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A REAPPRAISAL OF THE ECONOMIC INSCRIPTIONS AND COIN FINDS FROM AĪ KHANOU M¹

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The Hellenistic city of Aī Khanou m is situated on the confluence of the rivers Oxos and Kokcha in the eastern portion of the ancient country of Baktria (modern northern Afghanistan). Although its ancient name is unknown and the excavations of the site between 1964 and 1978 were never completed by the French mission under Paul Bernard, the cultural remains found at Aī Khanou m have nonetheless presented us with our best understanding of the Hellenistic Far East.² Among the items that were unearthed at the site was a series of inscriptions, or so-called economic labels,³ the majority of which were found at the palace treasury and the *temple à niches indentées*, and appear in two primary

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² A concise overview of the Central Asian sites attributed to the Achaemenid and Hellenistic Periods has appeared in two versions (Leriche 2007 in English and Leriche 2009 in German). It is hoped that a revised version will include an extensive bibliography for the sites listed. As matters stand, the historiography of each site tends generally to remain inaccessible to all, save those already familiar with them.

³ For reasons of consistency, I have adopted Rapin's (1983, 319; 1992, 301) abbreviations to distinguish each text. Thus "Akh IIIB 77" and "Akh IIIB 78" refer to excavations of the treasury at Aī Khanou m in 1977 and 1978 respectively; "P.O." designates the inventory of small objects ("petits objets"); "Cér." indicates the inventory of ceramics; and "inv. gén. P.O." is used for texts found outside the treasury that are catalogued in the general inventory of small objects ("l'inventaire general des petits objets"). Similarly, I have followed his use of designating these texts as graffiti, labels, or ostraca (Rapin 1983, 316–317). Previously, some of the better preserved texts were the subject of special studies, see Bernard 1978, 450–454; Bernard 1980, 439–444; Bernard 1979, 517–520; Bernard/Rapin 1980, 15–29, pls. 8, 10; Bernard 1981, 116–117; Fussman 1980, 36–37, pl. 5.

publications.⁴ Altogether they consist of a series of ink inscriptions written in masculine cursive on storage vases, while others contain graffiti (e.g., nos. 20, 23).⁵ Most of the receptacles bear only one label, though some contain two or even four texts (nos. 1, 5, 9–10, 12–13). All were excavated in 1977 and 1978 at three sites in Aī Khanoum: although the majority were found at nine locations in the palace treasury (nos. 2–19, 24–28) or as in the case of one (no. 23) outside of it, the remainder were unearthed at the sanctuary of the *temple à niches indentées* (nos. 1, 20–21), save one from “House 1” in the southern quarter of the lower city (no. 22). Most of the labels were written by civil servants dealing with financial matters (coins nos. 1–11, 25–27 and natural products nos. 12–15), while others are miscellaneous in nature (nos. 16–28). The treasury’s function was to store precious objects (e.g., wine, olive oil, coins), to house a library, and a workshop. As such the labels are an important source for understanding an aspect of the city’s history prior to its abandonment. It is important to state at the outset that the intent here is not simply to offer yet another blind copy of these inscriptions just for the sake of presentation; that dubious task belongs to Canali De Rossi.⁶ As a result, only some of the inscriptions associated with the site will concern us.

For his part, Rapin has arranged these inscriptions in such a manner as to create a chronology of the activities that took place in the treasury in the last years prior to the site’s abandonment. In so doing, he has put forth a chronological list of what he takes as the treasury’s last group of directors and the civil servants who reported to them. In what follows, however, I will propose a different interpretation of these texts in conjunction with the coins that were found in and around the site, either as part of a hoard or in isolation.

1. The Prepositions παρά and διά

Rapin⁷ has shown that the majority of the labels involving a deposit contain two prepositions, παρά and διά, followed by a personal name(s) in the genitive

⁴ Thus Rapin 1983 and Rapin 1992.

⁵ Rapin 1983 and Rapin 1992, 95–114, 303–306, pls. 53–57 and 110–111; cf. Bernard 1992, 387. Rapin has also published a number of non-Greek texts: an Aramaic inscription (1983, 347–348 no. 28, fig. 34; 1992, 105 no. 28), a graffito written in an unknown script (1983, 348–349 no. 29, fig. 35; 1992, 105 no. 29), a Baktrian inscription on a silver ingot (1983, 349 no. 30; 1992, 105 no. 30), two graffiti (1983, 349 nos. 31c and e; 1992, 105 no. 31); cf. the stamped amphora handle (1983, 349 no. 32, fig. 37; 1992, 105 no. 32).

⁶ The work is here referenced as *Iscrizioni* 2004. Although it is not exclusively devoted to Aī Khanoum but is supposed to focus on the Hellenistic Orient, the content like the author roams with little regard to the proposed title of the book. A succinct and fair assessment of the work has been pronounced by Ivantchik 2007, 279–281.

⁷ Rapin 1983, 351–352, 360; Rapin 1992, 105–106.

singular.⁸ He concludes that each preposition is associated with one of two groups of civil servants who worked in the treasury: *παρά* always precedes the name of an individual that was Greek and who held a post superior to those whose Greek or Iranian names are preceded by *διά*. The use of these prepositions, therefore, reflects a hierarchical structure which is analogous to the banking system practiced in Ptolemaic Egypt in which *τραπεζίται* had Greek names and *δοκιμασταί* Egyptian names.⁹ In the Aī Khanoum context, however, no such clear delineation of ethnicity can be deduced based on the functions that certain individuals performed: although only Greek names are coupled with *παρά*, *διά* indiscriminately – or so it seems – proceeds officials whose names are either Greek or Iranian. Rapin thus maintains that there was at Aī Khanoum, judging by these labels, greater interaction and equality among low-ranking Greek and Iranian bureaucrats than was the practice by their counterparts in Egypt.

At first glance it would appear that no consistent pattern was used in listing a receptacle's content.¹⁰ For example, in **texts 1c, 3, and 12b** following *παρὰ Φιλίσκου* either the content of the receptacle or a toponymic qualifier occupies the second element of the label, while in **texts 1a-b, 2, and 5d** the content stands as the third or fourth element after the persons introduced by *διά*. In place of substantives, four verbs are employed to describe the treasury's financial activities: *ἠρίθμηνται* (**texts 1a-b, 2-3, and perhaps 8**), *ἔσφράγισται* (**texts 1a, 2, 10c, 11, 12b, 13a, and possibly 1b, 5d, 25**), *δεδοκίμασται* (**text 10c**) and *μεταγγισθέν* (**texts 12a and 13a**) of which the verbs, *ἀριθμεῖν*, “to count,”¹¹ and *σφραγίζειν*, “to seal,” are the most common.¹² This last operation was in Egypt conducted by a specialized official called the *episphragistês* (ἐπισφραγιστής, “one who seals or signs [a vase]”).¹³ Rapin¹⁴ concludes that the five Greek names introduced by the preposition *παρά* are those of treasury directors, while the ten names mentioned after the preposition *διά* are of civil servants who served under a specified director (figure 1). A reconstruction of the labels on this basis has enabled

⁸ Both prepositions occur together in **nos. 1a-c, 3, and 5d**. *Παρά* alone appears in **nos. 9b, and 12b**; *διά* in **nos. 10c, 13a, and 24, 26?**

⁹ Rapin 1983, 360; Rapin 1992, 107; *cf.* Bogaert 1968, 39–41, 45–46 with n.77.

¹⁰ Rapin 1983, 355; Rapin 1992, 105, 111, *cf.* 349–350.

¹¹ Thus Rapin (1983, 361 n.66 with bibliography), who also includes the observation that a similar term was employed in the treasury of the Apadana of Susa under the Sasanians.

¹² Rapin 1983, 361–362; Rapin 1992, 105–106.

¹³ For a full discussion, along with similar institutions practiced in Parthian Qūmis/Hekatompulos and Nisa and in Sasanian Susa and Takht-i Suleiman, see Rapin 1983, 361–362; Rapin 1992, 111–113, 114.

¹⁴ Rapin 1983, 360 ns.61–62; *cf.* Rapin 1992, 108–111. Most recently, this scheme has been reaffirmed, Rapin 2010, 235 n. 3.

him to propose a relative chronology of the personnel who worked in the treasury, including the succession of directors who oversaw two or more subordinates. Thus the ten texts can be arranged in the following manner:

Figure 1

Text <u>No.</u>	Director <u>(παρά)</u>	Treasury Official(s) <u>(διά)</u>
1a	Zênon	Oxêboakês, Oxybazos
1b	Timodêmos	Oxêboakês, Hermaios
5d	Stratôn	Molossos, Stratôn
12a/13a	– ? –	Hippias, Stratôn, Molossos
1c	Philiskos	Aryandês, Stratôn
3	Philiskos	Stratôn (?) et al.
12b	Philiskos	Theophrastos et al.
16c	Nikêratos	Kosmos
9b	Nikêratos	– ? –

The text of **no. 1a** exemplifies this proposed analysis:¹⁵

Παρά Ζήνωνος	« De la part de Zênon
ἠρίθμηται	il a été compté par l'intermédiaire
διὰ Ὀξηβοάκου	d'Oxêboakês et Oxybazos 500 drachmas;
καὶ Ὀξυβάζου δρχ φ	Oxêboakês a scellé. »
ἐσφράγισται Ὀξηβοάκης	

Hence, “From Zênon, there have been counted through the agency of Oxêboakês and Oxybazos 500 drachmas; Oxêboakês has sealed (the vase).”

One basic flaw with this reconstruction, however, is that there is no explanation as to how the prepositions *παρά*, “de la part de,” and *διά*, “par l'intermédiaire de,” are indicative of a social hierarchy that operated within the treasury nor is there an attempt to justify why *διά* references the “fonctionnaires” who served “sous la direction de directeurs.”¹⁶ Indeed, this reading of the preposition *παρά* is rather peculiar from a grammatical standpoint, because one should expect the preposition *ὑπό* (or even *ἀπό*), *under the agency of*,¹⁷ to precede the name of the treasury’s director. *Παρά*, on the other hand, conveys the sense of the ablatival genitive in terms of coming, proceeding, or issuing from a person

¹⁵ Rapin 1983, 326, no. 4a; Rapin 1992, 98, no. 4a, 114.

¹⁶ Rapin 1983, 360; Rapin 1992, 105–106.

¹⁷ Smyth 1959, s.v. *ὑπό*, *παρά*, and *ἀπό*; Hoffmann/Siebenthal 1990, 300–301 no. 191a; Wiener 1882, 461–462 and 463–464, especially n. 1.

(*de chez*), including a corporate body, whether with verbs of commands and commissions or those of gifts or promises. Such is the case with the inscription from the treasures of the Hekatompodon concerning “a writing tablet from the *boulê* of the Areopagos, sealed”:

γραμματεῖον παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ’ Ἀρείου πάγου σεσημασμένον.¹⁸ Παρὰ is also coupled with verbs of receiving and obtaining among others, even when not explicitly stated: ὁ καρπὸς ὁ παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων (“the fruit [received] from the *dêmarchs*”).¹⁹ The preposition thus embodies the notion of *source*, regardless of whether the verb is passive or intransitive (in contrast to ὑπό which signifies the genitive of agency) as in τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης δωρηθέντα (“the presents of fortune”).²⁰ We may regard, therefore, Παρὰ Ζήνωνος, “From Zênon,” simply as an abbreviated expression, in which some form of an implied verb (e.g., διδόναι or λαμβάνειν) has been omitted, signifying the starting point of an exchange that had transpired.

On the other hand, I concur with Rapin that διὰ in this context is used with the persons who received items and transferred them to their ultimate destination: they were *instruments* of the treasury through whose hands items passed, for they were intermediary agents of the process of overseeing the coming and going of goods. In this regard, there is no indication in **text 1a** that Oxêboakês and Oxybazos were somehow subordinate to Zênon or anyone else. All we can conclude is that Zênon must have made a deposit of 500 drachmas, δραχ φ’, which were counted by (i.e., through the agency of) Oxêboakês and Oxybazos, ἠρίθμηται διὰ Ὁξηβοάκου καὶ Ὁξυβάζου δραχ φ’.²¹ Of the two officials, however, Oxêboakês’ position was evidently senior for he also performed the last and most important task of sealing of the vase (ἐσφράγισται Ὁξηβοάκης) in which the drachmas had been placed, thereby guaranteeing its contents, and afterwards affixed the label to it.²² These labels, therefore, do not support a conclusion that individuals with Iranian names occupied purely subordinate posts.

