

Vorwort Abkürzungsverzeichnis Personenregister Orts- und Sachregister

Griechisches Wörterverzeichnis Karte des Sāsānidenreiches

ŠKZ I: Genealogie ŠKZ II: Hofstaat Pābags ŠKZ III: Hofstaat Ardašīrs I.

ŠKZ IV: Hofstaat Šābuhrs I. ŠKZ V: Frauen

The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli [NPI] ¹

I. Introduction [Auszüge²]

mittelpersisch	parthisch
<p>§ 1:[ANE mzdysn ORHYA nrshy MLKAn] MLKA ʾyr[ʾn W] ʾnyr[ʾn] M[NW] ctry M[N yzdʾn BRE mzdysn ORHYA šhpwhry MLKAN M]LKA ʾyrʾn W ʾnyrʾn [MNW ctry MN yzdʾn npy ORHYA ʾrthštr] MLKAn MLKA</p>	<p>[ANE mzdyzn ALHA nryshw MLKYN MLKA ʾryʾn W ʾnʾryʾn MNW šyhr MN yʾztn BRY mzdysn A]LHA šhwpwhr [MLKYN] MLKA ʾryʾn W [ʾnʾryʾn MNW šyhr MN yʾztn BRYLBRY ALHA ʾrthštr MLKY]N M[L]K[A]</p>

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

<p>§ 2: plky [ZNE ? – ca. 10 ll. – nr?]shy W LNE LZNE plky M[N H]NA krt[y ..]k[.]s [- ca. 15 ll. – HN]HTWNm A[YK] LN[E ca. 20 ll. -]</p>	<p>p[lk ----- ---Z]K OBDt [----- -----</p>
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Übers.: [This ?] monument [(is) ... Nar?]seh. And for this reason (?) did We [erect ?] this monument [and] place [(it) here ?] that [concerning ?] Us (?) [it should be known that ?]:

¹ H.Humbach/P.O.Skjærnø; The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli. P. 3.1(1983) 27ff. – Der Vollständigkeit wegen sind alle in der Pāikūlī-Inschrift erwähnten Persönlichkeiten erfasst. Zu der Frage, ob es sich bei den in den §§ 92 und 93 auftretenden Herrschern in jedem Falle um sāsānidische Würdenträger handelt, verweise ich auf E.Kettenhofens Untersuchungen: Tirdād und die Inschrift von Paikuli. Kritik der Quellen zur Geschichte Armeniens im späten 3. und frühen 4.Jh.n.Chr. Wiesbaden 1995. – Zugl. Habil.-Schr. Trier 1990.

² Die Auszüge beziehen sich auf die Personenlisten.

II. Main part a)

§ 3: [LNE ?] ʾlmnʾn ML[KA] HWYTNm W ʾlmny phl[sty HWE]m? – ca. 25 ll. - wihʾnkʾn OBLWN	----- ----- -----
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Übers.: We are/were King of Armenia. And We dwelt in Armenia [until **Warahrān [NPi II a 1]**, King of Kings, son of Warahrān ?] passed away.

mittelpersisch	parthisch
§ 4: W whwnʾm ZY ttllws[ʾn] ----- ----- pwšty ?] ZY ʾhlmny W ŠYDAn [- ca. 16 ll. -] dydymy OSLWN W PWN ZK CBW LA LNE ʾ[p]ʾsy [O]BYDWN	[W] whynʾm ME ttrwsn [pty] N[P]ŠE drwnypy W [-----] -----] (A)SRt W pt[y] LHw (C)[BW-----]

Übers.: And **Wahnām, son of Tatus [NPi II a 2]**, [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.

