

The trilingual inscription of Šābuhr at “Kaaba i Zardušt” (ŠKZ)

Res Gestae divi Saporis

Pārsīg

1 ¹[an maz]desn bay [šābuhr šāhān šāh ērān ud anērān kē cihz az yazdān, pus mazdesn bay ardaxšēr šāhān šāh ērān kē cihz az ²yazdān, nab bay pābag šāh, ērānšahr xvadāy ham. ud dāram]

2 šahr pārs, pahlav, [hūzestān, mēšān, āsūrestān, nodšēragān, arabestān, ³ādurbāyagān, armin, ²viruzān, segān, arrān, balāsagān, dā frāz ō kab kōf ud arrānān dar, ud hamag parišxvār kōf, māy, gurgān, marv, ⁴harē(v),]

3 ud hamag abaršahr, kirmān, sa[gestān, tūrestān, makurān, pāradān, hindūgān, kušānšahr, dā frāz ō pašakbur, ud dā ō kāš, suvl (sugd), ⁵ud cācestān, ud az hān ālag drayā, mazūnšahr. ud kunam pērōzšābuhr nām dh.ḥštr, ud kunam]

4 ³ohrmazdardašēr nām. [ud ēn and šahr ⁶ud šāhriyār ud pāygōspān harv amāh ped bāz ud bannagīh ēstād hend. ud ka naxvist ped šahr ēstād hem, (ēg) gordyānos kēsar ⁷az hamag hrōm gōt ud germān šahr zōr ... kird, ud ō āsūrestān abar ērān]

5 šahr ud amāh [āmad. ud ped āsūrestān ⁸marz andar mešīk pedēmān¹ vazurg zambag būd. (ud) gordyānos ⁴kēsar ōzad, hrōmāyīg zōr vānīd. ud hrōmāyīg filipos ⁹kēsar kird. ud filipos kēsar amāh ō nemastīg āmad, ud gyān xūn dēnār panzsad-hazār ō-n dād, (ud) ped bāz ēstād. ¹⁰ud amāh mešīk az]

6 ēd kird pērōzš[ābuhr] nām [ēstād]. ud kēsar did druxt, (ud) ō armin vināh kird. ud amāh abar hrōmāyīg šahr ¹¹vihist hem, ud hrōmāyīg zōr šast-hazār andar bēbalīš ⁵ōzad. ud āsūryā šahr ud cē abar āsūryā šahr parvār būd hamag ādursuxt (ud) ¹²avīrān ud vardiyāz]

7 kird. (u-n) [grift ped hān ē jār az hrōmāyīg šahr diz ud šahrestān: anat šahrestān az parvār hāmīš, birt arūpān az parvār hāmīš, birt aspōragān az parvār hāmīš, ¹³šūrā šahrestān] (az) parvār [hāmīš, bēbalīš šahrestān]

¹ . ped-dēmān.

8 az] parvār hāmis, [mambōg ⁶šahrestān az parvār hāmis, halab šahrestān az parvār hāmis, kennešrā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, apamiyā ¹⁴šahrestān az parvār hāmis, ^xrefaniyos² šahrestān az parvār hāmis, zūma šahrestān az] parvār [hāmis, urnā šahrestān] az parvār hāmis, gindaros [šahrestān az parvār]

9 hāmis, armenāz šahrestān ¹⁵az parvār hāmis, selōkiyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, andiyok šahrestān ⁷az parvār hāmis, kirros šahrestān az parvār hāmis, anī selōkiyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, aleksandriyā ¹⁶šahr]estān az parvār, [nēkpolis šahrestān] az parvār hāmis, sinzar šahrestān az [parvār hāmis,

10 hamāt šahrestān az parvār hāmis, ariston šahrestān az parvār hāmis, dikor šahrestān ¹⁷az parvār hāmis, dūrā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, dolox šahrestān az parvār ⁸hāmis, korkusyā šahrestān az] parvār hāmis, germaniyos šahrestān [az parvār] hāmis, batnān šahrestān az [parvār hāmis, xānar ¹⁸šahrestān az parvār hāmis; (ud)

11 andar kappadukiyā sātāl šahr]estān az parvār hāmis, [domān šāhrestān az parvār hāmis, arāngilyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, sūš šahrestān az parvār hāmis, suvid ¹⁹šahr]estān az parvār hāmis, [frāt šahrestān] az parvār hāmis; ⁹hammar šahrestān [az parvār sīh-ud-haft].

12 ud sidīg [jār ka amāh abar xarrān ud urhā vihīst hem, ud xarrān ud urhā ²⁰parvast, (ēg) valeriyānos kēsar abar amāh āmad, ud būd abāg az germān šahr, az rešyā šahr, az nirkos šahr, az dākyā šahr, az] pannoniya šahr, az ²¹mūsyā šahr, az [estriyā šahr]

13 az espāniyā [šahr, az] afrikiyā šahr, az [trākyā šahr, ¹⁰az butniyā šahr, az āsiyā šahr, az pamfaiyā šahr, az esuriyā šahr, ²²az lūkuniyā šahr,] az galātenyā [šahr, az] lūkiyā [šahr, az kilikiyā] šahr, az kappadukiyā šahr, az frūgiyā šahr, [az sūriyā]

14 šahr, az funikiyā šahr,] az ²³jehūdiyā [šahr, az arabiyā] šahr, [az muri_{ta}nyā šahr, az germānyā šahr, az rodās šahr, az asenyos šahr, az ¹¹meyānrōdān] šahr, zōr haftād ²⁴hazār. ud az] hān ālag [xarrān ud] urhā abāg valeriyānos kēsar (vazurg) ardīg būd. u-n valeriyānos kēsar

15 x^vad ped x^vēš [dast] ²⁵dastgrav kird; [ud abārīg rbysyp (ud s'ntwr ud hykmwn kē ō hān zōr sālār būd harv dastgrav kird ud bē ō ²⁶pārs ānīd hend. ud sūriyā šahr, ud kilikiyā] šahr, [ud kappadukiyā] šahr ¹²ādursuxt ud avīrān ud vardiyāz kird; [ud ²⁷grift hān jār az]

² . Parth. mnpws : Gr. Ῥεφανέων.