Although Rapin²³ finds that a number of ostraca from Ptolemaic Egypt share certain features with the Aï Khanoum labels, in terms of vocabulary and syntax, he is dismissive of their comparative value because the Egyptian documents served a different purpose. Yet a closer examination of two types of documents employed in the Ptolemaic fiscal system affords us a modicum of insight into these Aï Khanoum labels.

¹⁸ Harris 1995, 144 no. 168.

¹⁹ *IG* I².76.27 in *LSJ* s.v. παρὰ A II 3.

²⁰ *Isoc.* 4.26 in *LSJ* s.v. παρὰ A II 4.

²¹ On the meaning of διὰ with the genitive in passive constructions, see: *LSJ* s.v. διὰ A II 1 a; Smyth 1959, s.v. διὰ; Hoffmann/Siebenthal 1990, 301 no. 191a; Winer 1882, 473–474.

²² Rapin 1983, 361; Rapin 1992, 105–106.

²³ Rapin 1983, 355; cf. Rapin 1992, 111–114.

One group, consisting of receipts written by civil servants from the tax department for debtors, employs the following formula:

date (year, month, and day) – (with or without) πέπτωκεν – for taxes – διὰ
the tax collector – the payer – the sum total.²⁴

In this case, the collector of taxes is clearly indicated by the preposition διὰ followed almost exclusively by the genitive and only occasionally by the dative, through whose agency the payment was received. Another formula was used in receipts relating to non-banking bills from creditor to debtor:

date (year, month, and day) – ἔχει- the creditor – from (παρά) the payer –
for taxes – the sum total.²⁵

Here, the payer's name is expressed in the genitive after the preposition παρά.

In terms of Aī Khanoum, the small number of labels and their poor state of preservation allows only the most tentative hypothesis about the "formulae" that officials employed to record monetary deposits, but it seems that one system was used for documenting Greek Baktrian drachmas, another for coins of a different denomination. If **no. 1a** is any indication, the procedure for registering drachmas can be rendered as:

παρά + name of depositor – verb + διὰ + names of two officials – amount
and name of currency (i.e., drachmas) stored – name of the official responsible
for sealing the vessel

The second group consists of two series. The first includes three inscriptions (**nos. 1b, 2, 5d**):

παρά + name of depositor – [verb +] διὰ + names of two officials – name
of currency [-name of the official responsible for sealing the vessel – amount]

A second comprises two labels (**nos. 1c, 3**):

παρά + name of depositor – name of currency – [verb +] διὰ + names of two
officials – [name of the official responsible for sealing the vessel] – amount

Unfortunately, twenty-two other labels presumably listing deposits are too fragmentary to decipher their formulaic constructs.²⁶ Nevertheless, from this small

²⁴ Wilcken 1899, 64–69 («Thebes und Hermonthis, II. Quittungen, die die königliche Bank ausstellt, 2a – 2b.» Nos. 305–307, 309–316, 1021, 1227, 1337, 1340, 1492–1494).

²⁵ Wilcken 1899, 60–61 («Thebes und Hermonthis. Quittungen über Geldzahlungen. A. Ptolemäerzeit. I. Quittungen, die der Erheber ausstellt.» No. 343).

²⁶ See **nos. 1d, 5–11, 18–19, and 24–28**. Fourteen others do not record monetary deposits (**nos. 4, 10c, 12a–13b, 14–17, 20–23**).

sample, we may infer that the *παρά/διά* construction follows a loose, though consistent pattern: the depositor, whose name appears in the genitive, is introduced by *παρά*, while the names of the institutions' agents, each of whom is likewise rendered in the genitive, are recorded after *διά*. The use of the preposition *παρά* thus introduces the name of the individual who was not the treasury's director but the source of the transaction. On the other hand, the preposition *διά* signifies the civil servants who acted as intermediaries (i.e., agents or instruments) of the treasury. The Aï Khanoum labels present us with three different groups of people involved with the storing of money in the treasury: the depositor denoted by *παρά*, the treasury officials who readied the item(s) to be stored demarcated by *διά*, and the name of the official who affixed the seal (*ἐσφράγισται*) to the vase (figure 2). It is worth noting that the same is true of two labels detailing the storage of olive oil (**nos. 12b** and **13a**) and an ostrakon that records an examination of legal tender (**no. 10c**).

A new schematic arrangement of the inscriptions thus emerges.²⁷

Figure 2

Text No.	Depositor (<i>παρά</i>)	Treasury Official(s) (<i>διά</i>)	Sealed by (<i>σφραγίζειν</i>)
2	?	Apo[...], Her[maios ?	?
3	Philiskos	...]s ?, --- ?	?
8	?	...]os ?	?
9b	Nik[êratos	?	?
5d	Stratôn	Molossos, Stratôn	?
25	?	?	Mi[...]
10c	?	Kosmos	Nikêratos
12b	Philiskos	?	Theophrastos
13a	?	Hippias	[Molos?]sos vase A Stratôn (?) (vase B?)
24	?	Ka[...]	?
1a	Zênon	Oxêboakês, Oxybazos	Oxêboakês
1b	Timodêmos	Oxêboakês, Hermaios	?
1c	Philiskos	Aryandês, Stratôn	?

Despite the lacunae in each of the thirteen labels, we can discern that the names of the seven depositors are Greek, while those of the treasury officials have either Greek or Iranian names, including those charged with the responsi-

²⁷ **Texts 4, 11, 16, and 23** are not included in this list as they are too fragmentary to discern: either they contain a preposition without a name(s), or they contain names but lack the necessary verbs and prepositions which would enable us to determine what, if any, their association might have been to one another. *Cf.* Rapin 1983, 360 n.61.

bility of affixing seals to the various jars in the institution's care. Certainly, within the treasury itself a hierarchy prevailed, for someone who affixed the seal was in a position superior to those who merely performed other tasks indicated by the preposition *διὰ*. Yet nothing allows us to claim that a division of labor existed within the treasury based purely on the ethnicity of an individual's name. There is no information, for example, to indicate that particular tasks were segregated among individuals possessing either a Greek or an Iranian name, especially as **texts 1b** and **1c** reveal that persons with Greek and Iranian names worked side by side. In this respect, there is nothing to suggest that the ethnicity of these civil servants can be discerned from their names alone. We can only conclude that the sealing of a jar's content was undertaken by various individuals regardless of the ethnic origin of their name, as **nos. 1a, 10c, 25, 12b, and 13a** demonstrate.

2. Monetary Deposits

Rapin²⁸ distinguishes two groups of silver mentioned in these texts (figure 3): Greek Baktrian drachmas, abbreviated as *δρχ*, and Indian punch-marked coins, variously labeled as *taxaêna* (*ταξαηνά*), *kasapana taxaêna* (*κασαπανα ταξαηνά*), *nandagachoraga* (*νανδαγαχωραγα*), and *kasapana nandêna* (*κασαπανα νανδηνά*). He explains *taxaêna* as the transliterated Greek toponymic of Taxila (*Τάξιλα*),²⁹ derived from the Prakrit *Takṣasīla* in which the radical *ταξα-* is coupled with the Greek suffix *-ηνός* that commonly appears in the appellations of Seleukid administrative subdivisions. The term *κασαπανα* is similarly a Greek transcription of the Middle Indian *kārshāpana*, a denomination whose weight standard depended on the region in which it was produced.³⁰ He thus sees in these documents the provenance of coins that circulated in Aī Khanoum, namely Baktria and Taxila.

The surprising feature of this reconstruction is that the officials responsible for storing these deposits employed only one term to designate drachmas, but haphazardly and unsystematically demarcated Indian coins using a variety of appellations. For example, according to this chronological scheme of the treasury's directors, each imposed his own numismatic terminology onto the labels. Thus Stratôn employed *kasapana nandêna* (**no. 5d**), while his successor Philiskos used *nandagachoraga* (**no. 3**), even though the same Philiskos had adopted the term *kasapana* on labels as in *kasapana taxaêna* (**no. 1c**), unlike Stratôn's prede-

²⁸ Rapin 1983, 364–365; Rapin 1992, 106, 283 n.1133.

²⁹ *Cf.*, e.g., Arrian 5.3.6, 8.2, 7.2.2.

³⁰ Ghoshal 1952, 279–283; Banerjea 1957, 779–781, *cf.* 806, 809.

cessor Timodemos who composed his labels using only the toponymic taxaêna without the qualifier kasapana (**no. 1b**).

Figure 3. Rapin's chronology according to $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ (Rapin 1983, 360 n.61; Rapin 1992, 394)

Contents/Terminology	$\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$	Text No.
Drachmas	Zênon	1a
Taxaêna	Timodemos	1b
Kasapana Nandêna	Stratôn	5d
Olive Oil	-----	12a
Kasapana Taxaêna	Philiskos	1c
Nandagachoraga	Philiskos	3
Olive Oil	Philiskos	12b
Legal Tender	Nikêratos	10c
Unknown	Nikêratos	9b

The question that naturally arises is why these officers would have chosen one term to designate drachmas but assigned four terms for coins of Indian origin? A different arrangement of the labels (figure 4) suggests that the officials had in fact recorded not two but three different currencies, using five sets of terms to designate them. Together they provide us with a relative chronology of the inscriptions and thus the last known financial operations that the officials undertook prior to quitting Aï Khanoum. Most revealing are inscriptions **nos. 1a-c**, because they contain three deposits of different currencies that were placed in the same receptacle. Were they not combined, we should expect to find only one label still intact with the other two purposefully erased as is the case elsewhere (e.g., **nos. 5a, 5b?**, **5c, 27, 10a-b**). Presumably, the 500 drachmas deposited by Zênon recorded in **no. 1a**, as with those in **nos. 10b** and **26**, were of a Greek Baktrian (and/or Seleukid?) variety. To this vessel were added taxaêna (**no. 1b**) and kasapana taxaêna (**no. 1c**) coins. They, along with the taxaêna coins recorded in **nos. 6** and **9a** (?), form a homogenous group that differs markedly from another series called nandagachoraga³¹ (**no. 3** and nandaga- of **no. 27**), and kasapana nandêna (**no. 5d**). The implication is that since drachmas, taxaênas, and kasapana taxaênas were stored in the same vessel, they were regarded as equivalent in value, even though as their names suggest they were

³¹ Of special interest is the use of the Dorian and Boeotian enclitic particle $\gamma\alpha\dots\gamma\alpha$ instead of the Attic $\gamma\epsilon\dots\gamma\epsilon$ as we should expect. It would appear that more than one Greek dialect was spoken in the city if not in the region as a whole. This complements the variety of Greek spoken in Central Asia attributed to northern Greece and Makedonia, for example, Bernard/Rapin 1994; Bernard/Bopearachchi 2002; Clarisse/Thompson 2007; Drujinina 2008; Coloru 2009, 150–152; Lindström 2009, nos. 263–264 (p. 366) with bibliography. We should also add to this the uncertainty surrounding the birth place of Euthydemos I in a Magnesia of Asia Minor or Thessaly (Lerner 1999, 52–54), while the identity of the Kineas mentioned in connection with the Aï Khanoum herôn is also uncertain (see Lerner 2003–2004, 390–395, 400).

physically distinguishable from one another. Indeed, the only operation that was performed on the coins prior to their storage was the counting of their exact number (ἡρίθμηται **nos. 1a-b**, like **nos. 2-3**)³² as opposed to another function such that we might otherwise expect, for example, from a reference to some form of the verb(s) ἀγειν, ἔλκειν, ἰστάναι, ταλαντᾶν, or ταλαντεύειν.

