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# **The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli**

Part 3.1

Restored text and translation

by Prods Skjærvø

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## Notice

Users of this text should always consult the synoptic texts in SIP 2 for the exact reading of the blocks. The restored text in this volume differs from the synoptic texts in several respects: A simplified apparatus has been used; The synoptic texts contain no restorations of complete words, even when the restoration is certain (e.g. in the lists of dignitaries); The restored text contains both certain and conjectural restorations; The translation is based upon the restored text.

The restored text and the translation have been divided into paragraphs to show the structure of the text and to provide a frame of reference. In unclear passages the division into paragraphs does not necessarily agree with the contextual divisions, but is also for the sake of reference.

In order to remind the readers of the many uncertainties in the textual restorations and the translation I have been liberal in the use of queries (?).

The inscription is quoted by line number or by block number thus:

11 B 4,06 or B 4,06 = 11, i.e. line no. 11 of the MP (capital letter: B) version, block B4, and line 6 of that block.

Parallel passages are quoted as follows:

13/12 C 10,02 'ltyk = Pa b 2,06 zbnk, i.e. MP version 13, block C 10, and line 2 of that block correspond to Pa line 12, block b2 (lower case: b), and line 6 of that block. (Both line numbers are quoted even when one version is missing or omitted.)

## Paraphrase of the inscription

The Paikuli inscription is comprised of three parts: introduction, main part, and conclusion. The main part can be divided into three: 1. An account of the events taking place before Narseh and the Iranian dignitaries meet at Paikuli; 2. An account of the events leading to the surrender of Warahrān, King of Sakas, and the punishment of Wahnām; 3. The negotiations between Narseh and the dignitaries regarding the succession to the throne of Iran, leading to Narseh's acceptance of the Kingship.

### I. *Introduction* §§ 1-2

- §1 The genealogy of Narseh is given in the common pattern of the other Sassanian royal inscriptions.  
§2 The reason for raising the monument(?).

### II *Main Part* §§ 3-90

#### 1. *From the death of Warahrān II until the meeting of Narseh and the dignitaries at Paikuli* (§§ 3-32)

- §3 Narseh, King of Armenia, was staying in Armenia when Warahrān II, King of Kings of Iran, died.  
§4 His son, Warahrān, King of Sakas, was crowned by Wahnām, son of Tatrus, but Narseh was not informed of this.  
§§5-9 Wahnām (?) informed the dignitaries, advising them to accept Warahrān as King of Kings and adding threats against those who would oppose him.  
§§10-15 Council and deliberations of the dignitaries.  
§§16-18 A group of dignitaries, headed by some of the foremost members of the royal court and members of the leading families wrote to Narseh asking him to come from Armenia and take back his throne and the divine honours of his forefathers, which had been usurped by evildoers.  
§§19-21 Narseh set out for Iran, sending messengers in advance to inform his own adherents and others that he was coming.  
§§22-31 Narseh instructed (?) the Hargbed to send the Lord of Undīgān to the border of Xūzestān to guard (?) the passage to Asōrestān (the royal province with the royal capital Ctesiphon). The Lord of Undīgān was instructed to offer Warahrān and Wahnām a truce, and if they accepted, to refrain from fighting, take them to Asōrestān, and settle them there until Narseh arrived.  
§32 Narseh and the dignitaries then met at Paikuli

#### 2. *The actions of Warahrān and Wahnām until the surrender of Warahrān and the punishment of Wahnām and others* (§§33-62)

- §33 On hearing of this, Warahrān and Wahnām marched from Xūzestān towards Armenia (?).  
§§34-37 By letter, Wahnām enlisted the help of Ādurfarrōbay, King of Mēšān . . .  
§§38-39 The King of Mēšān went forth to assist them.

- §40 Ardaxšer the Hazārbed (?) called upon the King of Kings (? = Narseh?) for assistance.
- §§41-43 The King of Mēšān (?), Wahnām and their supporters paid homage to Warahrān and swore allegiance.
- §§44-46 Various developments. Desertion of some of the troops. They came to the Lord of Undīgān who sent them to Narseh.
- §§47-50 Narseh wrote a letter to Warahrān, pointing out that he had no right to take the throne in such an inappropriate way. His followers had deserted him, and so he should come to Narseh and give himself up.
- §§51-52 Warahrān then surrendered.
- §§53-55 When Wahnām saw that his cause was a lost one, he realized his defeat and his plight . . .
- §§56-59 Wahnām was captured by a party sent by Narseh for that purpose, and was, in a degrading manner, sent back to him.
- §60 Warahrān learnt about the capture of Wahnām.
- §§61-62 Narseh took measures to punish the rebels.

*3. The correspondence between Narseh and the dignitaries over the succession, and Narseh's acceptance of the throne (§§63-90)*

- §63 Narseh called for a meeting.
- §§64-73 Narseh wrote to the dignitaries, reminding them of what had been the procedure from Ardaxšer I onwards in determining who was the most suitable to become King of Kings of Iran
- §§74-82 The dignitaries answered that considering the question of succession in light of the earlier procedures, they had reached the conclusion that Narseh was indeed the most suitable to become King of Kings of Iran.
- §§83-85 Narseh then wrote to the dignitaries a second time, asking them to satisfy themselves absolutely that he indeed fulfilled all the requirements of the ancient formula.
- §§86-89 The dignitaries answered that this was surely the case. Would Narseh please accept the throne!
- §90 Narseh then accepted the throne.

