

# The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli



**Sasanika  
Sources**

## The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli

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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 King of Iran, died.
- §4 His son, Warahrān, King of Sakas, was crowned by Wahnām, son of Tatus, 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 Xūzestan 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.

## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

### I. *Introduction* (§§1-2)

A 1-2,01  
1 § 1. | [ANE mzdysn ORHYA nrshy MLKAn] | MLKA  
1 | [ANE mzdysn ALHA nryshw MLKYN MLKA  
a 1-5, 01

A 4,01  
1 'yr['n | W] 'nyr['n] M[NW] ctry M[N | yzd'n BRE  
1 'ry'n W 'n'ry'n MNW šyhr MN y'ztn BRY

A 7,01 A  
8,01  
1 mzdysn ORHYA šhpwhry MLKAN | M]LKA 'yr'n | W  
1 mzdysn | A]LHA šhypwhr | [MLKYN] MLKA 'ry'n W  
a 6,01 a 7,01

A 9-  
10,01  
1 'nyr'n [MNW | ctry MN yzd'n npy ORHYA  
1 | ['n'ry'n MNW šyhr MN y'ztn BRYLBRY ALHA  
a 8-10,01

A 11,01  
1 'rthštr | MLKAn MLKA  
1 'rthštr | MLKY]N M[L]K[A]  
a 11,01

*[I am the Mazdaean Majesty Narseh] King [of Kings] of Iran and Aneran, whose origin (is) from [the gods, son of the Mazdaean] Majesty Šābuhr King [of Kings] of Iran and Aneran, [whose origin (is) from the gods, grandson of the Majesty Ardaxšer] King of Kings.*

A  
12,01  
1 §2. plky | [ZNE ? – ca. 10 ll. – nr?]shy  
1 p[lk | - - -  
a 12-13,01

A 14,01

A 15,01 A16,01



1 W LNE LZNE p | lky M[N H]NA krt[y | ..]k[.]s | [ - ca. 15 ll. –  
1 ----- | ---- Z]K OBDt | [ - - -  
a 14,01 a 15-  
17,01

A 17,01 A 1-  
2,02  
2 HN]HTWNm A[YK] LN[E | ca. 20 ll. - ]  
1 - - -]

*[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?] | 'lmn'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 whl'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







4 | [- ca. 16 ll. - - - | O]BYDWNn Apm AM[T]  
3 - - - ] | dstkrty OBDWn Wm | [- - -  
a 14,03 a  
15,03

A 4,04 A 5-6,04  
4 | NPŠE [d]stkrty 'ws|[[tyk(')n - - -  
3 - - - ] | 'wstykn OBDt | HW(Y)t  
'd(yn a 16,03 a 17,03

A 7,04  
4 - - - ] | HWBDW[N] OBYDWNn  
4 skn) MLK[A | - ca. 6 ll. - - - ]  
a 1-5,04

*“And from/of my own family (?) and the Garamaeans I shall make [...my own?] property. And when I have firmly established my own property (or: (it as) my own property), then I shall destroy [the enemies of?] the King of Sakas.*

A 8,04 A9-10,04 A 11,04  
4 § 9. W | BNPŠE PWN h|[- ca. 25 ll. -]|n'n  
4 [- - - - - ]

*“And I(?) myself shall [...] in the whole(?) [realm?].”*

A 12,04 A 13,04  
4 § 10. W p'lsy W pl[s|wby W AHRN MNW ? 'swrs|t)n  
4 [- - - - - ] | 'swrstn  
a 6,04

A 14,04 A 15,04 A 16,04  
4 PWN p'hlky H[W]|YTN ZK 'ncmny OB|[Y]DWNd [W Y]MLLW[N]d | [AYK ?]  
4 pty phrk | [- - - - - ] hnzmnny OBDWnt | [- - - - - ]  
a 7,04 a 8-10,04

*And the Persians and Parthians [and others who?] were at the border watch-post at Asōrestān, they made a council [and] said [that:]*





wr'z a 6,06 a 7,06

B 5,02 B 6,02  
7 - - - ZY? 'wnd]]ykn MROHY W 'p(l)|yk BLBYTA W  
6 wrtrg[n]- - -  
a 8-10,06

B 7,02 B 8,02 B 9,02  
7 LBA | [W ktkh]wt'y W 'c't (W) p'[ls]]y W plswby  
6 - - - - - ] | p'rs W  
prtw a 11,06

B 10,02 B 11,02  
7 MNWn BYT(A) | OBDk(y) mhst(y W p)[']|lswmy W  
6 MNWn | [ - - -  
a 12-13,06

B 12,02 B 13,02 B 14,02  
7 twmyk|twmy HWYTNt | PWN nyw'pkyhy [pndy ?] | ZY yzd'n  
6 twhm?]]ykstr HWEnt | [ - - - - - ] | ME y'ztn a 14,06 a 15,06 a 16,06

B 15,02 B  
16,02  
7 W LNE | OHDWN W plystky | [OL L]NE ŠDRWNd  
7 W LN | AH(D)t (W) MALKE | [ - - - - - ]  
a 17,06 b  
1,01

