

A New Edition of the Elamite Version of the Behistun Inscription (II)

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§1. Introduction

§1.1. After a new edition of the first column of the Elamite version of the Behistun inscription was published in 2017 (Amiri 2017), I examined the second column and carried out a similar study for the purpose of producing a precise copy as well as collating previous editions with its cuneiform text. With the experiences I have gained, I hope to publish the remaining sections of the Elamite version, particularly the third column, in which erosion damaged many of its passages.

§1.2. The newer Elamite version (hereafter the Elamite version) is a copy of the older one, which is situated to the right of the sculptured reliefs of the monument of Behistun.¹ The Elamite version was engraved in three large columns directly beneath the Babylonian version. Moreover, a number of small Elamite inscriptions are placed on the empty parts of the relief panel of the monument or on its lower margins. This contribution offers an edition of the second column of the Elamite version. The remaining sections will be published in subsequent articles.²

§2. The state of the second column

§2.1. Unlike the first and third columns of the Elamite version, which include severely eroded portions, the cuneiform signs in the second col-

umn are mostly legible. However, water damage to the upper section of the column partially eroded some of its signs. In addition, further water damage to the right section of the first column and its seepage into the left section of the second column has eroded the signs at the beginning of its lines (see figures 1, 2 and 4). On the other hand, damage from a solution of water and calcareous compounds to the top of the third column and its seepage into the right section of the second column has left tufa deposits on some signs at the end of several lines (see figures 1 and 5). Except for these affected portions, the majority of the passages in the second column are sufficiently intact that they seem to have the same quality as at the time of engraving. As Cameron, who closely examined the inscription in 1948 and 1957, mentioned:

"This column [= the second column] has suffered less damage than any other portion of the Bisitun [=Behistun] inscription." (Cameron 1960, 65)

§3. General notes on the engraving

§3.1. According to my measurements of the inscription, the dimensions of the second column

¹ For more details about the older Elamite version of the Behistun inscription, see Cameron 1960, 59-61.

² Research on the second column has been carried out by examining the photographs I had taken of the inscription. The photographs were analyzed and examined by the method I described in *CDLB* (Amiri 2017), 1f. My line art hand copy of the second column, as well as a selection of my photographs documentation, have been posted to the text's CDLI entry online. I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Hossein Raei, Mr. Samet Ejraei, Mr. Farid Saedi and Mr. Mehdi Fattahi of the *Bisotun Cultural Heritage Center* in Iran for their permission to take detailed measurements and photography of the cuneiform inscriptions and to Mr. Keyvan Mahmoudi for his assistance in this photographic work. I express my sincere thanks to Abdolmajid Arfaei in Tehran and Parsa Daneshmand of Wolfson College of the University of Oxford for their invaluable council regarding the second column and preparing the transliteration of the Elamite version.

are 341.3 cm in height and 209 cm in width.³ It was engraved on the smoothed face of the rock and there is a space of 3 cm between its borders and that of the two other columns.

§3.2. Several reasons might be suggested to show that the second column was engraved in conjunction with the other two. Accordingly, there are reasons to be suggested that the engraver(s) who incised the cuneiform signs in the second column were different from those who worked on the two others. However, this topic requires an extended discussion which does not fit into this article.⁴

§3.3. Detailed examination of the second column substantiates that the wedges at the beginning of its lines particularly in left lower section of the column were more shallowly cut than the wedges in middle and right sections (see figure 6). In addition, such manner of engraving is observable at

the end of right section of the first column. Probably, this is due to more rock hardness in the area wherein they were cut.

§4. The text

§4.1. The second column of the Elamite version contains a royal text with a detailed account of Darius the Great's battles and his suppression of a number of revolts happened after his expedition to Babylon and killing Nidintu-Bēl the Babylonian rebel. Like other columns of the Behistun inscription, the text in the second column is divided into segments each one beginning: "and Darius the king says,". They are preceded by a blank space. This column contains 14 segments, hereafter designated "paragraphs" (abbr. par. or §) and 85 lines. In this article, the text of the second column (= paragraphs 20-33) is presented in some detail.⁵

§4.2. Transliteration and translation⁶

par. 20⁷ (1)^{diš}da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{aš}eššana⁸ na-an-ri ku-
iš^{diš}u₂^{aš}ba-pi-li ša₃-nu-gi-ut ap-pi^{diš}da-a-ia-
u₂⁹-(2)iš^{diš}u₂ ir be-ip-ti-ip^{diš}bar-šip_x(EŠ) a-
ak^{diš}ha-tam₅-tup a-ak^{diš}ma-da-be a-ak^{diš}aš₂-
šu-ra a-ak^{diš}mu⁷-(3)iz-za-ri-ia-ip a-ak^{diš}par₂-
tu-ma-ip a-ak^{diš}mar-ku-iš-be a-ak^{diš}sa-ud-da-
ku-iš a-ak^{diš}ša₂-ak⁷-(4)ka₄-be

Darius the king says: While I was in Babylon these nations rebelled against me: The Persians and the Elamites and the Medes and the Assyrians and the Egyptians and the Parthians and the Margians and Sattagydia and the Scythians.

³ King and Thompson's measurement of the second column in 1904 are: 11 feet and 2 inches in height (=340.36 cm) and 6 feet and 10.25 inches in width (=208.9 cm) (King and Thompson 1907, xxiv).

⁴ The wedges seem to be more delicate in the second column than in the other two. They were engraved more elaborately, particularly than the first column. In the second column, the average height of the lines is almost 4 cm while in the others it is almost 3.6 cm. At the end of the last lines in the first and the second columns, the first signs of each paragraph are written (see figures 3 & 7) followed by a long blank space up to the vertical border. The paragraph continues at the top of the next column. The existence of this blank space could be a reason for the assumption that the engraver was interrupted in writing the text at these points.

⁵ In this article, the following abbreviations are employed: AE: Achaemenid Elamite; Bab.: Babylonian; CAD: Chicago Assyrian Dictionary; EIW: Elamisches Wörterbuch; KT: King & Thompson; OP: Old Persian; CII: Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum; PFT: Persepolis Fortification Tablets and VAB: Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.

⁶ In the transliteration, line numbers are specified in parentheses.

⁷ The first term of paragraph 20 (a-ak "and") appears at the end of the first column (Amiri 2017, 7) and this paragraph continues with the phrase ^{diš}da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{aš}eššana na-an-ri "Darius the king says," at the top of the second column.

⁸ Instead of aš, diš is to be expected as a determinative for eššana.

