

with Wb. ⁶⁰ *stabava* (as RI. JRAS 10.310 had it), see Lex. s.v.; not *starava* nor *stakava*.

TRANSLATION OF DNa:

§1. 1-8. A great god is Ahuramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder sky, who created man, who created happiness for man, who made Darius king, one king of many, one lord of many.

§2. 8-15. I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of countries containing all kinds of men, King in this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage.

§3. 15-30. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda these are the countries which I seized outside of Persia; I ruled over them; they bore tribute to me; what was said to them by me, that they did; my law—that held them firm; Media, Elam, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandara, Sind, Amyrgian Seythians, Seythians with pointed caps, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionia, Seythians who are across the sea, Skudra, petasos-

wearing Ionians, Libyans, Ethiopians, men of Maka, Carians.

§4. 30-47. Saith Darius the King: Ahuramazda, when he saw this earth in commotion, thereafter bestowed it upon me, made me king; I am king. By the favor of Ahuramazda I put it down in its place; what I said to them, that they did, as was my desire. If now thou shalt think that "How many are the countries which King Darius held?" look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne, then shalt thou know, then shall it become known to thee: the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.

§5. 47-55. Saith Darius the King: This which has been done, all that by the will of Ahuramazda I did. Ahuramazda bore me aid, until I did the work. Me may Ahuramazda protect from harm, and my royal house, and this land: this I pray of Ahuramazda, this may Ahuramazda give to me!

§6. 56-60. O man, that which is the command of Ahuramazda, let this not seem repugnant to thee; do not leave the right path; do not rise in rebellion!

DNb = DARIUS, NAQŠ-I-RUSTAM B.

- 1 бага : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya : adadā : i
- 2 ma : frašam : tya : vainataiy : hya : adadā : ši
- 3 yātim : martiyahyā : hya : xraθum : ut
- 4 ā : aruvastam : upariy : Dārayavaum : xšā
- 5 yañiyam : nīyasaya : θātiy : Dārayavauš : xšāya
- 6 θiya : vašnā : Atramazdāhā : avākaram : a
- 7 miy : tya : rāstam : dauštā : amiy : miθa : na
- 8 iy : dauštā : amiy : naimā : kāma : tya : skauθ
- 9 iš : tunuvatahyā : rā^odiy : miθa : kariyaiš
- 10 : naimā : ava : kāma : tya : tunuvā : skauθaiš : r
- 11 ādiy : miθa : kariyaiš : tya : rāstam : ava : mām :
- 12 kāma : martiyam : draujanam : naiy : dauštā : ām
- 13 iy : naiy : manauviš : amiy : tyāmaiy : dartana
- 14 yā : bavatiy : daršam : dārayāmiy : manahā :
- 15 uvaipašiyahyā : daršam : xšayamna : amiy :
- 16 martiya : hya : hataxšataiy : anudim : hakarta^o
- 17 hyā : avaθādim : paribarāmiy : hya : v^o
- 18 ināθayatiy : anudim : vinastahyā : waθ
- 19 ā : parsāmiy : naimā : kāma : tya : mar^otiya
- 20 : vināθayaiš : naipatimā : ava : kāma : yadi
- 21 y : vināθayaiš : naiy : frañiyaiš : martiya :
- 22 tya : pat^oiy : martiyam : θātiy : ava : mām :
- 23 naiy : varnavataiy : yātā : uradanām : hadu
- 24 gām : āxšnautiy : martiya : tya : kunau
- 25 tiy : yad^oivā : ābaratiy : anuv : tauman

