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## The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli [NPi]

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### I. Introduction §§ 1-2

**§ 1.** [I am the Mazdaean Majesty Narseh] King [of Kings] of Ērān [and] Non-Ērān, whose origin (is) from the Gods son of His Mazdean Majesty Šābuhr King [of Kings] of Ērān and Non-Ērān, [whose origin (is) from the gods, grandson of the Majesty Ardašēr] King of Kings.

**§ 2:** (This is) the monument of Pērōz-Anāhīd-Narseh. And we made this monument because ...[and] place [(it) here ?] that [concerning ?] Us (?) [it should be known that ?]:

### II.1 Main part §§ 3-32

**1. From the death of Warahrān II till the meeting of Narseh and the dignitaries at Paikuli (§§ 3-32)**

**§ 3:** We are/were King of Armenia. And We dwelt in Armenia [until Warahrān, King of Kings, son of Warahrān ?] in Khuzistan passed away.

**§ 4:** And Wahnām, son of Tatus, [through] his own falsehood and [(with) the help ?] of Ahrimen and the devils, attached the Diadem [to the head of Warahrān, King of Sakas ?]. And he did not inform Us about that matter.

**§ 5:** Nor [did he] inform the Landholders and the Princes. [And later ? the Princes] and Grandees and Nobles and Persians and Parthians were informed (?) [that:]

**§ 6:** “[I<sup>1</sup>, Wahnām, son of Tatus have ?] attached (?) the Diadem to the head of [Warahrān], King of Sakas. [And I ?] strongly ? wished rule for himself to establish (?) [him/myself ?] an exalted position (?)].

**§ 7:** “And of (?) this [I am ?] capable, (namely) to kill [the Princes] and Grandees and Nobles and to give their possessions (/estates) to the Garamaeans (?)].

**§ 8:** “And from/of my own family (?) and the Garamaeans I shall make [... my own ?] property. And when I have firmly established my own property (or: (it as) my own property), then I shall destroy [the enemies of ?] the King of Sakas.

<sup>1</sup> Nach C.G.Cereti/G.Terribili, ibid. (2014) 359 ist die handelnde Person hier (§ 6) Wahnām: “... tied the diadem to the head (of Warahrān) King of the Sakas and strongly ? rule for himself ... stand ...”

C.G.Cereti/G.Terribili: “and I shall make new property of (both) my own family and the grantees and freemen of the Garameans”.

§ 9: “And I (?) myself shall [...] in the whole (?) [realm ?].”

§ 10: “And the Persian and the Parthians and the others who...” were at the border watch-post of Asōrestān, those made a council [and] said [that:]

§ 11: “[...] the King of Sakas [...] if ?] he is able to govern the affairs of the Persians and to give an answer to the enemies and not...”

§ 12: “Wahnām’s counsel (?) is beyond (= without regard for ?) the word(s) of the King (/kings), [but our ?] counsel (is) that which ...took.

§ 13: “He (/they) [...] ... the family of Sāsān (?) and the men of the whole realm the King of Armenia is the greatest and the best.

§ 14: “And for (?) the rule of the realm [there will] also hereafter [be] reliance [on ? ...].

§ 15: “[And that which ?] may be [...], that we shall do now, so that when (this) servant rises to power..., then Ērānšahr [will be peaceful and confident ?].”

§ 16: Thereafter Šābuhr the Hargbed, and Narseh the Prince, son of Sāsān, [and] Pābag the Bidaxš, and Ardaxšēr the Hazārbed, and Raxš the General, and Ardaxšēr [Surēn], and Ohrmazd Warāz, (and) Warhāndād (?) Lord of Undīgān, and the remaining Princes and Grantees [and] Householders and Nobles and Persians and Parthians who were the greatest, the foremost and the noblest among the Servants of the House” – as was fitting – took [the advice ?] of the gods and Ourselves and sent messengers [to] Us.

§ 17: And when We had graciously [admitted ?] them, then the messengers from the Princes and the Hargbed and the Grantees and the Nobles came to Us (saying) that:

§ 18: “May the King of Kings<sup>2</sup> graciously move from Armenia hither to Ērānšahr. And (as for) the Glory and the realm and His Own throne [and] honour, which (His) ancestors received from the gods, may (He) [take (them) back from ?] the evil[doers of = against ?] gods and men. [And may He keep? Ērān ?]šahr safe (?) till the last!”