Figure 4. Coins, Olive Oil, and Ostraca

Coins			Olive Oil		Ostraca
				No. 12a “Year 24”	
Greek Baktrian	Indo-Greek	Indian			
Drachmas Nos. 26?, 10b? 1a παρά Zênon διὰ Oxêboakês, Oxybazos ἔσφράγισται Oxeboakes	Taxaêna Nos. 6, 9a? 1b παρά Timodemios διὰ Oxêboakês Hermaios Kasapana Taxaêna Nos. 2? 1c παρά Philiskos διὰ Aryandês Stratôn	Nandagachoraga Nos. 27, 3 παρά Philiskos Kasapana Nandêna Nos. 2? 5d παρά Stratôn διὰ Molossos Stratôn	No. 13a μεταγμισθὲν Hippias ἔσφράγισται Stratôn	No. 12b παρά Philiskos ἔσφράγισται Theophrastos	No. 4 Drachmas Hermaios Aryandês No. 10c Legal Tender διὰ Kosmos δεδοκίμασται Nikêratos ἔσφράγισται Nikêratos

A comparison of the designations used for the various denominations reveals that their nomenclature underwent two stages of record keeping. At first, the officials registered deposits under the categories of drachma, taxaêna, and nandagachoraga. Subsequently, by the time that the contents of **nos. [2?] 1c** and **5d** were recorded the terminology of these non-Baktrian denominations had become standardized: taxaêna became kasapana taxaêna just as nandagachoraga was changed to kasapana nandêna.³³ In addition, eight personal names appear more than once,³⁴ the most important of which for establishing the reconstruction of their chronology are those of Stratôn and Philiskos as they occur in three separate

³² Picard 1984, 679–682.

³³ Since the lacunae occur at the top right portion of text **no. 2** after *kasapana*, it is unclear whether this label demarcated *kasapana taxaêna* or *kasapana nandêna*.

³⁴ Besides Stratôn and Philiskos, the other names recorded in the inscriptions are Hermaios (**nos. 1b, 2?, 4**), Nikêratos (**nos. 19b?** and **10c**), Oxêboakês (**nos. 1a-b**), Oxybazos (**nos. 1a, 17**), Aryandes (**nos. 1c, 4**), and Kallisthenes (**nos. 16, 24?**).

texts. In **no. 1c** a Stratôn appears with his colleague Aryandês after the preposition *διά* in connection with *kasapana taxaêna* coins, while a Stratôn is recorded twice in **no. 5d** regarding *kasapana nandêna* coins first after *παρά* and again after *διά* but this time with a Molossos, and finally in **no. 13a** a Stratôn is mentioned as having sealed (*ἔσφράγισται*) a jar of olive oil. The name of a Philiskos, following the preposition *παρά*, made deposits of *nandagachoraga* coins (**no. 3**), *kasapana taxaêna* coins (**no. 1c**), and olive oil (**no. 12b**). A fourth inscription (**no. 18**), most of which is illegible, may also have involved the storage of coins. Although a Philiskos and a Stratôn were contemporaries (**no. 1c**), it would be a mistake to assume that all the texts bearing these names refer to the same two individuals. For example, there is no reason to associate in **no. 5d** the Stratôn who deposited *kasapana nandênas* with the Stratôn who stored them. Similarly, we lack the evidence to associate any of the individuals named Stratôn with either the father or son mentioned in the gymnasium inscription (**no. 29**). On the other hand, it is reasonable to identify the Stratôn of **no. 1c** with the Stratôn of **no. 5d**, because both names occur after the preposition *διά* indicating that they were officials and the designations of the imported currency, *kasapana taxaêna* and *kasapana nandêna*, on which they worked had by this time become standardized. Philiskos, however, is a different matter, for we are unable with any degree of certainty to equate each of three names with one or even two individuals. There is no indication in the texts as to when deposits were made or for how long the items were stored. The Philiskos of **no. 3**, for example, may have been the father or grandfather of the Philiskos mentioned in **no. 1c**, while another recorded in **no. 12b** could easily have been either of them or even a third individual. The point is that there is just not sufficient evidence to make an exact identification.

The *taxaêna/kasapana taxaêna* coins are in all probability associated with “Taxila,” whereas the *nandagachoraga/kasapana nandêna* coins should be understood as having originated in India, the “land of the Nandas.” Both toponyms convey generic, not specific references and describe a particular kind of currency rather than designate the exact locale of their emission. In this regard, the term *kasapana taxaêna* need not necessarily have signified that these coins actually originated in Taxila only that they *resembled* coins minted there. Since the silver emitted from Taxila and nearby regions in the early second to the first century B.C.E. were Indo-Greek,³⁵ many of which contain bilingual (Greek/Kharoṣṭhī) legends,³⁶ the designations of *taxaêna* and *kasapana taxaêna* in all likelihood refer to Indo-Greek drachmas. In this regard, Indo-Greek drachmas could be placed in

³⁵ E.g., the Greek Baktrian king, Eukratides I (c. 171–145 B.C.E.) restricted his minting activities to bilingual coppers and is not known to have issued any in silver, see Bopearachchi 1991, 210–214; Bopearachchi 1998, nos. 530–572.

³⁶ The first of these coins are attributed to Agathokles and Pantaleon, see Bopearachchi 1991, 56–59, 172–182; Bopearachchi 1998, nos. 230–273.

the same receptacle as Greek Baktrian drachmas. For reasons that we shall explore below, it is significant to point out that Apollodotos I (c. 174–165 B.C.E.) is credited with the innovation of standardizing the weight of Indo-Greek drachmas at 2.45g., “bearing a bilingual legend, and struck according to the so-called Indian standard, which became the new standard for all the Indo-Greek territories, even long after the disappearance of Greek power in South Asia.”³⁷ Although Indo-Greek drachmas are lighter than their Greek Baktrian counterparts, which are based on the Attic standard (4.30g.), Heliokles I (c. 145–130 B.C.E.), the last known Greek king of Baktria issued some drachmas weighing below the Indo-Greek standard.³⁸ Consequently, attribution, provenance, and purity of metal, but not weight, determined the inherent worth of a coin’s value, unlike silver punch-marked coins (i.e., nandagachoragas and kasapana nandēnas) produced in various Indian cities.³⁹ Both currencies are found in and around Ai Khanoum.⁴⁰ If these monetary labels – few in number as they are – represent an accurate percentage of the coins placed in storage, these non-Greek Baktrian denominations, which occur more frequently than Greek Baktrian or Seleukid drachmas, suggest that in the years leading up to city’s abandonment silver locally produced in Baktria was fast disappearing from the market place and was in the process of being replaced by Indo-Greek and Indian punch-marked silver from regions south of the Hindu Kush.⁴¹

3. An examination of legal tender (no. 14c)

Text **10c** is the sole specimen that makes any reference to a determination of good silver coins: ...δοκίμου ἀργυρίου] δεδοκίμασται διὰ. Originally, Rapin was inclined to read δοκίμου ἀργυρίου] as “en argent de bon aloi” and δεδοκίμασται as “a été vérifié,” which he took to mean “d’un contrôle (δεδοκίμασται) de la qualité d’une somme d’argent scellé dans le vase, après que la métal eût été estimé de bon aloi (δοκίμου ἀργυρίου),”⁴² but he subsequently modified the first phrase of to signify “en argent legal” based on the corrections proposed by Picard.⁴³ He also postulates that the dokimastai were

³⁷ Bopearachchi 1998b, “Apollodotus I.”

³⁸ E.g., Bopearachchi 1991, 224, no. 21; Bopearachchi 1998, no. 657.

³⁹ Cf. Diodoros 17.93.2; Plutarch, *Alexander* 62.2–3; Curtius 9.2.2–7; Sastri 1957, 4–8; Rapin 1992, 100.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., Bernard 1985, 66–78; Audouin/Bernard 1973, 238–289; 1974, 7–41; Petitot-Biehler 1975, 23–57; Bopearachchi 1995, 611–630.

⁴¹ Cf. Rapin 1992, 136–137, 369; Piccard 1984, 684.

⁴² Rapin 1983, 338, no. 13c, 364.

⁴³ Rapin 1992, 102, no. 13c, 107; Piccard 1984, 683–684.

charged with distinguishing good silver (Seleukid and Greek Baktrian) from bad silver (Indo-Greek and Indian punch marked coins). On the analogy of similar operations practiced elsewhere,⁴⁴ he concludes that these magistrates determined through examination and perhaps verification which money to approve as legal tender. Unfortunately, all we know about the specifics of this practice at Aï Khanoum derives from this lone ostrakon of three lines. Since they concern the Attic standard, Rapin postulates that Greek Baktrian drachmas and tetradrachmas held greater intrinsic value than Indo-Greek and Indian coins, which he argues were reluctantly tolerated because the circulation of good silver had by this time significantly diminished. As a result, good silver retained the traditional designation of drachma (and perhaps that of tetradrachma), while Indo-Greek and Indian coins as imports from regions south of the Hindu Kush were qualified by various appellations noted above.

The distinction between the value of Greek Baktrian and Indo-Greek silver based solely on weight is, however, contradicted by the vessel containing texts **nos. 1a-c**, in which both currencies were mixed in the same receptacle, even though they were deposited by different individuals at different times. Thus, Zenon (**n. 1a**) deposited 500 drachmas which were counted by Oxêboakês and Oxybazos, and the vessel sealed by Oxêboakês. Later Timodêmos (**no. 1b**) deposited an unspecified number of taxaêna coins which were counted by Oxêboakês and Hermaios. Finally, Philiskos (**no. 1c**) deposited 10,000 kasapana taxaêna coins, which Aryandês and Stratôn counted. Aside from sealing the jar, no text mentions that as part of the registration process were the coins ever weighed.

4. The Labels

The insight provided by these labels about the monetary circulation of the city is that Indo-Greek coins were in the process of replacing or had already replaced Greek Baktrian coins. The result is that the Aï Khanoum market accepted both currencies. While one might well expect that the weight of Indo-Greek drachmas should have been accorded a lower valuation than their Greek Baktrian counterparts which tend generally to be heavier, the lack of a consistent supply of Greek Baktrian silver necessitated the acceptance of Indo-Greek

⁴⁴ Volkmann 1939, 99–102; Robert/Robert 1964, 235, no. 527; Stroud 1974, 165–185; Giovannini 1975, 193; Bogaert 1976, 13–34; Migeotte 1977, 132–133; Picard 1978, 13–20; Picard 1979, 10; Buttrey 1979, 35–45; Buttrey 1981, 83–88; Caccamo-Caltabiano/Colace 1985, 81–101; Harding 1985, 61–64, no. 45 with bibliography; Rapin 1992, 84 n. 209, 106–107, 268–269; *cf.* his remarks on non-Greek financial practices, 111, 113, 160.

and even Indian punch-marked coins as its eventual replacement. It is worth bearing in mind that these inscriptions were found in a section of the treasury whose construction was never completed.⁴⁵ Whether the vessels on which these labels were written had been transferred from another building or from somewhere else in the treasury is not known, and, consequently, we cannot with any degree of certainty ascertain the average amount of time a jar with money was kept in storage. Likewise, we are equally clueless about the operations that Nikêratos undertook to determine the “good” quality of the silver which he deemed legal.

Although there is no reason to question the notion that these operations occurred in a palace, we do not know their nature. On the other hand, we can safely assume that it functioned as an administrative, economic, and political center as well as the residence of some high ranking individual. No doubt by this time the city’s stature was greatly diminished and similar to others in the region ruled by the Da Yuezhi as described by the Han envoy Zhang Qian when he visited the region long ago in 126 B.C.E.⁴⁶ There is also nothing from the site to indicate beyond the immediate vicinity of the Dasht-i Qala plain the region over which this presumed official presided.⁴⁷ Part of the problem with not being able to distinguish whether this complex was essentially local or part of a larger geopolitical entity lies in the fact that it contains so many different influences – Mesopotamian, Achaemenid, Greek, and Central Asian – with no clear model(s) on which to understand its conception.⁴⁸ In this respect, the so-called treasury may have acted as a royal or state treasury as Rapin has argued,⁴⁹ or it may have even enjoyed a public function. Unfortunately, the brevity of the labels themselves such as they are can lead one to conclude that the depositor, denoted by the preposition παρά, was a private individual who brought his money to the

⁴⁵ Rapin 1983, 316; Rapin 1992, 11–94, 131–137, 143–184, 249–258.

⁴⁶ *The people of Bactria cultivated the land and lived in walled cities. They had no great ruler but everywhere the cities and towns had their own petty chiefs. The people were poor in the use of arms and afraid of battle, but they were clever at commerce. There were a million or more people who lived in the country, whose capital was Lanshi or Baktra and had markets with all kinds of merchandise (Shiji 123/3164; Watson 1961, 235). Cf. Thierry 2005, 453–457.* For a discussion on the identity of the nomads whom Strabo mentions for the conquest of Bactria, see the recent discussion of Ciancaglini 2001, 17–22, *cf.* 40–41.