- 26 išajy : xšnuta : °° amiy : utā : mām : vas
 27 iy : kāma : utā : uxšnauš : amiy : avākaram
 28 camaiy : ° ušiy : utā : framānā : yaθāmai
 29 y : tyā : kartam : vaināhy : yadivā : āxšnav-
 30 āhy : utā : viθ°iyā : °° uta : spāθma
 31 i°da°yā : aitamai°y ° : °°° aruvastam :
 32 upariy : manašcā : °° ušicā : ima : patimai
 33 y : aruvastam : t°ya°mai : tanūš : tāvaya
 34 ti°y : hamaranakara : am°iy : ušhamaranakara : hakara
 35 meiy : ušiyā : gāθa°vā : vainātaiy : yaciy :
 36 vaināmiy : hamīciya°m : yaciy : naiy : vainā
 37 miy : utā : ušībiyā : utā : framānāyā
 38 : a°dakaiy : fratara : maniyaiy : aruvāyā : ya
 39 di°y : vaināmiy : hamīciyam : yaθā : yadiy :
 40 nai°y : vaināmiy : yāumainiš : amiy : u
 41 tā ° : dastaibiyā : utā : pādaibiyā : asabā
 42 ra : ° uvāsabāra : amiy : θanuvaniya : uθa
 43 n°uvaniya : amiy : utā : pastiš : utā
 44 : asabāra : ārštika : amiy : uvārštika :
 45 utā : pastiš : utā : asabāra : utā : ūvnařā
 46 : tyā : Auramazdā : upariy : mām : niyasaya : utā
 47 diš : atāvayam : bartanaiy : vašnā : Auramazdāh
 48 ā : tyamaiy : kartam : imaiβiš : ūvnaraibiš : aku
 49 navam : tyā : mām : Auramazdā : upariy : niyasaya
 50 : mari°kā : daršam : azdā : kušuvā : ciyākaram
 51 : amiy : ciyākaramcamaiy : ūvnařā : ciyākara
 52 mcamaiy : pariyanam : mātaiy : duruxtam :
 53 θadaya ° : tyataiy : gaušāyā : xšnutam : avaš
 54 ciy : ° āxšnudiyy : tyā : partamtaiy : asti
 55 y : mari°kā : mātaiy : avašciy : duruxta
 56 m : kuna°vātaiy : tyā : manā : kartam : astiy
 57 : avašciy : didiy : yaciy : nipištam : mā :
 58 taiy : dātā : + + + + + : mā : + + + + + + ātiy
 59 ā : ayāu(ma)iniš : bavātiy : marikā : xšyāθiyya
 60 : mā : raxθatuv : + + + + + + + + + + + + ina :

NOTES TO DNb: Our text of DNb is that given in JNES 4.39-52, based upon the photographs of Schmidt taken in 1938, supplemented by Hz.'s chart and transliteration, ApI 4-6. The intercalated ° ° ° ° ° in our text marks blank spaces adequate for one, two, three characters respectively, where the rock was too rough to permit engraving.

A different interpretation of 34-40, with other textual restorations, by I. Gershevitch, TPS 1948.66-8, does not convince me. Certain alterations of the OP text and of the interpretation, esp. in 52-60, by W. Hinz, on the basis of the Elam. version, cannot be evaluated until his article is in print.

¹⁴ *bavatiy* on the Rock; *bawatiy* in fragmentary 2d copy (Hz. ApI Plate 5). ¹⁵ *mar°tiya* Schmidt photo; last character not *m*°, despite Hz. ²² *pařiy* Kent; *pař[sajiy* 'in court' Hz. ApI 273. ²¹ The gap is inadequate for Hz.'s restored *didiy*; and the Schmidt photo shows a divider

in the middle of the space. ³⁸ *an°ur°aθa*, with dubious *n*°, Wb. KIA 94, from Sevruigin's photo; *af°ur°ay°a* Hz., which he emends to *ar°ur°aθa*; *af°ur°ay°a*, with *ř*° to be emended to *r*°, and *y*° rather than *θ*°, Kent from Schmidt photo.

⁴⁹ The divider is not at the end of 49, but at the beginning of 50. Between the two lines there is the vacant space of one line, to indicate the break in the subject-matter. ^{51, 52} *ciy°ak°r°m°m°ciy°* in both places, Hz., confirmed by Schmidt photo; with metathesis for *m°c°m°*, and to be normalized *ciyākaramcamaiy*. ⁵² [*durux*]tam Bv., after DB 4.44f, 49f. ⁵³ [*xšnutam*] Kent; the space is inadequate for Bv.'s *āxšnutam*. ⁵⁶⁻⁶⁰ [*durux*]tam Kent, after Bv.'s restoration in 52. ⁵⁶⁻⁶⁰ The remaining restorations, quite dubious, are largely my own. ⁵⁹ The *m*° of *ayāumainiš* was omitted on the Rock.

For my variations from Hz.'s text, see Lg. 15.166-74, JNES 4.39-52.

TRANSLATION OF DNb:

✓ §7. 1-5. A great god is Ahuramazda, who created this excellent work which is seen, who created happiness for man, who bestowed wisdom and activity upon Darius the King.

§8a. 5-11. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda I am of such a sort that I am a friend to right, I am not a friend to wrong. It is not my desire that the weak man should have wrong done to him by the mighty; nor is that my desire, that the mighty man should have wrong done to him by the weak.

§8b. 11-5. What is right, that is my desire. I am not a friend to the man who is a Lie-follower. I am not hot-tempered. What things develop in my anger, I hold firmly under control by my thinking power. I am firmly ruling over my own (impulses).

