



A New Edition of the Elamite Version of the Behistun Inscription (I)

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§1. Introduction

§1.1. The Behistun inscription had a key role in the decipherment of the major Near Eastern cuneiform writing systems, and thus helped to establish the field of Assyriology. This inscription is the longest ever left by Achaemenids and contains a tri-lingual royal text with a detailed account of Darius's accession to the throne of the Persian empire and the suppression of revolts shortly after Darius's accession.

§1.2. Despite its high position on a huge cliff that made it inaccessible to human damage, natural erosion has obscured several of its passages. In some parts, cuneiform signs are partially visible at best, while in others they have been completely lost. Moreover, this situation has made close observation and copying of the inscription difficult for Assyriologists. Aside from Henry C. Rawlinson, who for the first time accessed the inscription from 1835 to 1846 and copied its cuneiform texts, only on a few occasions have scholars closely copied and examined the inscription. In 1903, Abraham V. W. Jackson visited the inscription, and thereafter Leonard W. King and Reginald C. Thompson (1904) and George G. Cameron (1948 & 1957) copied and studied its cuneiform texts in some detail. They provided copies of the inscriptions, employing methods that are today dated, such as drawing of signs, paper or latex impressions, or photography with old cameras. Although their attempts resulted in improved editions of prior copies, a re-examination of the inscription appears essential to provide an optimized edition of all its cuneiform texts.

§1.3. Due to inaccuracy of prior copies in representing details of the original engravings, they offer limited help to Assyriologists to provide improved editions of the Behistun inscription. Scholars who performed research on the Behistun material inevitably relied on those dated copies so that their results retained embedded errors

and contain unread gaps and doubtful readings. In fact, most of the published editions were not accompanied by photographs or even hand-copies and cannot be verified to any satisfactory degree. It is an unfortunate truth that the squeezes of this inscription resulting from Cameron's detailed study in 1948, otherwise a treasure trove in research on Behistun, were severely damaged. Moreover, the typed cuneiform text published in King & Thompson 1907 does not adequately represent the idiosyncrasies and imperfections of the original engravings, and it is effectively impossible for Assyriologists to judge many of their readings.

§1.4. Therefore, in order to prepare a new edition and explore more of the Behistun inscription, it is necessary to produce new copies that clarify more details, especially on traces in damaged passages.¹ Since 2013, I have been conducting research on the *Elamite* version of the inscription, aimed at producing accurate copies and preparing a new edition. Since this version is very substantial, I plan to publish the results in a series of articles. This contribution offers an edition of column i; the remaining sections will be published in subsequent articles.²

¹ In recent years, some scholars such as Abdolmajid Arfaee have studied the Behistun inscription. Moreover, a laser scanning of the inscription was carried out under the auspices of the *Bisotun Cultural Heritage Center* in Iran, and Wouter F. M. Henkelman of the *École pratique des hautes études* (Paris) has sought to provide a new edition of its Elamite version. Further, a recent edition of this version published in Tehran by Salman Aliary Babolghani contains some new ideas and suggestions.

² In my numerous visits I have taken many photographs and measured the dimensions of the Behistun inscription. Photographs were analyzed and scaled using Adobe Photoshop. This method, that I presented at the *Fifth Annual Oxford Postgraduate Conference in Assyriology* (2016), led to the preparation of a hand copy of the

§2. The inscription

§2.1. The monument of Behistun is engraved on a massive cliff at Mount Behistun, located near Kermanshah, in western Iran. This monument consists of a relief sculpture and a tri-lingual inscription in Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian Akkadian. Each version is arranged in a number of columns wherein the text is divided into segments, each one beginning: “Darius the king says,” or “And Darius the king says.” In addition, a number of small tri-lingual and bi-lingual inscriptions in Old Persian and Elamite only are situated on the empty sections of the relief panel, or on its lower margins.

§3. The text of the Elamite version

§3.1. The older Elamite version of the Behistun inscription

§3.2. Transliteration and translation

par. 1 $\text{dis}_2 \text{da-ri-ia-ma-}^\Gamma \text{u}^\Gamma \text{-is}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana ir-ša}_2 \text{-ir-ra}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana-}$
 $\text{ip-in-na}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana}^\Gamma \text{aš-bar-šip}_x \text{-ik-ka}_4 \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{da}^\Gamma \text{-a-}^\Gamma \text{u}_2 \text{-is-be-}$
 $\text{na}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{mi-}^\Gamma \text{is}^\Gamma \text{-da-aš}_2 \text{-ba ša}_2 \text{-ak-ri}^\Gamma \text{ir}^\Gamma \text{-ša}_2 \text{-ma}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{ru-uh-hu-ša}_2 \text{-}$
 $\text{ak-ri}^\Gamma \text{ha-ka}_4 \text{-man-nu-ši-ia}$

I (am) Darius, the great king, king of kings, king in Persia, king of nations; Hystaspes, his son, Arsames, his grandson, an Achaemenid.

par. 2 $\text{a-ak}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{da}^\Gamma \text{-[ri]}^\Gamma \text{-ia-ma}^\Gamma \text{-u-is}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana na-an-ri}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{u}_2^\Gamma$
 $\text{dis}^\Gamma \text{ad}^\Gamma \text{-da-da}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{mi-is-da-aš}_2 \text{-ba a-ak}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{mi-is-da-aš}_2 \text{-ba}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{at-te-ri}$
 $\text{dis}^\Gamma \text{ir-}^\Gamma \text{ša}_2 \text{-um-ma a}^\Gamma \text{-[ak]}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{ir-ša}_2 \text{-um-ma}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{at}^\Gamma \text{-te-ri}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{har-}$
 $\text{ri}^\Gamma \text{-ia-}^\Gamma \text{ra}^\Gamma \text{-um-na a-ak}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{har-ri-ia-ra-um-na}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{at-te-r}^\Gamma \text{i}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{zi}_2 \text{-}$
 $\text{is-pi-is}^\Gamma \text{a-}^\Gamma \text{ak}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{zi}_2 \text{-[is-pi]}^\Gamma \text{-is}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{at-te-ri}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{ha}^\Gamma \text{-ak-ka}_4 \text{-man-}$
 $\text{nu-}^\Gamma \text{is}^\Gamma$

And Darius the king says: As for me, my father (was) Hystaspes, and as for Hystaspes, his father (was) Arsames, and as for Arsames, his father (was) Ariaramnes, and as for Ariaramnes, his father (was) Teispes, and as for Teispes, his father (was) Achaemenes.

par. 3 $\text{a-}^\Gamma \text{ak}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{da}^\Gamma \text{-ri-ia-ma-u-is}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana na-an-ri}^\Gamma \text{hu-uh-be in-}$
 $\text{tuk}^\Gamma \text{-ki-me}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{nu-ku}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{numun-}^\Gamma \text{meš}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{ha-ak}^\Gamma \text{-[ka}_4 \text{-man]}^\Gamma \text{-}^\Gamma \text{nu-}$
 $\text{is-ši}^\Gamma \text{-ia}^\Gamma \text{ti-ri}^\Gamma \text{-ma-nu-un}^\Gamma \text{ša}_2 \text{-}^\Gamma \text{aš}_2 \text{-ša}_2 \text{-da}^\Gamma \text{ka}_4 \text{-}^\Gamma \text{ra-da-la}^\Gamma \text{-ri}$
 $\text{dis}^\Gamma \text{ša}_2 \text{-lu-u}_2 \text{-ud a-ak}^\Gamma \text{ša}_2 \text{-aš}_2 \text{-ša}_2 \text{-da}^\Gamma \text{ka}_4 \text{-}^\Gamma \text{ra-}^\Gamma \text{da}^\Gamma \text{-la-ri}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{nu-}$
 $\text{mun-}^\Gamma \text{meš}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{[nu]}^\Gamma \text{-ka}_4 \text{mi}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana-ip}$

And Darius the king says: For that reason, we call (our) family Achaemenids. From long ago, (we) have been noble, and from long ago our family has been kings.

par. 4 $\text{a-ak}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{da-ri-ia-ma}^\Gamma \text{-[u]}^\Gamma \text{-is}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana}^\Gamma \text{na-an-ri}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana-ip}$
 $\text{dis}^\Gamma \text{numun-meš}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{u}_2 \text{-ni-na ap-pu-[ka}_4 \text{]}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana-me mar-ri-is}^\Gamma$
 $\text{dis}^\Gamma \text{u}_2 \text{9-um}^\Gamma \text{-[me-ma}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana-me]}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{hu-ud-da ša}_2 \text{-ma-ak-mar}^\Gamma$
 $\text{dis}^\Gamma \text{nu-}^\Gamma \text{ku}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana-ip}^\Gamma \text{-u}_2 \text{ut}$

And Darius the king says: 8 kings in my family formerly held the kingship. I held the 9th kingship. One after the other, we were kings.

par. 5 $\text{a-ak}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{da-ri-ia-ma-u-is}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana na-an-ri za-u-}^\Gamma \text{mi-in}^\Gamma \text{[d]}^\Gamma \text{-}$
 $\text{ra}^\Gamma \text{-[maš-da-na}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana-me}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{u}_2 \text{hu-ud}^\Gamma \text{-da}^\Gamma \text{du-}^\Gamma \text{ra-maš-da}^\Gamma$
 $\text{dis}^\Gamma \text{eššana-me}^\Gamma \text{dis}^\Gamma \text{u}_2 \text{du-nu-is}^\Gamma$

And Darius the king says: (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, I exercised kingship. Ahuramazda bestowed kingship upon me.

first column of the Elamite version of the Behistun inscription. Using PS's layer tools, I have restored damaged signs directly in photographs. This method yielded hybrid images depicting the current state of the inscription as well as matching restorations. My full transliteration and translation of the Elamite text into English and Farsi (Persian); line art hand copy of the this first column; as well as a selection of my photographic documentation have been posted to the text's CDLI entry online. I am grateful to the staff of the *Bisotun Cultural Heritage Center in Iran*

for their permission to perform detailed photography of the cuneiform inscriptions, and to Mr. Keyvan Mahmouidi for his assistance in this photographic work. I also express my heartfelt thanks to Abdolmajid Arfaee in Tehran for his invaluable counsel, and to Gian Pietro Basello, University, Naples "L'Orientale," for sharing with me several references concerning the Elamite language.