§ 16: 1. Personenliste: AHR šhpwhry ZY h[lgwp]t W n[sh]y Z]Y B(L)BYTA ZY s[ʾsʾnkn W pʾp]ky ZY bthšy W ʾrthštr ZY h[zʾlw]pt W l(hšy) [ZY spʾhp]t W [ʾr]thštr [ZY swlyn W] <see B 16,01> [-----ZY ʾwnd]ykn MROHY W ʾp(l)yk BLBYTA W LBA [W ktkh]wʾy W ʾcʾt (W) p[ʾls]y W plswby MNWn BYT(A) OBDk(y) mhst(y W p) [ʾ]lswmy W twmyktwmy HWYTNt PWN nywʾpkyhy [pndy ?] ZY yzdʾn W LNE OHDWN W plystky [OL L]NE ŠDRWNd	BATR šhwpwhr <-> [h]rkpty W nrysh[w -----] -----] <--see a 6,06-----> [----- -----] rhš spdpty W [ʾhwrm]zd wrʾz wrtrg[n - -----] -----] pʾrs W prtw MNWn [-----] -----twhm?] ykstr HWEnt [----- ----] ME yʾztn W LN AH(D)t (W) MALKE [-----]
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Übers.: 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 Grandees [and] Householders and Nobles and Persians and Parthians who were the greatest and the best and the noblest subjects in Our possession(s) (=province ?) – as was fitting – took [the advice ?] of the gods and Ourselves and sent messengers [to] Us.

<p>§ 32: 2. Personenliste³: [W LNE AYK OL ?] (?)swrstn OL ZN(E) g(y)w^{pk} ----- -----] ZNE plky krty YKO[Y]MWNt ADYN šh[pw]hry ZY hlgwpt [----- ----- BLBYT]A ZY s'(s'nk)n W p'pk(y) [----- W 'rt]hštr ZY hz'[lw]p(t W) 'r)thš(t)r Z(Y) swlyn W 'whrmzdy ZY wr'c [--ca. 12 ll. ----- ----- W --] c-n(r)shy ZY k(?)l(n)y (W) [-- ca. 13 ll. -- n?]hwsty W lhšy ZY sp'hpt W 'rthštr ZY t[h]mš[hpwhry --ca. 25 ll. -- PWN] št(r-'m'l) dp(yw)r (W) zw[dkrty ZY ----- W] (h)ngwn BLBYTA W LBA (W) 'z) 't (W k)t(khwt)'y W štrp W 'm'lkly [W] hyrd'l [----- --] (n) W glmykn W syd'l[cwly ----- h'mdwy?'n OL h'd'n ZY n[y]dkt'py L[NE] pt[y]lky YATWNd [W ----- ----- YKOY](M)W(Nt)</p>	<p>[-----] OL ZNE [A]TRE YMΘAEm AYK ZNE [----- -----] <--> hrkpty W prgw[z BR]BYTA W nryshw B[RBYTA] <--> s'snkn W p'pk ZY bythš W 'rthštr ZY hzrwpt W 'rthštr <--> swryn W [--- -----]W krtyr 'hwrmzd mgw[pty W ----- -----] W rhš <-- > 'sp'dp[ty] W 'rthštr <--> thmšh[ypwhr ----- p]ty hštr-'hmr SPRA W zwdkrty <--> tkrpty [-----] RBA W 'z't W ktkhwtwy W hštrp W 'hmrkr <----- > W 'p'ryk p'rs W prtw MNW 'swr[stn W -----] r HWEnt hmy'bdyn [----- ----- W] TNE hndymn YHWE[n]t AYK ZNE plk OBDt [-----]</p>
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Übers.: [And when] 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 [...] the first (?) [of the ...?], and **Raxš the General**, and **Ardaxšēr Tahmšābuhr**, [..., and ...] **Anonymus**, **Secretary** of the Finances, and **Ĵōygird 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 [and Xūzestā?]n and Garamaea and Syārzūr, all together they came to Xāyān ī Nīkatrā to meet Us.
And here they came into Our presence where this monument has been made.

³ Nach dieser Personenliste läßt sich der protokollarische Rang der Würendenträger ablesen.