III. Conclusion §§91-95

- §91 There was peace and friendship with Rome
- §92 Enumeration of the kings who acknowledged Narseh as King of Kings.
- §93 Lesser rulers
- §94-95 Narseh claimed the whole realm anew and dealt in befitting fashion with everyone.



[This?] monument [(is)...Nar?]seh.  
And for this reason (?) did we [erect?] the monument [and] place [(it) here?] that [concerning?]  
us (?) [it should be known that?]:

## II. Main Part §§3-90

### 1. From the death of Warahrān II until the meeting of Narseh and the dignitaries at Paikuli (§§3-32)

A 3,02

2 §3. [LNE?] | 'lmm'n ML[KA]  
[ - - -

A 4,02

a 5-6,02

2 | HWYTNm W 'lmny phl|[sty HWEm ? – ca. 25 ll. –  
2 - - -

A 7,02

2 wlhl'n|k?]n OBLWN  
2 - - - ]

*I am/was the King of Armenia.*

*And we dwelt in Armenia [until Warahrān, King of Kings, son of Warahrān ?] passed away.*

A 8,02

A 9-10,02

2 §4. W whwn'm | ZY ttlws[(')n | - - -  
2 [W] | whyn'm ME ttrwsn | [pty] N[P]ŠE  
a 6,02 a 7,02

A 11,02

2 - - - pwšty ?] | ZY 'hlmny W ŠYDAn  
2 drwznypy W | [ - - -  
a 8-10,02

A 12,02

A 13,02

A 14,02

2 | [ - ca. 16 ll. - ] | dydymy OSLWN W PWN | ZK  
2 - - - ] | (A)SRt W pt[y] LHw  
a 11,02

A 15,02

2 CBW LA LNE '[p]'sy [O]BYDWN  
2 (C)[BW | - - - ]  
a 12-13,02

*And Wahnām, son of Tatus, [through] his own falsehood and [(with) the help?] of Ahrimen and  
the devils, attached the Diadem [to the head of Warahrān, King of Sakas ?].*

*And he did not inform me of that matter.*















	B 5,06	B 6,06
11	- - -   gy]w'k gyw'k	hlgw [pt – ca. 8 ll. - - - ]
19	- - - ]   W AHRN ATRE (L)AT(RE)   [ - - - - - ]	
	b 15,03	b 1,04

*And if once (=since) the Hargbed (formerly) took the advice of the gods and myself, therefore [shall we entrust ?] the border watch-post of Asōrestān and the other various places to the Hargbed(?).*

	B 7,06	B 8,06
11 § 23.	[AY]Š LA ŠBKWN[- -   - ca. 6 ll. -]	
10	AYŠ LA ŠBQWD OL   [ - - -	
	b 2,04	b 3,04

	B 9,06
11	l[- ca. 7 ll. -]   '[...]wn [ - - - ]'t
10	- - - ]   W w[r]t[r]gn[.]
	b 4,04

	B 10,06	B 11,06
11	[ZY ? - - - ] M(ROH)[Y]   PWN S[WSYA W] GB[RA	
10	'wndykn   hwtwy pty SWSYN W   (GBRYN)	
	b 5,04	b 6,04

	B 12,06	B 14,06
11	O](L) w[y]mndy ZY h[wc[s]tn ŠDRWNt APš   [ - - -	
10	O[L] h(w)zstn   wymnd ŠLHWd Wš   hndrz ODBWd AYK	
	b 7,04	b 8,04

*And he did/must not allow anyone [to do harm?] to [...].  
And he sent/must send Warhāndād(?), Lord of Undigān with horses and men to the border of Xūzestān, and he instructed/must instruct him that.*

	B 15,06	B 16,06
11 § 24.	[ - ]   l'sy W wtly ZY   [ - ]	
	LHw   [---] W [..]t[.....]   ME MN	
	b 9,04	b 10,04

	C 1-2,01
12	'swrstn   [ - - - ]
10	(')swrstn OL   [- ca. 20 ll. -]   (OB)D(t)
	b 11,04      b 12,04

*“That road and ford which [leads?] from Asōrestān to [Xūzestān?], (that) you shall (?) [guard?].*

C 3,01  
12 § 25. [ - - - sk'n ] | MLKA W whwn'm LA  
10 [W ? OL | - - -  
b 13-14,04

C 4,01 C 5,01 C 6,01  
12 | [- ca. 13 ll. -] | ny HWE (O)L 'sw(rs)|[t]n  
- - - ] | OL 'swrstn  
b 15,04

C 7,01 C 8-9,01  
12 | [wny?] (w)z'dtn|y ADYN LA (?)| - - -  
11 ŠΘRA | [ - - - - - - ] | LA 'wšk'rk W LA pty  
b 1,05 b 2,05

C 10,01 C 11,01  
12 - - - | 'sw]rso(tn) [ - - - | - - - ]  
11 | [- ca. 14 ll. -] | MN 's(wr)s(t)n [- ca. 6 ll. - ] | ODBtn  
b 3,05 b 4,05 b 5,05