⁴⁷ Nielsen 1999, 11, 14, 25–26. For Nielsen the entire lower city of Ai Khanoum represents a palace complex (pp. 115–129); *cf.* Nielsen 1996, 210–211.

⁴⁸ For an overview of the palace, see Bernard 1968, 264–271; Bernard 1970, 301–310; Bernard 1971, 385–414; Bernard/Le Berre in Bernard et al. 1973, 17–83, pls. 1–11, 20–84; Bernard 1974, 289–293; Bernard 1976, 252–257; Bernard 1978, 444–460; Bernard/Rapin 1980, 10–38; Garczynski 1980, 39–43; Thorval/Liger 1980, 44–45; Rapin 1987, 41–70; Rapin 1992, 7, 9, 11, 272, 371–377. On the treasury itself, Rapin 1992, especially 267–279.

⁴⁹ Rapin 1992, 271–278.

treasury for safekeeping or he was a tax collector of sorts. There is simply no way to know the depositor's identity based merely on the preposition, because its purpose was to indicate agency from which the act of depositing was made rather than to indicate his title.

Finally, the best that we can decipher of the city's chronology from these labels is a relative, not absolute, date for the city's abandonment via the coins that were deposited and to a lesser degree the officials who stored them. Thus drachmas preceded taxaêna and nandagachoraga coins, followed by those designated as kasapana taxaêna and kasapana nandêna. One or more individuals named Oxêboakês worked on drachmas and taxaênas (**nos. 1a** and **1b**), just as one or more individuals named Philiskos deposited nandagachoragas and kasapana taxaênas (**nos. 1c** and **3**), while Stratôn deposited kasapana nandênas and a different Stratôn assisted in storing them (**no. 5d**). They do not inform us, however, about the length of time that separated one label from another even on the same jar, whether it was a day or longer than a year, just as the names of the individuals associated with them represent the same or a different person as in text **no. 5d**.

5. Coin-Finds

Between 1970 and the winter of 1973–1974, three hoards found in or near Aī Khanoum were published. The first (AKh 1 1970) was unearthed in the palace complex during the excavations of 1970 and consists of 677 Indian punch-marked coins and six Indo-Greek drachmas with bilingual legends (on the obverse in Greek: Βασιλέως Ἀγαθοκλέους and on the reverse in Prakrit with Brāhmi script: *rajine Agathuklayesa*) “of king Agathokles.”⁵⁰ Audouin and Bernard attributed the hoard's burial to post-Greek occupants who, while plundering the premises and smelting scavenged metals in makeshift hearths, were abruptly interrupted in their work and hastily buried their treasure.

The second (AKh 2 1973)⁵¹ was recovered in October 1973 in the kitchen of a large private dwelling some 150 m outside the north wall of the lower city in room 13, where it had been deposited in a wall at the rear of the house. Unlike the first, this hoard is composed of 63 silver tetradrachmas of Attic weight: 7 (pseudo-) Alexanders from the mints of Amphipolis, Alexandria, Marathos, Babylon, Perge, and one of uncertain origin; seven Seleukid coins ranging from Seleukos I to Antiochos III; and 49 Greek Baktrian and Indo-Greek coins (Diodotos I-II, Euthydemos I-II,

⁵⁰ The hoard was published in two articles: the first concerned the Indian coins (Audouin/Bernard 1973, 238–289), the second focused on Agathokles' drachmas (Audouin/Bernard 1974, 7–41).

⁵¹ As is the case with the first, this hoard too was the subject of two publications: Petitot-Biehler 1975, 23–57; and Bernard 1975, 58–69.

Demetrios I, Agathokles, Antimachos I, Apollodotos I, and Eukratides I). Although she was loathe to account for the circumstances of the hoard's burial, Petitot-Biehler⁵² dated it between 170 and 160 B.C.E. based on two factors: her reading of Justin (41.6.1) that Eukratides I ascended the Baktrian throne *eodem ferme tempore* as did Mithridates I of Parthia in 171/0 B.C.E.; and the date of the revolt by Timarchos,⁵³ satrap of Babylon and Media, against Demetrios I in 162–160 B.C.E. in which he imitated Eukratides' types of the helmeted bust of the king surrounded by a bead-and-reel border on the obverse and the charging Dioskuroi on the reverse along with the adoption of the epithet *Megas*.

Bernard observed that the hoard mirrors Greek silver coins found individually by the excavators at the city (see below), which apparently ceased with Eukratides I, unlike, for example, the Quduz Hoard that contains numerous specimens of Eukratides' successors, Eukratides II, Platon, and Heliokles I.⁵⁴ He concluded that the Aī Khanoum finds reflect both the city's history and monetary chronology: the Greek population left at the end of Eukratides I's reign, due to the same catastrophic event that caused the burning of the palace and portions of the treasury, including the house in which this second hoard was unearthed. Thereafter indigenous peoples, presumably peasants from the Dasht-i Qala plain, resettled the city, but no Greek ever returned. As to who was responsible for this destruction, Bernard⁵⁵ singled out the Yuezhi. Elsewhere he asserted that the region in which the city was located belonged not to Baktria but to Sogdiana with the Kokcha, not the Oxos, acting as the eastern barrier between the two countries. Although the Yuezhi were responsible for driving the Greeks out of the city and presumably the country north of the Oxos, the Yuezhi king established his court north of the river's right bank.⁵⁶ Bernard also envisioned that a truce existed between this Yuezhi king and the Greeks of Baktria – Eukratides I and/or his successors – which lasted until some point between 140 and 100 B.C.E. when the Qunduz hoard was hidden due to a

⁵² Petitot-Biehler 1975, 51–52.

⁵³ On Timarchos' coinage, see Bellinger 1945, 37–44 with relevant citations to the primary sources; cf. Le Rider 1959–1960, 14–16; Le Rider 1965, 332–334; Houghton 1979, 213–217; Schlösser 1986, 312–313; most recently, Dodd 2009, 87–98, 110, 119, 137 n.381, 148, 197.

⁵⁴ Bernard 1975, 58, 60, 62. The Qunduz hoard, about 120 km west of Aī Khanoum, totaled 627 silver coins, primarily tetradrachmas: 1 Seleukus (I?), 1 Antiochos Hierax, 1 Alexander I Bala, 5 Diodotos (I-II?), 12 Euthydemos I, 5 Euthydemos II, 8 Demetrios I, 50 Demetrios II, 3 Agathokles, 14 Antimachos I, 144 Eukratides I, 3 Heliokles-Laodice, 130 Eukratides II, 12 Platon, 204 Heliokles I (and 17 Drachmas), 4 Lysias, 1 Theophilos, 3 Antialkidas, 5 Double Decadrachmas of Amyntas, 2 Archebios, 1 Philoxenos, 1 Hermaios. The resulting catalogue was written by Curiel, while Fussman contributed to the analysis, see Curiel/Fussman 1965; initially published in three installments by Bivar 1953; Bivar 1954; Bivar 1955.

⁵⁵ Bernard 1975, 65–69.

⁵⁶ Recently, Bernard seems to have changed his mind about to the location of Baktria and Sogdiana, for he now views Tadjikistan as eastern Baktria, which of course is well north of the Aī Khanoum and the Oxos (Bernard 2004, 338–356).

conjectured second invasion by the Yuezhi, which resulted in the formal capitulation of Bactria and hence of the Greek Bactrian state.

In the winter of 1973–1974, an Afghan farmer recovered a hoard of silver coins from somewhere within the vicinity of Aī Khanoum (AKh 3 1973/1974). He then sold it in Kabul from where it ultimately made its way onto the international market. By 1975, the hoard had been brought to New York where Nancy Waggoner of the American Numismatic Society had the opportunity to examine it and create a quick inventory.⁵⁷ When the hoard reappeared in New York in 1976, she reexamined it and observed that this time the hoard was somewhat differently reconstituted: it was now composed of 142 coins, including four new specimens, while three others had since disappeared. By the time Holt⁵⁸ published his version of the hoard, consisting of 139 coins in 1981 based on photographs that Waggoner had subsequently obtained from a dealer in New York, the contents had undergone a further transformation – there were four coins that had not appeared in the first examination and one not listed in the second. Moreover, five pieces had presumably been removed at some point prior to Waggoner’s initial inspection and became the subjects of two special publications.⁵⁹ As a result, Holt’s analysis of the photographs of the coins ultimately fell within the confines of no less than five different lists. As Holt himself stressed, his work was “a salvage operation more than a complete, scientific study” and “subject to some modification depending upon the reader’s preference for one list or another.”⁶⁰ With this sentiment in mind, it is well worth noting that among the coins that made up his study, Holt argued that two of them – a tetradrachma of Antigonos Doson (no. 139) and a Lysias drachma (no. 138) – should not be reckoned as part of the original find. The former he identified as a “poor modern forgery,” while he contended that the latter was “entirely out of place in this hoard.” Indeed the current chronological reconstruction based on numismatics holds that the Lysias drachma was minted long after the coins of Eukratides I.⁶¹ Should the coin be admitted as part of the hoard’s original composition it would be the only known example of its kind attributed to Aī Khanoum, and,

⁵⁷ Petitot-Biehler (1975, 54–55) subsequently published Waggoner’s inventory of 141 silver coins, consisting mainly of tetradrachmas mixed with several drachmas: 3 Alexanders (one from Amphipolis, two in the names of Seleukos I and II), 1 Lysimachos, 12 Seleukid coins (Antiochos II and III, Seleukos II and III), 1 Antigonos Doson, 1 Eumenes I, 1 Athenian imitation, and 122 Greek Baktirans (11 Diodoti [7 in the name of Antiochos, 4 in the name of Diodotos]), 79 Euthydemos I, 11 Demetrios I (8 tetradrachmas, 3 drachmas), 1 Euthydemos II, 7 Agathokles, 3 Antimachos, 9 Eukratides I (6 tetradrachmas, 1 drachma, 2 with Heliokles and Laodike), 1 Lysias drachma.

⁵⁸ Holt 1981, 9–10.

⁵⁹ Francfort 1975, 19–22; Gupta 1976, 92–94. The former concerns Euthydemos and Pantaleon, the latter Diodotos, Euthydemos, and Pantaleon. Holt omitted them from his catalogue.

⁶⁰ Holt 1981, 11, where he rejected two other lists (F–G).

⁶¹ Thus the dates of Eukratides I are set at c. 171/170–145 B.C.E. and those of Lysias at c. 120–110 B.C.E. Bopearachchi 1991, 66–72, 93–95 and Bopearachchi 1998a, nos. 430–617, 1025–1055.

most significantly, the date of the city's fall would have to be revised to some point well after Eukratides I's reign.⁶² The result would also entail a new reconstruction of the city's history. Yet the curious feature about this drachma is that it was originally accepted as part of the hoard by Petitot-Biehler and presumably Bernard who ignored it altogether.⁶³ Holt's reason for excluding the Lysias drachma from the hoard's original composition was simply that it did not conform to Bernard's conception of the city's numismatic history: when the coin was produced, Ai Khanoum no longer existed, at least as a Greek city.

Four years after Holt's publication, Bernard published 224 coins found in and around Ai Khanoum before excavations had ceased. Collectively, they cover an array of chronological periods (pre-Seleukid, Seleukid, Greek Baktrian, Indo-Greek, Kushan, and Islamic) and metals (silver, gold, nickel, and bronze) as well as Indian punch-marked coins and ten bronze flans. Bernard thus took as confirmation that the Greek coins found at the site support his hypothesis that the Greek abandonment of the city coincided with the last coins struck by Eukratides I.⁶⁴

For purposes of comparison, I have arranged the coins from Ai Khanoum (Figure 5) to range chronologically from pre-Seleukid issues to the same drachma issued by Lysias that was dismissed from the AKh 3 1973/1974 hoard.⁶⁵ The totality of this coinage is quite surprising: 705 punch-marked Indian coins compared with 395 Greek coins (198 tetradrachmas, 181 bronzes, 3 drachmas, 3 nickel coins, 2 obols, 1 gold coin, and 7 Indo-Greek drachmas), less the bronze flans and the Kushan and Islamic coinage. Moreover, of the non-hoarded coins, the two largest categories consist of 181 bronzes (here I include the four coins attributed by Kritz to the site) and 28 Indian punch-marked coins. On the other hand, the three hoards from Ai Khanoum contain 677 Indian punch-marked coins, 198 tetradrachmas, 7 Indo-Greek drachmas, one pre-Seleukid drachma and another issued by Eukratides I, and one forgery of a tetradrachma of Antigonos Doson. According to this scenario, the preference was to hoard Indian punch-marked coins and Greek tetradrachmas.