§ 19: And when We saw that letter, then in the name of Ohrmazd and all the gods and Anāhīd, the Lady, We moved from Armenia towards Ērānšahr.

§ 20: And the border-people and the mountain-dwellers and the other districts who were before the ... (or: who had been tried before ?) [...] to Ērānšahr.

§ 21: [And] when Our lands and places heard (the news), then [they ?] knew [that] We (?) ... the rule of the realm to Ērānšahr. And nowhere (?) did they prepare (?) to do harm to Ērānšahr and Our remaining lands and places, but abode by Our advice and counsel.

§ 22: And if once (= since) the Hargbed (formerly) took the advice of the gods [and] Ourselves, therefore [did/shall We entrust ?] the border watch-post of Asōrestān [...] and the other various places to the Hargbed (?).

§ 23: And he did/must not allow anybody [to do harm ?] to [...]. And he sent/must send Warhāndād (?), Lord of Undīgān with horses and men to the border of Xūzestān, and he instructed/must instruct him that<sup>3</sup>:

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<sup>2</sup> Der Zusammenhang erklärt, dass es sich hier nur um Narseh, den König von Armenien, handeln kann.

<sup>3</sup> W.Sundermann, Rez. zu H.Humbach/P.O.Skjærvø [The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli. Part 1-3. Wiesbaden, Teheran – bzw. Wiesbaden 1978-1983]. In: *Kratylos* 28(1983) 84, § 23: “Wenn der Hargbed den Undīgān-xwadāy von Asūrestān aus an die Grenze nach Xūzistān schickt, offenbar um

§ 24: “That road and ford which [leads ?] from Asōrestān to [Xūzestān ?], (that) you shall (?) [guard ?].

§ 25: “And to the King of [Sakas] and Wahnām not [...] there may be ... to do harm to Asōrestān, then neither openly nor in [...] to do [...] from Asōrestān.

§ 26: “And however you (pl.)/he may hear from the direction of Xūzestān, that tell (sg.) me, so that I may know [what to ...?] to the King [of Kings/Armenia ?].

§ 27: “And if the King of Sakas and Wahnām ... to [...] – when (?) they know (= hear) that you have eluded (??) them – they will not be ...

§ 28: “And if they swear (?) [that they ..., then ?] do not engage an ordered (?) battle, [...] will graciously settle [them ?] in Asōrestān.

§ 29: “And the King Himself with [...] them away [to ?] ...

§ 30: “[And] you must lead (?) [them ?], so that those [...] come as captives (?)”

§ 31: “And likewise, whoever may be in that army, him [...] ..., and (if ?) he/they hold(s) subjection to Narseh, King of Kings<sup>4</sup>, and depart(s) from that army of the **King of the Sakas** and come(s) hither [...]”

§ 32: “**When We near (...)** We arrived [in] Asōrestān, at this place ... (where) ... **this monument has been made...**, then Šābuhr the Hargbed, and Pērōz the Prince, and Narseh the Prince, son of Sāsān, and Pābag the Bidaxš, and Ardaxšēr the Hazārbed, and Ardaxšēr Surēn, and Ohrmazd Warāz, [and Warhāndād (?) Lord of Undīgān,] and Kirdēr the Mowbed of Ohrmazd, and [...]z-narseh Kāren, and **Pērōz-Šābuhr**<sup>5</sup> [...] the first (?) [of the ...?], and Raxš the General, and Ardaxšēr Tahmšābuhr, and **Ādurfarrbay** [..., and ...] Secretary of the Finances, and jōygird the Cupbearer, [and] likewise the Princes and Grandees and Nobles and Householders and Satraps and Accountants (and) Storekeepers (? not Pa) and the remaining Persians and Parthians who were in Asōrestān, **Nōdšīrogān**<sup>6</sup>, Garmīgān and Syārazūr, all together [C.G.Cereti/G.Terribili, ibid. S. 364:] → **they came to meet Us, here in Our presence, where this monument has been built.**

## II.2 Main Part §§ 33-62

### 2. The actions of Warahrān and Wahnām until the surrender of Warahrān and the punishment of Wahnām and others

§ 33: And Warahrān, [King] of Sakas, and Wahnām, son of Tatus, and the bad ones (?) and those (?) who were Wahnām’s partisans and helpers – when they heard that We had set out from Armenia towards Ērānšahr and had mobilized (?) an army of Ērānšahr (?) – then they (?) went from **Nodšīragān** [towards ?] Armenia (?).