³ See Bae 2008: 143-144 for stages of engraving reliefs and inscriptions at Behistun; also JCS 14, 59-61.

par. 6 a-ak^{dis}da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{dis}eššana na-an-ri^{dis}da¹-[a]-¹ia¹-[u-iš¹ hi ap-pa]^{dis}u₂-ni-na ti¹-ri-iš¹-ti za-u-mi-in¹du-ra¹-maš-da-na^{dis}u₂^{dis}eššana-me ap-pi-ni hu-ud-[d]a^{dis}bar-šip_xa-ak^{dis}ba-¹tam₅¹-[tup a-ak^{dis}ba-pi-li-i]p¹a-ak^{dis}aš₂¹-šu-ra¹ip¹a¹-[ak^{dis}har]¹-ba-ia¹-ip a-ak^{dis}mu-iz-za-ri-ia-ip a-a[k]^{dis}kam-meš-ip a-ak^{dis}iš¹-[par₂-ti-ia-ip a]¹-ak^{dis}i-ia-u¹-na-ip a¹-ak^{dis}[ma]¹-¹da-be a-ak¹har-mi-nu-ia-ip a-ak^{dis}ka₄-at¹ba¹-du-kaš-be a-ak^{dis}par₂-tu¹ma¹-[ip a-ak^{dis}sir-ra]¹-in-kaš-be a-ak^{dis}ha-ri-mi-ia¹-[ip a]¹-ak^{dis}ma¹-raš₂-mi-ia-ip a-ak^{dis}ba-ak-ši-iš a-ak^{dis}šu-ug-taš-be a¹-ak¹[diš¹ba-ir-ra²-u₂²-pa/ba²]-¹ri¹-sa-na a-ak¹diš¹sa₂-ak¹ka₄-be a-ak¹[diš¹sa-ad-da¹-ku-iš a-ak^{dis}har-ra-u-ma-ti-iš¹a¹-ak^{dis}ma-ak-ka₄PAP ir tar¹tin¹-[na 23^{dis}da-a-ia-u]¹iš¹

par. 7 ¹a-ak¹da¹-ri-ia¹-[ma-u]-¹iš^{dis}eššana na¹-an-ri^{dis}da-a-ia-u-iš¹hi ap-pa^{dis}u₂-ni-na ti-ri-iš¹-ti za-u-mi-in¹[¹du-ra-maš-da-na]¹daš¹li-ba-me^{dis}u₂¹-ni-na¹hu-ud-da-iš¹[ba-zi₂]-¹iš^{dis}u₂-ni-na ku-ti-iš ap-pa^{dis}u₂^{dis}ap ti-ri-ia^{dis}ut-ma¹-na¹[¹na-a-ma-na-ma hu]¹-uh-be hu-ud-da¹-iš

par. 8 ¹a-ak^{dis}da¹-[ri]-¹ia-ma¹-u-iš^{dis}eššana na-an-ri^{dis}da-a-ia-[u]-iš¹hi ha-ti-ma^{dis}lu₂-meš-ir¹ra¹[¹diš²ak²-ka₄²diš²kur²-ma²-x-x hu]¹-pir₂-ri ir ku¹-uk-ti¹ak-ka₄^{dis}bal-la-ma¹-ir hu-pir₂-ri šil-la-ka₄mi-ul-e ha¹-pi¹za-u-mi-in¹du-ra-maš¹-da¹-[na da-ad²-da²diš²u₂]-¹ni-na^{dis}da-a¹-ia-u¹iš¹hi ha-ti-ma ku-uk¹-da-ak ap-pa-an-ka₄^{dis}u₂-ik-ki¹mar¹ap ti-ri-ik-ka₄hu-uh-be¹hu-ud¹-[da-iš¹

par. 9 ¹a-ak^{dis}da-ri¹-ia-ma¹-u-iš^{dis}eššana¹[na-an]-¹ri^{dis}du-ra-maš-da¹hi^{dis}eššana-me^{dis}u₂du¹-nu-iš a-ak^{dis}du-ra-maš-da-pi¹-ik¹-[ti^{dis}u₂da-iš ku]-¹iš^{dis}eššana-me¹hi¹šil-la a¹-ak za-u-mi¹-[in^{dis}u₂ra¹-maš-da-na^{dis}u₂^{dis}eššana-me mar-r[i]-¹ia¹

par. 10 a-ak^{dis}da-ri-ia¹-ma-u¹-[iš^{dis}eššana na-an-ri]¹hi ap-pa^{dis}u₂¹hu-ud¹-da za¹-[u]-¹mi-in¹du-ra-maš¹-da-na me-ni sa-ap ap-pa^{dis}eššana-me du-ma^{dis}kan₂-bu-zi₂-ia¹hi¹-[še^{dis}ku-raš₂diš²sa₂-ak-r]¹i^{dis}numun-meš^{dis}nu-ka₄¹-mi hu¹-pir₂-ri ša₂²-aš₂²ša₂²as²ma-ad¹-da^{dis}eššana-me mar-ri-iš^{dis}kan₂¹-[bu]-zi₂-ia hu-pir₂-ri^{dis}i-gi¹-ri¹[¹diš¹bir₃-ti-ia hi-še]¹daš¹da-ma a-ak¹fam¹ma-ad-da i-da¹-ak a-ak^{dis}kan₂-bu-zi₂-ia¹hu-pir₂-ri^{dis}bir₃-ti-ia ir hal-pi¹-iš sa¹-[ap^{dis}kan₂-bu-zi₂-i]a^{dis}bir₃-ti-ia¹ir hal¹-pi-iš^{dis}taš¹-[šu]-¹ip₂in-ni¹tur-na-iš ap-p[a]^{dis}bir₃-ti-ia¹hal-pi-ka₄me-ni^{dis}kan₂-bu-zi₂-ia^{dis}mu¹-iz-za¹-[ri-ia-ip-ik]-¹ki pa-ri-iš¹me-ni^{dis}taš¹-šu-ip₂mi-ul²-ka₄¹-iš ku-ud-da¹ti-ut¹-ki-me^{dis}da-a-ia-u-iš¹ha-ti-ma ir-še¹ik-ki hu¹-[ud²-tuk²ku-ud-d]a^{dis}bar-šip_x-ik-ki¹ku-ud¹da^{dis}ma-da-be-ik-ki¹a-ak ku-ud-da^{dis}da-a-ia-u-iš¹ap-pa da-a-e ha-ti-ma¹a-ak¹[me-ni^{dis}lu₂-meš ki]-¹ir^{dis}ma-ku-iš^{dis}kam¹ma-ad-da hi-še hu-pir₂-ri¹as¹na-aš₂-i[r-ma]^{as}kur-meš^{as}ha-rak₂-ka₄-tar-ri-iš¹hi-še ha-mi¹mar¹[I4²d²na²-an²d]¹iti-meš^{dis}mi-kan₂-na¹-iš¹na pi-ir-ka₄¹[hi zi]¹la¹-ma-ka₄hu¹-pir₂¹-[ri]^{dis}taš¹-šu-ip₂^{dis}ap ir ti-tuk-ka₄na-an-ri^{dis}u₂^{dis}bir₃-ti¹-[ia^{dis}ku-raš₂diš²dumu-ri]^{dis}kan₂-bu-zi₂-ia^{dis}i-gi¹-[ri ma]¹ra me-ni^{dis}taš¹-šu-ip₂mar-ri-da^{dis}kan₂-bu-zi₂-ia-ik-ki-mar¹be¹-[ip-ti-ib-ba hu-pir₂]-¹ri-ik-ki pa¹-ri-iš ku-ud-da¹[diš¹bar-šip_xa-ak¹ku-ud-[d]a^{dis}ma-da-be a-ak ku-ud-da^{dis}da-a-ia-u-iš¹ap-pa da¹-[a-e a²-ak²diš²eššana-me hu-pir₂-ri¹mar¹ri-iš 9^{dis}na-an^{dis}iti-meš^{dis}kar-ma-bad-taš-na

And Darius the king says: These (are) the nations who called (themselves) mine (and, by) the intercession of Ahuramazda, I placed kingship over them: The Persians, and the Elamites, and the Babylonians, and the Assyrians, and the Arabians, and the Egyptians, and the Sea-People, and the Sardians, and the Ionians, and the Medes, and the Armenians, and the Cappadocians, and the Parthians, and the Drangians, and the Areians, and the Chorasmians, and Bactrians, and the Sogdians and Parauparisana(?), and the Scythians and Sattagya-dia and Arachosia and Maka, a grand(?) total (of) 23 nations.

And Darius the king says: These nations who call (themselves) mine, (by) the intercession of Ahuramazda, performed service unto me, brought me tribute, (and) whatever I commanded them, night and day, they accomplished.

And Darius the king says: Throughout these nations, the man who(?) was(?) ..., him (I) upheld; whoever injured, him greatly (I) investigated. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, my law was upheld throughout these nations; whatever I commanded, that they accomplished.

And Darius the king says: Ahuramazda gave me this kingship and Ahuramazda sent me aid, until (I) strengthened this kingship, and (by) the intercession of Ahuramazda, I held kingship.

And Darius the king says: This is what I did (by) the intercession of Ahuramazda, after (I) received the kingship. Cambyzes by name, Cyrus, his son, of our family, formerly(?) (and) here, he held kingship. That Cambyzes, his brother, Smerdis by name, with (the same) mother (and) father, that Cambyzes killed Smerdis. When Cambyzes killed Smerdis, the people didn't know that Smerdis was dead. Then Cambyzes went to Egypt. Then the people caused destruction; furthermore, the lies grew throughout the nations, both in Persia and in Media, and throughout other nations. And then, a man, a Magus, Gaumata by name, he, from Naširma, a mountain, Harakkatarriš by name, from there 14 days of the month Mikannaš had passed, thus (he) rose up. He lied to the people: "I am Smerdis, Cyrus' son, Cambyzes' brother." Then all the people rebelled against Cambyzes and went (over) to him, both the Persians and the Medes, and the other nations and(?) he held kingship. 9 days of the month of Karmabataš had passed, thus (the kingship) was seized(?) from Cambyzes. And then Cambyzes died of natural causes.

pi-ir-ka₄ hi zi₂-la^{diš} kan₂-bu-zi₂-^{ri} ia ir¹ [mar²-ri²-i²/ik² a]¹-^{ri} ak
me-ni^{diš} kan₂-bu¹-zi₂-^{ri} ia hal-pi du- hi-e-ma hal¹-pi-ik

par. 11 a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-^{ri} eššana-me¹ [am-
min²-nu² ap]¹-^{ri} pa^{diš} kam-ma-ad¹-da¹ ak-ka₄^{diš} ma¹-[ku]¹-iš¹
^{diš} kan₂-bu-zi₂-ia e-mi du-iš-ti^{diš} eššana-me am-min₂-nu ka₄-ra-
^{ri} da-la-ri¹ [diš¹ numun-meš¹ nu-ka₄]-^{ri} mi daš me-ni^{diš} kam-ma-
^{ri} ad-da ak-ka₄^{diš} ma¹-ku-iš^{diš} kan₂-bu-zi₂-ia e-mi du-iš ku-ud-da^{diš}
bar-šip_x a-^{ri} ak ku¹-[ud-da^{diš} ma]-^{ri} da-be a-ak ku-ud¹-da¹ ^{diš}
da-a-ia¹-[u]¹-iš ap¹-pa da-a-e hu-pir₂-ri e-mi du-ša₂ du-man-e
hu-ut-taš^{diš} eššana-me¹ [hu-pir₂-ri mar]-^{ri} ri-iš¹

