

INSCRIPTIONS
OF THE
PERSIAN MONARCHS.

(Corpus Inscriptionum Persicarum.)

TRANSLATED BY
PROF. DR. JULIUS OPPERT.

THIS paper includes the translation of all the texts written by the Achæmenidæ, except the most important of all, the Behistun Inscription, of which translations have already been given in the *Records of the Past*, Vols. I. and VII.

The Persian texts have often been edited. Following the preparatory labours of Grotefend, Rask, Beer, Jacquet, the documents have been explained by MM. Burnouf, Lassen, Sir H. Rawlinson, Benfey, Spiegel, Kossowicz, and myself.

The Median versions appeared afterwards in the works of MM. Westergaard, De Saulcy, Holtzmann, Norris, and Mordtmann, and the present translator is preparing just now a new edition of the second kind of trilingual documents, together with a Grammar, Dictionary, and commentary.

The Assyrian translations have been examined by MM. De Saulcy, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Schrader, and by the author in the second volume of the *Expédition en Mésopotamie*.

A great many very useful remarks have been suggested, especially on the Persian texts, by Holtzmann, Hincks, Bollensen, de Lagarde, Kern, and others. Moreover, some popular works have been issued by several second hand writers, not from the original Persian documents, but from modern European translations.

Unfortunately, until the present time, a great many passages have been entirely misunderstood. I now present to the readers of the *Records* a completely amended edition, increased by some new texts of great importance. As my efforts have been directed not only to one single portion of the trilingual literature, but equally and simultaneously to all parts of them, I have been enabled to decide with greater exactness the sense of very important passages. *Dies diem docet*: it has only been possible by uninterrupted research to recognise even many errors in our own former versions, although they were generally accepted, and to point out the true meanings which, by their very simplicity will impose themselves to the reader.

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM PERSICARUM.

I. INSCRIPTIONS OF CYRUS.

1. Text of Marrhasion,¹ near the tomb of Casandane, the wife of Cyrus. Persian, Median, Assyrian.

I am CYRUS, the King, the Achæmenian.

2. Legend on Babylonian bricks. Assyrian.²

CYRUS, King of Babylon, Priest of the pyramid (*E-saggatu*), and of the tower (*E-zida*), son of CAMBYSES; the mighty Prince, I.

¹ *Murghab*. It is impossible that Murghab was Pasargada, which was situated on the river Cyrus, in the south-east of Persia. Persepolis is situated on the Araxes, and on the same river is Murghab. (See *Journal Asiatique*, 1872.) The monument, which some Europeans styled erroneously "Tomb of Cyrus," is reputed by the Eastern inhabitants to be that of the mother of Solomon. At any rate, it cannot possibly be any other than a female's sepulchre.

I have already examined this point of view in *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII., p. 89.

² This brick is, I believe, the only one existing from a Persian monarch; nevertheless, it is highly important. It proves that Herodotus (I. 107, 122) is right in calling the name of Cyrus' father Cambyses, as thus was afterwards also the name of his successor. This document states equally that the former Cambyses was not a king, but merely a private person, as we are told by the Father of History.

The brick has been brought over to England by Loftus, and explained by Sir H. Rawlinson; it has been published in the *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. II., p. 148.

The end of the first line is *nibit*, not *bannu* as the late George Smith read it.

II. INSCRIPTIONS OF DARIUS.

COMPLEMENTARY BEHISTUN TEXT, PERSIAN.

Says DARIUS the King: This is what I did since, until to my twelfth¹ year after I became King. There is a country named (Ah)vaza in Susiana, it became rebellious against me. A man named (UM)MAIMA, a Susian, they made him their Chief. Then I sent an army to Susiana; GOBRYAS, a Persian, my slave, I appointed him as their Commander. Then this GOBRYAS marched against Susiana, and fought a battle with those rebels. Then my army captured this UMMAIMA, and his property, and his . . . ,² and he was led before me (and I held him prisoner in my palace); then the land (became mine). Afterwards in a city in Susiana, named . . . ,³ there I hanged him on the cross.