II. Main part b)

<p>§ 33: W (w)lhʔ(n) ZY (s)[kʰn MLKA ----- -----](Z)Y ttrws[ʔ)n -----] M[NW ? -- -----OL?]E MNW whwnʔm hms[hwny W] hdybl [----- -----]yʔn- štry lwny wh[s]ty HWEm [W ?]yʔn- š[try -----h]wcst[n OL ? ʔ]lm[ny lwny ? SG]YTNd</p>	<p>[-----] W whynʔm <-> ttrwsn LHw ME wty W [----- -----] hmyshwny W ʔdywr HWYEnt AYK AŠMOYWnt AYK LN MN ʔrmny OL ʔryʔn-hštr [----- ----] zʔwr hnbndywd W MN hwz[stn ---- -----]</p>
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Übers.: 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 Xūzestān [towards ?] Armenia (?).

mittelpersisch	parthisch
<p>§ 34: whwnʔm P[WN NP]ŠE y[ʔt]wkyhy [-----] (LNE ... sʔs) (- -- ca. 10 ll. --]z[-- -- ca. 20 ll. -----] (M)LK(A) [-----]</p>	<p>[-----] yʔtsʔpy ʔtrw[pr]nbg ME myšn [M]LKA [----- ----- OL] pryʔt YBOEd W myšn MLKA ptgm [ŠLHWd AYK ?]</p>

Übers.: **Wahnām** by his own sorcery [...] **Ādurfarrōbay, King of Mēšān**, [...] ...[... called to] assistance. And [he sent ?] a message to the King of Mēšān [(saying) that:]

<p>§ 40: [..... MLKAn ?] MLKA PWN [----- O]L plydʔ[t -----]</p>	<p>W ʔrthštr-š [hzwpt ? ----- SW]SYN W [GBRYN --ca. 15 ll.--] OL pry[ʔ]t (Y)B[O(E)--]</p>
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Übers.: And also (?) **Ardaxšēr [the Hazārbed ?]** called the King [of Kings = Narseh ?] with horses and men to assistance [...].

<p>§ 46: W myš[ʔn ----- - pr]ʔc [O]L ʔswrst[n] w[y]mndy LA YHMTWN [HWEnd ? -- ca. 15 ll. -- -] wšn [s?]p [h- ?] pdk[y ? -- ca. 14 ll. -- MNW P]WN ZK kʰlwʔ[n] LWTE s[kʰn MLKA HWYTN - ? -- ca. 5 ll. -- -] c[----- -] (t)ʔndy W OL [--ca. 10 ll. -- ʔwndy]k[n] MROHY (Y)AT[WN]d APšn ʔwnd(yk)n MR[OHY -----]</p>	<p>[-----] MLKA W whwnʔm HN ʔw[s ? ----- -----] [-----] kʰ(rw)ʔn (LWT) s(kn M)LKA [----- MN T?]ME LBRA wysdywnt [----- -----](ʔ)wndykn [-----] ATYEEnt Wšn ʔwndykn hwtwy OLYN TROA ŠLHWyt</p>
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Übers.: 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.

§ 56: W LNE ADYNc ZK wy[mysy ? -- ca. 20 ll. ----- ----- - ca. 12 ll. – nr]shy ZY ʔpcwt- GDE [W nrs?]hy ZY bgšhpwhr[y - ca. 6 ll. - -----]	[W] L[N ? -----] HWE[n]t [W ?] šwgw[n w]hwnʔm OBDWd LBRA [-----] ----- h]yp AŠT[YWn]t
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Übers.: And then also (did) We [...] that deception (?) [...] are, [and ?] how Wahnām does, away [to...].
[...] **Narseh (?)** ī **Abzūdxwarrah** [and ?] **Narseh (?)** ī **Bayšābuhr** [...] may (they ?) swear (?) [...].

