

against the Parthians. In 76 M. Ulpian Trajan, father of the future emperor, received triumphal insignia for some diplomatic victory over the Parthians.⁶¹ The work of Valerius Flaccus, a part of which must have been composed about this time, clearly mirrors Roman interest in the Alani and in the Caucasus region.⁶²

⁶¹ W. H. Waddington, *Fastes des provinces asiatiques* (Paris, 1872), No. 100; Pliny *Panegyricus* 14. That no serious fighting took place is shown by Tac. *Hist.* i. 2; Victor *Epit.* 9. 12 and *De Caes.* 9. 10.

⁶² Valerius Flaccus iii. 493 f.; v. 558-60 and 600 f.; vi. 65 f., 106 f., 114-35, 203 f., 507 f., 690-92.

To about this same time may belong the Pahlavi document Avroman III. It is dated 321 (A.E.?), i.e., A.D. 74, or, if it is dated in the Seleucid era, A.D. 10. See A. Cowley, "The Pahlavi Document from Avroman," *JRAS*, 1919, pp. 147-54; A. H. Sayce, "Two Notes on Hellenic Asia. I. The Aramaic Parchment from Avroman," *JHS*, XXXIX (1919), 202-4; J. M. Unvala, "On the Three Parchments from Avroman in Kurdistan," *Bull. School of Or. Studies*, I 4 (1920), 125-44; H. S. Nyberg, "The Pahlavi Documents from Avroman," *Le monde oriental*, XVII (1923), 182-230.

CHAPTER IX

PARTHIA IN COMMERCE AND LITERATURE

IN THE period covered by the past four chapters important changes were taking place in the world of commerce, changes which were eventually to influence profoundly the course of Parthian history. With increasing wealth and luxury in Syria and Rome came a demand for the products of the Far East. One or more of the great silk routes from China passed through Parthia, and others crossed territory which Parthian arms controlled.¹ The revenue from taxes swelled Parthian treasuries until Tacitus compared them with those of Rome.² Incentive for the development of new routes to avoid Parthia probably arose not from a desire to avoid payment of these duties but from the breakdown of Parthian control along the route. Customs exacted by an organized government, though high, amount to less than the numerous tributes required by petty chieftains every

¹ M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (2d ed.; Cambridge, 1926), pp. 98 ff. There are several errors in that chapter; e.g., Seleucia was directly opposite Ctesiphon, not "a few miles distant" (as stated on his p. 101). Again, Charlesworth, *loc. cit.*, says: "Seleucia on the Tigris . . . usually was able to hold itself independent(!) of Parthia."

² Tac. *Ann.* ii. 60.5.

few miles when strong centralized rule is gone. The water route to India with its harbor dues and pirates must have been the lesser of two evils.³

At a later date we have records of customhouses established on the Tigris-Euphrates frontier where taxes were collected by Roman publicans.⁴ Widespread occupation during the Parthian period, including extensive reoccupation of abandoned sites, proves that Parthian rule brought prosperity to Mesopotamia. The huge Nahrwan canal (east of the Tigris) with many of its branches may be of Parthian construction.

During the reign of Vologases I (A.D. 51/52-79/80) a new city, Vologasia or Vologesocerta, was founded in the vicinity of Babylon.⁵ The king's intention may have been to establish a new commercial center to displace the older Seleucia, where party strife frequently disturbed the flow of trade and where opposition to the royal will often arose.⁶ Vologesocerta is frequent-

³ Cf. W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (New York, 1912), p. 5; on the date of the *Periplus*, see p. 69, n. 41. J. W. Thompson, *An Economic and Social History of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1928), pp. 23 f., feels that the northern routes also were developed to circumvent Parthia.

⁴ Fronto *Princ. hist.* 16; Philostratus *Vita Apoll.* i. 20; E. S. Bouchier, *Syria as a Roman Province* (Oxford, 1916), p. 170.

⁵ The date of this foundation or refoundation was probably between 55 and 65, since it is mentioned in Pliny *Hist. nat.* vi. 122. The tenth book of Pliny's work was published in 77. On the city see also Amm. Marcel. xxiii. 6. 23 and the Peutinger Table.

⁶ McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, pp. 229 and 236.

ly mentioned in inscriptions from Palmyra as the destination of the Palmyrene caravans. With the diversion of trade to this new center, the increasing importance of the more purely Parthian Ctesiphon across the river, and the destruction wrought by successive Roman invasions, the decline of the old royal city of Seleucia grew progressively more rapid in the second century after Christ.

The most important of the early trade routes was the great road which led to the Land of the Two Rivers across the Iranian plateau from the borders of China. Chinese traders met the westerners⁷ at a place called the "Stone Tower," tentatively identified as Tashkurgan on the upper Yarkand River.⁸ When the road reached Bactria, the presence of the Kushans forced a wide detour southward through Arachosia and Aria. From Rhages (Rayy) the road led westward to Ecbatana (Hamadan).⁹ From Ecbatana, however, goods continued to pass to Syria via the Fertile Crescent or across the desert via Dura-Euro-

⁷ The Seres of Pliny *Hist. nat.* vi. 54 ff., Amm. Marcel. xxiii. 6. 14, and classical literature in general are not the Chinese but these intermediaries. B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago: Field Museum, 1919), p. 538, emphatically denies a connection between the Greek *sēr* (pl., *sēres*), the Mongolian *širgek*, and the Manchu *širge*, originally proposed by J. Klaproth, "Conjecture sur l'origine du nom de la soie chez les anciens," *JĀ*, II (1823), 243-45, and J. P. Abel-Rémusat, *ibid.*, 245-47, and accepted by many including Schoff, *Periplus*, p. 266. But cf. now PW, art. "Seres."

⁸ Charlesworth, *Trade-Routes and Com. of Rom. Emp.*, p. 103.

⁹ Isid. Char. *Mans. Parth. passim*. Cf. Pliny *Hist. nat.* vi. 46 ff. An interesting novel on the silk trade of this period is S. Merwin's *Silk* (New York, 1923).

pus or Palmyra. For Mesopotamian trade they might take a more southern route to the distributing center of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, where bales received overland from China and India mingled with those which came up the Persian Gulf and the Tigris River.

At the same time that shifts in the routes of commerce were taking place, interest at Rome in the Orient became both intense and widespread, an interest clearly reflected in the poets. Many historical references have already been pointed out, for some of these writers were in position to secure first-hand information, and most of them were contemporary with the events they mention. But more important than the actual information which they furnish is the fact that the poets mirror the passing thought and interests of contemporary Rome. In their writings, then, we should expect to find evidence of the rise of Roman interest in the East, and, since many of the poems are datable by internal evidence, we should be able to trace its development quite closely.

Sulla's contact with Parthia was of an ephemeral character; he had no realization of the future of those "barbarians" or even of their strength in his own day.¹⁰ A most peaceful people, the "Persians" (Parthians), says Cicero before his governorship of Cilicia.¹¹ Crassus had already begun to talk of Bac-

¹⁰ This is clearly brought out by J. Dobíáš, "Les premiers rapports des Romains avec les Parthes et l'occupation de la Syrie," *Archiv. or.*, III (1931), 215-56.

¹¹ Cicero *De domo sua* 60.

tria, India, and the Outer Sea¹² before he set out on his conquests in the East; but he had little information with regard to the enemy. Faith in the invincible Roman legion was unshaken; the effect of mounted archers and heavy-armored cavalry against foot troops remained to be demonstrated by the Parthians. Doubtless many excuses were found for the disaster at Carrhae, but in any case it did not suffice to awaken the public immediately to the presence of a new power on the eastern horizon. Few apparently realized the truth.

Cicero, governor of Cilicia, at the edge of the threatened territory, was aware to some extent of the danger from beyond the Euphrates. With Parthian cavalry at the very door of Syria, his frantic appeal for additional troops aroused no great concern at Rome. The raids passed, and no action was taken; but the seriousness with which Pompey, after Pharsalia, considered leading Parthia against the Roman world, proved that military men at least were somewhat cognizant of the situation. The elaborate preparations made by Caesar, including sixteen legions and six thousand cavalry, show clearly that he realized the magnitude of the task which lay before him. Still, it is very doubtful whether, to the man in the streets at Rome, Parthia was much more than a name. The awakening was sudden and rude.

In 40 B.C. Parthian forces under the joint command

¹² Plut. *Crassus* 16. 2.

of the Parthian prince Pacorus and the Roman Labienus struck directly into the heart of the Roman East. The provinces of Asia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Syria were all taken by the Parthians; even as far south as Petra, Parthia's word was law. For two years this vast area, so vital to Roman commerce and pleasure, was under military occupation by the Parthians. Possession of the Carian and perhaps the Ionian coast by foreigners struck close to home, for in the coastal towns of those districts Roman officials were accustomed to land when they passed to their eastern commands. There were many in Rome itself who were native to that part of the world or who had been there on business. The victories of Ventidius had no sooner pushed the invaders beyond the Euphrates than another Roman army, under Antony, barely escaped annihilation at Parthian hands. The effect was electrical. Catchwords and phrases concerning the East became common property and were on every tongue. Occasional references are to be found as early as Lucretius¹³ and the first poems of Vergil.¹⁴ After the Parthian invasion of Syria a flood of such material begins. The *Eclogues* of Vergil¹⁵ and

¹³ *De rerum natura* iii. 750. In the references which follow, mentions of specific historical events have generally been omitted; they will be found in their proper places in the narrative. The lists are not to be considered as complete.

¹⁴ *Ciris* 299, 308, 440, 512; *Culex* 62 and 67.