16 hrōmāyīg šahr [aleksandriyā ī kat-isos šahrestān az parvār hāmis,] šamošād šahrestān az parvār [hāmis, krtr'y /kata_{ba}lā?/³ šahrestān] az [parvār hāmis, 28aygā šahrestān az parvār hāmis], māmsestiyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, māllos šahrestān az parvār hāmis, adanā šahrestān az parvār hāmis,

17 tarsos šahrestān ¹³ az parvār hāmis, agustinā šahr[estān az parvār hāmis, ... šahrestān] az parvār [hāmis, zefiron šahrestān az ²⁹parvār hāmis, sebastiyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis,] korikos šahrestān az parvār [hāmis,] anzarbos šahrestān az parvār hāmis, kastābalā šahrestān az parvār hāmis,] nerōniyās šahrestān az]

18 parvār hāmis, ³⁰flāviyās šahrestān az parvār hāmis, [nēkopolis šahrestān az parvār hāmis, epifaniyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, ¹⁴kēlendros šahrestān az parvār hāmis,] anemurin [šahrestān ³¹az] parvār hāmis, selinūs šahrestān az parvār hāmis, miyonpolis šahrestān

19 az parvār hāmis, [a_ndiyokiyā šahrestān] az parvār hāmis, [srty'p /selōkyā?/ šahrestān az parvār hāmis, mostinopolis šahrestān az ³²parvār hāmis, tuyenā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, kēsariyā šahrestān az] parvār hāmis, kōmānā¹⁵ šahrestān az parvār hāmis, kubistriyā šahrestān [az parvār hāmis,] sebastiyā

20 šahrestān az ³³parvār [hāmis, bīrt šahrestān az parvār hāmis, rākūndiyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, lārandā šahrestān az parvār hāmis, ikōniyā šahrestān az parvār hāmis; hammar] šahrestān ³⁴az parvār hāmis sīh-u-šaš. u-n mardōm cē az hrōmāyīg šahr [az anērān] ¹⁶ped ēvār

21 ānīd. hān-an andar [ērān šahr, andar pārs ³⁵ud pahlav ud hūzestān ud āsūrestān ud anī šahr ō šahr kū amāh ud pidar ud niyāgān ud ahēnagān dastgird būd, hān-an ānōh ³⁶nišāst. ud amāh anīz vas šahr xvāst, ud vas] nām [ud nēvīh kird, ī ēdar nē nibišt,] bē ēn and. az [ēn] kird framād [³⁷nibištan] kū kē pas (az-an) bavānd

22 hān ¹⁷ēn nām ud [nēvīh ud x^vadāyīh ī amāh dānānd. ud pedisāy cē yazd amāh az ēd gōnag dastgird kunend, ud ped yazdān ³⁸ayyārīh ēn and šahr x^vāhem ud dārem, ōh amāh-iz šahr ō šahr vas ādur varhrām nišāst, ud vas muvmard] kirbagīh ³⁹kird, u-n [vazurg yazdān vinārišn kird. ud ēdar-z ped nibišt nišāyem: ādur-ē] husrav-šābuhr ¹⁸nām

23 ped amāh ruvān ud pādnām, ādur-ē husrav-āduranāhīd nām ⁴⁰ped āduranāhīd [bāmbišnān bāmbišn ī amāh duxt] ruvān ud pādnām, [ādur-ē] husrav-ohrmazdardašēr nām ped ohrmazdardašēr ⁴¹vazurg

³ . Κατάβολον.

šāh arminān ī amāh pus ruvān ud pādnām, anī ādur-ē husrav-šābuhr
nām ped šābuhr ī mēšān šāh ī amāh pus ⁴²ruvān ud pādnām, ¹⁹ādur-ē

24 husrav-nersah nām ēr mazdesn nersah šāh hind sagestān ud
tūrestān dā (ō) drayā ⁴³damb [ī amā pus] ruvān ud pādnām. ud hān [ī
imēšān ādurān] dād u-n [cē] ēvēn nihād, ōh-iz harv ⁴⁴abar pādixšēr
nibišt. bē az hān ākbrīd hazār ī az tarkafišn ō amāh ēvēn būd, ud amāh
imēšān ⁴⁵ādurān dād, hān framāyem kū ēv kirīyed: ped amāh ruvān
rōz ²⁰ō rōz

25 ākbrīd-ē, nān grīv-ē (ud) must panz, may pās ⁴⁶cahār; ped sāsān
ī xvadāy, ud pābag šāh, ud šābuhr [šāh ī] pābagān, ud ardašēr šāhān
šāh, ud x^varrānzēm ī šahr ⁴⁷bāmbišn, ud āduranāhīd bāmbišnān
bāmbišn, ud dēnag bāmbišn, ud varhrām gēlān šāh, (ud) šābuhr ī
⁴⁸mēšān šāh, ud ohrmazdardašēr ī vazurg šāh arminān, ud nersah ī
sagān šāh, ud šābuhrduxtag ī ²¹sagān ⁴⁹bāmbišn,

26 ud nersahduxt ī sagān bāmbišn, ud cašmag ī bāmbišn, ud pērōz ī
vispuhr, ud [mirrōd ī bānūg šābuhr] šāhān šāh mād, ud nersah ī
vispuhr, ud ⁵⁰rōdduxt duxš ī anōšag duxt, ud varāzduxt ī x^varrānzēm
duxt, (ud) staxriyād bāmbišn, ud hormazdag ī arminān šāh pus
hormazd, ud hormazdag, ud ⁵¹ōdābaxt, ud varhrām, ud šābuhr, ud
pērōz ī mēšān šāh pūsar,

27 ud šābuhrduxtag ī mēšān šāh duxt, ud ²²ohrmazdduxtag ī
⁵²sagān [šāh duxt, ruvān ākbrīd-ē,] nān grīv-ē must panz, may pās
cahār. ud hān ākbrīd ī abārīg, hān dā pettūyād, ⁵³andum ped avēšān
ruvān kē šāhān šāh framād ruvān yaštan, ud nāmcišt ped nibišt abar
stān nibišt ēsted, rōz ō rōz ākbrīd-ē, nān grīv-ē must panz, may pās
cahār. kē abar pābag

28 šāh ⁵⁴būd: sāsān ī ārnēkān, farrag ī farragān, vahrāmpād ī
horagān, [aspūrag ī aspūragān,] puhrag ī mardēnagān, zīg ī āyēnīg,
²³šābuhr ī vēzanagān, šābuhr ī ⁵⁵mihrbūzanagān. [kē] abar ardašēr
šāhān šāh būd: sadārub ī abarēnag šāh, ardašēr ī marv šāh, ardašēr ī
kirmān šāh, ardašēr ī sagān ⁵⁶šāh, dēnag ī

29 pābag šāh mād, rōdag ī ardašēr šāhān šāh mād, dēnag ī
bāmbišnān bāmbišn ī pābagān, ardašēr ī bidaxš, pābag ī hazāruft,
⁵⁷dēhēn ī varāz, sāsān ī sūrēn, sāsān ī andēgān xvadāy, pērōz ī kārin,
²⁴gōk ī kārin, abursām ī ardašērfarr, <gēlmān ī dumbāvannz,> raxš ī
spāhbed, mard ī dibīrbed, pābag ⁵⁸ī āyēnīg, pākcihr (pāzīr) ī
visfarragān,

30 vēfarr ī farragān, mihrx^vāst ī b(a)rēsagān, hōmfrād ī
māyagānbed, dirām ī zēnbed, cīrīg ī dādvar, [vardān ī āxvarrbed,]