par. 12 ^{ri} a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana¹ na¹-an-ri^{diš} lu₂-meš-ir-ra
in-na ša₃-ri¹ in¹-[ni ki²-ri² in-ni^{diš} bar-šir₈-ra in¹-ni¹ ^{diš}
ma-da a-ak in-ni^{diš} numun¹-meš¹ nu-ka₄-mi ak-ka₄^{diš} kam-
ma-ad-da^{diš} ma-ku-iš^{diš} eššana-me¹ e-mi du¹-[man²-ra² ^{diš} taš-
šu-ip₂ šil-la¹ ka₄ ir ip-ši¹ iš¹ taš-šu-ip₂ ir¹ še-ik-ki¹ hal¹-pi-iš¹
^{diš} ak-ka₄-be ša₂-aš₂-ša₂ bir₃-ti-ia ir tur-na-iš¹ ti hu-be¹ [in-
tuk-ki]-^{ri} me¹ taš-šu-ip₂ ir-še¹ ik¹ ki hal-pi-iš¹ [a]-^{ri} nu^{diš} u₂ ir¹
tur-na¹ um¹ pi ap-pa^{diš} u₂ in-ni^{diš} bir₃-ti-ia ak-ka₄^{diš} ku¹-raš₂
^{diš} sa₂-ak-ri a-ak^{diš} ak-ka₄-ri aš₂¹ ki¹ kam-ma-ad-da^{diš} ma-
ku-iš¹ tu¹ ba¹ ka₄ in-ni li-ul-ma-ak ku-iš^{diš} u₂ ši-in¹ nu-gi-ut
me¹ [ni^{diš} u₂ du]-ra-maš-da bat-ti¹ ia-man¹ ia-a^{du} ra-maš-da¹
pi¹ ik-ti^{diš} u₂ da-iš za-u-mi-in^{du} ra-maš-da-na¹⁰ ^{ri} na-an¹ [di-
ti-meš¹ ^{ri} ba-gi-ia-ti¹ iš-na pi¹ ir-ka₄ hi zi₂-la^{diš} lu₂-meš¹ h[a]-
^{ri} ki-ip i-da-ka₄^{diš} u₂ kam-ma-ad-da¹ ak-ka₄^{diš} ma¹-[ku-iš¹
ir]¹ hal-pi-ia ku-ud¹-da^{diš} lu₂-^{ri} meš ap-pa ha-tar-ri-man-nu
da¹ [mi]¹ hu¹ pa-ip-pi i-da-ka₄^{as} hu-ma-nu-iš^{as} ši¹ ik¹ [ka₄-ia²-
ma²-ti²-iš]¹ hi-še^{as} nu¹ iš-ša₂-ia hi-še^{as} da-a-ia-u₂¹ iš¹ ^{diš} [ma]-
^{ri} da¹ be-ik-ki ha-mi ir hal-pi-ia^{diš} eššana-me^{diš} u₂ e-mi du¹-[ma
za-u-mi]-^{ri} in^{du} ra-maš¹ da-na^{diš} u₂ ^{diš} eššana-me hu-ud-da
du¹ [ra]-^{ri} maš¹ da¹ ^{diš} eššana-me^{diš} u₂ du-nu-iš¹

par. 13 a-ak¹ ^{ri} da¹ [ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} ^{ri} eššana na-an-ri^{diš} eššana-me¹
^{ri} ap-pa^{diš} numun-meš¹ [diš¹ nu]-^{ri} ka₄-mi-ik¹ [ki]-mar ku-ut-ka₄-
la ir-rak₂-ki hu-be^{diš} u₂ tin-gi¹ ia^{diš} u₂ [ka₄-te-ma zik-ki]-^{ri} da
sa-ap¹ ap-pa an¹ ka₄ ap-pu¹ [ka₄]-^{ri} da hi zi₂-la¹ [a²-ak² ^{diš} u₂
^{diš} zi₂-ia an¹ ^{ri} na-ap-pan-na hu¹ ud-da ap-pa¹ [diš¹ kam-ma-ad-da]
^{ri} ak-ka₄^{diš} ma-ku-iš¹ sa-ri-iš¹ [da a]-^{ri} ak^{diš} u₂ [diš¹ taš]-^{ri} šu¹-
ip₂-na lu-taš a-ak aš₂ a-ak^{diš} kur-taš a-^{ri} ak^{as} ul-hi-meš¹ [x-x-x]-
^{ri} ma ap¹ pi-li-ia¹ ap-pa^{diš} kam-ma-ad-da ak¹ [ka₄]-^{ri} ^{diš} ma-
ku-iš e-ma-ap du-iš-da a-ak^{diš} u₂ ^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ [ka₄-at²-te-ma]
^{ri} zik-ki¹ da ku-ud-da¹ ^{diš} bar-šip_x a-ak ku-ud-da^{diš} ma¹ da-be
a-ak ku-ud-da^{diš} da-a-ia-u₂-iš¹ ap-pa da¹ [a-e ku²-ud²]-^{ri} da hi
zi₂-la sa-ap ap¹ pa an-ka₄ ap-pu-ka₄-da^{diš} u₂ ap¹ pa ku-ut-ka₄-
la ir-rak₂-ki hu-be tin-gi-ia za¹ u-mi¹ [in^{du} ra-maš]-^{ri} da¹ na hi
^{diš} u₂ hu-ud¹ da^{diš} u₂ ba-li-ik-me za¹ [u₂]-^{ri} ma¹ ku-iš^{as} ul-hi-
meš^{diš} nu-ka₄-mi^{as} ka₄-te-ma zik¹ ki-da¹ [hi zi₂-la sa]-^{ri} ap ap¹-
pu-ka₄-da a-ak^{diš} u₂ ba-li-ik-me za¹ [u₂-ma za]-^{ri} u¹ mi-in¹
^{du} ra-maš-da-na ap-pa^{diš} kam-ma-ad-da¹ [ak-ka₄^{diš} ma-ku-iš]
^{ri} aš¹ ul¹ hi-meš^{diš} nu-ka₄-mi in-ni ku¹ ut-kal₃ ir-ra¹ [iš²-da²]

par. 14 a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-ri¹ hi ap-pa¹ [diš¹ u₂-ni-
na]¹ hu-ud-da¹ ak sa-ap ap¹ pa an-ka₄ ap-pu-ka₄^{diš} eššana-me¹
mar¹ ri-ia

And Darius the king says: This kingship that Gaumata the Magus took away from Cambyses, this kingship for a long time belonged to our family. Accordingly, Gaumata the Magus took it away from Cambyses, both the Persians and the Medes and the other nations, he took them away from him and made (them) his possessions. He held kingship.

And Darius the king says: There was no man, no-one(?), not a Persian or a Mede or (anyone else) from our family, to retrieve kingship from Gaumata the Magus. The people greatly feared him. (He) slaughtered the people, (those) who formerly knew Smerdis. For that reason (he) slaughtered the people: lest (they) know me that I am not Smerdis, Cyrus, his son and no-one (with) anything related to Gaumata the Magus came forth, until I came. After that I prayed to Ahuramazda. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, 10 days of the month of Bakeyatiš had passed, thus with a few men I killed Gaumata the Magus and his accompanying men, his foremost followers, in a fortress, Šikkayamatiš by name, (in) Nušaya by name, a district in Media, there I killed him and I took away his kingship. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, I held kingship. Ahuramazda gave me kingship.

And Darius the king says: The kingship that had been taken away from our family, that I brought back and I set it in its place as it was formerly. Accordingly, and(?) I made the temple(s) of the gods that Gaumata the Magus had destroyed, and I restored to the people, to them, pasture lands(?) and herds and workers and all(?) houses, that Gaumata the Magus had taken away from them, and I placed the people in their (rightful) place, both the Persians and the Medes and the other nations, and(?) accordingly as it was formerly. I, what had been taken away, that I brought back. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, this I did. I exerted effort until (I) restored our house as it was formerly and I exerted effort, (by) the intercession of Ahuramazda, such that Gaumata the Magus hadn't taken away our house.

This is what was accomplished by me as formerly (I) held kingship.

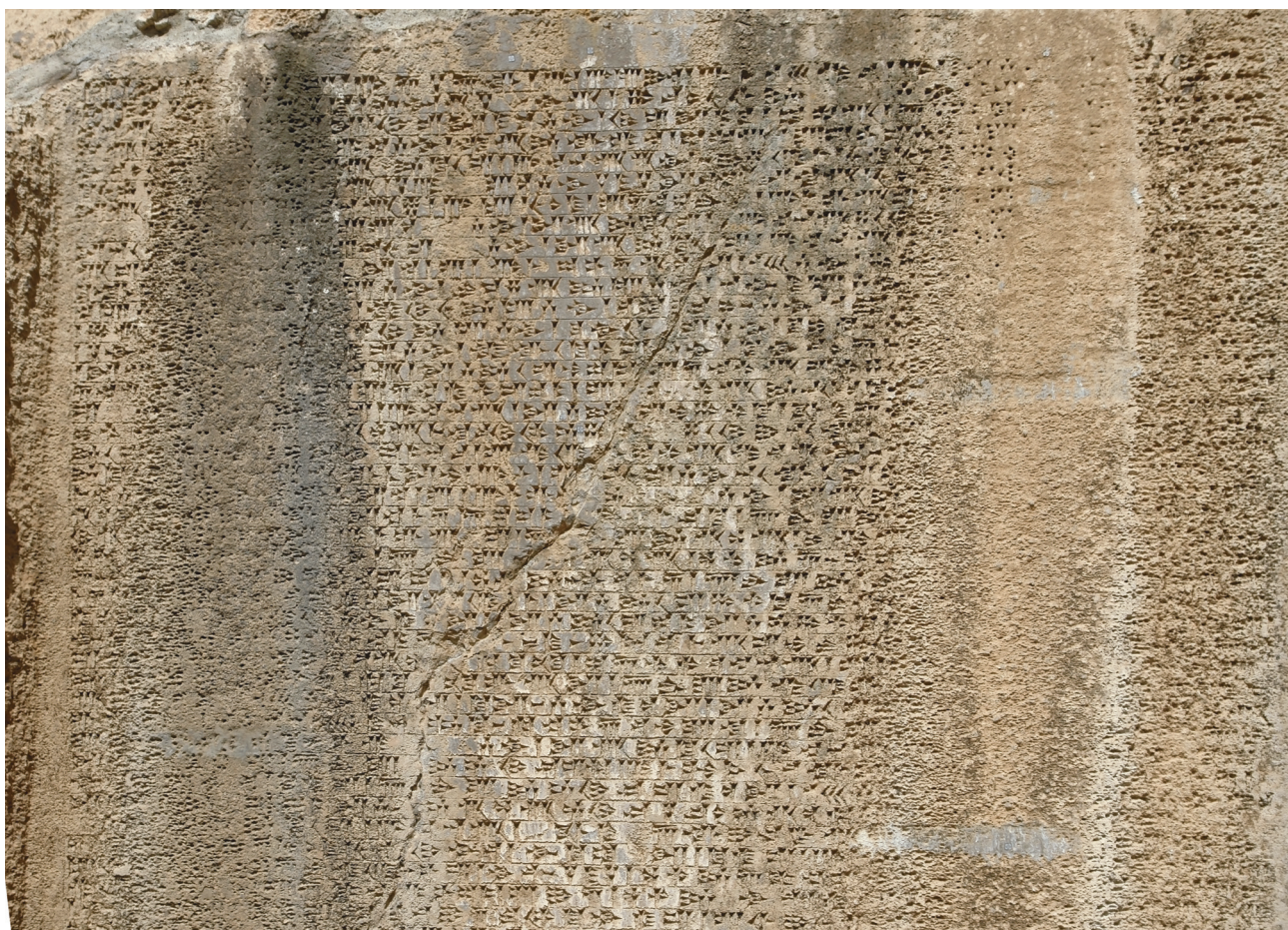


Figure 1: Upper section of the first column of the Elamite version of the Behistun inscription, §§1–12