*Thereafter Šābuhr the Hargbed, and Narseh the Prince, son of Sāsān, [and] Pābag the Bidaxš, and Ardaxšer the Hazārbed, and Raxš the General, and Ardaxšer [Surēn], and Ohrmazd Warāz, (and) Warhāndād (?) Lord of Undīgān, and the remaining princes and grandees [and] householders and nobles and Persians and Parthians who were the greatest and the best and the noblest subjects in my possession(s) (= province?) – as was fitting – took [the advice?] of the gods and myself and sent messengers [to] me.*

B 1,03 B 2,03 B 3-4,03  
8 § 17. |[ - - - - - ] | PWN klpkyhy | [- ca. 20 ll. –  
7 | W AMT LN pty krp[kpy | - - - ]  
b 2,01 b  
3,01

B  
5,03  
8 - - - BLBYTA]]n W hlgwpt W LBA n

7 | HWE(nt) 'dyn [M]N | BRB[Y]Tan W 'rkpt[y | W  
RBA]n b 4,01                    b 5,01                    b 6,01

                  B 6,03                    B 7,03                    B 8,03  
8 | [W] 'z'yt'n plys|[t]ky OL LNE YAT|WN AYK  
7 W '[z]'[tn | M]ALKE [O]LYN ATYt | [A]YK  
                  b 7,01    b  
  8,01

*And when I had graciously [admitted?] them, then the messengers from the princes and the hargbed and the Grandees and the Nobles came to me (saying) that:*

  B 9,03                    B  
  10,03  
8 § 18. MLKAn MLK|A PWN krpkyhy MN 'lmny  
MLKYN ML[KA pt]y | [- -  
  - b  
  9,01

  B 11,03                    B  
  12,03  
8 'wlwny OL | 'yr'n-štry 'yw | whycyt W GDE W  
7 | PNE-[rwn O]L 'ry'n-hštr | [- - -  
b 10,01    b 11,01

                  B 13,03                    B 14,03                    B  
  15,03  
8 š|try W NPŠE ALŠ[A | W] pthšly ZY nyd'|k'n MN yzd'n  
7 - - - ] | (W PNŠE) | [- - -  
                  b 12,01                    b 13,-  
  14,01

                  B 16,03                    B 1,04                    B  
  2,04  
9 MKBL|[WN MN ?] SLYA|[kly ZY? yzd'n W?] | ANŠWTA  
'yw  
8    - - - ] | y'(z)tn [- - -                    - - - ] | [- -  
  - b 15,01    b  
  1,02

B 3-4,04

9 | [- ca. 8 ll. - - -  
 ]  
 8 - - - ] | hš[t]r HN 'wstm nš(t)[wnk ? | - ca. 5 ll. -  
 ]  
 b 2,02 b  
 3,02

*“May the King of Kings graciously move from Armenia hither to Ērānšahr. And (as for) the glory and the realm and his own thrown [and] honour, which (his) ancestors received from the gods, may (he) [take (them) back from?] the evil[doers of = against?] gods and men. [And may he keep? Ērān?]šahr safe(?) until the ast!”*

B 5,04 B  
 6,04  
 9 § 19. | W LNE AYK ZK prwl|tky H(ZY)[TNm  
 ?  
 8 [W] | (LN AYK L)Hw prw(rt)k |  
 HZYWm b 4,02 b 5,02  
 B 7,04 B 8,04 B  
 9,04  
 9 W P|W]N 'whlmzdy W w|sp'n yzd'n W 'nh|yt  
 ZY  
 8 W pty 'hwrmd | (W wy)sp(n y')ztn W 'nh[t]|yE <-  
 >  
 b 6,02 b 7,02  
 B 10,04 B 11,04 B 12,04  
 9 MROTA ŠM M[N] | 'lm(n)y OL 'yr'n-š|try lwny  
 whyc|wmy  
 8 MRATY ŠME MN | 'rmny OL 'yr'n-[h]štr | [- - - - -  
 ]w[m?]  
 b 8,02 b 9,02

*And when I saw that letter, then in the name of Ohrmazd and all the gods and Anāhīd, the Lady, we moved from Armenia towards Ērānšahr.*

B 13,04 B 14,04  
 9. § 20. W mlcyk W kwpd|'ly W AHRN p'tkwsy |  
 MNW  
 8 W mr[zy]]k W kwpd'r W AHRN | [- -  
 -  
 b 10,02 b  
 11,02

B 15,04                      B 16,04    B  
    1,05  
 10 pyšydy 'wzm|'n HWYTNt OL 'y|[r'n]-štry | [-ca. 6 ll. -  
 ]  
 8 - - - ] | ('wzmn HWE)    OL 'ry'|n-hštr    [ - - -  
    ]  
    b 12,02                                      b 13-  
    14,02

*And the border-people and the mountain-people and the other districts who were before the ... (or: who had been tried before?) [...] to Ērānšahr.*

B 2,05                      B 3-4,05  
 10 § 21. [W] ? š]try W gyw'k ZY | [LNE? – ca. 7 ll. - - -  
 8            [ - - -                                      - - - ] | AYK  
    b 15,02

10 [ - - -    - - - ]  
 9 AŠMOYWn(t) W YDO|[Ent    | AYK? – ca. 10. ll. - ]  
    b 16,02 b 1,03

B 5,05            B 6,05                      B 7,05  
 10 | štry-hwt'dy|hy OL ['yr'n-št]|ry lwny NMSWN  
 9 | hštr-hwtwyp[y] OL 'ry'n-|[hštr - - -  
    b 5,03  
 B 4,03