⁵⁹mihrag ī tōsaragān, zīg ī zabragān, sagbus ī nahcīrbed, hudōg ī grastbed, jāhēn ī mayyār. kē abar šābuhr šāhān šāh būd: ardašēr ī ⁶⁰nodšēragān šāh, ardašēr ī ²⁵kirmān šāh, dēnag ī mēšān bāmbišn dastgird šābuhr, hamazāsp viruzān

31 šāh, valāš ī vispuhr ī pābagān, sāsān ⁶¹ī vispuhr ī ped farragān dāšt, (anī) sāsān ī vispuhr [ī] ped kadōgān dāšt, nersah ī vispuhr ī pērōzagān, nersah ī vispuhr ī ^xšābuhragān⁴, šābuhr ī bidaxš, pābag ī hazāruft, pērōz ī aspped, ⁶²ardašēr ī varāz, ardašēr ī sūrēn, nersah ī andēgān ²⁶x^vadāy, ardašēr ī kārin,

32 vehnām ī framadār, frīg ī vēandiyōgšābuhr šahrab, sridō ī [šāhmust, ardašēr ī ardašēršnōm,] pākcīhr ī tahmšābuhr, ardašēr ī gōmān šahrab, ⁶³cašmag ī nēvšābuhr, vehnām ī šābuhršnōm, tīrmīhr ī šahrgird dizbed, zīg ī āyēnīg, ardavān ī dumbāvannz, gundfarr ī āvgān (razmjōy ud) pābag ī

33 ²⁷pērōzšābuhr ī šambīdagān, vārzan ī gay šahrab, ⁶⁴kirdesrō ī bidaxš, pābag [ī] visfarragān, valāš ī [selōkān], yazdbād ī bānīgān handarzbed, pābag ī šafšēlār, nersah ī rind šahrab, tiyānag ī ahmadān šahrab, gulbed (vardbed) ī peristagbed, ⁶⁵jōymard ī rastagān, ardašēr ī vēfarragān, abursām ī šābuhr ī darīgān sālār, nersah ī bardagān (barragān), šābuhr ī nersahagān,

34 nersah ī ²⁸grastbed, hormazd ī dibīrbed pus ī hormazd ī dibīrbed, nādūg ī zēndānīg, pābag ī ⁶⁶darbed, pāsfal ī pāsfalagān, ādāš (abdaxš) ī dizbedagān, kirdēr ī hērbed, rastag ī vehardašēr šahrab, ardašēr ī bidaxšagān, mihrxvāst ī ganzvar, šābuhr ī framadār, aštād ī (fravardag-) dibīr ī mihrān ī az ray, sāsān ī ⁶⁷šābestān ī sāsānagān,

35 virōy ī vāzārbed, ardašēr ī nērēz šahrab, baydād ī gulbedagān, kirdēr ardavān, zurvāndād ī bannagān, ²⁹vinnār ī sāsānagān, (mānzag šābestān,) sāsān ī dādvar, vardān ī nāšpādagān, gulag ī ⁶⁸varāzbed: <ēvididān, ākbrīd-ē, nān ē grīv ud panz must, may cahār pās. nūn ciyōn amāh abar yazdān xīr ud kirdagān toxšem, ud yazdān dastgird hem, ud ped yazdān ayyārīh ēn and ⁶⁹šahr x^vāst ud dāšt, nām ud nēvīh kird> kū kē pas amāh xvadāy bavend hān yazdān huperistādar ud ³⁰hukāmagdar bavēnd kū ōy-iz yazd ēn aōn ayyār bavēnd ciyōn amāh būd.

Pahlavīg

1 az mazdesn bay šābuhr šāhān šāh aryān ud anaryān kē žīhr až yazdān puhr mazdesn bay ardaxšēr šāhān šāh aryān kē žīhr až yazdān puhrēpuhr bay pābag šāh aryānxšahr x^vadāy ahem. ud dārām xšahr

⁴ . d' tsplhrykn : Parth. šhypwħrkn.

pārs, [parθav], hūzestān, mēšān, [āsūrestān, nodšēragān, arabestān, ādarbādagān,] armin,

2 viružān, segān, arrān, balāsagān, yaḏ frāž ō kab kōf ud arrānān bar, ud hamag perišx^vār kōf, māḏ, virgān, mary, harēv, ud hamag abarxšahr, kirmān, sagestān, tigrān (tūrān), makurān, pāradān, hindestān, kušānxšahr, yaḏ frāž ō pašakbur, ud yaḏ ō kāš, suyd, ud cāc[estān, ud až hō ārag zreh] mazūnxšahr. ud karām [pērōzšābuhr] nām dh.ḥštr, ud karām

3 ohrmazdardašēr nām. ud im avend xšahr ud xšahrḏār ud pāḏgōspān harv amāh pad bāz ud bandagiḥ aveštād ahend. ud kaḏ nax^višt pad xšahr aveštād ahem, gordyānos kēsar až hamag from gōt ud germān xšahr zāvar hangōsan kard, ud ō āsūrestān abar aryān xšahr ud amāh āyad. ud pad āsūrestān marz andar mešik paddēmān vazurg zambag būd. gordyānos

4 kēsar ōžad, frōmēn zāvar vinībūd. ud frōmēn filipos kēsar kard. ud filipos kēsar amāh ō nemastīg āyad, ud gyān guxn dēnār panjsad-hazār ō-n dāḏ, pad bāz avištād, ud amāh mešik až ēd kard pērōzšābuhr nām avištād. ud kēsar bid druxt, ō armin vinās kard. ud amāh abar frōmēn xšahr vihišt ahem, ud frōmēn zāvar šašt-hazār andar bēbāliš

5 ōžad. ud āsūriyā xšahr ud cē abar āsūriyā xšahr pariβār būd hamag ādar,uxt aβīrān ud vrdiyāz kard. ud grift pad hō ēv yāvar až frōmēn xšahr diz ud xšahrestān: anat xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, birt arūpān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, birt aspōragān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, šūrā xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, bēbāliš xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, mambōg

6 xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, halab xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, kennešrā xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, apumiyā xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, ^xrefaniyos xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, zūmā xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, urnā xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, gindaros xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, armenāž xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, selōkiyā xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, andiyok xšahrestān

7 aḏ pariβār hamgōs, kirros xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, anī selōkiyā xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, alexsandriyā xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, ^xnēkopolis⁵ xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, si_nzar xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, hamāt xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, areston xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, dikor xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, dūrā xšahrestān aḏ pariβār hamgōs, dōrox xšahrestān aḏ pariβār

⁵ . nykprwsy.