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Warahrān III. und Wahnām entgegenzutreten, so dürften diese Gegner Narsehs sich damals nicht in Mesopotamien befinden haben...”

<sup>4</sup> s. hier Anm. 3: Aus der Tatsache, dass die Pāikūlī-Inschrift nach Narsehs Thronbesteigung gesetzt wurde, erklärt sich Narsehs Titulatur eines šāhān šāh, die aber zurzeit des Thronstreits noch nicht berechtigt war.

<sup>5</sup> Nach C.G.Cereti/G.Terribili sind in § 32 zwei neue bisher unbekannte Anhänger Narsehs hinzugekommen: Pērōz-Šābuhr [NPi II a 13] und Ādurfarrbay [NPi II a 16]. Zur Unterscheidung von dem schon bekannten Ādur-Farrōbay, König von Mēšān, bezeichne ich die neu in das Mitgliederverzeichnis aufgenommene Person gleichen Namens Ādurfarrbay.

<sup>6</sup> Nach C.G.Cereti/G.Terribili, ibid. (2014) 363 sollte Khūzistān gegen Nōdšīrogān ausgetauscht werden.

§ 34: “Wahnām by his own sorcery sought help from Ādur-Farrōbay, King of Mēšān, (against) Us ... Sāsān (?) ...the King of Armenians<sup>7</sup>. And [he sent ?] a message to the King of Mēšān [(saying) that:]

§ 35: “May the King [of Mēšān ?] come forth. If another is the page (?) of the King of the Sakas, then also the King of Mēšān that ... just as I shall give this great diadem to the King of Mēšān until the king of Armenia (= Narseh ?)... is far”.

§ 36: “Concerning (?) the Hargbed and the Princes and the Grandees and the Nobles and the others who are in Asōrestān [...]. [And whatever may be ...?] to do, that we shall do.”

§ 37: And Ādur-Farrōbay, King of Mēšān, how the bad lie had been given (out?), that he said, since (?) Wahnām was rebellious (?).

§ 38: “He went to the support of Wahrām King of the Sakas and Wahnām and rulership ... other... and with the King of the Sakas ...”<sup>8</sup>

§ 39: And [he assumed ?] rulership. And he stayed (?) with the King of Sakas [...].

§ 40: And also (?) Ardaxšēr [the Hazārbēd ?] called the King [of Kings = Narseh ?] with horses and men to assistance [...].

§ 41: “(Wahrām), King (of the Sakas), the King of Mēšān, Wahnām and those who were with them paid homage (to the Gods ?) and swore pacts and oaths several times”:<sup>9</sup>

§ 42: “We, too, are the men [of the King of Kings = Warahrān ?], and with the King of Kings (= Warahrān ?) we shall have (an occasion) to increase our renown.

§ 43: “[And that which] is [..., that ?] we shall do, so that they may hear about us that we have arrived ... [...].”

§ 44: And the Lord of Undīgān took their lead with horses and men. From Our (court) they went (at) an evil time. (But) it was a worse (?) (time? for him ?) who had placed (his) horsemen in front of Ngwdy<sup>10</sup>.

§ 45: And him/his [...] proceeded [by ?] oppression (?) and ... torturing (?). And there was neither a passage (?) backwards nor did he hasten forth to ... pillage (?) [...].

§ 46: And the King of Mēšān and Wahnām [had] not yet (?) arrived at the border of Asōrestān [when ...?] army (?) [...] foot-soldiers [and ... who were ?] in that army with the King of Sakas departed (?) away [from ?] there (?) and came to [...] the Lord of Undīgān. And the Lord of Undīgān sent them to Our Court.

§ 47: [... Then When] We arrived in 'wt\_štr'n, [then] We sent a letter to the King of the Sakas:<sup>11</sup>

§ 48: “... saying: [that throne of your father and] ancestors which you have in an unfitting way sat upon [that you should ...?] forth and [you should come ?] forth to [Our] Court.”