B 8,05                      B 9,05  
 10 [|h|.|.|.]m W LA AYK | wnlndy OL 'yr'n-štr[y  
 9 - - - ]|m [ - - - AY?]K r'ywn(t) | OL 'ry'n-hštr  
    b 4,03                                      b 5,03

B 10,05                      B 11,05  
 10 | W] 'plyk] štry W g[y]|w'k ZY LNE wz'dtny  
 9 W 'p'r|(y)k hš(t)r W A(T)RE | ME LN    wuz'wytn  
    b 6,03                                      b 7,03

B 12,05                      B 13,05  
 10 | BRA PWN pndy W p'd[y|s]y [Z]Y LNE YKOYMWNd  
 9 BDA | pty    pnd W pdys    ME LN | [HQ]AYMWnt  
    b 8,03                                      b 9,03

*[And] when my lands and places heard (the news), then [they?] knew [that] I(?) ... the rule of the realm of Ērānšahr.*

*And nowhere (?) did they prepare(?) to do harm to Ērānšahr and my remaining lands and places, but abode by my advice and counsel.*

	B 14,05	B 15,05	
10 § 22.	[W] HT '[yw]-b'ly	hl(g)wpt pndy ZY	
9	W '[k] HD-y'[wr]	hrkpty pnd ME	
		b 10,03	
	B 16,05	B 1,06	B 2,06
11	yzd'[[n W LN]E OHDWN	[ - - - p'h]l]ky ZY	'swrs[[tn – ca. 23 ll. - - -
9	y'ztn   [ - - -	- - - ]   'dyn (p)hr(k) M(E)	[ - - -
	b 11,03	b 12,03	b 13-14,03
	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.*

11 § 24.            B 15,06                            B 16,06  
                       [- ] | 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 ŠORA | [ - - -                            - - - ] | 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 gwkn 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 4,02                          C 5,02  
 13 w |[- ca. 10 ll. - - - A]YK YDOYTNd  
 11 - - - ]d[.n[t? A]YK [Y](DO))[Ent?  
 b 12,05                          b 13-14,05

C 6,02                          C 7,02  
 13 AYKš|n LK pthty HWE | OLKWN LA YHWWNd  
 11 - - - ]

“And if the King of Sakas and Wahnām ... to [...] – when(?) they know(=hear) that you have

*eluded(??) them – they will not be...*

C 8-9,02  
13 § 28. | [ - - -  
12 | [W?] 'k AŠTWYnt | [- ca. 16 ll. -]  
b 15,05 b 1,06

C 10,02 C 11,02  
13 - - - ]'n 'ltyk AL YHBWN | [- ca. 10 ll. - PWN?  
12 | p](t)yrzmn znbk AL YNTNW | [ - - - - - ]  
b 2,06 b 3,06

C 12,02 C 13,02  
13 | k]rpkyhy OL | ('swr)stn YTYB(WNt)  
12 | kr(pkpy) [OL 'swrstn | YORYBWd b  
4,06 b 5,06

*“And if they swear(?) [that they..., then?] do not engage an ordered(?) battle, [...] will raciosly settle [them?] in Asōrestān.*

C 14,02 C 15,02  
13 § 29. (AP)|šn MLKAn MLKA BNPŠE | LWTE  
12 Wšn MLKYN | (MLKA) [BNP]ŠE LWT  
b 6,06

C 1-2,03  
14 | [ - - - - - ]  
12 | [- ca. 5 ll. -] LBRA .. | ktyt h.[..] .mt t. | [ - - - ]  
b 7,06 b 8,06 b 9,06

*“And the king, himself, with [...] them away [to?] ...*

C 3,03 C 4,03  
14 § 30. [APšn?] | (OL LOY)ŠE (S)GYTN | [ - - -  
12 [ - - - RYŠ]]A MSGYW AYK  
b 10,06

C 5,03  
14 - - - - ca. 5 ll. -] | 'wlty YATWNd  
12 LHwyn | [ - - - - - ]

b 11-14,06

“[And] you must lead(?) [them?], so that those [...] come as captives(?)”

C 6,03 C 7,03  
14 § 31. W h|ngwn MNW PWN ZK | k'lw'n HWE APš  
12 [ - - - ]

C 8-9,03  
14 | [- ca. 10 ll. - - - ]  
12 - - - k']r[w]'n ...k [Y]NTN[ - -  
- b 15,06

C 10,03 C 11,03 C  
12,03  
14 | (W) ODB(k)yhy ZY nr(shy) | [ - - - YHS|N]Nd  
13 | W] ODBk[py] | ME nryshw ML[KYN] | MLKA  
HHSNWnt c 1,01 c 2,01 c 3,01

C 13,03 C 14,03  
14 W MN ZK k'|[l](w'n) [ZY] s[k]'n MLKA LA|LA ODYTNt  
13 W [MN|H]w k'rw'n M[E] | - - -  
c 4,01 c 5-6,01

C 15,03 C 1-2,04  
15 W 'wlwny | YATWNd | [ - - - - - ]  
13 - - - | ATYE?]n[t] '[....]nd[.]w | [- ca. 10 ll. - ]  
c 7,01 c 8-9,01

“And likewise, whoever may be in that army, him [...] ..., and (if?) he/they hold(s) subjection to Narseh , King of Kings, and depart(s) from that army of the King of Sakas and come(s) hither [...]”