Says DARIUS the King: Then the land was mine, and the other lands which ORMAZD has given into my hand. I conquered them by the grace of ORMAZD; what was my will thus I did to them.

Says DARIUS the King: Thou who wilt peruse this tablet, mayest thou (have a share of the faith) and of the life.

Says DARIUS the King: Afterwards the Sacians revolted against me; I marched against (the Amyrgian Sacians), and those who bear a pointed (helmet),⁴ and who (occupy the northern sea), and I marched on the sea. There is a land

¹ This is the only number which might be supported by the defaced text.

² *marda*; unintelligible.

³ The name is defaced. The words within parentheses replace the lacunæ of the mutilated document.

⁴ This very interesting passage is an explanation of the word *Tigra-khaudā* of the funeral text. It is to be read [*tyaiy khaudām*] *tigrām barāntiy*.

named,¹ there we crossed the sea with a;² I fought a battle against the Sacians, I killed the one, I captured the other, by the grace of ORMAZD. They were led before me, and (kept fettered in my court). Afterwards I captured their Chief, who was named SKUNKHA, and I killed him. There is (a fortress, named,³ there) I appointed another Chief, as was my will. Afterwards the land was mine.

Says DARIUS the King :³ not ORMAZD³
I made.

Says DARIUS the King : The man who adores ORMAZD,
(will be participator) of the life, and of⁴

[The rest is wanting.]

¹ The name is defaced. The words within parentheses replace the lacunæ of the mutilated documents.

² With a *phiçā*; unknown word, perhaps to be read *thriçā*, three.

³ Lacunæ.

⁴ This last part of the Behistun text was published by Sir Henry Rawlinson, and translated by him as by all his successors. The new version I propose to the readers of the *Records* is more complete than the previously made one. I believe to have succeeded in filling up the gaps which rendered every line almost unintelligible.

I suppose the mention of the "twelfth year" in the *du* which commences the third line; the word must be an ordinal number.

The city referred to in Susiana may be the modern Ahvaz, which has nothing to do with Uvaza, the modern Khuz; the name of the rebel is completed very doubtfully (Um)maima.

The expedition against the Sacians had for its object to subdue Skunkha, the portrait of whom is to be seen in the Behistun sculptures: he bears a pointed bonnet (*khaudām tigrām*), he is a Sacian Tigrakhauda. (See below, at the Naksh-i-Rustam text.)

The sea in question seems to be the Caspian or the Aral Sea; it is crossed by Darius, but by the peculiar means of *phiça*, an unknown kind of shipping, moreover, a very doubtful word.

The text is very mutilated; every victory was closed with a prayer; it is therefore possible that the end of the document mentioned some further expeditions of the Persian monarch.

The text exists neither in the Median nor in the Assyrian versions; it has therefore not been given at the end of the Median text of Behistun.

OTHER INSCRIPTIONS OF DARIUS I.

TEXTS OF PERSEPOLIS.

1. Door inscription of the palace. Persian, Median, Assyrian.

DARIUS, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the lands, the son of HYSTASPES, the Achæmænian, he has built this palace (*taçaram*).¹

2. Text on the South-west corner. (I of Lassen.²) Persian.

I am DARIUS, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the lands which are numerous, the son of HYSTASPES, the Achæmænian.

DARIUS the King says : By the grace of ORMAZD, these are the lands which I possessed with the aid of the Persian people ; they feared me and brought tribute to me.

Susiana³ (*Uvaça*), Media, Babylon, Arabia, Assyria,

¹ The word *taçaram* is translated by the word *bit*, "house," in Assyrian; it seems to signify a state-house, in opposition to the "dwelling-house," *hadis*.

² I have united in one text the two Persian documents named I and H of Lassen. The Persian inscriptions have been resumed in the two versions in a different manner; the Median, notwithstanding, allows to suggest the opinion that there existed still a third Persian text, which may have been lost.