8 hamgōs, kurkūsiyā xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, germaniyos xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, batnān xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, xānar xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs; andar ⁶ kappadukiyā šātar xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, dōmān xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, ar,angilyā xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, sūš xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, šuvid xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, frāt xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs;

9 hamēsāg xšahrestān ad pariβār hrīst-ud-haft. ud hridīg yāvar kaδ amāh abar xarrān ud urhāy vihišt ahem, ud xarrān ud urhāy parvayād⁷, valeriyānos kēsar abar amāh āyad, ud būd ad až germān xšahr, až rešyā xšahr, až nirkos xšahr, až dākyā xšahr, až pannonyā xšahr, až mūsyā xšahr, až estriyā xšahr, až espāniyā xšahr, až ⁸ afrikiyā xšahr, až trākyā xšahr,

10 až butniyā xšahr, až āsiyā xšahr, až pamfaliyā xšahr, až esuriyā xšahr, až lūkunyā xšahr, až galātenyā xšahr, až lūkiyā xšahr, až kilikiyā xšahr, až kappadukiyā xšahr, až frūgiyā⁹ xšahr, až sūriyā šahr, až funikiyā xšahr, až yūdayā xšahr, až arabiyā xšahr, až murrān xšahr, až germānyā xšahr, až rodās xšahr, až asenyos xšahr, až

11 maḍyānrōdān xšahr, zāvar haftād-hazār. ud až hō ārag xarrān ud urhāy ad valeriyānos kēsar vazurg raf būd. ud valeriyānos kēsar vxad pad vxēbēh dast dastgraβ kard; ud avyādag rbysyp s'ntwr ud hykmwn kē hō zāvar sārḍār būd harv dastgraβ kard ud bē ō pārs ānīd ahend. ud sūriyā xšahr, ud kilikiyā xšahr, ud kappadukiyā xšahr,

12 ādar,uxt aβīrān ud vrdiyāz kard; ud grift hō yāvar až frōmēn xšahr alexsandriyā ī kat-isos xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, šamošād xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, krtr'y /katabalā?/ xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, aygā xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, māmsestiyā xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, māllos xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, 't'(d)y' /adanā/ xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, trysst /tarsos/ xšahrestān

13 ad pariβār hamgōs, <agustinā xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, ... xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs,> zefiron xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, sebastiyā xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, korikos xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, aⁿgripos xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, kastābalā xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, nlyky's /nerōniyās/ xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, pr'ny's /flāviyās/ xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, nykprws /nēkopolis/ xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs, epifaniyā xšahrestān ad pariβār hamgōs,

⁶ . kpwtky' .

⁷ . pywdywt: Gr. ἐπολιορκοῦμεν.

⁸ . 'pmny' .

⁹ . pmk'y' .

14 kyndrws /kēlendros/ xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, 'nymyrdny /anemurin/ xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, srynwsy /selinūs/ xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, mydnprws /miyonpolis/ xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, 'tywky' /andiyokiyā/ xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, srty'p /selōkyā?/ xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, mwstynprws /mostinopolis/ xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, tuyenā xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, kēsariyā xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, krm'n'dy' /kōmānā/

15 xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, kubistriyā xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, sebastiyā xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, bīrt xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, rākūndiyā xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, l'Indy' /lārandā/ xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs, ikōniyā xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs; hamēsāg xšahrestān ađ pariβār hamgōs hrīst-ud-švah. ud mardōhmag cē ađ frōmēn xšahr ađ anaryān

16 pad 'w'r /āvār/¹⁰ ānīd. andar aryān xšahr, andar pārs, parθav, hūzestān, āsūrestān ud anī xšahr ō xšahr kū amāh ud pidar ud niyāgān ud hasēnagān dastgird būd, ođ nišāst. ud amāh anīž vas xšahr vxāšt, ud vas nām ud nēvīf kard, cē ēdar nē nibišt, bēž ēd avend. ađ ēd kard 'wpdšt /aβdišt/ nibištān kū kē paš ađ-an bavānd

17 im nām ud nēvīf ud x^vadāyīf cē amāh zānānd. ud lqbl kađ kū yazd amāh ađ ēd gōnag dast dastegird karend, ud pad yazdān pušt im avend xšahr vxāzām ud dārām, ōh amāh-iž xšahr ō xšahr vas ādar varhrān nišāst, ud vas muymard kirbagīf kard, ud vazurg yazdān vinārišn kard. ud ēdar-ž pad npwšt /nibišt/ nišāđām ādar ēv husravšābuhr

18 nām pad amāh arvān ud pāšnām, ādar ēv husrav-āđaranāhīd nām pad āđaranāhīd bāmbišnān bāmbišn amāh duxt arvān ud pāšnām, ādar ēv husrav-ohrmazdardašēr nām pad ohrmazdardašēr vazurg šāh arminān amāh puhr arvān ud pāšnām, anī ādar ēv husrav-šābuhr nām pad šābuhr mēšān šāh ī amāh puhr arvān ud pāšnām,

19 ādar ēv husrav-narīsaf nām ary mazdezn narīsaf šāh hind sagestān ud tugrestān yađ ō zreh zamb amāh puhr arvān ud pāšnām. ud hō cē imīn ādarān dahām ud cē aβđēn avištād, ōh-iž harv abar pādixšēr nibišt. ud ađ hō ākbrīd hazār cē ađ tarkafišn ō-n aβđēn būd, ud amāh imīn ādarān dād, hō aβđēsām kū hēb karīhed: pad amāh arvān rōž

20 ō rōž ākbrīd ēv, naγn ēv grīv ud panj mušt, mađ cafār pās; pad sāsān x^vadāy, ud pābag šāh, ud šābuhr šāh pābagān, ud ardašēr šāhān šāh, ud xvarrānzēm xšahr bāmbišn, āđaranāhīd bāmbišnān bāmbišn,

¹⁰. Cf. Armen. awar.

ud dēnag bāmbišn, varehrām gēlān šāh, šābuhr mēšān šāh,
ohrmazdardašēr vazurg šāh arminān, narīsaf sagān šāh, šābuhrduxtag

21 sagān bāmbišn, cašmag ī bāmbišn, ud paryōz vispuhr, ud mirrōd
bānūg šābuhr šāhān šāh mād, narīsaf vispuhr, rōdduxt duxš anōšag
duxt, varāzduxt xvarrānzēm duxt, estaxriyād bāmbišn, ud ohrmazdag
arminān šāh pus ohrmazd, ud ohrmazdag, ōdābaxt, ud varehrām,
šābuhr, paryōz mēšān šāh pus, šābuhrduxtag mēšān šāh duxt, ud

22 ohrmazdduxt tag sagān šāh duxt, arvān ākbrīd ēv, naγn ēv grīv ud
panj mušt, maδ cafār pās. ud hō ākbrīd cē ōδ prtšywd¹¹, yaδ pettāved,
āvadīn pad havīn arvān kē amāh aβdišt arvān yaštan, ud ēdar nibišt
avištend. kē abar pābag šāh xvadāyīf būd ahend: sāsān āvarnēkān,
farrag farragān, varehrāmpād horagān, aspūrag aspūragān, puhrag
mardēnagān, zīg nivēδpad,