C 3,04  
15 § 32. [W LNE AYK OL ?] | (')swrstn OL ZN(E)  
13 [ - - - - - ] | OL ZNE  
c 10,01

C 4,04 C 5,04 C

6,04  
15 g(y)|w'k --- ] | ZNE plky krty YKO[Y]|MWNt  
13 [A]TRE | YMΘAEm AYK ZNE | [ ---  
c 11,01 c 12-13,01

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 'hwrmzd 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]pwhry  
14 <- -> 'sp'dp[ty] | W 'rthštr <- -> thmšh|[ypwhr  
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  
C 14,05 C 15,05  
16 (W k)t(khwt)'y W štrp W 'm'lkly | [W] hyrd'1  
15 | W ktkhwtwy W hštrp | W 'hmrkr < - - - >  
c 2,03 c 3,03  
C 1-2,06 C 3,06  
17 | [ - - - - - ](n)  
15 W 'p'ryk | p'rs W prtw MNW 'swr|[stn W - -  
- c 4,03 c 5-6,03  
C 4,06 C  
5,06  
17 W glymkn W syd'l[c|wly - - - h'm|dwy?]n OL h'd'n  
15 - - - ]|r HWEnt hmy'bdyn | [ - - -  
c 7,03 c 8-9,03  
C 6,06 C 7,06 C 8-9,06  
17 ZY n[y]|dkrl'y L[NE] pt|[y]lky YATWNd [W | - - -  
15 - - - W] | TNE  
hndymn c  
10,03  
C  
10,06  
17 - - - YKO|Y](M)W(Nt)  
15 YHWE[n]|t AYK ZNE plk OBDt | [ - - - ]  
c 11,03 c 12-  
13,03

*[And when] I arrived [in] Asōrestān at this place where this monument has been made, the Šabuhr the Hargbed, and Pērōz the Prince, and Narseh the Prince, son of Sāsān, and Pābag the Bidaxš, and Ardaxšer the Hazārbed, and Ardaxšer Surēn, and Ohrmazd Warāz, [and Warhāndād? Lord of Undigān,] and Kirdēr the Mowbed of Ohrmazd, and [...]z-narseh Kāren, and [...] the first(?) [of the...?], and Raxš the General, and Ardaxšer Tahmšabūhr, [..., and ...] Secretary of Finance, and Žōygird the Cup-bearer, [and] likewise the princes and grandees and nobles and householders and satraps and accountants (and) storekeepers (? not Pa) and the remaining Persians and Parthians who were in Asōrestān [and Xūzestā?]n and Garamaea and Syārzūr, all together they came to Xāyān ī Nīkatrā to meet me. And here they came into my presence where this monument has been made.*

(II. Main part ...)

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

C  
11,06

17 § 33. W (w)lhl'(n) ZY (s)[k]'n MLKA --- ]  
15 [ --- --- ] | W  
whyn'm c  
14,03

C 12,06                      C 13,06                      C  
14,06

17 | (Z)Y ttrws[(')n | --- ] M[NW? --- OL?]|E MNW  
15 <-> ttrwsn | LHw ME wty W | [ ---  
c 15,03                      c 16,03

C 15,06                      D 1-  
2,01

18 whwn'm hms[h|wny W] hdybl | [ ---  
16 --- ] | hmyshwny W | 'dywr HWYEnt AYK |  
AŠMOYWnt c 1,04                      c 2,04 c  
3,04

D 3,01                      D  
4,01

18 --- ']|yr'n-štry lwny wh[s]|ty HWEm  
16 AYK LN MN | 'rmny OL 'ry'n-hštr | [ ---  
c 4,04                      c 5-6,04

D 5,01                      D 6,01

18 [W?] 'yr'n-š[try --- --- | h]wcst[n  
16 --- ] | z'wr hnbndywd W MN hzw|[stn  
c 7,04                      c 8-9,04

D 7,01

18 OL? ']|lm[ny lwny? | SG]YTNd  
16 --- ]

*And Warahrān, [King] of Sakas, and Wahnām, son of Tartus, and the bad ones(?) and those(?) who were Wahnām's partisans and helpers – when they heard that I had set out from Armenia towards Ērānšahr and had mobilized (?) an army of Ērānšahr(?) – then they(?) went from Xūzestān [towards?] Armenia (?)*

D 8,01                      D  
9,01

18 § 34. whwn'm P[WN | NP]ŠE y['t]wkyhy | [ - - -  
16 [ - - - - - - ] | y'ts' rpy 'trw[pr]|nbg  
c 10,04 c 11,04

D 10,01 D  
11,01  
18 - - - ] | (LNE ... s's)|[- ca. 10 ll. -]  
16 ME myšn [M]LKA | [ - - -  
c 12-  
13,04

D 12-13,01 D  
14,01  
18 z[ - ca. 20 ll. - - - ] | (M)LK(A) | [ - - - - - ]  
16 - - - | OL] pry't YBOEd W | myšn MLKA ptgm | [ŠLHWd AYK?]  
c 14,04 c 15,04 c 16,04