¹⁵ *Ecl.* i. 62; iv. 25; x. 59.

later his *Georgics*¹⁶ and his *Aeneid*¹⁷ abound in references to Parthia, Media, Bactria, and distant India. The Parthian bow, the feigned retreat, the parting shot from behind, the Armenian tiger, the Hyrcanian dog, Assyrian dye and spice, Indian or Assyrian ivory, the inhospitable Caucasus, the tepid Tigris, the broad Euphrates, the beautiful Ganges, the Indian Hydaspes, the wool of the Seres—all these and many more become stock phrases which persist in literature long after the events which caused them to spring into being have become ancient history. Epics and plays were written with Parthian settings.¹⁸ Horace was greatly interested in the East,¹⁹ especially in the proposed expedition of Tiberius and the recovery of the standards.²⁰ Hints of an expedition to the East at the direction of Augustus are plentiful in Propertius.²¹

¹⁶ *Georg.* i. 509; ii. 121-23, 126, 134-39, 171 f., 440, 465; iii. 26 ff.; iv. 210 f., 290, 313 f., 425 f., 560 f.

¹⁷ *Aeneid* iv. 367; vi. 794; viii. 685-88, 705 ff., 726, 728; ix. 31 f.; xii. 67 and 857 f.

¹⁸ Horace (*Sat.* ii. 1. 15) declares he cannot write an epic (as others were apparently doing) depicting the Parthians falling from their horses. Persius (*Sat.* v. 1-4), roughly a hundred years later, perhaps modeling his phrase on the passage in Horace, speaks of the poets' theme of a wounded Parthian.

¹⁹ Horace *Ep.* i. 12; vii. 9; xiii. 8; *Od.* i. 2. 21 f. and 51; ii. 2; 12. 53 ff.; 19. 10-12; 21. 15; 22. 6-8; 26. 5; 29. 1-5; 31. 6; 35. 9 and 40; 38. 1; ii. 2. 17; 7. 8; 9. 17 ff.; 11. 16; 13. 17 f.; 16. 6; iii. 1. 44; 2. 3; 3. 44; 5. 4; 8. 19; 24. 1 f.; 29. 27 f.; iv. 5. 25; 14. 42; 15. 23; *Carmen saec.* 53 ff.; *Epist.* i. 1. 45; 6. 6 and 39; 7. 36; ii. 1. 112 and 256.

²⁰ See pp. 139 f., nn. 50 and 55.

²¹ See p. 139, n. 50.

such Christian writers as Jerome still remember the Parthians.³⁸

When Rome found herself confronted with new and more vigorous opponents, the Sasanidae, the Parthians were sometimes, though by no means always, confused with them. Examples of both confusion and correct identification may be found in Claudian, where again the Araxes, the Hyrcanian tiger, the Medes, the Indians, and other traditional terms appear.³⁹ Even as late as Boethius⁴⁰ and the *Anthologia Latina*⁴¹ the tradition was still alive; indeed, through the medium of classical literature it was carried over into English classics.⁴²

³⁸ Jerome *Epist.* xiv. 3; lxxvii. 10; cvii. 10; cxxv. 3; cxxvii. 3.

³⁹ Claudian *Paneg. dictus Probino et Olybrio* 78-81, 160-63, 170, 179 f.; *In Rufinum* i. 227, 293, 310-12, 374-76; ii. 242-44; *De bello Gildonico* 31-33; *In Eutropium* i. 321, 342-45, 354, 414-16; ii. 102, 475 f., 569-71; *Fescennina de nuptiis Honorii Augusti* i. 1 f.; *Epithalamium* 168, 210-12, 217, 222-25; *Paneg. tertio cons. Hon.* 4, 19 f., 27 f., 35 f., 70-72, 201-4, 210 f.; *Paneg. quarto cons. Hon.* 43 f., 145 f., 214-16, 257 f., 306-8, 387 f., 530 f., 542, 585 f., 601, 607-10, 653, 656; *Paneg. dictus Manlio Theodoro* 236; *De consulatu Stilichonis* i. 52 ff., 155-57, 266; iii. 62-64; *Paneg. sexto cons. Hon.* 18, 69 f., 85 f., 414-16, 562 f.; (IX) *De hystrice* 21 f.; (XXV) *Epithalamium dictum Palladio et Celerinae* 61, 74, 88 f.; (XXX) *Laus Serenae* 52; (XXXI) *Epist. ad Serenam* 7, 14-16; *De raptu Proserpinae* i. 17 f.; ii. 82, 94, 200; iii. 105, 263-65, 320, 325. The tradition that the victories of Trajan made Mesopotamia a Roman province appears in Claudian *Paneg. quarto cons. Hon.* 315-17 and is frequently alluded to elsewhere.

⁴⁰ *Philosophiae consolatio* ii. 2. 34-38; iii. 5. 5 and 10. 9; iv. 3. 15; v. 1. 1-3.

⁴¹ Octavianus in *Poetae Latini minores*, IV, ed. A. Baehrens (Lipsiae, 1882), p. 249, lines 104 f., and p. 256, *Verba amatoris ad pictorem* 3 f.

⁴² Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act III, Scene 1; Act IV, Scene 12, line 70; *Cymbeline*, Act I, Scene 6, line 20; Milton, *Paradise Regained* iii. 280 ff.

CHAPTER X

TRAJAN IN ARMENIA AND MESOPOTAMIA

THE campaign of Corbulo had achieved a temporary though costly settlement of the Armenian succession which left that country well within the sphere of Roman influence. The inroads of the Alani broke upon Parthia about A.D. 72 and drew her attention again to her eastern frontier, where, from the middle of the first century, she had been gradually losing ground. At the time Josephus was writing, in the latter part of the first century, the Euphrates was still the western boundary.¹ With Roman interests occupied elsewhere and Parthian arms engaged in the east, ancient historians of the western world found little of note to record.

In April, 78, a king by the name of Pacorus (II) began striking coins at the Seleucia-Ctesiphon mint; but Vologases I was able to continue his issues from the same place, and even during the same month.² This evidence for the struggle between pretender and ruler continues until the end of the next year, when

¹ Josephus *Bell.* iii. 107.

² McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 192.

Vologases disappears from history.³ Pacorus II⁴ is seldom mentioned in our scanty literary sources, nor is there any hint as to what relation he bore to his predecessor, save that his succession was not a friendly one.

In 79 there appeared in the East a pseudo-Nero, in reality a Roman citizen from Asia Minor named Terentius Maximus. He progressed as far as the Euphrates, but was at last forced to take refuge with one of the pretenders to the Parthian throne, Artabanus (IV), who struck coins at the Seleucia mint in the years 80-81.⁵ The pseudo-Nero won a welcome from the Parthians on the ground that he had returned Armenia to Parthian control. Preparations were being made to restore him when his imposture was discovered and he died.⁶

By 82/83 Pacorus II had apparently driven his rivals from the field; in any case they no longer had

³ McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, pp. 119 f., rightly assigns to Vologases I the issues of 78-80 formerly given to Vologases II. This clears up the difficulty of a two-year reign of Vologases II in 78-80 and his reappearance thirty years later, in 111/112, when his real period of power commenced. Cf. Wroth, *Parthia*, p. lvi.

⁴ Not the ruler of Media (see p. 194), for his earliest coins (see Wroth, *Parthia*, p. lvi) show a youthful and beardless head.

⁵ Wroth, *Parthia*, p. 203; McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, pp. 193 and 230.

⁶ Dio Cass. lxvi. 19. 3b; Joan. Antioch. (*FHG*, IV, fr. 104); Zonaras xi. 18. C. Another pseudo-Nero appeared ten years later; to one of the two must refer the *Orac. Sibyl.* iv. 125. 138 f.

sufficient power to strike coins.⁷ The surrender of another pseudo-Nero was demanded by the emperor Domitian in 89, and Pacorus was at last constrained to give him up.⁸

Toward the conclusion of his reign Domitian apparently planned to seek military honors in the East. Abascantius, his secretary, was ordered to learn what news came from the wandering Euphrates.⁹ The Euphrates was to be crossed at Zeugma, whence the army would turn north, pass over the Araxes, and perhaps conquer regal Bactra or even India. Other forces would invade Mesopotamia; the wealth of Babylon would be theirs. M. Maecius Celer was sent in advance to take charge of the Syrian legions, and his earlier experience in fighting in the East was expected to be of great value.¹⁰

Although Domitian did not live to carry out this plan, it was not long before Trajan was engaged in a campaign which followed closely along the same lines. Trajan came to the throne in 98. Perhaps it was early in his reign that certain difficulties arose between

⁷ The early issues of Pacorus after his victory depict the king on horseback receiving a diadem from a Tyche and an untied diadem(?) from a male figure in the rear. This may well be the conquered Artabanus, as E. T. Newell suggests in the forthcoming *Survey of Persian Art*.

⁸ Suet. *Nero* 57. 2; Tac. *Hist.* i. 2.

⁹ Statius *Silvae* v. 1. 89. Abascantius was a friend of Statius, whose poems are filled with thoughts of the proposed expedition.

¹⁰ Statius *Silvae* i. 4. 77-81; ii. 6. 18 f.; preface to iii; iii. 2. 101 ff. and 135 f.; iv. 1. 40 ff.; 2. 49; 3. 137 and 154; 4. 30 f.; v. 1. 60 f.; 2. 140 f.; 3. 185 ff.

him and Pacorus over some frontier question, for the Parthian claimed that neither had executed a certain agreement within thirty days and that the Romans had fortified enemy territory contrary to the oracle.¹¹

The last years of Pacorus appear to have been troubled. His coinage at the Seleucia-Ctesiphon mint contains lengthy gaps, including one of five years (88-93) and one of eight years (97-105). As early as 105/6 a rival king, perhaps Vologasēs II, made his appearance; and in 109/10 Osroes, the brother or brother-in-law of Pacorus, began to coin money.¹² The struggle soon became one between Osroes and Vologasēs II, for with one exception the dated coinage of Pacorus ceases in 96/97.¹³

In 97, during the reign of the emperor Ho, the protector-general Pan Ch'ao sent Kan Ying on a mission to Ta Ch'in (Syria). He reached Mesene, where sailors discouraged his crossing by telling him that the round trip took three months. Here is another indication of the growing importance of this region and of the southern route to Syria. Four years later, in 101, a king of Parthia named Man-ch'iu

¹¹ Arrian *Parthica* fr. 32. On the placing of this fragment cf. Longden, "Parthian Campaigns of Trajan," *JRS*, XXI (1931), 12 f.

