, culminating in Seleucus' defeat at Ancyra in c. 238 BC.

⁵⁵ Also quoted by Mar Apas Catina. Cf. Langlois 1867: 42–43. The same passage is found in the *History of Ancient Armenia* by Agathangelos although the author assigns 38 years to Seleucus I whereas Moses and Mar Apas Catina report 31 years. Cf. Langlois 1867: 198–200.

⁵⁶ For example, in reporting the accession of the first Sasanian king, Ardashīr I, Agathias (*Histories* 24.1) writes: ... he seized the throne of Persia in the manner I described earlier, in the fourth year of the reign of Severus Alexander, five hundred and thirty eight years after Alexander the Great... The fourth year of Alexander Severus (AD 222–235) was AD 225 while 538 years after the death of Alexander III of Macedon fell in AD 215. This clearly shows that Agathias took 312 BC as the beginning of the Seleucid Era

of the reign of Alexander III of Macedon with the inauguration of Seleucus' authority in Babylon.⁵⁷ Following Moses' chronology and counting from the beginning of the two Seleucid eras entail 252/251 BC and 251/250 BC as the dates of Parthian insurrection on the Macedonian and Babylonian counts. These agree perfectly with regnal year 11 of Antiochus II (61 SEB) wherein, according to Moses, the Parthians defected.⁵⁸ However, these later dates too are absent in our extant sources and therefore remain uncertain.⁵⁹

Another possibility is that Moses mistook Alexander III for his son Alexander IV. We are already told by Moses (2.1) that Alexander III left *his empire to many*. This implies that he was aware of the Diadochi period. Yet he claims that as the immediate successor of Alexander in Babylon, Seleucus seized the states of all the others and ruled as king. It is quite likely that the very complex nature of the Diadochi wars troubled Moses and induced him to exclude it from his book 2.1. This in turn led to the conflation of the intervening years and so contributed to his erratic chronology of the later events.

As shown above, having terminated Antigonos' authority in Babylonia sometime during 12/13–19/20 May 311 BC, Seleucus associated himself with Alexander IV. But following the assassination of the latter and in spite of his continuous struggle with Antigonos, Seleucus took the crown in 305 BC and began to reign as king in Babylon.⁶⁰ We also know that following the murder of Philip III in Europe, Babylonian documents were dated to Alexander IV, beginning with his year 1 (sometime during 27/28 Mar. 316 BC–14/15 Apr. 315 BC). Yet Diodorus (19.52.1–6)⁶¹ and Justin (14.6.13) relate that Cassander (321–297 BC) imprisoned Alexander IV and his mother Roxanē and secured the sovereignty of the empire. This took place in 316 BC and practically ended the influence of the young king. Assuming that Moses (2.2) started his chronology with the captivity of Alexander IV in 316 BC and not the death of Alexander III in 323 BC, the Parthian revolt can thus be dated to 316 – 60 = 256 BC. This is identical with the consular date in Justin (41.3.4) concerning the first Parthian rebellion (cf. “d₁” above). At the same time, we know that Moses counted the regnal years of Seleucus I from the beginning of the Seleucid era in 312/311 BC and not his coronation in 305 BC. It is then possible that he recorded the years of Antiochus II from 46 SEB when that king began to reign jointly with his father Antiochus I. If so, *the 11th year* of Antiochus II falls in 56 SEB and places the Parthian defection in 256/255 BC accordin-

for computing the accession date of the Sasanian ruler (538 – 312 = AD 225/226). Cf. Frendo 1975: 126. Cf. also Lewy 1944: 199 and n. 26. For Islamic writers cf. Taqizadeh 1939–1942: 124–130.

⁵⁷ Saint-Martin 1850a: 276–285; Scott 1855: 134.

⁵⁸ Although Antiochus I died on 16.II.51 SEB (1/2 June 261 BC), the remainder of that year down to 29.XII.51 SEB (6/7 Apr. 260 BC) was regnal year 1 of Antiochus II on the Babylonian count. On the other hand, the period 16 Daisios – 29 Hyperberetaios 51 SEM (1/2 June–12/13 Oct. 261 BC) was Antiochus' regnal year 1 according to the Macedonian reckoning. In both cases year 61 SEB/SEM was regnal year 11 of Antiochus II. For the abolition of dating by *accession year* cf. Assar 2003: 184, n. 7.

⁵⁹ The date 251/250 BC is close to the amended consular date in Justin (41.4.3) quoted in (d₂) above. However, the beginning of 61 SEB (29/30 Mar. 251 BC) fell in the joint consulship of L. Caecilius Metellus and C. Furius Pacilus. Although not impossible, it is unlikely that Justin mistook these two consuls for C. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius Vulso. Cf. Samuel 1972: 262.

⁶⁰ A Babylonian cuneiform tablet dated 20.V.9 to Antigonos (26/27 Aug. 309 BC) strongly implies that after an interval of about two years, Antigonos held that city temporarily. Cf. Oelsner 1995: 118, n. 72; Boiy 2000: 119 and n. 18. The latest extant Babylonian reference to the ongoing wars between Seleucus I and Antigonos is from year 7 SEB (305/304 BC). Cf. Hunger 2001: 278–279, No. 67, lines 9'–12'.

⁶¹ Geer 1947: 370–373. Cassander was son of Antipater, the old viceroy of Europe under Alexander III, and the regent of his empire after the murder of Perdiccas in 321 BC.

gly. This date too is identical with that in the Consular Fasti alluded to by Justin, since year 56 SEB began on 25/26 March 256 BC. Yet it fails to explain why the counting of the years of Arsacid rule, *according to the king's reckoning* (ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγει),⁶² did not begin in 256 BC instead of 247 BC. The latter was year 15 (65 SEB) of the sole reign of Antiochus II and had a profound significance for the Parthians.⁶³ Unfortunately, we do not have the corresponding Astronomical Diary which may well have provided an insight into the political circumstances of that year. The extant short text only partially covers months I–VI and gives little on the events of 65 SEB.⁶⁴ To confound the situation further, we have the statement of Justin (41.4.9–10) on the beginning of Parthian independence. He alleges that shortly after a peace treaty with the Bactrian king Diodotus II (c. 235–230 BC), Arsaces I won a battle against Seleucus II who had encroached into Parthia to re-impose Seleucid authority.⁶⁵ The Parthians observed that date with great solemnity and took it as the beginning of their liberation. However, in the next passage Justin (41.5.1) claims that Seleucus was then recalled to Asia because of new disturbances⁶⁶ and that his departure gave Arsaces a respite to settle the affairs of Parthia, levy troops and fortify his cities. Obviously, this latter statement is rather more attuned to the passage in Strabo than the momentous victory Justin ascribes to the Parthian leader.⁶⁷ We are told by Strabo (11.8.8)⁶⁸ that Arsaces I fled from Seleucus II Callinicus and withdrew into the country of the Apasiacae (Apasacae = “Water Sacae”).⁶⁹ It is perhaps this episode that has turned up in Moses’ book 2.1 as the victory of Seleucus I (sic.) against the Parthians (cf. “b” above). Moreover, the numismatic legacy of the eastern expedition of Seleucus II paints a rather different picture of the events than the one presented by Justin. Although scholars still disagree on the date of Seleucus’