*Wahnām by his sorcery [...] Ādurfarrōbay, King of Mēšān, [ ...] ... [...called to] asistance.  
And[he sent?] a message to the King of Mēšān [(saying) that:]*

D 1,02 D 2,02  
19 § 35. | [myš'n? ML]KA pr['c | - - -  
17 [ - - - ] | MLKA prhš | hyp ATYEt AHRN  
c 1,05 c  
2,05

D 3,02 D 4,02  
19 - - - sk']|n MRKA lsyk ADYNc | myš'n MLKA HNA  
17 | 'k skn MLKA 'šmj|t 'dynš myšn MLKA ZK  
c 3,05 c 4,05

D 5,02 D 6,02 D  
7,02  
19 | [- ca. 15 ll. – dyd?]|ymy myš'n MLKA | YHBWNn  
17 | [ - - - - - - ] | MLKA  
YNTNWN c 5-6,05  
c 7,05

D  
8,02  
19 OD 'lmn'n MLKA | LHYK 'nd[...n  
17 HN 'rmnyn | [ - - - - - - ]



c 8-9,05

*“May the King [of Mēšān?] come forth. If another is the page(?) of the King of Sakas, then also the King of Mēšān [...] this [...] I shall give the King of Mēšān a diadem(?), as long as (or: until?) ... far away the King of Armenia (=Narseh?).*

D  
9,02  
19 § 36. QDM hrgwp|[t W BLBYTAn W - - - ]  
17 [ - - - W] | RBAAn W  
’z’t[n c 10,05

D 10,02 D 11-  
12,02  
19 | (W A)[H](RN) MNW ’swr[stn | - ca. 25 ll. –  
17 W | AHRN MNW ’swrs(t)n | [ - - -  
c 11,05 c 12-  
13,05

D 13,02  
19 | k](rtn)[y - - - O]B[YDWNm]  
17 | OBDtn LHw |  
OBDWm c 14,05 c  
15,05

*“Concerning (?) the Hargbed [and the princes and] the grandees and the nobles and the others who [are] in Asōrestān [...].  
[And whatever may be ...?] to do, that we shall do.”*

D 14,02 D 15,02  
19 § 37. | [W ’twr]p[r]nbg ZY my|[š’n - - -  
18 W ’trwpr[n]bg - - - | M]LKA  
šwgwn c 16,05 c 1,06

D 1,03 D  
2,03  
20 - - - | YH]B[W]N HWYTN Z[K | - - -  
18 | [dr]wzn wty YNTNt | HWE LHw ’pr YMLLt | ME  
c 2,06 c 3,06 c 4,06

D 3,03  
20 - - - ’p]stpty YHWWN

18 whwn'm 'pystpy | [ - - - ]  
c 5,-  
6,06

*And Ādurfarrōbay, King of Mēšān, how the bad lie had been given (out?), that he said, since(?)  
Wahnām was rebellious(?).*

D 4,03 D  
5,03  
20 § 38. W myš|'n dglty OL ZNE ŠT|[RA OBLWN ?  
18 [ - - - ]

D 6,03 D  
7,03  
20 - - - ] | SWSYA W GBRA pr'c O[L] | wlhl'n ZY sk'n MLKA  
18 | W pt(y) SWSYN W | [ - -  
- c 7,06 c 8-9,06

D 8,03  
20 | W whwn'm pwšty OZLW[N]  
18 - - - | pw]št  
AZLt c  
10,06

*And [he crossed?] the Mēšānian (?) Tigris to this side, and with horses and men he went forth  
to the support of Warahrān, King of Sakas, and Wahnām.*

D 9,03 D  
10,03  
20 § 39. W M|[- - - - - ]t  
18 W [ - - - ] | hštr-hwtwypy | [ - - -  
c 11,06 c 12-  
13,06  
D 11,03 D 12-  
13,03  
20 (W) L(WTE sk'n M)|LKA | [- ca. 5 ll. - - - ]  
18 - - - ] | hm[y]w YHWE|d  
c 14,06 c 15,06

*And [he assumed?] rulership. And he stayed(?) with the King of Sakas....*

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

21 PWN | [ - - - | O]L  
19 - - - | SW]SYN W [GBRYN | - ca. 15 ll - ] | OL  
D 15,03 D 1,04  
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 [worshipped?] 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](HWEm)
	d 11,01	d 12,01 d 13,01
	D 11,04	D 12,04
21 AP[n?]	L(WTE M) LKAn MLKA   [ - - - ]	
19 [W?] L[N?   L]WT	MLKYN [- - -   Š?]ME	wyprytn HWYt d
	14,01	d 15,01

“We, too, are then men [of the King of Kings = Warahrān?], and with the King of Kings (=Warahrān?) we shall have (an occasion) to increase our renown.

	D 13,04
21 § 43.	[- ca. 7 ll. – HW?]E [ZK ? O]BYDWNm
19	[ - - -
	d 16-17,01

	D 14,04	D 15,04
21	AYK LNE l’ d[y O]ŠM EN	- - - ]
20	- - -   AŠMO]YWnt AYK ptyhty   [- ca. 15 ll. -]	
	d 1,02	d 2,02

	D 1,05	D 2,05
22	YHMTWN H[W Em]	
20	YMΘAt HWYm d	
	3,02	

“[And that which] is [....., that?] we shall do, so that they may hear about us that we have arrived ... [...].”