¹² McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 193.

¹³ Wroth, *Parthia*, p. lvi. The issues of 107/8 usually assigned to Osroes are probably not his; possibly they belong to Vologasēs II, as McDowell, *op. cit.*, p. 231, suggests.

(identified as Pacorus) sent gifts of lions and ostriches from Mesene,¹⁴ the latter perhaps brought there by traders from Arabia.

We have further evidence that Pacorus was not dead, however; for Decebalus, the famous Dacian opponent of Trajan, presented the Parthian with a slave named Callidromus, presumably a Greek, taken from the Romans by one of the Dacian leaders. The Greek remained for a number of years with Pacorus, and eventually came to possess a beautiful gem engraved with the figure of the Parthian ruler.¹⁵ Possibly some of the heavy Parthian cavalry had aided the Dacians, for the armored warriors on Trajan's column that are usually called Sarmatians might also be Parthians.¹⁶ Perhaps it was to this Pacorus that Martial referred in one of his poems as deliberating in Arsacia (Rhages).¹⁷ In 110¹⁸ Pacorus sold the kingdom of Osroene to Abgarus VII, son of Izates, but the territory may have remained subject to Parthia in some manner. About the same time a ruler named Tiridates was deposed from the Armenian throne by Osroes, and Axidares, one of the two sons

¹⁴ Édouard Chavannes, "Les pays d'Occident d'après le Heou Han chou," *T'oung pao*, 2. sér., VIII (1907), 178 and n.

¹⁵ Pliny *Epist.* x. 74.

¹⁶ M. Dieulafoy, "L'Art antique de la Perse," V (Paris, n.d.), p. 54; Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule* (Leipzig, 1926), Pl. 17, No. 31, and Pl. 20, No. 37.

¹⁷ Martial *Epig.* ix. 35. 3. ¹⁸ Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 140.

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Presents were given to Anchialus, king of the Heniochi and the Machelones.⁴⁰ Trajan also invested a king of the Albani and received kings of the Iberians, the Sarmatians, and the Colchians.⁴¹ These events were probably represented on coins bearing the legend REGNA ADSIGNATA.⁴² Amazaspus, brother of King Mithradates of Iberia, must have joined forces with Trajan at Satala. But he was destined never to engage in the fighting, for he died and was buried near Nisibis.⁴³ It was probably at Satala that Trajan met reinforcements from the Danube region.⁴⁴

At Elegia (Ilidja, Turkish Ilıca), west of modern Erzurum, Parthamasiris at last secured the interview he had so long sought. Trajan received the Armenian monarch before all the army. Parthamasiris approached the Emperor, took off his diadem, and laid it at the feet of Trajan, expecting to have it replaced even as Nero had replaced the diadem on the head of Tiridates. The scene is represented on a gold coin which bears the inscription REX PARTHVS.⁴⁵ The

⁴⁰ Dio Cass. lxxviii. 19.

⁴¹ Eutrop. *Brev.* viii. 3; see also the references given by Longden, "Parthian Campaigns of Trajan," *JRS*, XXI (1931), 9, n. 8.

⁴² Mattingly and Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coin.*, II, 291, No. 666; Strack, *Untersuch. zur röm. Reichsprägung*, I, 222 f.

⁴³ *Frag. choliambica*, ed. A. D. Knox, fr. 1 (in "Loeb Classical Library," *The Characters of Theophrastus*, ed. J. M. Edmonds, p. 279); *IG*, XIV, No. 1374.

⁴⁴ *IGRR*, III, No. 173; Longden, *op. cit.*, p. 9 and n. 7.

⁴⁵ Mattingly and Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coin.*, II, 262, No. 263a, and 266, Nos. 310-12; Strack, *Untersuch. zur röm. Reichsprägung*, I, 218-20 and Pl. III 220.

army received the act as one of surrender and raised the shout of "Imperator!"⁴⁶ Trajan made no move to replace the diadem. When Parthamasiris saw that he was surrounded on all sides, he requested a private conversation, which was granted. This proved no more satisfactory, and the Armenian ruler eventually became angry and left camp, only to be brought back by the legionaries. Trajan then bade him speak out so that all might hear. Parthamasiris explained that he had not been defeated in battle but had come to be invested with the crown of Armenia, just as Tiridates had been. Trajan then declared that he would surrender Armenia to no one and that henceforth it was to be a Roman province.⁴⁷ For promised security Parthamasiris thanked the Emperor, but he complained of his suffering and reproached him for the treatment accorded him.⁴⁸ Trajan permitted the Armenian ruler to leave camp, escorted by his Parthian companions and a detachment of Roman cavalry. The Armenians with him, now Roman subjects, were not allowed to depart. As the cavalcade left the encampment, the leader of the Roman cavalry swung his horse against that of Parthamasiris, ordered him to rein in his mount,⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Strack, *op. cit.*, I, 220 f., believes that the coins inscribed IMPERATOR VII do not represent this acclamation, which he feels must have been unnumbered.

⁴⁷ Dio Cass. lxxviii. 19-20.

⁴⁸ Arrian *Parthica* fr. 38.

⁴⁹ Arrian *Parthica* fr. 39.

CHAPTER XI

THE DOWNFALL OF THE PARTHIAN
EMPIRE

AT THE accession of the new emperor, Hadrian, in 117, Roman foreign policy underwent a definite change. Claims to the new provinces which Trajan had attempted to add were dropped, and the frontier was once more to be limited to the old Euphrates boundary.¹ Along with these changes went an increased respect for the ability of the provincial,² who began to take more and more part in the government, not only in the provinces but also in Rome itself.

To honor the activities of Trajan in the Orient, Hadrian established the Parthian Games, which were celebrated for many years.³ Parthia herself was ap-

¹ Eutrop. *Brev.* viii. 6. 2; Spart. *Hadrian* 5. 3 and 9. 1. These provinces were only partially held, and even so under military control, for from one to three years at the most. Thus they should not be included on maps illustrating the greatest extent of the Roman Empire. A comparable situation would be the inclusion of Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine on a similar map of the Parthian empire.

² Cf. the changed attitude in Juvenal *Sat.* viii. 47 ff. from the scorn of i. 103 ff. and iii. 60 ff. The last is the famous passage on the Syrian Orontes flowing into the Tiber. The accession of Hadrian had taken place about the time book vii was written.

³ Dio Cass. lxi. 2. 3; *CIL*, I, pp. 377 f., and II, No. 4110 = Dessau 2931. Coins which might indicate military operations by Hadrian against

parently facing further territorial losses, for a report that the kings of Bactria sent envoys to Hadrian to seek friendship⁴ seems evidence that Bactria was then among the independent districts. In the west the excavations at Dura-Europus furnish us with a glimpse of that part of the Parthian empire. A contract of 121/22 drawn up in Phaliga mentions a Manesus, strategus of Mesopotamia and of Parapotamia and commander of the Arabs, who was also a collector of imposts.⁵

Parthamaspatēs, rejected by the Parthians soon after the departure of the Roman troops, was given Osroene by Hadrian.⁶ About 123 Hadrian went per-

the Parthians are now thought most doubtful. ADVENTIVI AUG. PARTHIAE S.C. and EXERCITUS PARTHICUS legends have been reported, but are now either lost or considered possible forgeries. On the first legend see Mattingly and Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coin.*, II, 456, PARTHIA, note. On the second see *ibid.*, p. 462, note, and Strack, *Untersuch. zur röm. Reichsprägung*, II, 148, n. 328, and 233 f., n. 22. EXERCITUS SYRIACUS, Mattingly and Sydenham, *op. cit.*, II, 428, No. 690, does not relate to any Parthian war.

⁴ Spart. *Hadrian* 21. 14.

⁵ Manesus bore also the title βατῆσα, evidently a Parthian title, probably coming from the Pahlavi *pātikhshāi* and eventually from Old Persian; see H. S. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi* (Uppsala, 1928-31), II, 179 f. M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. B. Welles have dealt with this contract in three papers: "Un contrat de prêt de l'an 121 ap. J.-C. trouvé à Doura," *CR*, 1930, pp. 158-81; "A Parchment Contract of Loan from Dura-Europus on the Euphrates," *Yale Classical Studies*, II (1931), 3-78; "Parchment No. X. A Contract of Loan of 121 A.D.," in Rostovtzeff and P. V. C. Bauer, *The Excavations at Dura-Europus, Second Season, 1928-29* (New Haven, 1931), pp. 201-16.

⁶ Spart. *Hadrian* 5. 4, erroneously Parthamasiris; Dio Cass. lxxviii. 33. 2; Julius Dürer, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian* ("Abh. des archäolo-

sonally to the eastern frontier, where he managed to settle difficulties which threatened to break out into actual hostilities.⁷ Perhaps these were connected with the struggle for power between Osroes and Vologases II, which was almost continuous from the time of the Roman withdrawal under Trajan. Vologases gradually was able to overcome his opponent, who struck no more coins after 128/29.⁸ During that year Hadrian returned to Osroes his daughter, who had been captured when Trajan took Ctesiphon, and in addition promised to restore the golden throne.⁹ In the years 131–32 another revolt of the Jews was simmering, and there is just a suggestion that the Parthians may have been expected to lend them assistance.¹⁰

Vologases, who as we have seen had received a part of Armenia at the time of Trajan's invasion and whose headquarters were probably in northwestern Iran, came into conflict with the Alani about 136.¹¹

gisch-epigraphischen Seminares der Universität Wien," II (Wien, 1881), p. 48; Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 146 and n. 1. Rawlinson, *Sixth Mon.*, p. 316 and n. 2, is in error when he suggests that Armenia was given to Parthamaspates.