³ The list of provinces indicates a state of the Persian empire posterior to that of the Behistun inscriptions, but previous to the documents of Naksh-i-Rustam. In the first instance, we find the curious name *Hîndus*, India, and the name of *Gaîdûra*, the Gandarians mentioned in the Assyrian text of Behistun, *Paruparamisanna*, the Paropamisus of the Greeks, it is the modern *Kandahar*. The *Maka*, already mentioned in the Behistun text, seem to be referred to the inhabitants of the Mekran, the Arabian Chersonesus, extending itself opposite to the strait of Ormus.

Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Lycia (*Saparda*), the Ionians, those of the continent, and those of the sea. And the Eastern lands: Sagartia, Parthia, Sarangia, Aria (*Haraiva*), Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Sattagydia, Arachotis, India, Gandāria, the Sacians, Maka.

DARIUS the King says: ' If thou say: It may be so, I shall not fear the Other (Ahriman). Protect the Persian people. If the Persian people is protected (by thee, ORMAZD), the Good Principle,² which has always destroyed the Dæmon, will descend as Ruleress (*ahurā*) on this house.

¹ This clause has been entirely misunderstood, and nevertheless it may be one of the most startling interest. This text affords to us the only notion of Ahriman in the inscriptions. The name of the evil demon was known by the Persians; as it has been preserved in the Zend books. Aristotle, in his lost book on *The Philosophers*, stated, according to Diogenes Laertius (*Prooem.* 6), that the Zoroastrians knew two principles, the good and the evil dæmon, the first was Zeus or Oromasdes, the second Hades or Areimanios. This must be the Persian *Ahriyamanijus*, modern Persian *Ahrimān*. This evil dæmon is named in the Persian text *Aniya*, "the Other;" it is not the enemy generally spoken of, as all previous interpreters explained it.

The last clause of text I is a prayer to Ormazd, to whom applies the second person: hitherto it was believed to be an address to the reader. Ormazd is implored for protection against the *Duwaīsānt*, "the Hater," that is Ahriman, the Zend *tvaēsāt*, whom the good principle (*Siyātis*) has destroyed. This phrase,

Hyā siyātis duwaīsāntam akhsatā,

Quæ virtus bona Invidentem exterminavit,

has been cruelly misunderstood, as well by the author, as by all his collaborators.

² The word *siyātis* is the Zend *shāiti*, the person *shād*, which signifies now "good, joy," but which refers also to events, that, although a blessing, are not rejoicing in the beginning. The *siyātis* is the emanation of Ormazd, who has given it to the man. The Assyrian version translates the word *siyātis* by *dumqu*, "joy, blessing," and the Median one does not render it at all, but transcribes it only, as an official religious term which had no equivalent in the Median language. As the ancient Medes were not Mazdæans, the notion of the Good Principle was not represented in their tongue.

Text H.

The great ORMAZD, who is the greatest of gods, has instated DARIUS as a King ; he has given to him the royalty. By the grace of ORMAZD, DARIUS is King.

DARIUS the King says : This Persian land, which ORMAZD granted to me, is noble, rich in horses and men. By the grace of ORMAZD and of me, King DARIUS, it does not fear from the Other (Ahriman).

DARIUS the King says : May ORMAZD bring help to me, with all the gods. And may ORMAZD protect this land from devastation,¹ from scarcity, from lie. May the Other not invade this country, nor devastation, nor scarcity, nor lie.

This is the prayer² which I address to ORMAZD with all gods. This may ORMAZD grant to me with all gods.

The two texts, I and H, seem to form only one. The inscription H commences at the words, "The great Ormazd." The document is of the highest importance for the history of Mazdean religion, as this is the only inscription where Ahriman, the evil spirit, is alluded to ; he is named the Hater (*duvaisaēt*, Zend *tbaēsāt*), or with a euphemism, the Other (*Aniya*).

¹ Ormazd is applied to for protection against devastation (*hainā*), scarcity (*dusiyāra*), and impious lie (*drauga*). These three things are brought into the land by the "Other," and therefore the words are repeated in the clause. Formerly *aniya* has been interpreted by "enemy," and the passage was translated, "May an enemy not invade this country, neither devastation, nor scarcity, nor lie." But Ormazd is not requested to repel an enemy, as it ought to be if the word *aniya*, other, had here or even elsewhere in any Persian texts the sense of "enemy." *Aniya* never means "enemy."