⁹ A tufa deposit has covered u₂ at the end of the pertinent line (see figure 5). However, its faint trace is clearly recognizable.

par. 21 a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-ri^{diš} ru-uḫ ki-ir^{diš} mar-ti-ia ḫi-še^{diš} zi₂-in⁷ (5) za-ak-ri-iš^{diš} ša₂-ak-ri^{aš} ḫal-meš^{aš} ku-uk-kan₂-na-ka₄-an ḫi-še^{diš} bar-šip_x (EŠ)-ik-ki ḫa-mi mur-da-ak ḫu-pir₂-ri^{diš} ḫa-(6) tam₅-tup-ik-ki i-ma-ka₄ diš ta-šu-ip₂-be ḫi zi₂-la ap ti-ri-iš na-an-ri^{diš} u₂ diš um-man-nu-iš^{diš} eššana diš ḫa-tam₅-tup-na ma-(7) ra a-ak^{diš} u₂ ḫa-me-ir^{diš} ḫal-tam₅-ti in kan₂-na ša₃-nu-gi-ut me-ni^{diš} ḫal-tam₅-ti-ip¹⁰ diš u₂-ik-ki-mar ip-ši-ip^{diš} mar-(8) ti-ia ḫu-pir₂-ri ak-ka₄ ir-ša₂-ir-ra ap-pi-ni ti-ri-iš-ti ir mar-ri-iš-ša₂ ir ḫal-pi-iš

And Darius the king says: One man, Martiya by name, Zinzakriš, his son, (a) town, Kukkanakan by name, in Persia, dwelt. He rose up in Elam and the people thus to them (he) said: I (am) Ummannuš, king of the Elamites, and at that time I was near Elam. Afterwards, the Elamites feared me; (they) seized that Martiya who called himself their chief, and killed him.

par. 22 a-ak^{diš} da-(9) ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-ri^{diš} ru-uḫ ki-ir^{diš} pir₂-ru-mar-ti-iš^{diš} ḫi-še ḫu-pir₂-ri^{aš} ma-da-be-ik-ki¹¹ i-ma-ka₄ (10) diš taš-šu-ip₂-be ḫi zi₂-la ap ti-ri-iš-ša₂ na-an-ri^{diš} u₂ diš ša₂-at-tar-ri-da^{diš} numun-meš^{diš} ma-ak-iš-tar-ra-na ni-ma-(11) an-ki ma-ra me-ni^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ diš ma-da-be ap-pa^{aš} u₂-el-man-nu ḫu-pi-be^{diš} u₂-ik-ki-mar be-ip-ti-ip ḫu- (12) pir₂-ri-ik-ki pa-ri-iš^{diš} ma-da-be-ik-ki^{diš} eššana me ḫu-pir₂-ri ḫu-ut-taš^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ diš bar-šip_x (EŠ) a-ak^{diš} ma-da-be^{diš} u₂ da-(13) u₂⁷ ḫa-ri-ik-ki ša₃-ri me-ni^{diš} u₂ diš taš-šu-ip₂ diš ma-da-be-ik-ki ti-ib-be da-aḫ^{diš} mi-tar-na ḫi-še^{diš} bar-šir₈ ki-ir^{diš} u₂ diš (14) li⁷ ba-ru-ri ḫu-pir₂-ri^{diš} ir-ša₂-ir-ra ap-pi-ni ir ḫu-ud-da ḫi zi₂-la ap ti-ri-ia mi-te-iš^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ diš ma-(15) da-be ak-ka₄-be^{diš} u₂-ni-na in-ni ti-ri-man-pi ḫu-pi-be ḫal-pi-iš man-ka₄ me-ni^{diš} mi-tar-na diš taš-šu-ip₂ i-da-ka₄ aš ma-da-be-(16) ik-ki sa-ak sa-ap^{diš} ma-da-be-ik-ki ir pa-ri-ik^{aš} ḫal-meš^{aš} ma-ru-iš ḫi-še^{aš} ma-da-be-ik-ki ḫa-mi ša₂-par₂-rak₂-(17) um⁷ -me ḫu-ud-da-iš ak-ka₄ diš ma-da-be-na ir-ša₂-ir-ra ḫa-me-ir in-ni ḫa-ri-ir^d u-ra-maš-da pi-ik-ti^{diš} u₂ da-(18) iš za-u-mi-in^d u-ra-maš-da-na diš taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} u₂-ni-na diš taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip-na ir-še-ik-ki ḫal-pi-iš 20(19)-7¹² d na-an^d iti-meš^d ḫa-na-ma-ak-kaš-na pi-ir-ka₄ ḫi zi₂-la ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me ḫu-ud-da-iš me-ni^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} u₂-(20) ni-na aš₂-ki in-ni ḫu-ud-da-iš^{diš} da-a-ia-u₂-iš^{aš} ka₄-um-pan-taš ḫi-še^{diš} ma-da-be-ik-ki ḫa-mi za-ti-iš (21) ku-iš^{diš} u₂ ši-in-nu-gi-ut^{diš} ma-da-be-ik-ki

And Darius the king says: One man, Phraortes by name, he rose up in Media, thus to the people said: I am Šattarrida of the family of Cyaxares. Then the Mede troops who were in the palace rebelled against me (and) went (over) to him. (He) became king in Media. The Persian and the Median troops with me, were few. Then I sent forth the troops to Media. Hydarnes by name, a Persian, my servant, I made their chief, thus I said to them: Go forth! The Median troops who do not call themselves mine, kill them! Then Hydarnes together with the troops went off to the Media. When he went to Media, in the town, Maruš by name, in Media, there (he) did battle. (He) who was chief among the Medes wasn't present at that time. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, my troops slaughtered many of the rebellious troops. 27 days of the month Hanamakaš had passed, thus (they) did battle. Then my troops did not accomplish anything. (In a) district, Kampantaš by name, in Media, there they awaited for me until I came to Media.

¹⁰ diš ḫal-tam₅-ti and diš ḫal-tam₅-ti-ip are variant writings of Hatamtip or Hatamtup "Elamites" and "Elam" (Halkoff 1969, 694).

¹¹ In this paragraph, aš ma-da-be-ik-ki appears three times. We also expect diš as a determinative for ma-da-be.

