

- 11 *iyam* : Өataguiya
 12 *iyam* : Gadāraya :
 13 *iyam* : Hiduya
 14 *iyam* : Sakā : haumavargā :
 15 *iyam* : Sakā : tigraxaudā :
 16 *iyam* : Bābiruš :
 17 *iyam* : Aθuriya
 18 *iyam* : Arabāya
 19 *iyam* : Mudrāya
 20 *iyam* : Arminiya
 21 *iyam* : Katpatuka :
 22 *imay* : Spardiya
 23 *iyam* : Yaunā :
 24 *iyam* : Sakā : paradraiya :
 25 *iyam* : Skudra :
 26 *iyam* : Yauna : takabarā :
 27 *iyam* : Putāya :
 28 *iyam* : Kūšāya
 29 *iyam* : Maciya
 30 *iyam* : Karka :

NOTES TO A²P: ¹¹ Өataguiya Smith, Hz.; if correct, for Өataguiya; or a wrong writing for Өatagudaya or Өatagudīya, cf. Gk. Σατταγιδαι. ¹⁴ There is an extra vertical hasta between the g^a and the a in haumavargā. ²² im^ag^a, miswritten for iy^am^a.

TRANSLATION OF A²P:

1. This is the Persian. 2. This is the Mede. 3. This is the Elamite. 4. This is the Parthian. [5-7. This is the Arian, the Bactrian, the Sogdian.] 8. This is the Chorasmian. 9. This is the Drangian. 10. This is the Arachosian.

11. This is the Sattagyidian. 12. This is the Gandarian. 13. This is the man of Sind. 14. This is the Amyrgian Scythian. 15. This is the Pointed-Cap Scythian. 16. This is the Babylonian. 17. This is the Assyrian. 18. This is the Arab. 19. This is the Egyptian. 20. This is the Armenian.

21. This is the Cappadocian. 22. This is the Sardinian. 23. This is the Ionian. 24. This is the Scythian across the sea. 25. This is the Skudrian. 26. This is the Petasos-Wearing Ionian. 27. This is the Libyan. 28. This is the Ethiopian. 29. This is the man of Maka. 30. This is the Carian.

A³Pa = ARTAXERXES III, PERSEPOLIS A, B, C, D.

- 1 baga : vazraka : Auramazdā : hya :
 2 imām : būmām : adā : hya : a
 3 vam : asmānām : adā : hya : marti
 4 yam : adā : hya : šayātām : adā : mart
 5 ihyā : hya : mām : Artaxšačā : xšāya
 6 θiya : akunauš : aivam : parūvnām :

- 7 xšāyaθiyam : aivam : parūvnām
 8 : framatāram : θātiy : Artaxšačā :
 9 xšāyaθiya : vazraka : xšāyaθiya
 10 : xšāyaθiyanām : xšāyaθiya :
 11 DHyūnām : xšāyaθiya : ahyāyā : BUyā : ada
 12 m : Artaxšačā : xšāya
 13 θiya : puça : Artaxšačā : Darayavau
 14 š : xšāyaθiya : puça : Dārayavauš : A
 15 rtaxšačā : xšāyaθiya : puça : Artaxša
 16 čā : Xšayāršā : xšāyaθiya : puça : X
 17 šayāršā : Dārayavauš : xšāyaθ
 18 iya : puça : Dārayavauš : Vⁱštāspha
 19 hyā : nāma : puça : Vⁱštāspahyā :
 20 Aršāma : nāma : puça : Haxāmanišī
 21 ya : θātiy : Artaxšačā : xšāyaθi
 22 ya : imam : ustašanām : aθaganām : mām
 23 m : upā : mām : kartā : θātiy : Arta
 24 xšačā : xšāyaθiya : mām : Auramazdā :
 25 utā : M^θra : бага : pātuv : utā : imā
 26 m : DHyaum : utā : tya : mām : kartā :

NOTES TO A³Pa: The text is arranged according to the line-divisions of copy a, with faithful representation of all orthographic errors; all four copies have identical orthography, though the line-divisions vary somewhat. ¹² The translation of lines 12-20 is intended to show the anacoluthic use of the nominative forms; the passage is obviously intended to convey the same ideas as A²Pa 1-3. ²³ For upā mām 'in my time' (here emphatic, only, as it is otiose), cf. A²Pa 4 [u]pā Arta[žšačām] 'in the time of Artaxerxes'.

TRANSLATION OF A³Pa:

§1. 1-8. ... (= DNa 1-4), who made me, Artaxerxes, king, ... (= DNa 6-8).

§2. 8-21. ... (= A²Pa 1): I am the son (of) Artaxerxes the King, (of) Artaxerxes (who was) the son (of) Darius the King, (of) Darius (who was) the son (of) Artaxerxes the King, (of) Artaxerxes (who was) the son (of) Xerxes the King, (of) Xerxes (who was) the son (of) Darius the King, (of) Darius (who was) the son of Hystaspes by name, of Hystaspes (who was) the son (of) Arsames by name, an Achaemenian.

§3. 21-3. Saith Artaxerxes the King: This stone staircase was built by me in my time.

§4. 23-6. Saith Artaxerxes the King: Me may Ahuramazda and the god Mithras protect, and this country, and what was built by me.

INSCRIPTIONS ON WEIGHTS.

Wa = DARIUS, WEIGHT A.

- 1 II karšā
 2 adam : Dāra

- 3 yavauš : xš
 4 āyaθiya : va
 5 zraka : Viš
 6 tāspahyā
 7 : puça : Hax
 8 āmanišiya

TRANSLATION OF Wa: II (units) by weight. ...
 (= Wb 1-2, 7-9):

Wb = DARIUS, WEIGHT B.