*“And to the King of [Sakas] and Wahnām not [...] there may be ... to do harm to Asōrestān, then neither openly nor in [...] to do [...] from Asōrestān.*

C 12,01 C 13,01  
12 § 26. [ - - - | M]N [ - - - | 'w]l[wny  
11 W ME gwnk MN | (hw)zstn PNE-rwn  
b 6,05

C 14,01 C 15,01  
12 - - - ] | OL LY [M]HWH[Y - - - ] | YDO(Y)T(N)[n  
11 | AŠMOYWd LHw OLY | HWDOYW AYK YDOEn  
b 7,05 b 8,05

C 1-2,02  
13 | - - - ]  
11 OL | [ - - - ] MLKA [- ca. 8 ll. -]  
b 9,05

*“And however you(pl.)/he may hear from the direction of Xūzestān, that tell (sg.) me, so that I may know [what to...?] to the King [of Kings/Armenia?].*

C 5,02  
13 § 27. [ - - - wh|w]n'm 'wšy OL  
11 | W 'k skn MLKA W whyn'm | [ - - -  
b 10,05 b 11,05





C 7,04 C 8-9,04  
15 ADYN šh[p|w]hry ZY hlgwpt | [ - - -  
13 - - - ] | <- -> hrkpty W prgw[z | BR]BYTA W  
c 14,01 c 15,01

C 10,04 C 11,04  
15 - - - BLBY|T]A ZY s'(s'nk)n W p'pk(y) | [ - - -  
14 nryshw B[R|BYTA] | <- -> s'snkn W | p'pk ZY bythš  
c 16,01 c 1,02 c 2,02

C 12,04 C 13,04  
15 W 'rt]|hštr ZY hz'|[lw]p(t W) 'rthš(t)r Z(Y)  
14 W | 'rthštr ZY hzrwpt | W 'rthštr <- ->  
c 3,02 c 4,02

C 14,04 C 15,04 C 1-2,05  
16 | swlyn W 'whrmazdy | ZY wr'c | [- ca. 12 ll. -]  
14 swyrn W | [ - - -  
c 5-6,02

C 3,05  
16 - - - W - - ]|c-n(r)shy ZY  
14 | W krtyr 'hwrnzd mgw|[pty W - - -  
c 7,02 c 8-9,02

C 4,05 C 5,05  
16 k(')l(n)y (W) | [- ca. 13 ll. - | n?]hwsty W lhšy  
14 - - - ] | W rhš  
c 10,02

C 6,05 C 7,05 C 8-9,05  
16 ZY | sp'hpt W 'rth|štr ZY t[h]mš[h]pw hry  
14 <- -> 'sp'dp[ty] | W 'rthštr <- -> thmšh|[ypw hr  
c 11,02 C 12-13,02

C 10,05 C 11,05  
16 – ca. 25 ll. – PWN] | št(r-'m'l) dp(yw)r (W) zw[d|krty  
14 - - - | p]ty hštr-'hmr SPRA | W zwdkrty  
c 14,02 c 15,02

C 12,05 C 13,05  
16 ZY - - - | W] (h)ngwn BLDYTA | W LBA (W) '(z)'t  
15 <- -> tkrpty | [ - - - - - - ] | RBA W 'z't  
c 16,02 c 1,03









20 § 40. [ - - - | MLKAn ?] MLKA  
18 W 'rthštr-š | [hzwpt ? - - -  
D 14,03  
D 16,06

D 15,03 D 1,04  
21 PWN | [ - - - | O]L  
19 - - - | SW]SYN W [GBRYN | - ca. 15 ll - ] | OL  
d 1,01 d 2,01 d 3,01

D 2,04  
21 plyd'[t | - - - ]  
19 pry[']t (Y)B[O(E) - - ]

*And also(?) Ardaxšēr [the Hazārbed?] called the King [of Kings = Narseh?] with horses and men to assistance [...].*

D 3,04  
21 § 41. [- ca. 8 ll. - myš'?)|n MLKA W whwn'm  
19 | [ - - -  
d 4-8,01

D 4,04 D 5,04 D 6,04  
21 W O|LE MNWšn LWTE HWYT|[N - ca. 15 ll. - šn?]|y  
19 - - -

D 7,04  
21 W prst'y YBLWNd W [--] | c[n]dy y'wly dšny  
19 - - - |n?(t) W HN šwn[d] y'w[r | - - -  
d 9,01 d 10,01

D 8,04  
21 W swk|ndy OŠTEND AYK  
19 - - - ]

*[...] the king of [Mēšān?] and Wahnām and those who were with them [worshiped?] and paid homage [to the King of Sakas?]. And several(?) times they swore pacts(?) and oaths that:*

D 9,04 D 10,04  
21 § 42. LNEc GRB|[A - ca. 10 ll. - ]|(A YHWWN)[m]  
19 | LNyš G[BRA | - - - | Y](HWE m)  
d 11,01 d 12,01 d 13,01



*And Ā[durfarrōbay?] lead(?) them with horses and men. And from my(?) [...] they went [...] an evil time. [But for him?] was a worse(?) who had placed(?) horsemen before Ngwdy(?).*