⁶² Holt 1981, 10–11. With regard to Holt's consideration that the Lysias drachma was an "intrusion" "by a zealous dealer," Narain objected, citing the unfinished work of the city's excavations and that "five coins of Lysias as against one of Antialkidas were included in the Qunduz hoard" (Narain 1989, 414 n. 159).

⁶³ Petitot-Biehler 1975, 54–55; Bernard 1975, especially 61–65.

⁶⁴ Bernard 1985, 19–84, 115–122, 154–158, pls. 2–10.

⁶⁵ In this regard, besides the five Kushan and seven Islamic coins and ten bronze flans, I have excluded Bopearachchi's report of one or more hoards that may or may not have come from clandestine diggings at Ai Khanoum as the total number of coins varies from one informer to the next. Although he placed the number in excess of 1500 and claimed to have reconstituted about 50% of the lot by inspecting the coins in bazaars and in private collections "in Pakistan, U.S.A., Japan and several European countries" Bopearachchi 1998b, 184–185; and variously repeated as e.g., Bopearachchi 1995, especially 616–620; Bopearachchi 1999b, 110–111.

Figure 5. Chronological distribution of coins found in and around Aī Khanoum

King ⁶⁶	Tetradrachma	Drachma	Obol	(Indo-Greek) Drachma	Nickel	Gold	Bronze	Indian Punch-Marked
Pre-Seleukid c. 325–300	11 (H ns. 1–4; P-B nos. 57–63)	1 (H n. 17) ⁶⁷					9 (B ns. 1–9; B/G ns. 1–9)	
Seleukids c. 312–246	19 (H ns. 5–16; P-B ns. 1–2, 52–56)					1 (B n. 76)	71 (B ns. 10–75, 77; B/G ns. 10–65; K ns. 1–4, pp. 152–153)	
Diodotos I–II c. 250–230	22 (H ns. 18–28; P-B ns. 3–13)						26 (B ns. 78–103)	
Euthydemos I c. 230–200	108 (H ns. 29–109; P-B ns. 14–40)						49 (B ns. 104–152)	
Demetrios I c. 200–185	11 (H ns. 110–117; P-B ns. 41–43)						5 (B ns. 153–157)	
Euthydemos II c. 185–180	4 (H ns. 118–120; P-B n. 44)						5 (B 158–162)	
Agathokles c. 185–170	9 (H ns. 123–128; P-B ns. 45–47)			6 (ABii ns. 1–6)	3 (B ns. 167–169)			
Antimachos I c. 174–165	4 (H ns. 121–122; P-B ns. 48–49)		1 (B n. 163)				2 (B ns. 164–165)	
Apollodotos I c. 174–165	1 (P-B n. 50)			1 (B n. 170)			1 (B n. 171)	
Demetrios II c. 175–170							1 (B n. 166)	
Eukratides I c. 171–145	8 (H ns. 129–134, 136–137; P-B n. 51) ⁶⁸	1 (H n. 135)	1 (B n. 172)				11 (B ns. 173–183)	

⁶⁶ Although the chronology of kings who ruled the Hellenistic Far East has yet to be definitively established, I have – albeit solely for sake of convenience – adopted Bopearachchi’s chronology of Seleukid, Greek Baktrian, and Indo-Greek dynasts (e.g., Bopearachchi 1998b, [5–6]; *cf.* on the dates proposed for Euthydemos I: Lerner 1999, 54–59; Lyonnet 2010, 143–144).

⁶⁷ Bopearachchi 1998b, 187–196.

⁶⁸ Although 8 tetradrachmas are listed for Eukratides I, there are 9 listed in the notes, because Cribb (Cribb 2005, 211) has identified one of them (Holt 1981: pl. 12 no.129) as a coin of Eukratides II.

Eukrtaides II c. 145–140	1 (Cribb 2005: 211)							
Lysias c. 120–110		1 (H n. 138)						
Greek Bak- trian ?							1 (B n. 184)	
Indian								705 (ABi ns. 1– 677; B ns. 185– 212)

(Abbreviations. ABi = Audouin/Bernard 1973; ABii = Audouin/Bernard 1974; B = Bernard 1985;⁶⁹ B/G = Bernard/Guillaume 1980; H = Holt 1981; K = Kritt 2001; P-B = Petitot-Biehler 1975; n. = number; ns. = numbers.)

The number of non-Indian coins excavated by Bernard and his team from the site pales in comparison, for example, to the 13,083 specimens found in the Mir Zakah I hoard⁷⁰ and the 627 specimens that make up the Qunduz hoard.⁷¹ Although Mir Zakah I has only partially been studied, the Qunduz treasure has been fully published yielding a number of unanticipated results, each of which provokes a series of historical questions that have yet to be adequately addressed, including what we should make of the ‘Indo-Baktrian’ tetradrachmas issued by the Indo-Greek kings Lysias (nos. 611–614), Theophilos (no. 615), Archebios (nos. 624–625), Philoxenos (no. 626), Hermaeos (no. 627), and the double-decadrachmas of Amyntas (nos. 619–623), to which we should parenthetically reckon the rare commemoratives of Antialkidas (nos. 616–618).⁷² Prior to this discovery, conventional wisdom held that Indo-Greek coins circulated in Indian regions south of the Hindu Kush and were minted along an Indian weight standard with bilingual legends in Greek and Prakrit, as opposed to Greek Baktrian coins that circulated north of the Hindu Kush, were struck on the Attic standard, and contained only monolingual Greek legends. The Qunduz treasure changed this conception, because all the coins

⁶⁹ In his study of the Ai Khanoum coins found outside of hoards, Bernard collated two earlier studies which I have not included in the references: Le Rider 1973, 203–205; Bernard/Guillaume 1980.

⁷⁰ The hoard was never comprehensively published, Curiel/Schlumberger 1953. A second hoard, Mir Zakah II, was presumably located at the same site and was estimated to have contained some 550,000 coins; see Bopearachchi 1994a, 2–3; Bopearachchi 1994b, 3*ff.*; Bopearachchi 1994c, 7–14; Bopearachchi 1994d, 513*ff.*; Bopearachchi 1995, 611*ff.*; Bopearachchi/ur Rahman 1995, 10–14; Bopearachchi 1998b, 183–184; Bopearachchi 1999a, 36*ff.*; Bopearachchi 2002, 111–123.

⁷¹ Curiel/Fussman 1965; more recently with bibliography, Bopearachchi 1990b, 79 n.1. For hoards obtained from clandestine excavations north and south of the Hindu Kush, see Bopearachchi 1995, 612–629; Bopearachchi 1998b, 183–187; Bopearachchi 1999b, 109–113; Bopearachchi 1999c, 55–67.

⁷² Prior to the recovery of the Qunduz hoard, two of Antialkidas’ tetradrachmas were already known; for their historiography, see Bopearachchi 1990, 80–81 n.2; and Bopearachchi 1989, 50–51.

in the hoard were emitted on the Attic standard and bear exclusively monolingual, Greek legends, including those issued by Indo-Greek kings, whose dominions were south of the Hindu Kush. For our purpose, this treasure begs the issue of whether in fact the incomplete excavations of Aī Khanoum provide us with sufficient data to dismiss as out of place the Lysias drachma of Aī Khanoum Hoard 3 (1973/1974). Since the hoard contains two other drachmas (a pre-Seleukid “Eagle Series” drachma [no. 17] and another of Eukratides I [no. 135]), we wonder whether there is any evidence that allows us to dismiss categorically this coin’s place in the hoard by relegating it to the status of an intrusion by an unknown dealer.

Given the lack of a trustworthy inventory of objects recovered from clandestine excavations at Aī Khanoum, we will never be able to attribute with absolute certainty the provenance of all the items taken from the site. In terms of the coins found at Aī Khanoum, we must conclude that it is too rash to dismiss out of hand the notion that the Lysisas drachma was not in fact part of the 1973–1974 hoard, particularly as the coin’s authenticity has never been questioned, the excavations were only partially completed, and coins of Lysias are known elsewhere in northern Afghanistan. To dismiss the coin’s composition in the hoard simply because it does not conform to a paradigm which itself stems from an incomplete archaeological record is unconvincing. Indeed, there is nothing in the numismatic record that indicates unequivocally that the inhabitants immediately abandoned the city upon the death of Eukratides I, particularly as the numismatic record extends to Eukratides II⁷³ and in all probability to Lysias.⁷⁴

6. Conclusion

A comparison of the coins found at Aī Khanoum with the monetary labels from the “treasury” seems at first glance to reveal two contradictory records of the city’s monetary history. As regard the labels, we have noted that they record three denominations.⁷⁵ Text **no. 1a** records a deposit of 500 drachmas and **no. 4**, though not a deposit per se, nonetheless lists a sum of 119 drachmas. Together they register

⁷³ Cribb 2005, 211 based on his analysis of the AKh 3 1973/1974 hoard. For the traditional view that no coins of Eukratides II were recovered from Aī Khanoum, e.g., Bopearachchi 1990, 95–97; Rapin 1992, 287–294, 393; Lyonnet 1997, 157–159; Bopearachchi 1998b, 178–180; Bopearachchi 1999b, 113–114; Bopearachchi 1999c, 82–83.

⁷⁴ Cf. Narain 1989, 414 with n.159, who raised similar objections about not including the Lysias drachma.

⁷⁵ We should bear in mind that texts **nos. 5a-c, 9b, 10a, 11, and 25** are so effaced that it is impossible to determine both the amount of the transaction and the denomination recorded. To this list we should note that **no. 8** lists a sum of 10,000 but the denomination is unclear, all that is left of **no. 2** is the indistinct *κασαπανα* without an amount, while the *να* recorded in **no. 7** specifying the amount of 10,000 might refer equally to (*κασαπανα*) *ταξαηνά* or *κασαπανα ναδηνά*.

a total of 619 drachmas. In terms of the *ταξαηνά* and *κασαπανα ταξαηνά* coins, **nos. 6, 9a, and 1c** document deposits totaling 30,000 specimens.⁷⁶ With the exception of **no. 27** which mentions only the term *νανδαγα[χωραγα]*, because the amount was erased, the *νανδαγαχωραγα* and *κασαπανα νανδηνά* inscriptions of **nos. 3 and 5d**, respectively, report sums adding up to 20,000 coins. Save the silver, there is no mention in the labels of other monetary standards (such as tetradrachmas or obols), currencies, or metals (gold or copper). As a result, the surviving inscriptions curiously list a mere 619 drachmas, whereas the 20,000 indeterminate “Indian” specimens listed in **nos. 7–8** when added to the 50,000 recorded in **nos. 1c, 3, 5d, 6, and 9a** amount to a total of 70,000 coins. Of the three denominations mentioned in the inscriptions, the most plentiful is Indo-Greek drachmas ([*κασαπανα*]) *ταξαηνά*), followed by Indian punch-marked coins (*νανδαγαχωραγα* and *κασαπανα νανδηνα*), while the number of Greek or Greek Baktrian drachmas comes in at a distant third, composing a mere 0.88% of all the coins registered in the surviving documents from the treasury.⁷⁷ With regard to the coin-finds, hoarded and non-hoarded alike, 21 are pre-Seleukid, 91 Seleukid, and 261 Greek Baktrian for a total of 373 coins or a little more than half the number recorded in texts **nos. 1a and 4**.⁷⁸ Moreover, the current reckoning of the Greek abandonment of the city is still reliant chiefly on twenty-one of these coins (8 tetradrachmas, 1 drachma, 1 obol, and 11 bronzes) which were issued by Eukratides I and the lone drachma of Eukratides II.⁷⁹ Yet the number of Eukratides’ coins found at the site falls strangely below the 205 coins of his three predecessors: 48 of Diodotos I-II and 157 of Euthydemos I.