¹² The number 20 is written at the end of line 18 and then number 7 is written at the beginning of line 19.

par. 23

a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-ri^{diš} da-tur-ši-iš (22) hi-še^{diš} har-mi-nu-ia-ir ki-ir^{diš} u₂^{diš} li-ba-ru-ri hu-pir₂-ri^{diš} u₂^{diš} har-mi-nu-ia-ip-ik-ka₄ ir hu-ut-la¹³ hi zi₂-la (23) hi ti-ri-ia mi-da¹⁴ diš taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip^{diš} u₂-ni-na in-ni ti-ri-man-pi hu-pi-be hal-pi-iš man-ka₄ me-ni^{diš} da-tur-ši-iš (24) sa-ak sa-ap^{diš} har-mi-nu-ia-ip-ik-ki ir pa-ri-ik-ka^{diš} be-ti-ip pir₂-ru ir ša₂-ir-ra-ib-ba¹⁵ diš da-tur-ši-iš ir-ma (25) ši-in-nu-ip ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud-ti-nu-un u₂-ba¹⁶ me-ni^{diš} da-tur-ši-iš ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me ap-ma da-iš^{as} hu-ma-nu-iš^{as} su-iz-za (26) hi-še^{diš} har-mi-nu-ia-ip-ik-ki ha-mi^d u-ra-maš-da pi-ik-ti^{diš} u₂ da-iš za-u-mi-in^d u-ra-maš-da-na diš taš-šu-ip₂ (27) ap-pa^{diš} u₂-ni-na diš taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip-na ir-še-ik-ki hal-pi-iš 8^d na-an^d iti-meš^d tu-ir-ma-ir-na pi-ir-ka₄ (28) hi zi₂-la ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud-da-iš a-ak ša₂-rak₂ 2-um-me-ma^{diš} be-ti-ip pir₂-ru ir ša₂-ir-ra-ap-ba^{diš} da-tur-ši-iš (29) ir-ma ši-in-nu-ip ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud-ti-nu-un u₂-ba me-ni^{as} hal-mar-ri-iš^{as} ti-ik-ra hi-še^{as} har-mi-nu-ia-ip-ik (30) ki ha-mi ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud-da-iš^d u-ra-maš-da pi-ik-ti^{diš} u₂ da-iš za-u-mi-in^d u-ra-maš-da-na diš taš-šu- (31) ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} u₂-ni-na diš taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip-na ir-še-ik-ki hal-pi-iš 10(+)^d 8^d na-an^d iti-meš^d tu-ir-ma-ir-na (32) pi-ir-ka₄ hi zi₂-la ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud-da-iš a-ak ša₂-rak₂ 3-um-me-ma^{diš} be-ti-ip pir₂-ru ir ša₂-ir-ra-ib-ba^{diš} da- (33) tur-ši-iš ir-ma ši-in-nu-ip ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud-ti-nu-un hu-ba^{as} hal-mar-ri-iš^{as} u₂-i-ia-ma hi-še^{diš} har-mi-nu-ia-ip- (34) ik-ki ha-mi ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud-da-iš^d u-ra-maš-da pi-ik-ti^{diš} u₂ da-iš za-u-mi-in^d u-ra-maš-da-na diš taš-šu- (35) ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} u₂-ni-na diš taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip-na ir-še-ik-ki hal-pi-iš 9^d na-an^d iti-meš^d sa-a-kur-ri-zi₂-iš-na (36) pi-ir-ka₄ hi zi₂-la ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud-da-iš a-ak me-ni^{diš} da-tur-ši-iš aš₂-ki in-ni hu-ut-taš^{diš} u₂-un za-ti-iš (37) ku-iš^{diš} u₂ ma-da-be-ik-ki¹⁷ ši-in-nu-gi-ut

And Darius the king says: Daturšiš by name, an Armenian, my servant, I sent him to the Armenia, thus I said to him: Go forth! The troops who (are) rebels (and) do not call themselves mine, kill them! Then Daturšiš went off. When (he) went to Armenia, the rebels assembled (and) came against Daturšiš: let us do battle! Then Daturšiš battled them in a village, Suzza by name, in Armenia, there. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, my troops slaughtered many of the rebellious troops. 8 days of the month Turmar had passed, thus (they) did battle. And again (for) the 2nd (time) the rebels assembled (and) came against Daturšiš: let us do battle! Then at a fortress, Tigra by name, in Armenia, (they) did battle there. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, my troops slaughtered many of the rebellious troops. 18 days of the month Turmar had passed, thus (they) did battle. And again (for) the 3rd (time) the rebels assembled (and) came against Daturšiš: let us do battle! In the fortress, Wiyama by name, in Armenia, (they) did battle there. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, my troops slaughtered many of the rebellious troops. 9 days of the month Sakuriziš had passed, thus (they) did battle, and then Daturšiš did not accomplished anything. (He) awaited me until I came to Media.

¹³ hu-ut-la; all signs are clearly discernible on the rock.

¹⁴ mi-da and mi-te (in par. 24) are variant writings of a Conj. II imperative form of mite- and mean "go forth!" (Hallock 1969, 732).

¹⁵ ša₂-ir-ra-ib-ba and ša₂-ir-ra-ap-ba are variant writings of šarrapa "they assembled" (Hallock 1969, 755).

¹⁶ u₂-ba and hu-ba are variant writings of uba (Hallock 1969, 698). hu-ud-ti-nu-un hu-ba: Hallock translated this phrase as "let us make (battle)". He interpreted hu-ba (or uba) evidently as a cohortative particle in the phrase (ibid).

¹⁷ Expected here is diš as a determinative for ma-da-be (King and Thompson 1907, 119).

par. 24

a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-ri^{diš} ma-u-mi-iš-(38)ša₂ ħi-še^{diš} bar-šir₈ ki-ir^{diš} u₂^{diš} li-ba-ru-ri ħu-pir₂-ri^{diš} u₂ ti-ib-be^{diš} ħar-mi-nu-ia-ip-ik-ki da-aĥ ħi (39)zi₂-la ħi ti-ri mi-te^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip^{diš} u₂-ni-na in-ni ti-ri-man-pi ħu-pi-be ħal-pi-iš man-ka₄ me-ni (40)^{diš} ma-u-mi-iš-ša₂ sa-ak sa-ap^{diš} ħar-mi-nu-ia-ip-ik-ki ir pa-ri-ik-ka₄^{diš} be-ti-ip pir₂-ru ir ša₂-ir-ra-ib-ba^{diš} ma-(41)u-mi-iš-ša₂ ir-ma ši-in-nu-ip ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me ħu-ut-ti-nu-un ħu-ba me-ni^{as} iz-zi₂-la ħi-še^{as} aš₂-šu-ra-an ħa-mi ša₂-par₂-(42)rak₂-um-me ħu-ud-da-iš^d u-ra-maš-da pi-ik-ti^{diš} u₂ da-iš za-u-mi-in^d u-ra-maš-da-na^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} u₂-(43)ni-na^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip-na ir-še-ik-ki ħal-pi-iš 15^d na-an^d iti-meš^d ħa-na-ma-ak-kaš-na pi-ir-ka₄ ħi (44)zi₂-la ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me ħu-ud-da-iš a-ak ša₂-rak₂ 2-um-me-ma^{diš} be-ti-ip pir₂-ru ir ša₂-ir-ra-ib-ba^{diš} ma-u-mi-iš-(45)ša₂ ir-ma ši-in-nu-ip ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me ħu-ut-ti-nu-un ħu-ba me-ni^{as} ba-ti-in^{as} ħa-u-ti-ia-ru-iš ħi-še ħa-mi ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-(46)me ħu-ud-da-iš^d u-ra-maš-da pi-ik-ti^{diš} u₂ da-iš za-u-mi-in^d u-ra-maš-da-na^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} u₂-ni'¹⁸ na^{diš} taš-šu-(47)ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip ir-še-ik-ki ħal-pi-iš^d iti-meš^d tu-ir-ma-ir-<na>¹⁹ pu-in-ki-te-ma ħi zi₂-la ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me ħu-ud-da-(48)iš me-ni^{diš} ma-u-mi-iš-ša₂^{diš} ħar-mi-nu-ia-ip-ik-ki za-ti-iš ku-iš^{diš} u₂^{diš} ma-da-be-ik-ki ši-in-nu-gi-ut