- 1 adam : Dārayavauš : x
 2 šāyaθiya : vazraka : x
 3 šāyaθiyā : xšāyaθ
 4 iyānām : xšāyaθ
 5 iya : dahyūnām : xš
 6 āyaθiya : ahyāyā
 7 : būmiyā : Vištā
 8 spahyā : puça : Haxā
 9 manišiya

TRANSLATION OF Wb: ... (= DSf 5-8).

Wc = DARIUS, WEIGHT C.

- 1 CXX karšayā
 2 adam : Dārayavauš : x
 3 šāyaθiya : vazrakā : x
 4 šāyaθiya : xšāyaθ
 5 iyānām : xšāyaθ
 6 iya : dahyūnām : x
 7 šāyaθiya : ahyāy
 8 ā : būmiyā : Višt
 9 āspahyā : puça : Hax
 10 āmanišiya

TRANSLATION OF Wc: CXX (units) in weight.
 ... (= Wb 1-9).

Wd = DARIUS, WEIGHT D.

- 1 LX karšayā
 2 adam : Dārayavauš :
 3 xšāyaθiya : vazraka :
 4 xšāyaθiya : xšāyaθ
 5 iyānām : xšāyaθ
 6 iya : dahyūnām : xš
 7 āyaθiya : ahyāyā
 8 : būmiyā : Vištā
 9 spahyā : puça : Hax
 10 āmanišiya

TRANSLATION OF Wd: LX (units) in weight.
 ... (= Wb 1-9).

INSCRIPTIONS ON SEALS

SDa = DARIUS, SEAL A: adam : Darayavauš Xš

SDb = DARIUS, SEAL B: adam : Dārayavauš

SXa = XERXES, SEAL A: 1 Xšayāršā
 2 : Xš : vazraka

SXb = XERXES, SEAL B: 1 adam : Xšay
 2 āršā : Xš

SXc = XERXES, SEAL C: 1 adam : Xšayāršā : Xš
 2

Sa = SEAL A: 1 Arša 5 yāba
 2 ka : n 6 ušna
 3 āma : 7 hyā :
 4 Āθi 8 puça

Sb = SEAL B: 1 Hadaxaya
 2
 3 θadaθa : ...

Sc = SEAL C: Vašdāsaka

Sd = SEAL D: Vahyav'išdāpaya

Se = SEAL E: 1 ma : Xa 2 rša 3 dašyā

Sf = SEAL F: 1 upā 2 Arta 3 xšaç 4 ām

NOTES: Se: For Justi's reading *Xišyāršā*, see Lex. s.v. *Xaršadašyā*. Sf: There is no word-divider after *upā*.

TRANSLATION OF THE SEALS:

SDa: I (am) Darius the King.

SDb: I (am) Darius.

SXa: Xerxes the Great King.

SXb-c: I (am) Xerxes the King.

Sa: Arshaka by name, son of Athiyabaushna.

Sb-e: ???

Sf: Under Artaxerxes.

VASE INSCRIPTIONS.

XVs = XERXES, VASE:
 Xšayāršā : Xš : vazraka

AVsa = ARTAXERXES, VASE A:
 : Ardaxcašca : Xš : vazraka

AVsb-d = ARTAXERXES, VASES B, C, D:
 Artaxšaçā : xšāyaθiya

TRANSLATION:

XVs: Xerxes the Great King.

AVsa: Artaxerxes the Great King.

AVsb-d: Artaxerxes the King.

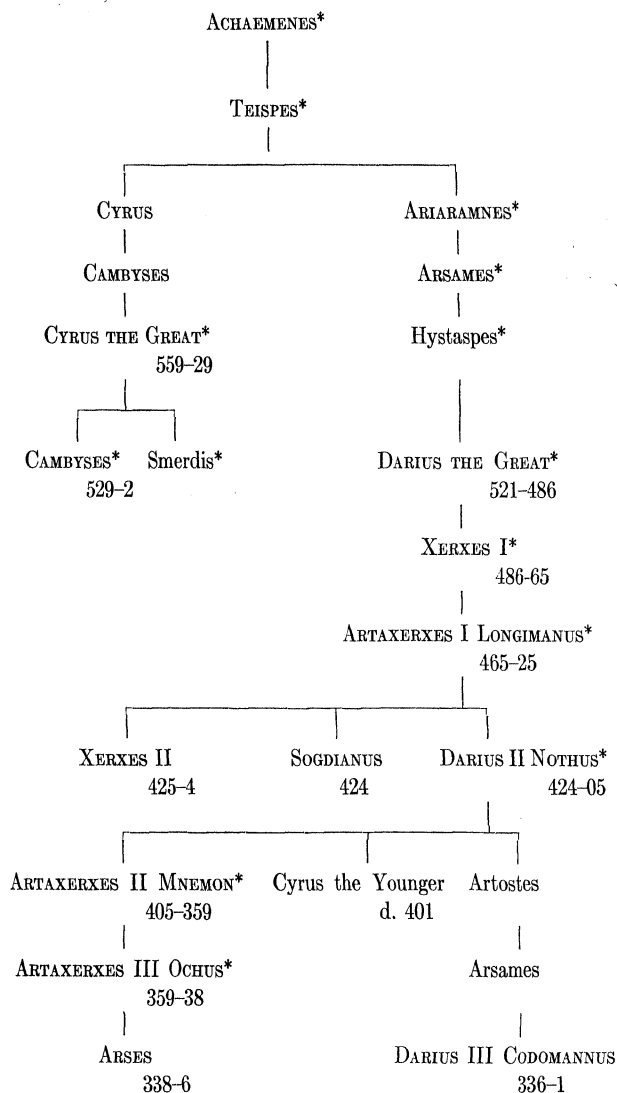
HISTORICAL APPENDIX

I. THE ACHAEMENIAN DYNASTY

Darius and the other Persian Kings who left us cuneiform inscriptions composed in Old Persian, all belonged to the Achaemenian line, so called because they were descended from Achaemenes. Full information may be found in PW 1.200-204 s.v. Achaimenidai, and under the names of the individual persons; a complete gene-

alogical table is given by PW facing 1.192. A table of the most important Achaemenians is given here; the names of the kings are in large and small capitals, with the dates of their reigns, and an asterisk marks those Achaemenians who are named in the Old Persian inscriptions.