Taking the non-hoarded coins, the three hoards, and the labels from the treasury as an approximation of what was hoarded, stored, and circulated by the last citizens of the city, it is readily apparent that tetradrachmas on the Attic standard (pre-Seleukid, Seleukid, Greek Baktrian, and perhaps Indo-Baktrian) tended to be hoarded and not stored in the treasury. Of the ten bronze flans, on the other hand, only two of them (**nos. 225–226**) clearly indicate that they were minted at Aī Khanoum during the reign of Euthydemos I, the remainder (**nos. 227–234**) were produced in the post-Greek stratum, while four of these (**nos. 231–234**) were produced using a technique that has yet to find precedent elsewhere for minting coins in Central Asia.⁸⁰ Silver coins – Indian punch-marked coins and

⁷⁶ I have excluded **no. 1b** as no amount of *ταξαηνά* coins remains.

⁷⁷ In other words, $619 \div 70,000 = .00884285714 \times 100 = 0.88\%$.

⁷⁸ This number, of course, significantly increases to 1,105 when adding to it the 705 non-Greek Indian punch-marked coins and the 22 Indo-Greek coins.

⁷⁹ Rapin 2007, 47–50, 58–61, 64–65. See n. 68 above.

⁸⁰ Bernard 1985, 83–84 nos. 225 (237)–234 (148f). Eight flans (**nos. 227–234**) were recovered in room 14 of a house outside the northern sector of the palace (Bernard 1985, 140, 148a–f, 275), while another was found in room 104 of the palace’s treasury no. 279 (226), and the tenth

drachmas minted on both Attic and Indian standards – were imported, stored in the treasury or hoarded, and in some cases used in commercial transactions throughout the city and its environs. On the other hand, the handful of coins of varying denomination and metal (the obol of Antimachos I and that of Eukratides I, the three nickel exemplars of Agathokles, and the gold stater of Antiochos II) are so few in number that it is just too difficult to ascertain the degree to which they circulated during the Greek occupation of the city.

As a result, the numismatic data reveal that coinage in Aī Khanoum just prior to the Greek abandonment extended beyond the reign of Eukratides I to include the emissions of Eukratides II and Lysias, and that the city's treasury was increasingly dominated by the influx of smaller denominations of a non-Attic standard minted south of the Hindu Kush, *visa vie* Indo-Greek drachmas and Indian punch-marked coins. Consequently, there is nothing in this evidence that precludes us from changing our earlier analysis that the Greeks of Aī Khanoum left earlier than the mid-first century B.C.E.⁸¹

Appendix

Inscriptions/Economic Labels

1. Monetary Deposits

Provenance: Sanctuary of the temple with indented niches, dwelling room A of the post-Greek occupation layer.

Inventory no.: P.O. Inv. gén. 2752.

Description: Four inscriptions written in cursive script, three of which are almost complete, on an oval shaped vessel broken at the top. Five of the seven officials mentioned in these texts – Oxybazaos, Philiskos, Aryandês, Stratôn and Hermaios – are found in other texts, thereby appearing to confirm Rapin's hypothesis that the vessel had been removed from the treasury to the sanctuary at some later date (1983, 324–326; 1992, 97).

was found in House 1 of the southern quarter no. 237 (225); see Bernard 1985: 115 *et passim* and Table II. There is no evidence that silver or gold were ever minted in the city.

⁸¹ Cf. Lerner 2010. The notion advanced by Leriche (1986, 47, 56, 83–84) that the end of the Greek occupation of the town coincides with traces of the deployment of siege engines on the northern walls following the death of Eukratides I against either Heliokles I or Eukratides II has long since been rejected in favor of the wall having simply suffered the effects of 'wear and tear' (so Bernard informed Veuve and thus reported in Veuve 1987, 109 n.5). The excavations never revealed any sign of resistance on the city's part or of a massacre of its inhabitants, including the fire that engulfed part of what at the time was an empty, abandoned palace (hence, Veuve 1987, 109 n.6).

1a. Drachmas. Complete text of five lines bracketed in the left margin. Chronologically, the text is the first of the three on the vessel.

	Παρά Ζήνωνος	From Zênon.
	ἡρίθμηται	There have been counted
	διὰ Ὀξηβοάκου	by Oxêboakês
	καὶ Οξυβάζου δρχ φ'	and Oxybazos 500 drachmas.
5)	ἔσφράγισται Ὀξηβοάκης	Oxêboakês sealed (the container).

References: Bernard 1978, 450–454, fig. 18 (p. 452) [incorrect transcription, p. 451]; *SEG* 28 (1978), no. 1327; Bernard 1979, 517–518; Robert/Robert 1979, no. 605; *SEG* 29 (1979), no. 1586 bis; Bernard et al. 1980, 15–22; Bernard /Rapin 1980, 15–22 [cf. Robert/Robert 1980, no. 547]; Bernard 1981, 116; Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; Rapin 1983, 326 no. 4a, fig. 8; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1223; Robert/Robert 1987, no. 295; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 3; Rapin 1990, 334–335, fig. 3; Rapin 1992, 98 no. 4a, 105, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 324.

Commentary: 2. Lasserre, F. in Bernard 1979, 519 reads ἡρίθμηται as opposed to the dative of the Iranian name Πριθμήται, or ἡρίθμηται. See the remark of Bingen, J. (in *SEG* 33, no. 1223) who noted that “traces after η rather seem to be part of a letter cancelled before completion” (cf. earlier remarks in *SEG* 29, no. 1586 bis.). On the meaning in this context, see Bernard et al. 1980, 15–16; Picard 1984, 679–682. || 4. read: δρ(α)χ(μαι) φ' (Robert/Robert 1979).

1b. Taxêna. The text, consisting of four or five lines and chronologically the second, is on the side opposite **1a**. Lacunae occur at the end of lines 2 and 3. A bracket was made in the left margin.

	Παρά Τιμοδήμου	From Timodêmos.
	ἡρίθμηται διὰ	there have been counted by
	Ὀξηβοάκου καὶ	Oxêboakês and
	Ἑρμαίου ταξῆνά	Hermaios <i>taxaêna</i> (?). . . .
5)	-----	

References: Bernard 1978, 452 (with drawing); Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; Rapin 1983, 326 no. 4b, fig. 9; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1223; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 4; Rapin 1992, 98 no. 4b, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 325.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 326) 1. The right hasta of the second μ οφ Τιμοδήμου is omitted. || 2. ἡρίθμηται, see **1a**; διὰ is almost entirely effaced. || 3. καὶ is effaced. || 4. ταξῆνά restored from the same word at the end of l. 2 of text **1c**. Possible reference to a place(s) -- Taxila, Nandagakhoraga, Nanda(?) -- or to an “agora” or “khorā” in the Indo-Greek kingdom, thus Narain 1987b, 276 n. 9 who concludes that the identity is unclear.

1c. Kasapana taxêna. The text written below **1a** is chronologically the last. Much of the ink has faded on the right and lower portions; from the middle of line 4 onwards the text is illegible.

Παρά Φιλίσκου		From Philiskos.
κασαπανα ταξαηνά	A	10,000 <i>kasapana taxêna</i>
διὰ Ἀρυάνδου καὶ	M	(counted) by Aryandês and
Στρα		Stra[tôn;

References: Bernard 1978, 452 (with drawing); Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; Rapin 1983, 326–329 no. 4c, fig. 10; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1223; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 5; Rapin 1992, 98 no. 4c, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 330.

Commentary: 2. (Rapin 1983, 365; 1992, 106) *κασαπανα*, Greek transcription of the Middle-Indian, *kārshāpana*, designating Indian punch-marked coins (equivalent to Indo-Greek standard drachma), probably struck in the Greek territories of north west India at *Takshasila* (Greek Τάξιλα) = Taxila (?) see **1b** on possibilities of *ταξαηνά* [cf. Audouin/ Bernard 1973, 243–244 for other forms (*karshāpana*, *kahāpana*, *pana*) and Fussman in Bernard 1980, 448 n.20: *κασαπανα* = *kārshāpa* a with usual treatment in Middle Indian of -r ->- .]; on adjectives ending in -ηνά, see Rapin 1983, 365; 1992, 106–107. || 2–3. Various ligatures with ν. || 4. Στρατῶνος with corrections from the copist on τ and ω? In right margin, there is possibly A above M as in texts **3**, **5d**, **6–9a**.

1d. Undetermined. To the left of **1c**, there are several traces of ink and three letters of a fourth inscription now lost.

ακϞ

References: Rapin 1983, 329 no. 4d; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1223d; Rapin 1992, 98 no. 4d, 303.

2. Indeterminate Indian coins

Provenance: Treasury, room 108, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 128 (Cér. 376).

Description: The lower left portion of a text consisting of five lines remains on two shards of an oval shaped vessel.

”- - - - -”		. . .].
ἡρίθμηται - - - - ”		There have been counted [by]
Ἀπὸ - - - - - Ἑρ - ”		Apo[. . . and Her-?]
μαίλου”- - - - - ”		maios [. . .]
5) κασαπανα”- - - - - ”		<i>kasapana</i> [. . . ; . . .]
ἔσφράγισται - - - - ”		has sealed.

References: Bernard 1978, 451 (with drawing); Rapin 1983, 329–330 no. 5, fig. 11; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1224; Rapin 1992, 98–99 no. 5, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 326.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 330). The formulaic scheme of text **1b** is similar to this text. || 2. ἡρίθμηται, see **1a**. || 3–4. [Her]maios as it does in texts **1b** and **4**; the name is also believed to be that of the last Indo-Greek who ruled in the region of Kabul in c. mid first century B.C.E. (*cf.* Rapin 1992, 99). || 5. κασαπανα, see text **1c**.

3. Nandagakhôraga

Provenance: Treasury, room 108, under floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 356, 368, 379 (Cér. 398).

Description: Five lines of a text written on the base of the neck of an oval shaped vessel with a significant lacuna in the lower left portion. A bracket in the left margin possibly represents another inscription now vanished.

	Παρά Φιλίσκου	From Philiskos
	νανδαγαχωραγα	<i>nandagakhôraga</i>
	ἡρίθμηται διὰ	it has been counted by
	[... 7–8 ...]ς καὶ	[...] and [...]
5)	ἔσγ . α[]	10,000 (?).
	A M	

References: Bernard 1978, 451, fig. 17; Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; Rapin 1983, 330 no. 6, fig. 12; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1225; Litvinskii/Vinogradov/Pichikian 1985, 97, fig. 5a (drawing); Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 6; Rapin 1992, 99 no. 6, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 331.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 330). The text schematically resembles **1c**. || 2. νανδαγαχωραγα is perhaps a transliteration of an Indian (place?) name in the nominal form and not an adjectival one as in ταξαηνά, see **1b**. We can thus understand it as *Indian land* or *land of the Indians*. || 4. Proper name with -- -ς in the genitive ending, as e.g., Stratôn(?). || 3. ἡρίθμηται, see **1a**. || 5. The beginning of a proper name Εσγ... or Ευγ...; A above M is probably at the end of the line.

4. Ostrakon

Provenance: Treasury, room 115, S, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 765.

Description: Six lines of a text written on an oval shaped vessel recording a number of sum totals. Nothing remains in the left portion and in other places the ink has dissipated. An incision was made in the lower left of the shard.

[- - -] εΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡ- - - [- - -]	[...] of the second [... ;
[- - 'Ε]ρμαίου δραχ μδ' - -	... of Hermaios: 44 drachmas
[- - -] . 4-5. α . καὶ . . υ . νδου ζ'	[...] ... and of Aryandês (?): 7 (?);
[- - -]σμασ . τὰς ἀναφορὰς" - - -"	[...] ... the incomes [...]
5) [- - -]θ .ου ου . ανος δραχ η'	[...] ... : 8 (?) drachmas (?);
[- - -]χξ'	[...] 60 (?) drachmas (?).

References: Rapin 1983, 330, 332 no. 7, fig. 13, 366–367; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1226; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 7; Rapin 1992, 99 no. 7, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 327.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 332). The text is an abstract of various accounts and not a payment label, since it is written in cursive and contains a list of various sum totals (thus ls. 2, 3, 4, and 5). || 1. [ταμι] - εἶου τοῦ δευτέρου? || 3. - -]εια. . . or - -]ερα . . . καὶ Ἀρυάνδου (after text **16**) ξ' ? || 4. - -]ανασγα? τὰς ἀναφορὰς alludes probably to payments represented by the sums mentioned in the text. ||θ.ου Οὔμανος (as in text **16**; cf. *SEG* 33 (1983), nos. 854, 1234 and 1584) δραχ η'/π' ? || 6. δρ]χ ξ'.