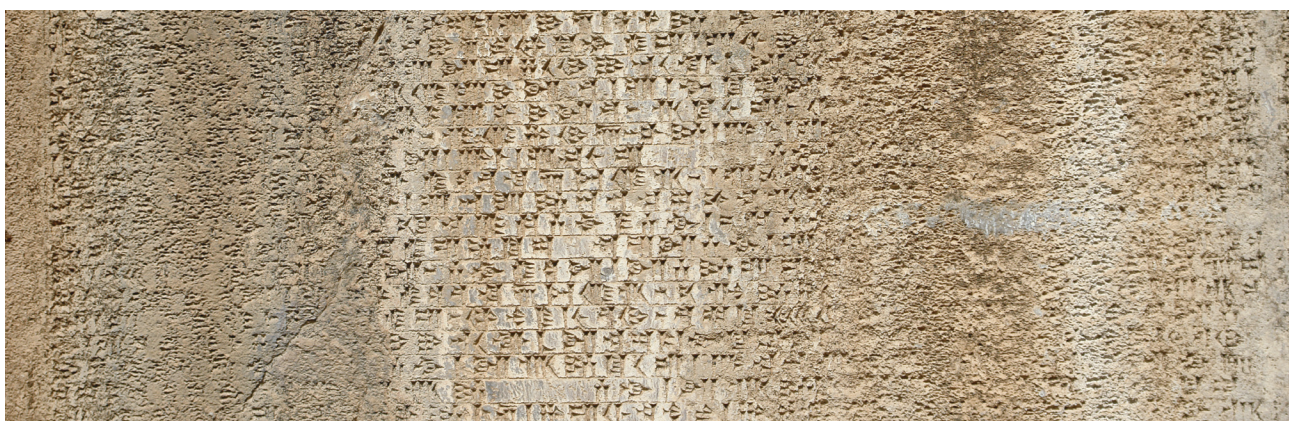


Figure 2: Middle section of column i in the Elamite version of the Behistun inscription, §§12–15

par. 15 a-ak^{dis}da-ri-ia-[┐]ma'-u-iš^{dis}eššana na-an-ri sa-ap^{dis}kam[┐]-ma-ad-
da[┐]ak-ka^{dis}ma-ku-iš^{dis}u²[┐][ir^r][┐]hal[┐]-pi-ia me-ni^{dis}ha-iš-ši-na
hi-še^{dis}ha-tam⁵-[┐]tur-ra^{dis}uk-ba-tar-ra-an-ma(!)[┐]š^{dis}sa²-ak-ri hu-
┐pir²-ri^{dis}[ha][┐]tam⁵-tup-ik-ki[┐]i-ma-ka⁴na-an-ri^{dis}eššana-me
dis^{dis}ha-tam⁵-tub-be^{dis}┐u²hu-ud-da ma-ra me-ni^{dis}┐ha[┐]tam⁵-
ti[┐]-ip^{dis}u²-ik-[┐]ki'-mar be-ip-ti-ib[┐]-[ba^{dis}][┐]ha[┐]-iš-ši-na
hu-pir²-ri-ik-ka⁴pa-ri-iš[┐]me-ni^{dis}eššana[┐]-[me][┐]hu-pir²-ri[┐]
dis^{dis}ha-tam⁵-ti-ip-na[┐]hu-ud-taš a-ak ku[┐]-[ud-da][┐]ru-uh ki-ir
dis^{dis}nu-ti-ut-be-ul hi-še^{dis}┐ba-pi-li-ir-ra^{dis}ha-a-na-a[┐]-ra^{dis}sa²-

And Darius the king says: When I killed Gaumata the Magus, then Hašina by name, an Elamite, Ukbataranma, his son, rose up in Elam (and he) said: I held kingship of the Elamites. Then the Elamites rebelled against me and went (over) to that Hašina. Then he held kingship of the Elamites and, one man, Nidintu-Bēl by name, a Babylonian, Hanara, his son, rose up in Babylon and (to) the people, (as well), thus, to them lied (and) said: I (am) Nebuchad-



Figure 3: Lower section of the first column of the Elamite version of the Behistun inscription, §§15–20

ak-ri¹ [hu]-¹pir₂-ri^{as}ba-pi¹-[li] i-ma-ka₄^{dis}taš-šu-ip₂-be^{hi}
 zi₂-la ap-pi¹ir ti-tuk-ka₄na-an-ri^{dis}u₂^{dis}nab-ku-tur-ru-¹sir¹
 [dis]¹dumu nab-bu-ni-da-na¹[me]¹ni¹dis¹taš-šu-ip₂ap-pa^{dis}ba-
 pi-li-ip mar-ri-¹da^{dis}nu-ti-ut-be-ul hu-pir₂¹ri-ik-ki¹pa-ri-iš
 me-ni^{dis}ba-pi-li-ip be¹ip-ti-ip^{dis}eššana-me ap-pa^{dis}ba-pi-li-ip-be
 hu-¹pir₂-ri mar-ri-iš¹

nezzar, son of Nabonidus. Then all the Babylonian people went (over) to that Nidintu-Bēl. Then the Babylonians rebelled. He held kingship of the Babylonians.

par. 16 a-ak^{dis}da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{dis}eššana na¹-an-ri me-ni^{dis}u₂^{dis}hu-ut-
 lak ha-tam₅-tup-¹ik-ki tin-gi-ia^{dis}ha¹-iš-ši-na hu-pir₂¹ri mar-ri-
 ka₄rab₂-ba-ka₄^{dis}u₂-ik¹-ki tin-gi-ik me-ni^{dis}ir ha¹-pi

And Darius the king says: Then I sent a messenger to Elam that Hašina be seized, and in shackles (he) was brought back to me. Then I killed him.

par. 17 a-ak^{dis}da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{dis}eššana na¹-an-ri me-ni^{dis}u₂^{as}ba-
 pi-li pa-ri¹-ia^{dis}nu-ti-ut-be-ul hu-pir₂-ri-ik-ka₄ak¹ka₄na-an-ri^{dis}
 u₂^{dis}nab-ku-tur-¹ru-sir^{dis}taš-šu-ip₂ap-pa^{dis}nu-ti-ut-be-ul hu-
 pir₂¹ri-na^{as}a-meš^{as}ti-ig-ra^{hi}-še ha-mi¹be-sa-ib-ba^{as}ti-ig¹-ra^{as}
 a₃-ri-¹ut mar-ri-iš ku-ud-da^{as}a-meš¹[hu]¹ub-be^{ges}ma₂-meš-
 na me-ni^{dis}u₂^{dis}taš-šu-¹ip₂maš-ka₄um-ma¹[ha]-¹zik-ka₄
 ap¹-pa-pa anše-a¹ab-ba-meš-ma ap-pi-in be-ib-la ap-pa-pa¹
 anše-kur-ra-meš ir be-ib-li-ib¹ba^{du}-ra-maš-da pi-ik-ti^{dis}u₂da-
 iš za¹u-mi-in^{du}-ra-maš-da-na^{as}ti-ig¹-ra an-la-gi-u₅-ut-ta ha-mi^{dis}
 taš-¹šu-ip₂ap-pa^{dis}nu-ti-ut-be-ul hu-pir₂-ri-na¹ha¹-pi-¹ia 26
 na-an^{di}ti-meš^d[h]a-iš-ši-ia-ti-ia-iš-na pi-ir-ka₄¹hi zi₂-la ša₅-
 par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud¹-da-hu-¹ut ir-še-ik-ki^{dis}taš-šu-ip₂¹-[e[?]
 ha[?]]-¹mi¹ha¹-pi

And Darius the king says: Then I went to Babylon, to that Nidintu-Bēl, who said: I (am) Nebuchadnezzar. The troops of that Nidintu-Bēl, at the river Tigris by name, there, were deployed(?) and seized the bank(?) of the Tigris and that river was navigable. Then I supplied the troops with leather-skins; (another) remaining group (I) placed on camels, (for another) remaining group, horses were assigned. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, (we) went across the Tigris there; (I) killed the troops of that Nidintu-Bēl. 26 days of the month Hašiyatiyaš had passed, thus (we) made battle. (I) killed many of his(?) troops there.

par. 18 a-ak^{dis}da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{dis}eššana na¹-an-ri me-ni^{dis}[dis]¹u₂^{as}ba-
 pi-li¹pa-ri-ia¹šu-tur^{as}ba-pi¹-[li] in-ni li¹-i[p]-¹pu¹-gi-ud-da^{as}
 ha¹-meš^{as}za-iz-za-an^{hi}-¹še^{as}u₂-ip-ra¹-[d]u¹-iš da-ma da-ak¹
 ha¹-mi^{dis}nu-ti-ut¹-[be-ul]¹hu-pir₂-ri ak-ka₄¹na-an-ri^{dis}u₂
 dis¹nab-ku-tur-ru-¹sir^{dis}taš-šu-ip₂i-da-ka₄ir¹-ru taš-ši¹in-nu-ik

And Darius the king says: Then I went to Babylon. Before I arrived in Babylon, a town, Zazzan by name, situated on the Euphrates, there that Nidintu-Bēl, who said: I (am) Nebuchadnezzar, attacked me together with troops in battle. Then (we)

ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um¹-[me h]u-ut-ti-man-ra me-ni ša₂-par₂-rak₂-
um-me hu-ud-da-¹hu-ud^du-ra-maš-da pi¹-ik-ti^{dis}u₂da-¹iš
za-u-mi-in^du-ra¹-[maš]-da-na^{dis}taš-šu-ip₂ap-pa^{dis}nu-ti-ut-be-ul
hu-¹pir₂-ri-na ha-mi hal-pi-ia 2^dna¹-an^{diti}meš¹ha-na-ma-
ak-kaš-na pi-ir¹-[ka₄]¹hi¹zi-la ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud-
da-hu-ut^{dis}taš-šu-¹ip₂ap-pa^{dis}nu-ti-ut-be-ul-na^{dis}u₂hal¹-pi
ir-še-ik-¹ki a-ak ap¹-[pa^{as}]¹a-meš-ma pu-ud¹-da-na^{as}a-meš
hi-ma ša₂-sa-ak

par. 19 a-¹ak^{dis}da-ri-ia-u-iš^{dis}eššana na-an¹-ri me-ni¹dis¹nu-ti-ut-be-ul
hu-pir₂-ri¹[^{dis}]¹te-ul¹-nu-ip ha-ri-ki-ip i-da-ka₄pu-ut¹tuk-ka₄
sa-ak^{as}ba-pi-li li-ip-ka₄me¹-ni^{dis}u₂^{as}ba-pi-li mi-du-gi-ud-da¹
[za]-¹u-mi¹-in^du-ra-maš-da-na ku-ud-da^{as}ba-pi-¹li mar-ri-ia
ku-ud-da^{dis}nu-ti-ut¹-be-ul hu-¹pir₂-ri ir mar-ri me-ni^{dis}nu-ti-
ut-be-ul hu-pir₂-ri^{dis}u₂^{as}ba-pi-li ir hal-¹pi¹

par. 20⁴ ¹a-ak¹

made battle. Aburamazda sent me aid. (By) inter-
cession of Aburamazda, (I) killed the troops of that
Nidintu-Bēl there. 2 days of the month Hanamakaš
had passed, thus we made battle. I slaughtered many
of the troops of Nidintu-Bēl, and (others) who were
fleeing to the river were carried away by this river.