23 šābuhr vēzanagān, šābuhr mihrbūzanagān. kē abar ardašēr šāhān
šāh xvadāyīf būd ahend: s' trp /sadārub/ abarēnag šāh, ardašēr mary
šāh, ardašēr kirmān šāh, ardašēr sagān šāh, dēnag pābag šāh mād,
rōdag ardašēr šāhān šāh mād, dēnag bāmbišnān bāmbišn pābagān,
ardašēr bidaxš, pābag hazāruft, dēhēn varāz, sāsān sūrēn, sāsān
andēgān x^vadāy, paryōz kārin,

24 gōk kārin, abursām ardaxšērfarr, gēlmān dumbāvannz, raxš
spāhbed, mard dibīruft, pābag nivēδpad, pāžihr visfarragān, vēfarr
farragān, mihrx^vāšt b(a)rēsagān, hōm(a)frād mādagānbad, dirān
zēnbad, šihrag dādβar, vardān āxvarrbad, mihrag tōsaragān, zīg
zabragān, sagbus naxšīrbad, hudōg grastbad, zāhēn maδagdār. kē abar
amāh x^vadāyīf būd: ardaxšēr nodšēragān šāh, ardaxšēr

25 kirmān šāh, dēnag mēšān bāmbišn dastgird šābuhr, hamazāsp
viružān šāh, valayš vispuhr pābagān, sāsān vispuhr pad farragān dāšt,
anī sāsān vispuhr cē pad kadōgān dāšt, narīsaf vispuhr paryōzagān,
narīsaf vispuhr šābuhragān, šābuhr bidaxš, pābag hazāruft, paryōz
asppad, ardaxšēr varāz, ardaxšēr sūrēn, narīsaf andēgān

26 x^vadāy, ardaxšēr kārin, vahnām framadār, frīg vēandiyōgšābuhr
xšahrab, sridō šāhmust, ardaxšēr ardaxšērxšnōm, pāžihr tahmšābuhr,
ardaxšēr gōmān xšahrab, cašmag nēvšābuhr, vahnām šābuhrxšnōm,
tīrmīhr xšahrgard dizbad, zīg nivēδpad, ardaβān dumbāvandiž,
gundfarn aβyγān razmyōδ ud pābiž

27 paryōzšābuhr šunbīdagān, vārgan ī gaβ xšahrab, kardesrav
bidaxš, pābag visfarragān, valayš ī selōkān, yazdbād bāmbišnān
handarzbed, pābag ī safserdār, narīsaf rind xšahrab, tiyānag ahmadān

¹¹ . Gr. περισσεύει.

xšahrab, vardbad parištāgbad, yōdmarđ rastagān, ardaxšēr vēfarragān, abursām šābuhr darīgān sārdār, narīsaf bardagān (barragān), šābuhr narīsafagān, narīsaf

28 grastbed, ohrmazd dibīrbad, nādūg zēndānīg, pābag ī barbad, pāsford pāsfordagān, abdayš dizbadagān, kardēr ī ēhrbed, rastag vehardaxšēr xšahrab, ardaxšēr bidaxšagān, mihrx^vāšt ī ganzβar, šābuhr framađār, arštād mihrān pad fravardag dibīr, sāsān šābestān sāsānagān, virōd vāžārbad, ardaxšēr nērēž xšahrab, baydād ī vardbadegān, kardēr ardaβān, zurvāndād bandagān,

29 vinnār sāsānegān, mānzag šābestān, sāsān dādβar, vardān nāšpādagān, vardag varāzbad: ēv-bidān, ākbrīd ēv, naγn ēv grīv ud panj mušt, mađ cafār pās. avās cavāγōn amāh abar yazdān īr ud kardagān toxšem, ud yazdān dastgird ahem, ud pad yazdān ađyāvvrīf im avend xšahr vxāšt ud dāšt, nām ud nēvrīf kard hav-iž kē paš až amāh bavā ud farnaxv ahed hav-iž abar yazdānīr ud

30 kardagān toxšed kū yazd ađyāvar bavend ud dastgird (dastgīrv?) karend.

dastnibēg im man ohrmazd dibīr šērag dibīr puhr.

Yōnāyīg

1 ΕΓΩ ΜΑCΔΑΑCΝΗC ΘΕΟC CΑΠΩΡΗC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC
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ΘΕΩ[Ν] ΥΙΟC Μ[ΑCΔΑ]CΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΞΕΡΟΥ
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ΠΥ[Λ]Ω[Ν ΑΛΑΝ]ΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΛ[Ο]Ν ΤΟ ΠΡΕCCOΥΑΡ ΟΡΟC
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ΠEPIXΩPΩ ANTIOXIAN ΠOΛIN CYN TH ΠEPIXΩPΩ
[K]YPPON ΠOΛIN CYN TH ΠEPIXΩPΩ AΛΛHN CEΛEYKIAN
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ΠOΛIN [CY]N TH ΠEPIXΩPΩ APICTHN ΠOΛIN CYN TH
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17 PΩ ΔOΔIXHN ΠOΛIN CYN TH ΠEPIXΩPΩ ΔOYPAH
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ΠEPIXΩPΩ ΓEPMANEIKIAN ΠOΛIN CYN TH ΠEPIXΩPΩ
BATNAN ΠOΛIN CYN TH ΠEPIXΩPΩ XANAP

18 ΠOΛIN CYN TH ΠEPIXΩPΩ KAI THC KAIPIAD[OK]IA]C
CATAΛA ΠOΛIN CYN TH ΠEPIXΩPΩ ΔOMAN [ΠOΛI]N CYN
[TH Π]EPHXΩPΩ APTANΓIA.. ΠOΛIN [CYN] TH ΠEPIXΩPΩ
COICAN ΠOΛIN CYN TH ΠEPIXΩPΩ COYIDA[AN]

19 ΠOΛIN CYN TH ΠEPIXΩPΩ ΦPEATA ΠOΛIN [CYN TH
ΠE]PIXΩPΩ OMOY ΠOΛEIC TPIAKONTA EPTA [CYN TAIC]
ΠEPIXΩPΩIC] TH ΔE TPITH AΓΩΓH OΠOT[E H]MEIC EΠI
KAPPAC TE KAI EΔECCAN ΩPMHCAMEN KAI KAPPAC KAI
EΔECCAN

20 EΠOΛIOPKOYMEH OYALEPIANOC KAICAP [EΦ HMAC
H]ΛΘEN KAI HCAN ME[T AYTO]Y AΠO ΓEPMANΩ[N
EΘ]N[OYC A]ΠO PETHAC EΘHOYC AΠO NΩPIKOY EΘHOYC
AΠO ΔAKEIAc EΘHOYC AΠO ΠANNONIAc EΘHOYC AΠO

21 MYCIAc EΘHO<Y>C AΠO AMACTPIAC EΘHOYC AΠO
ICΠANIAc EΘHOYC AΠ[O ...]TA[... E]ΘHOYC AΠO
ΘPA[K]I[AC EΘHO]Yc AΠO BITHYNIAC EΘHOYC AΠO ACIAc
EΘHOYC AΠO KAMPIANIAc EΘHOYC AΠO CYPIAC EΘHOYC

22 AΠO ΛYKAONIAc EΘHOYc AΠO ΓAΛATIAC [EΘHO]Yc
AΠO ΛYKIAc EΘHOYc [AΠO KILIKIAc EΘ]HOYc AΠO
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CYPIAC EΘHOYc AΠO ΦOINEIKHC EΘHOYc AΠO

23 IOYΔAIAc EΘHOYc AΠO APABIAc EΘHOYc AΠO
MAYPITANIAc EΘHOYc [AΠO ΓEPMAN]IA[C EΘ]HOYc AΠO
AYΔIAc E[Θ]N[O]Yc AΠO ACH..C EΘHOYc AΠO
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ΠΟΙΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ

Šābuhr

I, the Mazdayasnian Majesty Šābuhr, king of kings of Aryans and non-Aryans, who is of the *ciθra* of the Yazata, son of the Mazdayasnian Majesty Ardašēr, king of kings of the Aryans, who is of the *ciθra* of the Yazata, grandson of (His) Majesty Pābag, king, am lord of Ērānšahr.