	D 3,05
22 § 44.	[- - - PW] N SWSYA W GBRA OL
20	Wšn ’[trw prnbg ? - - - d



*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[ʻn   - - -	pr]ʻc
21	[ - - - ]   MLKA W whwnʻm HN ʻw[s?   - - -	
	d 3,03	d 4-8,03

	D 4,06	D 5,06
23 [O]L ʻswrst[n] w[y] mndy LA YHMTWN   [HWEnd?		
21 - - -		

	D 6,06	D
	7,06	
23 – ca. 15 ll. -] sšn [s?]p [h-?] pdk [y? – ca. 14 ll. –		
21 - - -		

	D 8,06	D
	9,06	
23 MNW   P]WN ZK kʻlwʻ[n] LWTE s[k]ʻn MLKA HWYTN-?		
21	- - - ]   kʻ(rw)ʻn (LWT) s(kn M)MLKA   [ - - -	
	d 9,03	d 10,03

	D 10,06	D 11,06
23 – ca. 5 l. -] c[- - -		- - -) (t)ʻndy W OL
21	- - - MN T?] ME LBRA wysdywnt   [ - - -	
	d 11,03	d 12,03

	D 12,06	D 15,06
23   [-ca. 10 ll. -   ʻwndy]k[n] MROHY (Y)T[WN]d		
21	- - - ]   (ʻ)wndykn [ - - - ] ATYE nt	
	d 13,03	d 14,03

	D 14,06	D 15,06
23   APšn ʻwnd(yk)n MR[O]HY		- - - ]
21 Wšn ʻwndykn hwtwy	OLYN TROA ŠLHWyt	
	d 15,03	

*And the King of Mēšān and Wahnām [had] not yet(?) arrived at the border of Asōrestān*

*[when...?] army(?) [...] foot-soldiers [and ... who were?] in that army with the King of Sakas departed(?) away [from?] there(?) and came to [...] the lord of Undīgān. And the Lord of Undīgān sent them to my court.*

E 1,01 E 2,01  
 24 § 47. [W (LNE) | AYK OL? --]|tw'n YHMTWNm  
 21 | [ - - -  
 d 16-17,03

E 3,01 E 4,01 E 5-8,01  
 24 |[ADYN?] | sk'n MLK[A] p[r]wr[tky | - - -  
 22 - - - | M]LKA prwrk ŠLHWm | [AYK]  
 d 1,04 d 2,04

*[And when?] I arrived [at ...]tw'n, [then] I sent a letter to the King of Sakas saying [that:]*

24 § 48. [ - - -  
 22 [LHw gtw ME ABYtr W?] | ny'kn MNW ANY  
 d 3,04

E 9,01  
 24 - - - YTY]|BWNst HWE pr[']c  
 22 'pyny'pk | [- ca. 10 ll. - - -  
 d 4-8,04

E 10,01 E 11,01 E 12,01 E 13,01  
 24 | [- ca. 10 ll. - | -]m[- | - ca. 30 ll. -] | W pr'c  
 22 - - -

E 14,01 E 15-18,01  
 24 | [O]L BBA Z[Y LN|E YATWN?  
 22 - - - ]

*“[That throne of your father and?] ancestors which you (in an) unfitting (manner) have sat [upon, that you should...?] forth, and [you should come?] forth to my court.”*

24 § 49. [ - - - ]  
 22 [W?] | (LHw) by'spn OL skn | [MLKA – ca. 10 ll. -]

[And?] that ambassador [...] to [the King] of Sakas [that:?]

25 § 50. [ - - - ] | - ca. 7 ll. - ] E 1,02  
22 [ - - - ] | HWEd W LN pty OB[D]kpy? - - -  
d 11,04 d 12,04

E 2,02 E 3,02 E 4,02 E 5-8,02  
25 | plymnky W š't-d[[ly] pr'c OL 'swrst[n | - - -  
22 - - - | š't]-zrdy prš | OL 'swrstn OL  
d 13,04 d 14,04

25 - - - ]  
22 | wryhrmšhypwyr | [hštrstn OLYN TROA AYTE?]  
d 15,04 d 16-17,04

“Be(?) [...] and [come?] to my/our subjection [and come?] obediently(?) and with a happy heart forth to Asōrestān to [the city of?] Warahrām-šābuhr [to my court?].”

23 § 51. [ - - - ] HZYTn]]t E 9,02  
23 [W skn MLKA AYK? | p]rwtk ME LN HZYt  
d 1,05

E 10,02 E 11,02 E 12,02  
25 W LBA dydymy g[...] | MN LOYŠE ŠL[Y|TN- - -  
23 | [ - - - ] | RYŠA wyš't W MN  
d 2,05 d 3,05

E 13,02 E 14,02  
25 - - - pt]]hšly BRA LMY|TNt  
23 gtw W | [- ca. 5 ll. - - - ]  
d 4-8,05

[And when the King of Sakas?] saw my letter, then he detached the big [...] diadem from (his) head and threw (it?) away(?) from the throne and [...] the honour.