And Darius the king says: Then that Nidintu-Bēl
together with several horse-men fled and went to
Babylon. Then I went forth to Babylon and (by) the
intercession of Aburamazda, (I) seized Babylon and
that Nidintu-Bēl. Then I killed that Nidintu-Bēl in
Babylon.

and

§3.3. Commentary⁵

par. 3

1. Restoration of ¹dis¹ha-ak¹-[ka₄-man]-¹nu-iš-ši¹ia
“Achaemenid” matches the photographs. Therefore,
the earlier ^{dis}ha-ak-[ka₄-man-nu]-ši-ia is to be correct-
ed (JA 281, 20). Such a variant writing of this name ap-
pears in other AE texts (see PFT 687).

par. 6

1. ^{dis}ha-ri-¹mi-ia¹-[ip] “Areians.” Detailed examination
of the photographs shows that the sign following ri
is indeed mi. Therefore, the earlier ^{dis}ha-ri-i-ia-i[p] or
^{dis}ha-ri-ia-i[p] has been corrected (see JA 281, 21 and
PFT 692). The new reading gives us *Harimiap* and cor-
responds to OP *Haraiva* and Bab. ^{kur}a-ri-e-mu (see CII
1/1/1, 49 and CII 1/2/1:12). Presumably this name is
the plural of *Harimia* “(an) Areian” and could be con-
nected to such names as *ha-ri-ma*, *har-ri-ma* or *har-ru-
ma* in AE texts that all imply Areia (see PFT 691f).
2. The reading of [^{dis}ba-ir-ra²-u₂²-ba/pa²]-¹ri²-sa-na¹ is
suggested for earlier [^{dis}par₂-ru-ba-ra-e]-sa-na (KT

1907: 96). Only the two final signs of this name are
wholly legible, and a preceding trace is partially visi-
ble. Other signs are lost. The OP correspondence of
this name is completely different (*Gandāra*) (see CII
1/1/1, 50). Presumably, KT’s reading is based on Bab.
^{kur}pa-ar-u₂-pa-ra-e-sa-an-na (CII 1/2/1, 12). But as far
as photographs show, the trace before -sa-na does not
resemble e, but ri could match it. Moreover, a visible tip
at the beginning of the discussed name does not resem-
ble any wedges of par₂ but is very much like the lower
horizontal wedge of ba. Assuming a correlation be-
tween Elamite and Babylonian forms of the name, the
new restoration could match the photographs. This res-
toration suggests the term *Barrauparisana* or *Barrau-
barisana*. It should be mentioned that in PF-NN 944:
10-11 a geographical name ^{as}ba-ra-u₂-ba-ra-e-za-na is
attested,⁶ that could represent *Barubarezana*. If this
name is connected to OP *Gandāra*, the new suggestion
would be more compelling.

par. 8

1. An examination of the photographs shows that a
phrase was intended, all of whose signs are quite erod-
ed, corresponding to OP *hya agriya āha* “(the man)
who was loyal,” Bab. *pi-it-qu-du*, “trustworthy (man)”
(see CII 1/1/1, 50 and CII 1/2/1, 12, 54). Seemingly,
this phrase is comprised of two terms. One might be
the relative pronoun *ak-ka₄* “who” corresponding to
OP *hya* (see Paper 1955: 91 and CII 1/1/1, 50), while
the other should be a term carrying the meaning “loy-

⁴ Paragraph 20 continues at the top of the next column.

⁵ In the commentary, the following abbreviations are em-
ployed: AE: Achaemenid Elamite; Bab.: Babylonian; CII:
Schmitt 1991 and Von Voigtlander 1987; KT 1907: King
& Thompson 1907; OP: Old Persian; PF: Persepolis For-
tification (Elamite texts, published by Hallock); PF-NN:
Persepolis Fortification NN, unpublished Elamite texts,
numbered and transliterated by Hallock; DN: Darius,
Naghsh-e Rostam (inscription); XP: Xerxes, Persepolis
(inscription). See further the bibliography at the end of
this contribution.

⁶ See <http://ochre.lib.uchicago.edu/PFA_Online/> for
online access to PF-NN texts.

al, trustworthy” or “faithful” and comprises three or four signs. In current AE texts, no such a term exactly matches the mentioned meanings. Although in Middle and neo-Elamite texts there are a number of terms such as *ḥa-mi-it*, *ḥa-mi-ti* and *ḥi-ši-ir*, that are usually interpreted as “trustworthy, loyal” or “faithful” (*EIW* 614 & 671), none of them match the photographs. Perhaps the relevant term is connected to a stem *kurma-* “to entrust” (see *PFT* 10). Insofar as the Persepolis texts are concerned, it is suggestive of a semantic relationship between *kurma-* and OP *agriā āḥa*, and Bab. *pi-it-qu-du*.

2. In 1993, Grilhot-Susiny et al. suggested the restoration as *ḥal-lu-ma-ir* instead of Weissbach’s [*ḥa-ri*]-^Γ*ik*^Γ-*kan*₂ (see *JA* 281, 21 and *VAB* 3, 12). Putting aside *lu*, their restoration is correct. In 2015, I proposed that Weissbach’s restoration is incorrect and suggested ^Γ*dis**ḥal-la-ma*^Γ-*ir* instead (see Parian 2015: 2-3). Using Hallock’s terminology, this restoration, a variant writing of *ḥal-lu-ma-ir* that demonstrates the form *hallamar*, is a conjugation Im participle of a verb *ḥalla-* (cf. *ḥallu-*) and means “injurer” (see *PFT* 688). It should be mentioned that in 2015, Aliyari also suggested ^Γ*ḥal*^Γ-*la*^Γ-*ma*^Γ-*ir*^Γ for the discussed term (see Aliyari 2015: 105).
3. *da-ad*²-*da*² “law.” This restoration is suggested for the earlier *da-ad-tam*₆ (see *JA* 281, 21). In the royal AE inscriptions, the term used to mean “law” as a loanword from its OP correspondence, connected to *data*.⁷ In AE texts, variant writings such as *da-at-tam*₆, *da-ad-da-um*, *da-ad-da* and *da-tam*₅ appear (see *PFT* 681). Therefore, considering *dātā* in the OP version of Behistun (see *CII* 1/1/1, 50), it is more rational to restore *da-ad-da* than *da-at-tam*₆ in the Elamite version.
4. Aliyari’s *ḥa-ti-ma* is absolutely correct (Aliyari 2015: 105) and detailed examination of the photographs substantiates the writing of *ma* following *ḥa-ti*. Therefore, the earlier *ḥa-ti* is to be corrected (see *JA* 281, 21 and *PFT* 694). It seems that *ḥatima* (or *ḥatuma*) had been an expression used to mean “in, into” or “throughout.” In AE texts, especially in Behistun, *ḥa-ti-ma* frequently appears (see *PFT* 694 & 695).

par. 9

1. ^d*u-ra-maš-da* ^{pi}-^Γ*ik*^Γ-^{[ti}^{dis}*u*₂ *da-iš* *ku*]-^Γ*iš*^{dis}*eššana-me* ^{ḥi}^Γ*sil-la* “Ahuramazda sent me aid until I strengthened this kingship.” This reading matches the photographs, and examination of this line substantiates the writing of *ḥi*-*la*. Therefore, the earlier *be-la* is to be corrected (see *JA* 281, 21). The new reading demonstrates the form

šilla that is a conjugation I form of *šilla-* “to strengthen.” Derivations from this stem appear in Middle and neo-Elamite texts (see *EIW* 1162-1163). Some derivations from *šilla-* (*zilla-* in Hallock’s glossary) are also attested in AE texts (see *PFT* 774).

par. 10

1. The reading of ^{ḥu}-^Γ*pir*₂-*ri* ^{ša}₂²-^{aš}₂-^{ša}₂² ^{aš}₂²*ma-ad*^Γ-*da*^{dis}*eššana-me* *mar-ri-iš* is suggested for the earlier ^{ḥu}-^{pi}^{si}^Γ*ri*^Γ-^{[i}...]-*la-da* or ^{ḥu}-^Γ*pir*₂^Γ-^{[ri}...]-*pu*-^{+kad}_e^Γ-*da* (see *JA* 281, 22 and Aliyari 2015: 106). As the examination of the pertinent line shows, the trace which the previously assumed as *la* or *kad*_e is indeed *ad*. Moreover, it seems that the preceding visible traces are of *pir*₂, *ri*, *aš*₂ and *ma*. In fact, the last three of them are the same that KT recorded in a footnote of their edition (see *KT* 1907:99). Restoration of ^{ša}₂²-^{aš}₂-^{ša}₂² ^{aš}₂²*ma-ad-da* matches the photographs. This suggestion demonstrates the Elamite *šaša madda* that means “formerly, here.” Therefore, the sentence could be translated as: “He formerly held the kingship here.” This sentence matches the OP and Bab. correspondences.⁸ It is well known that *ša*₂-*aš*₂-*ša*₂ “formerly” in AE texts and ^{aš}*ma-ad-da* “here” also appear in XPb14 (see *PFT* 722 & 755).
2. Reading of ^{am}-^Γ*ma ad-da i-da*^Γ-*ak* at the beginning of the pertinent line matches the photographs and is suggested for the earlier ^{am}-^{la} *ad-da* [...] *pu* or ^{am}-^{ma} *ad-da* [...] *pu* (see *JA* 281, 22 and *EIW* 51). The restoration *am-ma* preceded by the female determinative corresponds to OP *mātā* and the Babylonian Sumerogram AMA “mother” (see *CII* 1/1/1, 50 and *CII* 1/2/1, 13, 54). This term is also attested in Elamite texts prior to the Achaemenids (*EIW* 51). *at-ta* here written without determinative *diš*, means “father.” The new reading demonstrates the Elamite phrase *amma atta idak* which corresponds to OP and Bab. phrases.⁹ It seems that *idak* is relevant to the frequent *idaka* in AE texts. Hallock interpreted *idaka* as *ḥi* (*i*) + *daka* (as a conjugation II verbal adjective singular of *da-*) and translated it as “placed to him/it” or “together with” (see *PFT* 701). He also discussed the free usage of *idaka* for related singular or plural names in the Achaemenid period (ibid.). It seems that *idaka* had been an expression used to mean “together with” or “with.” Therefore, it is possible to interpret *idak* as *ḥi* (*i*) + *dak* (conjugation II of *da-*) and translate it as “he/it was placed to him/it” or “he/

⁷ For instance, *da-at-tam*₆ (in DNA 16) corresponds to OP *dātām* (Vallat 1977: 149 and *VAB* 3, 88); *da-ad-da-um* (XPh 14-15) corresponds to OP *dātām* or *da-ad-da* (XPh 40,43) corresponds to OP *dātā* (Vallat 1977: 209 & 213, and Kent 1950: 151).

⁸ OP *ḥau paruvam idā xsāyašiya āḥa*, “He formerly was king here” (*CII* 1/1/1, 50) and Bab. *a*-^Γ*kan-na*^Γ *a-na* *lu-gal it-tur* “He became king here” (*CII* 1/2/1, 13, 54)

⁹ OP *ḥamātā ḥamapitā kambūjijahya* “of the same mother and the same father as Cambyses” (*CII* 1/1/1, 50) and Bab. *1-en ad-šu₂-nu 1-et ama-šu₂-nu* “they (had) the same father (and) the same mother” (*CII* 1/2/1, 13, 54).

it was together with.” By this interpretation, the new reading could be translated as: “it was (the same) mother (and same) father together with (them)” or “(They were) with (the same) mother (and) father.”