Darius, in Behistan §4, and again in Behistan



a, states that there had been eight kings in their family before him, and that he was the ninth in order. We must count them thus: 1 Achaemenes, 2 Teispes, 3 Cyrus, 4 Cambyses, 5 Cyrus the Great, 6 Cambyses, 7 Ariaramnes, 8 Arsames, 9 Darius. The last three belong to the younger line of Ariaramnes, while Nos. 3 to 6 belong to the line of Teispes' older son. Hystaspes father of Darius is not included in the count, because he nowhere receives the title of King, even when mentioned as father of Darius—whereas the other kings all give to their fathers the title King in statements of parentage.

Herodotus 7.11, however, gives Darius' line thus: Achaemenes, Teispes, Cambyses, Cyrus, Teispes, Ariaramnes, Arsames, Hystaspes, Darius: in which Darius is the ninth. But Darius surely knew his own genealogy better than did Herodotus. Herodotus either has a dittographic error made in copying from a list covering both branches, or erroneously looked upon Cambyses and Cyrus as ancestors of Darius and inserted Teispes the second time to make the list agree with the known fact that the father of Ariaramnes was named Teispes.

There are other accounts also, different in important respects. Thus Nicolaus Damascenus, who is supposed to have used the Persica of Ctesias, states that Cyrus the Great was not an Achaemenian by birth, but a person of lowly origin who gained favor with Cambyses and eventually rebelled against him and overthrew him; see

C. J. Ogden's translation of Nicolaus' account, in *Dastur Hosang Memorial Volume* 465–81 (Bombay 1918).

All the accounts, literary and inscriptional, are presented and evaluated by Weissbach in *PW*, Suppl.-Bd. 4.1132–44, s.v. Kyros. His conclusions are as follows: Of the sons of Teispes, Ariaramnes was king in Persis (then called *Parsua*) and Cyrus I was king in the city (or district?) Anshan, lying between Persis and Elam, or possibly farther north, between Persis and Media. On coming to the throne of Anshan, Cyrus II found Arsames ruling in *Parsua*, and shortly deposed him, himself becoming now king in *Parsua*, later called *Pārsa*. Arsames, however, was not put to death, but (as the OP inscriptions tell us) lived on until after his grandson Darius got the throne of the Persian Empire. Thus Hystaspes never was king, and is not counted among the nine Achaemenian kings. Cyrus II thereafter conquered Media and added it to his dominions, and then extended his conquests in all directions. But he did belong by ancestry to the Achaemenian line; one can hardly brand him as a rank outsider.

Possibly Ctesias' story, as repeated by Nicolaus Damascenus, originated in the line of Darius as a means of discrediting the line of Cyrus and of justifying Darius in his seizure of the imperial power. The particular occasion might well be the unsuccessful revolt of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes II, whom Ctesias served as personal physician. Cf. *JAOS* 66.211 (1946).

II. SMERDIS AND GAUMATA

According to Behistan §10–§13, Cambyses son of Cyrus killed his full-brother Smerdis, with such secrecy that his death was not known to the people; he then invaded Egypt. While he was on this expedition, rebellions developed in Persia and in Media and elsewhere. Notably a Magian named Gaumata headed the rebels, claiming to be Smerdis son of Cyrus, and he gained the kingship in all the rebellious territory. Cambyses, still in Egypt, committed suicide.

Gaumata started his rebellion in XII 14 of 523/2, and received the adherence of the Empire on IV 9 of 522/1. But Darius, a distant cousin of Cambyses, knowing that Gaumata was not the real Smerdis, with the aid of a few men fought with and slew Gaumata and his chief followers, on

VII 10 of the same year, at Sikayauvati, a fortress in Nisaya, a district of Media. Thereafter Darius became King.

Herodotus tells the same story at much greater length, in Book 3, chapters 1–38, 61–88. Cambyses invaded Egypt (chap. 1), and the reasons for the invasion and the course of the campaign are given (1–26). At Memphis he inflicted a fatal wound on the sacred bull which was worshipped as the God Apis (27–9), and thereupon lost his reason. Jealous of his brother Smerdis's prowess with the great bow which had come from the Ichthyophagi, he sent Smerdis back to Persia, and then, after a dream which betokened that Smerdis would supplant him, he sent his henchman Prexaspes to murder him secretly, which he did (30–8), esp. 30.

The Magus Patizeithes had been left by Cambyses as managing steward of his palace at Susa, and he was one of the few who knew of the death of Smerdis. He had himself a brother who greatly resembled Smerdis in appearance, and, says Herodotus, this brother's name was also Smerdis. Patizeithes put his brother Smerdis on the throne, under the pretense that he was Smerdis son of Cyrus and brother of Cambyses. The false Smerdis, by not admitting to his presence any one who had known the true Smerdis, successfully concealed his true identity for some time (61-2). But the news reached Cambyses in Egypt, and he knew the truth, because Prexaspes assured him that he had slain the real Smerdis. Resolved to fight the usurper, he leaped upon his horse to lead his army back to Susa, but as he did so he accidentally struck the point of his sword into his thigh, and from the wound he died (63-6). Thus the false Smerdis ruled for some months; but a Persian

nobleman, Otanes son of Pharnaspes, suspecting his identity, managed by a ruse to prove it to himself (67-9), and secured the help of five other trusted noblemen, to whom there was added Darius, who had come to Susa from his father Hystaspes, governor of Persia (70; see App. III). Darius insisted on immediate action against the two Magi (71-3). Helped by the confusion following the public confession of Prexaspes that he had murdered the true Smerdis, and by his suicide, the seven men burst into the presence of the two Magi and slew them (74-9). They then agreed upon a method of selecting one of their number to hold the throne, and Darius, aided by the trickery of his groom Oebares, was the winner (80-8).