And Darius the king says: Maumiša by name, a Persian, my servant, him I sent forth to Armenia, thus (I) said him: Go forth! The troops who are rebels (and) don't call themselves mine, kill them! Then Maumiša went (off). When (he) went (off) to Armenia, the rebels assembled (and) came against Maumiša: let us do battle! Then, in Izzila by name in Assyria, (they) did battle there. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, my troops slaughtered many of the rebellious troops. 15 days of the month Hanamakaš had passed, thus (they) did battle. And again (for) the 2nd (time) the rebels assembled (and) came against Maumiša: let us do battle! Then in the district, Hautiyaruš by name, (they) did battle there. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, my troops slaughtered many of the rebellious troops. The month Turmar, at its end thus (they) did battle. Then Maumiša waited in Armenia until I came to Media.

¹⁸ ni' has an extra vertical wedge and is written as ir (King and Thompson 1907, 121).

¹⁹ na is expected here, as a genitive postposition preceded by the month name^d tu-ir-ma-ir (Hallock 1969, 98 & 735).

par. 25

a-ak (49)^{diš}da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš}eššana na-an-ri
me-ni^{diš}u₂^{as}ba-pi-li-mar li-lu-gi-ud-da^{diš}ma-
da-be-ik-ki pa-ri-ia sa-ap^{diš}ma-(50)da-be-ik-
ki in pa-ru-gi-ut^{as}hal-meš^{as}ku-un-tar-ru-iš
hi-še^{diš}ma-da-be-ik-ki ha-mi^{diš}pir₂-ru-mar-
ti-iš hu-pir₂-ri ši-(51)in-nu-ik ak-ka₄ na-an-
ri^{diš}u₂^{diš}eššana-me^{diš}ma-da-be-na hu-ud-
da ma-ra ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ut-ti-man-
ra me-ni ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-(52)ud-da-
hu-ut^du-ra-maš-da pi-ik-ti^{diš}u₂ da-iš za-u-
mi-in^du-ra-maš-da-na ha-mi^{diš}taš-šu-ip₂ ap-
pa^{diš}pir₂-ru-mar-ti-iš-na^{diš}(53)u₂ hal-pi ir-
še-ik-ki 20(+)^dna-an^diti-meš^dha-du-kan₂-
na-iš-na pi-ir-ka₄ hi zi₂-la ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-
me hu-ut-ti-u₂-ut me-ni^{diš}(54)pir₂-ru-mar-ti-
iš hu-pir₂-ri^{diš}te-ul-nu-ib ha-ri-ik-ki-ip i-da-
ka₄ pu-ut-tuk-ka₄^{as}rak₂-ka₄-an sa-ak me-ni^{diš}
u₂^{diš}taš-šu-ip₂ me-(55)mi da-aḥ ha-mi-mar
mar-ri-ka₄^{diš}u₂-ik-ki tin-gi-ik^{diš}u₂ hi-ši-um-
me a-ak ti-ut-me a-ak si-ri maš₂-zi₂-ia el-te
(56)ki du-ma^{as}zi₂-ip^{diš}u₂-ni-na-ma rab₂-ba-
ka₄ mar-ri-ik^{diš}taš-šu-ip₂ mar-be-ip-da ir zi₂-
ia-iš a-ak me-ni^{as}ag-ma-da-na^{geš}(57)ru-ir-ma
ir be-la a-ak ku-ud-da^{diš}lu₂-meš ap-pa ha-tar-
ri-man-nu da-mi hu-pa-ip-pi hu-pi-be^{as}ag-ma-
da-na^{as}hal-mar-ri-(58)iš-ma-mar sag-meš ap-
pi-ni ša₂-ra kap-pa-ka₄ ap-pi-in si-ra

And Darius the king says: Then I came forth from Babylon and went to Media. When I went to Media, the town, Kuntarruš by name, in Media, that Phraortes, who said: I am king of the Medes, came to do battle there. Then (we) did battle. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, I slaughtered many of troops of Phraortes. 25 days of the month Hadukannaš had passed, thus (we) did battle. Then that Phraortes together with few horsemen fled and went to Rakkan. Then I sent the troops after him. From there (he) was seized and brought (back) to me. I cut off his nose and tongue and ears and I put out one eye, (and) at my gate (he) was bound and seized. All people saw him and then at Ecbatana I impaled him and the men who were his foremost followers, at a fortress in Ecbatana I cut off their heads (and) I displayed(?) all of them together.

par. 26 a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-ri^{diš} ru-(59)u^h ki-ir^{diš} zi₂-iš-ša₂-in-tak-ma^{hi} še^{aš} aš₂-ša₂-kar-ti-ia-ra^{hu} pir₂-ri^{diš} u₂-ik-ki-mar be-ip-tuk-ka₄^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂-be^{hi} zi₂-la ap (60)ti-ri-iš na-an-ri^{diš} eššana-me^{diš} u₂ hu-ud-da^{diš} numun-meš^{diš} ma-ak-iš-tar-ra-na ni-ma-an-<ki[?]>²⁰ ma-ra me-ni^{diš} u₂ diš taš-šu-ip₂^{diš} bar-šip_x (EŠ) a-ak^{diš} (61)ma-da-be ti-ib-be da-ah^{diš} tak-maš-ba-da^{hi} še^{diš} ma-da^{diš} u₂ diš li-ba²¹-ru-ri hu-pir₂-ri^{diš} ir-ša₂-ir-ra ap-pi-ni ir hu-ud-da (62)hi zi₂-la ap ti-ri-ia mi-te-iš^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip^{diš} u₂-ni-na in-ni ti-ri-man-pi hu-pi-be hal-pi-iš man-ka₄ me-ni^{diš} tak (63)maš-ba-da^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ i-da-ka₄ sa-ak ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me^{diš} zi₂-iš-ša₂-in-tak-ma^{hi} da-iš²² u-ra-maš-da pi-ik-ti^{diš} u₂ da-iš (64)za-u-mi-in^d u-ra-maš-da-na^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} u₂-ni-na^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ib-be ir-še-ik-ki hal-pi-iš ku-ud-da^{diš} (65)zi₂-iš-ša₂-in-tak-ma ir mar-ri-iš^{diš} u₂-ik-ki ir tin-gi-iš^{diš} u₂ hi-ši-um-me a-ak si-ri maš₂-zi₂ el-te ki du-ma^{aš} zi₂-(66)ip^{diš} u₂-ni-na-ma rab₂-ba-ka₄ mar-ri-ik^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ mar-ri-be-ip-da ir zi₂-ia-iš me-ni²³ aš^{aš} har-be-ra^{hi} še^{hi} ha-mi^{diš} u₂ geš^{geš} ru-(67)ir-ma ir be-la