² The word "pray" is expressed by *zāñdiyāmiy*, from whence is derived the word *zāñdi* "prayer," the origin of *zend*. Zoroaster brought the Avesta (*Abastū*) and the Zend (*Zāñdi*), the Law and the Prayer.

The two following documents which accompany this Persian text do not furnish the same prayer.

3. Text of the same place. Median.¹

I am DARIUS, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the lands, the King of this wide earth, the son of HYSTASPES, the Achæmenian.

And DARIUS the King says: Over this spot I have founded a fortress; formerly a fortress has not been founded there. By the grace of ORMAZD, I founded this fortress. And thus was the will of ORMAZD, with all gods, that I founded this fortress. And I founded it, and I founded it strong, and beautiful, and complete, as it has been my will.

And DARIUS the King says: ORMAZD may protect me, with all the gods, me and also this fortress, and again all which is contained in this place. May I not see that which the wicked man would desire.

4. Text of the same place. Assyrian.²

¹ The Median text has been already translated by Westergaard, De Saulcy, and Norris, except some passages which have been made out but lately. As we have suggested, it is possible that a Persian text existed of this inscription, although the Median text is placed near the Persian H and I. May we be justified, on the contrary, to believe that the exclusive Mazdean character of the Persian was supposed not to be fit for non-Arian readers? The answer could be affirmative. The last clause hitherto unexplained, runs thus:

Hufo innē laninē hufo affo ruh arikha ummavanra,
Id ne videam id quod homo impius meditatur.

² The Assyrian text which accompanies the Median has been translated formerly by De Saulcy and by myself. It does replace the enumeration of the geographical names by four general categories, "on this side and beyond the sea," "on this side and beyond the desert." The desert (*sumamit*) seems to be the great Persian, not the Arabian one. The style of the Assyrian text does not support the existence of a Persian equivalent document. The general sense of it is rather adapted to Semitic readers.

The great ORMAZD, who is the greatest among all the gods, is he who created the heaven and created the earth, who created the men, and who gave the Good Principle to the men among all the other living creatures, and who made DARIUS King, and gave to DARIUS the King the royalty over this wide earth, which contains many lands, Persia and Media, and other lands and other tongues, on the mountains and in the plains of this side of the sea, and on the side beyond the sea, of this side of the desert and on the side beyond the desert.

DARIUS the King says: These are the lands who did this and who were assembled here: Persia and Media and the other lands and the other tongues, of the mountains and of the plains, on this side of the sea and on the side beyond the sea, on this side of the desert and on the side beyond the desert. What I ordered they did. All I did, I did it by the grace of ORMAZD. May ORMAZD protect me, with all the gods, me and what I have made.

5. Inscription of the windows. Persian, Median, Assyrian.

Vaulted hall made in the house of DARIUS, the King.¹

¹ This little text, containing some architectonic terms, is very difficult, and the Median and Assyrian versions afford light only on some points; namely, the end must be translated, "in the house of King Darius." This first word, *ardaçtāna*, is transcribed in Median, and explained by the Assyrian *kubur remu*; *kubur* (occurring often in Sargon's inscription) signifies "hall," and *remu* is the column. The word *ardaçtāna*, literally "lofty space," is to be translated by "colonnade." The second word is in Assyrian, *galala* "vaulted," and rendered in Median by an ideogram, *Har* (*Monogr.*) *inna*, "of the Hars." The Persian *āthaŋgama*, adjective of *āthaŋga*, may be the modern *āhang* "vault," "arched edifice." This seems to me to be the most acceptable explanation of this difficult legend.

6. Funeral inscription of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam.
Persian, Median, Assyrian.¹

A great god is ORMAZD who has created this earth, who has created that heaven, who has created the man, who has given to the man the Good Principle, who made DARIUS King, sole King of many Kings, sole Emperor² of many Emperors.