The two accounts, it will be seen, agree in the main features, but differ considerably in the details. Herodotus' story has clearly entered into the field of historical romance. See also PW 3A.710-2, s.v. Smerdis.

III. THE HELPERS OF DARIUS

The names of the six Persian noblemen who cooperated with Darius in slaying Gaumata the false Smerdis, are given in Behistan §68 and in Herodotus 3.70; there is agreement in the names of the first five:

| Behistan | Herodotus |
|--|-----------------------------|
| <i>Vīdāfarnā</i> son of <i>Vāyasparā</i> | Intaphernes |
| <i>Utāna</i> son of <i>Ōuxra</i> | Otanes son of Pharnaspes |
| <i>Gaubarwa</i> son of <i>Marduñiya</i> | Gobryas |
| <i>Vidarna</i> son of <i>Bagābigna</i> | Hydarnes |
| <i>Bagabuxša</i> son of <i>Dātawahya</i> | Megabyzus |
| <i>Arhumaniš</i> son of <i>Vahauka</i> | Aspathines |

Herodotus, it will be seen, differs from the Behistan account in the name of the father of

Utāna-Otanes; but he gives (7.82) Mardonius, the general in the third invasion of Greece, as son of Gobryas, which indicates agreement as to the name of Gobryas's father. But Megabyzus son of Zopyrus (7.82) may or may not be the Behistan Bagabuxša son of Datuvahya, or his grandson. Herodotus does, in fact, mention all six of the helpers of Darius in passages outside 3.68-88, in passages which may be found in any Index Nominum Propriorum to the text of Herodotus.

The Behistan inscription mentions *Vidarna* again in §25, as defeating one of Phraortes' armies in Media; *Vīdāfarnā* in §50, as defeating the rebels at Babylon; *Gaubarwa* in §71, as crushing the last revolt of the Elamites.

IV. THE PERSIAN CALENDAR AND BEHISTAN I-IV

In Behistan 4.4, Darius states that the 19 battles recorded by him in the first three columns of the inscription, with the attendant capture of 9 usurpers, took place *hamahyāyā θarda* 'in one and the same year'. For eighteen of the battles dates are given in the Persian calendar, with translation into the Elamite and the Akkadian. The difficulty has been to arrange these dates within one year, beginning with the killing of Gaumata, the false Smerdis; for the order of the months in the Persian

calendar, and in the other calendars, was by no means certain. Now, however, with evidence from additional Akkadian and Elamite tablets which have no Old Persian version, Arno Poebel has succeeded in reconstructing the lists of months, as follows:¹

¹ AJSLL 55.139-42. The Persian calendar has been the subject of many studies, but Poebel's studies have supplanted them all: ALSLL 55.130-65, 285-314, 56.121-45. Cf. also Hinz, ZDMG 96.326-31.

| Old Persian | Elamite | Akkadian | Equivalent |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 1 <i>Adukanaiša</i> | <i>Ḥadukannaš</i> | <i>Nisabbu</i> | Mch.- Apr. |
| 2 <i>Ūrawāhara</i> | <i>Turmār</i> | <i>Aiīāru</i> | Apr.- May |
| 3 <i>Ōāigarciš</i> | <i>Sākurrišiš</i> | <i>Simannu</i> | May- June |
| 4 <i>Garmapada</i> | <i>Karmabadaš</i> | <i>Du'ūzu</i> | June- July |
| 5 | <i>Turnabašiš</i> | <i>Ābu</i> | July- Aug. |
| 6 | <i>Qarbaši(ia)š</i> | <i>Ulūlu</i> | Aug.- Spt. |
| 7 <i>Bāgayādiš</i> | <i>Baḡiātiš</i> | <i>Tašritu</i> | Spt.- Oct. |
| 8 * <i>Varkazana</i> | <i>Marqašanaš</i> | <i>Araḥsamna</i> | Oct.- Nov. |
| 9 <i>Āciyādiya</i> | <i>Ḥaššiāti(ia)š</i> | <i>Kištīmu</i> | Nov.- Dec. |
| 10 <i>Anāmaka</i> | <i>Ḥanāmakaš</i> | <i>Ṭebētu</i> | Dec.- Jan. |
| 11 | <i>Sami(ia)maš</i> | <i>Šabātu</i> | Jan.- Feb. |
| 12 <i>Viyaxna</i> | <i>Mi(ia)kannaš</i> | <i>Addāru</i> | Feb.- Mch. |

became King, but at the very outset his rule was contested by Ačina in Elam, and by Nidintu-Bel (claiming to be Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabonidus) in Babylon, who were recognized as King each in his locality. But Ačina did not last long; Darius, after organizing the government in Media and Persia, gathered an army of Medes and Persians and marched toward Babylon, passing near Elam. As he passed he sent orders to the Elamites, and in terror they seized Ačina and brought him in fetters to Darius, who slew him (§17).

Darius with his army went on toward Babylon against Nidintu-Bel (§18), and in his absence from Media and Persia several rebellions started (§21)—some perhaps started earlier, but news of them did not reach Darius before he had set out against Nidintu-Bel: (a) that of Vahyazdata in Persia, with the adherence of Sattagydia and perhaps of a faction in Arachosia (§45); (b) that of Martiya in Elam; (c) that of Phraortes in Media, with the adherence of Armenia (§26), of Assyria, and of Parthia, including Hyrcania (§35); (d) that of Frada in Margiana; (e) that of Egypt; (f) that of Skunkha in Scythia (§21).