par. 27 a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-ri^{hi} diš u₂ diš ma-da-be-ik-ki hu-ud-da

par. 28 a-(68)ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-ri^{diš} par₂-tu-maš-be a-ak^{diš} mi-ir-ka₄-nu-ia-ip^{diš} u₂-ik²⁴-ki-mar be-ip-ti-ib-ba^{diš} pir₂-ru-(69)mar-ti-iš-na ti-ri-ia-iš^{diš} mi-iš-da-aš₂-ba^{diš} u₂ diš ad-da-da^{aš} par₂-tu-maš ša₃-ri-ir hu-pir₂-ri^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ir maš₂-(70)te-ma-iš-ša₂ be-ip-ti-ip a-ak me-ni^{diš} mi-iš-da-aš₂-ba^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa da-mi-nu i-da-ka₄ sa-ak^{aš} hal-meš^{aš} mi-iš-ba-u-za-ti-iš (71)hi-še^{aš} par₂-tu-maš ha-mi ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me^{diš} be-ti-ip ap-ma da-iš^d u-ra-maš-da pi-ik²⁵-ti^{diš} u₂ da-iš za-u-mi-in^d u-ra-maš-da-na^{diš} mi-(72)iš-da-aš₂-ba^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip hal-pi-iš ir-še-ik-ki 22^d na-an^d iti-meš^d mi-ia-kan₂-na-iš-na pi-ir-ka₄ hi zi₂-la ša₂-par₂-(73)rak₂-um-me hu-ud-da-iš

And Darius the king says: One man, Zišan-takma by name, a Sagartian, rebelled against me and the to the people thus said: I am king. (I) am of the family of Cyaxares. Then I sent forth the Persian and the Median troops. Tak-mašbada by name, a Mede, my servant, I made him their chief, thus (I) said to them: Go forth! Rebellious troops (who) do not call themselves mine, kill them! Then Takmašbada together with troops went (off and) did battle with Zišan-takma. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, my troops slaughtered many of the rebellious troops and (they) seized Zišantakma (and) brought him to me. I cut off his nose and ears and put out one eye, and at my gate (he) was bound and seized. All people saw him. Then at Harbera by name, I impaled him.

And Darius the king says: This is what I accomplished in Media.

And Darius the king says: The Parthians and the Hyrcanians rebelled against me and called themselves those of Phraortes. Hystaspes, my father, was in Parthia. The troops abandoned him and rebelled and then Hystaspes together with troops at his side went (off and) in the town, Mišbauzatiš by name, in Parthia, (he) did battle (with) rebels. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, Hystaspes slaughtered many of the rebellious troops. 22 days of the month Miyakannaš had passed, thus (he) did battle.

²⁰ Like *ni-ma-an-ki* "I am" in par. 22, -k (*ki*, *ka₄* or alike) is expected here to form a Conj. III_m of *ni-* "to be", however Hallock considered *ni-ma-an* "being" in par. 26, as a Conj. III_m infinitive of *ni-* (Hallock 1969, 738).

²¹ *ba¹* written as *šu* (King and Thompson 1907, 121).

²² According to Hallock's terminology, it seems that *hi-da-iš* is a variant writing of the term *idaš*: I. *hi(i)* "to him" + II. *daš* (conjugation I form of *da-* "to set, place") cf. *idaka* (Hallock 1969, 680, 696 & 701).

²³ *ni¹* written as *ir* and has an extra vertical wedge (King and Thompson 1907, 125).

²⁴ *ik¹* lacks one vertical wedge (King and Thompson 1907, 125).

²⁵ *ik¹* lacks one vertical wedge (King and Thompson 1907, 126).

par. 29 a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-ri me-
ni^{diš} u₂^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂^{diš} bar-šip_x(EŠ) aš^{ak} rak₂-
ka₄-an-mar^{diš} mi-iš-da-(74) aš₂-ba-ik-ki tin-gi-
ia sa-ap^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ hu-pi-be^{diš} mi-iš-da-aš₂-
ba-ik-ki ir pa-ri-ip me-ni^{diš} mi-iš-da-aš₂-ba
^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ (75) hu-pi-be i-da-ka₄ sa-ak aš^{ak} hal-
meš^{ak} bat-ti-ig-rab₂-ba-na hi-še^{ak} par₂-tu-maš
ha-mi ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud-da-iš^d u-
ra-maš-da pi-ik-ti^{diš} u₂ (76) da-iš za-u-mi-in
^d u-ra-maš-da-na^{diš} mi-iš-da-aš₂-ba^{diš} taš-šu-
ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip hal-pi-iš ir-še-ik-ki 1^d na-
an^d iti-meš^d kar-(77) ma-pad-taš-<na[?]>²⁶ pi-
ir-ka₄ hi zi₂-la ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-ud-da-
iš

And Darius the king says: Then I sent the Persian troops from Rakkān to Hystaspes. When that troops went to Hystaspes, then Hystaspes together with troops went (off) to a town, Patti-grabban by name, in Parthia, (where he) made battle. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, Hystaspes slaughtered many of the rebellious troops. 1 day of the month Karmabataš had passed, thus (he) made battle.

par. 30 a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-ri me-
ni^{diš} da-a-ia-u₂-(78) iš^{diš} u₂-ni-na ha-hu-ud-
da-ip hi^{diš} u₂^{diš} par₂-tu-maš hu-ud-da

And Darius the king says: Then the nation became mine. This is what I accomplished in Parthia.