⁷ Spart. *Hadrian* 12. 8. ⁸ McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 195.

⁹ Spart. *Hadrian* 13. 8; Dürr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, pp. 61 f.; Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 146.

¹⁰ Dio Cass. lxi. 13. 1 f.

¹¹ Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 146. Note that there was no coinage struck in the Seleucia mint during 134–36; see McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 195.

In that year, at the insistence of Pharasmanes of Iberia, this tribe from the northeast invaded Albania, Media Atropatene, and finally Armenia and Cappadocia. Probably it was this invasion which is mentioned by Mšihā Zkha.¹² A hostile force, according to his account, was reported to have invaded Gorduene. Rakhbakht, governor of Adiabene, and the general "Arshak" (not the king) took command of the twenty thousand foot troops raised in Ctesiphon by Vologases and set out to the threatened area. There a chief named Kizo managed to trap the Parthians in a valley; they were saved only by the heroic efforts of Rakhbakht, who lost his life in the fighting. The Parthians were forced to withdraw, and the way into Mesopotamia was open to the invaders. But fortune favored the Parthians, for at this critical juncture the homeland of the enemy was threatened by another people and they hastened eastward to repel the attack. Either the invaders of Gorduene or their own new foe or perhaps both of these groups must have been Alani. According to another account Vologases resorted to bribery in a vain attempt to stop their advance; but Flavius Arrianus, the historian, who

¹² Pp. 6–10 (tr. pp. 81–86). On Mšihā Zkha, in addition to the Syriac text and French translation of Mingana, *Sources Syriacques* (Mosul, 1907), see also E. Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela* (*APAW*, 1915, No. 6) and F. Zorell, *Chronica ecclesiae arbelensis . . .* ("Orientalia christiana," VIII [Roma, 1927]); P. Peeters, "Le 'Passionnaire d'Adiabène,'" *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLIII (Bruxelles, 1925), 261–304; G. Messina, "La cronaca di Arbela," *La civiltà cattolica*, anno 83^o (1932), III, 362–76.

was then governor of Cappadocia, finally forced them to halt. Vologases complained to Hadrian against Pharasmanes.¹³ But when Pharasmanes was "invited" to Rome, he refused, and insults were exchanged between him and Hadrian.¹⁴

From the death of Osroes to the end of the reign of Vologases II, A.D. 128/29–147, to judge from comparative numismatic evidence, there was in Iran a king by the name of Mithradates (IV), as his Pahlavi coin legend informs us.¹⁵ His bronze issues display a number of animal types—eagle, reclining humped bull, sheep, heads of horses and bulls. Apparently, however, there are no literary references to his activities.

In 138 Hadrian died and was succeeded by Antoninus Pius, but there were no difficulties on the Parthian frontier which the western historians deemed worthy of mention. In May, 148, appear coins of Vologases III, who must have succeeded to the throne without a struggle and who ruled until about March, 192.¹⁶

¹³ Dio Cass. lxi. 15; Arrian *Parthica* viii. fr. 6; Arrian *Tactica*; Karl Hartmann, *Flavius Arrianus und Kaiser Hadrian* (Augsburg, 1907 [diss.]).

¹⁴ Spart. *Hadrian* 13. 8 f.; 17. 12; 21. 13.

¹⁵ Wroth, *Parthia*, pp. lx and 219 f., Nos. 25–28. The fact that Mithradates struck no tetradrachms shows that he was solely in Iran. This is the first appearance of an extended Pahlavi inscription on Parthian coinage. It is unlikely that this Mithradates is the Meherdotes of Malalas, p. 270; cf. Schenk, *Malalas*, pp. 266 ff., and comments by Longden, "Parthian Campaigns of Trajan," *JRS*, XXI (1931), 31 f. On the coin inscriptions see Herzfeld, *Paikuli* (Berlin, 1924), p. 67.

¹⁶ McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, pp. 195–98. Mšīha Zkha, p. 11 (tr. p. 88), notes that Vologases III followed Vologases II; we may thus be reasonably sure that we have not omitted any kings who bore this name.

Vologases planned against the Armenians an expedition which some ancient writers claim was forestalled by correspondence from Antoninus.¹⁷ In any event Roman troops were sent to Syria for a Parthian war.¹⁸ Five years later the aged Abgarus VII of Osroene was returned to his kingdom from the east,¹⁹ possibly from independent Bactria or Hyrcania, whither he may have fled at the time of the Parthian counterstroke against Trajan. At the same time the Hyrcanians and Bactrians sent an embassy to Antoninus,²⁰ further evidence of internal weakness in Parthia and of the continued independence of these provinces (cf. pp. 240 f.). Parthian weakness is likewise indicated by the Emperor's refusal to return the throne of Osroes, which had been captured by Trajan.^{20a}

As to the Far East, Chinese records mention that a Parthian prince who came to China in 148 was among those responsible for the establishment of Buddhism there.²¹

In 161 Antoninus Pius was succeeded by Marcus

¹⁷ Capit. *Antoninus Pius* 9. 6; cf. Aristides *Or. sac.* i (Dindorf, pp. 453 f.). Cf. also the reference to the preparations for the struggle, Capit. *Marcus Antoninus* 8. 6.

¹⁸ *CIL*, IX, No. 2457 = Dessau 1076.

¹⁹ Capit. *Antoninus Pius* 9. 6; cf. PW, art. "Abgar," No. 7, and my p. 235, n. 112.

²⁰ Victor *Epit.* 15. 4.

^{20a} Capit. *Antoninus Pius* 9. 7.

²¹ Lewis Hodous, "The Introduction of Buddhism into China," *The Macdonald Presentation Volume* (Princeton, 1933), p. 231.

Aurelius,²² who joined with himself Lucius Verus,²³ the adopted son of the late emperor. Soon after the accession of the new rulers, Vologases launched his long-threatened campaign. C. Sedatius Severianus,²⁴ Gallic legate of Cappadocia, took the field against him. Severianus was probably following Trajan's route northward into Armenia when he was caught by the Parthian forces under a commander named Osroes and forced into Elegia. There Severianus was besieged, and he and his troops died almost to the last man.²⁵ Edessa was taken by the Parthians, and a certain Waël, son of Sahru, was placed on the throne.²⁶ The Parthians then moved southward and crossed the Euphrates into Syria, where they spread terror everywhere.²⁷ Since the days of Cicero the Syrians had been friendly with the Parthians, and danger of a general revolt became imminent.²⁸ Attidius Cornelianus, governor of Syria, was driven back when he attempted to oppose the invaders, and thus the state of affairs became critical.²⁹ It was decided

²² PW, art. "Annius," No. 94.

²³ PW, art. "Ceionius," No. 8. ²⁴ PW, art. "Sedatius," No. 1.

²⁵ Lucian *Alex.* 27. On the manner of his death cf. Lucian *Quomodo hist.* 21 and 25. See also Dio Cass. lxxi. 2. 1; Fronto *Princ. hist.* (Loeb, II, p. 214).

²⁶ Hill, *Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*, pp. xcvi f., and Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, pp. 148 f.

²⁷ Dio Cass. lxxi. 2. 1; Orosius vii. 15. 2.

²⁸ Capit. *Verus* 6. 9. ²⁹ Capit. *Marcus Antoninus* 8. 6.

to send Lucius Verus, the co-emperor, to take command of operations, and to supply him with the best generals Rome could produce: Avidius Cassius, Statius Priscus, and Martius Verus.

Accompanied by Marcus Aurelius as far as Capua,³⁰ Verus set out for Syria, where he arrived in 162. Not only were troops gathered from the oriental provinces, but three legions were brought from the Rhine and the Danube.³¹ These were the I Minervia under M. Claudius Fronto,³² the II Adiutrix, later under Q. Antistius Adventus,³³ and the V Macedonica under P. Martius Verus.³⁴ Parts or all of the following legions

³⁰ Capit. *Verus* 6. 7 and *Marcus Antoninus* 8. 10.

³¹ On the campaign see E. Napp, *De rebus imperatore M. Aurelio Antonino in Oriente gestis* (Bonnae, 1879 [diss.]); C. Harold Dodd, "Chronology of the Eastern Campaigns of the Emperor Lucius Verus," *Num. Chron.*, 4th ser., XI (1911), 209-67; A. von Premerstein, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Marcus," *Klio*, XIII (1913), 87-92; and the bibliography cited by Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, II D, pp. 628 f.

³² *CIL*, VI, No. 1377 = Dessau 1098. Cf. also *CIL*, III, No. 1457 = Dessau 1097; *CIL*, XIII, No. 8213 (see *Klio*, XI [1911], 357 f.). Lucian *Quomodo hist.* 21 probably also refers to this Fronto.

³³ *CIL*, VIII, No. 18893, and Dessau 8977 show the transfer of Adventus to the Adiutrix in A.D. 164. In 162 he was legate of the VI Ferrata.