I am DARIUS, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the lands where all languages are spoken, the King of this wide earth, afar and near, the son of HYSTASPES, the Achæmenian, Persian son of Persian, Arian³ of Arian offspring.

DARIUS the King says: By the grace of ORMAZD, I hold these lands, besides Persia. I ruled over them, they brought tribute to me, that which was ordered by me to them, that was executed:

Media, Susiana (*Uvāza*), Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Sarangia, Arachotis, Sattagydia, Gandaria, India,

¹ The inscriptions engraved at the tomb of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam are of the greatest interest; unfortunately one of the large documents is hitherto entirely unknown to us. The Persian text, copied by Westergaard, as have been all the others, was first published by Hitzig, Benfey, Rawlinson, and, after an unsuccessful attempt made by me in 1852, entirely restored in 1856, in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, and in my *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, 1858. This my restoration has been adopted by Mr. Fox Talbot in 1862, and in his amended translation in the fifth volume of the *Records of the Past*. Since that time several corrections have been introduced by me, and I presently lay them before the reader. The Median text, published formerly by MM. Westergaard, De Saulcy, Holtzmann, Mordtmann, and Norris, requires many emendations, which will soon appear in a special work.

² The word *framātāram*, "emperor," is rendered in Median by another transcribed Persian word, *dēnimdattira*, Persian *dānimdātāram*, "the giver of law." The word *daini*, Zend *daēna*, modern *dēn*, is only preserved in the Median transcriptions.

³ The words, "Arian offspring of Arian," are omitted in the Assyrian text, addressed exclusively to Semitic readers.

the Amyrgian Sacians,¹ the pointed helmets bearing Sacians (*Tigrakhaudā*), Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Lycia (Saparda), Ionia, the Sacians beyond the (Black) Sea, the Scudra, the hair-tail bearing Ionians,² the Put, the Kus, the Maxyans, Karka (Carthage).

DARIUS the King says: When ORMAZD saw this earth, revolting and enemy each to another,³ then he entrusted it to me. He made me King: I am King. By the grace of ORMAZD, I re-instated it in its right place. That which was ordered by me, that was done as it was my will. If thou sayest: "How diverse are the people which DARIUS maintained," look on the images of those who bear my throne,⁴

¹ The list of the nations is of great importance; it was executed after the first expedition of Darius to the Greek nations, after B.C. 496, for many Hellenic nations are enumerated as subdued to the Persian power.

The Amyrgian Sacians are mentioned by Herodotus (VII. 64); they are named in Persian *Haumavargā* (perhaps, who drink the Haoma leaves), and the other Sacians are the *Tigrakhaudā*, the pointed helmet bearing Sacians. The helmet, *khauda*, modern Persian *khud*, Zend *khaoda*, is expressed by the Greek *κίρβαρος* (Her. I. s.), and this very word is found again in the Assyrian version, *karbalti* for *karbasti*.

² "The hair-tail bearing Ionians" (*takabarū*) are the Eretrians, and the *taka* points out the Eubœan queue. The *Skudra* seems to be the mount Scodrus in Thracia, and the *Putiya*, *Kusiya* are clearly the *Put* and *Cush* of the Bible. The *Mačiya* may be the Libyan Mashuash, and since 1847 I suggested that *Karka* may be translated by Carthage.

³ There is a line wanting in the Persian text; the gap is made evident by the versions. We must read thus:

- l. 32. *Auramazdā yathā avaina imām bumim yauda-*
Oromazes quando vidit istam terram, dimi-
- l. 32a. [*namča viçpatasča aniyaisām hainām*]
catio (erat) undique alterorum excidium;
- l. 33. *paçvadim manā frābara*
postea eam mihi commisit.

⁴ All the difficult passages of this clause have been pointed out by me in 1856. The throne of Darius on the sculptured rock is supported by the representatives of all the nations. The word *arstis*, "lance," of which one letter is wanting, has given the clue to all the passage.

and thou wilt recognise them. Then it will be evident to thee, that the Persian man's spear reached afar, then it will be evident to thee, that the Persian man sought war far from his land Persia.