⁶² Rostovtzeff 1931: 39–42; Assar 2003: 177.

⁶³ Brodersen 1986: 381, argues that 247 BC marks the coronation of Arsaces I at Asaac in Astaene, reported by Isidore of Charax (*Parthian Stations* 11). Cf. Schoff 1914: 8–9. However, the extant evidence strongly indicates that although Arsaces I was the first Parthian ruler, he never assumed the title βασιλεὺς. He is simply called ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ, ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ *krny*, and ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ on his coinage, and attested as *ršk* = *Arshak* (Arsaces) in at least two inscriptions from Nisa. For numismatic evidence cf. Abgarians and Sellwood 1971: 104–106; Sellwood 1980: 21–24. For Nisa documents cf. Diakonoff and Livshits 1960a: 20–21 and 113; Diakonoff and Livshits 1960b: 38; Livshits and Nikitin 1994: 315; Bader 1996: 254, and 264–265; Diakonoff and Livshits 2003: 174. For further analysis of the documentary and numismatic evidence cf. Assar 2004: 77–78, and Assar 2005.

⁶⁴ Sachs and Hunger 1989: 58–65, No. -246, only months I and VI are intact; the end and beginning of months II and V are lost.

⁶⁵ Tarn 1966: 74; Lerner 1999: 30–31; Will 2003: 308–313, places the Parthian expedition of Seleucus II in the period 230–227 BC and claims that he was probably captured by Arsaces I.

⁶⁶ Most probably because of the second war between Antiochus Hierax and Attalus I king of Pergamum in about 230–229 BC. Cf. Tarn 1928: 722; Bickerman 1944: 82–83; Grainger 1997: 35 and 61; Will 2003: 296–301, dates the battle to 229–227 BC. It is even possible that the incursion of Antiochus Hierax into Babylonia hastened Seleucus’ withdrawal from Parthia. The date of this conflict is uncertain. However, we have an Astronomical Diary fragment from year 84 SEB which clearly omits the royal name from its date formula. This may indicate political uncertainty in Babylon and that the struggle between the brothers was still on-going at the time of the completion of the tablet around Mar./Apr. 227 BC. Cf. Sachs and Hunger 1989: 128–131, No. -226.

⁶⁷ Tarn 1930: 113; Tarn 1932: 567; Gardiner-Garden 1987: 17–19; Drijvers 1998: 284–285.

⁶⁸ Jones 2000: 268–269.

⁶⁹ Polybius (10.48.1–8). Cf. Paton 2000: 220–223.

war with Arsaces I and place it somewhere in the period 232–228 BC,⁷⁰ a series of contemporary gold, silver and bronze coins from Ecbatana strongly suggests a Seleucid victory rather than defeat.⁷¹ In consequence, we may be obliged to look elsewhere for that elusive triumph that marked the beginning of both Parthia’s liberation and Arsacid rise to power.

The first question that springs to mind is whether Justin has correctly identified the Seleucid ruler who was defeated by Arsaces I in Parthia. Unfortunately, lack of contemporary evidence prevents thorough analysis of his testimony. Yet, given his errors, omissions and contradiction of Trogus’ accounts in several points, Justin’s reference to Seleucus II may be doubtful. To clarify this, it is worth pointing out some of his obvious slips briefly. As highlighted above, Justin (41.4.3) refers to Seleucus II as the great-grandson of Antiochus I instead of Seleucus I. He then claims, in his books 27.3.1–6, that it was the Bithynian king Eumenes I (263–241 BC) who defeated Antiochus Hierax and his allied Gauls. Whereas Trogus (*Prologue* 27) correctly assigns the victory to Eumenes’ successor, Attalus I (241–197 BC). Moreover, Justin (27.3.6–7) alleges that after his defeat by Eumenes I (sic.), Antiochus Hierax fled to his father-in-law, king Ariamenes of Cappadocia. Yet the Cappadocian ruler was in fact the father-in-law of Stratonice, sister of Antiochus Hierax. Another error concerns the relationship between the two Seleucid cousins, Antiochus V (164–162 BC) and Demetrius I (162–150 BC). According to Justin (34.3.6) Demetrius was the uncle of Antiochus. There are, of course, other genealogical inaccuracies and errors of identity in Justin’s work. Some of these have already been discussed elsewhere.⁷² Taken collectively, they cast doubt on his reported victory of Arsaces I against Seleucus II and at the same time strengthen the likelihood of an earlier Parthian success.

An incomplete reference to the presence in Babylon of Antiochus II and his sons, Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax, and daughter, Apamo (or Apama), during the months I–III of 66 SEB (3/4 Apr.–30 Jun./1 Jul. 246 BC) is contained in two Astronomical Diary fragments.⁷³ Whether Antiochus II had retreated to Babylon after a defeat in Parthia some months earlier cannot be confirmed at this stage. However, considering Justin’s slips and the fact that the Arsacid rulers themselves reckoned their regnal years from 247 BC, it is possible that the Parthians scored their first major victory against Antiochus II and not Seleucus II. This in no way precludes other successful outcomes or setbacks against later Seleucid rulers. It only points out that beginning with 250 BC, there may have been a series of *revolts*, perhaps beyond Parthia or at its northern extremities. These culminated in the invasion of the province by Arsaces I in 238 BC and removal of the Seleucid satrap Andragoras.⁷⁴ Of the Parthian *victories*, the one scored in 247 BC was perhaps the first against a Seleucid king. Hence its epoch-making value and also importance as the beginning of

⁷⁰ Bickerman 1944: 82–83, quotes 231–230 BC; Wolski 1974: 197–199, gives 232/231 BC; Wolski 1993: 200, gives c. 228 BC; Wolski 1999: 56–58, gives 232/231 BC; Holt 1999: 68, suggests 228 BC; Lerner 1999: 33–43, gives 229/228 BC; Will 2003: 308–313, hesitatingly gives 230–227 BC.