³⁴ *CIL*, III, No. 6189; *CIL*, III, No. 7505 = Dessau 2311. The legion served under M. Statius Priscus also. Of the oriental legions, the III Cyrenaica appears on an undated graffito from Dura-Europus which might belong to this time; see C. B. Welles in Bauer, Rostovtzeff, and Bellinger, *The Excavations at Dura-Europus, Fourth Season*, pp. 150 f., No. 294.

may have served: III Gallica,³⁵ III Augusta,³⁶ I Adiutrix,³⁷ X Gemina,³⁸ and possibly II Traiana.³⁹

The Syrian troops were in miserable shape, most of them ill equipped and some not even familiar with their weapons.⁴⁰ Verus was greatly worried over the desperate situation in which he found affairs.⁴¹ He made an attempt to treat for terms, but the suggestion was refused by Vologases.⁴² Verus established his military headquarters in Antioch, where he could enjoy the cool shade and swift waters of near-by Daphne. His winters were spent in Laodicea.⁴³ There is no record of his taking an active part in the campaign with the exception of a rapid trip to the

³⁵ *Année épig.*, 1913, No. 48 = Dessau 9492. Probably Lucian *Quomodo hist.* 31 refers to this legion. Possibly the imaginative account he cites uses the names of troops actually under Cassius in Mesopotamia. A Celtic and a small Moorish contingent are also mentioned by Lucian *loc. cit.* See also Hopkins and Rowell in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Fifth Season*, pp. 229 f.

³⁶ *CIL*, VIII, No. 2975 = Dessau 2306. This should perhaps be referred to the time of Severus.

³⁷ *CIL*, III, No. 6755.

³⁸ *CIL*, VIII, No. 7050.

³⁹ On this and on all the other legions see PW, art. "Legio."

⁴⁰ Fronto *Princ. hist.* (Loeb, II, pp. 206 ff.); Vul. Gall. *Avidius Cassius* 5. 5-7.

⁴¹ Fronto *Epist.* ii. 2 (Loeb, II, pp. 116-18).

⁴² Fronto *Princ. hist.* 14 (Loeb, II, p. 212); Nazarius *Paneg.* xxiv. 6. The true estimate of the character of Verus must lie somewhere between the eulogy of Fronto and the vilification of Dio and the Scriptores.

⁴³ Dio Cass. lxxi. 1-2; Capit. *Verus* 7. 3 and *Marcus Antoninus* 8. 12.

Euphrates, said to have been made at the insistence of his staff.⁴⁴

That stern disciplinarian Avidius Cassius,⁴⁵ a native Syrian, was given command of the army and the task of whipping the legions into fighting shape. Early in 163 Statius Priscus took the offensive and advanced into Armenia. He seized the capital, Artaxata,⁴⁶ and, although he did not destroy it,⁴⁷ he founded a "new city" (Caenepolis, later Valarshapat; Armenian, Nor Khalakh) not far away. The ruler of Armenia who was thus deposed appears to have been Aurelius Pacorus,⁴⁸ whose name proves that he had been given Roman citizenship by M. Aurelius. The new Roman appointee was one Sohaemus,⁴⁹ whose enthronement was signaled by a new inscription on the coins of Verus, REX ARMEN. DAT.⁵⁰

At least one year elapsed between Priscus' advance into Armenia and the time when Cassius began a

⁴⁴ Capit. *Verus* 7. 6.

⁴⁵ PW, art. "Avidius," No. 1.

⁴⁶ Capit. *Marcus Antoninus* 9. 1 and *Verus* 7. 1; Lucian *Quomodo hist.* 20.

⁴⁷ As the evidence presented by F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (Paris, 1926), p. 334 and notes, shows.

⁴⁸ *CIG*, III, No. 6559; Asin. Quad. fr. 9 (J, II A, p. 449); Fronto *Epist.* ii. 1 (Loeb, II, p. 144).

⁴⁹ Some Roman candidate would certainly be placed upon the throne shortly after the capture of Artaxata, and the reference in Fronto *Epist.* ii. 1 (Loeb, II, p. 144), written at the end of the Armenian campaign, clearly belongs about this time. Cf. PW, art. "Sohaemus," No. 5.

⁵⁰ Mattingly and Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coin.*, III, 255, Nos. 511-13.

campaign in Mesopotamia.⁵¹ The latter fought an engagement at Sura (Sūriyyah)⁵² above Circesium and then threw a pontoon bridge across the Euphrates in much the same manner as would a modern military engineer. pontoons were collected back of the lines and brought forward above the point to be bridged. They were then floated downstream one by one and anchored at the desired point. The planks which the boats carried were used to join them to the bank or to similar pontoons farther out in the stream. Protection was given to the engineers by archers from a tower mounted on the pontoon nearest the opposite bank.⁵³ Once across the river Cassius turned southward along the stream, took Dausara and Nicephorium (Rakka),⁵⁴ and then won a bloody engagement near Dura-Europus,⁵⁵ which thenceforward

⁵¹ The events of these campaigns are known only from scattered references, largely geographical in character. That Priscus was in charge of the Armenian war and Cassius of the Mesopotamian conquest we can be certain.

⁵² Lucian *Quomodo hist.* 29; PW, art. "Sura"; A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie; le limes de Trajan à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1934), pp. 83 f.

⁵³ Dio Cass. lxxi. 3.

⁵⁴ Fronto *Epist.* ii. 1 (Loeb, II, p. 132); PW, art. "Dausara." There is also a Dausara near Edessa; see Steph. Byz. (Dindorf, p. 148). Victories in "Arabia" are mentioned by Vul. Gall. *Avidius Cassius* 6. 5.

⁵⁵ Lucian *Quomodo hist.* 20 and 28. On the identification of this Europus with Dura see F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos*, p. lii and notes. A dedicatory inscription to Verus was found at Dura; see Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 173 and p. 410, No. 53.

remained in Roman hands.⁵⁶ The victory went to the Romans only after a hard struggle and a pursuit which forced the Parthians into an armistice. Thence the army moved southward to Seleucia, where it was received in a friendly fashion. Shortly afterward, however, upon the violation of some agreement, the metropolis was stormed by the legions, among them the III Gallica,⁵⁷ and much of the city was destroyed by fire. Evidence from the excavations at Seleucia suggests that the assault on the city took place about December, 165, and that there was less damage than we have heretofore suspected.⁵⁸ Some place the blame for this violation of faith on Cassius; but many others, including the later historian of the Parthian wars, Asinius Quadratus, say that the people of Seleucia were the first to break the agreement.⁵⁹ Possibly the pro-Parthian party had gained the ascendancy over the pro-Roman one. Ctesiphon also was taken, and the palace of Vologases was destroyed.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Rostovtzeff, "Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art," *Yale Classical Studies*, V, 201.

⁵⁷ Cf. p. 248.

⁵⁸ McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 234. Coins were again struck about November, 166, and destruction in the main area excavated was relatively slight.

⁵⁹ Capit. *Verus* 8. 4. On the capture of the city see Dio Cass. lxxi. 2. 3; Eutrop. *Brev.* viii. 10. 2.

⁶⁰ Dio Cass. lxxi. 2. 3; Lucian *Bis accusatus* 2.

But the campaign was not fated to be a complete success, for while the troops were engaged in looting Seleucia one of the periodical epidemics, probably of smallpox,⁶¹ swept over the armies. The situation became so acute that the Romans were forced to retreat and leave behind large quantities of booty.⁶² Many soldiers died of disease and famine on the homeward road,⁶³ and the remainder carried the scourge into the Roman world, whence it spread rapidly westward until it reached the Rhine and Gaul.⁶⁴

Our scanty sources on this campaign might be supplemented if we could place the numerous but scattered references in Lucian. We find, for example: "Arsaces was in the act of slaying his mistress, while the eunuch Arbaces drew his sword upon him; the guards were dragging Spatinus the Mede out from the banquet by the foot, with the lump on his brow from the golden cup."⁶⁵

The Roman withdrawal must have been followed by a rapid Parthian advance over the invaded territory. Sohaemus was evidently driven from the Ar-

⁶¹ Heinrich Haeser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medizin und der epidemischen Krankheiten* (3d ed.; Jena, 1875-82), III, 24-33. This plague is mentioned in Chinese records; see Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 175. See also Amm. Marcel. xxiii. 6. 24; Capit. *Verus* 8. 2.

⁶² Mšīḥa Zkha, p. 12 (tr. p. 88). ⁶³ Dio Cass. lxxi. 2. 4.

⁶⁴ Amm. Marcel. xxiii. 6. 23; Capit. *Verus* 8.

⁶⁵ Lucian *Icaromenippus* 15 (translation of H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler). Cf. also Lucian *Menippus* 10 and *Tyrannus* 6. Eusebius *Chron.* (ed. Karst, p. 222) mentions Vologases' attack and the triumph of Verus.

menian throne and forced to flee to Syria. Such encroachment could scarcely be tolerated by the Romans, and about 166 another expedition began a march across Mesopotamia. Edessa was besieged, captured, and returned to its former ruler, Ma'nu VIII,⁶⁶ and the Parthian appointee, Waël, disappears. Next Nisibis, which had refused to ally itself with the Romans, was beset both by them and by the plague.⁶⁷ One of the Parthian commanders, Osroes, probably the same as the victor over Severianus, saved his life only by swimming the Tigris.⁶⁸ Perhaps it was this same expedition which pushed on far enough to the east to enable Verus to strike coins with the legend L. VERUS AUG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. MEDIC.⁶⁹

In 168, or perhaps a few years later, when Martius Verus⁷⁰ was governor of Cappadocia, he sent his gen-

⁶⁶ A. von Gutschmid, "Untersuchungen über die Geschichte des Königreichs Osroëne, *Mém. de l'Académie impériale des sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, 7. sér., XXXV (1887), 29 and 49; Hill, *Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*, p. xcvi; Lucian *Quomodo hist.* 22. Procopius *De bello Persico* ii. 12. 29 says the inhabitants revolted, murdered the Parthian garrison, and delivered the city to the Romans.

⁶⁷ Lucian *Quomodo hist.* 15. The reference to the plague dates the siege to about 166, if we place the fall of Seleucia in December, 165. Cf. *CAH*, XI, 347 f.

⁶⁸ Lucian *Quomodo hist.* 19.

⁶⁹ Mattingly and Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coin.*, III, 328, No. 1455, struck between summer and December, 166; *CIL*, VIII, No. 965 = Dessau 365; Lucian *Quomodo hist.* 30; Capit. *Verus* 7. 2.