Description of the Kingdom (Ērānšahr)

And I hold (under my protection these) lands: Persis, Parthia, Xūzestān (Σουσιανή), Mēšān (Μεσηνή), Āsūrestān (Ἀσσυρίαν), Nodšēragān (Ἀδιαβηνήν), Arabia, Ādurbāyagān (Ἄτροπατηνή), Armenia, Viruzān (Georgia, Ἴβηρία), Segān (Μαχελονίαν, Mingrelia), Arrān (Ἀλβανίαν), Balāsagān until forward to the Kap mountains (Καύκασος) and the Alans' gate, and all the Parišx^vār mountain chain (Alburz), Māh (Media, Μηδία), Gurgān (Ἵρκανία), Marv (Μαργιανή), Harēv (Ἄρεια, Herāt), and all the upper lands (Abaršahr), Kirmān (Karmāna, Καρμανία), Sagestān (Σακαστανή), Tūrān, Makurān (/ Mukrān), Pāradān (Παραδηνή), Hindustān (India), and the Kušān-land until forward to Pašakbur (Puruṣapura, Pēšāwar), and up to kāš (Κασία χώρα, Kāshgar), Suγd (Σογδιανή), and Cācestān (Tashkent), and on the other side of the sea the Mazūn-land (Oman). And we have given [to a city] the name Pērōzšābuhr (Anbār), and we have given the name Ohrmazdardašēr (to another city). And these many lands, land rulers and district governors, all have become tributary and subject to us.

The account of the war between the Persians and the Roman empire

First Campaign

And, when at first we were established over the kingdom, Gordian Caesar assembled from all of the Roman, Goth and German lands a military force ¹² and marched on Āsūrestān against Ērānšahr and against us. And on the border of Āsūrestān at Mešīk (Μησιχη), a great frontal battle took place. Gordian Caesar was killed. We destroyed the Roman military force. And the Romans made Philip Caesar. And Philip Caesar came to terms to us, and, as ransom for the life, he gave us 500 000 denars, and became tributary to us. And for this reason we gave the name Pērōzšābuhr (‘victorious Šābuhr’) to Mešīk.

Second Campaign

And (Philip) Caesar lied again, and did wrong to Armenia. Then we set out for the Roman Empire, and at Bēbališ (Βαρβαλισσόν, Bālis) we annihilated a Roman army of 60 000. And the Āsūryā-land (Syria) the environs of the Āsūryā-land we all burned with fire, ruined and plundered. And on this one occasion (Gr. ἀγωγή) we took of the Roman Empire forts and towns:

The town of Anat (Ἀναθαν, ‘Āna) with surroundings; Birt¹³-Arūpān with surroundings; Birt-Aspōragān (Βίρθαν Ἀσπωράκου) with surroundings; the town of Šūrā (Σοῦραν) with surroundings; the town of Bēbališ with surroundings; the town of Mambōg (Ἱεράπολις, Manbij) with surroundings; the town of Halab (Βέρροια, Haleb) with surroundings; the town of Kennešrā (Χαλκίδα, ܩܝܢܨܪܝܢ, Qinnasrīn) with surroundings; the town of Apamiyā (Ἀπάμια) with surroundings; the town of Refaniyos (Ρεφανέα, Rafaniyya) with surroundings; the town of Zūma (Ζεῦγμα) with surroundings; the town of Urnā (Οὔριμα) with surroundings; the town of Gindaros (Γίνδαρον) with surroundings; the town of Armenāz (Λαρμμέναζα) with surroundings; the town of Selōkiyā (Σελεύκια) with surroundings; the town of Andiyok (Ἀντιόχεια, Anṭākiya) with surroundings; the town of Kirros (Κύρρον) with surroundings; another town of Selōkiyā with surroundings; the town of Aleksandriyā (Ἀλεξάνδρεια) with surroundings; the town of Nēkpolis (Νεικόπολις, Iṣlāhiye) with surroundings; the town of Sinzar (Σίνζαρα, Λάρισσα, Šaijar) with surroundings; the town of Hamāt (Χαμαθ, Hamā) with surroundings; the town of Ariston (Ἀριστην, Rastan) with surroundings; the town of Dikor (Δίχωρ) with surroundings; the town of Dūrā (Δοῦραν, Šaliḥiye) with surroundings; the town of Dolox (Δολίχη, Dülük) with surroundings; the town of Korkusyā (Κορκουσία) with

¹² . Gr. ‘from all of the Roman Empire assembled a force from the Goths and Germans’ (ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς Γούθθων τε καὶ Γερμανῶν ἐθνῶν δύναμιν συνέλεξε).

¹³ . Syr. ܩܝܢܨܪܝܢ ‘castle, fortress ; palace’.

surroundings; the town of Germaniyos (Γερμανείκιαν, Kahramanmaraş, كحرمان) with surroundings; the town of Batnān (Βάτναν, بطنان) with surroundings; the town of Xānar (Χαναρ) with surroundings; and in Cappadocia: the town of Sātal (Σάταλα) with surroundings; the town of Domān (Δόμαν) with surroundings; the town of Artangilyā (Ἄρτανγίλαν) with surroundings; the town of Sūš (Σουισαν) with surroundings; the town of Suvid (Σουιδ) with surroundings; the town of Frāt (Φρέατα) with surroundings –a total of 37 towns with surroundings.

Third Campaign

And on the third occasion, when we set out for Carrhae (Xarrān, Κάρραι, Ḥarrān) and Edessa (Urhā, Ἔδεσσα, Urfa), and were besieging Xarrān and Urhā, Valerian Caesar marched against us, and he had had with him, from Germany (Germān-land), Raetia (Rešyā-land), Noricum (Nirkos-land), Dacia (Dākyā-land), Moesia (Mūsyā-land), Istria (Estriyā-land), Spain (Espāniyā-land), Africa (Afrikiyā-land), Thracia (Trākyā-land), Bihynia (Butniyā-land), Asia (Āsia-land), Pamphylia (Pamfaliyā-land), Isauria (Esuriyā-land), Lycaonia (Lūkunyā-land), Galatia (Galātenyā-land), Cilicia (Kilikiyā-land), Cappadocia (Kappadukiyā-land), Phrygia (Frūgiyā-land), Syria (Sūriyā-land), Phoenicia (Funikiyā-land), Judaea (Jehūdiyā-land), Arabia (Arabiya-land), Mauretania (Murin-land), Germania (Germānyā-šahr), Rhodos (Rodās-šahr), Osrhoene (Asenyos-šahr), and Mesopotamia (Meyānrōdān-land) an army of 70 000 men.