⁷¹ Newell 1978: 135 and 202, cf., in particular, pl. XLI, 7–12, having on their reverse the bow in case and quiver full of arrows, the characteristic weapons of the Parthians; Lerner 1999: 36–37, disagrees with the attribution of the coinage to Seleucus’ victory over Arsaces I; Houghton and Lorber 2002: 282–287.

⁷² Assar 2004: 84–85.

⁷³ Sachs and Hunger 1989: 66–73, No. -245A+B, Obv. A, lines 12–13, and Obv. B, line 3’. In Obv. A, line 13 read: [....]S[e-lu-ku]’An-ti-’u-ku-su u’A-pa-am-mu DUMU^{me3}-šú
⁷⁴... Seleucus, Antiochus, and (female) Apammu, his children,; Grainger 1997: 38.

⁷⁴ The importance of this date has been highlighted by Wolski in a series of articles since 1937. For an extended bibliography cf. Wolski 1993: 209–212.

Parthia's liberation from Macedonian power. In any case, Moses' testimony that Parthia seceded from Seleucid domination under Antiochus II agrees rather well with the date 247 BC of the epoch of the Arsacid Era.

Successors of Arsaces I

Having commented in his books 2.1 and 2.2 on the date of Parthian uprising led by Arsaces I, Moses (2.2) relates:

... He (Arshak I) made very fierce wars and seized for himself the entire east; and he also expelled the dominion of the Macedonians from Babylon. ... Thus he reigned for thirty-one years and after him his son, Artashēs (I) for twenty-six years. He was succeeded by his own son Arshak (II) the Great who waged war with Demetrius and Demetrius' son, Antigon⁷⁵ for (this last) had attacked him in Babylon with a Macedonian army. But in the war he was taken prisoner. Arshak (II) bound him and led him to Parthia in iron fetters, whence he was called Siripindēs. But his brother, Antiochus Sidetes, learning of Arshak's departure, came and occupied Syria. Then Arshak (II) returned with one hundred and twenty thousand men. Antiochus, discomfited by the severe winter season, confronted him in a narrow spot and perished with his army. ...

Regrettably, improper chronology and lack of attested regnal dates weaken the historical significance of this passage. It is likely that Arshak I and Artashēs I represent Arsaces I and his son Arsaces II quoted in Justin (41.5.7). But the successor of Artashēs I, Arshak the Great, can hardly be the third Arsaces, Phriapatius, attested in at least two texts from Nisa⁷⁶ and mentioned by Justin (41.5.8). There are also difficulties with the thirty-one year reign of Arshak I. It is unclear whether Moses reckons this from the date of Parthia's independence or the coronation of Arsaces I.⁷⁷ Adding thirty-one to Moses' date of the Parthian rebellion terminates the reign of Arsaces I in 232 BC, ninety-one years after the death of Alexander of Macedon. This date is absent in our extant sources and differs significantly from the one derived from numismatic material.⁷⁸ Yet, given the increases in both the volume of contemporary sources and our understanding of the early Parthian history, it is possible to amend Moses' above quoted flawed chronology and erratic regnal dates and place them in their proper context. To proceed, we must first consider the following two additional excerpts from Moses' *History*:

Book 2.68:

... Arshak the Brave, who rebelled against the Macedonians, reigned in the land of the Kushans for thirty-one years; and after him his son, Artashēs, for twenty-six years, and then Arshak, the latter's son, called *the Great*, who killed Antiochus and made his brother Valarshak king of Armenia, appointing him the second in his kingdom. He himself went to Bahl (Bactra) and ruled se-

⁷⁵ According to Livy (*Epitome* 50), the eldest son of Demetrius I was called Antigonus. Cf. Schlesinger and Geer 1959: 32–33; Grainger 1997: 8. However, there is no evidence that he ever attacked the Parthians in Mesopotamia. He is said to have been captured by Alexander Balas (150–145 BC) and put to death by the latter's minister, Ammonius.

⁷⁶ Diakonoff and Livshits 1960a: 20–21 and 113; Diakonoff and Livshits 1960b: 38. For an extended bibliography cf. Assar 2004.

⁷⁷ Isidore of Charax (*Parthian Stations* 11). Cf. Schoff 1914: 8–9.

⁷⁸ Abgarians and Sellwood 1971: 115–118; Assar 2004: 78–81; Assar 2005.

curely for fifty-three years. ... After Arshak the Great, Arshakan succeeded to his throne in the thirteenth year of Valarshak, king of Armenia, ...

Book 1.8:

Arshak the Great, king of the Persians and Parthians, who was Parthian by race, having rebelled against the Macedonians, they say, ruled over all the East and Assyria. He killed Antiochus, the king in Nineveh, and brought into subjection under himself the whole universe. He made his brother, Valarshak, king over this land of Armenia. ...

Comparing the earlier statement in book 2.2 with that in 2.68 confirms Arshak I and Arshak the Brave as the same figure. Since, according to Moses, Arshak I was the first Parthian ruler to rebel against the Macedonians, we may safely identify him with Arsaces I in Justin (41.4.6–10 and 41.5.1–7). Perhaps Moses' testimony that Arshak I began his reign in the city of Bahl (Bactra) in the land of the Kushans is an echo of the formative days of Arsaces' revolution which had its origins in Bactria. Strabo (11.9.3) suggests that Arsaces may have been a Bactrian who fled from Diodotus I, the provincial Seleucid satrap, and caused Parthia to revolt.⁷⁹ At the same time Syncellus (284.B–C) states that as satraps of Bactria, Arsaces I and his brother Tiridates claimed descent from the Achaemenid king Artaxerxes II (405–359 BC).⁸⁰ These brief remarks suggest a possible link between Arsaces I and a Persian satrap under Alexander III.