⁷⁰ *CIL*, III, p. 1991; *CIL*, XI, No. 1924 = Dessau 5503; PW, art. "Martius," No. 6; Lucius Verus to Fronto ii. 3 (Loeb, II, p. 194).

eral Thucydides⁷¹ to restore Sohaemus to the Armenian throne; but the exigencies of the situation evidently forced Verus himself to enter Armenia.⁷² The garrison which Priscus had left at Caenepolis was found in a mutinous state, and the Parthian "satrap" Tiridates had stirred up trouble and slain the king of the Heniochi. Tiridates even dared to thrust his sword in Verus' face when the latter rebuked him for his action. Nevertheless Tiridates was not slain but was deported to far-off Britain.⁷³

The conclusion of this war marks a further step in the decline of Parthia. The territory west of the Khabur River remained permanently a portion of the Roman Empire; Carrhae and Edessa henceforth came more and more under the sway of Roman influence.⁷⁴

In 175 Avidius Cassius, the conqueror of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, declared himself emperor while Marcus Aurelius was far away on the Danube. In view of the prospect of civil war among the Romans, Vologases apparently threatened to resume the struggle.⁷⁵ Doubtless he was dissuaded by the sudden collapse of the revolt and the appearance of the Emperor on the scene.

⁷¹ PW, art. "Thucydides," No. 5.

⁷² Dio Cass. lxxi. 3. Iamblichus in Photius 94 (ed. Bekker, p. 75).

⁷³ Dio Cass. lxxii (lxxi. 14. 2).

⁷⁴ Hill, *Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia, and Persia*, pp. xc and xcvi.

⁷⁵ Capit. *Marcus Antoninus* 22. 1. This incident may have occurred earlier, about 173.

In September, 191, the aged Vologases was faced with a revolt, for another ruler of the same name, Vologases (IV), began to coin money in the Seleucia mint. Vologases III struck coins again in March, 192, but thereafter disappears.⁷⁶ In 193, the year of the three emperors, conditions became very unsettled in the Near East. Among the claimants to the Roman throne was Pescennius Niger in Syria, to whom the eastern vassals of Rome and the western dependents of Parthia offered congratulations and troops. Perhaps even Vologases himself was among those who tendered support. At first, when the outlook was bright, these proposals were declined with thanks; later, especially after Septimius Severus, who had been acknowledged emperor at Rome, started eastward, Niger was constrained to seek aid. He sent legates to rulers east of the Euphrates, especially those of Hatra, Armenia, and Parthia. Many of the Roman vassals estimated the situation correctly and made no move. But Barsemius of Hatra, Abgarus of Edessa, and the ruler of Adiabene actually sent troops, and Vologases promised to order the satraps to collect forces.⁷⁷ After being defeated by Severus,

⁷⁶ McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 198; Mšīḥa Zkha, p. 22 (tr. p. 98). Mingana, editor of the latter, on pp. 97 f., n. 1, has attempted on somewhat uncertain grounds to calculate the year in which Vologases IV ascended the throne; he was correct at least in wishing to make it later than the then accepted date 191.

⁷⁷ Herodian iii. 1. 2 f. and 9. 1 f. Moses Chor. ii. 75 states that Osroes of Armenia announced himself neutral.

Niger attempted to escape to the Parthians but failed. Some of his followers, more successful, gave military advice to Parthia.⁷⁸

While the attention of the Romans was occupied by the struggle between Severus and Niger, Vologases fomented a revolt in Osroene and Adiabene, and troops from these districts besieged Nisibis.⁷⁹ After the death of Niger they sent ambassadors to Severus to lay claims before the Emperor by virtue of the aid which they had given him in attacking a city which had sheltered his opponent's sympathizers! They also promised to restore what spoils remained as well as the Roman prisoners. But they refused to surrender the cities which they had captured or to receive garrisons, and they demanded that the Romans completely evacuate that territory.⁸⁰

Late in the spring of 195 Severus crossed the Euphrates and advanced into enemy territory. At Edessa Abgarus IX, ruler of the surrounding area, joined Severus, gave his sons as hostages, and assumed the name Septimius.⁸¹ The next advance was to Nisibis, where Severus established his headquarters. The legionaries suffered greatly on this long march. Per-

⁷⁸ Dio Cass. lxxv. 8. 3; Herodian iii. 4. 7 f.

⁷⁹ Dio Cass. lxxv. 1. 1 f. (Loeb, IX, p. 194). For Vologases' part in the revolt see Mšīḥa Zkha, p. 21 (tr. p. 98).

⁸⁰ Dio Cass. lxxv. 1 f. (Loeb, IX, pp. 194-96).

⁸¹ Herodian iii. 9. 2. These events should probably be placed in the first campaign (contrary to Herodian). See also Spart. *Severus* 9. 9 and 18. 1; Victor *De Caes.* 20. 14-17.

haps it was at Nisibis that the "Arabians" (of Hatra?) sent envoys with more reasonable offers than they had made before. The offers were refused, since the rulers had not come themselves. Severus remained at Nisibis, but divided his army into various commands under T. Sextius Lateranus,⁸² Tib. Claudius Candidus,⁸³ P. Cornelius Anullinus,⁸⁴ Probus,⁸⁵ and Laetus,⁸⁶ who proceeded to devastate the country round about. Three divisions, those under Anullinus, Probus, and Laetus, were sent to one of the districts of Mesopotamia, Ἀρχή (unidentified).⁸⁷ Severus received three imperial salutations and took the titles "Parthicus Arabicus" and "Parthicus Adiabenicus,"⁸⁸ since he had conquered the middle Euphrates and Adiabene. "Parthicus (Maximus)" he declined,^{88a} preferring no doubt to assume that honor after the

⁸² PW, art. "Sextius," No. 27.

⁸³ PW, art. "Claudius," No. 96; *CIL*, II, No. 4114 = Dessau 1140.

⁸⁴ PW, art. "Cornelius," No. 58.

⁸⁵ Possibly the son-in-law of Severus; see Spart. *Severus* 8. 1.

⁸⁶ PW, art. "Laetus," No. 1. He is not yet identified.

⁸⁷ Dio Cass. lxxv. 3. 2 (Loeb, IX, p. 198). Hatra, Adiabene, Arbelitis, Asicha near Zaitha, and the Archene of Pliny *Hist. nat.* vi. 128 have been suggested as emendations.

⁸⁸ *CIL*, VIII, No. 306, and VI, No. 954 = Dessau 417 f.; Mattingly and Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coin.*, IV, 97 f., Nos. 55 and 62 f., probably issued in 195. The abbreviated titles "Arabicus" and "Adiabenicus" appear frequently; see *ibid.*, pp. 96 ff., Nos. 41, 58, 63A, 64, and 76, issued 195-97.

^{88a} Spart. *Severus* 9. 10; cf. below, p. 260.

capture of the Parthian capital, in the manner of Trajan.

Early in 196, before a direct attack could be made on Parthia, Severus was forced to leave the eastern front by the revolt in Gaul of Clodius Albinus, who was eventually defeated and killed in 197. With the Emperor absent and the Roman power weakened by civil war, Vologases swept rapidly northward through Mesopotamia. Nisibis was saved only by the desperate defense of Laetus, who was besieged within the city, and even Armenia may have been retaken.⁸⁹

The Roman successes had apparently crystallized revolutionary sentiment in Iran, and definite action was probably begun by the Medes and the people of Persis⁹⁰ before the withdrawal of Severus. Vologases with a large army advanced against the enemy, whom he met in Khorasan. After crossing a small river his forces found themselves surrounded on all sides. Taken by surprise they were forced to abandon their horses and retreat, but the rebels cornered them in the mountains and killed a great number. At last the loyal Parthian troops managed to reorganize, fall upon their pursuers with great fury, and drive them as far as the sea (the Caspian?). Homeward bound after this victory, the army of Vologases met a rebel contingent which had become separated from the

⁸⁹ Herodian iii. 9. 1 f.

⁹⁰ The phrase "Medes and Persians" used by Mšihā Zkha, pp. 21 f. (tr. pp. 98 f.), may mean merely "Iranians."

main body. After two days of hard fighting, the forces opposing the king melted away into darkness during the night, and his troops returned in triumph.⁹¹

Narses, king of Adiabene, had not only refused to join with Vologases in his eastern campaign but may have shown signs of becoming friendly to the Romans. For these reasons, after his successful conquest, the Parthian monarch invaded Adiabene, destroyed and pillaged several cities, and went home only after drowning Narses in the Greater Zab.⁹²

In 197 Severus began preparations for an attack on Parthia itself. Three new legions—the I, II, and III Parthica⁹³—were created for the coming campaign, and at least a part of the III Augusta must have served.⁹⁴ His officers probably included Statilius Barbarus,⁹⁵ L. Fabius Cilo,⁹⁶ Q. Lollianus Gentianus,⁹⁷ and C. Fulvius Plautianus.⁹⁸ In the latter part of 197

⁹¹ Mšihā Zkha, *loc. cit.*

⁹² Mšihā Zkha, p. 23 (tr. pp. 101 f.).

⁹³ Dio Cass. lv. 24. 4. On the numerous problems which surround these legions see PW, arts. "Legio (Severus)" and "Legio (II Parthica)." Mattingly and Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coin.*, IV, 102, No. 91, PRO-FECTIO AUG., may celebrate the Emperor's departure.

⁹⁴ *CIL*, VIII, No. 2975 = Dessau 2306.

⁹⁵ PW, art. "Statilius (Barbarus)," No. 13.

⁹⁶ PW, art. "Fabius," No. 65. ⁹⁷ PW, art. "Lollianus," No. 5.

⁹⁸ PW, art. "Fulvius," No. 101. In the cases of some of these men there is uncertainty as to whether their service was in the first campaign instead.