DARIUS the King says: All what I have done, I made it by the grace of ORMAZD. ORMAZD brought help to me, until I had performed the work. May ORMAZD protect me from evil, me and my house and my land. That is what I implore from ORMAZD, that is what ORMAZD may grant to me.

O man,¹ the law which ORMAZD (has given), may it not seem contemptible to thee. Do not leave the right path, do not sin.

7. Testament of Darius at his tomb at Naksh-i-Rustam. Persian, Median, Assyrian.

A great god is ORMAZD, who has created the great law of ORMAZD, who has created the Good Principle, which by the right and the customs has ruled over DARIUS the king.

DARIUS the King says: By the grace of ORMAZD, the work

[The rest is wanting.]

¹ This last address to the reader of the text is very interesting, but has been made out only lately. The great obstacle resulted from the three Persian forms *thaçaya* (read erroneously *thadaya*); *avarada*, and *çtrava*. As the two last are clearly the second persons for *averadas* and *çtravas*, the first was also supposed to be the same form, and from thence arose an inextricable difficulty to construct the phrase. The word *thaçaya* is the third person for *thaçayat*, and the phrase runs thus:

Martiyā hyū Auramazdāhā framānā
 O homo quæ Oromazis doctrina (est)
Hawataiy gaçtā mā thaçaya þathim
 ea tibi mala ne videatur; viam
tyām rūçtām mā avarada mā çtrava
 rectam ne derelinquas, ne pecces.

It is a great pity that this text, perhaps the most important of all in respect of religion, has never been sufficiently examined. The document is more extensive than the preceding one, under which it is engraved.

8. Detached texts over the figures at the tomb of Darius.¹

a. Over the image of Gobryas.

This is GOBRYAS, the Patischorian, the lance-bearer of King DARIUS.

b. Over the image of Aspathines.

This is ASPATHINES, the guardian of arrows, the quiver-bearer.

c. Over the image of the Maxyans.

These are the Maxyans.

INSCRIPTION OF MOUNT ELVEND.²

9. Inscription of Darius.

¹ These texts have been copied by Tasker; they are engraved over three images only, but it is very probable that all the sculptured figures had once or have still explanatory legends.

The portrait of Gobryas is that of one of the seven conjurers against the Magian; Aspathines is mentioned by Herodotus as having been another. In this point the Persian authority of Herodotus had misled him: but even this confusion of Ardymanes and Aspathines proves that the Father of History consulted authentic sources; for Aspathines must actually have been in great honour at Darius' court.

It is reported in the fragments of Ctesias, that the tomb of Darius was sculptured in the life-time of the father of Darius Hystaspes, and that this latter, and his wife, lost their lives in inspecting the sculptures of Naksh-i-Rustam.

² This text was first explained by Burnouf, in one of the earliest works on Cuneiform inscriptions.

A great god is ORMAZD, who has created this earth, who has created this heaven, who has created the man, who has given to the man the Good Principle, who has made DARIUS King, sole King of many Kings, sole Emperor of many Emperors.

I am DARIUS, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the lands where many languages are spoken, the King of this great earth, afar and near, son of HYSTASPES, Achæmenian.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SUSA.

10. Text of a column.

I am DARIUS, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the lands, the King of this great earth, son of HYSTASPES, Achæmenian.

11. Text of the hall.

I am DARIUS, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the lands, the King of this great earth, son of HYSTASPES, Achæmenian.

DARIUS the King says: By the will of ORMAZD I have built this palace (*apadānam*).¹

INSCRIPTIONS OF SUEZ.

12. Persian, Median, Assyrian, Egyptian.

a. Cartouch:

DARIUS.

¹ The texts of Susa are very mutilated; they have been made known by Loftus.

The term *apadānam*, the Hebrew *appeden*, seems to indicate a special kind of palace; we shall find it afterwards again in the Susian Artaxerxes documents.

END OF SAMPLE TEXT



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