§8c. 16-21. The man who cooperates, him according to his cooperative action, him thus do I reward. Who does harm, him according to the damage thus I punish. It is not my desire that a man should do harm; nor indeed is that my desire, if he should do harm, he should not be punished.

§8d. 21-4. What a man says against a man, that does not convince me, until he satisfies the Ordinance of Good Regulations.

§8e. 24-7. What a man does or performs (for me) according to his (natural) powers, (therewith) I am satisfied, and my pleasure is abundant, and I am well satisfied.

§8f. 27-31. Of such a sort is my understanding and my command: when what has been done by me thou shalt see or hear of, both in the palace and in the war-camp, this is my activity over and above my thinking power and my understanding.

§8g. 31-40. This indeed is my activity: inasmuch as my body has the strength, as battle-fighter I am a good battle fighter. Once let there be seen with understanding in the place (of battle), what I see (to be) rebellious, what I see (to be) not (rebellious); both with understanding and with command then am I first to think with action, when I see a rebel as well as when I see a not-rebel).

§8h. 40-45. Trained am I both with hands and with feet. As a horseman I am a good horseman. As a Bowman I am a good Bowman both afoot and on horseback. As a spearman I am a good spearman both afoot and on horseback.

§8i. 45-9. And the (physical) skillfulnesses which Ahuramazda has bestowed upon me and I have had the strength to use them—by the favor of Ahuramazda what has been done by me, I have done with these skillfulnesses which Ahuramazda has bestowed upon me.

§9a. 50-5. O menial, vigorously make thou known of what sort I am, and of what sort my skillfulnesses, and of what sort my superiority. Let not that seem false to thee, which has been heard by thy ears. That do thou hear, which is communicated to thee.

§9b. 55-60. O menial, let that not be made (to seem) false to thee, which has been done by me. That do thou behold, which [has been inscribed]. Let not the laws [be disobeyed] by thee. Let not [anyone] be untrained [in obedience]. [O menial], let not the king (feel himself obliged to) inflict punishment (?) [for wrong-doing (?) on the dwellers (in the land) (?)].

TEXT OF DN, MINOR INSCRIPTIONS:

DNc 1 Gaubaruva : Pātišuvariš : Dāra

2 yavahauš : xšāyaθiyahyā : arštibara

DNd 1 Aspacanā : vaçabara : Dārayavahauš : xš

2 āyaθiyahyā : isuvām : dārayatiy

DN I iyam : Pārsa

II iyam : Māda

III iyam : Ūvja

IV iyam : Parθava

XV iyam : Sakā : tigraxaudā

XVI iyam : Bābiruš

XVII iyam : Aθuriya

XXIX iyam : Maciyā

NOTES TO DN, MINOR INSCRIPTIONS: DNc: ²arštibara, engraved ^šr^ra^sš^rib^ra; the original draft was miswritten ^ar^as^aib^ra, and the ^š, intended to replace the ^s, was by error inserted in the place of the ^a. (But the first engraved character is read by Cameron from photographs not as ^š, but as ^h; for a miswritten ^h I can offer no explanation).

DNd: Aspathines has a heavy bow, or a bowcase, slung over his left shoulder, and holds a battle-ax in his hand; cf. JNES 4.233.

TRANSLATION OF DN, MINOR INSCRIPTIONS:

DNc: Gobryas, a Patischorian, spear-bearer of Darius the King.

DNd: Aspathines, bowbearer, holds the battle-ax of Darius the King.

DN I: This is the Persian.

DN II: This is the Mede.

DN III: This is the Elamite.

DN IV: This is the Parthian.

DN XV: This is the Scythian with pointed cap.

DN XVI: This is the Babylonian.

DN XVII: This is the Assyrian.

DN XXIX: This is the man of Maka.

DSa = DARIUS, SUSANNA A.

- 1 adam : Dārayavauš : XŠ : vazraka : XŠ
XŠyān
2 ām : XŠ DHnām : Vⁱštāspahyā : puça : Ha
3 xāmaniš^{ya} : θātiy : Dārayavauš : XŠ
4 : vašnā : AMha : adam : ava : akunavam :
tya :
5 akunavam : višahyā : frašam : θadayātaiy

NOTE TO DSa: ⁶ *frašam* : *θadayātaiy*, Hz. ApI 156-8, for the previously accepted *frašta* : *θadayāmai*; but Hinz, ZDMG 95.223-5, supports *a*[*dam*] : *viša*[*hyā*] : *frašta* : *θadayāmai*.

TRANSLATION OF DSa:

1. 1-3. I am ... (= DPa 1-5).