Severus and his army left Brundisium and sailed directly to Syria. In the spring he advanced to relieve Nisibis; but the Parthians withdrew before him without a struggle,^{98a} and Severus, accompanied by the brother of the Parthian king, returned to the Euphrates. There he prepared boats, and partly by this means and partly by marching along the banks the army descended the river. By the fall of 198⁹⁹ the capital city was reached, and both Seleucia and Babylon were occupied after they had been abandoned by the Parthians. Ctesiphon, which apparently put up considerable resistance, was captured and sacked.¹⁰⁰ The Emperor then assumed the title "Parthicus Maximus"¹⁰¹ after the example of his predecessor Trajan.

Food for man and beast soon became scarce, and no extensive stay was made in the vicinity of Ctesiphon. Again partly by boat and partly by land the army moved up the Tigris. Like Trajan, Severus made an

^{98a} *CIL*, VIII, No. 4583, dated in the spring of 198, celebrates a victory over the Parthians.

⁹⁹ A hoard of coins dated 198/99, probably buried upon the approach of the Romans, strongly confirms this dating; see McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 91, No. 122, and p. 235.

¹⁰⁰ Dio Cass. lxxvi (lxxv. 9); Spart. *Severus* 16. On date see Maurice Platnauer, *The Life and Reign of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus* (Oxford, 1918), p. 117, n. 1; cf. also Johannes Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus* (Heidelberg, 1921), pp. 113 f.

¹⁰¹ *CIL*, III, Nos. 205 f.; Mattingly and Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coin.*, IV, 105, Nos. 122(a) ff.

attempt to capture Hatra and, like him, was unsuccessful. This first attack in 199 accomplished nothing; not only were many soldiers lost, but the siege engines also were destroyed. Severus therefore retired, perhaps to Nisibis, only to renew the attack again the next year with better food stores and additional engines. The second expedition was scarcely more successful than the first. Foraging parties were cut off; all the new engines, except those designed by a fellow countryman of Dio Cassius the historian, were destroyed; and even the Emperor himself on his lofty tribunal was endangered. The defenders' machines for shooting two arrows at once were so effective and had such range that some of the imperial guards were shot down.¹⁰² Burning naphtha and jars of insects were thrown upon the heads of the attackers. At last a breach in the outer circuit was made. The final rush was checked by Severus, who felt that the legionaries had had their share of booty at the sack of Ctesiphon and wished to retain the rich spoil from the temple of the Sun-god and the numerous slaves for himself. But instead of surrendering, as he expected, the people of Hatra rebuilt the wall in the night. The European soldiers, angered by the events of the day before, refused to advance; and the Syrian troops, when driven to the attack, were slaughtered miserably. At the end of twenty fruitless days Severus

¹⁰² Numbers of heavy arrows which must have been shot from engines have been found at Dura-Europus.

left for Syria.¹⁰³ During this siege Laetus, who had so successfully defended Nisibis, was killed by the soldiers, perhaps at the Emperor's command.¹⁰⁴ Laetus was extremely popular with the men and was suspected of too high political aspirations.

The Parthian campaign of Severus can scarcely have given satisfaction from either the political or the personal point of view. No territory beyond that already within the Roman sphere of influence was added, the loss of men was heavy, and the expedition closed with the failure at Hatra. On the other hand Parthia suffered greatly. Her western capitals and territory had once more been raided by Roman arms, and the destruction caused must have furthered the rapid decay which was already under way.

Between the departure of Severus from Hatra and the death of Vologases in 207/8¹⁰⁵ our sources for Parthia fail us. At any rate Vologases IV was followed by his son, the fifth of the same name.¹⁰⁶ In 211 Caracalla became head of the Roman state. Not long after this Abgarus IX of Osroene began to expand the limits of his control over neighboring groups. Caracalla induced the king to pay him a friendly visit and

¹⁰³ Dio Cass. lxxvi (lxxv. 11-13). The campaign was commemorated in 197-98 by issues bearing the legend VICT. PARTHICAE (see Mattingly and Sydenham, *op. cit.*, IV, 105, No. 121, and 108, No. 142(a)) and then and later by numerous other coins celebrating the return of peace.

¹⁰⁴ Dio Cass. lxxvi (lxxv. 10); Spart. *Severus* 15. 6.

¹⁰⁵ McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 199.

¹⁰⁶ Dio Cass. lxxviii (lxxvii. 12. 2a).

then seized him. Without its leader Osroene rapidly submitted to Roman authority, and it was henceforth controlled without a king. The king of Armenia was engaged in a quarrel with his sons; and, when they too had been summoned before Caracalla on the pretense of peacemaking, they were treated in the same fashion as Abgarus. But the Armenians, instead of yielding, had recourse to arms.¹⁰⁷

About 213, contemporary with the Roman difficulties with Osroene and Armenia, arose a dispute between Vologases and his brother Artabanus (V).¹⁰⁸ Apparently Artabanus, who controlled Media and struck his coins at Ecbatana, was making a bid for Mesopotamia also. Caracalla claimed to have engendered these disputes in the hope that they would weaken the Parthian power.¹⁰⁹

In his winter quarters at Nicomedia (İzmit) Caracalla assembled troops and built two large engines so constructed that they could be taken apart and stowed away in ships for transport to Syria.¹¹⁰ The following legions, either as a whole or in part, probably fought in the ensuing campaign: the I and II

¹⁰⁷ Dio Cass. lxxviii (lxxvii. 12. 1²).

¹⁰⁸ The latter struck only drachms; see Wroth, *Parthia*, pp. 247-50, and McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 235.

¹⁰⁹ Dio Cass. lxxviii (lxxvii. 12. 2a-3 and 13. 3). Coins of Vologases issued in 214/15 and 215/16 bear a Tyche with palm, possibly a claim of victory; see McDowell, *op. cit.*, pp. 94 and 199 f.

¹¹⁰ Dio Cass. lxxviii (lxxvii. 18. 1). On the winter quarters in Nicomedia see *CIL*, VI, No. 2103b.

Adiutrix,¹¹¹ the II Parthica¹¹² under Aelius Decius Triccianus, the III Augusta,¹¹³ the III Italica,¹¹⁴ the III Cyrenaica, the IV Scythica,¹¹⁵ and some German troops.¹¹⁶ Caracalla found a pretext for war in the fact that the Parthians had not surrendered to him a certain Cilician cynic named Antiochus and a Tiridates, perhaps an Armenian prince. The cynic Antiochus had found favor with Severus and Caracalla by rolling in the snow to encourage the troops when they were suffering from the cold. Later he became a friend of Tiridates, and together they deserted to the Parthians.¹¹⁷ When the latter felt it advisable to surrender Antiochus and Tiridates, the Emperor gave up the idea of an immediate advance against the Parthians. Instead he sent Theocritus¹¹⁸ with an army against the Armenians, while he himself proceeded to Antioch, where he spent the winter of 215/16. Theocritus was severely defeated.¹¹⁹

¹¹¹ *IGRR*, III, No. 1412 = Dessau 8879. On the question of whether or not the legions of this inscription are the I and II Parthica see PW, art. "Legio (Caracalla)" and the articles on those legions.

¹¹² Spart. *Caracalla* 6. 7.

¹¹³ *CIL*, VIII, No. 2564.

¹¹⁴ *CIL*, III, No. 14207⁶.

¹¹⁵ Hopkins and Rowell in *Excavations at Dura-Europos, Fifth Season*, pp. 218 ff.

¹¹⁶ Dio Cass. lxxx. 4.

¹¹⁷ Dio Cass. lxxviii (lxxvii. 19. 1 f.); Herodian iv. 10 f.

¹¹⁸ PW, art. "Theokritos," No. 4. ¹¹⁹ Dio Cass. lxxviii (lxxvii. 21).

By 216 Artabanus V had apparently extended his sway over Mesopotamia, but Vologases continued to strike coins at the Seleucia mint for some years to come.¹²⁰ While Caracalla was resident in Antioch he sent a request to Artabanus for the hand of his daughter. Perhaps this was an attempt to unite the two great powers of the world,¹²¹ but more probably it was simply an attempt to secure a *casus belli*.¹²² If we follow the contemporary but most untrustworthy Herodian, Artabanus at last consented to the marriage. The Emperor proceeded to the Parthian court in great state and amid much festivity. During the celebration the Romans fell upon the unsuspecting Parthians and slaughtered great numbers of them, though Artabanus managed to escape. Whether or not this somewhat improbable tale is true, Caracalla ravaged a large part of Media, sacked many of the fortresses, took the city of Arbela, and dug open the Parthian royal tombs, scattering the bones.¹²³

Artabanus retired into the mountains to gather additional forces, and Caracalla announced his victory to the Senate.¹²⁴ Coins with the legend VIC(TORIA)

¹²⁰ See McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 200.

¹²¹ Herodian iv. 11.

¹²² Dio Cass. lxxix (lxxviii. 1).

¹²³ A hoard of coins found at Ashur suggests that the Romans occupied the city in 216; see *MDOG*, No. 28 (1905), pp. 34 f., and E. Herzfeld, "Untersuchungen über die historische Topographie der Landschaft am Tigris, kleinen Zâb und Ġebel Ġamrîn," *Memnon*, I (1907), 115 f.

¹²⁴ Dio Cass. lxxix (lxxviii. 1 ff.); Spart. *Caracalla* 6. 4 f.