par. 31 a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia-ma-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-an-
ri^{diš} da-a-ia-(79) u₂-iš^{diš} mar-ku-iš hi-še^{ak}
^{diš} u₂-ik-ki-mar be-ip-ti-ib-ba^{diš} ru-ul^{hi} ki-ir
^{diš} pir₂-ra-da hi-še^{ak} mar-ku-iš-ir-ra hu-pir₂-ri
^{diš} (80) eššana ap-pi-ni ir hu-ud-da-iš a-ak
me-ni^{diš} u₂^{diš} da-tur-ši-iš hi-še^{ak} bar-šir₈ ki-ir
^{diš} u₂^{diš} hi-ba-ru-ri^{diš} ša₂-ak^{ak} ša₂-ba-ma-na-
me aš^{ak} ba-(81) ak-ši-iš hu-ut-taš^{diš} hu-ud-lak
hu-pir₂-ri-ik-ki tin-gi-ia na-an-gi mi-ut-ki-ni
^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} be-ti-ip^{diš} u₂-ni-na in-ni
ti-ri-man-pi (82) hu-pi-be hal-pi-iš-ni man-ka₄
me-ni^{diš} da-tar-ši-iš²⁷ taš-šu-ip₂ i-da-ka₄
sa-ak ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me^{diš} mar-ku-iš-be
ap-ma da-iš^d u-ra-maš-da pi-ik-ti (83)^{diš} u₂
da-iš za-u-mi-in^d u-ra-maš-da-na^{diš} taš-
šu-ip₂ ap-pa^{diš} u₂-ni-na^{diš} taš-šu-ip₂ ap-pa
^{diš} be-ti-ip-na hal-pi-iš ir-še-ik^{ak} ki^{ak} 23^d na-an
(84)^d iti-meš^d ha-iš-ši-ia-ti-ia-iš-na pi-ir-ka₄ hi
zi₂-la ša₂-par₂-rak₂-um-me hu-da-iš

And Darius the king says: a nation, Margiana by name, rebelled against me, and one man, Pir-rada by name, a Magian, made their kingship and then to Daturšiš by name, a Persian, my servant (who) had a satrapy in Bactria, I sent a messenger and (I) told (him) to go forth (and) kill the rebellious troops (who) do not call themselves mine. Then Daturšiš went (off) together with troops (and) did battle with the these Margians. Ahuramazda sent me aid. (By) the intercession of Ahuramazda, my troops slaughtered many of the rebellious troops. 23 days of the month Hašiyatiyaš had passed, thus (he) made battle.

par. 32 a-ak^{diš} da-ri-ia^{ak} ma^{ak}-u-iš^{diš} eššana na-(85) an-
ri me-ni^{diš} da-a-ia-u₂-iš^{diš} u₂-ni-na ha-hu-ud-
da-ip hi^{diš} u₂^{ak} ba-ak-ši-iš hu-ud-da

And Darius the king says: Then the nation became mine. This is what I accomplished in Bactria.

par. 33²⁸ a-ak

And...

§4.3. Commentary

1. In par. 22, the reading of (12)^{diš} taš-šu-
ip₂^{diš} bar-šip_x(EŠ) a-ak^{diš} ma-da-be^{diš} u₂ da-
(13)^{ak} u₂^{ak} ha-ri-ik-ki ša₃-ri seems to match the

photographs. Detailed examination of the rock shows that the first sign of line 13 is probably u₂ (see figures 4,8 and 9). Therefore, I suggest the reading da^{ak}-u₂^{ak} for the earlier da-iš (Norris 1855, pl. ii; King and

²⁶ na is expected here, as a genitive postposition preceded by the month name ^dkar-ma-pad-taš (Hallock 1969, 98 & 735).

²⁷ In par. 31, both of ^{diš} da-tur-ši-iš and ^{diš} da-tar-ši-iš appear as variant writing of the proper name Daturšiš (Hallock 1969, 681).

²⁸ a-ak followed by a long blank space until the vertical border of column. The paragraph 33 continues at top of next column.

Thompson 1907, 114; Grillot-Susini, Herrenschildt, and Malbran-Labat 1993, 26; and Aliyari 2015, 115).²⁹ As cited in §2.1, some of the wedges at beginning of the lines have been eroded by water that had seeped into the column. In first examining the rock, the mentioned sign seems to be *iš*, but by comparing high-resolution photographs, particularly ones I had taken in direct sunlight, traces of the three vertical and two small horizontal wedges of *u*₂ are discernible (see figures 8 and 9). In comparison to the forms of *iš* and *u*₂ written nearby in the second column (i.e. the first sign of line 18 or in lines 12, 15 and 17), the reading *u*₂ at the beginning of line 13 is preferred over the reading *iš* (*ibid*). The new reading could be related to the stem *dau-* (*daḥu-*). Hallock translated *dau-* as “to help” and Grillot-Susini considered it related to the meaning “to aid...” (Hallock 1969, 681; Hinz and Koch 1987, 301). It should be mentioned that in Behistun, two other derivatives of *dau-* (*daḥup* and *dauman*) also appear in the third column (Hallock 1969, 681) where Darius names the six Persian men who helped him slaughter Gaumāta the Magus.³⁰ Compared to OP and Bab. correspondence, we infer that semantically, *dau-* could also carry the meaning “to ally”, “to be with someone (as auxiliary force)” or similar.³¹ With this

interpretation and using Hallock’s terminology, the writing of *da-u*₂ (= *dau* “I helped”) as a Conj. I of *dau-* in par. 22 is probable.³² Therefore, it is possible to translate the sentence in par. 22 as: “The Persian and the Median troops with me (or who were helpful) were few.”³³

2. Some scribal errors are found in the text of the second column. As indicated in the transliteration, in some cases, the signs are written with an extra wedge or with a missing wedge. According to the Behistun inscription, it seems that, firstly, the scribes wrote the cuneiform texts (probably on clay) and arranged them in correspondence to their designated columns; then, the engravers cut them into the stone. Although it is difficult to determine a reason for such errors, they might have occurred due to the engravers’ inadequate knowledge of cuneiform or to absent-mindedness. In addition, frequent repetition of some phrases, terms and even signs with similar forms (such as *ba* and *šu*) might be a cause of these errors.³⁴
3. As this contribution follows the edition of the first column in the Elamite version of the Behistun inscription, here I add a comment about the reading of *ap-pa-pa* ANŠE in par. 17 of the first column (see Amiri 2017, 3, 6, 18). Based on the most recent photographs, it can

²⁹ Weissbach and Vallat included *da-iš* in their editions (Weissbach 1911, 3, 30; Vallat 1977, 99).

³⁰ Par. 54: *ap-pi*^{diš}_{1u2}-*meš*^{diš}_{u2} *da-ḥu-ip ku-iš*^{diš}_{u2} *kam-ma-ad-da*^{diš}_{ak-ka4} *ma-ku-iš*^{diš} [*ir ḥal-pi-ia*]... *a-ak ḥa-me-ir*^{diš}_{1u2}-*meš*^{diš}_{ap-pi} *u2 da-u2-man li-ip* “ce sont les hommes qui étaient mes aides jusqu’à ce que [je tue] Gammatta, le mage, ... et, ces circonstances, ces hommes m’ont apporté leur aide” (Grillot-Susini, Herrenschildt, and Malbran-Labat 1993, 38).