§2. 3-5. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda I have done that which I have done; to every one may it seem excellent.

DSb = DARIUS, SUSANNA B.

- 1 adam : Dārayavauš
2 š : xšāyaθiya
3 : vazraka : xšāya
4 θiya : xšāyaθi
5 yānām : xšāya
6 θiya : dahyūnā
7 m : xšāyaθiya :
8 haruvahyāya :
9 būmiyā : Vⁱšt
10 āspahyā : puça
11 : Haxāmanišiya

TRANSLATION OF DSb: I am ... (= DPa 1-4), King in all the earth, ... (= DPe 4-5).

DSc = DARIUS, SUSANNA C.

adam : Dārayavauš XŠ : vazraka XŠ XŠyānām :
Vištāspahyā : puça

TRANSLATION OF DSc: I am ... (= DPa 1-3, 4-5).

DSd = DARIUS, SUSANNA D.

- 1 *adam Dārayavauš XŠ vazraka XŠ XŠyānām*
XŠ DHnām XŠ
2 *ahyāyā BŪyā Vištāspahyā* : puça :
Haxāmanišiya θā

3 *tiy Dārayavauš XŠ vašnā AMha* imam :

dacaram akunavam

TRANSLATION OF DSd:

§1. 1-2. I am ... (= DPa 1-4), King in this earth, ... (= DPe 4-5).

§2. 2-3. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda I built this palace.

DSe = DARIUS, SUSANNA E.

- 1 *baça* : *vazraka* : *Auramazdā* : *hya* : *imā*
2 *m* : *būmim* : *adadā* : *hya* : *avam* : *as*
3 *mānam* : *adadā* : *hya* : *martiyam* : *ad*
4 *adā* : *hya* : *šiyātīm* : *adadā* : *mart*
5 *iyahyā* : *hya* : *Dārayavauš* : *XŠm* : *ak*
6 *unauš* : *avam* : *parūvnām* : *XŠm* : *a*
7 *ivam* : *parūvnām* : *framātāram* : *a*
8 *dam* : *Dārayavauš* : *XŠ* : *vazraka* : *XŠ* : *XŠy*
9 *ānām* : *XŠ* : *dahyūnām* : *vspazanā*
10 *nām* : *XŠ* : *ahyāyā* : *būmiyā* : *vaz*
11 *rakāyā* : *dūrai* : *apiy* : *Vⁱštās*
12 *pahyā* : *puça* : *Haxāmanišiya* : *Pār*
13 *sa* : *Pārsahyā* : *puça* : *Ariya* : *Ari*
14 *ya* : *ciça* : *θātiy* : *Dārayavauš* : *XŠ* :
15 *vašnā* : *Auramazdāhā* : *imā* : *dahy*
16 *āva* : *tyā* : *adam* : *agarbāyam* : *apata*
17 *ram* : *hačā* : *Pārsā* : *adamšām* : *pat*
18 *iyaxšayaiy* : *manā* : *bājim* : *abara* :
19 *tyāšām* : *hačāma* : *abahya* : *ava* : *aku*
20 *nava* : *dātām* : *tya* : *manā* : *avadiš* : *a*
21 *dāraya* : *Māda* : *Ūja* : *Parθava* : *Haraiva* :
22 *Baxtriš* : *Suguda* : *Uvārazmiš*
23 : *Zrāka* : *Haravatiš* : *θataguš* : *Maci*
24 *yā* : *Gadāra* : *Hiduš* : *Sakā* : *haumava*
25 *rgā* : *Sakā* : *tigraxaudā* : *Bābir*
26 *uš* : *Aθurā* : *Arabāya* : *Mudrāya* :
27 *Armīna* : *Katpatuka* : *Sparda* : *Yaun*
28 *ā* : *tyaiy* : *drayahyā* : *uā* : *tyai*
29 *y* : *paradrāya* : *Skudra* : *Putāyā* :
30 *Kūšiyā* : *Karkā* : *θātiy* : *Dāra*
31 *yavauš* : *XŠ* : *vasiy* : *tya* : *duškarta*
32 *m* : *āha* : *ava* : *naibam* : *akunavam* : *da*
33 *hyāva* : *ayauda* : *aniya* : *aniyam* :
34 *aja* : *ava* : *adam* : *akunavam* : *vašnā*
35 : *Auramazdāhā* : *yaθā* : *aniya* : *a*
36 *niyam* : *naiy* : *jatiy* : *cinā* : *gā*
37 *θavā* : *kašciy* : *astiy* : *dātām* :
38 *tya* : *manā* : *hačā* : *avanā* : *tarsati*
39 *y* : *yaθā* : *hya* : *tauviyā* : *tyam* : *s*
40 *kauθim* : *naiy* : *jatiy* : *naiy* : *vi*
41 *mardatiy* : *θātiy* : *Dārayavauš* :