D 10,05

22 § 45. [ - - - - - ] | (b)'(n W mkd')l('n)  
20 Wš | [- ca. 5 ll - - -  
d 12,02

D 11,05

D 12,05

D 13,05

22 W PW)[N 'w]štr'p W pt'dn[ - - - | S]GYTN  
20 - - - | 's[tn]bk [- | - - -]yng W pt'pywnt | MSGYWt  
d 13,02 d 14,02 d 15,02

A 14,05

22 (W) LA <-> 'pclwn(y) OBLWN | [Y]HWWN W LA (p)r'c O[L  
21 W LA OL 'p[crwn? - - - ] | OL  
d 16-17,02 d 1,03

D 15,05

D 1,06

23 | - - - | -W?]N  
21 'w'r nytprywt rhtn | [- ca. 10 ll. -]  
d 2,03

*And him/his [...] proceeded [by?] oppression(?) and ... torturing(?). And there was neither a passage(?) backwards no did he hasten forth to ... pillage(?) [...].*

D 2,06

D 3,06

23 § 46. W myš['n | - - - pr]]'c  
21 [ - - - ] | MLKA W whwn'm HN 'w[s? | - - -  
d 3,03 d 4-8,03

D 4,06

D 5,06

23 [O]L 'swrst[n] w[y]mndy LA YHMTWN | [HWEnd?  
21 - - -

D 6,06

D 7,06

23 - ca. 15 ll. -]|sšn [s?]p [h-?] pdk[ly? - ca. 14 ll. -  
21 - - -

D 8,06

D 9,06

23 MNW | P]WN ZK k'lw'[n] LWTE s[k]'n MLKA HWYTN-?  
21 - - - ] | k'(rw)'n (LWT) s(kn M)MLKA | [- - -  
d 9,03 d 10,03







E 5-8,04

27 § 56. W LNE ADYNc ZK wy|[mysy? – ca. 20 ll. –  
24 | [W] L[N?] | - - - | HWE[n]t [W?] šw gw[n]  
d 11,06 d 12-13,06 d 14,06

E 9,04

27 - - - - ca. 12 ll. – nr]|shy ZY  
24 | w]hwn'm OBDWd LBRA | [ - - -  
d 15,06 d 16-17,06

E 10,04 E 11,04

E 12,04

27 'pcwt-GDE | [W nrs?]|hy ZY bgšhpwhr[y | - ca. 6 ll. - - - ]  
25 - - - | - - - | h]yp AŠT[YWn]t  
e 1-2,01 e 3,01

*And then also (did) I [...] that deception(?) [...] are, [and?] how Wahnām does away [to...].  
[...] Narseh(?) ī Abzūdxwarrah [and?] Narseh(?) ī Bayšābuhr [...] may (they?) swear(?) [...].*

E 13,04

E 14,094

27 § 57. [W ZK k'lw?]|'n ZY LWTE sk'n | [M]LKA  
25 [ - - - k'rw?]'n | - - - M]LKA  
e 4,01

E 15-18,04

27 W whwn'|[m - - - ]  
25 [W wh]wn'm | [Q]DMTE HWY[-] prhš | [- ca. 35 ll. -]  
e 5,01 e 6-9,01

*“[The army?] which was with the King of Sakas and Wahnām before, [...] forth [to...?].*

E 1,05

E 2,05

E 3,05 E 4,05

28 § 58. | [ - - - whw]|n'm OHDWN W OSLWN|[N AP]š  
25 [ - - - | A]SR[W] Wš  
e 10,01

E 5-8,05

28 QDM HMRA ZY lš|[ty YTYBWN? - - - - - ]  
25 'pr HMR|[A? - - - | W]š ASRt OLYN T[ROA | HYT]YW  
e 11,01 e 12,01 e 13,01

*“[Then?] take and bind Wahnām and [put] him on a maimed donkey [and] bring him to my court.*

E 9,05

28 § 59. [ - - - - ca. 15 ll. – whw]|n'm  
25 W bgš[hypwhr? | - - -  
e 14-17,01

E 10,05 E 11,05 E 12,05  
 28 OSLWN APš bs[ty | QD]|M HMRA ZY lšty | [pr'c OL?  
 26 - - - | pršš OL?  
 e 1-2,02

E 13,05 E 14,05  
 28 štrdst'n ZY wlhl'mš|hpwhry OL BBA [ZY | L]NE HYTYWt  
 26 wryhrmšhypwh]|r hštrstn OLYN | [TR]OA HYTYt  
 e 3,02 e 4,02

*And Bayš[ābuhr? ...] bound Wahnām and brought him bound on a maimed donkey to the city of Warahrāmšābuhr(?) to my court.*

E 15,05-1,06  
 28 § 60. | [ - - -  
 26 W skn MLK|A AYK YDOEt AYK whyn'm  
 e 5,02

E 2,06 E 3,06 E 4,06  
 29 - ca. 25 ll. -] | W plp'(d) Q[DM? | YTY]|B(W)Nst  
 26 | - - - - - - ]  
 e 6-9,02