Justin (11.15.1–12.4.12) reports that having pursued Darius III (336–331 BC) to Parthia and found him slain, Alexander went on to subjugate Hyrcania and the Mardians. He then conquered the Parthians and appointed as their governor a Persian nobleman, Andragoras,⁸¹ from whom the Parthian kings of later times descended.⁸² Following this, Justin (12.5.1–12) states that Alexander began to terrorise his comrades. He accused Philotas of conspiracy, put him to death and had the latter's father, Parmenio, the commander of the Companions (Macedonian cavalry), assassinated. Then, while fighting the tribes of the Caucasus' foothills, including the Arimaspi or Euergetae (*Ariaspian* in Arrian), Drancae (sic.) and Parapamesadae, the regicide Bessus was brought to him in chains and executed later.

We then have Arrian's narration of the same events during summer 330 – spring 329 BC in books 3.20.1 through 3.30.5 of his *Anabasis of Alexander*.⁸³ He reports that having found Darius dead in Parthia (July 330 BC), Alexander made Amminapes (sic.) satrap of that province. The latter was a Parthian exile in Macedonia who had helped to win Egypt

⁷⁹ Jones 2000: 272–275. Cf. also Bickerman 1944: 80; Gardiner-Garden 1987: 10–17.

⁸⁰ Niebuhr 1829: 539–540; Jacoby 1929: 859; Mosshammer 1984: 343; Adler and Tuffin 2002: 412. According to Plutarch (*Artaxerxes* 1.2 and 2.2) Artaxerxes II was called Arsicas (Arsaces). Cf. Perrin 1926: 128–131. Several Babylonian cuneiform texts give the personal name of Artaxerxes II as *Aršū*, Arsēs. Cf. Sachs and Hunger 1988: 66–141; Hunger 2001: 210–211.

⁸¹ Irrespective of the correct name and identity of the Parthian satrap, Justin's reference to the later Arsacids at this point of Iran's history strongly indicates a link between them and a prominent ancestor in 330 BC.

⁸² Watson 1882: 537, mentions, in the index of his book, that Andragoras was Alexander's satrap of Parthia, but excludes this from the translation of Justin's book 12.4.12 on page 109. Cf. Ruchl 1886: 92 who gives: *Parthis deinde domitis praefectus his statutur ex nobilibus Persarum Andragoras; inde poseta originem Parthorum reges habuere*. Cf. also Yardley 1994: 111. On the chronology of the events up to this point cf. Badian 1985: 450.

⁸³ Brunt 1999: 292–331.

for Alexander. Then, to secure his rear, Alexander invaded Hyrcania, forced the Mardi into submission and made for the palace in Zadracarta, the principal city of the satrapy. Having spent fifteen days there, he moved to Parthia, thence to Areia (Herāt) where Satibarzanes the Areian satrap greeted him and was confirmed in his post. This was followed by a march to Bactra in pursuit of Bessus. In the meantime, Satibarzanes revolted and fled to Bessus. The news of the mutiny compelled Alexander to return to quell the revolt. He followed the rebels, killed some and enslaved others. Having turned off the road, Alexander arrived at Areia and appointed Arsaces, a Persian, as the new satrap.⁸⁴ Whether this was the Arsaces mentioned by Q. Curtius (*Hist. Alex.* 2)⁸⁵ as the cavalry commander under Memnon, the marshal of the Persian army at the Battle of Granicus in 334 BC, is unclear at present. In any case, Alexander settled the affairs in Areia and moved south to the palace of Drangiana in Sīstān in late summer 330 BC.⁸⁶ It was there that he learned about the *conspiracy*, arrested Philotas, put him to death and had his father, Parmenio, murdered. Around early winter 329 BC Alexander placed two hipparchs in charge of the cavalry, arrived among the Ariaspian tribes nicknamed the Euergetae, then proceeded towards Bactra against Bessus, and won over the Drangians, Gedrosians, and the Arachosians. At this time, aided by a contingent from Bessus, Satibarzanes raided Areia and induced the Areians (under Arsaces) to revolt again. But he was killed by a force despatched by Alexander who then sent Stasanor, one of the Companions, to arrest Arsaces on the charge of treason and take his place as satrap of Areia. Meanwhile, Alexander himself moved to Mount Caucasus and from there to the Sogdian country to confront Bessus. Around mid-winter 329 BC Bessus was captured and brought to Alexander who sent him to Bactra to be executed.⁸⁷ Finally, in late 329 BC Alexander arrived at Zariaspa (Bactra) where he received Arsaces in chains.⁸⁸ It is possible that Alexander had Arsaces executed for making common cause with Bessus and Satibarzanes, since we hear of him no more.⁸⁹ According to Arrian (*Anab. Alex.* 4.18.1), Stasanor was still satrap of Areia in the winter of 328–327 BC.⁹⁰

Evidently, in spite of their remarkable agreement, Justin and Arrian differ in two important points of detail. Firstly, Justin is silent about the appointment of a satrap at Parthia where Alexander found Darius slain and before his Hyrcanian expedition. Yet Arrian is clear that Alexander first confirmed Amminapes as satrap of Parthia and then attacked

⁸⁴ Berve 1926: 80–81, no. 146; Brunt 1999: 314–315, suggests that this Arsaces was presumably Arsames, satrap of Drangiana under Alexander, mentioned by Q. Curtius (7.3.1). Cf. Rolfe 1999: 142–143. However, column 1, line 16 of the commemorative inscription of Darius I at Besitūn leaves no doubt that Areia and Drangiana were two separate satrapies and naturally had different satraps. Cf. Kent 1950: 117–119. Cf. also Bosworth 1980: 6, n. 46 and Holt 1995: 46 on the appointment of Arsaces as satrap of Alexander.

⁸⁵ Rolfe 1998: 44–45.

⁸⁶ Badian 1985: 451.

⁸⁷ According to another version in Arrian (*Anab. Alex.* 4.7.3) Bessus was sent to Ecbatana in Media to be put to death. Cf. Brunt 1999: 360–361.

⁸⁸ Brunt 1999: 326–327.

⁸⁹ While narrating the events of the winter of 328–327 BC, Curtius (8.3.17) relates that Alexander made over to Phrataphernes Hyrcania and the Mardi with the Tapuri. He then replaced Arsames, satrap of Drangiana, with Stasanor, and sent Arsaces to Media in order that Oxydates might be recalled from there. It is, however, very likely that Arsaces in Curtius is a mistake for Atropates who, according to Arrian (4.18.1–3), was appointed satrap of Media because Alexander thought Oxydates was wilfully neglecting his duties to him. Cf. Rolfe 1999: 262–265, and Brunt 1999: 398–399, on Curtius and Arrian, respectively.