III. Conclusion

mittelpersisch	parthisch
§ 92: [-----] ʔspnydy W hwlzmʔn MLKA W (y)ʔmmt ⁴ ZY kwšd(ʔn) [----- - ca. 12 ll. – W sydy ZY hl(w)ʔnyk šykʔn W p[ʔk]y ZY myhmʔn W bylwʔn ZY spndwlʔn W pʔldʔn MLKA W ʔcgwlty MLKA W pndp[lnk ?] MLKA W mkwʔn M(LKA) W twʔn (MLKA) [W ..](ʔn)[..] M[LKA ? W -----]kʔn MLKA W mskyʔn MLKA W ʔbyʔn MLKA W sykʔn ML](K)A W tylt MLKA W ʔm[rw] lhmʔdyn ML(KA) <-> ʔm(r)[w-----]	W kwšn MLKA [W -----] W hwrmn MLKA W zʔm[-----] -----]pty W pgrymbk [-----] sdy <-> hʔrwnyk š[y]kn W [p]k <-> mhymʔn (W) byrwʔn <-> ʔs[pndwrtn ? -----] M[L]KA W ʔzwrt MLKA W pndplnk MLKA W mkwrn MLKA [-----] -----] MLKA W ʔmrw lhmyšn MLKA W ʔmrw ʔpgrnʔn [MLKA ?]

Übers.: And the **King of Kušān**, [and ...] **Aspnay** (?), and the **King of Xwārizm**, and **D/Zāmadīg[utr ?]** the [...] bed of Kwšdʔn, ... and **Pgrymbk** [...], and **Sēd** (?) the Šykʔn of Harēw, and **Pāk Mehmān**, and **Birwān Spandwardān**, and the **King of Pāradān**, and **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 Mskyʔn**, 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** (?), ...

⁴ H.Humbach/P.O.Skjærvø, NPi 3.2(1983) 160: [Addenda et corrigenda]: § 92: Verbesserung von ʔmtykp[...] in (y)ʔmmt auf Vorschlag von D.N.MacKenzie.

<p>§ 93: [W – ca. 5 ll. --] ZY dhydkn nhwpty W lzmʿg[wd]y [ZY] šnb[y]tkn [- ca. 5 ll. - ----- ---] ʿgdwy ZY shwlcʿn MROH[Y W p]wlsmʿn ZY mwkʿn MROHY W bgdt ZY zwʿdcyn MROH[Y W mtrh[w]st ZY bwlspc[n ?] MROHY W znʿdkn ZY [.](ʿld)pcʿn [MROH]Y (W kw)ʿ[-- MROHY ? ----- ZY] mwškʿn MROHY W nrshy ZY [ʿn]tywhcyn MROH[Y] < =45H7-12,04 (after Pa 42g6,06) -----> [W] lšwmcʿn MROHY W wld[.y] Z[Y] cšʿn (M)ROHY (W) [-----] MROHY W mʿlwby ʿštbwnʿn MLKA W ʿplyk štrdʿly [- ca. 15 ll. – PWN pndy W pʿdy]sy ZY L[N]E YKOYMWNd</p>	<p>[-----]r <-> [...]dyn nppt[y ----- -----] sʿtrp dwnbʿwntš W -----] <-> spwlšn h[wt]wy <=42g9-14,06 (after 45H16,04) -----> W wry[hr](m) <-> mwškn [-----] nr[yshw -----] W pwrʿsmn mwkn hwtwy W bʿty zwrđtšn hwtwy W [-ca. 50 ll. - -----] <Pa omits? -----> h[w]twy W hrtywd ʿk[n ?] hwtwy W mʿlwkw ʿštbwnn [-----] pdys ME L[N -----]</p>
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Übers.: [and ...]r Nāhubed of Dahestān, and Razmāgōy Šambīdagān, [and ...] Satārap of Dumbāwand, and [...]āgōy Lord of Sāxwal (?), [and] Porāsmān Lord of Mūgān, and Bād Lord of Zōrād (?), and Mihrxwāst Lord of Borsip (?), and Zanāygān [Lord?] of [...] ʿldp, and Kwʿ[...],..., 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 Aštbnʿn, and the remaining Landholders [and ...] stayed by Our [advice and] counsel.