*And whent he King of Sakas knew(=learnt) that Wahnām [had been taken, then he? ...] and sat ... [ ...].*

E 5-8,06  
 29 § 61. W L[N](E) plm[ 'ywymy | AYK ? – ca. 5 ll. –  
 26 [ - - -

29 - - -  
 26 | MNW [O]LHw drwzny | [- ca. 12 ll. -] | nhwš[t]  
 e 10,02 e 11,02 e 12,02

29 - - - W]  
 26 pty y'ztn Y LN | [W?] TWB pty 'ry'n-hštr | [W  
 e 13,02 e 14-17,02

E 9,06 E 10,06 E 11,06 E 12,06  
 29 | hmky štry HWYT[N- | AP?]|š PWN LOYŠE | [-ca. 20 ll. -  
 26 - - -

E 13,06 E 14,06  
 29 -]|y (p)'[tp]|'sy | OBYDWNm  
 26 - - - | - - - ]  
 e 1-2,03

*And I commanded(?) [that?] “[...] who [...] to that liar [who] was firstly against(?) the gods and myself and secondly against(?) Ērānšahr and the whole realm, him first [...] I shall punish.*



F 2,02 F 3-4,02  
31 – ca. 10 ll. – PWN k]rpkyhy 'yr[ʔn-štry –  
28 - - - ] | 'ry'n-hštr W

F 5,02 F 6,02  
31 - - - MRO]HY W dyhpty Y[H]BW[N] | HWEm  
28 [ʔn'ry]]'n-hštr msyšt hwtwy | W dyhpty [Y]NTNt hym  
e 4,04 e 5,04

*“This [Ērānšahr with the help of?] the gods [has endured?] much pain and trouble. [And] I(?) whom you(?) [...by your?] grace have been made Greatest Lord and Ruler of Ērānšahr and [Ān-Ēr]ānšahr.*

F 7-8,02 F 9,02  
31 § 65. W HT 'yw-b'l[y | - ca. 22 ll. – | M]KLA  
28 | [ - - -  
e 6-9,04

F 10,02 F 11,02  
31 [PWN] pwšty Z[Y | yzd'n W NPŠE? - - - -]yhy hmky štry  
28 - - - - - - - ] | hšt[r]  
e 10,04

F 12,02 F 13,02  
31 | BOYHWNst ADYN MN HNA | krty AYK ME [BYN?  
28 YBOt 'd[y]n | [ - - - | B?  
e 11,04 e 12,04

F 14,02 F 15,02 F 16,02  
31 | - - - ] | 'rthštr MLKAn MLKA | [ʔyny' AHRN?  
28 twhm ME LN BDA | 'rthštr MLKYN MLKA | [ - - -  
e 13,04 e 14,04-2,05

F 17,02 F 18,02 F 1,03 F 2,03 F 3-4,03  
32 | MLKA m[sly W ŠPYR | LA YHWWN? | Z?]Kšn šhp[why|ry  
28 - - -

F 5,03 F 6,02  
32 – ca. 20 ll. -] | ORHYA 'rthštr | MLKAn MLKA  
29 - - - ] | MLKYN MLKA  
e 3,05

F 7-8,03  
32 'wgwn d[- - - - ]  
29 - - - ] | W QLYW hrtw YHWT HWTnt  
e 4,05

*“And if once(=since) [...], King [... with] the help of [the gods and by his own? righteous?]ness claimed the whole realm, consequently – because of the fact that since(?) [in] my family, except Ardaxšer, King of Kings, [no other?] king [was?] greater(?) [and better?], therefore they [...] Šābuhr [... - (consequently) they ... His?] Majesty Ardaxšer, King of Kings, in such as away, [...] they may have been...*





F 17,05 F 18,05 G 1,01 G 2,01  
35 | W MN 'rt[hštr | MLKAn MLKA?] | pr'c hmky štr[y  
31 - - - ] | h[št]r  
f 12,01

G 3-5,01  
35 | - - - ]  
31 p[tyr'ms?]t[r | W wyšthw ? – ca. 15 ll. - ] | hwnsnd YHWEnt  
f 13,01 f 14,01

*“And as [there was no one?] more righteous and better and more pious than Šabuhr, King of Kings(!), (therefore) since(=after) Ardaxšer, [King of Kings], the whole realm [has been in peace and confident, and people?] have been content.*

G 6,01 G 7-11,01  
35 § 71. | HTn KZYnky BYN tw[my? – ca. 35 ll. –  
31 'k | [LN? - - -  
f 15,01-1,02

35 - - - - ca. 20 ll. –  
32 -]šst OBDt W š'ywt | HWYndy 'dynš LN MN NPŠE | [ - - -  
f 2,02 f 3,02 f 4-5,02

G 12,01 G 13,01-1,02  
35 | yzd'n whyk'lyhy ZK | [ - - - ]  
32 - - - ] | ME 'ry'n-hštr  
f 6,02

*“If my ancestor in the family(?) [of ...] had made ... and had ruled(?), then also I from my own [...] the gods, the well-being of Ērānšahr.*

35 § 72. [ - - -  
32 LHw-mn KN k'mywt AYK LHw rnz W | 'bgm  
f 7,01 f 8,02

G 2,02  
36 - - - P]|WN pwšty  
32 ME LHwyn ALHYN | [- ca. 40 ll. - - - ] | pwšt  
f 9-11,02 f 12,02