³¹ OP *imai martiyā, tayai adakai avadā āḥantā, yātā adam Gaumātam tayam magum avājanam...* *adakai imai martiyā ḥamataxšantā anuštīyā manā* “these (are) the men who at that time were there, whilst I slew Gaumāta the magus... At that time these men strove as my followers” (Schmitt 1991, 72); Bab. *lu2 erin2-meš a-gan-nu-tu4 ša4 {it-ti-ia i-tu-ru-’ a-di ugu ša2 a-na-ku a-na diš gu-ma-a-ti a-ga-šu-u2}* *lu2 ma-gu-šu2 ad-du-ku...* *lu2 erin2-meš a-gan-nu-tu ša2 kit-ru’-ia il-li-[ku-’]* “These are the men who were with me when I killed that Gaumāta, the Magush... These are the men who came as my allies” (Von Voigtlander 1978, 46f, 62); see also CAD, K, 467 s.v. *kitru* A which is translated as “(military) aid”, “auxiliaries”, “auxiliary force” etc.

³² Also, *da-u2-<ip’>* (= *daup/daḥup* “they were helpful”, “they aid” as a Conj. II of *dau-*) is another alternative suggestion supposing that the scribe/engraver erred following *da-u2* (Hallock 1969, 679).

³³ Note on the OP and Bab. correspondence: OP *kāra Pārsa utā Māda, ḥya upā mām āḥa, ḥya kamnam āḥa* “the Persian and Median army, which was under (the control of) me, that was a small thing” (Schmitt 1991, 57) and Bab. *u2-qu ša2 it-ti-ia ša2 kur par-su u kur ma-da-a-a i-šu-tu2* “the troops of Persia and Media with me were few” (Von Voigtlander 1978, 23, 56).

³⁴ This is based on personal communication with Abdolmajid Arfaee who believes that the scribes and the engravers were different. He says that unlike the first column, the text of the second column has a clear relationship with consecutive revolts and Darius’s battles against rebels. Therefore, a number of phrases are regularly repeated through the text, such as *šaparrakumme ḥuttaš* “he did battle”, *šaparrakumme ḥuttinun (ḥ)uba* “let us do battle!”, *taššup appa unina taššup appa betip-na irše-ikki ḥalpiš* “my troops slaughtered many of the rebellious troops”, *betip pirru ir šarrapa* “the rebels assembled (and),” etc. He mentioned that these repetitions might be the cause of such errors.

be confirmed that in the Elamite version, the Sumerogram ANŠE, “ass(es),” is composed of the signs *pa+šab_x* (Hallock 1969, 83 & 86). Therefore, the reading *ap-pa ANŠE* is correct

and my reading is to be corrected to what is written in some earlier editions (e.g. Gril­lot-Susini, Herrenschmidt, and Malbran-Labat 1993, 25; Vallat 1977, 93).



Figure 1: The upper section of the second column of the Elamite version of the Behistun inscription, §§20-24, lines 1-38.



Figure 2: The middle section of the second column of the Elamite version of the Behistun inscription, §§23-26, lines 36-59.



Figure 3: The lower section of the second column of the Elamite version of the Behistun inscription, §§25-33, lines 57-85.

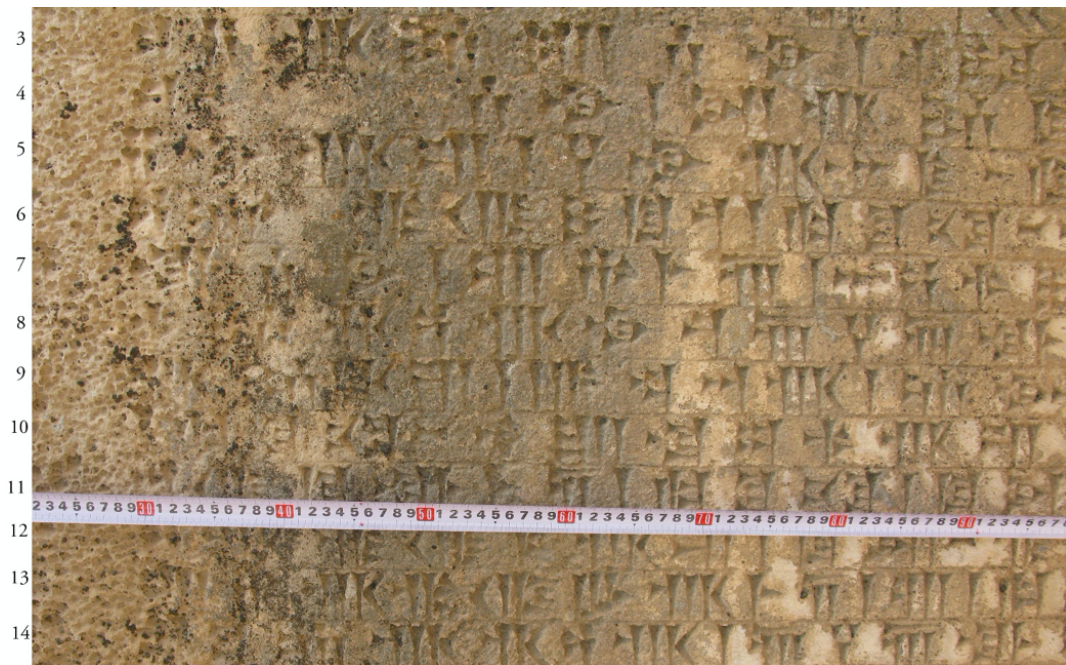


Figure 4: An image of the current state of the upper left side of the second column from line 3 to 14.