PART(HICA)¹²⁵ were issued to commemorate the victory. In the spring of 217 Artabanus invaded Roman territory and burned several cities of Beth Aramaya (Mesopotamia).¹²⁶ About this time, early in April, Caracalla was assassinated while en route from Edessa to Carrhae, and Macrinus succeeded to the throne.¹²⁷

Since the new emperor felt that the time was not auspicious to continue the war, he returned the captives (of the previous struggle?), laid the blame on Caracalla, and requested peace. Artabanus at once rejected this offer and demanded that the towns and fortresses which had been destroyed be restored, that Mesopotamia once more be returned to Parthia, and that reparation be made for the injury to the royal tombs. Artabanus advanced toward Nisibis, near which city Macrinus met him. The battle was precipitated by a skirmish over a water hole. The cavalry and camel corps of the Parthians were particularly effective, but the Romans had the advantage in close fighting. Caltrops, scattered by the Romans, hindered the movements of the Parthian mounted forces. The struggle lasted for three days, at the end of which

¹²⁵ Mattingly and Sydenham, *Rom. Imp. Coin.*, IV, 257, Nos. 297(a)–299(e). In connection with this campaign, note the dedicatory inscription to Julia Domna found at Dura-Europus; see H. Rowell, "Inscriptions grecques de Doura-Europos, 1929–30," *CR*, 1930, pp. 265–69.

¹²⁶ Mšīḥa Zkha, p. 28 (tr. p. 104), clearly means by this name northern Mesopotamia, not the area about Seleucia-Ctesiphon as is usually the case. For the common interpretation see Eduard Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien (APAW)*, 1919, No. 1, p. 26.

¹²⁷ Dio Cass. lxxix (lxxviii. 5. 4 f.); Herodian iv. 13. 3 ff.

the Parthians held the advantage.¹²⁸ Perhaps this was because the numerical superiority of the Parthians enabled them to extend their line in a flanking movement until the inferior Roman forces were greatly weakened. Macrinus after the defeat was able to purchase peace at the cost of two hundred million sesterces expended in gifts to Artabanus and influential Parthians.¹²⁹ To the Senate the whole affair was represented as a Roman victory, and Macrinus was offered the title of "Parthicus," a title which he felt constrained to refuse. Coins were struck in 218 with the legend VICT(ORIA) PART(HICA).¹³⁰

In June, 218, Macrinus was defeated near Antioch. He sent his son Diadumenianus to seek refuge with Artabanus; but the young man was captured at Zeugma and killed,¹³¹ and the father suffered a like fate near Antioch.

¹²⁸ Herodian iv. 15. 4 makes the battle a draw, and this is also the implication of Mšīḥa Zkha, p. 28 (tr. p. 104). Dio Cass. lxxix (lxxviii. 26. 7 f.) definitely gives the Parthians the advantage. The price of the peace seems to settle the point in their favor. The campaign is mentioned in Capit. *Macrinus* 2. 2.

¹²⁹ Dio Cass. lxxix (lxxviii. 27. 1). For mentions of Greeks who served and died in the campaigns of this period against the Parthians see Paul Wolters, "Ein Denkmal der Partherkriege," *Mitteilungen des K. Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, XXVIII (1903), 291–300; *CIG*, I, Nos. 1253 and 1495; *Klio*, XI, 358–66. Cf. Dio Cass. lxxviii (lxxvii. 7); Herodian iv. 8. 3.

¹³⁰ K. Regling, "Römische aurei aus dem Funde von Karnak," in *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds 60. Geburtstage* (Berlin, 1903), p. 297, No. 60.

¹³¹ Dio Cass. lxxix (lxxviii. 39 f.); Capit. *Opellius Macrinus* 10.

The final downfall of the Parthian empire and the rise of the Sasanian power are alike shrouded in that uncertainty which prevails when events in the East do not directly concern the Roman world. The Arabic sources are much better informed on the Sasanid period than on the Arsacid, and unfortunately few Sasanian sources have survived. Archaeological evidence is as yet scanty. About A.D. 212 the revolt which was to end the empire began as a series of petty wars among the kings and princes of the districts about Persis, which was then doubtless independent. Ardashir, son of Papak, son of Sasan, having expanded his territory at the expense of neighboring kinglets, persuaded his father to revolt against his immediate overlord. Papak then assumed the titles "god" and "king" and requested permission of the Parthian "great king" Artabanus to place his son Shapur on the throne of the slain overlord. The demand was refused. Papak soon died, and his place was taken by Shapur, who not long thereafter was killed by a falling wall. Ardashir hastened to Istakhr and was recognized as king.¹³²

About 220 began a revolt against the authority of Parthia which soon spread both widely and rapidly. Allied to Ardashir were certain of the Medes together with Shahrat of Adiabene and King Domitian of

¹³² Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari übersetzt und mit ausführlichen Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen versehen* (Leiden, 1879), pp. 1-8; Eduard Meyer in *Encyc. Brit.*, XVII, art. "Persia," pp. 580-82.

Kerkh Slukh (Kirkuk). The final struggle began in the springtime. In a single year the allies invaded Mesopotamia (Seleucia-Ctesiphon district) and Beth Aramaya (to the north), made an unsuccessful attack on Hatra, then overran Beth Zabdai (Zabdicene), and finally invaded Arzun (Arzanene).¹³³ Vologases V was evidently killed in the fighting, for his last coins are dated 222/23.¹³⁴ Artabanus V was defeated and killed about 227, and all his territory, including Media, fell into the hands of Ardashir. The remaining Parthian forces fled to the mountains, where Artabanus' son Artavasdes continued the struggle for some years. Eventually captured, he was executed in Ctesiphon.¹³⁵

Thus ended the Parthian empire, which in truth at this late date was no longer a living organism but was a senile wreck whose ruler had no more power than tradition or his individual prowess could command. The arrival of the Sasanidae brought fresh blood and new inspiration to a world which was sorely in need of such stimulants.

¹³³ Mšihā Zkha, pp. 28 f. (tr. p. 105); Dio Cass. lxxx. 3 f. (Loeb, IX, p. 482) agrees very closely with this Syriac source.

¹³⁴ McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 200. For new evidence on early Sasanian chronology see R. Ghirshman, "Inscription du monument de Châpour I^{er} à Châpour," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, X (1936), 123-29.

¹³⁵ See his coinage, Wroth, *Parthia*, p. 251, and the statement by Mšihā Zkha, p. 29 (tr. p. 105), that the young son of Artabanus was killed by the Persians in Ctesiphon. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia*, p. 200, assigns tentatively to Artavasdes a coin bearing the late date of 228/29 which he believes was struck at Seleucia.

It is planned to treat the rise of the Sasanidae more fully in a future work on their empire.

LISTS OF RULERS

PARTHIAN KINGS

	B.C.		A.D.
Arsaces	ca. 250-248	Orodes III	4-ca. 6/7
Tiridates I	ca. 248-211	Vonones I	7/8-12
Artabanus I	ca. 211-191	Artabanus III	12-ca. 38
Priapatus	ca. 191-176	Tiridates III	ca. 36
Phraates I	ca. 176-171	Cinnamus	ca. 37
Mithradates I	ca. 171-138/37	Gotarzes II	ca. 38-51
Phraates II	138/37-ca. 128	Vardanes	ca. 39-47/48
Artabanus II	ca. 128-124/23	Vonones II	ca. 51
Mithradates II	ca. 123-88/87	Vologases I	51/52-79/80
Gotarzes I	91-81/80	Pacorus II	78-115/16?
Orodes I	80-76/75	Artabanus IV	80-81
Sinatrucus	76/75-70 or 69	Osroes	ca. 109/10-128/29
Phraates III	70 or 69-58/57	Parthaspates	ca. 117
Mithradates III	58/57-55	Vologases II	105/6?-147
Orodes II	ca. 57-37/36	Mithradates IV	128/29?-147?
Pacorus I	died in 38	Vologases III	148-192
Phraates IV	ca. 38-2	Vologases IV	191-207/8
Tiridates II	ca. 30-25	Vologases V	207/8-222/23
Phraataces (Phraates V)		Artabanus V	ca. 213-227
	2 B.C.-A.D. 4	Artavasdes	ca. 227-228/29?

SELEUCID KINGS¹

	B.C.		B.C.
Seleucus I Nicator	311-280	Antiochus III (the Great)	223-187
Antiochus I Soter	280-262/61		
Antiochus II Theos	261-247	Seleucus IV Philopator	187-175
Seleucus II Callinicus	247-226	Antiochus IV Epiphanes	175-163
Seleucus III Soter	226-223		

¹ Adapted from *CAH*, IX, 1023.

LISTS OF RULERS

271

	B.C.		B.C.
Antiochus V Eupator	163-162	Antiochus IX Cyzicenus	115-95
Demetrius I Soter	162-150		
Alexander I Balas	150-145	Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator	96-95
Demetrius II Nicator			
	145-139/38	Antiochus X Eusebes	
	129-125	Philopator	95-83
Antiochus VI Epiphanes		Demetrius III Eucuerus	
	145-142/41	Philopator Soter	95-88
Antiochus VII Sidetes		Antiochus XI Philadelphus	92
	139/38-129	Philippus I Philadelphus	92-83
[Alexander II Zabinas 128-123]		Antiochus XII Dionysus	87-84
Antiochus VIII Grypus and		[Tigranes of Armenia	83-69]
Cleopatra Thea	125-121	Antiochus XIII Asiaticus	
Seleucus V	125		69-64
Antiochus VIII Grypus	121-96	Philippus II	65-64

ROMAN EMPERORS

			A.D.
Augustus	27 B.C.-A.D. 14	Hadrian	117-138
	A.D.	Antoninus Pius	138-161
Tiberius	14-37	Marcus Aurelius	161-180
Caligula	37-41	Lucius Verus	161-169
Claudius	41-54	Commodus	180-192
Nero	54-68	Julianus and Pertinax	193
Galba, Otho, Vitellius	68-69	Septimius Severus	193-211
Vespasian	69-79	Caracalla	211-217
Titus	79-81	Geta	211-212
Domitian	81-96	Macrinus	217-218
Nerva	96-98	Heliogabalus	218-222
Trajan	98-117	Severus Alexander	222-235