And on that side of Carrhae and Edessa with Valerian Caesar a great battle took place. And we made captive Valerian Caesar with our hands. And the others, the praetorian prefect, and senators and commanders who were chiefs of that army, all were captured and deported to Persis.

And Syria and Cilicia and Cappadocia were burned with fire, ruined and plundered.

This time we seized from the Roman Empire: The town of Alexandria on the Issus (Ἀλεξάνδριαν τὴν κατ' Ἴσόν) with surroundings; the town of Samosata (Šamošād) with surroundings, the town of Katabolos (Parth. krtr'y) with surroundings; the town of Aegaea (Aygā, Αἰγέα, Ayas) with surroundings; the town of Mopsuestia (Māmsestiyā, Μομψουεστία, Mamistra) with surroundings; the town of Mallos (Μαλλός) with surroundings; the town of Adana (Ἄδανα) with surroundings; the town of Tarsus (Ταρσόν) with surroundings; the town of Augusta (Agustinā,

Augustopolis) with surroundings; the town of ... with surroundings; the town of Zephyrion (Zefiron, Ζεφύριον, Mersin) with surroundings; the town of Sebaste (Sebastiyā, Σεβαστήν) with surroundings; the town of Korykos (Κώρυκον, Kız Kalesi) with surroundings; the town of Anazarbus (Άγριππιάδα, Anavarza) with surroundings; the town of Castabala (Καστάβαλα) with surroundings; the town of Neronias (Νερωσιάδα) with surroundings; the town of Flavias (Φλαυιάδα) with surroundings; the town of Nikopolis (Νεικόπολιν) with surroundings; the town of Eriphania (Έπιφάνια) with surroundings; the town of Kelenderis (Κελενδερίν, Aydıncık) with surroundings; the town of Anemuri(o)n (Άνεμούριον, Anamur) with surroundings; the town of Selinus (Σελινοῦν) with surroundings; the town of Misionpolis (Μυῶν; Μυωνία) with surroundings; the town of Antioch (Andiyokiyā, Αντιόχιαν) with surroundings; the town of Seleucia (Parth. srty' p) with surroundings; the town of Dometiu-polis (Δομετίου πόλιν, Parth. mwstynprws) with surroundings; the town of Tuyana (Τύανα) with surroundings; the town of Caesarea (Kēsariyā, Μηιακαριρη) with surroundings; the town of Comana (Κόμανα, Şar) with surroundings; the town of Kybistra (Κύβιστρα) with surroundings; the town of Sebasteia (Σεβάστιαν, Sivas) with surroundings; the town of Birtha (Βίρθαν) with surroundings; the town of Rhakundia (Ρακουνδιαν) with surroundings; the town of Laranda (Λάρανδα, Karaman) with surroundings; the town of Iconium (Ικόνιν, Konya) with surroundings –altogether all these towns with their surroundings 36.

And people who are of the Roman Empire, of non-Aryans, captive we deported. In Ērānšahr in Persis, Parthia, Xūzestān (Susiane), Āsūrestān, and in any other land where our own and our fathers' and our grandfathers' and our ancestors' estates were, there we settled them.

We searched out many other lands, and we did many fame(-worthy) and heroic deeds, which we have not written here, these many things (we have written before). We commanded to be written for this reason that whosoever will be after us may know this fame, heroism and kingship of us.

The deed of settlement

Victorious Fires

Then, for this reason, that the Yazata have thus made us their “protégé”, and with the help of the Yazata we search out and take these so many lands, therefore we too in every land have founded many Victorious Fires, and have conferred benefices upon many

Magi-men, and (as for the cult of) the great Yazata we established it well.

And here also, by the inscription we have founded: One Fire, Husrō-Šābuhr ('fair-famed is Šābuhr') by name for our soul and to preserve our name; one Fire, Husrō-Āduranāhīd by name, for the soul of our daughter Āduranāhīd, queen of queens, and to preserve her name; one Fire, Husrō-Ohrmazdardašēr by name, for the soul of our son Ohrmazdardašēr, great king of Armenia, and to preserve his name; another one Fire, Husrō-Šābuhr by name, for the soul of our son Šābuhr, king of Mesene, and to preserve his name; one Fire, Husrō-Narsē by name, for the soul of our son the Aryan, the Mazdayasnian Narsē, king of India, Sakestān and Turān to the seashore, and to preserve his name.

Funds for the maintenance of the Fires

And that which we have donated to these Fires, and which we have established as a custom, thus also all we have written upon a deed of settlement. Of those 1 000 lambs, of which custom reserves for us the surplus, and which we have donated to these Fires, we have ordered to be done as follows:

For our soul each day one lamb, one *grīv* (= 1 modius) and five handfuls (= ½ modius) of bread, and four *pās* of wine.

Sāsān the lord; and Pābag the king; and Šābuhr the king, son of Pābag; and Ardašēr, king of kings; and X^varrānzēm, queen of the kingdom; and Āduranāhīd, queen of queens; and Dēnag, the queen; and Vahrām, king of Gēlān; and Šābuhr, king of Mesene; and Ohrmazdardašēr, great king of Armenia; and Narsē, king of Sakestān; and Šābuhrduxtag, queen of Sakestān; and Narsēduxt, queen of Sakestān¹⁴; and Cašmag, the (royal) lady; and Pērōz, the (royal) prince; and Mirrōd, the lady, mother of king of kings Šābuhr; and Narsē, the prince; and Rōdduxt, the princess, daughter of Anōšag; and Varāzduxt, daughter of X^varrānzēm; and Staxriyād, the queen; and Hormazdag, son of the king of Armenia, Hormazd; and Ōdābaxt, and Vahrām, and Šābuhr, and Pērōz, sons of the king of Mesene; and Šābuhrduxtag, daughter of the king of Mesene; Ohrmazdduxtag, daughter of the king of Sakestān –for their soul (each day) one lamb, one *grīv* and five handfuls of bread, and four *pās* of wine.

¹⁴ . Pārsīg alone.

And the other lambs which remain, as long as there is enough left, for the souls of those persons whose souls we¹⁵ (king of kings¹⁶) have ordered to perform the Yasna-ritual, and in particular it is mentioned <by name> in writing (and listed)¹⁷ in the inscription on the monument, day by day, one lamb, one *grīv* and five handfuls of bread, and four *pās* of wine.