- 42 XŠ : vašnā : Auramazdāhā : *dastaka*
 43 rtam : vasiy : tya : *parwam : naiy*
 44 : gāθavā : kartam : *ava : adam : gāθa*
 45 vā : akunavam : ++++ : *nāma : varda*
 46 nam : didā : *hanatāyā : avagmat*
 47 ā : paruvam : *akartā : hacā : ava*
 48 daša : ā : *pasāva : didām : aniy*
 49 ām : *akunavam : θātiy : Dārayavau*
 50 š : XŠ : *mām : AM : pātuv : hadā : ba*
 51 *gaibiš : utamaiy : viham : u*
 52 tā : *tyamaiy : nipištām*

NOTES TO DSe: For the restoration of this text, see the references in the bibliography.

²¹⁻²⁰ The list of provinces is restored by retranslation from the Akk. version; whether both *Putāyā* and *Kūšiyā* stood in 29-30 depends upon whether the gap at the end of line 21 of the Akk. is adequate to hold both names.

²⁰ *ci[nā]* Kent, JAOS 58.116-7; *ci[tā]* Sen 134. ⁴⁶⁻⁹ The restorations are quite uncertain; but cf. Hinz, ZDMG 95.229-32.

TRANSLATION OF DSe:

§1. 1-7. . . . (= DNa 1-8).

§2. 7-14. . . . (= DNa 8-15).

§3. 14-30. . . . (= DNa 15-24), men of Maka, . . . (= DNa 24-8), Ionians, (those) who are by the sea and (those) who are across the sea, Skudra, Libyans, Ethiopians, Carians.

§4. 30-41. Saith Darius the King: Much which was ill-done, that I made good. Provinces were in commotion; one man was smiting the other. The following I brought about by the favor of Ahuramazda, that the one does not smite the other at all, each one is in his place. My law—that they feel fear, so that the stronger does not smite nor destroy the weak.

§5. 41-9. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda, much handiwork which previously had been put out of its place, that I put in its place. A town by name . . . , (its) wall fallen from age, before this unrepaired—I built another wall (to serve) from that time into the future.

§6. 49-52. Saith Darius the King: Me may Ahuramazda together with the gods protect, and my royal house, and what has been inscribed by me.

DSf = DARIUS, SUSa F.

- 1 *baga : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya : imām : būmim : a*
 2 *dā : hya : avam : asmānam : adā : hya : martiyam : adā*
 3 *hya : šiyātim : adā : martiyahyā : hya : Dāra*
 4 *yavaum : XŠyam : akunauš : aivam : parūnām : XŠ*
 5 *yam : aivam : parūnām : framātāram : adam : Dāra*
 6 *yavauš : XŠ : vazraka : XŠ : XŠyānām : XŠ : DHnām : XŠ*
 7 *ahyāyā : BUyā : Vištāspahyā : puça : Haxāma*
 8 *nišiya : θātiy : Dārayavauš : XŠ : Auramazdā :*
 9 *hya : maθišta : bagānām : hauv : mām : adā : ha*
 10 *w : mām : XŠyam : akunauš : haumaiy : ima : xša*
 11 *çam : frābara : tya : vazrakam : tya : uvaspam : uma*
 12 *rtiyam : vašnā : Auramazdāha : hya : manā : pitā*
 13 *Vištāspa : utā : Aršāma : hya : manā : niyāka :*
 14 *tyā : ubā : ajivatam : yadiy : Auramazdā : mā*
 15 *m : XŠyam : akunauš : ahyāyā : BUyā : Auramazd*
 16 *ām : avatā : kāma : āha : haruvahyāyā : BUyā : mar*
 17 *tiyam : mām : avārnavatā : mām : XŠyam : akunauš :*
 18 *harwahāyā : BUyā : adam : Auramazdām : ayadaiy :*
 19 *Auramazdāmai : upastām : abara : tyamaiy : fram*
 20 *ātam : cartānaiy : ava : ucāramaiy : akunauš : t*
 21 *ya : adam : akunavam : visam : vašnā : Auramazdāha :*
 22 *akunavam : ima : hadiš : tya : Čušāyā : akunavam :*
 23 *hacāciy : dūradaša : arjanamšaiy : abariya : frava*
 24 *ta : BU : akaniya : yātā : adagam : BUyā : avārasam :*
 25 *yatā : katam : abava : pasāva : θikā : avaniya : aniyā :*
 26 *XL : arašaniš : baršnā : aniyā : XX : arašaniš : barš*