5. Deposits

Provenance: Treasury, courtyard 105, N.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 538.

Description: Four fragments of inscriptions written in ink on an oval shaped vessel.

References: Rapin 1983, 332–334 nos. 8a–8d, fig. 14, 365; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1227; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 8; Rapin 1992, 99–100 nos. 8a–8d, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 328.

5a. The text is denoted by traces located on the mid section of the vase's belly under text **5c**. Two zones of scratched erasure; the second is a vertical erasure that had covered a large sign(s) in the text's right margin, perhaps Φ or the siglum A presumably above M.

5b. Traces of a text on the upper right portion of the vessel, but completely effaced.

5c. The text written on the base of the neck above **5a** into which the last line merges into the scratched out portion of text **5a** and onto the surface of text **5d**. No word is legible, but (Rapin 1983, 334 no. 8c; 1992, 100 no. 8c) perhaps there is Ξατραννος.

5d. Kasapana nandēna. Text of five lines of which the left portion is partially covered by the scratches intended for the removal of text **5a**. The letters are so

unclear that the end of lines 2 and 3 have disappeared entirely. The text is framed on the left and right by brackets that perhaps were intended for a previous label on the container, as text 8c.

	Παρά Στράτωνος		From Stratôn. (There have been
	διὰ Μολοσσοῦ καὶ		counted) by Molossos and
	Στράτωνος καὶ ἐσ - - - - -		Stratôn; and . . .
	. . . βαρα..δου καὶ τάρζου		. . . and of Tarzos
5)	[κασα]πανα νανδηνά	A	[in <i>kasa</i>]pana nandêna (?):
		M	10,000.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 334; 1992, 100). 1–2. The formulaic expression of παρά/διὰ is now complete. || 2. On the name of Molossos and its relation to the Meander valley, see Bernard 1987, 106. || 3. Probably ἐσ[φράγισται]; Stratôn of ls. 1 and 3 may (or may not) refer to the same individual, but as a name it occurs often in these inscriptions (texts **13a** l. 4 [?], **1c** l. 4, **3** l. 4 [?], **8** l. 2 [?]), as well as on the hermaic pillar of the Ai Khanoum gymnasium (e.g., Bernard 1973, 208–209, pl. 109; Veuve 1987, 28 and Bernard in Veuve 1987, 111–112; Rapin 1992, 389). || 4. genitives are not Greek and probably designate anthroponyms rather than toponyms. || 5. a payment issued in *kasapana* from the region of *Nanda*; see also text **1c**. νανδηνά misread by Narain 1987b, 272 Group II no. 8.

6. Indeterminate Indian coins

Provenance: Treasury, room 123.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 537.

Description: The left portion of the text has disappeared on this oval shaped vessel.

- - -]λαδου		. . .
[- - -]. ηνά	A	. . .]-êna; 10,000.
[- - -	M	

References: Fussman 1980, drawing pl. 4; Rapin 1983, 334–335, fig. 15; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1228; Rapin 1992, 100 no. 9, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 337.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 335). 2. Conjecture: ταξαηνά (on adjectives ending in -ηνά, see Rapin 1983, 365; 1992, 106–107); *cf.* text **1c**.

7. Indeterminate Indian coins

Provenance: Treasury, courtyard 105, NE.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 763.

Description : Fragment of the right portion of a text in four lines, similar to 6.

	[---] . ι	...
	[---]
	[---] νά Α	...]-na; 10, 000.
5)	[---] Μ	

References: Fussman 1980, drawing, pl. 4; Rapin 1983, 335 no. 10, fig. 16, 365; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1229; Rapin 1992, 100 no. 10, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 338.

Commentary: On toponymic adjectives in -να, see text 6.

8. Indeterminate Indian coins

Provenance: Treasury, courtyard 105, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 326.

Description: Right portion of the text is damaged. The ink is poorly preserved, leaving only a few letters remaining at the end of the lines.

	- - ἄι διὰ	...] counted (?) by
	[---] ος καὶ	... and
	[---] .	[... ;
	[---]	... ;
5)	[---] Α	... ;] ; 10, 000.
	[---] Μ	

References: Rapin 1983, 336–337 no. 11, fig. 17; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1230; Rapin 1992, 101 no. 11, 305; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 339.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 366). 2. Genitive name in -ος, like Stratôn, or in -ου.

9. Deposits

Provenance: Treasury, courtyard 105, room 110.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 326 (Cér. 369).

Description: Oval shaped vessel containing two fragmentary inscriptions.

References: Rapin 1983, 335–336 no. 12 (a-b), fig. 18; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1231; Rapin 1992, 101 no. 12 (a-b), 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 333.

9a. Indeterminate Indian coins. Text written at the base of the neck.

	- - -]ου
	[- - -]ηνά Α
	Μ

9b. Deposit. Beginning of the first line of an inscription written on the vase's belly, below and to the right of the preceding text.

Παρά Νικ[- - -

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 336). Perhaps designates Νικήρατος as the same functionary mentioned in text **10c**.

Reference: In addition to those above, Bernard 1978: 451, fig. 17.

10. Deposits (?) and monetary control

Provenance: Treasury, courtyard 113, room 123, floor 1b.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 465, 466, 536.

Description: Oval shaped vessel containing three texts of which two have been scratched out.

10a. Deposit (?). Text erased, leaving only traces a few letters, located to the right of texts **10b** and **10c**.

-----] -- [-]
 [-----] --- [-]
 [---] ----- ου
 [-]χος -----

References: Rapin 1983, 337 no. 13a, fig. 19c; Rapin 1992, 101 no. 13a, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 340.

10b. Deposit (?). Traces of several erased letters, written in above and to the left of **10c**. Some letters still remain at the end of line 2.

---] ---
 ---] δ . μου φ' . . .] of . . . mos; 500; [. . . .
 ---] ---

Commentary: (Bingen in *SEG* 33 (1983), 1232b). 2. Perhaps δο]κ[ί]μου?

References: Rapin 1983, 338 no. 13b, fig. 19b; Rapin 1992, 101 no. 13b, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 341.

10c. Dokimastes. Inscription, composed of three lines, is nearly intact.

διὰ Κόσμου δοκίμου ἀργυρίου	[There have been counted by]
δεδοκίμασται διὰ Νικηρά[του]	Kosmos in legal silver.
ἐσφράγισται αὐτὸς Νικήρατος	[They?] have been verified by Nikêratos. Nikêratos himself has sealed [the container].

References: Bernard 1979, 519 with drawing; *SEG* 29 (1979), no. 1587; Bernard 1980, 441–442; Bernard et al. 1980, 22–23; Bernard/Rapin 1980, 22–23 with drawing pl. 10b; Robert/Robert 1980, no. 547, Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614 [*cf.* Robert/Robert 1987, no. 295]; Rapin 1983, 338–339 no. 13c, fig. 19a-b; Picard 1984, 683–684; *SEG* 33 (1984), no. 1232; *SEG* 34 (1984), no. 1432; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 9; Rapin 1992, 102 no. 13c, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 334.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 338). 1. Κόσμου = Κόσμος/Κόσμης/Κοσμᾶς? (*cf.* Schmitt 1990, 54, for Κόσμου: genitive of Κόσμος.) At end of line, αρ of ἀργυρίου ligature. || 1–2. δοκίμου ἀρ[γυρίου] | δεδοκίμασται (*SEG* 34 (1984), no. 1432; Picard 1984, 683–684): a term used to denote “argent de bon aloi --- vérifié” as the approbation of the legal character after examination (“monnaie ayant cours légal”); *cf.* Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614.

11. Deposit

Provenance: Treasury, room 109.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 391.

Description: Two last lines of text under the vessel’s shoulder, underscored with a bracket.

δ. . α . . ν . [- - -]	. . .]
ἐσφράγισται . [- - -]	has sealed (the container).

References: Bernard 1978, 451 (drawing); Rapin 1983, 340 no. 14, fig. 20; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1233; Rapin 1992, 102 no. 14, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 342.

12. Deliveries of olive oil

Provenance: Treasury, room 126.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 762.

Description: The vessel, resembling a Greek *mastos*, was broken into eleven fragments, bearing two inscriptions. Their placement indicates that the vessel was used as the lid of an amphora or some other container, and perhaps as a decanter (Rapin 1983, 319–320; 1992, 96).

12a. Five lines of the upper left portion of the text remain on three shards.

Ἔτους κδ . [- -]	Year 24, [. .] (the content)
ἐλαίου ἐλαίνο[υ]	of olive oil (the vase)
ἀποδείξ α’ τὸ μ[εταγγισθὲν]	partially empty of A (of the stock)
ἀπὸ κεραμίων δύ[ο ---]	of one (stamnos) and a half
5) τοῦ ἡμιο[λ]ίου κ[αὶ ---]	(holds the oil) decanted from two
	jars by [. . .]; [. . .].

References: Bernard 1980, 442–444, fig. 4, 441; Bernard et al. 1980, 23–27; Fussman 1980, 36–42, pl. 4; Bernard/Rapin 1980, 23–24, pl. 10a; Robert/Robert 1980, no. 614; *SEG* 30 (1980), no. 1663; Fussman 1980, 36, fig. 4; Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; Rapin 1983, 319–320 no. 1a fig. 3, 366–367; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1221; Rapin 1987, 52–59; *SEG* 37 (1987), no. 1221; Narain 1987a, 280; Narain 1987b, 271, 273 no. 1; Rapin 1992, 96 no. 1a, 303, pl. 53; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 329.

Commentary: The text antedates **no. 12b**, and is probably identical to that of **no. 13a**; thus less than half the lines have disappeared, including all of a sixth line (Rapin 1983: 359 n. 59; 1992, 96, 108). || 1. ἔτους κδ´ in reference to an unrecorded era. || 2. On ἔλαινος and ἔλαιος, see **no. 12b**. || 3. ἀποδεῆς refers to a vessel other than the neuter κεράμιον, possibly a vase in the masculine, Rapin 1983, 320, 366–367; 1992, 96; see **nos. 12b, 13a-b**. || 3. μεταγγισθέν *cf.* **no. 13a**. || 4. On ἀπὸ κεραμίων, see **12a**; *cf.* **23**; δύο, **no. 13a**. || 5. ἡμιόλιον, a full jar and a half (*cf.* Bernard/Rapin 1980, 24).

12b. Composed of seven lines to the left of **no. 21a** and written after it.

Παρά Φιλίσκ[ου	From Philiskos.
ἐλα . [.. ἐλαί]νου []	[. . .] of olive
πα.. [.. 6–7 ..]ους . -- []	[. . .]
ἀποδ[εῆς ...]ων τριῶν ... [--]	partially empty of (the) three [. . .]
5) [[δυ]] λων[- - -] --	[. . .].
ἐσφραγισται	Theophras[τος] sealed (the
Θεόφρασ - - -	container).

References: Fussman 1980, pl. 4; Rapin 1983, 320–322 no. 1b; Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1220; Rapin 1992, 96 no. 1b, pl. 53; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 332.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 322.) 1. On παρά, see **nos. 9b** and **23**. For the occurrence of the name Φιλίσκος elsewhere, see **nos. 1c, 3, 18**. || 2. ἐλα[ίου instead of ἔλα[σσον]. On ἔλαινος and ἔλαιος, see **no. 12a**. || 3. Πα...”... as παρθ[...], παρε[...], or παθε[... ἔτ]ους?; at end of the line several traces. || 4. On ἀποδεῆς, see **nos. 12a, 13a-b**; ...]ων as in ligatures of the third century B.C.E. (*ibid.*, 350 n.19); in fine δοκ or δοθ; perhaps: ἀποδε[ῆς στάμν]ων τριῶν δοκ[?]. || 5. δυ replaced by λων[or λωλ[. || 6. ἐσφράγισται, see **nos. 1a, 2, 10c, 11**, and **13a**.

13. Deliveries of olive oil

Provenance: Treasury, room 126.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 761.

Description: Three small fragments, bearing two inscriptions, of an oval vessel.

13a. Four lines remain of a fragmented text, probably identical to **text 15a**.