§ 49: And that ambassador to the Court [of the King] of Sakas [that: ?]

<sup>7</sup> C.G.Cereti/G.Terribili, *ibid.* (2014) 365: hier folgt eine Erklärung: “Taken together with the following paragraph, this passage may suggest that Ādurfarrbay [= Ādur-Farrōbay], King of Mēšān was sent against the King of Armenia with a message”.

<sup>8</sup> C.G.Cereti/G.Terribili, *ibid.* (2014) 367: Rekonstruktionsvorschlag für den ganzen Paragraphen.

<sup>9</sup> C.G.Cereti/G.Terribili, *ibid.* (2014) 367: Rekonstruktionsvorschlag für den ganzen Paragraphen.

<sup>10</sup> C.G.Cereti/G.Terribili, *ibid.* (2014) 368 Anm. 56: Rekonstruktionsvorschlag für den ganzen Paragraphen. – Zu ‚Ngwdy‘: Die Örtlichkeit ist nach Aussagen C.G.Ceretis/G.Terribilis [*ibid.* (2014) 368] und P.O.Skjærvøvs [NPi 3.2(1983) 78, § 44] bis heute nicht bekannt.

<sup>11</sup> C.G.Cereti/G.Terribili, *ibid.* (2014) 373-375: Rekonstruktionsvorschläge für die §§ 47-62 = Vollständige Übersetzung von ‚tier E‘.

§ 50: ... šp are. **And We in great elation and with a happy heart [went] to Asōrestān, to [... and] settled in (?) the city of Wahrām-Šābuhr ...**

§ 51: [and] **the King** [of the Sakas] **when** he saw Our letter he set loose from (his) head the big ... diadem and threw [it ? away ?] from the throne ... and honour.

§ 52: (...) **the Court of the Sakas from ... Ohrmazd ī Wārāz went and in a better spirit remained** at one side.

§ 53: “When Wahnām saw (that) the gods had given Us *xwarrah* and rule over the land (then) he knew:

§ 54: “For the sorcery that I have performed there is henceforth no (other) salvation than (?) by the gods and the King [of Kings ?].

§ 55: “And for the deception and (evil) behaviour ... of you ... **that they gave the *xwarrah* of the gods and realm and ...new beneficence** and appropriateness to Narseh, King of Kings ...”

§ 56: And then also did We ... that deception ... and there is **no pact...** they are, how Wahnām does, away [to...] Narseh ī Abzūd-xwarrah and Narseh (?) ī Bay-Šābuhr ... may [they ?] swear.

§ 57: **[The army ?] which was with the King of Sakas and Wahnām before ... and with Bay-Šābuhr .... We sent forth Narseh (?) [ī] Bay of ...**

§ 58: [with an order] that: “**Seize Wahnām and bind him! Put him on a maimed donkey and bring him bound to Our Court.**

§ 59: And Bayšābuhr **the Landholder** ... bound Wahnām and brought him bound on a maimed donkey to the city of Wahrām-Šābuhr, to Our Court.

§ 60: And when the King of the Sakas knew that Wahnām **had been taken and bound, and the Swordbearer ... him ... and the name** ... at Court ... he sat in **a lowly position**”.

61: **And We commanded (?) [that: ] “... who to that liar ... the throne, since Wahnām was first against (?) the gods and Ourselves; then against (?) Ērānšahr (and) the whole land, him first ... We shall punish.**

§ 62: “... own ... **first kill the one on account of whom (he) rose against Us, him we shall kill and will do even worse and afterwards...**”.

## II.3 Main Part §§ 63-90

### 3. The correspondence between Narseh and the dignitaries over the succession, and Narseh's acceptance of the throne.

§ 63: **[And ...] We assembled (?) a council [... from Ērān?]šahr, and We sent a message to the Hargbed [and the Landholders and the Princes and] the Grandees and the Nobles and the Household lords [and the others ?] who were the greatest and the best (saying) that:**

§ 64: “This [Ērānšahr with the help of ?] the gods [has endured ?] much pain and trouble. [And] We (?) whom you (?) [... by your ?] grace have been made Greatest Lord and Ruler of Ērānšahr and [Non-Ēr?]ānšahr.