Darius came upon Nidintu-Bel and his army at the Tigris, forced the crossing, and defeated him in IX 26 (§18), and though Nidintu-Bel rallied his forces and took the offensive, again defeated him at Zazana on the Euphrates, X 2 (§19); he pursued him and his few remaining horsemen to Babylon, took that city and Nidintu-Bel with it, and put the rebel to death (§20).

Meanwhile events were progressing elsewhere. Against Frada, who had made himself ruler of Margiana, Darius had sent Dadarshi, a Persian officer who was governor of the neighboring province of Bactria, with his local forces, and Dadarshi won a decisive victory on IX 23 (§38), restoring Darius's rule in Margiana (§39).

Phraortes, claiming to be Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares, had made himself king of a great part of the Empire (§24). Darius's first step was to send Vaumisa, a Persian officer, against the rebels in Armenia; he must have sent Vaumisa early in the Babylonian campaign, for Vaumisa, on the way north, was met by the rebels at Izala in Assyria, on X 15. What forces Vaumisa had at his disposal is not stated, but no mention is made of sending troops with him; presumably he gathered up loyal troops on the way. By this battle Vaumisa

The narrative of the revolts, however, is not given in temporal sequence in Columns I-III, but rather in a geographical order conditioned by the order in which the rebellious provinces are named in §22: Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Scythia. If we should reduce the story to a more easily intelligible pattern, it would be as follows:

After Cambyses, son of Cyrus the Great, secretly slew his full-brother Smerdis and went on the expedition to conquer Egypt, uprisings against his rule took place in Persia and in Media and elsewhere (§10). Notably a Magian named Gaumata led the revolt, claiming to be Smerdis, whose death was known to but few; he started his revolt on XII 14 of 523/2, and received the adherence of the entire Empire, becoming King on IV 9 of 522/1.² Cambyses died by his own hand, either intentionally or accidentally, in Egypt soon after hearing of Gaumata's revolt (§11).

Three months later Darius and his associates killed Gaumata and his chief followers at Sikayauvati in Media, on VII 10 of 522/1. Thereby Darius

² The months will be indicated by Roman numerals.

drove the rebels back into Armenia, where he fought a second battle with them some months later (§30; see below).

Although the force of Medes and Persians which Darius had with him in Babylonia was small, he had been obliged, at an early date, probably not much after the battle at the Tigris, to send Hydarnes, a Persian officer, with a strong force against Phraortes in Media. Hydarnes met an army of Phraortes (but not Phraortes himself) in battle at Maru in Media, and fought a battle on X 27; but it seems to have been indecisive, for thereafter Hydarnes waited for the arrival of Darius and his army from Babylonia (§25).

Parthia and the neighboring district of Hyrcania had both gone over to Phraortes, but Darius's father Hystaspes was in command of the army in Parthia, and the army remained loyal. In a battle at Vishpauzati, on XII 22, Hystaspes fought the rebels, but the victory was not decisive.

After the death of Nidintu-Bel at Babylon, Darius set forth for Media against Phraortes (§31). His march took him near Elam, where a Persian named Martiya had set himself up as King under the name of Imanish. At the approach of Darius the Elamites were terrified, and seized Martiya and killed him (§22-§23).³ Darius now sent a force of Persians and Medes under Artavardiya, a Persian officer, against Vahyazdata, who had made himself King in Persia; he himself, with the rest of the Persian force, went on into Media (§41) and at Kunduru was attacked by Phraortes himself and his army, on I 25, 521/0 (§31). Phraortes' army was routed; he himself escaped with a few horsemen, but was overtaken and captured at Raga, and mutilated and put to death with torture at Ecbatana (§32). From Raga Darius sent a force of Persians to reinforce Hystaspes in Parthia (§36).

Hereupon a Sagartian named Ciçantakhma, perhaps commander of local forces that had ad-

³ Poebel, *AJSLL* 55.154, sets the undated killing of Martiya after the death of Phraortes, because in the sculptured line of captives on the Behistan Rock the order is Gaumata, Aqina, Nidintu-Bel, Phraortes, Martiya, Ciçantakhma, Vahyazdata, Arkha, Frada. I reject this interpretation of the series of sculptures, since it would oblige us to set the death of Frada at the very end of the series, dating his defeat not IX 23, 522/1, but IX 23, 521/0, and thus extending the series of events from 13 months 12 days to 14 months 13 days.

hered to Phraortes, declared himself King in Sagartia, a district of northern Media; he claimed to be of the family of Cyaxares. Darius sent a force of Medes and Persians under Takhmaspada, a Median officer, who defeated and captured Ciçantakhma, bringing him to Darius. Darius mutilated him and put him to death with torture, at Arbela (§33). Thus ended rebellion in Media (§34); but there was still a strong rebel force in Armenia, against which Darius sent an Armenian officer named Dadarshi. Dadarshi, thrice attacked by the rebels, defeated them successively at Zuzaya on II 8 (§26), at Tigra on II 18 (§27), and at Uyama on III 9, whereafter he waited for Darius to come and make final governmental dispositions (§28). This third battle by Dadarshi was only nine days after Vaumisa in a second engagement beat off the other force of Armenian rebels in the district of Autiyara, on II 30; after which he also awaited Darius's arrival (§30). There was no further fighting in Armenia.

Hystaspes, reinforced in Parthia by the Persians whom Darius had sent to him from Raga, sought out the rebel army and crushed it at Patigrabana, on IV 1 (§36). This restored Darius's rule in Parthia.

While Darius was in Babylon, one Vahyazdata, a Persian, claiming to be Smerdis son of Cyrus, had revolted and made himself King of Persia (§40). Apparently confident in his own position, he had sent a force east to Arachosia,⁴ against the Persian governor Vivana, who had remained loyal to Darius; but Vivana beat off the rebels at Kapishakani, on X 13 (§45). The rebels again attacked at Gandutava on XII 7, and here were decisively defeated (§46); their commander and a few horsemen escaped, but were overtaken and captured at Arshada by Vivana, who put them to death (§47).