Protokollarische Rangfolge in der Pāikūlī-Inschrift [Übersicht]

I. Introduction

Narseh King of Kings of Ērān and Non-Ērān

II. Main part⁵ a)

Warahrān [III.], King of Kings, son of Warahrān [NPi II a 1]

Wahnām, son of Tatrūs [NPi II a 2]

§ 16: 1. Personenliste

- 1) Šābuhr the Hargbed
- 2) Narseh the Prince, son of Sāsān
- 3) Pābag the Bidaxš
- 4) Ardaxšēr the Hazārbed
- 5) Raxš the General
- 6) Ardaxšēr Surēn
- 7) Ohrmazd Warāz
- 8) Warhāndād (?) Lord of Undīgān

§ 32: 2. Personenliste⁶

- 1) Šābuhr the Hargbed [NPi II a 3]
- 2) Pērōz the Prince [NPi II a 4]
- 3) Narseh the Prince, son of Sāsān [NPi II a 5]
- 4) Pābag the Bidaxš [NPi II a 6]
- 5) Ardaxšēr the Hazārbed [NPi II a 7]
- 6) Ardaxšēr Surēn [NPi II a 8]
- 7) Ohrmazd Warāz [NPi II a 9]
- 8) Warhāndād (?) Lord of Undīgān [NPi II a 10]
- 9) Kirdēr the Mowbed of Ohrmazd [NPi II a 11]
- 10) [...]z-Narseh Kāren [NPi II a 12]
- 11) Raxš the General [NPi II a 13]
- 12) Ardaxšēr Tahmšābuhr [NPi II a 14]
- 13) [...] and [...] Anonymus, Secretary of the Finances [NPi II a 15]
- 14) Ĵōygird the Cupbearer [NPi II a 16]

⁵ hier: Auszüge: Personenlisten

⁶ Diese 2. Personenliste liegt der protokollarischen Rangfolge zugrunde und enthält auch die Namen der 1. Liste.

II. Main part b)

Warahrān [III.] King of Sakas [NPi II b 1]

Wahnām, son of Tatus [NPi II b 2]

Ādurfarrōbay, King of Mēšān [NPi II b 3]

Ardaxšēr the Hazārbed [NPi II b 4]

Warhāndād (?) the Lord of Undīgān [NPi II b 5]

Narseh (?) ī Abzūdxwarrah [NPi II b 6]

Narseh (?) ī Bayšābuhr [NPi II b 7]

III. Conclusion

§ 92:

King of Kušān [NPi III 1]

[and ...] Aspnay (?) [NPi III 2]

King of Xwārizm [NPi III 3]

and D/Zāmadīgp[utr ?] the [...] bed of Kwšd'n [NPi III 4]

and Pgrymbk [...] [NPi III 5]

Sēd (?) the Šyk'n of Harēw [NPi III 6]

Pāk Mehmān [NPi III 7]

Birwān Spandwardān [NPi III 8]

King of Pāradān [NPi III 9]

King Rāzgurd [NPi III 10]

King Pndplnk [NPi III 11]

King of Makurān [NPi III 12]

King of Tūrān [NPi III 13]

King of [Gur]gān/[Balāsa]gān [NPi III 14]

King of Mskyt'n [NPi III 15]

King of Iberia [NPi III 16]

King of Sigān [NPi III 17]

King Tirdād [NPi III 18]

Amru King of the Lahmids [NPi III 19]

Amru [King of] the Abgars (?) [NPi III 20]

§ 93:

[and ...]r Nāhubed of Dahestān [NPi III 21]

Razmāgōy Šambīdgān [NPi III 22]

Satārap of Dumbāwand [NPi III 23]

[...]āgōy Lord of Sāxwal (?) [NPi III 24]

Porāsmān Lord of Mūgān [NPi III 25]

Bād Lord of Zōrād (?) [NPi III 26]

Mihrxwāst Lord of Borsip (?) [NPi III 27]

Zanāygān [Lord ?] of [...] ʾldp [NPi III 28]

Kwʾ [...] , ..., [NPi III 29]

Warahrām Lord of Mošk [NPi III 30]

Narseh Lord of Antioch [NPi III 31]

Lord of Lāšom [Npi III 32]

Wld.y Lord of Čš [NPi III 33]

Xradjōy Lord of Lāk (?) [NPi III 34]

Mālux King of Aštbnʾn [NPi III 35]