3. In 2015, I discussed the new suggestion of $\ulcorner mi\text{-}ul^2\text{-}ka_4 \urcorner\text{-}i\text{-}š$ instead of the earlier $ha\text{-}[ri\text{-}ik]\text{-}ka_4\text{-}i\text{-}š$ (see Parian 2015: 3). The new suggestion demonstrates the term *milkaš* that could be a conjugation I of a stem *milka-*. Although it does not seem that *milka-* appears in other AE texts (see *PFT* glossary), referring to discussion in 2015, it seems that there is a close semantic relationship between *milka-* and stem *halla-* that appears in §8. Presumably, the new reading is relevant to forms such as *mi-ul-ka₄-man-ra*, *mi-ul-ka₄-na* and *mi-ul-ka-ša₂* in a number of neo-Elamite texts (see *EIW* 942). Since Grillot & Vallat translated *milka-* as “to destroy” (see *JA* 258, 223; *JA* 263, 215; *EIW* 942), *milkaš* is translated as “(they) destroyed” or “(they) brought about destruction.” Therefore, the discussed sentence (*meni taššup milkaš*) is translated as “then the people destroyed/ brought about destruction”. This sentence is well correlated with OP and Bab. correspondences.¹⁰ It should be added that *milkaš* is a conjugation I form of a verb *milka-* and is transitive, but the mentioned sentence has no direct object and it remains questionable. However, Hallock has discussed the appearance of such cases. In his opinion, it is possible to assume that the object is simply omitted (see *JNES* 18, 4).
4. $\ulcorner ti\text{-}ut \urcorner\text{-}ki\text{-}me \text{ }^{dis}da\text{-}a\text{-}ia\text{-}u\text{-}i\text{-}š \text{ } \ulcorner ha\text{-}ti\text{-}ma \text{ } ir\text{-}še\text{-}\ulcorner ik\text{-}ki \text{ } hu \urcorner\text{-}[ud^2\text{-}tuk^2 \text{ } ku\text{-}ud\text{-}d]a$. As KT correctly noted in a footnote of their edition of this line of the paragraph (see KT 1907: 99), the photographs confirm that there is enough space for six signs after *ir-še- $\ulcorner ik\text{-}ki \urcorner$* in the quite eroded part of the line. Other scholars assumed the last three were *ku-ud-da* that corresponds to OP *utā* (see *VAB* 3, 14, Vallat 1977: 85, *JA* 281, 22 and Aliyari 2015: 106). Regarding the photographs, a mark at beginning of the mentioned part of line resembles the horizontal wedge of *hu*. Restoration of $\ulcorner hu \urcorner\text{-}[ud^2\text{-}tuk^2]$ is suggested for other damaged signs following *ir-še- $\ulcorner ik\text{-}ki \urcorner$* . This suggestion demonstrates the form *huttuk* which is a conjugation II form of *hutta-* (see *PFT* 700) corresponding to OP *abava* “(It) became” (see *CII* 1/1/1, 51). Referring to AE texts and also Hallock’s glossary, it could be deduced that derivations from conjugation II form of a stem *hutta-* could carry the meaning “to be-
- come.” There are a number of attestations such as *huttuket* or *huttukni* in AE texts.¹¹ Therefore, the discussed sentence is translated as: “the lie became much through the nations” or “the lie grew throughout the nations”
5. Restoration of $[me\text{-}ni \text{ }^{dis}lu_2\text{-}meš \text{ } ki]\text{-}\ulcorner ir \urcorner$, “then a man,” is suggested for previous $[me\text{-}ni \text{ }^{dis}ru\text{-}uh \text{ } ki]\text{-}ir$ (see *JA* 281, 22). Considering the dimensions of wedges, the examination of the photographs shows that with the writing of $^{dis}lu_2\text{-}meš$ as a logogram for “man,” spaces between restored signs would be similar to spaces between other signs in the line. But the writing of $^{dis}ru\text{-}uh$ yields much less spaces between them. Regarding style of signs in §§8-16, wherever the term “man” is used, the scribe writes $^{dis}lu_2\text{-}meš$ rather than $^{dis}ru\text{-}uh$.
6. Read $ha\text{-}mi\text{-}\ulcorner mar \urcorner [14^2\text{-}d^2na^2\text{-}an^2 \text{ } d^2]\ulcorner iti\text{-}meš \text{ } ^{dis}mi\text{-}kan_2\text{-}na \urcorner\text{-}i\text{-}š\text{-}\ulcorner na \text{ } pi\text{-}ir\text{-}ka_4 \urcorner [bi \text{ } zi_2]\text{-}\ulcorner la \text{ } i \urcorner\text{-}ma\text{-}ka_4$ instead of the earlier $ha\text{-}mi \text{ } i\text{-}[ma\text{-}ka_4 \text{ } 14 \text{ } ^{dis}na\text{-}an \text{ } ^{dis}iti]\text{-}meš \dots$ (see *JA* 281, 22). As far as photographs show, what previously was assumed to be *i* is indeed *mar*. Therefore, the suggestion of $ha\text{-}mi\text{-}\ulcorner mar \urcorner$ demonstrates *hamimar* “from there” (see *PFT* 689), corresponding to OP *hacā avadaš* and Bab. *ul-tu lib₂-bi* (*CII* 1/1/1, 51 and *CII* 1/2/1, 14, 55). On the other hand, the logogram *iti* is visible and, as usual, the phrase $14 \text{ } ^{dis}na\text{-}an$ “14 days” (+ determinative *d*) should be written preceding it. With this suggestion, the discussed sentence could be translated as “from there, 14 days of the month *Mikannaš* had passed, thus (he) rose up.”
7. According to the photographs, a restoration of $^{dis}u_2 \text{ } ^{dis}bir_3\text{-}ti \urcorner\text{-}[ia \text{ } ^{dis}ku\text{-}raš_2 \text{ } ^{dis}dumu\text{-}ri]$ “I (am) Smerdis son of Cyrus” matches the photographs. But there is not enough space to write $[^{dis}ku\text{-}raš_2 \text{ } ^{dis}ša_2\text{-}ak\text{-}ri]$ as previously assumed (*JA* 281, 22).
8. A reading of $\dots \ulcorner ap\text{-}pa \text{ } da \urcorner\text{-}[a\text{-}e \text{ } a^2\text{-}ak^2 \text{ } ^{dis}]\ulcorner eššana\text{-}me \text{ } hu\text{-}pir_2\text{-}ri \urcorner\text{-}mar\text{-}\ulcorner ri\text{-}i\text{-}š \urcorner$ “... which (are) other and(?) he (Gaumāta) held the kingship” is suggested. In a footnote to their edition, KT correctly mentioned that there is space for just two signs after $\ulcorner da \urcorner\text{-}[a\text{-}e]$ at the heavily damaged part of the inscription (see KT 1907: 101). In 2015, Aliyari suggested *me-ni* “then, after that” to fill this gap (Aliyari 2015: 106). Apparently, using *me-ni* “then, after that” is correct (see *PFT* 729) to indicate sequence of two events (here the people rebelling against Cambyses and then Gaumāta holding the kingship). But comparing this with OP corresponding phrases, it seems that the writing of *a-ak* “and” would

¹⁰ OP *yašā kambūjiya mudrāyam ašiyava, pasāva kāra arika abava*, “after Cambyses set out for Egypt, people became disloyal” (*CII* 1/1/1, 51), Bab. *ar_2\text{-}\ulcorner ki \urcorner\text{-}ša_2 \text{ } ^{dis}kam \urcorner\text{-}bu\text{-}zi\text{-}ia_2 \text{ } a\text{-}na \text{ } ^{kur}mi\text{-}šir \text{ } il\text{-}li\text{-}ku \text{ } ar_2\text{-}ki \text{ } u_2\text{-}qu \text{ } lib_3\text{-}bi \text{ } bi\text{-}i\text{-}šu_2 \text{ } itaš\text{-}kan* “After Cambyses arrived in Egypt, the people were given over to evil” (*CII* 1/2/1, 14, 55).

¹¹ XPh 24-25: *na-an-ri \text{ } ^{dis}ik\text{-}še\text{-}ir\text{-}ša_2 \text{ } ^{dis}eššana \text{ } sa\text{-}ap \text{ } ap\text{-}pa \text{ } ^{dis}u_2 \text{ } ^{dis}eššana \text{ } hu\text{-}ud\text{-}du\text{-}gi\text{-}ud \dots* “says Xerxes the king: when I became king...” (Vallat 1977: 209-210); PF 1860 2-5: *ši-ri-ni \text{ } ^{dis}na\text{-}ap\text{-}pi \text{ } a\text{-}ak \text{ } aš.aš \text{ } da\text{-}ri\text{-}ia\text{-}u\text{-}i\text{-}š \text{ } aš.aš \text{ } eššana \text{ } hu\text{-}ud\text{-}tuk\text{-}ni* “May god and Darius the king become your friend(?)”

be more convincing than *me-ni*. In the OP correspondence phrase, the term *pasāva* which generally corresponds to AE *meni* doesn't appear¹² (see Paper 1955: 110), while the implicit concept of "and" is deduced. Therefore, a meaning of "... (and) he held the kingship" is convincing. As Paper mentioned, *a-ak* "and" occurs very frequently both to introducing a phrase and in a series of nouns and phrases (Paper 1955: 107).

9. ^{dis}kan₂-bu-zī₂-^Γia ir^Γ [^{mar}²-rī²-i²/ik² a]-^Γak^Γ... Here, I suggest a restoration of [^{mar}²-rī²-i²] or [^{mar}²-rī²-ik²] for the earlier [*be-ip-ti-ip*] "they rebelled" or [*be-ib-tuk-ka₄*] "he rebelled" (see *JA* 281, 22 and *PFT* 677-678). According to the photographs, it seems that a faint trace just following *ir* is *mar*, not *be*. Moreover, there is space for only three signs before *ak* in the quite eroded part of the line. Therefore, considering OP *agrbāyatā* and Bab. *iš-ša-bat* with the meaning "he seized" or "he took possession of" (see *CII* 1/1/1, 51 and *CII* 1/2/1, 15, 55), a writing of a derivative from *marri*- "to seize, to hold" would be more convincing (see *PFT* 726). In my opinion, if a conjugation I form of *marri*- is written just after *ir*, the phrase will be *kanbuzi₂ya ir marriš* which could be translated as "(Gaumāta the Maguš) seized Cambyses." This phrase is not consonant with the fact that in classic accounts, pseudo-Smerdis (= Gaumāta the Magush) finally did not seize Cambyses.¹³ Furthermore, OP and Bab. correspondences emphasize seizing or taking possession of the *kingship*, not of Cambyses himself by Gaumāta.¹⁴ Perhaps, a conjugation II form of *marri*- is written here, to say *kanbuzi₂ya ir mar-rik*. In this case, it might be possible to consider *ir* as a resumptive pronoun before a conjugation II form. Such sentences including a conjugation II form preceded by a resumptive pronoun appear in AE texts.¹⁵ It might be possible to translate the mentioned phrase as: "(the kingship of) Cambyses, from(?) him was seized" or "the kingship was seized from Cambyses."

par. 11

1. A new reading of ^Γdis^{dis}ēššana-me^Γ [^{am}-min₂-nu² ap]-

¹² OP ... *utā aniyā dahyāva, xšačam hau agrbāyatā* (*CII* 1/1/1, 51), "...the other countries, (and) he held the kingship."