⁹⁰ Brunt 1999: 398–399.

Hyrcania. Secondly, Justin reports that on his return from Hyrcania Alexander conquered the Parthians, installed as their governor Andragoras and then struck his first blow against the Macedonians. But we learn from Arrian that following his march into Hyrcania, Alexander returned to Parthia and then headed south for Areia. It was only after the appointment of Arsaces as the new satrap of Areia that Alexander moved against his companions (cf. Table 1 for additional details). Given these discrepancies, it is possible that Andragoras' appointment as satrap of Parthia is a slip for the nomination of Arsaces as the Areian governor.⁹¹ All the more so when we realise that Justin associates the first Arsacid ruler of Parthia with a Parthian satrap called Andragoras⁹² in two occasions. In the first, as stated above, Andragoras is the forebear of Arsaces I. Whereas, in the second, according to Justin (41.4.7), he is crushed and slain by Arsaces I after Seleucus II loses at Ancyra about 238 BC. Now, assuming that on becoming satrap of Parthia in 330 BC Andragoras was in his twenties, he would have been a centenarian in 238 BC. This practically removes the possibility of the two Andragorai in Justin being the same man. Moreover, we find Alexander in Areia and then further south in Drangiana in late summer of 330 BC, not in Parthia as Justin's chronology demands. The obviously flawed sequence of events in Justin suggests that he may have confused Arsaces, Alexander's governor of Areia, with Andragoras, the Seleucid satrap of Parthia, because of their inextricable link with Arsaces I. Alternatively, his reference to Andragoras as the Parthian satrap and the ancestor of the Arsacid rulers may be an error for Phrataphernes who too served Alexander as satrap of Parthia.⁹³

We may now invoke the first fragment of Arrian's *Parthica* wherein Arsaces I and his brother Tiridates appear as *sons of Arsaces, son of Arsaces, descendent of Phriapites*.⁹⁴ Given the combined references to the genealogy and Bactrian connections of Arsaces I, it is possible to submit that the leader of the Parthian monarchy was an offspring of Alexander's governor of Areia, Arsaces rather than Phrataphernes.⁹⁵ However, at present we have nothing to link Phriapites (Phriapatius), the great ancestor of Arsaces I, with the Achaemenid royal house. But given the statements of Arrian and Justin on the Persian origins of Arsaces and Andragoras, Alexander's satraps of Areia and Parthia, respectively, and the number of wives and concubines Plutarch⁹⁶ assigns to Artaxerxes II, Phriapites may well have been a descendant of the Achaemenid king.

⁹¹ The appointment of a Greek satrap at this point in time contradicts Alexander's early policies. Cf. note "i" under Table 1 on the instalment of local satraps after the Battle of Arbela in 331 BC and before the end of 330 BC.

⁹² Cf. the following on Andragoras and his coinage: Gardner 1879: 1–4; Gardner 1881: 8; Gardner 1886: xix and 1; pl. I.2; Howorth 1890: 33–41; Markov 1892: 2–5, pl. III.1; Rapson 1893: 204–206; Howorth 1905: 209–220; Hill 1922: cxlvii–clx, 193, pl. XXVIII.2–3; Robert 1960: 82–91; Le Rider 1965: 299, 313–316, pl. LXX.14–15; Ghirshman 1975: 1–8; Gershevitch 1975: 7–8; Wolski 1975: 159–169; Wolski 1993: 11, 20, 30, 35, and 50; Wolski 1999: 17, 33, 36, 38–40, 43–44, 48–49, 51, 53, 55–56, 63, 73, and 122; Wolski 2003: 25, 28–29, 39, 41, 59, and 61–64.

⁹³ Cf. notes "b" and "i" under Table 1 on Phrataphernes.

⁹⁴ Roos and Wirth 1968: 224–226; Stadter 1980: 137, gives a defective translation; Gardiner-Garden 1987: 12. This is also incorporated in Photius' summaries (*Bibliotheca* 58). Cf. Jacoby 1929: 858–859; Henry 1959: 51.

⁹⁵ Given Phrataphernes' prominent position as the Achaemenid satrap of the Parthians, Hyrcanians and Tapurians, the possibility that he was the ancestor of the Arsacid rulers cannot be entirely ruled out. Cf. Arrian (3.8.4), in Brunt 1999: 246–247.

⁹⁶ Apart from marrying at least two of his own daughters, Artaxerxes II had three hundred and sixty concubines. Cf. Plutarch's *Lives* (*Artaxerxes* 23.2–4 and 27.1–2) in Perrin 1926: 182–183 and 192–193.

In the Old Persian language *Artaxšaça-* (Artaxerxes) is constructed from *Arta-* “justice” and *xšaça-* “kingdom”, implying “having a kingdom of justice”.⁹⁷ Our extant Babylonian astronomical records show that upon acceding to the throne, three Achaemenid rulers assumed the epithet Artaxerxes in addition to their personal names.⁹⁸ It is, therefore, reasonably safe to assume that such an appellation could not have been taken as personal name by non-royal Persians.⁹⁹

Moreover, we are told that private endowments for fixed or *pat ruvān* (“for the soul”) and *pat ahravdāt* (“for pious purposes”) foundations were an institution highly characteristic of Iran.¹⁰⁰ Many inscribed Parthian potsherds from Nisa testify to the existence of the post-mortem cult of the dead members of the Arsacid royal family. Some of these records contain the terms *wpsyk* (tax, debt, arrears) and *ptsyk* (dues),¹⁰¹ showing that part of the vineyards and other holdings around Nisa, mostly royal foundations for pious purposes, had been let out on indefinite leases to private persons. The cultivation of at least part of these vineyards was carried out by vine-growers who paid to the royal treasury a fixed annuity in kind. Among these, mention may be made of *Friyapātikān* “(estate or cult of) Phriapatius”, *Mihrdātākān* “(of or cult of) Mithradates”, *Artabānukān* “(estate or cult of) Artabanus”, *Gōtarzākān* “(of or cult of) Gotarzes” as endowments dedicated to the upkeep of services for the repose of the souls of several early Parthian kings.¹⁰² However, another vineyard, attested in the texts of at least sixty eight ostraca¹⁰³ from the period 92–30 BC,¹⁰⁴ is called *Artaxšahrakān* “(of or cult of) Artaxšahr/Artaxerxes”. This must have been dedicated to a dead king since, as commented above, it is highly unlikely that private citizens could adopt the regal epithet Artaxerxes as their personal names. But, insofar as the extant evidence is concerned, we know of no Arsacid ruler in the period 3rd – 1st century BC called Artaxerxes. At the same time there are difficulties with attributing the foundation of the *Artaxšahrakān* vineyard to an Achaemenid king before the advent of the Parthians, since no other ruler from that dynasty is attested in the Nisa documents. Consequently, we may be obliged

⁹⁷ Kent 1950: 170–171 on *Arta-* and *Artaxšaça-*; 181 on *xšaça-*.