§ 65: “And if once (= since) **His Majesty** [...], King [... with] the help of [the gods and by his own ? righteous?]ness claimed the whole realm, consequently – because of the fact that since (?) [in] Our Family, except Ardaxšēr, King of Kings, [no other ?] King was greater **and better**, that they [...] Šābuhr [... - (consequently) they ... His ?] Majesty Ardaxšēr, King of Kings, in such a way, [...] they may have been ...

§ 66: “[And] if once (= since) they made Šābuhr, **King of Kings**, Guardian (?) [...], and (since) they gave honour(s) to the Guardians (?), therefore also did [they ...].

§ 67: “[...] for the sake of the ... of Ērānšahr [...] they gathered (?) and made the following exposition/judgment [C.G.Cereti: decision] that:

§ 68: “ ‘We, from [...]ness made Šābuhr king (?). But whoever may know [that in Ērānšahr ?] there is someone who may be more righteous than King (?) Šābuhr and more officious in the service of the gods, or better, and (who) hereafter (may be) able to keep this Ērānšahr [better] guarded [and healthier ?] and to govern (it better) than King (?) Šābuhr, let him say (so)!

§ 69: “ ‘Because we wish that he may be Lord of [this] our [Ērānšahr and the whole ?] realm whom the gods may have prepared and (who) may carry the service of the gods [higher ?] and [may be able] to keep Ērānšahr in peace and confident and to govern (it).’

§ 70: “And as [there was nobody ?] more righteous and better and more pious than Šābuhr, King of Kings (!), (therefore) since (= after) Ardaxšēr, King of Kings, the whole realm [has been in peace and confident, and people ?] have been content.

§ 71: “If Our ancestor in the family (?) [of ...] had sat on the throne and had ruled (?), then also We from Our Own [...] the gods, the well-being of Ērānšahr.

§ 72: “That We wish, that the pain and trouble which His Majesty [...] endured ?] with the help of the gods in the realm [...], that ... prayer (?) for (?) the gods in the realm [...] may be the establishment of a throne (or: a place for ...)(?). [And thereafter the realm ?] will stay more peaceful and confident.

§ 73: “If the Landholders [know that in Ērānšahr there is someone who ?] would be more righteous and better and more pious with respect to the gods than Ourselves or [who would be more able] than Ourselves to maintain Ērānšahr in peace [and confident and able to govern the affairs of the Persians and ...and] to answer ... and enemies, let him say so now, so that [he may be Lord of ?] the Realm and (its various) districts [who] is able to keep and govern the realm.”

§ 74: And from the Hargbed [and the Landholders and the Princes and the Grandees and the Nobles and the Persians] and the Parthians a message and an answer was brought to Us (saying) that:

§ 75: “We the Landholders and the Princes, the Grandees and the Nobles and [the Persians and the Parthians ... are content ?] that Your Majesty informs us of that matter.

§ 76: “If Your Majesty (MP: You) from old (or: from the ancestors) stand [has ..., then ...] just as that message which was brought from Your Majesty [that:]

§ 77: “[If there is someone who] would be [more righteous and] better and more pious [than Your Majesty ?], (then) he shall assume the rulership.

§ 78: “The Landholders and the Princes and the Grandees and the Nobles, the Persians [and the Parthians will then be more distinguished and ?] the well-doer of the gods will then reach higher and Ērānšahr will then stay healthier and more protected.

§ 79: “[...] he who may perform the most correct offices with respect to the gods [and many be ... and] virtuous.

§ 80: “(But) because-(ever) since (?) the gods gave glory and rulership to the family of Sāsān [and (ever since) His Majesty Ardaxšēr ?], King [of Kings ?], who was your grandfather, in the name of the gods had made the whole realm ...

§ 81: “ – (because ever since then) nobody else has been similar to You [whom ...] the gods have favoured (?) [and (who) by Your ?] fortune (?) and wisdom and Own [courage (?) have kept ?] oppression [away from Ērān?]šahr, ...

§ 82: “[therefore (do now) ?] ascend Your Own throne and (receive) the honour(s) [of] (Your) father and ancestors, so that [henceforth ... in Ērān?]šahr things ...[will be more ?] righteous (?) [...] and higher.”