Vahyazdata in Persia had a few months of undisturbed rule, but this was ended by the approach of Artavardiya, sent by Darius on his way to Media, with a force of Persians and Medes. Vahyazdata attacked Artavardiya at Rakha on II 12 (§41), and again near Mt. Parga on IV 5. In the second battle Vahyazdata and his chief followers were taken prisoner (§42); they were handed over to Darius at the Persian town of

⁴ I regard the revolt in Sattagydia (§22) as to be included under the events in Arachosia (§45-§47).

Uvadaicaya, and Darius executed them with torture (§43). Darius was now back in Persia, which had been restored to his rule (§44), as well as the other rebellious territories except Egypt and Scythia. It was not quite nine months since he had slain the usurper Gaumata.

But while Darius was putting down the rebellions in Media and in Persia, an Armenian named Arkha, claiming to be Nebuchadrezzar son of Nabonidus, had established himself as King in Babylon (§49). Against him Darius sent a Persian officer named Intaphernes with an army, and Intaphernes routed Arkha and his forces on VIII 22, capturing and executing at Babylon both Arkha and his chief officers (§50).

This is the latest event related in the first three

columns of the Behistan inscription, 13 months and 12 days after the death of Gaumata; the time does not seriously exceed the one year which Darius boastfully mentions in Column IV.

Column V gives an account of a third rebellion in Elam, under Atamaita; against him Gobryas was sent with an army by Darius, and he defeated and captured him, bringing him to Darius, who put him to death (§71). The date of this rebellion seems to be in the third year of Darius' reign, 520/19,⁵ though the Behistan text is here badly mutilated. After this rebellion in Elam Darius went to Scythia and defeated and captured Skunkha (§74). The reconquest of Egypt, though not mentioned in the Behistan inscription, must have followed in the same or the next year.⁶

V. THE ACCESSION OF XERXES.

In XPf, Xerxes gives us an account of his succession to the throne: Darius had a number of sons, but—as was Ahuramazda's desire—he made Xerxes (presumably not his eldest son, though this is not stated in the inscription) the 'greatest after himself;' and when Darius 'went from the throne,' Xerxes—as was Ahuramazda's desire—became king on the throne of his father.

The account given by Herodotus 7.1-4 agrees with this, but gives more details: After Darius received the news that his forces had been defeated at Marathon and somewhat later that Egypt had risen in rebellion, he started preparations for one campaign against the Athenians and another against the Egyptians. At this time there was a dispute between Artobazanes, eldest son of Darius by his first wife, a daughter of Gobryas, and Xerxes, eldest son of Darius by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus the Great, whom Darius had married

after his accession to the throne, as to which should have the succession. On the advice of Damaratus, exiled king of Sparta, Xerxes went to his father and pressed his claim on the ground that he was the oldest son of Darius the King, while Artobazanes was only the oldest son of Darius the private individual. Darius approved the claim, though perhaps the argument was not really needed (Atossa as daughter of Cyrus must have had great influence with Darius, and Xerxes was probably the ablest of Darius's sons), and named Xerxes to succeed him. Before he had finished the preparations for the campaigns, Darius died; whereupon Xerxes ascended to his father's throne.

⁵ Kent, JNES 2.109-10 ; cf. R. A. Parker, *AJSL* 53.373-7.

⁶ Parker, *l.c.*

PART III. LEXICON

This Lexicon includes a concordance to the words in the inscriptions, as well as materials for etymological comparison.

The alphabetic order is *ā ī ū k x g c j t θ ç d n p f b m y r l v s š z h*, while final *y* and *v* are disregarded (thus *naiy* has the alphabetic place of *nai*, and precedes *naiba-*). Raised letters inserted to show sounds omitted in the OP system of writing also have no effect on the alphabetic order.

References to Part I (the Grammar) are marked by §; they include all mentions of the word or form which add to the information given in the Lexicon, but are not in all instances complete listings. The Chapter on Syntax is only sparingly referred to in this Lexicon, since the citations in that Chapter are mostly for passages rather than for words; there is an Index of Passages at the end of the Chapter.

ā adv. as prefix and prep. 'to': Av. Skt. *ā*, prep. with acc. and abl., 'to, as far as' (also with other uses and meanings); pIE **ā* if = Lt. *ā* 'from' (Sturtevant, Lg. 15.145-54), or **ō* if = Gk. *ὠ*- in *ὠ-κεανός* '(lying round about), ocean'.

(1) Prefix with verbs *ay-*, *xšaw-*, *gam-*, *grab-*, *jan-*, *bar-*, *mā-*, *yam-*; in verbal nouns *āyadana-*, *āvahana-*, and in the second parts of compounds *Āθiyābaušna-*, *Ariyāramna-*, *Bagābigna-*, also in *Ākaufaciya-*.

(2) Postposition attached to loc. sg. and pl. (§270.IV) and in conj. *yadā*.

(3) Prep. with abl.: *yātā ā* 'as far as', DPh 6, 7; DH 5, 6.

(4) Prep. with adv.: DSe 48.

¹ *a*- neg. prefix before consonants (§67, §67.I, §132.I; *an-* antevocalic, q.v.): Av. Skt. *a-*, Gk. *α-*, Lt. *in-*, Gmc. *un-*, pIE **u-*. See *aharta-*, *azšaina-*, *azšata-*, *Anāmaka-*, *ayaumani-*.