⁹⁸ They were Artaxerxes I (465–425 BC), Artaxerxes II (405–359 BC), and Artaxerxes III (359–338 BC) and called, in the Babylonian records, *Aršū*, *Aršū*, and *Umakuš*, respectively. Cf. Sachs 1977: 130–143; Schmitt 1982: 83–94; Sachs and Hunger 1988: 58–59 (Artaxerxes I), 76–77, 92–93, 96–97, 108–111, 136–139 (Artaxerxes II), 142–143, 146–147, 152–153, 156–157 (Artaxerxes III); Hunger (2001), 210–211 (Artaxerxes II); 228–229, 244–245 (Artaxerxes III).

⁹⁹ Cf. Arrian (3.25.3) in Brunt 1999: 310–311, and Curtius (6.6.13) in Rolfe 1999: 52–53, on Alexander being informed that having assumed regal attire as King of Asia, Bessus had worn his cap upright, dressed in Persian royal garb, and ordered that he should be called Artaxerxes.

¹⁰⁰ Perikhanian 1983: 661–664; Lukonin 1983: 694–697; Bader 1996: 272–273.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Diakonoff and Livshits 2003: 187 and 201 for the interpretation of *wpsyk* and *ptsyk*, respectively.

¹⁰² Cf. Diakonoff and Livshits 1977, 1998, and 2003: 185–200 (Index) for references to each of these estates and vineyards.

¹⁰³ Diakonoff and Livshits 1977: 19–24 (Nos. 128–174) and 31 (No. 270); Diakonoff and Livshits 1998: 128 (No. 1501), 131 (Nos. 1524–1525), 137 (No. 1566), 139 (No. 1589), 139 (1592), and 140 (1593); Diakonoff and Livshits 2003: 164 (No. 2573), and 172 (No. 2625).

¹⁰⁴ There are three undated ostraca, Nos. 1592, 1593, and 2625, mentioning *Artaxšahrakān*, that could post date 151/150 BC, the earliest date attested at Nisa. Cf. Assar 2004: 71 on the date 97 AE of ostrakon No. 2673.

to assume that the Parthians set up the *Artaxšahrakān* endowment to perpetuate the name of King Artaxerxes II, alluded to by Syncellus as their distant ancestor.¹⁰⁵

Now, returning to Moses, we note that his cursory remarks in books 2.2 and 2.68 provide little information of historical value on the reign of Artashēs I. I have identified this ruler with Arsaces II and shown the chronological implications of his twenty-six year reign even though it is only attested in Moses and no other literary or documentary source.¹⁰⁶ In fact, this piece of information and the one concerning the reign of Arshak the Great in book 2.68 have been instrumental in unravelling the early Parthian chronological and genealogical problems. However, since the relevant conclusions have already been presented elsewhere, I shall give here only a summary of the influence of Moses' regnal dates on the Parthian chronology of the period 211–132 BC.

Moses claims that Arshak the Great was son of Artashēs I and ruled for fifty-three years. Yet judging from the above quoted statements in books 1.8, 2.2, and 2.68, there is little doubt that he was none other than the Great Mithradates I, a younger son of Phriapatius. It is widely accepted that Mithradates was the real architect of the Parthian Empire. Not only did he extend Parthia's eastern frontiers, he also took Media from the Seleucids, appointed his brother Bagasis (Moses' Valarshak) governor of Atropatene, conquered Mesopotamia, pacified Elymais, and defeated and captured Demetrius II (145–138 BC, 1st reign) in Babylonia.¹⁰⁷ But contrary to the commonly held view that Mithradates died about 138 BC,¹⁰⁸ some Babylonian cuneiform texts show that he was still alive in 179 SEB (133/132 BC) while other literary sources reveal that he ascended the throne in 165 BC.¹⁰⁹ It is thus evident that Moses conflated the reigns of Phriapatius, Arsaces IV (great-grandson of Arsaces I),¹¹⁰ Phraates I and Mithradates I, and so extended the reign of the latter to fifty-three years. Thanks to the dated colophon of a Babylonian cuneiform text, we now know that Phraates II, the young son and successor of Mithradates I, began his joint reign with his mother, Rinnu, as early as month V of 180 SEB (30/31 Jul. – 27/28 Aug. 132 BC).¹¹¹ Adding to 132 BC the 53 and 26 year reigns of Arshak the Great (Mithradates I) and Artashēs I (Arsaces II) places the beginning of the reign of the latter in 211 BC. This date has already been confirmed independently of Moses' above given figures. A systematic analysis of the content of a hoard of early Parthian and non-Parthian drachms have shown that the reign of Arsaces I ended about 211 BC, which date marked the inception of the reign of Arsaces II.¹¹² Likewise, taking 247 BC as the beginning of the reign of Arsaces I¹¹³ and assuming

¹⁰⁵ Diakonoff and Livshits 1960a: 20; Lukonin 1983: 697; Bader 1996: 272.

¹⁰⁶ Assar 2005.

¹⁰⁷ Strabo (11.9.2 and 11.11.2), cf. Jones 2000: 272–275, and 280–281; Justin (41.6.1–9).

¹⁰⁸ Lindsay 1852: 7–10, gives 136 BC; Rawlinson 1873: 83, gives 136 BC; Wroth 1903: xxi; Tarn 1932: 580; McDowell 1935: 201; Newell 1938: 477; Debevoise 1938: 29; Le Rider 1965: 376; Colledge 1967: 30; Petrowicz 1968: 21; Sellwood 1980: 29; Bivar 1983: 36; Frye 1983: 210; Wolski 1993: 82–84.

¹⁰⁹ Assar 2004: 88; Assar 2005.

¹¹⁰ For the inclusion of this king in the list of early Parthian rulers cf. Assar 2004: 82–87, and Assar 2005.