---] ἀποδε]ῆς α' τὸ μεταγγισθὲν [ἀπὸ κε]ραμίων δύο διὰ Ἰππίου [] τοῦ ἡμιο]λίου καὶ ἐσφράγισται [- ?-] [- - - -]σος τὸν α' καὶ Στ..[- - - -]	[. . .] ; [. . .] ; (the vase) partially empty of A (of the stock) of one (stamnos) and a half (holds the oil) decanted from two jars by Hippias; and [...].sos sealed the (vase) A and St[... the vase B?].
---	---

References: Bernard/Rapin 1980, 23–24; Rapin 1983, 322 no. 2a, fig. 5a; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1221; Rapin 1992, 97 no. 2a, 303, pl. 53.

Commentary: Rapin (1983, 322 concisely; *SEG* on Bernard/Rapin 1980) has noted: 1.

μεταγγισθὲν with ligature in εν; *cf.* **no. 15a**. || 2. On διὰ, **nos. 7, 14c, and 20**; ἀπὸ κεραμίων, see **15a**; *cf.* **23**; δύο, **no. 15a**. || 3. ἡμιόλιον, see **no. 15a**. ἐσφράγισται, see **nos. 3, 10, 14c, 15b, 22**. || 4. Στ[ράτων most probable (*cf.* **nos. 9d, and 22c**); στ[άμνον is impossible as it requires a preceding article; hence, the following reading is proposed: Μολοσ]σὸς τὸν α' καὶ Στ[ράτων τὸν β' ?]; on Μολοσ]σὸς, *cf.* **no. 9d**.

Special note on nos. 12a and 13a:

Rapin (1983, 367; 1992, 108) has proposed that both texts are identical, the combination of which yields the following reconstruction (*cf. Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 323):

Ἔτους κδ' .[- - -]
 ἐλαίου ἐλαίνου ·
 ἀποδεῆς α' τὸ μεταγγισθὲν
 ἀπὸ κεραμίων δύο διὰ Ἰππίου
 5) τοῦ ἡμιο[λ]ίου, καὶ ἐσφράγισται
 [Μολοσ?]σὸς τὸν α' καὶ Στ[ράτων ? τὸν β' (?)]

“Year 24, the - - - ; (contents) in olive oil; (the vase) partially empty of A (of the reserve) of one (stamnos) and a half (holds) the oil decanted from two jars by Hippias; and have sealed: Molossos (?) the vase A and Stratōn (?) the vase B (?)”

13b. Shard with several letters on two lines of a text probably identical to that of **text 15b**.

- - - ἀ]ποδεή[ς ---]
 [- - -]νος

References: Bernard/Rapin 1980, 23–24; *SEG* 33 1983, 1221; Rapin 1983, 322–323 no. 2b, fig. 5b, 367; Rapin 1992, 53, 97 no. 2b, 108, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 335.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 323) 1. On ἀποδείης, see **no. 15a**.

|| 2. [- - -]νος or]νου; *cf.* 1.5 of **no. 15b**; the combination yields -λωνος or -λωνου, as the genitive ending of a proper name.

14. Incense

Provenance: Treasury, room 104, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, Cér. 55.

Description: The ink of a text consisting of one line is well preserved. Several traces of ink on three or four lines also appear.

λιβανωτοῦ Incense.

References: Bernard 1978, 450; Robert/Robert 1979, no. 605; Fussman 1980, 36; Rapin 1983, 344–345 no. 21, fig. 27a-b; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1240; Rapin 1992, 103 no. 21, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 351.

15. Incense

Provenance: Treasury, room 110, N, 0.5/floor.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 236.

Description: The inscription is written in well-preserved ink on the right, but the shard is broken at the first and last letters.

λιβανωτο[ῦ] Incense.

References: Bernard 1978, 450; Robert/Robert 1979, no. 605; Fussman 1980, 36; Rapin 1983, 344–345 no. 22, fig. 28; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1241; Rapin 1992, 103 no. 22, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 352.

16. List of individuals on label or ostrakon

Provenance: Treasury, room 108.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 369 (Cér. 386).

Description: Text of six lines written on the bottom portion of a vessel's neck. The ink has faded in right half of the text.

	- [- - -]	. [. . .]
	Καλλισθ[- - -]	of Kallisth[enes . . .]
	Σινωφ . του [- - -]	of Sin. . .tos [. . .]
	Ξατραννου [- - -]	of Xatrannos [. . .]
	Οὐμάνου [- - -]	of Oumanos [. . .]
5)	. οδ' [- - -]	74 (?) [. . .].

Description: Ink used in the text has greatly faded.

εγμαδονατιος

References: Rapin 1983, 343 no. 20, fig. 26; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1239; Rapin 1992, 103 no. 20, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 350.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 343). A proper noun preceded by the preposition ἐγ/ἐκ, thus indicating provenance (?).

20. Personal name

Provenance: Sanctuary of the temple with indented recesses, room 9, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Inv. gén. P.O. 483.

Description: Iranian personal name engraved on the edge of a schist disk.

Αϊτάτης Aitatês.

References: Grenet 1983, 397–398; Francfort 1984, 26; Bernard 1992, 388 III 2a; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 358.

Commentary: The inscription is engraved so lightly that it cannot be photographed clearly, but the reading is assured (Grenet 1983, 379 n.30).

21. Personal name (owner of the vase?)

Provenance: Sanctuary of the temple with indented niches, 10 H/t 12 (level after Diodotos).

Inventory no.: Inv. gén. P.O. 2207.

Description: The shard breaks off in the right portion of the name in ink.

Σωσιπά[τρου] Of Sôsipatros

References: Rapin 1983, 342 no. 18, fig. 24; [on a shard from Tepe Nimlik, bearing the letters - - - . ατρος (perhaps πατρος), see Schlumberger 1947, 241–242 and Rapin 1983, 316 n.5; cf. Narain 1987b, 274, 284; and Rapin's response (1992, 103)]; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1237; Rapin 1992, 103 no. 18, 304, 388, and drawing pl. 55; Bernard 1992, 388 no. III 2c; as a possible Indic name, Sašiputra, see Narain 1987b, 274 n. 8; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 348.

22. Owner of a stamnos

Provenance: House 1 of the S quarter.

Inventory no.: Inv. gén. P.O. 2812.

Description: Two lines in ink on an oval shaped vessel.

Φιλοξένης
τὸ στάμνον

Stamnos of Philoxênos.

References: Bernard/Rapin 1980, 18; Rapin 1983, 343–344 no. 19, fig. 25; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1238; Rapin 1992, 103 no. 19, 304, and drawing pl. 55; Bernard 1992, 388 no. III 2b; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 349.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 343, 357). 1. Genitive of Φιλοξένη; or -νι as the scribe's syntactical error. || 2. τὸ στάμνον to read as either τὸ στάμνιον or τὸν στάμνον.

23. Personal name (?)

Provenance: Aï Khanoum. Among the inscribed graffiti and vases found outside the treasury.

Description: Engraved shard of a plate with the fragmented last portion of an inscription.

...].ριξαρης

References: Rapin 1983, 316 n. 5; Grenet 1983, 381, fig. 38; Vinogradov in Litvinskii/Vinogradov/Pichikian 1985, 97, fig. (drawing) 5b; Rapin 1987, 225 n.2; Rapin 1992, drawing, pl. 55; Bernard 1992, 388 III 2d; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 359.

Commentary: (Rapin 1987, 225 n. 2). The reading is certain that the letter before the rho is an ι (“iota”), identifying a personal name of which the first element of the final portion should thus be understood as ...iri- (e.g. Tirixares, cf. Tribazos).

24. Fragment

Provenance: Treasury, room 108, under floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 393 (Cér. 398).

Description: Fragment of three lines of a text written irregularly in ink.

---] διὰ Καλ[---]
[-----] μμα[-----]
[-----] ρθ[-----]

References: Rapin 1983, 345 no. 23, fig. 29; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1242; Rapin 1992, 104 no. 23, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 353.

Commentary: Rapin (1983, 345; 1992, 104). 1. Καλ[--- or Κασ[---, perhaps Kallisthenes?, thus a payment? || 2–3. no known parallels from Aï Khanoum for the two fractions of the words μμα and ρθ. Possibly ---]φθ[--- instead of ---] ρθ[---.

25. Fragment (payment?)

Provenance: Treasury, room 109.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 378 (Cér. 218).

Description: Fragment of two lines.

-----]κ[----] . . .] ;
[--]σται Μιλ[---] Μιλ[. . .] (has sealed the container ?).

References: Rapin 1983, 346 no. 24, fig. 30; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1243; Rapin 1992, 104 no. 24, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 354.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 346). 2. Μιλ [--- or Μιν [---.

26. Fragment (payment?)

Provenance: Treasury, room 118, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 279.

Description: Right portion of two lines.

---]τ . ια . α
[---]υχ . ια

References: Rapin 1983, 346 no. 25, fig. 31; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1244; Rapin 1992, 104 no. 25, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 355.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 346). 1. ---]τ.ια.α or ---]ται δ.ια. || 2. δρχ or figure --- χ'.

27. Payment (payment of Indian coins?)

Provenance: Treasury (no other information known).

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB. 77, 271.

Description: Fragment of four lines of a text that has been largely scratched out. Only one legible word occurs and that in the last line.

- [- - - -]
-- [- - - -]
---- [- - - -]
-- ουνανδαγα[- - -

References: Rapin 1983, 346–347 no. 26, fig. 32; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1245; Rapin 1992, 104 no. 26, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 356.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 347). On νανδαγα[- - -, see text 3 l., as toponym.

28. Fragment

Provenance: Treasury (no other information known).

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB. 77, 156.

Description: Only a fragment of three or four lines on the left lower portion of a text still remains.

----- [---]
 δ . α --- [---]
 . . . και --- [---]

References: Rapin 1983, 347 no. 27, fig. 33; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1246; Rapin 1992, 104; no. 27, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 357.

29. Gymnasium. Inscribed Herm

Provenance: A parallelepipedal pedestal of stone situated in a niche of the colonnade of the exedra of North 4 on the edge of a large courtyard (stage II) of the gymnasium.

Description: Pedestal inscribed with dedicatory inscription containing a cloaked Hermaic statue whose bent left arm once held a metal rod (ῥάβδος?), while the right hand from underneath grasps the cloak. The statue's head was found some 40 cm from the foot of the niche in a layer of debris: that of a bearded old man, crowned with a diadem; thus a "Mantelherme" (on this type, see Lullies 1931, 78–84; Bernard 1967b, 90–91; Veuve 1987, 28, 71, 74–75; Bernard in Veuve 1987, 91–93).

Τριβαλλὸς	Triballos
καὶ Στράτων	and Stratôn
Στράτωνος	(sons) of Stratôn
Ἑρμῆι Ἡρακλεῖ	to Hermes (and) Heraklês.

References: Bernard in Robert 1966, 554–555; Bernard 1967a, 318–319; Bernard 1967b, 90–91, pls. 19–20; Robert 1968, 417–421; fig. 1; Robert/Robert 1969, no. 601; Robert 1973, 208–211, pl. 109a; Narain 1974, 97 no. 1; Veuve/Liger 1976, 40; Narain 1977–1978, 126 no. 3; Veuve 1987, 28; 72; 74–75; Bernard in Veuve 1987, 91–93, 111–112; Narain 1987b, 271 no. 3; *SEG* 38 (1988), no. 1550; Sève 1989, no. 140; Robert 1989, 511–515; *SEG* 40 (1990), no. 1385; Schmitt 1990, 54; Rapin 1992, 100 no. 8d with n.226; Bernard in Rapin 1992, 389 no.4, 2; Huyse 1995, 114; Karttunen 1997, 288 n.198; 308–309; Lerner 2003–2004, 390–391; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 381.

Commentary: On the name Στράτων, see **nos. 1c, 3 (?)**, **5d** (ls. 1 and 3), and **13a** (?).

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Abstract

The paper proposes a new interpretation of the activities that occurred in the palace treasury of the Hellenistic city of Aï Khanoum on the eve of the site's abandonment by its Greek inhabitants. A reexamination of a series of inscriptions and coins from the site reveals that the names of individuals believed to have been the treasury's directors are in actuality the names of depositors, the treasury stored three different currencies, and coins found in association with the site indicate that the city was inhabited for a longer period of time than is the standard reckoning.