¹³ See Herodotus 3: 62-66.

¹⁴ OP *avašā xšačam agrbāyatā*, "(and he) seized kingship (from Cambyses)" (*CII* 1/1/1, 51), Bab. *a-ga-šu-u₂* ^Γlugal^Γ-u₂-tu^Γ ^Γša₂^Γ ^{dis}kam-bu-zī-ia₂ *iš-ša-bat* "that (man = Gaumāta) took possession of the kingship of Cambyses" (*CII* 1/2/1, 15, 55)

¹⁵ Hallock discussed occurrences of conjugation I and II forms in the same cases (e.g., the stems *pari*- "to go" and *ipši*- "to fear") and the interpretation of resumptive pronouns preceding conjugation II forms (*JNES* 18, 9-10).

^Γpa^Γ... corresponds to OP *aita xšačam taya* ... "this kingship that..." (see *CII* 1/1/1, 52). As photographs show, the sign following *me* is *am* and it matches the visible faint trace. Moreover, there is space for two signs between *am* and [*ap*]-^Γpa^Γ "which, that." Therefore, the earlier ^{dis}ēššana-me [*hu-be* ...] "that kingship" or ^{dis}ēššana-me [*hi* ...] "this kingship" should be corrected (see *KT* 1907: 101 and *JA* 281, 23). The term *am-min₂-nu* demonstrates *amminnu* "this (same)" (see *PFT* 666) that corresponds to OP *aita* "this" (see *CII* 1/1/1, 52). The phrase ^{dis}ēššana-me *am-min₂-nu* is also repeated" in §11, exactly corresponding to OP *aita xšačam* (ibid.).

par. 12

1. ^{dis}lu₂-meš-ir-ra in-na ša₃-ri ^Γin^Γ-[ⁿⁱ ki²-rī² in-ni ^{dis}] ^Γbar-šir₃-ra^Γ... "There was no man, no one(?), not a Persian" Removal of tufa has revealed faint traces in the quite eroded section of the text. Accordingly, assuming *uttara* (*huttara*) as a variant of a verb *ut*- (normally written *hu-ut/d*), Cameron suggested a restoration of *ut-ta-ra* (see *JCS* 14, 63). He translated *in-ni ut-ta-ra* as "not any actor," in correspondence to OP *kašči* (see ibid.). However, such an interpretation is ambiguous. *uttara* (*huttara*) could be a conjugation I participle of *hutta*- which means "doer, maker," or as Cameron wrote "actor" (see ibid.), and no semantic relationship between it and OP *kašči* "one" can be located. In fact, in the OP version, *kašči* is repeated in this paragraph¹⁶ whose Elamite correspondence is clearly ^{dis}ak-ka₄-ri (= *akkari*). Despite Hallock's translation of *akkari* as "anyone, no one" (with negative; see *PFT* 665), it seems that translating it as "one" (with positive) could be more convincing. Therefore, a writing of a term correlated to the same *akkari* is well justified. However, as photographs show, there is not enough space to write *ak-ka₄-ri* in the damaged part of the text. Here, I suggest a reading of a term related to *ki*+personal ending -r (*ki-ri* or *ki-ir*), that also means "one" (see *PFT* 713).

2. A reading of ^Γhu-be^Γ [*in-tuk-ki*]-^Γme^Γ "for that reason" matches the photographs, and there is space for just three signs to fill the eroded gap between *be* and *me*. Therefore, the earlier [*in-tuk-ki-um-me*] is corrected here (see *JA* 281, 23). It is possible to interpret different variant writings of *hupe intukkime* (*in-tuk-ki-um-me* in §3 and *in-tuk-ki-me* here) as a reflection of different scribes. The variant *in-tuk-ki-me* also appears in other AE texts (see *PFT* 702).
3. ^{as}ši-^Γik^Γ-[*ka₄-ia²-ma²-ti²-i²*] is suggested for the earlier ^{as}ši-*ik-ki-u₂-ma-ti-iš* (see *KT* 1907: 103).¹⁷ In the quite

¹⁶ OP *kašci nai adršnauš cišci danstanai pari gaumātam taya magum*, "No one dared say anything about Gaumāta the Magus" (*CII* 1/1/1, 52).

¹⁷ *KT*'s edition included no brackets to mark the damaged

eroded part of the text, the third and forth traces seem to better match *ka₄* and *ia* than *ki* and *u₂*. The new suggestion demonstrates *Šikkayamatiš* and corresponds to OP *Sikayuvatiš* (see *CII* 1/1/1, 53)—linguistically an Old Iranian name for a fortress in Media. Considering Old Iranian names attested in AE texts, it is possible to analyze the new suggestion. Syllabically, the geographical name ^{as}š*i-ik-ka₄-ia-ma-ti-iš* could be parallel to names such as ^{as}be-zi₂-ia-ma-ti-ia in *PF* 330, 3-4 and *PF* 2027, 3-4 or be-ši-ia-ma-ti-ia in *PF* 329, 4-5, that are AE correspondences of the Old Iranian OP *Paiši-yāuvāda* (see *PFT* 678), a geographical name that was associated with the rise of Gaumāta.

par. 13

1. A reading of [*ka₄-te-ma*] “in its place” matches the photographs of this text section. Therefore, I suggest the new reading instead of the earlier ^{as}ka₄-te-ma (*JA* 281, 23).
2. ^{hi}zi₂-la¹ [*a²-ak²*] ^{dis}u₂ ^dzi₂-ia-an ^dna-ap-pan-na ^{hu}-ud-da¹. The photographs show that there could be two traces between *zi₂-la* and ^{dis}u₂, both of them severely damaged. The sign *ak* matches the second one and according to the first sign, damaged by a crack, I was able to trace a mark that resembles a vertical wedge of *a*. Therefore, Weissbach and Vallat’s reading of *a-ak* is confirmed (see *VAB* 3, 20 and Vallat 1977: 91). As mentioned to the restoration of *a-ak* in §10, *āk* frequently occurs as an introduction of a phrase. Therefore, with the new suggestion, the sentence could be translated “accordingly, and I made a temple of gods.”
3. ^{as}ul-^{hi}meš¹ [*x-x-x*]-^{ma}¹. Only several traces at the quite eroded part of the text are visible. As the photographs show, the term ^{as}ul-^{hi}meš “(royal) house” is recognizable, but followed by three ambiguous traces. Although Cameron assumed the third trace as *ip* (see *JCS* 14, 63), comparing with other instances of *ip* nearby, the traces do not seem to resemble *ip*. Moreover, the earlier restorations of ^{as}ul-^{hi}meš-^{ma} *da-nu¹-ip¹* and ^{as}ul-^{hi}meš [*mar-ri-be²*]-*ip*+*pa₂* do not match the photographs (*PFT* 680 and Aliyari 2015: 109). Furthermore, a semantic relationship of restorations such as ^{as}ul-^{hi}meš-*mar da-nu-ip-ma*,¹⁸ or ^{as}ul-^{hi}meš *mar-ri-ip-ma*¹⁹

signs of ^{as}š*i-ik-ki-u₂-ma-ti-iš* (see *KT* 1907: 103). Since Norris’s plate ii does represent a number of signs in outline, however, we can reasonably infer that at least some signs were damaged by erosion when Rawlinson visited the inscription in the first half of the 19th century (*JRAS* 15, pl. ii). In the typed *KT* edition, brackets were likely ignored or not employed.

¹⁸ “durch Hofhörige (= dem Herrscherhaus treu gebliebene Beamte oder Truppen) (?)” (*EIW* 285).

¹⁹ “et les serviteurs, – grâce aux du palais –” (Vallat 1977:

with OP *višbišcā* “(together with) houses” and ^{re}₂¹ *qa-ša₂-tu₂* “bow estates” are ambiguous (see *CII* 1/1/1, 53 and *CII* 1/2/1, 17, 55). Since Cameron assumed the first faint trace as *mar* (see *JCS* 14, 64), I suppose that the term after ^{as}ul-^{hi}meš is *mar-ri-da* (= *marrida* “all”; see *PFT* 726). Therefore, it is possible to translate ^{as}ul-^{hi}meš¹ [*mar²-ri²-da²*]-^{ma}¹ as “(what) for all(?) (royal) houses” or “all(?) (royal) houses.” I cannot offer a better alternative.

4. ^{dis}taš-š*u-ip₂*¹ [*ka₄-at²-te-ma*] ^{rik}-ki¹-da. As far as photographs show, in the eroded part of the text ^{dis}taš-š*u-ip₂* and *zik* are discernable. But between them there is space to write four signs. Restoration of *ka₄-at-te-ma* matches the visible faint traces and seems to be a variant writing of *kate* (*kat*+*e*) followed by the postposition *-ma* (see *PFT* 712 & 722). Therefore, a new reading is suggested instead of the earlier ^{as}ka₄-te-ma (see *JA* 281, 24).
5. ^{dis}da-a-ia-u₂-iš¹ *ap-pa da¹* [*a-e ku²-ud²*]-*da* ^{hi}zi₂¹-la ... A restoration of *ku-ud-da* is suggested for the earlier *mar-ri-da* (see *JA* 281, 24). According to photographs, *ap-pa* and *da* are still recognizable at the beginning of the eroded part of the text. Obviously, *da-a-e*, “(which are) others,” follows them, corresponding to OP *anyā* (see *CII* 1/1/1, 53). A space for three signs follows, in which the third trace resembles *da*. It should be mentioned that a restoration of *mar-ri-da* (= *marrida*) “all, every” yields spaces between restored signs less than those between the intact signs. Furthermore, there is no implication of “all, every” or any other term in correspondence to *mar-ri-da* in OP and Bab. versions.²⁰ But a restoration of *ku-ud-da* (= *kudda*) “and” yields similar spaces, as one can see in the line. In fact, in §13, Darius emphasizes the fact that he restored and put the Persians, the Medes and other nations in their appropriate places.

par. 14

1. ^{hi} *ap-pa*¹ [^{dis}u₂-ni-na] ^{hu}-ud-da¹-*ak* “this is what was accomplished by me.” The previous ^{dis}[u₂-ik-ki-mar] could be corrected (see *JA* 281, 24). In fact, as

92) and “and (it was done) by those who were holding to (*mar-ri-ip*; i.e., dwelling at or loyal to) the (royal) palace” (*JCS* 14, 64)

²⁰ OP *adam kām gāḍavā avāstāyam pārsamcā mādamcā utā aniyā dahyāva yaḍā paruvamci*, “I put the people in their proper place, Persia as well as Media and the other countries, just as (it was) the previously” (*CII* 1/1/1, 53) and Bab. *ana-ku u₂-qu ina aš₂-ri-š*u* ul-ta-az-zi-iz* ^{kur}*par-su* ^{kur}*ma-da-a-a* [*u*] ^{kur}-kur *ša₂-ne₂¹-e* ^{ti}¹ *ša₂-š*u*-u₂ iš-š*u*-u₂ lib₃¹-bu-u₂ pa-na-as-su a-na-ku al-ta¹-kan¹* “I resettled the populace in their place. Persia, Media, and the other lands that he had carried off I established just as before” (*CII* 1/2/1, 17-18, 55).