§ 83: And to the Landholders, the Princes, and the **Grandeess** and the Nobles and the Households [and the Persians and the Parthians] **We sent a message (saying) that:**

§ 84: “**The ancestors (?) [...] ... the realm ... [...] firstly by the word of the gods and secondly [by] the word of [Ērān?]šahr and the whole realm that:**

§ 85: “ ‘Lord (?) of the realm [he shall be who(m) ...] ... and [is] able to govern the affairs [of the Persians] and answer the enemies.’ “

§ 86: [And from the Hargbed] and the Landholders and the Princes [and the Grandeess and the Nobles and] the Persians and the Parthians then also a message [and] an answer was brought to Us (saying) thus that:

§ 87: “If we knew that there is either among the **Landholders** [and] all the Princes or in Ērānšahr and the whole realm someone [who would be more suitable for ?] the rulership (?) [than ?] your Majesty, [(then) he should be king ?].

§ 88: “But we know [that] there is not (?). Your Majesty is the greatest and the best, and the rulership suits (You) (?) and is most becoming for Your Majesty.

§ 89: “[It is fitting for ?] Your Majesty [that You should ascend ?] the throne which the gods gave ... **receive, grace was** .... and hold and govern the country till the time of Renovation and be content of Your own xwarrah and country.”

§ 90: **Then We with the support of and in the name of the gods and Our Own [ancestors ? ...] ascended [the throne of ?] (Our) father and ancestors.**

### III. Conclusion §§ 91-95

§ 91: **And Caesar and the Romans were in gratitude (?) and peace and friendship with Us.**

§ 92: And the King of Kušān, [and ...] Aspny (?), and the King of Xwārizm, and D/Zāmadīg[utr ?] the [...] bed of Kwšd'n, ... and Pgrgmbk [...]bly, and **Warāz-(...) of Rāmān**, and Šēd the Šyk'n of Harēw, and Pāk Mehmān, and Birwān Spandwardān, and the King of Pāradān, and the King Rāzgurd, and King Pndplnk, and the King of Makurān, and the King of Tūrān, [and] the King [...], and] the King of [Gur]gān/[Balāsa]gān, and the King of Mskyt'n, and the King of Iberia, and the King of Sigān, and King Tirdād, and Amru King of the Lahmids, and Amru [King of] the Abgars (?), ...

§ 93: [and ...]r Nāhubed of Dahestān, and Razmāgōy Šambīdagān, [and ...] Satārap **Lord** of Dumbāwand, and **Razmāgōy** Lord of Sāxwal and **Pūrāsmān** Lord of Mūgān, and Bād Lord of Zōrād (?), and Mihrxwāst Lord of Borsip (?), and Zanāygān [Lord ?] of [...]ldp, and Kw' [...] ..., and Warahrām Lord of Mošk, and Narseh Lord of Antioch, and the Lord of Lāšom, and Wld.y Lord of Čš, and the Lord [of ...], and Xradjōy Lord of Lāk (?), and Mālux King of Aštbn'n, and the remaining Landholders [and ...] stayed by Our [advice and] counsel.

§ 94: **And We claimed the whole realm anew. And whoever came to Our Court himself or [sent ?] an envoy and presents and letters [and] hostages (as) promises (of loyalty) (?) to [Our] Court, he would have fame (?) and other things (?).**

§ 95: **Him We [pardoned ?], and his realm and districts prospered (?). And those who were willing (?) came to Our subjection and service.**