G 3-5,02  
36 ZY yzd'n BYN | [ - - -  
32 ME y'ztn B hštr | [- ca. 5 ll. -]t LHw '[..]py  
f 13,02

G 6,02  
36 - - - - ca. 12 ll. -] | g'sy  
32 |[.]. 'g't y'ztn B hštr | [ - - -  
f 14,02 f 15,02-1,03



37 § 74. [ - - -  
34 W MN krpty | [W hštrdryn W BRBYTAn  
f 4-5,04

37 - - -  
34 W RBAn W 'z'tn W p'rsn] | W prtw'n OLYN ptgm W  
f 6,04

37 - - - ]  
34 | ptrshw KN HYTt AYK  
f 7,04

*And fromt he hargbed [and the landholders and the princes and the grandees and the nobles and the Persians] and the Parthians a message and an answer was brought to me (saying) that:*

G 12,03 G 13-16,03  
37 § 75. [LNE] | štrd'ly W BLBYTA <-> LBA | [ - - -  
34 LN hštrdry W | BRBYTA W BRA W 'z't  
f 8,04

37 - - -  
34 (W) | [p'rs W prtw – ca. 30 ll. -] | AYKmn LKM ALHA  
f 9-11,04 f 12,04

G 1,04 G 2,04  
38 - - - | ']pl'sy | OBYDWNt  
34 pty ZK CB[W | ']pr's ODBWt  
f 13,04

*“We the landholders and the princes, the grandees and the nobles and [the Persians and the Parthians ... are content?] that Your Majesty informs us of that matter.*

G 3-5,04  
38 § 76. HTtn - - - MN KZYnky | ['wlwny ?  
34 'k LKM | ALHYN MN hsynk PNE-[[rwn?]  
f 14,04 f 15,04-1,05

G 6,04  
38 - - - ] | LKWM ORHYAn  
35 – ca. 20-25 ll. -] | šwgwn ZK ME M[N] | LKM ALHYN  
f 2,05 f 3,05

G 7-11,04  
38 ptg'm | [ - - - ]  
35 ptgm HYTt | [AYK]  
f 4-5,05

*“If Your Majesty (MP: you) from old (or: from the ancestors) [has ..., then ...] just as that message which was brought from Your Majesty [that:]*

38 § 77. [ - - -  
35 [ 'k AYŠ AYTY MNW MN LKM ALHYN r'štr W ?

38 - - - ]  
35 | p]rtr W krtnystr HWYndy | LHw pty hštr-hwtwypy HQAYMWd  
f 6,05 f 7,05

*“[If there is someone who] would be [more righteous and] better and more pious [than Your Majesty?], (then) he shall assume the rulership.*

G 12,04  
38 § 78. [ - - - BL]BYTA W LBA W 'c't  
35 | hšt[r]dry W BRBYTA W RBA | [ - - -  
f 8,05 f 9-11,05

G 13-16,04  
38 p'l[|sy W plswby ADYN ? – ca. 17 ll. – YHWWNd ? W  
35 - - - W]

38 - - -  
35 | y'ztn whykr 'dyn 'sktr | YMΘAet W 'ry'n-hštr  
f 12,05 f 13,05

G 1,05 G 2,05  
39 - - - | drwd]stly [W N]|TLWNTwmy YKOYMWnt  
35 | 'dyn drw[y]štstr W NTRt[|str - - - ]  
f 14,05 f 15,05-1,06

*“The landholders and the princes and the grandees and the nobles, the Persians [and the Parthians will then be more distinguished and?] the well-doer of the gods will then reach higher and Ērānšahr will then stay healthier and more protected.*

G 3-5,05  
39 § 79. A[[- ca. 25-30 ll. - - - -  
36 [ - - - -]]t W [- ca. 5 ll. -]  
f 2,06

G 6,05 G 7-11,05  
39 - - - ] | yzd'n l'sty-kltk'n | [ - - - - - ]  
36 ZK MNW pty y'ztn r'št-[|krtkny - ca. 35 ll. - | hw]nr'wnt HWYt  
f 4-5,06 f 6,06

*“[...] he who may perform the most correct offices with respect to the gods [and may be ... and] virtuous.*

39 § 80. [ - - -  
36 AYK HN | [y]'ztn GDE W hštr-h[|wtwyp]y OL | twhm ME s'[s]nkn YNTNt  
f 7,06 f 8,06

G 12,05

39 - ca. 10 ll. - 'rthštr MLKAn] | MLKA MNWtn nyd'k YHWWN  
 36 | [ - - - - - - ]  
 f 9-11,06

G 13,05-1,06

39 | [ - - - ]  
 36 | pty y'ztn ŠME hmk hštr | [.]k ODBt  
 f 12,06 f 13,06

“(But) because-(ever) since(?) the gods gave glory and rulership to the family of Sāsān [and (ever since) His Majesty Ardashēr?] King [of Kings?], who was your grandfather, in the name of the gods had made the whole realm...”