¹¹¹ Clay 1913: 13, 87, and pl. 48 (Deed of Gift to the House of Gods), dates the tablet to c. 173 SEB; Oelsner 1986: 275, n. “s”, and 408, n. 570, gives year 180 SEB; Oelsner 1995, 147–148, year 180 SEB; Del Monte 1997: 245, year 180 SEB. Cf. Assar 2004: 88 and Assar 2005 on the inception date of the reign of Phraates II.

¹¹² Abgarians and Sellwood 1971: 116–118. Cf. also Wolski 1959: 238; Wolski 1962: 139; Sellwood 1980: 20–25.

that Syncellus mistakenly assigned the 37 year reign of that ruler to his brother, Tiridates, I have placed the Parthian leader's death in 211 BC.¹¹⁴ Accordingly, in conjunction with a number of important classical references, I have accepted Moses' figures regarding the reigns of Artashēs I and Arshak the Great and proposed the following inaugural and terminal dates for the first six Parthian reigns:

- Arsaces I (247–211 BC) = Arshak I
 Arsaces II (211–185 BC), son of Arsaces I = Artashēs I son of Arshak I
 Arsaces III, Phriapatius (185–170 BC),¹¹⁵ grand-nephew of Arsaces I, not in Moses
 Arsaces IV, great-grandson of Arsaces I (170–168 BC),¹¹⁶ not in Moses
 Arsaces V, Phraates I, son of Phriapatius (168–165 BC),¹¹⁷ not in Moses
 Arsaces VI, Mithradates I, son of Phriapatius (165–132 BC) = Arshak II, the Great.

Table 1

Chronology of the main events during summer 330 BC – spring 329 BC

Date	Arrian (<i>Anabasis of Alexander</i>)	Justin
July 330 BC	Book (3.20.3–3.21.10): Alexander arrives at Parthia and finds Darius slain ^a	Book (11.15.1): Darius is killed in the Parthian village of Thara a day before Alexander's arrival
	Book (3.22.1): <i>Alexander appoints Aminapes (sic.) satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania</i> ^b	Not in Justin
	Books (3.23.1–3.25.1): Alexander invades Hyrcania, appoints Autophradates as satrap of Tapuria, subjugates the Mardians and moves to the palace at Zadrcarta ^c	Book (12.3.4): Alexander conquers Hyrcania and vanquishes the Mardians
	Books (3.25.1–2): Alexander moves to Parthia, thence to Areia and confirms Satibarzanes as satrap there ^d	Not in Justin
	Book (3.25.4): Alexander marches to Bactra in pursuit of Bessus ^e	Not in Justin

¹¹³ I have followed the example of Seleucus I in dating the beginning of the *reign* of Arsaces I. Although he took the diadem in 305 BC, Seleucus counted his regnal years from 311 BC when he wrested Babylon from Antigonus. His successors continued the count and today we date the *reign* of Seleucus I to the period 312/311–281 BC. Since the Arsacid rulers themselves reckoned their regnal years from 247 BC, it is logical to take this date as the beginning of the *reign* of Arsaces I and not 238 BC when the Parthian leader allegedly supplanted Andragoras.

¹¹⁴ Assar 2004: 78; Assar 2005.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Justin (41.5.9) for the duration of reign (15 years).

¹¹⁶ Cf. Assar 2004: 82–87 and Assar 2005 for the relevant discussions.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Assar 2005 for the inception and terminal dates.

	Book (3.25.5): Satibarzanes rebels, advances to Artacoana, where the Areian palace was, and on hearing of Alexander's return flees to Bessus ^f	Not in Justin
	Books (3.25.6–8): <i>Alexander appoints Arsaces as satrap of Areia</i> ^g	Not in Justin
Late summer 330 BC	Book (3.25.8): Alexander moves south to the palace in Drangiana (Sīstān). The satrap, Barzaentes, a companion of Bessus, flees to India ^h	Not in Justin
	Not in Arrian	Book (12.4.12): <i>Alexander conquers Parthia and appoints as satrap, Andragoras, a Persian nobleman and the ancestor of Arsaces I</i> ⁱ
	Books (3.26.1–4): Alexander learns about the <i>conspiracy</i> , executes Philotas and eliminates Parmenion ^j	Book (12.5.3): Alexander puts to death both Philotas and Parmenion
Early winter 329 BC	Books (3.27.4–3.28.1): Alexander marches east against the Ariaspian tribes called Euergetae, and on his way to Bactra to hunt down Bessus wins over the Drangians, Gedrosians and Arachotians ^k	Book (12.5.9): Alexander fights the tribes of the Caucasus' foothills, including the Arimaspi or Euergetae, Drancae, and Parapamesadae
	Book (3.28.2): Satibarzanes attacks Areia, induces the Areians to rebel but is killed in battle against a force sent by Alexander ^l	Not in Justin
Mid winter 329 BC	Books (3.28.3–10): Alexander advances to Mount Caucasus in pursuit of Bessus and founds a city there called Alexandria. Bessus flees to Sogdiana ^m	Not in Justin
	Book (3.29.5): Before crossing river Oxus to hunt down Bessus, Alexander sends Stasanor to Areia to arrest Arsaces on charges of treason and take his place as satrap ⁿ	Not in Justin
Mid winter 329 BC	Books (3.29.6–3.30.5 and 4.7.1–3): Bessus is captured, brought to Alexander and sent to Bactra or Ecbatana to be executed ^o	Books (12.5.10–11): Bessus is brought to Alexander and surrendered to Darius' brother for torture
	Book (4.1.3): Alexander planned to found a city on the river Tanais and to call it Alexandria ^p	Book (12.5.12): Alexander founded the city of Alexandria on the river Tanais (Jaxartes)

Late winter 329 BC – Early spring 328 BC	Book (4.7.1): Alexander arrives at Zariaspa and Stasanor brings to him Arsaces in chains ^q	Not in Justin
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^a Curtius (5.13.1–25)¹¹⁸ agrees with Arrain although he fails to report the location at which Darius was slain. Diodorus (17.73.2–3)¹¹⁹ and Plutarch (*Alex.* 42.3–43.3)¹²⁰ too are silent about the place of Darius' death. But Curtius (6.2.12 and 6.12.15) states that Alexander and his army then came to Parthia and remained at the city of Hecatompylos for several days. Diodorus (17.75.1) too relates that following the demise of Darius, Alexander marched toward Hyrcania and on the third day arrived at the city of Hecatonapylos (sic).