² *a*- demonst. 'this': Av. *a-* as in GAv. gsm. *ahē*, Skt. *a-* as in gsm. *asyā*, Gk. Isn. *ei* 'if', Lt. nsm. **ed* in *ecce* 'lo'; pIE **e-*. See also *acyi*, *ada-*. Decl., §199.

anā ism. DPe 8 (not to Av. Skt. *ana-*, cf. Mt. MSLP 19.49-52); XPa 14 (with Wb. KIA 109, Mt. Gr. §326; translated by Akk. *a-ga-*, Elam. *hi* 'this', which refutes interpretation of Bv. Gr. §368,

§388, as prep. w. inst. 'throughout', Av. *ana* with acc. 'along, on', Gk. *ὠνά* 'along'). *ahiyāyā* Isf. DB 4.47; DNa 11; Dsd 2°; DSe 10; Dšf 7, 15; DSg If; DSi If, 4; DSj 1°; DSm 5°; DSS If, 3°; DSY 2; DZb 3; DZc 5f; DE 17; XPa 8f; XPe 7; XPf 12, 24; XPh 9f; XPj; XV 13; A¹Pa 13; D²Sb If; A²Sa 1; A²Sc 4; A²Sdb 1 (*ahyā* de, §52.VI); A²Ha If; A²He 9, 16f; A²Pa 11; Wb 6; We 7f; Wd 7. *ahiyāyā* (§27) XPb 17; XPd 12; XPjv; XE 17.

aita- demonst. 'this' (§260.III, §266): Av. *aēta-*, Skt. *etā*, PAr. **aita-*. *aita* nsm. (§202) DB 1.44, 45; DNa 48. *aita-maiy* DNb 31. *aita* asn. DPd 20; DNa 53; XPh 43, 59; XSe 4°. *aita-maiy* DPd 22f; DNa 54f; XPh 60. *aitā* apf. XPh 30, 35.

Ainaira- sb. 'Ainaira', a Babylonian, father of Nidintu-Bel: Elam. *ha-a-na-a-ra*, Akk. *a-ni-ri-*. *Aina[ira]hyā* gsm. DB 1.77f.

aiva- adj. 'one' (§150; §204.I): Av. *aēva-* 'one', Gk. Hom. *οἶος*, Cypr. *οἶφος* 'alone', pIE **oiyos*. *awam* asm. DNa 6, 7; DSe 6°, 6f; DSf 4, 5; DE 8f, 10; XPa 4, 5; XPb 8f, 10; XPe 4, 5; XPD 6, 7; XPf 6, 7; XPh 5, 6; XE 9, 10; XV 7, 8; A¹Pa 6f°, 8°; A²He 5f, 6; A²Pa 6, 7.

aiš- vb. 'hasten', caus. *aišaya-* 'send': Av. *aēš-*, caus. *aēšaya-*, Skt. *iṣ-*, caus. *eṣayati* (§117).

fra + *aiš-* caus. 'send forth': Av. *fraēš-*, Skt. *preṣ-*. *frāišayam* 1st sg. inf. (§24, §72, §131, §215) DB 1.82; 2.19, 30, 50, 72f, 82; 3.2, 13, 30, 84; 5.7. *frāišaya* inf. DB 3.55, 60, 71.

Autiyāra- sb. 'Autiyara', a district in Armenia: Elam. *ha-u-ti-ja-ru-iš*, Akk. *ú-ti-ja-a-ri*. *Autiyāra* nsm. DB 2.58f.

Aura- (i.e. *Ahura-*) sb. 'Lord, God': Av. *ahura-*, Skt. *ásura-* 'demon', pIE **esuro-* (§148.I). *Aurahya Mazdāha* gsm. (§36.IVb, §44) XPe 10. *Aurā* ism. DPe 24 (otherwise Bv. BSLP 30.1.70-3, Gr. §179, §389; 'downward', ism. of *aura-*, zero-grade of *awara-*, comparative of ²*awa-*, cf. LAv. *aora* 'down'). Elsewhere always in cpd. *Auramazdāh-*.

Auramazdā- sb. 'Wise Lord, Ahuramazda', supreme deity of the Zoroastrian religion: Av. nsm. *ahurō mazdā*, Phl. *ōhrmazd*, NPers. *hormizd*; Elam. *u-ra-mas-da*. Akk. *ú-ra-ma-az-da ú-ri-mi-*

iz-da- *a-hu-ru-ma-az-da-* etc., Gk. Ὠρομάσδης; in Av., always two words, usually separated in the Gathas and often in reverse order (Kent, Or. Stud. Hon. Pavry 200–8), but in OP always one word except XPe 10 (§44; for *Aurā* alone, see under *Aura-*). Cpd. of **ahura-* (see *Aura-*) + **ma(n)dadhā-* with *s-*suffix (another view by Pisani, cf. §185.n3); this is cpd. of pIE **menth-* (or is the full grade pIE **math-?*) seen in Gk. ἐμαθον 'I learned', + pIE **dhē-* 'put', see *²dā-* (Pisani, Riv. Stud. Or. 81–2, takes prior element as **mṛs-*, zero-grade to pAr. *manas-*, after Wackernagel-Debrunner, Altind. Gram. 3.282–3): for formation, cf. Skt. *śrad-dhā-* 'trust', Lt. *credīt*. §70, §156.I, §160.II; decl., §185.IV.

Auramazdā nsm. AmH 7, 10; AsH 5f, 12; DB 1.12, 60; 4.35, 55, 62, 74, 76, 79f; 5.15f; DPd 1, 7, 13, 15f, 23; DPb 8, 9f; DNa 1, 31, 51f, 55; DNb 1, 46, 49; DSe 1; DSf 1, 8, 14, 57; DSp 1; DSS 1°, 6f; DSt 1°, 7f; DZc 1; DE 1; DH 6f, 8; XPa 1, 18, 20; XPb 1, 27f; XPe 1, 12, 15; XPD 1, 17f; XPI 1, 45, 48; XPG 12; XPh 1, 32, 49f, 52, 57, 60; XSc 4f°; XE 1; XV 1, 25; A¹Pa 1°, 22°; A²Sc 7; A²He 1, 18, 19; A³Pa 1, 24. *Auramazdā-maiy* DB 1.24f, 25, 55, 87, 94; 2.24, 34, 39f, 45, 54, 60, 68, 86, 96; 3.6, 16f, 37, 44f, 61f, 66f, 87; 4.60; DNa 50 *-dā-iy*, with omission of *m* (§52.VI); DSf 19; XPh 45. *Auramazdā-taiy* DB 4.78. *Auramazdā-tay* (§52.II) DB 4.58. *Auramazdā-[šām]* DB 5.31f.