39 § 81. [ - - - ]  
 37 AHRNtn | AYŠ hmygwnk LA YHWt | [-ca. 7 ll. -]  
 f 14,06 g 1,01

40 - - - G 2,06 G 3-5,06  
 | pl?]hwyhy W plz'nkyhy | [ - - - ]  
 37 | y'ztn prksywt HWYt | [W pty ? - - - ] | prznkpy W NPŠE  
 g 2,07 g 3,01 g 4,01

40 - - - ]  
 37 m[r|tpy? MN 'ry'n?]-|hštr 'stnbk | [- ca. 15 ll. -]  
 g 5,01 g 6,01 g 7-8,01

“- (because ever since then) no one else has been similar to You [whom ...] the gods have favoured(?) [and (who) by Your?] fortune(?) and wisdom and Own [courage(?) have kept?] oppression [away from Ērān?]šahr, ...”

40 § 82. G 6,06 G 7-11,06  
 [ADYN PWN ? | N]PŠE ALŠA W pth|[šly ZY ?  
 37 [ - - - ] | ME ?]  
 g 9,01

40 - - - ]  
 37 ABYt W [ny']kn HQ[AY]|MWt AYK | [- 40-50 ll. -  
 g 10,01 g 11-14,01

G 12,06 G 12,06-1,07  
 40 | štry MNDOM g'my l'|[sty? – ca. 5 ll. - - - ]  
 37 - - - -]k (W) 'sktr H[-----]  
 g 15,01

“[therefore (do now)?] ascend Your Own throne and (receive) the honour(s) [of] (Your) father and ancestors, so that [henceforth ... in Ērān?]šahr things ... [will be more?] righteous(?) [...] and higher.”

40 § 83. [ - - - ]  
 38 | W hšt[r]drn BRB[YTAn | W RBAn] | W 'z'tn  
 g 16,01 g 1,02 g 2,02

40  
38 W ktkhwtwyn | [W p'rsn W partw'n] | prtgm ŠLHWm AYK  
g 3,02 g 4,02

*And to the landholders, the princes [and the grandees] and the nobles and the houselords [and the Persians and the Parthians] I sent a message saying that:*

G 2,07 G 3-5,07  
41 § 84. | [ - - - - ]h| [ - - - - ]  
38 hsyn|[k- - - - ca. 8 ll. -] | pwtý hštr  
g 5,02 g 6,02

G 6,07  
41 - - - MLYA ZY | yzd?'n  
38 hrtlyn [- ca. 8 ll. - | M]N[W] nhwšt pty y'ztn MLYA  
g 7,02

G 7-11,07  
41 W T[WB? | - - - ]  
38 | [ - - - pty 'ry'n?]-|hštr W hmk hštr MLYA | [AY?]K  
g 8,02 g 9,02 g 10,02

*“The ancestors(?) [...] ... the realm ... [...] firstly by the word of the gods and secondly [by] the word of [Ērān?]šahr and the whole realm that:*

G 12,07  
41 § 85. [ - - - | plm?'d't  
38 hštr h[wtwy- ? | - ca. 50 ll. - - - - ]  
g 11-14,02

G 13-16,07  
41 W 'twk[y | HWE - - - ]  
38 - - - p'rsn | k'ry prmytn W dwšmnyn | ptyshw YNTNtn  
g 15,02 g 16,02

*“Lord(?) of the realm [he shall be who(m) ...] ... and [is] able to govern the affairs [of the Persians] and answer the enemies.”*

41 § 86. [ - - - ]  
39 | [W MN hrkpty] | W hštrdrn W BRBYTAn | [W  
g 1,03 g 2,03 g 3,03

H 1,01 H 2,01  
42 - - - | - - - ] | OL LNE  
39 RBAAn W 'z'tn W] | p'rsn W prt'w'n BATRš | [ - - - ]  
g 4,03 g 5,03

H 3,01  
42 ptg'm [W | - - - ] A[YK]  
39 - - - W] | ptyshw \*KN HYTt AYK  
g 6,03

*[And from the Hargbed] and the landholders and the princes [and the grandees and the nobles and] the Persians and the Parthians then also a message [and] an answer was brought to me (saying) thus that:*

H 4-5,01  
 42 § 87. | [ - - - - - ]  
 39 | [']k YDOEm AYK 'km MN | hštrdm W?  
 g 7,03 g 8,03

H 6,01 H 7,01  
 42 | (h)mky BLBYT[An 'yw]p [BYN | 'yr'n]-štry W  
 39 - - - ] | BRBYTAn 'km B 'ry'n]-hštr W  
 g 9,03 g 10,03

H 8,01 H 9,01  
 42 hmky | [š]try AYŠ AYTY [ZY | MN?] LKWM ORHYAn  
 39 hmk hštr AYŠ AY[TY | - - -  
 g 11-14,03

H 10,01 H 11,01 H 12-13,01  
 42 | [ - - - štry|-hw?]t'dydy | [- ca. 25 ll. - ]  
 39 - - - ]

*“If we knew that there is either of [the landholders and ?] all the princes or in Ērānšahr and the whole realm someone [who would be more suitable for ?] the rulership(?) [than?] Your Majesty, [(then) he should be king ?].*