Those who lived under the rule of Pābag the king: Sāsān son of Ārnēk¹⁸; Farrag son of Farrag; Vahrāmpād son of Horag; Aspūrag son of Aspūrag; Puhrag son of Mardēnag; Zīg, master of ceremonies¹⁹; Šābuhr son of Vēzan(ag); Šābuhr son of Mihrbūzan(ag)²⁰.

Those who lived under the rule of Ardašēr the king of kings: Sadārub, king of Abarēnag²¹; Ardašēr, king of Marv; Ardašēr, king of Kirmān; Ardašēr, king of Sakestān; Dēnag, mother of Pābag the king; Rōdag, mother of Ardašēr the king of kings; Dēnag, queen of queens, daughter of Pābag; Ardašēr the *bidaxš* (‘second after the king’, viceroy); Pābag the *hazārūft* (‘chief of a thousand men’, chiliarch); Dēhēn of the family Varāz; Sāsān of the family Sūrēn; Sāsān, lord of Andēgān; Pērōz of the family Kārin; Gōk of the family Kārin; Abursām of the family Ardašērfarr; Gēlmān from²² Dumbāvand; Raxš, the army chief; Mard, chief of scribes; Pābag, master of ceremonies; Pākcīhr, son of Visfarr(ag); Vēfarr son of Farrag; Mihrx^vāst son of Barēsag; Hōmfrād, the *māyagānbed* (‘chief of the royal guard?’); Dirām, chief of the armory; Cīrīg, the (chief) judge; Vardān, chief of (royal) stables; Mihrag son of Tōsar; Zīg son of Zabrag(ag); Sagbus, in charge of hunt; Hudōg, the chief steward; Jāhēn, the (chief) wine-keeper.

Those who live under the rule of Šābuhr, king of kings: Ardašēr, king of Nodšēragān (Adiabene); Ardašēr, king of Kirmān; Dēnag, queen of Mesene, “protégée” of Šābuhr; Hamazāsp, king of Viruz (Georgia); Valāš, royal prince, son of Pābag; Sāsān, royal prince, who was maintained by the Kadōg family; Narsē, royal prince, son of Pērōz; Narsē, royal prince, son of Šābuhr; Šābuhr, the *bidaxš*; Pābag, the *hazārūft*; Pērōz, chief of cavalry; Ardašēr of the family Varāz; Ardašēr of the family Sūrēn; Narsē, lord of Andēgān; Ardašēr of the

¹⁵ . Parth. amāh : Gr. ἡμεῖς.

¹⁶ . Pārsīg : šāhān šāh.

¹⁷ . Gr. ἐγγέγραπται καὶ συνέστηκεν.

¹⁸ . ’wlsyk’ n : ’wrnwk’ n : APNHKAN.

¹⁹ . Gr. διπνοκλήτωρ (δειπνοκλήτωρ ‘one who invites to dinner’).

²⁰ . mtlwcnk’ n : mtrbwznkn : MEEPΩZINHΓAN.

²¹ . Cf. Bd 233.

²² . Gr. ἀπὸ.

family Kārin; Vehnām, the *framadār* (‘governor’)²³; Frīg, Satrap of Gundīšābuhr; Srīdō *šāhmust*; Ardašēr *ardašēršnōm*; Pākcihr *tahmšābuhr*; Ardašēr, satrap of Gōmān; Cašmag *nēvšābuhr*; Vehnām *šābuhršnōm*; Tirmihr, chief of fortress of Šahrgird; Zīg, master of ceremonies; Ardavān, of Dumbāvand; Gundfarr *avgān*²⁴ *razmjōy* (‘who seeks combat’, combatant)²⁵ and Pābag *pērōzšābuhr* son of Šambīd; Vārzan, satrap of Gay²⁶; Kirdesrō, the *bidaxš*; Pābag, son of Visfarr; Valāš, son of Seleucus; Yazdbād, counselor of ladies (queens)²⁷; Pābag, the swordbearer; Narsē, satrap of Rind; Tiyanag, satrap of Ahmadān; Gulbed (Vardbed), the *peristagbed* (‘chief of services’, majordomo)²⁸; Jōymard son of Rastag; Ardašēr son of Vēfarr; Abursām of the family Šābuhr, chief of court-personnel; Narsē son of Barrag; Šābuhr son of Narsē; Narsē, the chief steward; Hormazd, the chief scribe, (son of Hormazd, the chief scribe)²⁹; Nādūg, the *zēndānīg* (‘prison governor, jailer’); Pābag, the *darbed* (‘master of the gate’); Pāsfal son of Pāsfal; Abdaxš son of Dizbed; Kidēr, the teaching priest (Magus)³⁰; Rastag, satrap of Vehardašēr; Ardašēr son of Bidaxš; Mihrx^vāst, the treasurer; Šābuhr, the governor; Aštād of the family Mihrān, the secretary (scribe of epistles)³¹, from Ray; Sāsān, the *šābestan* (‘harem-ward, eunuch’), son of Sāsān; Virōy, the *vāzārbed* (‘supervisor of markets’, market inspectorate³²); Ardašēr, satrap of Nērēz; Bagdād son of Vardbed; Kirdēr *ardavān*; Zurvāndād son of Bandag; Gunnār son of Sāsān; (Mānzag the eunuch)³³; Sāsān, the judge; Vardān, son of Nāšpād; Gulag, the *varāzbed* (‘chief of boars’) <–altogether, one lamb, one *grīv* and five handfuls of bread, and four *pās* of wine.

Conclusion

Now, as we are diligent in the matters and services of the Yazata, as we are the *dastgird* (‘protégé’) of the Yazata, and we sought out and took these many lands with the haelp of the Yazata, and we did name(-worthy) and heroic deeds,>³⁴ in order that whoever after us

²³ . Gr. ἐπιτρόπου.

²⁴ . Afghan ? Cf. Bṛhat Samhitā, I. 11, 61 चोलावगाणसितहूणचीनानाम्.

²⁵ . Pārs. omits it.

²⁶ . Isfahān.

²⁷ . bānīgān : bāmbišnān : βασιλισσῶν.

²⁸ . peristagbed : parištāgbad : ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας.

²⁹ . Parth. and Gr. omit it.

³⁰ . ēhrbed : ēhrbad : μάγου.

³¹ . dibīr : pad fravardag dibīr : ἐπὶ ἐπιστολῶν.

³² . Gr. ἀγορανόμου.

³³ . Pārs. omits it.

³⁴ . Pārs. omits it.

shall beome lord (fortunate)³⁵, may he become more reverent and more benevolent to the Yazata (Parth. “may he also be diligent in the matters and services of the Yazata”), so that to him also in this same manner the Yazata may be a help (Parth. adds “and make him his dastgird”), as he was to us.

<This is my handwriting, Ohrmazd, the scribe, son of Šērāg, the scribe.>³⁶

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³⁵ . x^vadāy : farnax^v : εὐτυχής.

³⁶ . Under the Parthian version only.