E 15-18,02 E 1,03 E 2,03 E 3,03 E 4,03  
26 § 52. W krtý | [- ca. 40 ll. - | - - - ] | OL 'yw ŠTRA K|[RYTN?]]t  
23 [ - - - ] | b[...](t W PNE) | [ - - - ]





26 § 55. W PWN wym|ysy W phlyc | [- ca. 45 ll. - -  
- W pty | [ - - -  
d 4-8,06

E 1,04 E 2,04 E 3,04 E  
4,04

27 - - - | - - - nr]|shy MLKAn ML|[KA YH?]|BWNd  
24 | k](r)pkpy [OL?] nrysh[w | - - - ]  
d 9,06 d 10,06

*“And for the deception and (evil) behaviour(?) [which ...] graciously(?) give Narseh, King of Kings.”*

E 5-8,04

27 § 56. W LNE ADYNc ZK wy|[mysy? – ca. 20 ll. –  
24 | [W] L[N?] | - - - | HWE[n]t [W?] šwgw[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 - - - | prš 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 4,03

e 5,03

“And by [...] own ... [...] first killed(?), on account of whom (he?) rose against(?) me(?), him we shall kill(?) [...].

## (II. Main Part ...)

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

	F 3-4,01	E 5,01
30 § 63.	[- ca. 20 ll. -   š]try (')ncm(n)[y]	
27	[ - - -	
	e 6-9,03	

	F 6,01	F 7-8,01
30 w[... O]BYDWNm W hlgwpt [W   štrd'l'n W BLBYTAn		
27 - - -		

	F 9,01	F
	10,01	
30 W - - -	'z't'n [W kt]kphw t'd'n - - -	
27 W]   RBAn W ' [z]'tn W ktkh [wtwyn W AHRN?]   MNW		
	e 10,03	e 11,03
		e
		12,03

	F 11,01	F 12,01	F 13,01
30   m]h[sty W p']ls[w]m[y   - - - ] ptg'[m] ŠDRWNm   AYK			
27 msyšt W prtr	HWEnt ptgm	ŠLHW	[ - ]
	e 13,03		e 14,03-2,04

[And ...] I assembled(?) a council [... from Ērān?]šahr, and I sent a message to the hargbed [and the landholders and the princes and] the grandees and the nobles and theouselords [and the others?] who were the greatest and the best (saying) that:

	F 14,01	F 15,01
30 § 64.	ZNE [’yr’n -štry PWN pwšty ZY?]   yzd’n	
27	[ - - -	

F 16,01 F 17,01 F 18,01-1,02  
30 KB[YR l]ncy [W 'w[d'm | wt'lty? W | L?]NE MNW L|KWM?  
27 - - -

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

F 5,02 F 6,02  
31 - - - MRO]]HY W dyhpty Y[H]BW[N] | HWEm  
28 ['n'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 | ['yny' 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[s]y 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 9,03 F  
10,03

32 § 66. [ - - - ] | HT 'y[w]-b'ly šhp|[whr MLKA? – ca 5 ll. -]  
29 | [W?] LHwyn 'k HD-y'wr | [ - - -  
e 5,05 e 6-  
9,05

F 11,03 F 12,03 F 13,03 F  
14,03

32 | psd'lyk krty AP|šn psd'lykn pthšly | YHBWN A[D]Yncš|[n? – ca. 15 ll. -]  
29 - - - ]

*“[And] if once(=since) they made King Šābuhr [...] guardian(?) [...], and (since) they gave honour(s) to the guardians(?), therefore also did [they ...].*

F 15,03 F  
16,03

32 § 67. [- -]|wšny ZY 'yr'n-štry | [- ca. 5 ll. -]  
29 [ - - - ] | ME 'yr'n-hštr | [ - - -  
e 10,05 e  
11,05

F 17,03 F 18,03 F 1,04 F 2,04 F 3-  
4,04

33 | l'dy h|[- - - - | - - - ] | HNA-'wgwn krty | [ - - - ]  
29 - - - | h?]m[w]št Wšn wyšry ZK-|znk ODBt AYK  
e 12,05 e 13,05





3,05  
 34 § 69. [ - - - ] | KN YCBEt AYKn | [ZNE  
 30 | ME LN KN k'mywt | [ - - -  
 e 13,06 e 14-  
 17,06

F 5,05 F  
 6,05  
 34 'yr'n-štry W hmky? š]|try MROHY ZK YHW[W]|N MNW  
 31 - - - | - - - ] | MNW  
 f 1,01 f 2,01

F 7-8,05  
 34 yzd'n nshty | [ - - -  
 31 y'ztn n[y]sh[t] HWEd | [W kr]tkny M[E]  
 y'ztn f 3,01

F 9,05 F  
 10,05  
 34 'pltl[?]y YBLWNt W '[yr]'n-št|[ry 'twky HWE?  
 31 | [²sktr? - -  
 - f 4-5,-1

F 11,05 F  
 12,05  
 34 PWN] | l'my W wšyt'hw[y] | (d'št)ny W prm'tny  
 31 pty] | r'm W wyšthw HHS(Nt)[n] | W]  
 prmytn f 6,01 f 7,01

“Because we wish that he may be lord of [this] our [Ērānšahr and the whole?] realm whom the gods may have prepared and (who) may carry the service of the gods [higher?] and [may be able] to keep Ērānšahr in peace and confident and to govern (it).”