- 27 nā ; upariy : avām : ōikām : hadiš : frāsahya
 28 : utā : tya : BU : akaniya : fravata : utā : tya : ōikā :
 29 avaniya : utā : tya : ištīš : aĵaniya : kāra : hya : Bā
 30 biruviya : hauv : akunauš : ōarmiš : hya : nau
 31 caina : hauv : Labanāna : nāma : kaufa : hacā : avanā : aba
 32 riya : kāra : hya : Aθuriya : haudim : abara : yātā :
 33 Bābiraυv : hacā : Bābiraυv : Karkā : utā : Yau
 34 nā : abara : yātā : Čūšāyā : yakā : hacā : Gadārā
 35 : abariya : utā : hacā : Karmānā : daraniyam : hacā
 36 : Spardā : utā : hacā : Bāxtriya : abariya : tya
 37 : idā : akariya : kāsaka : hya : kapautaka : utā : sikab
 38 ruš : hya : idā : karta : hauv : hacā : Sugudā : aba
 39 riya : kāsaka : hya : axšaina : hauv : hacā : Uvāraz
 40 miyā : abariya : hya : idā : karta : ardatam : utā : a
 41 sā : dāruv : hacā : Mudrāyā : abariya : ar
 42 janam : tyanā : didā : pištā : ava : hacā : Yaun
 43 ā : abariya : piruš : hya : idā : karta : hacā : Kūš
 44 ā : utā : hacā : Hidaυv : utā : hacā : Harauvat
 45 iyā : abariya : stūnā : aθaganiya : tyā : id
 46 ā : kartā : Abirāduš : nāma : āvahanam : Ūĵaiy
 47 : hacā : avadaša : abariya : martiyā : karnuvakā : t
 48 yaiy : aθagam : akunavatā : avaiy : Yaunā : utā
 49 : Spardiya : martiyā : dāraniyakarā : tyaiy : daran
 50 iyam : akunavaša : avaiy : Mādā : utā : Mudrāy
 51 ā : martiyā : tyaiy : dāruv : akunavaša : avaiy :
 52 Spardiya : utā : Mudrāyā : martiyā : tyaiy
 53 : agurum : akunavaša : avaiy : Bābiruviy
 54 ā : martiyā : tyaiy : didām : apiθa : avaiy : Mād
 55 ā : utā : Mudrāyā : ōātiy : Dārayavauš : X Š :
 56 Čūšāyā : paruv : frašam : framātam : paruw : fraša
 57 m : āha : mām : Auramazdā : pātuv : utā : V
 58 ištāšpam : hya : manā : pitā : utamaiy : DHum

NOTES TO DSf: The line-division is that of Scheil's tablet a, completed with the evidence of numerous fragments of other copies and that of the Elamite and Akkadian versions. All copies had the same text, except as stated in the note to line 55; there is no basis for the variations given by Brd., WZKM 39.30-9.

¹⁴ tyā König, Burgbau 29; imā Hz. AMI 3.34; but the traces are very faint and indecisive, cf. Kent, JAOS 53.8. ²⁰ Retranslation of Elam. version by Hinz, JNES 9.1-7, because of Elam. *ú-sa-ra-um-mi*, transliteration of OP *ucāramaiy* = *ucāram-maiy*; the Akk. version is here, as often, quite different. ²¹ The Akk. does not warrant *ava* with *visam*; in this phrase, *ava* always precedes, but the OP has no gap at that point. ²⁷ *frāsah[ya]* (passive) is probably better than my *frāsah[m]* (active), JAOS 53.13. ⁴¹ *dāruva* Scheil 21.18, etc., is a better reading than *sāruva*, Hz. ApI 299; but normalize *dāruv*, with Duchesne-Guillemin (*d* certain, according to Duchesne-Guillemin, who inspected the original tablet at the Louvre in 1948); for meaning and normalization, see Lex. s.v. *dāruv*. ⁴² [p]ištā Bv. BSLP 30.1.62-3; [d]ištā Hz.

AMI 3.37. ⁵¹ [dār]uv Hinz, rather than [išmal]uv; see Lex. s.vv.

⁵³ 'Babylonians' here seems to denote 'Ionians resident in Babylonia', cf. König, Burgbau 25; confirmed by the reading of Akk. frag. Y line 9 of obverse (Akk. 21 = OP 30), given by Scheil 24.107. ⁵⁵ Between the text of 55 and that of 56, Scheil's fragment θ indicates the presence of *vašnā Auramazdāha* (JAOS 51.196); but there is no space for it in tablet a. There is also no room for *aita tyā*, inserted here by Hz. AMI 3.38, 3.77. ⁵⁷ [āha] Brd. WZKM 39.36; probably better than *abava*, Kent, JAOS 52.22-3.