H 14,01 H 15,01  
 42 § 88. | BR[A] YDOYT[Nm AYK | LOYT]Y LKWM  
 39 [ - - - L]KM  
 g 15,03

H 16,01 H 17,01  
 42 OR[H|YA mhst]y W p[']lswmy | HWE?]d W štry-h[wt'dyhy  
 39 ALHA msyšt W | prtr HWTt W hštr]-[hwtwypy  
 g 16,03 g 17,03

H 1,02 H 2,02  
 43 | (ZY?) LKWM - - - | n]yw'pktivmy  
 40 | - - - LKM] | ALHYN nywng W ny'pktr  
 g 1,04 g 2,04

*“But we know [that] there is not(?). Your Majesty is the greatest and the best, and the rulership suits (you)(?) and is most becoming for Your Majesty.*

H 3,02  
 43 § 89. LKWM ORHYAn | [...]'.] A[YK PWN ?]  
 40 | [ - - -  
 g 3,04

G 4-5, 02

43 ALŠA Z[Y | - - -  
40 | gtw ME y'ztn YNTNt | [- ca. 10 ll. - -]k HWEd  
g 4,04 g 5,04 g 6,04

H 6,02

H 7,02

43 - - - | p]lškrty zm'n štry YHS|[NN]t W plm'dty  
40 W HN prškr | [z]mn hštr HHSNW[-] W prmywt  
g 7,04

H 8,02

43 W PWN NPŠ|E GDE W štry š'ty YHWWNt  
40 | [ - - - ] | W hštr š't YHWEd  
g 8,04 g 9,04

*"[It is fitting for?] Your Majesty [that you should ascend?] the throne which the gods gave [and (that) you should be [...]] and should keep and govern the realm until the time of the Renovation and be happy by your own glory and realm."*

H 9,02

H 10,02

43 § 90. | [A]HR LNE PWN pwš[ty] W | [ŠM] ZY  
40 BATR | LN pty pwšt W ŠME ME  
g 10,04

H 11,02

H 12,02

43 | yzd'n W NPŠE | [- ca. 5 ll. -] b[...m[...]  
40 | [ - - -

H 13,02 H 14,02

43 | pyt [- ca. 10 ll. -] AB[Ytr] | W nyd'k'n YKOYMWNm

*Then I with the support of and in the name of the gods and my own [ancestors? ...] ascent [the throne of?] (my) father and ancestors.*

### III. Conclusion §§ 91-95

H 15,02

H 16,02

43 § 91. | APn kysly W hlwm'[[dyk?] PWN  
40 [ - - -

H 17,02

43 l'pyklyhy W 'št[yhy] W 'lmy YKOY[M]WN[d]  
40 - - - ] | W 'štpy W šyrkmkpy | HQAYMWnt  
g 15,04 g 16,04

*And Caesar and the Romans were in gratitude(?) and peace and friendship with me.*



H 2,04  
45 § 93. [W – ca. 5 ll. -] | ZY dhydkn nhwpty  
42 [ - - - - - ] | r <-> [...]dyn nppt[y  
g 2,06

H 3,04 H 4-5,04  
45 W lzm'g[wd]y [ZY] šnb[y]tkn | [- ca. 5 ll. - - - -  
42 | - - - - - ] | s'trp  
g 3,06 g 4,06

H 6,04  
45 - - - ] | 'gwdy ZY shwlc'n MROHY  
42 dwnb'w|ntš W - - - ] | <-> spwlšn h[wt]wy  
g 5,06 g 6,06

H 7,04 H 8,04  
45 | W p]wls'm'n ZY mwk'n MR|OHY W bgdt ZY zwl'dcyn  
42 < = 42 g 9-14,06 (alter 45 H 16,04) - - -

H 9,04 \ H 10,04 H 11,04  
45 MROH[Y] | W MTRH[w]st ZY bwlspc[.n?] | MROHY W  
42 - - -

H 12,04 H 13,04  
45 zn'dkn ZY | [..]('ld)pc'n [MROH]Y (W kw)l' | -- MROHY?  
42 - - - - - >

H 14,04 H 15,04  
45 - - - ZY | mwšk'n MROHY W nrshy | ZY  
42 W wry|[hr](m) <-> mwškn [ - - - ] nr[yshw | - - -  
g 7,06 g 8,06

H 16,04  
45 [ 'n]tywhcyn MROH[Y] < = 45 H 7-12,04 (after Pa 42 g 6,06) - - -  
42 - - - ] | W pwr'smn mwkn hwtwy | W b'ty  
g 9,06 g 10,06

45 - - - - - > [W] lšwmc'n  
42 zwrđtšn hwtwy W | [- ca. 50 ll. - - - - -  
g 11-14,06

H 17,04  
45 MROHY W wld[.]y Z[Y] cš'n (M)ROHY (W)  
42 - - - ] < Pa omission? - - - >

H 1,05 H 2,05  
46 | [ - - - - - ] | MROHY W m'kwhy 'štbwn'n  
42 | h[w]twy W hrtywd l'k[n?] | hwtwy W m'lwk 'štbwnn  
g 15,06 g 16,06



*Him I [pardoned?], and his realm and districts prospered(?). And those who were willing(?) came to my subjection and service.*