photographs show, faint traces of $^{dis}u_2-ni-na$ are visible in the space between *pa* and *hu*. The appearance of $^{dis}u_2-ni-na$ in AE texts is well known, meaning “by me” or “from me.”²¹

par. 15

1. $sa-ap^{dis}kam^{1}-ma-ad-da^{1}ak-ka_4^{dis}ma-ku-iš^{dis}u_2^{1}[ir^{2}]$
 $^{1}hal^{1}-pi-ia$, “When I killed Gaumāta the Magus.” The passage is quite damaged from erosion from the beginning of the pertinent line until *pi*. As photographs show, there is a gap between u_2 and *hal* and probably, a sign is written here. I suggest reading *ir* as a singular pronoun accusative which means “him” (see PFT 702).
2. $^{dis}nab-ku-tur-ru-^{1}sir^{1}[^{dis}]^{1}dumu nab-bu-ni-da-na^{1}$, “Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus.” The passage is quite damaged at the beginning of the pertinent line and there is a gap between *sir* and the logogram *dumu*. An examination of this gap through the photographs substantiated a writing of a vertical wedge as a determinative for the logogram *dumu*, “son.” Previous scholars did not include this determinative in their editions.

par. 17

1. $^{as}ba-pi-li$, “Babylon.” The examination of the photographs shows that the sign preceding *ba-pi-li* is clearly the geographical determinative *as*. In earlier editions, this sign is misread as the determinative *dis* (see JRAS 15, pl. ii; KT 1907: 108; and JA 281, 25).
2. Previous *be-sa-ib-ti* is corrected to *be-sa-ib-ba*² (see JRAS 15, pl. ii; KT 1907: 108). Detailed examination of the photographs shows that the last traces of this term on the rock resembles *ba*, not *ti*. The new reading demonstrates the term *besappa* that could be a conjugation II connective form of *besa*. Whereas Hallock translated *besapti* as “they were deployed(?)” (see PFT 678), I prefer *bessapa* as “(they were) deployed(?) and.” In 1959, Hallock discussed the occurrence of such connective forms (see JNES 18, 11-12).
3. $^{1}ku-ud-da^{as}a-meš^{1}[^{hu}^{2}]-uḫ-be^{geš}ma_2-meš-na$. According to the photographs, all signs before *uḫ* have suffered from severe erosion. However, only one of them is completely lost. This sign, written following the plural marker *meš*, became quite illegible due to a crack. Following *uḫ* is a sign that was previously assumed to be the determinative *as* for $^{geš}ma_2-meš$ (see PFT 722). Cameron restored $[^{ha}]-aḫ$ as an Elamite reproduction of OP *āḫa* “it was” (see JCS 14, 64). However, I am not persuaded by such slavish reproduction of an OP term. Meanwhile, another restoration of $[^{hu}^{2}]-uḫ$ and

its interpretation as “full” by Hinz & Koch yields this translation: “and the river (Tigris) was full of boats” (see EIW: 684). This interpretation disagrees with OP and Bab. correspondences that imply the river was full of water.²² Detailed examination of the text shows that the sign before the determinative *geš* is indeed *be*, misread by earlier scholars as the determinative *as*. On the other hand, a writing of $^{geš}ma_2-meš$ (not $^{as,geš}ma_2-meš$) is attested in AE texts (see PFT 722). Therefore, a new suggestion of $[^{hu}^{2}]-uḫ-be$ as a “there”-deixis non-personal pronoun (see Paper 1955: 105), follows $^{as}a-meš$ “water, river.” In this case, $^{as}a-meš^{hu}^{2}-uḫ-be$ means “that water” or “that river” and the discussed phrase is translated as “and that river (Tigris) was navigable” or it was passable only by boats.

4. $^{dis}u_2^{dis}taš-šu-^{1}ip_2 maš-ka_4-um-ma^{1}[^{ha}]-^{1}zik-ka_4^{1}$, “I deposited the troops on leather-skins” or “I supplied the troops with leather-skins.” Previous *zik-ka_4-ka_4* or $^{1}zik-ka_4^{1}$ should be corrected (see JCS 14, 64 and Aliyari 2015: 112). The examination of the text shows that a sign is definitely written between *ma* and *zik*, whose traces well resembles *ha*. The new reading of *ha-zik-ka_4* demonstrates *hazikka* “as/on (it) I deposited,” which is *ha*- + *zikka*. The second element is well attested as a conjugation I of *zikka*- (see PFT 774) and *ha*- is a generalized oblique resumptive pronoun used as verbal prefix (PFT 685). Related forms such as *hazikkak*, *hazikkaka*, *hazikkaš* and *hazikkašta* appear in AE texts, all derivations of *ha*- + *zikka*- (PFT 696).
5. As KT included in their edition of the pertinent lines of the text, a reading of *ap-pa-pa* in §17 is correct, also confirmed by Aliyari (see KT 1907: 109 and Aliyari 2015: 112). I believe that beyond Weissbach, this term has been misunderstood; many scholars assumed it was *ap-pa* “which, that.” It might be possible to interpret *ap-pa-pa* (= *appapa*) as *appa* + *-pa*, supposing that *-pa* is an as yet unknown element. However, Hinz & Koch translated it as “any, the one” or “the others” (see EIW 73). From an OP correspondence, it could be inferred that Darius embarked a part of his troops on goat skin rafts and, of the remaining troops, he made one group camel-borne and for the other he brought up horses.²³ Perhaps *-pa* is a suffix that has a relationship with the meaning “remaining part.” Therefore, the phrase in §17

²¹ §47: *za-u-mi-in⁴u-ra-maš-da-na da-a-ki-da^{dis}u₂-ni-na ir-še-ik-ki¹[^{hu}-ud]-da-[^{ka}₄ša₃-ri]* (Vallat 1977:131), “(by) the intercession of Ahuramazda, I accomplished other things greatly.”

²² OP *utā abiš nāviyā āḫa*, “and because of the waters (the river) was passable (only) by boat” (CII 1/1/1, 55) and Bab. *ʾidigna ma-li* “The Tigris was in flood” (CII 1/2/1, 21, 56).

²³ OP *pasāva adam kāram maškāuvā avākanam, aniyam ušabārim akunavam aniyahyā asam frānayam* “Afterwards, I embarked (one part of) the army upon rafts of skins, another (part) I made camel-borne, and for another (part) I brought up horses” (CII 1/1/1, 55).

could be translated as “Then I supplied the troops with leather-skins; (another) remaining group (I) placed on camels, (for another) remaining group, horses were assigned.”

6. $\lceil ir\text{-}\acute{s}e\text{-}ik\text{-}ki \text{ }^{dis}ta\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}u\text{-}ip_2 \rceil\text{-}\lceil e^? \text{ } \acute{h}a^? \rceil\text{-}\lceil mi \rceil \text{ } \acute{h}al\text{-}pi$. There is space for two signs between $^{dis}ta\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}u\text{-}ip_2$ and mi . The first, whose partial traces are visible, resembles e and is used just after $^{dis}ta\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}u\text{-}ip_2$ to mean “his” (see *PFT* 684). Therefore, earlier $^{dis}ta\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}u\text{-}ip_2$ is emended to $^{dis}ta\acute{s}\text{-}\acute{s}u\text{-}ip_2\text{-}e$ that demonstrates $ta\acute{s}\acute{s}up\text{-}e$ and means “his (=Nidintu-bēl’s) troops.” The second, completely damaged by a crack, I assume to be $\acute{h}a$ and restore $\acute{h}a\text{-}mi$. This term demonstrates $hami$ and means “there” (see *PFT* 689). Therefore, the new suggestion yields this translation “(I) killed many of his(?) troops there.”

par. 18

1. $\lceil \acute{s}u\text{-}tur \text{ }^{as}ba\text{-}pi \rceil\text{-}\lceil li \rceil \text{ } \lceil in\text{-}ni \text{ } li \rceil\text{-}\lceil i[p] \rceil\text{-}\lceil pu \rceil\text{-}gi\text{-}ud\text{-}da \text{ }^{as}\acute{h}al\text{-}me\acute{s} \text{ }^{as}za\text{-}iz\text{-}za\text{-}an \text{ } \acute{h}i\text{-}\lceil \acute{s}e \rceil$. As far as photographs show, the second sign at the beginning of the pertinent line is tur , as some scholars correctly assumed (see *JRAS* 15, pl. ii; *EIW* 1187; and Aliyari 2015: 112). Therefore, the term $\acute{s}u\text{-}tur$ is written here, that demonstrates $\acute{s}utur$. In Behistun, $\acute{s}u\text{-}tur$ also appears in column iii with the meaning “right.”²⁴ Semantically, this term corresponds to

OP $ya\acute{s}a$ “when” and could be an adverb (see *CII* 1/1/1, 55). In his glossary, Hallock translated $\acute{s}utur$ as “right” or “(accounting) balance” (see *PFT* 15 & 759). But as Hinz & Koch implied (see *EIW* 1187), we infer from some AE texts that $\acute{s}utur$ might also carry the meaning “still, yet.”²⁵ Obviously, the phrase in §18 is a subordinate clause. Therefore, assuming this meaning for $\acute{s}u\text{-}tur$, the discussed sentence in §18 could be translated “(when) I had not yet(?) come to Babylon, a town, Zazzan by name, ...” or “Before I arrived in Babylon, a town, Zazzan by name.”

par. 19

1. Unlike the appearance of $^{dis}da\text{-}ri\text{-}ia\text{-}ma\text{-}u\text{-}i\acute{s}$ in other passages of the Elamite version of Behistun, the name of Darius is written $\lceil ^{dis}da\text{-}ri\text{-}ia\text{-}u\text{-}i\acute{s} \rceil$ in §19. Fortunately, all signs are traceable and the scribe omitted the inclusion of ma . Among available copies or editions, Norris correctly included this name in his narrative (see *JRAS* 15, pl. ii) and also Weissbach implied the omission of ma in a footnote to his edition (see *VAB* 3, 26 & 27). Also, Vallat included $^{as}da\text{-}ri\text{-}ia\text{-}<ma>\text{-}u\text{-}i\acute{s}$ (see Vallat 1977: 95). It is probable that the scribe/engraver omitted ma in writing of this name; however, in a number of Persepolis texts, the writing of $^{dis}da\text{-}ri\text{-}ia\text{-}u\text{-}i\acute{s}$ is attested (see *PFT* 680).

²⁴ Par. 51: $\acute{s}u\text{-}tur \text{ } uk\text{-}ku \text{ } \acute{h}u\text{-}pa\text{-}gi\text{-}ut$, “I proceed (by) right” (*JA* 281, 37).

²⁵ See PF 258: 6-9 $bat\text{-}ti\text{-}zi_2\text{-}ka\acute{s} \text{ } \acute{h}u\text{-}ud\text{-}da\text{-}ma\text{-}na \text{ } \acute{s}u\text{-}tur \text{ } in\text{-}ni \text{ } \acute{h}u\text{-}ut\text{-}tuk$, “The *battišekaš* (payment is) to be made. It has not been made.”

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