TRANSLATION OF DSf:

§1. 1-5. ... (= DNa 1-8).

§2. 5-8. ... (= DSD 1-2).

§3a. 8-12. Saith Darius the King: Ahuramazda, the greatest of the gods—he created me; he made me king; he bestowed upon me this kingdom,

great, possessed of good horses, possessed of good men.

§3b. 12-5. By the favor of Ahuramazda my father Hystaspes and Arsames my grandfather—these both were living when Ahuramazda made me king in this earth.

§3c. 15-8. Unto Ahuramazda thus was the desire: he chose me as (his) man in all the earth; he made me king in all the earth.

§3d. 18-22. I worshipped Ahuramazda. Ahuramazda bore me aid. What was by me commanded to do, that he made successful for me. What I did, all by the favor of Ahuramazda I did.

§3e. 22-7. This palace which I built at Susa, from afar its ornamentation was brought. Downward the earth was dug, until I reached rock in the earth. When the excavation had been made, then rubble was packed down, some 40 cubits in depth, another (part) 20 cubits in depth. On that rubble the palace was constructed.

§3f. 28-30. And that the earth was dug downward, and that the rubble was packed down, and that the sun-dried brick was molded, the Babylonian people—it did (these tasks).

§3g. 30-5. The cedar timber, this—a mountain by name Lebanon—from there was brought. The Assyrian people, it brought it to Babylon; from Babylon the Carians and the Ionians brought it to Susa. The *yakā*-timber was brought from Gandara and from Carmania.

§3h. 35-40. The gold was brought from Sardis and from Bactria, which here was wrought. The precious stone lapis-lazuli and carnelian which was wrought here, this was brought from Sogdiana. The precious stone turquoise, this was brought from Chorasmia, which was wrought here.

§3i. 40-5. The silver and the ebony were brought from Egypt. The ornamentation with which the wall was adorned, that from Ionia was brought. The ivory which was wrought here, was brought from Ethiopia and from Sind and from Arachosia.

§3j. 45-9. The stone columns which were here wrought, a village by name Abiradu, in Elam—from there were brought. The stone-cutters who

wrought the stone, those were Ionians and Sardiens.

§3k. 49-55. The goldsmiths who wrought the gold, those were Medes and Egyptians. The men who wrought the wood, those were Sardiens and Egyptians. The men who wrought the baked brick, those were Babylonians. The men who adorned the wall, those were Medes and Egyptians.

§4. 55-8. Saith Darius the King: At Susa a very excellent (work) was ordered, a very excellent (work) was (brought to completion). Me may Ahuramazda protect, and Hystaspes my father, and my country.

DSg = DARIUS, SUSa G.

- 1 adam : Dārayavauš XŠ : *vazraka* XŠ XŠyānām
XŠ DHnām XŠ ah
2 yāyā BUyā : Vištāspahyā puça Haxāmanišiya
θāt
3 iy : Dārayavauš XŠ viθiyā imā stīnā adam
akunavam

NOTE TO DSg: **viθiyā imā stīnā*] Brd., for which Hinz, ZDMG 95.238, prefers [*imam apadānam*].

TRANSLATION OF DSg:

§1. 1-2. . . . (= Dsd 1-2).

§2. 2-3. Saith Darius the King: In (my) house I made these columns.

DSi = DARIUS, SUSa I.

- 1 adam : Dārayavauš XŠ : *vazraka* : XŠ
XŠyānām : XŠ DHnām : XŠ a
2 hyāyā BUyā : Vištāspahyā : puça :
Haxāmanišiya : θ
3 ātiy : Dārayavauš XŠ : yaθā : AM : mām :
XŠyam : akunauš :
4 ahyāyā BUyā : vašnā : AMha : visam : naibam
: akunavam

NOTE TO DSi: * For restoration, cf. XPg 4, XV 20; but the Akk. does not warrant Brd.'s *visam tya naibam*, WZKM 39.43; cf. XPh 43.

TRANSLATION OF DSi:

§1. 1-2. . . . (= Dsd 1-2).

§2. 2-4. Saith Darius the King: After Ahuramazda made me king in this earth, by the favor of Ahuramazda everything (that) I did (was) good.

DSj = DARIUS, SUSa J.