^b Omitted by Curtius (6.4.1–2) who mentions that Alexander left Craterus and Amyntes, with the forces under them and 600 horsemen and the same number of archers, to protect Parthia against the barbarians. Arrian (3.22.1), on the other hand, reports that Tlepolemus, one of the Companions, was associated with Amminapes to superintend Parthia and Hyrcania. This is consistent with Alexander's policy of installing a local satrap aided by a Macedonian officer in charge of the garrison. Curtius then continues that the Macedonian king made his way through the satrapy to the borders of Hyrcania. According to Arrian (3.8.4), Phrataphernes was Darius' satrap of the Parthians, Hyrcanians and the Topeirians (for Tapurians). Since he surrendered to Alexander in Hyrcania [Arrian (3.23.4) and Curtius (6.4.23)], it is highly likely that his satrapies had already been divided among other Persian defectors. Curtius (6.4.23–25) reports that having received Phradates (= Autophradates in Arrian), the governor of the tribe of the Tapuri, Alexander appointed Amminaspes as satrap of Hyrcania and gave Tapuria to Phradates. He later placed the Mardi under Phradates [also in Arrian (3.23.6–7 and 3.24.3)]. These remarks strongly suggest that Parthia and Hyrcania had already been given to Amminaspes although Alexander soon returned them to Phrataphernes. Arrian (3.28.2) refers to Phrataphernes as the satrap of Parthia in late autumn 330 BC. We are also told by Arrian (4.18.1–3) and Curtius (18.3.17) that Alexander made over to Phrataphernes Hyrcania, the Mardi and Tapuria in late 328 BC. Furthermore, Arrian (5.20.7) relates that Phrataphernes was still satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania in 326 BC.

^c Curtius (6.4.3–6.5.23) gives a detailed sketch of Alexander's operations in Hyrcania, including the appointment of Autophradates as satrap of the Tapurians. Plutarch (*Alex.* 44.1) and Diodorus (17.75.3–17.76.4) are quite brief, both omitting the nomination of Autophradates.

^d Curtius (6.6.13) clearly implies that Satibarzanes had been received by Alexander and installed as "satrap of the region which he had formerly governed".

^e Curtius (6.6.13–16) confirms Alexander's march to the region of Bactra to meet Bessus.

^f Curtius (6.6.21–22) and Diodorus (17.78.1–4) both refer to the rebellion of Satibarzanes, the Areian satrap, who had made common cause with Bessus, and Alexander's march against him. Curtius (6.6.33–34) further reports that Alexander captured the city of Artacana (Heart or Alexandria in Areia) while Diodorus (17.78.1) calls the city Chortacana.

^g This is not reported in other sources. Curtius (6.6.34) relates that the inhabitants of Artacana surrendered themselves to Alexander and were pardoned. Since the previous Areian satrap, Satibarzanes, had already defected to Bessus, Alexander must have confirmed a new governor for Areia.

^h Curtius (6.6.35–36) concurs with Arrian. Diodorus (17.78.4) mistakenly reports that having pacified the satrapy in thirty days, Alexander left Hyrcania (rather than Areia) and marched to the capital of Drangiana.

ⁱ Justin (12.5.1) places this event immediately before Alexander's move against Philotas and Parmenion. He writes that "Alexander began in the meantime to terrorise his men with an animosity characteristic

¹¹⁸ Cf. Rolfe 1998 and 1999; for references to Q. Curtius.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Welles 1997; for references to Diodorus.

¹²⁰ Cf. Perrin 1999; for references to Plutarch.

of an enemy, not of one's own king. ...". This strongly indicates that the appointments of Arsaces and Andragoras as satraps of Areia and Parthia, respectively, may be coincident since both events immediately preceded Alexander's march to the royal residence in Drangiana. However, it is possible that as a result of Justin's conflation of some events we have here a reference to Phrataphernes' nomination as satrap of Parthia before Alexander left for Bactria (cf. n. "b" above). What is certain is that Alexander would not have placed Parthia under a Greek or Macedonian satrap called Andragoras. According to Arrian (3.16.4–3.25.8), before Arsaces' appointment as the Areian satrap, Alexander had installed Mazaeus, Mithrenes, Abulites (a Persian), Phrasaorthes (son of Rheomithras), Oxarthes (son of Abulites), Oxydates (a Persian), Amminapes (a Parthian), Autophradates, and Satibarzanes to govern Babylonia, Armenia, Susiana, Persia, Paractacene, Rhagae, Parthia-Hyrcania, Tapuria and the Mardi, and Areia, respectively.

^j Curtius 6.7.1–7.2.33; Diodorus 17.79.1–17.80.4, and Plutarch, *Alex.* 48.1–49.7.

^k Curtius (7.3.1) adds that before moving against the Drangians, Alexander gave the satrapy of Drangiana to Arsames. Diodorus (17.81.1) also reports Alexander's expedition against the Arimaspians.

^l Curtius 7.3.2–3; 7.4.32–38, and Diodorus 17.81.3; 17.83.4–6.

^m Curtius 7.3.19–7.4.21; Diodorus 17.82.1–17.83.1; 17.83.2–3; 17.83.7.

ⁿ Not reported by Curtius and Diodorus.

^o Curtius 7.5.19–26.7.5.36–43; Diodorus 17.83.8–9.

^p Curtius 7.6.13–14.

^q Not reported by Curtius and Diodorus. Starbo (11.11.2) states that Bactra was also called Zariaspa.¹²¹

ABBREVIATIONS

AD	<i>Anno Domini</i>
ADRTB	<i>Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia</i>
AE	Arsacid Era. Epoch = 1 Nisānu (14–15 April) 247 BC = 65 Seleuco-Babylonian Era
BC	Before Christ
BM	British Museum
CHr	<i>Cambridge History of Iran</i>
CIr	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum</i>
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library
PEDN	<i>Parthian Economic Documents from Nisa</i> = D.N. MacKenzie (ed.), <i>CIr</i> , Part II: <i>Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia</i> , vol. 2: <i>Parthian</i> . London
SEB	Seleucid Era of the Babylonian Calendar. Epoch = 1 Nisānu (2/3 April) 311
SEM	Seleucid Era of the Macedonian Calendar. Epoch = 1 Dios (6/7 October) 312

¹²¹ Jones 2000: 280–281.

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