## IV. Personenlisten Pāikūlī-Inschrift nach H.Humbach/ P.O.Skjærvø/ C.G.Cereti

§ 16: 8 Personen		§ 32: 16 Personen	
1. Šābuhr the Hargbed		1. Šābuhr the Hargbed	[NPi II a 3]
2. and Narseh the Prince, son of Sāsān		2. and Pērōz the Prince	[NPi II a 4]
3. [and] Pābag the Bidaxš		3. and Narseh the Prince, son of Sāsān	[NPi II a 5]
4. and Ardašīr the Hazārbed		4. and Pābag the Bidaxš	[NPi II a 6]
5. and Raxš the General		5. and Ardašīr the Hazārbed	[NPi II a 7]
6. and Ardašīr [Surēn]		6. and Ardašīr Surēn	[NPi II a 8]
7. and Ohrmazd Warāz		7. and Ohrmazd Warāz	[NPi II a 9]
8. (and) *Warhāndād (?), Lord von Undīgān		8. (and) *Warhāndād (?), Lord von Undīgān	[NPi II a 10]
		9. and Kirdēr the Mowbed of Ohmarzad	[NPi II a 11]
		10. and [...]z-narseh Kāren	[NPi II a 12]
		11. and Pērōz-Šābuhr	[NPi II a 13]
		12. and Raxš the General	[NPi II a 14]
		13. and Ardašīr Tahmšābuhr	[NPi II a 15]
		14. and Ādur-Farbay	[NPi II a 16]
		15. [..., and...] Secretary of Finances	[NPi II a 17]
		16. and Jōygird the Cupbearer	[NPi II a 18]
§§ 33-62: 8 Personen		§§ 63-91: keine Personen	
1. <b>Wahrām, King of Sakas</b>	[NPi II b 1]		
2. <b>Wahnām, son of Tatus</b>	[NPi II b 2]		
3. <b>Ādur-Farrōbay, King of Mēšān</b>	[NPi II b 3]		
4. Ardašīr the Hazārbed	[NPi II b 4]		
5. Warhāndād (?), Lord von Undīgān	[NPi II b 5]		
6. Narseh (?) ī Abzūd-xwarrah	[NPi II b 6]		
7. Narseh ZY Bay ZY [...]	[NPi II b 7]		
8. Bay-Šābuhr, <b>the Landholder</b>	[NPi II b 8]		
§ 92: 22 Personen		§ 93: 16 Personen	
1. And the King of Kušān	[NPi III 1]	1. [and ...]r Nāhubed of Dahestān	[NPi III 22]
2. [and ...] Aspnay (?)	[NPi III 2]	2. and Razmāgōy Šambīdagān	[NPi III 23]
3. and the King of Xwārizm	[NPi III 3]	3. [and ...] Satārap <b>Lord of Dumbāwand</b>	[NPi III 24]
4. and D/Zāmadīgp[utr ?] the [...]bed of Kwšd'n	[NPi III 4]	4. and <b>Razmāgōy</b> Lord of Sāxwal (?)	[NPi III 25]
5. and Pgrgmbk [...]bly	[NPi III 5]	5. [and] <b>Pūrāsmān</b> Lord of Mūgān	[NPi III 26]
6. and <b>Warāz-(...) of Rāmān</b>	[NPi III 5a]	6. Bād Lord of Zōrad (?)	[NPi III 27]
7. and Sēd (?) the Šyk'n of Harēw	[NPi III 6]	7. and Mihrxwāst Lord of Borsip (?)	[NPi III 28]
8. and Pāk Mehmān	[NPi III 7]	8. and Zanāygān [Lord ?] of [...]ldp	[NPi III 29]
9. and Birwān Špandwardān	[NPi III 8]	9. and Kwl' [...], ...,	[NPi III 30]
10. and the King of Pāradān	[NPi III 9]	10. and Warahrām Lord of Mošk	[NPi III 31]
11. and King Rāzgurd	[NPi III 10]	11. and Narseh Lord of Antioch	[NPi III 32]
12. and King Pndplnk	[NPi III 11]	12. and the Lord of Lašom	[NPi III 33]
13. and the King of Makurān	[NPi III 12]	13. and Wld.y Lord of Čš	[NPi III 34]
14. and the King of Tūrān	[NPi III 13]	14. and the Lord [of ...]	[NPi III 35]
15. [and] the King [...]	[NPi III 14]	15. and Xradjōy Lord of Lāk (?)	[NPi III 36]
16. and] the King of [Gur]gān/[Balāsa]gān	[NPi III 15]	16. and Mālux King of Aštbn'n	[NPi III 37]
17. and the King of Mskyt'n	[NPi III 16]		
18. and the King of Iberia	[NPi III 17]		
19. and the King of Sigān	[NPi III 18]		
20. and King Tirdād	[NPi III 19]		
21. and Amru King of the Lahmids	[NPi III 20]		
22. and Amru [King of] the Abgars (?)	[NPi III 21]		

### Personenlisten der Pāikūlī-Inschrift §§ 16-93

Insgesamt 70 Personen