- 1 adam : Dārayavauš XŠ : *vazraka* XŠ XŠyānām : XŠ ahyāyā BUyā : Vištāspahyā :
2 puça : Haxāmanišiya : θātiy : Dārayavauš XŠ : ima : tya : adam : akunavam :
3 parwiyaθā : naiy : akunavam : yaθā : AMhā : framānā : āha : avathā : akunava

4 *m* : *mām* : AM : dauštā : āha : tya : akunavam : avamaiy : visam : ucāram : āha : θā
 5 *tīy* : Dārayavauš XŠ : vašnā AMhā : hya : ima : hadiš : vainātiy : tya : manā : ka
 6 *rtam* : visahyā : frašam : θadayātaiy : mām : AM : pātūw : utamaiy : DHum

NOTES TO DSj: ³ [paruw]iyabā naiy 'nicht in einem einzigen Anhieb' Brd.; [aparuw]iyabā naiy 'wie nie zuvor' Hz. ApI 103; [++++]iyabā naiy 'nicht planlos' Hinz, ZDMG 95.240-1. ⁶ frašam θadayā[taiy] Hz., as in DSa 5, q.v.; frašta θadayā[naiy] Scheil, supported by Hinz, ZDMG 95.224.

TRANSLATION OF DSj:

§1. 1-2. ... (= Dsd 1-2, with an omission).
 §2. 2-4. Saith Darius the King: That which I did, I did not do at first attempt. As was Ahuramazda's command, so I did. Unto me Ahuramazda was a friend; what I did, all that was successful for me.
 §3. 4-6. Saith Darius the King: By the favor of Ahuramazda, to every one who shall see this palace which has been built by me, may it seem excellent. Me may Ahuramazda protect, and my country.

DSk = DARIUS, SUSA K.

1 adam : Dārayavauš : XŠ : vazraka : XŠ : XŠy
 2 ānām : XŠ : DHnām : Vištāspahyā :

DSm = DARIUS, SUSA M.

1 adam : Dārayavauš : XŠ : vazraka : XŠ : XŠyānam :
 2 XŠ : DHnām : Vištāspahyā : puça : Haxāmanišiya :
 3 θātiy : Dārayavauš : XŠ : AMmai : xšaçam : frābara :
 4 tya : vazrakam : tya : umartiyam : mām : xšyābiyam :
 5 ahyāyā : būmīyā : akunauš : vašnā : AMhā : imā : dah
 6 yāwa : tyaišām : adam : xšyābiya : abavam : Pārsa :
 7 Ūja : Bābiruš : Athurā : Arabāya : Mudrāya : Sparda :
 8 Yauna : Māda : Armina : Katpatuka : Parθava : Zraka :
 9 Haraiva : Uvārazmiš : Bāxtriš : Suguda : Galāra :
 10 θataguš : Harawatiš : Hiduš : Skudra : Yawnā : taka
 11 barā :

NOTE TO DSm: The reconstructed text of Brd. WZKM 39.55-8 is here given, despite inconsistencies in the use of the ideograms.

TRANSLATION OF DSm:

§1. 1-2. I am ... (= DPa 1-5).
 §2. 3-11. Saith Darius the King: Ahuramazda bestowed upon me the kingdom, great, possessed of good men; he made me king in this earth. By the favor of Ahuramazda these are the countries of which I became king: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Sardis, Ionia, Media, Ar-

3 puça : Haxāmanišiya : θātiy : Dā
 4 rayavauš : XŠ : manā : AM : AMha : adam : AMm :
 5 ayadaiy : AMmai : upastām : baratuv

TRANSLATION OF DSk:

§1. 1-3. I am ... (= DPa 1-5).
 §2. 3-5. Saith Darius the King: Ahuramazda is mine, I am Ahuramazda's. I worshipped Ahuramazda; may Ahuramazda bear me aid.

DSl = DARIUS, SUSA L.

1 θātiy : Dārayavauš : x
 2 ššyaθiya : vašnā : Aura
 3 mazdāha : tya : amaniyai
 4 y : kunavānaiy : avamai
 5 y : visam : ucāram : āha :

TRANSLATION OF DSl: Saith Darius the King:

By the favor of Ahuramazda, what I thought I will do, all that was successful for me.

menia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandara, Sattagydia, Arachosia, Sind, Skudra, petasos-wearing Ionians, ...

DSn = DARIUS, SUSA N.

1 imam : patikaram : Dārayavauš : XŠ : niyaštāya : cartanāya : +++ ...
 2 ... +++ na : Dārayavaum : XŠyam : AM : pātūw : utā : tya : kartam

TRANSLATION OF DSn: This sculpture Darius the King commanded to make; ... Darius the