F 13,05 F  
 14,05  
 34 § 70. W [A]|YK MN šphwhry | [ - - -  
 31 W AYK M[N] (š)[hypwhr | M]LK[YN M]LKA  
 f  
 8,01

F 15,05 F 16,05  
 34 l'styl[?]y W ŠPYL W krtk]nywmy | [- ca. 8 ll. -]  
 31 r'šts[tr | - - -  
 f 9-11,01

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



37 --- MROHY ZK YHWWNt MNW 'tw]]ky HWE  
34 W ptykws | [ --- ] |  
HWYt f 15,03-1,04 f 2,04

G 7-  
11,03  
37 štry d'[[štny --- ]  
34 hštr HHSNtn | W  
prmytn f  
3,04

*“If the landholders [know that in Ērānšahr there is someone who ?] would be more righteous and better and more pious with respect to the gods than myself or [who would be more able] than myself [to keep] Ērānšahr in peace [and confident and to govern the affairs of the Persians and ... and] to answer ... and enemies, let him say so now, so that [he may be lord of?] the realm and (its various) districts [who] is able to keep and govern the realm.”*

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  
 ODB  
 Wt 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. -] | šwgn 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'štstr 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.*

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'st-[|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 Ardaxšer?] King [of Kings?], who was your grandfather, in the name of the gods had made the whole realm...”*

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

G 2,06 G 3-5,06  
 40 - - - | 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, ...*

G 6,06 G 7-11,06  
 40 § 82. [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





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 prtw'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 | hštrdrn 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’pktwmy  
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 prškrt | [z]mn hštr HHSNW[-] W prmywt  
g 7,04



H 1,03 H 2,03  
44 § 92. | [ - - - ] | 'spnydy W  
41 W kwšn MLKA | [W - - - | - - - ] | W  
g 17,04 g 1,05 g  
2,05

H 3,03 H 4-  
5,03  
44 hwlzm'n MLKA | W d'mtykp[...] ZY kwšd('n) | [ - - -  
41 hwrzmn MLKA W z'm|[- - - - - - ]|pty  
g 3,05 g 4,05

H  
6,03  
44 - - - - ca. 12 ll. -] | W sydy ZY hl(w)'nyk  
41 W pgrymbk | [ - - - - - - ] | sdy <->  
h'rwnyk g 5,05 g 6,05

H 7,02 H  
8,03  
44 šyk'n W p[ 'k]y ZY myhm'n W bylw'n | ZY spndwlt'n  
41 š[y]kn W | [p] 'k <-> mhwm'n (W) byrw'n <-> 's[p]ndwrtn?  
g 7,05 g  
8,05

H 9,03 H  
10,03  
44 W p'ld'n MLKA | W l'cgwlty MLKA W pndp|[lnk?]  
41 - - - ] | M[L]KA W r'zwrt MLKA W |  
pndplnk g 9,05 g  
10,05

H 11,03 H 12,03 H  
13,03  
44 | MLKA W mkwl'n | M(LKA W tw)r'n (MLKA) [W ..](?n)[..]  
41 MLKA W mkwrn MLKA | [ - - -  
g  
11,05

H 14,03 H 15,03  
44 M[LKA? W - - - ]|k'n MLKA W mskyt'n MLKA | W 'byr'n  
41 - - - | - - -  
g 13-  
14,05

H 16,03 H  
17,03  
44 MLKA W syk' |[n ML](K)A W tyldt MLKA W 'm|[rw]  
41 - - - ] | MLKA W  
'mrw g 15,05

H 18,03-

1,04

44 lhm'dyn ML(KA) <-> 'm(r)[w - - - ]

42 lhmyšn | MLKA W 'mrw 'pgrn'n | [MLKA?]

g 16,05

g

1,06

*And the King of Kušān, [and ...] Aspnay(?), and the King of Xwārizm, and D/Zāmadīgp[utr?] the [...] bed of Kwšd'n ... and Pgrymbk [...], and Sēd(?) the Šyk'n of Harēw, and Pāk Mehmān, and Birwān Spandwardān, and the King of Pāradān, and King Rāzgurd, and King Pndplnk, and the King of Makurān, and the King of Tūrān, [and] the King [..., and] the King of [Gur]gān|[Balāsa]gān, and the King of Mskyt'n, and the King of Iberia, and the King of Sigān, and King Tirdād, and Amru King of the Lahmids, and Amru [King of] the Abgars(?), ...*

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]wlsm'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 12,05 H  
 13,05  
 46 W npyky | W np'(k) p[t]st[w](k'n?) OL BBA ZY | [LNE  
 43 --- | ny'k p[--- OLYN] TROA  
 g  
 10,07

H 14,05 H 15,05  
 46 ŠDRWN- OLE? hws?][lwbyhy W CBW ZY AHRN gwnky | YHSNNt  
 43 --- --- ]

*And I claimed the whole realm anew. And he, who came to my court himself or [sent?] an envoy and presents and letters [and] hostages (as) promises (or loyalty)(?) to [my] court, would have fame(?) and other things(?).*

H  
 16,05  
 46 § 95. OLE QDM [']phš'dw?]my Apš štry W gyw'k  
 43 [---

H 17,05 [H  
 1,06]  
 46 | [.]HYTNd W 'kmndy OL (OBDkyh)[y] ---  
 43 --- ] | OL OBDkp[y] | W spsy ME L[N]  
 ATYEnt g 15,07 g 16,07

Parthian fragment: ] mwtkn [

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