Auramazdām asm. DB 1.54f (*Auramazām*, §52.VI); 5.16, 18f, 32, 34; DPd 21f; DNa 54; DSf 15f, 18; XPI 21f, 29; XPh 40, 50, 53, 59; XSc 4.

Auramazdāha gsm. AmH 7f; AsH 10; DB 1.11f, 14, 18f, 22f, 26, 60, 68, 70, 88, 94f; 2.3, 25, 35, 40, 45f, 54f, 60, 68, 86f, 97; 3.6f, 17, 38, 45, 62, 67, 87f; 4.4, 6, 41, 44, 46, 52, 60, 88f; 5.16f, 32f; DSf 12, 21°; DSfv 55f°; DSI 2f; XPb 26f; XPD 16; XPG 3, 8; XSa 1; XV 19. *Auramazdāhā* DPd 4, 9; DPe 6f; DNa 16, 35, 49, 56f; DNb 6, 47f; DSe 15, 35, 42; XPa 12, 16f; A²He 16. *Auramazdāhā* (§52.III; §131; §185.IV) XPI 34, 43; XPh 14, 33, 37, 44; A¹Pa 18f.

AM nsm. (§42) DSe 50°; DSI 3°; DSj 4, 6°; DSk 4; DSn 2°; D³Sa 3; A²Sa 4° (as gen., §313.II), 4; A²Sd 3; A²Ha 5° (as gen.), 6. *AMmai* DSk 5; DSm 3°. *AMm* asm. DSk 4. *AMha* gsm. DSA 4; ligature (§42) DSk 4. *AMhā* DSj 3°, 5; A²Sd 3. *AMha* or *AMhā* DSD 3°; DSI 4°; DSm 5°; DSo 3°; D³Sb 4°.

Ākaufaciya- adj. sb. 'man of Akaufaka'; pl. a province of the Persian Empire; Akk. *a-ku-pi-i-iš*. Deriv. of **Ākaufaka-* 'Kohistan', prefix *ā* + *kaufa-* 'mountain' + adj. suffix (§113, §144.III; cf. Hz. AMI 8.72; Kent, Lg. 13.298–9). *Ākaufaciya* npm. XPh 27.

akarta- adj. 'not made, not built, unrepaired'; neg. *a-* + ptc. of *kar-* 'make'. [*akartā*] nsf. DSe 47 (conj. of Kent, JAOS 54.43).

azšaina- adj., with *kāsaka-*, 'turquoise' (so Bleichsteiner, WZKM 37.103–4, and König, Burgbau 63–4, but considered dubious by Hinz, ZDMG 95.235–6; hardly 'gray amber', with Hz. AMI 3.65–7, ApI 232; not 'hematite', with Scheil 21.29–30): Av. *azšaina-* 'dark-colored', borrowed in Gk. Πόντος Ἀζεως 'Black Sea' ('in-hospitable', by Gk. popular etymology, and euphemistically changed to Εὐζεως), from neg. *a-* + *zšaina-*, cf. Av. *xšaēta-* 'shining' (§102, §147.I). *azšaina* nsm. DSf 39.

azšata- adj. 'unhurt, undisturbed': neg. *a-* + ptc. of *xšan-* (§102, §242.I), Skt. *kṣanōti* 'injures', Gk. κτείνει 'kills' (otherwise Foy KZ 35.49, Hz. ApI 70–1). *azšatā* nsf. DPe 23.

aguru- sb. 'baked brick' (§153.I). [*agurum*] asm. DSf 53, supplied by König, Burgbau 52, after *a-gur-ru* of the Akk. text, cf. NPers. *āgūr* in the same meaning. *a[g]ura[vā]* lsm. DB 4.89 (restored by Kent, JAOS 62.267, after König, Klotho 4.45); but read *ariyā āha* with Cameron.

agriya- adj. 'topmost, excellent, loyal': Av. *agriya-* 'first in quality, etc.', Skt. *agriyā- agriyā-* 'foremost, principal, etc.', deriv. (§144.IV) to Av. *ayra* 'der erste, oberste; (nt.) Anfang, Spitze', Skt. *āgra-* 'foremost, prominent, best; (nt.) tip, summit, best part' (§148.I). *agriya* nsm. DB 1.21, as read by Cameron, replacing KT's *agru* ++ (and the restorations thereof: *āgar[tā]* Wb. ZDMG 61.725, Tm. Vdt. Stud. 1.9, cf. Bthl. WZKM 22.72; *āgra*[θa]* Jn. Indian Stud. Lanman 255–7; *āgr[mata]* König, RuID 65; *agr[mā]* Hz. ApI. 59–62).

aciy adv. 'then, at that time' (§291.IV): Av. *atēil* 'and indeed', Lt. *ecquid* (interrog.) 'anything', pIE **ed-qwid*, see **a-* 'this' and particle *-ciy* (§105, §130; Bv. BSLP 33.2.152–3; Hz. AMI 4.125–6, 8.41, ApI 55–6; Wb. ZfA 41.319). XPI 21.

Atamaita- sb. 'Atamaita', an Elamite rebel: Elam. *Atameta* (§54.I, §76.V; Hüsing ap. Prašek,