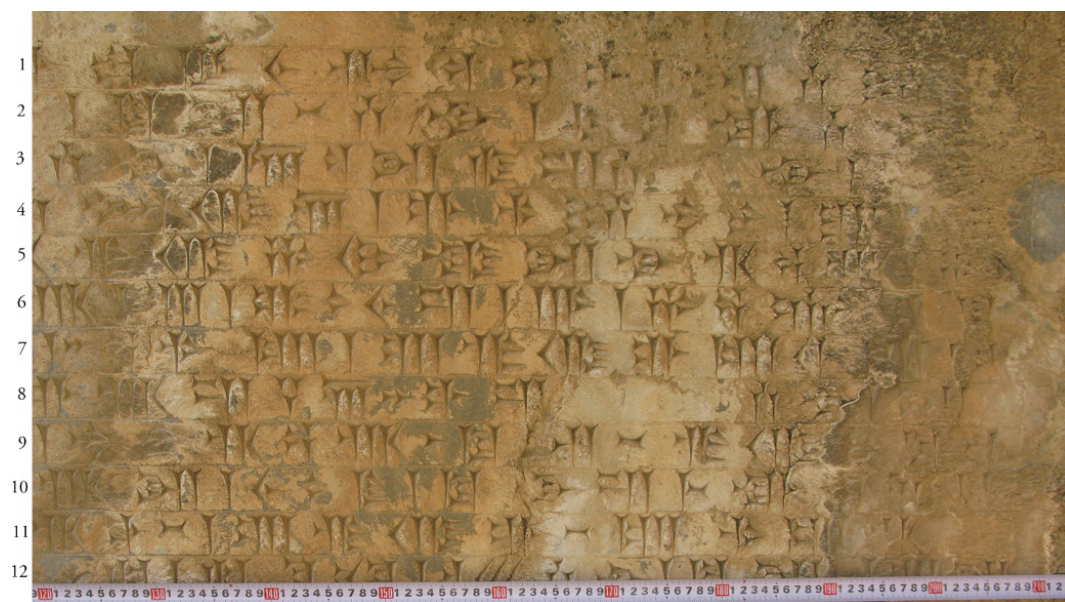


Figure 5: An image of the current state of the upper right side of the second column from line 3 to 12.

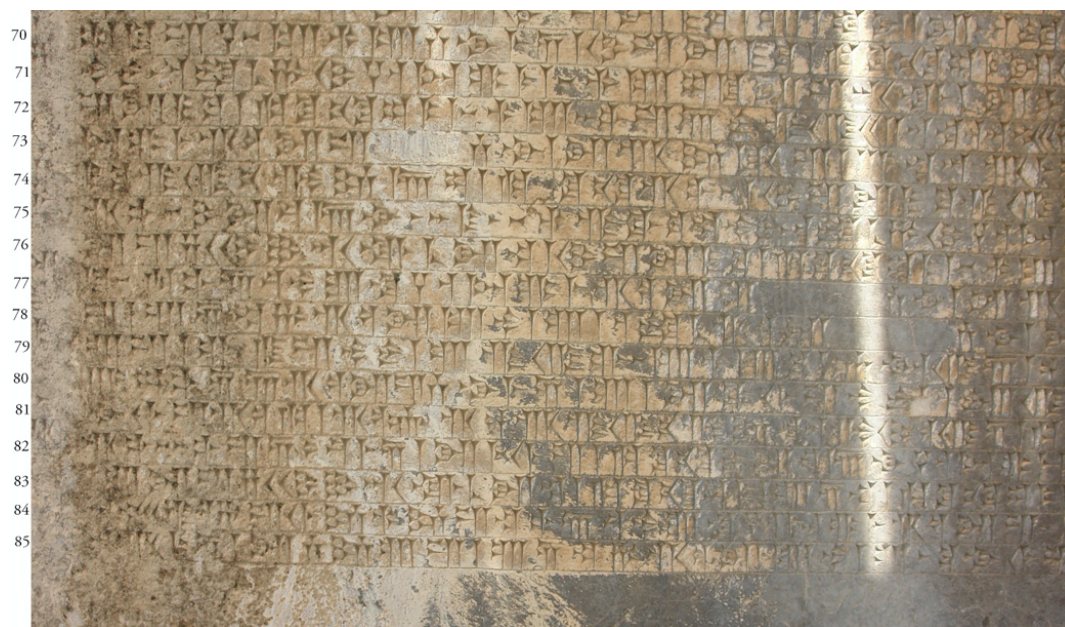


Figure 6: An image of the current state of the lower left side of the second column from line 70 to 85.



Figure 7: An image of the current state of the lower right side of the second column from line 70 to 85.

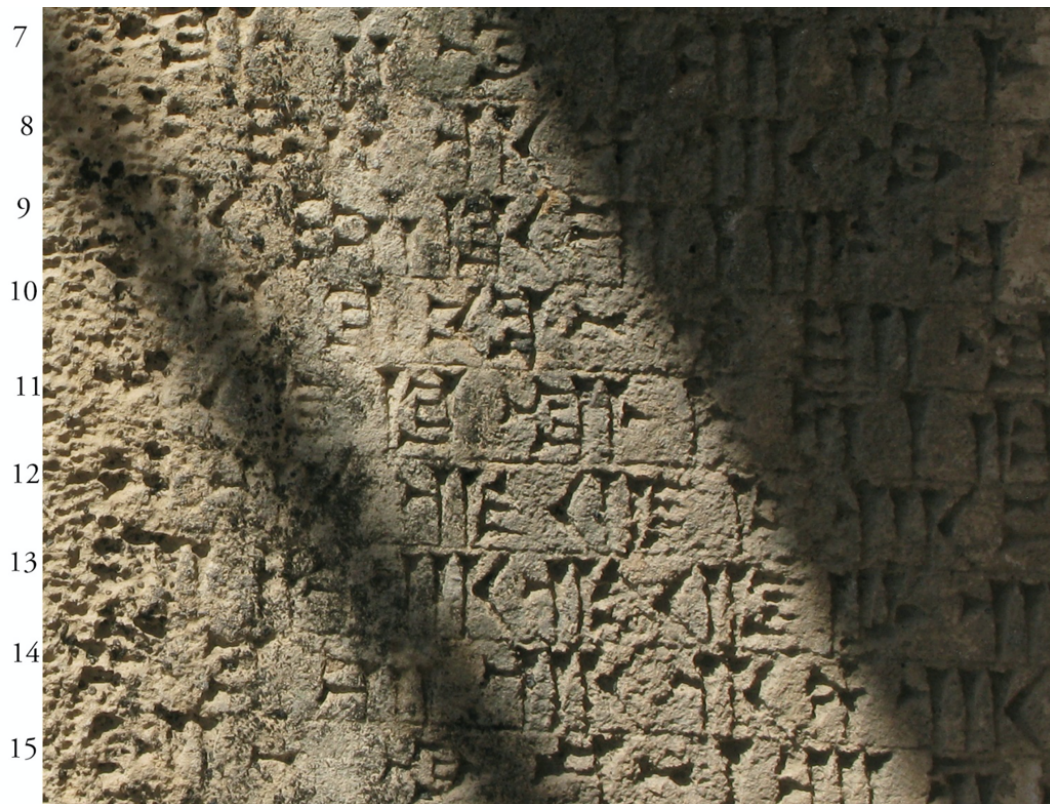


Figure 8: An image of the partial left side of the second column. Note the form of the first sign of line 13 (see §3.3.1).



Figure 9: Another image of the partial left side of the second column. The form of the first sign of line 13 is more discernible and probably is u_2 (see §4.3.1).

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